The Sight of Sound: Resonances Between Music and Painting in Seventeenth-Century Italy

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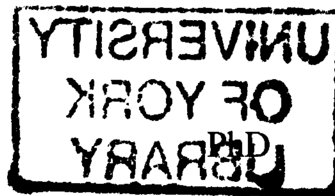

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ABSTRACT

The seventeenth century was a period of significant innovations and developments in music theory, vocal music, and instrumental music. It also was a period of innovation in paintings that depict musicians and musical instruments. Art historians and musicologists have tended to interpret music-themed paintings as pictorial records of contemporary musical performance practices in either domestic or sacred settings. Such an approach, however, overlooks the subtleties and complexities of the individual paintings and fails to consider possible relationships between the paintings and broader social, political, and religious contexts of Italian Seicento painting. This study dismantles the idea of paintings of musical subjects as a homogenous group and demonstrates that these works are more visually and intellectually complex than previously thought.

This thesis presents five case studies that analyze music-themed paintings produced between 1590 and 1677 from different perspectives: Chapter One presents a reassessment of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player,* created for Vincenzo Giustiniani, that challenges existing interpretations rooted in performance practices and offers, instead, a reading in light of the madrigal/monody debate. Chapter Two focuses on the many paintings of St. Cecilia produced after 1600 to explore both the implications of a female saint increasingly depicted with stringed instruments and the effects, pictorially and spiritually, of her rapt engagement with music-making. Chapter Three analyzes critically for the first time the relationship between Bernardo Strozzi's rustic peasant musicians and his patrons' desires to fashion themselves as part of the new nobility in Genoa and Venice. Chapter Four explores how Pietro Paolini's three images of luthiers comment on the artisanship of instrument making; on the relative merits of the senses; and on the enduring virtues of knowledge, skill, and physical labor. Chapter Five enlarges upon existing scholarship on Evaristo Baschenis' musical instrument still-lifes by investigating overlooked religious undercurrents beyond merely *vanitas,* and by exploring the social and spiritual dimensions of silence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract		2
Acknowledgements		4
Author's Declaration		5
List of Illustrations		6
Introduction		15
Chapter 1	Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* in Light of the Monody/ Madrigal Debate	26
Chapter 2	Heaven on Earth: Paintings of St. Cecilia as a Musician	73
Chapter 3	Marginalized Music?: Bernardo Strozzi's Peasant Musicians	117
Chapter 4	The Sight of Sound: Pietro Paolini's Instrument Makers	163
Chapter 5	"Una nuova sorta di pittura": Evaristo Baschenis' Musical Instrument Still Lifes	195
Conclusion		239
Appendix 1:	Texts of madrigals in the two versions of Caravaggio's *Lute Player*	244
Glossary		248
Bibliography		250
Illustrations		288

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"Heaven on Earth: Images of St. Cecilia as a Musician," presented at the Annual Sixteenth-Century Society Conference, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 2007.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(All measurements given in centimeters)

Fig. 1. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Bass Viol, Mandolin, Violin, Musical Score, and Cabinet,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 75 x 108 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo)

Fig. 2. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player,* c. 1595, oil on canvas, 94 x 119 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 3. Copy after Antiveduto Grammatica, *Concert,* oil on canvas, (Location Unknown)

Fig. 4. Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Concert,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 130 x 189.5 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

Fig. 5. Caravaggio, *The Musicians,* c. 1595, oil on canvas, 100 x 126.5 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 6. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player,* c. 1596, oil on canvas, 100 x 126.5 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 7. Variant of Bartolommeo Veneto, *Lute-Playing Woman,* 16th century, oil on wood, 62 x 50 (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan)

Fig. 8. Variant of Bartolommeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* oil on wood, 58 x 52 (Städtische Museen, Wessenberg-Gemäldegalerie, Konstanz)

Fig. 9. Variant of Bartolommeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* 16th century, oil on wood, 66.8 x 50.5 (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston)

Fig. 10. Variant of Bartolommeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* oil on wood, (Prague, Private collection)

Fig. 11. Titian, *Venus with a Lute-Player,* c. 1560, oil on canvas, 150.5 x 196.8 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

Fig. 12. Ludovico Lana, *Geronimo Valeriani, liutista di Cesare D'Este e altri musici,* c. 1624, Private collection, Modena

Fig. 13. Antiveduto Grammatica, *Theorbo Player,* c. 1615, oil on canvas, 119 x 85 (Galleria Sabauda, Turin)

Fig. 14. Detail of Fig. 13 showing foreshortened guitar.

Fig. 15. Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome. *Plan of piano nobile in 1650.* From Patricia Waddy, "Tessin's Rome," 114.

Fig. 16. Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome. Patricia Waddy's reconstruction of the plan of *piano nobile* after 1680, showing Tessin's path in *Travel Notes* (1687-88). From Patricia Waddy, "Tessin's Rome," 116.

Fig. 17. Paolo Veronese, *Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels,* 1587-89, oil on canvas, 110 x 94 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin)

Fig. 18. Annibale Carracci, *Crucifixion of Christ with the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and St. John,* 1594, oil on canvas, 33.8 x 23.4 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin)

Fig. 19. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Boy Bitten by a Lizard,* c. 1596-97, oil on canvas, 66 x 49.5 (National Gallery, London)

Fig. 20. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Bacchus,* c. 1596-97, oil on canvas, 95 x 85 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

Fig. 21. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness,* c. 1604-5, oil on canvas, 173 x 133 (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City)

Fig. 22. Sisto Badalocchio, *St. Francis of Assisi Consoled by Angels,* c. 1610-13, oil on panel, 72 x 51.5 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Fig. 23. Domenichino, *King David Playing the Harp,* c. 1619-20, oil on canvas, 240 x 170 (Château de Versailles, Versailles)

Fig. 24. Stefano Maderno, *St. Cecilia,* 1600, marble, length 130 cm (Basilica of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome)

Fig. 25. The Master of St. Anastasia, *St. Cecilia,* c. 1350, tufa (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona)

Fig. 26. Guercino, *Saint Cecilia,* 1642, oil on canvas (Musée de la Musique, Paris)

Fig. 27. Raphael, *St. Cecilia with Sts. Paul, John Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene,* c. 1513-16, oil transferred from panel to canvas, 238 x 150 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna)

Fig. 28. Orazio Gentileschi, *Saint Cecilia and an Angel,* c. 1620s, oil on canvas, 89 x 107 (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia)

Fig. 29. Carlo Dolci, *Saint Cecilia,* 1645-50, oil on canvas, 126 x 99.5 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 30. Giovanni Lanfranco, *St. Cecilia,* 1620-21, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 104.1 (Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina)

Fig. 31. St. Valerian and Cecilia from apsidal mosaic, c. 820 (Basilica of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome)

Fig. 32. Lavinia Fontana, *Self-Portrait,* 1577, oil on canvas, 27 x 24 (Accademia di San Luca, Rome)

Fig. 33. *Music and Pythagoras,* drawing, from German codex on the Seven Liberal Arts from Kloster Aldersbach, *Cod.lat.2599,* fol. 103r, (Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Fig. 34. Anonymous, *Lady Music,* frontispiece to an untitled anthology of trecento music, fourteenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS ital. 568, fol. 1)

Fig. 35. Andrea de' Bartoli da Bologna, *Lady Music,* page from Bartolomeo de' Bartoli da Bologna, *Canzone delle virtù* (1353-55), (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 1426, fol. 9v)

Fig. 36. Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Fraw Musica,* 1545, woodcut, from tenor partbook of Sixt Dietrich, *Novum opus musicum,* Georg Rhau, Wittenberg

Fig. 37. Carlo Saraceni, *St. Cecilia and the Angel,* c. 1610, oil on canvas, 172 x 139 (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome)

Fig. 38. Lavinia Fontana, *Allegory of Music,* last quarter sixteenth century, drawing (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

Fig. 39. Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, *Saint Cecilia with a Violin,* c. 1645, oil on canvas, 88 x 66 (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome)

Fig. 40. Pietro Paolini, *Music,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 90 x 68 (Bertocchini Dinucci collection, Lucca)

Fig. 41. Venetian canoness, 1707 engraving published in the Jesuit scholar Filippo Buonanni's *Ordinum Religiosorum in Ecclesia Militanti catalogus* (Rome, 1706-10)

Fig. 42. Giovanni Battista Beinaschi, *Saint Cecilia and Angel Musicians,* c. 1680, oil on canvas, 216 x 168.3 (Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina)

Fig. 43. Guido Reni, *Saint Cecilia,* 1606, oil on canvas, 95.9 x 74.9 (The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena)

Fig. 44. Giuseppe Puglia, *Saint Cecilia,* c. 1633-36, oil on canvas, 97.5 x 133 (S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome)

Fig. 45. Giuseppe Puglia, *Saint Cecilia,* c. 1630s, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 136.8 (Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg)

Fig. 46. Domenichino, *St. Cecilia with an angel holding a musical score,* c. 1617-18, oil on canvas, 159 x 117 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 47. Orazio Gentileschi/Giovanni Lanfranco, *St. Cecilia,* c. 1617/18 and c. 1621/27, oil on canvas, 87.8 x 108.1 (The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 48. Giulio Cesare Amidano, *St. Cecilia,* after 1612, oil on canvas, 197 x 129 (Museo di Capodimonte, Naples)

Fig. 49. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa,* 1647-52, marble and gilded bronze, 350.5 high (Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome)

Fig. 50. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *St. Matthew and the Angel,* c. 1602, oil on canvas, 232 x 183 (destroyed, formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin)

Fig. 51. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *St. Matthew and the Angel,* c. 1603, oil on canvas, 292 x 186 (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome)

Fig. 52. Guido Reni, *St. Jerome and the Angel,* 1634-35, oil on canvas, 198 x 174 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Fig. 53. Guercino, *Saint Cecilia,* 1649, oil on canvas, 119 x 98 (Dulwich Gallery, London)

Fig. 54. Niccolò Frangipane, *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder,* latter half of the sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40 (Collection of Sir Montgomery Fairfax-Lucy, Charlecote Park, Warwickshire)

Fig. 55. Bernardo Strozzi, *Shawm Player* c. 1624-25, oil on canvas, 73 x 61 (Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 56. Bernardo Strozzi, *The Pipers,* c. 1620, oil on canvas, 115 x 156 (Collezione Basevi, Genoa)

Fig. 57. Bernardo Strozzi, *Street Musicians,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 109.8 x 156.5 (The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit)

Fig. 58. Jacob Jordaens, *Three Buskers,* c. 1645-50, oil on wood, 49 x 64 (Prado Museum, Madrid)

Fig. 59. Titian, *Fête Champêtre*, c. 1510, oil on canvas, 105 x 137 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 60. Giovanni Gerolamo Savoldo, *Shepherd with a Flute,* c. 1525, 84.5 x 78.1 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

Fig. 61. Giorgione, *Young Man with a Recorder,* 1510, oil on canvas, 61.2 x 46.5 (Hampton Court, Royal Collection)

Fig. 62. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Man with a Recorder,* c. 1510, oil on paper, 48.3 x 36.8 (Earl of Pembroke Collection, Wilton)

Fig. 63. Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder,* c. 1548, oil on canvas, 74.3 x 100.3 (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)

Fig. 64. Francesco Torbido, *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder,* c. 1525, oil on canvas, 88 x 70.5 (Museo Civico, Padua)

Fig. 65. Gio Bernardo Carbone, *Gio Vincenzo Imperiale and His Family with the Garden of Villa di Sampierdarena*, 1642 (Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa)

Fig. 66. Francesco dal Bassano, *Youth Playing a Recorder,* c. 1580-85, oil on copper, 54.6 x 44 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Fig. 67. Niccolò Frangipane, *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder*, latter half of the sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 64.2 x 53.2 (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Auxerre)

Fig. 68. Giovanni Domenico Cerrini, *The Muse Euterpe as a Young Woman Playing the Flute,* oil on canvas, 63 x 47 (Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes)

Fig. 69. Jacopo Bassano, *Autumn,* c. 1575, oil on canvas (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Fig. 70. Jacopo Bassano, *The Flight into Egypt,* 1542, oil on canvas, 157.5 x 203.2 (Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio)

Fig. 71. Domenichino, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* 1607-10, oil on canvas, 143 x 115 (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh)

Fig. 72. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* c. 1645, oil on canvas, 398 x 218 (Church of San Luca, Genoa)

Fig. 73. Palazzo Pallavicino on Strada Nuova, from Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi Moderni di Genova, raccolti e designati da Pietro Paolo Rubens* (Antwerp, 1622) reissued (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968), Figure 36.

Fig. 74. School of Bartolomeo Bianco, Villa Brignole-Sale, Albaro, viewed from the southwest.

Fig. 75. Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale,* c. 1635, oil on canvas, 241.3 x 147.3 (Private collection, New York)

Fig. 76. Guido Reni, *Saint Sebastian,* oil on canvas, 130 x 189.5 (Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 77. Benedetto Castiglione, *Sacrifice of Noah,* c. 1640, oil on canvas, 106 x 133 (Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 78. Bernardo Strozzi, *Portrait of Giovan Donato Correggio as Perseus,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 104 x 86 (Musée Magnin, Dijon)

Fig. 79. Bernardo Strozzi, *Bagpipe Player (Il Pifferaio),* c. 1615, oil on canvas (Nino Ferrari collection, Genoa)

Fig. 80. Bernardo Strozzi, *Shawm Player (Il Pifferaio),* c. 1615. oil on canvas. 112 x 87 (Mazzucchelli collection, Milan)

Fig. 81. Bernardo Strozzi, *Concert,* oil on canvas, 101.6 x 125.7 (Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace)

Fig. 82. Antonio Travi, *Landscape with Peasants Harvesting Squash,* c. 1650, 44 x 64 (Museo dell'Accademia Ligustica, Genoa)

Fig. 83. Pietro Paolini, *Lute Maker (Fabbricante di liuto)*, c. 1640-50, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 56.5 (Location unknown)

Fig. 84. Pietro Paolini, *Violin Maker (Fabbricante di violino)*, c. 1640-50, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 56.5 (Location unknown)

Fig. 85. Pietro Paolini, *Elderly Man who Tunes a Lute (Vecchio che accorda il liuto)*, c. 1640-50, 66.5 x 50 (Private Collection, Florence)

Fig. 86. Pietro Paolini, *Lute Player*, c. 1640, oil on canvas, 114 x 87 (Museo d'Arte Ponce Fundaciòn Luis A Ferrè, Puerto Rico)

Fig. 87. Pietro Paolini, *Violin Player,* late 1620s, oil on canvas, 84.5 x 69.9 (S. H. Kress Collection, Madison, Wisconsin)

Fig. 88. Pietro Paolini, *Concert,* c. 1627-28, oil on canvas, 101 x 133.5 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

Fig. 89. Pietro Paolini, *Group of Musicians,* c. 1632, oil on canvas (Private Collection, Milan)

Fig. 90. Pietro Paolini, *Bacchic Concert,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 121.9 x 174 (Hoblitzelle Foundation, Dallas)

Fig. 91. Pietro Paolini, *Allegorical Scene with Two Figures,* late 1620s, oil on canvas, 100 x 82 (M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco)

Fig. 92. Viola by Gasparo (Bertolotti) da Salò (1540-1609), Brescia, late sixteenth century (The Hill Collection of Musical Instruments, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Fig. 93. Viola ('Charles IX') by Andrea Amati, Cremona, 1574 (The Hill Collection of Musical Instruments, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Fig. 94. Pietro Paolini, *Concert with Five Figures,* c. 1640s, oil on canvas (Location Unknown)

Fig. 95. Pietro Paolini, *Concert,* c. 1660, oil on canvas, 93 x 146 (Bertocchini Dinucci Collection, Lucca)

Fig. 96. Orazio Gentileschi, *Lute Player,* c. 1612-15, oil on canvas, 144 x 130 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

Fig. 97. Alessandro Fei, *Goldsmith's Workshop,* 1570-71, oil on panel, (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence)

Fig. 98. Illustration from Silvestro Ganassi's *Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco tasti . . .* (Venice 1543)

Fig. 99. Illustration from Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris 1636)

Fig. 100. Raphael, detail of Pythagoras from *School of Athens,* 1509-10, fresco, entire fresco 500 x 770 (Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican)

Fig. 101. Copy of Lysippos, *Head of Socrates,* marble, first century BCE, (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 102. Luca Giordano, *Xanthippe pours water into Socrates' collar,* 1660-65, oil on canvas (Molinari Pradelli Collection, Marano di Castenaso)

Fig. 103. Georges de la Tour, *Saint Jerome Reading,* 1621-23, oil on canvas laid down on wood, 62.2 x 55 (Royal Collection, Hampton Court)

Fig. 104. Caravaggio, *St. Jerome Writing,* c. 1605-6, oil on canvas, 112 x 157 (Galleria Borghese, Rome)

Fig. 105. Giorgione, *Sleeping Venus,* c. 1510, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 175 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden)

Fig. 106. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych*), c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 107. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Apple,* c. 1650-60, oil on canvas, 108 x 147 (Private collection)

Fig. 108. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Guitars, Cittern, Mandolin, Bass Viol, Violin, Lute, Apples, and Musical Scores,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 99 x 146 (Musées Royaux des Beaux-arts, Brussels)

Fig. 109. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores,* c. 1650-60, oil on canvas, 98 x 145 (Private collection)

Fig. 110. Detail of Fig. 107 showing Michael Hartung's maker's mark.

Fig. 111. Evaristo Baschenis, *Musical Performance of Alessandro Agliardi with a Guitar, and Bonifacio Agliardi (Right Panel of the Agliardi Triptych),* c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 112. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Mandolin, Violin, Bass Viol, Books, Musical Scores, and Cabinet,* c. 1650-60, oil on canvas, 83 x 100 (Private collection)

Fig. 113. Detail of Fig. 112 showing signature along edge of cabinet, *EVARISTUS BASCH. . . BERGOMI*

Fig. 114. Detail of Fig. 1 showing signature along the bottom edge of the lute, *EVARISTUS BASCHENIS P. BERGOMI*

Fig. 115. Detail of Fig. 107 showing signature on the edge of the spinet. *P. EVARISTUS BASCHENIS F.*

Fig. 116. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still Life with Spinet, Lute, Bombard, Cittern, Violin, Flute, Music Books, Inkwell, and Apples,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 95 x 128 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo)

Fig. 117. Evaristo Baschenis, *Musical Concert with Evaristo Baschenis at the Spinet and Ottavio Agliardi with an Archilute (Left Panel of the Agliardi Triptych),* c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 118. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 103 x 144, (Private collection)

Fig. 119. Textile length, Turkey, 16th -early 17th century, silk satin brocaded with silk and metal threads, 173.2 x 67.9 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Fig. 120. Altar frontal, Italy, 16th century, silk and gilt-metal-strip-wrapped silk, 100.6 x 124.1 (Art Institute, Chicago

Fig. 121. St. John Writing his Gospel, illumination from the Lorsch Gospels, c. 800, ink on vellum, 10.7 x 14 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 50 fol. 67v)

Fig. 122. Francisco Zurbarán, *Portrait of Gonzalo d'Illescas, Bishop of Cordova,* 1639, 290 x 222 (Sacristy of the Monastery of Saint Jerome, Guadalupe)

Fig. 123. Lorenzo Lotto, *Husband and Wife (Portrait of a Married Couple*), c. 1523-24, oil on canvas, 98 x 118 (The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 124. Follower of Moretto da Brescia, *Young Ladies of the House of Martinengo,* before 1543, fresco (Palazzo Martinengo-Salvadego, Brescia)

Fig. 125. Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Augustine, John the Baptist, Sebastian, and Anthony Abbot,* 1521, oil on canvas, 287 x 268 (Santo Spirito, Bergamo)

Fig. 126. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors,* 1533, oil on panel, 207 x 209.5 (National Gallery, London)

Fig. 127. Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus,* 1601, oil on canvas, 141 x 196.2 (The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 128. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Still-Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Rose,* 1633, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 109.5 (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena)

Fig. 129. Juan Sánchez Cotán, *Still-Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber,* c. 1600, oil on canvas, 69 x 85 (Museum of Art, San Diego)

Fig. 130. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Basket of Apples, Melons, Pears, and Plate with Plums,* nd, oil on canvas, 60 x 88 (Private collection)

Fig. 131. Vincenzo Campi, *Christ in the Home of Mary and Martha,* late sixteenth century, oil on canvas (Galleria Estense, Modena)

Fig. 132. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait,* c. 1645, oil on canvas, 116 x 94 (The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 133. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Bombard, Mandolin, Violin, Flute, Cabinet, Books, Peach, and Orange*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 60 x 88 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan)

Fig. 134. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna of the Candle,* c. 1490, oil on panel, 218 x 75 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan)

INTRODUCTION

When I first encountered the works of Evaristo Baschenis in 2001, particularly *Still-life with Lutes, Bass Viol, Mandolin, Violin, Musical Score, and Cabinet,* (c. 1650, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) (Fig. 1), his work left an indelible impression. Afterwards, it struck me forcibly that there was no easy way to account for that impression. The works are hardly large scale, grandiose, or rhetorical, and the subject matter is one of apparent simplicity and starkness. Baschenis' painting presents a grouping of musical instruments unadorned and unjustified in terms of figures, trappings, performance setting, obvious allegory, or apparent narrative. The musical instruments are presented as apparently liberated from narrative and other justifications; they appear as silenced, autonomous objects. I was puzzled as to why such a painting was produced, what purposes it served, and how paintings with musical instruments developed to the point at which musical instruments came to be the sole protagonists and purveyors of meanings in the paintings. The unpacking of these issues led to this thesis.

In Baschenis' *Still-life with Lutes, Bass Viol, Mandolin, Violin, Musical Score, and Cabinet,* a table supports a lute propped on its side at the left, a violin rests on a black cabinet in the center, and an overturned lute at the right partially conceals a mandolin and bass viol. The viewer's attention lingers on the details, textures, and warm tones of the polished wood instruments which are arranged in complex compositions. My initial response to interpretations such as those offered by Enrico de Pascale and Andrea Bayer, who present Baschenis' still lifes as *vanitas* images or representations of an anticipated instrumental performance, was one of guarded concurrence.[1] After considering the paintings at greater length, I became more convinced that one key to understanding these paintings was to see beyond the instruments as sounding objects and to explore the implications of their materiality, silence, and display as physical bodies. This realization led me to question readings of other seventeenth-century images of musical instruments and music-making as straightforward representations of contemporary music practices, as they are so often treated in both musicological and art historical literature. In the

[1] Enrico de Pascale, "Catalogo delle opere," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa*; Andrea Bayer, ed. *The Still Lifes of Evaristo Baschenis: The Music of Silence* (Milan: Edizione Olivares, 2000).

course of my research, I discovered that painted images of musical subjects encompass a great range of the complexities of seventeenth-century music performance as a cultural, social, and political medium. This thesis presents five chapters as related but distinct case studies that investigate paintings of musicians and musical instruments from five different points of view.

Chapter One investigates a painting at the heart of the existing historiographies on painting of music: Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) painted for Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. I take issue with repeated claims that this painting is primarily a pictorial document of fashionable musical entertainments enjoyed in households of Rome's nobility and ecclesiastical elite. While scholars refer to Vincenzo Giustiniani's "Discorso sopra la musica" (1628) as indicative of general attitudes to contemporary instrumental music practices, I consider it as a specific, personal assessment of vocal and instrumental music. I go on to claim that Giustiniani's attitudes to music are inflected in *The Lute Player*. This chapter, therefore, explores how Caravaggio's painting can be considered as not only representing a physical practice of music-making but also as interrogating specific theoretical ideas about and attitudes to developments in vocal music styles shared by his patron Vincenzo Giustiniani.

Chapter Two considers religious music-making through paintings of St. Cecilia. I examine paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician that proliferated in Rome after 1600 and investigate them as participating in two apparently divergent themes: music as part of a sacred story of access to the divine, and music as part of a secular story of the refinements of education and social class. I examine the instruments Cecilia plays in context of the controversial use of stringed instruments in sacred music performances during the early decades of the seventeenth century to consider how violins, lutes, and theorboes in the hands of a female saint served as a conduit between heaven and earth. I show how paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician explore issues of aristocracy, chastity, and holiness and how those qualities were gendered in the seventeenth century.

Chapter Three focuses on Bernardo Strozzi's paintings of rustic peasant musicians produced in the 1620s and 1630s and examines critically how these

paintings participate in discourses on aristocratic nobility and masculinity. I selected Strozzi because he takes up sixteenth-century traditions of musical shepherds who evoke associations with simplicity, harmony, and contemplation, as inspired by pastoral poetry, but introduces important changes. Strozzi 's works feature lower-class figures who assume indecorous postures as they actively play loud shawms and bagpipes. I argue that Strozzi endorses pictorially the cultural construct of peasants as coarse and comic developed elsewhere, including contemporary treatises on villa culture. Strozzi's paintings of peasant musicians who engage in uncultured music-making sharply contrast courtly politeness and manners requisite for members of the new nobility in Genoa and Venice. I consider the extent to which Strozzi used representations of peasant musicians to affirm his principal patrons' Giovanni Brignole-Sale's and Giovan Donato Correggio's newly acquired aristocratic status and to explore anxieties about masculinity, effeminacy, and propriety among members of the new nobility.

Chapter Four focuses on three paintings of stringed-instrument makers by Pietro Paolini to investigate the significance of a violin and lutes in the context of instrument production rather than in the more familiar context of musical recital. I argue that the subject matter of Paolini's paintings refers to the flourishing of stringed-instrument workshops in Cremona and Brescia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, I suggest that these paintings are more than pictorial representations of a trade. They differ significantly from representations of craftsmen in their emphasis on the intellectual engagement of the luthiers painted in the tradition of sculpted or painted representations of philosophers. This chapter argues that Paolini's paintings of instrument makers intently examining or preparing to string their instruments explore the relative merits of the senses of sight and touch, which unexpectedly triumph here over sound, and celebrate the enduring virtues of knowledge and physical labor.

Chapter Five interrogates the "emancipated" instrument in Evaristo Baschenis' musical instrument still-lifes, in which conventional context is apparently removed and the usual narratives are stripped away. In these paintings, musical instruments are no longer emblematic appendages to a music-making shepherd, saint, aristocrat, or virtuoso musician; instead, they are presented as finely

crafted, autonomous objects. I explore the tensions produced by Baschenis' paintings in which instruments are treated at once with great care pictorially and piled together in seemingly careless arrangements. I elaborate on Enrico de Pascale's and Andrea Bayer's analysis of Baschenis' silence by investigating seventeenth-century implications of silence in various domains including *ut pictura poesis*, the art of conversation, spiritual learning, and the Catholic Mass. I propose that the emphasis on musical instruments as silenced objects allows for an interrogation of them as instruments, or tools, independent of any musical connotations, and I explore them as metaphors for the human body in a physical and spiritual sense.

An investigation into all surviving paintings of musicians from all areas of Italy is beyond the scope of this thesis, and, indeed my intention is not to make a survey of them. Consequently, I confine the geographical scope of my thesis to central and northern Italy for two principal reasons. First, extant music-making images were created primarily by artists who worked in Rome, Tuscany, Lombardy, and the Veneto. To avoid undue diffuseness in my thesis, I decided to concentrate primarily on those cities. Although Naples enjoyed rich musical traditions from the sixteenth century onwards, predominantly in sacred music, artists here seldom produced paintings of musical subjects.[2] Exceptions, however, are found in a few images of St. Cecilia as a musician, such as those painted by Bernardo Cavallino (1616-1656) and Giovanni Battista Beinaschi, whose work is briefly discussed in Chapter Two. Second, remarkable changes in musical compositions, publications of influential music treatises, and the production of high-quality stringed instruments occurred contemporaneously with developments in music-themed paintings in northern and central Italy. My focus on these regions allows for more specific

[2] For musical developments in the south, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa, ed. *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1983); Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Dinko Fabris, "Strumenti di corde, musici e congregazioni a Napoli alla metà del Seicento," *Note d'archivio* n.s., I (1983): 63-110; Keith A. Larson, "The Unaaccompanied Madrigal in Naples from 1536 to 1654," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985); Hanns-Bertold Dietz, "Sacred Music in Naples during the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento,* Antonio D'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino, eds. (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1987): 511-27; Renato Meucci, "Gli strumenti della musica colta in Italia meridionale nei secoli XVI-XIX," *Fonti musicali italiane* 3 (1998): 233-64.

investigations into the remarkable intersections of music-themed paintings and the rich primary and secondary source material on music making and instrument making.

My thesis straddles two divergent historiographical traditions: those of musicologists and of art historians. Research on seventeenth-century paintings of musicians and musical instruments is relatively limited and, in many cases, includes little scholarship that relates specific research from the two disciplines in depth. In 1993 Gabriele Frings identified the difficulty of reconciling art historical and musicological research when she claimed, "Art historians widely ignore the iconographic research carried out in the field of musicology, while for their part musicologists refer too little, or not at all, to art historical methodology."[3] This remains largely true today. In this thesis I mediate between the two disciplines, drawing on scholarship in both music history and art history to demonstrate how paintings of musicians and musical instruments are a significant point of intersection between changes in musical forms and practices and concurrent thematic and theoretical developments in painting. The genre of music-themed paintings straddles the arts of music and painting by not inhabiting exclusively one realm or the other. While images of convivial music-making and precisely rendered musical instruments may incidentally or deliberately provide documentation of what instruments were played and how they can also be interpreted as having allegorical, moralizing, or iconographic meanings with social/socio-political implications.

My thesis is informed by insights drawn from practising musicians. The work of Stefano Toffolo and Giorgio Ferraris, which is concerned with musicology and organology, provides detailed studies of the types of instruments depicted in paintings by Pietro Paolini and Evaristo Baschenis. These scholars have also identified the makers of specific stringed instruments depicted in certain paintings.[4]

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[3] Gabriele Frings, "The *Allegory of Musical Inspiration* by Niccolò Frangipane: New Evidence in Musical Iconography in Sixteenth-Century Northern Italian Painting," *Artibus et Historiae* 14 no. 28 (1993): 141.

[4] For Stefano Toffolo's research see *Antichi strumenti veneziani, 1500-1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice: Arsenale Editrice, 1987), and "Sul rapporto tra liuteria e iconografia in area veneto-lombarda tra Cinque e Seicento," in *Liuteria e*

I have drawn on the work of many music historians who treat paintings of musical subjects as evidence of seventeenth-century musical compositions, musical instrument construction, and performance practices. Colin Slim's groundbreaking research in the 1980s that identified musical compositions and texts in paintings by Caravaggio, Ludovico Lana, and Antiveduto Grammatica has helped to enrich the iconographic readings of these works.[5] In spite of their detailed analyses of individual paintings, musicologists have not considered the ways in which these paintings functioned within broader pictorial/visual aesthetic traditions and social and historical contexts. Thus they have tended to see paintings as illustrative of a musical "reality" existing elsewhere, rather than as a locus for the representation of possibly disputed social and intellectual musical hierarchies and relationships, and even less as an area for intellectual debate on the relationships between the arts. This approach by musicologists has also meant that these paintings have not been explored in terms of philosophical questions regarding sound, hearing, and silence.

Part of the problem in analysing the relationship between music and painting in these paintings arises from inadequate formulation of their subject matter. Too often they have been grouped by art historians in a particularly unhappy formulation as "paintings of music", which obscures important distinctions between musical scores, players (real or imagined), music of a great range of sorts, and musical instruments. Benedict Nicolson's 1979 catalog of *caravaggesque* paintings established for subsequent scholars of music-themed paintings an overwhelming concern with the stylistic legacy of Caravaggio, because genre scenes of musicians

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musica strumentale a Brescia tra Cinque e Seicento: Atti del Convegno in Salò, 5-6 ottobre 1990 (Brescia, 1992), 46-61. For Giorgio Ferraris' analysis of lutes in the works of Evaristo Baschenis, see "I Liuti de Evaristo Baschenis," *Il Fronimo* 57 (October 1986): 7-19; "Liuto, arciliuto, chitarrone: strumenti dell'età barocca in Italia," *Il Fronimo* 39 (April 1982): 11-18; and with Lorenzo Girodo, "Guida alla identificazione degli strumenti musicali," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* ed. Marco Abate, catalog of exhibition held at the Galleria d'arte moderna e contemporanea, Bergamo, October 4, 1996-January 12, 1997 (Milan: Skira, 1996), 307-31.

[5] H. Colin Slim, "Musical Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and His Followers," in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward,* ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Harvard University Press, 1985): 241-63.

are discussed in the broad context of *caravaggisti.*[6] Thus Caravaggio becomes both agent of change and explanation for that change. In his catalog's iconographical index, Nicolson assumes a broadly quantitative approach, dividing all musician paintings according to the number of figures in each painting, just as he does with other genre categories of fortune tellers, games players, feasting scenes, and smokers.[7] He does not distinguish between musical instruments played, relationships between the players, or variations within each numerical group. Consequently, Antiveduto Grammatica's *Concert* (copy after Grammatica, location unknown) (Fig. 3) with its upper-class musicians playing harpsichord, flute, and theorbo in a presumably domestic setting is categorized in the same group as Bartolomeo Manfredi's *Concert* (c. 1620, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) (Fig. 4) with its theatrically attired lower-class musicians playing in what appears to be a tavern setting.[8] For Nicolson, the presence of musicians and musical instruments requires no further investigation; instead, he discusses how the lighting, figures, or composition of Caravaggio's paintings are copied in the works of his followers. The case studies comprising this thesis counter this approach by addressing issues of social class, gender, musical instrument types, and performance practices that are concealed by Nicolson's concern with tracing stylistic similarities.

Franca Trinchieri Camiz's pioneering studies from the 1980s and 1990s of Caravaggio's *The Musicians* (c. 1595, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig. 5) and *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) have done much to reevaluate the art historical significance of these paintings beyond the stylistic traits analysed by Nicolson.[9] Camiz and Agostino Ziino first examined Caravaggio's works in the

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[6] Benedict Nicolson, *The International Caravaggesque Movement: Lists of pictures by Caravaggio and his followers throughout Europe from 1590 to 1650* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979).

[7] Ibid., 217-20.

[8] All musician paintings are listed under the heading "Concerts and Musicians." Ibid., 217-18.

[9] The most relevant of Camiz's articles are Camiz and Agostino Ziino, "Caravaggio: aspetti musicali e committenza," *Studi Musicali* 12 (1983): 67-83; "The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture," *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1988): 171-86; "'La Musica' nei dipinti di Caravaggio," *Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia* 6, *Caravaggio, nuove riflessioni* (1989): 198-221; "Music and Painting in Cardinal del Monte's Household," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991): 213-26; "Gli strumenti musicali nei

context of seventeenth-century Roman music practices, and they argue that the musical preferences and experiences of Caravaggio's patrons may have determined his paintings' subject matter.[10] Camiz's writings have fueled an interest in exploring the social and cultural contexts in which scenes of musicians and musical instruments were produced, particularly in catalogs accompanying exhibitions of paintings with musical subjects. One of the first to follow Camiz was Keith Christiansen, whose study of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* in 1990 elaborates on Camiz's research.[11] More recently, contributors to the exhibition catalog *Colori della Musica: Dipinti, strumenti e concerti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Rome and Siena, December 15, 2000-June 17, 2001) overwhelmingly tended to interpret musician scenes as visual documentations of developments in contemporary music styles and practices.[12] Rossella Vodret and Claudio Strinati repeat this approach for their essay in *The Genius of Rome: 1592-1623* (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 20 January 2001 – 16 April 2001 and Palazzo Venezia, Rome, May – August 2001).[13] They echo Nicholson in their claims that the style, composition, and subject matter of seventeenth-century single-figure and concert groups, ranging from devotional images of St. Cecilia to coarse tavern scenes of the French *caravaggisti,* ultimately derive from Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* and *The Musicians.*[14] These catalogs and the scholarship of Nicolson, Camiz, and Frings

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palazzi, nelle ville e nelle dimore della Roma dei Seicento," in *La Musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma 4-7 giugno, 1992,* ed. B. Antolini (Rome, 1994): 595-608.

[10] Camiz and Ziino, 67-83.

[11] Christiansen celebrated the rediscovery of Caravaggio New York *The Lute Player* with an exhibition featuring Caravaggio's two versions of *The Lute Player,* other musician paintings, and musical instruments similar to the ones depicted in the paintings. Keith Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered, the Lute Player* exhibition February 9 1990 - 22 April 1990, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990).

[12] Bini, Annalisa, Claudio Strinati, and Rossella Vodret, ed. *Colori della Musica: Dipinto, strumenti e concerti tra Cinquecento e Seicento,* catalog of exhibition held in Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica December 2000-January 2001; Siena, Santa Maria della Scala, April-June 2001.

[13] Rossella Vodret and Claudio Strinati, "Painted Music: 'A New and Affecting Manner,'" in *The Genius of Rome: 1592-1623,* exhibition held (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 20 January 2001 – 16 April 2001 and Palazzo Venezia, Rome, May – August 2001 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001): 92-115.

[14] Ibid., 98-107.

have done much to identify paintings of musical activities, which has been a largely neglected field since the seventeenth-century itself, as worthy of serious study. However, their analysis of the paintings tends to either isolate individual images for iconographic or formalist investigation or else to treat them as a homogenous group within the broad context of music in seventeenth-century Italy. The same arguments and evidence reappear repeatedly with only slight modifications or additions, and interpretations center on paintings as 'mirrors,' more or less accurate, of contemporary musical activities; in the words of Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "mirrors of musical vogues in Rome."[15]

My thesis, in contrast, does not assume that the paintings merely represent a 'reality' that occurred elsewhere and that was faithfully recorded by artist-journalists. Instead, I claim that paintings assume a part in a pictorial tradition quite distinct at times from other cultural activities in seventeenth-century Rome, including even music-making. In doing so, I argue that careful differentiation between different works is vital. The significance of this differentiation is what the art historical tradition has overlooked. My initial openness to divergences did not prepare me for the surprising divergences that gradually emerged through the process of researching and writing this thesis. My expectations and assumptions about the genre of music-themed paintings changed, and, consequently, so did the scope of individual chapters. Chapter Three was conceived initially as an investigation into how seventeenth-century paintings of musicians advanced the emerging theory of *ut pictura musica,* which was explored in earlier pastoral scenes by Titian and Giorgione. I replaced this general approach with a more focused discussion of the subject matter and patronage of Strozzi's rustic musicians, as I came to realize that his work occupies a key moment of transition. Chapter One was originally conceived in terms of Roman cardinals' and nobles' patronage of both music and musician paintings and the architectural accommodation of both. It was later narrowed down to focus on Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* in light of Vincenzo Giustiniani's patronage and his specific writings on music that allude to monody/madrigal debates and address the key principle of *affetti.* These changes

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[15] Camiz focuses her research on the musical activities enjoyed by cardinals and other aristocratic families in Rome. Camiz, "Music and Painting," 213-26.

did not happen accidentally. They happened as a result of my engaging ever more closely with the paintings and of my engaging in rich musicological writings. I allowed the paintings' subject matter and treatment to determine connections and readings rather than starting with preconceived ideas about music and imposing them on the paintings.

My specific case studies investigate five distinct subjects within the diversified scope of music-themed paintings: Chapter 1: Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* painted for Vincenzo Giustiniani in Rome. Chapter 2: depictions of St. Cecilia as a musician that were produced in Rome after 1600. Chapter 3: peasant musicians by Bernardo Strozzi (b. Genoa 1581; d. Venice 1644) produced in Genoa and Venice. Chapter 4: depictions of stringed instrument makers by Pietro Paolini (b. Lucca 1603; d. Lucca 1681) in Lucca. Chapter 5: musical instrument still-lifes by Evaristo Baschenis (b. Bergamo 1617; d. Bergamo 1677) produced in Bergamo. Four of these chapters deal with the innovative works of specific artists and one chapter focuses on musical instruments in a religious context. This allows me to make a series of precise incisions into the broader discourses of music and painting. I investigate Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* because existing scholarship on seventeenth-century paintings of musical subjects treats it as the impetus and prototype for subsequent musician paintings, and repeatedly interprets this work in light of contemporary music practices. Instead, I examine Caravaggio's painting in light of patronage and writings about vocal music to provide an alternative to uniform interpretations. Strozzi's peasant musicians are selected for investigation in Chapter 3 because they introduce significant alterations to earlier sixteenth-century pastoral traditions and make important contributions to contemporary debates about what constitutes nobility. I investigate Paolini's paintings of musical instrument makers in Chapter 4 because they are the only known paintings that situate musical instruments specifically in the context of production. I focus on Baschenis in Chapter 5 because he was not only the innovator of musical instrument still-lifes, but he was the first artist to specialize in this genre. His paintings are unique both in the profusion of musical instruments and in the removal of instruments from their traditional presence in a performance setting. I devote one chapter (Chapter 2) to depictions of St. Cecilia because these paintings explore important aspects of the symbolic and spiritual function of musical instruments in devotional images.

Thus, the thesis as a whole explores representations of music-making and musical instruments in relation to issues of patronage, vocal music theory and practice, gender, communion with the divine, issues of social class, stringed instrument production, relative merits of the senses, and religious allegory. Each chapter deals with separate issues to demonstrate how music and painting intersect in different ways. This structure allows me to focus on the complexities and nuances of my selected paintings' subject matter, patronage, and regional differences, without losing sight of variation. Since the concepts of music in operation are diverse, I distinguish between particular aspects of music, including music scores, organology of musical instruments, musician types, music practice, and music theory.

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CHAPTER ONE

CARAVAGGIO'S *LUTE PLAYER* IN LIGHT OF THE MADRIGAL/MONODY DEBATE

This chapter argues that Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (c. 1595-96, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) (Fig. 2), created for Vincenzo Giustiniani (b. Chios 1564; d. Rome 1637) is best understood in relation to discussions about theory, style, and performance of monody and madrigals. Although the subject matter of the Hermitage painting is similar to a second version, *The Lute Player* (c. 1596-97, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig. 6) created for Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, I concentrate here on Giustiniani's *The Lute Player*. My interpretation hinges upon Giustiniani's role as both patron of the painting and as ardent supporter of and writer about music trends in late sixteenth-century/early seventeenth-century Rome.[1] In particular, I draw on a manuscript by Giustiniani, "Discorso sopra la musica," an informal essay that constitutes one chapter in an instructional treatise dedicated to Roman cardinals written about 1628.[2] The early seventeenth century was a time of controversy about what defined

[1] On the Hermitage *Lute Player* being commissioned by Vincenzo Giustiniani, see Denis Mahon, "Caravaggio's 'Lute Player' for Cardinal del Monte," *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (January 1990): 19-20; and Karin Wolfe, "Caravaggio: Another 'Lute Player,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (July 1985): 451-52.

[2] Vincenzo Giustiniani, 'Discorso sopra la musica,'Archivio di Stato, Lucca, Fondo G.B. Orsucci 48 (formerly O.49),, 118-19. Chapters in the treatise include: "Dialogo tra Renzo et Aniello Napolitano sopra l'uso e costumanze di Roma e Napoli (fos. 5-34), 'Avvertimenti per uno scalco (fos. 35-48), 'Istruzione necessaria per fabbricare' (fos. 51-69), 'Istruzione er far viaggi' (fos. 72-104), 'Discorso sopra la pittura' (fos. 105-11), 'Discorso sopra la musica' (fos. 113-35), 'Discorso sopra la caccia' (fos. 137-71), and 'Istruzione per un maestro di camera' (fos. 173-200). Giustiniani's manuscript was not published until 1878 when Salvatore Bongi, archivist at the Archivio di Stato in Lucca, printed 150 copies. The original manuscript ended up in the possession of Nicolò Orsucci, who inscribed on it his name and the date 1640. A date of 1628 or shortly thereafter is derived from Giustiniani's reference to Vincenzo Ugolino's trip to Parma for the marriage of the Duke of Parma to Margarita de' Medici in 1628: "et il più vecchio fra essi [maestri di cappella] è Vincenzo Ugolino d'età di anni 40 in circa, che fu Maestro di Cappella in S. pietro per alcuni anni, et ora si trova in Parma chiamato con l'occasione delle nozze di quel Duca Serenissimo con la Serenissima Margarita de' Medici sorella del Gran Duca di Toscana." ("The oldest among them in Vincenzo Ugolino who is about 40 years old. He was Maestro di cappella in San Pietro for some years and is now in Parma, called there upon the occasion of the marriage of that Most Serene Duke with the Most Serene Margarita de' Medici, sister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.") Carol MacClintock, *Hercole Bottrigari 'Il Desiderio' or Concerning the Playing Together of Various Musical Instruments/Vincenzo Giustiniani, 'Discorso sopra la musica.* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962), 65, 77; Giustiniani, 129.

the best and most fashionable vocal music styles and performance practices. Leading music aestheticians fervently championed innovation over tradition, solo singing over unaccompanied polyphonic madrigals, and clarity of words and expression over technical intricacies of counterpoint. [3] Giustiniani seems to gesture toward a conciliatory attitude that embraces the compatibility of rather than apparent contradictions between monody and madrigals. I argue for the first time here that Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* is usefully illuminated by a consideration of contemporary attitudes to monody and madrigals in Rome, particularly those expressed by Giustiniani. Although others from Rome's social and intellectual elite such as Cardinal Alessandro Montalto and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini participated in debates about monody and madrigal, they did not commission paintings that explore the divergence.[4] It is therefore the conjunctions of the debate, Giustiniani's manuscript, and Caravaggio's innovative composition that I discuss here.

Giustiniani's treatise is not unknown to art historians, but so far when scholars refer to it in relation to paintings of musicians, they do so with a focus that is too wide. For instance, Franca Trinchieri Camiz regards the "Discorso" as "an important practical handbook which informed educated patrician gentlemen like

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[3] The famed controversy between Giovanni Maria Artusi (1540-1613) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) during the first decade of the seventeenth century epitomizes debates about the relative merits of sixteenth-century polyphony and counterpoint and revolutionary developments in compositional forms and concerted instrumental music. Monteverdi's response to Artusi in the preface of his *Il quinto libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (1605) criticized Artusi's conservative stance and esteemed more highly music dominated by a melody that matches the natural rhythms of speech and expresses the content of the text. Claude Palisca, "The Artusi-Monteverdi Controversy," in *The Monteverdi Companion*, ed. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London: Faber and Faber, 1985): 127-58; Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 106-9.

[4] An examination of inventories of Montalto's and Aldobrandini's possessions indicate that they did not own any paintings identified as secular musician scenes. *Inventario di Mobili ed altro senza data*, (Inventory of paintings that passed into the possession of Montalto's nephew Cardinal Paulo Savelli), Rome, Archivio Storico Capitolino, Archivio Cardelli, Appendice Savelli, vol. 92, fos. 103-127; Monsignor Agucchi, *Inventario Generale della Casa dell'Illustrissmo . . . Pietro Cardinale Aldobrandini . . . MDCIII,* Frascati, Archivio Aldobrandini, fols. 104a-124a.

himself [Giustiniani] about musical tastes and fashions of the period."[5] Her opinions are perpetuated by subsequent art historians. Keith Christiansen cites a brief passage from the "Discorso" to support his argument that the combination of musical instruments in Caravaggio's *Musicians* (c. 1595, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig. 5), painted for Cardinal del Monte, is representative of late sixteenth-century music practices.[6] Rosella Vodret and Claudio Strinati briefly acknowledge that Giustiniani sponsored musical events at his palace, but then they use his "Discorso" to help explain Cardinal del Monte's version of *The Lute Player.*[7] While Giustiniani's "Discorso sopra la musica" is indeed informative, it is more than a general report on the latest musical trends. It is a personal account by a patron of both painting and music, who had clear ideas about and first-hand experience with musical practices past and present.

Furthermore, Giustiniani's "Discorso" has received relatively little attention from musicologists. Nigel Fortune acknowledges that it is valuable in providing both a comprehensive listing of musical instruments commonly used in Rome, and Giustiniani's amateur assessment of the leading musicians who played them.[8] Only John Walter Hill provides the most extensive and insightful commentary on individual paragraphs of the "Discorso" that discuss solo singing.[9] He deploys Giustiniani's writings to support his arguments that monodic compositions and performance practices in Rome, particularly those promoted by Cardinal Montalto, developed from various regional and Cinquecento traditions.[10] Tim Carter points out that Giustiniani's "Discorso" has been slighted by musicologists because its

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[5] Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture," *Artibus et historiae* 9 no. 18 (1988): 171.

[6] Keith Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered, The Lute Player* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 27.

[7] Rosella Vodret and Claudio Strinati, "Painted Music: 'A New and Affecting Manner,'" in *The Genius of Rome 1592-1623,* ed. Beverly Louise Brown (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001), 94-6.

[8] Nigel Fortune, "Giustiniani on Instruments," *The Galpin Society Journal* 5 (March 1952): 48-54.

[9] John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles of Cardinal Montalto,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 84-120.

[10] Ibid., 57-120.

articulation of discontinuities in music styles and practices in early seventeenth-century Rome challenges traditional perceptions of music developing in a linear, uninterrupted fashion.[11] He argues, however, that it is precisely Giustiniani's amateur opinions, differentiated from mainstream debates among music theorists that make the "Discorso" so significant.[12] Hill's and Carter's recognition of Giustiniani's insights into the complexities and contradictions of contemporary musical performances is important from a musicological perspective, and it is also crucial to my arguments here. It supports my assertion that Giustiniani's version of *The Lute Player* explores conflicting attitudes to monody and madrigal, and that it is the articulation of this musical ambivalence that makes Caravaggio's painting so original. *The Lute Player* must be considered in light of the broader context of Giustiniani's patronage and his writings about music. I draw upon both historiographical traditions to illuminate the significance of Giustiniani's discourse in relation to Caravaggio's painting.

My approach modifies existing scholarship that focuses primarily on the verisimilitude of the musician's performance. Camiz, for example, argues that Caravaggio's musician paintings are representative of the entertainments enjoyed in households of Rome's ecclesiastical elite, particularly those of Caravaggio's patron Cardinal del Monte and his circle.[13] In doing so she established an influential model for study. In 2000 Giorgio Adamo echoed Camiz and stated that paintings of musical subjects from the turn of the seventeenth century, beginning with Caravaggio's musicians, demonstrate a shift away from "raffigurazione simbolica" to "descrizione realistica."[14] Are we to accept that Caravaggio's lute players are

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[11] Tim Carter, " 'An Air New and Grateful to the Ear': The Concept of 'Aria" in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy," *Music Analysis* 12 no. 2 (July 1993): 128.

[12] Ibid., 129.

[13] For readings of *Lute Player* as primarily descriptive representations of musical activities sponsored by Cardinal del Monte, see Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "Music and Painting in Cardinal del Monte's Household," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 26 (1991): 213-26; Camiz, "The Castrato Singer," 171-86.

[14] "Symbolic representation to realistic description." Giorgio Adamo, "Il nuovo interesse per la prassi esecutiva, il 'popolare' e l'esotico nella cultura musicale tra Cinque e Seicento," in Annalisa Bini, Claudio Strinati, and Rossella Vodret, *Colori della Musica: Dipinto, strumenti e concerti tra Cinquecento e Seicento,* catalog of exhibition held in

merely "reflections" of sophisticated musical activities enjoyed in noble households in the seventeenth century? I submit that such reductive readings of musician scenes contrast unsatisfactorily with the more complex interpretations of Caravaggio's other genre scenes.[15] While I acknowledge that instrument combinations and playing techniques represented in this painting derive from a familiarity with actual performance practices, as Camiz has shown, I believe that this does not in itself explain their representation. Nor do I find satisfactory Vodret and Strinati's claim that single-figure musician scenes produced after 1600 ultimately derive from Caravaggio's two versions of *The Lute Player.*[16] There is a tendency to see these paintings as prototypes for musician scenes, which assumes that they initiate a single, universal formula for subsequent musician paintings. The remarkable ambiguities in Giustiniani's *The Lute Player,* such as the recognizable madrigal scores juxtaposed with a youthful figure demonstrating the performance of monody; the musician's simultaneous loneliness and his libidinous engagement with the viewer; and the dramatic cut of light across the composition undercut the notion that this painting refers simply to performances that took place in Giustinaini's palace or elsewhere. By exploring how the musical subject matter of *The Lute Player* articulates the social and intellectual demands of monody and madrigal, in both theory and in practice, on patrons and viewers, I hope to throw into question some of the paradigms that have governed the field.

"Muovere l'affetti dell' animo": The rise of monody in late sixteenth-century Rome

Since Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) depicts a solo musician engaged in singing and playing a basso continuo instrument, it is tempting to join Camiz, Christiansen, and Hanning in asserting that it indicates and records the

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Rome, Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica December 2000-January 2001; Siena, Santa Maria della Scala, April-June 2001 (Milan: Skira, 2000), 65.

[15] For examples of sophisticated ways recent scholars have interpreted Caravaggio's genre scenes, see Michael Fried, "Thoughts on Caravaggio," *Critical Inquiry* 24 no. 1 (Autumn, 1997): 13-56; Todd P. Olson, "The Street Has Its Masters: Caravaggio and the Socially Marginal," in *Caravaggio: Realism, Rebellion, Reception,* ed. Genevieve Warwick (Newark, DE:University of Delaware Press, 2006): 69-81; Mieke Bal, *Quoting Caravaggio: Contemporary Art, Preposterous History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 77-98.

[16] Vodret and Strinati also claim that Caravaggio's *Musicians* was the model for subsequent paintings of musical groups. Vodret and Strinati, 98.

increased number of performances of accompanied solo singing in the early decades of the 1600s.[17] Instead, however, I wish to consider the relationship between vocal music theory and the art of painting. By first examining developments in solo singing, we can then determine in what ways and to what extent they are manifest in Caravaggio's paintings of lute players.

The practice of solo singing, a mode that simplified earlier complex polyphonic compositions, was one of the most significant developments in music during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[18] Monody consists of a single vocal line that is sung to the accompaniment of a basso continuo instrument, usually a stringed instrument such as the lute or theorbo, whose purpose is to support the singing rather than compete with it.[19] Experimentations with monody flourished with Roman-born Giulio Caccini (b. Rome 1551; d. Florence 1618), a prominent singer and composer in Florence, and with other members of the Florentine Camerata between 1570 and about 1592.[20] Nino Pirrotta clarifies the epithet "Florentine Camerata" as an entire movement encompassing the musical discussions and developments of three groups of intellectuals and musicians in Florence during the last two decades of the sixteenth century: those who met in the house of Giovanni de'Bardi (b. Florence 1534; d. Florence 1612), those who met in the home of Jacopo Corsi (b. Florence 1561; d. Florence 1602), and those who

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[17] Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "The Castrato Singer;" Camiz, "Music and Painting;" Keith Chrisitansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered;* Hanning, 465-86. Referring to the widespread popularity of monodic compositions throughout Italy, Nigel Fortune points out, "These solo songs were published not by the dozen but by the gross." Nigel Fortune, "Italian Secular Monody," 172. See Glossary for basso continuo.

[18] Monody revived earlier sixteenth-century interests in secular songs like *frottolas* and madrigals and led to the development of chamber cantatas. Fortune, "Italian Secular Monody," 175.

[19] Giulio Caccini, *Le nuove musiche* in Angelo Solerti, ed. *Le origini del melodramma (*Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1908). 55-70.

[20] In the 1560s Vincenzo Galilei was already working on his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* and entertaining Giovanni de' Bardi's guests by singing to the accompaniment of the lute. The activities of the Camerata peaked between 1577 and 1582, began to decline by the mid-1580s, and then ceased in 1592 when Bardi moved to Rome and took Giulio Caccini with him. Claude V. Palisca, "The 'Camerata Fiorentina' A Reappraisal," *Studi musicali* 1 no. 2 (1972): 207-8.

associated with Emilio de' Cavalieri (b. Rome 1550; d. Rome 1602).[21] The developments in painting in Rome with which I am concerned do not seem to have an analogous position in Florence, in spite of early developments here in monody. Conditions were optimal for the production of musician painings in Rome in the 1590s. Wealthy cardinals, aristocrats, and other connoisseurs competed with each other to acquire paintings to add to their impressive private picture galleries.[22] Many of these same patrons also attracted an increasing number of composers to Rome to compose and perform music in their households.[23]

Developments in monody in Rome were encouraged by the Compagnia dei Musici, a confraternity for professional musicians founded in 1584 and sanctioned by the Pope, that fostered creative collaboration between musicians and facilitated musical publications by its members.[24] Caccini claims an active role in the original transmission of the Camerata's developments in monody to Rome when he returned there in 1592:

> I quali madrigali et aria uditi in essa camerata con amorevole applauso et esortazioni ad eseguire il mio presupposto fine per tal camino, mi mossero a trasferirmi a Roma per darne saggio anche quivi: ove fatti udire detti

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[21] Nino Pirrotta, "Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata," *The Musical Quarterly* 40 (April 1954): 170.

[22] On art patronage in Rome and the demand for innovative artists and subject matter from the family and circles of Pope Urban VIII and other private patrons including Vincenzo Giustiniani and Cardinal del Monte, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, Cardinal Camillo Massimi, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, see Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 3-62, 94-119.

[23] For a comprehensive study of the music patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Montalto, see John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles of Cardinal Montalto,* vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997). On music patronage of the Barberini see Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage Under Urban VIII.*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). On the Borghese family. see Jean Lionnet, Norma Deane, and John Whenham, "The Borghese Family and Music during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Music and Letters* 74 (November 1993): 519-29. On Pietro Aldobrandini see Claudio Annibaldi, "Il mecenate politico: I, ancora sul patronato musicale del cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini (ca. 1570-1621)," *Studi musicali* 16 (1987): 33-93.

[24] Noel O'Regan, "Italy, ii: 1560-1600," in *European Music 1520-1640,* ed. James Haar, (Boydell Press, 2006), 84. Luca Marenzio, in particular, had a profound impact on developments in monody in Rome. William J. Summers, "The Compagnia di Musici di Roma, 1584-1604: A Preliminary Report," *Current Musicology* 34 (1982): 2-25.

> madrigali et aria in casa del signor Nero Neri a molti gentiluomini, che quivi s'adunavano, e particolarmente al signor Lione Strozzi, tutti possono rendere buona testimonianza quanto mi esortassero a continovare l'incominciata impresa.[25]

Vincenzo Giustiniani confirms Caccini's claim that monody was well received, and he recounts how the Florentine style of singing was eagerly pursued in Rome:

> E con questo esempio [singing demonstrated by Vittoria Archilei] molt'altri s'esercitarono in questo modo di cantare in Roma, in guisa tale che prevalsero a tutti gli altri musici dei luoghi e Prencipi suddetti, e vennero in luce Giulio Romano [Giulio Caccini], Giuseppino, Gio. Domenico et il Rasi, che apparò in Firenze da Giulio Romano; e tutti cantavano di basso e tenore con larghezza di molto numero di voci, e con modi e passaggi esquisiti e con affetto straordinario e talento particolare di far sentir bene le parole.[26]

Vincenzo Giustiniani implies that monody was fashionable and was cultivated among the cultured elite not merely because it was new, but because its textual clarity and affective qualities revolutionized vocal music.

In the 'Forward' to his landmark publication of solo songs titled *Le nuove musiche* (Florence, 1602), Caccini describes the novelty and advantages of his monodic compositions:

> Veduto adunque, si com'io dico, che tali musiche e musici non davano altro diletto fuor di quello che poteva l'armonia dare all'udito solo, poi che non

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[25] "The warm applause with which these madrigals and this air were received in the Camerata and the exhortations to continue my assumed aim by those methods led me to move to Rome for a trial of them there also. The aforesaid madrigals and air were heard in the house of Signor Nero Neri by many gentlemen assembled there, and particularly in the house of Signor Leone Strozzi, and all can testify how I was urged to continue the enterprise I had begun." Caccini, 55-6.

[26] Giustiniani, 118-19. "And with this example, many others practiced this style of singing in Rome, so that it prevailed on all the musicians of the above mentioned places and princes. Then came to light Giulio Roman [Giulio Caccini], Giuseppino, Giovanni Domenico, and Rasi, who learned from Giulio Romano in Florence; and they all sang from the bass and tenor with a range consisting of many voices and with exquisite style and passage-work, and with extraordinary feeling and a particular talent to make the words clearly heard." Translation based on MacClintock, 71. On Francesco Rasi's career and his role in transmitting Caccini's developments in monody to the Low Countries, see Warren Kirkendale, "Sul primo Orfeo, Francesco Rasi: Compositore, poeta, cantante, omicida," in *Music and Meaning: Studies in music history and the neighboring disciplines* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2007), 217-22.

> potevano esse muovere l'intelletto senza l'intelligenza delle parole, mi venne pensiero introdurre una sorte di musica, per cui altri potesse quasi che in armonia favellare, usando in essa (come altre volte ho detto) una certa nobile sprezzatura di canto, trapassando talora per alcune false, tenendo però la corda del basso ferma, eccetto che quando io me ne volea servire al'uso comune, con le parti de mezzo tocche dall'istrumento per esprimere qualche affetto, non essendo buone per altro ."[27]

Caccini sought to draw the accents, rhythms, crescendos, and decrescendos of the music close to the inflections and rhythms of the text so that vocal ornamentation became subordinate to the intelligibility of the text.[28] Wiley Hitchcock emphasizes the concept of intonation by translating the phrase "in armonia favellare" as "speak in tones."[29] The phrase "in armonia favellare," which implies telling a tale in harmony or narrating the music, evokes the concept of speech-song characteristic of ancient Greek poetry that Caccini, in the tradition of Girolamo Mei, Giovanni Bardi, and Vincenzo Galilei, sought to revive.[30] In his analysis of the rhythmic construction of Caccini's "Sfogava con le stelle," Stephen Willier points out how in the beginning line–"Sfogava con le stelle un'infermo d'Amore sotto notturno ciel il suo dolore" ("A lovesick man poured forth to the stars in the nighttime sky his grief")–the singing of each syllable at a quick pace at the beginning of the line is balanced by the slower pace of half notes and a whole note at the end of the line

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[27]Caccini, 57-59 "Having thus seen, as I say, that such music and musicians offered no pleasure beyond that which pleasant sounds could give—solely to the sense of hearing, since they could not move the intellect without the words being understood—it occurred to me to introduce a kind of music in which one could almost speak in tones, employing in it (as I have said elsewhere) a certain noble *sprezzatura* in the melody, passing sometimes over some discords, while sustaining the pitch of the bass note (except when I wanted to use it in an ordinary way) and with the middle lines played by the instrument to express some affect, as those lines are not good for any other use." Translated in Guilio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche,* H. Wiley Hitchcock, ed.,(Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1980), 44.

[28] Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 26.

[29] Hitchcock, 44.

[30] On the relationship and correspondence between Mei, Galilei, and Bardi and their contributions to developments in monody, see Claude V. Palisca, *Girolamo Mei, Letters on Ancient and Modern Music* (American Institute of Musicology, 1977); and Claude V. Palisca, "Girolamo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata," *The Musical Quarterly* 40 (January 1954): 1-20.

with the word "dolore."[31] Not only does this provide rhythmic variety, but the penultimate syllable, "lo" of "dolore," lasts for four beats allowing for "an expressive ornament on an accented syllable of a passionate, affective word, 'dolore.'"[32]

We can explain, in part, the enthusiasm for solo singing and pictorial representations of solo singing in light of the degree to which the music was associated with profound emotion. Indeed, this is a recurring theme throughout Caccini's discourse, namely that this kind of music was seen as particularly moving and had the capacity to delight the senses and 'move the affect of the soul': "Sono andato sempre investigando più novità a me possibile, pur che la novità sia stata atta a poter meglio conseguire il fine del musico, cioè di dilettare e muovere l'affetto dell'animo."[33] Hitchcock explains that animo, as used here, refers to "the seat of the intellectual and moral faculties, of feeling, and of will."[34] He then clarifies the double meaning of *affetti* as it is applied to music by Caccini:

> Here [in the phrase "muovere l'affetto dell'animo] the word approximates the German *Affekt* and refers to a state of mind-*cum*-emotion. Elsewhere a more particularized meaning appears: thus the vocal embellishments . . . the tremolos, the trill, etc. – are termed *affetti*. . . . In its second meaning, *affetto* approaches the modern English "device" or even, in one of its meanings, "effect."[35]

Therefore, *affetti* refers in an active sense to the movements of the soul, the stimulation of different physical and emotional reactions that modify human nature; and it refers in a passive sense to the states of the soul, or range of emotions and

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[31] Stephen Willier, "Rhythmic Variants in Early Manuscript Versions of Caccini's Monodies," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (Autumn 1983): 487.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Caccini, 63. "I have always proceeded to search for the most original possibilities, as long as this novelty helps to achieve the goal of music, namely to delight and move the affect of the soul."

[34] Caccini/Hitchcock, 45.

[35] Ibid.

attitudes, that can be expressed in painting, poetry, music.[36] In music, it can also refer to specific musical devices that stir these movements and emotions. Mariangela Donà notes that although the use of *affetti* in music writings refers generally to emotions, there are subtle variations in the terminology and meanings as it applies to both vocal and instrumental music compositions: "Affetto" refers to an emotion or general state of the soul; "affectus" refers to the state of the soul that is agitated externally but experienced passively; and "moti dell'animo" refers to the emotional movements of the soul or mind.[37] Caccini's invocation of *affetti* complemented previous explorations by Girolamo Mei and Vincenzo Galilei, who were the earliest and most influential musicians in the sixteenth century to advocate the imitation of music theory and practices of the ancient Greeks as a means to create music that moves the affections.[38] While Caccini's recognition and exploration of music's affective qualities is not in itself original, the claim that monody, in particular, was the music form best suited to these ends was new. Since accompanied solo song followed only one melodic line, rather than three or more parts producing elaborate counterpoint, it facilitated greater apprehension of the text and dramatic expression of the music. It functioned as a type of rhetorical music, stimulating rationalized passions that induced a marked change in the listener.[39]

In each of his monodic compositions, or "nuove musiche," Caccini advocates the use of different vocal effects such as "esclamazione," "crescere e

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[36] Franco Piperno, ed. *Biagio Marini, Affetti Musicali, Opera Prima* (Milan: Edizioni Suvini Zerboni, 1997), xxviii-xxix.

[37] Mariangela Donà, " 'Affetti musicali' nel seicento," *Studi secenteschi* 8 (1967): 80-1.

[38] Girolamo Mei's *De modis musicis antiquorum* (1568-1573) was the first thorough explication of ancient Greek tunings, modes, writings, and practices of music. Influenced by Mei's views, Galilei developed his own theories about appropriating music theory and practice from the ancients in his *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* (1581). On these early developments of the concept of *affetti* in music, see Donatella Restani, *L'itinerario di Girolamo Mei: dalla 'poetica' alla musica, con un'appendice di testi* (Florence: Leo Olschki, 1990); Nino Pirrotta, "Temperaments and Atendencies,"169-89; Claude Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[39] Borgerding argues that the rhetorical function and effects of music are similar to those of an orator. Todd Borgerding, "Preachers, "Pronunciatio," and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony," *The Musical Quarterly* 82 no. 3/4 (Autumn/Winter 1998): 587.

scemar di voce," and "trilli . . . ove saranno più necessari secondo gli affetti delle parole."[40] According to Caccini, when singers appropriately employed vocal ornaments, they created "una sembianza vera di quelle inarrestabili armonie celesti, dale quali derivano tanti beni sopra la terra, svegliandone gli intelletti uditori alla contemplazione dei diletti infiniti in Cielo somministrati."[41] He emphasizes here the "moving the affects of the soul" and matching musical ornamentation to the "affects of the words" so that monody prompts the listener's contemplation of the divine.[42] Solo singing, therefore, was appealing because it was a powerful medium by which the listener was transported temporarily beyond the here and now to a higher–indeed, religious–state of mind and being. Solo singing thus contrasted with and remedied supposed defects in earlier polyphonic compositions. Caccini criticized polyphonic compositions because the contrapuntal music obscured the text: "i passaggi [rapid passagework] non sono stati ritrovati per che siano necessarii alla buona maniera di cantare, ma credo io piuttosto per una certa titillazione a gli orecchi di quelli che meno intendono che cosa sia cantare con affetto."[43] Caccini argues that musical effects must do more than excite and delight the ear with superficial aural pleasure; they must also nourish the mind and soul. He characterizes solo singing as a "nobile maniera di cantare," ("noble manner of singing").[44] By implication, then, those who 'understood' monody and its "noble manner of singing" were an equally noble, refined, and sophisticated audience.

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[40] Caccini, 61, 68. Caccini advocates "exclamation," the "crescendo and diminuendo of the voice," and "trills where they are most necessary according to the words' emotions."

[41] Ibid., 69. Caccini claims that when singers effectively employ these ornaments, they create "a true semblance of those ceaseless celestial harmonies from which so many good things on earth derive, arousing the listeners' intellects to a contemplation of the infinite delights afforded in heaven."

[42] Amalia Collisani, "Affetti e *passions:* i modi barocchi della rappresentazione musicale," *Studi musicali* 25 (1996): 13.

[43] Ibid.,59-60. "*Passaggi* were not devised because they are essential to good singing style but rather, I believe, because they titillate the ears of those who understand less well what it means to sing with feeling."

[44] Caccini, 57.

Indeed, the leading proponents of monody were cardinals, princes, and other courtly figures.[45]

"Cadaveri puzzolenti": Madrigals in early seventeenth-century Rome

In seventeenth-century Italy, madrigals were cultivated primarily in secular and ecclesiastical courts and academies by connoisseurs and amateurs who enjoyed the intellectual appeal of lofty poetic texts set to music that required the sophisticated interweaving of multiple voices.[46] While the designation of madrigal primarily signifies unaccompanied vocal music compositions, musicians from the first decades of the seventeenth century began composing madrigals with instrumental accompaniment, or "concerted madrigals."[47] My arguments here center on attitudes to unaccompanied madrigals, like those depicted in Caravaggio's paintings of lute players. The high literary quality of madrigal texts developed during the sixteenth century from the more frivolous, vulgar verse of the frottola, which was a "short strophic songlet with refrain, just suited for unambitious improvisation."[48] The Roman composer Paolo Quagliati (b. Chioggia, c. 1555; d. Rome 1628) declared a particular preference for madrigals over monody. In the preface to *Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1608), he states, "nell'età d'hoggi alcuna parte hà gustato della Musica piena de più voci, se bene dalla maggior parte par che sia desiderata, & applaudita la Musica vota, cioè di voci

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[45] On practitioners and supporters of monody, see Nigel Fortune, "Italian Secular Monody," 178.

[46] On madrigal developments among the Musici della Compagnia di Roma, particularly by Luca Marenzio, at the end of the sixteenth century, see Marco Bizzarini, "'Dolorosi martir, fieri tormenti': il madrigale romano e lo stile grave," in *Luca Marenzio e il madrigale romano,* Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Roma, 9-10 settembre 2005, ed. Franco Piperno, *L'Arte Armonica* 7 ser. 3 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, 2007), 97-113.

[47] Lorenzo Bianconi charts the shift in the demand for unaccompanied versus concerted madrigals. He shows that between 1601 and 1650 the number of published collections of concerted madrigals rose from 11 to 56, while the number of published editions and reprints of collections of unaccompanied madrigals declined dramatically between 1620 and 1630 from 175 to 45. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2.

[48] Alfred Einstein and Theodore Baker, "The Madrigal," *The Musical Quarterly* 10 (October 1924): 477, 479, 481.

sole con l'Instrumenti."[49] Although he acknowledges that monody allows the listener to distinguish and enjoy "belle voci," Quagliati makes it clear that this "empty music," or "musica vota," meaning for him music for solo voice, is inferior to "musica piena de più voci," or the rich musical intricacies of madrigals for multiple voices.

While we should not presume that singing madrigals was beyond the reach of amateurs, the intellectual and vocal demands may have been a deterrent when compared with the relative technical ease and simplicity of monody. As Caccini has implied, there was a sense that while multiple voices appealed to superficial tastes, monody was essentially intellectually and emotionally more significant and more demanding. For the traveler, scholar, and amateur musician Pietro della Valle (b. Rome 1586;d. Rome 1652), it was monody's lack of contrivance that made it a more attractive musical option than madrigals:

> Oggi non se compongono tanti perchè si usa poco di cantare madrigali, nè ci è occasione in cui si abbiano da cantare, amando più le genti di sentir cantare a mente con gli strumenti in mano con franchezza, che di vedere quantro o cinque compagni che cantino ad un tavolino col libro in mano, che ha troppo del scolaresco e dello studio.[50]

Della Valle's distinction between "hearing" accompanied solo singing and "seeing" a group of musicians sing a madrigal suggests that witnessing a formal, disciplined music performance also distracted the listener from enjoying the strains of the madrigal's music. The studious engagement requisite for polyphonic madrigals had little appeal for della Valle who preferred the greater emotional engagement and sincerity of accompanied solo singing performed by professional musicians.

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[49] "Nowadays one group has enjoyed music full of several voices, although a greater number seems to have desired and applauded empty music, namely for solo voices with instruments." From a facsimile reproduction and translation, which I have slightly modified, in Paolo Quagliati, *'Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro voci*, ed. Judith Cohen, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* vol. 79 (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc. 1996), np.

[50] Pietro della Valle, *Della musica dell'età nostra che non è punto inferiore, anzi è migliore di quella dell'età passata* (1640) in Solerti, 171. "Today not so many are composed because we have little use for singing madrigals, nor occasions for singing them, since people would rather hear [musicians] singing confidently from memory, instruments in hand, than see four or five fellows singing at a little table, partbooks in hand, [all of] which has too much of the schoolboy and of study about it." Translated in Brian Mann, 11.

Della Valle's tone is harsh when describing madrigals: "le musiche troppo artifiziose, con tante sottigliezze di contrappunti . . . che è quanto a dire belli corpi, ma corpi senza anima, che, se non saranno cadaveri puzzolenti, saranno almeno corpi di figure dipinte, ma non di uomini vivi."[51] Madrigals are not merely lifeless but are offensive, an affront to the senses akin, almost, to stinking corpses. Della Valle further criticizes them in comparison to painted representations of figures that capture only the body's physical appearance and lack the life and soul of a living, breathing, feeling person. If madrigals and painted figures are both superficial, then, in light of Della Valle's assessment, paintings that combine representations of musicians and detailed madrigal scores could be considered particularly deficient.

A third position existed between the apologists for the madrigal and those for monody. Among these, Giovanni Battista Doni (b. Florence 1593;d. Florence 1647) argued for a middle ground between monody and madrigal. Doni was a music theorist whose writings interrogated the diversity of ancient Greek tonal systems and their application to modern compositions, explored the comparative expressive power of both madrigal and monody, and advocated clarity of the musical text.[52] As a member of the Barberini household from 1623 until 1640, he circulated his influential musical ideas to a wide network of composers, theorists, cardinals, and other intellectuals in Rome.[53] Doni in part agreed with Quagliati's sentiments when he praised the madrigal for its harmony: "Or chiara cosa è chi'il concento ne' Madrigali, è più pieno, sonoro, e soave; perche le voci sono in maggior numero, le

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[51] Della Valle, *Della musica,* 151-52. "[Madrigals] are too artificial with so much thinness of counterpoint . . . that is to say they are beautiful bodies, but bodies without a soul; if they are not putrid corpses, they are at least bodies of painted figures rather than living bodies." Della Valle's discourse is in the form of a letter to the poet and literary scholar Lelio Guidiccioni that refutes Guidiccioni's claim that "oggidì non c'erano valentuomini di questa professione simili a quelli dell'età passata." ("Today there are not gentlemen of this profession [music] similar to those of the past ages.") In a spirit of friendship and mutual respect, Della Valle adopts a conciliatory tone to convince Guidiccioni of his opinions in defense of modern music. Ibid., 148.

[52] Maurizio Padoan, "Nature and Artifice in G.B. Doni's Thought," *Internaitonal Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23 (June 1992): 8-9.

[53] Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 100.

consonance più variate; e l'aria più dilettevole."[54] However, like Giulio Caccini, Doni championed the ornamentation of monody and the capacity of monody to more effectively communicate the affective quality of the text:

> Nell' [monodie] dunque si fa professione di bene esprimere gli affetti; & in qualche parte quegl'acccenti naturali del parlare patetico: e questa è quella ch'hà grandissima forza ne gl'animi humani: a segno che quando è accompagnata d'una vivace attione, e d'un parlare proportionate al sogetto, maravigliosamente commuove il riso, il pianto, lo sdegno, &c. Qui hanno luogo sopra tutto quelle mutationi di Tuono, di Genere, e di Ritmo, che sono le maggiori ricchezze, e sfoggi della Musica.[55]

Doni did not advocate one style of vocal singing at the expense of the other. He recognized that madrigals and monody were uniquely suited to different purposes and effects of ecclesiastical music, operas, and other dramatic performances, and he encouraged the incorporation of both styles where appropriate to provide stylistic variety and prevent boredom in the audience.[56]

Giustiniani occupied a position similar to Doni in reconciling monody and madrigals by holding on to older music traditions but at the same time forging a link with the modern. Giustiniani not only admired past composers of sixteenth-century madrigals, but his "Discorso sopra la musica" enthusiastically endorsed the more recent explosion of homophonic compositions:

> In poco progresso di tempo s'alterò il gusto della musica e comparver le composizioni di Luca Marenzio e di Ruggiero Giovannelli, con invenzione

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[54] Giovanni Battista Doni, *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1635),103. "Now it is clear that the harmony in madrigals is more full, sonorous, and sweet; because the voices are greater in number, the consonances more varied, and the melody more delectable."

[55] Giovanni Battista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il Compendio de' generi, e de' modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640), 61-2. "In [monody] therefore, the object is to express well the affections and in some part mimic the natural accents of stirring speech. This is the kind of music that has the greatest power on human souls, for when accompanied by lively acting and a manner of speaking proportionate to the subject, it marvelously moves one to laughter, tears, disdain, and so on. Here is the place for all those mutations of mode, of genera [diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic scales of ancient Greek music], and of rhythm that are the greatest richness and adornments of music."

[56] Giovanni Battista Doni, *Trattato della musica scenica,* in *Lyra Barberina,* vol. II (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1974), 26-7.

> di nuovo diletto, tanto quelle da cantarsi a più voci, quanto ad una sola sopra alcuno stromento, l'eccellenza delle quali consisteva in una nuova aria et grata all'orecchie.[57]

While Marenzio and Giovannelli retained traditional imitative counterpoint in their madrigal compositions of the 1580s and 1590s, they also introduced innovative elements of homophony and homorhythm and a greater accord between words and music.[58] Giustiniani likely singled out these two celebrated composers because of the way they combined the technical mastery of traditional madrigals with the delightful "aria" of monody. Tim Carter clarifies Giustiniani's use of the term "aria" as denoting not only grace but also the elusive, indefinable, yet moving musical quality of monody.[59] For Giustiniani, it was partly the arousal of *new* delights and a *new* intensification of emotions that made solo singing so appealing. However, a subsequent comment implies a longing to maintain the earlier sixteenth-century polyphonic style of singing madrigals: "Nel presente corso dell'età nostra, la musica non è molto in uso, in Roma non essendo esercitata da gentil uomini, ne si suole cantare a piu voce a libro, come per gl'anni a dietro non ostante che sia grandissimi occasioni d'unire e di trasmettere le conversazioni."[60] Giustiniani's nostalgia for gentlemanly engagement in singing madrigals seems to stem from more than the aural appeal of the music. He implies that the practice of madrigals was part of the development of homosocial relationships among Roman gentlemen who participated in *conversazioni*, or informal social gatherings in private houses to

[57] Giustiniani, 116. "In a short space of time, musical tastes changed, and the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Ruggiero Giovanelli appeared, with invention of new delight, whether those [compositions] to be sung by several voices or by one voice alone accompanied by some instrument. The excellence of their music consisted in a new air pleasing to the ear."

[58] Marco Bizzarini, *Luca Marenzio: The Career of a Musicians Between the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 139-64.

[59] Tim Carter, " 'An Air New and Grateful to the Ear," 129-30. See also Glossary for aria.

[60] "In the present course of our age music is not much in use, not being practiced in Rome by gentlemen, nor do they sing together with several voices as in past years, notwithstanding that it would provide the greatest possible opportunity to unify and sustain the *conversazioni*." Giustiniani, 129. Translated modified from MacClintock, 76.

discuss the arts.[61] Giustiniani uses "conversazioni" here to denote not only the gathering itself, but also the mode of exchanging or imparting knowledge between the learned participants. In doing so, he echoes Stefano Guazzo's usage of the term in *La civil conversazione* (1574). Guazzo discusses "conversazione" in the context of both a "compagnia di molti virtuosi" or "company of many virtuosi," and as the vivifying exchange of thoughts and feelings, through words and gestures, between gentlemen.[62] The *conversazioni* alluded to by Giustiniani, therefore, have both a social and intellectual dimension; their "grandissimi occasioni" is actually to explore spheres of literature, music, conversation, and civility that have drawn the gentlemen together. While Giustiniani champions monody, he also recognizes that its widespread practice was responsible for eclipsing the practice of madrigals and threatening the valued social and intellectual exclusivity associated with this gentlemanly musical form.

Monody and Madrigal in Giustiniani's *The Lute Player*

In light of these seventeenth-century debates about monody and madrigals, let us now return to the Hermitage version of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2). When confronted with pictorial representations of single musicians and intimate concert groups, one might expect consonance between what is represented on the canvas and what was happening in music theory and practice. However, we should not assume that points of contact between music activities and painted representations of them are necessarily causal. In this section, I argue that Caravaggio conflates references to monody and madrigals in *The Lute Player*: He juxtaposes his musicians with carefully depicted and prominently placed renderings of well-known madrigals by Jacques Arcadelt (b. Namur 1507?;d. 1568), in Giustiniani's version, and Francesco Layolle (b. Florence 1492; d. Lyons c. 1540) in del Monte's version (Fig. 6), referring directly to the musical and textual

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[61] Freitas points out that while *conversazioni* provided amusement and relaxation, they were also an important venue for displaying refinement and intellectual prowess in order to advance one's social standing and/or political careeer. Roger Freitas, "Singing and Playing: The Italian Cantata and Rage for Wit," *Music and Letters* 82 (November 2001): 511-14.

[62] Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversatione.* (Venice, 1579), II:148. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Guazzo affirms that in conversation "è necessario l'uso di due cose principali, che sono la lingua, & i costumi. " ("the use of two principal things are necessary, which are the tongue and behaviour."). Guazzo, 73.

complexities of the madrigal. At the same time, however, he depicts his musician alone, singing to his own lute accompaniment, with the emotional engagement associated with monody. Indeed, Camiz argues convincingly that the youth is a *cantore,* or singer, not merely a *suonatore,* or instrumentalist, because his lips are parted and the position of the tongue conforms to the rules for singers outlined in Giovanni Camillo Maffei's *Discorso della Voce* (1562).[63] Caravaggio does not present divergent vocal music styles of monody and madrigal in a competitive relationship, as articulated by Quagliati and Della Valle. He seems, instead, to recognize, like Doni, the valued qualities in each mode and advocates a compatible coexistence.

Although the musicians in both versions of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* disregard the music books, suggesting that they are playing from memory, the viewer's eye is drawn to the notations and texts of detailed rendering of specific musical scores. On one hand, the inclusion of partbooks indicates the demand for written compositions that occurred with developments in monody.[64] On the other hand, the book carefully replicates specific, recognizable madrigals. The partbook in the New York *The Lute Player* (Fig. 6) contains both Francesco Layolle's madrigal setting of Petrarch's intense love poem "Lassare in velo," and "Perche non date voi," by the Flemish composer Jacques Berchem.[65] Colin Slim first identified

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[63] "La sesta [regola] è, che distenda la lingua di modo, che la punta arrive, e tochi le radici de' denti di sotto. La settima è che tenga la bocca aperta, e giusta non più di quello che si tiene quando si ragiona con gli amici." Camiz, "La Musica," 207-9. "The sixth is that you extend the tongue in such a way that the tip reaches and touches the bottom of the teeth below. The seventh is that your mouth is open, but not more than when you reason with friends." Camiz proposes that the figure in *Lute Player* is Pedro Montoya, a Spanish castrato singer in the Sistine Chapel choir employed in Cardinal del Monte's household at the same time as Caravaggio and, therefore, representative of highly skilled singers.[63] In doing so, Camiz implies that the painting is a portrait of a specific person. I do not doubt that Caravaggio's musician is representative of young professional male performers in Del Monte's household; however, the physiognomic similarities with figures in earlier non-music paintings like *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (c. 1593, Galleria Borghese, Rome) and *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (c. 1594, National Gallery of Art, London) make an identification of the youth as Montoya questionable. Ibid., 209.

[64] Part of the newness of monody was that it was performed from compositions that were written down rather than improvised. Barbara Russano Hanning, "Images of Monody in the Age of Marino," in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts and Music of the Italian Baroque,* ed. Francesco Guardiani (New York: Legas, 1994), 466.

[65] Camiz, "Music and Painting," 218.

the musical notation in the Hermitage *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) as four madrigals by the famed Flemish madrigal composer Jacques Arcadelt: "Chi potrà dir," "Se la dura durezza," Voi sapete," and "Vostra fui."[66] He admits he cannot identify Caravaggio's motive for including Arcadelt's texts and submits that they are "not particularly relevant to the subject matter" and likely were studio props randomly chosen from Cardinal del Monte's library to represent the type of music owned and enjoyed by the patron and his circle.[67] This opinion does not adequately explain why Caravaggio painted the musical score with such detailed care so that both patron and educated viewer could recognize them as specifically Arcadelt's madrigals.

A problem with accepting either Slim's conclusion that Caravaggio replicated Arcadelt's musical scores because they were readily available or Camiz's assessment that they were merely representative of Cardinal del Monte's musical tastes is, as Karin Wolfe first recognized, that the Hermitage version of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* was created for the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, not Cardinal del Monte.[68] Although Camiz is aware of the existence and correct patrons of Caravaggio's two versions of *The Lute Player*, she analyzes Giustiniani's version in light of musical entertainments held in Cardinal del Monte's household, and only in passing refers to Giustiniani's claim that he studied Arcadelt's music in his younger years.[69] That Caravaggio painted the music scores with such precision calls attention to the importance of Arcadelt's texts and their relevance personally to his patron Giustiniani.

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[66] H. Colin Slim, "Musical Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and His Followers," in *Music in Context: Essays for John M. Ward,* ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 243-44.

[67] Slim, "Musical Inscriptions," 247.

[68] The *Lute Player* created for Cardinal del Monte is located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The confusion surrounding two autograph versions of the painting and the correct patrons of each was not resolved until after the publication of Slim's article. For an analysis of the provenance of the two versions of Caravaggio's painting, see Wolfe, 450-52 and Denis Mahon, "The Singing 'Lute Player' by Caravaggio from the Barberini Collection, Painted for Cardinal del Monte," *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (January 1990): 4-23. On stylistic and technical comparisons between the two paintings see Keith Christiansen, "Some Observations on the Relationship between Caravaggio's Two Treatments of the *Lute Player, Burlington Magazine* 132 (January 1990): 18-26.

[69] Camiz, "Music and Painting," 218.

Camiz points out that although the style of Arcadelt's and Layolle's madrigals was old-fashioned for early seventeenth-century listeners in the wake of developments in monody, these songs were still appreciated and performed by amateur musicians such as Cardinal del Monte, Giustiniani, and their circles.[70] She then proposes that such passionate madrigals that sing of burning with love and desire for a beautiful lady were chosen deliberately to accentuate the sensuality of the lutenist in keeping with the spirit of musical entertainments sponsored by del Monte.[71] I agree with Camiz, but add that Caravaggio also may have painted these scores to suggest that such intensely amorous madrigals had the capacity to mobilize the *affetti* in ways similar to monody, alluded to by the solo lute player. At a time when del Monte, Giustiniani and others of their generation were endorsing solo singing and its capacity to move the listener, these same patrons still seemed reluctant to abandon the now outmoded unaccompanied madrigals enjoyed since their youth. After all, the madrigal was an elegant musical style cultivated by the upper classes, and as monody began to eclipse the madrigal at the turn of the century, it threatened the decline of a musical style synonymous with aristocratic social standing.[72] By clearly delineating Arcadelt's amorous madrigals in conjunction with the presentation of a musician accompanying himself in solo singing, perhaps Caravaggio, on behalf of his patron, proclaims the madrigal's potential to adapt to and satisfy changing attitudes to vocal music that increasingly privileged monody.

Caravaggio's detailed attention to the madrigal partbooks contrasts with earlier sixteenth-century representations in which music books lack Caravaggio's specificity and indicate only generalized associations with music. For example, Bartolomeo Veneto (b. Venice? 1470; d. Turin 1531) painted in the 1520s an image

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid. See Appendix 2 for texts and transcriptions of the madrigals in both versions of *Lute Player.*

[72] Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century: Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 111-13; Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century,* trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 2, 32-3.

of a female lutenist positioned behind a table on which rests an open music book. Although the original work has yet to be identified, it is known through the existence of an astonishing 24 replicas.[73] Each composition varies slightly, such as the inclusion of a halo above the woman (16th century, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan) (Fig. 7), the company of music-making cherubs (nd, Städtische Museen. Wessenberg-Gemäldegalerie, Konstanz) (Fig. 8), the inclusion of a cartellino (16th century, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) (Fig. 9) and differences in, or lack of, musical notation (nd, Prague, Private collection) (Fig. 10). Although musical notations appear in each image except the Prague version, they do not represent identifiable compositions, and the errors range from unclear or unrealistic voice designations, to conflated transcriptions, to "simply musical gibberish."[74] Moreover, the book in the Getty version is positioned next to and tilted away from the musician at such an angle that reading the musical notation would prove difficult for the lutenist. Veneto includes the partbook, therefore, for emblematic reasons to suggest that the woman is a competent musician capable of playing the lute and reading music rather than to evoke a specific emotional response or to imply specific musical sounds. TItian depicts in his *Venus with a Lute-Player* (c. 1560, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) (Fig. 11) an open partbook with unidentifiable musical notation, possibly of a madrigal, on the rare F5 clef, the clef used primarily in compositions for the bass viol.[75] The lower body of a bass viol appears in the lower right corner but there is no indication that it has been or will be played by either Venus or the lute player.[76] Since the music is not suited for the lute

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[73] Slim places the variants into one of seven categories according to the types and completeness of musical inscriptions included. He claims that the best versions and the ones most convincingly created in the sixteenth century are housed in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu; Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan; and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. H. Colin Slim, "Images of Bartolomeo Veneto's *Lute-Playing Woman,*" in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood,* ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummungs (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 406-419.

[74] Ibid., 407.

[75] Anthony Rowland-Jones, "The Minuet: Painter-Musicians in Triple Time," *Early Music* 26 (August 1998): 419.

[76] W. G. Studdert-Kennedy points out that it would have been it would have been inappropriate, indeed indecent, for a naked Venus to have played the bsas viol because it was handled by being rested on the floor and supported between the legs of the musician. W.G. Studdert-Kennedy, "Titian: The Fitzwilliam Venus," *The Burlington Magazine* 100 (October 1958): 351.

player, nor is the book situated where the lute player can read it, we can assume that it is included for a more symbolic purpose. Unlike Veneto who included the partbook to suggest the sitter's musical ability, Titian may have depicted the musical score as a reference to his own musical knowledge and skill in playing the bass viol.[77] Caravaggio deliberately counters Veneto and Titian with his clearly identifiable music scores that logically could be played by his lute player, because of both the depiction of the bass line of the madrigal suitable for basso continuo and the partbook's position directly in front of the musician. His music is not incidental to the subject matter; its central position spatially in the painting is suggestive of its centrality in possible readings of the painting that circulate around the madrigal/monody debate.

Musical scores in seventeenth-century paintings, however, take on more specific relevance to the musical performance depicted. Musical texts, which were often generalized indicators of the sitter's or artist's musical skill in early to mid-sixteenth-century images such as Veneto's and Titian's, are used in early seventeenth-century paintings to complement or emphasize the emotions of the musical performance depicted. In Ludovico Lana's *Geronimo Valeriani, liutista di Cesare D'Este e altri musici* (c. 1624, Private collection, Modena) (Fig. 12), the theorbist Valeriani and an identified flutist play from a music book placed on the table in front of them. The tablature is not only characteristic of seventeenth-century lute compositions but it is, appropriately, an identifiable lute corrente composed by the subject of the painting Geronimo Valeriani.[78] The viewer's familiarity with Valeriani's compositions or similar dance music would have led to the evocation of the implied rhythms of the music played by the theorbist and flutist. In both Lana's and Caravaggio's paintings, the text and musical notation are precisely rendered to be appreciated initially by the eye but then translated into specific implied sounds "heard" by the ear. Such an aural response challenges the limitations of painting as a mute art. It demonstrates that paintings can do more than represent the outward

[77] According to Marco Boschini's account *Le ricche minere della pittura Veneziana* (1674), and confirmed by contemporary portraits, the elderly man playing the bass viol in Veronese's *The Marriage at Cana* is a portrait of Titian. Rowland-Jones, "The Minuet," 417, 419.

[78] Slim, "Musical Inscriptions," 258. See Glossary for corrente.

appearance of musical activities or evoke 'music' in generic form alone, they can conjure up in the mind and ear of the viewer precise musical sounds and effects as well.

For our investigation into possible correspondences between developments in vocal compositions and single-figure musician paintings, it is imperative that we do not dismiss too quickly the interrelationship between Giustiniani, Arcadelt, and Caravaggio's painting. An important source in helping to interpret the specific musical implications of *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) is Vincenzo Giustiniani's "Discorso sopra la musica." Giustiniani structures the first seven sections of his discourse as a chronological survey of changes in styles and genres of vocal music. Significantly, one of the earliest madrigal composers he singles out for praise is Arcadelt: "Che nella mia fanciullezza mio padre b. m. mi mandò alla scuola di musica, et osservai ch'erano in uso le composizioni dell'Archadelt, di Orlando Lassus, dello Strigio, Cipriano de Rores e di Filippo di Monte, stimate per le migliori di quei tempi, come in effetto erano."[79] The music school Giustiniani and his friend Cardinal Montalto attended was likely the one across the street from Giustiniani's palace at the church of San Luigi dei Francesi where leading *maestro di cappella* Ruggiero Giovannelli (1583-91) and later Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (1591-1608) trained musicians in solo singing.[80] Giustiniani's reference to Arcadelt here is important for two reasons. First, it establishes that Arcadelt's madrigals were acknowledged as the best of the style of early madrigals, which were characterized by the union of Petrarchan poetry and French songs.[81] Second, it acquaints us with Giustiniani's nostalgia for past musical styles of the second half of the sixteenth century, a theme that reappears throughout the treatise. Giustiniani was an impressionable youth when he was introduced to Arcadelt's highly esteemed madrigals, which remained popular as a vocal music "primer" even after Arcadelt's

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[79] Giustiniani, 115. "That in my youth my father (of blessed memory) sent me to music school, and I observed that the compositions in use were by Arcadelt, Orlando Lassus, Striggio, Cipriano de Rore, and Filippo di Monte, considered to be the best of that time, as indeed they were."

[80] Hill, *Roman Monody*, 298

[81] Massimo di Sandro, *Il madrigale. Introduzione all'analisi* (Naples: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2005), 107.

death in 1568.[82] Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* was created in the mid-1590s, a decade or less after reprinted editions of Arcadelt's influential *Il primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci*.[83] Significantly, this collection of madrigals included the scores by Arcadelt, Loyolle, and Berchem reproduced in Caravaggio's paintings.[84] Giustiniani's praise for Arcadelt's madrigals in his 1628 treatise was perhaps a result of his nostalgia for that earlier period in his life and was largely shaped by early first-hand personal experience. It also may have been a result of the long-lasting popularity of Arcadelt's compositions, of which 58 editions were published between 1538 and 1654.[85]

As I examined the history of Arcadelt's first book of madrigals, it became clear that the four madrigals represented in *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) were deliberately chosen by Caravaggio to evoke early unaccompanied madrigal compositions. Of the many madrigals included in Arcadelt's first book printed in 1539, the four reproduced by Caravaggio are characteristic of strictly vocal rather than accompanied madrigals as they were never published with intabulations.[86] In fact, except for "Chi potrà dir," the other three madrigals were not published again in any editions after 1557.[87] However, some early madrigals that were originally

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[82] For example, notations and instructions in Pietro Giacomo Petrucci's 1603 publication of Arcadelt's first book indicate that the print was intended specifically for beginning students. Thomas Whitney Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals" vols. 1-2 (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1982), 239-40.

[83] Editions were printed by leading music publishers such as Gardane in Venice between 1565 and 1581, Scotto in Venice between 1541 and 1570, Marescotti in Florence in 1585, Vincenzi & Amadino in Venice between 1585 and 1617, and Masotti and Bianchi in Rome between 1620 and 1640. In total, 57 different editions of Arcadelt's *Libro primo di madrigali* were printed between 1538 and 1654. Ibid., 353-55.

[84] For a list of all songs contained in early editions of Arcadelt's *Il primo libro,* see Bridges, 359-64.

[85] For comprehensive analysis of the history of and comparisons between each published edition of Arcadelt's madrigals, see Bridges.

[86] Instrumental variations of Arcadelt's "Ancidetemi pur grieve martiri" do appear, however, in three subsequent publications: Francesco Vindella, *Intavolature di liuto* (Venice Gardane, 1546); Ascanio Mayone, *Primo libro di diversi capricci per sonare* (Naples: C. Vitale, 1603); and Giovanni Maria Trabaci, *Il secondo libro de ricercate & altri varij capricci* (Naples, Carlino, 1615). Bridges, 605-7.

[87] Ibid., 360.

composed as unaccompanied songs were adapted later for accompanied performance. Publishers by the turn of the seventeenth century responded to popular demand and reprinted madrigal editions with the addition of basso continuo, as noted in Giovanni Valentini's "*Quinto libro de madrigali*" (Venice, 1625): "Although it is the intention of the author that this third part of the madrigals for six voices should be sung without the accompaniment of any instrument, I have nevertheless taken this authority to satisfy many by printing the basso continuo *ad libitum*."[88] Even composers themselves felt pressure to accommodate public preference, in spite of their own strong opinions to the contrary. For example, Cesare Zoilo begrudgingly added basso continuo to the songs in his "*Madrigali a cinque il primo*" (Venice, 1620): "The author composed these madrigals with the intention that they should be sung by five voices alone, and without any accompaniment of any kind of instrument, and thus he wishes and begs that they be sung. Notwithstanding all this, he wanted to add the basso continuo in order to conform to the custom of the time."[89] While it was common to compose new or amend old madrigals with instrumental accompaniment, it is significant that Arcadelt's madrigals lack basso continuo both in manuscript publications and in Caravaggio's *The Lute Player*. They retain their presence as the epitome of the outmoded polyphonic madrigal. However, Caravaggio depicts these songs being played by a lute player as if to demonstrate that even without formal tablature, the madrigal's bass part conceivably could be used by a skilled musician for instrumental accompaniment. By juxtaposing Arcadelt's early, unaccompanied madrigals with a solo musician accompanying himself on a lute, Caravaggio acknowledges the musical value of both monody and madrigal independently. He also seems to advocate accompanied madrigals and shows how painting can encompass different styles of vocal music.

Caravaggio's *The Lute Player,* therefore, demonstrates a conciliatory attitude to madrigal and monody similar to the one that permeates Giustiniani's "Discorso." Monody and madrigal are seen not as rivals competing for musical supremacy but rather as mutual contributors to the rich musical traditions of the

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[88] Quoted by Gloria Rose, "Polyphonic Madrigals of the Seventeenth Century," *Music and Letters* 47 (April 1966): 157.

[89] Ibid., 158.

early seventeenth century. The focal point is clearly the young musician singing and accompanying himself on a lute in the current fashionable mode of solo singing. The madrigal texts are placed prominently in the foreground to allude to their historic importance as precursors to monody and to imply that their polyphonic style can coexist with the new style of music advocated by Caccini and his followers. Consequently, painting is able to do what music cannot. Whereas a particular vocal performance is either one of multiple voices, such as a madrigal, or one with a solo voice, such as monody, *The Lute Player* allows viewers to consider both styles simultaneously. This idea of the coexistence of different vocal styles is strengthened pictorially through both the positioning of the violin in the center foreground and the juxtaposition of a cluster of fruit with a carafe of flowers on the table at the left.

By the latter decades of the sixteenth century, violins were added to replace or double the soprano voice in both monody compositions and madrigals, as confirmed by music theorist Vincenzo Galilei (b. Santa Maria in Monte c. 1520; d. Florence 1591) in his *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence 1581): "imperoche da esse sono totalmente sbanditi la qual cosa non avviene alla Viola d'arco, per la convenienza & proporzione che ha il suono suo con l'humana voce & natura."[90] Caravaggio emphasizes the close musical relationship between the violin and the human voice by resting the violin across the corner of the partbook where it literally and figuratively holds down the vocal part. As a bowed instrument with the capacity for playing vibrato, dynamics, and ornaments, the violin differed from the plucked lute, which was best-suited for providing a steady basso continuo.[91] Although lutes reached their apogee as a favored instrument for solo accompaniment at the end of the sixteenth century, they were often recommended by composers as an alternative to harpsichords or theorboes in

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[90] "This [banishment of loud cornets or trombones from private settings] does not happen to the viola d'arco due to the agreement and proportion that its sound has with the human voice and nature." Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* (Florence 1581) facsimile edition (New York: Broude Brothers, 1967), 142. On the use of violins in monody and madrigal performances, see George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 245. David Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1990), 65.

[91] On the violin idiom in the seventeenth century, see Boyden, 145-47.

seventeenth-century compositions.[92] Caravaggio suggests visually that the violin resting on the table could join with or replace the lute by positioning the violin and its bow at an angle that corresponds with how it would appear if placed under the lutenist's tilted chin. The musician's hands also help the viewer to visualize the violin being played instead of the lute: the fingers of the right hand point downward as though reaching to hold the frog of the bow, and the fingers of the left hand curve around the lute's fingerboard in a manner similar to how they would be positioned on the violin's fingerboard.

The fruit and flowers complement the idea of contrast and compatibility established by the lute and violin in two different ways. First, flowers and fruit are best perceived by two different senses: the sense of smell for the former and the senses of taste and smell for the latter. However, they work together with the open music book that appeals to the sense of sight, the musician's fingers on the lute that evoke the sense of touch, and the implied sounds of the lute that appeal to the sense of hearing in a painting that represents all five senses.[93] Second, the carafe of water holds irises, roses, carnations, daisies, lilacs, chrysanthemum, common broom, and wild thyme which are all spring/summer blooms, while the still life on the table consists of a pears, figs, and plums, which are all autumn fruits.[94] These agricultural products never could appear together in nature because they grow in different seasons, but they are joined here in a complementary still life grouping in which the circular shapes and brilliant reds and yellows of the flowers, and the greens of the leaves are echoed in the rounded shapes and colours of the fruits below. Caravaggio uses the flowers and fruit to draw attention back to the musical instruments. The position of the full, rounded bouquet of flowers raised above the fruit strewn on the table below echoes the relative shapes and positioning of the lute and the violin. The flowers are also visually connected to the lute player by the two broad leaves

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[92] Nigel Fortune, "Continuo Instruments in Italian Monodies," *The Galpin Society Journal* 6 (July 1953), 11.

[93] Barbara Russano Hanning, "Some Images of Monody in the Early Baroque, in *Con che Soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song and Dance, 1580-1740,* ed. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 6.

[94] Alessandra Marini, "The Giustiniani *Lute Player:* A Redolent Reading," in *Caravaggio e il Seicento,* exh. cat. Museo d'Arte Cicladica, Atene, 27 aprile – 30 giugno 2006 (Milan: Skira, 2006), 42-3.

that extend out from the carafe toward the lute player and echo his down-turned right hand. Caravaggio connects the fruit visually to the violin with the stem of the pear closest to the viewer that overlaps the music book and parallels the diagonally placed violin bow. In this way, the fruit and flowers transcend their customary role as *vanitas* elements.[95] While they may allude to the fleeting quality of sensory pleasures and amorous feelings stirred by the lute player's passionate music, they also reinforce the idea of incompatibilities and complements, whether they be the senses, seasons, types of musical instruments, or vocal music styles.

Musical instruments for both monody and madrigal

My argument that Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* explores in a single image the values of different musical styles is strengthened by an analysis of *Concert,* (Copy after Antiveduto Grammatica, location unknown) (Fig. 3) by Antiveduto Grammatica (b. Siena 1571; d. Rome 1626). Although *Concert* does not deal directly with the monody/madrigal debate, it does combine in one image the representation of an instrumental ensemble performance and references to the practice of solo singing. This painting was cut down and, unfortunately, the composition is known only through a photograph of a copy.[96] Grammatica's painting is chosen for three principal reasons: First, Grammatica's patron Cardinal del Monte was a close friend of Vincenzo Giustiniani and shared his keen interest in innovative music compositions and performances.[97] Second, Grammatica's original painting was hung, along with the second version of *The Lute Player* (Fig. 6) in Cardinal del Monte's Palazzo Madama in the "terza stanza à mano dritta," which contained exclusively female portraits and paintings of musical subjects.[98] Third,

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[95] On allegorical meanings of Italian fruit and floral still-life paintings, see Norbert Schneider, *Still Life* (Köln: Taschen, 2003), 120-49.

[96] The copy of Grammatica's painting was attributed to Cantarini and sold at the Michelsen sale, Bangel, Frankfurt in 1922 as catalog number 1030. The surviving photograph was published in Hermann Voss, "Caravaggio's Frühzeit," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 44 (1923): 79; and subsequently in Richard Spear, *Caravaggio and His Followers* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1971), 106. The photograph reproduced here was taken from Christiansen, *A Lute Player Rediscovered,* 27.

[97] On the prominence and influence of musical activities in Cardinal del Monte's palace, see Camiz, "Music and Painting," 213-26.

[98] The musician scenes are listed in the February 1627 inventory of Cardinal del Monte's possessions as "Un Quadro con un'huomo, che suona il leuto di Michel Angelo da

Grammatica and Carravaggio were probably acquainted with each other from when Caravaggio worked in Grammatica's workshop.[99] The relevance of Grammatica's *Concert* to a study of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player,* therefore, is secured by these correspondences between the patrons' music tastes, the display of the paintings, and the artists' careers.

At the right in *Concert,* behind a draped table on top of which are placed an open music book, a tambourine, and a guitar sits a theorbo player. He is the most prominent of three musicians in an ensemble that also includes a woman at the left playing a harpsichord and a young man standing behind the harpsichord playing a transverse flute.[100] *Theorbo Player* (c. 1615, Galleria Sabauda, Turni) (Fig. 13) is

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Caravggio con cornice negra di palmi sei" (Caravaggio's *Lute Player*), "Un Quadro di Musica con Cornice di noce, alto palmi quattro, e mezzo," "Un' Quadro con una Musica di Girardo Fiammengo con Cornice negra alto palmi sei longo palmi otto" (concert scene by Gerrit van Honthorst), "Un' Monte Parnaso dell'Antiveduto con Cornice negra Indorata, e rabescata di Palmi otto," and "Un' Quadro con una Musica di mano dell'Antiveduto con Cornice negra longo Palmi sei alto palmi cinque (concert scene by Grammatica). *Continuatur fuit Inventarium omnium, et cingulorum bonorum mobilium, et immobilium, et se moventium repertorum in hereditate bone memorie Illustrissimi Domini Uguccioni a Monte ad Instantiam Illustrissimi et Reverendissimi Alexandri A monte Episcopi Eugubinensis ilius ex Testamento herdis alias extantibus* . . .. Rome, Archivio di Stato, 30 Notai Capitolini, Paulus Vespignanus, ufficio 28, vol. 138, fol. 583r. Helen Langdon proposes that this room was the music room alluded to in a letter from Cardinal del Monte to Ferdinand II, the Grand Duke of Tuscany dated November 22, 1589: "Hoggi Montalto è stato un pezzo qui in Casa dove ho fatto in una stanza mettere Cimbali, Chitarre,il Chitarone et altri istromenti, et ha preso tanto gusto, che dice volermi favorir spesso et venire a cena meco." Zygmunt Wazbinski, *Il Cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte 1549-1626,* vol. 1 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1994), 137-38. (Today Montalto was here for a time in this house, where I have set aside a room for harpsichords, Guitars, a Chitarrone and other instruments, and he has taken such a liking to it, that he says that he will be good enough to favour me with frequent visits, and come and dine with me.) Translated in Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: A Life* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 107. L

[99] Although mention of a direct connection between Grammatica and Caravaggio does not appear in Gian Pietro Bellori's life of Caravaggio, Bellori did make a marginal note to this effect in a copy of Giovanni Baglione's *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII fino a tutto quello d'Urbano VIII* (Rome 1649) in the Accademia dei Lincei: "poi lavorò in casa di Antiveduto Gramatica mezze figure manco strapazzate." Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1985), 356.

[100] While referred to generally as a theorbo, this instrument has been identified by Robert Spencer and Richard T. Pinnell as a theorboed guitar, also known as *chitarrone francese* or *chitarra tiorbata.* Robert Spencer, "The Chitarrone Francese," *Early Music* 4 (April 1976): 164-66; Richard T. Pinnell, "The Theorboed Guitar: Its Repertoire in the Guitar Books of Granata and Gallot," *Early Music* 7 (July 1979): 323-29.

presumed to be the remaining right-half fragment of the original *Concert.*[101] Since this particular section was cut at some point for independent representation and inspired the creation of at least three copies, we must take a closer look at the instruments before returning to the question of how this image works both independently and in its original role as part of a larger composition.[102]

Grammatica's instruments in *Theorbo Player*–theorbo, guitar, and tambourine–are remarkable because they allude to the practice of monody individually and collectively. The theorbo was preferred over other stringed instruments to provide basso continuo because, as Caccini explains, it is "la più facile da usarsi e da farsi pratica in essa, essendo quello strumento più atto ad accompagnare la voce, e particolarmente quella del Tenore, che qualunque altro."[103] It is designated as the preferred accompanying instrument in over 60 songbooks printed between 1600 and 1641.[104] The theorbo's dominant function musically is communicated pictorially by the full frontal positioning of the instrument in the center of the canvas, in its role of providing accompaniment for a male (tenor) voice. This allows the viewer not only to see clearly the instrument's body, bridge, rosette, neck, and strings but also to examine the musician's fingering and playing technique.[105] Along with the theorbo, the guitar was suitable for accompanying solo singing, and Grammatica emphasizes its important role through the guitar's foreshortened positioning that projects the neck off the table into the viewer's

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[101] The dimensions of the canvas and the presence of overpaint at the left where the woman would have been support this claim. Vodret and Strinati, "Painted Music," 102.

[102] The three copies of *Theorbo Player*, two by Grammatica and one by an unknown artist, are documented in Helmut Philipp Riedl, *Antiveduto della Grammatica 1570/71-1626; Leben und Werk* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1998), 82-3.

[103] Caccini, 70. The theorbo was a preferred basso continuo instrument because, as Caccini claims, it is "the easiest to use and put into effect, being the instrument better fitted to accompany the voice, especially the tenor voice, than any other instrument."

[104] Ernst Pohlmann, *Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone* 2nd ed. (Bremen, 1972), 87-8.

[105] Although the theorbo and the chitarrone are different instruments, their names were used interchangeably after 1600. On the distinctions between the theorbo, chitarrone, and archlute, see Robert Spencer, "Chitarrone, Theorbo and Archlute," *Early Music* 4 (1976): 407-23.

space.[106] Additionally, the tenebristic lighting illuminates the body of the guitar whose curves are echoed subtly in the curls and folds of the music book pages (Fig. 14). While the guitar's strings could be plucked, like a lute, to improvise over a bass line, the guitar was most often more easily strummed to accompany singers and allow the words to be understood, and to project a fuller sound farther than plucked music.[107] Consequently, solo singing with a guitar was a particularly attractive option for professional musicians. For example, Giulio Caccini accompanied himself on a guitar in singing songs that he composed, and the famed Vittoria Archilei and Francesca Caccini played guitars to accompany their singing at the 1608 wedding of Cosimo de' Medici and the Habsburg Archduchess Maria Magdalena.[108] By selecting the theorbo and the guitar for his *Concert/Theorbo Player,* Grammatica attests not only to the increasing popularity of accompanied singing, but also to the fact that one single mode of monody performance did not exist. The instruments encompass a wide range of performance techniques from the theorbo's function of realizing a continuo line or improvising a melody to the guitar's unique capacity of providing chordal accompaniment.

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[106] To play the guitar, musicians relied on the *alfabeto* system, in which set chord shapes for the left hand were established and assigned a letter of the alphabet. These letters appeared below the music lines of printed manuscripts to indicate which corresponding chord should be strummed and when. Guitar accompaniment was recommended for many monodic compositions in the early seventeenth century. Nina Treadwell surveyed over 300 publications of villanelle, canzonette, and arie and discovered that *alfabeto* is included in about 100 of these volumes. Standardization of the *alfabeto* system for the five-course guitar was effected by the publication of Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura* (Florence, 1606) that included a chart illustrating the correct finger placement on each string and fret for each chord. Nina Kathleen Treadwell, "The *Chitarra Spagnola* and Italian Monody 1589 to circa 1650" (Master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1995), 10, 34, 54.

[107] Guitars were rarely used on their own in theatrical settings because they were not capable of producing the necessary volume, and their music was often reinforced by other lutes or guitars backstage. In intimate chamber settings, however, a relatively small room's acoustical properties accommodated a single continuo instrument like a guitar or lute. Treadwell, 18, 78. For a brief summary of how the guitar accommodated early monody, see James Tyler, "The Role of the Guitar in the Rise of Monody: The Earliest Manuscripts," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 9 no. 1 (2003), 1.5. http://sscm-jscm.press.uiuc.edu/jscm/.

[108] Treadwell, 18; Tim Carter, "A Florentine Wedding of 1608," *Acta musicologica* 55 (1983): 105-7.

While the relevance of the theorbo and guitar for solo singing is clear, what then is their relationship to the tambourine? Grammatica's decision to include a tambourine and guitar on the table in conjunction with the theorbo being played is, perhaps, the most remarkable aspect of these paintings because it does not easily conform to usual instrument ensembles. Presentation of these three instruments together points to practices of the forward-looking composer Emilio de' Cavalieri. As director of musical events at the Medici court in Florence, Cavalieri ordered three guitars from Naples to perform the *intermedi* at the wedding celebrations for Grand Duke Ferdinand de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine in 1589, reportedly the first time this instrument was used in northern Italy.[109] Vittoria Archilei, Lucia Caccini, and Margherita della Scala accompanied themselves on a Spanish guitar, a Neapolitan guitar, and a tambourine, respectively for the final *ballo* "O che nuovo miracolo"[110] Later, the combination of theorbo, guitar, and tambourine was recommended specifically by Emilio de' Cavalieri for the recitational music of one part in his famous *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (1600), considered by many as his *opus magnum* of monodic style music.[111] The preface includes instructions as to the use of such instruments by Piacere and his companions to perform light dance-songs known as "conzonetta" and "villanelle"[112]: "Il *Piacere* con li due compagni sarà bene che abbiano stromenti in mano suonando mentre loro cantano,et suonino i loro ritornelli. Uno puotrà avere un Theorbo, l'altro una Chitarrina alla spagnuola, e l'altro un Cimbaletto con sonagline alla spagnuola."[113]

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[109] Treadwell, 15. Cavalieri acquired his guitars from Spanish-ruled Naples because this is where guitars were originally introduced into Italy during the latter decades of the sixteenth century. See Tyler, 1.2.

[110] The performance produced such spectacular effects that the piece was subsequently reproduced in countless manuscripts as "Aria di Fiorenza" or "Ballo del Gran Duca."Warren Kirkendale, *L'Aria di Fiorenza id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1962), 48. On the popularity of the *ballo,* see Treadwell, 16.

[111] Murray C. Bradshaw, "Cavalieri and Early Monody," *The Journal of Musicology* 9 (Spring, 1991): 251.

[112] Stephen Stubbs, "*L'armonia Sonora*: Continuo Orchestration in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*," *Early Music* 22 (February 1994), 88. See Glossary for canzonetta and villanelle.

[113] Cavalieri's preface to *Rappresentazione* in Solerti, 10. "Piacere and his companions would do well to have instruments in hand, playing while they sing, and playing their *ritornelli.* One can have a chitarrone (theorbo), the other a Spanish guitar, and the other a small tambourine with bells in the Spanish style."

Grammatica's appropriation of Cavalieri's innovative ensemble grouping for his *Theorbo Player* demonstrates a familiarity with and an endorsement of contemporary experimentations with instrumental accompaniment suitable for monody.

Grammatica's instrument grouping likely was influenced by his patron Cardinal del Monte. Del Monte was appointed in 1594 by Pope Clement VIII to oversee reforms in liturgical music aimed at eliminating elaborate contrapuntal devices, and in 1622 he was appointed as official protector of the Congregazione dei Musici.[114] These two official positions placed Del Monte at the forefront of Rome's official musical activities. We also know that the cardinal attended major musical events in Florence through his ecclesiastical and political connections with the Medici.[115] For the 1589 wedding of Ferdinand de' Medici and Christine of Lorraine, Cardinal del Monte helped make arrangements for the stage designs for Cavalieri's musical programs.[116] He would have witnessed firsthand Cavalieri's *intermedio* that featured an ensemble of guitars and tambourine. He and Cardinal Montalto also attended the production of Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Giuoco della Cieca* at the Pitti Palace in October 1595, and they were also in the audience at Casa Corsi in 1599 for the premier performance of *Dafne* by Jacopo Peri.[117] Although no

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[114] Camiz, "Music and Painting," 215; Vodret and Strinati, "Painted Music," 92. Following the final session of the Council of Trent (1562-63), the Church advocated a style in which contrapuntal virtuosity was subordinated to clear declamation of the words. In the preface to his first book of masses for four to six voices, Giovanni Animuccia wrote of composing "in such a way that the music may disturb the hearing of the text as little as possible, but nevertheless . . . that it may not be entirely devoid of artifice and contribute in some degree to the listener's pleasure." Noel O'Regan "Italy, *ii:* 1560-1600," 77. The Congregazione, known since 1870 as the Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia, was created in 1585 to provide opportunities for musicians beyond the restrictions of papal choirs and performances and to provide music for a wider audience than just the privileged ecclesiastical elite. Mandates by the Council of Trent were respected and observed in musical instruction, compositions, and performances. Remo Giazotto, "Storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di S. Cecilia," *Studi Musicali* 1 (1972): 237-39.

[115] Franca Trinchieri Camiz and Agostino Ziino. "Caravaggio: aspetti musicali e committenza." *Studi Musicali* 12 (1983): 73. Del Monte was created cardinal in 1588 at the behest of Ferdinando di' Medici, and he served as the Medici agent in the Roman curia. Wazbinski, 133-34.

[116] Wazbinski, 85-6.

[117] Alessandro Guidotti, "Prefazione alla Rappresentazione di *Anima e Corpo* di Emilio de' Cavalieri [1600]," in Solerti, 3; Ottavio Rinuccini, "Prefazione a *L'Euridice* [1600]," in Solerti, 41.

documentary evidence exists to place del Monte at the first performance of Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione* in the Chiesa Nuova in 1600, Cavalieri wrote in the postscript of a letter dated 24 November 1600 to the grand-ducal secretary Marcello Accolti that "molti prelati, di quegli venuti a Fiorenza, vedero una cosetta che io feci fare questo carnevale, di rappresentatione in musica al loro oratorio."[118] Cardinal del Monte was almost certainly among the prelates to whom Cavalieri refers because of del Monte's ties to Florence and because he claimed Chiesa Nuova as "[his] Oratorio" through his position as ambassador for Ferdinando I de' Medici, who was protector of the Oratorians.[119] Cardinal del Monte also enjoyed a close personal friendship with Cavalieri. Cavalieri affirms in his diplomatic correspondence to Duke Ferdinand that "Emilio non perde occasione, dove puole servire a Monte," and he also requests that Cardinal del Monte be assigned executor of his will.[120] Grammatica's representation of the theorbo player portrays innovations in music composition and performance, particularly those advocated by Emilio de' Cavalieri. The details and positioning of individual instruments demonstrate how Grammatica, through Cardinal del Monte, explored pictorially what musicians were doing musically–experimenting with the compositional potential of various accompanying instruments for solo singing compositions. Grammatica's *Concert* and *Theorbo Player* support the argument that representations of musicians and musical instruments are informed by the patrons' familiarity with and attitudes to specific musical styles and performance practices. Grammatica's grouping of a solo theorbo player, guitar, and tambourine can only be fully appreciated after grasping Cardinal del Monte's familiarity with Emilio de' Cavalieri's spectacles. Similarly, Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2) is more fully understood through Giustiniani's particular assessment of past and present music

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[118] Letter transcribed in Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri "gentiluomo romano": His life and letters, his role as superintendent of all the arts at the Medici court, and his musical compositions* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2001), 373. "Many prelates, among those who came to Florence, saw a small production that I did this carnival of a representation in music [*Anima e Corpo*] at their oratorio."

[119] Wazbinski records that the Chiesa nuova was Cardinal del Monte's "first spiritual base." Wazbinski, 62.

[120] Camiz, "Music and Painting," 213. Cavalieri affirms in his diplomatic correspondence to Duke Ferdinand that "Emilio doesn't miss an opportunity to serve Del Monte."

trends in Rome as recorded in "Discorso sopra la musica." In both cases, the artists explore how diverse music forms coexisted in compatible relationships.

Centrality of *Affetti* in Solo Singing and Caravaggio's Lute Players

Central to seventeenth-century music theorists' arguments about the relative merits of madrigal and monody is the principle of *affetti,* which is both a defining feature of monody, as discussed above, and an important principle of painting theory. I turn here to examine how *The Lute Player* explores simultaneously the idea of *affetti* in both music and painting. Vocal musical forms and Caravaggio's paintings are interrogated here in terms of what best conjures up feeling. I argue that Caravaggio's two versions of *The Lute Player,* with their emphasis on the relationship between the viewer and the solitary performer, explore how emotions in painting are mobilized and where and by whom and to what ends. Caravaggio's patron Vincenzo Giustiniani was captivated with *affetti,* which appears as a recurring theme in his "Discorso sopra la musica." Although Giustiniani did not write his manuscript as a theoretical treatise, he recognized the theoretical importance as well as the spiritual and physical benefits of music's expressive power.[121] When Giustiniani describes the performances of female singers in Mantua and Ferrara and male singers in Rome, he praises the emotion of their accompanied solo singing: "e tutti cantavano . . . con larghezza di molto numero di voci, e con modi e passaggi esquisiti e con affetto straordinario e talento particolare di far sentir

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[121] Andrea Luppi, "La musica 'secondo la varietà delle occorrenze": Gusto e norma nell'empirismo musicale di Vincenzo Giustiniani," in *Affetti musicali, Studio in onore di Sergio Martinotti,* ed. Maurizio Padoan (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2005), 73. In the preface to his "Discorso", Giustiniani clarifies that his purpose is not to enter into a discourse on music theory: "Ma solo con l'intenzione che ho di dar gusto e sodisfazione a V.S. nella richiesta che me fece, metterò in carta familiarmente alcuni pensieri che mi occorrono a questo proposito, fondandoli sopra alcuna poca esperienza da me acquistata mentre ho tenuto conversazione in casa senza l'esercizio del gioco con altre virtuose occupazioni, e particolarmente con questa della musica, esercitata senza concorso di persone mercenarie, tra gentiluomini diversi, che se ne prendevano diletto e gusto per inclinazione naturale." ("But only with the intention that I wish to give pleasure and satisfaction to Your Lordship in your request to me, I will put down familiarly some thoughts that occur to me on this subject, based on the little experience I have acquired while conversing in houses where there was no gaming but rather virtuous occupations, particularly that of music, practiced without competition of professional musicians by diverse gentlemen who took delight and pleasure in it through natural inclination.") Giustiniani, 113-14.

bene le parole."[122] He commends his friend Cardinal Montalto, in particular, for his emotive performances: "E così si potrà ben dire, il tale non ha troppo buona voce, ma canta con grazia, come per esempio addurrò di nuovo il signor Cardinal Mont'Alto, che sonava e cantava con molta gratia ed affetto."[123] For Giustiniani, music in its various forms is more than merely pleasant to hear. As Giustiniani records personal observations and opinions about composers, singers, instrumentalists, and favored music practices of the day, he repeatedly emphasizes the importance of music's spiritual, emotive, and curative power:

> La musica sia instromento sì atto et incentivo a muover gl'animi all'amore . . . e però la lasciarò . . . a i teologi l'esplicare la cagione della commotione che fa ne gl'animi de gl'uomini la musica alla devozione e fervore nel celebrare i divini offizij. . . . Non però mi pare di tralasciare un effetto mirabile, che dalla musica e dal suono procede e si è continuamente osservato da molto tempo . . . nelle persone che sono morsicate dalla tarantola . . . li quali ricevono . . . gran refrigerio e molte volte la totale liberazione, dalla musica o dal suono. [124]

Here music is praised as an exciting medium that can arouse a range of emotions, and when performed, as it should be, with grace and intelligibility of the text, it induces in the listener powerful spiritual, emotional, and even physical changes. The word "commotione" is significant for its denotation of "intenso turbamento interiore" (intense inner turbulence) and "movimento, scuotimento violento" (violent shaking movements).[125] Giustiniani's use of "commotione" here

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[122] Giustiniani, 119. "And they all sang . . . with a range of many of voices, with exquisite style and passage-work, and with extraordinary feeling and particular talent to make the words clearly heard."

[123] Giustiniani, 123 . "And so one can say that a person does not have a good voice but sings with grace as, for example, I will mention Cardinal Montalto, who played and sang with much grace and feeling."

[124] Giustiniani, 124-126. "Music is so exciting an instrument and one so able to move souls to love . . . I will leave it to the theologians to explain the devotion and fervor that music arouses in the souls of men during the celebration of the divine offices . . . I must not omit, however, a marvelous effect that proceeds from music and sound and that has been observed for a long time . . with people who have been bitten by tarantulas . . . they receive great refreshment and many times total relief from music or sound of instruments." Translation modified from MacClintock, 74-5.

[125] Entries for "commozióne" in Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* III Cert-Dag (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1964), 376-77.

emphasizes that music induces changes in an active rather than passive way. Music causes the body and soul to move in accord with the music, to undergo wrenching stirrings of deep feelings and a visible excitation of the senses. That composers acknowledged and privileged the capacity of their music to effect specific changes in the listener's emotional state is implied by the titles of published collections of vocal music, such as *Dolci affetti madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccellenti musici di Roma* (Venice 1582, republished 1585 and 1590); and publications of instrumental compositions, exemplified by Biagio Marini's *Affetti musicali, Opus 1* (Venice 1617).[126]

Before analyzing the part played by *affetti* in the Hermitage *The Lute Player* (Fig. 2), it is useful to note that Caravaggio's painting was displayed prominently in the Palazzo Giustiniani, and undoubtedly was chosen for the skill of the artist and the art of painting as much as for any comment on Giustiniani's musical opinions. *The Lute Player* was hung conspicuously above the door of the first "Stanza grande de quadri antichi" as recorded in the February 1638 inventory of Giustiniani's painting collection: "un quadro sopraporto con una mezza figura di un giovane che suona il Leuto con diversi frutti, e fiori e libri di musica dipinto in tela alto pal. 4. larg. pal. 5-con sua cornice negra profilata et rabescata d'oro di mano di Michelang.o da Caravaggio."[127] According to the inventory, whose entries seem to follow the palace floor plan, the "stanza grande de quadri antichi" was located on the *piano nobile* of Palazzo Giustiniani next to a series of small apartments and adjacent to a second "stanza de quadri antichi."[128] Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact location of the "stanza grande di quadri antichi," we can determine an approximate location based on room descriptions in the 1638 inventory and the account of Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin's visit in 1673.[129]

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[126] Nino Pirrotta, "Dolci Affetti: I Musici di Roma e il Madrigale," *Studi musicale* 14 (1985): 61. Franco Piperno identifies 25 collections of vocal and instrumental musical scores with "Affetti" specified in the title that were published between 1582 and 1626. Piperno, xxviii.

[127] *Inventario de Quadri e Statue, 20 A. Parte IV, no. 8,* Rome, Archivio di Stato, Casa Giustiniani, Busta 16.

[128] Ibid., fols. 793r-799r.

[129] The difficulty of determining the location of specific rooms is compounded by the fact that the Palazzo Giustiniani underwent significant renovations and remodeling

The inventory begins with the "sala grande," which may be the first room entered from the stairway at the left on the plan, and ends with the "stanza grande in faccia alla scala," which may be one of the rooms near the stairway at the right (Fig. 15). Since the inventory mentions the "stanza grande di quadri antichi" four rooms prior to a final entry for the room facing the stairway, it could be one of the rooms located in the lower part of the plan.[130] Patricia Waddy's reconstruction of the path taken by Nicodeums Tessin through the significantly remodeled Palazzo Giustiniani in 1673 indicates that works by Caravaggio that Tessin saw were in rooms two and six (Fig. 16).[131] Both the inventory and Tessin's account suggest that Caravaggio's works hung in large rooms prominently located near stairway access to the *piano* nobile and, therefore, were readily seen. According to the 1638 inventory, the large room housed nearly 100 paintings of predominantly religious subject matter by sixteenth-and early seventeenth-century artists including Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Titian, Giorgione, Tintoretto, Veronese, Annibale Carracci, Lodovico Carracci, and Guido Reni.[132] In addition to showcasing works by these recognized masters, Giustiniani used this room to demonstrate his enthusiastic support for Caravaggio and his progressive style by displaying 13 paintings by Caravaggio.[133] The listings

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between 1650 and 1673. Patricia Waddy, "Tessin's Rome," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 72 no. 1 & 2 (June 2003): 115. Tessin's travels to Rome are described in Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, *Travel Notes 1673-77 and 1687-88,* (Sources Works Collection), ed. Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002), 310.

[130] *Inventario de Quadri e Statue*, fols. .

[131] Waddy reconstructs Tessin's path through the palace to indicate the order in which he visited the rooms and claims that he began in the *sala* (Im ersten sahl oben) , which likely is the "sala grande" mentioned in Giustiniani's inventory. Patricia Waddy, "Tessin's Rome," 116-17. Tessin's mention of Caravaggio is brief: "Im anderen zimber [room two] wahren 8 schöne grosse stÿck vom Guercino undt Caravaggio," (In another room were 8 beautiful large paintings by Guercino and Caravaggio); "im sexten wahr ein schönes stÿck vom M.A. Caravaggio wie Christus den jüngern di füssen wascht" (in the sixth [room] was a beautiful painting by M.A. Caravaggio of Christ washing the disciples' feet). Tessin, 310. The painting of Christ washing the disciples' feet is incorrectly attributed here to Caravaggio. This painting is correctly attributed to Dirck van Baburen in both Giustininiani's 1638 inventory and in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

[132] *Inventario de Quadri e Statue,* f. 793r-799r.

[133] The subjects of the other paintings listed as being painted by Caravaggio are St. Matthew and the angel, Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, crowning of thorns, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, portrait of the painter Gismondo Todesco, two portraits of courtesans, Mary Magdalene, doubting Thomas, and a portrait of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani. Ibid.

in the 1638 inventory imply that paintings displayed in the "Stanza grande de quadri antichi" were the pride of Giustiniani's collection and one of the principal means by which he advertised himself as a connoisseur of painting. This large gallery also provided a venue for Caravaggio to advertise his artistic talent, and *The Lute Player* would have received particular notice here viewed in company with and in sharp contrast to Veronese's *Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels* (1587-89, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) (Fig. 17) and *Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Saint John* (1594, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) (Fig. 18) by Annibale Carracci (b. Bologna, 1560; d. Rome, 1609).[134]

Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* conveys pictorially how a solo performer might communicate the clarity and expression of monodic compositions with great emotional intensity, as praised by Caccini and Giustiniani. Since the expression of monody's music and text derives from a solo singer rather than a group, audiences were able to more easily focus on the single singer, as the primary interpreter of the music.[135] The emotions of a particular singer in harmony with the music and the musical text, therefore, are communicated more directly and clearly, and certainly with greater singularity, than by the multiple contrasting voices of madrigals. In Caravaggio's painting, the fluid movement of the youth who tilts his head slightly to sing and gracefully pluck the lute conveys visually musicians' attention to greater musical accord between vocal and instrumental parts of compositions, as praised by Caccini. With his eyes looking away from the printed music and the viewer, the young musician displays an expression of longing induced by his passionate singing of the love madrigals by Jacques Arcadelt visible in the music book on the table. By looking away from the music, Caravaggio's musician emphasizes that with solo singing it is not so much the words as the effects of the words clearly sung and married to the strains of music that arouse the emotions and move the listener and

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[134] The paintings are listed in the inventory as: "Un quadro d'un Christo morto sostenuto da dui Angeli dipinto in tela alta palmi 5 Larga 4.1/2 incirca [di mano di Paolo Veronese] con sua Cornice negra profilata e rabescata d'oro;" "Un quadretto picciolo d'un crocifisso con La Madonna tramortita due Marie, e S. Giovanni che piange dipinto in tela alta palmi I. 1/2 Larga plami I. in circa (di mano di Annibale Caracci] con cornice intagliata tutta dorata." fol. 795r, 796r.

[135] Ruth Katz, *The Powers of Music: Aesthetic Theory and the Invention of Opera* (Edison, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994), 103.

musician alike. Here word, sound, and feeling become one. The astonishing contrasts of bright light and dark shadow created by the highlighted musician draped in white garb set against a dark background may be read in terms of dramatic contrasts of rhythm, note value, and volume that are characteristic of monody. Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* incorporates into the art of painting the quality of music as a "non-mimetic and directly expressive medium."[136]

Ways to express and invite human passions had been explored and developed by artists since the early fifteenth century when Leon Battista Alberti wrote in *Della pittura* (1436) that artists must rely on exterior gestures and facial expressions in painting as a means to move the viewer.[137] Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo articulates this principle of expression in relation to music in his *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (Milan 1584). Here Lomazzo equates pleasing depictions of human motions with harmonious music: "Non v'è dubbio alcuno, che tutti que' moti che nelle figure si veggono simili a i moti naturali, non havviano grandissima gratia, & per il contrario quelli che dal naturale s'allontanano non siano affatto priui d'ogni gratia; si come discordanti in certo modo dalla natura à guisa di corde tra di loro in un' instromento dissonanti."[138] Of particular relevance to *The*

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[136] Mras, 269.

[137] Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura,* ed. Luigi Malle (Florence: G.C. Sansoni Editore, 1950), 93. For investigations into how artists explored ideas regarding *affetti,* see Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); *Docere, Delectare, Movere: Affetti, devozione e retorica nel linguaggio artistico del primo barocco romano,* Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Istituto Olandese a Roma e dalla Bibliotheca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut) in collaborazione con l'Università Cattolica di Nijmegen, 19-20 gennaio 1996, Rome (Rome: De Luca, 1998); On the importance of expression in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting theory, see Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (December 1940): 217-26. On the distinction between representing the character of a figure and expressing transitory emotions, see Moshe Barasch, "Character and Physiognomy: Bocchi on Donatello's St. George, A Renaissance Text on Expression in Art," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36 (July-September 1975): 413-30.

[138] Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (Milan 1584) facsimile reproduction (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1973), II:I, 105. "There is no doubt that all those motions seen in the figures which are similar to natural movements are not the most graceful, and it is not true that those which draw away from the natural are not lacking grace; it would be like going against nature having some chords of an instrument in dissonance with each other. On the analogous relationship between music and painting during the Renaissance, see Leslie Korrick, "Lomazzo's *Trattato . . . della pittura* and Galilei's *Fronimo:* Picturing Music and Sounding Images in 1584," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Katherine McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 193-216.

Lute Player is Lomazzo's later comparison of painters and musicians, both of whom share a similar goal to stimulate dramatic emotional transitions in the viewer/ listener:

> Ora rappresentando tutte queste passioni, & affetti ne le istorie che dipingiamo, co' suoi convenienti, & proprij moti, veniamo à causare quella tanta varietà, che così diletta, & piace allettando & traendo à se con dolce forza gli animi nostri, non altrimenti di quello che si faccia una soave armonia, & un dolce concento di musico, ò suonator eccellente, in tirare a se gli animi di chi gl'ascolta, cosa tanto potente, & efficace che si legge un musico essersi dato vanto di far co'l suono impazzare gl'huomini, & poi ritornarli nel primiero stato loro.[139]

Lomazzo effectively explains and justifies the art of painting by comparison with the art of music in terms of language and imagery. He draws upon the reader's presumed familiarity with music—its sounds and emotional effects—to clarify and amplify his explanation of the *affetti* in painting.

This analogous relationship between music and painting is also a crucial component of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player.* Here Caravaggio seems to be asserting his skill as an artist in being able to seduce his viewers, to draw them to him through the expressive performance of a solo musician who plays from a partbook of amorous madrigals. Such an effect realizes Lomazzo's analogy of painters being like musicians who pull to them the souls of their audiences.[140] As a result, the subject of *The Lute Player* is as much about the art of painting as it is about the art of music. Michael Fried's provocative analysis of *Boy Bitten by a Lizard* (c. 1596-97, National Gallery, London) (Fig. 19) and *Bacchus* (c. 1596-97, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) (Fig. 20) helps to substantiate this claim.[141] He

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[139] Lomazzo, II:IV, 115. "Now, representing all these passions and emotions in the stories we paint, with its [the painting's] convenience and own motions, we cause such great variety which thus pleases and delights, pulling to itself with sweet strength our souls, just as a pleasing harmony and sweet music concert or an excellent musician as he pulls to himself the souls of those who listen to him, such a powerful thing, and so effective, that we read of a musician who bragged about making men go crazy with his music, and then he let them return to their former state."

[140] Ibid.

[141] Fried, "Thoughts on Caravaggio," 13-56.

perceives two "moments" represented in these paintings: an "immersive" moment in which the artist is caught in the "protracted, repetitive, partly automatistic act of painting," and a moment that is "notionally instantaneous, of separating or indeed recoiling from the painting itself, which is to say of no longer being immersed in the work on it but rather of *seeing* it as if for the first time."[142] With mouths open, hands raised holding an object, and gazes directed at the viewer, the figures in these paintings function, in a sense, as mirrors of the artist both absorbed in applying paint to canvas and reacting to the finished product.[143] Caravaggio depicts his lute player in a role akin to that of a painter. He is turned toward the viewer, engaged in the act of making music, carefully plucking the strings of the lute. His position at an angle to the viewer and his raised hand mirrors the artist who is, in the words of Fried, "'in' the painting or at least 'continuous' with it in the ongoing process by which the painted image was laid down on the canvas."[144] At the same time, his tilted head, seductive gaze, and open mouth display an emotional reaction to his own performance, much like the artist "finding himself 'outside' the painting, of discovering that he has become 'discontinuous' with it."[145] Caravaggio subtly blurs the division between musician and painter/spectator. Consequently, the viewer responds to the young musician's emotive posture not only as a reference to the supposedly amorous music he plays and sings but also as an indicator of the artist's previous involvement in painting the musician.

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[142] Fried points out that these two moments do not follow one another chronologically and are "potentially in play" when the paintings were produced and when they are viewed. Ibid., 22, 29.

[143] While scholars debate whether or not the youthful boys are actual self-portraits of Caravaggio, such precise identification is inconsequential to Fried's arguments that deal with broader issues of gestures, gazes, and relationships between artist, subject, and viewer. Fried also addresses how the artist's right hand, the one that holds the paintbrush, is mirrored in the paintings as the left hand holding the lizard or goblet. Ibid., 25, 42, . Lorenzo Pericolo also investigates how gestures in Caravaggio's paintings relate to narratives both seen and unseen. He argues that the gestures and expressions in Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus* not only manifest the visibility/appearance of Christ to his disciples but, more remarkably, they suggest his invisibility/disappearance. Lorenzo Pericolo, "Visualizing appearance and disappearance: on Caravaggio's London *Supper at Emmaus, The Art Bulletin* 89 (September 2007): 519-39.

[144] Fried, 22.

[145] Ibid.

The solitude and self-absorption of the musician can be explained partly in terms of monody, which is characterized by the isolation of a single melodic line performed by a solo musician. However, Caravaggio imbues his figure with a sense of loneliness that does not stem entirely from the style and practice of solo singing. Thus, the musician is separated from the viewer by the table in the foreground and isolated by a dark, blank background. Although the musician's body is turned toward the viewer, he looks slightly askance to further distance himself from the viewer. Additional instruments in Cardinal del Monte's version (Fig. 6) are placed invitingly on the table to imply that other musicians can pick them up and join the performance, but their depiction as untouched, unplayed instruments reinforces the isolation of the lute player. His solo performance is by him and for him alone; his loneliness helps to produce the absorption necessary for an affective musical performance. Here the young musician is represented in an absorptive state that is initiated by the concentrated activity of playing a musical instrument, and we as viewers are caught "in a virtual trance of imaginative involvement."[146] *The Lute Player* anticipates the isolation that is explored in later single-figure works by Caravaggio such as *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (c. 1604-5, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City) (Fig. 21). Although biblical accounts of St. John's life imply that the saint was physically isolated from others in the wilderness, Caravaggio focuses on the saint's psychological isolation. St. John is illuminated by a bright divine light that enters from the left, but he withdraws from this heavenly contact by bowing his head, frowning, and casting his shadowed eyes downward in a posture of melancholic contemplation. In both *The Lute Player* and *John the Baptist in the Wilderness,* Caravaggio selects subjects of single figures and uses them to investigate the intensity of absorption and loneliness—a loneliness that cannot be dispelled by the presence of the viewer, by the suggestion of anticipated company, or by the implied presence of the Divine.

The self-absorption and isolation of Caravaggio's lute player introduces the question of how feelings can be communicated from the painting to the viewer and from the musician to the listener. While the figure's loneliness can be seen as a

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[146] Fried, *Art and Objecthood,* 48. Fried argues that the states and activities of reading, studying, knitting, and playing the violin are "to be understood as vehicles of absorption." Fried, *Absorption*, 43.

predicament, it more effectively can be seen as a necessary cause to allow for the communication of affect. Since emotions are socially produced, they depend upon a social relationship to be mobilized, seen, and explored. A single musician who faces the viewer initiates a relationship with the viewer, one that is uninterrupted by the distractions of companion musicians. His actions predicate reactions in the viewer. Emotions are expressed by the lute player, and yet at the same time, they are conjured up in the viewer who witnesses the emotive solo performance and reads the passionate text of the madrigals. By juxtaposing a solo musician with the text of a love madrigal, Caravaggio suggests that love-making, music-making, and affect occupy an endlessly shifting zone between one and more people, but that their communication–or partial communication and listening–do not necessarily obliterate isolation or solitude. This shifting relationship relates to conflicting attitudes to monody and madrigal, to the tensions and improbabilities of two sorts of music that inhabit the same space, as discussed above. Caravaggio's painting suggests that affect cannot be neatly circumscribed within one particular art form, whether it be monody or madrigal, or music or painting. Caravaggio creates an intriguing sense of ambivalence as to whether the articulation of love and/or seduction is at work here or a melancholic lament for lost or unrequited love or whether something more flirtatious and tantalizing is implied.

Caravaggio does not rely entirely on gestures and expressions for his investigation of *affetti*; his use of space and light also help to mobilize feelings in the viewer. The blankness and darkness of the background suggest a spatial void, but the intense diagonal of light across the upper right implies the suddenness of relief and movement that might dispel such gloom. It also establishes a definite spatial boundary. As a result, the musician is situated in the emptiness of an undefined setting, but at the same time he is pushed toward the viewer, who is invited to respond to the sensory excitement of implied aromas, sights, and sounds. Shadow covers most of the background and sets off highlighted foreground elements such as the brightly coloured flowers, the musician's pale skin and white tunic, and the table covered with music books and a violin. The stark cut of light created by an unknown source invades the scene in the upper right as something intangible and inexplicable, like a stab of feeling. It contrasts sharply with the shadowed background below and draws our attention away from the narrative of a

musical performance to contemplate powerful emotional extremes, such as joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, hope and despair, desire and indifference. Caravaggio shows here that emotion is not necessarily spontaneous but can be produced by art, and that the artist, or musician, has the capacity to manipulate those emotions in the viewer/listener though music and painting. Whereas musical compositions are entirely dependent upon a performer to bring out the *affetti* of the music and/or text, however, painting has the capacity to do so through compositional and formal elements. *The Lute Player,* therefore, is not merely a depiction of music and its capacity to arouse amorous emotions, but rather it explores the production and location of feelings and the processes of, and lapses in, communication to one another.

Caravaggio's emphasis on the lute player's solitude and its effects evokes further correspondences with the art of painting. *The Lute Player* was painted shortly after Cesare Ripa published his *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593), which depicts a personification of the art of painting as a beautiful woman with a cloth bound over her mouth. While this indicates that painting is a silent art, in reference to the conceit of *ut pictura poesis,* it also means that the painter benefits from silence and solitude, working better when alone.[147] Lomazzo claims in his *Trattato* that the process of attaining the Idea is dependent upon the artist's solitude and silence whereby he can imagine and clarify in his mind the details of what he plans to produce before drawing initial sketches.[148] I propose that Caravaggio's solo musician, whose personal interpretation and individual performance of the music could supposedly move a listener more profoundly than a musical ensemble, corresponds to the painter, whose innovative pictorial effects are best achieved

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[147] "La bocca ricoperta è indicio, che non è cosa, che giovi quanto il silentio, e la solitudine; però si riserrano i Pittori in luoghi secreti, non perché temino riprensione dell'imperfetto lavoro, come volgarmente si stima." Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia,* ed. Piero Buscaroli (Milan: Tea Arte, 1992), 404.

[148] "E ciò nō per altro se non perche i professori loro hāno lasciato la detta via de gl'antichi di concepire & come à dir comporre nella mente & idea sua ciò che disegnano di fare, prima che diano di igliò al pennello & scarpello & lo pongano in opera. La qual cosa primieramente si hà da fare di continuo in solitudine & silentio." Lomazzo, VI:63, 481-82. "And this is for nothing else than because their masters have taught them the ancient way to conceive a design, which is composing in their mind and their ideas what they are planning to make before taking a brush or a chisel in their hands and performing the work. This thing one must primarily do continually and in solitude and silence.

when the artist is freed from the distractions and artistic conventions of fellow artists. In a personal sense, the musician in *The Lute Player* becomes a self-portrait of Caravaggio, or at least a portrait of his artistic personality. Caravaggio was aware of how the principle of *affetti* was central to theories of both music and painting, and he ingeniously communicates in his *The Lute Player* the effects of the art of painting through representation of the art of music.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a new reading of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* produced for renewed attention to contemporary attitudes to monody and madrigal, particularly those of the patron Vincenzo Giustiniani, that have been overlooked by musicologists and art historians. Any attempt to read this painting as a representation of monody is vexed by the apparent contradiction established by the juxtaposition of a musician engaged in solo singing with a carefully rendered, identifiable madrigal. Avoiding overly hasty assumptions about this painting as a representation of contemporary performance practice enabled me to explore the implications of this contradiction and show that it is really the undercurrents of the monody/madrigal debate that are being evoked. I allowed Giustiniani's "Discorso sopra la musica" to emerge as key to understanding how Caravaggio's painting explores this debate pictorially in two principal ways. First, the readability of Arcadelt's madrigals is significant because this music was meaningful to Giustiniani, who appreciated Arcadelt's madrigals since childhood. Caravaggio positions the partbook in the center foreground around which the musical instruments, musician, fruit and flowers revolve, indicating that the traditional polyphonic madrigal is the vocal form against which the newly developing style of monody reacted. Second, Giustiniani articulates the key difference between monody and madrigal as being not just changes in the marriage between words and music but, more significantly, changes in the expression of them. Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* explores the centrality of *affetti* in both painting and vocal music styles at the end of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO

HEAVEN ON EARTH: PAINTINGS OF ST. CECILIA AS A MUSICIAN

An examination of musical instruments in devotional paintings produced in Italy after 1600, particularly in Rome, reveals a marked increase in the quantity and variety of paintings of Saint Cecilia as a musician. She is sometimes shown with keyboard or stringed instruments; sometimes in the company of angels or shown alone; or gazing heavenward, looking out toward the viewer, or looking at her hands playing the keyboard; and holding, tuning, and even playing stringed instruments. Paintings of St. Cecilia with a musical instrument were not new in 1600 but seventeenth-century paintings display a number of unexpected and innovative aspects in representing St. Cecilia as a musician. This chapter examines the most significant of these: First, why did artists at the turn of the seventeenth century often paint Cecilia with stringed instruments? What are the implications of this change in iconography from organs to violins, theorboes, or bass viols? What is the relationship, if any, between paintings of St. Cecilia as an aristocratic musical female saint and contemporaneous controversies over acceptable instruments and musical practices in sacred settings? Violins, for example, had been viewed by the church and reputable musicians during the sixteenth century as best suited to dance music and court entertainments.[1] Finally, how might we account for the unprecedented intense engagement evinced in paintings of St. Cecilia from about 1620 in playing organs and, more strikingly, stringed instruments, rather than just holding them?

In addressing these questions, I interrogate how and why these paintings explore issues of women, music, and the sacred configured together. Some of these images privilege musical instruments, while others accentuate the appearance and

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[1] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its relationship to the violin and violin music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 50-4. Ludovico Grossi da Viadana (1564-1627) and Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1612) were responsible for early developments in sacred instrumental music by introducing violins, bass viols, and wind instruments into sacred compositions performed in Mantua and Venice respectively. Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 13-25, 80-101. Not surprisingly, Viadana, Gabrieli, and other innovators in sacred instrumental music, were working in northern Italy near centers of stringed-instrument production. Stephen Bonta, "The Use of Instruments in Sacred Music in Italy 1560-1700," *Early Music* 18 (November 1990): 525.

demeanor of Cecilia, but all of them at some level can be related to questions of gendered aristocracy, gendered chastity, gendered music, and gendered holiness with Cecilia as a crucial point of intersection. This chapter does not attempt to be an all encompassing survey or explanation of these paintings.

In the past two decades, an ever-expanding body of scholarship has been dedicated to rediscovering and analyzing the active, public roles of early modern women as producers, practitioners, and patrons of music.[2] This chapter situates seventeenth-century paintings of St. Cecilia in relation to these discussions about the social and spiritual power of women's musical accomplishments. I draw attention to a series of arresting parallels between depictions of St. Cecilia and written accounts of instrumental music performances of cloistered nuns. I do not propose that images of St. Cecilia are straightforward representations of nun musicians. I do submit however, that since some nuns exemplified the same qualities of virginity, piety, and musical virtuosity supposedly possessed by St. Cecilia, they served as appropriate models for images of a musical St. Cecilia.

Remarkably, there is no pictorial tradition of males depicted in form, manner, or action along the lines of St. Cecilia as a musician. While musical angels provide comfort and inspiration to male saints in paintings such as *St. Francis of Assisi Consoled by Angels* (c. 1610-13, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Fig. 22) by Sisto Badalocchio (b. Parma, 1585; d. Parma, 1619), saints are rarely depicted playing instruments themselves, even when they have a legitimate claim to musical affinities, such as King David.[3] One of the few exceptions is *King David Playing*

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[2] See especially Jane Bowers and Judith Tick, ed., *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Kimberly Marshall, *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993); Thomasin Lamay, ed. *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies* (Aldershot Hants: England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Sylvia Glickman and Martha Furman Schleifer, ed. *Women Composers: Music through the Ages* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co, 1996), vol 1, *Composers born before 1599* and vol. 2, *Composers born 1600-1699.* On musical activities of nuns, see Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[3] Before being superseded by St. Cecilia in the fourteenth century, King David, St. Job and St. Gregory were venerated as patron saints of music. Richard Luckett, "St. Cecilia and Music," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 99 (1972-73): 18.

the Harp (c. 1619-20, Château de Versailles, Versailles) (Fig. 23) by Domenichino (b. Bologna, 1581; d. Naples, 1641). David is depicted with a harp because he was the primary author of the Psalms and Old Testament accounts record that he sang and played the harp to bring peace to King Saul when he was troubled.[4] Unlike paintings of a musical St. Cecilia that shockingly show controversial stringed instruments such as a violin or theorbo in the hands of a saint, Domenichino's painting of David with a harp adheres to a Biblical narrative. An investigation into the reasons why male saints are not shown playing musical instruments, particularly stringed instruments, lies outside the parameters of this thesis. However, the dearth of paintings of male musicians in religious contexts makes depictions of any female figure with keyboard or stringed instruments more curious and demanding of attention.

St. Cecilia's Iconography: An Introduction

In 1599 when Saint Cecilia's remains were discovered during restoration work at St. Cecilia in Trastevere and her body was reported to be in a perfect state of preservation, Cecilia's fame escalated in Italy and spread throughout Europe.[5] In spite of this supposed miracle, and Stefano Maderno's (b. ?Rome, 1575; d. Rome, 1636) exceptional sculpted figuration (1600, Church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome) (Fig. 24) that commemorates the find and memorializes Cecilia's body and

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[4] "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." 1 Samuel 16:23.

[5] For these eyewitness accounts and the circumstances surrounding the discovery, see Antonio Bosio, *Historia passionis beatae Caeciliae virginis, Valeriani, Tiburtii, et Maximi martyrum: necnon Urbani, et Lucii pontificum, et martyrum. Vitae atque Paschalis papae I. literae de eorumdem sanctorum corporum inuentione, et in Urbem translatione. . .* (Rome, 1600), reprinted and translated from the original Latin in Filippo Caraffa and Antonio Massone, *Santa Cecilia martire romana: passione e culto* (Rome: Centro di Spiritualità Liturgica, 1983), 100-49; Anna Lo Bianco, *Cecilia: La storia, l'immagine, il mito* (Rome: Campisano Editore, 2001). Cecilia's story was retold through various media: the fifth-century account of her life, *Acts of St. Cecilia,* was translated into Dutch (Amsterdam, 1604), French (Paris, 1617), and German (Gratz, 1604); plays on the subject were performed; and an increased number of visual images were produced in the succeeding decades. Luckett, "St. Cecilia and Music," 27. Cecilia's fame spread to Protestant England with such enthusiasm that on November 22, 1683 the first St. Cecilia's Day Concert was held in London, a tradition that has continued until the present day. Lesley Greenwood, "St. Cecilia: The Making of a Legend," *Musical Opinion* 107 (June 1984): 275. The inscription below Stefano Maderno's *St. Cecilia* attesting to Cecilia's uncorrupt body coincides with the description given by Antonio Bosio, who was sent by Pope Clement VIII to document the events surrounding the discovery.

cult, the resulting proliferation of painted images was not of events from her life or martyrdom. Instead, artists depicted Cecilia overwhelmingly as patron saint of music, a role that was established and promoted in music guilds by the fourteenth century but not fully exploited in artistic representations until the seventeenth century.[6] Although the moment of transition from martyr saint to patron saint of music cannot be identified clearly, by the sixteenth century St. Cecilia was inextricably connected in literature and art to singing and to playing musical instruments. Cecilia's relationship to music was firmly established by musicians who claimed her as their patron saint as early as 1502, and by the formation in 1566 of the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia (also referred to as the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia), which was officially sanctioned by Pope Sixtus V and was dedicated to intense faith-promoting musical activities.[7] The emphasis on Cecilia's patronage of music in paintings is surprising, especially in light of Antonio Bosio's ambitious project of excavating Roman catacombs in 1599-1600 to unearth and document evidence of Christian martyrdom, and the publication of Antonio Gallonio's *Historia delle sante vergini romane con varie annotationi e con alcune vite breve de' santi parenti loro. E di' gloriosi martiri papia e Mauro soldati romani* . . . (Rome, 1591).[8] This book presents narratives and illustrations of female Roman martyr saints' suffering and violent martyrdom in accordance with the Council of Trent's decrees that images of saints must invoke veneration and instruct the faithful.[9]

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[6] The first musical guilds to adopt Cecilia as their patron saint were in Louvain about 1502, followed by others in Ypres, Breda, and Mons. Kathi Meyer-Baer, "Saints of Music," *Musica Disciplina* IX (1955): 11, 25.

[7] In 1502, musicians in Louvain organized a musical association and dedicated it to St. Cecilia. Luckett, 20. The music academy was originally titled "Congregazione dei Musici sotto l'invocazione della Beata Vergine e dei Santi Gregorio e Cecilia." (Congregation of Musicians under the protection of the Blessed Virgin and Saints Gregory and Cecilia.) Remo Giazotto, *Quattro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia* vol. 1 (Verona: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1970), 6, 9-12

[8] Todd P. Olson, "Pitiful Relics: Caravaggio's *Martyrdom of St. Matthew,*" *Representations* 77 (Winter, 2002): 129-31. On Bosio's archaeological finds and his interpretation of what they reveal about the devotional life of early Christians, see Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1998). Gallonio's *Historia* was published in the same year as his *Trattato de gli instrumenti di martirio* (Rome, 1591) that describes the various instruments used to torture saints.

[9] Genoveffa Palumbo, "L'uso delle immagini: libri di santi, libri per predicatori, libretti di dottrina dopo il Concilio di Trento," in *I tempi del Concilio: religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997): 353-355.

The assignment of an organ to St. Cecilia is, in part, the result of mistranslations of and omissions in the original fifth-century Latin text *Passio Caeciliae.*[10] A brief passage mentions the presence of music at the wedding of Cecilia and Valeriano: "Venit dies in quo thalamus collocates est et cantantibus organis illa incorde suo soli Domino decantabat dicens: 'Fiat cor meum et corpus meum immaculatum ut non confundar.'"[11] In the centuries that followed, the Latin word "organis" was translated as "organ," restricting the meaning to one instrument instead of the more correct interpretation as musical instruments of any kind.[12] An early Renaissance reference perpetuating this mistranslation appears in Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Second Nun's Tale" from *Canterbury Tales*: "And whil the organs maden melodi/To God allone in herte thus song she/O Lord my soule and eek my body gye/Unwemmed lest that I confounded be."[13] Likewise, the reference to St. Cecilia "singing in her heart to God alone," which probably meant she was praying, was shortened and altered to imply that Cecilia was singing out loud.[14]

The presence of organs with St. Cecilia parallels the prominent use of this instrument for music in church settings, as noted by the English traveler Thomas Coryat, who claims that Venice housed "143 paire of organs" by the beginning of

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[10] Thomas Connolly, "The Legend of St. Cecilia I: The Origins of the Cult," *Studi musicali* 7 (1978): 3. For a detailed investigation of the relationships between textual sources of Cecilia legends, see Sherry L. Reames, "The Sources of Chaucer's 'Second Nun's Tale,'" *Modern Philology* 76 (November 1978): 111-35.

[11] "There came the day on which the bridal chamber was made ready; and while instruments played, she sang in her heart to the Lord alone the words: 'May my heart and my body be spotless, lest I be cast down.'" Connolly, "The Legend of St. Cecilia I," 3-4. Richard Luckett translates "confundar" as "confounded," the connotations of which suggest a less severe consequence for impure thoughts and actions. Luckett, 20.

[12] Connolly, "The Legend of St. Cecilia: I," 3.

[13] John M. Manley and Edith Rickert, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales*, vol. 4 part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 290. The last two lines are transcribed by David Wright as "O Lord, keep Thou my soul and my body/Pure and unspotted, lest they be undone." Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, translated with introduction and notes by David Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 415.

[14] Greenwood, 274.

the seventeenth century.[15] French musician André Maugars later commented on the widespread use of organs in Roman churches in 1638 when he recorded his reaction to a concert performed on the feast day of St. Dominic in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva: "A chaque choeur il y auoit vn Orgue portatif, comme c'est la coustume: il ne s'en faut pas estonner, puis qu'on en peut trouuer dans Rome plus de deux cens."[16] Appropriately for the patroness of music, the organ was the primary instrument used in the Mass since the twelfth century when it first accompanied the *Sanctus* as "an expression of joy."[17] James Moore identifies four main uses of the organ that had developed by the seventeenth century: to substitute for liturgical items, to accompany singers, to play on feast days, and to fill in "gaps in sound" during certain parts of services and processions.[18] While women were banned from playing the organ in churches, nuns of all religious orders were taught to play the organ for their own worship behind cloistered walls.[19] Most importantly for nuns, the organ was a means by which nuns extended their "voice" and established a connection with the secular, patrician society they supposedly left behind when they professed.[20]

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[15] Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities* (London, 1611), 289. L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[16] "For each choir there was a portative organ, as is the custom; (Do not be astonished: more than two hundred of them are to be found in Rome)." André Maugars, *Response faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* (1639), Introduction, English translation and notes by H. Wiley Hitchcock (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1993),7, 61.

[17] Rev. Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc.: 1961), 380. Bonta provides description and analysis of the specific parts of the Mass which require organ accompaniment or free instrumental pieces. Stephen Bonta, "The Uses of the *Sonata da Chiesa*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 22 (Spring 1969): 55

[18] James H. Moore, "The Liturgical Use of the Organ in Seventeenth-Century Italy: New Documents, New Hypotheses," in *Frescobaldi Studies,* ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 352-70.

[19] Not only was musical education important for the nuns' spiritual and emotional well-being, but it also saved convents the expense of hiring external lay musicians. Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life 1450-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 116-17.

[20] Craig Monson investigates the social and political significance of nun's singing and playing to be heard outside convent walls in light of post-Tridentine decrees enforcing strict enclosure. Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 40.

One of the earliest artworks to represent Saint Cecilia in her musical capacity is a sculpture created about 1350 by The Master of St. Anastasia (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona) (Fig. 25) that portrays Cecilia regally standing while holding a portative organ. It is not unusual, therefore, for St. Cecilia to be depicted with musical instruments in seventeenth-century paintings; from the fourteenth century the organ was her primary attribute in art and this convention was repeated occasionally in the subsequent century. Guercino (b. Cento, 1591; d. Bologna, 1666) proclaims the organ's preeminence in both St. Cecilia's iconography and in church settings through the dominant positioning of the organ that fills the left half of his *Saint Cecilia* (Fig. 26). With the organ placed at an angle toward the viewer, we see clearly the organ's façade including the keyboard, simply carved case, and pipes. A curtain that may have been draped previously over the organ for protection is now pulled back to the right to expose the pipes, whose imposing verticality seems to dwarf the demure Cecilia. The curtain visually echoes the sweeping folds of drapery that swirl over Cecilia's shoulders and around her lower body to unite the saint more closely with the organ. Cecilia's lack of a halo encourages associations with similar modest female musicians, principally nuns, who played organs. In a letter dated August 11, 1565, Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo acknowledges the spiritual benefits of nuns' organs: "Any attempt to take organs away from nuns would certainly occasion much tumult, and, even if it could be done easily, I do not know if it would be very expedient; since some good result could also be obtained . . . such as [nuns'] avoiding boredom, and also promoting devotion in their souls."[21] Organs were not only an integral part of a nun's education and creative output, but they also facilitated a heightened spirituality.[22] Therefore, the organ's large size and pictorial dominance in Guercino's painting may parallel symbolically the important role this instrument assumed musically, socially, and devotionally in convent and other religious settings. Remarkably, it also reverses the relationship between the saint and her attribute by turning the image into a portrait of an instrument justified iconographically by Saint Cecilia.

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[21] Letter housed in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, and cited in Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens,* 60.

[22] Evangelisti, 119.

Representations of Cecilia with an organ were eclipsed by representations of Cecilia as a martyr saint with flowers, book, and/or palm frond until musical attributes were revived during the sixteenth century in *St. Cecilia with Sts. Paul, John Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene* (c. 1513-16, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) (Fig. 27) by Raphael (b. Urbino, 1483; d. Rome, 1520). Lisa Festa's comprehensive survey of pictorial representations of Saint Cecilia reveals that works created between 500 to c. 1513 are primarily mosaics and fresco cycles depicting her life and martyrdom, while works created after Raphael's altarpiece between 1513 and 1600 frequently introduce Cecilia in a musical context, usually holding or standing beside an organ or other keyboard instrument.[23] Raphael's work can be seen as a watershed in pictorial representations of St. Cecilia. Raphael's altarpiece is the first known painting of St. Cecilia to depict extraneous, unplayed instruments on the ground. Thomas Connolly's reading of this work centers on the visualization of music, both voiced and internal, as a metaphor for Cecilia's spiritual transformation. He considers the symbolic associations of music with the conversion process of mourning-into-joy, based on associations with biblical passages from Lamentations 5:15-16 ("The joy of our heart is fled away, our singing is turned into mourning. The crown is fallen from our head: woe unto us, for we have sinned") and Job 30:31 ("My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep.")[24] He claims that the broken, discarded instruments lying at Cecilia's feet represent the music of sorrow and "are an image . . . of the things of this life that can entice the human heart to damnation with their siren call."[25] As Cecilia turns away from the sorrowful music of worldly vanities and looks up toward the heavenly choir of angels, she experiences a spiritual progression toward a state of joy.[26] Musical instruments contribute here to the process of conversion and demonstrate the transformative quality of music. Since

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[23] Lisa Festa catalogs extant representations of Saint Cecilia between 500-1700. Lisa Ann Festa, "Representations of Saint Cecilia in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting and Sculpture" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 2004), 248-330.

[24] Thomas Connolly, *Mourning into Joy: Music, Raphel, and Saint Cecilia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 19.

[25] Connolly, *Mourning into Joy,* 255.

[26] The organ held by St. Cecilia is placed in between the two realms and, therefore, symbolically represents the moment of transition from mourning to joy. Ibid., 256.

music can create both a change for good, as a vehicle for conversion, and for bad, as a stimulus to lascivious thoughts and behavior, it becomes a powerful medium of concern to individuals and institutions. Raphael's painting presents musical instruments as the embodiment of secular vices and shows that it is only through rejecting them and focusing on the inner music of the soul that Cecilia experiences a profound spiritual conversion.

Artistic representations of Cecilia after 1600 demonstrate not only an explosion in the number of paintings produced–nearly twice as many as all surviving earlier works–but also a concentration on the saint as a musical figure.[27] While the introduction of various musical instruments into seventeenth-century Cecilian images can be traced back to Raphael's painting, the ways in which St. Cecilia validates these worldy instruments by playing them emerges as something remarkably new in the seventeenth century, as I will develop below.[28]

Aristocratization of St. Cecilia

While Cecilia is sometimes represented as a demure, modestly dressed young woman wearing a turban or rose garland as a symbol of her martyrdom, as in Orazio Gentileschi's (b. Pisa, 1563; d. London, 1639) *Saint Cecilia and an Angel* (c. 1620s, Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria) (Fig. 28), she also appears as a confident, finely dressed woman, as in Carlo Dolci's (b. Florence, 1616; d. Florence, 1687) *Saint Cecilia* (1645-50, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) (Fig. 29).[29] The halo placed above the female organist is essential to identify her as St. Cecilia. Otherwise, she would appear as an anonymous aristocratic musician whose social position is emphasized by the large ornately

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[27] Percentage based on analysis of the total number of works identified in Festa's catalog.

[28] The art historical importance of Raphael's painting and its influence on the development of subsequent images of St. Cecilia are beyond the scope of this chapter and already have been thoroughly traced in Thomas Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*; Carla Bernardini, *La Santa Cecilia di Raffaello: indagini per un dipinto* (Alfa: Bologna, 1983); Nico Staiti, *Le metamorfosi di Santa Cecilia: l'immagine e la musica* (Lucca: LIM, 2002).

[29] Cecilia is sometimes depicted wearing a turban because when her remains were found in Trastevere supposedly her head was wrapped in a turban. Richard D. Leppert, "Concert in a House: Musical Iconography and Musical Thought," *Early Music* 7 (January 1979), 20. On the rose garland's association with martyrs, see John S.P. Tatlock, "St. Cecilia's Garlands and Their Roman Origin, *PMLA* 45 no. 1 (March 1930): 169-79.

carved chair in which she sits and the rich colours, textures, adornments, and large folds of her sumptuous dress. Aristocratic aspects also are pronounced in Giovanni Lanfranco's (bap. Parma, 1582; d. Rome, 1647) *St. Cecilia* (1620-21, Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina) (Fig. 30), which shows Cecilia adorned with jewelry and displaying a delicately curled coiffure to denote grace, elegance, and elite social class. Earlier depictions of Cecilia, such as the apse mosaic in St. Cecilia in Trastevere (9th century) (Fig. 31), show her crowned as a royal woman in keeping with her hagiography that claims she was of "the noble lineage of the Romans."[30] Such luxury in Dolci's and Lanfranco's images, therefore, is not unexpected, but what is the relevance of Cecilia's aristocratic deportment to her music-making? Lisa Festa claims that images of St. Cecilia with musical instruments "mirror the relatively new phenomenon of professional women singers and musicians who performed in public and for private, princely court concerts."[31] She proposes that representations of Cecilia as an aristocratic woman are portraits of women, perhaps female patrons, in the guise of the musical saint for display in domestic settings to inspire or celebrate the musical abilities of the woman pictured.[32] While I agree with Festa that images of St. Cecilia as a musician display an unprecedented conjunction of sacred and secular, I do not agree entirely with her interpretation. I argue that St. Cecilia's courtly deportment serves as a marker for her chastity and piety, reinterpreting these virtues as noble or aristocratic to produce rich new meanings in relation to St. Cecilia and the divine.

Carlo Dolci's *St. Cecilia* bears a striking resemblance to Lavinia Fontana's (b. Bologna, 1552; d. Rome, 1614) *Self-Portrait* (1577, Accademia di San Luca,

[30] Life of St. Cecilia in Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Caxton (1483) (London: Aldine House, 1900), 247. Peter Burke points out that nobility was a factor in determining whether or not someone was considered a candidate for sainthood. Of the fifty-five saints who were canonized between 1588 and 1767, twenty-six of them came from noble families. Peter Burke, "How to Become a Counter-Reformation Saint," in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, ed. David M. Luebke (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999), 136.

[31] Festa, 186.

[32] Festa, 207, 226. Festa states that during the Renaissance women often had portraits painted of themselves in the guise of saints, particularly Saint Catherine of Siena, and suggests that many images of Cecilia adhere to this same tradition. Unfortunately she offers no visual or documentary evidence to substantiate such claims.

Rome) (Fig. 32). Both show a beautiful, elegantly dressed woman who plays a keyboard instrument but turns her head to the right to meet the gaze of the viewer. Fontana emphasizes the musical instrument not only as a symbol of her wealth and musical skills but also, in Vera Fortunati Pietrantonio's words, as "a metaphor for a chaste woman, based on the model of an ideal, well-educated, and refined lady."[33] As a painter who needed to reconcile requisite female delicacy and refinement with her participation in a traditionally masculine profession, Fontana foregrounds her musical ability to evoke associations with chastity and nobility. Her portrayal as a confident, accomplished woman corresponds to the ideal pattern for gentlewomen advocated by Baldassare Castiglione in Book III of *Il Cortegiano*: "Voglio che questa donna abbia notitia di lettere, di musica, di pittura: & sappia danzar, & festeggiare: accompagnando con quella discreta modestia, & col dar bona opinion di se, ancora le alter advertenze, che son state insegnate al cortegiano."[34] Castiglione also outlines acceptable musical pursuits when he briefly addresses the manners of educated, courtly women:

> Nel danzar non vorrei vederla usar movimento troppo gagliardi, & sforzati: ne meno nel cátar, o sonar quelle diminutioni forti, & replicate, che mostrano piú arte, che dolcezza: medesimamente glinstrumenti di Musica, che ella usa (secondo me) debbono esser conformi à questa intétione. imaginatevi come disgratiata cosa saria veder una donna sonare táburri, piffari, o trombe, o altri talli instrumenti: & questo perche la loro asprezza

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[33] Vera Fortunati Pietrantonio, ed. *Lavinia Fontana of Bologna 1552-1614,* The National Museum of Women in the Arts (Milan: Electa, 1998), 52. See also Katherine A. McIver, "Lavinia Fontana's 'Self-Portrait Making Music,'" *Women's Art Journal* 19 (Spring-Summer 1998): 3-8. On musical instruments and scores as signifiers of accomplishments and virtues in self-portraits of Lavinia Fontana, Sofonisba Anguissola, Marietta Robusti, Artemisia Gentileschi, and Angelica Kauffman, see Linda Phyllis Austern, "Portrait of the Artist as (Female) Musician," in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women,* ed. Thomasin Lamay (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 15-62.

[34] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), Book 3, unpaginated. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. "I wish this Lady to have knowledge of letters, of music, of painting, and know how to dance and how to be festive, adding a discreet modesty and the giving of a good impression of herself to those other things that have been required of the Courtier." Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. Charles S. Singleton (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), 211.

> nasconde, & leva quella soave mansuetudine, che tanto adorna ogni atto, che faccia la donna.[35]

Castiglione makes it clear that women must carefully choose instruments commensurate with their femininity and aristocratic deportment to avoid 'offending' the listener aurally with the sound of the instrument or visually with their physical performance. Keyboard instruments (harpsichord, clavichord or spinet) were particularly well suited to noble women because they produced soft music appropriate for private domestic settings and the playing of them did not produce exaggerated or awkward gestures.[36] As with male courtiers, the underlying motivation for female members of court to cultivate music was to complement other talents and virtues and project a favorable impression of inner virtues through outward manifestations of culture and education. Unlike men, however, of the many qualities possessed by Renaissance gentlewomen, chastity was paramount.[37] Dolci capitalizes on the social and moral implications of music and imbues his saintly figure of Cecilia with secular qualities of education and manners associated with courtly women to ennoble her music-making and, indirectly, to allude to her purity.

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[35] Ibid. "When she dances, I should not wish to see her make movements that are too energetic and violent; nor, when she sings or plays, use those loud and oft-repeated diminutions that show more art than sweetness; likewise the musical instruments that she plays ought in my opinion to be appropriate to this intent. Consider what an ungainly thing it would be to see a woman playing drums, fifes, trumpets, or other like instruments; and this because their harshness hides and removes that suave gentleness which so adorns a woman in her every act." Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* 210.

[36] Austern, "Portrait of the Artist," 34. Provenance records of many of the finest harpsichords and spinets preserved today show that these keyboard instruments were originally owned by women of wealth and status. Donald H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840*, 3rd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85, 92, 584.

[37] To be chaste was essential to being selected for marriage by a noble suitor, and chastity was intimately connected with the woman's role after marriage in managing the household, upholding her husband's honor and status, and bearing children to maintain her husband's lineage. Franco Barbaro's *On Marriage* (1415) and Leon Battista Alberti's *Della Famiglia* (1434-37) assert the virtues and responsibilities required of women for the benefit of their husbands and families. They emphasize the expectations for women to be obedient, chaste, and silent. In choosing a wife, a man must consider the age, manners, descent, beauty, and riches. "But," as Barbaro claims, "virtue ought chiefly to be considered, the Efficacy and Dignity whereof is such, that if there were a deficiency in other things, the Nuptials would be acceptable; but if the other things were enjoy'd, they would certainly become most pleasant. *Directions for Love and Marriage,* written originally by Franciscus Barbarus, a Venetian Senator. And Now translated into English by a Person of Quality (London: 1677), 9-10.

The discourse of female musicians is articulated here in terms of aristocracy and purity. By excluding lower-class women from the tradition of musical St. Cecilia images, seventeenth-century artists, including Dolci and Lanfranco, rely on aristocratic representations of Cecilia to embody all that is noble about music, especially sacred music. In doing so, they comply with a central decree on music issued by the Council of Trent in September 1562 that vulgar elements must be avoided in sacred music: "Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur."[38] St. Cecilia as a lovely, chaste musician becomes a potent metaphor for the expected beauty and purity of Church-approved sacred music.

Lady Music

The beauty and nobility of St. Cecilia and her music suggest correlations with depictions of Musica, or Lady Music, as a courtly woman playing a musical instrument. Since she is associated with music in the abstract sense of allegory, Lady Music originally represented music theory and was a "symbol for learnedness" from 800 to the thirteenth century, as seen in a thirteenth-century German codex of the Seven Liberal Arts from the Cloister of Aldersbach (*Cod.lat.2599,* fol. 103r, Staatsbibliothek, Munich) (Fig. 33).[39] From the fourteenth century, as musical activities of aristocratic amateurs began to flourish, Lady Music took on the more naturalistic appearance of a nun or a courtly woman actually playing a musical instrument. As with Cecilia, the instrument in these early images was a portative organ. Such a representation is seen in the frontispiece to an untitled anthology of trecento music (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS ital. 568, fol. 1) (Fig. 34).[40] The choice of instrument may derive from associations with Jubal, son of Lamech, who is described in the book of Genesis as "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ."[41] Figures of Jubal or David are often present as biblical

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[38] "They shall also banish from the churches all such music which, whether by the organ or in the singing, contains things that are lascivious or impure." Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O.P., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.Original Text with English Translation* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1960), 151, 424.

[39] Tilman Seebass, "Lady Music and her *Proteges*: From Musical Allegory to Musicians' Portraits," *Musica Disciplina* 42 (1988): 35.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Gen. 4:21.

patrons of music and organs to sanction theoretical associations with the science and learning of music.[42] By the mid-fourteenth-century, Lady Music's organ was often replaced by a lute, as seen in the page devoted to the art of music in Bartolomeo de' Bartoli da Bologna's *Canzone delle virtù* (1353-55) (Fig. 35). Tuning a lute was related to measuring intervals and, therefore, was an appropriate way of representing the science of music and its mathematical relationships.[43] Surrounding Lady Music, including on the ground in front of her, are musical instruments of various types: violin and bow, shawm, recorder, psaltery, triangle, portative organ, trumpets, pipe and tabor, and a bagpipe. These instruments represent the organic, harmonic, and rhythmic divisions of music as defined by St. Augustine. "Organic music" refers to sounds produced by wind instruments, "harmonic music" refers to the human voice, and "rhythmic music" refers to music produced by percussion and stringed instruments.[44] Lady Music is depicted here as a personification of the liberal art of Music, a pictorial mode that continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[45] For example, Lucas Cranach the Younger (b. Wittenberg, 1515; d. Weimar, 1586) created a woodcut of *Fraw Musica* for the tenor partbook of Sixt Dietrich's, *Novum opus musicum* (Wittenberg, Georg Rhau, 1545) (Fig. 36) that shows a fashionably dressed woman seated playing a lute. Additional instruments of Lady Music's art–a bass viol, a harp, pipes and recorder–are strung to the trees in the background. In the latter sixteenth century, Cesare Ripa prescribed five variants of the personification of Musica, without accompanying illustrations, in the numerous editions of his *Iconologia,* whose standardized emblematic representations of concepts, attributes, and personifications served as a guide for seventeenth-century artists. His second personification of Musica is described as "Donna che con ambedue le mani tiene la lira di Apolline et a' piedi ha

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[42] Seebass, 32.

[43] Howard Mayer Brown, "St. Augustine, Lady Music, and the Gittern in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984): 43. Brown analyzes images of Lady Music according to theories of music espoused in the writings of St. Augustine, such as his *De Musica* and *De ordine*.

[44] These divisions are outlined in *De ordine*. Augustine's theories about music are further explored in his treatise *De musica*. Ibid. 25.

[45] Ibid.

varij stromenti musicali."[46] Ripa's description of Musica corresponds with earlier representations of Lady Music found in music manuscripts and confirms the continuation of this pictorial tradition. The juxtaposition of beauty, elegance, and music used to connote nobility and purity in female artists' self-portraits, including Fontana's, is appropriated from Lady Music/Musica images to effectively ennoble the art of music.

Artists seem to have borrowed compositional and theoretical elements from Lady Music images for their representations of Cecilia who, as patron saint of music, presides over musicians and musical performance. Carlo Saraceni's (b. Venice, c. 1579; d. Venice, 1620) *Saint Cecilia with an Angel* (c. 1610, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome) (Fig. 37), which shows a fashionably dressed woman surrounded by musical instruments, exhibits strong correlations with the abovementioned manuscript illustrations of Lady Music and Ripa's *Musica*. Saraceni depicts Cecilia tuning a lute and includes a variety of musical instruments at her feet, but he substitutes an angel for Jubal or David as the inspiration for mathematically contrived, harmonious music. These visual parallels with Lady Music amplify St. Cecilia's role as the personification of the science and practice of music. A comparison of Saraceni's painting with Lavinia Fontana's *Allegory of Music* (last quarter of the sixteenth century, Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth) (Fig. 38) reveals similar unplayed stringed and wind instruments displayed together in the foreground of a concert scene consisting of Fame seated at a virginal, two young men playing lutes, and an elderly man teaching a young boy to sing from a music score. Not only do wind, stringed, and keyboard instruments in the company of musicians recall St. Augustine's divisions of music but such an ensemble is typical of late sixteenth-century music practices.[47]

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[46] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua 1618), ed. Piero Buscaroli (Milan: Tea Arte, 1992), 358. The second variant describes Lady Music as "a woman who holds a lute with both hands and has various musical instruments at her feet."

[47] Combinations of musical instruments suitable for harmonious ensembles are codified in Hercole Bottrigari's *Il Desiderio* (1594) in which he divides the instruments into categories according to the tuning capabilities of each and then expounds on how they should be tuned and tempered to avoid creating discord and confusion when combined. Hercole Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio* (1594), facsimile edition (Bologna: Forni, 1969).

By the seventeenth century, unplayed instruments and extraneous figures are often eliminated in paintings of St. Cecilia so there is little to distinguish the saint from an allegorical figure of Music or from a portrait of a noble amateur musician. Giovanni Francesco Romanelli's (b. Viterbo, 1610; d. Viterbo, 1662) *Saint Cecilia with a Violin* (c. 1645, Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome) (Fig. 39) depicts a half-length view of St. Cecilia with one hand resting on a violin placed on a table or pedestal at the left and her other hand holding up a rolled music sheet. This image of Cecilia closely resembles Pietro Paolini's (b. Lucca, 1603; d. Lucca, 1681) painting *Music* (c. 1650, Bertocchini Dinucci Collection, Lucca) (Fig. 40), produced as one of four canvases representing liberal arts. Both Romanelli's and Paolini's images include the same compositional elements of an elegant woman, a musical score, and a violin. It is only the halo surrounding St. Cecilia in Romanelli's image that indicates the saintly character of the figure and suggests an identity other than Music. Similarly, we might mistake the fashionably dressed woman in Carlo Dolci's *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 29) as an aristocratic amateur musician were it not for the thin halo above her head that marks her as a saint. This secularization of Cecilia diverts the focus away from a veneration of Cecilia the saint toward a veneration of the art, theory, and practice of music for which Cecilia was the patron saint.

Aristocratic Nuns

Representations of St. Cecilia as an aristocratic musician may invite secular interpretations, but they also evoke attitudes toward female virginity and Christian female nobility as exemplified by nuns and other pious women. Convents often placed high priority on attracting novices from affluent families because the social and economic status of a convent's nuns determined the corresponding economic, political, and spiritual power of the convents within the city.[48] Aristocratic convents throughout Italy ensured their exclusive economic and social status by requiring high dowry rates that only wealthy noblewomen could afford.[49] Based on

[48] Helen Hills, "'Enameled with the Blood of a Noble Lineage': Tracing Noble Blood and Female Holiness in Early Modern Neapolitan Convents and Their Architecture," *Church History* 73 (March 2004): 14.

[49] On these practices in Milanese convents, see Robert Kendrick, "The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music and the Sacred Dialogues of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani," in *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig Monson (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 211-33; On convents in Naples

Dante E. Zanetti's demographics, Robert Kendrick claims that between 1600 and 1650 an estimated 75 percent of young women from Milanese patrician families entered convents.[50] While these patrician nuns may have renounced their secular physical surroundings, they were not always eager to forsake certain luxuries of aristocratic life, particularly fashionable dresses of silks and other costly materials.[51] The fancy dress with bows on the sleeves worn by Dolci's St. Cecilia resembles the aristocratic clothing worn by Venetian canonesses as described in the Jesuit scholar Filippo Buonanni's *Ordinum Religiosorum in Ecclesia Militanti catalogus* (Rome, 1706-10) (Fig. 41), an encyclopedia of habits, gestures, and expressions characteristic of individual religious orders. The canoness' appearance conforms loosely to standards for a nun's habit because she wears a transparent veil and, as Lowe points out, her dress is "shaped suggestively as though to mock a nun's tunic and mantle," but the immediate effect is one of worldly elegance.[52] Although aristocratic nuns may have worn such fashionable clothing when they were not participating in formal convent responsibilities as a way to recall the nobility of their former secular life, such dress may not contradict their piety as much as we might assume.[53]

The grace and upper-class appearance of Dolci's and Lanfranco's images of St. Cecilia, therefore, may not present the antithesis of spiritual devotion but rather may complement and even enhance the saint's holiness. A woman's comportment was an indicator of her chastity; therefore, women were encouraged to safeguard their virginity by emulating qualities of *dignitas, gravitas, and modestia*

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see Helen H. Hills, *Invisible City: The Architecture of Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Neapolitan Convents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[50] Kendrick, "Traditions of Milanese Convent Music," 212. In Rome, social class was a factor in electing the abbesses of S. Cosimato who, from 1518 to 1600, were almost exclusively from prominent Roman families. Lowe points out that only four of the 28 abbesses during this time period were from lower-class families. K.J.P. Lowe, *Nuns' Chronicles and Convent Culture in Renaissance and Counter-Reformation Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 160.

[51] Cardinal Lorenzo Priuli reprimanded nuns in the Venetian convent of S.M. delle Vergini on at least one occasion at the end of the sixteenth century for wearing clothing that was considered too luxurious. Lowe, 213.

[52] Lowe, 212.

[53] Ibid., 213.

exemplified by the Virgin Mary.[54] Helen Hills points out that official religious institutions were responsible for advocating and regulating the close association between virginity and upper-class women:

> Convents served to restrict and regulate it [virginity] by excluding some women (on the basis of class, economic means, and so on) and preventing access to virgins by others (with a few exceptions, based on social class, specially purchased economic privilege, or religious authority), while simultaneously advertising and celebrating their presence.[55]

Female nobility, Christian piety, and virginity are inextricably linked in the writings of St. Jerome that claim a woman's nobility is derived not only from her family name but also from asceticism, demonstrated by her chastity or virginity.[56] He observes of St. Paula that "nobilis genere, sed multo nobilior sanctitate."[57] Like Jerome, Augustine advocated ennobling women who demonstrated Christianity through their piety and purity. In a letter written to Proba and Iuliana, two aristocratic women, he claims that a "girl's chastity brings more nobility than being the foundress of an illustrious line through an earthly marriage."[58] These Church fathers accepted the tradition of family name and office as criteria for claiming noble status, but they argued that Christian faith is a more worthy determinant.[59] St. Cecilia's aristocratic appearance, therefore, not only indicates her nobility and the nobility of her music-making but it also functions as an outward manifestation of a higher nobility derived from virginity and internalized Christian virtues.

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[54] Hills, *Invisible City,* 52.

[55] Although ecclesiastical leaders praised the virginity of all women, they valued most highly the virginity of nuns who were physically and spiritually protected from sensual temptations behind convent walls. Ibid, 52, 57.

[56] Michele Renee Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 215-16.

[57] He observes of St. Paula that "noble in family, she was nobler still in holiness." Jerome, *Ep* 108:1.5-6. Cited in Salzman, 216.

[58] Cited in Salzman, 216.

[59] Ibid, 216.

Chastity, which is essential for ennobling female individuals, is connected directly with the uplifting power of music. Thomas H. Connolly expounds on the relationship between virginity, piety, and celestial music as key to understanding the cult of St. Cecilia and interrogating pictorial representations of her.[60] He argues that Cecilia's virginity is the quality that links her with music because of virgins' connections with angels, celestial realms, and universal harmony: "virginity . . . meant a fundamental reordering of the soul to match the divine order of the universe which was expressed through the music of the spheres."[61] The scriptural passage in Revelation 14:1-5 that recounts John's vision of "[those who] have kept their virginity undefiled" singing to the Lamb of God had a profound influence on Christian writings throughout the Middle Ages that equated virgin choirs with heavenly choirs of angels.[62] Although virgins did not inhabit the celestial realm of angels, their purity and Christian way of life matched that of angels and qualified them for continual communion with heaven, which was achieved through song.[63] Nun musicians, in particular, exemplified the qualities of holy virgins and their musical activities within sacred conventual spaces were seen as earthly manifestations of heavenly choirs.[64]

In the writings of the early Church Fathers, virginity was a defining characteristic of Christians, both male and female, but gradually the theological importance of the principle was defined primarily by female virginity.[65] From a

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[60] Thomas Connolly, "The Legend of St. Cecilia II: Music and the Symbols of Virginity," *Studi Musicali* 9 (1980): 3-44.

[61] Connolly, "The Legend of St. Cecilia I," 36.

[62] Connolly sums up the reasoning of Church fathers and other theologians who linked virgins with angels: "the Christian virgin matched the sexlessness, the immateriality of the angel, and thus lived already in the highest state of perfection, enjoying even on earth the vision of heavenly things that was proper to the angelic condition." Ibid., 15, 17.

[63] In literary and pictorial traditions, choirs consist of virgins, not confessors, bishops, or holy women. Ibid., 18.

[64] Federigo Borromeo and other prelates viewed convents as "earthly prefiguration[s] of the heavenly Jerusalem." Robert Kendrick, "Feminized Devotion, Musical Nuns, and the 'New-Style' Lombard Motet of the 1640s," in *Rediscovering the Muses: Women's Musical Traditions*, ed. Kimberly Marshall (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1883), 127.

[65] See John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Idea* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), chapters 3 and 4.

thirteenth-century treatise on female virginity, *Hali Meidenhad*, virginity is defined as a "virtue above all other virtues," and women are admonished "ever so preciously to guard it, for it is so high a thing, so dear to God."[66] *Hali Meidenhad* affirms a relationship between virginity and music that is a fundamental element in images of St. Cecilia with musical instruments. Virginity qualifies its possessors not only for "immortal bliss" in their earthly probation but also for singing in Paradise angelic songs "that no saints but virgins alone may sing in heaven" with those "who follow God almighty, the fullness of good, whithersoever he wends, as others cannot."[67] This claim implies that sacred music-making is exemplified by chaste, saintly women and, as we have seen, Lanfranco and Dolci emphasize these qualities in Saint Cecilia through her aristocratic dress, demeanor, and musical instrument.

Giovanni Battista Beinaschi (b. Fossano, 1636; d. Naples, 1688) demonstrates even more dramatically the implications of gendering sacred music and rendering it aristocratic in his *Saint Cecilia and Angel Musicians* (c. 1680, Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina) (Fig. 42). Cecilia appears as a beautiful, elegantly dressed woman whose warmth, softness, and blushing cheeks are highlighted by the shaft of light that shines from the upper left. She wears a gently flowing translucent veil that covers her hair that is rolled back above her shoulders and adorned at the lower right with a jeweled ornament. The graceful posture of Cecilia's left hand with fingers delicately raised above the organ's keyboard draws attention to the instrument on which she plays. Surrounding Cecilia are cherubim, music-making angels, and a young angel who descends in the upper right to crown Cecilia with a garland of roses as she reverently gazes heavenward. Beinaschi draws attention to the keyboard instrument, which, as we have seen, is best suited to female musicians, and Cecilia's elegance and grace to imply that her piety and purity are justification for her participation in this heavenly concert.

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[66] Humility must accompany virginity because pride may lead to sexual sin. *Hali Meidenhad*, ed. Oswald Cockayne, E.E.T.S. 18 (London, 1866), 11, as quoted in Bugge, 116.

[67] *Hali Meidenhad*, 19. Cited in Bugge, 118.

The aristocratization of St. Cecilia represents a point at which realms of allegory, religion, and portraiture overlap and challenge one another in suggestive ways. Cecilia's appearance as a courtly noblewoman with a musical instrument is essential not only as a marker of her nobility, but also to establish theoretical associations with Lady Music. Images of Cecilia assume secular connotations in which the saint is present to sanction the art and practice of music, including practices of female musicians. At the same time, Cecilia's halo and, in some cases, the presence of an angel indicate her status as a saint and invite the viewer to consider the holiness of Cecilia and her celestial music. That Cecilia qualifies as a participant in heavenly concerts is determined by her virginity and inner spirituality, which are symbolized externally by her aristocratic dress and demeanor. Significantly, these conjunctions of the sacred and the secular are dependent upon gender—female musicians, female aristocracy, female chastity–and, therefore, can be forged only in the unique representations of Cecilia as a musician.

St. Cecilia with stringed instruments

While images of St. Cecilia with an organ are not unexpected given the development of her iconography, as discussed above, seventeenth-century depictions of the saint with a violin, lute, or theorbo are shockingly new. Nothing in Cecilia's hagiographies suggests that she played a stringed instrument or even that musicians played stringed instruments at her nuptials. However, within the history of developments in sacred music practices at the turn of the seventeenth century, organs, violins, and lutes figure prominently in disputes about traditional versus progressive instrumental music practices. In this section, I argue that the instruments in paintings of St. Cecilia were chosen to express specific attitudes to accepted and contested instruments and to comment on instrumental music practices in religious settings. Paintings of a musical St. Cecilia perhaps served to validate the use of these instruments in sacred settings, particularly by female nun musicians, through the acceptable guise of a saint.

Guido Reni's (b. Calvenzano, 1575; d. Bologna, 1642) *St. Cecilia* (1606, The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) (Fig. 43), painted for Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrato in 1606, is the earliest image of the saint holding a violin, and it was admired enough to inspire at least seven known copies by artists in seventeenth-

century Rome.[68] Cardinal Sfondrato's dedication to the saint and her cult began in earnest with the restoration of the church of Saint Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome and the accompanying exhumation and reinterment of St. Cecilia's remains in 1599, was manifest in his commission of paintings and sculptures of Cecilia, and culminated in his will naming the "Chiesa della mia S. Cecilia di Trastevere" as his universal heir.[69] Since Cardinal Sfondrato displayed such respect and admiration for Cecilia and her church, we can presume that Reni's image of Cecilia with a violin was acceptable and that it may affirm the acceptance of this instrument within the canon of approved church instruments. In Reni's image, Cecilia holds the violin upright in her left hand and with her right hand she gingerly holds the bow across the violin. She looks up in humility toward heaven in a posture typical of martyrs seeking to behold the glory that awaits them, but here the pose is modified with the inclusion of the violin to suggest Cecilia is seeking not only grace but also permission to play the instrument. The light that bathes her face with its entreating gaze also illuminates her hands as though to confirm that divine approval has been granted and that the violin is welcome.

Guido Reni's *Saint Cecilia* was produced at a time when incorporating the violin into sacred music compositions and performances was relatively new in Italy. It is only from about 1601 that violins were specifically called for in sacred music composition, but they were likely the preferred instrument for performances of motets composed in the 1580s.[70] The way in which Cecilia projects the violin toward the viewer while obscuring an organ in the right background seems to foreshadow pictorially what happened musically in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Although the organ retained its usefulness for supporting

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[68] Five of the copies are found in the following collections: Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (attr. Domenichino); Casita del Principe, El Escorial; Palazzo Reale, Madrid; Academia de San Fernando, Madrid; Gall. Fischer, Lucerne (as Gentileschi). The other two copies are listed as Lord Radstock sale, Christie's, 1826 (141); and in *Quadri raccolti . . . Bologna,* 1867, Strada Maggiore 232. D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: A Complete Catalogue of His Works with an Introduction Text* (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 221.

[69] Lo Bianco, 13.

[70] Bonta credits the increased use of violins in sacred settings to both the dramatic rise in stringed instrument production and the developments in solo singing that occurred by the early decades of the seventeenth century. Stephen Bonta, "The Use of Instruments," 524.

voices or playing free instrumental pieces in various parts of the mass, it competed with an increased appreciation of and demand for stringed instruments in masses and, particularly, in the Divine Offices.[71] The earliest example of a mass that specifically calls for the use of a violin is Antonio Burlini's mass of 1615.[72] The addition of violins helped to revitalize the mass in the early seventeenth century, making it a musical form attractive to composers who wanted to explore the musical potential of secular styles and forms.[73] Combinations of voices and musical instruments, including violins, not only allowed for exciting new musical possibilities for the composers but also enriched the experience of the mass for the congregation.[74]

While masses from the 1620s include ensembles of violins, cornets, and trombones, ceremonial masses printed during and after the 1630s display a particular preference for the violin:

> Its [the violin's] role changed from providing extra-liturgical canzonas and sonatas to being incorporated into the fabric and form of the mass–doubling of tutti sections, giving harmonic and ornamental support at climaxes and cadential points, providing optional, 'dispensable' ripieni and instrumental pieces, introducing essential sinfonias and ritornellos, and even substituting for parts of the Ordinary or Proper.[75]

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[71] Bonta, "The Uses of the 'Sonata da Chiesa," 56. In the early seventeenth century, composers incorporated independent instrumental music into the mass, allowing stringed instruments to do more than accompany or double voices. Anne Schnoebelen, "The role of the violin in the resurgence of the Mass in the 17th century," *Early Music* 19 (November 1990): 538. Jungmann refers to a "splendid" style of church music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made "ever richer, more gorgeous" by the addition of instruments besides the organ. Jungmann, 111.

[72] Although the instrumental accompaniment for the mass is designated in the score as "istromento acuto" (high-pitched instrument), Burlini advocates the use of the violin specifically in the title page of his *Messa salmi et motetti concertati à cinqaue, sei, sette, et otto con sinfonie ritornelli et una messa nel fine il tutto variamente concertato, con voci et instromenti . . . Op VII* (Venice 1615). Schnoebelen, "The role of the violin," 538.

[73] Ibid., 541.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Compositions in which stringed instruments substitute for parts of the Ordinary or Proper include Givoanni Francesco Capello's *Moteti et dialoghi a cinque, sei, sette, et otto con sinfonie, ritornelli, et una messa nel fine il tutto variamente concertato, con voci et instromenti . . .Op. VII* (Venice, 1615); Ignazio Donati's mass printed in *Salmi boscarecci*

André Maugars provides insightful first-hand observations of the widely accepted use of violins in church in his account of the feast of St. Dominic in S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1639: "Dans les Antiennes ils firent encore de tres bonnes symphonics d'un, de deux, ou trois Violons auec l'Orgue, & de quelques Archiluths, iouans de certains airs de mesure de Ballet, & se respondans les vns aux autres."[76] The instrumental sections must have been distinct and impressive enough for Maugars to single them out, to acknowledge the varying number of violins required, and to mention the type of music played by the archlutes.

Like Reni, Giuseppe Puglia (b. Rome, c. 1600; d. Rome, 1636) advocated violins in sacred contexts by depicting St. Cecilia holding or playing a violin in his two versions of *St. Cecilia*, (S. Maria in Vallicella) (Fig. 44) and (Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg) (Fig. 45), both presumably created in Rome during the 1630s. In the S. Maria in Vallicella version created for the Oratorians, St. Cecilia, identified by the conventional turban and halo, sits facing forward with her knees boldly projecting out toward the viewer. Her confident posture is further emphasized by the way her right elbow reaches forward to rest on her raised knee to convey an attitude of casual confidence. She is firmly situated in an earthly realm, but she looks up to heaven as though seeking divine approbation as she readies her violin for playing. The significance of a violin rather than an organ as Cecilia's instrument can best be realized when we consider that the painting originally hung in the refectory of the Chiesa Nuova in Rome.[77] Given the Oratorian Fathers' control over artists and subjects chosen for the church's decoration, we can presume

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concertati a 6 voci . . . Op. IX (Venice, 1623); Alessandro Grandi's ceremonial mass printed in *Raccolta terza di Leonardo Simonetti . . . di messa et salmi del sig. Alessandro Grandi et Gio. Croce Chiozotto à 2, 3, 4 . . .* (Venice, 1630); and Giovanni Rovetta's mass printed in *Messa e salmi concertati a cinque, st, sette, otto voci e due violini . . . Op. IV* (Venice 1639). Ibid, 538-41. Giuseppe Torelli (b. Verona, 1658; d. Bologna, 1709), Domenico Gabrielli (b. BOlogna, 1651; d. Bologna, 1690), and Petronio Franceschini (b. Bologna, 1651; d. Venice, 1680), who were composers and virtuoso instrumentalists in Bologna, were noted for composing masses that replaced entire parts of the Ordinary with free instrumental music. Anne Schnoebelen, ed. *Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Messa a Nove Voci Concertata con Strumenti,* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1974), ix.

[76] "In the Antiphons they also had very fine instrumental pieces, with one, two, or three violins together with the organ, and with some archlutes, playing certain airs in dance meters and answering each other back and forth." Maugars, 9. 62.

[77] Helmut Philipp Riedl, "*St. Cecilia* by Giuseppe Puglia in Winnipeg," *Burlington Magazine* 136 (September 1994): 618.

that Puglia's composition was the result of careful consideration and that it complied with the Oratorians' exacting demands.[78] From its inception, the Oratory recognized the value of musical performances for devotional and recreational purposes. It used music to attract congregations of 3,000 to 4,000 people for whom they provided musical entertainment in tandem with sermons.[79] Gradually over half of the spoken sermons were eliminated as the sophisticated musical genre of the oratorio developed and dominated the services.[80] During the 1620s and 1630s, the Oratorians were divided on the issue of appropriate devotional music, with some supporting elaborate musical performances and others calling for a return to more modest music.[81] The official decree of the Congregation of the Oratory in 1630 limited instruments to the organ and cembalo, or harpsichord, and eliminated the sinfonia, but the violin was soon accepted again because of its required use in the many oratorios.[82] Since Puglia's painting of St. Cecilia with a violin was produced in the 1630s, it was perhaps displayed as a deliberate attempt to sway opinions about the violin's merit in the wake of controversies surrounding musical performances at the Oratory.

The widespread popularity of stringed instruments in sacred music is confirmed by contemporary expressions of resistance to the new music.[83] As early

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[78] When Francesco Pizzomiglio wanted to commission an altarpiece for his Chapel of the Visitation in 1582, he was told by the Oratorians to choose either Girolamo Muziano or Federico Barocci to create the work. Once artists were selected, they had to submit cartoons of their works to make sure they were appropriate for the proposed setting. Ian Verstegen, "Federico Barocci, Federico Borromeo, and the Oratorian Orbit," *Renaissance Quarterly* 56 (Spring 2003): 59-62.

[79] Joseph Connors, *Borromini and the Roman Oratory,* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 69.

[80] Ibid. 78. See Glossary for definition of oratorio.

[81] Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 160.

[82] Smither, 160.

[83] The use of stringed instruments was not limited to certain orders or congregations. As Anne Schnoebelen points out, by the 1630s "nearly every musical chapel of any size had a resident string ensemble." Anne Schnoebelen, Review of *Giovanni Rovetta: Messa, e salmi concertati, op. 4 (1639),* ed. Linda Maria Koldau, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 11 no. 1 (2005): par. 2.2; http://www.ssm-jscm.org/v11/no1/schnoebelen.html.

as 1611, an account by Bernardino Castorio, rector of the Collegio Germanico and supporter of liturgical performances of musical instruments, indicates that the widespread use of musical instruments in church settings met with some opposition:

> It has been of some surprise (to me) that, while lutes, theorboes, violins and similar instruments have for some time now been customary in all the music performed in other churches in Rome, and elsewhere, their use in the Collegio Germanico for some feasts has, several times already, caused no little resentment.[84]

Castorio clearly favored developments in instrumental music because he was responsible for appointing as *maestri di cappella* innovative musicians such as Agostino Agazzari (1578-1640), who was a major proponent of *basso continuo,* and Giacomo Carissimi, (1605-1674), who was a leading oratorio composer in the mid-seventeenth century.[85] Perhaps Castorio had encountered colleagues with a disdain for musical instruments like that expressed later by Father Alber, who lived adjacent to the Church of the Gesù in the Casa Professa. On September 15, 1614, he complained to Father General Claudius Acquaviva about the recent activities at the Church of the Gesù that revolved around the addition of two choir lofts and an organ: "Inter tot autem turba, liuti violi et si quid aliud novi instrumenti exoriatur . . . pietatem potius dediscant, et postmodum in suis ecclesiis eadem libertate et

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[84] Cited in T.D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music: I. Study of Musicians connected with the German College in Rome during the Seventeenth Century and Their Activities in Northern Europe* (St. Louis: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1970), 100. The Collegio Germanico was established to provide a spiritual and academic education to young men from Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary in preparation for becoming clergymen and returning to stem the spread of Protestantism in their native Germany. The importance of music to the Jesuits was recognized as early as the 1550s when missionaries in Brazil realized that the natives responded enthusiastically to them singing and playing native instruments. Instrumental music programs continued as an integral part of Jesuit education and worship into the seventeenth century. John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 159, 234. The "other churches" referred to by Castorio may have included San Luigi dei Francesi, St. Peter's Basilica, and the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore which were noted for employing stringed instrumentalists for important celebrations. Jeffrey Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 115-16. Between 1608-1624 the instrumental ensembles at Santa Maria Maggiore were enlarged and the musical performances were more splendid than during the period 1581-1607. Luca della Libera, "Repertori ed organici vocali-strumentali nella basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma 1557-1624," *Studi musicali* 29 (2000): 13.

[85] Ibid.

levitate procedunt."[86] Alber echoes the long-standing concerns of the Church for avoiding music that is "lascivious or impure" out of fear that secularized music will rouse listeners to lewdness and irreverence rather than devotion.[87] He implies here that stringed instruments are primary contributors to such offenses.[88] Alber was a member of the older, more traditional faction within the Jesuit society.[89]

The divide between those favorable to and those resistant to innovative music practices at the Gesù may be partly generational, and it is paralleled by a similar situation when Borromini was entrusted in 1637 with building the Oratory façade. Joseph Connors examines the shift in architectural tastes between an older generation of priests who had been acquainted personally with Filippo Neri in the early founding decades of the Congregation of the Oratory (1575), and a younger generation who were removed in time and philosophy from the saint and his modest Counter Reformation aesthetic.[90] Connors demonstrates how the architectural ornamentation for the exterior of the Oratory, just like the musical performances within the Oratory, gradually became more decorative and aristocratic because of a generation receptive to forms and styles that challenged conservative traditions.[91]

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[86] "Moreover, among so much confusion, the lutes, viola di gamba, and any other new instruments . . . all of these things rather discourage piety and later on, these same things yield to liberty and license in their churches." Father Alber is likely the same man as Ferdinand Alber, S.J., Provincial of Upper Germany from 1585-1594, who wrote a similar letter in the 1580s describing musical practices in Germany. T. Frank Kennedy, "Jesuits and Music: The Early Years," *Studi musicali* 17 (1998): 92, 97.

[87] Demands to avoid lasciviousness appear repeatedly in various conciliar and synodal decrees on Church music during the sixteenth century, including the official canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. See K.G. Fellerer and Moses Hadas, "Church Music and the Council of Trent," *The Musical Quarterly* 39 (October 1953): 576-94. See also Craig Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the Musicological Society* 55 (Spring 2002): 8-10.

[88] On conflicting attitudes toward music among the Jesuits, see Kennedy, in particular 89-95.

[89] Kennedy, "Jesuits and Music," 97.

[90] Connors, *Borromini,* 1.

[91] Ibid., 1, 32-9. Many of the major decisions about finances, design, and decoration associated with the Oratory were orchestrated by Virgilio Spada (1596-1662), who joined the Congregation in 1622. He not only helped Borromini win the commission to take over as architect and execute plans designed by Paolo Maruscelli, but he subsequently defended many of Borromini's innovative designs. Ibid, 28, 48.

In 1615, Father Alber again wrote a letter in which he vehemently complained about the excesses and distractions of music performed at the Gesù:

> In ecclesia domus professae Romanae excessus est manifestus; in cantu, in organis, quae duo sunt; in musica, in quadruplicate choro, pro musicis, instrumentis, cantoribus, et instrumentalistis. . . . Concinendum cum est, organum, et fistulae concordandae, quod saepe fit, et impediuntur confessarii; et qui orandi, causa templum accedunt, boatu illo fistularum abiguntur.[92]

From the tone of the letter it appears that Father Alber's earlier complaints not only had gone unheeded, but the musical practices occurring at the Gesù had accelerated with the number of instruments and the volume of their music. Even the traditionally accepted organ was subject to harsh criticism.

Anxieties about the effects of stringed instruments on spirituality were expressed earlier by Antonio Seneca, Deacon of Milan, and Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, Archbishop of Bologna. Whereas Alber criticized Jesuit musical practices, these ecclesiastical officials directed their criticism of instrumental music practices specifically at female nun musicians in Roman and Bolognese convents. Antonio Seneca complains about abuses of music involving musical instruments in his *Prattica del governo spirituale e temporale de monasterii delle monache* . . . (Rome, 1604). He is critical of instrumental music practices in female convents because, he argues, if nuns devoted too much time to music, they risked singing and playing music for the sake of sensual pleasure rather than for specific sacred purposes that focused on divinity.[93] Seneca orders that "la superiora non permetta

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[92] "In the Church of the Casa Professa in Rome, excess has been shown clearly; there is excess in the singing, and in the use of organs, of which there are two; there is excess in the music because there are four choir lofts for the musicians, instruments, singers and instrumentalists. . . . When the organ and the harmonious shawms are sounded together, which is often done, confessions are impeded, and those who have come to church for the sake of prayer are driven out by that roaring of the pipes." Cited and translated in Frank Kennedy, 94, 98-99.

[93] Kimberlyn Winona Montford, "Music in the Convents of Counter-Reformation Rome" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers The State University of New Jersey-New Brunswick, 1999), 78. "Music for some daughters of God has good effects, raising and rapturing them to a consideration of the songs of Heaven; ordinarily, however, it works very badly and the norm in our unhappy times—as experience clearly reveals—is that few singers are devout and fervent of spirit, and thus their music is appraised as not advisable for monastics, and even less for nuns, from whom God seeks not suavity of voice but purity of heart." Antonio Seneca, *Prattica del governo spirituale e temporale de monasterii delle monache*

che si usino suoni, et canti, i quali non siano honesti, et spirituali, come di viole. violini, di Citera, et leuti, et simili."[94] Whereas music-making in male monasteries was immune to ecclesiastical opposition, instrumental music activities in female monastic houses were considered not merely less "honest and spiritual" but, rather. a mortal sin.[95] Perhaps it was to ensure that his mandates concerning acceptable musical practices were clearly understood that Seneca felt it necessary to identify the offending stringed instruments by name.

Like Antonio Seneca, Gabriele Paleotti considered certain types of singing and musical instruments spiritually dangerous, and he sought to regulate nuns' musical training and performance with his *Ordine da servarsi dalle suore nel loro cantare e musica* (1580), which establishes seven rules governing where, when, how, and with which instruments the nuns could perform their music:

> It is permitted to play the organ between the psalms, with a solo voice that sings to the organ without any other concerto . . . No type of musical instruments should be used except the viol for the bass where it is necessary, with the permission of their superiors, and in their cells, the harpsichord.[96]

Although Paleotti does not name individual instruments that must be avoided, he makes a point of identifying the organ, the bass viol, and the harpsichord as the only acceptable instruments to be played under certain conditions.[97] These decrees governing music did not guarantee compliance by nuns, however, and many of

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secondo le regole et constitutioni de Santi Padri loro fondatori et del Sacro Concilio di Trento e di Sommi Pontefici, ASV, A.A. Arm. I-XVIII, 6492, p. 78A. Cited and translated in Montford, 79.

[94] Seneca, 80v. "The mother superior will not permit using music or songs which are not honest and spiritual, as that of viols, violins, guitars, lutes, and other similar instruments." Cited and translated in Montford, 80, 279.

[95] Like Paleotti and Seneca, Carlo Borromeo's lifelong campaign against inappropriate music practices was aimed solely at female monasteries. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 69.

[96] Cited in Craig Monson, *Disembodied Voices,* 38.

[97] The Church granted exceptions for the use of an organ or bass viol among cloistered nuns to substitute for male tenor and bass voices required in polyphonic motets because male musicians were not allowed within the enclosed walls of the convent. Candace Smith, "Sulpitia Cesis," in *Women Composers: Music Through the Ages,* vol. 1: Composers Born Before 1599, ed. Matha Furman Schleifer and Sylvia Glickman (New York: G.K. Hall, 1996), 164.

them found ways to circumvent the restrictions. Either they submitted petitions for special licenses, interpreted the decrees liberally, or they blatantly disobeyed the rules.[98] For example, the nuns of Santi Vitale et Agricola in Bologna proudly purchased a bass viol, three tenor viols, and a treble viol in 1602; and inventories of 1603 and 1613 from Santa Margherita in Bologna reveal that nuns owned illicit lutes, archlutes, guitars, and violins.[99] During the latter part of the sixteenth century, the convent of San Vito in Ferrara boasted 23 nuns who played a variety of instruments such as violins, double harps, lutes, flutes, cornetti, trombones, and harpsichords.[100] It is clear that by the early decades of the seventeenth century, the use of musical instruments to enhance, supplement, and even replace existing sacred vocal musical forms was well established in various Italian churches and convents even if not unanimously embraced.[101]

Carlo Saraceni's *Saint Cecilia* (Fig. 37) boldly displays a controversial theorbo held by the female saint and a bass viol held by her angelic companion as though to unequivocally endorse them and counter complaints like those of Father Alber and Antonio Seneca. [102] The angel's presence is vital here to lessen the sensuality of the scene and secure Cecilia's lute playing as appropriate because lutes in the hands of women were associated with intense emotions, particularly love, and no other instrument "engage[ed] more the inclination of men than the lute."[103] Although the painting's original patron and audience are not known, the daring, provocative composition suggests that Saraceni's painting was created to deliberately challenge contemporary attitudes regarding women, music, and the

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[98] Monson, *Disembodied Voices*, 39-47.

[99] Ibid., 47.

[100] Montford, 30.

[101] According to Robert Kendrick, instrumental music practices among nuns were widespread and were not limited to convents of a specific order or in a specific geographic region. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens*, 97..

[102] The question of how and why St. Cecilia is represented with stringed instruments could be taken up and explored more fully in relation to nuns and enclosure and patriarchal control, but this lies outside the scope of this chapter.

[103] Mary Burwell, *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, ff. 43v-45, facsimile reproduction, *The Burwell Lute Tutor*, with an introductory study by Robert Spencer (Leeds: Boethius Press, 1874).

sacred.[104] The angel's bright, outstretched wings emphasize the stringed instruments by mirroring the shapes and placement of the lute and bass viol, thereby further equating them with heavenly forces. The wings also help visually to thrust the instruments to the foreground. Consequently, Saraceni suggests that these instruments are both accessible and acceptable to the viewer; they are given divine approval in the painting and, by association, in actual sacred musical practices. A similarly dramatic visual assertion of a stringed instrument occurs in *St. Cecilia with a putto holding a musical score* (c. 1617-18, Musée du Louvre, Paris) by Domenichino (Fig. 46).[105] A fashionably dressed Cecilia plays a large viola da gamba placed solidly on a raised ledge in front of her. The choice of a viola da gamba as Cecilia's musical attribute recalls Paleotti's decree naming the viol as an instrument appropriate for providing the bass part in sacred music. Paoleotti's writings may have been known to both Domenichino and his patron Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi as fellow members of Bologna's cultural elite.[106] Domenichino includes a putto at the right, which recalls Renaissance *spiritelli* and which may embody the joy and spiritual ecstasy felt by Cecilia as she communes with God through music.[107] Unlike Saraceni, Domenichino depicts Cecilia gazing

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[104] Nothing is known about the provenance of this painting prior to its entrance into the collection of the Palazzo Barberini, and even the authorship of the painting lacks concrete evidence. Although scholars generally assign the work to Carlo Saraceni, Benedict Nicolson claims the work was painted by Guy François. *Caravaggism in Europe* vol. 1 (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & Co., 1990), 180. On Carlo Saraceni as the artist, see Rosella Vodret and Claudio Strinati, "Painted Music: 'A New and Affecting Manner,'" in *The Genius of Rome 1592-1623,* ed. Beverly Louise Brown (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2001), 100, 384; and Alfred Moir, *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 82.

[105] This title traditionally assigned to this painting, *St. Cecilia with an angel holding a musical score,* is misleading because the winged figure more closely resembles a putto than an angel. On the various traditions of representing putti in Renaissance art, see Charles Dempsey, *Inventing the Renaissance Putto* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[106] Richard Spear claims that Domenichino probably painted his *St. Cecilia* during a sojourn to Bologna in between stays in Rome. The painting appears in the Ludovisi inventory of 1633 as "Una Santa Cecilia, che suona un Violone conun Puttino, che li tiene un Libro di Musica innanzi alto pmi otto cornice near profilata e rabescata d'oro di mano del Domenichini." Domenichino's musical pursuits are well documented in writings by Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Giambattista Passeri, Giovanni Battista Doni, and Giovanni Pietro Bellori. Richard Spear, *Domenichino* vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 40-6, 194.

[107] Dempsey credits Donatello with reviving *spiritelli,* "diminuitive spirit[s] or sprite[s], in fifteenth century art. These figures embody a variety of emotions and sensory

heavenward for divine inspiration, away from the putto who holds a contemporary musical score that praises Cecilia.[108] The instrument becomes the means by which Cecilia achieves a direct spiritual union with God; a spirituality that is unmediated by ecclesiastical authority.

The viola da gamba dominates the composition not only because of its large size but also because it creates a strong vertical axis in the center of the composition that physically separates Cecilia and the young putto and makes the instrument a principal subject of the painting. In a stunning reversal of tradition, seen also in Guercino's *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 26), Cecilia's attribute is privileged over the saint. Her viola da gamba is framed on the right by the putto whose leg, protruding belly, and raised right arm create an outline that follows the curves of the instrument. Additionally, the whiteness of the putto and his book provide a striking contrast to accentuate the warm brown tones of the bass viol. On the left, the instrument is framed by Cecilia's strong vertical form. The rich, warm tones and curves of Cecilia's sumptuous flowing gown are repeated subtly in the body of the viola da gamba, and even her elaborate bejeweled hairstyle echoes the decoratively carved scroll and pegs of the instrument. Domenichino suggests here a powerful fusion of spiritual ecstasy, music, and the divine, with the viola da gamba situated as the focal point of this conjunction.

The prominence of organs and stringed instruments—both played and unplayed—in pictorial representations of Cecilia demonstrates that their function goes beyond merely symbols of Cecilia's identity to become protagonists in debates about seventeenth-century musical activities. In an almost perverse manner, paintings of Cecilia with musical instruments bring together two controversial issues of stringed instruments' associations with licentious music and behavior, and practices of female instrumentalists, which put women on display and "threaten a

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impulses of the human spirit ranging from love, to joy, to fear, to sorrow. As Dempsey points out, "Because of its iconographic fluidity, and because of its almost infinite capacity for multiplication, the sprite embodies an almost musical purity and directness of expression." Dempsey, *Inventing,* 6, 40-9.

[108] The score consists of a vocal text and basso continuo that may have been composed by Girolamo Giacobbi (1567-1629). Painted in the music book are the words: "Cantantibus organis/Caecilia virgo/Soli Domino decantabat dicens/Fiat Domine cor meum (et corpuo meum) immaculatum/Ut non confundar." Spear, *Domenichino,* 194.

disintegration of some of the fundamental characteristics of femininity."[109] However, paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician work to ennoble the instruments and eliminate a patriarchal fear of wantonness in both instrument and performer. In the following section, I examine more closely how Cecilia is shown actively playing keyboard and stringed instruments and explore how the spiritual quality of such concentrated performance may have served to stimulate profound devotional effects in the viewer and visualizes individual connections with the divine.

Figuring the divine through St. Cecilia's musical performance

The adoption of Cecilia as patron saint of music by the fourteenth century implies that to watch over musicians' dedicated practice she must lay claim to musical experience. This assignment is validated in part by alleged circumstances surrounding her wedding day as recounted in *Passio Sanctae Caeciliae,* composed in the fifth century.[110] Cecilia was to marry, against her wishes, a non-Christian named Valerian. While instruments played, she apparently "[sang] in her heart to God alone" that she might remain pure in body and spirit.[111] Through her obedience and, significantly, through music Cecilia bypassed patriarchal authority and claimed direct access to the divine. She was rewarded with an accompanying angel, who was not only guardian of her virginity but also the impetus for Valerian's

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[109] Green argues that the risk of jeopardizing one's femininity is greater for female instrumentalists than for female singers: "Unlike the singer, whose performance activities tend to affirm and even accentuate femininity, the woman instrumentalist can systematically call into question and interrupt those very reassuring signs of masked female sexuality upon which patriarchal definitions rely for their cogency. . . .The display she enacts, rather than that of a playful or alluring singing bird, is that of a more controlled and rational being who appears capable of using technology to take control over a situation." Lucy Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). 54.

[110] Original Latin text of the *Passio* with Italian translated is provided in Caraffa and Massone, 31-83. This anonymous account was edited and translated in three subsequent publications: Bonino Mombrizio, *Sanctuarium,* vol. 1 of 2 (Milan, 1480) 188-93; Antonio Bosio *Historia passionis b. Caeciliae* (Rome, 1600), 1-26; Giacomo Laderchi, *S. Caeciliae virg. et mart. acta et transtyberina basilica* vol. 1 (Rome, 1722) 1-39. Ibid., 31.

[111] The full passage reads: "Venit dies in quo thalamus collocatus est et cantantibus organis illa in corde suo soli Domino decantabat dicens: "Fiet corpus meum immaculatum ut non confudar." ("There came the day on which the bridal chamber was prepared; and while *organa* played, she sang in her heart to the Lord alone the words: "May my heart and my body be kept stainless, lest I be confounded.") Ibid, 36. Translated in Connolly, *Mourning into Joy*, 14.

conversion so that he too might see the angel.[112] According to her hagiography, therefore, Cecilia is characterized as one whose intense desire to honor a vow of chastity precipitated a powerful personal musical occurrence in which instrumental music and fervent singing/prayer were joined together to successfully invoke divine intervention. Many paintings of St. Cecilia produced in the early decades of the seventeenth century capitalize on this dedication and represent Cecilia actively playing her instrument. When angels accompany Cecilia, they assume significance beyond their role as guardian to become heavenly messengers who inspire, instruct, and endorse the saint in her musical activities. Therefore, we must consider how paintings of St. Cecilia demonstrate a new determined commitment to sacred music practices and how such representations serve to figure Cecilia's relationship to the divine.

Cecilia's dedication to music making is demonstrated in a quiet yet profound way in *St. Cecilia with an Angel* (c. 1617/18 and c. 1621/27, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) (Fig. 47) by Orazio Gentileschi and Giovanni Lanfranco.[113] Gentileschi depicts Cecilia as a modestly attired young woman remarkably absorbed in playing a portative organ. Music and Cecilia are figured here as both aristocratic and unpretentious. Cecilia bends her head slightly toward the organ in deep concentration with her hands poised gracefully above the keyboard. Cecilia is so intent on her playing that she seems unaware of the music held by the angel who looks up at her adoringly. The angel's presence is required to justify Cecilia's intense music-making, especially because her fingers energetically poised above the keyboard jeopardize Castiglione's prescription to avoid movements that are "troppo gagliardi e sforzati."[114] Saint Cecilia must not be seen as vulgar in her movements or her music. Her modesty and concentrated performance contrast strikingly with Lanfranco's image of Cecilia playing the cembalo of 1620-21. (Fig. 30).[115]

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[112] Caraffa and Massone, 43..

[113] On the attribution of the painting to both Gentileschi and Lanfranco, see Diane de Grazia and Erich Schleier, "St. Cecilia and an Angel: "The heads by Gentileschi, the rest by Lanfranco," *The Burlington Magazine* 136 no. 1091 (1994): 73-8.

[114] Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano,* Book 3. See note 35.

[115] Both Gentileschi/Lanfranco's *St. Cecilia and an Angel* and Lanfranco's *St. Cecilia* were owned by Natale Rondanini (1548-1627), an active patron of painting and a member of the Congregazione di Santa Cecilia. Keith Christiansen and Judith Mann,

Lanfranco depicts Cecilia as an elegant woman who looks away from her instrument up toward heaven, and he paints the accompanying angels looking away from Cecilia, completely distracted from the performance. By emphasizing Cecilia's engrossed musical performance rather than her elegance or appeal to heaven, Gentileschi suggests that it is music and, more importantly, the intense engagement with music making, that helps to establish close communion with the divine.

Representations of St. Cecilia as a female musician dedicated to spiritually inspiring musical activities had parallels with actual practices of female nun musicians. That at least some nun musicians felt a kinship with St. Cecilia and her musical dedication is borne out by the existence of a second version of Orazio Gentileschi's *Saint Cecilia with an Angel* (Fig. 28) that originally hung in the convent of San Francesco at Todi.[116] Keith Christiansen proposes that this work was produced for one of the nuns, and certainly a nun skilled in playing keyboard instruments would have identified with and, perhaps, been inspired by St. Cecilia's devout music-making.[117] Variations in the figure of Cecilia from Gentileschi's composition for Rondanini appear in the halo and garland of roses added to confirm the musician's identity as St. Cecilia and emphasize the spiritual dimension of the work. Perhaps out of a sense of propriety the artist did not want to be presumptuous in making the saint appear too ordinary to the convent audience. Surprisingly, Cecilia's instrument in this version is a harpsichord instead of an organ, which was the instrument more commonly used in convent settings. The harpsichord was an acceptable instrument for convent music, but it differed from the organ in its additional role as instrument best suited to the education and manners of aristocratic

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Orazio and Artemisia Gentileschi (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 156; Giazotto, *Quattro secoli,* vol. 1, 12-13. That Rondanini may have commissioned these two different images of a musical St. Cecilia demonstrates Rondanini's attraction to discourses on both Cecilia and music that intersect in these paintings. Rondanini's acquisition of paintings that explore these dual qualities may be the product not only of an insistence on individual musical prowess but also an expression of institutional pride in relation to the activities of the Congregazione.

[116] Francesco Santi discovered this painting in its original frame in the convent in 1972. Francesco Santi, "Una tela di Orazio Gentileschi in Umbria," *Bollettino d'Arte* 5th ser., 41 (1976): 43-4.

[117] Christiansen and Mann, 156-57.

women.[118] However, as we saw with Dolci's *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 29), while the inclusion of a harpsichord instead of a portative organ does evoke associations with secular aristocratic female musicians, the implied chastity and piety of the young Cecilia, as discussed above, remain intact.

By placing Cecilia at a harpsichord in an image probably produced for a nun, Gentileschi creates a sense of ambiguity about her music-making. Is she a saintly woman justifying the playing of harpsichords among nun musicians? Are the connotations of courtly manners and deportment evoked by the harpsichord essential to inform and ennoble the saint's musical activities and, by association, the musical practices of nuns? Or are both interpretations applicable? One thing is clear: Cecilia's concentration on her playing is key. She represents how music, when properly pursued, is deemed a valuable asset for young women, especially when their talents are applied to sacred music.[119] Paintings of St. Cecilia actively making music with her instrument recalls contemporary accounts that attest to the remarkable results of nuns' musical training. Ercole Bottrigari favorably recounts a concert performed by an ensemble of twenty-three nuns of San Vito in Ferrara, a convent that was noted for its exceptionally talented musicians:

> Uedendole uoi venire . . . al luogo, dou'è preparata una lūga tauola; sopra la quale da un capo si troua un clavacébalo grande, uoi le uedreste entrare ad una, ad una, pian piano reccandosi con seco ciascuna il suo strumēto , ò da corde, ò da fiato, che egli si sia, percioche di tutte le maniere esse ne essercitano, & accostarsi à quella tauola ponendosi, senza fare alcun minimo rumore nel suo debito luogo à sedere quelle, che à sedere háno da adoperare gli struméti loro: & l'altre restare in piedi. Ultimamente la Maestra del Concerto assidersi dall'altro capo di essa tauola & cō una lūga, & sottile, & ben polita verghetta à lei già dauāti apparecchiata, poi che ha ueduto, &

[118] Barbara Garvey Jackson, "Musical Women of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Women and Music,* ed. Karin Pendle (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), 118; Green, 59.

[119] Many notable sixteenth- and seventeenth-century female composers came from noble or patrician families and received private instruction as children in preparation for marriage or monastic life. Some of the most notable of these musicians are Vittoria Aleotti, Laura Bovia, Barbara Strozzi, Isabella de'Medici, Leonora Orsina, the Baroness Del Nero, Sulpizia Cesis, Isabella Leonarda, Marieta Morisina Prioli, Claudia Sessa, Claudia Francesca Rusca, and Lucretia Orsina Vizana. Bowers, 129.

> chiaramēte conosciuto tutte le altre sirocchi esser in accōcio dar loro, sēza strepito alcuno segno dello incominciare, & di'indi poi seguētemēte dall misura del tēpo; alla qualle esse hāno in cosi cātādo, & sonādo da obedire."[120]

Bottrigari not only documents the nuns' sophisticated performances for a public audience, but he also recognizes the performers' high level of discipline and professionalism. Similar praise for nun musicians is offered by Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici of Tuscany, who visited Milan in 1664 and witnessed the musicians at the convent of Santa Radegonda: "In questo Monastero, che sono più di 100 Madri si fa professione di Musica, e vi sono 50 Monache fra cantatrice, e sonatrici di tutta perfezione divise in due truppe, con due M[ae]st[r]e de Cappella, che non cedendosi fra di loro vanno giornalmente cercando modo di rendersi più abili."[121] Cosimo's account confirms the priority given to musical practice and performance by the convent as a whole and recognizes that institutional support was vital for individual nuns' musical pursuit. Perhaps Gentileschi emphasizes Cecilia's dedication to musical practice in his two paintings to comment on the contributions of skilled female musicians to developments in and performances of sacred music. Certainly the accompanying angel supports such an interpretation not only by endorsing Cecilia's music practice by holding her music but also by gazing up at her in an attitude of wonder and worship.

Like Gentileschi, Saraceni emphasizes Cecilia's musical practice, but he draws attention specifically to musical instruments' role as intermediary between heavenly and earthly realms in his *St. Cecilia with an Angel* (Fig. 37). Instruments

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[120] Bottrigari, 48. "When you watch them come in . . . to the place where a long table has been prepared, at one end of which is found a large clavicembalo, you would see them enter one by one, quietly bringing their instruments, either stringed or wind. They all enter quietly and approach the table without making the least noise and place themselves in their proper place, and some sit, who must do so in order to use their instruments, and others remain standing. Finally the Maestra of the concert sits down at one end of the table and with a long, slender and well-polished wand (which was placed there ready for her, because I saw it), and when all the other sisters clearly are ready, gives them without noise several signs to begin, and then continues by beating the measure of the time which they must obey in singing and playing." Translated in MacClintock, 58-9.

[121] "In this convent of more than hundred nuns, music is cultivated as a profession, and there are fifty nuns counting singers and instrumentalists of utter perfection, divided into two ensembles, with two *madri di cappella,* who seek daily to make themselves more skilled, not conceding to each other." Kendrick, "The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music," 214.

and music books are placed at the feet of St. Cecilia in Saraceni's painting, and also in Giulio Cesare Amidano's (b. Parma, 1566; d. Parma, c. 1630) *St. Cecilia* (after 1612, Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte) (Fig. 48), The harp at the right and a violin, recorder, and shawm lying on the floor in the foreground of Saraceni's painting recall Raphael's *St. Cecilia with Sts. Paul, John Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene* (Fig. 27) but the symbolism adopted in Raphael's painting is altered because Cecilia does not reject them in favor of heavenly music. The vertical axis created in Raphael's work from discarded instruments on the ground upward through Cecilia's gaze to angelic choirs in heaven is changed in these later paintings to a horizontal axis created by the placement of the angel adjacent to Cecilia and by the presentation of various instruments as potential participants in Cecilia's pious music-making. Musical instruments do not represent worldly vanities that must be abandoned in order to seek heavenly visions, as in Raphael's work, but rather represent music and its role in facilitating spiritual transformation and providing immediate access to the divine.

This potential for music to bring the heavenly realm down to earth is conveyed in Giovanni Battista Beinaschi's *Saint Cecilia and Angel Musicians* (Fig. 42). Cecilia is seated playing the organ in an elevated position within the composition, and it appears as though she is lifted beyond earthly confines by the music-making angels who encircle her and accompany her in a sacred musical ensemble of theorbo, bass viol, and recorder. Heaven and earth are inseparable as the heavenly music of angels and the organ music of Cecilia have joined to become one. Beinaschi's Cecilia evokes associations with representations of St. Teresa, the Spanish mystic saint whose experiences with spiritual ecstasy and rapture often led to a "raising of the spirit" that included both soul and body.[122] For example, Gianlorenzo Bernini's (b. Naples, 1598; d. Rome, 1680) *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* (1647-52, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome) (Fig. 49) depicts Teresa at the moment when her vision of being pierced in her heart with the love of God occurs in a state of ecstasy in which she is physically and spiritually transported heavenward in the

[122] Teresa of Avila, *The Life of St. Teresa of Avila by Herself*, trans. J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin Books, 1957), 172, 192.

company of an angel.[123] Beinaschi's Cecilia is figured experiencing similar rapture and divine contact in the company of angels, but in this work Cecilia's music-making is emphasized as the impetus for elevation. As in Saraceni's work discussed above, the musical instruments appear as outward, visible manifestations of the transformative quality of the soul's inner music.

Beinaschi's painting recalls similar experiences with nun musicians whose music, witnesses claimed, had the capacity to elicit visions of heavenly realms. According to one account of a Sienese procession to honor the relic of the head of S. Galgano in 1649, "Al primo ingresso di essa [sacra testa] fu da esse [madri di Ognissanti] cantata in organo a due chori distinti l'hinno de' confessori con bellissime e vaghe musiche concertate con varii strumenti e doppo un bello e vago mottetto in lode del santo che pareva aperto il Paradiso."[124] The exquisite music was performed by the nuns of the Olivetan order, noted for their commitment to the study and practice of music.[125] Their music attests to the potential for nuns' music to mediate between earth and heaven, like the relics of saints' bodies that are present both physically on earth and spiritually in heaven.[126] In this instance, the physical relic of the head of S. Galgano inspired music of praise and devotion that, in turn, seemed to cause a brief parting of the veil between earth and heaven. Beinaschi's

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[123] On how the distinct characteristics of ecstasy, rapture, and suspension from St. Teresa's writings are manifest in Bernini's sculpture, see Susanne Warma, "Ecstasy and Vision: Two Concepts Connected with Bernini's Teresa," *The Art Bulletin* 66 (September 1984): 508-11.

[124] *Relatione della general preocessione fatta in Siena nella Domenica in Albis MDCIL dale venerabili compagnie della medesima città il di 11 d'aprile nella quale con solenne pompa fu portata l'insigne reliquia della sacra testa di S. Galgano Guidotti di Chiusdino nobil sanese* (Siena: Bonetti, 1649). "At the very moment the [sacred head] entered [the church], the nuns sang the Confessor's hymn from the organ loft in two distinct choirs with most beautiful music concerted with various instruments and after that, a lovely motet in praise of the saint, such that it seemed as if paradise had opened up." Cited in Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 46, 196.

[125] The Benedictine and Cistercian orders in Siena also encouraged the practice of vocal and instrumental music. Reardon, 3.

[126] "It is this ability to look in both directions simultaneously, forward and back, into heaven and onto life on earth, and (unlike Christ) to be still unequivocably embodied, that gives saints' relics their authority and power." Helen Hills, "Nuns and Relics: Spiritual Authority in Post-Tridentine Naples," in *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe, An Interdisciplinary View,* ed. Cordula Van Wyhe (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 17.

painting shows the glorious resulting effects of seeking and receiving divine union through the medium of music. Cecilia appears to be in the midst of musical and spiritual rapture, which we can presume will continue as long as she continues to look heavenward to appeal for continued inspiration from the angels who support her organ playing.

The role of the angel

It is instructive to consider here the angels' specific roles in relation to Cecilia's music-making and the question of how the divine is figured. Depictions of angels in the company of Cecilia are not unusual and conform to Bosio's history of Cecilia that claims she was watched over by a guardian angel. They also may have been included with St. Cecilia to reaffirm their existence and functions following Pope Paul V's (1605-1621) official sanction of beliefs in guardian angels in 1608 and the subsequent assignment of October 2 on the liturgical calendar as their feast day.[127] Francesco Albertini describes the role of guardian angels as mediators between heaven and earth in his treatise *Trattato dell' Angelo Custode* (Rome and Naples, 1612), which details the qualities, virtues, and benefits of guardian angels.[128] He claims that guardian angels have sacred responsibilities of continually ascending to heaven to offer our prayers to God and descending to earth to nurture, defend, and enlighten humankind: "si deve però considerare, che quantunque gli Angioli stiano con noi qua giù per meglio custodirci , e lascino per noi albergo cosi nobile come il Cielo, non però lasciano di vedere la faccia di Dio, il quale è in ogni luogo."[129] Therefore, since they exist in continual contact with heaven, guardian angels are manifestations of the omnipresent grace and love of God.

The relationship between Cecilia and an angel or the absence of an angel in paintings creates significant nuances in the relationships between Cecilia, music, and heaven. We might expect to see angels appear as intermediaries between

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[127] Josephine von Henneberg, "Saint Francesca Romana and Guardian Angels in Baroque Art," *Religion and the Arts* 2 no. 4 (1998): 467.

[128] Francesco Albertini, *Trattato dell' Angelo Custode del R. P. Francesco Albertino da Catanzaro della Compagnia di Gesu: Con l'Officio dell'Angelo Custode, approvato da N. Signore Papa Paolo Quinto* (Rome and Naples, 1612), 134.

[129] Ibid. "We must however consider that although the angels are here with us to better nurture us, and they leave for us such a noble dwelling as Heaven is, they do not go without seeing the face of God, who is everywhere."

heaven and earth when Cecilia is depicted gazing heavenward to seek divine union, as in Lanfranco's *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 30). Although Cecilia is oblivious to the angels and they, in turn, are uninterested in Cecilia and her music, the presence of the angels visualizes the connection between physical and metaphysical realms. When Cecilia is represented as physically and emotionally absorbed in music, then an angel often sanctions her activities. As we have seen, the angel in Gentileschi and Lanfranco's *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 46) is essential to justify Cecilia's concentrated organ playing that is accentuated by her bowed head, her right sleeve pulled up, and her fingers forcefully bent over the keyboard. Here music brings heaven to earth in the guise of an angel.

The angel in Saraceni's *St. Cecilia with an Angel* (Fig. 37) assumes a similar role. Here the saint plays a controversial stringed instrument and is depicted in the act of tuning the theorbo in an attitude of practice and preparation rather than performance. Saraceni is careful, however, to convey divine approval of Cecilia's instrument and to imply that her music is God-given through the presence of an accompanying angel who joins in her music-making. He keeps his right hand on his bass viol and points with his left hand toward Cecilia's left hand to guide her tuning. With his lips parted as though offering instruction to Cecilia, who looks toward him, the angel assumes a more active role in the training of the saint musician, thereby advocating Cecilia's sacred music and, specifically, the use of a theorbo for her musical activities. Perhaps this representation serves as a metaphor for the dedication and inspiration required for the inner music of the soul to stimulate a spiritual conversion. Such a reading would have resounded strongly in early seventeenth-century audiences at a time when renewed personal faith and spiritual conversion were central to aims of the post-Tridentine Catholic church.[130]

The appearance of the angel and his role in Saraceni's *St. Cecilia* is related to the first version of *St. Matthew and the Angel* (c. 1602, destroyed, formerly

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130 Keith P. Luria, "The Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality," in *Christian Spirituality, vol. 3: Post-Reformation and Modern,* ed. Louis K. Dupré, Don E. Saliers, and John Meyendorff (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company. 1989), 93-120. On individual spirituality, see also H. Outram Evennett, "Counter-Reformation Spirituality," in *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings,* ed. David M. Luebke (Blackwell Publishers: 1999): 47-64.

Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin) (Fig. 50) created by Caravaggio (b. Milan or Caravaggio, 1571; d. Porto Ercole, 1610) for the Contarelli Chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi. Caravaggio's painting depicts a standing angel reaching over a seated Matthew to physically guide the saint's right hand in writing the gospel. This implied that St. Matthew was illiterate and was therefore disturbing to conservative churchmen. Similarly, the angel in Saraceni's painting reaches over with his hand to direct Cecilia's hand, but in this case it is to help to tune the theorbo. Cecilia looks over toward the angel to acknowledge his descent to earth, to engage in direct communication with the divine, and to confirm that she listens to and obeys his commands. Whereas the implication of illiteracy to St. Matthew was socially disturbing, the same is not true in relation to music with St. Cecilia. Irving Lavin's claim that the angel in Caravaggio's painting serves as a "metaphor for the world's learning the truth from God" applies to Saraceni's painting as well.[131] Just as the words Matthew writes are received from God through an intervening angel, Cecilia's music is sanctified by the angel's divine instruction.

Direct, physical contact is not always requisite to imply divine inspiration and instruction as evident in Caravaggio's second version of *St. Matthew and the Angel* (1603, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome) (Fig. 51) and Guido Reni's *St. Jerome and the Angel* (1634-35, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (Fig. 52). Here the saints turn toward the angels who hover above them and enumerate with their fingers important points of instruction. Giuseppe Puglia depicts a similar relationship between saint and angel in his Winnipeg version of *St. Cecilia* (Fig. 45). Here Cecilia pauses before raising her violin from its upright resting position on her left knee and looks over her shoulder to receive inspiration from the young angel who points to the open music book he holds. The eye contact between saint and angel in conjunction with the angel's gesture indicates that heavenly intervention precedes and determines Cecilia's music-making as music comes straight from heaven. Giulio Cesare Amidano emphasizes the angel's role as divine tutor in his *Saint Cecilia* (Fig. 48). Here Cecilia is seated in a casual yet confident frontal pose; her left arm reaches across her body to touch the organ keyboard and her right hand loosely holds a piece of paper, possibly a sheet of music. It appears

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[131] Irving Lavin, "Divine Inspiration in Caravaggio's Two St. Matthews," *The Art Bulletin* 56 (March 1974), 64.

as though Cecilia has paused from casually fingering single notes from the sheet music. A bass viol, tambourine, and flute are placed below her in the foreground perhaps waiting to be played by Cecilia, the angel, or other unseen musicians. Cecilia is not positioned to play the organ because, in order to do so, she would have to turn her entire body at least ninety degrees to the right. Instead, she tilts her head toward the angel beside her who, in turn, tilts his head toward Cecilia. The combination of the angel's presence and the representation of Cecilia in a stage of preparation rather than at the moment of performance implies that music-making challenges human-imposed limitations, suggesting an appeal to a higher authority with resulting effects that transcend earthly experience.

The absence of angels can paradoxically intensify the immediacy and unmediated quality of Cecilia's connection with the divine. In paintings by Guido Reni (Fig. 43) and Giuseppe Puglia (Fig. 44), Cecilia's upward, faith-filled gaze is sufficient to unite her and her anticipated music-making with heaven, as represented by the light that bathes faces, hands, and instruments. Perhaps the most striking example of the significant absence of angels is Guercino's *Saint Cecilia* (1649, Dulwich Gallery, London) (Fig. 53). Cecilia's quiet devotion is conveyed, appropriately, through the use of light. The radiant aureole behind Cecilia is echoed in the light that illuminates the side of her face and leads down to her hands and the organ on which she rests her fingers. By using light to link visually Cecilia's hands and her contemplative gaze, Guercino suggests a spiritual link between holiness and music making. The absence of angels and the focus of Cecilia's gaze on the organ keyboard also emphasize the unmediated spiritual contemplation that accompanies her music-making. Remarkably, Cecilia is shown not actually playing the organ; her fingers hover in an ethereal way over the keyboard. The organ, however, does seem to produce of its own accord a celestial music or holy wind that gently blows back Cecilia's cape and sweeps around her heart. The divine is present allegorically through 'music.' Cecilia responds with an attitude of contemplation. The divine that is figured through gazes and a vertical axis in Reni's work and through earthbound angels in Lanfranco's work undergoes a transformation in Guercino's painting in which it is figured through a musical instrument as something that while untouched is yet profoundly and personally affective.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that representations of St. Cecilia as a musician in seventeenth-century paintings contribute in remarkable ways to redefining devotional functions of keyboard and stringed instruments in sacred images. Whether it is Giuseppe Puglia's painting of Cecilia playing a violin, Carlo Saraceni's painting of Cecilia tuning a theorbo, or Gentileschi's painting of St. Cecilia playing an organ, paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician explore in some way the controversies and anxieties surrounding appropriate uses of musical instruments, especially stringed instruments, in sacred settings. In particular, they help to validate the use of contested stringed instruments through the acceptable guise of a saint. Images that privilege the instruments and musical performances over Cecilia herself might initially seem to diminish her status a saint. At the same time, correlations with the tradition of Lady Music and practices of aristocratic female musicians reposition Cecilia and her role as patron saint of music from a heavenly to an earthly realm. However, this chapter has demonstrated that correspondences between musical images of St. Cecilia and instrumental musical activities of nun musicians actually reinforce the chastity and piety of the saint and augment the holiness of her music. St. Cecilia's concentration on playing her instrument, whether it be organ, violin, or theorbo, induces a musical rapture, evoking music's transformative quality and its role in facilitating direct contact with the divine.

CHAPTER THREE

MARGINALIZED MUSIC?: BERNARDO STROZZI'S PEASANT MUSICIANS

This chapter examines paintings of musical peasants produced by Bernardo Strozzi (b. Genoa 1581; d. Venice1644) in the 1620s and 1630s to interrogate his unusual choice of subject matter. I explore the implications of painting peasant performers removed from any overt literary or religious narrative. When we compare Niccolò Frangipane's (b. c. 1555; d 1600) *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder* (latter half of the sixteenth century, Collection of Sir Montgomery Fairfax-Lucy, Charlecote Park, Warwickshire) (Fig. 54) with the rustic musicians in Bernardo Strozzi's *Shawm Player* (c. 1624-25, Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa) (Fig. 55), *The Pipers* (c. 1620, Collezione Basevi, Genoa) (Fig. 56), and *Street Musicians* (c. 1630, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit) (Fig. 57), we see a striking difference in the coarse physical appearance, unrestrained postures, and rustic bagpipes and shawms of Strozzi's musicians. Strozzi's images–unlike other extant Italian musician paintings produced in the early seventeenth century–show bawdy musicians enthusiastically and indecorously playing bagpipes, shawms, and recorders.[1] Their subject and its treatment appear even more unusual when we consider that these works were produced in Genoa and in Venice where the pastoral traditions in literature, music, and painting had remained particularly strong since the early sixteenth century.[2] We might expect Strozzi's paintings to continue the traditions of pastoral images. [3] However, Strozzi eschews shepherd

[1] Strozzi executed the original version of *Street Musicians* while in Genoa and later produced three copies while in Venice. These paintings are currently in Pommersfelden, Schönborn Collection: Tallin, Museo di Belle Arti; and Rovereto, Accademia degli Agiati. For the titles of Strozzi's works in Italian collections I draw from Luisa Mortari's monograph *Bernardo Strozzi,* (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 1995), 124-25. For the painting in Detroit I use the title designated by the Detroit Institute of Art.

[2] Although musical peasants appear in the genre scenes of the *Bambocciate* in Rome beginning in the 1630s, they are always joined by other figures as part of a narrative related to peasant life or the *commedia dell'arte* enacted in a landscape or urban setting. On the functions of music in these paintings, see Febo Guizzi, "The sounds of *povertà contenta:* cityscape, landscape, soundscape and musical portraiture in Italian genre painting of the 17th and 18th centuries," *Imago musicae* 7 (1990): 115-47.

[3] Katherine McIver identifies 48 paintings of shepherd musicians and musicians in pastoral settings produced during the sixteenth century. This number does not include the many copies and variants of the originals. Katherine McIver, "Music in Italian Renaissance

musicians from the imaged realms of pastoral poetry and depicts, instead, figures who represent a stereotypical idea of contemporary peasants. In doing so, he uses his musicians and their manners to comment on contemporary hierarchies of social classes.

Strozzi's secular musician paintings have been neglected in favor of the representations of saints and Biblical narratives that dominate his *oeuvre.*[4] Art historians who mention Strozzi's musicians are few and their studies are limited to stylistic analyses of the dramatic lighting, brushwork, and colouring.[5] Therefore, a body of scholarship dealing with *The Pipers, Shawm Player* and *Street Musicians* is scant at best. We do know that Strozzi painted his secular images when he was at the apex of his career as one of Genoa's leading native artists and after he had established advantageous relationships with discerning aristocratic patrons, including Giovanni Carlo Doria, Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale, and Gian Vincenzo Imperiale.[6] Strozzi and other Genoese artists competed in the early

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Painting, 1480-1580: A Study in Iconology," (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1992), 217.

[4] On Strozzi's oeuvre, particularly his religious paintings, see Luisa Mortari, "Su Bernardo Strozzi," *Bollettino d'Arte* 4th ser. 40 (1955): 311-33; Anna Maria Matteucci, "L'attività veneziana di Bernardo Strozzi," *Arte veneta* 9 (1955): 138-54; Luisa Mortari, *Bernardo Strozzi* (Rome: De Luca, 1995); Ezia Gavazza, Giovanna Nepi Scire, Giovanna Totondi Terminiello, Giuliana Algeri, ed. *Bernardo Strozzi: Genova 1581/81-Venezia 1644,* catalog of exhibition held in Genova, Palazzo Ducale, 6 maggio – 6 agosto 1995 (Milan: Electa, 1995).

[5] Federico Alizeri praises Strozzi's use of colours in *Shawm Player*: "oltremodo robusto, da lodarsi ampiamente," as does Emil Jacobsen: "assai vivace, colorito con fuoco." Federico Alizeri, *Guida artistica per la città di Genova* vol. 2 (Genoa 1846-47), 385; Emil Jacobsen, "Le Gallerie Brignole-Sale de Ferrari in Genova," *Archivio Storico dell'Arte II* (1896), 90. Piero Boccardo focuses on formal analysis in his entry for *Shawm Player (Suonatore di cornamusa)* in *Bernardo Strozzi: Genova 1581/81-Venezia 1644,* 172. Brief entries on the musician paintings in Luisa Mortari's monograph on Strozzi are limited to approximate dates of creation, listings of variants and copies, and references to the paintings in nineteenth century guides to Genoa. Mortari, 124-25. A brief entry providing a physical description of *Street Musicians* appears in Michael Milkovich, *Bernardo Strozzi Paintings and Drawings,* exhibition at the University Art Gallery, State University of New York at Binghamton, October 8-November 5, 1967 (Binghamton, NY: University Art Gallery, 1967), 56. Joaneath Spicer and Martha Lucy provide descriptive entries for *Shawm Player (Suonatore di cornamusa)* and *Street Musicians* in *Bernardo Strozzi: Master Painter of the Italian Baroque (1581/2-1644)* ed. Joaneath Spicer, (Baltimore, MD: The Walters Art Gallery, 1994), 32, 41.

[6] Piero Boccardo, *L'età di Rubens: dimore, committenti, e collezionisti genovesi* (Milan: Skira, 2004), 279-82, 479-82.

decades of the seventeenth century with Flemish artists, whose still-lifes, kitchen scenes, landscapes, and genre paintings gained increasing respect and popularity among Genoa's collectors and connoisseurs.[7]

A direct influence of Flemish painting can be discerned on the rich colouring and loose brushwork of Strozzi's musicians but not necessarily on the subject matter.[8] It is likely that Strozzi saw works in his patrons' palaces by Flemish artists who visited or settled in Genoa, particularly when he was working on the *Triumphs of David* fresco cycle in the Palazzo Doria in the late 1610s to early 1620s.[9] Inventories of Giovanni Carlo Doria's and Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale's paintings describe works identified generically as products of Flemish painters as well as works whose authors are identified by name, such as Anthony Van Dyck (b. Antwerp 1599; d. London 1641), Peter Paul Rubens (b. Siegen, Westphalia; d. Antwerp 1640), Jan Roos (b. Antwerp 1591; d. Genoa 1638), or Cornelis De Wael (b. Antwerp 1592; d. Rome 1667).[10] In terms of subject matter,

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[7] Since Genoa was distanced geographically and politically from artistic traditions developed in Rome, Genoese patrons and artists were exposed to and eagerly acquired genre scenes by northern artists working in Genoa. Anna Orlando, "I fiamminghi e la nascita della natura morta a Genova. O del trionfo dell'abbondanza," in *Pittura fiamminga in Liguria: secoli XIV-XVII,* Piero Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio, eds. (Genoa: Banca Carige, 1997), 268.

[8] Luisa Mortari and Piero Boccardo claim that Strozzi drew upon the works of Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck especially for the dramatic colouring and brushwork in his paintings. See Mortari, 28, 47; and Piero Boccardo's entry in *Bernardo Strozzi Genova 1581/81-Venezia 1644,* catalog of exhibition held in Genova, Palazzo Ducale, 6 maggio – 6 agosto 1995 (Milan: Electa, 1995), 172. On stylistic exchanges between Flemish and Genoese artists, see Marzia Cataldi Gallo, Paolo Massa, Bram de Klerck, *Anversa & Genova: un sommet dans la peinture baroque*, catalog of exhibition held at Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, October 4, 2003 – January 1, 2004 (Gent: Snoeck, 2003).

[9] Giuliana Algeri, "La formazione, l'attività giovanile e la prima maturità di Bernardo Strozzi," in *Bernardo Strozzi Genova 1581/82-1644* ed. Ezia Gavazza, Giovanna Nepi Scire, et al (Milan: Electa, 1995), 26.

[10] *Inventario dei quadri di Gio. Carlo Doria,* ASN, Archivio Doria d'Angri, I. f. 52/7, cc., undated but prior to 1621, published in Boccardo, *L'età di Rubens,* 192-95. *Inventario' de quadri fatto dal Signor Gio Francesco e scritto di sua mano e ritrovato tra le sue scritture doppo la sua morte d'april 1694 stilato prima della fine del 1684,* A.S.C.G., Archivio Brignole-Sale, published in Laura Tagliaferro, *La magnificenza privata, "Argenti, gioie, quadri e altri mobili" della famiglia Brignole Sale secoli XVI-XIX* (Genoa: Marietti, 1995), 298-304.

however, these artists were noted for their developments in portraiture, landscapes, battle scenes, animal scenes, and still lifes. Paintings of crude peasant musicians that were popularized in the Netherlands by Jacob Jordaens (b. Antwerp 1593; d. Antwerp1678) and David Teniers (b. Antwerp 1610; d. Brussels 1690) were not created until the years after Strozzi painted his musicians.[11] Therefore, Flemish works such as Jordaens' *Three Buskers* (c. 1645-50, Prado Museum, Madrid) (Fig. 58) could not have influenced the subject of Strozzi's peasant musicians.

In the most recent study of Strozzi's artistic career, Andaleeb Banta claims that a combination of social, artistic, and commercial factors motivated Strozzi to paint secular scenes such as *Shawm Player* (referred to by her as *The Fifer*) after 1615. [12] In order to compete with Flemish artists who had established successful workshops in Genoa specializing in genre scenes and, consequently, to support his impoverished household, Strozzi turned to painting peasant musicians.[13] Unfortunately, Banta does not investigate the significance of the subject of *Shawm Player*, but she does discuss it as an early attempt at genre painting.[14] She attributes Strozzi's style to influences by Rubens and Jordaens and echoes W. Roger Rearick's claims that the iconography derives from the Utrecht Caravaggists.[15] While Strozzi

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[11] For detailed discussion and catalog of various themes in Flemish music paintings, see Richard D. Leppert, *The Theme of Music in Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century,* 2 vols (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977).

[12] Andaleeb Badiee Banta, "Bernardo Strozzi: Defining an Artistic Identity in Early Seventeenth-Century Genoa," (Ph.D. Diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2007), 227-29.

[13] Flemish paintings were imported until about 1615 when Jan Roos (1591-1638) and Cornelius (1592-1667 and Lucas (1591-1661) De Wael settled in Genoa. Their success encouraged the influx of other Flemish artists who came to Genoa and established a thriving artistic community. Ibid., 204-8. Strozzi was the sole provider for his widowed mother, his sister Ginetta and her irresponsible husband, and their three sons. Banta, 235.

[14] Ibid., 212.

[15] W. Roger Rearick, "Bernardo Strozzi: un aggiornamento," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 20 (1996): 248. According to Orr, no documentary evidence exists to substantiate first-hand contact between Strozzi and the Utrecht artists Gerard van Honthorst, Hendrick Ter Brugghen, or Dirck van Baburen. If paintings by the Utrecht artists were a source for Strozzi, they may have been seen as prints. Lynn Federle Orr, "Reverberations: the Impact of the Italian Sojourn on Utrecht Artists," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht During the Golden Age,* Joaneath A. Spicer and Lynn Federle Orr, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 100-113.

may have initially painted images of secular musicians to compete in the unique Flemish-dominated Genoese artistic community, he continued painting them when he moved to Venice. Therefore, these paintings cannot simply be dismissed as aberrations in Strozzi's oeuvre at a time of artistic competition. They should be investigated as products of Strozzi's concentrated efforts to satisfy particular demands of his aristocratic patrons and collectors, such as Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale and Giovan Donato Correggio. That is the task I undertake here.

Strozzi's departure from the pastoral in painting

I turn in this section to explore how Strozzi's music-making shepherds present a sophisticated variant of a century-old pictorial tradition of shepherd musicians. Paintings of musicians created during the sixteenth century, such as Titian's *Fête Champêtre* (c. 1510, Museé du Louvre, Paris) (Fig. 59) that shows shepherds making music and tending their flocks, referred specifically to the pastoral poetry of Theocritus and Virgil and from Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Venice 1502).[16] The genre of the pastoral in literature experienced a revival in the sixteenth century after Latin translations of Theocritus' recently recovered writings were published in Venice the 1480s and the first Italian editions of Virgil's *Eclogues* were published in Venice in 1481 and 1494.[17] Inspired by Theocritus'

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[16] On readings of Titian's *Fête Champêtre* in terms of Theocritus' *Idylls* and/orVirgil's *Eclogues,* see Ross S. Kilpatrick, "Horatian Landscape in the Louvre 'Concert Champêtre,'" *Artibus et Historiae* 21 no. 41 (2000): 123-31; Patricia Egan, "Poesia and the *Concert Champêtre,*" *The Art Bulletin* 41 (1959): 303-13; Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Mute Poetry of the *Fête Champêtre:* Titian's Memorial to Giorgione," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 6, 133 (January 1999): 1-13; David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision," in *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape,* ed. Robert C. Cafritz, Lawrence Gowing, David Rosand (Washington, D.C.: The Phillips Collection, 1988), 21-81. On Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as a source for *Fête Champêtre*, see Paul Joannides, *Titian to 1518: The Assumption of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002),178. Titian associated with members of the Venetian intellectual and social elite, which likely facilitated his exposure to prominent contemporary literary, philosophical, and poetic writings. Connections can be made between Titian's paintings and Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. See Giorgio Padoan, "Ut pictura poesis: 'la pitture' di Ariosto, le 'poesie' di Tiziano," in *Tiziano e Venezia: Convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia 1976* (Neri Pozza: Vicenza, 1980), 91-102. I recognize the intriguing implications of associations between poetry and Venetian paintings according to the term *poesis* as used by Paolo Pino in his *Dialogo di pittura* (1548) and Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della pittura, intitolato l'Aretino* (1557). For the purpose of this chapter that investigates a reliance on poetic texts for the specific genre of musician scenes, however, I will limit the discussion to connections with poetry in terms of subject matter rather than style.

[17] Theocritus' Greek texts were published in their entirety in the 1495 Aldine edition. William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (Hanover:

Idylls and Virgil's *Eclogues*, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century poets such as Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Jacopo Sannazaro (1457/8-1530), Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), and Battista Guarini (1538-1612) wrote of the music, poetry, and love of shepherds in Arcadian settings.[18] Sannazaro's *Arcadia* was one of the earliest of such works whose pastoral themes were appropriated for sixteenth-century musician paintings. *Arcadia* enjoyed immediate and widespread success, in part because it adhered to the conventions of the pastoral mode and was written in Italian rather than Latin.[19]

Sannazaro developed and expanded upon the topos of nostalgic longing for the simplicity of times past within imagined geographical locations populated by poets, shepherds, and nymphs. Shepherds' simple pipe music is referenced throughout as a powerful force. The physical and emotional benefits of such music are expressed in the cowherd's lament at the tomb of Androgeo in the fifth eclogue of Sannazaro's *Arcadia:*

> Deh, tu solevi col dolce suono da la tua sampogna tutto il nostro bosco di dilettevole armonia far lieto: . . . Ohimè, chi nei nostri boschi ormai canterà le ninfe? Chi ne darà più ne le nostre adversità fidel consiglio? E ne le mestizie piacevole conforto e diletto, come tu facevi cantando sovente per le rive de' correnti fiumi dolcissimi versi? Ohimè, che a pena i nostri armenti sanno senza la tua sampogna pascere per li verdi prati; li quali mentre vivesti solevano si dolcemente al suono di quella ruminare l'erbe sotto le piacevoli ombre de le fresche elcine.[20]

University Press of New England, 1983), 29. Antonio Misconimi published editions in both 1491 and 1494. The edition published by Cristoforo Pensi and Giovanni Antonio Da Legnano in 1494 claimed over 60 per cent of the market share. Craig Kallendorf, *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 218.

[18] Ralph Nash, *Jacopo Sannazaro: Arcadia and Piscatorial Eclogues* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), 20-21. On the integral role of music and poetry among shepherds as derived from ancient pastoral poetry and manifest in Titian's *Fête Champêtre,* see David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice and the Pastoral Vision," 39.

[19] The popularity of *Arcadia* was not only immediate but also long lasting. New editions were published about every two years throughout the sixteenth century. Nash, 11.

[20] Jacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia,* ed. Francesco Erspamer (Milan, Gruppo Ugo Mursia, 1990), 99-100. "Alas, by the sweet music of your pipe you were wont to make our whole wood happy with pleasant harmony . . . Ay me, who now in our woods will sing the

The cowherd mourns the passing of Androgeo because not only did he make music for the benefit of nature and animals, but through the combination of music and poetry in song he offered guidance and comfort to his human companions. Rural realms, therefore, provide a revivifying place for leisure and contemplation in contrast to the pressures of urban life.

These idyllic worlds are also symbolic of an "other" world, an inner world described by Ralph Nash as "a country of the mind, a symbol of dedication to poetry, to pleasure, to love, to contemplation."[21] Early sixteenth-century depictions of single-figure musicians in the tradition of Giorgione and Titian evoke such associations with the "other" world of the poet. For example, Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's *Shepherd with a Flute* (c. 1525, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) (Fig. 60) depicts a seated shepherd who leans on a walking stick and casually holds a recorder in his left hand in the foreground. The juxtaposition of the shepherd and the country scene in the background to which he gestures can be seen as visual indicators of a conceptual world of peaceful contemplation and poetic aspirations. The shepherd invites the viewer to consider in the distance both the ruined ancient buildings and the seated shepherd playing a bagpipe that appear to be allusions to an Arcadian vision, evoking a sense of nostalgia, solitariness, and longing characteristic of the pastoral tradition.[22] Elena Lucchesi-Ragni presents a convincing interpretation of the shepherd as mediator between worlds of the past and the present, imagined and real.[23] The figure's dominant position at the front of

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Nymphs? Who more will give us trusted counsel in our adversities, and pleasing solace and delight in our times of sorrow, as you did often singing your sweetest songs on the banks of the running streams? Ay me, that without your pipe our herds scarcely know to graze in the green meadows, they who while you were living were wont to chew the cud so placidly to the sound of that pipe under the pleasant shade of the cool oak trees." Nash, 59. See Glossary for sampogna.

[21] Nash, 23.

[22] Keith Christiansen, "Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo," in *The Age of Caravaggio,* ed. Mina Gregori and Keith Christiansen, exhibition catalog (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 81-83.

[23] Lucchesi-Ragni bases her interpretation on the juxtaposition of the classical ruins, country house, and bagpipe player in the background with the prominently placed shepherd in the foreground who gestures to the scene in the distance. Elena Lucchesi-Ragni, "Giovanni Savoldo," in *Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo: tra Foppa, Giorgione, e Caravaggio,* Bruno Passamani, Elena Lucchesi-Ragni, and Renata Stradiotti, eds.

picture plane, his gaze out toward the viewer, and his casual rhetorical gesture create an immediacy with the viewer. Yet, at the same time, the focal point of his gesture, the scene in the background, takes us back spatially and temporally to an imagined idyllic realm conjured up by pastoral poetry and by paintings like this one.

From paintings of figures with musical instruments in a country landscape, such as Titian's *Fête Champêtre* and Savoldo's *Shepherd with Flute,* painters developed the genre of single musicians who are removed from direct interaction with pastoral landscapes and placed in nonspecific or architectural settings. Giorgione's *Young Man with a Recorder* (1510, Royal Collection, Hampton Court, Surry) (Fig. 61) and Sebastiano del Piombo's *Man with a Recorder* (c. 1510, Earl of Pembroke Collection, Wilton) (Fig. 62) refer to the centrality of the shepherd's role as musician/poet within the pastoral tradition to the extent that the solitary figure, including his costume and instrument, was sufficient allusion to ideas of love, nature, and poetry, even without obvious visual reference to an Arcadian landscape. Giorgione's *Young Man with a Recorder* is one of the earliest works to depict a bust-length view of a single shepherd musician. The man is dressed in a classical costume of a blue-grey robe draped over a white shirt, and his expression is one of serene contemplation as he holds a recorder in his right hand and looks slightly down away from the viewer.[24] In a partial reading of such a sophisticated painting, the figure attired in humble pastoral garb and holding a recorder recalled for viewers conversant with the bucolic poetry of Theocritus,Virgil, and Sannazaro the shepherd/poet who plays a simple homemade pipe to console and delight himself while with his flock.[25]

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exhibition catalog, Brescia, Monastero di S. Giulia, 3 marzo – 31 maggio 1990 (Milan: Electa, 1990): 174.

[24] Although the costume is inconsistent with typical sixteenth-century Venetian dress, John Shearman suggests that it could be associated with certain contemporary Venetians. He bases his assertion on accounts of the early 1500s that criticize young dandies of Venetian aristocracy for dressing scantily. For example, Girolamo Priuli wrote about such depraved behavior in 1509. John Shearman, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 255.

[25] Augusto Genili, "Savoldo, il ritratto e l'allegoria musicale," in *Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo: tra Foppa, Giorgione, e Caravaggio,* Bruno Passamani, Elena Lucchesi-Ragni, and Renati Stradiotti, eds., exhibition catalog, Brescia, Monastero di S. Giulia, 3 marzo – 31 maggio 1990 (Milan: Electa, 1990): 68-70. McIver, "Music in Italian Renaissance Painting," 142. The important role of the shepherd's pipe is communicated in

Savoldo's and Giorgione's paintings correspond to pastoral poetry from both antiquity and the early sixteenth century in which the unrefined aspects of country life are tempered by the presence of cultured courtly gentlemen who assume the guise of shepherds and join Arcadian shepherds in sentimental dialogues and musical contests. This convention is evident in Virgil's *Eclogues*, in which statesmen and poets known to Virgil are incorporated as speakers and Virgil himself appears as Menalcas in *Eclogue* IX; and in Theocritus' *Idylls,* particularly VII (The Harvest-Home) in which Theocritus and his friends are characterized as herdsmen; and it is reasserted in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Aradia*, in which the urban shepherd's name, Sincero, assumes symbolic connotations. The name "Sincero" connotes the honesty and straightforwardness of Arcadian pastoral life, which, by implication, contrasts sharply with the hypocrisies of the city court to which Sincero must return after his withdrawal to Arcadia:

> Per la qual cosa io ti prego, e quanto posso ti admonisco, che, de la tua selvatichezza contentandoti, tra queste solitudini ti rimanghi. A te non si appertiene andar cercando gli alti palagi de' prencipi, né le superbe piazze de le populose cittadi, per avere i sonanti plausi, gli adombrati favori, o le ventose glorie: vanissime lusinghe, falsi allettamenti, stolte e aperte adulazione de l'infido volgo. Il tuo umile suono mal si sentirebbe tra quello de la spaventevoli buccine o de le reali trombe.[26]

"Eclogue 5" and "Epilogue: To his Sampogna" of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Giorgione was part of the philosophical and poetic circle of Catarina Cornaro, former queen of Cyprus, and it was through these connections that he forged a sympathetic relationship with the humanist scholar Pietro Bembo based on shared sentiments about love and poetry that Terisio Pignatti claims are paralleled in Giorgione's works. Terisio Pignatti, *Giorgione,* trans. Clovis Whitehead (London: Phaidon, 1971), 23-4. On the relationship of Giorgione's painting and other images of arcadian shepherds to the eroticism of beautiful male youths, see Patricia Simons, "Homosociality and erotics in Italian Renaissance portraiture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject,* ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 40.

[26] Sannazaro, *Arcadia,* 239. "Wherefore I pray you, and as much as I can I admonish you, that contenting yourself with your rusticity you remain among these solitudes. It is not for you to go seeking the lofty palaces of princes, nor the proud piazzas of the populous cities, in order to have the resounding applause, the shadowy favors, or the windy glories, most vain deceits, false allurements, stupid and obvious flatteries of the faithless crowd. Your humble sound would ill be heard amid that of the fearsome cornets or the royal trumpets." Nash, 151. This characterization of pastoral life and its supposed simplicity as a respite from the corruption of the city echoes passages in Virgil's *Georgics*. Virgil, *Georgics* II:458-473, in *Virgil's Georgics,* trans. Janet Lembke (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 36-7.

Sannazaro propagates here an antagonistic relationship between rural and urban life in which the country is perceived as a locus for honesty, harmony, and humility in contrast to the city that breeds deceit, greed, ostentatious show, and moral corruption.[27] In courtly society, individuals competed continually with one another socially to project a public image that earned them increased respect and admiration and confirmed their status in the eyes of others.[28] They adopted lifestyles based on the dominant tastes of other aristocrats who possessed high levels of economic and/or cultural capital to distinguish themselves from the merchant classes.[29] It is no wonder that Italian courtiers in the sixteenth century, including the poet Sannazaro, delighted in being transposed temporarily into a pastoral world where they could experience a naturalness that was lacking at court.[30] The pastoral provides not only an "environmental alternative" to the city with its pleasant landscapes but also a "moral alternative" wherein peace and relaxation replace wars, courtly envy and other distractions of urban life.[31] As we shall see below, the shepherd also provides a social alternative to the urban aristocrat.

Since shepherds in pastoral literature were associated nostalgically with peace, innocence, and harmony, contemporary sitters were depicted pictorially in

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[27] The innocence of rural life was a welcome retreat from the city with its "teeming life, of flattery and bribery, of organised seduction, of noise and traffic, with the streets unsafe because of robbers, with the crowded rickety houses and the constant dangers of fire." Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 46.

[28] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 74-7.

[29] Aristocratic tastes and lifestyles, however, are not always the most discriminating. In his analysis of dominant taste among those of various economic and educational levels, Bourdieu demonstrates that taste is determined by social class. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 260.

[30] K.W. Gransden, "The Pastoral Alternative, Part 2" *Arethusa* 3, no. 2 (1970): 177-78. On the convention of contrasting rural and urban realms in classical Latin poetry by Virgil, Horace, and Quintillian and its continuation in the works of Milton, Wordsworth, and Spenser, see K.W. Gransden, "The Pastoral Alternative, Part 1" *Arethusa* 3, no. 1 (1970): 103-21.

[31] Gransden, "The Pastoral Alternative, Part 2," 180-81. On the city contrasted with Arcadia as the ideal pastoral realm in ancient works by Hesiod, Virgil and in Renaissance poetry by Edmund Spenser and Ben Jonson, see Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 42-4.

the guise of shepherds to evoke similar associations.[32] In Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder* (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia) (Fig. 63), the unidentified sitter displays characteristics of both nobleman and poet/shepherd. Savoldo invokes, not an Arcadian setting but an interior, in which the sitter is placed claustrophobically close to the grey wall behind him that houses a small niche with books in the upper right and a cloth-draped table supporting an open music book. The man wears a costume that is both rustic and courtly–the broad-brimmed hat is like those worn by shepherds to keep the sun off their faces, but the fur-lined coat represents clothing of an urban gentleman.[33] The result is a conflation of urban and country realms and courtly and bucolic activities that implies a compatibility of these two worlds at the point of music and poetry. Amid the contrasts set up in pastoral poetry—the court personalities and humble shepherds; the shepherd's *zampogna* and professional, courtly musicians; lush groves and meadows of the shepherd's world and formal gardens of court; the world of the real and the world of the imagination—shepherds find common ground with aristocrats in their love of music and poetry.[34] Savoldo creates a sort of fusion of upper and lower classes. Likewise, Sebastiano del Piombo's *Man with a Recorder* of 1510 (Fig. 62) depicts a man dressed in a similar conflation of fur lined cloak and shepherd's hat. According to Klara Garas, this painting may be a self-portrait.[35] Sebastiano del Piombo's musical talents were highly valued, as evident in Giorgio Vasari's enthusiastic praise of the artist's ability to sing and play a variety of instruments.[36] Perhaps the musically gifted Sebastiano used his own features in this conventional representation of a musical shepherd to acknowledge his

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[32] Nash, 143.

[33] Gabriele Frings, "The *Allegory of Musical Inspiration* by Niccolò, Frangipane: New Evidence in Musical Iconography in Sixteenth-Century Northern Italian Painting," *Artibus et Historiae* 14 no. 28 (1993): 149.

[34] Peter Brand and Lino Pertile, ed., *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 159-61.

[35] Klara Garas, *Masterpieces from Budapest* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1970), 263-65.

[36] Vasari, 340-47.

awareness and appreciation of the simplicity and sincerity found in the pastoral realm.[37]

Recorders became the most familiar instrument for shepherds to play in Renaissance paintings, although mosaics, murals, and paintings of shepherds since antiquity suggest that they played a variety of reed pipes, whistle pipes, and bagpipes to entertain themselves and make their presence known while alone tending their flocks.[38] The dulcet sounds of the uncomplicated recorder were well suited to evoke the supposedly carefree life of shepherds in idyllic pastoral realms.[39] Gabriele Frings corrects the assumption prevalent among art historians that recorders were instruments of lower-class status; she argues that in music practice and in paintings with musical instruments, recorders possessed greater social decorum than shawms, trumpets, crumhorns, and cornettos.[40] From the second half of the sixteenth century recorders increasingly were played by amateurs and professionals in chamber, church, and theatrical venues.[41] Connotations of recorders with both rustic shepherds and their use as instruments of upper-class entertainments at first may appear incompatible. However, recorders held by figures dressed in shepherd garb in paintings seem to combine these two related conventions to amplify pastoral connotations. On one hand, recorders are a

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[37] Gabriele Frings points out that the paintings of a shepherd wearing a broad-brimmed hat and fur-trimmed cloak and holding a recorder are based on a lost original by either Giorgione or an artist in his circle. Frings, "*Allegory of Musical Inpiration,*" 149.

[38] Anthony Rowland-Jones, "The Iconographic Background to the Seventeenth-Century Recorder," in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century,* Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 92.

[39] Ibid., 93. On contemporary musical compositions written specifically for the recorder, including pastoral tunes, see Peter van Heyghen, "The Recorder in Italian Music 1600-1670," in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century. Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium, Utrecht, 1993,* David Lasocki, ed. (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1995), 3-63.

[40] Gabriele Frings, "'Flauti dolci' und 'pifferari': Bemerkungen zur Ikonographie der Blockflöte in der Renaissance," *Tibia* 17 no. 2 (1992): 117-24. On recorder iconography and performance from the Middle Ages to the present day, see John Mansfield Thomson and Anthony Rowland Jones, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[41] Nancy Hadden, "The Renaissance Flute in the Seventeenth Century," in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 115.

recognizable attribute of shepherds in pastoral literature and in paintings such as Giorgione's *Young Man with a Recorder* (Fig. 61). On the other hand, they conjure up sophisticated intimate musical performances enjoyed by courtly gentlemen; the same classes who delighted in literary and pictorial representations of themselves as shepherd musicians/poets. Therefore, recorders are a suitable instrument in single-figure shepherd images for fusing Arcadian rusticity and simplicity with the intellectual or thoughtful reverie of cultured courtiers.

Monsignor Benedetto de Martini, a prominent member of Venice's aristocratic and ecclesiastical elite, was surely aware of such connotations when he purchased a painting from Francesco Torbido (1500-1581) known now as *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder* (c. 1525, Museo Civico, Padua) (Fig. 64). While this painting was begun as a portrait of Francesco Badoer, Venetian nobleman and patron of Andrea Palladio's Villa Badoer, Monsignor de Martini requested that the contemporary Venetian dress be changed into that of a "pecoraio, ò pastore," a shepherd or herdsman.[42] In addition to the shepherd's tunic, the recorder, and the landscape viewed out the window, Torbido paints an abundant laurel wreath on the man's head to symbolize this figure's role as a shepherd/poet. De Martini's desire for such a pastoral image may have derived from his familiarity with and admiration of the pastoral literary pursuits of his close friend and fellow prelate Pietro Bembo.[43]

Monsignor de Martini's desire, and that of Savoldo and Sebastiano, to transform a nobleman into a shepherd was not to equate the sitter with the life of real shepherds, but rather to demonstrate an affinity with the ideal of poet shepherds

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[42] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori,* vol. 1 of Part III (Florence 1568), 257. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. On the specifics of the provenance of Torbido's painting, see *Malerei in Venetien, 1500-1800: 50 Werke aus dem Museo civico in Padua/Pittura nel Veneto, 1500-1800: 50 opere dal Museo civico di Padova,,*ed. Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, Margret Zimmerman, and Davide Banzato, catalog for exhibition held 2 October-29 November, 1987 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Augustinermuseum, 1987), 76-7. On Francesco Badoer and his commission of the Villa Badoer, see Lionello Puppi, *Villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine, Corpus Palladianum,* vol. 7, trans. Catherine Enggass (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978).

[43] De Martini and Bembo enjoyed a close association through their shared membership in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and through their mutual love of antiquities. Marilyn Perry, "A Greek Bronze in Renaissance Venice," *The Burlington Magazine* 117 no. 865 (April 1975): 204-7.

espoused in pastoral poetry. Ernst Curtius explains how shepherds became synonymous with poets:

> To write poetry under trees, on the grass, by a spring . . . came to rank as a poetical motif in itself. But it demands a sociological framework: an occupation which obliges him who follows it to live outdoors, or at least in the country, far from towns. He must have time and occasion for composing poetry, and must possess some sort of primitive musical instrument. The shepherd has all of these at his disposition. . . . The shepherd's life is found everywhere and at all periods. . . . Finally, the shepherd's world is linked to nature and to love.[44]

Shepherds, therefore, possessed the privileges of outdoor country living, time, and leisure that facilitated poetic contemplation. These advantages were denied to Genoese and Venetian aristocrats, who spent much of their time engaged in political, mercantile, and/or agricultural responsibilities.[45] Courtesy books that proliferated throughout the sixteenth century suggest that members of courts and urban elites also were bound by social and moral obligations that required them to devote time to acquiring a code of manners and developing a set of cultural accomplishments.[46] Whereas shepherds were thought to be free from the constraints of urban life and able to pursue poetry for personal enjoyment, members of the aristocracy were compelled to improve themselves for the purpose of social or political advancement.

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[44] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), 187.

[45] Christopher F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 2001), 141-43. On the urban and rural business activities of the Genoese aristocracy, see Claudio Costantini, *Le Repubblica di Genova nell'età moderna* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1978), 147-164. On the participation of the Venetian patriciate in political affairs, see Gaetano Cozzi, "Venezia nello scenario europea," in *La Repubblica di Venezia nelll'età moderna,* Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton and Giovanni, Scarabello, eds. (Turin: UTET, 1992): 168-84.

[46] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Florence 1528). L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversatione* (Venice, 1579). L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Giovanni Della Casa, *Galateo, ovvero de' costumi* (Florence: Felice le Monnier), 1949.

Strozzi's exposure to pastoral conventions may have come through his association with Gian Vincenzo Imperiale (1582-1648), a prominent Genoese aristocrat, statesman, and man of letters. Imperiale realized personally the therapeutic benefits of both imagined and actual pastoral realms. In the early 1600s at his villa in Sampierdarena, a residential area west of Genoa's urban center, he transformed the monumental gardens into an Arcadian world of lush landscapes and grottos filled with fountains and sculptures of shepherds, satyrs, nymphs, sheep, and wild animals (Gio Bernardo Carbone, *Gio Vincenzo Imperiale and His Family with the Garden of Villa di Sampierdarena,* 1642, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa) (Fig. 65).[47] These spaces not only provided a refuge from the stress and obligations of city life but also produced a particular form of 'nature' as culture. The pastoral decoration of this remarkable garden inspired the setting for Imperiale's singular pastoral poem *Lo stato rustico* (1611), which describes a ten-day journey of the shepherd Clizio and the muse Euterpe through the Italian countryside.[48] Here, in the tradition of pastoral poetry, Imperiale extols the virtues of the simplicity of the country and the frankness of its humble inhabitants:

> Qual'uom, cui d'uom non disconvenga il nome,
> è che non sappia e non confessi aperto
> di qual semplicitade et innocenza,
> nel primo tempo della prima vita,
> quando vita la vita e tempo il tempo
> ebbe nel primo istante, e moto il moto,
> e semplici e innocenti abbia le amate
> sue creature il creator create?
> E di qual umiltade e candidezza
> fossero in tutto candide et umili
> quei già d'un umilta non simulata,

[47] The gardens were created originally by Vincenzo's grandfather and completed by his father. Lauro Magnani, *Il Tempio di Venere: Giardino e Villa nella Cultura Genovese* (Genoa: Sagep, 1987), 127, 131, 141.

[48] Magnani, *Il Tempio di Venere,* 131-38. Imperiale's poem was originally written in 1607, but he made substantial revisions and additions for an edition published in 1611. On correspondences between settings, statues, grottos, gardens, and mood in *Lo stato rustico* and those of the actual setting of Imperiale's villa, see Quinto Marini, "Barocco in villa. Le ingegnose arcadie del Seicento," in *I capricci di Proteo; percorsi e linguaggi del barocco,* atti del convegno internazionale di Lecce, 23-26 ottobre 2000 (Rome, 2002): 333-77.

e quei già d'un candor senza un sol neo,
non boscarecci abitator de' boschi,
e d'una bianca età figli non foschi?[49]

Imperiale differed from other pastoral poets, however, because his admiration of the simplicity of the country was not merely a literary conceit. At the end of his life, Imperiale became so dissatisfied with pro-Spain political activities that he retreated to his villa where he was immune to the "seductions of a courtier's role" in Genoese politics and society.[50] It is as though Imperiale was seeking for the "candidezza" of which he wrote; the simplicity and sincerity that supposedly was found only in non-urban, non-political realms.

Imperiale commissioned more paintings from Strozzi than any other single artist.[51] He was probably introduced to Strozzi by Marcantonio Doria when the artist was working in the Palazzo Doria in the second half of the 1610s or early 1620s, and his patronage continued even when Strozzi moved to Venice.[52] Of the 325 paintings listed in the 1648 inventory of Imperiale's collection, 15 paintings of saints, the Holy Family, mythological figures, and heads of elderly figures were by Strozzi.[53] The 1648 inventory of Imperiale's painting collection shows that he owned "Uno giovine che suona una sampognia del Procacino [Giulio Cesare

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[49] *Lo stato rustico*, in Reichlin, 129. "What man, that can be called a man,/does not know and does not openly confess/of the simplicity and innocence/in the early time of the first life/when in the first instant he had given life to life and time to time, and motion to motion/and simple and innocent has the creator/created his beloved creatures?/And of what great humility and sincerity were they/in everything, candid and humble/of a humility not simulated,/and of a candor without any blemish/not rural people but living in the woods/and of a white age children without a dark soul?"

[50] Lauro Magnani, "The Rise and Fall of Gardens in the Republic of Genoa," in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550-1850,* ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002), 61.

[51] Renato Martinoni, *Gian Vincenzo Imperiale: Politico, letterato, e collezionista genovese del seicento* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1983), 183-84..

[52] Boccardo, *L'Età di Rubens,* 479-82.

[53] Martinoni, 231-42.

Procaccini]" hung next to "Uno giovine che suona una lira dell'istesso Autore."[54] It is not clear which member of the Procaccini family painted the musician, but it was most likely Giulio Cesare, who visited Genoa in 1618 at the request of Gian Carlo Doria and who produced many works here.[55] Although these paintings have yet to be identified, the juxtaposition of a young bagpipe player next to a young lyre player sets up contrasts between urban and rustic persons, courtly and unrefined manners, and cultivated and primitive music like those that play out in pastoral literature, including Imperiale's own *Lo stato rustico*. Imperiale's articulation of the pastoral does not indicate ownership of one of Strozzi's paintings of musical peasants; however, Strozzi likely visited his patron's Arcadian gardens at Villa Sampierdarena, knew of Imperiale's admiration of a bucolic life presumably unsullied by aristocratic anxieties, and saw the paintings by Procaccini, which may have influenced his representations of rustic musicians.

While Giorgione's and Sebastiano's figures are suggestive of the fantasy of shepherd/gentleman, artists working in and around Venice in the latter decades of the sixteenth century such as Francesco dal Bassano (b. Bassano del Grappa, 1549; d. Venice, 1592) and Niccolò Frangipane emphasized the rural occupations of shepherds. In Bassano's *Youth Playing a Recorder* (c. 1580-85, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (Fig. 66), the young boy, who is given only a dark non-specific interior setting, wears a wreath of grape leaves and holds a recorder. Mirella Levi d'Ancona suggests that this figure alludes to the shepherd Staphylus, who was responsible for discovering grapes while tending his flocks and then supplying the grapes to King Oeneus to make wine.[56] This young figure, therefore, is tied closely

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[54] *Inventario de' quadri della casa de Genova stimati [in] scuti d'argento,* in Martinoni, 231-42. On the hanging of these, and other works, as pendants, see Martinoni 245-46.

[55] Giulio Cesare (1574-1625) was the son of Ercole Procaccini (1520-1595), who moved his family in the 1580s from Bologna to Milan and established the Academy of the Procaccini where he trained his sons Camillo (1555-1629), Giulio Cesare, and Carlo Antonio (1571-1630). On the life and career of Giulio Cesare Procaccini, see Fernanda Wittgens, "Per la cronologia di G.C. Procaccini," *Rivista d'arte* 15 (1933): 35-64. Nancy Ward Neilson, *Giulio Cesare Procaccini: disegnatore* (Nomos: Busto Arsizio, 2004).

[56] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden in the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in the Renaissance* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977), 159. In Greek mythology, Staphylus is credited with discovering grapes by following one of his sheep who, by feeding on grapes, had grown handsomer and more lively than the rest of the flock. Staphylus then brought the

to the practical activities of husbandry. His recorder, by association, assumes amplified implications of being used for entertaining himself while laboring, in addition to accompanying amorous exploits or participating in musical contests. Niccolò Frangipane connects shepherds holding recorders to pastoral labors more overtly in *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder* (latter half of the sixteenth century, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Auxerre) (Fig. 67) by making his shepherd a theatrical figure. The bearded man is dressed in a fancy fur-lined tunic placed over a creamy white linen shirt, an unrealistic costume for a humble shepherd. He holds up his recorder as though preparing to play, but his fingers are placed in unconvincing positions over the holes. So here the recorder seems reduced to a semantics of the pastoral. The figure's elaborate hat is embellished with a feather, oak leaves with acorns, columbine, daisies, and other flowers that allude to Spring, Autumn, death, and rebirth.[57] Placed on the window sill behind the figure is a clump of grapes that both complements the plants as a sign of harvest and visually links the man's hands to the land he works in the background. By grouping these specific plants and fruit prominently on the shepherd's hat and window sill, Frangipane equates the figure with nature. He shifts the focus away from the pastoral, with its connotations of shepherds' idyllic leisure and songs of life, love, and death, to an emphasis on the georgic, which is concerned with rural folk and the seasonal occupations and labor of an agrarian lifestyle.[58] Although the figure type undergoes a subtle change, the recorder remains as a recognizable symbol of poor bucolics.

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grapes back and presented them to the king where they were squeezed and made into wine. Pierre Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 425.

[57] McIver, "Music in Italian Renaissance Painting," 264. The daisy blooms around Easter time and is a symbol of both Spring and the goddess Venus; the columbine connotes melancholy and death; flowers in general are a sign of joy, but also carry funereal connotations. In ancient Rome, a crown of oak leaves was awarded to winners of musical contests, and Virgil claims the oak tree as sacred to the goddess Ceres in Book I of *Georgics*. In addition to their associations with the shepherd Staphylus, grapes are allegorical representations of the harvest and vintage season of Autumn. d'Ancona, 25, 78, 162, 150, 250. In pastoral poems by Virgil and Sannazaro, individual species of flowers, like the daisy or columbine, are not mentioned in the generalized descriptions of flowered fields and garlands. Oak trees are invoked (Eclogue 5) and mentioned throughout Sannazaro's *Arcadia.*

[58] Virgil's *Eclogues* and Sannazaro's *Arcadia* are representative of pastoral poems as opposed to Virgil's *Georgics,* which tell of people engaged in farming and other labors of rural life. David Rosand refers to works by Titian, Jacopo Bassano, and Domenico Campagnola to demonstrate two aspects of georgic landscapes: one is the way landscapes

Bernardo Strozzi significantly departed from pastoral shepherd types for his peasant musicians in *Street Musicians* (Fig. 57). These figures are not the poet shepherds characterized by Sannazaro, nor do they resemble the gentlemanly recorder players of Savoldo. Instead, they are unequivocally made to function as markers of lower class. Their complexions are ruddy from working outdoors in the sun; their clothing is plain and worn; the elbow of the musician at the left denotes a sort of roughness in the way it is shoved out at the viewer; and our view into the gaping bell of the shawm thrust toward us at the right is coded as something vulgar. Strozzi's depiction of a group of uneducated poor musicians, rather than a solitary figure, is disturbing; organized groups of peasants, vagrants, and members of other social marginalized groups were viewed as potentially threatening, particularly during the first half of the seventeenth century when peasant unrest and incidents of banditry were on the rise.[59] Far from the early sixteenth-century paintings of shepherd/musicians who hold their instruments unplayed and avoid any unseemly gestures, Strozzi presents the viewer with figures who play their instruments with a vigor that is uncouth.

Besides his unflinching depiction of lower-class musicians, Strozzi's inclusion of a woman with a recorder is unusual in seventeenth-century Italian paintings.[60] Her central placement in the composition puts her on equal footing

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open up into panoramic views with a variety of topographical details, and the second is the depiction of figures actively tending their flocks or working the land. David Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Tradition," in *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape.* ed. Robert C. Cafritz, Lawrence, Gowing, David Rosand (Washington D.C.: The Phillips Collection, 1988), 67-73.

[59] S.R. Epstein, "The Peasantries of Italy, 1350-1750," in *The Peasantries of Europe from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries,* ed. Tom Scott (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 85-7; Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178-90.

[60] Female recorder players do appear frequently in Dutch paintings by artists such as Jan Miense Molenaer (1610-1668), David Teniers 1610-1619), Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685), Dirk Hals (1591-1656), Frans Hals (1580-1666), Jan Steen (1626-1679), and Gerrit van Honthorst (1590-1656). Recorders appear in pastoral scenes, domestic music-making scenes, tavern scenes, and mythological scenes. Their presence can allude to familial or conjugal harmony, symbolize base worldly pleasures, or function as a phallic symbol with sexual overtones. On representations and iconography of the recorder in Dutch paintings, see Edwin Buijsen and Louis Peter Grijp, ed. *Music and Painting in the Golden Age* (The Hague: Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder, 1993); Mary Rasmussen and Friedrich von

socially and musically with the bagpipe and shawm players. Titian included earlier in his *Fête Champêtre* (Fig. 52) a voluptuous nude woman who holds a recorder as she is seated seemingly unnoticed in front of the two male figures. While her relationship to the men is ambiguous, she may serve as a muse for their music-making or she may be a nymph included as an Arcadian motif.[61] Significantly, she does not play her instrument. She holds it like male shepherd/musicians, as discussed above, perhaps as an indicator of pastoral ideals. Giovanni Domenico Cerrini (b. Perugia, 1609; d. Rome, 1681) adopts a similar convention for his depiction of Euterpe in *The Muse Euterpe as a Young Woman Playing the Flute* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes) (Fig. 68). A beautiful Euterpe gracefully fingers, but does not play, a slender recorder that is a conventional attribute of her role as muse of music and lyric poetry. Her capacity to transmit divine inspiration to musicians and poets is conveyed by her heavenward gaze. In contrast, Strozzi's female recorder player is not a nymph from imagined Arcadian realms, she is not a personification of music or poetry, and she is not a musical muse for her male companions. She is an unidealized–but possibly caricatured–peasant woman who confronts the viewer's gaze directly as she plays her recorder with concentrated effort. Her semi-naked appearance adds a sense of unadorned 'truth,' suggesting that she is part of the representation of an apparently unidealized image of rural poor at play. This figure eschews Baldassare Castiglione's recommendations for acceptable musical manners among amateur gentlewomen and provides a sharp contrast to the representations of St. Cecilia as a musician discussed in Chapter Two.[62] Strozzi's

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Huene, "Some recorders in 17th century Dutch paintings," *Early Music* 19 (January 1982): 30-35.

[61] On sources for pastoral and allegorical readings of Titian's painting, see footnote 16 above.

[62] "Nel danzar non vorrei vederla usar movimento troppo gagliardi, & sforzati: ne meno nel cátar, o sonar quelle diminutioni forti, & replicate, che mostrano piú arte, che dolcezza: medesimamente glinstrumenti di Musica, che ella usa (secondo me) debbono esser conformi à questa intétione. imaginatevi come disgratiata cosa saria veder una donna sonare táburri, piffari, o trombe, o altri talli instrumenti: & questo perche la loro asprezza nasconde, & leva quella soave mansuetudine, che tanto adorna ogni atto, che faccia la donna." (Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano* (Venice, 1528). "When she dances, I should not wish to see her make movements that are too energetic and violent; nor, when she sings or plays, use those loud and oft-repeated diminutions that show more art than sweetness; likewise the musical instruments that she plays ought in my opinion to be appropriate to this intent. Consider what an ungainly thing it would be to see a woman playing drums, fifes, trumpets, or other like instruments; and this because their harshness

working class musician is classed and gendered together by playing inappropriate woodwind instruments, not the softer, more refined keyboard instruments, and by doing so with indecorous movements unbecoming a woman. Although an investigation into gender issues is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to acknowledge the unexpected inclusion of a female woodwind player in *Street Musicians*, along with the representation of peasant types, as remarkable innovations in the genre of secular musician scenes.[63]

The musicians' supposedly unrefined manners are articulated in the central woman and the man at the right whose faces contort and cheeks puff out as they play on their recorder and shawm. Their bodies lean sideways to the right and left as though swaying to the music. These hearty musicians thrust themselves and their music at the viewer through the projecting elbow of the figure at the left squeezing his bagpipe and the shawm's open bell angled toward us at the right. Such offensive invasions of pointy, fleshy elbows and gaping instrument holes into the viewer's space exaggerate the uninhibited vulgarity of the lower-class figures. In his *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (Milan, 1584), Paolo Giovanni Lomazzo points out problems that arise when trying to depict someone in the act of singing or playing a wind instrument in particular:

> Imperoche si vede che'l musico hora gonfia le mascelle, hora le dilata è quando le ristringe, talvolta sponta in fuori le labra, bene spesso volge gl`occhi lascivamente, è talhora affisa il guardo intentamente, hora s'infiamma la faccia, & hora nò. . . . Non voglio restare d`avvertire, che dipingendo alcuno che cuoni stromento da fiato, come Angieli, non sidipinga in atto che no paia gonfiar più le mascelle, come se non dasse allo stromento, alcun fiato, ma veggasi in atto che rapprenti ciò che fa.[64]

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hides and removes that suave gentleness which so adorns a woman in her every act." Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* 210.

[63] See Chapter Two for a discussion of how gender makes a difference in paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician.

[64]Paolo Giovanni Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte de la pittura* (Milan, 1584), facsimile reproduction (Hildesheim: George Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), 2:13, 151. "For we see that musicke sometimes causeth a man to blow up the cheekes, sometimes to dilate them, and sometimes to draw them in; sometimes to thrust forth the lippes, sometimes to rowle the eie lasciviouslie, sometimes it makes the countenance looke stedfastly, sometimes it inflames the face, and sometimes not. . . . I will give the reader this much to

Strozzi boldly ignores the dilemmas identified by Lomazzo. For Strozzi, representing a stereotypical idea of peasant musicians who are more concerned with the music they make than with the awkward gestures they assumed mattered most. Since the figures lack social sophistication in their dress and demeanor, their energetic music-making, by implication, assumes connotations of crudeness. Their musical performances are seemingly governed by passions untempered by the higher faculty of reason that shapes musical contests in pastoral poetry. Why Strozzi may have chosen to exaggerate the figures' rustic appearance and expressive qualities and a consideration of such effects are discussed more fully below.

With the depiction of bagpipes in *Street Musicians* and the use of a shawm in *Shawm Player* (Fig. 55) Strozzi introduces wind instruments that are conducive to loud celebratory occasions rather than to personal, poetic contemplation. Bagpipes, whose sound musicologist Emmanuel Winternitz describes as a "reedy, bleating, gutteral tone," are linked to the folk music of peasants and herdsmen who created the instrument by joining pipes to an animal hide air bag reminiscent of sheep or goatskin water bags.[65] These loud, or *haut,* instruments were used for boisterous or festive music, usually in outdoor settings, unlike the recorder that was a soft, or *bas*, instrument played in more intimate settings.[66] Rustic musicians who played loud instruments were a familiar feature during *carnevale* and other celebrations in Genoa in the early seventeenth century and may have inspired

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understande, that in drawing one sounding of a winde instrument (as an Angell) he ought so to bee drawne, that his cheekes seem to swell more than when hee did not spende his breath in blowing the instrument; as representing the action hee hath in hand." Paolo Giovanni Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge* (1598) trans. Richard Haydocke (Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1969), 2:13, 52-3.

[65] Emmanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes and Hurdy-Gurdies in their Social Setting," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2 (Summer 1943): 62, 68. Emanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes for the Lord," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16 no. 10 (June 1958): 278.

[66] On the history and development of the shawm as a solo and consort instrument during the seventeenth century, see Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 27-39. On distinctions between *haut* and *bas* instruments, see Keith McGowan, "The Prince and the Piper: Haut, Bas and Whole Body in Early Modern Europe," *Early Music* 27 no. 2 (May 1999): 211-32.

Strozzi's representations.[67] However, the fancy coloured costumes, trombones, tambourines, cornets, and stringed instruments that accompanied these musicians are conspicuously absent from *Street Musicians.* Here figures are dressed in a rough woolen tunics or loose fitting plain linen shirts and are playing only woodwind instruments.[68] The instruments are not held passively to conjure associations with cultured, idyllic realms of music and poetry; and, consequently, the viewer is confronted with a representation of supposedly indecorous, physical, rustic performers. Since bagpipes are an instrument primarily of the peasantry rather than nobility, they are, in the words of Richard Leppert, "a sonoric simulacrum of and for difference."[69] They function as a marker of the Other, of a class of people whose presumed unrestraint and indecorum was potentially dangerous to the presumed propriety of the upper classes. The loud volume and shrill sound of bagpipes and shawms correspond with the supposed public bawdiness of the lower classes and supposedly contrast with the more refined, private music and domains of the upper classes. As I argue below, the demarcation of social difference as something clear cut and natural–of distinctions between peasantry and aristocracy, crudeness and politeness—is central to my reading of Strozzi's paintings.

Strozzi's departure from religious conventions

As we have seen, the convention of poet/shepherd musicians in paintings established in the sixteenth century changed significantly in the early decades of the seventeenth century with Strozzi's *Street Musicians* and *Shawm Player*. Musical instruments are no longer held unplayed by musicians as attributes of a pastoral

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[67] Luigi Augosto Cervetto, "Il carnevale genovese attraverso i secoli," *Rivista ligure di scienze, lettere e arti* (1908), 54-55.

[68] Cervetto, 54-55, 104-5. The music and dancing witnessed during Genoese carnivals are described in the contemporary chronicles of Giulio Pallavicino. "Domenica 23 febbraio 1586: Otto giovani per far Carnovale vechio, cominciorno a far una mascharata però alla sera . . . furno a molte veglie e tra le altre in casa di Saluzzi, dove vi si faceva un belissimo ritrovo, con canti di musica e d'instrumenti di mano." "Giovedi a 28. Si fece questa sera una mascharata di quatro Dame acompagnate da suoi mariti . . . e furno in casa di Damiano Imperiale e Prospero Fatinanti Centurione dove si fece una bellissima veglia; haveano seco le cornamuse suono rusticale." Edoardo Grendi, ed., *Inventione di Giulio Pallavicino di scriver tutte le cose accadute alli tempi suoi (1583-1589)* (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1975), 114, 144.

[69] Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body,* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1993), 38.

ideal, but are shown being used to make boisterous music. By also changing the social class of the protagonists, Strozzi explores the ambiguities of nobility/peasantry, wealthy/poor, cultured/uncultured. Forerunners of peasant musicians are found in the rustic scenes painted by Jacopo Bassano (c. 1510-1592). Like Strozzi, Bassano painted for Venetian collectors and his paintings of peasants working also demonstrate a marked departure from idealized, pastoral conventions.[70] His *Autumn* (c. 1575, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) (Fig. 69) depicts a landscape peopled with bucolics in the foreground engaged in the various stages of harvesting, transporting, and stomping grapes to be made into wine. Bassano paints his peasant figures in a lively manner with strong brushstrokes and attention to naturalistic details, such as the dog sniffing around the grapes at the right and the kneeling woman tasting the freshly pressed wine at the left.[71]Although Bassano paints subject matter that is seemingly mundane, he never entirely removes his figures from biblical and allegorical contexts. His convincing representations of the appearance and activities of peasants, as Aikema claims, "is not an *end* in and of itself but rather a *means* to communicate a specific message to a specific audience."[72] As part of a series of the Seasons in which figures are engaged in industrious activities, *Autumn* incorporates Christian symbolism associated generally with the cycle of life.[73] More specific Christian motifs, however, are found in the eucharistic grapes and the figure of Moses in the upper left receiving the tablets inscribed with the ten commandments.[74] For Bassano, peasants shown

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[70] On the popularity of Bassano's genre scenes among Venetian connoisseurs, see W.R. Rearick, "Jacopo Bassano's Later Genre Paintings, *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (May 1968): 241-49.

[71] In his biography of Venetian painters published in Venice in 1648, Carlo Ridolfi praises Bassano for his originality based on attention to naturalistic details, calling his style a "nuovo modo, fondato nella forza e nella naturalezza." (a new manner founded in strength and naturalism). Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte ovvero le vite degli illustri pittori veneti e dello stato descritti da Carlo Ridolfi* (Venice 1648), ed. D. von Hadeln, (Berlin: G. Grote, 1914-1924), 384.

[72] Bernard Aikema, *Jacopo Bassano and His Public: Moralizing Pictures in an Age of Reform, ca.* 1535-1600 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 6.

[73] Ibid., 134.

[74] According to W.R. Rearick the sequence of the series represents the mortality and redemption of humankind: Spring, with the expulsion depicted in the upper right background, represents the Fall; Summer, with the sacrifice of Isaac in the upper left background, is a foreshadowing of Christ's sacrifice; Autumn, with Moses receiving the

actively engaged in labors of daily life also symbolized the *uomo carnale,* or those who are controlled by bodily appetites and who set their hearts on material things rather than spiritual understanding.[75] They appeared to Venetian urbanites as the "antithesis of the godfearing, upstanding, civilized burgher."[76] Such associations are made more explicit when peasant figures are juxtaposed with holy figures in scenes depicting religious narratives, such as Bassano's *The Flight into Egypt* (1542, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio) (Fig. 70). Three peasant figures walk beside the donkey led by Joseph and appear oblivious to the animal's divine riders. In particular, the man in the center is preoccupied with pointing the way for his companions. With his body turned away from Mary and the Christ child, his direction indicates a subtle divergence physically and spiritually from the path taken by the Holy Family.[77]

Strozzi's treatment of peasant musicians in *Shawm Player* (Fig. 55) and *Street Musicians* (Fig. 57) not only recalls Bassano's figures but also closely resemble musical shepherds represented earlier in Domenichino's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1607-10, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) (Fig. 71) and later in the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1610-1665) (c. 1645, Church of San Luca, Genoa) (Fig. 72). At the left of Domenichino's composition, a shepherd stands and plays his bagpipe to welcome the Lord. The diagonal line created by the man's arm and the chanter of the bagpipe reaches out toward the head of Mary and then leads our eye down to her ear and then to Jesus, suggesting visually that the sound of the pipes is directed to Mary and her child. To direct our eye to the holy family as the intended audience, the diagonal line of the bagpipe player's arm is echoed in reverse by the outstretched arm of a companion shepherd at the right whose hand points down to the illuminated grouping of Mary,

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tablets, represents salvation that is contingent upon obedience to God's law; Winter, with Christ carrying the cross in the upper left, represents redemption made possible only through Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. William Roger Rearick, catalog entry in *Jacopo Bassano, c. 1510-1592,* ed. Beverly Louise Brown, Paola Marini, Liva Alberton Vinco da Sesso, exhibition catalog, Kimbell Art Museum 23 January - 25 April, 1993 (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1993), 145-46.

[75] Ibid., 20.

[76] Ibid., 23.

[77] Aikema, 22.

Jesus, and young angels. Castiglione's painting includes a similar bucolic figure seated in the right foreground playing a dulcian. As he leans forward with his instrument, he, like Domenichino's bagpipe player, directs his music and the viewer's eye to Mary and her newborn babe. The energetic music-making of shepherds contrasts the stillness of Mary and Christ, thus accentuating the quiet dignity and divinity of the Holy Family. These figures allude to the important role of shepherds as eager recipients and subsequent purveyors of the angel's good news as recorded in the Gospel of St. Luke and represented in visual arts.[78] Musical shepherds became a common motif in Nativity paintings produced during the post-Tridentine decades of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century. [79] While shepherds recall the glorious interchange between shepherds and the angel who initially announced Jesus' birth, musical shepherds, in particular, assume an added role of echoing the heavenly choir that accompanied the heralding angel. Pictorial representations of shepherds accepted into the adoring crowds around the Holy Family also served, in part, as a metaphor for the Catholic Church's supposedly compassionate dealings with poor, uneducated, supposedly simple people.[80]

The visual parallels between Strozzi's musicians and those in Domenichino's and Castiglione's Adoration scenes suggest that Strozzi drew upon established conventions for his figure types but deliberately eschewed the associated narrative.

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[78] No mention is made of shepherds making music in the countryside or in company with the Holy Family after the miraculous birth; however, artists extrapolate that once the shepherds heard the joyous announcement of the birth from the angels, they made haste with their instruments and offered their humble music as a gift to celebrate the birth of the Christ child. Nico Staiti, *Angeli e pastori: L'immagine musicale della Natività e le musiche pastorali natalizie* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 1997), 16-17, 54-5.

[79]The importance of the instrumental music for eliciting devotional and/or celebratory feelings associated with the Nativity is confirmed by developments in the second half of the seventeenth century of the *pastorale,* which are melodic musical compositions for bagpipes and recorders suggestive of shepherds' music that are composed specifically to celebrate the Christmas season. Staiti, "Immagini," 581-84. Some of the most notable compositions including *pastorale* movements are Antonio Corelli's *Concerto Grosso in G Minor*, op. 6, no.8 *Fatto per la notte di Natale;* Giuseppe Valentini's *Sinfonia per il Santissimo Natale*, Georg Friedrich Handel's *Messiah,* and Johann Sebastian Bach's *Christmas Oratorio.* Charles Cudworth, "Per la Notte di Natale," *The Musical Times* 112 (December 1971): 1165-66.

[80] Nico Staiti, "Immagini e suoni di pastori e zampogne," *Atti del XIV congresso della Società internazionale di musicologia: trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale* (Bologna 1987), 581.

Strozzi's single shawm player and the group of street musicians imitate the intensity of shepherds' music-making displayed in pictorial representations of the Adoration of the Shepherds.[81] However, Strozzi sets his figures in an indefinite setting, and turns them away from a pictured audience to confront the invisible viewer. By removing devotional connotations, Strozzi situates his musicians in a secular context wherein tensions of social class relationships occur more directly in the interplay between subject and viewer. Aristocratic patrons familiar with conventional representations of the adoration of the shepherds may have recognized that they had replaced the Holy Family as spectator and listener. Consequently, instead of objectively witnessing peasants juxtaposed with aristocratic figures within the confines of a painted composition, the viewer interacts with the peasants spatially in a relationship conjured up in a continuous present. I turn in the following section to explore the implications of Strozzi depicting his lower-class musicians unmitigated by either allusions to pastoral traditions or to the conventions of representing adoring shepherds.

"Tu dunque non sarai nè grande, nè mediocre, nè infimo ma d'una qualità senza nome": Social class and Strozzi's musicians

Strozzi's paintings were commissioned and purchased by noblemen, including by Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale in Genoa and Giovan Donato Correggio in Venice. That paintings of rustic musicians featured in their collections merit closer examination in light of anxieties about defining nobility that affected established and aspiring noble patrons in Genoa and Venice, as elsewhere in Italy. To maintain their status and political control, traditional nobilities in northern Italy, including Genoa, severely curtailed potential for social mobility among the new

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[81] Since Donato Correggio owned Castiglione's *Adoration of the Shepherds,* the similarities between the bagpipe player in this painting and Strozzi's bagpipe and shawm players, which were displayed as part of the same collection, would not have gone unnoticed by Correggio or his guests. Correggio's inventory does not allow us to determine where Castiglione's painting hung in relation to Strozzi's musician paintings for two reasons. First, the paintings are not listed according to rooms. Second, records for paintings that entered the collection after the initial inventory in 1653 are entered chronologically as the paintings were acquired. Castiglione's painting (Un quadro con un Presepio con pastori che vengono a presentar et un pastor con un can che sona di zampogna opera di Giovanni Battista Castiglione costò d. 18 e val scudi 200 compro a Parma) is recorded with three other entries under the date 1666. *Inventari de quadri, gioie e mobili della casa Correggio esistenti in Venezia e fuori.* Nota fatta l'anno 1653 adi primo [...] Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fraterna grande di Sant'Antonin, Commissaria, b. 6, fol. 26r.

mercantile elites by effecting a *chiusura,* or closure of noble ranks, that prohibited the bestowal of nobility on anyone who could not provide credentials of a noble ancestry.[82] This precipitated a decline in the number of nobles in Genoa, Venice, and other centers and made the process of acquiring or validating noble status more difficult. The Genoese *Libro d'oro* listed 2,500 nobles at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but this number dropped to 1,802 by 1630, and by 1725 only 804 names were listed.[83] While a decrease in remarriages of widows and fewer children born to noble families contributed to this decline, tight restrictions on who was allowed to add their name to the *Libro d'oro* was a leading cause.[84]

Although the diversity of social and political structures throughout Italy meant there was no homogeneous nobility, the values of *virtù* (virtue), *cortesia* (courtesy), *onore* (sense of honour), and *dignità* (dignity or rank) were considered essential qualities of the cultural identity of all nobilities.[85] What remained a complex question, however, was the precise meaning in different cities and environments of each of these terms and particularly whether nobility was more appropriately derived from blood or behavior. Claudio Donati and Richard Ferraro argue that definitions of noble status by the seventeenth century seem to have privileged tangible evidence of lifestyle and ancestry over virtue and other intangible qualities.[86] Members of the old nobility in Genoa had legitimated their authority in a grand manner by creating between 1558 and 1591 a space of urban magnificence, the Strada Nuova, along which they built residential palaces richly

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[82] Black, 139.

[83] Donati, "The Italian Nobilities," 291.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Claudio Donati, "The Italian Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* vol. 1: Western and Southern Europe, ed. H.M. Scott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 289.

[86] Claudio Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia: secoli xiv-xviii* (Rome, 1988); Claudio Donati, "The Italian Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 286-321; Richard Ferraro, "The Nobility of Rome, 1560-1700: A Study of its Composition, Wealth, and Investment," 2 vols. (Ph.D. Diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1994). For a discussion of Italian nobility in a broader sense, see Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

decorated with the finest ornaments and furnishings (Fig. 73).[87] Such extravagant displays of conspicuous consumption reveal an attitude to nobility that privileged outward displays of wealth, culture, and prestige. Among Strozzi's important Genoese patrons, the Doria, Spinola, and Pallavicino families, all members of the Vecchi, were original inhabitants of this elite aristocratic neighborhood and their magnificence set the standard by which Genoese aristocracy was measured.[88] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in order to compete with old Genoese nobility, the Vecchi, and to establish themselves among the social elite, new members of the new urban nobility, the Nuovi, spent their wealth lavishly on building and furnishing elaborate residences.[89] Strozzi's patrons among the new nobility demonstrated confidence in their new-found status by boldly displaying Strozzi's paintings of uncouth peasant musicians, whose indecorous manners reaffirm, by comparison, the patrons' upper class situation.

Strozzi painted his *Shawm Player* (Fig. 55) for Giovanni Francesco Brignole, a member of a prominent silk-merchant-turned-banking family.[90] During the sixteenth century, the Brignole family was situated socially among the merchant class, but their social status rose in 1603 when Giovanni Francesco Brignole married Geronima Sale, the only daughter of Giulio Sale, who was a new member of the new nobility in Genoa.[91] Although the Sale family, like the Brignole family, were originally members of the merchant class, Giulio's status had risen higher in 1592 when Francesco I de' Medici rewarded Giulio for his loyalty and service to the Grand Duke by conferring upon him the title of Marquis and granting him the

[87] Descriptions and illustrations of the architectural splendor of the Strada Nuova were disseminated to other European nobles in the early seventeenth century through Peter Paul Rubens' *Palazzi di Genova* (Antwerp 1622). George L. Gorse, "A Classical Stage for the Old Nobility: The Strada Nuova and Sixteenth-Century Genoa," *The Art Bulletin* 79 (June 1997): 301.

[88] Of the first ten palaces built on the Strada Nuova, the Spinola family built four, the Pallavicino built two, and the Grimaldi built one. Ibid., 311.

[89] On the social and economic contrasts and conflicts between the old nobility (Vecchi) and the new nobility (Nuovi) in sixteenth-century Genoa, see Costantini, 80-99.

[90] Tagliaferro, 15-18.

[91] Tagliaferro, 20.

castle and feudal territory of Groppoli.[92] When Giovanni Francesco Brignole married Geronima Sale, he inherited additional land, residences, and money from the noble Sale family.[93] The Brignole-Sale acquired and lavishly decorated palaces in Genoa, two villas in Albaro, and a castle in Groppoli to promote their status as members of Genoa's new nobility (Fig. 74).[94] As a prominent member of the new nobility, Giovanni Francesco desired to establish himself as an avid and discerning collector. He eagerly collected between 1603 and 1637 paintings by celebrated Flemish masters Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, and Cornelius de Wael, and noted Bolognese painter Guido Reni (b. Bologna, 1575; d. Bologna, 1642) (Figs 75, 76). However, he also recognized and patronized innovative local talent by commissioning paintings from artists such as Bernardo Strozzi and Benedetto Castiglione (Fig. 77).[95] Although the Brignole did not share the rich genealogical heritage of the Doria, Spinola, and other established members of the old landed nobility, Francesco effectively used his wealth, like members of the Vecchi, to purchase paintings and build a collection that attested to his aristocratic status.

Giovan Donato Correggio (1608-74) and his brother Agostino (1604-78), who were the principal collectors of Strozzi's works in Venice, also depended on economic and cultural capital to acquire noble status. These brothers, who had inherited a profitable leather business from their father, elevated their social status

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[92] Eugenio Branchi, *Storia della Lunigiana Feudale,* vol. 1 (Bologna: Forni, 1971), 618.

[93] Tagliaferro, 21-2. Giovanni Francesco also inherited important social alliances. After the death of Giulio Sale, Giovanni Francesco Brignole carried on his close personal and professional relationship with the Grand Duke Francesco de' Medici of Tuscany. As the eldest son of Giovanni Brignole and Geronima Sale, Anton Giulio Brignole-Sale inherited the title of Marquis and the fortune and estates of the family. Michele de Marinis, *Anton Giulio Brignole Sale e i suoi tempi* (Genoa: Libreria Editrice Apuana, 1914), 5-9.

[94] On the residences of the Brignole-Sale family throughout the seventeenth century, see Laura Tagliaferro, *La magnificenza privata, "Argenti, gioie, quadri e altri mobili" della famiglia Brignole Sale secoli XVI-XIX* (Genoa: Marietti, 1995), 55. The Brignole-Sale family, who acquired Strozzi's *Shawm Player,* built two palaces at the west end of the Strada Nuova beginning in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Gorse, 311. The Palazzo Rosso was gifted in 1874 along with its paintings and furnishings to the city of Genoa by Maria Duchessa di Galliera.

[95] Tagliaferro, 130-37.

beyond wealthy merchants by purchasing a noble title for 100,000 ducats in 1646.[96] In a letter written in 1685 to his son Pietro, Antonio Ottobon describes despondently the social position one acquires when purchasing a title of nobility, as he had done nearly 40 years before: "Tu dunque non sarai nè grande, nè mediocre, nè infimo ma d'una qualità senza nome."[97] Citizens who purchased aristocratic status were not treated as equal to the established nobility.[98] Giovan Donato Correggio's shrewd business sense and keen eye in judging artworks allowed him to solidify and advertise his social status in Venice by amassing a remarkable collection of paintings.[99] In the 1630s he commissioned Strozzi to paint an important allegorical portrait of him in the guise of Perseus (Musée Magnin, Dijon) (Fig. 78).[100] Linda Borean points out that having himself painted in the guise of a mythological hero

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[96] Linda Borean, "Bernardo Strozzi's Portrait of a Collector as Perseus in Dijon," *The Burlington Magazine* 142 no. 1168 (July 2000): 430-31. The law of 1646 that allowed new families to pay 100,000 ducats and be admitted into the ranks of the Venetian patriciate was motivated by the need to raise money to support the War of Candia that began in 1645. Over half of the new families were merchants from the Terraferma who used their status and position in Venice to improve and expand commercial dealings between Venice and their native cities. Alexander Cowan, "New Families in the Venetian Patriciate, 1646-1718," *Ateneo veneto* 23 (1985), 57-8. Although the leather industry in sixteenth-century Italy supplied products that varied in quality and usefulness, leather goods were primarily luxury items available to those of considerable wealth. Norman John Greville Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe, 1500-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 48-9.

[97] Robert Sabbadini, *L'acquisto della tradizione: Tradizione aristocratica e nuova nobiltà a Venezia (sec. XVII-XVIII)* (Udine: Istituto Editoriale Veneto Friulano, 1995), 50, 69. "Therefore your status will be neither great, nor mediocre, nor lower class, but of a type without name."

[98] In addition to judgments about their manner of living, the Correggio and other members of the new nobility were subject to criticism from the old nobility about the way they dressed and spoke. Sabbadini, 50.

[99] Linda Borean, *La quadreria di Agostino e Giovan Donato Correggio nel collezionismo veneziano del Seicento* (Udine: Forum, 2000), 58. Correggio's collection of paintings at the Palazzo di San Cassiano is described with unrestrained admiration by Marco Boschini, who was particularly impressed with the number of paintings by living artists. Marco Boschini *Carta del navegar pitoresco* (1660), ed. Anna Pallucchini (Venice: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966), 599-602.

[100]Borean corrects previous identifications of the sitter as the librettist Giulio Strozzi based on the entry in Correggio's inventory that confirms the sitter as Giovan Donato Correggio: "mio ritratto di me Giovan Donato finto Perseo del Prete Strozzi Genovese stimato ducati 52." Borean, "Bernardo Strozzi's Portrait," 430-31.

was a means for Correggio to assert his rising status as a member of the Venetian new nobility.[101]

In addition to this portrait, Donato acquired nineteen other paintings attributed to Strozzi, more than the number of works represented by any other artist in the inventory except for Girolamo Forabosco (b. Venice, 1605; d. Padua 1679).[102] Eight of Strozzi's nineteen paintings were scenes of figures playing a flute, bagpipes, lute, violin, or guitar: "Un vechio che sona di flauto et un giovane del violino del Strozi Prete Genovese stimatissimo d. 52," "Una donna che sona di piva del Prete Genovese Strozi bellissima," "Un giovine nudo mentre che sona pur di piva del medesimo Strozi prete stimatissimo," "Un huomo vechio che suona di zampogna pur del Prete Strozi stimatissimo d. 30," "Una copia di quel che sona di flauto opera del Prete Strozi Genovese costa la copia d. 5," "Doi quadri sopra le porte una che suona la chitarra et l'altro che sona un liuto del Prete Genovese con soaze negre," "Un altro quadro con doi sonatori con liuto et violino di mano del Prete Genovese con soaze nere."[103] Of these paintings, three in Luisa Mortari's catalog raisonné of known Strozzi paintings match descriptions in Correggio's inventory: "Un huomo vechio che suona di zampogna" could be *Bagpipe Player (Il Pifferaio)* (c. 1615, Genoa, Nino Ferrari Collection) (Fig. 79); "Un giovine nudo mentre che sona pur di piva" could be *Shawm Player (Il Pifferaio)* (c. 1615, Collezione Mazzucchelli, Milan) (Fig. 80); and "Un altro quadro con doi sonatori con liuto et violino" could be one of the three versions of *Concerto* housed at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow; the Galleria Lorenzelli, Bergamo; and at Hampton Court Palace (Fig. 81).[104] The paintings of the bagpipe and shawm player

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[101] Ibid, 431.

[102] Donato's inventory lists 20 paintings by Forabosco that include portraits, paintings of religious subjects, and mythological scenes.

[103] The remainder of paintings listed in Donato's collection are described as landscapes, seascapes, mythological subjects, still lifes, or have no indication of subject matter. *Inventari de quadri, gioie e mobili della casa Correggio esistenti in Venezia e fuori.* Nota fatta l'anno 1653 adi primo [...] Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Fraterna grande di Sant'Antonin, Commissaria, b. 6, fols. 3v-33r.

[104] Mortari, 124-25. The provenance of these four paintings prior to the twentieth century is unknown, making it impossible to know for certain which, if any, of them were in Donato Correggio's collection.

feature lower-class figures whose musical performances represent the antithesis of sophisticated, aristocratic musical entertainments.

The quantity of paintings by Strozzi attests to Donato's predilection for the artist's style and the percentage of musical subjects (nearly half) implies that it was the musical subject matter of these paintings, not just Strozzi's reputation, that may have determined their place in the collection. While over 300 of the approximately 450 paintings in Donato's collection were portraits and religious figures or narratives, the display of fourteen musician paintings, thirteen paintings of soldiers and battles, and ten paintings of philosophers is suggestive.[105] Musical knowledge and experience, military prowess, and intellectual acuity were core aspects of male nobility.[106] Perhaps Donato acquired paintings with subjects of civil and scholarly virtues to suggest that he possessed these qualities, or at least was aware of how participating in discourses on these subjects helped to legitimize one's status as a member of the nobility. However, Strozzi's musician paintings feature loud, rustic, public musical performances by peasants rather than refined, private musical concerts enjoyed by a cultured elite. Consequently, these paintings invite investigations into additional issues of social class, particularly if and how the patron's nobility can be secured by comparison with the appearance and manners of lower-class musicians. In the case of Correggio's collection, like that of Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale, Strozzi's paintings were carefully selected as part of a trend toward collecting paintings to showcase the patrons' taste and, as we shall see below, to assuage any doubts about their aristocratic status. Strozzi's paintings, therefore, can be interrogated as key participants in this display of status and power.

Attitudes to peasants in agrarian treatises and their influence on Strozzi's peasant musicians

As we interrogate Strozzi's musician paintings, we must keep in mind that they were acquired by noble patrons in Genoa and Venice in the early decades of the seventeenth century when urban elites faced the dilemma of how best to fashion,

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[105] Homer, Horace, and Pythagoras are identified specifically as the subjects of four of the philosopher paintings. *Inventari de quadri, gioie, e mobili della casa Correggio,* fols. 3v-33r.

[106] Anthony L. Cardoza, *Aristocrats in Bourgeois Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67.

or refashion, themselves to establish high social status. Giovanni Francesco Brignole and Giovan Donato Correggio had exchanged their merchant class status for noble status only through marriage and purchase respectively. Consequently, they engaged in behavior that differentiated them from the merchant classes. With the display of Strozzi's uncouth musicians, these patrons presented rural figures not as idyllic but as essentially vulgar. I suggest here that aristocratic attitudes to the peasantry were not uniform and suggest that an acknowledgement of simultaneously condescending and envious attitudes to peasants might help us to better understand the social implications of displaying Strozzi's musical peasants.[107]

Strozzi's apparently non-idealized portrayal of figures in *The Pipers* (Fig. 56) and *Street Musicians* (Fig. 57) draws upon the cultural construct of the peasant class as coarse and comic as perpetuated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. On one hand, Tomaso Garzoni provides in his *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venice 1585) a particularly caustic characterization of peasants: "Oggidi sono i villani astuti come volpi, maliziosi come la mala cosa, . . . maladetti come i demoni, . . . un bue nel discorso, un asino nel giudicio, un cavallaccio nell'intelletto."[108] On the other hand, agrarian treatises that extolled the

[107] I recognize that the plight of peasants varied between southern, central, and northern Italy because of different economic, social, and political structures. Central and northern Italy consisted of a complex network of territorial states while the Kingdom of Naples in the south was dominated by royal power. While refeudalization occurred throughout Italy from the late fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, peasants in rural communities worked the land and acquired rights dependent upon distinct local structures of urban rule. G. Chittolini, "Signorei rurali e feudi alla fine del Medioevo," in *Comuni e signorie: istituzioni, società e lotte per l'egemonia,* ed. O. Capitani (Turin, 1981): 659-67. See also Domenico Sella, *Italy in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), 52-82; R. Burr Litchfield, "The social world: cohesion, conflict, and the city," in *Early Modern Italy 1550-1796,* ed. John A. Marino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 87-103. On the servitude of peasants and their precarious relationship with landowners in Tuscany, see Frank McArdle, *Altopascio: A Study in Tuscan Rural Society 1587-1784* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 66-82, 156-81. On peasants' role in agricultural and stock-rearing enterprises around Naples see John Marino, *Pastoral Economics in the Kingdom of Naples* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988)

[108] Tomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo,* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1996), 821. "Nowadays the peasants are as astute as wolves, malicious as an evil thing, . . . as cursed as demons. . . . an ox in speech, an ass in judgment, a mare in intellect." For examples of the vilification of peasants in sixteenth-century satirical poetry and prose see Domenico Merlini, *Saggio de ricerche sulla satira contro il villano* (Torino: Loescher, 1894).

delights and practical benefits of villa life often acknowledged peasants as undesirable yet basically harmless, and they included descriptions of peasants as boorish, dishonest, and lazy.[109] For example, in his *Ricordo d'agricoltura* (1567), Camillo Tarello blames poor agricultural yields not on bad seeds, inclement weather conditions, or animal infestation, but rather on the "ignoranza, negligenza, e pigrizia degli Agricoltori."[110] Agrarian treatises were written for an aristocratic audience of wealthy landowners to provide instruction on how to oversee effectively a villa's agrarian enterprises and manage its workers.[111] While authors acknowledged certain vices among peasants and expressed suspicion toward peasants, they increasingly advocated that landowners treat peasants fairly and with kindness. Giuseppe Falcone epitomizes this attitude in his *Le nuova, vaga, et dilettevole villa* (Venice 1628):

> Avertendo il S. Padrone mentre che sta fuori in Villa, con tutta la sua nobile fameglia, che si porta rispetto ad ogni minimo Contadino di Villa, ò di Contado: essendogli amoreuoli, piacevoli, domestici, affabili, non comandargli superbamente, ne in colera . . . Anzi è ben fatto tenergli allegri, e consolati, perche lavorano meglio, più, e di meglior voglia: oltre che tal affabilità, gli allegerisse il continuo giogo della fatica: Conoscendo loro tal benignità, e grata cortesia del loro Signore, e Padrone.[112]

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[109] Paula Lanaro Sartori, "Gli scritti veneti d'agraria del Cinquecento e del primo Seicento tra realtà e utopia," *Atti del convegno "Venezia e la Terraferma" attraverso le relazioni dei Rettori (1980)* (Milan 1981), 261-310.

[110] Camillo Tarello, *Ricordo d'agricoltura . . . cor., illus., augentato con note, aggiunte e tavole dal padre maestro Gian-Francesco Scottoni min. conventuale* (Venice: G. Bassaglia, 1772), 35. "Camillo Tarello credits poor agricultural yields . . . to the "ignorance, negligence, and sloth of the farmers."

[111] Jane K. Laurent, "The Peasant in Italian Agrarian Treatises," *Agricultural History* 58 (October 1984): 567. The negative characterization of Italian peasants during the early modern period is based on second-hand observations in the writings of upper-class, literate men. However, Duccio Balestracci's analysis of a Sienese sharecropper's account books reveals that peasants were not always lazy or thieving but rather could be confident, competent, and hardworking. Benedetto del Massarizia was an ambitious farmer who hired notaries to record all his financial transactions—land purchased, wine sold, dowries obtained, etc. From these farming diaries Balestracci's reconstructs the living conditions, diet, family relations, taxation, and agricultural production of a Tuscan peasant family. Duccio Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: Family Memoirs of a Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Peasant,* trans. Paolo Squatriti and Betsy Merideth (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

[112] Giuseppe Falcone, *Le nuova, vaga, et dilettevole villa* (reprint, Venice 1628), 11. "While the master is out in his villa with all of his noble family, he should show respect

Falcone recognizes that the success of a villa's agrarian enterprises depends on the labors of peasants and, in turn, the cooperation and productivity of peasants is proportionate to how well they are treated by the owner. Similarly, Agostino Gallo recognizes in *Le venti giornate dell'agricoltura e de' piaceri della villa* (Venice 1570) that landowners and peasants are mutually dependent upon one another. Speaking of his workers, the interlocutor Giambattista Avvogadro tells his pupil Vincenzio Maggi, "Ma sappiate che io sono amato da loro, e mi servono con diligenza, perchè ancor essi veggono che hanno buona compagnia da me, così nel vivere, come nel pagarli liberamente."[113] Gallo and Falcone are representative of those who believed that by adopting a paternalistic attitude and providing peasants with adequate kindness and material necessities, villa owners could motivate workers to be more loyal and productive.[114]

It is instructive to consider how much knowledge of peasant individuals the urban patriciate would have had. Although landowners dealt with a *fattore,* or land agent, rather than with peasants directly, they did encounter shepherds and ploughmen at their villa estates.[115] Estates in Sampierdarena, Pegli, and Albaro, including the Brignole-Sale's, included working gardens, orchards, lawns, and

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to every insignificant peasant in the villa or countryside, being toward them loving, pleasant, affable, not commanding them haughtily or in anger . . . Rather, it is best to keep them happy and comfortable so that they work better, more, and with more will; the affability further lightens the continual yoke of hard labor because they know the kindness and courtesy of their gentleman and master."

[113] Agostino Gallo, *Le venti giornate dell'agricoltura e de' piaceri della villa* (Brescia: G. Bossini, 1775) 20. "But know that I am loved by them, and they serve me with diligence because still they have good treatment from me, both in their provisions and in their liberal pay."

[114] Laurent, 575-78.

[115] Responsibilities of the *fattore* included supervising agricultural work, representing the landowner in the purchases and sales of goods and equipment, managing contracts with the workers, and maintaining good relationships with local authorities. The *fattore* was often expected to work busy, tiring 14-hour days. 46. Roberto Finzi, *Monsignore al suo fattore, 'La Istruzione di agricoltura' di Innocenzo Malvasia* (1609) (Bologna: Istituto per la storia di Bologna: 1979), 46. On amicable relationships between *fattore,* landlord, and *lavoratori* on Strozzi family estates outside of Florence in the fifteenth century, see Amanda Lillie, *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 24-9.

vineyards.[116] The idea of shepherds as idealized characters who inhabited pastoral realms removed in time and place from urban centers was complemented by the presence of actual workers on whom proprietors relied for making the land fruitful and profitable. James Ackerman notes how hardworking peasants could be viewed at the Villa Barbaro at Maser through a large central window in the south front facing the estate orchards.[117] These figures were part of the pleasure of the view. Looking out over the estate, villa owners and their visitors would have perceived peasant workers in the distance as an integral and indispensable part of villa life and its agricultural production. The Genoese artist Antonio Travi reverses this vantage point by presenting peasants hard at work harvesting produce, loading their donkey, and pulling water from a well in the foreground and relegating the villa residence to the left background of his *Landscape with Peasants Harvesting Squash* (c. 1640, Museo dell'Accademia Ligustica, Genoa) (Fig. 82).[118] Although the scale of the peasants is relatively small and they are kept at a distance from both the villa in the background and the viewer, these figures are an integral part of the landscape they inhabit. Travi suggests in a positive sense that the fruitfulness of the land and the harmony between man and nature is dependent upon the peasants' continued labour.[119] It is unclear whether or not the tract of farmland and its dilapidated

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[116] Spinola describes Genoese villas as "a farm with a house for the master and another, separate or not for the farmer; it is as an experimental agrarian establishment, because you find together there a vegetable garden, an orchard, woods, a lawn, and a vineyard, often contained by a wall." Massimiliano Spinola, ed., *Descrizione di Genova e del genovesato ossia nuova guida de Genova* (Genoa: Tipografia Ferrando, 1846), 2: 76-7.

[117] James Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 99. On the close physical proximity of a landowner's *casa da signore* to the *casa da lavoratore* and outbuildings, see Lillie, 32-8, 58-79.

[118] Gianluca Zanelli describes Travi's painting as a realistic representation of country life. He notes particularly the attention to realistic details in the foliage, the rope, and the basket, and the contrast between the grand villa in the background and the labors of the humble peasants in the foreground. Gianluca Zanelli, *Antonio Travi e la pittura di paesaggio a Genova nel '600* (Genoa: Sagep, 2001), 90. On the relationship (spatially and socially) of the labourer to cultivated landscapes in similar paintings by John Constable in the nineteenth century, see John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 133-64.

[119] On ways in which the inclusion of figures invests social meanings in landscapes, particularly in paintings by John Constable, see John Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape: The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 131-55.

farmhouse are attached to the villa in the distance. However, the unobstructed physical and visual connection between them suggests that the peasants did not labor unnoticed by the neighboring nobility and conveys the idea of co-dependency expressed by Falcone.

Villa owners and their guests did not observe peasants dispassionately. Peasants and their labors could be a source of condescending amusement as recounted in Agostino Gallo's *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* (Venice 1565).[120] Through his interlocutor Giovanni Battista Avogadro, Gallo describes how the recreational pleasure at a villa is made more delightful by watching peasants drain a pond and then scramble about and scoop up the fish:

> Sappiate che non è al mondo maggior contento, che il veder venire da ogni lato, huomini e donne, vecchi e giovani, grandi e piccioli, e tutti scalzi, conguade, con stambucchine; con zapponi, badili, vanghe, pale, zucche, secchie, conche, & altre gnaccare simili, per poter meglio pescare. . . . Poi non so qual'huomo si malinconico che nõ scoppiasse di ridere, vedendo gl'infiniti atti che fanno queste buone genti nel pescare.[121]

While Gallo focuses on the supposed humor and energy of peasants' exploits, Anton Francesco Doni draws attention in *Le Ville* (Florence 1566) to the masculinity and athleticism of peasants who participated in fights, races, jousting, soccer matches, stage comedies, music, and dancing.[122] These occasions provided peasants with relief from their daily hardships and allowed aristocratic spectators, especially Doni, to admire their physical strength: "bella cosa certo a vedere la fierezza & la destrezza di quegli huomini robusti."[123] Doni betrays a somewhat

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[120] Agostino Gallo, *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura, e piaceri della villa* (Venice, 1565). L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Gallo's treatise was expanded later and reprinted as *Le venti giornata della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* in 1570.

[121] Gallo, *Le dieci giornate*. 163. "You know that there is nothing in the world that brings greater joy than the sight of men and women, young and old, large and small, coming from all directions, all barefoot, and carrying nets and long sticks, with hoes, shovels, spades, gourds, buckets, conches and other gadgets to help them fish better. . . . Then I don't know any man so melancholy that he would not burst out laughing, seeing the endless antics that these good folk use in fishing."

[122] Anton Francesco Doni, *Le Ville,* ed. Ugo Bellocchi (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1969), 42-4.

[123] Ibid., 42. "It is certainly a beautiful thing to witness the boldness and dexterity of those sturdy men."

envious regard for the peasants' masculinity and muscularity here, which perhaps marks a degree of envy or insecurity in relation to their assured masculinity by contrast with the effeminate graces of the nobility. Much like the bodies of nineteenth-century working class women were viewed by the male bourgeoisie, as analysed by Griselda Pollock, bodies of peasant labourers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be seen "as an effect of discipline and surveillance. . . . as the site of bourgeois discipline, the contested places of bourgeois male class power and the sign of a conflicted sexuality."[124] Pollock clarifies her use of "sexuality" in a Foucauldian sense as "not referring to sexual appetites and pleasures but to the social regimes that organize and subordinate women's [or, in Doni's and Strozzi's cases, peasant's] sexual body to the institutions of the family, to class power, and to social regulation."[125] Aristocratic attitudes to masculine sexuality, therefore, are related directly to the social and political formulations of their upper-class identity. By adopting a condescending attitude of taking pleasure in watching the peasants and finding their antics humorous, Doni maintains an appropriate social distance and offers a sort of upper-class censorship of the peasants' sexuality and an implied suppression of their potential political/class power.

Strozzi adopts an attitude that evokes both the sympathy of Gallo and the patronization of Doni. He presents his bagpipe and shawm players in *The Pipers* as hearty figures toughened by physical labor. Both musicians have their sleeves rolled up, which reveals the muscular strength of their arms and draws attention to the strong physical movements required to play the instruments. The front of the shawm player's shirt sags low revealing a bare chest perhaps as an indicator of the exertion required by both agrarian and musical activities, but here it creates a disheveled appearance–this is no muscular god. Strozzi paints the musicians' ruddy faces and dirtied arms with a vigorous painterly quality to give the impression of continual exposure to the sun and the elements. In spite of their humble appearance, they convey a sense of confidence in their musical abilities through their intense concentration, and they display contentment in their situation through the grinning

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[124] Griselda Pollock, "Feminism/Foucault--Surveillance/Sexuality," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations,* ed. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), 35-6.

[125] Ibid., 23

figure at the left. Strozzi surprisingly dispenses with the pastoral tradition, dispenses with religious narrative, and dispenses with any visual reference to a definite setting. He emphasizes, instead, close-up, half-length views of musical peasants who confront the viewer with their loud instrument. Since Strozzi hones in on these figures, we might expect more sympathy toward them. However, Strozzi's assertion of the rough physical appearance and indecorous manners of the rural poor serves to bolster, instead, claims to social and moral superiority by the implied aristocratic audience.

Masculinity and spontaneity of peasants

For aristocratic viewers like Giovanni Brignole-Sale and Giovan Donato Correggio and their circles, the muscularity and masculinity of the male musicians' bodies in *The Pipers* (Fig. 56) may have been envied, and perhaps even seen as potentially threatening, for nobles who feared the effeminizing of their own courtly bodies. Courtiers were faced with a dilemma regarding their masculinity. Wayne Rebhorn claims that if they invested more in the genteel pursuits of arts and letters rather than physical activities such as swordsmanship or horsemanship, their virility and vitality were undermined. On the other hand, if they participated in swordsmanship or horsemanship they risked displaying vigorous physical actions that conjured up behavior of baser members of the lower classes.[126] Writing in the early sixteenth century, Baldassare Castliglione was concerned about the former. He criticized the many contemporary gentlemen who adopted overly effeminate manners in their attempts to project a certain intellectual and/or cultural prowess:

> Et di tal forte voglio io che sia lo aspetto del nostro Cortegiano, non cosi molle, & feminile, come si sforzano d'haver molti, che non solamento si crespano i capegli, & spelano le ciglia: ma si strisciano . . . & pare che nello andare, nello stare, & in ogni altro lor atto siano tanto teneri, & languidi, che le membra siano per staccarsi loro luno dall'altro . . . e quanto piu si trovano con homini di gradi, tanto piu usano tai termini.[127]

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[126] Wayne A. Rebhorn, "Baldesar Castiglione, Thomas Wilson, and the Courtly Body of Renaissance Rhetoric," *Rhetorica* 11 (1993): 243-44.

[127] Castiglione, 18. "I would have our Courtier's face be such, not so soft and feminine as many attempt to have, who not only curl their hair and pluck their eyebrows, but preen themselves . . . and in walking, in posture, and in every act, appear so tender and languid that their limbs seem to be on the verge of falling apart . . . and the more they find

A courtier's effete appearance and movements, according to Castiglione, were not only signs of physical weakness but also, in a sense, social insecurity because they were deployed and emphasized when a courtier attempted to ingratiate himself with those of elevated status. The contrast between robust masculinized lower-class bodies and more effeminate courtly bodies is apparent when comparing the shawm player in *Street Musicians* (Fig. 57) with Strozzi's *Portrait of Giovan Donato Correggio as Perseus* (Fig. 78). Although Donato Correggio is similarly draped in clothing that reveals half of his chest and his entire right arm, his body is soft and lacks the vigor and movement of the peasant musician. His build is slighter and he sits foppishly posed with his arm draped over the chair. His long, slender fingers of his right hand rest languidly on the sword hilt, which signifies the nobility of soldiering, and he gently handles the shield with his left hand. Donato betrays a self-consciousness and self-awareness that is completely lacking in Strozzi's musicians, who are immune to the social pressures and requisite decorum of the upper classes. While Strozzi's portrait of Donato is a representation of nobility, his peasant musicians represent unmediated truth and provide access to the 'essence' of the poor.

The physical exertion displayed by Strozzi's musicians marks them as lower class, as it would have been unseemly for noble men, according to Giovanni della Casa in his courtesy book *Galateo* (1558): "Non dee l'uomo nobile correre per via, nè troppo affrettarsi; che ciò conviene a palafreniere, e non a gentiluomo: senza che, l'uomo s'affanna e suda ed ansa; le quali cose sono disdicevoli a così fatte persone."[128] The figures in *Street Musicians* seem unconcerned with becoming fatigued or sweating as a result of their energetic performance. They demonstrate exaggerated bodily movements that while seen as liberated and perhaps enviable,

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themselves in the company of men of rank, the more they make a show of such manners." Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* trans. by Charles S. Singleton (New York: Doubleday, 1959), 36.

[128] Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo ovvero de' costumi* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1949), 165, 171."A noble man must not run in the street, nor hurry too much, for this is suitable for a groom and not for a gentleman. Besides, a man will tire himself out, sweat and pant for breath, all of which are unbecoming to men of quality." Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo,* trans. by Konrad Eisenbichler and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1986), 53, 56.

should be avoided by gentlemen and gentlewomen in polite society. Their manners are similar to those censured by Giovanni della Casa:

> Sono alcuni che hanno per vezzo di torcer tratto tratto la bocca o gli occhi o di gonfiar le gote e di soffiare o di fare col viso simili diversi atti sconci; costoro conviene del tutto che se ne rimanghino, percioché la dea Pallade - secondamente che già mi fu detto da certi letterati - si dilettò un tempo di sonare la cornamusa, et era di ciò solenne maestra. Avenne che, sonando ella un giorno a suo diletto sopra una fonte, si specchiò nell'acqua e, avedutasi de' nuovi atti che sonando le conveniva fare col viso, se ne vergognò e gittò via quella cornamusa; . . . E quello che io dico degli sconci atti del viso, ha similmente luogo in tutte le membra.[129]

Not only do the figures in Strozzi's *Street Musicians* feature undesirable facial expressions similar to those described by Della Casa but the female recorder player in the center makes a similar reference to the myth of Athena and the impropriety of playing a wind instrument that causes her face to distort. Given the vulgarity of the performers and possible sexual connotations of a woman holding a phallic recorder, this painting becomes almost shocking, as though Strozzi is contesting deliberately the conventions of pastoral poetry that figure the politeness of wind instruments.

Strozzi is no longer dependent upon a poetic narrative in which musical instruments are held as subordinate to the poet/shepherd to help signify themes of contemplation and rejuvenation. He turns, instead, to emphasize the exuberance and implied sound of peasants engaged in music-making. In *The Pipers* (Fig. 56) Strozzi cuts his figures off at half-length, pushes them and their instruments up close to the picture plane, and paints the bagpipe player looking out toward the viewer to accentuate the energy of the musical performances that are apparent visually and implied aurally. Consequently, it is difficult to view this painting without "hearing"

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[129] Giovanni della Casa, *Galateo, ovvero de' costumi* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1949), 181. "There are some who have the habit of twisting their mouths or their eyes or of inflating their cheeks and puffing and blowing, or of making other similar indecent actions with their faces; they should not let any such manners remain. For the goddess Pallas, as I have been told by certain learned men, used to amuse herself playing on the bagpipes, and she was an expert on this instrument. It happened one day that while she was playing for her own amusement near a fountain she looked into the water and observing the strange motions she was obliged to make with her face, she was embarrassed and immediately threw away her pipes; . . . What I say about offensive facial contortions is applicable to every other part of the human body."

their loud, lively music as well, an effect that contrasts strikingly with the 'silent' scenes of pastoral shepherds. The corporeal effects of music are emphasized in *Street Musicians* (Fig. 49), especially by the musician at the right. His intense concentration on playing his instrument is accentuated by his furrowed brow, puffed cheeks, and the unnatural exaggeration of his fingers as they rise and lower to cover the holes of the shawm that projects dramatically into the viewer's space. He looks out toward the viewer, along with his companions, unconcerned about his posture as he is caught up with his music-making. This musician is almost a mirror image of the figure in *Shawm Player* (Fig. 55), who has been isolated for independent representation. Both men are elderly, bearded men who wear rust-coloured tunics over loose, open-chested white shirts. We are confronted by the gaping hole of the shawm's open bell that "resounds" with the man's puffed-out cheeks–the man is like his instrument. However, the effect is not as offensive as in *Street Musicians* because Strozzi treats this single shawm player with greater sensitivity than the figures in his group compositions. Our engagement is more immediate and intense with the solo musician in *Shawm Player.* Without his grinning companions from *Street Musicians* and *The Pipers*, the shawm player and his performance lack an overt comedic element. Even the concentration of the musician is less exaggerated and caricatured than his counterparts in the group compositions. He looks out and slightly away from the viewer with his eyebrows raised in an expression of entreating the viewers' visual attention, implied aural attention, and, perhaps, compassion. An even more sympathetic treatment of peasant musicians occurs in Strozzi's *Bagpipe Player* (Fig. 79), which depicts an elderly musician with wrinkled brow and cheeks, tousled hair and bushy moustache who is dressed in a rough tunic with a tear in its right shoulder. The musician holds the bagpipe with his fingers positioned over the holes as though ready to sound a note, but he does not blow into the chanter, nor does he thrust his instrument toward the viewer. Instead, he seems to pull back as he holds his instrument at an angle to toward the left and turns his head away from the viewer as he looks down to deliberately avoid meeting the viewer's gaze. Rather than emphasize the loud music produced by the bagpipes, or the uncouth performance of the player, Strozzi betrays a sympathy for the humble peasant man and his condition. The single musicians in *Shawm Player* and *Bagpipe Player* are strikingly different from the individual musicians in multi-figure

compositions, and they demonstrate Strozzi's recognition and exploration of diversity even within the category of peasant musicians.

The apparent spontaneity of Strozzi's musicians would have been a semi-envied quality for aristocratic patrons and audiences whose urban lives and manners were supposedly governed by propriety and self-restraint.[130] For Brignole-Sale, adherence to acceptable urban social codes were requisite in his positions as Ambassador to the Duke of Mantua in 1612, Ambassador to Pope Urban VIII in 1621, Senator from 1617-1634, and Doge of Genoa from 1635-1637.[131] The patron's formal bearing in Anthony Van Dyck's *Portrait of Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale* (Fig. 75) contrasts strikingly with the freer postures of the musicians in Strozzi's *Street Musicians* and *Shawm Player.* Van Dyck's painting presents a full-length view of Giovanni Francesco dressed in his Senator's attire standing dignifiedly inside a grand arcade. He fixes his eyes on the viewer with an expression of casual self-confidence and raises his left hand slightly as though he is about to address the viewer. Here is a man who appears as elegant and assured as the classical architectural setting in which he is situated. While the setting defines Brignole-Sale's status with its monumental columns; indistinct yet seemingly classical bronze statuettes on a table at the right and on a pedestal in the background; and an oriental carpet on the ground, it also confines him spatially. The arcade, table, and wall serve to both push Brignole-Sale toward the viewer and block access to the landscape and sky glimpsed through the archways in the background. These physical barriers within the composition allude to the restrictive urban codes of social conduct that both confined and defined Giovanni Francesco as one of Genoa's political elite.

Perhaps Strozzi's musicians were created to comment on the more carefree, earthy existence supposedly unavailable to nobles. In Agostino Gallo's *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura e piaceri della villa* (Venice 1565), his interlocutor

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[130] On self-restraint as a marker of prestige in the civilizing process, see Norbert Elias, *On Civilization, Power, and Knowledge,* ed. Stephen Mennell and Johan Goudsblom (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 72.

[131] Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale's political career is detailed in Teofilo Ossian De Negri, *Storia di Genova,* (Milan: Aldo Martello, 1968), 705-11.

Giovanni Battista Avogadro relishes the peace, freedom, and contentment of country living that he laments are absent in city life:

> . . . possiamo tardare di sera quanto ci piace, che per questo non ci vengono serrate le porte, come di continovo vien fatto alla nostra città, passiate che sieno poco piu divintidue hore. . . . Poiche nella città ci convien andare ben vestiti, con servatori, e pieni di mille rispetti, sberettando questo, e quello assair volte constra al voler vostro. . . . Onde qui ci è lecito andare, e stare senza servitori, senza cappa, e senza saio, vestendoci come piu, e meno ci gradisce. . . . Poi qui non son ambitiosi, invidiosi, o orgogliosi, insidiosi, ne che siano disleali, iracondi, vendicativi, assassini, e becari d'huomini, e meno vi sono falsi testimoni, perfidi notari, bugiardi procuratori, infideli avvocati, ingiusti giudici, ne ingarbugliosi causidici.[132]

Here Avogadro boasts of the idyllic villa life where a noble man can dress in whatever manner he likes; can live unhindered by urban rules, curfews, and everyday hassles; and can greet or ignore those of his choosing. Through him Gallo perpetuates an appealing, albeit inflated, idea of the country as a place inhabited by honest, humble people unhindered by urban vices of greed and corruption who work together for the good of their community.[133]

Strozzi, therefore, uses peasant music-making activities as the context for engaging critically with social manners and expectations. By presenting musicians who eschew politeness, manners, and civility, Strozzi can sharpen the distinction between their lower class and the aristocratic status of the paintings' audiences in ways to flatter the latter at the cost of the former. For Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale, Giovan Donato Correggio, and other Genoese and Venetian citizens of the new nobility, the rustic musical performances and unseemly bodily gestures of

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[132] Gallo, *Le dieci giornate*, 167-69. "We can linger as long as we like, and no one is going to lock us out, as they invariably do in the city, as soon as it strikes ten o'clock. . . . In the city you are expected to go about well-dressed and attended by servants, and to be full of a thousand courtesies, showing deference to all sorts of people whom you do not respect at all. . . . Here, on the other hand, I can go out or stay at home, without servants, without a hat, without a cloak, dressed in any way I choose. . . . People here are not ambitious, envious, proud or underhanded; they are not disloyal, hot-tempered, vindictive or murderous; they are not cuckolded by their wives; still less will you find them acting as false witnesses, dishonest notaries, lying officials, false lawyers, unjust judges or devious legal clerks." Translated in Ackerman, 128-29.

[133] Ibid.

Strozzi's musicians perhaps affirmed their own aristocratic refinement and helped to legitimize their claims to superiority over such people. At the same time, Strozzi's peasant musicians reassure aristocratic and gentelmanly viewers that the assured masculinity and freedom of the peasantry, so stark in its contrast to the effeminizing and social constraints of the aristocracy, held no real threats; these were buffoons and caricatures, rather than real people to be taken too seriously.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Bernardo Strozzi's remarkable images of rustic musicians as a group for the first time. I have identified these paintings as significant in two major respects. First, Strozzi's treatment of musicians indicates a striking departure from the earlier tradition of *giorgionesque* poet/shepherds. His representations of musicians are differentiated from and made independent of both pastoral poetry and devotional settings. Therefore, I suggest here that we must examine the production of Strozzi's *Shawm Player*, *The Pipers*, and *Street Musicians* as a deliberate reaction to the pastoral when changing attitudes to nobility and the peasantry weakened a desire for the invocation of a pastoral ideal. Second, Strozzi depicts shepherd musicians whose musical activities refer to the expressive effects of their informal instrumental music performance. The masculinity of the performers, their awkwardly energetic postures, and the spontaneity of their performances contrast dramatically with a supposed effeminacy and restraint expected of Genoese and Venetian aristocrats. Thus the images of peasants can be seen less in terms of delivering knowledge about peasants, than in terms of securing the dominant position, and mores and habitus of the upper classes. I suggested that Strozzi emphasizes the comic behavior and unrestraint of lower-class musical activities as the antithesis of acceptable social graces purportedly exemplified by aristocratic patrons such as Giovanni Brignole-Sale, Giovan Donato Correggio, and their circles who eagerly embraced their newly acquired status as part of the new nobility. However, within his attention to single-figures musicians that display a greater sensitivity than the figures in his concert groups, Strozzi refines his approach in ways that cannot simply be explained entirely in relation to aristocratic insecurities.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SIGHT OF SOUND: PIETRO PAOLINI'S INSTRUMENT MAKERS

This chapter analyzes three works by Pietro Paolini (b. Lucca 1603; d. Lucca 1681) that challenge conventional representations of musical subjects in painting: *Lute Maker* (c. 1640-50, Location unknown) (Fig. 83) and *Violin Maker* (c. 1640-50, Location unknown) (Fig. 84), and *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* (c. 1640-50, Private Collection, Florence) (Fig. 85). Each of these paintings evokes a mixed response of awe and bewilderment. We are captivated by the dignity of the humble craftsmen and the quiet drama created by the tenebristic lighting, but at the same time wonder why Paolini chose for three of his paintings the unusual, indeed unique, subject of the manual art of stringed-instrument making. We enter uncharted territory with our investigation of Paolini's instrument makers because not only are they ignored in seventeenth-century writings but also more recent references to these works is minimal; any mention of them is brief and superficial. Anna Ottani acknowledges the *Lute Maker* and *Violin Maker* only for their naturalism and dramatic *caravaggesque* lighting.[1] Carlo del Bravo notes the elderly nature of the figures and suggests that these men represent a spiritual life that is achieved through harmony and only fully realized in old age.[2] Patrizia Maccari gives only cursory attention to the instrument makers in her 1987 catalog raisonné, in which she identifies them as some of the "studies" mentioned in the inventory of Giovan Battista Mansi, proposes a creation date of c. 1640-1650, and suggests that the images embody the idea of harmony.[3]

These studies reduce the meaning of Paolini's images to allegorical representations of harmony and overlook the significance of the relationship between maker and instrument, particularly the instrument makers' absorption with

[1] Anna Ottani, "Per un caravaggesco toscano: Pietro Paolini," *Arte antica e moderna* 21 (1963): 25-6.

[2] Carlo Del Bravo, *Verso i Carracci e verso Valentin* (Firenze, 1979), 42.

[3] Patrizia Giusti Maccari, *Pietro Paolini, pittore lucchese 1603-1681* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1987), 64, 130. Glauco Borella and Patrizia Giusti Maccari list Paolini's instrument makers as some of the works that were transferred from the Mansi collection to the State around 1930. Glauco Borella and Patrizia Giusti Maccari, *Il Palazzo Mansi di Lucca* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1993), 196.

the lute strings and the violin body. But what if we were to consider Paolini's paintings on a literal level: as depictions of luthiers engaged in the production of musical instruments? How does this enable us to better read these images? Not only does such an approach help to explain the paintings' content within a broader social/cultural context, but it also provides a foundation for connections with the *paragone.* While I do not believe these images to be simply representations of the craft of stringed-instrument making, I do believe that the key to fully understand these works lies in the depictions of, and emphasis on, the luthiers and the virtues of their labour. This approach helps explain why the artist pays greater attention to the maker than to the instruments.

These unusual images present elderly luthiers quietly examining a violin or measuring the strings for the lutes placed before them. No reference to a musical performance is evident and the protagonists are the makers of stringed instruments rather than the players. The primary emphasis is on the luthiers' craft and dexterity. Paolini diminishes the aural connotations of the instruments by depicting the lutes and violin as unstrung or unfinished objects not yet capable of producing sound. With these remarkable works, the function of musical instruments in painting took an intriguing detour. It is difficult to know how best to read these odd images. I propose that the farther away we move from customary readings of musical instruments as signifiers of music and/or harmony, ironically, the closer we come to a better understanding of Paolini's instrument makers. I consider how these paintings work together and how they relate to other music paintings in Paolini's oeuvre. My purpose here is not to submit a single, definitive reading of Paolini's works but rather to explore the complexities and implications of various potential meanings.

In this chapter, I explore how Paolini's images of stringed instrument makers are, in one sense, a response to the proliferation and commanding economic presence of stringed-instrument workshops. Paolini's paintings are especially stimulating in an investigation of instruments as objects because they explore together artisanal work and skilled craftsmen, the very sources for collectible commodities of lutes and violins. My discussion concentrates on violins and lutes since they figure most prominently in seventeenth-century musical performances.

They dominate Paolini's oeuvre as the products of the instrument makers, and they are the primary instruments played by musicians in his various concert and single-figure scenes. This allows the development of representations of individual musical instruments to emerge more sharply in my discussion. I interrogate why such paintings emphasize unfinished and unplayed musical instruments, and the skillfulness of their makers as the subjects. I consider issues of the *paragone* and the relationships between the arts of music, painting, and instrument making, and particularly how and why stringed instruments, which are products of the mechanical arts, are isolated as the subject matter of painting. In particular, I draw attention to the simultaneous operations of sight and touch at work within the painting on the part of the luthiers. I argue that Paolini draws upon pictorial traditions of depicting philosophers to explore tensions between the transience of human existence and the permanence of virtues such as knowledge, skill, and dedication.

The violin and lute maker images have been assigned different titles over the years. Anna Ottani titles them each *Liutaio* in her 1963 article on Paolini; Carlo del Bravo refers to them as "liutai" in 1979; Glauco Borella and Patrizia Giusti Maccari group them together with *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* as "Quattro teste di vecchio"; and Patrizia Maccari assigns them the titles *Fabbricante di liuto (Lute Maker)* and *Fabbricante di violino (Violin Maker)* in her 1987 monograph on Pietro Paolini.[4] I will refer to the works by these latter descriptive titles because they are more individuated and because this chapter emphasizes specifically the role of the figures as makers, not players, of musical instruments. Unfortunately, close examination of details and even colours is impossible because the paintings' current locations are unknown. According to Anna Ottani in 1963, the two oval lute and violin maker images, which were originally in the Mansi collection in Lucca, made a brief appearance in the Milanese art market before disappearing.[5] Fortunately, the content

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[4] Anna Ottani, "Per un caravaggesco toscano," 26; Del Bravo, 42; Borella and Maccari, 196; Maccari,130.

[5] Ottani, "Per un caravaggesco toscano," 34.

of these two paintings can still be studied through existing, albeit poor quality, black and white reproductions.[6]

Stringed-instrument production in seventeenth-century Italy

I turn first to an examination of the relationship between the pictorial representations of instrument construction in Paolini's *Lute Maker*, *Violin Maker*, and *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* (Figs. 83, 84, 85) and actual workshop production in the seventeenth century to explore how the role of musical instruments changes when in the company of makers rather than players. An investigation into the increasing prevalence of northern Italian luthiers and the quality of their products illuminates our readings of Paolini's works. In the two images of lute makers, an elderly luthier is absorbed in the final stages of stringing a lute that is positioned at a foreshortened angle on a table or ledge in front of him. Except for the statuette of a reclining Venus in the background of the oval lute maker, the appearances, positions, and gestures of the maker are nearly identical. The violin maker contrasts with the lute makers by facing left and bending over to closely examine his handiwork on the lower part of the violin.

Paolini's bold introduction of musical instruments in the context of workshop production was probably fueled by developments occurring in the stringed instruments market during the seventeenth century. The presence of lutheries in Italy experienced a period of profound growth from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, with nearly every center of stringed instrument production in the regions of Lombardy, Veneto, Toscana, Lazio, Emilia-Romagna, and Campania increasing its number of active workshops.[7] Musicologist Flavio Dasseno traces the total number of violin makers in Italian and other European cities from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries.[8] He notes that Venice and Brescia were already

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[6] Anna Ottani credits Mina Gregori with providing the known photographs of Paolini's works. Ibid., 26.

[7] Flavio Dasseno, "Per una identificazione della scuola bresciana," in *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra cinque e seicento: Proceedings of the Congress Held in Salò, Italy, October 5-6, 1990,* vol. 1, ed. Marco Bizzarini, Bernardo Falconi, and Ugo Ravasio (Brescia, 1992), 24.

[8] Ibid, 7-24

established as major centers of production in the sixteenth century and so their increases between the mid-sixteenth century and the second half of the seventeenth century from 26 to 33 and 21 to 26, respectively, were relatively minor. Expansion within three other cities, however, shows incredible changes in the total number of violin-making workshops: Cremona increased from 3 to 28; Rome had 68 in the seventeenth century as opposed to 11 in the sixteenth; and Florence, which had only 4 in the sixteenth century, increased to 43 in the seventeenth century.[9] Seymour Benstock documents the number of stringed-instrument makers in each of the main centers–Bologna (40), Brescia (49), Naples (62), Florence (69), Milan (71), Cremona (71), Rome (79), and Venice (91)–and claims that between 1500-1700 there were 115 Italian cities that housed a staggering total of 850 stringed instrument makers.[10] These numbers indicate dramatically the extent to which northern Italian provinces dominated stringed-instrument production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because of the mastery of their luthiers Gasparo da Salò (bap. Salò, 1540; d. Brescia, 1609), Giovanni Paolo Maggini (b. Botticino-Marino, 1580; d. Brescia, c. 1630), and Nicolò Amati (b. Cremona, 1596; d. Cremona, 1684), Brescia and Cremona emerged as the most famous centers for violin making in Italy.[11] The exceptional craftsmanship and emphasis on the physical beauty and tonal quality particularly of Brescian and Cremonese instruments suggest that these "instruments were made expressly to please the eye

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Seymour Benstock, "Venice: Four Centuries of Instrument Making," *Journal of the Violin Society of America* VIII no. 1 (1984): 43.

[11] When the plague claimed the lives of much of the population of Brescia in 1630-31, including Maggini, Cremona took over as the Italian center for violin making. Andrea Amati and his family are credited with founding a Cremonese violin-making school in the sixteenth century and setting high standards for violin making in Cremona. Joseph Wechsberg points out that half of the 10,000 stringed instruments produced between 1550-1883 in Cremona exist today. Instruments from other violin-making centers have not survived as well. He notes that "The Cremona violin was expensive even while the maker was still alive, and therefore was more appreciated and cared for." Joseph Wechsberg, *The Glory of the Violin* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), 22. The Amati dynasty began with Andrea Amati in the mid-sixteenth century, but it reached its zenith when his grandson, Nicolo, took over the workshop around 1610 at a time when the violin was coming into its own among musicians. Philip Kass, "Nicolò Amati: His Life and Times," *Journal of the Violin Society of America* 15 (1997): 141-42.

as well as the ear."[12] Musical instruments of the highest quality circulated throughout Italy and were exported to other countries, especially France, where those with wealth and a refined taste in music paid high prices for them.[13] Composers and violinists in the seventeenth century preferred instruments from northern workshops, and were even more selective in their choice of individual makers.[14] For example, the famed violinist Tomaso Antonio Vitali (b. Bologna, 1663;d. Modena, 1745) appealed to the Duke of Modena to help him get a refund when he realized he had been sold a violin made by Nicolò Amati's pupil and successor Francesco Ruggieri (b. 1630; d. Cremona, 1698) and not by the master himself.[15]

We can claim the proliferation of stringed instrument workshops as impetus for Paolini's paintings of lute and violin makers only if we can confirm the artist's familiarity with the market for instrument making and musical performances that featured these instruments. Paolini was exposed to the burgeoning instrument-making industry and instrumental performance practices while working in Rome from 1619-1629 and Venice from 1629-1631.[16] Antonio Nicolao Cianelli, a priest at Santa Maria Corteorlandini in Lucca, states in his short biography of Paolini that Pietro`s father sent his son to Rome "dove per L'amicizia, che aveva di Cardinali, e di autorevoli Cavalieri riuscì metterlo sotto La disciplina del gran' Angelo

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[12] David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing, from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 17.

[13] Boyden, 48. E. van der Straeten relates that in 1572 a musician from the court of Charles IX was sent to Italy to buy a violin from Cremona for the large sum of 50 Tournay livres. Edmund van der Straeten, *The History of the Violin* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 44.

[14]Monteverdi's opinion of the quality of a violin from Cremona as opposed to Brescia is evident in the correspondence from Galileo to Father Fulgentius Micanzio in Venice asking advice on buying a violin for his nephew. On the advice of Monteverdi, Micanzio suggests buying one from Cremona rather than Brescia because it is incomparably superior, as evinced by the price: 12 ducats as opposed to less than four ducats. Boyden, 109.

[15] Kass, 155.

[16] Paolini`s return to Lucca was necessitated by his mother's death in 1631. Maccari, 18.

Caroselli."[17] It is not known whether Paolini actually lived with Caroselli (b. Rome, 1585; d. Rome, 1652) during his stay, as it was common for an apprentice to live with his master, but he certainly would have visited the area near Piazza del Popolo where Caroselli was living between 1615 and 1635.[18] This was not only a thriving area for Italian and foreign artists, who lived along Via Margutta and Via del Babuino, but it was also a central location for shops that sold gut strings for stringed instruments.[19] From 1550 and throughout the seventeenth century the pre-eminence of Roman gut strings was recognized throughout Europe.[20] By 1642 there were nine string-making workshops centered in the Regola district of Rome with retail outlets located in Piazza di Spagna (at the south end of Via del Babuino), Via della Croce (which intersects Via del Babuino just north of Piazza di Spagna), Piazza Capranica (just north of the Pantheon), Via S. Elena, and Via Ripetta (the main street that leads to Piazza del Popolo from the southwest).[21]

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[17] Antonio Nicolao Cianelli, a priest at Santa Maria Corteorlandini, states in his short biography of Paolini that Pietro's father sent his son to Rome "where thanks to the friendship of Cardinals and influential gentlemen he managed to place him [Pietro} under the tutelage of the great Angelo Caroselli." *Copie e spogli di documenti e di altri scritti storici lucchesi del P.^e Ant. Nic. Cianelli,* Lucca, B.S.L., Ms. 1918, cc. 84v-86v. Cited in Maccari, 189.

[18]Daniela Semprebene, "Novità su Angelo Caroselli," Rivista on line di Storia dell'Arte, (2004), np. It is also possible that Paolini lived with a friend of his family in the well-organized *lucchese* community near the Church of Santa Croce e San Bonaventura dei Lucchesi in Via dei Lucchesi. After 1631 when Pope Urban VIII dedicated the church of Santa Croce e San Bonventura to the lucchese community as their national church, activities and ordinances of the lucchese community were centered around this church in Via dei Lucchesi. Prominent lucchese citizens living in Rome, one of which who may have forged the link between Tomasso Paolini and Angelo Caroselli, included Marco Antonio Franciotti, Giovan Battista Spada, Bartolomeo Bernardini, Girolamo Buonvisi, and Carlo Carli. See Eugenio Lazzareschi, "Natio Lucensis de urbe," *Bollettino storico lucchese* 5 (1933): 49-65.

[19] On the origins of and cultural exchanges between Dutch, Flemish, French, and Italian artistic communities along Via Margutta and Via Babuino, see Gottfried Johannes Hoogewerff, "Via Margutta: centro di vita artistica," *Studi romani* 1 (1953): 135-54, 270-90.

[20] Patrizio Barbieri, "The Roman Gut String Makers, 1550-2005," *Studi musicali* 35 no. 1 (2006): 7-8.

[21] Gut string workshops were located in Via dei Cordari, now Via del Conservatorio. Ibid., 10, 27, 35.

Southwest of this area in the Parione district, stringed instrument workshops were plentiful and would have provided ready examples for Paolini's paintings of stringed instrument makers. During the early decades of the seventeenth century, workshops of master guitar, lute, and violin makers were concentrated heavily around Via dei Leutari, a small street that runs south from Piazza Pasquini, which is adjacent to Piazza Navona, toward the Campo dei Fiori.[22] This neighborhood was a central location for cardinals' residences, food and textile markets, processions, tournaments, and pageantry.[23] Paolini was likely among the crowds regularly

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[22] The Alberti family owned a prestigious workshop in via dei Leutari that operated from the 1570s, beginning with Pietro Alberti (died 1598), throughout the seventeenth century. The most renowned luthier in Rome was Matteo Buchenberg (c. 1566/70- 1626-30), active between 1591 and 1626. His workshop in via dei Leutari may have been taken over by his apprentice Magno Grail (1571/76-1642). Other luthiers in via dei Leutari during the period of Paolini's stay in Rome include Cristoforo Del Forno (c. 1577/80-1650), who had a workshop from 1603 until 1650; Martino Ama, who had a workshop near Cristoforo Del Forno from 1630; Lorenzo Filzer (c.1597/1605 – 1657) who had a workshop between 1632 and 1657; Bartolomeo Frezza (1583-1649) who had a workshop from 1613; Giorgio Giauna (1598/1605-1665) who had a workshop from 1623; Giovanni Heck (1574/79-1622) who had a workshop from 1609; Francesco Portoghese (1575/78-1634/36) who had a workshop from 1606. Bartolomeo Lauro (1544-1605/8) had a workshop near Piazza di Pasquino from 1597, which was taken over by his nephew Antonio Lauro (1574-1616/19). Claudio Perez (1595-1645) had a workshop from 1621 in via dei Condotti, near the area where gut strings were sold. Patrizio Barbieri, "Cembalaro, organaro, chitarraro e fabbricatore di corde armoniche nella *Polyanthea technica* di Pinaroli (1718-32), Con notizie dui liutai e cembalari operanti a Roma," *Recercare* 1 (1989): 182-204. Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori document the owner and type of business for every building located in the Isola Galli and Isola Leutari (two districts separated by Via Leutari) between 1599 and 1996. Their extensive research reveals that between 1599 and 1648 these neighborhoods were dominated by luthier workshops but they also were a central location for booksellers, shoemakers, tailors, haberdashers, and copy bureaus. Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Le botteghe d'arte e la topografia storico-urbanistica di una zona di Roma dalla fine del XVI secolo a oggi* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 2001).

[23] Gigliola Fragnito, "Cardinals' Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome," *The Journal of Modern History* 65 (March 1993): 48. From the 1630s the Pamphili family claimed the most impressive palace near the Piazza Navona and they used the splendor of their residence to advance their social and political position. See Stephanie C. Leone, "Cardinal Pamphilj Builds a Palace: Self-Representation and Familial Ambition in Seventeenth-Century Rome," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 no. 4 (December 2004): 440-71. On festival books published to commemorate celebrations and processions in Piazza Navona and other Roman districts, see Lauri Nussdorfer, "Print and Pageantry in Baroque Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 no. 2 (Summer 1998): 439-464. Piazza Navona was the terminus for Spanish processions, particularly Easter processions, because the Spanish Church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli was located here. On Spanish processions and the Piazza Navona see Thomas James Dandelet, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 160-187; Francesco Luisi, "S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli e la festa della Resurreczione in Piazza Navona," in *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della controriforma, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi nel IV Centenario di Fondazione della Cappella Musicale di S. Giagio di Cento, Cento 13-15 October 1989*, ed. O. Mischiati and P. Russo (Florence 1993), 75-103. On the history of markets at Piazza

attracted to the Parione district for entertainment, shopping, or religious celebrations, and he would have seen many of the stringed instrument workshops on and near Via dei Leutari.

Paolini also could have seen stringed instrument workshops during his two-year sojourn to Venice. Although it is not known where Paolini lived, he could not have avoided the parish of San Salvador in the center of Venice's business district where Giorgio Sellas (active in Venice by 1600) and the Tieffenbrucker family operated successful stringed-instrument workshops.[24] This was not only a major shopping area but it was also near Campo S. Bartolomeo in the *sestiere* of Cannaregio, which was the site of a Lucchese community established by silk merchants in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[25] Venice had enjoyed a century of artistic glory that included the art of making lutes, viols, violins, harps, spinets, and clavichords, largely because of the Ulrich Tieffenbrucker (d. before 1560) family who were the leaders in lute production in Venice from 1521 until the 1620s.[26] The Tieffenbruckers were a well-known, influential family of artisans who built up a successful business continually able to produce high-quality lutes on a large scale for a socially and musically elite audience. Their craftsmanship was passed on to apprentices who trained in the Venetian workshop and then relocated

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Navona in the seventeenth century see P. Romano and P. Partini, *Piazza Navona neela storia e nell'arte* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editore, 1947), 55-70

[24] Patrizia Maccari suggests that Pietro may have lived near his brother Andrea, who served in the military in Venice, but offers no evidence. Maccari, 18. On the history of the Tieffenbrucker workshop, see Giulio M. Ongaro, "The Tieffenbruckers and the Business of Lute-making in Sixteenth-century Venice," *The Galpin Society Journal* 44 (March 1991): 48. Nearby the Tieffenbrucker workshop were workshops of German shoemakers and the workshop where the Bassano family produced wind instruments. Maggie Lyndon-Jones, "A Checklist of Woodwind Instruments Marked!!," *The Galpin Society Journal* 52 (April 1999): 264.

[25] Silk merchants originally emigrated from Lucca to Venice in the early 1300s to avoid increasing political and economic unrest. The areas with a concentrated population of Lucchese immigrants were the districts of S. Bartolomeo, S. Giovanni Grisostomo, S. Cancian, e SS. Apostoli in the neighborhoods between Rialto and Cannaregio. Luca Molà, *La comunità dei lucchesi a venezia. Immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo medioevo* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1994), 29, 55.

[26] Benstock, 45.

to other Italian cities, furthering the appreciation and dissemination of these fine instruments.[27]

Upon his return to Lucca about 1631, Paolini was in close proximity to neighboring Florentine lutheries that increased in number from only four in the sixteenth century to over ten times that amount, or 43, in the seventeenth century.[28] This dramatic rise in musical instrument production would have accommodated the increased use of stringed instruments in musical activities in Florence and neighboring Lucca. In spite of its relatively small size (population and area), Florence gained prominence as a musical center due to the patronage of the wealthy and powerful Medici courts. Florence is known as the birthplace of opera and is best known for the development of pageantry and music drama.[29] Although it didn't match the splendor of the major Italian musical centers, Lucca was noted for its fine music and was one of the cities included in the Grand Tour during mid-century. Italian music had a profound influence on travelers, and as Curtis Price points out, "music, especially concerted church music and opera, was the one aspect of the tour guaranteed to impress even the unmusical."[30]

Paolini's familiarity with innovative musical performances featuring stringed instruments probably came through his connections with Lucca's social, political, and economic elite whereby he would have had exposure to the musical traditions and preferences of the upper classes. His mother and father both claimed lineage from old, politically significant families–Paolini and Raffaelli–and his father, Tommaso, was elected "Sorrogato dell'Eccellentissimo Consiglio" in 1606.[31]

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[27] Ibid., 45-7. Preeminent composers and players like Vivaldi and Albinoni, wealthy amateurs, and other members of the nobility were able to acquire instruments of the highest quality workmanship. Ordinary musicians would have had access only to mediocre instruments. Ibid., 50.

[28] Dassenno, 24.

[29] John Walter Hill, "Florence: Musical Spectacle and Drama 1570-1650," in *The Early Baroque Era*, ed. Curtis Price (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994): 121-45.

[30] Curtis Price, "Music, Style and Society," in Ibid., 6-7.

[31] The Sorrogati participated in Council sessions when senior members were absent. Maccari, 16, 21.

Pietro's godfather and godmother were also from prominent families. Lorenzo Bertolini, his godfather, was a wealthy merchant who served as ambassador at the wedding of Marie de' Medici and Henry IV, and his godmother was a member of the Arnolfini family.[32] While in Rome, Paolini was acquainted with dilettantes and scholars through his apprenticeship with Angelo Caroselli and was exposed to concert scenes in the style of Caravaggio, which were popularized by Caravaggio's Italian and French followers.[33] As for Paolini's sojourn in Venice, little documentation exists, but he is known to have befriended a poet from Lucca, Michelangelo Torcigliani (d. 1679), who introduced Paolini to the most influential social circles of Venice.[34] In Lucca, Paolini enjoyed the patronage of aristocratic and wealthy merchant families, especially the Mansi, who were prominent silk merchants. Paolini attained close familial ties with the Mansi family when his

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[32]The Arnolfini family was one of Lucca's most powerful banking families. Ibid., 16. Of all the festivities associated with the wedding of Marie de' Medici and Henry IV, the spectacular performance of Jacopo Peri's *L'Euridice* had the most profound and lasting effect because of the musical forms and practices presented through the new genre of opera. As ambassador to the wedding, Lorenzo Bertolini likely attended the performance and experienced firsthand Peri's musical innovations.

[33] Tomasso Paolini deliberately selected Caroselli over the provincial lucchese artist, Paolo Guidotti (1560-1629) for Pietro's training so that his son would be at the center of innovative artistic activities and prestigious patronage in Rome. Paolo Guidotti had worked in Rome; was a member of the Accademia di San Luca; and was a painter, sculptor, musician, poet, mathematician, astrologer, and inventor of flying machines. In spite of his acknowledged painting skills and association with Cardinal Scipione Borghese, however, he had a reputation as being unpredictable and bizarre. Maccari 32-3. When Paolini arrived in Rome in 1619, Caravaggio had been dead for nearly a decade and Bartolomeo Manfredi died soon after around 1620-22. The legacy of these artists continued in the works of Rutilio Manetti (1571-1639), Nicolas Tournier (1590-after 1657), Valentin de Boulogne (1594-1632), Simon Vouet (1590-1649).

[34]That Paolini was appreciated by prominent Venetian citizens is revealed in Torcigliani's letter to Paolini dated 1652 in which he sends greetings from Senatore Lorenzo Delfino. Maccari, 18. While in Venice, Paolini would have associated with the political and social elite who were regular patrons of and participants in current trends in musical practice. Musical entertainments were performed by musicians in the six scuole grandi, in major churches such as San Marco, and in the private residences of the upper class. The scuole grandi were confraternities that used music to promote their participation in civic functions and feast day celebrations. They were required by the state to take part in civic processions, for which they had to provide vocal and instrumental musicians. Contemporary accounts reference the beautiful music of the viols, lutes, theorbos, and violins heard on these occasions. Ellen Rosand, "Venice 1580-1680," in *The Early Baroque Era*, ed. Curtis Price (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994), 84. On a discussion of poems by Michelangelo Torcigliani and Isabetta Coreglia praising Paolini's paintings and implying his participation in the lively literary activities in Lucca, see Eva Struhal, "Pittura e poesia a Lucca nel seicento: il caso di Pietro Paolini," in *Lucca città... d'arte e i suoi archivi*, ed. Max Seidel (Venice: Marsilio, 2001), 389-404.

paternal aunt, Elisabetta, married Pietro Mansi in the late 1590s.[35] Paolini's exposure to musical activities in Rome, Venice, and Lucca provided a necessary familiarity with musical instruments and musical performance practices, allowing him to satisfy the demands of his influential Lucchese patrons for paintings of musical subjects.

Recurrence and variance of musical instruments in Paolini's oeuvre

Despite the overwhelming availability of stringed instrument workshops and the popularity of their products, an interest in this market alone is not sufficient to explain why Paolini devoted three paintings to the unprecedented subject of dormant instruments in company with an instrument maker rather than instrument player. When considered within Paolini's oeuvre, they do not appear initially as such an anomaly. Paolini painted musical instruments in a variety of functions and settings related to established conventions such as his single-figure musicians, *Lute Player* (c. 1640, Museo d'Arte Ponce Fundaciòn Luis A Ferrè, Puerto Rico) (Fig. 86) and *Violin Player* (c. late 1620s, S. H. Kress Collection, Madison, Wisconsin) (Fig. 87); concert groups, *Concert* (c. 1627-28, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu) (Fig. 88) and *Group of Musicians* (c. 1632, Private Collection, Milan) (Fig. 89); allegorical images, *Music* (c. 1650, Bertocchini Dinucci collection, Lucca) (Fig. 40); and moralizing scenes, *Bacchic Concert* (c. 1630, Hoblitzelle Foundation, Dallas) (Fig. 90) and *Allegorical Scene with Two Figures* (late 1620s, M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco) (Fig. 91).[36] Paolini may have conceived of musical instruments in company with their makers as a new category within depictions of musical instruments that appealed to his patrons. I do not believe, however, that the main subject of Paolini's instrument makers is the construction of stringed instruments. By depicting lutes and a violin with their makers, Paolini places these instruments in the context of production whereby he emphasizes the materiality of the instruments over their musical qualities, and privileges the virtues of the maker rather than the player.

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[35] Maccari, 16.

[36] For a reading of *Scena allegorica a due figure* and *Scena di genere* as allegorical representations of choosing spiritual rather than earthly pursuits, see Maccari 46, 55. On the puzzling iconography of *Concerto bacchico* and an analysis of its vulgar, moralizing content see Barry Wind, "Pietro Paolini's Bacchic Concert'" Some New Notes," *Paragone* (January 1994): 29-36.

The unfinished state of the instruments is significant because it triggers associations with the viewers' presumed knowledge of and attitude to the anticipated appearance and function of the products when finished. As we ponder the makers' works in progress, we anticipate the instruments' physical beauty (shapes, woods, and varnishes), musical capabilities, and potential buyers. Paolini's makers are essential here to explore the combination of technical virtuosity and a good ear with artisanship. They also reinforce the instruments' role as commodities; objects produced to meet the increasing and changing demands of contemporary musical activities. By recognizing the workshop origins of the lute and violin, Paolini invites the viewer to reflect on how the instruments, before they are brought to life by a musician's plucking or bowing, exist as products whose value and purpose are subject to the fluctuating tastes and demands of a musical public. We can presume that Paolini intended for his luthiers to allude universally to the processes of lute and violin construction applied in any of the hundreds of workshops throughout Italy, because the makers are identical, almost caricatured elderly men, and there is nothing particularly distinguishing about the instruments. Paolini did paint instruments with recognizable characteristics of prominent northern Italian workshops, but he did so only when the subject warranted the evocation of associations with the high social, musical, and monetary value of the instruments and the favorable reputations of specific regional workshops.

Let us examine three of Paolini's paintings that feature individualized instruments to first understand why he depicts the instruments as he does, and secondly, to better understand why Paolini deliberately avoided such an approach in his instrument-maker images. As early as the 1620s, Paolini exhibited a familiarity with the physical characteristics and, thereby also, the associated prestige of Brescian instruments. As Stefano Toffolo shows, the dewdrop shape of the body, the fingerboard structure, and the string placement of the cittern in *Concert* (Fig. 88) correspond to characteristics of Brescian instruments.[37] In two other paintings, *Violin Player* (Fig. 74) and *Music* (Fig. 40), Paolini depicts violins with decorated

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[37] Stefano Toffolo, “Sul rapporto tra liuteria e iconografia,” in *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra cinque e seicento Atti del Convegno in Salò, 5-6 ottobre, 1990,* ed. Marco Bizzarini, Bernardo Falconi, and Ugo Ravasio, vol. 1 (Brescia, 1992), 59.

fingerboards and tailpieces in the style of Brescian and Cremonese makers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Figs. 92, 93).[38] As mentioned above, workshops in Brescia and Cremona had long enjoyed a reputation for creating lutes and violins that were preferred by composers, musicians, and wealthy collectors because of their superior musical qualities and physical beauty. Paolini selected northern-style decorative violins, therefore, not only to enhance the visual appeal of the paintings but, more importantly, to amplify the musical and social significance of the context in which the violins appear.

For example, the young musician in *Violin Player* (Fig. 87) is dressed in a decoratively trimmed jacket and plumed cap as an indication of his possible status as a professional musician in a courtly household.[39] He conveys an attitude of quiet confidence as he meets the gaze of the viewer and displays his instrument and his talent for playing it. He holds his violin at an oblique angle that presents clearly to the viewer the decorated tailpiece and fingerboard, the delicate *f* holes, and the shapely curves of the instrument's top and side. The violin is fully illuminated by the bright light that enters from the left and also spotlights the boy's hands as they play the violin. Paolini clearly wanted to emphasize to the viewer the design and craftsmanship of the instrument, which would have been owned by the noble for whom the violinist was playing.[40] He created this painting during his early years in Rome among *caravaggesque* painters who introduced him not only to a style of informal, naturalistic portraiture but also to the households of wealthy, cultured patrons who favored such works.[41] By depicting a realistic, finely crafted Brescian violin in the hands of a professional musician, Paolini asserts the prestige of those who "owned" not only professional musicians and the exquisite instruments that they played, but also paintings of musicians like *Violin Player* (Fig. 87).

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[38] Although there had been a tradition of including decorative carving and inlay on viols, violins were rarely decorated, with the exception of some made by fashionable makers in Brescia, France, and England. Dominic Gill, *The Book of the Violin* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 43.

[39] Maccari, 53.

[40] Boyden points out that, in spite of access to fancy costumes and the best instruments, increases in economic and social position, and employment security, court musicians were regarded on the same level as servants. Boyden, 105.

[41] French artists like Valentin, Vouet, and Vignon were particularly influential in promoting an approach to portraiture that captured the personality of the sitter. Maccari, 51.

Similar correspondences between a distinctive, decorative instrument and a musician are evident in *Music* (Fig. 40) in which a female figure, representing Music, gazes at a musical score that she gracefully holds above a violin, bow, and music book placed on a table or ledge in front of her. As in the *Violin Player*, the violin displays a decoratively carved fingerboard characteristic of Brescian instruments, establishing the instrument as socially and musically best. Paolini emphasizes the violin by tilting it slightly sideways and projecting it diagonally toward the viewer so that we can notice more easily and immediately the details of decoration. He depicts the figure of Music casually regarding her music sheet rather than meeting the gaze of the viewer so that we are better able to concentrate uninterrupted upon the beauty and craftsmanship of the instrument displayed below her. Since the female figure serves as the personification of the grace and poetry that inspire all musical pursuits, it is fitting that the instrument upon which Music plays should be elevated from a generalized representation to one of acknowledged elegance and beauty. Conversely, it also shows that even Music chooses a Brescian instrument. Since he deliberately depicted violins with decoration characteristic of prominent northern Italian workshops, Paolini clearly wanted the social and musical prestige of such instruments to inform our interpretations of the musicians in *Violin Player* and *Music*. His decision to paint such carefully detailed violins cannot be dismissed as a preoccupation of one particular stage in his artistic development because *Violin Player* was created early in his career (c. 1620) and *Music* was produced nearly three decades later (c. 1650). In the years before and after the production of each of these works Paolini painted nondescript musical instruments in works like *Concert with Five Figures* (c. 1640s, Location Unknown) (Fig. 94), *Lute Player* (Fig. 83), and *Concert* (c. 1660, Bertocchini-Dinucci Collection, Lucca) (Fig. 95). By eliminating decorative elements that restricted the instruments' use to the economically privileged few, Paolini invites us to consider musical practices and performances enjoyed by a wide range of musicians and musical groups.

Paolini's awareness and selective appropriation of specific instrument styles makes the absence of distinguishing decoration on the instruments in *Lute Maker* (Fig. 83), *Violin Maker* (Fig. 84), and *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* (Fig. 85) more striking. These images of instrument makers are not intended to promote specific makers or celebrate the products of a specific workshop, but rather to explore the

circumstances of stringed-instrument making in general. While lutes and violins were readily available, their quality and value varied between workshops. Paolini's instrument-maker images attend to the concentration and skill required of the instrument makers for creating finely crafted stringed instruments, emphasizing the importance of the maker's workmanship in determining the potential marketability of the finished lutes and violin. In *Lute Maker* and *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* nothing distracts the lute-makers' attention from carefully examining the quality of the strings to be attached to the lutes. In *Violin Maker* the mastery of the violin maker is implied by his inspection of the violin from a close range so as to ensure proper finishing of all details of construction.

Paolini's paintings of stringed-instrument makers depart significantly from other seventeenth-century paintings of single figures with unplayed musical instruments. Compositionally, Paolini's paintings belong to the tradition of Caravaggio's *Lute Player* (c. 1596-97, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig. 6), Orazio Gentileschi's *Lute Player* (c. 1612-15, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) (Fig. 96) and Antiveduto Grammatica's *Theorbo Player* (c. 1610-15, Galleria Sabauda, Turin) (Fig. 13), which Paolini may have seen when in Rome from 1619 to 1629. Caravaggio's, Grammatica's, and Paolini's paintings each present a single male figure seated behind a table on which a stringed instrumen–lute, violin, or guitar–lays diagonally at a foreshortened angle. Gentileschi's painting differs slightly by including not a male but a female figure who is depicted from behind. Although Paolini eliminated additional instruments and music books, he retained his predecessors' basic components of a single figure by a table on which rests at least one stringed instrument. Perhaps he drew upon the works of Caravaggio, Gentileschi, and Grammatica because they constituted a recognizable, established genre in which dormant instruments were endowed with musical associations by virtue of their placement next to single music-making figures.

Upon close examination, however, it is evident that Paolini's images, which replace the musician with an instrument maker, explore a more complex, sophisticated relationship between instrument and figure. As we have seen in Chapter One, the violins and recorders in Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* (Fig. 6) and

the guitar and tambourine in Grammatica's *Theorbo Player* (Fig. 13) lie on tables next to open partbooks, suggesting that they could be used to accompany a musical performance of monody or madrigal. If the musical instrument still-life components were removed from these images, overall interpretations of the works as interrogations of the relative merits of madrigal and monody would be lost, but the musicians' performances would not be disrupted and the references to solo-singing practices would remain intact. Conversely, the instruments and figures in Paolini's *Violin Maker*, *Lute Maker*, and *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* (Figs. 83, 84, 85) are inextricably linked, and the instruments are made the subjects in their own right. Paolini departs from earlier *caravaggesque* images by depicting craftsmen rather than performing musicians and by eschewing sounding instruments in favor of one unplayed lute or violin in each canvas. In doing so he simplifies and concentrates the subject matter.

In the paintings of lute makers, our eye is attracted to the illuminated faces of the elderly luthiers and their down-turned eyes. As we follow their gazes, our attention is directed to the nearly completed instruments in the center foreground. Since the lutes are unstrung, we look up in search of the missing strings and our attention returns to the lute maker whose hands hold the strings taut above the lutes. To ensure that the visual and psychological link between the maker and instrument in *Elderly Man Tuning a Lute* is not interrupted, Paolini paints the man with a full moustache and long beard that swoops down from the maker's face toward the body of the lute. In the image of the violin maker, Paolini condenses the physical distance between the luthier and the violin. The illuminated face of the violin maker is directly above his lit hands, which rest on the body of the violin. It is nearly impossible to contemplate the maker independent of the instrument and vice versa. Unlike the compositions by Caravaggio, Gentileschi, and Grammatica, which juxtapose separate elements of musicians and musical instrument still lifes, Paolini's images fuse the two components into a unified whole. Just as the actions of the figures cannot be understood without the presence of the instruments, the unfinished instruments cannot be completed (physically and compositionally) without the figures. It is this intimate bond between instrument and figure that makes Paolini's works so compelling and allows for investigations into the relationship between the senses of sight, hearing, and touch to which I now turn.

Representations of instrument making and issues of the *paragone*

At this point we may ask: Why is so much attention given to the producers and products of the stringed-instrument market, and why do these paintings, whose subject is music, emphasize operations of the sense of sight? To answer this we must consider Paolini's works in light of the *paragone,* particularly how and why stringed instruments, which are products of the mechanical arts, are isolated as the subject matter of painting, which was gradually considered a liberal art. Codification of the various arts was by no means standardized in the seventeenth century. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century arguments about the comparative merits of the sister arts and their classification as liberal or mechanical arts were accompanied by debates about the relative merits of the mechanical arts.[42] Pamela Long argues that by the seventeenth century the proliferation of written treatises documenting the theories and practices of craft traditions had replaced centuries of oral transmission of knowledge and, subsequently, not only validated mechanical arts but transformed them into "discursive disciplines."[43] Since the status of mechanical arts in relation to the liberal arts was changing and improving during this period, the manner in which instrument making is represented can be interrogated in relation to this process to illuminate the relationship between the mechanical art of instrument making and the liberal arts of music-making and, indeed, of painting. That Paolini created three similar images of instrument makers for one family suggests that the Mansi at least were interested in this particular craft and the relationship between what is represented (the production of stringed instruments) and the mode of representation (the art of painting).

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[42]On the comparative merits of the arts, see David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 235-65; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought II: Papers on Humanism and the Arts* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 163-227. Earlier artists and theorists like Leonardo da Vinci and Giorgio Vasari validated painting as a noble liberal art. As a result of their ideas, painters from the early decades of the seventeenth century rose from the ranks of craftsmen and the mechanical arts and enjoyed a higher level of social status unmatched by their Renaissance predecessors. Kristeller, 181-82.

[43] Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 250.

The most striking aspect of Paolini's instrument makers is that they depict the manual labour of musical instrument production rather than the art of playing music. These instrument makers represent practitioners of a mechanical art, and the viewer's initial response to them is conditioned by prevailing attitudes to such crafts. Because they required physical labor and the use of one's hands, mechanical arts were deemed lower than liberal arts, whose ennobling pursuits of the mind were the privilege of intellectuals, nobles, and artists.[44] David Summers points out how attitudes to the mechanical arts gradually improved during the Renaissance because the value of the senses and "lower faculties of the soul" used for manual work or to create useful goods were reformulated and recognized as accompanied by or governed by higher powers of reason and intellect associated with the liberal arts.[45] This did not mean that the social position of mechanical arts industries changed, but there was a greater appreciation of the technical knowledge involved with devising the products of manual labor.[46] In the early seventeenth century, Federico Zuccaro reconciled mechanical and liberal arts in his *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti* (Turin, 1607) in which he characterizes the activities of both as individual manifestations of the intellectual and spiritual process of *disegno*, thus inextricably linking the world of senses and experience and the realm of the human mind.[47] Zuccaro characterizes *Disegno* as consisting of two parts: *disegno interno*, which is a preexisting internal design, the "idea, ordine, regola, termine, & oggetto dell'intelletto"; and *disengo esterno,* which is external design, one that executes and

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[44]Negative connotations of physical labor associated with the mechanical arts are evoked in Leonardo da Vinci's arguments for the supremacy of painting over sculpture when he claims, "La scultura non è scientia ma è arte meccanichissima perche, genera sudore e faticha corporale al suo operatore." "Sculpture is not science but a very mechanical art, because it generates sweat and bodily fatigue in the executant." Leonardo da Vinci *Trattato della pittura* (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270) ch. 35, in Farago, 256-57. David Summers recognizes the contradictory nature of Leonardo's attitudes: "Leonardo argued repeatedly that painting was not a mechanical art, but praised mechanics and defended the validity of the realm of experience on which mechanics drew." Summers, *Judgment of Sense*, 263.

[45] Summers, *Judgment of Sense,* 235, 243.

[46] Ibid, 235.

[47] Federico Zuccaro, *L'Idea de' Pittori, Scultori e Architetti,* in *Scritti d'arte di Federico Zuccaro,* ed. D. Heikamp (Florence, 1961). The grace and beauty of the soul and, through analogy, the art of painting are dependent upon the "mutually reinforcing" faculties of *disegno interno* and *disegno esterno.* Summers, *Judgment of Sense,* 283-308.

perfects all operations of "tutte l'altre arti, scienze, e prattiche" conceived by the intellect and imagination.[48] Together these attributes of *disegno* express "una scintilla ardente della divinità in noi."[49] The devotional quality created by the lighting and the reverential way in which the lute makers hold the instrument strings in Paolini's *Lute Maker* substantiate Zuccaro's claim that objects created by the hand are external, physical expressions of the intellectual and spiritual workings of the mind.

Paolini's humble craftsmen indicate Paolini's desire to distinguish between the physical labour of workers in the common sense and the physical/intellectual efforts of an artisan. He does so by capitalizing on the nobility of the sense of sight. The many judgments about the sense of sight that proliferated from antiquity through the Renaissance claimed the supremacy of sight over the other senses because it is the means by which we apprehend all things. Indeed, it is in Saint Augustine's words, "nearest to mind; and it is also most like mind."[50] By virtue of its relationship with reason, intellect, and human progress, the noble sense of sight is a principal element that defines the liberal arts.[51] Paolini's paintings contrast

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[48] Ibid., Lib. 2, cap. 4, 17 (Heikamp, 237). "*Disegno interno,* which is an internal design, the idea, order, rule and object of the intellect" and *disengo esterno,* which is out external design, one that executes and perfects all operations of all the arts, sciences, and practices conceived by the intellect and imagination."

[49] Ibid., Lib. 2, cap. 15, 79 (Heikamp, 299). "Together these attributes of *disegno* express a burning spark of the divinity within us.

[50]This judgment summarizes part of Saint Augustine's philosophy of the three levels of sight as expressed in *De Trinitate XI*. Summers, *Judgment of Sense*, 41. Interrelationships between the sense of sight, intellect, and light are made by Plato who considers the eye sunlike in his metaphor of "the eye of the mind." In his dialogue, Socrates compares the soul to the eye, recognizing the addition of light as requisite to both for "seeing or being seen": "When they [the eyes] are directed towards objects on which the sun shines, they see clearly and there is sight in them . . . the soul is like the eye: when resting upon that on which truth and being shine, the soul perceives and understands and is radiant with intelligence; but when turned towards the twilight of becoming and perishing, then she has opinion only, and goes blinking about, and is first of one opinion and then of another, and seems to have no intelligence." Plato *Republic* VI.

[51]Leonardo da Vinci develops this connection between the sense of sight and the intellect in his *Trattato*. In his opinion, humankind's greatest intellectual, spiritual, scientific, and artistic accomplishments are achieved through the workings of the sense of sight. "Hor non vedi tu che l'occhio abbraccia la bellezza de tutt'il mondo? . . . Questo è prencipe delle matematiche, le sue scientie sono certissime. Questo ha missurato l'altezze et grandezze delle stelle, questo ha trovato gli elementi e loro siti, questo ha fatto predire le cose future mediante il corso delle stelle, questo l'archittettura e prospettiva, questo la

dramatically with the conception of craftsmen shown in *Goldsmith's Workshop* (1570-71, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence) (Fig. 97), painted by Alessandro Fei (b. Florence, ?1538; d. ?Florence, 1592) for the *studiolo* of Francesco I de' Medici. In a vast interior setting, goldsmiths are shown busily working in the various stages of their craft. The firing, hammering, and shaping of the gold occurs in the background, while the intricate carving and finishing work takes place at the tables in the foreground. Jewelry, crowns, jugs, and vases displayed on the table in the left foreground and on the mantle at the left may attract the clients shown entering in the far left background. Gene Brucker claims specificity for the scene as an imaginary representation of Benvenuto Cellini crafting the ducal crown for Cosimo I de' Medici.[52] For his instrument makers, Paolini does not paint a definite setting, extraneous workers and clients, the display of finished products, and any reference to a specific maker.

By placing his figures up close to the picture plane and incorporating symbolic, tenebristic lighting that emphasizes intellect over physical exertion, Paolini appears to elevate his figures above common labourers to the level of artisans. Richard Goldthwaite's studies show that wealthy Renaissance patrons valued ownership of utilitarian objects, such as furnishings and silverware, and decorative objects, such as medals and inlaid coffers, as a "physical expression for their nascent political and ideological autonomy."[53] As Renata Ago has shown, by the seventeenth century, aristocratic patrons concentrated their attention not merely

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divina pittura à generata. O, eccellentissimo sopra tutte l'altre cose create da Dio, quali laudi fien quelle che'sprimere possino la tua nobilita? Quali populi, quale lingue saranno quelle che possino a pieno descrivere la tua vera operatione? Questo è finistra de l'human corpo, per la quale la sua via speccula e fruisse la bellezza del mondo." "Do you not see that the eye embraces the beauty of the whole world? . . . [The eye] is the prince of mathematics; its sciences are certain. [The eye] has measured the heights and sizes of the stars, it has found the elements and their locations, it has made things be predicted in the future from the course of the stars. It has generated architecture, perspective, and divine painting. O, most excellent above all other things created by God, what praises can express your nobility? What peoples, what tongues will there be that could fully describe your true operation. The eye is the window of the human body, the way it speculates and enjoys the beauty of the world." Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato,*, ch. 28, in Farago, 238-39.

[52] Gene Brucker, *Florence: The Golden Age, 1138-1737* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 107.

[53] Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 179.

on collecting objects but rather on acquiring objects which were crafted by the finest artisans and which appeared as "beautiful, unusual or clever."[54] Paolini's paintings of stringed-instrument makers demonstrate an aristocratic appreciation of artisanship likely shared by the Mansi patrons on two accounts: first, the canvases were painted by a Lucchese master with a highly favorable reputation; and second, they depict the production of stringed instruments, whose musical quality was dependant upon the skillful craftsmanship of their makers.

Paolini's paintings depict skilled artisans who are engaged in what Anna Ottani describes as "un 'azione' singolare dove il naturalismo più schietto . . . si salda miracolosamente ad un ambiente saturo invece di umori magici e irreali."[55] The figures are depicted in a realm where we encounter the unexpected. When we view paintings that include musical instruments, such as Bernardo Strozzi's *Street Musicians* (Fig. 57), we anticipate the evocation of sounds of the musical instruments played by the musicians. This is not the case in Paolini's works, because the emphasis is on looking at, rather than hearing, the instruments. Instead of alluding to the instruments being played and producing sound, Paolini is more concerned with representing the visual, tactile, and mental faculties associated with the maker's technique. As a result, these images argue for an elevated status of the art of instrument making through associations with the sense of sight. Paolini seems to have recognized that for his images of instrument makers to invoke virtues of knowledge, skill, and dedication associated with artisanship they must depict a phase in construction that relies heavily on the mental workings of sight and the sense of touch. Of the various stages involved in creating a stringed instrument, Paolini depicts the moment when constructed lutes await having their strings attached. He depicts all three men wearing spectacles, which underscores the need for them to see clearly and keep their visual focus on the strings and the

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[54] Renata Ago, "The Orsini and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life," *Viator* 39 (Autumn, 2008), 399. Richard Goldthwaite points out that during the Renaissance consumers increasingly valued artisanship, even in everyday, mundane objects. For example, by the sixteenth century Italian craftsmen had mastered the art of manufacturing maiolica. Unlike their European counterparts who continued to use pewter or pottery services, Italian patrons acquired maiolica place settings not only because of the dishes' functionality but especially because of the quality craftmanship of the products. Goldthwaite, 24-6, 234.

[55] Ottani, 25-6. "A singular action where straightforward naturalism . . . is joined miraculously to a setting filled instead with a magical and unreal mood."

instruments. In the two images of lute makers, Paolini's masterful use of light directs our eye to the makers' foreheads and diverts our attention away from the lutes and their ultimate purpose to be played and produce sound to the physical faculty of sight and the makers' presumed intellectual faculties of reason and knowledge. While our eye carefully considers the foreshortened lutes in front of the instrument makers, the instrument makers are intent upon "measuring" with their eyes the length, thickness, and vibrations of strings. Marin Mersenne claims that even a person who is deaf can tune a stringed instrument if they know and can see the correct proportionate lengths and thickness of the strings.[56]

The positioning of Paolini's lute makers' fingers holding the stretched string recalls illustrations accompanying instructions on how to distinguish between good and poor quality strings in Silvestro Ganassi's *Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco tasti* . . . (Venice 1543) (Fig. 98) as well as in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris 1636) (Fig. 99).[57] Both Ganassi and Mersenne recommend testing a string's quality by holding the ends of the string between the two hands and then plucking it with the middle finger and watching for even vibrations.[58] Paolini seems to have relied on firsthand knowledge of these and, perhaps, other instrument-making treatises to make his images of craftsmen consistent with actual practice. Paolini's images highlight the lute makers' faculty of sight to emphasize the need to "see" measurements and proportion in order to apprehend their visual, aural, or theoretical significance. String length, which is perceived through sight, and string diameter, which is perceived through sight and

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[56] Mersenne provides a harmonic tablature with a listing of the correct string tension, thickness, and length required to produce each of the eight tones of the octave. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, The Books on Instruments,* trans. Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 76-79.

[57] Ganassi authored the only three sixteenth-century instruction manuals on playing wind and stringed instruments. In addition to *Lettione Seconda* he wrote *Opera intitulata Fontegara La quale insegna a sonare di flauto* . . . (Venice 1535) and *Regola Rubertina. Regola che insegna sonar de viola darcho tasta* (Venice 1542). Imogene Horsley, "The Renaissance Attitude Toward Interpretation in Instrumental Performance," *Renaissance News* 10 no. 2 (Summer 1957): 81.Treatises specifically on violin techniques and practice first appeared at the end of the seventeenth century and were published primarily in England and Germany. Boyden, 244.

[58] Mersenne, 79. Silvestro Ganassi, *Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco tasti* . . . (Venice 1543) (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1996), cap. 1-3.

touch, are essential factors in determining string tension. During the seventeenth century such calculations involved complex mathematical operations to ensure proportionate musical intervals.[59] The sense of hearing may be requisite for tuning a lute, but as Paolini's makers demonstrate, the sense of sight and a knowledge of geometry are paramount in initially determining the type and placement of the strings.[60]

Although the sense of sight and mental acuity are privileged in Paolini's instrument makers, the light selectively illuminates and visually connects the faces and hands of the makers to suggest an alliance between the senses of sight and touch.[61] According to medieval and Renaissance thought, the sense of touch was considered inferior to the senses of sight and hearing. In *Summa theologica*, St. Thomas Aquinas judges touch as a lesser sense because it is not a conduit for aesthetic experiences:

> Those senses chiefly regard the beautiful, which are the most cognitive, viz., sight and hearing, as ministering to reason; for we speak of beautiful sights and beautiful sounds. . . But in reference to the other objects of the other senses, we do not use the expression beautiful . . . Thus it is evident that beauty adds to goodness a relation to the cognitive faculty: so that good means that which simply pleases the appetite; while the beautiful is something pleasant to apprehend.[62]

Aquinas privileges the senses of sight and hearing because they can apprehend beauty, unlike the practical reactions of the senses of taste, smell, or touch, which serve utilitarian functions of satisfying physical desires and interests. With flesh as its medium, touch communicates sensations derived from direct contact between

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[59] Robert Lundberg, *Historical Lute Construction* (Tacoma, WA: Guild of American Luthiers, 2002), 228, 233.

[60] Ibid.

[61] For a discussion of the sense of touch and its hierarchical relationship to sight and hearing, see Summers, *Judgment of Sense*, 54-62, 102-4.

[62] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* I-II.27.2, in *Summa theologica,* vol. 1 of 3, trans. by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947), 707.

objects and the physical body.[63] Paolini emphasizes the tactile relationship between body and object by his lute-makers' hands carefully fingering the strings and the violin maker's right hand resting firmly on the lower edge of the violin. As practitioners of a mechanical art, instrument makers relied on the sense of touch because they were in constant physical contact with tools, wood, strings, and other objects associated with their manual labor. Paolini seems to be acknowledging a relationship between the comparative low status of the mechanical arts and the sense of touch, but he is also suggesting that they are intimately connected to the intellect and sight.

Paolini's images also affirm higher functions of the sense of touch. Even though it was less honorable than sight and hearing, touch had been regarded since Aristotle as the sense "most accurate in man"; the sense that raises humans above animals because of its capacity to discern and to discriminate one quality from another.[64] The lute makers invoke the sureness of the sense of touch as they feel the strings to detect the requisite quality of the materials as described by Francesco Galeazzi in his *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica e un saggio sopra l'arte di suonare il violino [. . .],* (Rome, 1791): "La buona corda dev'esser diafana; color d'oro; cioè che dia sul gialletto, e non candida come alcuni vogliono; liscia; e levigata, ma ciò indipendentemente dall'esser pomiciata; senza nodi, o giunte; al sommo elastica, e forte; e non floscia, e cedevole."[65] While sight determines strings

[63] While flesh is the medium for touch, Aristotle points out that "the primary sense organ is something else which is eternal." Aristotle *De Anima* 422b22, in *Aristotle*, 'De Anima' *Books II and III,* translated with introduction and notes by D.W. Hamlyn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 38-9.

[64] Aristotle *De Anima* 421a20. "For in the others [senses] he [man] is inferior to many animals, but in respect of touch he is accurate above all others. For this reason he is also the most intelligent of animals. An indication of this is the fact that in the human race natural ability and the lack of it depend on this sense-organ and on no other; for people with hard flesh are poorly endowed with thought, while those with soft flesh are well endowed." Ibid.

[65] Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica e un saggio sopra l'arte di suonare il violino [. . .]* (Pilucchi Cracas, Roma, 1791), 74. "A good string must be diaphanous, golden in color that is to say, a light yellow rather than a white as some [performers] want; smooth and polished but without having been rubbed with pumiced, without bumps or knots; extremely elastic, strong, not flabby and yieldy." Translated in Angelo Frascarelli, "*Elementi eorico-pratici di musica* by Francesco Galeazzi: An annotated English Translation and Study of Volume I" (D.M.A. diss, University of Rochester, 1968), 173-74.

of the appropriate colour for potential use, further tests by the sense of touch are required to confirm these initial visual perceptions and apprehend the quality of the strings. Consequently, the operations of the sense of touch are raised to a level equal to that of the sense of sight. And what about the sense of hearing that we anticipate being invoked in images of musical instruments? It is referenced indirectly by the lute maker feeling the strings that will eventually be attached to the instrument to make it sound, and by the violin maker touching and scrutinizing the violin to draw attention to the instrument as a musical object. Only after the senses of sight and touch have been employed to construct and string the instruments will these objects be capable of producing beautiful music to be perceived through the sense of hearing. In a surprising reversal of expectations about depictions of musical instruments, touch triumphs over hearing, and, for Paolini, sight encompasses them all in theory and in painting.

Paolini's luthiers as "philosopher types"

Paolini is perhaps alluding here to the highly developed perceptive faculties of philosophers to imply the intellectual aspect of luthiers' work. Except for the spectacles, Paolini's caricatured depictions of elderly luthiers and his emphasis on the makers' absorption in their observations comply with Renaissance conventions for depictions of philosophers. Raphael's (b. Urbino, 1483; d. Rome, 1520) *School of Athens* (1509-10, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican) (Fig. 100) set the precedent for painted images of ancient philosophers; no such "portraits" were painted prior to 1509.[66] Daniel Orth Bell claims that Raphael and his advisors devised an original iconographic program and a distinct philosopher type for each philosopher in *School of Athens* based on biographical description from Diogenes Laertius' *De vitae et moribus philosophorum* and the study of Greek and Roman philosopher busts, such as *Head of Socrates* (copy of Lysippos, first century BCE, Louvre Museum, Paris) (Fig. 101).[67] Raphael could have seen any one of a number of

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[66] Daniel Orth Bell, "New Identifications in Raphael's *School of Athens*," *The Art Bulletin* 77 (December 1995): 639.

[67] Ibid. For a detailed analysis and comparison of the5th century BCE shield portraits of ancient philosophers and politicians discovered in Aphrodisias in Caria, see R.R.R. Smith, "Late Roman Philosopher Portraits from Aphrodisias," *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 127-55.

ancient portrait busts housed in the collections of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, as well as the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill (founded 1471) and the Palazzetto del Belvedere (founded 1503).[68] The stereotype of philosophers sporting long beards was firmly established by the first century BC when intellectuals grew beards so that they, and their way of life, stood out against the ordinary clean-shaven populace.[69] In Raphael's fresco we see in the left foreground Pythagoras depicted as a bearded, balding old man bent over a large book engrossed in explaining his mathematical theories of musical ratios. His appearance is clearly modeled after ancient portrait busts of philosophers to evoke associations with the lifelong pursuit and lasting quality of human knowledge. Luca Giordano (b. Naples, 1634; d. Naples, 1705) later adopted a similar approach for Socrates in *Xanthippe pours water into Socrates' collar* (1660-65, Molinari Pradelli Collection, Marano di Castenaso) (Fig. 102). Here the philosopher holds up a book with his left hand and pauses from writing with his right hand. His attention is so focused on his work that he is oblivious to Xanthippe approaching behind him. Paolini's luthiers correspond so closely to these recognizable modes of portraying philosophers as aged, bearded, experienced men preoccupied with intellectual pursuits that we can view them in a similar light.

Documentary and visual evidence suggest that the two oval instrument-maker canvases (Figs. 83, 84) were to be displayed together. The paintings' measurements are the same and they are both presumed to have been part of the Mansi collection because of their relation in size and style to other oval canvases listed in the nineteenth-century inventory of Giovan Battista Mansi.[70] When

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[68] Many of these works were illustrated in Fulvio Orsini's *Imagines et Elogia Virorum Illustrium* (Rome and Venice, 1570), which was a comprehensive study of ancient portraits derived from marble busts, bas reliefs, coins, and medals in his own collection and those of other prominent Italian households. Francis Haskell, *History and its Images* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 39-41. Suzanne Boorsch, "The Building of the Vatican: The Papacy and Architecture," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* New Series, 40 no. 3 (Winter, 1982-1983): 48.

[69] John Sellars, *The Art of Living: The Stoics on the Nature and Function of Philosophy* (Aldgate: Ashgate Press, 2003), 15-17.

[70] Patrizia Maccari admits that the provenance of these paintings is not known with certainty but makes a claim for Mansi patronage based on the fact that the works are mentioned in *Raccolta dei quadri del fu marchese G. B. Mansi fu Ascanio di Lucca* (Lucca, 1894). The other oval canvases listed in this account are *Vecchia con occhiali che cuce*, *Giovane paggio*, and *Vecchia che fila*. While Maccari suggests that these oval canvases

positioned side by side, with the lute maker on the left and the violin maker on the right, the compositions of elderly luthiers bent over intently engaged in the construction of stringed instruments in front of them appear as mirror images of each other. When examined as pendant paintings, Paolini's *Lute Maker* and *Violin Maker* may allude to the makers' lifelong dedication to the craft of stringed-instrument making, which gradually favored violins over lutes. Although the production of instruments from the lute family continued into the seventeenth century, the demand gradually diminished as that for the violin steadily increased. Paolini paints his instrument makers preparing to string short-necked lutes. When he created these paintings at mid-century, larger, more popular theorboes and archlutes had replaced the short-necked lute in professional and courtly performances of contemporary, progressive compositions.[71] A demand for short-necked lutes did continue, however, among amateurs and aristocrats who played "classical" compositions in domestic settings and among professionals who learned to play on the smaller lute before mastering the theorbo.[72] By the latter half of the seventeenth century the lute represented the taste of generations past, and its performance capabilities could not match the violin for meeting the technical expectations and demands of musicians and performers.[73] Paolini's works were painted at a transitional time in the history of lute production and performance and seem to both foretell the end of an era when small six- and seven-course lutes

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may constitute a compatible grouping, she also admits such a claim is difficult to substantiate. *Giovane paggio* differs from the others because it is the only canvas depicting a youthful figure, and he is wearing fifteenth-century style clothing. Maccari hesitates to include *Vecchia con occhiali che cuce* within the grouping because its measurements do not correspond with the other canvases. Maccari, 64, 130.

[71]Victor Anand Coelho, "Authority, Autonomy, and Interpretation in Seventeenth-century Italian Lute Music," in *Performance on Lute, Guitar, and Viheula: Historical Practice and Modern Interpretation*, ed. Victor Anand Coelho (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 109.

[72] The theorbo was better suited for playing continuo and for playing in ensembles with various instruments. Ibid., 122-5.

[73]The lute could not sustain its usefulness beyond the seventeenth century, and eventually it yielded to violin and guitar. Within a matter of decades at the close of the seventeenth century, the lute was eliminated from the sphere of instrumental music. Unlike the lute that was a plucked instrument, the Spanish guitar could produce a chord by passing the hand over all five strings. Eventually, the lute was replaced in seventeenth-century Italian vocal and dance music by the Spanish guitar, "whose facility of performance [was] proportional only to its restrictedness of melodic resources and chordal fullness of sound." Bianconi, 99-100.

reigned supreme and to celebrate the rise of the violin. Representations of the same elderly figure represented with a lute, which had gone out of fashion, and a violin, which was the foremost stringed instrument of the day, highlight the artisan's dedication to many years of crafting stringed instruments day after day. The long span of the artisan's career is underscored visually by the way we read the images from the lute maker on the left, with its connotations of old and outdated, to the violin maker at the right, with its connotations of new and innovative.

The virtues of endurance, dedication, and physical labor are heightened by the background elements in Paolini's two oval instrument-maker canvases. The inclusion of a classical statuette of a reclining Venus behind the lute maker may have allegorical and mythological references to the centuries-old associations between love and music-making, suggesting that the maker is creating an instrument to accompany amorous activities. But Venus appears to be sleeping, as if to suggest that the use of lutes for such purposes is waning. Venus's counterpart in the image of the violin maker is the sun-god, Apollo, symbolized by the sun rising over a sloping hill in the background. Apollo, the god of music, is fittingly represented with the violin maker because his attribute was a lyre or viol. The sun rises behind the figure of the violin maker as though to signal the dawn of a new era within the realm of stringed instrument production and performance in which the violin takes up its dominant position.

Paolini's emphasis on the stringed-instrument makers' mental concentration and physical labor rather than on the instruments and their use, however, suggests a reading of Venus and Apollo in light of their relationship to artisanship. Since antiquity, particularly as expressed in Plato's *Symposium,* love was considered the inspiration and motivation for all inventions, discoveries, and creations–both physical and intellectual–that benefit humankind:

> . . . Love is a good poet and accomplished in all the musical arts; for no one can give to another that which he has not himself, or teach that of which he has no knowledge. Who will deny that the creation of the animals is his doing? Are they not all the works his wisdom, born and begotten of him? And as to the artists, do we not know that he only of them whom love inspires has the light of fame?–he whom Love touches not walks in

> darkness. The arts of medicine and archery and divination were discovered by Apollo, under the guidance of love and desire; so that he too is a disciple of love. Also the melody of the Muses, the metallurgy of Hephaestus, the weaving of Athene, the empire of Zeus over gods and men, are all due to Love, who was the inventor of them.[74]

Plato's views on the power of love were known to Renaissance audiences through Marsilio Ficino's *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis De amore* (Florence, 1484), a commentary on *The Symposium.* Ficino echoes Plato in claiming that "Love is the master and governor of the arts."[75] Since the statue of Venus, goddess of love, is placed directly behind the head of Paolini's lute maker, we can interpret her presence there as guiding the creativity and labor involved in crafting fine musical instruments.

That Venus is sleeping only accentuates associations with creativity because of the significant connections made between "woman," "sleep," and "love" in Renaissance thought.[76] Maria Ruvoldt acknowledges that images of sleeping female nudes, such as Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden) (Fig. 103), function as a sexual metaphor for creativity and the production of ideas in two ways: First, pregnancy and the act of bringing forth children, which are the exclusive role of women, are likened to the fertilization, gestation, and birth of divine inspiration. Second, sleep facilitates a heightened level of contemplation that leads to love, inspiration, and creativity.[77] The head of Paolini's lute maker,

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[74] Plato, *The Symposium,* in *The Best Known Works of Plato,* trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1942), 275.

[75] Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium,* trans. Sears Jayne, (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1985, 66. On the relationship between love, manual labor, and the art of painting in seventeenth-century Dutch art, as manifest in Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Perspective Box* (c. 1650s, The National Gallery, London), see Joanna Woodall, "Love is in the Air - *Amor* as motivation and message in seventeenth-century Netherlandish painting," *Art History* 19 no. 2 (June 1996): 208-46.

[76] Ruvoldt analyzes these connections in images of sleeping female nude popularized in early sixteenth century painting. She bases her observations on Renaissance writings such as Marsilio Ficino's *Commentarium in Convivium Platonis De amore* (Florence, 1484), Baldassare Castiglione' *Il Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), and Leone Ebreo's *Dialoghi d'amore* (Rome, 1535). Maria Ruvoldt, *The Italian Renaissance Imagery of Inspiration: Metaphors of Sex, Sleep, and Dream* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 82.

[77] Ruvoldt, 71-3, 83.

including his illuminated forehead, blocks Venus' abdomen and pelvic area, thus creating a strong connection visually and metaphorically between female procreative power and the birth of intellectual inspiration in the mind of the luthier. The allusion to Apollo, the patron of music, in the pendant *Violin Maker* (Fig. 84) complements Venus as representation of love's power to inspire both the production of musical instruments and the music to be played on them. As Plato claimed in *The Symposium*, even Apollo's achievements and patronage of the arts were induced and guided by love.[78] Consequently, we can read Paolini's works as a comment on the lasting qualities of skilled workmanship and knowledge when fueled by divine love and overseen by Apollo's patronage of the arts. This idea of enduring virtues is contrasted visually, on one hand, by the luthier whose age and weakened eyesight imply fragility and impending death and strengthened, on the other hand, by Paolini's emphasis on the luthier's employment of the noble senses of sight and touch.

Conclusion

Paolini's departure from conventional musician images to paintings of stringed instrument makers apart from the realm of performance allows the viewer to consider the production of lutes and violins as an essential component of seventeenth-century musical activities. This inclusion of musical instrument makers within the genre of music-themed paintings is indicative of the increased practice and prestige of musical instrument production and performance in Italy. On one level, therefore, Paolini's instrument makers comment on the circumstances of Italy's stringed-instrument production and the changing fortunes of lutes and violins. Paolini transfers musical instruments from the hands of musicians to the hands of their creators, and by equating the physical characteristics and concentrated efforts of the luthiers with philosophers, Paolini enobles their work. On a deeper level, however, Paolini's works suggest that he was interested in exploring ongoing issues of the *paragone* by juxtaposing and, perhaps, reconciling various contraries: sight and touch, intellectual and physical, common manual labor and artisanship. These paintings not only challenge conventional representations

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[78] Plato, *The Symposium*, 275.

and functions of musical instruments in painting but they also produce new meanings within the *paragone* tradition.

CHAPTER FIVE

"UNA NUOVA SORTA DI PITTURA"[1]: EVARISTO BASCHENIS' MUSICAL INSTRUMENT STILL-LIFES

This chapter explores Evaristo Baschenis' (b. Bergamo 1617; d. Bergamo 1677) depictions of musical instruments alone, without the representation of makers or musicians. In his works, he eschews secular and spiritual *istoria* and, instead, capitalizes solely on *tour de force* depictions of musical instruments carefully arranged on tables often covered with a richly coloured and/or patterned textile. Baschenis' paintings appear to be dramatic assertions of the autonomy of musical instruments as he presents instruments independent of music-making and presents them instead as something silent, still, and alone. Why would Baschenis choose musical instruments for his subject matter but make little or no reference to their capacity for sound? He pays considerable attention to the instruments' tactile rather than auditory qualities, and makes reference to sound as an absence, as silence, or as something unplayed. How might we read paintings such as *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* (c. 1664-66, Private Collection) (Fig. 104) that surprisingly eliminate the anticipated "musicality" of musical instruments and demonstrate an overwhelming preoccupation with the visual aesthetics of the interplay of forms, light, and perspective?[2]

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[1] This characterization of Baschenis' paintings was made by his eighteenth-century biographer Francesco Maria Tassi. "Di maggior laude io reputo degno quegli, che contenendosi in un sol genere di pittura arrivi a toccarne la meta, che non istimo colui il quale aspirando a divenir pittore universale, non giunga alla perfezione in niuno. Così l'intese il Baschenis, che dal genio portato ad una nuova sorta di pittura, ed in questa fondato il suo studio, arrivò a tal grado di virtu, che sarrano le opera sue stimatissimi in ogni luogo." Francesco Maria Tassi, *Vite de' pittori scultori e archittetti bergamaschi* (1793), Reprint edition or original (Milan: Labor, 1969-70), 233. ("I deem more worthy of praise he who, limiting himself to only one kind of painting, reaches his goal in it, more than I esteem he who aspiring to become a universal painter, does not reach perfection in any of them. This is how Baschenis understood it, who brought by his genius to a new kind of painting, and having based his research on this, reached such virtuosity that his works will be highly esteemed in every place.")

[2] While Baschenis' musical instrument still-lifes are primarily referred to by the generic title *Strumenti musicali,* the central panel of the Agliardi triptych is titled *Natura morta di strumenti musicali* by Enrico de Pascale in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* exhibition catalog for exhibition held Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Cotemporanea 4 October 1996-12 January 1997 (Milan: Skira, 1996). Since the painting is part of the

In one sense, *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, and Guitar (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* can be interrogated in the tradition of Marco Rosci's pioneering research, which analyzes the purely visual qualities of Baschenis' paintings. He claims that the focus of Baschenis' artistic creation is not the subject matter of the work but rather an intense interest in abstraction and perspective, and he proposes that Baschenis focused on musical instruments primarily as the means to achieve remarkable spatial and optical effects.[3] I follow some aspects of Rosci's work, but I take issue with the notion of the 'purely visual' in figurative painting, and with his failure to engage with the musical instruments as subject matter. Therefore, I examine not merely *how* but *why* and to what ends our attention is drawn to the instruments' shapely anatomy and their often precarious placement. Instead of alluding to the implied aural pleasure derived from musical instruments, Baschenis deliberately positions all of the stringed instruments in *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, and Spinet (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* and, indeed, almost all the instruments in most of his compositions, upside down with no strings visible to indicate their capacity for sound. In short, he emphatically silences them. But that silencing, arguably, also draws attention to the concept of "sound," even if it is sound that is silenced. I explore this aspect further below.

Baschenis' compositions encourage a consideration of how musical instruments can function in still-life painting as emblematic objects charged with rich philosophical or moral meanings. Scholars have repeatedly put forth interpretations of Baschenis' paintings as *vanitas* since the late twentieth century when serious investigations into Baschenis and his paintings first occurred.[4] They argue that the combination of dust-covered musical instruments, partially decayed fruits, and music scores as seen in *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, and*

Agliardi triptych, perhaps the title is to identify it as separate and distinct from other autonomous still-lifes.

[3] Marco Rosci, *Baschenis, Bettera & Co: produzione e mercato della natura morta del seicento in Italia* (Milan: Görlich, 1971), 31.

[4] Alberto Veca, *Vanitas, il simbolismo del tempo,* exh. cat, Galleria Lorenzelli (Bergamo, 1981); 268-69; John T. Spike, *Italian Still-Life Painting from Three Centuries,* exh. cat. (New York: National Academy of Design, 1983). 72; Luigi Salerno, *Nuovi studi su la natura morta italiana* (Rome: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 1989).

Guitar (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych) constitutes a commentary on the transience of life and worldly pleasures.[5] While I agree that Baschenis' paintings can be read in terms of *vanitas* in which musical instruments allude to temporal, sensory pleasures, I submit that this is not a sufficient explanation for these paintings.[6] What these earlier arguments fail to take into account are the specific details that differentiate Baschenis' works from each other or from still-lifes by other artists that include instruments, fruit, flowers, and music books. For example, in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych, why the combination of lutes, guitar, cittern, and mandolin? Why a carnation? Why a single pear and a plate of apples as the fruit? Why music books with curled pages? Why such a profusion of dust? Why a knife under the guitar? Why are the instrument strings deliberately hidden from view? Baschenis pays such careful attention to the instruments' materiality and anatomy that we are encouraged to consider more closely the significance of their specificity. Therefore, I offer here an approach that considers how the peculiarity of Baschenis' paintings lies not just in their unprecedented concentration on musical instruments but also in the very treatment of those instruments that makes them more than just *vanitas*. I argue that Baschenis' concurrent vocations as painter and priest and his experience as an amateur musician help explain the intersections of the art of painting, musical instruments, and religion in Baschenis' compositions.

While Baschenis' works can be divided in many ways, one of the broadest divisions is between canvases depicting instruments that are arranged in orderly groupings, such as *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Apple* (c. 1650-60, Private Collection) (Fig. 105) and those in which instruments are piled up in more precarious, seemingly haphazard groupings, such as *Still-Life with Guitars, Cittern, Mandolin, Bass Viol, Violin, Lute, Apples, and*

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[5] The most recent scholarship that perpetuates this traditional *vanitas* reading is provided by Enrico de Pascale, "Catalogo delle opere," 190; and Andrea Bayer, 84, 112.

[6] Musical instruments are common elements in *vanitas* paintings because the fleeting sounds of their delightful music serves as an analogy for the brevity of life and its sensory pleasures. On the symbolism of musical instruments and their relationship to other objects in still-life paintings, see Linda Phyllis Austern, "'All Things in this World is but the Musick of Inconstancie,' Music, Sensuality and the Sublime in Seventeenth-Century Vanitas Imagery," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz,* Katherine A. McIver, ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 287-332.

Musical Scores (c. 1670s, Musées Royaux des Beaux-arts, Brussels) (Fig. 106).[7] Although the works are similar in subject matter, the instruments are employed for different effects and purposes. In this chapter, I first explore the implications of Baschenis' emphasis on the materiality of instruments and the significance of sumptuous curtains and table coverings in carefully ordered compositions. I investigate how the dust, and the fingermarks running through it, on the backs of stringed instruments in many of these compositions both denotes the sense of touch and alludes to a human presence that is past. These silenced physical objects are then interrogated in relation to the social and religious implications of silence in the seventeenth century. Finally I consider how Baschenis' attention to the materiality and silence of his instruments, particularly in compositions in which the instruments are overturned and piled on one another, invites a reading of the instruments as metaphors for the human body.

I acknowledge certain limitations when studying Baschenis' musical instrument still-lifes. First, many of the canvases are housed in private collections without public access. Consequently, my interpretations are based on analyses of works from public collections and of paintings from private collections reproduced in catalogs by Marco Rosci and Enrico de Pascale.[8] Second, the individual paintings are all titled generically by Rosci and De Pascale in all their published work as *Strumenti musicali.* In this chapter I have assigned a more descriptive title to each composition to help distinguish one still-life from the other.

[7] Marco Rosci divides Baschenis' works into one of five different series based on types of textiles, colour, lighting, perspective, and overall quality. They are presented in a chronological order. Marco Rosci, *Baschenis, Bettera & Co.*, 41-8.

[8] Marco Rosci provided the first complete list of the paintings comprising Baschenis' oeuvre as well as a thorough stylistic analysis of the different compositions. Marco Rosci, *Baschenis, Bettera & Co.* Enrico de Pascale's scholarship presents the most complete biographical account of Baschenis, and his research has determined the provenance of many of Baschenis' paintings. Enrico de Pascale, "Catalogo delle opere," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa*; exhibition catalog for exhibition held Galleria d'Arte Moderna e Cotemporanea 4 October 1996-12 January 1997 (Milan: Skira, 1996); Enrico de Pascale, "Il violino e la rosa: nuovi contributi per Evaristo Baschenis," *Bergomum* 92 no. 3 (1997): 89-122; Enrico de Pascale, In Praise of Silence," in *The Still-lifes of Evaristo Baschenis: The Music of Silence*, ed. Andrea Bayer (Milan: Edizione Olivares, 2000), 30-51.

Collection and display of musical instruments

Baschenis' paintings that show an orderly display of musical instruments assume heightened significance if considered as presentations or offerings of precious possessions. It would seem unlikely that a painter without an impressive range of quality instruments at his immediate disposal could have achieved the sensitive renditions of Baschenis' canvases. Indeed, a clause in Bachenis' will indicated that he owned a number of musical instruments and music books. An entry in the *primo codicillo al testamento* of March 14, 1677 bequeaths to Baschenis' niece Dorothea Baschenis, "tutti li libri et ogni altra cosa tanto stampata quanto manoscritta per la Musica" and "la spinetta tiorbata, li violini, il basso, e tiorba."[9] An inventory drawn up by Cornelio Salvagni de Rotheris on March 19, 1677, following Baschenis' death on March 16, 1677, lists an unusually large number and variety of musical instruments: two spinets, one theorbo, one trombone, three guitars, two violins, two bass viols, and two lutes.[10]

Baschenis' predilection for lutes, mandolins, guitars, and violins as the protagonists in his still-lifes signals a timely personal interest in the prestige of northern Italian stringed-instrument makers and their products, perhaps gained

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[9] Enrico de Pascale, "Appendice documentaria," 71. Dorothea is left "all the books and all the other music, whether in printed or manuscript form" and "the tiorbino [similar to a spinet], the violins, the bass viol, and the theorbo."

[10] Enrico de Pascale, "Appendice documentaria," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* 73-6. Baschenis' collection of musical instruments is surprising for a seventeenth-century artist. Caravaggio painted innovative musician scenes that depict lutes, violins, recorders, and a spinet, but according to an inventory of his possessions dated August 26, 1605 he personally owned only "una quitara, una violina" (one guitar and one violin). Sandro Corradini, *Caravaggio: materiali per un processo* (Rome: Alma, 1993), 63. A comparable artist is Domenichino, who was noted for his experimentation in music theory. While no inventory of Domenichino's possessions exists, contemporary accounts record that Domenichino constructed his own lutes, keyboard and harp, or had instruments made to his specifications. Domenichino's primary purpose in acquiring these instruments seems to have been to explore ancient chromatic and enharmonic music rather than to use them as props in his paintings. Gian Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni,* ed. E. Borea (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1976), 358; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice,* ed. G. Zanotti (Bologna: 1841), 241; Giambattista Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri,* ed. J. Hess (Leipzig: H. Keller, 1934), 67; Giovanni Battista Doni, *Compendio del trattato de' generi e de' modi della musica* (Rome, 1635), 20.

during his sojourns in Milan, Cremona, and Brescia between 1639 and 1643.[11] From the sixteenth century, aristocrats and connoisseurs had acquired musical instruments from northern Italian workshops not only for the quality of their sound but also as part of a growing interest in collecting and displaying fine objects.[12] Sabba da Castiglione (1480-1554), a sixteenth-century Milanese humanist, for instance, considered musical instruments an essential component of the physical decoration of a gentleman's residence:

> Quali ornamenti [organs, clavichords, harps, lute, violins, cornets, trombones and other similar instruments) io certo commendo assai perche questi tali instrumenti dilettano molto all'orecchie, e ricreano molto gli animi, i quali, come diceva Platone si recordano dell'armonia, la qual nasce da i monti delli circoli celesti: ancora piaccino assai a l'occhio, quando sono diligentemente, & per mano d'eccellenti, & ingegnosi maestri lavorati.[13]

According to Sabba da Castiglione, motives for acquiring musical instruments were twofold. Instruments were an essential source of pleasure and well-being when played because their music both delights the ear and refreshes the soul. Musical instruments were also worth collecting to be looked at and admired for their physical beauty and craftsmanship. Sabba da Castiglione qualifies his judgment here by claiming that an instrument's aesthetic appeal is proportionate to the skill and prestige of its maker.

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[11] Baschenis was apprenticed to Gian Giacomo Barbello during these years and he accompanied Barbello to Milan, Cremona, and Brescia where he would have been exposed to the artistic achievements of these cultural centers. De Pascale, "In Praise of Silence," 31.

[12] On the purposes, content, and organization of prominent aristocratic collections in northern Italy, see Antonio Aimi, Vincenzo de Michele, and Alessandro Morandotti, "Towards a History of Collecting in Milan in the Late Renaissance and Baroque Periods," in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,* Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 24-8; and Giuseppe Olmi, "Science-Honour-Metaphor: Italian Cabinets of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," also in Impey and MacGregor, 5-16.

[13] Other items that Castiglione recommends gentlemen collect include antiquities, sculptures, paintings, arms, tapestries, gems, and books. Sabba Castiglione, *Ricordi overo ammaestramenti di Monsign. Sabba Castiglione, cavalier gierosolimitano. Ne i quali con prudenti, e Christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate, che si ricercano a un vero Gentilhuomo* (Venice 1592), 104v. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. "As ornaments [organs, etc.] I surely commend such instruments because they are very delightful to the ear, and greatly refresh the soul, and as Plato used to say, they recall harmony, which is born on the mounts of the celestial circles: they are even pleasing to the eye, when they are diligently built by the hand of excellent and ingenious masters."

Likewise, Baschenis underscores the quality of his instruments' craftsmanship by painting identifiable lutes, guitar, and cittern from the most prominent northern Italian stringed-instrument makers. He does this deliberately and with great precision by including makers' marks or short inscriptions naming prestigious makers such as Michael Hartung (b. Tieffenbruck, 1590-d. Venice, 1669) and Giorgio Sellas (active in Venice by 1600). Michael Hartung was a German artisan who trained in the famed Tieffenbrucker workshop in Venice until he established himself as a master luthier in Padua in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[14] He refined the proportionate construction of lute bellies, which increased the quality of the instruments' volume, tone, and timbre, refinements that made his instruments highly valued in Italy and Germany.[15] Giorgio Sellas was one of the founding members of a family workshop that specialized in constructing high-quality guitars that were exquisitely decorated with precious materials such as ivory, ebony, mother of pearl, and turtleshell.[16] No fewer than 49 lutes in the 104 paintings by Bachenis and his workshop have been identified by Stefano Toffolo as made by Michael Hartung.[17] Hartung`s distinctive maker's mark (M + H) is clearly visible on at least three of Baschenis' painted lutes, including one in *Still-life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores* (c. 1650-60, Private collection) (Figs. 107, 108). Maker's marks also appear on two instruments in the Agliardi triptych. In the right panel, *Musical Performance of Alessandro Agliardi with a Guitar, and Bonifacio Agliardi* (c. 1664-66, Private collection) (Fig. 109), the elaborately decorated guitar played by Alessandro bears the inscription "Giorgio Selles alla Stella in Venetia."[18] In 1990 and 1992 respectively, Ugo Ravasio and Stefano Toffolo both identify the cittern in the central panel, *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, and Guitar (Central Panel*

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[14] Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani 1500-1800: Quattro secoli di liuteria e cembalaria* (Venice: Arsenale, 1987), 57.

[15] Friedemann Hellwig, "On the Construction of the Lute Belly," *The Galpin Society Journal* 21 (March 1968): 129.

[16] Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziani,* 74.

[17] Toffolo, "Sul rapporto tra liuteria e iconografia,"58.

[18] Enrico de Pascale, "Catalogo delle opera," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* 200.

of the Agliardi Triptych) (Fig. 104) as the product of a Brescian workshop based on the placement of the maker's mark on the back of the instrument, which was the position preferred by Brescian makers, such as Gasparo da Salò (b. Salò 1540; d. Brescia 1609) and his pupil and successor Giovanni Paolo Maggini (b. Botticino-Marino 1580; d. Brescia c. 1630).[19] Da Salò and Maggini produced violins whose beautiful maple wood forms are valued by musicians and collectors today, as they probably were also in the seventeenth century, as much as the unsurpassed quality of the instruments' full tones.[20]

In spite of the popularity of instruments from renowned makers, and in spite of their connotations of elevated social and musical status, Baschenis is the only artist known to have included identifiable makers' marks on his musical instruments, as Stefano Toffolo has demonstrated. Toffolo examined stringed instruments in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings of concert groups, still-lifes, angelic choirs, Madonna and Child scenes, and images of *sacra conversazione,* and he identified specific Brescian, Cremonese, or Venetian characteristics of the lutes and violins represented.[21] While he compared distinctive rounded shapes and the decoration of many painted instruments with actual existing instruments, he noted that makers' marks are painted on instruments solely in Baschenis' canvases.[22] Painting instruments with identifiable makers' marks was

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[19] Ugo Ravasio, "Il fenomeno cetera in area bresciana," in *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra cinque e seicento, Atti del Convegno in Salò, 5-6 ottobre, 1990,* ed. Marco Bizzarini, Bernardo Falconi, and Ugo Ravasio (Brescia: Fondazione civiltà bresciana, 1992), 136; Toffolo, "Sul rapporto tra liuteria e iconografia," 59.

[20] Friedrich Niederheitmann, *Cremona: An account of the Italian violin-makers and their instruments,* trans. W.H. Quarrell (Buren, The Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1986), 3, 48, 57. Musicologists credit Maggini with developing the model design of the modern violin, viola, and violoncello. His instruments are all made from the finest quality wood and exhibit a high level of workmanship. The general consensus among musicians, claims Margaret Huggins, is that "the violins of Maggini are remarkable for volume of tone." Margaret L. Huggins, *Gio: Paolo Maggini, His Life and Work* (London: W.E. Hill & Sons, 1976), 62, 74, 81.

[21] Stefano Toffolo, "Sul rapporto tra liuteria e iconografia," 45-61.

[22] For example, Toffolo claims that the lutes in Caravaggio's *Amore vincitore* (Gemaldegalerie, Berlin) and *The Lute Player* (St. Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum) closely resemble a lute by Matteo Sellas housed in London in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Toffolo, 56-9. For a detailed description of the Hartung lutes in Baschenis' paintings, see Giorgio Ferraris, "I liuti di Evaristo Baschenis," *Il Fronimo* 57 (October 1986): 7-19.

one way in which Baschenis communicated the value of stringed instruments as individualized, quality objects, specifically as products of northern Italy. These signed instruments do more than allude to actual splendid instruments; they assume a specific identity associated with a particular maker and his reputation, so that the compositions become, in the words of Michele Biancale, "ritratti di strumenti," or "portraits of musical instruments."[23]

In part, the depiction of specific instruments emphasizes the quality and craftsmanship of the instruments and treats them almost like portraits of personalized specific instruments. It also highlights the significance of these instruments as highly valued products of the burgeoning northern Italian music market. Makers' names of Hartung, Tieffenbrucker, Gasparo da Salò, or Sellas were synonymous with instruments that produced stunning effects both aurally and visually.[24] Much like the makers' mark, the artist's signature, as Patricia Rubin points out, served both as the means by which the creator boldly asserted authorship of the finished product and as a guarantee of quality.[25] Baschenis doubly asserts the quality of his painting by literally inscribing within them the individuality, personality, and skill of both craftsman and artist. Baschenis signed his paintings along the borders of the cabinets, as in *Still-life with Lutes, Mandolin, Violin, Bass Viol, Books, Musical Scores, and Cabinet* (c. 1650-60, Private collection) (Figs. 110, 111) or along the lower edge of a lute, as in *Still-life with Lutes, Bass Viol, Mandolin, Violin, Musical Score, and Cabinet* (c. 1650, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo) Fig. 1), In compositions that include a spinet, he signed his name along the spinet's edge, as in *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder,*

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[23] The phrase "ritratti di strumenti" was first coined by Michele Biancale in "Evaristo Baschenis bergamasco dipintore degli antichi liuti italiani," *L'Arte* 15 no. 41 (1912): 2.

[24] On the prestige of these makers' instruments, see Giulio Ongaro, "The Tieffenbruckers and the business of lute-making in sixteenth-century Venice," *The Galpin Society Journal* 44 (March 1991): 46-54; Giorgio Ferraris, "Liuto, arciliuto, chitarrone. Strumenti dell'età barocca in Italia," *il 'Fronimo'* 39 (April 1982): 11-18; Stefano Toffolo, *Antichi strumenti veneziano,* 57, 73-7, 90-6,

[25] Patricia Rubin, "Signposts of Invention: Artists' Signatures in Italian Renaissance Art," *Art History* 29 (September 2006): 571, 579.

Violin, Books, and Apple (Fig. 113).[26] His signature seems to be on the instrument itself as a maker's mark rather than on the painting only, an ambiguity he seems to have deliberated created. By including identifying marks on certain musical instruments and by signing his paintings prominently on musical instruments, Baschenis makes a play on who has produced these instruments, whether the manufacturer of the original instrument or himself as painter.

Perhaps Baschenis is also showing that he identifies with the spinet and wishes to underline his association as a player of that particular instrument. In the left panel of the Agliardi Triptych, *Musical Concert with Evaristo Baschenis at the Spinet and Ottavio Agliardi with an Archilute Left Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* (c. 1664-66, Private collection) (Fig. 115), Baschenis depicted himself seated at the spinet confidently confronting the viewer's gaze, inviting us to acknowledge his skill as an instrumentalist. Musicologist Gioacchino Tomasi points out that members of the aristocracy, clergy, and bourgeoisie received a basic musical education in playing keyboard instruments, singing, and accompanying themselves or others with basso continuo that prepared them to participate in amateur music academies.[27] That Baschenis received musical training is confirmed by his depiction at the spinet. Opposite Baschenis in the right panel of the triptych (Fig. 109) is seated the Theatine cleric Bonifacio Agliardi. According to Father Donato Calvi, local historian and Prior of the monastery of Sant' Agostino, Agliardi was a founding member of the Accademia degli Eccitati, which was established in 1642 and dedicated to pursuits of poetry and music.[28] Baschenis is not mentioned by Calvi as an official member of this Accademia, but he was acquainted personally

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[26] The signature along the left table leg in the central panel of the Agliardi Triptych is indistinct in reproductions. Identification of signatures and their locations in Baschenis' paintings are made by Enrico de Pascale in the individual catalog entries in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa.*

[27] Gioacchino Lanza Tomasi, "Evaristo Baschenis and Giovanni Legrenzi: A Comparison between Music and Painting in Mid-seventeenth-Century Bergamo," in Bayer, 56.

[28] On the founding of the Accademia see Donato Calvi, *Scene letteraria degli scrittori bergamaschi, parte seconda* (Bergamo 1664), 6-8. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; and Maurizio Padoan, "1644. Un'Accademia Publica nelle presente Città di Bergamo," in *La musica a Milano, in Lombardia e oltre* ed. Sergio Martinotti (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1996), 81-2.

and professionally with men who were: Bonifacio Agliardi, Carlo Antonio Agliardi, Giovanni Legrenzi, Maurizio Cazzati, and Father Donato Calvi.[29] As a neighbor and friend of the Agliardi family, Baschenis may well have joined them for musical performances in domestic settings.[30]

In addition to makers' marks, Baschenis deploys textiles to highlight the display of his instruments. His paintings incorporate costly silk (Fig. 105) or brocade curtains (Fig. 107) and tables covered with damask (Fig. 110) or oriental carpets (Fig. 115). Perhaps these textiles were some from among the sixteen "tovaglie," or tablecloths listed in the March 19, 1677 inventory of Baschenis' possessions.[31] This same inventory shows that he also retained at least five "quadri con drappo solo", including one whose cloth is distinguished specifically as "brocato cremonese," perhaps similar to the brocade that appears in *Still-life with Spinet, Lute, Archlute, Bass Viol, Recorder, Music Books, Inkwell, and Apples* (Fig.

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[29] Baschenis' association with the Agliardi family is implied by the triptych that shows him with Ottavio, Alessandro, and Bonifacio Agliardi. Baschenis' ecclesiastical affiliations with the church of Santa Maria Maggiore allowed him to associate with the fineset *maestri di cappella* and musicians, including Maurizio Cazzati (maestro 1653-1655), who enlarged the choir's repertory and contributed to the development of instrumental music for trumpets and stringed instruments; and Giovanni Legrenzi (organist 1645-1655, maestro 1665-1666), who wrote innovative compositions that explored and exploited the musical effects of the new violin idiom. Jerome Roche, "Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo, 1614-1643," *Music and Letters* 47 (1966): 296-312; A. Moccia, "Nuovi documenti per la biografia di Maurizio Cazzati," *Rivista internazionale di musica sacra* 14 (1993): 297-315. Baschenis likely developed personal relationships with Legrenzi and Cazzati because, like him, they were both priests and artists. Gioacchino Lanza Tomasi, "Evaristo Baschenis and Giovanni Legrenzi: A Comparison between Music and Painting in Mid-seventeenth-Century Bergamo," in Bayer, 56. Donato Calvi knew Baschenis and offered a brief eulogy to him shortly after Baschenis died: "Hoggi dell'anno 1617 entrò nel mondo Evaristo Baschenis Sacerdote ultimament estinto alli 15 Marzo 1677, che resosi nel dipinger al naturale oggetti specialmente inanimati singolare e nel rappresentar li stromenti et figure dell'arti liberali impareggiabilmente velocemente caminò per la via dell'immortalità" Donato Calvi, *Effemeride sacro-profana di quanto di mirabile sia successo in Bergamo dai suoi principi /in'al corrente anno* (Milan 1677) (Bologna: Formi, 1974-75), 375. Brief biographies of Accademia members and lists of their writings are presented in the second part of Donato Calvi's *Scena letteraria,* 11-58.

[30] Baschenis' home in the Borgo San Leonardo was located near the Palazzo Agliardi. De Pascale, *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta,* 196. The success of poetic and musical presentations within the Accademia degli Eccitati led the academy to hold musical concerts on a larger scale in the Palazzo della Città, the bishop's residence, and in other private residences. Maurizio Padoan, 82.

[31] De Pascale, "Appendice documentaria," 74-5.

114).[32] Since these unfinished canvases remained in Baschenis' studio after his death, Enrico de Pascale has suggested that Baschenis, or an artist in his workshop, probably painted the curtains and tablecloths first on a number of canvases before adding the arrangement of musical instruments according to the clients' desires.[33] This assembly-line approach is confirmed by Marco Rosci, whose analysis of the style and composition of all known paintings in Baschenis' *oeuvre* suggests that Baschenis created original works to serve as prototypes for mass production in his workshop.[34] Unlike de Pascale, however, Rosci suggests that, in light of Baschenis' superior musical knowledge, it was Baschenis and not his patron or client who decided on the instrument combinations and arrangements.

Let us consider the sumptuous curtain pulled back across the upper left half of *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (c. 1670s, Private collection) (Fig. 116), similar to curtains appearing in many of Baschenis' compositions. This curtain is made from a richly patterned gold and red silk cloth, which reveals a light mauve lining underneath along the lower edge where the curtain is pulled up and aside to keep it from cascading down and covering the instruments. This brilliant interplay between apparent movement and the textures, patterns, and colours of the two sides of the cloth continues in the sweeping folds of the curtain that drapes down the left side of the canvas in front of the table's edge. The effect of the curtain painted with such a broad sweep and at such a strong diagonal is that we almost sense the residual energy of the curtain parting, almost like lips, to announce the instruments displayed as precious objects below. The curtain and the pull cords, dangling in the upper right, operate pictorially to emphasize the shapes, colours, and spatial placement of the musical

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[32] Ibid. De Pascale claims that an auction record also lists a number of paintings with draperies only and that are distinguished as either silk or brocade. De Pascale, "Baschenis privato," 56-7.

[33] De Pascale claims that this method is similar to that of Daniel Seghers (1590-1661) for his repeated motif of floral garlands encircling the central image in his paintings. De Pascale, "Baschenis privato," 63.

[34] Many of Baschenis' original works have been lost, but there are several copies of his works still available, showing that Baschenis' production took two directions: 1) original protoypes that were copied in mass production by workshop artists and 2) single, isolated works by Baschenis himself with few if any replicas by other artists. The quality of Baschenis' paintings was never compromised whether the work was to be a single work or a model for replication. Rosci, 39-41.

instruments; and the exquisite curtain softens the starkness of hard-edged instruments placed against a blank background. The smoothness of the pink lining matches the monochrome polished bodies of the instruments while the red background of the patterned side pulls out the warm, reddish wood tones of the lute and guitar. Such visual correspondences between instruments and textiles indicates that although the musical instruments are the primary subject of the paintings, they depend on curtains and table coverings to heighten the visual effect of their presentation.

Baschenis accentuates this visual harmonic by painting a decorative gold dewdrop pattern across the curtain that echoes the shapes of the lute bodies, namely the mandolin in the left background and the overturned lute in the center of the composition. The dewdrop motif originated in Islamic and Asian textiles but was adopted and reproduced by Italian silk weavers beginning in the fourteenth century (Figs. 117, 119).[35] Such patterned silks were used primarily for patrician clothing, royal tombs, religious vestments, altar frontals, and other church furnishings with which Baschenis would have been familiar.[36] Baschenis took holy orders by 1643, as confirmed by a document assessing the tax value of his possessions dated September 9, 1643 that lists his vocation as a priest.[37] That Baschenis was remembered as a pious man is implied by Baschenis' earliest biographer, Francesco Maria Tassi, who records in his *Vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti bergamaschi* (1793), "Giunse il Baschenis, religiosamente vivendo, e virtuosamente operando, all'anno settantesimo di sua età."[38] Baschenis' textiles, therefore, are employed to define the otherwise blank setting as a sacred space.

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[35] The oriental patterns were incorporated into Italian textiles for their visual appeal and not for any attached cultural meanings. Rosamond Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300-1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 27, 38-42.

[36] Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza,* 28. On the demand for liturgical apparatus that are luxurious in materials as well as craftsmanship, see Goldthwaite, 72-6.

[37] Enrico de Pascale, "Evaristo Baschenis: regesto biografico," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* 65..

[38] Tassi, 237. "Living religiously and operating virtuously, Baschenis arrived at the seventieth year of his age."

As the curtain sweeps simultaneously over to the left and out toward the viewer in large swags and folds, it parallels the arrangement of the instruments, whose strong horizontal emphasis is enlivened by elements that project out into our space: the corner of the spinet case and music score that overlap the edge of the table and the overturned mandolin whose light pink ribbon hangs over the edge of the spinet. The tassels attached to the curtain pull cords in the upper right corner hang suspended in the air, creating a strong vertical that is repeated in the upright scroll of the bass viol, the pegbox of the lute, the sharp edges of the spinet case, and the mandolin's ribbon. Consequently, the instruments are linked visually and symbolically to the curtains above. The tassels become an important element because they imply that by pulling on them, the curtains will raise to dramatically uncover the bass viol, lute, spinet and mandolin below. Additionally, the pull cords help to unify the composition by creating loops whose shapes are echoed in the graceful scrolls of the bass viol and violin, the loose strings curling around the violin's neck, and the ribbons attached to the bottoms of the mandolin and guitar. These repeated vertical and curvilinear elements punctuate the horizontality of the composition and create a visual rhythm that conjures up rhythms, crescendos, decrescendos, and harmonics that the instruments do not produce to emphasize their silence.

Baschenis' inclusion of luxury textiles with his musical instruments gestures towards the expanding production of textiles that occurred concurrently with stringed-instrument production in the same minor urban center of northern Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cremona began producing velvets, damasks, and satins in 1544; in 1562 Brescia received permission to establish its own industry; and Bergamo was granted a charter for silk production in 1568.[39] Baschenis' attention lavished on the patterned silk curtains and table coverings directs the viewers' attention to the quality products of these local textile workshops. With such strong visual emphasis on textiles and musical instruments,

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[39] Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of Renaissance Venice* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 276-79. The silk industry in Italy was originally centered in Genoa, Venice, Bologna, and Lucca in the thirteenth century, but by 1600 it had spread throughout the peninsula. Venice maintained a stronghold on silk cloth weaving throughout the sixteenth, but it granted selective requests from cities within its territorial control to produce their own silk cloth, though initially limiting the fabrics to black velvet. Ibid., 3-5.

both products of northern Italian industry, Baschenis' paintings can be read on one level as a celebration of local craft skills in the spirit of *campanilismo.* At the same time, they affirm a demand for costly, finely crafted merchandise like musical instruments and textiles. Thus the aesthetic is not here disinvested from the material; rather the aesthetic is emphasized above all in materials and materialistic terms. To have these items magnificently presented in paintings, which in themselves were expensive commodities, Baschenis appears to endorse and feed into the social and political prestige of collecting objects for display, including those that celebrate the artisanship of his own region.

Baschenis includes curtains for a more symbolic function, too, as cloths of honor to denote the prestige of the instruments below. With his *trompe l'oeil* curtains, Baschenis alludes pictorially to the Renaissance practice of covering sacred images with actual curtains both as a gesture of respect and as a means of protecting the painting.[40] These curtains are pulled aside to reveal the musical instruments to the viewer but, at the same time, their permanent presence in the image is an indication of their potential also to conceal, which allows them to be "caught up in narratives of pictorial discovering, covering, uncovering."[41] Baschenis establishes a complex counterpoint here between showing and concealing that occurs with the curtains as well as with musical instrument strings that are sometimes seen and sometimes hidden when the instruments are overturned. While the physicality of the instruments is readily apparent because we see them displayed before us, their symbolic or spiritual function and the implications of their concealed, silenced strings requires further investigation and discovering. The practical, revelatory function of curtains is amplified by the religious symbolism of brilliantly coloured draperies or swags that are often

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[40] Paul Hills explores the pictorial and metaphorical relationships between veils and curtains and flesh in Titian's paintings. Paul Hills, "Titian's Veils," *Art History* 29 (November 2006), 771, 786. Paintings of erotic subject matter were likewise covered to heighten the effect of revealing the image to patrons' elite guests. For example, Caravaggio's *Amor vincit omnia* was covered with a green silk curtain and was the final painting shown to visitors of Vincenzo Giustiniani's main gallery. Joachim von Sandrart, *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675,* ed. A. R. Pelzer (Munich, 1925), 275-77. In Titian's *Diana and Actaeon,* Actaeon pulls aside a curtain painted in the image, thus making the exposure of the bathing goddess and her attendants more dramatic and illicit. Paul Hills, 787.

[41] Paul Hills, 771.

depicted as hanging above rulers, nobles, saints, Christ, and the Virgin Mary. This tradition is seen as early as 778 AD in the illumination of St. John in the Lorsch Gospels (c. 778-820, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 50) (Fig. 119). Baschenis' use of curtains is illuminated by Hubert Damisch's discussion of the curtain in *Portrait of Gonzalo d'Illescas, Bishop of Cordova* (1639, Sacristy of the Monastery of Saint Jerome, Guadalupe) (Fig. 120) by Francisco Zurbarán (b. Fuente de Cantos 1598; d. Madrid 1664). Zurbarán includes a large mass of deep red drapery pulled back in folds above the seated Bishop. Hubert Damisch equates such overhanging curtains specifically with clouds and their hierophanic function.[42] Here the soft, thick, rounded swags echo clouds both in their appearance and in their mediation between heaven and earth to contribute to the suggestion of something sacred; that the Bishop's writing is inspired directly from God.[43] Where we might expect to see divine or noble persons revealed beneath a hanging curtain, Baschenis presents sensuously rendered bodies of musical instruments as objects that transcend the material realm. Eberlein points out that the pictorial tradition of curtains in religious images derives from the practice of hanging a curtain before the Holy of Holies in Old Testament tabernacles and temples as a partition to symbolically separate sacred spaces from temporal ones, and it also recalls the temple curtain that was rent asunder when Christ died to symbolize the revelation of truth to the believers.[44] With his exquisite curtains which, significantly, appear primarily in compositions with instruments laid out in orderly arrangements, Baschenis conjures up ideas of spiritual revelation and instruments as sacred bodies.

Contrasting with the billowy softness of the patterned silk curtain framing the instruments in *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (Fig. 116) is the thickly woven table carpet that fills the lower

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[42] Hubert Damisch, *A Theory of /Cloud: Toward a History of Painting,* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002), 45.

[43] Ibid.

[44] The earliest extant example in a secular context is a page from the Calendar of 354 (Rome, Vatican, Barb. lat. 2154, fol. 13r) that shows Constantine seated on a throne with curtains pulled open and attached to columns at both sides of him. A page from the Stockholm Codex Aureus shows that by 750 AD the motif had entered religious pictorial traditions with Matthew the Evangelist assuming the position of imperial rulers beneath the *cortinae regiae,* or royal curtains. Johann Konrad Eberlein, "The Curtain in Raphael's Sistine Madonna," *The Art Bulletin* 65 (March 1983): 66-7.

portion of the canvas and provides a visually weighty foundation for the instruments. Expensive imported oriental carpets were collected during the Renaissance by wealthy Italians as status symbols and were prominently displayed in churches, hung from windows or balconies, or placed on tables, benches, and other furniture items in private residences from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[45] Baschenis' painted carpets served a similar purpose. For the left panel of the Agliardi triptych (Fig. 115) Baschenis copied other northern Italian artists who celebrated the beauty and luxury of oriental carpets as a fashionable part of Italy's material culture in paintings such as Lorenzo Lotto's (b. Venice, c. 1480; d. Loreto, 1556) *Husband and Wife (Portrait of a Married Couple)* (c. 1523-24, The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) (Fig. 121) and *Young Ladies of the House of Martinengo* (before 1543, Brescia, Palazzo Martinengo-Salvadego) (Fig. 122) by a follower of Moretto da Brescia (1498-1554).[46]

Although carpets in Baschenis' paintings appear as objects that were collected and enjoyed for their visual appeal and their value as expensive commodities for the social elite, they sometimes assume emblematic meanings in the tradition of *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Augustine, John the Baptist, Sebastian, and Anthony Abbot* (1521, Santo Spirito, Bergamo) (Fig. 123) by Lorenzo Lotto and *The Ambassadors* (1533, The National Gallery, London) (Fig. 124) by Hans Holbein the Younger (b. Augsburg, 1497; d. London, 1543).[47]

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[45] Rosamond E. Mack, "Lotto: A Carpet Connoisseur," in *Lorenzo Lotto: Rediscovered Master of the Renaissance*, exhibition catalog, November 2, 1997-March 1, 1998 (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1997), 65. Prices for carpets ranged from 10 to 70 florins or ducats, which rivaled or exceeded the values of paintings and sculptures in households of wealthy Italians. For example, a geometric-patterned table carpet listed in the 1492 inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici's collection was worth 70 florins while a marble *David* was valued at only 25 florins. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza,* 73. On the history of the importation of oriental carpets into Italy, see John Mills, "The Coming of the Carpet to the West," in *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century,* exhibition held at Hayward Gallery, London 20 May – 10 July, 1983 (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1983): 11-23.

[46] Rosamond E. Mack, "Oriental carpets in Italian Renaissance paintings: art objects and status symbols," *The Magazine Antiques* 166 no. 6 (December 2004): 82-9.

[47] Holbein's use of oriental carpets gave rise to a categorization of certain patterns as either Small Pattern Holbein or Large Pattern Holbein carpets. On the history and patterns of these carpets as well as a list of paintings in which they appear, see John Mills, "Small Pattern Holbein Carpets in Western Paintings," *HALI* 1, no. 4 (1978): 326-34; John Mills, "Discussion of 'Holbein carpet,'" in *Carpets in Paintings,* catalog for exhibition held

The patterns on Baschenis' carpets belong to the category of "Lotto" carpets, named after Lorenzo Lotto, the only Renaissance artist known to have owned an original Turkish carpet and who painted meticulously detailed Anatolian re-entrant carpets in his portraits and religious paintings.[48] In *Still-Life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (Fig. 116) Bachenis adopts the use of a richly patterned carpet as a cloth of honor as evident in Lotto's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Augustine, John the Baptist, Sebastian, and Anthony Abbott* (Fig. 123) which hung in the church of Santo Spirito in Baschenis' hometown of Bergamo. Lotto's painting shows the Virgin seated on a pedestal draped prominently with a richly textured oriental carpet.[49] In the instances in Italian painting when such carpets appear on the floor, as in Lotto's painting, they are placed primarily beneath the Madonna's throne to designate honored, sacred spaces for divine persons.[50] In light of this religious function, Baschenis' table carpets complement the hanging curtains in their function as cloths of honor and imbue the musical instruments with a sense of dignity. By conjuring direct associations with Lotto, whose altarpieces with oriental carpets were renowned in Bergamo, Baschenis ensures that the viewer will recognize similar religious connotations in his textiles. Baschenis' carpets set off musical instruments as symbolic objects similar to the way the carpet sets off astronomical instruments in Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (Fig. 124). Holbein exhibits a richly patterned carpet draping the top shelf of the table on which are placed a celestial globe and scientific instruments for observing the heavens. John North identifies the rug as belonging to

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at the National Gallery, London June 1 - July 24 (London: National Gallery, 1983), 20-25; and Charles Grant Ellis, "Small Pattern Holbein Carpets in Paintings: A Continuation," *HALI* 3, no. 3 (1981): 216-17. On carpets and instruments in Holbein's *The Ambassadors,* see also John North *The Ambassadors' secret: Holbein and the world of the Renaissance* (Hambledon: London, 2001); Elly Dekker and Kristen Lippincott, "The scientific instruments in Holbein's *Ambassadors*: a re-examination," *Journal the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 62 (2000): 92-125.

48 Mack, "Lotto," 59. John Mills' analysis of Turkish carpets in Dutch and Italian sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings identifies twenty-one paintings by Baschenis that incorporate "Lotto" rugs. John Mills, "'Lotto' Carpets in Western Paintings," HALI 3, no. 4 (1981): 286.

49 Mack, "Lotto," 63. When in Venice, Baschenis also may have seen Lotto's *Saint Antoninus Altarpiece* (1542, Venice, Church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo), which depicts in the foreground a "Lotto" carpet with an elaborate Anatolian field pattern.

50 Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza,* 84.

an Armenian Christian tradition that incorporated cosmic and Christian motifs in the design and, therefore, claims that it was positioned on the "celestial" shelf as a reference to divinity, namely God and Jesus.[51]

By removing musical instruments from any reference to performance and placing them on an oriental carpet as valuable, collectible objects, Baschenis suggests that his table functions as a similar sacred shelf. Support for an emblematic reading of the carpet in *Still-Life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (Fig. 116) comes from interpretations of Caravaggio's *Supper at Emmaus* (1601, The National Gallery, London) (Fig. 125) that depicts food and drink on a white tablecloth laid over an oriental carpet. John Varriano argues that Caravaggio included the luxury carpet both as a symbol of noble status and as a naturalistic element to help place the scene in an eastern setting.[52] While I do not believe Bachenis includes carpets to situate his instruments in an eastern setting, I do believe he uses his carpets to conjure associations with religious rituals in which oriental carpets played a key role, particularly in their original context as prayer rugs.[53] Significantly, Scribner discusses the carpet in Caravaggio's painting as a sacred covering over a table serving as an altar for the eucharistic bread and wine blessed by Christ's sacramental gesture.[54] Turkish rugs were documented as part of such religious rituals in a 1552 account that describes "one Turkeye carpet

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[51] The most important part of the carpet's design are the sideways S- and E- shapes that appear in a prominent location directly below the plumbline of the quadrant. Individually and collectively these letter-forms refer in Armenian and Greek languages to Jesus and God Almighty. North, 152-53. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass argue that Holbein included this recognizable Eastern product to refer to the wealth and status of Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve and to denote the "interconnections of world trade." Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 48.

[52] John Varriano, "Caravaggio and the Decorative Arts in the Two Suppers at Emmaus," *The Art Bulletin* 68 (June 1986): 219.

[53] On the original function of Turkish carpets as prayer rugs see Mills, "'Lotto' Carpets in Western Paintings," 286; Donald King and David Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century* (London: Arts Council of Britain, 1983), 14-16, 56, 58.

[54] Charles Scribner sees Christ's gesture as key to interpreting this painting as it is the moment when Christ reveals himself physically and spiritually to his disciples. Charles Scribner III, "*In Alia Effigie*: Caravaggio's London *Supper at Emmaus*," *The Art Bulletin* 59 (September 1977): 378-79.

for the Communyon table" at St. Paul's Cathedral in London.[55] Like Caravaggio, Baschenis makes of his *Still-Life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (Fig. 116) something approaching the sacramental. His display of silenced instruments between an oriental table covering and a billowing revelatory curtain evokes a sense of stillness and respect, suggesting that the instruments be regarded as something sacred. At the same time, the soundless, or lifeless, bodies of the instruments are laid out on the table almost like consecrated Eucharistic emblems on an altar in a ritual familiar to Baschenis. His only ecclesiastical task in his parish of Sant' Alessandro in Colonna was to serve as chaplain at the church of the Beata Vergine dello Spasimo (today the church of Santa Lucia) where he officiated in celebrating mass once a day.[56]

Religious connotations are also implied in the Agliardi commission (Figs. 104, 109, 115) by the combination of three related panels that harks back to an earlier fourteenth/fifteenth-century artistic tradition of the triptych. According to Lynn F. Jacobs, that format was defined by three key characteristics. First, triptychs represented religious subject matter and therefore were often used as altarpieces where they were viewed in direct relation to liturgical ceremonies. Second, triptychs were structured so that the central panel depicted the most important scene and the two outer panels contained complementary scenes. Third, they were conceived as three separate parts of one whole, often hinged together.[57] The most striking departure from tradition in Baschenis' Agliardi triptych lies in the relationship between the subject matter of the panels. Rather than place key figures or an obvious narrative in the central panel, Baschenis depicts dramatically lit overturned lutes, cittern, mandolin, guitar, pear, knife, carnation, and plate of apples. These inanimate objects occupy the most important central position while the portraits of the Agliardi men and Baschenis are relegated, appropriately, to the tributary right and left panels in the traditional position of patrons. Displayed together, the active music-making of the figures points toward the central panel where the stillness and

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[55] J.O. Payne, *St. Paul's Cathedral in the Time of Edward VI* (London, 1893), 24. Cited in North, 112. On Turkish carpets in Hans Holbein's *The Ambassadors* and other paintings, see Mills, "Small Patterned Holbein Carpets," 325-34.

[56] De Pascale, "Il violino e la rosa," 73.

[57] Lynn F. Jacobs, "The Triptychs of Hieronymus Bosch," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 no. 4 (2000): 1009-10.

silence of the unplayed instruments imply the departure (death) of the players and the ensuing silence of death. Thus the idea that these are a *vanitas* is not so much mistaken as understated. The prominent position of the silenced instruments and their symbolic relation to the left and right panels of the triptych encourages a corresponding silence in the viewer that is requisite for contemplation and heightened spiritual awareness.

Transfiguration of musical instruments

Baschenis' emphasis on the physicality of the musical instruments operates as the principal tangible, visible means by which intangible ideas and forms are explored and apprehended in his work. In the context of Christianity, paintings and sculptures were recognized as having a power to stimulate the beholders' imagination, focus their meditation on the subjects represented visually, and, consequently, lead them closer to God.[58] The lutes, violins, guitars, and spinets in Baschenis' still-lifes with musical instruments assume such emblematic significance. In the words of St. Bonaventure, they are "the vestiges, images, and displays . . . exemplars, or rather illustrations offered to souls as yet untrained, and immersed in the senses, so that through these sensible things that they see they may be transported to the intelligible which they do not see, as through signs to that which is signified."[59] In this way, Baschenis' compositions can be interrogated in terms of Stephen Bann's concept of "representation as presentation," in which certain objects are not "shown to" but are "seen by" the viewer as objects that have undergone a process of "transfiguration" to assume heightened significance beyond figurative representations of the commonplace.[60] In this process, lighting effects,

[58] David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 162-67.

[59] St. Bonaventure, *Journey of the Mind towards God,* trans. Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M., Edited, with introduction and notes by Stephen F. Brown (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, 1993), 16.

[60] Stephen Bann, *The True Vine: On Visual Representation and the Western Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 87. Bann's development of the idea of representation as presentation is based on distinctions between "seeing" and "showing" made by Denis Diderot. In his criticism of François Boucher's *Angélique et Médore,* Diderot complains, "This man only takes up the brush to show me nipples and buttocks. I am perfectly willing to see them; but I have no wish to be shown them." Ibid., 43.

spatial relationships, and colour are employed in such a way that the objects appear to be offered up to the viewer or, in the words of Roberto Longhi, "sacrificed on the altar of painting."[61] While accurate representations of details and textures provide visual pleasure in recognizing painted objects from the visible world, this is not satisfying in itself. Representation also must be employed to cause the painting as a whole to reach out and visually and psychologically ensnare the viewer.[62]

Baschenis' compositions are intriguing for the ways the instruments are simultaneously "shown," asserting their presence as material objects through their meticulous detail, and "seen," mesmerizing the viewer with their powerful immediacy and sense of inaccessibility. In *Still-Life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores* (Fig. 107), Baschenis employs five techniques to "transfigure" his musical instruments from descriptive likenesses of the originals to an offering of potentially sacred emblems, in Bann's sense. First, he eliminates references to the instruments' primary function of producing sound by turning many of them upside down and focusing instead on their structure of sensuous curves and shapes. Second, he arranges the instruments in a complex grouping in which contours of instrument backs and elongated necks are punctuated by music scores and fingerboards that project foreshortened into our space. Third, he places his ensemble grouping beneath a billowing curtain that is pulled back to reveal the objects presented below. Fourth, he includes a maker's mark that gives the lute a specific identity. Finally, he creates a solemn drama through his use of intense light that selectively illuminates the instruments as they emerge from the dark background.

In this regard, Baschenis' painting relates to but employs radically different means of achieving spiritual intensity from seventeenth-century Spanish still-life paintings such as Francisco de Zurbarán's *Still-Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Rose* (1633, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) (Fig. 126), his only signed and dated still-life. While I do not suggest that Baschenis saw Zurbarán's work, I believe that both artists were using still-lifes to explore spiritual ideas and that

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[61] Ibid., 84-5.

[62] Ibid.

Zurbarán's painting serves as an appropriate comparison to Baschenis' still-lifes. The subject matter of Zurbarán's painting is apparently straightforward—four lemons on a pewter plate at the left, a basket of oranges with orange blossoms in the center, and a cup of water and rose on a pewter plate placed at the right—but the *presentation* of the objects petitions for deeper meanings. Zurbarán's emphatically symmetrical placement of the objects isolates each for individual consideration but at the same time unites them in a strong horizontality. The raking light that enters from the left defines the shapes and accentuates the textures of the fruits, basket, and pewter dishes but, surprisingly, does not penetrate the background. As a result, the objects emerge brilliantly from the darkness, surrounded by an air of quiet solemnity. Roberto Longhi was among the first art historians to consider this work as a devotional image by noting that the objects are displayed "like flowers on an altar, strung together like litanies to the Madonna."[63] Julian Gállego further interprets the objects as Marian symbols of virginity, purity, and divine love.[64] While Peter Cherry acknowledges spiritual readings of Zurbaran's painting, he cautions about ascribing religious interpretations to all Spanish still-lifes and, instead, attends to the formal precision, stunning *trompe l'oeil* effects, and illusionistic space of Juan Sánchez Cotán's (b. Orgaz c. 1560; d. Granada, 1627) still-lifes, particularly *Still-Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber* (c. 1600, Museum of Art, San Diego) (Fig. 127).[65] However, these two approaches are not mutually exclusive because the singularity of the subject matter and its meticulous arrangement require the viewers to look anew at their familiar worlds and ponder what is presented. Devotional contemplation is stimulated in

[63] Roberto Longhi and August L. Mayer, *The Old Spanish Masters from the Cintini-Bonacosi Collection* (Rome: National Gallery of Modern Art, 1930), 65.

[64] The oranges symbolize virginity and fecundity; the water symbolizes purity and, when placed on the pewter dish with a rose, it symbolizes divine love. Julian Gállego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura español del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Catedra, 1984), 202. Peter Cherry, "The Hungry Eye: The Still-lifes of Juan Sánchez Cotán," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 65 (1996): 75-95.

[65] Peter Cherry, "The Hungry Eye: The Still-lifes of Juan Sánchez Cotán," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 65 (1996): 75-95. Cherry argues that the triumph of Cotán's still-lifes lies in their sensory appeal: "Indeed, the artist could, perhaps, have been said to have failed if, when looking at the painted melon, for instance, the juicy insides, as fresh-looking as the day they were painted four-hundred years ago, did not stimulate our taste buds, on an imaginative level if not literally, as well as our higher senses. This is not to deny that the primary, but not exclusive, source of pleasure derives from the satisfaction of our sense of sight in Cotán's still-lifes." Cherry, 80.

compositions such as *Still-Life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores* (Fig. 107) by the stillness of the musical instruments, which are presented to the viewer by the projection into our space and the elimination of a human presence. At the same time, however, such paintings cannot just be explained away as symptomatic of a venerational approach. Like Cotán with his parabolic arrangement of fruits and vegetables suspended from strings or progressively extending out from the confines of their niche, Baschenis devotes extraordinary attention to sensory pleasure and treats the detailed rendering of each instrument with care and respect.

Alberto Veca explores the idea of contemplation and suggests that Baschenis' musical instrument still-lifes are counterparts to his still-lifes of fruit and dead animals, such as *Still-Life with Basket of Apples, Melons, Pears, and Plate with Plums* (Private collection) (Fig. 128) and that together they comment on the active and contemplative lives. These food still-lifes ultimately derive from sixteenth-century Netherlandish paintings of market and kitchen scenes that originally comprised the foreground of images depicting biblical stories, such as *Christ in the home of Mary and Martha* by Vincenzo Campi (late sixteenth century, Modena, Galleria Estense) (Fig. 129).[66] The emphasis on food in the foreground refers to Martha's preoccupation with physical nutrition and comfort and provides a dramatic contrast with Mary's quiet preference for spiritual nourishment received from Christ's teaching. Veca argues that Baschenis' food still-lifes retain similar connotations of the active life and sensual appetites.[67] These images figure the here and now, he claims, with objects that are consumed and that provide pleasure as elements essential to physical existence.[68] As a complement to these scenes pertaining to temporal concerns, Bachenis, according to Veca, painted still-lifes of musical instruments with connotations of the contemplative life and spiritual concerns.[69] The instruments belong to a heavenly realm, in which music is both

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[66] Alberto Veca, "Un immaginario europeo," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* 21-22. Artists eventually eliminated any biblical context and the kitchen scenes developed as an independent genre.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 24-6.

therapeutic and delightful to the soul.[70] Since Bachenis was a priest, and was expected to balance aspects of the active and contemplative lives, such concerns may have weighed heavily on his mind and in his art. I concur with Veca that a sense of spirituality permeates Baschenis` musical instrument still-lifes. I hesitate, however, to fully endorse Veca's observations because the musical instruments are often placed upside down on their strings or hemmed in in some way, as in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych (Fig. 104), so that they are incapable of evoking the strains of music conducive to contemplation. Meanings are not readily articulated or readily discerned because the inherent mystery of things is emphasized rather the auditory appeal of their potential musicality.

Dust and touch

Dust adds to the sense of stillness and contemplation in many of Baschenis` works. It appears most noticeably on the lutes, cittern, guitar, and mandolin in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych (Fig. 104). In one sense it suggests inactivity and the long-standing abandonment of instruments that remain unused. Baschenis exploits the unusual lighting effects to delineate layers of dust that cover the curved backs and the fingerboards of the lutes and mandolin and the fingerboard of the guitar. As the bright light bathes the instruments and brings out the warm tones of the wood, it also accentuates the contrasting light grey dust that settles in and clearly defines the ribs of the lute at the far left, nearly obscures the left half of the mandolin, and appears almost like a sleeve on each instruments' fingerboard. The dust can be seen as alluding to the corporeal material of humankind, as expressed by Abraham when speaking to God: "Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, which am but dust and ashes," and in Ecclesiastes 3:20: "All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." Here, the transition from body to dust is represented by the rounded bodies of musical instruments covered in a thick layer of dust. Human presence is as dust. The implication of death and decay is reinforced by the painted fly on the music score at the far left. Since the lifespan of a fly is only a brief 15-30 days, it serves as a reminder of life's cruel brevity. Moreover, decaying bodies attract buzzing flies. The fly thus brings the stench of death into the painting. In a markedly different interpretation, Gian Casper Bott

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[70] Ibid., 24.

points out the similar spellings and pronunciations of "mosca," or fly, and "musica," or music, and proposes that "mosca" is a syncope of "musica" in a play on words that reinforces the musical aspect of the painting.[71] Such a reading is a bit problematic because Bott privileges a verbal rather than visual interpretation of Baschenis' painting.

Significantly, the dust on Baschenis' instruments is not undisturbed; it does not simply show that the instruments are untouched. Fingermarks through thin layers of dust seem to pattern their way across the backs of the instruments in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych. These tracks show the gestures, evanescent and listless, that produced them; and they also serve to emphasize the presence and thickness of the dust. Consequently, the fingermarks and dust denote the sense of touch. According to Francesco Maria Tassi, the realistic appearance of the dust proved to be both disconcerting and entertaining for viewers:

> una poca avveduta persona che vedendo in un quadro dipinto un leuto tutto coperto di polvere a riserva di alcune naturali striscie, che pareano fatte da qualcuno, che avesse voluto porre le mani sul quadro; e volendo col proprio fazoletti pulirlo, s'accorse dell'inganno, e fu motivo a' circostanti di qualche burlevole trattenimento.[72]

Tassi's recognition of delightful illusionistic effects is a characteristically eighteenth-century response. More recently, Gian Casper Bott suggests correspondences between sight, sound, and touch through the evocation of the Italian term *toccare* (to touch). He points out that dust appears only on stringed instruments such as the lute, mandolin, and guitar that must be plucked with fingers

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[71] Gian Casper Bott, "La mosca, le mele e la polvere: la dipinta in un quadro di Evaristo Baschenis," in *Evaristo Baschenis e la natura morta in Europa,* 119.

[72] Tassi, 234. "An unintelligent viewer who seeing in a painting a lute all covered with dust, with the exception of some natural-looking streaks, which seem to have been made by someone, wanted to put his hands on the picture; and wishing to clean it with his own handkerchief became aware of the illusion, which caused some amusing entertainment for his companions." The ability of an artist to paint objects with illusionistic realism has its roots in Pliny's account of the competition between Zeuxis and Parrhasius to determine which painter was the greatest. Zeuxis painted a cluster of grapes, and when he unveiled it birds were fooled into flying down to peck at them. When Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to pull aside the curtain from his painting, he was forced to admit defeat because the curtain was the painting. Whereas Zeuxis had fooled the birds, Parrhasius had fooled the artist. Pliny, *Natural History,* XXXV.36.

rather than bowed.[73] Since the conventional term used for "playing the lute" was "toccare il liuto," the fingermarks in the dust indicating someone has touched the instruments gives double meaning to the term "il liuto toccata" and shows us, at least in part, a visual pun.[74] However, we are confronted starkly by the fact that we do not see the strings required to *toccare il liuto* musically. The evidence of touching remains primarily seen and not heard and, in a surprising reversal of anticipated reactions to representations of musical instruments, sight and touch are brought to the fore while sound is extinguished. Additionally, if the instruments in the Agliardi panel had been picked up and played by hands that made the fingermarks, we would expect to see traces of handling in the dust on their fingerboards. But the dust there remains undisturbed. It is as if the instruments have not been picked up to be played, but have been touched by somebody moving by reaching out their wavering fingers to touch the instruments in a casual, distracted manner. Thus, the instruments have been touched unmusically, rendering their silence even more audible and visible—indeed, touching. Perhaps Baschenis is exploring here, too, the nature of life and human relationships. We get a sense of the stillness associated with settled dust and yet we also get a sense of mobility and the trace of a live body moving by and briefly making contact through the gathered dust. This evidence of inattention and disregard may serve as a metaphor for the way we often move blithely unaware through life. To Bott's wordplay we can also add the denotation of *toccare* as "to feel," which implies that the stringed instruments are intended to produce music that will "touch" the listener emotionally, or "*muovere gli affetti.*"

It is useful here to turn to Edmund Husserl's ideas on the haptic. For Husserl, touch is the most important sense by which we perceive not only the body but also the reality of the world around us: "By means of the sense of touch, I am always in the world perceptually, I am able to find my way around in it, and I can grasp and get to know whatever I want."[75] Touch is important to Baschenis who

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[73] Bott, "La mosca, le mele e la polvere," 120.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Edmund Husserl, *Ideas pertaining to a pure phenomenology and to a phenomenological philosophy,* trans. Richard Rojcewicz and André Schuwer (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1989), 74:33-5. Merleau-Ponty echoes Husserl when he

allows touch to dominate over sound and we see touch inscribed in his paintings. However, in certain works such as *Still-Life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* (Fig. 104) touch evokes not presence but absence. He or she who touched has gone, and all that remains is his or her trace in the shifting substance of gathering dust. It is tempting to recall Jean-Luc Nancy's associations with Christ and touch in images of Christ before Mary Magdalene at the empty tomb: "He is departing for the absent, for the distant: he is going absent; he is withdrawing into this dimension from which alone comes glory."[76] For Nancy, "this withdrawal alone gives the measure of the touch in question: not touching this body, to touch on [*toucher à*] its eternity."[77] The fingermarks in the dust on Baschenis' instruments likwise reveal a presence through absence. In *Still-Life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)*, the tangible body responsible for the fingermarks is absent but it has left behind evidence of its presence.

The place of silence

I turn now to discuss the ways in which such a surprising contradiction to our expectations that musical instruments are played to create sound produces an effective context for exploring the idea of silence. By not showing many of the instruments' strings, Baschenis suspends sound and presents, instead, "the music of silence."[78] Silence is more than merely the absence of the instruments' implied

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writes, "I do not only use my fingers and my whole body as a single organ, but also, thanks to this unity of the body, the tactile perceptions gained through an organ are immediately translated into the language of the rest . . . Each contact of an object with part of our objective body is, therefore, in reality a contact with the whole of the present or possible phenomenal body." Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception,* trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 1962), 369.

[76] Jean-Luc Nancy, *Noli me tangere: On the Raising of the Body,* trans. Sarah Clift, Pacale-Anne Brault, and Michael Naas (New York: Fordham Press, 2008), 16-17. For a brilliant examination of how artists depict simultaneously the visibility and invisibility of the resurrected Christ in *Supper at Emmaus*, see Lorenzo Pericolo, "Visualizing Appearance and Disappearance: On Caravaggio's London *Supper at Emmaus*," *The Art Bulletin* 89 (September 2007): 519-39.

[77] Nancy, 15.

[78] This characterization comes from the exhibition "The Still-lifes of Evaristo Baschenis: The Music of Silence" held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 17, 2000-March 4, 2001.

sound because, as Peter Burke points out, "keeping silent is itself an act of communication."[79] Silence enobles the art of conversation. Prudent silence was highly valued as a rhetorical device in civil conversation since antiquity because it was a sign of dignity and discretion when properly employed.[80] Stefano Guazzo praises the eloquence of silence in his influential courtesy book *La civil conversatione* (Venice 1579): "E però si dice, ch'un tacer a tempo avanza ogni bel parlare, e che s'ha ad annoverare fra le virtù filosofiche, perché l'oratore non si conosce se non parlando e 'l filosofo si conosce non meno col tacere a tempo che col ragionar filosofando."[81] Silence is not a passive retreat from conversation, but rather an active component of conversation, a counterpoint to speech that allows time for listening and assimilating knowledge in order to then speak with wisdom and grace. I argue that Baschenis shaped silence—literally and figuratively—with his musical instruments as a potent form of communication with artistic, social, and religious implications that were familiar to seventeenth-century audiences.

Silence in Baschenis has a devotional accent. The silence surrounding Baschenis' compositions alludes in part to the art of secular conversation, but on a deeper level the stillness of the instruments is suggestive of a *sacra conversazione* in which communication between instruments and viewer occurs on a spiritual rather than material level. Silence is a crucial component of religious life because it is "preeminently a language beyond language."[82] As a priest, Baschenis may have drawn upon early Church fathers' acknowledgment of the strong correspondence

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[79] Peter Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 135.

[80] Systems of silence can change depending on geography, occasions, social class, gender. Burke, *The Art of Conversation,* 135-37.

[81] Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversatione* (Venice 1579), 95. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. "Therefore it is said that to keep silence in time and place is better than eloquent speaking, and ought to be numbered among the philosophical virtues, because the orator is known only when speaking and the philosopher is no less known with silence than with philosophical reasoning."

[82] Gehl explores medieval monastic traditions that explore the rhetoric of silence as "an approach to God through the moral and mystical dimensions of language." Paul F. Gehl, "Competens silentium": Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West." *Viator* 18 (1987): 126.

between silence and spiritual learning.[83] St. Ambrose, for example, recognized the profound inspirational power of silent thoughts: "What is it that we need to learn before everything else? Surely it is to be silent, so that we are able to speak as we ought."[84] By maintaining silence we "heed to the word of the Lord" and are not given to speaking idle words.[85] In his *Confessions,* St. Augustine describes the occasion when he encountered St. Ambrose and was surprised to find him reading in silence: "When he read, his eyes ran over the page and his heart perceived the sense, but his voice and tongue were silent."[86] Joseph Anthony Mazzeo points out that Augustine was taken aback by Ambrose's silent reading because Greek and Latin literature was customarily read aloud.[87] Augustine further recounts that silence later played an important role in his conversion:

> So I was moved to return to the place where Alypius was sitting, for I had put down the Apostle's book there when I arose. I snatched it up, opened it and in silence read the passage upon which my eyes first fell: *Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurities, not in contention and envy, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh in its concupiscences* (Rom. xiii, 13). I had no wish to read further, and no need. For in that instant, with the very ending of the sentence, it was as though a light of utter confidence shone in all my heart, and all the darkness of uncertainty vanished away.[88]

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[83] Silence was practiced in Benedictine, Cistercian, and Carthusian monasteries, in particular, to eliminate the evils of idle conversation and to encourage the monks' concentration on spiritual matters. Burke, *The Art of Conversation,* 127.

[84] Ambrose's discourse on silence comprises Book One 5-22. St. Ambrose, *De Officii,* edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by Ivor J. Davidson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1.5, 120.

[85] Ibid.

[86] St. Augustine, *Confessions,* trans. Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), VI.3.3.z.

[87] St. Augustine advised readers of his *De musica* to read it aloud in order to perceive the silences between syllables and, consequently, understand his discourse on meter. Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, "St. Augustine's Rhetoric of Silence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 23 no. 2 (April-June, 1962): 189.

[88] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, VIII.12.29.

Since divine revelation comes only through silence, Ambrose's and Augustine's silent reading was essential for "listening to the instruction of the inner teacher."[89] In subsequent passages, Augustine describes a vision in which he learns that it is only when "the tumult of the flesh," "the phantoms of earth and waters and air," "the poles," and "the very soul" grow silent that "we might then touch on that Eternal Wisdom which abides over all."[90] In other words, we can only attune ourselves to God and His wisdom when we distance ourselves from worldly noises, a condition that Baschenis imitates pictorially by overturning his instruments, or at least by removing them from the contexts of performing music.[91]

Spiritual silence is invoked not only in personal meditation, as articulated by St. Augustine, but also in structured communal Christian worship, as Baschenis was well aware. Periods of silence were incorporated into the Mass for distinguishing sections of the Ordinary and the Proper and for preparing spaces wherein worshippers could engage in deep thought and feel God's presence.[92] Through the juxtaposition of instruments displayed on textiles infused with religious connotations, Baschenis draws correspondences with the Mass and its requisite silence. *Still-Life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores* (Fig. 107) demonstrates the pictorial exploration of alternations between word and music, sound and silence. A large overturned lute at the left is suggestive of silence, but it is situated between an open music book protruding from underneath, with its score partially revealed, and a mandolin placed precariously at an angle which partially reveals the bridge and strings on its belly. The books and mandolin surround the large lute and represent the sounds and words that both precede and follow musical or spoken pauses. Baschenis carefully frames his composition to left and right: overturned instruments create parenthetical pauses

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[89] Mazzeo, 192.

[90] St. Augustine, *Confessions,* 9.10.25.

[91] Following the vision that occurred during a conversation with his mother, Augustine records that "remeavimus ad strepitum otis nostri," or "we returned to the noise of our mouths." *Confessions* 9.10.24.

[92] Anna Danielewicz-Betz, "Silence and Pauses in Discourse and Music," (Ph.D. diss., Saarbrücken, Universität des Saarlandes, 1998), 184-88. On the centrality of silence for Quaker worship, see Richard Bauman, "Speaking in the light: The role of the Quaker minister," in *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking,* ed. Richard Bauman and Joel Sherzer (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974): 144-60.

whose quietness is accentuated by the barely glimpsed allusion to sounding music between them. The anticipation of sound is implied by strings seen on the mandolin, the spinet keyboard, the open music book, and the violin poised on the spinet to be picked up and played. Words and music are then silenced with the guitar resting on its strings on the far right edge of the table, which brings the composition, both pictorial and implied musical, to a close. In Baschenis' painting, as in Christian ritual, sound alternates with silence to enhance spiritual contemplation.

Although Baschenis' surprising use of supposedly sounding musical instruments to evoke silence is unexpected, his interrogations of silence itself are not unusual; it was a theme explored by other seventeenth-century artists. Salvator Rosa (b. Naples, 1615; d. Rome, 1673) comments on the philosophical importance of silence in his *Self-Portrait* (c. 1645, The National Gallery, London) (Fig. 130) by standing with his hand resting on a tablet inscribed with the Latin phrase: "aut tace aut loquere meliora silentio" ("either be silent or say something better than silence").[93] With this inscription, Rosa harks back to the ancient philosopher Pythagoras and the proverbial recommendation that his followers be silent for three years to enable greater learning.[94] Rosa reminds viewers that meaningful communication is not always contingent upon what is spoken and that one must carefully consider when and what to speak. In an interesting twist on Rosa's dictum, the silenced instruments in Baschenis' compositions imply that he is saying something better *with* silence.

[93] Eckhard Leuschner, "The Pythagorean Inscription on Rosa's London 'Self-Portrait,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 278.

[94] Leuschner claims that Rosa incorporated this Pythagorian motto in his *Self-Portrait* to demonstrate his knowledge of and admiration for Greek texts, words, and phrases (both in the original Greek and in Latin translations) which are inflected in other paintings, correspondence, poetry, and notebooks. Leuschner, 278-79. Although the figure resembles known self-portraits of Rosa, he is more likely an allegorical figure. For Rosa to depict himself with an inscription admonishing silence would have been hypocritical because he was known for being outspoken and confrontational. Wendy W. Roworth, "Salvator Rosa's *Self-Portraits:* Some Problems of Identity and Meaning," *Seventeenth Century* 4:2 (Autumn 1989): 137.

Baschenis' paintings of silent musical instruments can be read as a means of discussing the senses in relation to the arts in the tradition of *ut pictura poesis.*[95] The familiar and oft-quoted conceit of *ut pictura poesis,* best known through Horace, derives from Simonides of Ceos (c. 556-467 BCE) who stated, "painting is mute poetry and poetry is a speaking picture."[96] Nicolas Poussin (b. Normandy, 1594; d. Rome, 1665) invoked the conceit of silence in relation to painting in a letter to François Sublet de Noyers dated February 1639 in which he described himself as "moy qui fais profesion des choses muettes" ("I who make a profession of mute things").[97] The potential for direct connections between literary, musical, and pictorial effects and modes of production had fueled the thinking of sixteenth-century painting theorists who wrote treatises that elaborated on the merits and application of principles associated with the concept of *ut pictura poesis.* Leonardo da Vinci concludes in his *Trattato della pittura (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270)* (c. 1492-1510) that both because of its immediacy and permanence and because it appeals to the more noble sense of sight rather than hearing, painting should be ranked the highest of the three sister arts: "La pittura immediate ti si rapresenta con quella dimostratione per la quale il suo fattore l'a generata, et dà quell piacere al senso massimo, qual dare possa alcuna cosa creata dalla natura . . . Quella cosa è più degna che satisfa a miglior senso."[98] Similarly, Cesare Ripa also acknowledged the virtue of painting as an art that communicates through being seen rather than being heard in his *Iconologia* (Rome 1603). He personifies Painting as a dark-haired woman holding a palette and brushes in her hand with her mouth covered with a band and explains, "la bocca ricoperta, è indicio, che non è cosa che giovi

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[95] On the relationship between the arts of painting, poetry, and music, see Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); George P. Mras, "Ut Pictura Musica: A Study of Delacroix's Paragone," *The Art Bulletin* 45 (September 1963): 266-71.

[96] Quoted by Plutarch (46-120 AD) in *De Gloria Atheniensium* III, 346f-347c. Lee, 197.

[97] T.J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3.

[98] "Painting immediately presents you with the demonstration by which its maker generated it, and gives that pleasure to the greatest sense, as anything created by nature can . . . That thing is more worthy which satisfies the better sense [sight]." Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato,* ch. 22 and 31 in Farago, 218-19, 244-45.

quanto il silentio & la solitudine."[99] Painting's inability to speak, however, does not imply the inability to communicate, as Giambattista Marino makes clear in his poem about the portrait of Cornelio Musso di Bernardo Castello in *La Galeria* (1620): "Il silenzio è loquace,/la pittura eloquente, e parla, e tace."[100] Indeed, Baschenis' eloquent still-lifes may be silent, but it is precisely through this silence that Baschenis strives to unite the comparative merits and status of music and painting. Baschenis works show that sight is privileged over hearing and the art of painting equals, or even triumphs over, the art of music. But his work is not simply a celebration of the sense of sight and the art of painting. He also attends to that which cannot be seen and that which cannot be heard. His paintings can be interpreted as engaging in an exploration of the limitations of our bodily senses—searching to depict or evoke that which cannot be heard, that which cannot be touched, and that [strings] which cannot be seen.

Musical instruments as metaphors for the human body

By enticing our eye with views of the bellies, backs, and sides of the posed musical instruments, Baschenis's paintings can be seen as treating them as metaphors for the human body. The curves of the stringed instruments imitate human forms, which is particularly strong in the Brussels still-life, *Still-Life with Guitars, Cittern, Mandolin, Bass Viol, Violin, Lute, Apples, and Musical Scores* (Fig. 106). Furthermore, the terminology for instrument parts corresponds to that for the human body. In the Brussels *Still-Life* we see evidence of these parallels in the anthropomorphic features of various stringed instruments. Here the bass viol shows the scroll, or head (*testa*), and the fingerboard, or neck (*manico/collo*); the bass viol, lute, guitars, and violin display the body (*corpo*); the lute in the right background reveals only its belly or chest (*pancia/petto*); the mandolin is placed upside down to emphasize its back and ribs (*nervatura*); and the violin contains inside it, unseen, a sound post that is referred to as the instrument's soul (*anima*).[101] While human

[99] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome 1603), 404-5. "The covered mouth indicates that nothing is more beneficial to painting than silence and solitude."

[100] Giovanni Battista Marino, *La Galeria,* ed. Marzio Pieri (Padua: Livinia Editrice, 1979), 167. "Silence is loquacious./Eloquent painting both speaks and is silent."

[101] An early description of musical instruments as metaphors for the body is found in the *Liber Viginti Artium* (c. 1460) by Paulus Paulirinus, a Jewish scholar and encyclopediast of Prague. "[C]ithara est instrumentum musicum communiter [sejunctum]

bodies could not so easily be shown lying naked, overturned, and inviting the viewer to stroke them, Baschenis' instruments imply the human body and solicit the viewer's gaze and caress.

Unlike the careful, almost reverential, arrangement of instruments in *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig* (Fig. 116), the unstable placement of the cittern, mandolin, violin, and guitar hanging over the table's edge and the large bass viol resting at an angle on an unseen supporting object in the Brussels canvas creates a stronger interplay with the viewer, who becomes somewhat unsettled by the precariousness of the instruments. We desire to intervene by reaching out to steady or straighten them, but at the same time we are aware that that tension heightens the suspended stillness of the composition. The carelessness of the instruments' placement and the viewer's emotional reaction to it conjure up the idea of temporality, which seems to work as a metaphor for life beyond just *vanitas*. Rather than suggesting that these instruments are just things of the world that do not really matter, Baschenis implies that these instruments are metaphors for life itself and that the moment matters. The precariousness of the objects does not make them less significant, but rather imparts a sense of value to the objects that is not undermined by their vulnerability. As a result, Baschenis seems to suggest that life is precious, something that must be carefully attended to or looked after.

This idea of precariousness as an indicator of temporality seems to be gesturing in a different direction from the dust that appears on the backs of the

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ceteris propter sonorum suorum subtilitatem, habens quinque choros cordarum simper duplatas et novem ligatures in collo, faciens sonorum varietates digitorum tamen registracione, cuius concavum pectoris clibanum habet officium, foramen vero oris; collum vero habet similitudinem canne pulmonis, super quod digiti perambulantes habent officium epigloti; percussion autem cordarum habet similitudeinem penularum pulmonis a quibus vox effatur, sed corde nervales gerunt lingue et officium quibus vox formatur." "The lute is a musical instrument which is generally [kept apart] from others on account of the delicacy of its sound. It has five courses of strings, always double, and nine frets on the neck making the distinctions of notes with the application of the fingers. Its hollow vessel performs the office of the [human] chest; the rose [performs the office] of the mouth; the neck [of the lute] resembles the human windpipe; the fingers running over it perform the office of the epiglottis; the striking of the strings is similar to the covering of the lungs by which the voice is blown out, but the gut strings perform the task of the tongue with which the voice is articulated." Cited and translated in Christopher Page, "The 15th-Century Lute: New and Neglected Sources," *Early Music* 9, no. 1 Plucked String Issue (January 1981): 11.

instruments in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych (Fig. 104). Time has allowed for a thick layer of dust to accrue, but someone has passed by without paying attention and has drawn their fingers through the dust. The dust and fingermarks leave the tracing of a presence that is past and allude to the ephemerality of life. At the same time, however, the viewer is faced with the casual, haphazard arrangement of instruments that evokes a sense of something about to happen: The body of the lute at the far left and the fingerboard of the mandolin in the center hang off the edges of the table; the fingerboard of the central lute hovers over the mandolin as it is supported only by the edge of a book; and the cittern appears capable at the slightest nudge to slip off the back of the central lute. Consequently, Baschenis depicts past and present tenses at the same time. His emphasis on the senses of sight, touch, and sound in doing so allows him to explore the relationship between body and spirit and conjures an awareness of spirituality that is experienced in relation to the body, not in spite of it.

Baschenis, therefore, explores spiritual ideas in relation to the material body. He paints his stringed instruments from different angles that provide only partial views of each instrument's body, particularly in the Brussels composition. For example, we see only the back right side of the mandolin in the center, we see the neck and belly of the violin from a radically foreshortened angle, and only the bottom of the guitar is discerned at the far left. A complete image of the stringed instruments and, through analogy, of the human body, is formed by visually harmonizing the composite parts—neck, belly, back—in the mind. This mental blending of separate parts into one unified whole recalls Plato's notion of the structure of the human body, which houses the soul. In *The Timaeus*, Plato provides a systematic description of the human body, which is modeled after the World-Soul, consisting of the head; the body, with the front distinguished from the back; the limbs; and the organs, or senses.[102] Plato regards harmony and proportion as essential to creation for binding together these multiple parts into a single entity in which the parts relate harmoniously to one another and to the whole: "The god introduced into them all every kind of measure in every respect in which it was

[102] Plato, *The Timaeus* 44d-45b, 73b-76e. *The Timaeus of Plato.* Edited with an introduction and notes by R.D. Archer-Hind. New York: Arno Press, 1973. The revival and currency of Platonic ideas in the Renaissance is due, in large part, to Marsilio Ficino's translations and commentaries on Plato's writings.

possible for each one to be in harmonious proportion both with itself and with all the rest."[103] This relationship of parts to the whole, though in a different context, is taken up in *De civitate Dei* by St. Augustine, who glories in God's blessed creation of humankind and likens the divine structure of the body to an instrument:

> Ut quid et quo modo quibus locis curandum esset addisceret: numeros tamen de quibus loquor, quibus coaptatio, quae *a(rmoni/a Graece dicitur, tamquam cuiusdam organi, extrinsecus atque intrinsecus totius corporis constat, quid dicam, nemo ualuit inuenire, quos nemo ausus est quaerere? qui si noti esse potuissent, in interioribus quoque uisceribus, quae nullum ostentant decus, ita delectaret pulchritudo rationis, ut omni formae apparenti, quae oculis placet, ipsius mentis, quae oculis utitur, praeferretur arbitrio.[104]

The outward form of the body, therefore, is a manifestation of the harmonious arrangement of inner and outer parts—internal organs, soul, and body—much like the proportionate structure of musical instruments. Baschenis explores the correspondences between human bodies and bodies of musical instruments in his Brussels canvas, which presents a remarkable musical autopsy. Bottoms of guitars at the left and right are juxtaposed against the back of a cittern and the neck of the large bass viol. That viol's neck creates a sharp divide between the upturned lute and violin bellies at the right but also compensates for the necks of the mandolin, guitar, and lute that are visually severed and hidden beneath the bass. The rounded back of the mandolin in the center contrasts with the flat back of the bass viol resting on its neck. Offsetting the backs and bellies of the lute, violin, mandolin, and guitar is the dominant shapely side of the bass viol that rests across the entire composition. The allusion to pleasing concordance between external and internal parts, as expressed by Augustine, is made most noticeably through the

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[103] Ibid., 69e.

[104] Saint Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 22.24, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latinus* vol. 48 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1955), 850. "Yet those relations of which I speak, and which form the concord, or, as the Greeks call it, 'harmony,' of the whole body outside and in, as of some instrument, no one has been able to discover, because no one has been audacious enough to seek for them. But if these could be known then even the inward parts, which seem to have no beauty, would so delight us with their exquisite fitness, as to afford a profounder satisfaction to the mind—and the eyes are but its ministers—than the obvious beauty which gratifies the eye." Saint Augustine, *De civitate Dei,* trans. by Demetrius B. Zema and Gerald G. Walsh. (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1962-64).

foreshortened violin that projects out toward the viewer as a body that physically houses an unseen "soul."

By diminishing or eliminating the sounding capacity of the instruments, Baschenis allows them to act as "strumenti," or tools, that possess multiple connotations. In one sense, the word "strumenti" is used to refer to objects constructed for use by the hand to intensify operative faculties and to increase the perceptive capacity of the senses. Baschenis denotes this definition of "strumenti" by presenting his instruments as exquisite handmade musical objects which, when played, engage and delight the senses of sight, touch, and hearing. In addition, "strumenti," in anatomical terms, was used since the early Renaissance to denote parts of the body designated for specific biological, mental, intellectual, or sensory functions.[105] Bachenis capitalizes on this meaning of "strumenti" in his exploration of musical instruments as metaphors for the human body through parallel anatomical parts. In a Christian sense, we can expand these uses of "strumenti" to denote humankind as an instrument of God. This metaphor of humankind as an instrument, or tool of agency, is used by St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa theologica*:

> Respondeo dicendum. Quod corpus humanum habet naturalem ordinem ad animam rationalem . . . inquantum vero anima est motor corporis, corpus instrumentaliter servit animae. . . . sed homo in agendo est instrumentum divinae virtutis principaliter ipsum moventis; unde dicitur Isa. 10.: *Numquid gloriabitur securis contra eum, qui secat in ea? Aut exaltabitur serra contra eum, a quo trahitur?* . . . quod homo sic movetur a Deo ut instrumentum, quod tamen non excludit, quin moveat seipsum per liberum arbitrium, ut ex supradictis patete et ideo per suum actum meretur, vel demeretur apud Deum.[106]

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[105] Battaglia, 408-10.

[106] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* vol. 4 (Romae: Forzani, 1923), Part Three.q.8.art.2., 100; Aquinas, *Summa theologica* vol. 2, First Part of the Second Part.q.21.art.4, 184. "The body has a natural relation to the rational soul . . . inasmuch as the soul is its motor, the body serves the soul instrumentally. . . . Now when man acts he is the instrument of the Divine power which is the principal cause of his action; hence it is written (Isaiah 10:15): 'Shall the axe boast itself against him that cutteth with it? Or shall the saw exalt itself against him by whom it is drawn?' . . . Man is so moved, as an instrument, by God, that, at the same time, he moves himself by his free-will, as was explained above. Consequently, by his action, he acquires merit or demerit in God's sight."

Aquinas teaches here that the body is the instrument that houses and physically facilitates the spiritual stirrings of the soul. He extends this analogy by arguing that just as the axe or saw function only by the force of the laborer who wields them, so we are instruments of God who rely on God's power to act and achieve our potential. If we think in these terms in relation to Baschenis' paintings, we might see that the unplayed instruments in *Still-Life with Guitars, Cittern, Mandolin, Bass Viol, Violin, Lute, Apples, and Musical Scores* (Fig. 106) are ones that are not yet touched by God. Their capacity as musical instruments to move listeners and effect change is dependant upon a divine touch.

Clement of Alexandria (150-211/16) also employs this metaphor in his *Exhortationes,* in which he characterizes humankind, specifically Christ, as an instrument of God in musical terms:

> Pulchrum instrumentum Dominus, & quidem spirans hominem fecit ad suam imaginem. Certè ispe quoque est Dei concinnum & aptum instrumentum & sanctum . . . Quidnam ergo vult instrumentum, Dei verbum Dominus noster, & nouum canticum? Patefacere oculos caecorum, & aperire aures surdorum, & qui pedibus claudicant vel errant, ad iustitiam deducere, Deum insipientibus hominibus ostendere, interitum compescere, mortem vincere, inobedientes filios patri reconcilare. Benignum Dei instrumentum.[107]

Translation from *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas* vol. 6, translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947), 275-76; Ibid., vol. 15, 139.

[107] Clement of Alexandria, *Klementos Alexandreos ta euriskomena: Clementis Alexandrini opera graece et latine, quae extant. Post accuratam d.v. Danielis Heinsii recensionem & breves additas in fine emendationes, facta est non poenitenda imo necessaria praelectio ab eo qui operis aditioni praesuit: adiecit doctissimas annotationes ex variorum auctorum scriptis decerptas* (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1641), 5. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah. "The Lord fashioned man a beautiful, breathing instrument, after his own image; and assuredly He Himself is an all-harmonious instrument of God, melodious and holy . . . What then is the purpose of this instrument, the Word of God, the Lord, and the New Song? To open the eyes of the blind, to unstop the ears of the deaf, and to lead the halt and erring into the way of righteousness; to reveal God to foolish men, to make an end of corruption, to vanquish death, to reconcile disobedient sons to the Father. The instrument is loving to men." Translation from Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortationes,* trans. G.W. Butterworth (London: Heinemann Ltd. 1968), 15. The writings of Clement circulated throughout Europe in Greek and Latin versions. A major Greek edition of Clement's writings was first published in 1550 by the Florentine publisher Laurentius Torrentinus, who published a Latin translation the next year,

By acknowledging an analogous relationship between musical instruments and humans, we can read the musical instruments in Baschenis' still-lifes as evocative of spiritual harmony. The qualities of an instrument of God as "all-harmonious," "melodious," and "holy" that Clement associates with Christ are manifest in the anatomy of musical instruments in *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Apple* (Fig. 105) and they complement, even intensify, the connotations of the instruments as sacred objects. Such an elevation of the instruments' bodies to a higher spiritual realm is substantiated in Baschenis' paintings by associations with the devotional connotations of the exquisite curtains and textiles revealing and showcasing the instruments, as discussed above. These instruments, therefore, translate the corporeal into the spiritual.

Reading musical instruments as a metaphor for the body in a religious context may shed light on the significance of the apples, peaches, pears, oranges, and figs that figure in compositions such as *Still-Life with Bombard, Mandolin, Violin, Flute, Cabinet, Books, Peach, and Orange* (c. 1670, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) (Fig. 131) and *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)* (Fig. 104). The juxtaposition of decaying fruits and musical instruments can be read in part as *vanitas* because of these objects' traditional use as indicators of the transience of life. However, Baschenis downplays the quantity and presence of the fruit in most of his works in order to focus on the bodies of musical instruments. Of the 34 compositions that include fruit (as determined through reproductions in Marco Rosci's catalog) the apple appears alone or with other fruits in at least 24 of them.[108] It is the inclusion of apples in the central panel of the Agliardi triptych that Gian Casper Bott singles out for investigation and interpretation. Bott claims that the carefully rendered apples are important initially on a sensory level as something beautiful to our eye and attractive to our sense of taste.[109] He then proposes that the apples operate on a more intricate literary level as subjects of wordplay by taking the Italian word for

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Clementis Alexandrini omnia quae quidem extant opera: nunc primum è tenebris eruta Latinitateque donata.

[108] Marco Rosci, *Baschenis, Bettera, & Co.,*71-135.

[109] Gian Casper Bott, *Der Klang im Bild: Evaristo Baschenis und die Erfindung des Musikstillebens* (Berlin: Reimer, 1997), 15.

apple, "mela," and relating it linguistically with "melodia," or melody, and the Greek "melos," meaning "song" or "music."[110] Bott also takes the interchangeable names for apple, "mela" and "pomo," and combines them to create the name Melpomene, who, as one representative of the nine muses, recalls associations with musical inspiration.[111] According to Bott's reading of this particular canvas, the apples, like the fly, are used as triggers to invoke linguistic associations that reinforce the musicality of the instruments and the music scores for the spectator.

Such an interpretation is somewhat problematic. That Baschenis deliberately de-emphasizes the musicality of the instruments by turning them over on their strings and covering their backs with dust means that melodia is at least deliberately compromised. By placing a plate of apples on the back of a guitar in the Agliardi triptych, Baschenis does not draw attention to its musicality, but rather firmly denies the instrument any sounding potential and emphasizes its presence and function as a dumb material object. A second weakness of Bott's argument is that linguistic associations between apple and music and melody do not hold true for the pear (pera), orange (arancia), peach (pesca), and fig (fico), whose names do not correspond linguistically or acoustically with musical terminology.[112] Although he refers to oranges as "melarancia," and peaches as "mela persica," thus incorporating the root "mela," Bott offers no explanation as to how pears and figs can participate in his proposed rebus and claims that meanings of these fruits and other objects, including the carnation, have yet to be uncovered.[113] Furthermore, as with the wordplay of "toccare" and "mosca/musica," Bott subjugates the visual to the verbal, thereby rendering Baschenis' paintings into mere word play and with "meanings" that can be deciphered through words. It is surely overly hasty to argue that Baschenis selectively used apples to produce intricate visual/linguistic rebuses in certain canvases but used different fruits indiscriminately in other compositions. Evidence to the contrary is provided by two canvases, *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Apple* (Fig. 105) and *Still-life*

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[110] Ibid.,16; Bott, "La mosca, le mele e la polvere," 119-20.

[111] Bott, "La mosca, le mele," 119.

[112] Ibid., 119-20.

[113] Ibid.

with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig (Fig. 116) that are nearly identical except for the pattern of the curtain and the type of fruit resting on the book placed on the far left edge of the harpsichord In one version Baschenis includes an apple and in the other he paints a fig in the same position, suggesting that their presence and significance in relation to the instruments should be compatible, or at least of comparable importance.

Having acknowledged the physical and spiritual analogies between musical instruments and human bodies, let us now investigate exactly how the fruit contributes to these relationships. When we consider Baschenis' choice of fruits collectively, we recognize that in spite of individual subtle nuances of meaning, each of them refers in some way to the fall and redemption of humankind: the peach as a symbol of redemption; the apple as a reference to the Tree of Knowledge and to Christ as the new Adam who offers redemption; the fig and orange as symbols of the Tree of Knowledge; and the pear as a symbol of Christ`s love for mankind and his sacrifice that brought salvation to all.[114] Baschenis' paintings recall altarpieces by Carlo Crivelli (b. ?Venice, c. 1430; d. Ascoli Piceno, c. 1495), such as his *Madonna of the Candle* (c. 1490, Brera Gallery, Milan) (Fig. 132) in which apples, pears, and peaches figure prominently to symbolize redemption and salvation through Christ.[115] Such symbolism would not have been foreign to Baschenis as both artist and priest. Using the central panel of the Agliardi triptych (Fig. 104) analyzed by Bott, let us examine how the apples arranged on a place placed on a guitar and a single pear balanced on the spinet at the right may contribute to a reading of the painting in terms of religious allegory. If we read the apples and the pear as symbols of redemption, then we can read the carnation hanging over the guitar as symbolic of Christ and his crucifixion, which make salvation possible.[116] Additional allusions to sacrifice and martyrdom are suggested by the knife carefully positioned near the apples, carnation, and pear, with its blade partially hidden under

[114] Susanne J. Warma, "Christ, First Fruits, and the Resurrection: Observations on the Fruit Basket in Caravaggio's London *Supper at Emmaus*," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 53 no. 4 (1990): 583-86; Ronald Lightbrown, *Carlo Crivelli,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), particularly pages 20-1, 428.

[115] Lightbrown, 20-1, 428.

[116] On the religious symbolism of carnations, see Robert A. Koch, "Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar," *The Art Bulletin* 46 (March 1964): 73.

the guitar and its handle projecting out toward the spectator. The knife suggests a degree of implication with the viewer who, it is presumed, could pick it up and use it. This disturbing hint makes us uncomfortably complicit in the martyrdom, or at least implies that we are capable of such violent actions.

Complementing this symbolically charged grouping at the right are the many dust-covered instruments filling the table at the left. They are piled up like human bones in a charnel house; the remains of bodies awaiting the hope of resurrection and redemption. Allusions to the anatomy of human bodies are accompanied by additional connotations of mortality, death, and decay—enhanced by the *trompe l'oeil* detail of the fly. While the inclusion of dusty, overturned instruments filling the table to the left and fruit and flower placed on instruments at the right may convey the idea of the transience of life, their juxtaposition helps the composition transcend traditional *vanitas* readings by implying a hope in salvation that can be attained after a brief, temporal existence.

Conclusion

Evaristo Baschenis' paintings are unprecedented in their exploitation of the nonmusical qualities of instruments. They demonstrate how resonances of a dominant mode of death, silence, absence, and the spiritual can be orchestrated by the physical properties of musical instruments and the rich and varied connotations of these objects as "instruments," rather than from a preoccupation with the instruments' sounding capabilities. The concentration on the display and deliberate silence of the instruments results in a resounding assertion not only of the instruments socio-economic import as collectible objects, but also of their unique capacity to visualize allegorical and theological concepts and to work as metaphors. This approach is not a simple matter of allegory in which the individual objects are related to specific meanings in a one-to-one relationship. Baschenis' concrete and vivid depictions of musical instruments, music books, sumptuous textiles, fruit, and dust cause them to reverberate with interrelated meanings associated with pride of craft, pride of possessions, the implications of silence, metaphorical connections with the human body, and religious allegory that are telescoped in different ways into the individual paintings. Thus, the viewer is drawn initially by the artist's skill,

but then invited to see musical instruments as transcending their material reality and aurality, evoking the mysteries of silence and the sacred.

CONCLUSION

My thesis has argued that seventeenth-century paintings of musical subjects do not all fit together in a homogenous group, and that they would in some ways do the greatest work for art historians and music historians if they were not always grouped together. Each chapter was an investigation of this key problem in relation to its different aspects. I drew upon Franca Trinchieri Camiz's groundbreaking scholarship on Caravaggio's musicians as a model for investigations into the social/historical significance of other musician paintings, but I challenged recent interpretations that repeatedly presuppose that there is a unidirectional and causal relationship between practice and visual representations. An underlying argument central to interrogations of this thesis was how *musica* was gradually liberated from the narrative structures of *istoria,* allowing musical instruments to assume emblematic significance independent of musical performance. Despite their relatively small number, extant paintings that include musical instruments encompass multiple functions related to issues of social class and gender, sacred music practices and figuring the divine, principles of music theory, comparative merits of the senses, and religious allegory. My thesis, therefore, dissected the genre of seventeenth-century Italian paintings of musical subjects to analyze the diversity of representations and variations in meanings. I made no attempt to provide an exhaustive account of all paintings of musicians and musical instruments. Instead, I focused my analysis on five separate and distinct subjects that have been either entirely overlooked or overanalyzed from a single perspective: Caravaggio's single-figure lute players, St. Cecilia as a musician, Bernardo Strozzi's rustic musicians, Pietro Paolini's stringed-instrument makers, and Evaristo Baschenis' musical instrument still lifes.

Chapter One modified existing interpretations of Vincenzo Giustiniani's version of Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* as a pictorial record of contemporary monody performances to argue that this painting houses conflicting attitudes to divergent vocal musical styles. I called attention to Giustiniani's "Discorso sopra la musica" of 1628 as a key text to discern how *The Lute Player* advocates the coexistence of the traditional form of the madrigal and the newer, innovative practice of accompanied monody. Giustiniani expresses both a nostalgia for the

concerted singing of madrigals and an admiration for the excellence and grace of monody that maintain a neutral position between the extremes of caustic criticism of madrigals and monody as expressed by Pietro della Valle and Paolo Quagliati. Caravaggio's *The Lute Player*, therefore, must be considered not only as a representation of a physical practice of accompanied singing but also as an interrogation of theoretical ideas about and personal attitudes to music and *affetti* among Italy's social and cultural elite.

In Chapter Two, gender issues emerged as a significant guide for interrogating seventeenth-century paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician that depict the saint actively playing musical instruments, not merely holding them as saintly attributes. I sought to explain the implications of the varying and complex ways female aristocracy, female piety, female chastity, and female music-making mutually inflect each other in these images. I argued that paintings of St. Cecilia playing a violin or theorbo helped to mitigate anxieties about introducing stringed instruments into sacred music-making and assuage fears of the instruments' supposed licentiousness by showing those instruments being played by the patron saint of music. Cecilia achieves a union with the divine not by rejecting musical instruments as symbols of worldly vanities, but by playing them and allowing their holy music to facilitate a transcendent and transformative experience. I argued that practices of nun musicians had special resonance for reading images of St. Cecilia because nuns' gender, virginity, piety, and devotional music-making corresponded closely with those of Cecilia.

Chapter Three critically analyzed for the first time the content and possible meanings of Bernardo Strozzi's images of peasant musicians represented both as solo and group performers. I demonstrated how Strozzi transformed an existing pastoral convention into one of nonidealized shepherd musicians who energetically and clumsily play rustic shawms and bagpipes. I argued that Strozzi presented uncultured music performances to address issues of social class that helped promote his patrons Gio. Francesco Brignole's and Donato Correggio's claims of superiority over the lower classes. These vulgar musicians engaged in unsophisticated, almost comic, music-making activities depict the cultural construct of real peasants perpetuated in agrarian treatises, books on villa culture, or first-hand views of

peasants actively laboring on villa estates. They serve as the antithesis to the expected appearance and manners of aristocratic patrons and their audiences. Therefore, beholding the shockingly unabashed musical peasants reaffirmed through dramatic contrast the viewers' own politeness, civility, and nobility.

Chapter Four offered the first intensive study of Pietro Paolini's unique images of stringed-instrument makers, which hitherto have not received scholarly attention. I claimed that Pietro Paolini's paintings depicting stringed-instrument makers were influenced by his exposure to the increased production and use of stringed instruments in Italy, but they are not simply an objective documentation of developments in material and musical culture. Paolini seems to have chosen the unprecedented subject of elderly luthiers to explore the comparative merits of the senses of sight, touch, and hearing. I demonstrated that a key to understanding the pendant paintings of a lute maker and a violin maker lies in the relationship of background elements to each other and to the luthiers, who resemble philosopher types. The attendant deities of Venus, represented by a statuette of a sleeping female behind the lute maker, and Apollo, represented by a dawn landscape placed behind the violin maker, create a tension between themes of the transience and fragility of human life and the enduring qualities of creativity and physical labor that are all ultimately motivated by love.

Chapter Five altered recent scholarship on Evaristo Baschenis' musical instrument still lifes by challenging interpretations that reduce the significance of these paintings to experimentations with formal concerns or representations of *vanitas*. I argued for alternative readings of Baschenis' paintings derived from an emphasis on the materiality and tactility of exquisite stringed instruments, whose overturned placement, in many cases, diminishes or eliminates their implied capacity for making sound. I showed how through their display on Turkish carpets, Bachenis' instruments assume a sacramental significance. Eucharistic symbolism of the instruments is strengthened by interrogations into how Baschenis highlights the anatomy of the objects and their presence as "strumenti," or "instruments" in a broader, analogous sense of humans as instruments of God. Juxtaposed with apples, figs, or pears that are symbols of the crucifixion and redemption, Baschenis' stringed instruments represent humankind's hope in salvation through Christ.

Consequently, Baschenis' compositions transcend the genre of still lifes to become powerful devotional images. Importantly, this chapter explored the issue of silence beyond Enrico de Pascale and Andrea Bayer's tacit acceptance of its evocation by overturned, dust-covered instruments to an investigation into the implications of silence for Baschenis and late seventeenth-century audiences. I showed how the silence in Baschenis' paintings is not merely a passive elimination of the instruments' musical capacity in order to reinforce the visual appeal of the compositions, but rather it is an active communicative device that contributes to the overriding spirituality of the compositions.

Although extant musician paintings are few in number, they are not a minor genre in terms of their significance. These works were produced by some of the most prominent artists of the time for a select group of ecclesiastical elites, nobles, and aristocrats. My research has shown that motivations for painted images of musicians and musical instruments varied for seventeenth-century artists, patrons, and audiences in the different geographic regions of Rome, Genoa, Venice, Lucca, and Bergamo. In Rome, Caravaggio's paintings of musicians expressed the patrons' knowledge of and experience with innovations in music theory and practice, while paintings of St. Cecilia as a musician explored conflicting attitudes about musical instruments appropriate for use in sacred settings. In Genoa and Venice, Strozzi's paintings of rustic musicians contributed to his patrons' self-fashioning as members of the new nobility. In Lucca and Bergamo, musical instruments were employed to explore surprisingly non-musical subjects ranging from the virtues of the senses and of silence; to the virtues of intellectual, physical, and spiritual efforts of humankind; to a spiritual hope in salvation.

The individual case studies in this thesis have changed the landscape of seventeenth-century Italian music-themed paintings. This thesis made clear that the concept of music itself is not homogenous. Music is rich and diverse and is not a simple end or explanation for paintings of musicians and musical instruments; it manifests itself in theory and in practice; it is played in sacred and secular settings; it is sounded on both primitive and sophisticated instruments; and it is practiced by men and women, young and old, rich and poor. Therefore, general characterizations of "music in painting" or "music and painting" are problematic because music does

not mean the same thing in each painting. Opening up the idea of music subsequently opened the way for paintings of musical subjects to participate in broader conversations about *affetti,* gender, social status, instrument makers, and the human body that do not necessarily belong under the rubric "music." While the paintings discussed in this thesis share the common element of musical instruments, I have demonstrated how they differ dramatically from one another in their patronage, subject, and purpose. By looking at how music-themed paintings push off in different directions, I have introduced new approaches that challenge the notion that music-themed paintings must always and only be viewed through the lens of music history–that is only part of the answer.

APPENDIX 1

Texts of the madrigals by Jacques Arcadelt in Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* created for Vincenzo Giustiniani, now hanging in The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

"Chi potrà dir"

Chi potrà dir quanta dolcezza prova
Di madonn'amirar la luce altera
Che fa vergogn'a la celeste sfera?
Io non, chè 'n me non trovo
Lo stil ch'a lei s'aviene,
Che mirand'il bel volto e i bei costumi
Per non veder men bene,
Vorria perder'a un'hor la vit'e i lumi.

(Who can express what sweetness I taste,
In gazing on the proud light of my lady
That shames the celestial sphere?
Not I, who am unable to find within myself
The proper words
So that, looking on her beautiful face and mien
So as not to see less well
I would deign to lose together both life and light.)

"Se la dura durezza"

Se la dura durezza
In la mia donna dura
Ahi! dura sorte mia, se durar deggio,
Amor la sua bellezza
Chè, se per sempre veggio
Chiudermi 'l passo di pietà, qual sia
Pena ch'aguagl'in part'a questa mia?
Ma serà ben assai lieta mia sorte,
Se per sì gran bellezza giungo a morte.

(If the obdurate obstinacy
of the lady endures,
O cruel fate!
If I must endure, O Love, her beauty
And ever see pity denied:
What shall equal even a portion of my pain?
But my fate shall truly be happy
If for so great a beauty I die.)

"Voi sapete"

Voi sapete ch'io v'amo, anzi v'adoro
Ma non sapete già che per voi moro.
Chè, se certo il sapeste,
Forse di me qualche pietate avreste.
Ma se per mia ventura
Talhor ponete cura
Qual stratio fa di me l'ardente foco,
Consumar mi vedret'a poco a poco.

(You know that I love you, nay, I adore you.
But you do not yet know that I die for you.
Or, if you did
Perhaps you would show some pity.
But if by fortune
You should take note of
These wounds caused by my ardent fire
You will see me consumed by and by.)

"Vostra fui"

Vostra fui e sarò mentre ch'io viva,
Faccia 'l ciel ciò che vuole,
Il viver mio così da voi deriva,
Come derivar suole
Ogni ben ch'è fra noi dal chiaro sole.
Dunque credete ch'io
Non vi posi nè mai porrò in oblio.

(I was ever yours and so shall be while I have life,
Heaven bring what it may;
So greatly does my life depend from you,
As indeed
All that is good between us derives from the bright sun.
Therefore believe me
That I have never nor ever shall forget you.)

Texts of the madrigals by Francesco Loyolle in Caravaggio's *The Lute Player* created for Cardinal del Monte, now hanging in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

(Petrarch, sonnet II)

Lassare il velo o per sole o per ombra,
Donna, non vi vid'io,
Poi che in me cononsceste il gran desio
Ch'ogni altra voglia d'entr'al cor mi sgombra.
Mentr'io portava i be' pensier celati,
C'hanno la mente desiando morta,
Vidivi di pietate ornare il vólto;
Ma poi ch'Amor di me vi fece accorta,
Fuor I biondi capelli allor velati
E l'amoroso sguardo in sé raccolto.
Quel ch'i' più desiava in voi m'è tolto;
Sì mi governa il velo,
Che per mia morte, et al caldo et al gielo,
De' be' vostr'occhi il dolce lume adombra.

(While I was hiding the fair thoughts I bore,
That have undone my mind in this desire,
I saw compassion shine upon your face;
But when Love made you conscious of my fire
The blond hair became veiled and was no more,
The loving look closed in itself its grace.
What I most longed for finds it hiding-place
In you; the veil rules me,
Which to my death, hot or cold though it be,
Covers your eyes' sweet light as with a shade.)

"Perchè non date voi"

Perchè non date voi,
Donna crudele fede a tanti sospiri
E perchè siete tanto acerbo e dura,
Che del'altrui martiri, godete?
Ahi lasso e del'altrui querele,
Non cognoscete voi che morte fura
Del corpo infermo
Ogni spirito vitale, secondo che di me dar
Vi posso io dare del mio soverchio ardore.

(Why do you not believe,
O cruel lady, these many sighs,
And why are you so merciless and hard
That you enjoy the martyrdom of others?
Alas, you don't understand from another's lament
That death robs of an infirm body
Every vital spirit;
However much I can give,
I will give you of my abundant love.)

From Keith Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 90-91.

GLOSSARY

Aria: A closed lyrical piece for solo voice either independent or forming part of an opera or other large work. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was also sometimes applied to instrumental music. Strictly, its Italian sense may be rendered as "style, manner or course", as of a melody.

Basso Continuo: Term used by Italian composers from about 1600 onwards to refer to an instrumental bass line that runs throughout a piece, over which the player improvises a chordal accompaniment. Instruments suited to playing continuo include the organ, spinet, harpsichord, violin, chitarrone, lute, and guitar. The practice of continuo playing was originally closely associated with the growth of recitative (and hence opera and oratorio) and with certain kinds of solo music both vocal (monodies) and instrumental (early violin sonatas, etc.)

Canzona: 1) A type of troubadour song in the characteristic form AAB 2) Designation for several types of sixteenth-century Italian secular vocal music, some similar to the madrigal, others to the popular villanella. 3) Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century instrumental compositions which developed from lute and keyboard arrangements of Franco-Flemish chansons.

Canzonetta: . Canzonett is a designation for short, simple secular solo songs of rustic, comic subject matter that developed in the mid sixteenth century. The canzonetta, which developed from the villanelle, refers to non-Neapolitan songs of this genre

Corrrente: A fast triple-metre dance and instrumental form popular from the late sixteenth century until the mid-eighteenth century, often occurring as a movement in a suite.

Oratorio: An extended musical setting of a sacred text made up of dramatic, narrative, and contemplative elements. Except for a greater emphasis on the chorus throughout much of its history, the musical forms and styles of the oratorio tend to

approximate to those of opera. The oratorio was most extensively cultivated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but has continued to be a significant genre.

Sampogna: A wind instrument which in its commonest forms consists of a chanter and one or more drones, all supplied with air from the bag, which is compressed under the player's arm to provide a constant pressure. The instrument is classed as a composite reedpipe. In Ralph Nash's translation of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* he translates sampogna as "pipe."

Sinfonia: A term used from the late Renaissance to designate pieces in various forms for a variety of performing media, usually instrumental ensembles. As instrumental music, the sinfonia seems first to have been considered analogous to the ensemble canzona.

Villanelle: Villanelle is a designation for short, simple secular solo songs of rustic, comic subject matter that developed in the mid sixteenth century. These are characterized as strophic songs based on Neapolitan lyric traditions of the street and countryside.

Definitions taken from Stanley Sadie, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd. ed London: Macmillan, 2001; and Michael Kennedy and Joyce Bourne Kennedy, ed. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Music*, 5th ed.. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

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Fig. 1. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Bass Viol, Mandolin, Violin, Musical Score, and Cabinet,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 75 x 108 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo)

Fig. 2. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player,* c. 1595, oil on canvas, 94 x 119 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 3. Copy after Antiveduto Grammatica, *Concert,* oil on canvas, (Location Unknown) photograph from Keith Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player.*

Fig. 4. Copy after Bartolomeo Manfredi, *Concert,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 130 x 189.5 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

Fig. 5. Caravaggio, *The Musicians,* c. 1595, oil on canvas, 100 x 126.5 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 6. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player,* c. 1596, oil on canvas, 100 x 126.5 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Fig. 7. Variant of Bartolomeo Veneto, *Lute-Playing Woman,* 16th century, oil on wood, 62 x 50 (Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan)

Fig. 8. Variant of Bartolomeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* oil on wood, 58 x 52 (Städtische Museen, Wessenberg-Gemäldegalerie, Konstanz)

Fig. 9. Variant of Bartolomeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* 16th century, oil on wood, 66.8 x 50.5 (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston)

Fig. 10. Variant of Bartolomeo Veneto, *Lute Playing Woman,* oil on wood, (Prague, Private collection)

Fig. 11. Titian, *Venus with a Lute-Player,* c. 1560, oil on canvas, 150.5 x 196.8 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

Fig. 12. Ludovico Lana, *Geronimo Valeriani, liutista di Cesare D'Este e altri musici,* c. 1624, Private collection, Modena

Fig. 13. Antiveduto Grammatica, *Theorbo Player,* c. 1615, oil on canvas, 119 x 85 (Galleria Sabauda, Turin)

Fig. 14. Detail of Fig. 13 showing foreshortened guitar

Fig. 15. Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome. *Plan of piano nobile in 1650.* Archivio di Stato, Roma, Arch. Giustiniani, B. 10, dis. 27/11.

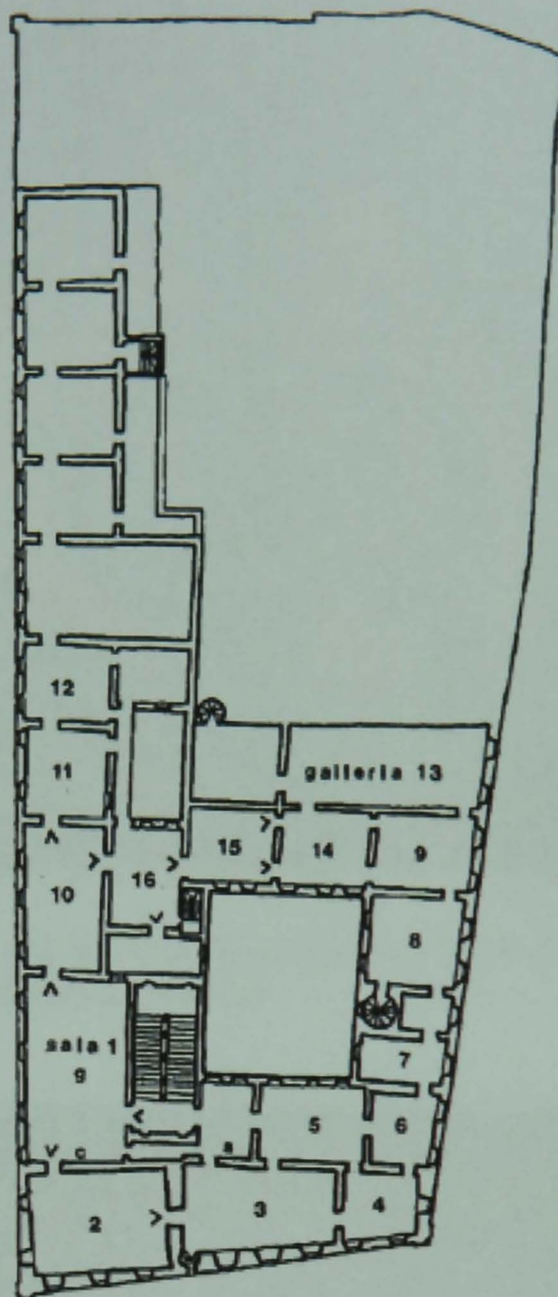


Fig. 16. Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome. Patricia Waddy's reconstruction of the plan of *piano nobile* after 1680, showing Tessin's path in *Travel Notes* (1687-88). From Patricia Waddy, "Tessin's Rome," 116.

Fig. 17. Paolo Veronese, *Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels,* 1587-89, oil on canvas, 110 x 94 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin)

Fig. 18. Annibale Carracci, *Crucifixion of Christ with the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and St. John,* 1594, oil on canvas, 33.8 x 23.4 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin)

Fig. 19. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Boy Bitten by a Lizard,* c. 1596-97, oil on canvas, 66 x 49.5 (National Gallery, London)

Fig. 20. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Bacchus,* c. 1596-97, oil on canvas, 95 x 85 (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)

Fig. 21. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness,* c. 1604-5, oil on canvas, 173 x 133 (Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City)

Fig. 22. Sisto Badalocchio, *St. Francis of Assisi Consoled by Angels,* c. 1610-13, oil on panel, 72 x 51.5 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Fig. 23. Domenichino, *King David Playing the Harp,* c. 1619-20, oil on canvas, 240 x 170 (Château de Versailles, Versailles)

Fig. 24. Stefano Maderno, *St. Cecilia,* 1600, marble, length 130 cm (Basilica of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome)

Fig. 25. The Master of St. Anastasia, *St. Cecilia,* c. 1350, tufa (Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona)

Fig. 26. Guercino, *Saint Cecilia,* 1642, oil on canvas, (Musée de la Musique, Paris)

Fig. 27. Raphael, *St. Cecilia with Sts. Paul, John Evangelist, Augustine, and Mary Magdalene,* c. 1513-16, oil transferred from panel to canvas, 238 x 150 (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna)

Fig. 28. Orazio Gentileschi, *Saint Cecilia and an Angel,* c. 1620s, oil on canvas, 89 x 107 (Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia)

Fig. 29. Carlo Dolci, *Saint Cecilia,* 1645-50, oil on canvas, 126 x 99.5 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 30. Giovanni Lanfranco, *St. Cecilia,* 1620-21, oil on canvas, 71.1 x 104.1 (Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina)

Fig. 31. Sts. Valerian and Cecilia from apsidal mosaic, c. 820, (Basilica of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome)

Fig. 32. Lavinia Fontana, *Self-Portrait,* 1577, oil on canvas, 27 x 24 (Accademia di San Luca, Rome)

Fig. 33. *Music and Pythagoras,* drawing, from German codex on the Seven Liberal Arts from Kloster Aldersbach, *Cod.lat.2599,* fol. 103r, (Staatsbibliothek, Munich)

Fig. 34. Anonymous, *Lady Music,* frontispiece to an untitled anthology of trecento music, fourteenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS ital. 568, fol. 1)

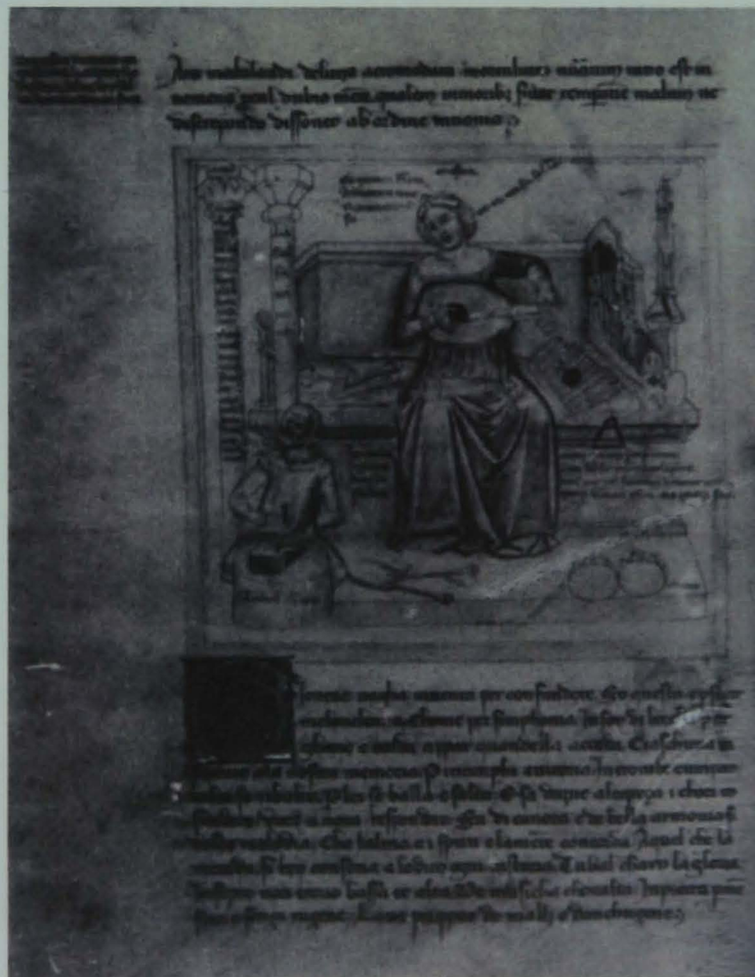


Fig. 35. Andrea de' Bartoli da Bologna, *Lady Music,* page from Bartolomeo de' Bartoli da Bologna, *Canzone delle virtù* (1353-55), (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 1426, fol. 9v)

Fig. 36. Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Fraw Musica,* 1545, woodcut, from tenor partbook of Sixt Dietrich, *Novum opus musicum,* (Georg Rhau, Wittenberg, 1545)

Fig. 37. Carlo Saraceni, *St. Cecilia and the Angel,* c. 1610, oil on canvas, 172 x 139 (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome)

Fig. 38. Lavinia Fontana, *Allegory of Music,* last quarter sixteenth century, drawing, (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth)

Fig. 39. Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, *Saint Cecilia with a Violin,* 1645, oil on canvas, 88 x 66 (Capitoline Gallery, Rome)

Fig. 40. Pietro Paolini, *Music,* c. 1650, oil on canvas, 90 x 68 (Bertocchini Dinucci collection, Lucca)

Fig. 41. Venetian canoness, 1707 engraving published in the Jesuit scholar Filippo Buonanni's *Ordinum Religiosorum in Ecclesia Militanti catalogus* (Rome, 1706-10)

Fig. 42. Giovanni Battista Beinaschi, *Saint Cecilia and Angel Musicians,* c. 1680, oil on canvas, 216 x 168.3 (Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina)

Fig. 43. Guido Reni, *Saint Cecilia,* 1606, oil on canvas, 95.9 x 74.9 (The Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena)

Fig. 44. Giuseppe Puglia, *Saint Cecilia,* c. 1633-36, oil on canvas, 97.5 x 133 (S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome)

Fig. 45. Giuseppe Puglia, *Saint Cecilia,* c. 1630s, oil on canvas, 101.6 x 136.8 (Winnipeg Art Gallery, Winnipeg)

Fig. 46. Domenichino, *St. Cecilia with an angel holding a musical score,* c. 1617-18, oil on canvas, 159 x 117 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 47. Orazio Gentileschi/Giovanni Lanfranco, *St. Cecilia,* c. 1617/18 and c. 1621/27, oil on canvas, 87.8 x 108.1 (The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

Fig. 48. Giulio Cesare Amidano, *St. Cecilia,* after 1612, oil on canvas, 197 x 129 (Museo e Gallerie Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples)

Fig. 49. Gianlorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of St. Teresa,* 1647-52, marble and gilded bronze, 350.5 high (Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome)

Fig. 50. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *St. Matthew and the Angel,* c. 1602, oil on canvas, 232 x 183 (destroyed, formerly Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin)

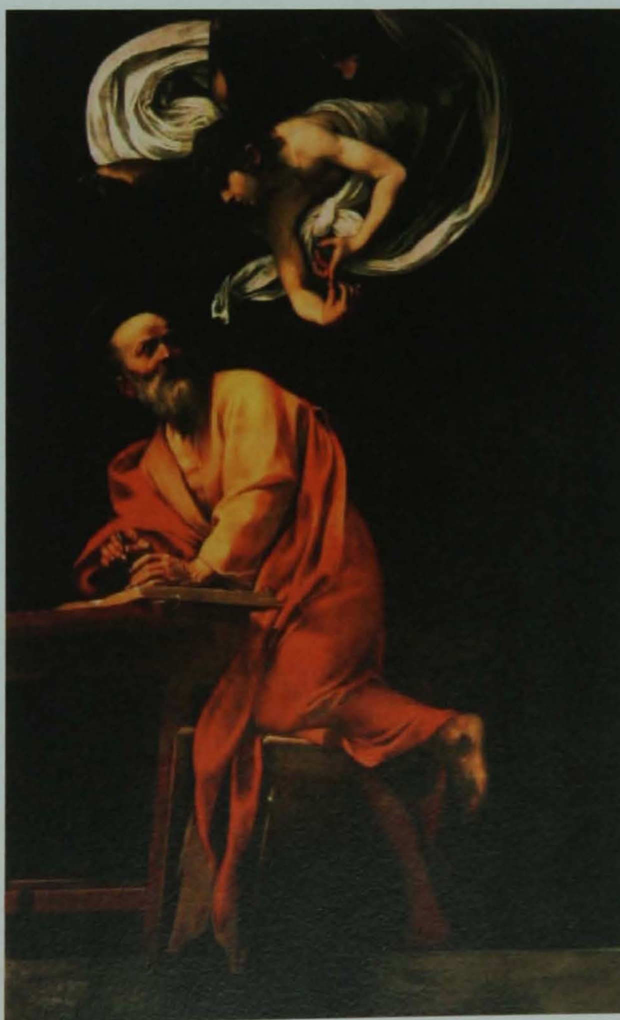


Fig. 51. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *St. Matthew and the Angel,* c. 1603, oil on canvas, 292 x 186 (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome)

Fig. 52. Guido Reni, *St. Jerome and the Angel,* 1634-35, oil on canvas, 198 x 174 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Fig. 53. Guercino, *Saint Cecilia,* 1649, oil on canvas, 119 x 98 (Dulwich Gallery, London)

Fig. 54. Niccolò Frangipane, *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder,* latter half of the sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 40 (Collection of Sir Montgomery Fairfax-Lucy, Charlecote Park, Warwickshire)

Fig. 55. Bernardo Strozzi, *Shawm Player* c. 1624-25, oil on canvas, 73 x 61 (Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 56. Bernardo Strozzi, *The Pipers,* c. 1620, oil on canvas, 115 x 156 (Collezione Basevi, Genoa)

Fig. 57. Bernardo Strozzi, *Street Musicians,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 109.8 x 156.5 (The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit)

Fig. 58. Jacob Jordaens, *Three Buskers,* c. 1645-50, oil on wood, 49 x 64 (Prado Museum, Madrid)

Fig. 59. Titian, *Fête Champêtre*, c. 1510, oil on canvas, 105 x 137 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)

Fig. 60. Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo, *Shepherd with a Flute,* c. 1525, 84.5 x 78.1 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

Fig. 61. Giorgione, *Young Man with a Recorder,* 1510, oil on canvas, 61.2 x 46.5 (Hampton Court, Royal Collection)

Fig. 62. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Man with a Recorder,* c. 1510, oil on paper, 48.3 x 36.8 (Earl of Pembroke Collection, Wilton)

Fig. 63. Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder* c. 1548, oil on canvas, 74.3 x 100.3 (Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo, Brescia)

Fig. 64. Francesco Torbido, *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder,* c. 1525, (Museo Civico, Padua)

Fig. 65. Gio Bernardo Carbone, *Gio Vincenzo Imperiale and His Family with the Garden of Villa di Sampierdarena*, 1642, (Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa)

Fig. 66. Francesco dal Bassano, *Youth Playing a Recorder,* c. 1580-85, oil on copper, 54.6 x 44 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

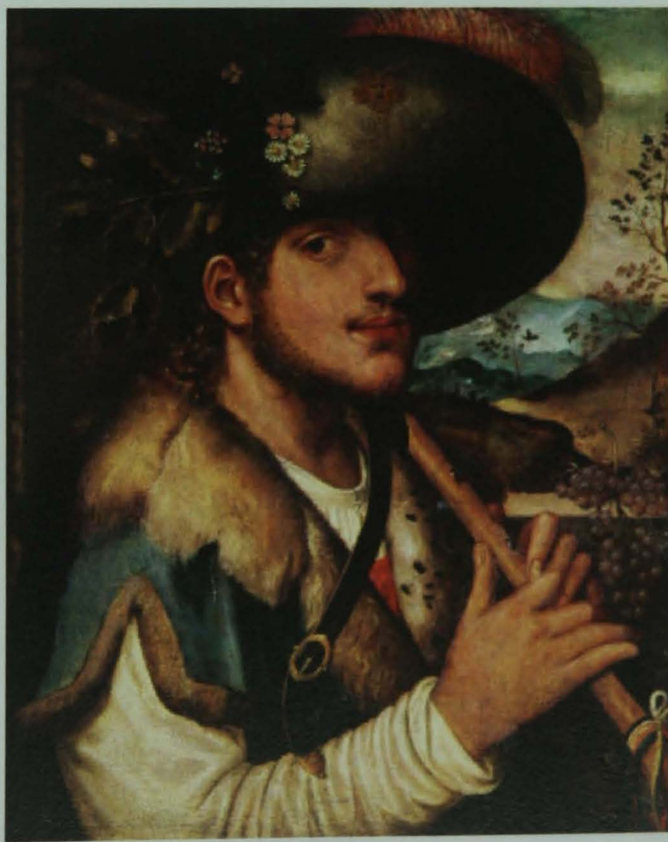


Fig. 67. Niccolò Frangipane, *Portrait of a Shepherd with a Recorder*, latter half of the sixteenth century, oil on canvas, 64.2 x 53.2 (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Auxerre)

Fig. 68. Giovanni Domenico Cerrini, *The Muse Euterpe as a Young Woman Playing the Flute,* oil on canvas, 63 x 47 (Musée des Beaux Arts, Rennes)

Fig. 69. Jacopo Bassano, *Autumn,* c. 1575, oil on canvas, (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

Fig. 70. Jacopo Bassano, *The Flight into Egypt,* 1542, oil on canvas, 157.5 x 203.2 (Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio)

Fig. 71. Domenichino, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* 1607-10, oil on canvas, 143 x 115 (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh)

Fig. 72. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* c. 1645, oil on canvas, 398 x 218 (Church of San Luca, Genoa)

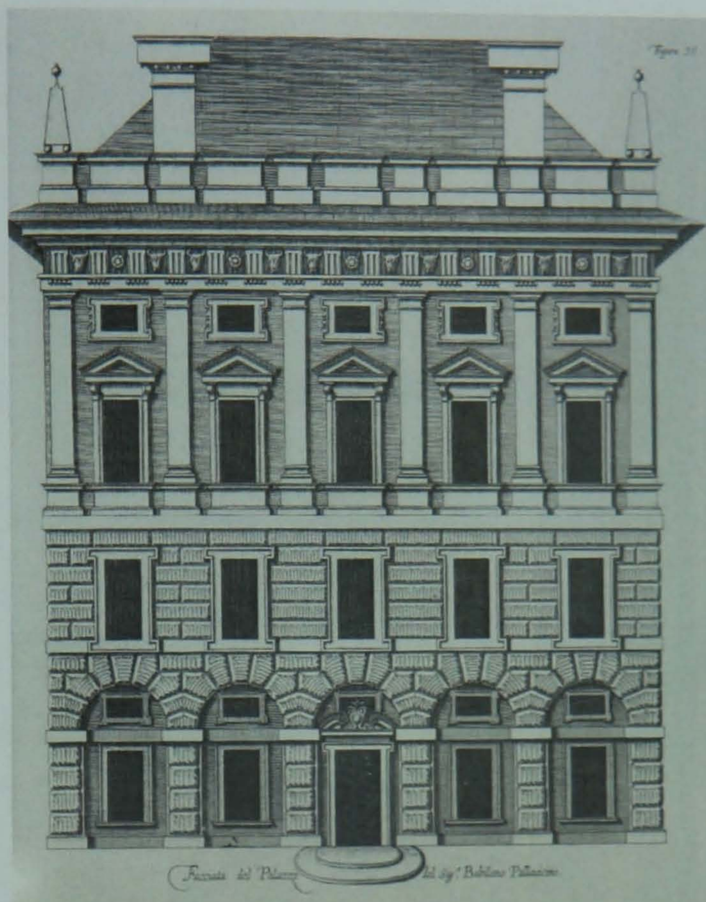


Fig. 73. Palazzo Pallavicino on Strada Nuova, from Peter Paul Rubens, *Palazzi Moderni di Genova, raccolti e designati da Pietro Paolo Rubens* (Antwerp, 1622) reissued (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1968), Figure 36.

Fig. 74. School of Bartolomwo Bianco, Villa Brignole-Sale, Albaro; view showing the rear (south) facade with gardens.

Fig. 75. Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Giovanni Francesco Brignole-Sale,* c. 1635, oil on canvas, 241.3 x 147.3 (Private collection, New York)

Fig. 76. Guido Reni, *Saint Sebastian,* (Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 77. Benedetto Castiglione, *Sacrifice of Noah,* c. 1640, oil on canvas, 106 x 133 (Musei di Strada Nuova, Galleria di Palazzo Rosso, Genoa)

Fig. 78. Bernardo Strozzi, *Portrait of Giovan Donato Correggio as Perseus,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 104 x 86 (Musée Magnin, Dijon)

Fig. 79. Bernardo Strozzi, *Bagpipe Player (Il Pifferaio),* c. 1615, oil on canvas (Nino Ferrari collection, Genoa)

Fig. 80. Bernardo Strozzi, *Shawm Player (Il Pifferaio),* c. 1615, oil on canvas, 112 x 87 (Mazzucchelli Collection, Milan)

Fig. 81. Bernardo Strozzi, *Concert,* oil on canvas, 101.6 x 125.7 (Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace)

Fig. 82. Antonio Travi, *Landscape with Peasants Harvesting Squash,* c. 1650, 44 x 64 (Museo dell'Accademia Ligustica, Genoa)

Fig. 83. Pietro Paolini, *Lute Maker (Fabbricante di liuto)*, c. 1640-50, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 56.5 (Location unknown

Fig. 84. Pietro Paolini, *Violin Maker (Fabbricante di violino)*, c. 1640-50, oil on canvas, 61.5 x 56.5 (Location unknown)

Fig. 85. Pietro Paolini, *Elderly Man who Tunes a Lute (Vecchio che accorda il liuto)*, c. 1640-50, 66.5 x 50 (Private Collection, Florence)

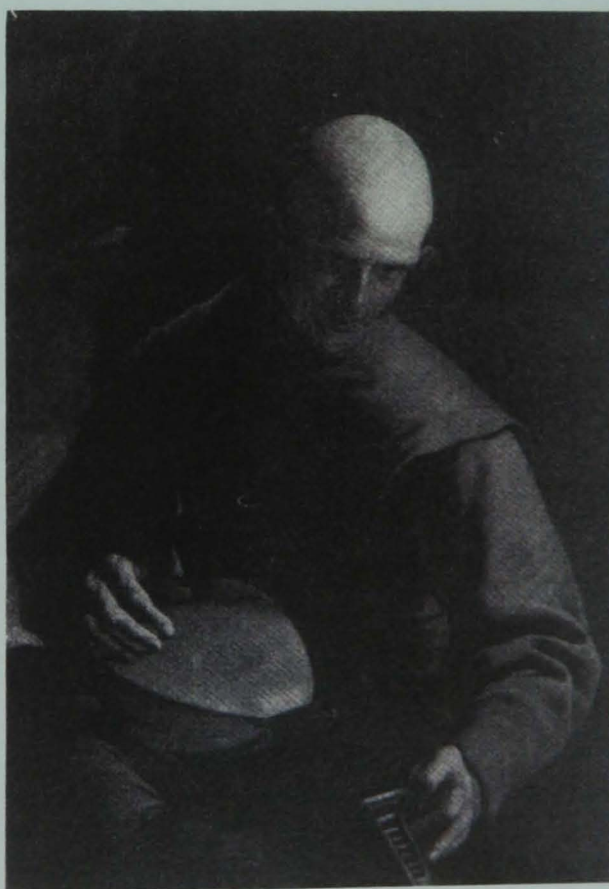


Fig. 86. Pietro Paolini, *Lute Player*, c. 1640, oil on canvas, 114 x 87 (Museo d'Arte Ponce Fundaciòn Luis A Ferrè, Puerto Rico)

Fig. 87. Pietro Paolini, *Violin Player,* late 1620s, oil on canvas, 84.5 x 69.9 (S. H. Kress Collection, Madison, Wisconsin)

Fig. 88. Pietro Paolini, *Concert,* c. 1627-28, oil on canvas, 101 x 133.5 (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu)

Fig. 89. Pietro Paolini, *Group of Musicians,* c. 1632, oil on canvas (Private Collection, Milan)

Fig. 90. Pietro Paolini, *Bacchic Concert,* c. 1630, oil on canvas, 121.9 x 174 (Hoblitzelle Foundation, Dallas)

Fig. 91. Pietro Paolini, *Allegorical Scene with Two Figures,* late 1620s, oil on canvas, 100 x 82 (M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco)

Fig. 92. Viola by Gasparo (Bertolotti) da Salò (1540-1609), Brescia, late sixteenth century (The Hill Collection of Musical Instruments, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

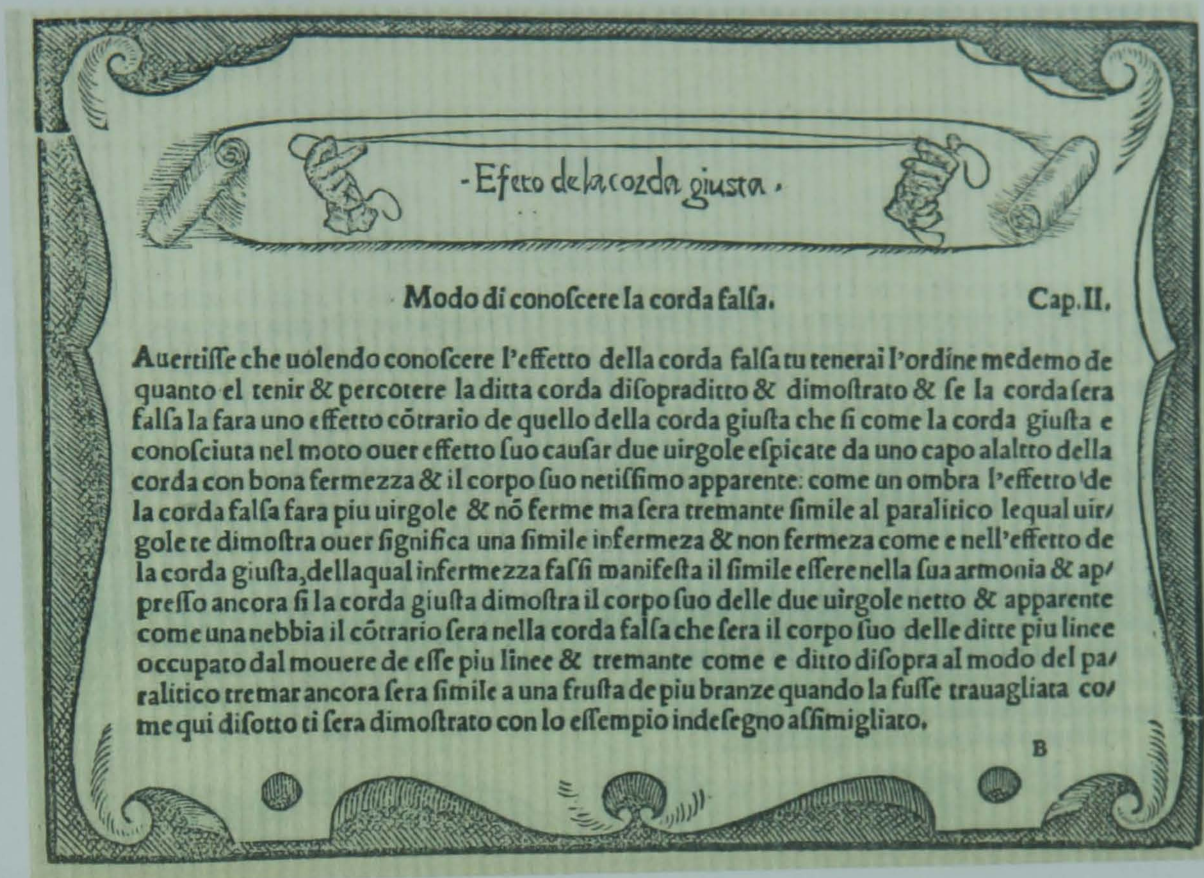
Fig. 93. Viola ('Charles IX') by Andrea Amati, Cremona, 1574 (The Hill Collection of Musical Instruments, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Fig. 94. Pietro Paolini, *Concert with Five Figures,* c. 1640s, oil on canvas (Location Unknown)

Fig. 95. Pietro Paolini, *Concert,* c. 1660, oil on canvas, 93 x 146 (Bertocchini Dinucci Collection, Lucca)

Fig. 96. Orazio Gentileschi, *Lute Player,* c. 1612-15, oil on canvas, 144 x 130 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

Fig. 97. Alessandro Fei, *Goldsmith's Workshop,* 1570-71, oil on panel, (Palazzo Vecchio, Florence)



-Efeto de la corda giusta.

Modo di conoſcere la corda falſa. Cap.II.

Auertiſſe che uolendo conoſcere l'effetto della corda falſa tu tenerai l'ordine medemo de quanto el tenir & percotere la ditta corda diſopraditto & dimoſtrato & ſe la corda ſera falſa la fara uno effetto cōtrario de quello della corda giuſta che ſi come la corda giuſta e conoſciuta nel moto ouer effetto ſuo cauſar due uirgole eſpicate da uno capo alaltro della corda con bona fermezza & il corpo ſuo netiſſimo apparente: come un ombra l'effetto de la corda falſa fara piu uirgole & nō ferme ma ſera tremante ſimile al paralitico lequal uir/gole te dimoſtra ouer ſignifica una ſimile infermeza & non fermeza come e nell'effetto de la corda giuſta, dellaqual infermezza faſſi manifeſta il ſimile eſſere nella ſua armonia & ap/preſſo ancora ſi la corda giuſta dimoſtra il corpo ſuo delle due uirgole netto & apparente come una nebbia il cōtrario ſera nella corda falſa che ſera il corpo ſuo delle ditte piu linee occupato dal mouere de eſſe piu linee & tremante come e ditto diſopra al modo del pa/ralitico tremar ancora ſera ſimile a una fruſta de piu branze quando la fuſſe trauagliata co/me qui diſotto ti ſera dimoſtrato con lo eſſempio indeſegno aſſimigliato.

B

Fig. 98. Illustration from Silvestro Ganassi's *Lettione Seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco tasti* . . . (Venice 1543)

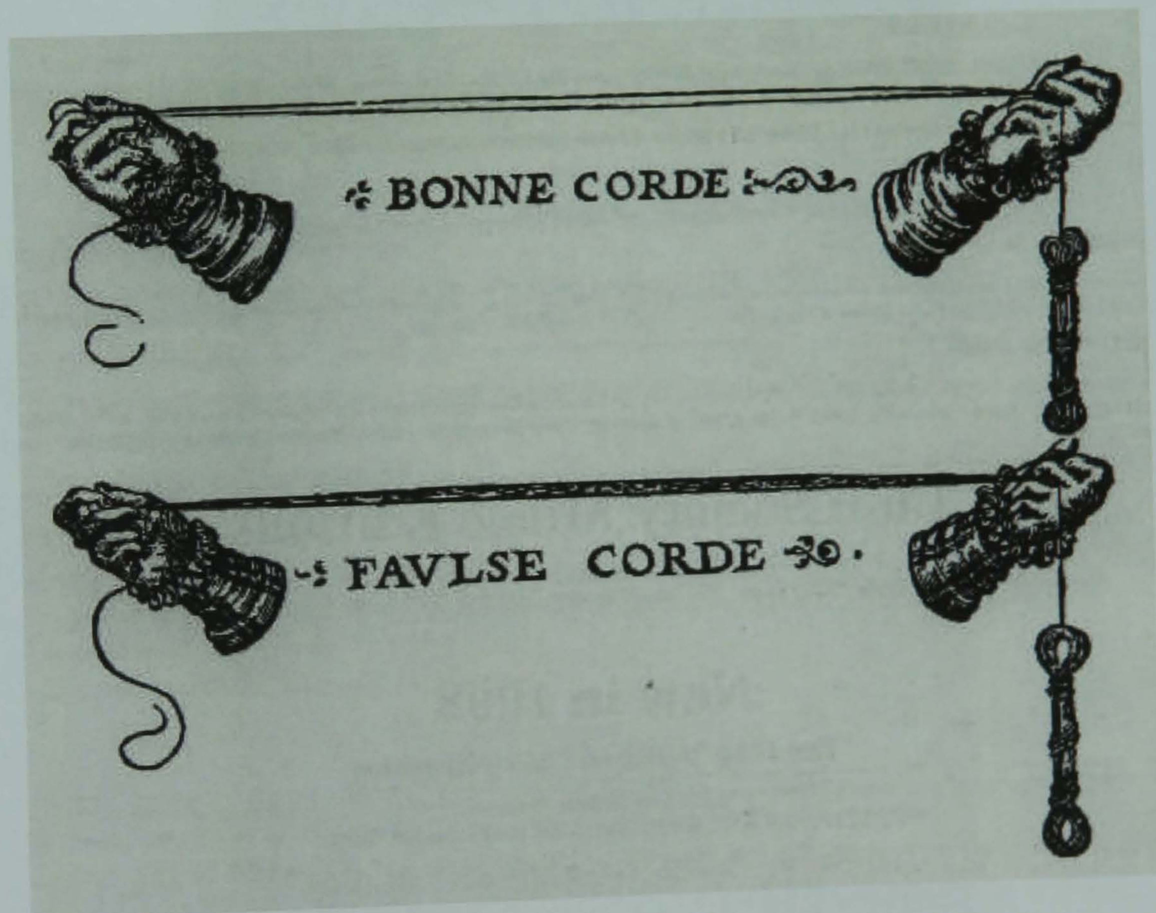


Fig. 99. Illustration from Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris 1636)

Fig. 100. Raphael, detail of Pythagoras from *School of Athens,* 1509-10, fresco, entire fresco 500 x 770 (Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican)

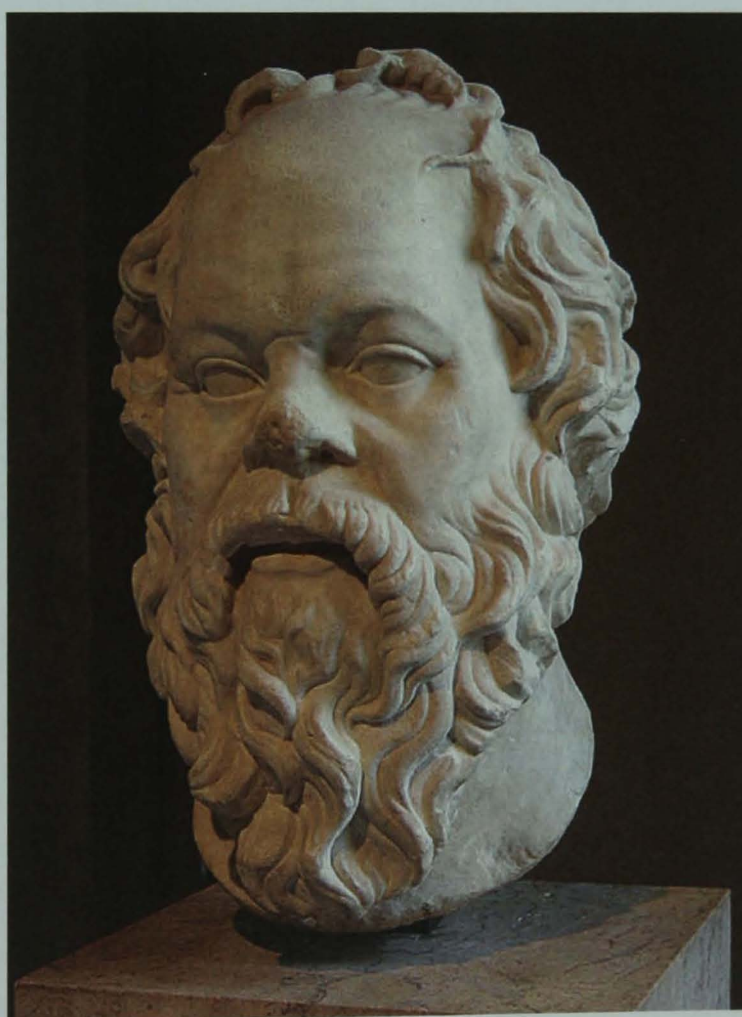


Fig. 101. Copy of Lysippos, *Head of Socrates,* marble, first century BCE, (Musée du Louvre Museum, Paris)

Fig. 102. Luca Giordano, *Xanthippe pours water into Socrates' collar,* 1660-65, oil on canvas (Molinari Pradelli Collection, Marano di Castenaso)

Fig. 103. Giorgione, *Sleeping Venus,* c. 1510, oil on canvas, 108.5 x 175 (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden)

Fig. 104. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Cittern, Mandolin, Guitar, Apples, and Carnation (Central Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)*, c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 105. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lute, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Apple,* c. 1650-60., oil on canvas, 108 x 147 (Private collection)

Fig. 106. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Guitars, Cittern, Mandolin, Bass Viol, Violin, Lute, Apples, and Musical Scores,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 99 x 146 (Musées Royaux des Beaux-arts, Brussels)

Fig. 107. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Mandolin, Lute, Spinet, Violin, Guitar, Books, and Musical Scores,* c. 1650-60, oil on canvas, 98 x 145 (Private collection)

Fig. 108. Detail of Fig. 107 showing Michael Hartung's maker's mark.

Fig. 109. Evaristo Baschenis, *Musical Performance of Alessandro Agliardi with a Guitar, and Bonifacio Agliardi (Right Panel of the Agliardi Triptych)*, c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 110. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Lutes, Mandolin, Violin, Bass Viol, Books, Musical Scores, and Cabinet,* c. 1650-60, oil on canvas, 83 x 100 (Private collection)

Fig. 111. Detail of Fig. 112 showing signature along edge of cabinet, *EVARISTUS BASCH. . . BERGOMI*

Fig. 112. Detail of Fig. 1 showing signature along the bottom edge of the lute, *EVARISTUS BASCHENIS P. BERGOMI*

Fig. 113. Detail of Fig. 107 showing signature on the edge of the spinet. *P. EVARISTUS BASCHENIS F.*

Fig. 114. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still Life with Spinet, Lute, Bombard, Cittern, Violin, Flute, Music Books, Inkwell, and Apples,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 95 x 128 (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo)

Fig. 115. Evaristo Baschenis, *Musical Concert with Evaristo Baschenis at the Spinet and Ottavio Agliardi with an Archilute (Left Panel of the Agliardi Triptych),* c. 1664-66, oil on canvas, 115 x 163 (Private collection)

Fig. 116. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-life with Spinet, Mandolin, Lutes, Guitar, Recorder, Violin, Books, and Fig,* c. 1670s, oil on canvas, 103 x 144 (Private collection)

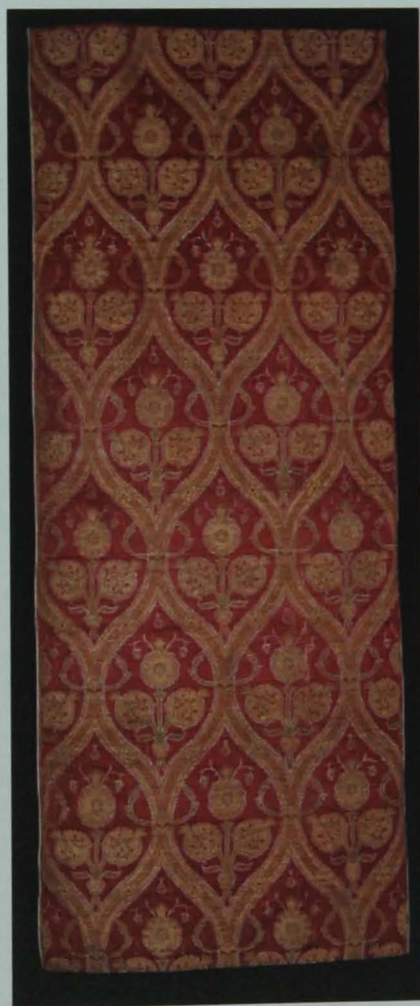


Fig. 117. Textile length, Turkey, 16th-early 17th century, silk satin brocaded with silk and metal threads, 173.2 x 67.9 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Fig. 118. Altar frontal, Italy, 16th century, silk and gilt-metal-strip-wrapped silk, 100.6 x 124.1 (Art Institute, Chicago)

Fig. 119. St. John Writing his Gospel, illumination from the Lorsch Gospels, c. 800, ink on vellum, 10.7 x 14 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 50 fol. 67v)

Fig. 120. Francisco Zurbarán, *Portrait of Gonzalo d'Illescas, Bishop of Cordova,* 1639, 290 x 222 (Sacristy of the Monastery of Saint Jerome, Guadalupe)

Fig. 121. Lorenzo Lotto, *Husband and Wife (Portrait of a Married Couple)*, c. 1523-24, oil on canvas, 98 x 118 (The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg)

Fig. 122. Follower of Moretto da Brescia, *Young Ladies of the House of Martinengo,* before 1543, fresco (Palazzo Martinengo-Salvadego, Brescia)

Fig. 123. Lorenzo Lotto, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Catherine, Augustine, John the Baptist, Sebastian, and Anthony Abbot,* 1521, oil on canvas, 287 x 268 (Santo Spirito, Bergamo)

Fig. 124. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors,* 1533, oil on panel, 207 x 209.5 (National Gallery, London)

Fig. 125. Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus,* 1601, oil on canvas, 141 x 196.2 (The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 126. Francisco de Zurbarán, *Still-Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Rose,* 1633, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 109.5 (Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena)

Fig. 127. Juan Sánchez Cotán, *Still-Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon, and Cucumber,* c. 1600, oil on canvas, 69 x 85 (Museum of Art, San Diego)

Fig. 128. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Basket of Apples, Melons, Pears, and Plate with Plums,* nd, oil on canvas, 60 x 88 (Private collection)

Fig. 129. Vincenzo Campi, *Christ in the Home of Mary and Martha,* late sixteenth century, oil on canvas (Galleria Estense, Modena)

Fig. 130. Salvator Rosa, *Self-Portrait,* c. 1645, oil on canvas, 116 x 94 (The National Gallery, London)

Fig. 131. Evaristo Baschenis, *Still-Life with Bombard, Mandolin, Violin, Flute, Cabinet, Books, Peach, and Orange*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 60 x 88 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan)

Fig. 132. Carlo Crivelli, *Madonna of the Candle,* c. 1490, oil on panel, 218 x 75 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan)