

# Music and Painting in Cardinal del Monte's Household

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**A** CERTAIN PAINTING may attract our attention for a variety of reasons, one of which involves the desire to understand what a work of art meant to those who saw it first. This invariably leads us to seek out the society or even the individual for which it was made. Particularly relevant to this concern are paintings that were intended to be “private,” to be enjoyed in the intimacy of the home. Concert scenes and solo music performances, whether portraits or not, have always provided appropriate subject matter for this category of private pictures.

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1571–1610), for instance, painted five musical paintings. Virtually all of them date from the period between about 1595 and 1601, when he lived in one of the homes of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549–1626; Figures 1, 2).<sup>1</sup> Two of these paintings were actually listed in the cardinal's collection, *The Musicians* (Figure 3) and *The Lute Player* (Figure 4),<sup>2</sup> while two others—another *Lute Player* (Figure 5) and the *Amor Vincit Omnia* in Berlin—belonged to a neighbor of Del Monte's, the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (1564–1637).<sup>3</sup> Three of these musical paintings (*The Musicians* and the two versions of the *Lute Player*) were shown together, in the spring of 1990, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in a special exhibition, “A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player.” This event offered an important opportunity to focus on the ties between a particular patron's taste and a painter's artistic choices.

Cardinal del Monte played a crucial role in the early development of Caravaggio's artistic career, and his personality and interests have been the object of several studies.<sup>4</sup> His support of other artists, such as Andrea Sacchi, and his involvement in the Accademia di San Luca are well known. In fact, the

epitaph on his tomb described Del Monte as an “excellent patron of the good arts.”<sup>5</sup>

A hitherto unpublished letter, written by the Roman nobleman, musician, and composer Emilio de'Cavalieri (ca. 1550–1602) to Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany in Florence, provides an intimate glimpse of Cardinal del Monte's household:

Del Monte amazes me in regard to spending that he can live on what he has and do it so honorably. It is true that for his clothing he doesn't spend a *giulio*; he has had only one livery made; his coach is also the first he has had; he makes the best of what he has; he has bought himself a carriage and with this he keeps himself; the mouths [he feeds] in all don't amount to fifty; he doesn't keep horses or gentlemen but his servants are treated well and given good meals—all that is seen through your highness's favor of a beautiful home, which is now finished; as a cardinal of Rome, he formally receives at table in the morning with his silverware; and he is courted by more Romans than cardinals for his great trafficking, which is all honest, with his metalworkers; and his antechamber is always filled with people; there are no high-ranking clergy. The reason for this is that he is not involved in important transactions and those that come do so only to visit. . . . I have made this little speech so that you will know the truth. . . . I know that you will say Emilio doesn't miss an opportunity to serve Del Monte.<sup>6</sup>

This letter sheds light on the musician's close friendship with Del Monte, a bond further confirmed by Cavalieri's naming Del Monte as one of the executors of his will.<sup>7</sup> It also presents Cardinal del Monte as a discreet but refined man who depended on the generosity of the grand duke for his residences (the palazzi Medici and Firenze) and who could not ostentatiously flaunt either personal wealth or political power, at least in the early years of his career. Despite financial restrictions, however, he lived elegantly; he prized personal friendships and was kind to those who served him; and he pur-

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sued his own personal interests and dealings. We understand that these interests involved art, both from his sizable collection,<sup>8</sup> and from the frequent references in his letters to buying and selling paintings, sculpture, antiquities, precious stones, glassware, marble, and other building materials. In a letter of August 13, 1605, for instance, he reported to the grand duke of Tuscany that the wealthy Roman banker Tiberio Cevoli had “passed on to a better life and that his sons would soon be selling jewels, statues, paintings, and infinite other things,” and should the grand duke be interested, he, Del Monte, was ready to oblige.<sup>9</sup>

Del Monte was actually curious about many aspects of life and learning. On March 9, 1607, he wrote to the grand duke that he would be sending to Florence pieces of a vestment found on the Apian Way belonging to a consul of the First Punic War, so that the grand duke could inspect “the weaving of those times.”<sup>10</sup> Del Monte also dabbled in medicine without losing his practical good sense. In a 1607 letter to the grand duke, he wrote, “I am very ready to send you prescriptions for sciatica, side pains, and leg malformations, but I only need to

find a remedy to turn back forty years that I cannot find, and if your lordship will send me that prescription, I promise you all others.”<sup>11</sup> Del Monte’s interests also included the typical pursuit of seventeenth-century erudite amateurs: alchemy. The inventory of his belongings include an important distillery and books on the subject; Caravaggio’s ceiling for Del Monte’s casino at Porta Pinciana has been considered evidence of Del Monte’s alchemistic and cosmological concerns.<sup>12</sup>

Del Monte had a special passion for music. This is not surprising, because music was considered essential in the education of all proper Renaissance gentlemen and ladies. A sixteenth-century manuscript containing the biography of a well-known Italian nobleman-warrior tells us why music was considered a requisite to aristocratic breeding: “[Music] is the means with which to level moods, to give good tone to the voice, to set time for moving and measure for action.” It also “recreates the intellect, softens the mind, heals all our furious, rude, and immoderate thoughts and intentions.” And thus it “is the first thing that is placed in the rough mouths of children by farsighted fathers and pru-

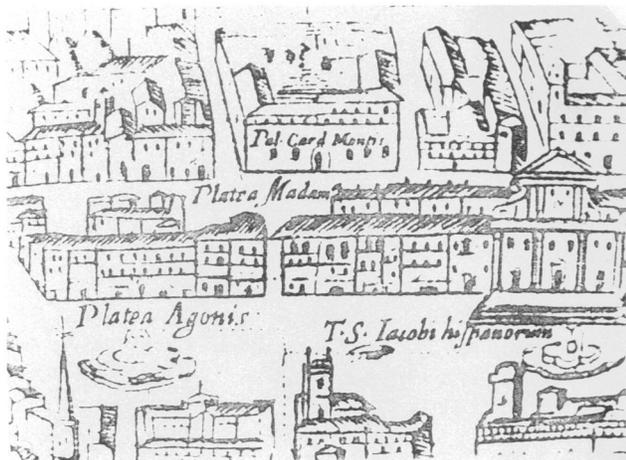


Figure 1. Detail of 17th-century map of Rome showing the Palazzo Madama, one of Cardinal del Monte’s residences (from A. P. Frutaz, *Le Pianta de Roma* [Rome, 1972] III, fig. 329)



Figure 2. Roman School, late 16th century, *Portrait of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte* (photo: courtesy Mrs. Roland Redmond, Principessa di San Faustino)



Figure 3. Caravaggio (1571–1610), *The Musicians*, ca. 1595. Oil on canvas,  $34\frac{5}{8} \times 45\frac{5}{8}$  in. (87.9 × 115.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1952, 52.81

dent teachers.”<sup>13</sup> The pride of being an amateur musician is well expressed in a painting by Giovanni Cariani (1487–1547) that depicts a richly clad gentleman singing and accompanying himself on the lute. The music book is conspicuously closed, as if the painter wished to announce the sitter’s skill in singing from memory (Figure 6).<sup>14</sup>

The nobleman-banker Vincenzo Giustiniani, owner of one of Caravaggio’s Lute Players (Figure 5) and the *Amor Vincit Omnia*, also embodied aristocratic interest in music. His *Discourse on Music* (1628) discusses the musical tastes and fashions of the period for educated patrician gentlemen like himself. Among other details, Giustiniani describes the musical *camerino*, a small private chamber “nobly deco-

rated with paintings made for the sole purpose” of providing the proper setting for small intimate musical performances.<sup>15</sup> The walls of these rooms probably constituted the ideal framework on which to hang musical pictures.

Cardinal del Monte, however, went far beyond mere courtier competence in music. He was elected to several important offices in the seventeenth-century Roman world of music. Several musicians dedicated their music to him, and Pope Clement VIII put him in charge of an important reform of liturgical music. He was present at major musical events in both Florence and Rome, and his close friendship with the composer Cavalieri also attests to his special appreciation of music.<sup>16</sup>



Figure 4. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1596–97. Oil on canvas, 39<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 49<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (100 × 126.5 cm). Private collection

In what specific manner did these pictures enhance the tastes and interests of Caravaggio's music-loving patron? First of all, the artist's early style, with its North Italian concern for descriptive naturalism, was well suited to highlight the beautiful craftsmanship of contemporary musical instruments, the kind in fact that form part of the Metropolitan Museum collections.<sup>17</sup> Musical instruments were expensive and consequently must have been prestigious collectors' items or status symbols.<sup>18</sup> Cardinal del Monte had a notable collection of musical instruments that Caravaggio could easily have used as models.<sup>19</sup> The Del Monte *Lute Player*, for instance, includes a meticulously rendered recorder, a violin with floral inlay decoration more typical of northern, non-Italian instruments, a seven-course lute,

and a spinettino (Figure 7). In the Hermitage *Lute Player* Caravaggio painted an Italian-type violin with a geometrically inlaid fingerboard and a six-string lute (Figure 8).

Secondly, Caravaggio's talent for realistic detailing precisely rendered the musical notations in these pictures. The inclusion of such notation follows a Renaissance tradition of prominently placed pages of music, both in paintings with an obvious musical subject, such as *Three Women Musicians* by the Master of the Female Half Lengths (Figure 9)<sup>20</sup> and those without a musical theme, such as Holbein's *Ambassadors* (Figure 10).<sup>21</sup>

Caravaggio's scores are, however, not faithful reproductions of known, published music.<sup>22</sup> Yet they are readable and meant to be identified by musically



Figure 5. Caravaggio, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1595–96. Oil on canvas, 37 × 46<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (94 × 119 cm). Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum (photo: Araldo de Luca)

sophisticated observers present in Del Monte's or Giustiniani's palace rooms, just as our recognition of Beethoven's 29th sonata in a modern *Peanuts* cartoon enhances our understanding, and consequent amusement, at Schroeder's need for vigorous callisthenics in order to play this difficult piece.

It is appropriate that the poetical texts in Caravaggio's painted music specifically underscore the iconographic content of his pictures. In his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, an early religious picture, possibly intended as a gift from Del Monte to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini,<sup>23</sup> Caravaggio highlighted the cantus part book (the soprano voice) of a motet by the early-sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composer Balduin, "Quam pulchra es" (Figure 11). The words come from the book of the Canticles of Can-

ticles (Vulgate Bible 7:6–8, 10–3), a beautifully lyrical dialogue between bride and bridegroom. In Caravaggio's painting the bridal couple is represented by Joseph and Mary, and also by Christ and the Virgin, whom medieval tradition considered the symbolical substitutes of the bridal couple. The canticle elicits imagery of fertility—including plants and fruits, which refer to nature's regeneration. Caravaggio's painting picks the same regenerative theme in the lush vegetation on the Virgin's side, which contrasts sharply with Joseph's barren surroundings. The text helps us to understand the theological meaning of spiritual rebirth that Caravaggio intended for this picture.<sup>24</sup>

Of the four secular paintings in which Caravaggio included musical scores, on the other hand, only



Figure 6. Giovanni Cariani (1487–1547), *The Lute Player*. Lugano, Heinemann Collection



Figure 7. Detail of Figure 4

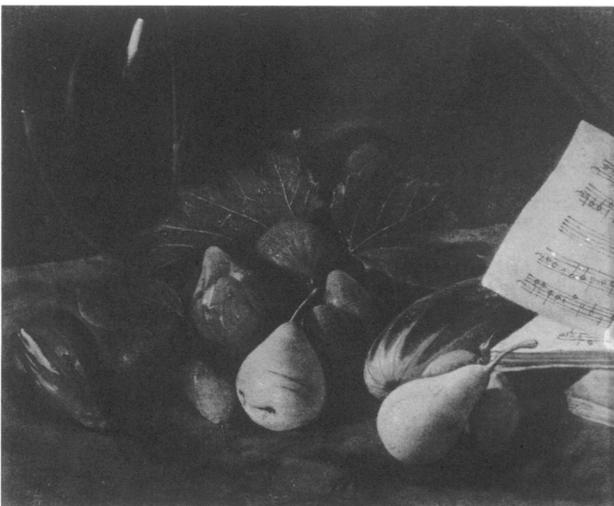


Figure 8. Detail of Figure 5

those in the two versions of the *Lute Player* are useful. The musical pages in the Metropolitan *Musicians* have been obliterated and those in the Berlin *Amor Vincit Omnia* have not been identified. On the other hand, both musical part books in Caravaggio's two *Lute Players* exhibited at the Metropolitan in 1990 are legible and entail secular music. The Hermitage *Lute Player* includes the bassus part books of four madrigals, “Chi potra dir,” “Se la dura durezza,” “Vostra fui,” and “Voi sapete ch'io v'amo” by Jacob Arcadelt. In the New York *Lute Player* Caravaggio featured Francesco Layolle's madrigal setting of Petrarch's “Lassare in velo” and Jacques Berchem's “Perche non date voi” (Figure 7).<sup>25</sup> These madrigals speak of intense devotion: love consumed by passion and sexual longing—themes that complement the sensuality evoked by the painted images.

It is interesting that Caravaggio's painted music is mostly by Franco-Flemish composers from the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup> This fact is evidence of the popularity among amateur circles, even as late as the early seventeenth century, of earlier, more archaic madrigals by Northern European composers, Arcadelt in particular. Giustiniani, for example, speaks of having studied Arcadelt in his youth.

Finally and most significantly, all of Caravaggio's pictures capture the essence of the subject matter. In the case of both versions of the *Lute Player*, the content is intimately linked to actual musical performance practice. Musical tastes of the period were particularly appreciative of the solo voice accompanied by a stringed instrument.<sup>27</sup> Appropriately, Caravaggio's *Lute Players*, despite the title, depict a singer accompanying himself on the lute. Closer inspection of the faces reveals the artist's understanding of contemporary singing techniques as found, for instance, in a treatise on the voice, which presupposes that the singer “lay down his tongue so that its tip reach and touch the base of the bottom teeth” and that “he open his mouth correctly and not more than is necessary to converse with friends.”<sup>28</sup> These rules implied soft, quiet singing suitable for chamber music in direct contrast to the full-mouthed voice emission of other singing practices.

Singing was particularly important to Cardinal del Monte. Not only did he sing himself, accompanied by a Spanish guitar, but in his official position as Protector of the Cappella Sistina,<sup>29</sup> the papal



Figure 10. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1524), *The Ambassadors* (detail). London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

Figure 9. Master of the Female Half Lengths, *Three Women Musicians* (Rohrau, Collection of Count Harrach)

choir, he took care of the needs of singers. Moreover, he acted as an agent for singers who sought employment in the papal chapels.<sup>30</sup> Del Monte may even have chosen to be buried in San Urbano, a small inconspicuous church (now demolished), because of its nun “choristers” from the nearby Conservatory of San Eufemia.<sup>31</sup> The cardinal’s interest in singers is also borne out by Emilio de’ Cavalieri’s letter of December 18, 1599, to the grand duke of Florence; Cavalieri reveals that a papal singer, a Spanish castrato named Pietro Montoya, was living in his household.<sup>32</sup> The Cappella Sistina diaries specify that Montoya joined the chapel choir in 1592 and returned to Spain in 1600.<sup>33</sup> Although we do not know when Montoya lived in Del Monte’s palace, it is probable that he resided there for at least part of the time he was singing in the papal choir. As noted above, Caravaggio’s stay has been assigned to the years 1595 to 1601. If both the singer and the painter were guests of Del Monte’s, the painter must have had a chance to see the singer perform for the private delight of the cardinal and his guests.

Let us also consider the status of castrati in the early seventeenth century. Indeed, Montoya’s presence in Del Monte’s home confirms that the castrato

had become a significantly important musical personality of the period. Other cardinals besides Del Monte and nobles in Rome gave lodging to castrati—in particular young boys, or *castratini*—and financed their musical training in singing and playing instruments.<sup>34</sup> The prestigious German Jesuit College, supported by Del Monte (where Montoya sang in February 1600),<sup>35</sup> provided young boys with a rigorous musical education. In a letter dated March 8, 1614, the rector of the college reported to the Marchese di Borgan:

It is now a year and a half that the putto castrato whom your Most Illustrious Lordship wished to be instructed in music here was received into the German college. . . . He is succeeding not only in singing and counterpoint but he shows excellent possibilities in playing as well. It would have been my special desire that the voice of this putto would have been discovered in such a way that he would have served as others who are kept here for our choir; but although for singing softly, sotto voce, or falsetto in a room, he does very well, nevertheless singing full voice he is not yet adequate, since he needs a little more polishing.<sup>36</sup>

Here, then, is evidence that castrati were trained



Figure 11. Caravaggio, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (detail). Rome, Galleria Doria



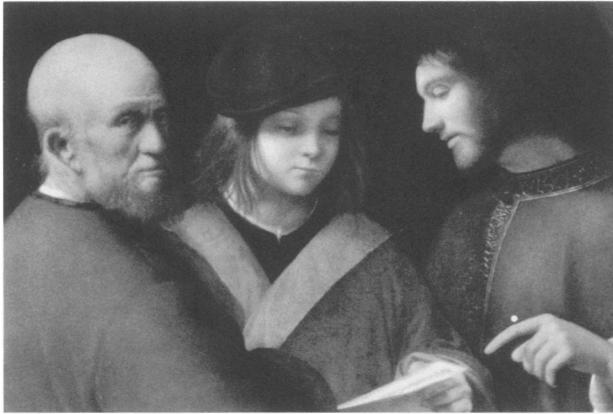
Figure 12. Pietro Paolini (1603–81), *Bacchic Concert*, ca. 1625–30. Oil on canvas, 48 × 72 in. (122 × 183 cm) Dallas Museum of Art (photo: Dallas Museum of Art)

as instrumentalists; the letter also informs us that the marchese had to pay six scudi for the young castrato's "food and clothing, two for the *maestro del sonare* and once a month for the *maestro della musica*." Castrati learned to perform both in church choirs and in the *camerini* so well described by Giustiniani. Singing for private entertainment involved a sweet, mellifluous manner of the kind Caravaggio depicted in his two *Lute Players*, a style that differed substantially from that required for choir performances.

Interestingly, the rise of castrati corresponded with the increased participation of women in professional music-making, singing in particular. If women were not recognized as part of the singing profession in earlier centuries, by 1600 "they were

at its apex."<sup>37</sup> Vincenzo Giustiniani wrote in his *Discourse* that a "famous Vittoria" (Archilei), a singer connected with the Medici, virtually originated "the true method of singing of women," which then set the standard to be observed by bassos and tenors with an extensive vocal range, along with male sopranos who sang in falsetto and many eunuchs of the Cappella.<sup>38</sup> Emilio de' Cavalieri reported on February 1, 1602, that Cardinal del Monte had the same Vittoria entertain two other cardinals in his casino at Porta Pinciana. Cavalieri also indicated "he had not ever heard a more beautiful voice" that "gave so much satisfaction," and "only fear of shame" had kept one of the cardinals from crying.<sup>39</sup>

The soprano voice was especially attractive at this time. Pietro Paolini's paintings *The Concert* and



Top: Figure 13. Giorgione (ca. 1477–1511), *Singing Lesson*. Florence, Pitti Palace



Figure 14. Nicolas Tournier (1530–after 1565), *The Concert*. Paris, Musée du Louvre

*Bacchic Concert*,<sup>40</sup> which rely heavily on Caravaggio's *Musicians*, highlight women musicians and singers specifically (Figure 12). Women singers were not then allowed to perform in church services, and boy sopranos were in great demand. Several paintings indicate the importance of these boys, beginning in the earlier sixteenth century with Giorgione's *Singing Lesson* (Figure 13) and continuing into the early seventeenth century, with Nicolas Tournier's *Concert* (Figure 14). The castrato voice was particularly appreciated since it was more powerful and could be sustained longer than a woman's voice. It was valued for its agility, range, and breath control, and its sweetness was considered highly sensual. The voice was well suited for solo performance because of its greater capacity for proper phrasing, which allowed



Figure 15. J. Amigoni, *Farinelli Being Crowned by Music* (engraving by Wagner). Milan, Civiche Collezioni Bertarelli, Castello Sforzesco

the expression of the strong emotions in fashion during this period.

Given the close proximity of Montoya and Caravaggio in Del Monte's household, can we speculate that the two Lute Players depict the castrato Montoya? We have no portraits of Montoya; we can only estimate that he was in his early twenties when Caravaggio painted these pictures.<sup>41</sup> Caravaggio's portrayals do, however, have androgynous features: the faces are smooth and fully rounded with almost swollen cheeks, and the hands appear effeminate. These characteristics are readily visible in the portrait in Figure 15 or in photographs of known castrati.<sup>42</sup> Caravaggio's paintings, however, can hardly be considered portraits; rather, they elicit idealized memories of the sort of musical performance that

took place in Del Monte's palace and the compelling appeal of the castrato manner of singing.

Young males in effeminate guise were not, of course, the exclusive prerogative of castrati; they also frequently characterize homosexuals. In support of an interpretation that links the Hermitage *Lute Player* with Caravaggio's and Del Monte's homosexual leanings, some art historians have invoked the description of a banquet given in Rome in 1605, when Cardinal Montalto entertained Del Monte and others: "Since there were no women, many youths took part, dressed as women, which provided not a little entertainment."<sup>43</sup> A youth dressed as a woman did not necessarily denote homosexuality, since the occurrence was far more widespread than we have imagined. *Avvisi di Roma*, the papal chronicles of major events and gossip, reported on March 24, 1609, that, during a feast in the London Royal Palace, the queen of England and her ladies, dressed as men, had danced with boys and young singers (perhaps castrati) of the royal chapel, who were dressed as women. We are also told that the queen had done this to demonstrate the "women do not lack wit."<sup>44</sup> Significantly in this case, the fact that women donned male dress is what caught the chronicler's attention rather than vice versa.

Renaissance and Baroque theater in Italy made extensive use of boys to perform women's roles. A manuscript list of amateur actors used for improvised comedies by the early-seventeenth-century Roman playwright Giovanni Briccio specifies that a former student, Capograno Romano, "being very beautiful, played the part of a nymph in pastoral plays so well that one could not hope for better"; that "Raffaello Ricciolo, Roman musician, good theorbo player, recited very well the part of women"; and that "Tomaso, a Florentine eunuch and singer in St. Peter's, played very well the role of a Florentine servant."<sup>45</sup> Female roles, therefore, were impersonated by musicians, singers, and castrati.

The sense of theater through improvisation and impersonation was an essential part of sophisticated entertainment in early-seventeenth-century Rome. In fact, the sitters in Caravaggio's paintings, the two *Lute Players* and *The Musicians*, are dressed in costumes that remind us of antique dress. A recent study of Caravaggio's early work suggests that *The Musicians* depicts amateur actors reenacting, in a mimetic mode, an antique banquet and symposium.<sup>46</sup> Staging in Caravaggio's images is also enhanced by a set of props: a still life with instruments, fruits, flowers, and even a caged songbird (Figure 4).

These details suggest an allegorical context, which is reminiscent of the symbolism in Flemish painting, if more subtly and allusively. Fruits and flowers evoke the Vanitas theme and its allusion to the transience of life and love, while the instruments with the caged bird are tied to a tradition that allegorizes the art of music.<sup>47</sup>

The amalgam of theatrical and musical elements that constitutes an important aspect of the appeal of these pictures was important for other painters and patrons as well. *The Lament of Aminta*, for instance, was painted in the second decade of the seventeenth century, probably by Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (Figure 16).<sup>48</sup> We do not know for whom it was painted, but since it closely resembles Caravaggio, especially in the rich still life of grapes and violin, we may assume a connection with Del Monte's social milieu. As in Caravaggio's images, the musical notation is relevant to the content of the painting (Figure 17). In fact, the identification of "Dolor che si crucii," one of the madrigals composed by Erasmo Marotta (1600), based on the words of Torquato Tasso's popular verse drama *Aminta*,<sup>49</sup> made it possible to understand the content of this picture. Two youths impersonate a shepherd who mournfully plays on his recorder, and a female figure, possibly the nymph Daphne, leans pensively on a tambourine. This figure wears an antique-style dress with a sash draped over the arm, which implies a musician or a male singer, although not clearly a castrato, as in Caravaggio's pictures.

Not only was the first performance of Tasso's *Aminta* in 1573 recited by "some young men from Urbino," but subsequent performances documented in Rome also involved boys ("giovanetti"), most often the sons of nobles or the nephews of their countrymen who sponsored performances with musical accompaniment in their palaces or in the bucolic settings of their country villas.<sup>50</sup> These pastoral disguises were courtly games as well as allegorical conceits, by which refined tastes were reconciled with primitive nature. The disguises in Caravaggio's paintings, on the other hand, are more directly related to musical experiences. In underlining the erotic and effeminate beauty of his sitters, Caravaggio has evoked for the viewer the compelling appeal of a particular manner of singing and the passionate nature of the pleasurable love songs that are an integral part of these images. His paintings are thereby the more effective representations of the sophisticated tastes of Cardinal del Monte, Caravaggio's protector and patron.



Figure 16. Bartolomeo Cavarozzi (1590–1625), *The Lament of Aminta*, ca. 1610–15. Oil on canvas, 32½ × 41⅞ in. (82.5 × 106.5 cm). Private collection (photo: Prudence Cuming)

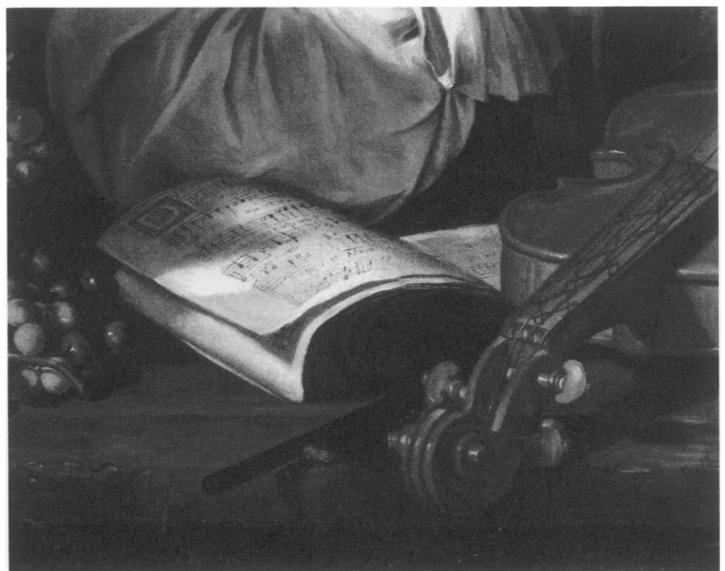


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16 (photo: Prudence Cuming)

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was presented as a talk during the symposium “Art, Music, and Poetry in the Age of Caravaggio” held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art on April 20, 1990. I am particularly grateful to Keith Christiansen and the Museum for this opportunity to present my research on musical aspects of Caravaggio’s paintings, the subject of earlier publications.

## NOTES

1. For the period that Caravaggio lived in Del Monte’s household, see Keith Christiansen’s introduction to *A Caravaggio Rediscovered: The Lute Player*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1990) p. 1 n. 1. The evidence that in 1601 Caravaggio had moved to Cardinal Girolamo Mattei’s palace is a document published by N. R. Parks in “On Caravaggio’s ‘Dormition of the Virgin’ and Its Setting,” *Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985) pp. 438–448. M. Marini, in “Le residenze romane di Caravaggio: L’ospite inquieto,” *Art e Dossier* 4 (1990) pp. 8–9, speculates that Caravaggio lived in the Palazzo Firenze.

2. For the inventory of Del Monte’s collection, see C. L. Frommel, “Caravaggio’s Frühwerk und der Kardinal Francesco Maria del Monte,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 30–49.

3. Giustiniani’s inventory was published by L. Salerno, “The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani,” *Burlington Magazine* 102 (1960) pp. 21–27, 93–104, 135–148.

4. F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (New York, 1963) pp. 28–29; L. Spezzaferro, “La cultura del Cardinal del Monte e il primo tempo di Caravaggio,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 57–92; V. I. Comparato, “Bourbon del Monte, Francesco Maria,” *Dizionario degli Italiani* (Rome, 1971) XIII, pp. 523–524; M. Calvesi, *Le realtà del Caravaggio* (Torino, 1990) pp. 165–173, 291–293; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 10–11.

5. “Franco Ma. Borbonio de Monte / Generis nobilitate novum suavitate / atque in gravioribus negociis tra / ctandis dexterritate clarissimo / pauperum patri / Bonarum que artium patrono optimo . . . ,” published in V. Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma dal secolo XI fino ai giorni nostri* (Rome, 1877) IX, p. 508, no. 1006. The rest of the inscription, which was placed in 1751 by a descendant of Del Monte’s, tells us that during the papacy of Urban VIII he had been made bishop of Ostia, that for the Holy Year of 1625 he had opened and closed the Holy Door of St. Paul’s church.

6. “. . . il quale Monte mi fa stupire circa allo spendere che possa mantenersi con [quello] che ha; et stare tanto honoratamente, e ben vero; che nel suo vestire non spende un giulio; livrea non ha mai fatta se non una; et cocchio e anche il primo; il quale si rassetta; et ha fatto un carrozza, et con questo si mantiene; non arriva in tutto a 50 bocche; cavalli e gentilhuomini non tiene; ma i servidori sono trattati bene, et buona cena a tutti; in quello che apparisce, e mediante la gratia di S. A. della bella casa quale stà finita; quanto Car[dina]le di Roma; fa su tavolini la matina galante; con suoi argenti; e corteggiato da piu Romani, che nessun

Car[dina]le i suoi traffici grandi con suoi ferraioli; et tutti politici; et nelle avanti camera, sempre vi e gente; che a Montalto, et a altri Car[dina]li che non siano de ministri, non ne vedo tanta; circa a Prelati non ve ne sono; la cagione e, che non ha negotij, e quelli che vengono, vengono per visite, ho fatto il discorsetto, accior sappiate, et sappiate il vero; . . . so che direte, Emilio non perde occasione, dove puole servire a Monte.” The letter, sent from Rome, is dated Nov. 19, 1593. Florence, Archivio di Stato Fondo Mediceo del Principato F. 3622, ff. 64v–65r. Del Monte’s entourage of nearly 50 can be compared to that of more important cardinals such as Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, whose “family” included between 85 and 145 members.

7. “Executore del mio presente testamento voglio che sia, et depicto lo Illustrissimo et Riverentissimo Signore Cardinale dal Monte . . .” Rome, Archivio di Stato, 30 Notari Capitolini, uff. 29, Cygnus Blasius, Jan. 19, 1600, f. 90. For Cavaliere, see C. V. Palisca, “Cavalieri, Emilio de’,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music* (London, 1980) IV, pp. 20–23, and W. Kirkendale, “Cavalieri, Emilio de’,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1979) XXII, pp. 659–664.

8. For the inventory published by C. L. Frommel, see note 2.

9. “Passò a miglior vita Tiberio Cevoli, et intendo che li figlioli venderanno Gioie, Statue, Pitture, et infinite altre cose, se V. A. vuole attendere à qualche cosa mi comandi . . .” Florence, AS Fondo Mediceo del Principato, F. 3761.

10. “E stato trovato à Capo di Bove dui veste grandi consolari, che furono in tempo della prima Guerra Ponica che sono circa à dui mila anni; ne mando la mostra a A. V. accio veda la tessitura di quei tempi . . .” Florence, AS Fondo Mediceo del Principato, F. 3762a, f. 221.

11. “. . . sono prontissimo à mandarli le ricette per la sciatica, mal di fianco, debbiti, et altre schinelle; ma mi manca solo trovare rimedio di tornare indietro quarant’anni che non lo trovo et se V. S. mi manda questo ricetta io le promesso tutte le altre.” Ibid., f. 322.

12. M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, pp. 173–196.

13. This biography refers to Alfonso d’Avalos, Marchese di Vasto (1502–46), noted feudal warrior who commanded Emperor Charles V’s troops in the siege of Tunis. He is described as having been educated to be skilled in arms, horsemanship, the humanities, the magic discipline of the cabbala, in music: “. . . sendo la musica . . . mezzo d’ugugliar gli umori, dar buon tuono alla voce, tempo all’andare, e misura al trattar delle cose, solamente disposta a ricrear l’intelletto, adolcir la mente, a medicar tutti i furiosi erudi, e strabocchevoli intendimenti, e pensieri, et indi nasce che la primiera cosa, che è posta nella bocca rozza de’ fanciulletti per ordine de’ Padri accorti, e de’ Maestri considerati, è la musica veramente ad imitation di Chirone, che in tal maniera allevò il valoroso Achille.” Rome, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Famiglia Santacroce 97, ff. 46–46v. For the aristocratic conception of music, see also J. Haar, “The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione’s view of science and art of music,” R. W. Henning, D. Rosand, eds., *Castiglione: The Idea and Real in Renaissance Culture* (New Haven, 1983) pp. 167–168.

14. R. Palucchini and F. Rosi, *Giovanni Cariani* (Bergamo, 1983) p. 125.

15. In referring to the talented female performers at the court

of Duke Alfonso in Ferrara, Giustiniani describes how they “dimoravano talvolta i giorni interi in alcuni camerini nobilmente ornati di quadri e fabricati a questo solo effetto . . .” *Discorso sopra la musica de’suoi tempi*, published by A. Solerti in *Le Origini del melodrama* (Turin, 1903) p. 107. Carol McClintock’s English translation was published by the American Institute of Musicology (Rome, 1962). For the importance of music performed in private chambers, see F. T. Camiz, “La ‘Musica’ nei quadri del Caravaggio,” *Caravaggio Nuove Riflessioni* (Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia) 6 (1989) p. 189, n. 10.

16. Del Monte served as vice *protettore* and later (after 1620) *protettore* of the Cappella Sistina, the papal choir. For Del Monte’s involvement in music, see F. T. Camiz and A. Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali e committenza,” *Studi musicali* 12 (1983) pp. 72–74; Camiz, “La ‘Musica,’” n. 10; J. Chater, “Musical Patronage in Rome at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of Cardinal Montalto,” *Studi musicali* 16, 2 (1987) pp. 212–215.

17. See Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. nos. 6–10, signed by L. Libin.

18. For a comparison of sale prices of both paintings and musical instruments from the Del Monte collection, see W. C. Kirwin, “Addendum to Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte’s Inventory: the Date of the Sale of Various Notable Paintings,” *Storia dell’arte* 9/10 (1971) pp. 53–56.

19. Musical instruments are listed in Del Monte’s inventory published by C. L. Frommel, “Caravaggio’s Frühwerk,” pp. 43–49. L. Libin, in *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, p. 62, notes that “Caravaggio’s instruments, even when copied from real models, are not painted with photographic accuracy.”

20. This painting includes the cantus of “Jouissance vous donneray” by Claudin de Sermisy (ca. 1495–1562); H. C. Slim, “Paintings of Lady Concerts and the Transmission of ‘Jouissance vous donneray,’” *Imago musicae* (1984) pp. 51–73.

21. Here we have the Lutheran hymn “Komm heiliger geist”; see J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1979) p. 245.

22. Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” p. 71; H. C. Slim, “Musical Inscriptions in Paintings by Caravaggio and His Followers,” in Anne Shapiro, ed., *Music and Context: Essays in Honor of John Milton Ward* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985) pp. 243–244, 247.

23. This painting is mentioned by Pietro Bellori (1672) as being in the palace of Prince Pamphili who, through marriage, inherited most of Cardinal Aldobrandini’s collection. See also M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, n. 148.

24. Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” pp. 76–83; Slim, “Music In and Out of Egypt: A Little-Studied Iconographic Tradition,” *Musica disciplina* 37 (1983) pp. 303–312; M. Calvesi, *Le realtà*, pp. 201–207. The music was also identified by Slim, “Musical Inscriptions,” pp. 244–246.

25. For the poetic texts of these madrigals and their English translation, see Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Revisited*, Appendix, pp. 90–91. See also Camiz–Ziino, “Caravaggio: Aspetti musicali,” pp. 70–71; 74–75; Slim, “Musical Inscriptions,” pp. 246–247; F. T. Camiz, “Cantare con una voce sopra un strumento: il Suonatore di liuto del cardinal Del Monte e il suo contesto musicale,” in M. Marini, *Caravaggio: Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio ‘pictor praestantissimus’* (Rome, 1987) p. 382.

26. A recently discovered musical manuscript dated 1617 (Rome, Conservatorio di San Cecilia), which belonged to a Flemish organist of the German church of San Maria dell’Anima, mainly contains motets and chansons by earlier 16th-century Franco-Flemish composers. See A. Morelli, “Intorno an un codicetto polifonico del primo seicento,” *Recercare* 1 (1989) pp. 97–109. It should be added that instrument makers in Rome were northerners. The tomb of a 16th-century German lute maker, Martin Rethausen, is still visible in the Cimitero Teutonico near St. Peter’s. See A. Weiland, *Der Campo Santo Teutonico in Rom und seiner Grabdenkmäler* (Rome/Freiburg/Vienna, 1988) pp. 791–792, fig. 152.

27. Camiz, “Cantare con una voce,” p. 382; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 27–28.

28. C. Maffei, *Discorso della Voce* (1562), transcribed by N. Bridgeman in *Revue de Musicologie* 38 (1956) p. 20.

29. See note 16.

30. Chater, “Musical Patronage,” p. 25. In 1592 Del Monte also recommended singers from the papal chapel to the court of Mantua: A. Bertolotti, *Musici alla corte dei Gonzaga in Mantova dal secolo XV al XVIII* (Milan, 1890) p. 68.

31. F. da Mareto, *Le Cappuccine nel mondo* (Parma, 1970) p. 180. Conservatories in 17th-century Rome cared for “zittelle sperse” or “pericolanti” (spinsters who were lost or “in danger”) by providing musical training.

32. F. T. Camiz, “La ‘Musica,’” p. 211, nn. 48, 49.

33. F. T. Camiz, “The Castrato Singer: From Informal to Formal Portraiture,” *Artibus et Historiae* 18 (1988) p. 172.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 172–174.

35. T. D. Cully, *Jesuits and Music: Sources and Studies for the History of the Jesuits* (Rome/St. Louis, 1970) II, p. 67.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

37. A. Newcomb, “Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in J. Bowers, J. Tick, eds., *Woman Making Music: The Western Tradition* (Urbana, 1988) p. 93.

38. *Discorso*, pp. 109–110.

39. This letter was published by C. Palisca, “Musical Asides in the Correspondence of Emilio de’ Cavalieri,” *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963) p. 346.

40. Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. nos. 13, 14, signed by A. Bayer.

41. F. T. Camiz, “The Castrato,” p. 172, n. 20.

42. *Ibid.*, figs. 8, 18, 19.

43. J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sui Barocco in Roma* (Rome, 1920) p. 139 n. 1; Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 29; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, p. 45, n. 88.

44. “. . . quella Regina in certo festino fatto nel palazzo Reale con tutte le sue Dame, havea danzato con li Paggi, et musici giovinetti della Cappella Reale vestiti da donne, essendo ella con li dame comparsa mascherate con habbiti da huomo per mostrare, che li Donne non mancano di spirito . . .” Vatican Library, Urb. Lat. 1077, f. 106v.

45. “Indice di tutti i piu famosi recitanti di Comedie improvise . . . Capograno Romano . . . da giovineto per esser bellissimo, fece

da Ninfa nelle Pastorali . . . Raffaele Riccioli Romano, Musico bravo sonatore di tiorba, recitò prima molto bene di donna . . . Tomaso . . . Eunuco fiorentino, Musico di S. Pietro, essendosi fatto sacerdote, fece assai bene una serva Fiorentina." Rome, AS Cartari Febi 115, ff. 131v, 133v, 136. See also L. Mariti, "Esercizio d'attore nel seicento Giovanni Briccio & C.," *Scritti in onore di Giovanni Macchia* (Milan, 1983) II, pp. 636–641.

46. G. Poseq, "Bacchic Themes in Caravaggio's Juvenile Works," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6 (1990) pp. 113–121. I am grateful to Keith Christiansen for bringing this study to my attention.

47. F. T. Camiz, "La 'Musica,'" pp. 205–206, 212–214; Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, pp. 43–44.

48. Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, cat. no. 12, signed by A. Bayer.

49. F. T. Camiz, "Due quadri musicali di scuola caravaggesca," *Musica e filologia* (Verona, 1983) pp. 102–104; Slim, "Inscriptions," pp. 243–251. For the words of the madrigal and its English translation, see Christiansen, *A Caravaggio Rediscovered*, Appendix, p. 91.

50. For pastorals performed in Cardinal Bevilacqua's vineyard, see Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 279. The poet Lelio Guidiccioni reports having played the part of Daphne in the *Aminta* in the villa of Cardinal Acquaviva in the preface to his *Tusculam amoenitatem elegia* (Rome, 1623). The *Avvisi di Roma* for March 4, 1609, reports that a pastoral with "intermedij di suoni, canti, et balletti" was recited by sons and nephews of Mario Farnese and Cardinal Bevilacqua, Vatican Library, Urb. Lat. 1077, f. 107.