

Belonging, Detachment and the Representation
of Musical Identities in Visual Culture

Edited by
Antonio Baldassarre · Arabella Tenniswood-Harvey

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*Belonging, Detachment and the Representation
of Musical Identities in Visual Culture,*
Antonio Baldassarre and Arabella Tenniswood-Harvey (Eds.)
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To the memory of Dr Dorothea Baumann (1946–2022)
– an exceptional scholar and magnanimous friend

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PIER FRANCESCO VALENTINI AND MUSICAL CANONS IN THE VISUAL CULTURE OF EARLY MODERN ROME¹

JASON STOESSEL

Pier Francesco Valentini (1586–1654), gentleman composer of Rome, lived in a time of significant change for European music. Conventional narratives in seventeenth-century music histories repeatedly emphasise the rise of new dramatic musical genres against the background of a resurgent style of solo accompanied singing and novel approaches to the affective delivery of text. Partly due to present-day historiographic biases, this musical revolution – now commonly known as the *seconda pratica* (after the term coined by none other than Claudio Monteverdi) and concentrated at first in Italian centres north of Rome – struggles to encapsulate the complex web of musical developments, including those arising out of the *prima pratica*, in the early seventeenth century in other centres like Rome.² An account of the ongoing cultivation of contrapuntal styles at those centres might instead provide a bridge between sixteenth-century contrapuntal works and the masterpieces of later centuries.³ Giuseppe Gerbino has already acknowledged the complex sce-

- 1 This research was supported by the Australian Government through the Australian Research Council's Discovery Project funding scheme (project DP180100680). The views expressed herein are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the Australian Government or Australian Research Council. I thank the anonymous reviewer for their feedback and suggested improvements.
- 2 This is partly on show in contemporary writers when they attempt to classify a diversity of musical styles in the first half of the century; for instance, Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 45–51. Athanasius Kircher, for example, recognises the existence of the strict contrapuntal style, which he terms *stylus canonicus*, alongside seven other styles, of which *stylus dramaticus/recitativus* is a single category. Newcomb noted the “bifurcated” nature of Roman secular culture already at the end of the sixteenth century with respect to composers like Giovanni Maria Nanino, “who wrote the most *artificioso* contrapuntal pieces in ... fully prescriptive notation also wrote pioneering examples of the lighter madrigals, *madrigaletti* and *canzonette* of the last quarter of the [sixteenth] century, pieces whose notation might suggest various kinds of performing arrangements.” See Anthony Newcomb, “Notions of Notation around 1600,” *Il Saggiatore musicale* 22, no. 1 (2015): 22.
- 3 Durante's account of *artificioso* compositions stands out for offering a corrective to this historiographic bias in the case of the early seventeenth century, although his conclusions that these were “in fact composed more to be looked at and studied than to be performed ... This music was not intended primarily for performance but designed for other composers capable of recognizing the artifices” is contested in this essay. It is clear that the performance of *artificioso* compositions was at least envisaged by several authors discussed below but that the musical elite also “heard” these canons thanks to notational prompts; Sergio Durante, “On *Artificioso* Compositions at the Time of Frescobaldi,” in *Frescobaldi Studies*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 195–217. Another point of departure in this respect is Noel O'Regan's observation on the continuity of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*, especially at Rome in

nario that exists at centres like seventeenth-century Rome in his monograph on Valentini and his fellow contrapuntists, whose “renewed interest in especially intricate and cerebral contrapuntal procedures was responsible for numerous collections entirely dedicated to canons and other musical puzzles (*obblighi*).”⁴ Laurence Wuidar has also demonstrated how the vigorous exploration of enigmatic canon and other devices in musical notation and composition accompanies transcendent hermeticism and esotericism in early modern European culture.⁵ Although the reframing of the history of seventeenth-century music in Rome is a topic that requires further investigation and critical evaluation elsewhere, this essay seeks to contribute to this endeavour by situating Valentini and his canonic compositions within the visual culture of early modern Rome. It will be argued that Valentini and his contemporaries belong to a social and artistic space between the refined connoisseur (or *virtuoso*) and the professional musician. Their technical and creative prowess, as well as their social vantage point, provided them with a unique and authoritative role in early modern Roman society.

Valentini’s social status already sets him apart from many contemporary composers. By his own admission, he had no need to sing or play music for a living.⁶ Valentini’s musical training must have benefited from instruction by some of the master contrapuntists of his age. Valentini’s biographer, Mirella Casini Cortesi, notes that Antimo Liberati stated that the young Valentini had received his musical training from the “two Nanini,” namely Giovanni Bernardino Nanino (c.1553–1618) and his elder brother Giovanni Maria (c.1544–1607), both students of Palestrina.⁷ Giovanni

the Pontifical chapel; Noel O’Regan, “The Church Triumphant: Music in the Liturgy,” in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 295–300. Romano Micheli’s Angelic Canon (discussed below), for example, was widely known in eighteenth-century German-speaking regions; see Daniel R. Melamed, “A Thirty-Six Voice Canon in the Hand of C.P.E. Bach,” in *Bach Studies 2*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 107–18.

- 4 Giuseppe Gerbino, *Canoni ed Enigmi: Pier Francesco Valentini e l’artificio canonico nella prima metà del Seicento* (Rome: Edizioni Torre D’Orfeo, 1995), 7; On the term *obbligato*, see “*Obbligato*.” Grove Music Online. 2001; Accessed 1 Jun. 2020. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020203>.
- 5 Laurence Wuidar, *Canons énigmes et hiéroglyphes musicaux dans l’Italie du 17e siècle* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2008); also see Michael Lamla, “Musical Canons on Artistic Prints from the 16th to 18th Centuries,” *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 2* (1995): 479–510.
- 6 As Valentini notes in his *La musica inalzata* (Barb. Lat. 4418), he has never profited from his music despite spending many hundred scudi on it; see Mariella Casini Cortesi, “Pier Francesco Valentini: profilo di un musicista barocco,” *Nuova Revista Musicale Italiana* 17, no. 3–4 (1983): 540.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 530. Giovanni Maria’s role and influence in the musical activities of the confraternities at Rome should not be underestimated; see Noel O’Regan, “Giovanni Maria Nanino and the Roman Confraternities of his Time,” in *Atti e memorie della Società Tibertina di storia e d’arte: Atti della Giornata internazionale di studio, Tivoli, 26 October 2007*, ed. G. Monari and F. Vizzacarro (Tivoli: 2008), 113–127. Recently, the composer has been rehabilitated as a leading proponent of madrigal composition in Rome, c.1570–1620; see Anthony Newcomb, “The New Roman Style and Giovanni Maria Nanino,” *Journal of Musicology* 36, no. 2 (2019): 167–194. Most recently on Giovanni Maria’s life and works, see Maurizio Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino* (Rome: IBIMUS - BNCR, 2016).

Bernardino had served as *maestro di cappella* from 1591 to 1608, and Giovanni Maria sometimes as his substitute, at the important central Roman church of San Luigi de' Francesi, which was a short distance from Valentini's family home. Giovanni Maria, who served as a papal singer from 1577 to his death, also owned a house near the church of San Luigi de' Francesi, which he may have inhabited as early as 1575.⁸ Valentini might have also encountered in his maturity the slightly older Roman compatriot and ardent contrapuntist Romano Micheli (c.1575–1659/1660) during the latter's short tenure of the same post at San Luigi de' Francesi, 1625–1627.⁹ It seems that Valentini was a late bloomer as a composer and that he soon abandoned the path taken with his first steps in public composition. In his own words, his first two works were small operas “in stile recitativo scenico”, *La transformatione di Dafne* (1623) and *La Metra* (1628), whose music is now lost. The first was performed in the Palazzo Barberini during the carnival in the year of its composition. The publication of his famous polymorphous canon *Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte* with 2,000 resolutions (1629) and his enigmatic polymorphous canon *Il Nodo di Salomone* (1631) signalled new directions. Most of Valentini's surviving compositions, which include numerous canons, madrigals, motets and other settings of sacred texts, nonetheless remained unpublished until after his death.¹⁰ Provisions set out in Valentini's will ensured their publication after his death.

Valentini's fastidiously curated but limited program of self-publication of his musical compositions raises several questions. One needs to ask what motivation lay behind the publication of his two puzzle canons in 1629 and 1631 on sacred themes and with accompanying sacred visual iconography. I contend that answers to these questions can be found in Valentini's autograph collection of canons, his *Canoni di diversi studi*.¹¹ This collection reveals the composer's overtly religious character. It also warrants comparison with contemporary preoccupations with the collecting and the display of artworks and prints in early modern Italy. Notated canon, as a visual device in monumental and other forms of more modest imagery, regularly performs the role of evoking a sonification of sacred space in early seventeenth-century Rome.¹² Canon's place in this sacred visual and sonic space interfaces with contemporary concerns in natural philosophy and the mathematical representation

8 Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, 55.

9 Saverio Franchi, “MICHELI, Romano,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (2010). Available online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/romano-micheli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

10 For Valentini's works list, see: Cortesi, “Pier Francesco Valentini,” 547–559. His canons are catalogued in Michael Lamla, *Kanonkünste im barocken Italien, insbesondere in Rom* (Berlin: Verlag im Internet, 2003), iii: 503–578. An online catalogue of Valentini's canons will be soon available at *The Canons Database*, ed. Denis Collins and Jason Stoessel, <http://www.canons.org.au/>.

11 Pier Francesco Valentini, *Canoni di diversi studi di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano et una messa della feria del medesimo in canone*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428.

12 In this respect, I extend Newcomb's proposal for “a kind of silent reading for some kind of music” in the Roman musical world beyond his focus of Giovanni Maria Nanino's madrigals to the Roman canonic repertoire; Newcomb, “Notions of Notation around 1600,” 7.

of the natural world, which in part signal the advent of the European scientific revolution.¹³ In this sense, canon also participates in the intersection of the scientific, hermetic-sacred, and classical antiquity which typifies much learned discourse in early modern Rome.¹⁴

Two examples serve to illustrate the use of notated canon to signify a visual representation of musical space in early modern Rome and to highlight this phenomenon's relationship with other forms of contemporary thought, especially science and mathematics. The first is a canon painted on a ceiling at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome around 1610. I know of no published discussion of this canon despite the fact that it is in plain sight today and might also be said to signal publicly contemporary interests in canonic composition at Rome. The second example, which belongs to the final decade of the mature phase of canonic composition in Rome, appears in the allegorical frontispiece that Athanasius Kircher commissioned at Rome in 1649 for his *Musurgia universalis*. Published in the following year, the *Musurgia universalis* was widely distributed, along with Kircher's other publications, in Europe and the New World, especially through the Jesuit polymath's extensive network of correspondents and associates.¹⁵ Together, these public examples of canons in the visual culture of early modern Rome frame the fervid pursuit of canonic composition by Valentini and his contemporaries. They also signal the role of music in contemporary preoccupations with new knowledge or the collection of knowledge about the human and indeed natural world.¹⁶

The Tuscan artist Domenico Cresti, also known as "Il Passignano", included, as mentioned, a notated canon in his ceiling of the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 1), which he completed between 1608 and 1610 under the commission of Pope Paul V.¹⁷ The anonymous canon, which is shown on a banderole suspended by a pair of cherubim above an angelic concert, appears on the ceiling directly above the centre of the room that is commonly called the canons' choir.¹⁸ From that vantage point one can also see the centrepiece of Passignano's decorative program, *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. Appropriately, the anonymous composer

13 Laurence Wuidar, "Musique et démonologie au XVIIème siècle de Jean Bodin à Pier Francesco Valentini," *Studi Musicali* 36, no. 1 (2007): 65–95.

14 Naomi J. Barker, "Music, Antiquity and Self-Fashioning in the Accademia dei Lincei," *The Seventeenth Century* 30, no. 4 (2015): 375–390.

15 Paula Findlen, "A Jesuit's Books in the New World: Athanasius Kircher and His American Readers," in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2004), 329–364.

16 See, for example, Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museum, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

17 I am most grateful to Noel O'Regan for bringing this canon to my attention.

18 Nissman concludes that while Passignano was responsible for the design of the ceiling, it was probably executed by assistants in his workshop; see J. L. Nissman, "Domenico Cresti (il Passignano), 1559–1638: A Tuscan Painter In Florence and Rome" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1979), 320. No such distinction is made in C. A. Thomas, "Domenico Cresti, 'Il Passignano' (1559–1638), and the Roman 'Rinascita': Studies in his Religious paintings for Rome between 1589 and 1616" (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1995), 208–226.



Fig. 1: Domenico Cresti “Il Passignano” (1559–1638) and assistants, Ceiling of “Canon’s Choir,” 1608–1610, fresco. Rome: S. Maria Maggiore. Image: C. Stoessel. Used by kind permission.

sets the words “*Gaude Maria a Deo electa*” as a four-part invertible canon. It can be resolved as an infinite *canon per tonos super* with canonic entries at the octave, fifth, and twelfth below (see fig. 2 for my solution).¹⁹ Papal singer and composer Giovanni Maria Nanino used the same combination of canonic techniques in a set of commemorative canons that survive in the *Liber del camerlengo* of 1605.²⁰ It is quite possible that Nanino, who had held the post of *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore 1575–77, or one of his students composed this canon for Passignano.²¹

19 For other examples of *canon per tonos*, see Edward E. Lowinsky, “Music in Titian’s *Bacchanal of the Andrians*: Origin and History of the *canon per tonos*,” in *Titian: His World and his Legacy*, ed. David Rosand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 225–263. Also search for canon type “*canon per tonos*” in *The Canons Database*, ed. Collins and Stoessel.

20 See Denis Collins’ contribution in this volume.

21 Pastori, *Giovanni Maria Nanino*, 51–54. On Nanino’s thirty-year career in the papal chapel, see *ibid.*, 111–163.

The image shows a musical score for the first 12 bars of the piece "Gaude Maria a Deo Electa". It is arranged in two systems. The first system contains the first six bars, and the second system contains the remaining six bars. The score is written for four staves: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are written below the staves. The piece is in 3/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam ge - ni - ta que re - no - di - ci - o - ni - bus" (Soprano), "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Alto), "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Tenor), and "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Bass). The second system includes the lyrics "an - te - quam ge - ni - ta que re - no - di - ci - o - ni - bus" (Soprano), "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Alto), "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Tenor), and "Gaude Ma - ri - a a De - o e - le - cta an - te - quam" (Bass). The piece concludes with "Per totum" and "ETC." on the Soprano and Tenor staves.

Fig. 2: First 12 bars of *Gaude Maria a Deo Electa*. Transcribed by J. Stoessel.



Fig. 3: Domenico Cresti “Il Passignano” (1559–1638) and assistants, *The Divine Eye*, 1608–1610, fresco. Rome: Sacristy of S. Maria Maggiore. Image: C. Stoessel. Used by kind permission.

The canon in Passignano's ceiling functions as part of a suite of religious imagery in the sacristy, particularly the Trinitarian symbol of divine eye within a triangle (fig. 3) and nearby Marian iconography. This imagery is conventional in the sense of how it portrays the Virgin "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Book of Revelation 12:1).²² The moon is shown following a tradition with roots in the thirteenth century as a stylised upturned crescent. In this respect, it contrasts to Ludovico Cigoli's *Assumption of the Virgin*, which was completed just a few years later in 1612 in the nearby Pauline chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore. As a tribute to this compatriot and friend Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), with whom Cigoli had collaborated, the artist paints a realistic moon, complete with natural imperfections like craters, in the place of the stylised crescent.²³ Founder of the Accademia dei Lincei, Federico Cesi (1585–1630), confirms the intention of this artistic gesture in a letter written in the year of the painting's completion to Galileo.²⁴ The epistemological significance of this painting, which points to Galileo's other discoveries of an "imperfect and corruptible" universe contrary to the prevailing Aristotelian episteme, has been stressed by several previous authors so as to not require us to revisit the argument here.²⁵ Galileo's sphere of influence also extends to Passignano, with whom Galileo corresponded in 1611 concerning the proper way to record sunspots so they might be compared to his own observations.²⁶ It is quite possible that the *canon per tonos* in Passignano's sacristy cycle, when considered against the long history of this canonic technique's Platonic-Pythagorean symbolism, may take the place of Cigoli's realistic moon.

Contrary to the push toward ontologically disruptive naturalism in Cigoli's *Assumption of the Virgin*, symbolism continued to be explored in imagery and music of the first half of the seventeenth century. The well-known frontispiece to Athanasius

22 As noted in Thomas, "Domenico Cresti, 'Il Passignano' (1559–1638), and the Roman 'Rinascita'," 214. In an article on earlier musical settings of the prayer by the originator of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Blackburn affirms the association of this iconography with the Book of Revelations; see Bonnie J. Blackburn, "The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124, no. 2 (1999): 185.

23 Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1954), 5. The *Assumption of the Virgin* is reproduced in black and white as Figure 2 in *ibid.*, and appears widely in literature on Galileo, for example, Mario Livio, *Galileo and the Science Deniers* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2020), Figure 5 (colour plate insert). On Cigoli's preparatory drawing, see Miles Chappell, "Cigoli, Galileo, and Invidia," *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 94–95.

24 Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts*, 5.

25 This is succinctly encapsulated by Freedberg when discussing the supernova of 1604: "To begin with, the nova called into question the standard Christian and Aristotelian view that the heavens were eternal and incorruptible. According to the then orthodox combination of Aristotelian and Ptolemaic cosmology, the earth stood motionless at the center of the universe." See David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginnings of Modern Natural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 81.

26 Chappell, "Cigoli, Galileo, and Invidia," 93, note 13; Galileo Galilei and Christoph Scheiner, *On Sunspots*, trans. Eileen Reeves and Albert Van Helden (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 75–76.

Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* (1650) has often been dismissed for its allegorical artifice, although the reading presented here questions that conclusion (fig. 4).²⁷ Kircher commissioned his compatriot Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674), also known as Giovanni Paolo Tedesco, to prepare a drawing of the frontispiece in the previous year, which was in turn engraved by Jean Baron (1616?–c.1650).²⁸ The allegorical scene shows Harmonia in the centre, seated on a celestial sphere with the instruments of Apollo and Minerva in either hand. Below and to the left Pythagoras appears and to the right Lady Music. Both are part of a European musical iconography that stretches back to the Middle Ages.²⁹ Pythagoras points to a trio of blacksmiths, a reference to his legendary discovery of the proportional relations between consonant tones. Quotes from the Book of Job and Vergil's *Eclogues* are present, the latter a reference to Rome's imperial past. There is an uncanny resemblance between Passignano's decorative program on the ceiling of the canons' choir of Santa Maria Maggiore and Kircher's frontispiece, particularly the two seraphim holding up a banderole showing the Angelic Canon of contemporary Roman contrapuntalist and extraordinary proponent of canonic techniques, Romano Micheli. At the top of the Kircherian frontispiece the trinitarian symbol surrounded by cherubim provides further parallels with decorative program of the sacristy of Santa Maria Maggiore. Schor's frontispiece lacks Marian imagery, though Micheli's polymorphous canon on the Angelic hymn, *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, provides a clear biblical reference. Indeed, Kircher himself waxes lyrical about the canon's amazing capacity to be sung not only by 36 voices (nine four-voice choruses), but even 144,000 voices, a number whose biblical significance is not lost upon his readers.³⁰ In summary, Schor, a younger man, explores the same sort of intersection between musical and visual symbology witnessed forty years earlier in Passignano's decorative program.

Valentini's receptivity to visual representations of music like those found in Santa Maria Maggiore and Kircher's frontispiece is amply demonstrated in his surviving writings. In his *La musica inalzata*, whose manuscript Cortesi argues was completed in 1645,³¹ Valentini discusses at length a canon at the unison that was carved into the tombstone of the pontifical singers in the Chiesa Nuova (Santa Maria in Vallicella), Rome.³² He excoriates the composer for writing a canon of such "infantile simplicity," full of "grammatical errors." Although Valentini does not name the composer, his fellow contrapuntist Micheli shows no hesitation in

27 Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta*, 2 vols. (Rome: Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbellotti, 1650).

28 Pearl M. Ehrlich, "Giovanni Paolo Schor (with) Volume II: Illustrations" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1975), 15 and 694–696.

29 The medieval precedents for this iconography (and iconology) are discussed in Jason Stoessel, "The Harmonious Blacksmith, Lady Music and Minerva: The Iconography of Secular Song in the Late Middle Ages," in *Music, Myth, and Story in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Katherine Butler and Samantha Bassler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019), 65–77.

30 Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, 414.

31 Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini: profilo di un musicista barocco," 558.

32 Pier Francesco Valentini, *Due discorsi et una epistola opere musicale di Pier Francesco Valentini Romano*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4418.



Fig. 4: Johann Paul Schor (1615–1674) and Jean Baron (1616?–c.1650), Frontispiece of Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*, c.1650, printed line art. Rome: Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti.

his *Memoriale*, which was sent most likely in 1644 to Innocent X, in naming Gregorio Allegri, the singer and composer to the Pontifical chapel.³³ In addition to criticising its contrapuntal faults, Valentini was incensed that a musical setting of the sacred text “*Cantabimus canticum novum*” was set down on the floor to be trampled underfoot in the most unbecoming way.³⁴

A strong sense of the propriety of figurative representations of music in artworks and monuments, predicated on a belief in music’s nobility or sacrality, is on display in another episode that Valentini narrates in his *La musica inalzata*. Indeed, the status of music, or a particular style of music that Valentini endorsed, is captured in the title of his discourse, which can be translated as “Elevated Music,” or even “Sublime Music.” In noting that some do not give music the respect that it deserves, Valentini narrates a time when he encountered a still life by an “undiscerning” and unnamed painter. The painting depicted a page of music along with an arrangement of quotidian food stuffs including fruit, melons, and anchovies. Valentini recalls that he was so displeased and insulted by this pictorial composition that he immediately purchased the painting before destroying and burning it except for a portion depicting some of the fruit.³⁵ This seemingly extreme and violent response, along with his harsh words for Allegri’s canon on the floor of the Chiesa Nuova, provides a glimpse into Valentini’s psychology which betrays a sincere belief in the sacrality of music. Clearly the value of music, especially contrapuntal music, for Valentini parallels, and overlaps, many of his other strongly held beliefs in the context of an early modern reformist Rome.

Valentini’s sensitivity to the dignified use of notated music in visual programs is further on show in his *Canoni di diversi studi*.³⁶ This unique collection of the composer’s own canons is found today among a group of autograph manuscripts in the Barberini Latin manuscript collection of the Vatican Library.³⁷ The collection is

33 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5370, fol. 155v; also see Raffaele Casimiri, “Romano Micheli e la Cappella Sistina del suo tempo,” *Note d’Archivio per la Storia musicale* III (1926): 240–241; Cortesi, “Pier Francesco Valentini,” 558; Gerbino, *Canoni ed Enigmi*, 90–91.

34 Also see Raffaele Casimiri, “Il sepolcro dei cantori pontifici nelle Chiesa Nuova di Roma,” *Note d’Archivio* 3, no. 4 (1926): 221–232; Michael Lamla, “Pier Francesco Valentini, Romano Micheli, Sante Naldini und der Grabstein der päpstlichen Sanger,” in *Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte*, ed. Friedrich Lippmann (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1998), 115–144.

35 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4418, p. 177 [§443 in marg] : Io dunque se bene circa l’interesse non hò obbligo alcuno alla musica conoscendo il ualor suo, e conoscendo quello, che ella è; l’honoro, e riverisco, e non posso soffrire di uederla disprezzare e conculcare; Di modo che una volta hauendo Io ueduto un quadro fatto da uno indiscreto Pittore, dove hà melloni<sic> et altri frutti, vi era dipinta una carta di musica con alcune alici dentro; tanto mi spiacque e commosse quella indegnità che hauendolo compriato, subito<sic> ruppi e brugiai<sic> l’indecente pittura, riseruandomi solamente i frutti che ui erano.

36 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428; Wuidar, *Canons énigmes et hiéroglyphes musicaux dans l’Italie du 17e siecle*, 105–146.

37 It is not known when Valentini’s manuscripts entered the Barberini library, though it is likely to coincide with the late 17th-century phase in Roman music culture identified by Margaret Murata during which musical patronage shifted increasingly from musical performances to collecting musical scores; Margaret Murata, “Pier Francesco Valentini on Tactus and Proportion,” in

as marvellous in its array of different types of ingenious canonic techniques as it is for its visual program of line art prints. Almost every canon in the collection is accompanied by a related devotional print, excised from its original location and meticulously assembled to form a complementary decorative program. As with several of his other manuscripts, Valentini has adopted the impressive royal folio format, each paper page measuring approximately 50 centimetres tall by 39 centimetres wide. Fifty-five line prints are distributed throughout, some repeated thrice or twice, but always as part of an integrated musico-visual program in which the visual iconography corresponds to the text set to music.

Wuidar has noted the hermetic aspects of the *Canone a cinque voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Regina caeli laetare* (fig. 5).³⁸ The musical subject of this canon is derived from the text using the technique of *sopra le vocali* (otherwise known as *soggetto cavato*), where the vowels of each syllable are mapped to the corresponding solmisation syllable. Accordingly, the phrase “Regina coeli letare” becomes *re, mi, fa, sol, mi, re, fa, re*. Appropriately, Valentini accompanies this canon with Marian imagery that mirrors those found respectively in the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption of Passignano and Cignoli in Santa Maria Maggiore. A musical staff drawn in the shape of an up-turned U in the *Canone a dieci voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Quasi aurora consurgens* on the following page (fig. 6) serves as a conceit alluding to Marian iconography of the crescent moon. Valentini sets to music a verse from the “Song of Songs” using the same technique of *sopra le vocali*: “Quae est ista quae progreditur, quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata?” (Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? Vulgate, Canticum Canticorum 6:9, KJV Song of Solomon, 6:10). Valentini and his contemporaries would have recognised this liturgical reference to the text of the well-known antiphon from the Office of the Assumption of Virgin. Valentini uses a similar notational reference to Marian iconography to augment musical meaning in his copy of the *Canone a quattro voci Ave Maria* (p. 14). In one of the few examples from outside the devotional program of the *Canon*, Valentini still manages to weave image and music together through his favourite device in this *Canone a cinque voci sopra vocali Radium soli* (p. 25).³⁹ In accomplishing a musico-visual display of his family emblem, Valentini seems to manipulate the *sopra le vocali* melody – since the same solmisation syllables can appear in different places – so that the name of the Valentini family climbs melodically up from the sublunar to almost touch the sun.

Frescobaldi Studies, ed. Alexander Silbiger (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987), 327–350. The earliest catalogue of the Barberini library (Barb. Lat. 3159–3160), prepared by Carlo Moroni between 1637 and 1661, lists Valentini’s manuscripts, suggesting that they enter during the composer’s lifetime or more like shortly after his death. Barb. lat. 4418 is listed at item 3289 and Barb. lat. 4428 as item 3014. Also see Lowell Lindgren and Margaret Murata, *The Barberini Manuscripts of Music* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2018), xliv–xlv.

38 Laurence Wuidar, “Imbrication de l’image, du texte et de la musique dans un corpus de prières énigmatiques à la Vierge,” *Word & Image Interactions* 6 (2009): 63–64.

39 *Ibid.*, 65–66.

The image shows a manuscript page with two columns of musical notation and lyrics. The left column is titled "CANONE A QUATTRO VOCI SOPRA" and the right column is titled "CANONE A CINQUE VOCI ALL'UNISONO". Both pages contain musical notation on staves and Latin lyrics. The right page also features a central illustration of a figure, possibly a saint or a religious figure, surrounded by a decorative border. The manuscript is handwritten and includes various annotations and markings.

Fig. 5: Pier Francesco Valentini with anonymous artist and engraver, *Canone a cinque voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Regina caeli laetare*, published 1645, copied c.1650, manuscript and pasted-in line art print on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428, p. 11. © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



Fig. 6: Pier Francesco Valentini with anonymous artist and engraver, *Canone a dieci voci all'unisono sopra le vocali Quasi aurora consurgens*, published 1645, copied c.1650, manuscript and pasted-in line art print on paper. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4428, p. 12. © 2023 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Valentini's collection of canons and religious prints in his *Canoni di diversi studi* belongs to a culture of collecting in early modern Europe. The term 'culture of collecting' refers not only to the collection, organisation and display of artworks, artefacts, and natural specimens in early galleries and museums, as was abundantly on display in seventeenth-century Rome.⁴⁰ It also encompasses the conspicuous amassing and exchange of household and personal goods from the middle of the sixteenth century. This phenomenon is amply demonstrated by the notary records and private account books from seventeenth-century Rome.⁴¹ This wealth of documentation, which includes a broad segment of the Roman middle class, forms the basis of Renata Ago's account of seventeenth-century material culture in the eternal city. Rather than representing a simple emulation of the noble classes, Ago illustrates how social and gendered behaviours reveal various attitudes to the keeping of objects, which are valued more for their aesthetic, pleasure-giving worth

⁴⁰ See, for example, Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

⁴¹ Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, trans. Bradford Bouley, Corey Tazzara, and Paula Findlen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), originally published as Renata Ago, *Gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli Editore, 2006). I will refer to the English version in this essay. Also see the collection of inventories from seventeenth-century Roman households published in Luigi Spezzaferro and Alessandro Giammaria, *Archivio del collezionismo romano* (Pisa: Edizioni della normale, 2008).

or novelty, than for their usefulness or monetary exchange value.⁴² Although this phenomenon, which Ago refers to as a “gusto for things” (*il gusto delle cose*), might be found in earlier centuries, the increased facility of material consumerism in the seventeenth century, especially in Rome, witnesses its cultivation at unprecedented levels.

Andrew Dell’Antonio provides an highly relevant reading of musical listening in early modern Italy which responds both to changing behaviours in the early modern Italian cultivation of music and the culture of collecting. Significantly, Dell’Antonio introduces his reader to the concept of “aural collecting.” In responding to Margaret Murata’s observation that a shift occurred c.1680 from the patronage of musical performances to the collecting of notated musical compositions,⁴³ Dell’Antonio proposes “a transition in the early seventeenth century from a conceptualisation of music as one of celebratory ephemera to a separation and ‘objectification,’ as it were, of music – an attempt by connoisseurs of the early *Seicento* to collect and evaluate sonic experiences.”⁴⁴ Dell’Antonio’s analysis of the music culture of *virtuosi* resonates with this present essay in its conclusion that the process of aural collecting resulted in “the connoisseurs’ attempt to characterise a sonic experience as analogous to a visual artwork and thus equally dependent on the perspective of the elite recipient – and the sharing of that perspective among sophisticated peers – for its significance and signification.”⁴⁵ Valentini participates as an expert contrapuntist who seeks to demonstrate through his canonic creations his own learnedness. Moreover, he acts as an elite intermediary between the sonic experience of music and its compositional techniques through the economy of a collection of notated canons paired with printed line artworks that serve to amplify and complement the musical text setting. Valentini’s assemblage of canons within a conscious visual program suggests that his *Canoni di diversi studi* is not simply a composer’s self-styled collected works, but musico-visual program of self-representation with the context of mid-century Roman culture.

Valentini’s emphasis on religious prints (and settings of religious texts) in this *Canoni di diversi studi* intersects with recent scholarship on the visual culture in early modern Rome. This scholarship centres on an understanding of early modern art that acknowledges the continuation of the medieval phenomenon of effective religious images and their cult in the face of an emergent modernity that instead privileges the aesthetic experience of art and the cult of its creators. Frances Gage specifically addresses this conundrum at the heart of religious imagery from early

42 Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 8.

43 Margaret Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of Its Place in Society,” in *XIV Congresso della Societa Internazionale di Musicologia*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Biaconi, and F. Alberto Gallo (Bologna: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1987), 272–284.

44 Andrew Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 36.

45 Ibid.

seventeenth-century Rome. Gage states her aim is to re-examine “the degree to which the idea of painting as an agent intervening in beholders’ daily lives coexisted with the idea of painting as an aesthetic object.”⁴⁶ Her point of departure is Hans Belting’s argument that cult imagery gave way to artistic imagery during the Reformation. Briefly, Belting argues that medieval imagery sought to embody the presence of a saint or holy being by retaining iconographical models commonly held to have been set down in the Apostolic church, for example the portrait of the Virgin Mary or *Hodegetria* attributed to St. Luke.⁴⁷ The miraculous nature of these images, which led armies to victory, survived fires, or healed the sick, further contributed to their cult. Sylvia Ferino-Pagden and Alexander Nagel likewise argue that in early modern Italy, the cult object’s powers were stripped away to become an art object for aesthetic contemplation, an artwork in the modern sense of the word whose estimation was transferred to the cult of the artist.⁴⁸ Gage instead proposes that seventeenth-century Rome witnesses a resurgence of the cult image alongside the artwork. In contrast to an evolutionary model, in which the cult image is replaced by the art image, Gage follows a synchronic model where a medieval efficacy of images runs alongside a distinctly modern aesthetic appreciation.⁴⁹

A discussion of the efficacy of images, as well as their proper use and composition, occurred at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), and was most clearly and fervidly articulated in the following years by Gabriele Paleotti in his *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images* (1582).⁵⁰ In setting out to codify Tridentine expectations for pictorial art and patrons of art, Paleotti turned to philosophy and medical discourse to defend religious imagery as effective images capable of imprinting themselves upon the imagination of viewers. In Gage’s examination of the use of images in seventeenth-century Rome, the therapeutic benefits of images also pervade the extensive writings of the Sienese physician, art broker and connoisseur Giulio Mancini (1559–1630). Mancini’s long career at the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia (in the Trastevere area of Rome) from 1592 to his death and his appointment as papal physician to Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644; secularly Maffeo Barberini) in 1623 situates him at the core of Roman artistic society in this period. Mancini’s *Consid-*

46 Frances Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome: Giulio Mancini and the Efficacy of Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2016), 3.

47 Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

48 *Ibid.*, 458–490; Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, “From Cult Images to the Cult of Images: The Case of Raphael’s Altarpieces,” in *The Altarpiece in the Renaissance*, ed. Peter Humfrey and Martin Kemp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 165–189; Alexander Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 7.

49 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 2. More generally on the range of responses to images within a long chronological frame, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

50 Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alla imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna: per Alessandro Benacci, 1582). This treatise is available in an English translation: Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, trans. William McCuaig (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2012).

erations on Pictures (*Considerazioni sulla pittura*, c.1619–1624) serves as a central witness to current attitudes to the collection, care and display of images for the benefits of viewers.⁵¹ The *Considerations* circulated widely in manuscript in the seventeenth century, facilitated by Mancini’s position as an art broker and official in the papal court. Its chapter “Rules for buying, displaying and conserving images” (*Regole per comprare, collocare e conservare le pitture*) provides interesting advice to private gentlemen for taking care with the display of certain pictures to certain persons and where they should be hung in a house.⁵² While landscapes and cosmographic pictures can be placed in public places, pictures dedicated to lascivious subjects need to be kept in a secluded place where access is limited by the “father of the house”. Pictures of pagan deities can hang in lower floor common rooms, portraits of popes and rulers in common spaces, and religious paintings in the antechamber and bed chamber, where private devotions may occur. Tellingly, in justifying the therapeutic effect of images, Mancini refers to the writings of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) who distinguishes pictures not only in terms of where to place them but by whom they may be seen depending upon their temperament, emotional state, age, sex, and other factors of character, whether those that they already possess or are in need of development.⁵³ Gage highlights the role of humanist medicine, like that transmitted by Ficino, in Mancini’s thought, particularly the ancient theory of humours, whereby “pictures represent a medical aid to those suffering from an excess of those humors.”⁵⁴ Lascivious paintings need to be kept in private places where they might aid in the procreation of “beautiful, healthy, and vigorous children.”⁵⁵ Paintings of civil deeds, peace, war or illustrious persons on the other hand should be on public display in the hall or antechamber (waiting room) where they might inspire the character of viewers to similar civic action or status. In summary, Gage writes:

... the belief in the curative and prophylactic potential of painting was not restricted to cult images or to objects destined for particular audiences, such as women, whose lives were regularly put a risk during childbirth, or even to single collections. Rather, Roman collectors and audiences in the period following Trent viewed painting as a fundamental aid, the medieval benefits of which enhanced the lives of men and women in body and mind and facilitated their performance of virtuous actions that contributed to civic harmony and well-being.⁵⁶

51 Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, 2 vols. (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1956–1957).

52 Ibid., vol. 1, 139–148; The English translation used for quotes in this article is Theron Bowcutt Butler, “Giulio Mancini’s ‘Considerations on Painting’” (Phd diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1972), 199–216.

53 Ficino’s views on the therapeutic qualities and effects of music are discussed in Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Other* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), Chapters 4 and 5.

54 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 6.

55 Butler, “Giulio Mancini’s ‘Considerations on Painting,’” 207.

56 Gage, *Painting as Medicine in Early Modern Rome*, 15–16.

Michael Bury points out earlier that Mancini had offered pertinent although brief advice concerning the beneficial or “pharmacological” use and display of drawings and prints.⁵⁷ He cites the passage in which Mancini writes (my emphasis):

In the house of a private gentleman distinguished by apartments and a variety of people in the family, this method will be observed: separate books of hand drawings will be made according to the subject matter, period, size of volume, nation and medium, pen pencil and charcoal, *acquarella*, *chiaro scuro*, oil studies, **and the same with engraved drawings as well**. Thus one may be master of displaying them with ease for their enjoyment with pleasure by the viewers. These books will be used in the most secluded places where they may be seen in comfort.⁵⁸

Bury observes that “the classification and ordering of the collection, mounted in albums ... would make it easy for the owner to show and implicitly enable him to control who saw what.”⁵⁹ The physician’s remarks have a direct bearing on this essay’s discussion of Valentini’s collection of canons and their closely related images.

In view of Mancini’s remarks on the collecting of drawings and prints, and in the context more general of the culture of collecting in early modern Rome, Valentini’s *Canoni di diversi studi* may be understood as the collection of a private gentleman, who is both an expert contrapuntist and a connoisseur of art, especially art consisting of sacred imagery. The *Canoni di diversi studi* seems to represent that type of private book destined for display to guests and selected company for their “enjoyment with pleasure.” At the same time, the type of guest that would most benefit from this collection is one clearly able to grasp the significance of Valentini’s musical *artificioso* settings of mostly religious texts, which explore esoteric canonic techniques such as *sopra la vocale*, in conjunction with related imagery. Valentini has carefully collected and curated his collection so as to project a version of his own musical, religious, and social identity (especially evident in the presence of canons on his name saints and family arms) to the viewer. In this sense, Valentini’s treatment of subject matter closely resembles Mancini’s advice on the collecting of art and drawings. There is one final piece of quite substantial evidence that illustrates Valentini’s extended participation in the culture of collecting in early modern Rome.

The inventory of goods in Valentini’s “large” apartment off the Piazza di San Pantaleo was made after his death in 1654. It illustrates his zeal for collecting and displaying images in his private home. (The Appendix to this essay provides an

57 Michael Bury, “Giulio Mancini and the Organisation of a Print Collection in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy,” in *Collecting Prints and Drawing in Europe, c. 1500–1750*, ed. Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam, and Genevieve Warwick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 79–84.

58 Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, i: 143; translation: Butler, “Giulio Mancini’s ‘Considerations on Painting,’” 206.

59 Bury, “Giulio Mancini,” 82.

edition of the hitherto unpublished inventory.)⁶⁰ Previously only considered in terms of musical instruments listed therein, the inventory lists no less than 262 pictures of varying sizes and shapes squeezed into just four main rooms (see table 1).⁶¹ Materially, they are divided into larger paintings (*quadri*), smaller paintings (*quadretti/quadrucci*), octagonal shaped paintings (*ottangoli*), round pictures, and a copperplate. Many pictures were on canvas and paper, and several were clearly drawings and even prints. Most were framed, often in plain black or white frames, regularly fully gilded or with gold details.⁶² The majority were on religious topics, including nine Madonnas, three Mary Magdalens, two copies of the Madonna and Child, several types of Christs, and various saints ranging from Saint Sebastian to Francis Xavier (including three of Saint Francis of Assisi).⁶³

Table 1: Summary of paintings by room in Valentini's apartment.

	Large picture	Small picture	Octagonal picture	Round picture	Copper-plate	Total/room
Main room	31	72	19	12	1	135
Corridor	10	14	3	0	0	27
Dining room	26	22	0	0	0	48
Bedroom	18	12	8	0	0	38
Kitchen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stairway	1	12	0	0	0	13
Attic	1	0	0	0	0	1
Courtyard	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total paintings	87	132	30	12	1	262

60 Valentini's will and inventory of goods appears in two registers from the Archives of the Archconfraternity of SS. Trinità, reg. 142 and reg. 347, in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.

61 Pictures are described as *quadri*, *quadretti*, *quadrucci*, *ottogoni*, and *tonni* (i.e. tondi). Additional rooms in Valentini's apartment included a kitchen, an attic and the stairway; a small number of pictures were inventoried in the last two rooms; there were no pictures in the kitchen, which seems an obvious situation in this period.

62 Mancini's remarks on frames may shed some light on the antiquity of some of these paintings. While he recommends plain black or white frames for most paintings that do not distract from the artwork, he suggests that frames decorated with gold can be used with older paintings whose colours have faded and Caravaggio's paintings dominated by the artist's recognisable chiaroscuro (trans. Butler, "Giulio Mancini's 'Considerations on Painting,'" 212).

63 The complete list of subjects of religious paintings that appear in the inventory is: S. Jerome, Magdalen x 3, S. Sebastian, Crucifixion, a Franciscan saint, Madonna and Child x 2, and S. John the Baptist, Madonna x 9, S. Francis x 3, a Capuchin Saint, S. Ignatius or S. Francis Xavier, S. Anagorita, Judith, Adoration of the Magi, Saviour (Salvator mundi?) X 2, Christ with the Cross, The Circumcision of Christ, The Annunciation, The Flagellation of Christ, God, King David, San Carlo (Borromeo?), S. Lawrence, Coronation of the Madonna, S. Peter, S. Sebastian, Crucifix and St Brigida, S. Agatha, S. Cecilia.

The main room or *sala* of Valentini's apartment was dominated by religious pictures and accounts for almost half of the collection (135 pictures). It even included a framed print of an unidentified musical canon, possibly one of his own printed canons. Valentini appears to have kept his musical instruments (a harpsichord without strings, a violin, a Spanish guitar, two lutes, and what seem to be four monochords) in this same room. The room adjacent to the *sala* and looking onto the street was even more concentrated in its religious imagery in a collection of 50 pictures. This room, which was possibly a dining room that served for more intimate social gatherings, seems to be where Valentini also kept a chest of musical scores or parts, a bound music book, and a catalogued collection of libretti. The pictures in a third room at the end of a corridor, which was possibly Valentini's bedroom and private study, witness a strong emphasis upon particular saints such as Lawrence, Agatha, Cecilia, and Francis, as well as an Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin. The room also contains chests and cabinets of writings and books. Like the main *sala*, the same room also housed several small reliquaries, offering further evidence for private devotional practice. While the collection of pictures is not devoid of small portraits and landscapes, overall, it points to Valentini's private life of religious devotion, a factor that was clearly instrumental in his choice to leave most of his possessions to the Roman church and confraternity of Santissima Trinità de' Pelligrini e de' Convalescenti in Ponte Sisto.

The posthumous inventory of Valentini's Roman household confirms his conspicuous participation in an early modern culture of collecting artworks and other objects. His collection provides insights into the gentleman-composer's interests and convictions through the lens of gendered and socio-economic behaviours. The collection of instruments in the main *sala* – possibly emblems of an earlier phase of Valentini's life – is not altogether unusual for this period except for the four rectangular wooden instruments (*instromenti di legno lunghi quadrati*) or monochords that signal his interest in music theory as confirmed in his surviving writings about the monochord and the tunings of the lute.⁶⁴ Valentini's extensive art collection, on the other hand, points squarely to his affluent cultivation of religious iconography and other forms of representation in a manner that resembles Mancini's advice to collectors, particularly in terms of their careful display throughout a house. The nature of the collection, especially its cult images, also denotes the ongoing efficacy of imagery upon the viewer. Valentini's grand display books, especially his *Canoni di diversi studi* represent the meeting of his visual and musical identities, ramifying his social identity as a high-born male in early modern Catholic Rome.

64 Cortesi, "Pier Francesco Valentini," 542–3. Valentini's treatise on lute tunings has been newly edited and translated into English in the following: Aidan Paul Deasy, "Pier Francesco Valentini's *Il Leuto Anatomizzato* (c.1650): A Translation and Commentary – Investigating Transposition, Intabulation, and Other Aspects of Roman Lute Practice. A Translation of *Il Leuto Anatomizzato* – and – a Contextualising Essay" (PhD diss., Edith Cowan University, 2019), available from <https://ro.ecu.edu.au/theses/2276>.

To conclude, I have set out a case for a new approach to understanding the musico-visual program in early seventeenth-century Rome, not only in relation to Valentini's collection of canons, but more broadly in the use of canons in other forms of imagery produced in this period and location. The use of canon in paintings and other related imagery in previous centuries finds expression once again through the innovative program of Passignano in Santa Maria Maggiore. Composers like Valentini also sought to connect their hermetic, indeed esoteric, canonic compositions to the same sort of imagery, especially devotional imagery. Kircher responds positively to this musico-visual phenomenon, so much so that it literally takes front stage in his new encyclopedia of music. Distinctly influenced by the centrality of Rome in the Western world and its expanding global connections, particularly through the Jesuits, the *Musurgia* represents the intersection of medieval tradition with the emergence of new scientific thinking. Yet, when read against contemporary theories of image, particularly Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla pittura*, Valentini's program of careful collecting – indeed almost scrapbooking – of his music with printed images takes on further significance. Just as a Mancini advised his readers to curate their collections of drawings or prints in books by subject, form or technique, Valentini seems to have been intent on preserving his musico-visual program as part of a collection that he could display in his *sala* for the enjoyment of viewers, friends, and associates. One can well imagine that his book, like many of his other writings about music, was intended for the *virtuosi* of Rome, the same audience to whom Mancini addressed his advice earlier in the century.

Appendix:

Posthumous inventory of P.F. Valentini's goods at his apartment located of Piazza di San Panteleo. Archives of the Archconfraternity of SS. Trinità, reg. 142 and reg. 347, in Archivio di Stato, Rome.

The text follows the inventory in reg. 142. Portions of text shown in single square brackets have been incorporated from reg. 347. Portions of text shown in double square brackets have been deleted/crossed out in reg. 142. Original orthographies have been retained.

Nella Sala

- Un quadro con un S. Girolamo con cornice d'Albuccio tinta nera d'altezza di palmi otto et larghezza sei.
- Un altro quadro grande della Madalena con cornice tutta dorata.
- Un quadro con un S. Sebastiano con cornice nera miniata d'oro.
- Un altro quadro con Christo con la Croce in spalla con cornice nera profilata d'oro.
- Un altro quadro con un Beato dell'ordine francescano con cornice d'Albuccio tinta nera.
- Un altro quadro con la Madonna col Bambino, e S Gio. Battista con cornice nera profilato, e miniata d'oro.
- Quattro quadri cioè un ritratto d'una Donna, un altro con la Madonna, un altro con S. Francesco, et un altro con una Donna che suona il Leuto, tre con cornice bianca, et una con cornice nera.
- Tre quadri cioè due Madonne, et una Madalena con cornici tutte dorate.
- Un quadretto con una testa, cornice color di pietro profilata d'oro.
- Quattro ottangoli, due con donne, e due con frutti con cornice tutta dorata.
- Sei altri ottangoli con paesi, cornice di color di pietro profilata d'oro.
- Dieci quadretti tonni con paese cornice nera semplice.
- Un quadretto in rame con il Crocefisso con la Croce in spalla cornice bianca semplice.
- Tre quadretti in carta con immagini con canone in musica.
- Sedici quadretti diversi, assai piccoli, con cornice nera semplice.
- Due acquasante di terra
- Tre altri quadri, cioè due con la Madonna, e l'altro con un Beato Cappuccino con cornice d'Albuccio profilato d'oro.
- Tre altri quadri, cioè una Madalena, Un vecchio, e due Ragazzi, due con cornice nera semplice et uno senza cornice.
- Un quadretto con un Carro Trionfale scolpito in legno con cornice nera semplice.
- Dicidotto <sic> quadretti diversi parte pittura, et parte scultura in stagno con sue cornici nere semplici.
- Sette ottangoli con paesi di Cavalleria, et uno con pesce con cornice cioè trè tutte dorate, e quattro colore di pietra profiliate d'oro.

- Un altro quadro con S. Ignatio, ò vero S. Francesco Xaverio con cornice tutta dorata.
- Un quadro con S. Anagorita con cornice colore di pietra profilata d'oro.
- Trè quadri, cioè uno con una Giuditta con cornice nera miniata d'oro, e l'altri con Donne con cornice nera semplici.
- Trè altri quadretti, cioè due con due teste, et uno con un vecchio, che Zinna, con cornice, cioè due nere, e l'altra di noce semplici.
- Due quadretti uno di gesso tutto dorato, et l'altro di Carta [-47r-] con cornice tutte dorate.
- Doi altri quadretti, cioè uno in Carta, et l'altro in tela con conici uno nero et l'altro bianca.
- Trè altri quadretti, cioè due teste di vecchi et un giovane ridente con cornice semplici.
- [[Sei altri ottangoli con paesi, e fiori, doi con cornice tutte dorate, e quattro con cornice color di pietra profilate d'oro.]]
- Sei altri ottangoli con ucelli, e paesi senza cornice.
- Quattro quadri, cioè due con due donne con cornice nera profilate, e miniata d'oro, et due altri cioè un Santo Sebastiano senza cornice, e S. Cecilia con cornice color di noce semplice.
- Trè altri quadri con ritratti senza cornice.
- Dieci quadretti diversi con cornici nere semplici, e due profilate d'oro inclusioni un Giesù ricamato in Terzanello crimisino senza cornice.
- Doi altri quadretti tonni con paesi con cornice nera semplice.
- Due ottangoli con paesi, con cornice colore di pietra profilate d'oro.
- Due reliquiarietti con dentro la Madonna di Loreto, e nell'altro una Croce
- Quattro arme piccole di cartone pisto dorate.
- Un specchio con cornice dorata tutta.
- Sei teste di stucco vecchie con una statuetta di gesso.
- Dicidotto bambocetti di terra con una canestrina di frutti [-47v-] di terra, et un quadretta di terra con un ragazzo con a Tridente in mano.
- Un hora di polvere.
- Un crocifisso di legno con sua Croce.
- Un Archibugio à miccio, un Terzarolo alla norca à rota, una mezza spada et un stortino, et una [a]labarda tutti vecchi e rotti.
- Una credenza di noce con due Tirafuori.
- Una scanziaccia vecchia di più pezzi ripiena di opere inscripti con suo corame sopra roscio, et torchino fiorato d'oro con doi coscini sopra simili.
- Un altro coscino con foderetta, con reticella vecchio, et rotto.
- Una tavola di pietra incassata in una tavola d'Albuccio con suoi tiratori, e suoi piedi torniti.
- Un Buffetto di noce. Un ginocchiatore di noce con due Tiratori.
- Una Tavola di noce con suoi tiratori, e ferri.

Una Cassa d'Albuccio tinta rossa, piena di scritti a mano, con un panno verde di sopra assai vecchia e rotta. Doi scabelli d'Albuccio tinti verdi vecchi sotto la sudetta cassa.

Un forziere vecchio, con dentro un asciugatore usato con francia, et un pezzo di tovaglia assai strappalo.

Un Cimbalo d'Abeto senza corde coperte di Corame vecchio assai e rotto.
[Un Credenzino vecchio con suoi tiratori coperto di corame vecchio.]

Un scrignetto d'Albuccio tinto rosso vecchio semplice
[-48r-] Un lettorino d'Albuccio, tinto rosso.

Cinque scabelli di noce usati con appoggio.

Quattro scabelli d'Albuccio rossi usati.

Un scabellone simile con dentro alcuni stracci bianchi, et un piaro di guanti.

Un violino, una Chitarra alla Spagnola, due leuti, e quattro Instrumenti di legno lunghi quadrati

Quattro sedie di vacchetta rosse con francie, et con chiodi d'ottone.

Nel Corritore

In primis tutto parato di corame d'oro, e d'argento usate, e vecchi, con quattro portiere simili.

Un telaro da quadro intagliato senza pittura dentro.

Un Crocifissetto di Legno,

Trè quadretti di carta senza cornice.

Un quadro con un ritratto senza cornice vecchio

Un arma tonda di legno dorata, e colorata.

Un quadro della Madalena con cornice nera semplice.

Otto quadri diversa, cioè quattro con cornice semplice, e quattro senza cornice.

Quattro quadretti di Taffettano giallo con cornici tutte dorate.

Otto quadretti di diverse sorte vecchi con cornice semplice

Due quadretti lunghi, uno in carta, e l'altro in tela con cornice nera semplice.

Due scabelli di noce vecchi con l'appoggio.

Un armadietto di tavolaccine vecchie pieno di scritti à mano, coperta con un corame vecchio, sopra del quale vi è un scrignetto vecchio foderato di corame stampato.

Un scabellone d'Albuccio rosso pieno di scritti à mano. Un altro simile con diversi stracci bianchi con tre salvietti, et una tovaglia.

Una scanzia da uso di credenzone, alta d'Albuccio con otto scanziole pieno di diversi libri stampati.

Nella Camera contigua alla sala, che risponde in strada.

Detta Camera apparata di corami argento, et oro smaltati di roscio vecchi assai.

Un quadro della scala di Jacobo.

Doi altri di fiori rossi, e bianchi; Un quadretto d'un Cristo in tavola cornice nera.

Un altro quadruccio de frutti con un Melone.

Un altro quadruccio in carta con l'adoratione de Maggi

- Una testa d'un Salvatore in carta.
Un quadruccio della Madonna con d'adoratione de Maggi cornice dorata.
Sei quadri diversi in carta con Musica et altre figure.
Un quadro con un Christo con la Croce in spalla cornice nera.
Due quadrucci di paesi senza cornici.
Un quadro della Criconcisione cornice nera.
Un altro dell'Annuntiata cornice di color di noce.
Un altro della flagellatione di Nostro Singore cornice nera.
Quattro quadrucci di prospettiva in carta gialla cornice nera.
Un quadruccio d'un paese cornice d'ottangolo indorata.
Un quadro in carta di mappamondo cornice nera.
Un altro di Giudiaco in carta cornice nera.
[Un altro in carta paese di Roma.
Un altro in carta pronostica cornice nera.]
Un orologio con i contrappesi.
Un acquasanta di terra colorata.
Un quadro de frutti cornice color di noce.
Un quadro della Madonna con le mani giunte in tela, cornice nera.
Un quadro di Dio Padre con Adamo cornice nera [parte dorate].
Un testa d San. Francesco cornice nera parte rata.
Un quadro di David in carta cornice nera.
Un quadro in carta con diverse figure, cornice nera.
Un altro d'una prospettiva cornice nera.
Un altro del Salvatore cornice nera smaltata con profili d'oro
Un altro del Giudiaco in carta cornice nera.
Tre altri quadrucci di musica.
Un altro in carta imagines Celi meridionales.
Un altro Celi septentrionales.
Una testa di San Carlo cornice nera vecchio, e rotto.
Una testa d'una Donna cornice nera.
Una testa d'una Madonna con il putto cornice nera.
Un altro di due teste in carta cornice nera.
Una testa d'un Cardinale senza cornice.
Due libarde.
Due Buffetti de noce.
Un Christo in Croce con reliquie.
Una sedia de vacchetta con francia verde
Due altre sediole basse di vacchetta francie verdi.
Una tavola grande con corame oro smaltato di nero, usato, e rotto.
Una sedia di montone francia gialla, e verde.
Tre scabelli di noci.
Un tavolino d'Albuccio con un tappeto roscio giallo, e torchino usato.
Un matarazzo di lana rotto con una coperta usata rigata alle teste torchine, e gialle.

Un forziere di Montone con dentro l'infrascritte robbe.
Un gippone de cataluffo nero.
Un ferraiolo curto di saietta di Milano.
Un altro buratto di Lione.
Un paro di calzoni di buratto di Lione.
Un altro cataluffo nero. Un altro paro di taffettano à spina.
Un Gippone, e calzoni di burattino, bianco, e roscio, tutte rotte usate, vecchie, et rotte.
Una Cassetta di pinta di roscio.
Un altra Cassa da Campagna, coperta di corame, [-50r-] et imbollettata con bollette d'ottone vecchia, usata assai, con dentro alcune opera di Musica.
Due foderette lavorate di roscio.
Un Credenzione
Un scabellone à doi, tinto di noce.
Un Libro di Musica [Una coperta di Corame].
Una borsa di Corame rosso per viaggiare.
Un credenzione alto, una cassa d'Albuccio tinto à noce, pieno di diversi libretti, con scanzie numer[at]e nove, con suo Inventario.

Nella Camera in fine del Corritore

Un quadro di S. Lorenzo con cornice dorata.
Un quadro con quattro teste con cornice nera
Un quadro piccolo con due teste cornice dorata.
Un ritratto in tela d'Imperatore del per Signore Pier Francesco Valentini.
Un quadro con due figurine piccole, con cornice ora, e nera.
Un quadro della pittura con cornice oro, e nera.
[Un quadro dell'Ascensione in telo con cornice nera.]
Un quadro della Coronatione della Madonna con cornice d'oro.
Un quadro della Madonna con il Bambino che dorme con cornice bianco profilata d'oro.
Due teste di vecchi con cornice dorata, e miniata d'oro.
Un S. Pietro con cornice nera semplice.
Un S. Sebastiano con cornice nera semplice.
Una testa con cornice nera, et oro.
Un quadro con un Crocifisso con Santa Brigida con cornice tinta a noce.
Un altro di S. Agata con cornice tinta à noce.
Un altro quadro di Santa Cecilia con cornice bianca.
Un quadro della Madonna con cornice colore di noce.
Un quadro di San Francesco con cornice nera.
Dodici quadretti in carta gialla con cornice nera tutti paesi.
Otto reliquiarii diversi.
Otto ottangoli diversi, con cornici diversi.

Un specchio con cornice nera miniata d'oro.
Un orologio à contrap[*p*]esi.
Un archibugio à focile; Una spada, un pugnale, et una mezza spada. Un [*a*]labarda.
Un acquasanta di stagno
Un altra di terra colorita d'Abbronzio.
Una tavola di noce, con suoi tiratori pieni di libri à mano scritti.
Quattro cassette in forma di studioli, piene di scritture diverse.
Una cassetta piena di scritture.
Una cassa coperta di corame, con dentro l'infrascritte robbe cioè
Un ferraiolo di roverso nero.
Un gippone di terzanello nero.
Un paro di calzoni, et un gippone di taffettano verde et un cappello;
Un paro di calzoni e maniche di teletta vellutata con la casaccha di riverso.
Una copertina di bambace, et seta con il suo tornaletto.
Una coperta di tela bianca à quadretti.
Un paro di scarpini nuovi.
Una coperta gialla di lana.
Un altra coperta di lana rossa, assai vecchia.
Un altra cassa d'Albuccio tinta à noce con dentro l'infrascritte robbe cioè doi Bal-
andranì, uno verdi e l'altro paonazzo di riverso et il verde di ciambellano.
Un inginocchiatore di noce, con li suoi tiratori con dentro, una bilancetta dà pesare
oro.
Un Armarietto con diverse scritture sotto, coperta di corame, con sopra un studio-
letto, con libri, e scritture diverse.
Un calamaro grande di legno lavorato.
Due cassette da servitio.
Un altro Tavolino di noce.
Un scabellone pieno di scritture diverse.
Un quattro scabelli d'Albuccio.
Tre sedio di corame vecchie.
Un letto con due matarazzi. doi capezzali, sei coscini, un pagliaccio, un tornaletto,
coperta di lana bianca, et banchi e tavole.
Nove candelieri d'ottone parte da oglio, et parte da candela,
Dui orologii da polvere.
Una scanzia d'Albuccio tinta rossa, et à noce piena di libri, e scritture diverse.
Sotto al cammino diversi ferri, e chiavi.
Una testa di terra, et immagine di legno.
Apparato di corami rossi 'doro, et argento, con quale è ornata detta camera.

Nella Cucina

Un caldaro di rame mezzano.
Una brocca di rame, una ramina dà collari.

Due Cocoline di rame, una grande de l'altra piccola.

[-51v-]

Un baccile d'ottone dà Barbieri

Un trepiede da foco di ferro grande.

Un secchio di rame.

Un paro di capofuochi bassi con le palle d'ottone.

Una graticola di ferro. Un forcinetta di ferro.

Un schiumarello di ferro.

Due padelle dà friggere, una grande, e l'altra piccola.

Una padella dà Caldaroste; Un polzonetto di rame.

Un schiumarello di ferro; Un tiella di rame.

Una bastardella ò Concoletta di rame con manichi di ferro. Due accette.

Un rinfrescatore di rame con manichi di rame.

Un paro di capofuochi alti con palle d'ottone dà cucina.

Un mortaro di marmo con il suo pestello di legno.

Una paletta con la palla d'ottone.

Un altra graticoletta di ferro.

Tre scabelletti d'Albuccio. Un tavolinetto d'antano.

Due para di ammollette con le palle d'ottone.

Una padelluccio dà cuocere ova.

Due trepiedi di ferro, un grande, et un piccolo.

Un spiedo piccolo. Un mortaro di bronzo.

Due para di lenzuola brutte. Una Camiscia brutta.

Nel salire delle scale

Un mappamondo.

Nove teste di sibillo.

Tre teste d'Huomini.

Nella soffitta

Banchi e tavole per un letto.

Due Buffichi gialli dà olio.

Una vettinella, una sedia à braccio all'antica.

Un scabello vecchio.

Un mappamondo senza cornice.

Nel Cortile.

Un Carratello, et un mezzo baule.

