

SONDERDRUCK AUS:

# ANIMATIONEN/ TRANSGRESSIONEN

DAS KUNSTWERK ALS LEBEWESEN

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## Harmonic Force in Cinquecento Painting

*How potent, pray, must have been that melody by whose virtue gods, ancestral spirits, unclean demons, animals without reason, and things insensate were said to be moved!*

Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices* (1473–74)<sup>1</sup>

To follow the account in Daniel P. Walker's classic study, Renaissance writers on the occult traced the magic they knew to two mythical fathers: Orpheus, an ancient Greek philosopher who learned to charm rocks and animals with music, and Hermes Trismegistis, a contemporary of Moses who had written authoritatively on the invocation of demons that would inhabit statues and bring them to life.<sup>2</sup> Walker suggested that, from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, these two figures could be assimilated into the same musical genealogy. Both had found means of channeling cosmic forces into the human realm; both, in doing this, had utilized spirits as the mediums for their operations; both, in the end, had thereby provided intellectual foundations for Plato, for neo-Platonists, and even for early Christian theologians. In the Ficinian tradition that was Walker's primary subject, music and the visual arts, or at least lyric and statue-making, had related etiologies, origins that suggested the affiliation of each with magic.

In his study, Walker gave attention neither to visual material contemporary with his texts, nor to the Renaissance literature of art. His demonstration, nevertheless, that Renaissance magic was frequently understood as a type of musical performance is helpful for thinking about painting and sculpture in the period as well. Today, we tend to regard the musical comparisons Renaissance thinkers increasingly used when describing what it was that the artist did in terms of the *paragone* – as arguments, that is, in support of the social elevation of the artist. Music could lend itself to the arts for other reasons as well, however, reasons similar to those for which it lent itself to magic. The argument in what follows is that likening art to music illuminated the affective powers of the artistic *opus*, its capacity to captivate persons and to change and move its objects.

An especially useful theoretical point of departure is offered by Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's 1584 *Treatise on Painting*, a text that gives extensive attention to pictorial animation, and one that, as Robert Klein demonstrated long ago, was informed by its author's reading of the occultist writings of Henry Cornelius Agrippa.<sup>3</sup> Consider, to begin, the definition that opens the treatise:

Painting is an art that, with lines proportionate to and colors similar to the nature of things, and following the light of perspective, so imitates the nature of corporeal things, that it represents, on a flat surface, not only the size and the relief of bodies, but also their motion, and visibly shows to our eyes the many affects and passions of the mind.<sup>4</sup>

Lomazzo's emphasis on what he calls the »light of perspective« suggests that painting is underwritten by an optics, and that it is made from a point of view. Yet the rest of the passage contradicts a basic idea that such an approach to painting might seem to imply, namely, that the painter should be concerned primarily with the world's appearances. Twice, Lomazzo specifies that what the painter represents is not the look, but the »nature of things«. The attention he gives to number and proportion suggest that his ideal painting would be an imitation but not quite a portrayal, a model as much as a copy of the things it renders. And at the end of the definition, Lomazzo further notes that the bodies the painting comprises must be correct not only in their contours and volumes, but also in their actions and passions; painting has to capture ephemeral and even imperceptible states.

This is to say that, for Lomazzo, the painter had to study spirits as well as bodies, and in such a recommendation, of course, he was not alone. What does distinguish Lomazzo's own shaping of the latter problem, however, is a suggestion he makes further along: that as the artist thinks about how to depict moving things with static means, he should start with the problem of how movement comes to be *introduced* into something immobile. In book 2, chapter 2, Lomazzo puts the issue as follows:

The topic here is one that will also be treated subsequently, namely that of motion, that is, with what art the painter has to give motion fittingly to the figure, according to the nature of the relation between form and material; as I have said, it is precisely in this that the spirit and the life of art consists. Sometimes painters are accustomed to calling this »fury«, sometimes »grace«, sometimes »excellence of art« [...]. With it, painters make it known that the dead are different from the living, the proud from the humble, the mad from the wise, the sad from the happy, and, in sum, they make known all of the distinct passions and gestures that a human body can show and make a distinctive. We refer to three things with the word »motion« for no other reason than for a certain expression and extrinsic demonstration in the body of the things that the spirit undergoes internally, for one knows the internal motions of people in this way, no has than one

does, either through their words, or rather, through the operation of their own bodies, which does nothing more or less than that which is ordered by the rational soul, which is turned either to the good, or the bad, according to what it apprehends.

Thus it is that painters who understand these things, rare as they may be, let it one see in their paintings the marvelous works of a secret nature, moved by that inciting virtue that, being hidden within the heart, continually shows itself in the body's exterior, and sends forth its little branches through the body's exterior members [...].<sup>5</sup>

In Walker's history of Renaissance magic, he relies at several points on a distinction between what he calls »subjective magic«, the invocation of spirits that allow healing, prognostication or other internal transformations and effects, and »transitive magic«, the operations that affect other objects and beings.<sup>6</sup> The intuitiveness of the distinction helps throw the strangeness of Lomazzo's comments into relief. When the Milanese painter centers his discussion of motion on concepts like *grazia* and *furia*, he is, of course, relying on some of the most common topics of Renaissance art theory.<sup>7</sup> What is surprising, however, is what he does with these. For when Lomazzo identifies grace and fury with what he calls »artistic excellence«, he treats these energies not as aesthetic qualities inherent in good depiction, but rather as the functions by which the painter *gives motion* to a figure, such that his art has »spirit« and »life«. The point is not – as one might expect with such a language of inspiration – that the painter should pursue a fluid style or seek divine guidance; rather, it is that the body with which the artist works can be conceived as one into which spiritual qualities are infused: as a hollow form occupied by an angel or demon, or even a type of ecstatic or prophet, moved by its reception of divine forces. What Lomazzo does, in other words, is to collapse the distinction between the subjective and the transitive, or better, to transform the former into the latter. The artwork will not just be graceful; it will be be-graced.

Lomazzo's ideal pictorial body becomes a legible expression of what he calls the »secret nature« that controls it, and it is consequently tempting to compare his ideas about painting with the interest he displays elsewhere in automata.<sup>8</sup> As if the painter, too, were making a kind of machine, with hidden inner mechanisms, Lomazzo encourages the artist to think in terms of the links between visible performances and their occult causes. He even has a name for what connects one to the other: he refers to it as the works' *virtù motiva*. As his talk of this virtue being »hidden in the heart« and »sending forth little branches« evokes the image of the circulatory system, he encourages the painter to meditate on the nature of the soul, and on the displacement of members it effects.<sup>9</sup> That the effects for which this »secret nature« and »inciting virtue« may be responsible – grace, fury – blur the distinction between animation and apprehension underscores the degree to which motion, for Lomazzo, is not only quantitative, but also qualitative.<sup>10</sup>

To get a clearer picture of how the movement and the effects of this nature and virtue work, it is helpful to compare the line of thinking Lomazzo pursues in Book Two, Chapter Six of the *Trattato*, where he outlines another transitive model of animation, according to which the body's movements have mimetic causes: in this chapter, entitled »How the Body Changes by Means of Imitation«, Lomazzo concludes that »if we wish to discuss all of the various effects that a human body can create, we will always find within them a certain sort of power, a half-occult force, which, by means of similitude, induces others to imitate it, and to move themselves accordingly.«<sup>11</sup> If, elsewhere, Lomazzo focuses on how a body's motive powers are transmitted, here he explains the way they generate their effects. Their power is a »force of similitude«: the picture of a moving body is, as it were, a picture of a spirit, for the spirit transforms the body into an image of itself.

This was not, in Early Modern Europe, an uncommon notion. It was the basic principle that underlay the whole science of physiognomics, the variety of »resemblance« that Michel Foucault analyzed under the rubric of »sympathy«.<sup>12</sup> The effect Lomazzo attributes to this »force of similitude,« moreover, bears comparison with those that James G. Frazer famously described under the heading »sympathetic magic«:

If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion.<sup>13</sup>

Frazer's »principles« have, over the last century, been attacked on various grounds, and this is not the place to rehearse all of the objections critics have raised to their anthropological value. More of interest here is how closely Lomazzo's theory of painting anticipates one classic definition of magic. Inasmuch as Lomazzo contends that the movement of a body constitutes a kind of echo, repeating the movements of another, he illustrates Frazer's »Law of Similarity«. And inasmuch as this happens on account of what Lomazzo calls a »power« or »force«, one that extends from a primary to a secondary form, he also provides for the contact required by Frazer's »Law of Contagion«. What makes these ideas especially important for a treatise on painting is the assumption on which the combination, in Lomazzo's case, seems to rely: that the contact behind contagion might be purely visual, that it might require nothing more than the look of the body doing the work. To follow Lomazzo, the transmission of motion might be *identical* with the creation of an image; conversely, all powerful images contain potential motion within themselves.

Such a logic helps to make sense of the judgments Lomazzo passes on various painters. On Titian, for example – one of his favorites – he writes: »Nor should we neglect the great Titian, who, studying the difficulties of these

motions deservedly obtained the name ›first painter‹ – as his figures attest, in each of which resplends a certain *motory force, which seems to incite everyone to imitate it*« (emphasis mine).<sup>14</sup> Now the rules of sympathy cause virtues to move not only downward and outward within the same body – from heart to limb – but also from one body to the next. The painting serves as a link in a chain, as an effect, as it were, that becomes a cause. We might compare the explanation of pictorial naturalism that appears in the opening lines of the *Trattato*'s second book:

There can be no doubt that all of those figural motions that appear similar to natural motions have enormous grace, and, by contrast, that all of those motions that distance themselves from nature are lacking in every grace, as if discordant, in a certain sense, with nature, in the manner that cords are in a dissonant instrument. These movements, expressed so vividly from nature in a figure, not only carry grace themselves, but also have the same effect that natural figures do. Thus, just as someone who laughs or cries or makes another effect (for the most part) naturally moves others who see this to the same expression affect of happiness or sadness [...] so, and not otherwise, does a painting, represented, as said above, with motions portrayed from nature, will doubtless make [the viewer] laugh with [a figure who] laughs, think with one who thinks, lament with one who cries, rejoice and celebrate with one who cheers [...].<sup>15</sup>

Pictorial naturalism, to follow this passage, stands in a two-fold relation to the world: it implies a bond maintaining between the depiction and the depicted, but it also implies a similar bond that holds between the picture and the viewer. Good representations do not just *signify* the motions of a soul in the body – the painted surface is not a physiognomy, revealing a determinative interior – rather, good representations *convey* those motions, capturing them, carrying them forth and discharging them onto the souls of others. It is in the course of making this point that Lomazzo modulates from an imagery of »virtue« and »branches« to one of music. In part, his argument now is that every movement reveals another: figures move because of, figures move *into*, their likeness to other figures; when a pictorial figure has grace, when it carries out motions in the way they are carried out in nature, that figure becomes *assonant*. In part, the argument is that magic bears on picture-making because images, like sounds, cross distances to allow contact between divided things. The »match« of the representation to the original, as Lomazzo suggests, is like the sympathetic movement of an adjacent string. Mimesis is attunement.<sup>16</sup>

It is possible that Lomazzo means all of this metaphorically. His discussion might, for example, be compared with that of Francisco de Hollanda, who had written a few years before that the painter should *hear* »the Music and the numbers in order to know the true harmony and the beautiful consonance of the contour, the shadows, the affects, the foreshortening, the colors in the highlights and the relief«. <sup>17</sup> More likely, though, is that Lomazzo is thinking about musical causation in more literal terms, for elsewhere, he echoes the

Platonic belief that the soul itself is a harmonic entity:

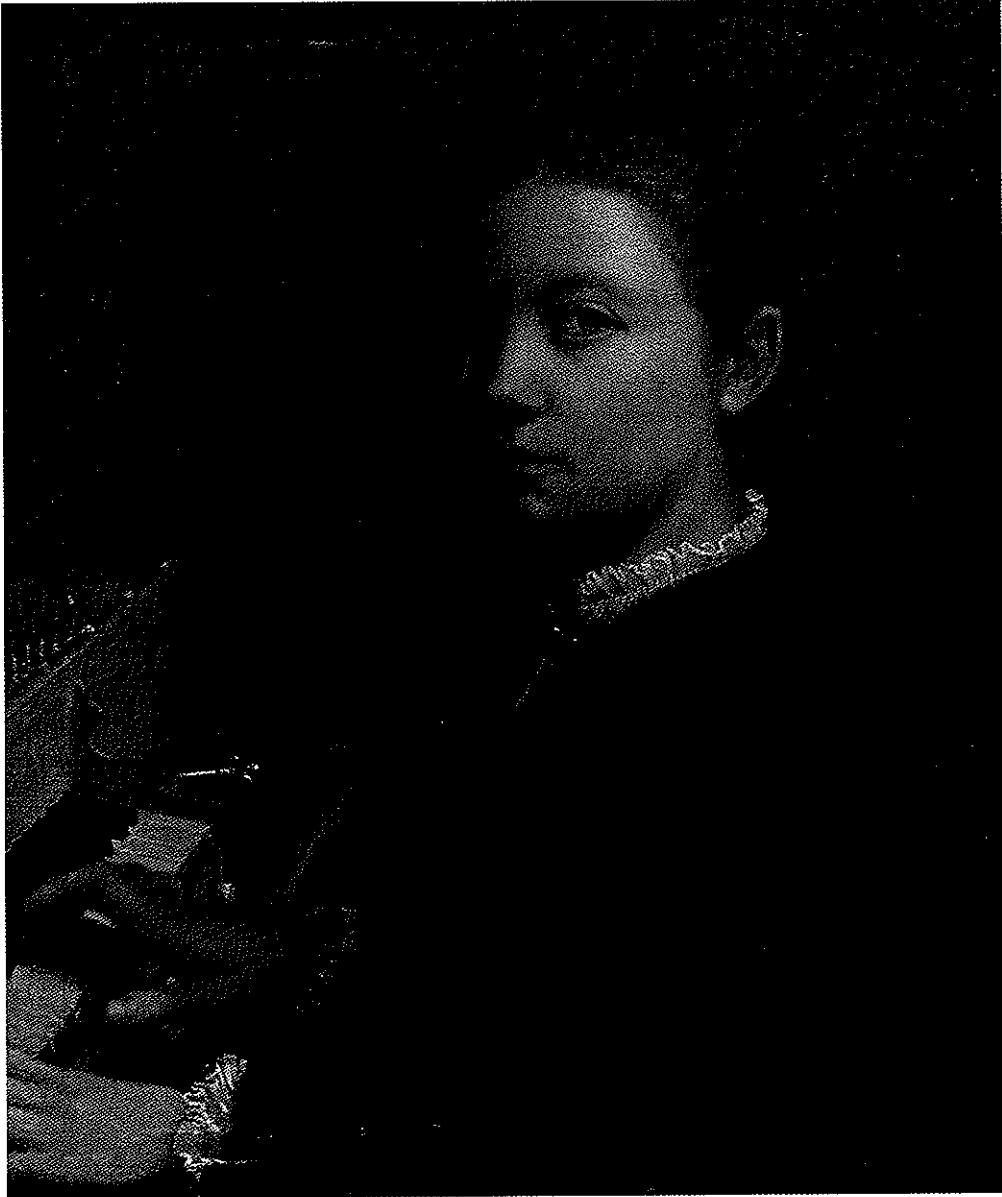
The ancient philosophers, having understood, and evidently, having known the necessary composition of our soul, which is called »harmony«, were of various and different opinions with regard to the means by which this composition came about and by which it was caused.<sup>18</sup>

Treating naturalism as a musical problem makes sense if naturalism depends on the rendering of the soul (via its effects on the body), and if the soul itself must be, so to speak, »sounded«. Lomazzo's point, in fact, may be the same one that another north Italian writer of his day, Gregorio Comanini, made in his own art theoretical dialogue, *Il Figino*:

Now, representing all of the passions and *affetti* in the stories that we paint, with the things that are suitable to them and with their proper movements, we come to cause a great variety of things that delight and please, alluring and attracting [others] to themselves, with the sweet force of our spirits, in a way no different from that which the gentle harmony and the sweet concert of the musician or the excellent performer does, drawing in the souls of those who listen, a thing so powerful and efficacious, that one reads of the musician praised for having, with his playing, made men first go insane, and then return to their original state.<sup>19</sup>

Comanini, drawing in part on Alberti's precept that »bodies should move in relation to one another with a certain harmony in accordance with the action«, claims that painters, when they set a figure in motion, do not just represent motion, but actually cause it.<sup>20</sup> The analogy between the painting and the musician is, in the first place, a comparison of the like effects they have on their audiences. For the painter to aspire to this, however, he or she must first think about music's force at another level: what the painter would do *with* images he or she must first do *in* them. Lomazzo's own text, of course, may suggest that the distinction itself was ultimately moot, since a well-rendered depiction of motion would *also* cause the audience of a painting to move in *its* likeness. Most important here, though, is that when both writers, active in Northern Italy in the last decades of the sixteenth century, encouraged the painter to think in musical terms, they argued for a painting wherein the bodies would reveal the painter's magic.

To evaluate fully the relevance of ideas like these to the actual practice of painting in the sixteenth century, it would be necessary to give extended attention to the work of those painters for whom we know music was important. This would include, in the first place, painters who were also practicing musicians: Verrocchio, Leonardo, Pordenone, Sebastiano del Piombo, Rosso Fiorentino, Paris Bordone, and Bronzino, to name a few.<sup>21</sup> It would, moreover, include the numerous painters who, beginning about mid-century, began to associate themselves with musical emblems or actually to portray themselves as musicians (fig. 1). Finally, it would include painters who wrote about the relationship between painting and music, or to whom thoughts along these



1. *Sofonisba Anguissola, Self-Portrait at the Clavichord, 1555–56, oil on canvas, 56,5 × 48 cm.*

lines were attributed. A particularly extraordinary example of this is the story that Bellori tells about Federico Barocci:

After making a large cartoon, he made another, smaller one, in which he distributed the grades of colors with their proportions, and sought to find them between color and color, such that all of the colors together would, between themselves, have concord and union, without offending one another. He used to say that, just as the melody of the voice delights the ear, so does the eye delight in the consonance of colors, accompanied by the harmony of the contours. He



called his painting music, and when Duke Guidobaldo once asked him what he was doing, he replied, »I am tuning this piece«, nodding to the picture he was painting.<sup>22</sup>

Whether we think about this sort of anecdote in relation to the *colorito* for which Barrocci is famous, or in conjunction with the ways those paintings allegedly moved their early viewers (Filippo Neri's ecstasies before one of them being a particularly telling example), it is easy enough to make sense of the idea that the artist aimed for an affective ›consonance‹ of colors. The anecdote would place Barocci at the beginning of a long tradition of associating painting's most ›musical‹ qualities with color. Yet there is also one detail in the story that ties Barocci to an earlier manner of thinking as well: that it was not only in the colors but also in the contours (what Bellori calls the *lineamenti*) of a painting that music might be embodied, and that, in this, the crucial musical element involved was that of *harmony*.

It would seem, in fact, that when artists were specific about the aspect of music their painting invoked, it was not, on the whole, melody, or rhythm, or tone that they invoked, but harmony. Sofonisba Anguissola's early biographers, commenting on her musical talents, drew attention exclusively to her *singing*, yet when she portrayed herself as a musician, she showed herself not as a vocalist, but as a keyboard player.<sup>23</sup> When Paul Bril seated himself at the easel with an instrument (fig. 2), it was a lute he strummed.<sup>24</sup> And when Veronese, by contrast to these painter-musicians, showed himself playing a viol, an instrument that usually sounds but one note at a time, he placed himself, remarkably, within a quartet of artists.<sup>25</sup> The visual music of painters came in chords.

We have already seen Bellori attribute to Barocci the idea that visual harmonics became manifest especially in a painting's contours. Related ideas can be traced back to Leonardo. Like many after him, Leonardo suggested that the painter and the musician were alike in that both worked with harmonies. Whereas writers in the seventeenth-century and after raised this topic in the context of discussing tonal composition, however, Leonardo left the comparison rather more open-ended, using the enlivened body itself as his crucial theoretical hook:

Music should not be called anything other than a sister of painting, given that the former is the subject of hearing, the latter sensed by the eye, and that it composes harmony through the conjunction of proportional parts, operated in the same moment [*tempo*], and constrained to be born and to die in one or more harmonic moments [*tempi armonici*]. These moments encompass the proportionality of the members, and out of this harmony is composed, just as [in painting] the contour line encompasses the members, out of which human beauty is generated.<sup>26</sup>

This passage, and in particular, the exact meaning of Leonardo's term *tempi*, has proven especially challenging to Leonardo scholars. Emanuel Winternitz,



2. Paul Bril, *Self-Portrait*, 1595–1600, oil on canvas, 71 × 77,5 cm.

for example, in his book on Leonardo as a musician, translates the phrase *tempi armonici* as »harmonic sections«, that is, as temporally extended portions of a musical piece.<sup>27</sup> Claire Farago, in her important study of Leonardo's *paragone*, translates the same phrase with the more appealingly cognate »harmonic tempos«, suggesting, like Winternitz, that Leonardo is concerned primarily with the »sequential perception as happens with sound«.<sup>28</sup> Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker, by contrast to both of these options, render *tempi harmonici* with the English »harmonic intervals«, a choice that significantly changes the meaning of the whole passage inasmuch as it assumes Leonardo is thinking about the experience of music, like the experience of painting, in terms of momentary, even timeless, phenomena.<sup>29</sup> In the most careful recent discussion of the passage, finally, Frank Fehrenbach, with reference to an earlier study by Augusto Marinoni, describes Leonardo's *tempi armonici* as extremely brief though nevertheless temporally dilated harmonic instants, treating the music in which they participate as a sequence of »successive simultaneities«, each of which corresponds to an act of perception with minimal duration.<sup>30</sup> This last interpretation is perhaps the most helpful here, for it elucidates how Leonardo

could conceive of his »harmonic moments« as bodies, with members – bodies in which, as he writes elsewhere, music »comes alive and dies«.<sup>31</sup>

Leonardo's comparison between the two sister arts depends on the fact that both painting and music are »operative« undertakings, that both address the sense organs of a witness, that both take figures and their parts as their primary means, and that the arrangements both arts produce are governed by proportion and contour. The key term in the passage is *circumscription*: rather than suggesting that contour lines constitute the edges of forms, Leonardo contends that they »encompass« [*circonmano*] the body's members, comparing this to the musical figures that are »constrained« [*constrette*] by harmony. The emphasis on the proportionality of the figure reminds us that proportion, being fundamentally a matter of harmonics, can be affective as much as descriptive or idealizing – we may recall that Leonardo's contemporary Gauricus, too, approached the topic of figural animation as a problem of *symmetria*, a term that Klein aptly translated with the French »harmonie«.<sup>32</sup> And though it may be easier to visualize what Leonardo means when he writes of the painter's *linea circumferentiale* than when he writes of the contour of a *tempo armonico*, what the comparison illustrates is how the general artistic problem of human proportion, a basic interest of writers from Alberti onwards, entails performance as much as depiction.

If we think about Leonardo in relation to later sixteenth-century writers, his *paragone* will place us squarely in the realm of what following Walker we might call the »transitive« operations of the painter, for every Cinquecento writer would have taken it for granted that it was harmony that gave music its power to move.<sup>33</sup> And approaching Lomazzo's own comments on art and music with Leonardo's emphasis on figuration in mind, in fact, the discussion may well bring us back to the topic of demonic and spiritual magic *per se*. As it happens, Lomazzo invokes the *spiritato* – the possessed, »bespirited« figure – just twice in his treatise on painting. The first, as we might expect, is in his description of the characteristic actions of the insane:

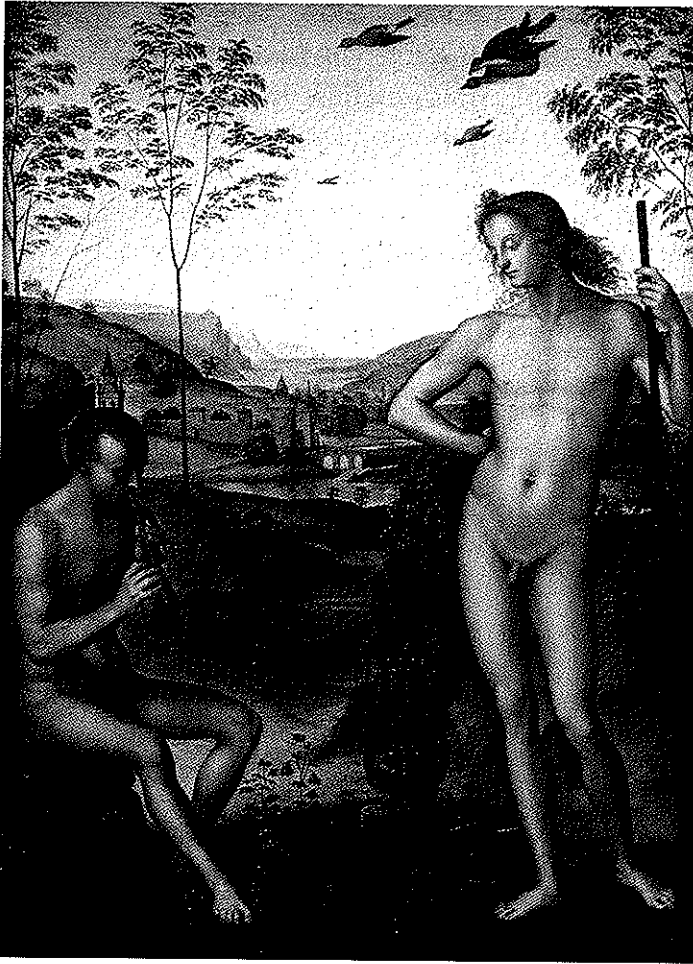
[T]he movements of lunatics, who, as one reads in the Gospels, were cured by Christ, are, in short, like [those of] a man who is outside of himself, who doesn't know what to think, or what to do. To depict such a condition, it will be necessary that, in the first place, the hair [of the figure] be made disheveled, or unkempt, the eyes crossed, or rolled, the nostrils dirty, the lips swollen and twisted in strong ways, the teeth foaming, such that they are revealed more in one place than in another, the arms, hands and legs trembling, such that they always seem on the verge of collapsing, in the manner of a man who, walks, without strength. [These figures should be made such that they] shake their heads, contort themselves, and wave their whole bodies, with a deathly, pallid, livid color. In a similar way, one can represent the one mentioned in Gospels as having been possessed [*spiritato*], merely by making the movements described above a bit more vehement.<sup>34</sup>

The *spiritato*, for Lomazzo, was a limit case of the madman, a type characterized by extreme activity and contortion, but also by being »outside oneself«. And although, in context, Lomazzo's representational prescriptions here may seem to matter for only a narrow category of paintings, the proposal becomes intriguing when it is juxtaposed with its author's only *other* mention of the *spiritato*, one that appears just a few pages before, in the immediately preceding chapter. There, Lomazzo offers his thoughts on the representation of what he calls »inconstancy« (*volubilità*).

Inconstancy is responsible for various mobile and uncertain gestures, like those of one who has no steadfastness in himself, one who makes, all in a short time, diverse gestures with his hands, feet, legs, arms, and head, without knowing what he is doing – joking, laughing, exulting, and leaping about in strange manners, all contrary to steadfastness, and to the movements of a sensible, thoughtful man. These movements are proper to drunks, madmen, angry people and frivolous ones, all of whom, if they appear to make movements different from those that I have described, certainly do not look like they should, just as, for example, Saul, in another semblance and movement, will not appear to us to be possessed [*spiritato*], as in truth he was when he heard David's music, with which he used to calm himself. And if dancing did not acquire grace from the music [to which it is done], I would say that the movement of dancing would count among the most suitable movements for representing a madman.<sup>35</sup>

As we shall soon see, a number of features of this passage, including its antithesis between »sensible« and »senseless« movements and its association of dancing with madness, seem inspired directly by Leonardo. Of more immediate interest, though, is Lomazzo's suggestion that listening to music amounts to a sort of possession. To follow Lomazzo, Saul, when shown listening to David's harp, should be rendered using the same devices that the artist uses to indicate drunkenness, insanity, and fury; the condition linking all of these general states is that of the *dance*.

Just how atypical were the limit cases? Michael Baxandall has taught us to look for the ways that movements and especially figural groupings in Quattrocento paintings might parallel those of court dances, and Sharon Fermor has pointed to similar possibilities for sixteenth-century works.<sup>36</sup> Cinquecento writers on the visual arts support such intuitions, even as they also allow us to frame the issues somewhat differently. Though Lomazzo's particular interest in the depiction of Saul does not seem to be shared by Italian writers in his time, numerous other subjects invited reflection on figural motion, its musical causes, and their relation to spiritual possession. When Perugino, for example, showed the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas (fig. 3), he used the two figures' forms to embody the difference in their music. Giambologna, some years later, did essentially the same thing with his own Apollo (fig. 4), following the lyre's shape with the figure's contour, as did Andrea Sacchi, in the seventeenth century, with his portrait of Marcantonio Pasqualini. Equally illustrative is the



3. Perugino, *Apollo and Marsyas*, 1495, oil on panel,  
39 × 29 cm.

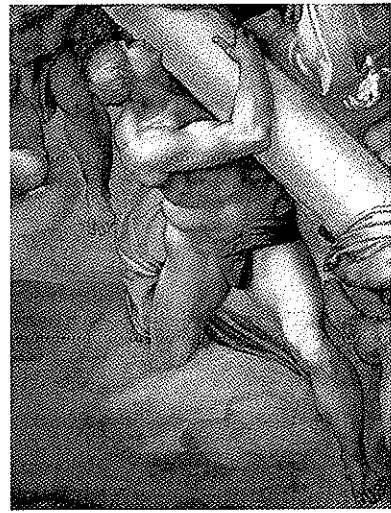
depiction of St. Cecilia, a subject that, in part because of Raphael's example (fig. 5), became widely popular in late Renaissance and early Baroque painting. Lomazzo himself singles out Raphael's *Cecilia* for attention in one of his chapters on movement:

Other painters, who have been the luminaries of this art, have studied other motions, for example [the motion of] contemplation, raising the eyes to heaven, gazing at the angelic sounds and, suddenly, leaving the instruments of other, terrestrial sounds on the ground, as the hands indicate. Such motions were expressed in the singular panel of St. Cecilia, who, with four other saints, was depicted by Raphael [...].<sup>37</sup>

Lomazzo was hardly the first to suggest that Raphael's Cecilia was moved by music – Vasari himself had written that Cecilia »listens entranced to a choir of angels in heaven, absorbed by the music« and that her face was »abstracted like one in an ecstasy«. For later generations of painters, moreover, both Raphael's



4. Raphael, *St. Cecilia*, 1513–16, oil on wood transferred to canvas, 219,5 × 136 cm.



5. Michelangelo, *Last Judgement* (detail: angel), 1534–41, fresco.

approach to the subject and Vasari's way of looking at it would become prototypes.<sup>38</sup> Here was an entirely different vision of the performer than the image of the artist as musician might lead us to expect: in the pictures of Sofonisba and others, the musician's courtly self-control was paramount; the painter-musician was an unmoved mover. With Cecilia, by contrast, animation was crucial to the protagonist's very identity. Lomazzo makes this point, too – and in this, his account differs from Vasari's – by remarking that Raphael's *Cecilia* not only counterposes two kinds of music, celestial and terrestrial, but also figures the difference by means of movements that ostensibly respond to one and not the other. Insofar as Lomazzo wants the painter's figure to »operate with its body« so as to reveal a soul that is, for its own part, »turned either to the good, or the bad, according to what it apprehends,« it is difficult to imagine a painting that better illustrates what this might in practice constitute. Cecilia's musical motion, her *sort* of grace, is so distinctive in character that it can, according to Lomazzo, serve almost as an attribute.



6. Michelangelo, *Last Judgement* (detail: demon), 1534–41), fresco.



7. Erasmus Grasser, *Morris Dancer*, 1480, limewood.

That all of this has to do with animation as much as with the defining qualities of beauty or grace is demonstrated by the degree to which similar intuitions bore on graceless figures as well. This is perhaps shown most vividly by Orfeo Boselli who, some years later, compared the *spiritati*, the possessed figures a sculptor might make, to »marionettes«, noting that such bodies seemed to »dance the chaconne«.<sup>39</sup> The point is similar to one Lomazzo himself made, when he suggested that the movements of the insane resembled dance: the mad, as he put it, are those who »celebrate with dances and songs«. Still more informative in the present context, however, is an earlier version of the same argument, one found in Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano's critique of Michelangelo, and more specifically, in the objections Gilio raises to the artist's *sforzi*, the contorted, overly strained figures that the critic saw everywhere in the painter's frescoes (fig. 6, 7).<sup>40</sup> What is especially significant here is the further description Gilio gives of those figures – he refers to them not only as »jugglers« and »acrobats«, but also as *moresche*, »morris dancers«.

In invoking the morris, Gilio presumably intended to associate figures of the sort Michelangelo painted with a specific visual tradition. In Northern Europe, morrises had appeared everywhere from drawings and architectural ornaments to monumental civic sculptures (fig. 8). Gilio could have seen prints of the subject, like those by Israel van Meckenem (fig. 9), and he would certainly have



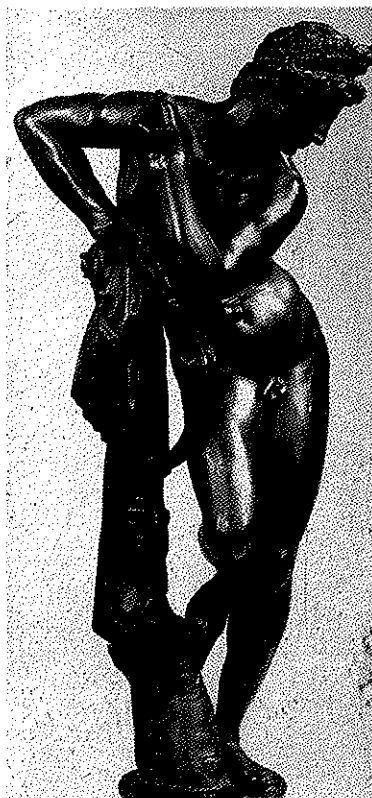
8. *Israhel van Meckenem, Morris Dance, engraving.*

been familiar with the parallel genre in Italy, the wildy activated dancers that Warburg famously placed under the aegis of the *Pathosformel*. One set of these (fig. 10) is especially intriguing inasmuch as it comes from Leonardo's orbit. Others, though, were made in Raphael's Rome and elsewhere. The type, indeed, seems to have had a broad impact on the sixteenth-century European imagination: it is telling, for example, that John White and Theodor de Bry used such prints as a basic model when depicting native celebrants ostensibly encountered in Virginia.

The various terms Gilio uses to describe such figures all associate their movement especially closely with musical performances. The reference to *more-sche*, however, also implies something more. It would not be surprising if Gilio, who had read widely in the Renaissance literature of art, had been familiar with Leonardo's construction of the category:

[...] some motions of the mind are not accompanied by motions of the body, and some are. The motions of the mind that have no corresponding motion of the body allow the arms, the hands, and all other parts that show themselves to be alive, to fall. The motions of the mind that do have corresponding motions of the body, however, hold the body, with its members in a movement appropriate to the motion of the mind, and on this subject, one can say many things. There is





9. Giambologna, *Apollo*, bronze, 88,5 cm.



10. Circle of Verrocchio, *Dancer*, chalk on paper.

also a third motion, which involves both of the two types previously mentioned, as well as a fourth, which is neither one nor the other. Motions of this last type are insensate, or, in truth, dissensate, and they are to be discussed in the chapter on madness, or in the chapter on buffoons, and their morrises.<sup>41</sup>

What characterized the morris dancer for Leonardo was not only the nature of its motion, but also, and perhaps even more explicitly, the nature of that motion's origins: the morris dancer lacked intention; his actions fell outside the whole account of mind-body relations, as if the body's network of charges had been lost, or taken over from outside.<sup>42</sup>

Like Gilio, that is, Leonardo relied specifically on analogies with music and dance when thinking about »possession« as a problem of figuration. Nor is this entirely surprising: the Cinquecento literature of music itself commonly employed the kinds of language at which we have been looking. Already in the Quattrocento, Franchino Gaffurio – who was with Leonardo at the court of Lodovico Sforza, and who, as Martin Kemp proposes, may have introduced Leonardo to the theory of musical harmonics<sup>43</sup> – had written on how King David »held control over the spirits through sound.«<sup>44</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century, the sometimes art critic Antonfrancesco Doni was having the participants in his *Dialogo della Musica* reflect on the »enchaining« powers of song.<sup>45</sup>

Slightly later, Girolamo Mei – whose ideas about music were otherwise fundamentally different from Gaffurio's, elaborated on how music could »occupy« a person.<sup>46</sup> Music, generated on *corde* (strings) and resolving into *accordi* (»chords«) could entwine the listener.<sup>47</sup> Music provided a direct line to the heart, the seat of the soul. And this principle was of basic import to dance, since some regarded dance itself as a direct, even involuntary, representation of interior life.<sup>48</sup>

Remarking on the way that such notions of music, when imported into painting, could shade into an image of demonic magic, Leonardo referred to painters who censure »things that have greater and quicker movement than those done by themselves, saying that they look possessed, and are like the masters of a morris dance«.<sup>49</sup> He would, no doubt, have placed Gilio among such critics, and his own perspective helps shed light on why Gilio, to whom now Michelangelo's figures looked like dancers, found the prospect so worrisome. If music generally offered artists a model for thinking about the virtues that moved the artifice, and dance the movements themselves, Gilio's text illustrates how these intuitions might intersect. Gilio is usually, and rightly, counted among the sixteenth-century critics most hostile to Michelangelo's manner. One of the questions we have been circling here, however, is whether, within his bias, there is also insight, whether Gilio, namely, was *right* in claiming that artists like Michelangelo, in casting their figures in histrionic poses, were effectively bringing those figures into a state of dance. Traditionally, the late Renaissance *paragone* of art and music is read as a reflection on social ranks. Even if the paintings relevant to this literature are read in this manner, though – as an argument about the status of the artist's work – such an argument has to be founded on some principle of analogy, some notion of the *nature* of the artist's works, the likeness between the painter's making and the musician's. What Gilio, in a negative way, and Lomazzo, more positively, suggest, is that, whatever their motivation, painters had come to think about what they were doing in a way that resembles the period's more magical takes on musicality. Music was the very embodiment of what Lomazzo called an »occult force«; in part because it turned on problems of harmony, in part because it involved bringing bodies into dance-like states, this underwrote the *paragone*, fundamentally analogizing the means of the visual artist and the musician. The musical nature of figural movement provided a basis both for art theory, and for art criticism.

Prior to the 2003 Hamburg symposium, I presented versions of this paper to audiences at the University of Pennsylvania and at Wesleyan University, the latter at the invitation of John Paoletti. I am grateful to Professors Pfisterer, Zimmermann and Paoletti for the kind invitations,

and to all three audiences for their helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Treitler (ed.), *Strunk's source readings in music history*. New York 1998, p. 292. Vgl. Johannes Tinctoris, *Proportionale musices*, in: id.:

Opera theoretica, ed. and trans. Albert Seay, 2 volumes, Rom 1975, vol. 2, p. 9: »Et quanta precor illa fuit melodia virtute cuius dii, manes, spiritus immundi, animalia etiam rationis expertia et inanimata moti fuisse leguntur.«

<sup>2</sup> Daniel P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella*. University Park 2000, pp. 23, 40, and passim.

<sup>3</sup> See Robert Klein, *L'imagination comme vêtement de l'âme chez Marsile Ficin et Giordano Bruno*, in: André Chastel (ed.), *La forme et l'intelligible*, Paris 1970, pp. 65-88; and Robert Klein, »Les sept gouverneurs de l'art« selon Lomazzo, in: *ibid.*, pp. 174-92.

<sup>4</sup> See Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell' arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura (1584)*, I.1, in: *id.*, *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, 2 vols., Florence 1973, vol. 2, pp. 9-592, p. 25: »De la definizione de la pittura / Pittura è arte la quale con linee proporzionate e con colori simili a la natura de le cose, seguitando il lume prospettivo, imita talmente la natura de le cose corporee, che non solo rappresenta nel piano la grossezza et il rilievo de' corpi, ma anco il moto, e visibilmente dimostra a gl'occhi nostri molti affetti e passioni de l'animo.«

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 97-98 (II.2): »In questo loco ragione è che si tratti subsequentemente d'esso moto, cioè con qual arte il pittore abbia da dar il moto alla figura convenientemente, cioè secondo la natura della proporzione della forma e della materia; perché, come ho detto, in questo appunto consiste lo spirito e la vita dell'arte, onde i pittori lo sogliono dimandare ora furia, ora grazia et ora eccellenza dell'arte [...]. Percioché con questa i pittori fanno conoscere differenti i morti da i vivi, i fieri da gl'umili, i pazzi da i savij, i mesti da gli allegri et in somma tutte le passioni e gesti che può mostrare e fare un corpo umano tra se distinti, che si dimandano con questo nome di moto, non per altro che per una certa espressione e dimostrazione estrinseca nel corpo di quelle cose che patisce internamente l'animo; che non meno per questa via si conoscono i moti interni delle genti, che per le parole, anzi più, per operarsi questo da proprio corpo, il quale né più né meno opera di quello che gli viene ordinato dall'anima razionale rivolta o da bene, o da male, secondo l'appresioni. - E quindi è che i pittori, che queste cose intendono, benché rari, fanno che nelle sue pitture si veggono quelle maravigliose

opere della natura secrete, mosse da quella virtù motiva che di continuo, stando nel cuore nascosta, si dimostra esteriormente nel corpo e manda fuori i suoi ramoscelli per li membri esteriori [...].«

<sup>6</sup> See Walker 2000 (as note 2), p. 76.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion in David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, Princeton 1981, pp. 60-70, 72, which gives particular attention to Lomazzo, and, more recently, Eike Schmidt, »Furor« und »Imitatio«: Visuelle Topoi in den Laokoon-Parodien Rosso Fiorentinos und Tizians, in Ulrich Pfisterer and Max Seidel (eds.), *Visuelle Topoi: Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance*, Munich / Berlin 2003, pp. 351-84 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>8</sup> Lomazzo 1584 / 1973 (as note 4), vol. 2, p. 96 (II.1).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Leonardo on the body's corde forate in John Paul Richter (ed.), *The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, 2 vols., New York 1970, vol. 2, pp. 127-128 (§ 838), and the discussion in Martin Kemp, »Il concetto dell'anima« in Leonardo's Early Skull Studies, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34, 1971, pp. 115-34.

<sup>10</sup> See Michael Cole, *Discernment and Animation, Leonardo to Lomazzo* in: Walter Melion / Reindert Falkenberg (eds.), *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (in press).

<sup>11</sup> Lomazzo 1584 / 1973 (as note 4), vol. 2, p. 119 (II.6): »E così se vogliamo discorrere per tutti gl'altri effetti che un corpo umano può fare, troveremo sempre in loro un certo che di potere e quasi occolta forza che per via di similitudine induce gl'altri a contraere di quello, e secondo esso muoversi.«

<sup>12</sup> See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, New York 1994, pp. 23-25.

<sup>13</sup> James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*. Part I: *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, 2 vols., New York 1976, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Lomazzo 1584 / 1973 (as note 4), vol. 2, p. 101 (II.2): »Ne è da tralasciare il gran Tiziano, il quale nelle difficoltà di questi moti essercitandosi, meritamente il nome di principalissimo pittore ha otenuo; sí come fanno fede le sue figure, in ciascuna delle quali risplende una certa motoria

forza che par che inciti ciascuno alla sua imitazione»

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, vol. 2, p. 95 (II.1): «Non v'è dubbio alcuno che tutti que' moti che nelle figure si veggono simili a i moti naturali non abbiano grandissima grazia e, per il contrario, quelli che dal naturale s'allontanano non siano affatto privi d'ogni grazia, sí come discordanti in certo modo dalla natura, a guisa di corde tra di loro in un instrumento dissonanti. E non solamente questi moti cosí vivamente dal naturale espressi in una figura apportano grazia, ma fanno anco il medesimo effetto che sogliono fare i naturali. Perciò che, sí come naturalmente uno che rida, o pianga, o faccia altro effetto, muove, per il piú, gl'altri che lo veggono al medesimo affetto d'allegrezza o di dolore [...]; cosí, e non altrimenti, una pittura rappresentata, come dianci diceva, con moti al naturale ritratti farà senza dubbio ridere con chi ride, pensare con chi pensa, ramaricarsi con chi piange, rallegrarsi e gioire con chi s'allegra [...].»

<sup>16</sup> For another perspective on the common sixteenth-century analogy between painting and music, and Lomazzo's importance for it, see Leslie Korricks, *Lomazzo's Trattato dell'arte della pittura and Galilei's Fronimo: Picturing Music and Sounding Images in 1584*, in: Katherine A. McIver (ed.), *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, Aldershot 2003, pp. 193–214, which appeared as I was finishing this piece.

<sup>17</sup> Francisco de Holanda, *De la pintura antigua*, versión castellana de Manuel Denis seguido «El diálogo de la pintura» (1563), ed. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, Madrid 1921, p. 42: «Y aquí cerca sentirá la Música y números para conocer la verdadera armonía y consonancia suavísima del perfil, de las ombras, de los sentidos, de la disminución, del colorir, del recursar, del realzo; altísimas proporciones de nueva música, mucho mayores que las del tañer y cantar a la manera de los citaredos.» Compare also the comments of Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano, who presented the chimerical figures capricious painters make as dissonanze; see Giovanni Andrea Gilio, *Dialogo secondo [...]* nel quale si ragiona de gli errori, e de gli abusi de Pittori circa l'istorie [...], in: ders., *Due dialogi*, Camerino 1564, p. 69–122, here p. 77r.

<sup>18</sup> See Gian Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (1590), in: Lomazzo 1973 (as note 4),

vol. 1, pp. 243–373, here pp. 242–3 (II.33): «Gli antichi filosofi, intesa et evidentemente conosciuta la necessaria composizione dell'anima nostra, che chiamasi armonia, furono di varie e differenti opinioni fra di loro circa il modo co'l quale risulti e si cagioni questa composizione.»

<sup>19</sup> Gregorio Comanini, *Il Figino*, ovvero del fine della Pittura, Mantua 1591, p. 103: «Ora rappresentando tutte queste passioni et affetti ne le istorie che dipingiamo, co' suoi convenienti e proprii moti, veniamo a causare quella tanta varietà che cosí diletta e piace, allettando e traendo a sé con dolce forza gli animi nostri, non altrimenti di quello che si faccia una suoave armonia et un dolce concerto di musico o suonator eccellente, in tirare a sé gli animi di chi gl'ascolta, cosa tanto potente et efficace, che si legge un musico essersi dato vanto di far co'l suono impazzare gl'uomini e poi ritomarli nel primiero stato loro.»

<sup>20</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura*, in: id., *On Painting and on Sculpture*, ed. and trans. Cecil Grayson, London 1972, pp. 36–107, here p. 80 and p. 83 (II, 42): «Primum reor oportere ut omnia inter se corpora, ad eam rem de qua agitur, concinnitate quadam moveantur.»

<sup>21</sup> Vasari notes that Verrocchio and Rosso Fiorentino were both excellent musicians, and that Paris Bordon, «having become a most excellent musician, went to work with Titian»; see Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piú eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*. In: id., *Le opere*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols., Florence (1906) 1998, vol. 5, pp. 155–6 and vol. 7, p. 461. Cellini claims to have performed as a musician; Benvenuto Cellini, *Opere*, ed. Giuseppe Guido Ferrero, Turin 1980, p. 302. Michelangelo, who is reported to have described painting as «a music and a melody», also wrote madrigals; see Francisco de Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting*, trans. Aubrey F. G. Bell (London: Oxford University Press, 1928) 1928, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome 1672, pp. 195–196: «Quanto il colorito, dopo il cartone grande, ne faceva un altro picciolo, in cui compartiva le qualità de' colori con le loro proporzioni; e cercava di trovarle tra colore e colore; accioché tutti li colori insieme avessero tra di loro concordia ed unione, senza offendersi l'un l'altro; e diceva che sí come la melodia delle voci diletta l'udito, cosí ancora la vista si ricrea dalla conso-

nanza de' colori accompagnata dall'armonia de' lineamenti. chiamava però la pittura musica, ed interrogato una volta dal duca Guidobaldo che cosa e' facesse: »Sto accordando, rispose, questa musica,« accennando il quadro che dipingeva.»

<sup>23</sup> For Sofonisba Anguissola as a singer, see Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, ed. Ferdinando Ranalli (vol. 1-5, 1846) / Paola Barocchi (vols. 6, 7) / Antonio Boschetto (vol. 7), 7 vols., Florence 1974-1975, vol. 2, p. 633.

<sup>24</sup> See exh.-cat.: *Il Genio di Roma, 1592-1623*, Milan 2001, p. 148.

<sup>25</sup> The classic discussion of the self-portrait is Philipp Fehl, *Veronese's Decorum. Notes on the Marriage at Cana*, in: Moshe Barasch / Lucy Freeman Sandler (eds.), *Art, the Ape of Nature. Studies in Honor of Horst W. Janson*, New York 1981, pp. 341-365.

<sup>26</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *Il paragone delle arti*, in: Claire J. Farago, *Leonardo da Vinci's »Paragone«*. A Critical Interpretation with a New Edition of the Text in the Codex Urbinas, Leiden 1992, pp. 176-288, here pp. 240-241: »La Musica non è da essere chiamata altro che sorella della pittura con ciò sia ch'essa è subbietto dell'audito, secondo senso al' occhio, e compone armonia con le congionzioni delle sue parti proportionali operate nel medesimo tempo. Constrette a nascere e morire in uno o più tempi armonici li quali tempi circondano la proportionalità de membri, di che tale armonia si compone non altrimenti, che si faccia la linea circonferenziale le membra di che si genera la bellezza humana.« (Translation modified).

<sup>27</sup> Emanuel Winternitz, *Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician*, New Haven / London 1982, p. 211.

<sup>28</sup> Leonardo da Vinci 1992 (as note 26), p. 241, p. 362.

<sup>29</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *Paragone*. In: id., *Leonardo on Painting. An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci with a Selection of Documents Relating to his Career as an Artist*, ed. Martin Kemp, trans. Martin Kemp and Margaret Walker, New Haven / London 1989, here p. 34.

<sup>30</sup> Frank Fehrenbach, *Blick der Engel und lebendige Kraft. Bildzeit, Sprachzeit und Naturzeit bei Leonardo*, in: id. (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci. Natur im Übergang*, Munich 2002, pp. 169-206, here p. 173.

<sup>31</sup> Leonardo da Vinci 1992 (as note 26), p. 242: »Dice il musico, che la sua scientia è da essere equiparata a quella del pittore perché essa compone un corpo di molte membra del quale lo speculatore contempla tutta la sua gratia in tanti tempi armonici quanti sono li tempi nelli quali essa nasce et muore.«

<sup>32</sup> Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, ed. André Chastel and Robert Klein, Geneva 1969, pp. 204-205.

<sup>33</sup> In this respect, the self-portraits of painter-musicians can be profitably compared with early images of musicians themselves, which, as Wolf-Dietrich Löhr has recently observed, tended to emphasize the power – even the magical power – of their music. See Löhr's essay: *Vier Musiker-Medaillen in Ferrara von 1457*, in: Georg Satzinger (ed.), *Die Renaissance-Medaille in Italien und Deutschland* (forthcoming).

<sup>34</sup> Lomazzo 1584 / 1973 (as note 4), vol. 2, p. 149 (II.16): »Finalmente gli moti de Lunatici, quali si legge nello Euangelio essere stato colui che fu curato da Cristo, sono in somma come d'uomo che sia fuori di sé e non sappia ciò che pensi, o voglia farsi. Onde, per esprimergli bisognerà che prima i capelli gli si facciano rabuffati o schermigliati, gl'occhi biechi o stravolti, le nari lorde, le labra gonfie et in strani modi rivolte, i denti spumosi che più in una parte che nell'altra si scuoprano, le braccia e le mani e le gambe tremanti, sì che continuamente accennino di cadere, a guisa di uomo cui vada mancando la virtù; che scuotano il capo, che si scontorcano e dimenino con tutto il corpo, con un colore smorto, pallido, o livido. Et in simile modo si può rappresentare quello di cui dissi farsi menzione nello Evangelio, per essere egli stato ancora spiritato, con gli atti detti di sopra un poco più vehementi.«

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142 (II.15): »La volubilità fa gl'atti varij, mobili et incerti, come di chi non ha fermezza in sé, facendo in picciol tempo diversi atti di mani, piedi, gambe, braccia e testa, senza sapere ciò che si faccia, scherzare, ridere, gongolare et andar saltellando in strani modi, tutti contrarij alla fermezza et a gl'atti di huomo sensato e considerato. E questi sono proprij d'ubriachi, pazzi, infuriati e leggieri, i quali tutti, se si rappresentassero con altri atti di quelli che ho raccontato, senza dubbio non parebbero tali; come per essemplio Saul in altro sembiante et atto non ci parrebbe spiritato, come veramente era quando

udiva il suono di David, al quale soleva racquetarsi. E se non che il danzare acquista grazia dal suono, direi che tra più accomodati atti per rappresentare un pazzo fosse l'atto del danzare.»

<sup>36</sup> See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, New York 1988; Sharon Fermor, *Decorum in Figural Movement: The Dance as Measure and Metaphor*, in: Frances Ames-Lewis / Anka Bednarek (eds.), *Decorum in Renaissance Narrative Art*, London 1992, pp. 78-88; and Sharon Fermor, *Movement and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Painting*, in Kathleen Adler / Marcia Pointon (eds.), *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance*, New York 1993, pp. 129-45.

<sup>37</sup> Lomazzo 1584 / 1973 (as note 4), vol. 2, p. 150 (II.17): »Et in altri moti hanno osservato altri pittori i quali sono stato lumi di questa arte; si come la contemplazione nell'alzar gl'occhi al cielo, mirando gli angelici suoni e lasciando tutto a un tempo al basso con le mani gli stromenti con gli altri suoni terrestri alla terra; i quali moti furono espressi nella singolar tavola di Santa Cecilia che con quattro altri santi fu dipinta da Raffaello [...]»

<sup>38</sup> Guido Reni, for example, made a copy of Raphael's painting, and Bellori describes how the figure in that painter's later treatment of the same theme »tira un'arcata di violino girando la testa e gli'occhi all'armonia.« Both Bellori and Malvasia also write of Guido's musical background, Bellori going so far as to claim that the youth »nell'accademia della musica trovò la scuola della pittura.« - See Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Vita di Guido Reni*, in: Bellori 1672 (as note 22), p. 477-533, p. 488 and p. 495.

<sup>39</sup> Orfeo Boselli, *Osservazioni della scoltura antica*, in: id., *Osservazioni della scoltura antica (dai Manoscritti Corsini e Doria) e altri scritti*, ed. Phoebe Dent Weil. Florence 1978, p. 39v.

<sup>40</sup> See Michael Cole, *The Figura Sforzata: Modelling, Power, and the Mannerist Body*, in: *Art History* 24, 2001, pp. 520-51.

<sup>41</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting (Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270)*, trans. and ed. A. Philip MacMahon, Princeton 1956, p. 152, no. 408 (Codex Urbinas 124r-124v).

<sup>42</sup> For more on this, see Cole 2005 (as note 10).

<sup>43</sup> Martin Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci. The Marvelous Works of Nature and Man*, Cambridge, Mass. 1981, pp. 170-171.

<sup>44</sup> Franchino Gaffurio, *The Theory of Music (1496)*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, trans., annot. Walter Kurt Kreyszig, New Haven / London 1993, p. 14 (I, 75).

<sup>45</sup> Antonfrancesco Doni, *Dialogo della Musica*, ed. G. Francesco Malipero (Milan: La Musica Moderna, 1965), 34-5.

<sup>46</sup> Girolamo Mei, *Discorso sopra la musica antica e moderna (1572)*, Venice 1602, n.p.: »Aggiugnete poi nella musica de nostri sopra tutte le cose dette, che il sentimento della continuata delicatezza de loro accordi, e consonanze, e cento altre superchie maniere d'artificio, che eglino uniti quasi col fuscellino, come s'usa dire, cercando d'allettare più l'orecchie, è di sommo impedimento al commuouere l'animo ad affezione alcuna occupato, e quasi legato principalmente con questi lacciuoli di così fatto piacere: tutte cose diuerse, se non contrarie à quello che nell'affetto di sua natura, è necessario; perche l'affetto, e il costume vuol essere cosa semplice, e naturale, ò almeno apparire così fatto, & hauere per mira solo se, à volere commuouere se stesso in altri [...]» Compare also Giovanni Battista Marino's 1615 written *Diceria sulla Musica*, which invoked the figure of the Gallic Hercules in order to compare sacred music to an eloquence »la cui proprietà essendo domare gli animi, espugnare gli affetti, & signoreggiare le volontà«; see Giovanni Battista Marino, *La Musica. Diceria seconda sopra le sette parole delle da Christo in croce*, in: id., *Dicerie Sacre, Part 2*, Venice 1615, here p. 147v.

<sup>47</sup> Compare, for example, Johannes Ciconia's *Nova Musica*, which characterizes singing as a »state of a modulated voice, produced by tension,« and the sound it produces as »air that is struck,« as if by the plucking of a string; see Johannes Ciconia, *Nova Musica and De Proportionibus*, ed. and trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth, Lincoln 1993, p. 69, and cf. Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, ed. Claude V. Palisca, trans. and ann. Calvin M. Bower, New Haven / London 1989, I, 3; V, 4. Ciconia, *Nova Musica and De Proportionibus*, trans. Oliver B. Ellsworth, Lincoln 1993, p. 69, and cf. Boethius, 1.3, 5.4. The continuity implied here, between the visible strings of an instrument and the invisible ones that held the universe together, had a parallel

in the body as well. In the spirit of Isidore of Seville, who suggested that the human heart (cuore) was what gave strings their name, Ciconia wrote that the beating of the heart was like the beating of a string on the kithara. See Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae sive originvm libri XX*, ed. Wallace M. Lindsay, Oxford 1988 (facs. 1911), III, 22; and compare Ciconia 1993 (see above), pp. 74–5, as well as Gaffurio 1993 (as note 44), p. 14 (I, 78), who commented that the cords of the world were moved by sympathy: »Cassiodorus judges that a string is so called because it easily moves where so great concord of pitches is made out of diversity, so that a neighboring string which has been struck causes another to tremble spontaneously, although it has not chanced to come in contact with it.«

<sup>48</sup> Bartolomeo Taegio, for example, lamented that girls »who had never previously had any intention of doing wrong« found themselves powerless when dancing. Dancing, the equivalent of madness, led those who would normally hide their minds to reveal them: »[...] molte che non hebbero mai animo di far male poste in tal occasione non fu in possanza loro liberarse dalla colpa, & oltre le uergogne, che causa questo danzare non si uede ch'egli è un argomento di leggierezza? & che 'l copre l'animo, & lo discopre col danzare.« See Bartolomeo Taegio, *De Balli*, in: *Il Liceo de' Virtuosi*, 2 vols., Novara 1554, pp. 110v–111v, here p. 111r, and for an excellent discussion of like-minded critiques, Alessandro Arcangeli,  *Davide o Salomè? Il dibattito europeo sulla danza nella prima età moderna*, Treviso / Rome 2000.

<sup>49</sup> Leonardo da Vinci 1956 (as note 41), p. 92 (Codex Urbinas, 32v–33v).