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## MUSIC AND PATRONAGE IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE

### The Case of Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602)

TIM CARTER

The question of patronage looms large in the concerns of the cultural historian, who must explore the motives of individual or institutional patrons and assess their influence on particular works of art. Recent years have therefore seen a number of studies of the musical patronage of various north Italian courts and larger ecclesiastical institutions in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Such studies are important, for courts and major churches were significant focal points for musical activity in late Renaissance Italy. We must not forget, however, that there were other sources of patronage available to the sixteenth-century composer or performer. The wide variety of dedicatees named at the head of contemporary music publications makes the point clear: lower-ranking individuals and institutions also had their role to play in the gamut of sixteenth-century music-making. While their patronage may have been more limited than that of a court or major church, it cannot be ignored.

A need for historians of musical patronage to broaden their sights soon becomes apparent in the study of music in Florence in the second half of the sixteenth century. Here the court formed only part of a larger network of patronage that also involved individuals and Florentine religious institutions. The complexity of this network mirrors the complexity of the social and civic structures of a city that had retained many characteristics of its republican past. Moreover, the extent of Medici involvement in Florentine musical activity is open to question. To be sure, the Grand Dukes accepted the functional necessity of employing a body of court musicians, and some members of the family (for example, Isabella de' Medici, Bianca Cappello and Maria de'

Medici) may have had more than a passing interest in music. Thus music played its part in the social and religious calendar of the court, and particularly in the extravagant court entertainments staged during Medici wedding festivities. Nevertheless, one looks in vain for a Medici Duke or Grand Duke with the passionate commitment to music of an Alfonso II d'Este or a Guglielmo or Vincenzo Gonzaga.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, one also looks in vain in Florence for musicians of the calibre of those employed at the Ferrarese or Mantuan courts.

Although service at court no doubt represented the most desirable and lucrative employment for Florentine musicians, other areas of the city's civic life also provide evidence of vigorous, and perhaps even more adventurous, musical activity. Study of two such areas has recently proved fruitful for musicologists: first, religious brotherhoods or confraternities such as the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello;<sup>3</sup> and second, salons and academies patronized by private individuals. For example, salons and academies had an important role to play in the musical life of the city and perhaps account for certain tendencies in the output of Florentine composers. Groups such as the *camerate* sponsored by Giovanni de' Bardi and Jacopo Corsi or Marco da Gagliano's musical Accademia degli Elevati provided financial and other support for local musicians.<sup>4</sup> These groups also gave Florentine composers a sense of direction that may have been lacking in the musical patronage of the court and encouraged experimentation by virtue of their comparative informality. Thus Bardi's *camerata* promoted a classicizing movement that reacted against modern polyphony and led to the rise of solo song, and indirectly opera, in Florence. However, this and other groups operated only on a small scale and within a close-knit circle. This may explain the curious combination of innovation and insularity that appears to be a characteristic of Florentine music of this period.

The importance of the private patron for artistic activity in late sixteenth-century Florence deserves further exploration. To this end, this study examines one such patron, Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602). Corsi is already known to music historians for his support of the first 'operas' to be performed in Florence, *Dafne* of 1598 and *Euridice* of 1600 (both with verse by Ottavio Rinuccini and music by Jacopo Peri).<sup>5</sup> However, new information culled

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from the Corsi family account books in the Archivio di Stato in Florence and documents in the Corsi-Salviati family archive now housed in the Villa Corsi-Salviati at Sesto Fiorentino prompts a reassessment of his musical and non-musical activities.<sup>6</sup> This information casts new light upon the artists, poets and musicians associated with Corsi and upon the works of art that emerged from his circle. It also calls into question current views on economic and social structures in Florence under the *principato*.

The rise of the Corsi family fortunes in the sixteenth century offers instructive lessons for social and economic historians of Medici Florence. A genealogical table of the family line to which our Jacopo belonged is presented as Text Fig. 2.<sup>7</sup> The Corsi could trace a long lineage in Florence, but they suffered mixed fortunes in the fifteenth century. The family was implicated in anti-Medici factions during the Republic and appears to have lacked a strong financial base.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Jacopo di Simone, our Jacopo's grandfather, and his son Francesco were executed in 1529 on suspicion of treason perpetrated during his appointment as Commissario of Pisa. His other sons, Simone, Giovanni, Antonio and Bardo, achieved little prominence in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. For example, Giovanni spent much of his career pursuing mercantile activities in Palermo, and Bardo in Messina and Naples. As with many Florentine families, this commercial involvement outside Tuscany provided the basis for a future family fortune. However, only by the middle of the sixteenth century did the family's standing improve. The credit for this should probably go to Simone, who was admitted to the Florentine Senate in 1556 and who became one of the wealthiest merchants in the city.<sup>9</sup>

Jacopo's father, Giovanni, moved permanently back to Florence shortly after Simone's senatorial appointment, and in November 1560 he married Alessandra della Gherardesca, the daughter of Conte Simone della Gherardesca. A sense of upward mobility is apparent in more than just his marriage into a seemingly higher-ranking noble family. Three further examples will suffice. First, Giovanni followed the example of a number of his contemporaries by investing heavily in land, on which he spent at least 10,500 ducats between 1564 and 1569. This investment was both for agricultural profit and, as his work on the family villa at Sesto Fio-

rentino reveals, to make his mark in Florentine society.<sup>10</sup> Second, he and his brothers took advantage of Vasari's restructuring of the church of Santa Croce to establish a family chapel and tomb in the right nave. It was substantially completed by March 1572, although the altarpiece by Alessandro Fei (*The Flagellation of Christ*) was not finished until 1575 and the financial arrangements for endowing the chapel were made only in 1579. The total cost of the chapel and its endowment came to just over 1,200 ducats.<sup>11</sup> Third, Giovanni's three sons, Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo, were given a broad education that went further than necessary for them to carry on the mercantile activities of their father. As well as having visiting arithmetic and writing masters, they were also placed under the care of a private tutor, Ser Francesco Olmi, who became part of the household and presumably offered a more wide-ranging humanist orientation to their upbringing. The three brothers also had a visiting music master, and the Florentine madrigalist Luca Bati was the first of several of the city's musicians to be employed on a regular basis (at 3½ lire per month per pupil) to teach them singing, keyboard playing and music theory.<sup>12</sup>

These signs of upward mobility are consistent with trends noted in many Florentine noble families in the *principato*.<sup>13</sup> Scholars have commented on the tendency of the Florentine nobility in the late Renaissance to transfer investments from business land in a process of 'refeudalization,' to commit funds to conspicuous if non-productive spending on architectural projects, and to indulge increasingly in ostensibly courtly activities. Some have gone further to diagnose these tendencies as symptomatic of a demoralized patriciate suffering political and commercial impotence in the face of Medici absolutism and difficult economic times. This diagnosis is somewhat harsh and finds little support in the activities of the Corsi family.<sup>14</sup> For example, Giovanni's investment in a land did not involve a total retreat from business. Rather, it formed part of a diversification of fiscal interests that provided an appropriate, perhaps even imaginative, response to the economic uncertainties of late sixteenth-century Florence. Thus Giovanni laid the basis of a wide-ranging portfolio of investments that expanded to interests in banking, wool and silk manufacture, loans and *note di cambio* transactions, credits in *luoghi di monte* and property both in the city and in the Florentine *contado*. The



success of this portfolio is indicated by the inheritance left to his heirs, which totalled over 90,000 ducats.<sup>15</sup> Giovanni's sons proved no less skilled at coping with changing economic circumstances to ensure the consolidation and expansion of the Corsi patrimony. Enjoined by their father's will to spend at least 15,000 ducats on land after Giovanni's death, by 1586 they had actually spent 40,000 ducats.<sup>16</sup> They purchased a second villa in Montughi for 5,500 ducats in early 1587 from the heirs of the bankrupt Bernardo di Niccolò Soderini.<sup>17</sup> They gradually transferred money away from investments in wool manufacture towards that of silk, anticipating the reversal in relative fortunes of these two industries over the 1600s.<sup>18</sup> These and other wise financial moves led to the Corsi being able to count themselves among the richer families of the city by the early seventeenth century.

The economic foundations of the Corsi family in late Renaissance Florence were secure. So, too, was their sense of family cohesion. Some historians of the Florentine patriciate in the *principato* have argued that kinship bonds were more fragile in the sixteenth century than they had been in the early Renaissance, with the result that emphasis was placed on the individual at the expense of the family.<sup>19</sup> Again, the Corsi do not support such a view. One of the reasons for their financial success was that they kept their business interests firmly within the circle of their close kin. Most of Giovanni's commercial investments were made in concert with one or more of his brothers, and likewise his sons signed solemn agreements to take equal responsibility for the financial commitments of the family. Of the three sons, only Jacopo married, thereby ensuring that the Corsi patrimony would remain intact. In early 1587, he went to Rome to meet his first wife, Settimia di Pierantonio Bandini, and after her death in February 1592, he married Laura di Lorenzo Corsini in September 1595. As usual, both marriages cemented familial associations that had already been established through business. Settimia's father, although a Florentine, was a prominent banker and long-time business associate of Giovanni's in Rome,<sup>20</sup> and Laura's uncle, Bartolomeo, was an agent for Jacopo and Bardo's mercantile activities. The marriages also brought Jacopo two large dowries, 8,000 and 10,000 ducats respectively. The fact that Giovanni had received only 3,000 ducats from Alessandra della Gherardesca suggests that the status

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of the family had risen considerably in the last third of the sixteenth century. It was to rise still further in the early seventeenth century, for Jacopo's daughters Giulia and Settimia brought respectively 18,000 and 25,000 ducats (made up of dowries and inheritances) to their spouses.<sup>21</sup>

This use of kinship bonds to cement business interests, and vice versa, has obvious precedents in fifteenth-century Florence. So, too, does another function of these bonds, that of providing support in times of family crisis. When Giovanni died in early 1571, his brother Antonio assumed guardianship of his three sons, overseeing their upbringing and safeguarding the family investments. Similarly, after Jacopo's death in 1601, his brother Bardo took care of his children, who also became Bardo's heirs. The family did not always live together (from 1592 onwards, if not before, Bardo lived with his mother in property rented, and later bought, on the Via de' Martelli, while Jacopo and his wife and children lived at least for a time in a house formerly belonging to the Boni family on what is now the Via de' Pecori).<sup>22</sup> This is in keeping with the tendency noted in late Renaissance Florence in favour of small nuclear-conjugal households. However, it does not follow, as some have assumed, that separate residence indicates a substantial weakening of family ties. It is not possible to determine the full extent of the affective bonds linking Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo, but the brothers did retain joint business and private accounts. They also went to some effort to ensure at least an outward display of family unity.

The Corsi articulated their sense of family identity in several ways. The chapel in Santa Croce was clearly an important symbol of family cohesion. The expenditure on Corsi weddings and funerals is also significant. For each of Jacopo's two weddings, his house was refurbished, the artist Niccolò Betti was commissioned to paint coats of arms and other declarations of family prestige,<sup>23</sup> and the occasion was celebrated with a banquet and musical entertainment. Corsi funerals were even more lavish, in keeping with the importance of such occasions for strengthening and publicly displaying family ties. On the death of Antonio Corsi in early 1587, almost 1,600 ducats were spent on funeral expenses (including a procession from San Lorenzo to Santa Croce), gratuities and payments to charity.<sup>24</sup> Similarly, although Giu-



lio died and was buried in Madrid, Jacopo went to considerable effort and expense to exhume the body of his brother and have it shipped back to Florence for burial in the family tomb.<sup>25</sup> The memory of the Corsi dead was also perpetuated by the weekly masses for their individual and collective souls for which regular payments are listed in the family accounts, and by the names given to Corsi children (the choice of Giulia, Settimia and Alessandra for three of Jacopo's daughters has clear family resonances, while his eldest son was in effect Giovanni di Jacopo di Giovanni di Jacopo di Simone Corsi). At the same time, a sense of the family also becomes apparent in the Corsi's patronage of Florentine artists. Jacopo commissioned portraits of his father and three uncles (those of Giovanni and Antonio were done by Santi di Tito),<sup>26</sup> and had the sculptor Giovanni Caccini do freestanding marble busts of Giovanni and Giulio.<sup>27</sup> Later, Santi di Tito also provided portraits of Giulio, of Jacopo's daughters Giulia and Alessandra, and of Jacopo himself with his son Giovanni.<sup>28</sup> This policy of providing a visual history of the family continued in the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup>

The Corsi were united by fiscal bonds and their sense of family identity. However, to advance in sixteenth-century Florence, it was also necessary to look outside the circle of immediate kin, establishing relationships with other members of the patriciate that would be of mutual economic and social benefit. Business partnerships and the *parentado* were only two of several ways of securing such connections. For example, another time-honoured outlet for social intercourse in the city was provided by religious confraternities. Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo were all members of the Compagnia del Gesù, which met in the crypt of Santa Croce.<sup>30</sup> Their membership was perhaps dictated by family loyalty to the quarter of the city with which the Corsi were most closely associated. Jacopo, and later his sons, also joined the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, associated with Santa Maria Novella.<sup>31</sup> Both confraternities were flourishing institutions in Counter-Reformation Florence. They served both religious and charitable functions, and the Corsi account books leave no doubt that the family took its obligations seriously. Donations to these and other confraternities figure prominently, as do gifts of money, grain or wine to other individuals, convents and churches.<sup>32</sup> However, confraternities

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also allowed Florentines to meet in an informal context. Among the members of the *Compagnia del Gesù* were representatives of the families with which the Corsi were associated by business and marriage ties, as well as many of the shopkeepers, artists and patricians with whom Jacopo's account books record dealings.<sup>33</sup> The *Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello*, one of the most distinguished confraternities in Florence by the end of the sixteenth century, provided an even richer source of social contacts which could be used to advantage. Its membership included the Medici and members of the leading noble families of the city. Given the confraternity's special interest in music, it also included many of Florence's musicians.<sup>34</sup>

Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo also secured their position among the patriciate by other financial means and by establishing patterns of courtly behaviour. Thus they made many judicious loans to members of the Florentine nobility: for example, to Don Pietro de' Medici, Conte Giuliano di San Secondo, Conte Pandolfo di Montfort and Don Grazia Montalvo. These were probably deemed worthwhile investments to establish a niche for the family in Florentine high society. Similar motives no doubt prompted the three brothers to adopt status symbols and manners deemed appropriate to late Renaissance noblemen. When Jacopo took control of the financial administration of the family in 1582, he redecorated the family house, spent some 300 ducats on a new carriage, and purchased tapestries and gilded leather hangings. The villa at Sesto (and later at Montughi) was refurbished and equipped with facilities for entertaining diversions.<sup>35</sup> All three brothers contributed to and took part in civic and court entertainments, Jacopo and Bardo took to hunting and falconry, while Jacopo also developed a passion for dancing and gambling.<sup>36</sup> There are numerous records of his betting on dice, card and ball games, and even, amusingly enough, on the outcome of the papal conclave in 1585 (Jacopo lost), despite attempts by the city's administration to legislate against gambling.<sup>37</sup> However, the presence of such high-ranking figures as Don Pietro and Don Giovanni de' Medici, and Don Virgilio Orsini among Jacopo's hunting and gambling partners emphasizes the usefulness of these seemingly frivolous pastimes.

There seems little doubt that the main aim of these strategies was to advance the cause of the family in the eyes of the Medici. Con-

nections between the Corsi and the ruling family of Florence dated back to at least 1569, when Giovanni engaged in various mercantile activities on behalf of Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici,<sup>38</sup> and they were maintained thereafter by loans and gifts to Ferdinando (who became Grand Duke in 1587) and his staff. Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo did not seek to hold regular civic office in Florence, unlike Simone and his son Jacopo, who were both senators. They may have had no opportunity to do so, but perhaps they felt that routine appointments within the bureaucracy now counted for less than in the case of previous generations. Nevertheless, the brothers moved in high circles and gained entrance to the court.<sup>39</sup> Giulio secured a diplomatic position in the entourage of Don Pietro de' Medici in Madrid and commissioned a portrait of him in his honour from Santi di Tito.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, he died in Spain in late 1586, shortly after his arrival. In July 1595, Jacopo Corsi, Lorenzo Salviati and Giovanni Maria Galletti were sent on a diplomatic mission to Venice.<sup>41</sup> In 1595-99, Grand Duke Ferdinando contracted with Bardo Corsi to import grain from Sicily.<sup>42</sup> In 1600, Jacopo had a hand in the final stages of the delicate negotiations to wed Ferdinando's niece, Maria de' Medici, to Henry IV of France.<sup>43</sup> As a result, he was invited to contribute to the entertainments celebrating the marriage in October 1600. At the same time, Bardo was appointed Ferdinando's *Tesoriere maggiore* to accompany Maria to Lyons and supervise payment of the dowry.<sup>44</sup> Bardo also later received other temporary ambassadorial appointments: to northern Europe and England in 1609 to announce the death of Grand Duke Ferdinando and the succession of Cosimo II; to Urbino to oversee the negotiations for the wedding of Claudia de' Medici to Federigo della Rovere in 1621; and, just before Bardo's death in early 1625, to the court of Pope Urban VIII in Rome. Grand Duke Ferdinando was eager to exploit the talents of ambitious young men from families which had not been too involved in the unpopular administration of his brother, Francesco I. Jacopo and Bardo Corsi were obvious candidates, and Jacopo's service to the Grand Duke was praised by the unknown author of an oration on his death:

"If he was employed in the service of his princes, he acted in such a manner as to earn their eternal goodwill, and in short, everything which he did in public or in private, he carried out with such

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magnificence that he earned the greatest honour and well deserved glory. Therefore we should not be surprised that he was loved and esteemed by them.”<sup>45</sup>

By a carefully managed combination of personal talent, commercial enterprise and courtly manners, the two brothers achieved positions of some importance in the Medici regime.

This is the context in which we must view Jacopo's patronage of the arts in late sixteenth-century Florence. The connection between artistic connoisseurship and courtly behaviour had long been established in the Renaissance. For Baldassare Castiglione's *cortigiano*, connoisseurship acted as a means of inwardly apprehending and outwardly displaying the social cohesion and distinction of an élite class. Artistic patronage may also have carried other connotations in Florence under the *principato*. As the patriciate was losing its grasp of one symbol of social status, political power, it instead sought to emphasize other patterns of noble behaviour. These patterns were not new — there are obvious precedents in the actions of leading Florentine families in the Republic — but perhaps they were now exploited more deliberately. We have already seen the Corsi pursuing conspicuous architectural projects, acquiring luxury items as tangible symbols of noble status, and assuming prestigious responsibilities within or outside the city. Prominence in the arts could prove no less effective in articulating the Corsi's sense of class identity and assisting their progress in Florentine society.

Jacopo established a reputation as an artistic connoisseur and patron of distinction. His eulogist reported:

“He took the greatest delight in painting, he held the sciences in deepest reverence, he exalted poetry in the extreme, but the art of music was esteemed by him not only above the others but at the highest price.”<sup>46</sup>

Jacopo “practised all the sciences and noble arts to a great extent and with delight,”<sup>47</sup> and was on close terms with Florence's leading artists, poets and musicians, who would gravitate to his palace:

“The palace of Jacopo Corsi, a Florentine knight, was always open, almost like a public academy, to those who studied or enjoyed the liberal arts. Knights, *letterati*, poets and distinguished musicians

would gather there... In the palace, *cocchiate*, *feste*, and *balli* accompanied by music were performed and rehearsed.”<sup>48</sup>

The Corsi account books provide many details of *banchetti* and *ragiunate* held either in Florence or in the Corsi villas for Jacopo “e suoi amici.”

Jacopo presumably owed his interest in the arts to his broad, but not university, education. This was consolidated in the 1580s both by a series of trips to various Italian cities and by wide reading. In early to mid 1584, he embarked on a tour of Italy with Alessandro Machiavelli, visiting Rome, Naples, Milan and Venice. Such a journey may have been part of a grooming process for Jacopo to establish control of the family business, but it also seems to have taken on the character of a ‘grand tour,’ at least to judge by the purchases made during and after his travels (conserves from Naples, new suits from Milan, books and music from Venice, and musical instruments). Jacopo made several other trips in this decade, perhaps the most influential of which was a visit to Ferrara in early 1585.<sup>49</sup> Jacopo’s book purchases are also significant. To judge by his frequent expenditure on books, his library was large, consisting of material either imported from Venice or bought in Florence, often from the Giunti or Sermartelli firms of printers and booksellers.<sup>50</sup> He seems to have read, or at least attempted to learn, Greek, owning copies of Lucan, Thucydides and Plutarch, and Latin, with texts of Vergil, Seneca and Livy. He also had titles in Spanish and German and owned a Hebrew grammar. He at least dabbled in the sciences and philosophy, owning sets of astronomical tables, Mattioli’s translation of Dioscorides, Sacrobosco’s (Holywood) *La sfera*, Camillo Camilli’s translation of the *Essame degl’ingegni degli huomini per apprendere le scienze*, Girolamo Bardi’s *Chronologia universale* and Francesco Toledo’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Logic*. Historical volumes included the Villani *Storie*, Aldo Manucci’s *Vita di Cosimo de’ Medici*, the second part of Vincenzo Borghini’s *Discorsi*, and four books on the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus. Two books of Savonarola’s sermons offered spiritual guidance, while advice on secular behaviour was provided by Giovanni della Casa’s manual on etiquette, *Il Galateo*. Poetic theory was represented by treatises by Castelvetro and Patrizi, while Jacopo also owned copies of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Bembo, Ariosto, Boiar-

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do and Tasso (*Gerusalemme liberata*, *Gioffredo*, *Aminta* [in at least two editions], the *Rime* and his dialogues). His attachment to Tasso (he also owned a portrait of the poet) seems to date from his 1585 visit to Ferrara, and it is rather striking for a Florentine at this time. Shortly after the Ferrara trip, Jacopo also obtained copies of treatises by Bastiano de' Rossi, Lorenzo Salviati and Tasso himself relating to the Tasso-Ariosto controversy then animating the Accademia della Crusca, and it is possible that he went against the trend of his Florentine compatriots by favouring the Ferrarese poet.<sup>51</sup> On the whole, Jacopo's interests appear to have been wide-ranging and up-to-date, even if his library may have been more that of a dilettante than of a serious scholar.

The eclecticism of a dilettante may also be apparent in Jacopo's activities as an art patron and collector. He may have occasionally tried his hand at painting,<sup>52</sup> but generally, and unlike his interest in music, he seems to have preferred a more passive role. The artistic tastes of Jacopo's father, Giovanni, probably did not extend beyond religious pieces that perhaps served a more devotional than decorative function.<sup>53</sup> Such works still figure prominently in Jacopo's own commissions and purchases, as one might expect in the Counter-Reformation. Thus there are references to a tondo of "Cristo nell'orto con la maddalena," possibly by Giorgio Vasari or Jacopo Ligozzi,<sup>54</sup> and a *San Iacinto* and an *Annunciation* by Pompeo Caccini (the son of the singer Giulio Caccini),<sup>55</sup> as well as numerous other representations of Madonnas and of saints. Perhaps his best, and certainly his most expensive, acquisition was a *Madonna* attributed to Pontormo, for which Jacopo paid the high sum of 210 lire (30 ducats) on 9 May 1591.<sup>56</sup> Another category of works of art commissioned by Jacopo, portraits and busts of members of his family, has already been mentioned. However, a significant number of his purchases were of paintings without any devotional or dynastic function. He owned at least seven "tele di paesi di Fiandra,"<sup>57</sup> a painting of the *Judgement of Paris*,<sup>58</sup> portraits of Duke Alessandro de' Medici and other "uomini illustri,"<sup>59</sup> and a representation of the siege of Florence.<sup>60</sup> On 27 November 1599, he bought Andrea Boscoli's large *Baccanale* from the sculptor Cristofano Stati for 15 ducats.<sup>61</sup> All of these paintings were purchased either directly from the artist or by way of middlemen in the city. The account books also contain references

to the purchase and decoration of picture frames, and other accessories (cloth covers for paintings, etc.). Jacopo's collection numbered over 70 paintings, to which should also be added sculptures and tapestries.<sup>62</sup> It was by no means the largest in the city (although by Bardo's death in early 1625 it had been expanded to include 148 paintings plus sculptures and tapestries),<sup>63</sup> and certainly it was smaller and less distinguished than the contemporary collection of the Botti household, which had some 120 paintings and engravings, including works by Andrea del Sarto, Leonardo, Raphael and Durer.<sup>64</sup> Jacopo's collection may also have been rather haphazardly conceived. However, many artists working in Florence in the 1580s and 1590s must have been grateful for his support.

Jacopo had other ways of helping artists in his circle, either by passing other work in their direction or by means of loans. Thus Pompeo Caccini painted a set of stools and Alessandro Fei an instrument case, and Jacopo Ligozzi received several loans in the late 1590s.<sup>65</sup> Such loans were generally interest-free and often were not repaid, so that after an appropriate period they would be turned into gifts. Galileo Galilei also benefitted from such financial generosity,<sup>66</sup> as did a number of poets and musicians. For example, Ottavio Rinuccini, who provided the libretti of *Dafne* and *Euridice*, ended up in considerable debt to Jacopo Corsi on the latter's death in 1602. Rinuccini was the poet most closely associated with Corsi, frequenting his palace and providing texts for some of the *mascherate* and *cocchiate* performed under Corsi's aegis. However, other poets also formed part of his circle. Giovanni Battista Guarini is recorded in association with Jacopo,<sup>67</sup> and Tasso stayed with him in 1590 while in Florence during or just after a performance of his *Aminta*.<sup>68</sup> Jacopo gambled with the Florentine poet Francesco Cini, and from the mid-1590s onwards, Gabriello Chiabrera frequently visited his palace.<sup>69</sup> Both Rinuccini and Chiabrera included verse in honour of Jacopo in their printed and manuscript collections, as did Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*, Giulio Dati, Giambattista Marino, Giovandomenico Peri d'Arcidosso and Giovanni Soranzo.<sup>70</sup> He was also the dedicatee of Giovanni da Falgano's *Egle* (1583).<sup>71</sup>

However, Jacopo's chief interest was in music. He had studied singing and theory with Luca Bati and then Baccio Palibotria-

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Malespina, a musician associated with the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, and was taught the keyboard by "messer Simone," organist of San Giovanni, from 1575-78, and, in 1579, by Cristofano Malvezzi.<sup>72</sup> He also played the lute, perhaps studying with Vincenzo Galilei, who dedicated the second edition of his *Fronimo*, a dialogue on lute intabulation, to him in 1584.<sup>73</sup> Following on from these instrumental studies, Jacopo built up a large collection of instruments, including two organs,<sup>74</sup> six other keyboard instruments (harpsichords, spinets, etc.), one theorbo (purchased in August 1591), four lutes, two harps, one guitar, three or more violins, six viols (brought from Bologna in December 1587), and two trombones (brought from Nuremberg). The account books also list numerous payments for instrument covers, repairs and new strings. The organs were the most expensive items — one, made on commission in 1592-95, cost some 52 ducats — followed by a large harpsichord purchased in July 1578 for 32 ducats. The cost of the smaller keyboard instruments varied between 10-20 ducats, that of the lutes and theorbo between 2-10 ducats, while a guitar or violin would cost between 1-3 ducats.<sup>75</sup>

As well as being a proficient instrumentalist, Jacopo also sang and composed. There are many references to payments for lined music manuscript paper, and some music which Jacopo provided for *Dafne* before Peri was brought in on the venture survives in manuscript.<sup>76</sup> He also seems to have built up a reasonable collection of music prints and manuscripts. While Jacopo was having lessons with Luca Bati, his music purchases included madrigals by Alessandro Striggio (for 2 lire) and "musica di Vinetia."<sup>77</sup> When Bati left Florence in early 1577, Jacopo paid 31½ lire for some or all of his personal music collection.<sup>78</sup> In the same year he also purchased a set of responses by Francesco Corteccia for 5 lire.<sup>79</sup> Again, the visit to Ferrara in early 1585 seems to have been important in expanding Jacopo's cultural horizons. It was a major centre for music, and he heard the famed *concerto delle donne* and no doubt met Ferrarese musicians such as Luzzasco Luzzaschi and possibly Alfonso Fontanelli. Immediately upon his return, he ordered 41 sets of partbooks from Venice at a cost of 42 lire, which possibly included music from a wider geographical and stylistic spectrum than that to which he had hitherto been accustomed.<sup>80</sup> Later music purchases included music by Striggio in early



1588 for 8 lire,<sup>81</sup> and in early 1589, “un libro di lamentationi di finot” for 10½ lire,<sup>82</sup> while further unspecific entries for music and binding appear with varying degrees of regularity until Jacopo’s death. In the 1580s, Jacopo also initiated a series of payments to two music copyists. In 1586, one “Stefano musico” received 28 lire “per copiatura di musiche,”<sup>83</sup> while in the late 1580s and early 1590s, similar payments were made to Zanobi Ciliani, a trombonist.<sup>84</sup> It is not yet possible to identify the content and function of these copies, and indeed it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about any aspect of Jacopo’s music collection. The Cortecchia and Domenico Phinot volumes, both somewhat old-fashioned, may reflect the long established Florentine interest in music for Holy Week,<sup>85</sup> and the presence of Striggio is only to be expected given his importance in Florence. However, at present it is impossible to speculate further on Jacopo’s musical tastes.

Jacopo’s eulogist said of his relationship with musicians that “he held them as his dear brothers, he loved them as brothers, and as brothers they all shared his possessions.”<sup>86</sup> Luca Bati received loans and gifts from his former pupil at least through the 1580s and responded by dedicating his *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* to him in 1594.<sup>87</sup> Other musicians who seem to have attracted Corsi’s special favour were the singer-composer Giulio Caccini (from at least 1578 onwards), the instrumentalist Giovanni Battista Jacomelli *del violino*, and members of the court wind-band, the *franciosini*. At various times, Jacopo gave Caccini the loan of a horse and carriage, gifts of clothes, grain and preserves, and money. There are also payments for food to be sent for dinners held in Caccini’s house (in December 1583 and February 1588), perhaps during meetings of Corsi’s circle, and when Caccini was ill in late 1592, Jacopo paid for a doctor.<sup>88</sup> When Jacomelli arrived in Florence in late 1587 to enter the roll of court musicians, his rent was initially paid by Jacopo,<sup>89</sup> who also sold him grain, wine and wood, often at preferential rates. Various members of the *franciosini* appear frequently in the accounts, receiving gratuities and gifts of clothes, and one of their number, Giovanni Battista Signorini (later the husband of Francesca Caccini), received a loan of 50 ducats on 23 February 1595, of which only a third was repaid. In early 1599, the group turned to Jacopo to secure for them a pay increase from the court,<sup>90</sup> and after

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his death several members (including Jacopo *del franciosino* and Signorini) taught music to Corsi's children.

Many other musicians benefitted from Corsi's generosity. Baccio Palibotria-Malespina received several loans (including 175 lire on 16 April 1577 with a chest of viols as guarantee), as did another Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello musician, Lelio Grillinzoni (50 ducats without interest on 16 March 1589, which was turned into a gift on 19 July 1590). Giovanpiero Manenti "musico di Sua Altezza Serenissima e organista di santa maria del fiore," received an interest-free loan of 70 lire on 28 October 1584. On 12 September 1592, the virtuoso tenor Francesco Rasi wrote to Bardo Corsi asking him, since Jacopo was not in Florence, for a loan of 70 lire on Jacopo's behalf, which Bardo granted.<sup>91</sup> Jacopo Peri, the composer of *Dafne* and *Euridice*, was lent 30 ducats in 1583, and when his financial situation was more secure, he also joined Corsi as a partner in a company for woollen manufacture.<sup>92</sup> Two Florentine nobles of a musical bent, Don Grazia Montalvo and Piero Strozzi also fell heavily into Jacopo's debt. Furthermore, the accounts list numerous gratuities to unnamed musicians (sometimes for performing at Sesto), including 21 lire for "musicisti spagnuoli" in November 1599, payments for children to have singing lessons,<sup>93</sup> and rent received from a music school run by Cosimo Mattaccini and later Jacopo Prospero on Corsi premises.

In the small world of Florentine music-making, there were few musicians who had no contact with Jacopo Corsi, and most derived some material advantage from their relationship with him. No doubt they also benefitted from the cultural exchanges promoted in his "pubblica accademia." The exact nature of Corsi's gatherings is still open to debate, but some recent assumptions perhaps need modification. Scholars have argued that any group centering around Corsi was and should be kept distinct from the *camerata* patronized by Giovanni de' Bardi in the 1570s and 1580s, that the Corsi group came into its own only after Bardi's departure for Rome in 1592, and that it broached quite different musical problems.<sup>94</sup> A simple appraisal of the geographical and cultural confines of late sixteenth-century Florence suggests that this view is implausible. Bardi and Corsi both lived in the quarter of San Giovanni,<sup>95</sup> and they were members of the same confraternities. Furthermore, Bardi was involved in property dealings with the

Corsi family in 1574; in the mid-1580s (and in 1598) Corsi paid two visits to Vernio, the Bardi family seat; in August 1588 they shared the cost of a banquet; and in 1585 and 1590 they, with Ottavio Rinuccini, visited Ferrara together.<sup>96</sup>

Jacopo patronized Vincenzo Galilei and Giulio Caccini, both musicians closely associated with Bardi's *camerata*. Thus he probably took part in at least some of the later meetings in Bardi's palace and no doubt, as his wide reading suggests, became involved in their debates on music, the sciences and liberal arts. No doubt Jacopo also kept abreast of the theoretical discussions on the relative merits of ancient and modern music sponsored by Bardi and his colleagues. In early 1584, he purchased Gioseffo Zarlino's *Dimostrazioni harmoniche* (first edition, Venice 1571), one of the treatises that had prompted the group's, and particularly Vincenzo Galilei's, diatribes against current theoretical attitudes and compositional practices.<sup>97</sup> The acquisition of a monochord in early 1586 also suggests that Jacopo had some interest in the debates on intervals and tuning which lay at the heart of the Galilei-Zarlino controversy. Whatever Jacopo's views on Bardi and Galilei's stance, he must have come into first-hand contact with the new ideas on music in current circulation.

However, there is cause to view the meetings in Jacopo's palace as less an academy than an informal "musical/compositional workshop."<sup>98</sup> New music could be tried out and evaluated, and musicians could discuss the state of their art and attempt solutions to identified compositional problems. Such discussions would be enhanced by non-Florentine musicians visiting the circle and sharing new ideas. Shortly after his visit to Ferrara in 1585, Jacopo was host of a banquet in Florence in honour of Alfonso Fontanelli, a musician from Reggio Emilia who had recently entered Ferrarese service.<sup>99</sup> No doubt this gave Florentine musicians an opportunity to discuss the latest Ferrarese styles. It also instituted an association with Fontanelli that may have had an important influence on the Florentine madrigal in the 1590s. Carlo Gesualdo's visit to Florence in 1594 as a guest of Jacopo perhaps bore similar fruit.<sup>100</sup> The musicians of Corsi's circle could also benefit from the presence of poets. The working relationship between Ottavio Rinuccini and Jacopo Peri is one obvious example. Similarly, Chiabrera's attachment to the Corsi circle must

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have reinforced, if not initiated, Giulio Caccini's familiarity with his poetry, the metric structure of which was to have great influence upon his newly developing aria style.<sup>101</sup> Rinuccini also owed a considerable debt to this poet. Jacopo's policy of holding 'open house' to musicians, poets and artists from both within and outside the city cannot fail to have influenced the artistic endeavours of native Florentines.

Jacopo's activities as a patron and connoisseur allowed him to indulge his enlightened interest in the arts. It also enabled him to maintain a high profile in Florentine society, whether in the eyes of native Florentines or of the visitors to the city who flocked to his palace to hear his concerts.<sup>102</sup> This strategic use of patronage becomes yet clearer by examining an area of expenditure in which Jacopo most obviously pursued a policy of conspicuous consumption, that of providing entertainments. Jacopo seems to have liked a wide variety of entertainments, ranging from outdoor jousts, tournaments and *calcio* matches, to indoor concerts, *mascherate* and theatrical performances. The account books contain numerous small payments to Jacopo "per andare alla commedia" and for costumes for *mascherate*.<sup>103</sup> He and his brothers also paid larger sums for particular entertainments. In April 1584, Giulio Corsi contributed over 300 ducats towards the cost of the outdoor *bufojata* held during the wedding festivities celebrating the marriage of Eleonora de' Medici and Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua.<sup>104</sup> At the same time, Jacopo and Bardo initiated a series of regular payments for the annual *calcio* matches held between the quarters of the city. In February 1586, Giulio paid a printer "per 150 madrigali stampati per la maschera di Pan," a hitherto unknown entertainment.<sup>105</sup> Corsi involvement in Medici wedding entertainments continued in 1589 with the festivities celebrating the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I to Christine of Lorraine. Jacopo paid over 500 ducats as his contribution to the *sbarra* held in the courtyard of the Pitti Palace on 11 May, and Bardo contributed to the *giostra* held in the Piazza S. Croce on the preceding day.<sup>106</sup> In Carnival 1590, Bardo collaborated with Piero Guicciardini, who had shared the costs of the 1589 *sbarra* with Jacopo, and other members of the patriciate to provide a "mascherata de cocchiere,"<sup>107</sup> and in Carnival 1593, Jacopo Corsi and Gino Ginori jointly funded a "maschera delli scapigliati."<sup>108</sup> Other

payments by Jacopo relating to *cocchiate* and *mascherate* also survive from September 1595 and February 1599, while in Carnival 1600, Jacopo paid 67 lire “per code e mascere per 3 satiri per la sbarra” and for other accoutrements required for this “mascerata de satiri.”<sup>109</sup> These years also saw Jacopo’s involvement in *Dafne* and *Euridice*. Outdoor entertainments for the populace would keep the family name in the public eye. Those which the court attended would also advance the family in the eyes of the Medici. Two of Jacopo’s collaborators in the 1589 *sbarra* were Don Pietro de’ Medici and Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua; Don Giovanni de’ Medici attended the performance of *Dafne* in Carnival 1598, and Grand Duchess Christine and the Cardinals Monte and Montalto attended repeat performances in Carnival 1599 and 1600;<sup>110</sup> and *Euridice* was performed during the Medici wedding festivities of October 1600.<sup>111</sup>

*Dafne* and *Euridice* probably marked the pinnacle of Jacopo’s career as a patron. Their value as status symbols extended beyond their presentation before a distinguished audience. They also introduced to Florence a new type of musical entertainment, the entirely-sung music-drama. Through them, Jacopo made his entrance into the long-standing debate in Florentine salons and academies on the nature of Greek music and its function in Greek tragedy. This had been one concern of Bardi’s *camerata*, and the problem had also been taken up by Emilio de’ Cavalieri, a Roman musician brought to Florence to take control of the court music. As a result, disinterested humanist inquiry was in danger of being eclipsed by conflicts of personal and civic loyalties. Jacopo’s librettist, Ottavio Rinuccini, claimed in no uncertain terms:

“It has been the opinion of many... that the ancient Greeks and Romans sang their tragedies on the stage throughout. But such a noble manner of recitation has been neither revived nor even as far as I know attempted by anyone...”<sup>112</sup>

This polemic fuelled an acrimonious dispute that involved many musicians in Florence. However, Rinuccini’s *post facto* claims for a revival of Greek tragedy ring hollow. Corsi and his colleagues rode roughshod over the niceties of academic inquiry in favour of pragmatic, contemporary solutions to problems that had absorbed more penetrating scholarly minds for several decades. It was no

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doubt important for Jacopo's reputation to associate his pastorals with humanist endeavour, but they were probably conceived also with an eye on more contemporary concerns, notably a desire to earn prestige for himself and his circle. Moreover, if Jacopo could claim to have been the first to produce a through-composed *favola in musica*, he could also take pride that he had done so by exploiting patron-client networks established over the preceding two decades. Indeed, *Euridice* has the air of a family venture. Most of the artists and performers involved in the production — including Rinuccini, Peri, Caccini and his family, Montalvo and Jacomelli — had long-standing connections with Jacopo and many were or had been under financial obligation to him. Furthermore, among those who gave their approval to the work, according to Peri, was Alfonso Fontanelli. Finally, Jacopo himself played the harpsichord at the performance.<sup>113</sup>

Jacopo's untimely death of 'fever' on 29 December 1602 was lamented throughout the city and in the publications of poets and musicians associated with his circle. Numerous letters of condolence sent to Bardo Corsi testified to the widespread admiration for his brother. Ottavio Galeotti lamented the loss of "a gentleman of such virtue and good qualities, and loved by all who knew him,"<sup>114</sup> and Cosimo Baroncelli wrote "to assure Your Lordship that I am sorely grieved at this bitter blow, not only on behalf of yourself, who is so close to this loss, but also on behalf of our city, which has been deprived of a gentleman of noble, wise spirit who held it in great esteem."<sup>115</sup> Even Henry IV of France is said to have written to Florence lamenting Jacopo's death.<sup>116</sup> Academies, churches and confraternities commemorated his death to bear witness to "his infinite kindness and his magnificence, and to the many pious and worthy things which he did."<sup>117</sup> The Compagnia del Gesù held its obsequies in early January 1603,<sup>118</sup> and the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello on 21 February, "which were so fine and magnificent that nothing similar had ever been done before for a private gentleman in our city."<sup>119</sup> An elaborate catafalque was erected, emblazoned with the Corsi arms, and decorated with mottoes and *imprese* extolling Jacopo's special relationship with the muses and comparing him to Apollo, Orpheus and Arion. This relationship was emphasized in the oration given by Neri Acciaiuoli. Music for voices and instruments

also played a prominent part in the service. Four madrigals were performed (to texts by Riccardo Riccardi, Lorenzo Franceschi, Adamo Bertozzi and Domenico Torsi), two by Marco da Gagliano, one by Giovanni del Turco and one by Piero Strozzi, while Gagliano also provided the responses, which were sung by a soprano to an accompaniment of four viols.<sup>120</sup> Musicians continued to remember Jacopo's generous patronage long after his death, as dedications to his sons Giovanni and Lorenzo reveal.<sup>121</sup>

It seems clear that Jacopo's patronage of the arts was motivated at least in part by a desire to establish his name and reputation. This reputation, coupled with the vast wealth accrued by his brother Bardo, set the family on a firm footing in the early seventeenth century. In 1608, Bardo Corsi paid Bernardetto de' Medici some 24,000 ducats for a palace at the head of the Via Tornabuoni,<sup>122</sup> and in early 1615 he purchased the town of Caiazzo, near Naples, and its surrounding land for almost 120,000 ducats from Giulio Cesare di Capua, Principe di Conca.<sup>123</sup> On 31st July 1623, he spent another 4,222 ducats to receive the title of Marchese of Caiazzo for himself and his heirs from Philip III of Spain.<sup>124</sup> Instrumental in the acquisition of this title was Cardinal Ottavio Bandini, Jacopo's brother-in-law by his first marriage. On Bardo's death, the title passed to Jacopo's son, Giovanni, who also became a Florentine senator and ambassador, while his other son Lorenzo pursued a distinguished ecclesiastical career, becoming papal vice-legiate at Avignon. The rapid growth of the family in the sixteenth century had culminated in a sumptuous family residence in Florence, a prestigious noble title, positions of influence both within and outside the city, and a vast family wealth. The Corsi had come far since Giovanni's return to Florence some seventy years before.

The rich material in the Corsi archives has many uses. There is much evidence for an economic history of Florence in the sixteenth century, including details of how the Florentine patriciate responded to changing economic circumstances in the city. It seems clear that, contrary to some interpretations, this response was often positive, flexible and even imaginative, but its deeper ramifications remain in urgent need of scholarly inquiry. There are also valuable sources for the social historian seeking to document the patriciate's reaction to changing civic and social institutions

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and the extent to which Florentine senses of family identity, and the means for their articulation, may or may not have altered in the shift from republic to *principato*. For instance, there are marked similarities between Corsi family strategies in the sixteenth century and those of several fifteenth-century families as documented by Richard Goldthwaite and F. W. Kent. These similarities do not support a view of the Medici's final return to Florence in 1530 as a watershed after which Florentine society was altered fundamentally and for the worst. However, the main aim of this study has been to focus on Florentine art and patronage in the late sixteenth century. Exploring the motives of Jacopo Corsi as a patron and assessing their influence on works of art that emerged from his circle illuminate many aspects of the arts in Florence during the *principato*. They also emphasize that artistic activity of any kind cannot be divorced from its broader social and economic context.





Appendix I

D. Torsi, *Descrizione dell'esequie fatte nella morte del Signor Jacopo Corsi nella Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, 1603*, extract:

f. [64]r . . .

Appresso l'Altare a man sinistra sopra un Pulpito coperto di cotone nero orò il Signor Neri Acciajuoli, giovane gentilissimo di questa città, il quale lasciamo stare la nobiltà del sangue, non ha per virtù, nè per gentilezza di costumi chi a lui passi innanzi: questi colla favella, co' gesti, colle parole elette, e piene di grazia, e di singolare affetto col far segno con mano, e colla voce al Ritratto del Signor Jacopo, che gli stava di costa, trasse, cosa ma/ravigliosa, a molti le lagrime dagli occhi.

f. [64]v

La Musica, che fu copiosa, piena, varia, miserabile, ed artificiosa al possibile, ed insieme, il che difficilmente può stare insieme, chiara, ed agevole ad intendere colle parole, fu cantata da' più isquisiti ed eccellenti Musici, che oggi sieno nella città nostra. Le parole furon parte del Signor Riccardo Riccardi, il quale per non dir nulla del suo accorto giudizio, e destrezza a tutte le cose più difficili per virtù, e per rare qualità di animo è uno de' più rari gen/tiluomini di questa Patria. Parte del Signor Lorenzo Franceschi, giovane nobile fiorentino, e così esercitato nelle cose di Poesia, che a niuno è stimato inferiore, che oggi viva in questa professione. Parte di Messer Adamo Bertozzi, Prete, che per gli rari suoi costumi, è molto onorato da questa città. E in compagnia di questi furono alcuni pensieri dell'Autore.

f. [65]r

La Musica del primo Madrigale fu del Signor Piero Strozzi, il quale per le molte virtù sue, e per la Musica specialmente della quale al pari di ogni / altro, che ne faccia professione, è intendentissimo, e tenuto in grande stima in questa patria. Fu cantato questo Madrigale da cinque voci al suono di cinque Viole con tanta dolcezza, e con sì pietosa maniera, che forse non s'udì simile giammai.

f. [65]v

L'istesse voci cantarono il secondo Madrigale concertato parimente sull'istesse Viole. La Musica si di questo come del quarto Madrigale, e de' Responsi, che si cantarono a ciascun

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f. [66]r notturno dell'Offizio fu di Marco da Gagliano, Maestro di Cappella in questo / luogo, giovane, che negli anni quando altri incomincia ad aver senno, ha dato saggio tale per le stampe al Mondo, che ogni uomo ancora bene intendente ha ripieno di meraviglia.

Il terzo cantato da quattro voci sopra un Organo di legno, e da una Traversa ajutato in voce di soprano fu del Signor Giovanni del Turco, Cavaliere di Santo Stefano, giovane nobile di questa patria; il quale tanto si avanza a spendere gloriosamente i suoi giorni, che non pure è degno per se stesso di essere onorato da ciascuno; ma spezialmente per questa nobi/lissima scienza della Musica, nella quale oggi quanto sia in pregio ne rendono vive testimonianze le pubbliche Opere sue.

Fu il quarto, siccome il primo, ed il secondo concertato su gli stessi istrumenti.

I Responsi erano cantati sopra quattro Viole da un Soprano così eccellente, che io non gli do pari di quanti a i nostri giorni si sono giammai uditi, e si conobbe allora, quando con soavissima voce, e con modo miserabile, forse più di una lagrima trasse dagli occhi di chi ascoltava.

f. [67]r Nel fine al suono di un Organo di / un Organo di [*sic*] legno, ora un Soprano tutto solo, ora il Basso, talvolta il Contralto, e bene spesso il Tenore cantava un versetto del Miserere, e del Benedictus, ma con tanta grazia, che esser pareva tra le Melodie sopra umane, e soavissime. Nè si tosto le Cirimonie si trovarono esser finite, che a tutti parve, che quell'ore, mentre che durò il Sacro Offizio volassero fuori dell'usato frettolosamente.

f. [67]v Per questo la città nostra non si può saziare ancora di lodare la magnificenza dell'Apparato, ed il molto merito del Signor Jacopo Corsi, e ciascuna cosa verso di se, / e tutte insieme degne di eterna fede.

Laus Deo.

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### Appendix II

This is a list of all manuscript sources, excluding music manuscripts, which form the basis of this study, with a summary description of their contents. This description does not always correspond to the title on the document or the listing in library inventories.

#### Archivio di Stato, Florence

##### Compagnie Religiose Soppresse (CRS)

- A.CXLVII, 162, 21     *Ricordanze* of the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo  
Raffaello, 1 November 1581 - 25 July 1610
- A.CXLVII, 165, 40     Entrance lists of the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo  
Raffaello, 7 January 1579/80 - 26 April  
1636
- G.II, 805, 33         *Debitori e creditori* of the Compagnia del Gesù,  
1 June 1588 - 16 May 1604
- G.II, 805, 34         *Entrata e uscita* of the Compagnia del Gesù,  
November 1557 - 28 March 1575
- G.II, 805, 35         *Ibid.*, 1 June 1575 - 15 February 1586/7
- G.II, 805, 36         *Ibid.*, 1 June 1588 - 3 May 1609

##### Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati (GCS)

The GCS account books (*Libri*) fall into three groups: (1) notes of day-to-day expenditure (*Giornale, Quadernuccio*); (2) records of income and expenditure (*Entrata e uscita*); (3) summary accounts on various levels of the accounting system (*Quaderno di cassa, Debitori e creditori*). Books of type (1) present entries in chronological order; those of type (2) separate income and expenditure, usually in two halves of the volume, with each section proceeding chronologically; those of type (3) adopt the standard *dare - avere* format on facing pages, with expenditure categorised under various headings and entries under each heading in chronological order. The books are normally cross-referenced, although entries may vary, e.g. in date or wording, and each is normally given a letter to demonstrate its position in its series.

- Libro 404                 *Debitori e creditori D* of Giovanni Corsi,  
1 January 1559/60 - 1572
- Libro 405                 *Giornale C* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi,  
15 January 1570/71 - 8 August 1587

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- Libro 406 *Giornale A* of Bardo and the heirs of Jacopo Corsi, 22 September 1587 - 6 April 1628
- Libro 407 *Entrata e uscita G* of the heirs of Giovanni Corsi, 30 April 1578 - 1586
- Libro 408 *Giornale H* of Jacopo Corsi, 1 February 1585/6 - 9 February 1592/3
- Libro 409 *Giornale I* of Jacopo Corsi, January 1592/3 - 17 September 1603
- Libro 410 *Giornale K* of Bardo and the heirs of Jacopo Corsi, 18 September 1603 - 29 December 1612
- Libro 415 *Debitori e creditori C* (*recte* "E") of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, September 1570-15 September 1587
- Libro 416 *Debitori e creditori F* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, 15 September 1587 - 20 February 1629/30
- Libro 421 *Quaderno di cassa E* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, 20 January 1570/71 - April 1573
- Libro 423 *Quadernuccio* of the heirs of Giovanni Corsi for *Quaderno di cassa E*, 15 January 1570/71 - 17 December 1573
- Libro 424 *Quaderno di cassa F* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, 1 April 1573 - 9 November 1581
- Libro 425 *Quaderno di cassa G* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, 1578 - 15 July 1586
- Libro 426 *Quaderno di cassa H* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, 1 February 1585/6 - 9 February 1592/3
- Libro 427 *Quaderno di cassa I* of Jacopo and Bardo Corsi, mid 1592 - 18 September 1603
- Libro 428 Grain produce of property owned by Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo Corsi, 24 July 1574 - 1580
- Libro 429 Grain produce of property owned by Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo Corsi, mid 1580 - 1591
- Libro 431 *Giornale* of the heirs of Bardo di Jacopo Corsi, 21 January 1572/3 - 26 June 1582
- Libro 432 *Giornale* of Jacopo Corsi, 31 July 1579 - 18 September 1602
- Libro 433 *Debitori e creditori* of Jacopo Corsi, 31 July 1579 - 1603
- Libro 435 *Quaderno di cassa* of Jacopo Corsi, late 1579

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- Libro 436 *Quaderno di cassa* of Jacopo Corsi, 18 March 1582/3 - 16 July 1587, with later entries dated 1613-1614
- Libro 437 *Giornale* of Bardo Corsi, 12 November 1599 - 1 March 1624/5
- Libro 442 *Entrata e uscita* of Laura di Lorenzo Corsini, 8 July 1598 - 23 August 1602
- Libro 443 *Entrata e uscita* of Laura di Lorenzo Corsini, 2 September 1602 - 19 September 1614; two fascicles
- Libro 445 *Debitori e creditori* of Laura di Lorenzo Corsini (not Giovanni di Jacopo as on spine), 9 August 1650 - 21 March 1631/2
- Filza 1 Company contracts involving the Corsi family, 1 January 1428/9 - 6 February 1736/7
- Processi, Filza 13 Documents relating to a legal dispute between the Corsi and Boni families, 1562-1602
- Manoscritti (MS)
- 130 Francesco Settimanni, *Memorie fiorentine*, V, 1587-1595
- 251 *Priorista Mariani*, IV
- Mediceo del Principato (MDP)
- 1689 Letters between court secretaries, 1589-1593
- Miscellanea Medicea (MM)
- 29 ins. 1: An inventory of the household of Giovanni Battista and Matteo Botti, 1 December 1588. This is wrongly catalogued as an inventory of the "casa granducale."
- Carte Stroziane (STR)
- Series I, 27 *Memorie* of Giovanni del Maestro, *maestro di casa* of Grand Duke Ferdinando I, 1592, 1600

Archivio Corsi-Salviati, Sesto Fiorentino (ACS)

ACS was formerly kept in the Palazzo Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati, Via Ghibellina 73, Florence. In 1955, a large part of the archive was transferred to the Archivio di Stato, becoming GCS. Also transferred was a two-volume inventory of the archive. After the flood of 1966, which badly damaged the remains of ACS in the Palazzo Guicciardini-

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Corsi-Salviati, the archive was transferred to the Villa Corsi-Salviati at Sesto Fiorentino, with the manuscripts in total disarray. The manuscripts have now been given a new series of shelf-numbers which no longer relate to those of the inventory in the Archivio di Stato. Reference is made to these new shelf-numbers, although where possible I have attempted to identify the original number by comparing the contents with the Archivio di Stato inventory.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 247                                      | A late 17th-century summary of property purchased by the Corsi family from 1502-1624  |
| 251 (formerly Filza 158, ins. 16)        | Miscellaneous accounts of the Corsi family, 1589-1707   |
| 473 (formerly Filza 46, part)            | Requests and receipts for loans from members of the Corsi family  |
| 637 (formerly Filza 40)                  | ins. 19: A copy, dated 1782, of an inventory of the property of Bardo di Giovanni Corsi left to his heirs Giovanni and Lorenzo di Jacopo Corsi<br>ins. 20: An inventory of the paintings in the gallery of Marchese Francesco Antonio Corsi-Salviati (1754-1814). This provided the basis for a printed sale catalogue (also contained here) for the collection's dispersal shortly before or after Marchese Francesco Antonio's death. |
| 646 (formerly Filza 66, part)            | ins. 1: <i>Ricordanze</i> of the Corsi family by Don Mauro di Camillo Corsi, 1661/1662<br>ins. 2: Anonymous <i>ricordanze</i> of the Corsi family, late 17th century  |
| 725 (formerly Filza 43, ins. 1-83)       | ins. 26: <i>Ricordanze</i> of the foundation of the Corsi chapel in Santa Croce, 19th century   |
| 892 (formerly Filza 16, part)            | Testaments of various members of the Corsi family   |
| 958                                      | Inventories of the property of Lorenzo Corsi, most prepared on his death in 1656  |
| 1218 (formerly Filza 57, ins. 1-5, part) | Letters and documents relating to Bardo Corsi 1595-1609   |
| 1480 (formerly Filza 20, part)           | ins. 4: An inventory of goods held jointly between Bardo and the heirs of Jacopo Corsi, early 17th century  |
| 1605                                     | ins. 1-2: Letters to Bardo Corsi, 1600-1602   |

The library of the Villa Corsini-Salviati also contains a manuscript

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of Domenico Torsi's *Descrizione dell'esequie fatte nella morte del Signor Jacopo Corsi nella Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello*, 1603. This is a mid-18th-century copy. The description, dedicated to Giovanni de' Bardi, was presumably designed for publication.

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence (BNF)

- II.iv.252                    A collection of poetry copied by Girolamo di Sommaia, February 1611-(1618?)
- II.ix.45                    A collection of poetry and entertainment texts, late 16th century
- Gino Capponi 125        *Notizie fiorentine*, 1000-1630
- Magl. XXXVIII, 115    A collection of academic orations, etc. On ff. 138r-145r is an unattributed "Orazione in morte del Signor Jacopo Corsi" addressed to "valorosi Accademici." To judge by the corrections and alterations, this is a working draft.
- Palatino 249              A collection of poetry by Ottavio Rinuccini, mostly autograph

Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence

- Ashburnham 558        The diary of the Accademia degli Alterati, 17 February 1568/9 - 23 January 1605/6
- Buonarroti 84            An autograph collection of poetry by Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*

Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence

- MS 2241                  A collection of academic tracts, orations, etc. including (ff. 78r-85v) the oration presented by Neri Acciaiuoli before the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello at the *esequie* for Jacopo Corsi on 21 February 1602/3

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### Notes

This study was carried out during the period of my fellowship at The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, Florence. I am indeed grateful to the then director, Professor Craig Hugh Smyth, his staff and the 1984-85 Fellows and Associates for making my stay in Florence so enjoyable and fruitful. Thanks are due to the staff of the Archivio di Stato, Florence, for their assistance, to Professor Gino Corti and Professor Warren Kirkendale for their advice on Florentine archives, and to Professor Sharon Strocchia, University of South Carolina, for her invaluable criticisms. I am also grateful to Count Giovanni Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati for allowing me to consult his family archive at the Villa Corsi-Salviati, Sesto Fiorentino, and to his niece, Alessandra, for her kind assistance and good humour during my visits there.

<sup>1</sup> For example, A. Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, Princeton (1980); I. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, Cambridge (1980, 1982); J. H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli*, Ann Arbor (1981).

<sup>2</sup> A survey of dedications of secular music publications (from E. Vogel - A. Einstein - F. Lesure - C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia [1977]) produces suggestive results: Cosimo I, five dedications; Francesco I, two; Ferdinando I, seven; Cosimo II, three; Alfonso II d'Este, 10; Guglielmo I Gonzaga, 19; Vincenzo I Gonzaga, 29. Ferdinando is the only Grand Duke to receive dedications from composers working outside the Florentine ambit: indeed, all seven of his dedications originate thus. I also find it curious that such prominent Florentine musicians as Luca Bati or Marco da Gagliano did not dedicate a secular publication to their employers.

<sup>3</sup> E. Strainchamps, "Marco da Gagliano and the *Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello* in Florence: An Unknown Episode in the Composer's Life," in S. Bertelli - G. Ramakus (ed.), *Essays in Honor of Myron P. Gilmore*, Florence (1978), II, pp. 473-487; J. W. Hill, "Oratory Music in Florence, I: *Recitar cantando, 1583-1655*," *Acta musicologica*, LI (1979), pp. 108-136; G. Burchi, "Vita musicale e spettacoli alla Compagnia della Scala di Firenze fra il 1560 e il 1675," *Note d'archivio*, n.s. I (1983), pp. 9-50.

<sup>4</sup> C. V. Palisca, "The « Camerata Fiorentina »: A Reappraisal," *Studi musicali*, I (1972), pp. 203-236; E. Strainchamps, "New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence," *The Musical Quarterly*, LXII (1976), pp. 507-535.

<sup>5</sup> T. Carter, "Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600): A Contextual Study," *The Music Review*, 43 (1982), pp. 83-103; P. Malanima, "Corsi, Jacopo," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome (1983), 29, pp. 574-577.



<sup>6</sup> Brief reference to the Guicciardini - Corsi - Salviati material now in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, was made in A. Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, Milan (1904), I, repr. ed. Hildesheim (1969), pp. 61-63. However, it was essentially 'rediscovered' by Dr. Jordan Goodman, who used the mercantile records for his important doctoral dissertation *The Florentine Silk Industry in the Seventeenth Century*, University of London (1977). There are some references to the archive in Hill, *loc. cit.* (see note 3), p. 111, nn. 14, 16, 17, but to the best of my knowledge no-one has yet worked extensively on this material. A list of manuscript sources cited in these notes is presented in Appendix II. The following *sigla* identify *fondi* in the Archivio di Stato, Florence: CRS, Compagnie Religiose Soppresse; GCS, Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati; MDP, Mediceo del Principato; MM, Miscellanea Medicea; MS, Manoscritti; STR, Carte Stroziane. Sources in the Corsi-Salviati archive in Sesto Fiorentino are prefixed ACS, and those in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, BNF. The GCS sources fall into three numerical series, *Libri*, *Filze* and *Processi*. Unless there is an indication to the contrary, a GCS shelf-number in these notes refers to the series of *Libri*. Locations within manuscripts are indicated by fascicle (fasc.) or insert (ins.) where relevant, and by page (p.), folio (f.) or opening (op.) as appropriate. A few manuscripts are unpaginated, in which case the relevant entry can be located by date. Quotations follow the original, often inconsistent, orthography, with abbreviations and contractions 'silently' expanded. In the text of this study, Florentine-style dates have been modified according to the *stile comune* without comment; dates in the notes follow the sources, combining where necessary Florentine and *stile comune* dating in a single formula, e.g. 20 February 1584/5. Note that various members of the Corsi family could be slow in ordering their accounts: thus the date(s) of entry need not be the date of transaction, which is sometimes given in the account entry. I have found delays of well over a year from transaction to account entry, especially in the case of complex dealings, and delays of two to three months are standard.

<sup>7</sup> This table is derived from sources in GCS and ACS. ACS 646, ins. 1, contains an account of the family from the early 1660s by Don Mauro di Camillo Corsi. This formed the basis for the entry on the Corsi family in MS 251, ff. 794v-797r. ACS 646, ins. 2, contains other late seventeenth-century *ricordanze* of the family.

<sup>8</sup> The Corsi made a strong showing in the 1433 scrutiny, see the table in D. V. Kent, "The Florentine Reggimento in the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly*, XXVIII (1975), pp. 575-638, but were not among the highest taxpayers of the S. Croce quarter in the 1427 catasto, see L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390-1460*, Princeton (1963), pp. 365-368. For other details of the Corsi during the republic, see G. Capponi, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze*, Florence (1875), II, pp. 2, 107, 120, 455, 469.

<sup>9</sup> S. Berner, "The Florentine Patriciate and the Transition from Republic to Principato, 1530-1609," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, IX (1972), pp. 3-15, see p. 11.

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<sup>10</sup> This figure, derived from ACS 247, represents only the purchase price, excluding taxes, fees, etc., and may be incomplete. On the villa at Sesto Fiorentino, see G. Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati, *La villa Corsi a Sesto*, Florence (1937). Giovanni's heirs continued the building programme, as well as laying out the garden (in the early 1570s, one Maestro Stoldo *scultore* created a large fountain, see the payments in GCS 423) and expanding the surrounding estate. In mid 1576 Maestro Giovanni *scultore* provided busts of Grand Duke Francesco and Joanna of Austria for the facade of the villa at a cost of 154 lire (plus L. 31.10 for the marble), GCS 424, opp. 150 right, 157 left. This is probably either Giovanni Caccini or Giovanni Scherano, although according to F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, repr. ed. Florence (1846), II, p. 567, Giambologna provided a bust of Francesco for Simone (*sic*) Corsi.

<sup>11</sup> On the construction of the Corsi chapel, see M. B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce 1565-1577*, Oxford (1979), esp. pp. 128-129. Simone Corsi was one of the *operai* of S. Croce at the time. On 19 Aprile 1572, the Corsi paid L. 3,170.3 for the work which had been done up to 3 March 1571/2, namely "le colonne con tutte altre pietre dell'altare soglio Architraue et frontespizio e altro, doue son le Arme nostro con parole poste à oro che dicono. Cuius liuore Sanati Sumus. et apie dell'altare la sepoltura con la sua lapida di marmo," GCS 423, f. 50v, see also GCS 421, op. 90 left. The GCS 423 entry goes on to note that "ui anderanno molti altri sborsi cosi per il costo della tauola che à da esser dipinta con Il Xto nostro redentore alla colonna, come per la Dota poi da farseli, a detta cappella per teneruj alla continua la lanpana accessa, e altrimenti come si dirà a suo tempo in lauenire." On 19 February 1572/3, another L. 3,170.17 was spent on the chapel, GCS 423, f. 107r, entered on 17 March 1572/3 in GCS 405, f. 45r; 415, op. 83. The payment of 300 ducats for a house by which the chapel was to be endowed is entered on 1 July 1579 in GCS 405, f. 78r; 431, f. [13]v, and on 8 July in the records of S. Croce, see Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 128. The conditions of the endowment were "di celebrare una Messa quotidiana all'Altare di detta Cappella: Di fare ogn'Anno in perpetuo nel Mese d'Ottobre un'Anniversario per l'Animo di detti Signori Fondatori: di tenere accesa La Lampana a detto Altare ogni giorno festiuo," ACS 725, ins. 26, paraphrasing GCS 405, f. 78r. The total expenditure of 8,441 lire is rather more than Hall's estimate (*op. cit.*, pp. 25-26) of the cost of one of the new chapels in S. Croce, 800-900 ducats, although the Corsi may have been more lavish in their expenditure than other families. In addition, on 4 January 1577/8, L. 1935.2.8 was given "a lorenzo del bernardo legnaiuolo per l'ornamento della tavola et panche et predella dell'altare et altro," GCS 405, f. 72r. Fei's painting is dated 1575, and on 21 October of that year, the accounts record a payment of L. 3 "per mancia al fattore del dipintore della tavola di santa croce," GCS 424, op. 125 right.

<sup>12</sup> Luca Bati taught Jacopo Corsi from 8 December 1569, and Giulio from 19 April 1571, GCS 421, opp. 20, 113. Payments and gratuities through the 1570s are recorded in GCS 424, opp. 60, 119, 183. Jacopo

appears to have ceased lessons on 12 September 1573, but Bardo was having lessons by this time. On 17 July 1572, Bardi was given L. 38.10 for music bought for teaching purposes, GCS 423, f. 68v. He was paid for teaching until the end of February 1576/7 “che di poi si parti di firenze,” GCS 424, op. 183 right. However a “provisione” from Bardo Corsi for unknown services is entered on 23 April 1583, GCS 436, op. 6 left. On Jacopo’s musical education, see also below, note 72.

<sup>13</sup> An obvious example is provided by the Riccardi, a family whose rise in the sixteenth century bears marked similarities to that of the Corsi, see P. Malanima, *I Riccardi di Firenze: una famiglia e un patrimonio nella Toscana dei Medici*, Florence (1977).

<sup>14</sup> Significant reassessments of the traditional view of sixteenth-century Florence in decline occur in R. Goldthwaite, *Private Wealth in Renaissance Florence: A Study of Four Families*, Princeton (1968), pp. 235-251; Berner, *loc. cit.* (see note 9). They find cautious acceptance in F. Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: I Medici*, Turin (1976).

<sup>15</sup> A copy of Giovanni’s will is in ACS 892, ins. 1. The patrimony was increased in 1572 by 15,300 ducats left by Bardo di Jacopo, and in 1587, 30,148.8.13 ducats left by Antonio di Jacopo.

<sup>16</sup> GCS 415, opp. 52, 72, 91, 113, 132. This sum includes taxes, fees and incidental expenses. By Bardo di Giovanni’s death in March 1624/5, the value of the Corsi property in Tuscany (according to the purchase prices) was 62,336.5.3 ducats, ACS 247.

<sup>17</sup> GCS 405, ff. 121v-122r (6 February 1586/7); 415, op. 167 right. Malanima, *op. cit.* (see note 13), pp. 82-83, speaks of similar purchases as signs “dell’affermazione di una nuova dinastia che andava progressivamente occupando, nella gerarchia sociale, i gradi lasciati liberi dalle case patrizie ormai indebolite.”

<sup>18</sup> The investment portfolio of the family immediately after Jacopo took over the management of the Corsi finances on 26 June 1582, included 25,000 ducats with his uncle Simone in a banking and trading company to be known as “Simone e Redi di Giovanni Corsi”; 12,200 ducats in two woollen manufactories headed by Alessandro and Raffaello Fiorini; 4,300 ducats in a silk manufactory headed by Vincenzo Rinaldi; 2,613.10 ducats in the firm of Vincenzo Bandini of Messina; and an unspecified amount in the firm of Lorenzo Bandini and Jacopo di Giunta of Naples — see the signed and witnessed agreements between Jacopo, Giulio and Bardo in GCS 405, ff. 97r-98r (7 May 1583), 104r-105r (16 July 1584). On the Corsi’s later activities in the silk industry, see Goodman, *op. cit.* (see note 6).

<sup>19</sup> Goldthwaite, *op. cit.* (see note 14), pp. 251-275, analyses the “disintegration and fragmentation” of the large family in Renaissance Florence, although he does not use this to diagnose weakness in the patriciate in the sixteenth century. F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence: The Family Life of the Capponi, Ginori, and Rucellai*, Princeton (1977), takes an entirely opposite view, arguing from a different methodological standpoint.

<sup>20</sup> On Pierantonio Bandini, see J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale*

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*de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris (1959), II, pp. 911-912.

<sup>21</sup> On the dowry as an indication of family status, plus a useful table, see Malanima, *op. cit.* (see note 13), p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> The Boni house, a third part of which had been bought by Giovanni di Jacopo in October 1563, was the subject of a lawsuit in 1596-97, GCS Processi, Filza 13. In 1593, Jacopo bought a house on the Via del Parione from Don Giovanni de' Medici for 1,950 ducats. It is not clear from the accounts whether this became his residence. Neither Jacopo nor Bardo lived in the Corsi palace on the Via de' Benci, contrary to the suggestion in L. Ginori Lisci, *I palazzi di Firenze nella storia e nell'arte*, Florence (1972), II, pp. 621-624. They owned a share in the palace (which was left to the family by Giovanni di Bernardo Corsi in early 1588), but it was the residence of Jacopo di Simone Corsi.

<sup>23</sup> Payments to Betti for coats of arms and other "festoni a piu scudi buoni" are listed in GCS 426, op. 44 left (1 April 1587); 427, op. 113 left (1 September 1595).

<sup>24</sup> See the payments in GCS 426, op. 65 left (22 January 1586/7). On Settimia's death in early 1592, the funeral expenses came to some 620 ducats, GCS 426, op. 221 left.

<sup>25</sup> See the payments in GCS 406, opp. 9 right, 13 right; 408, op. 209 right. Jacopo seems to have first planned to build a tomb for his brother in Madrid, and designs and models were prepared by Giovanantonio Dosi, GCS 408, op. 146 [bis] right (31 March 1590); 426, op. 102 right.

<sup>26</sup> On 12 June 1584, Santi di Tito was paid L. 98 "per fattura de ritratti di messer Giovanni nostro padre et messer Antonio nostro zio porto agostino cianpoli," GCS 425, op. 244 left. The portrait of Simone di Jacopo was done by one Francesco del Brina for L. 56, GCS 425, op. 244 left (1 December 1583). A later inventory of property jointly held by Bardo di Giovanni and the heirs of Jacopo di Giovanni lists "4 Quadri cioè di Giovanni, Simone, Antonio e Bardo Corsi vecchi," ACS 1480, ins. 4, f. 3v.

<sup>27</sup> Payments for the busts, which cost 50 ducats each, dating from August 1588 to 31 March 1590 are given in GCS 408, opp. 98 right, 132 right, 146 [bis] right; 426, opp. 133 left, 161 left. There are also details of the excavation and transportation costs of the marble, which came from Carrara. A pedestal for the bust of Giulio was made in 1593, GCS 427, op. 67 right.

<sup>28</sup> In October 1590, Santi di Tito was paid 62 ducats for "piu pitture che ui si comprende il ritratto di Giulio nostro fratello e altri," GCS 426, op. 133 right. Jacopo Corsi paid the artist L. 35 on 26 June 1592 "per il ritratto della giulia per mandare a roma," GCS 408, op. 220 left; 426, op. 226 left. Similarly, on 16 December 1600 he paid L. 42 "per ritratto della Alessandra sua figliuola," GCS 409, op. 137 left; 427, op. 255 right; 442, f. 52v. A list of goods inherited from Jacopo Corsi by Laura Corsini includes "Vn' ritratto del signor Jacopo, et Giouannino di santi di tito," GCS 445, f. [114]v. It seems that Santi di Tito was a favourite artist of the Corsi family. Giulio Corsi had already commissioned paintings from

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him, see note 40. On 2 June 1593, the artist was paid L. 210 by Bardo Corsi “per 2 quadri fattoli,” GCS 409, op. 12 left; 427, op. 54 left (dated 26 June 1593). One was a painting of S. Francesco, the other of S. Girolamo.

<sup>29</sup> Inventories of the property of Bardo di Giovanni in ACS 637, ins. 19, and 1480, ins. 4, list portraits of Bardo and Jacopo and a bust of Jacopo. ACS 637, ins. 19, also lists (no. 66) “Numero 8 Quadri entroui i Ritratti d’Antenati de Signori Corsi, che dividono il fregio con ornamento filettato d’oro.”

<sup>30</sup> On the Compagnia del Gesù, see F. Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze: illustrazione storico-artistica con note e copiosi documenti inediti*, Florence (1845), pp. 421-423. Jacopo joined in mid 1579: his payment of the L. 7 entrance fee, plus L. 2 for a candle, is recorded in GCS 435, op. 8 left (24 September 1579); CRS G.II, 805, 35, f. 36r (undated, but after 18 September 1579). The confraternity’s records list regular payments of the 16 *soldi* annual subscription (due in early February) until his death. On 8 April 1585, the three brothers jointly gave 15 ducats to the confraternity (GCS 405, f. 108r; 415, op. 158 right), and Jacopo gave other gifts, for example, L. 14 “per ristaurare le finestre” on 24 August 1597, CRS G.II, 805, 36, f. [62]r; 33, f. 100v.

<sup>31</sup> According to Domenico Torsi, *Descrizione dell’esequie fatte nella morte del Signor Jacopo Corsi nella Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello, 1603* (in manuscript in the library of the Villa Corsi-Salviati), f. [12]r, Jacopo joined the confraternity “ne’ più verdi anni dell’età sua.” His association with the confraternity goes back to at least 3 April 1583, when he gave L. 4 “al seruo della compagnia del Raffaello,” GCS 436, op. 5 left. The accounts list sporadic payments of *limosine* to the confraternity (including L. 10 per month from late 1587 until March 1588, GCS 408, op. 72 right) until his death. For Easter 1593 (and possibly 1585 and 1589) he was a *festaiuolo*, see GCS 408, op. 115 right; 409, op. 7 left; 427, op. 55 left; 436, op. 29 right. However, he receives curiously little mention in the records of the confraternity in CRS A.CXLVII. His sons Giovanni and Lorenzo entered on 10 March 1612/13, CRS A.CXLVII, 165, 40, f. 110r, and note Burchi, *loc. cit.* (see note 3), p. 35, n. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Jacopo’s commitment to charity was praised by the unknown author of an oration on his death: “Come egli quella ch’e’ possedeua, liberalmente distribuissse, io nol dirò, mà per me lo dicano i Pouerì Monasteri, dicano gli Spedali, dicano quegli, che mendicando si uergognand’in mendicando, e gli altri bisognosi ancora testimonianza ne facciano, a’ quali tutti (ardente di uera carità) larghissime limosine somministraua,” BNF Magl. XXXVIII, 115, f. 140v. Other confraternities to which Jacopo made donations included the Compagnia di San Leo (L. 70 “per far uno baldachino, e altro” on 31 October 1585, GCS 436, op. 27 left), the Compagnia della Croce (L. 28 for Holy Week on 4 April 1589, GCS 426, op. 144 left), the Compagnia di San Michele (L. 14 on 13 March 1590/91, GCS 426, op. 190 left), and the Compagnia di San Benedetto (L. 26 in early 1602, GCS 442, f. [91]v). Other donations include L. 28 for “vn baldachino a vna compagnia” on

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16 May 1592, presumably for a Corpus Christi procession, GCS 408, op. [216] left; 426, op. 226 left; and L. 49 “pagati a’ un dipintore per auer dipinto un cielo del oratorio e un ornamento per una Nuntiata,” paid in arrears by Jacopo’s heirs on 9 May 1603, GCS 443, p. 65. One of Jacopo’s last charitable acts was to pay for “una cornice di Argento al Altare della Madonna del Oreto [i.e. Loreto],” see the letter from Luigi Scarlatti to Bardo Corsi, Macerata, 25 January 1603 (*stlie comune*), in ACS 1605, ins. 2.

<sup>33</sup> The Compagnia del Gesù accounts in CRS G.II, 805, 34-36, reveal the following members worthy of note: Giorgio Vasari, Alessandro Allori (who painted a *Deposition* for the confraternity’s chapel between 1568-71, and later a predella, see the payments in CRS G.II, 805, 34, ff. 165r-176r; 35, ff. 19r, 139v, 140v), Giovanni de’ Bardi, Matteo Botti, Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*, Lorenzo Giacomini, Filippo Giunti, Don Giovanni de’ Medici, Don Grazia Montalvo, Don Virginio Orsini, Francesco and Riccardo Riccardi, Ottavio Rinuccini, Lorenzo Salviati and Belisario Vinta. The confraternity does not seem to have made much use of music, except at Easter and for a sung mass on St. Francis’s day.

<sup>34</sup> For the relevant literature, see note 3. The Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello’s commitment to music was also exemplified behind the altar of their chapel in a fresco depicting “un coro d’Angeli... i quali rimirando la Trinità, che rilevata in alto si mostra in mezo d’uno splendore, pare, che da flauti, dalle viole, dagli Organi, da clavicembali, da manicordi, da cetere, da sistri, da siringhe, e da altri molti, e diversi istrumenti suonati con bellissima grazia, totale nel dipingerli fu il valore dell’eccellente Artefice, si ascolti un non so che d’insolita armonia,” Torsi, *op. cit.* (see note 31), ff. [41]v-[42]r.

<sup>35</sup> In late 1585, Tommaso del Verrochio *dipintore* was paid 31 ducats “a conto di sua dipintura delle stanze Di sesto,” GCS 405, ff. 110v, 113v. Other payments going back to 7 January 1582/3 are given in GCS 425, op. 220.

<sup>36</sup> Payments to a “maestro del ballo” begin on 27 March 1586 (GCS 436, op. 48 left) and continue to early 1590, when Jacopo was being taught by “Gian Giaches ballerino franzese” (GCS 408, op. 141 right). Note also GCS 408, op. [213] right, 5 October 1587: L. 7 paid “al sonatore di cosimo ballerino.” From August 1599, Jacopo’s eldest daughter Giulia was also given dancing lessons, GCS 409, op. 116 left, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Although in November 1585, Jacopo was forced to give up his favourite game of *mastio o femina* and return recent winnings “poi che per bando fatto in di 6 detto non si puo giucar piu a detta scommessa,” GCS 436, op. 33 right.

<sup>38</sup> GCS 404, op. 166 left (3 November 1569), records a payment for arranging a voyage to Alexandria for an unspecified purpose.

<sup>39</sup> Witness the entry of 11 January 1587/88, recording payment of L. 9.6.8 “per mancia quando andorno le donne In ghalleria di Sua Altezza,” GCS 426, op. 119 left.

<sup>40</sup> The cost of the portrait was 14 ducats, GCS 405, f. 117v (31 May 1586); 415, op. 161 right. On 15 October 1586, Santi di Tito delivered

a portrait of Don Pietro de' Medici to Cosimo Latini of the *Guardaroba* as part of the series of Medici portraits commissioned from Florentine artists in this decade, see G. Poggi, "Di alcuni ritratti dei Medici," *Rivista d'arte*, VI (1909), pp. 321-332, p. 326. A partial replica of the *guardaroba* portrait now survives in the Uffizi collection, see C. B. Ceppi - N. Conforto (ed.), *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del cinquecento - Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo mediceo, 1537-1610*, Florence (1980), p. 284, no. 583. Santi di Tito had also painted a portrait of Don Pietro before 1584, see R. Borghini, *Il riposo*, Florence (1584), p. 62. Giulio Corsi had earlier paid Santi di Tito L. 21 for a portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, GCS 436, op. 11 left (28 November 1583).

<sup>41</sup> GCS 409, op. 59 left; MS 130, f. 407r; BNF Gino Capponi, 125, f. 217v. They stayed in Venice for eight days. Lorenzo Salviati was later the dedicatee of Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*, Florence (1601 [= 1602]).

<sup>42</sup> See the letters to Bardo Corsi from the Grand Duke and the Archbishop of Pisa in ACS 1218, ins. 1, and also F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. S. Reynolds, London (1972), I, pp. 571-572. General information on Ferdinando I's grain imports in the 1590s is given in Diaz, *op. cit.* (see note 14), pp. 330-338.

<sup>43</sup> Carter, *loc. cit.* (see note 5), pp. 91-92. The visit of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, the papal Nunzio, to Montughi in early 1598 mentioned in GCS 409, op. 99 [bis] right, may have had something to do with these negotiations. On 30 April 1600, after the signing of the marriage contract had been announced in Florence, the court went to celebrate at Corsi's palace, STR I, 27, f. 14v. Note also the payment of L. 106.9.4 entered in the Corsi accounts on 30 May 1600 for household expenses "a sesto In 4 giorni per esserui forestieri," GCS 409, op. 130 right; 427, op. 250 left; 442, f. 44r.

<sup>44</sup> Bardo's letter of appointment, dated 16 October 1600, survives in ACS 1218, ins. 2, no. 3, and expenditure for the trip is noted in GCS 427, op. 262 left; 442, f. 52v. The letter refers to Bardo as "nostro amatissimo Gentilhommo" and states "Però essendo necessario dar la cura di tal pagamento, à persona della quale confidiamo per ogni rispetto, come facciamo di uoi..." ACS 1218, ins. 2, also contains details of Bardo's other ambassadorships, as does ACS 646, ins. 2, pp. 209-210.

<sup>45</sup> "Se in seruizio de' suoi Principi era impiegato, talmente quello esercitaua, che eternamente la beneuolenza di quelli ne guadagnaua, et in somma tutto quello che in priuato ò in pubblico adoperaua, con tal' magnificentia in esecuzione il metteua, che grandissimo onore, e meritata gloria ne riportaua: Però non ci dobbiam punto marauigliare se egli sommamente era amato e accarezzato da loro..." BNF Magl. XXXVIII, 115, f. 141v.

<sup>46</sup> "Egli della Pittura estremamente gustaua; le scienze con somma riuerenza honoraua; la Poesia, eccessiuamente essaltaua: Mà l'arte della Musica (non solo altre alle sopradette) era appresso di lui in sommo pregio," *ibid.*, f. 142r.

<sup>47</sup> "...in tutte le scienze e in tutte le arti uirtuose egli grandemente e con diletto si esercitaua," *ibid.*, f. 142v.

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<sup>48</sup> “la casa di Iacopo Corsi, cavaliere fiorentino, era sempre aperta, quasi una pubblica accademia, a tutti coloro che dell’arti liberali avessero intelligenza o vaghezza. A quella concorrevano cavalieri, letterati, poeti e musici insigni... In essa si concertavano e si provavano le cocchiate, le feste, i balli accompagnati da musica,” Carlo Dati, quoted in Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> The trip cost over L. 850, see the entries in GCS 407, op. 196 left; 436, op. 29. These include a rather obscure payment of L. 25 “dati al’ stampatore per impressare.” See also the letter in MDP 5935, f. 539r quoted in J. Chater, “Bianca Cappello and Music,” in A. Morrogh - F. Superbi Gioffredi - P. Morselli - E. Borsook (ed.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, Florence (1985), I, pp. 569-580, which describes the carnival entertainments in Ferrara (*balli, mascherate* and concerts) and records the presence of Corsi with Giovanni de’ Bardi. Ottavio Rinuccini was also there. On his return, Jacopo sold a gold chain (for L. 784) which may have been a gift of Duke Alfonso II, GCS 436, op. 30 right. Jacopo also visited Ferrara in 1590 (see note 96) and in February 1593/4. This last visit was with Ottavio Rinuccini and Giulio Caccini “per goder’ delle maschere, musiche, et nozze” of Principe Carlo Gesualdo to Leonora d’Este, see the letter of Enea Vaini to Belisario Vinta, Florence, 12 February 1593/4, in MDP 1689, f. 1013r.

<sup>50</sup> Expenditure on books appears regularly in the Corsi account books throughout Jacopo’s life. The entries are normally unspecific (for example “per più libri”), although listings of titles do appear in GCS 436, from which much of the following information has been derived.

<sup>51</sup> On 3 October 1585, a payment of L. 5 is entered as spent “in 10 cruscate cioè lettere del rossi mandate a ferrara,” GCS 436, op. 33 right. On the Tasso-Ariosto controversy, see B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, Chicago (1961), II, pp. 954-1073.

<sup>52</sup> On 29 July 1600, Jacopo paid L. 22 “per braccia 4 di tela da dipingere,” GCS 427, op. 247 right. However, this may have been for an artist to fulfil a commission, or indeed simply as a gift.

<sup>53</sup> Giovanni’s accounts from 1559 to 1570 detail separate purchases of five paintings of Madonnas and one Madonna in *bas relief*, GCS 404, opp. 55 left, 67 right, 113 left.

<sup>54</sup> Purchased from Niccolò da Ferrara *rigattiere* on 13 October 1590 for L. 30, GCS 408, op. 164 left; 426, op. 133 right. The painting was later placed in Bardo Corsi’s chapel, see the 1624 inventory in ACS 637, ins. 19, no. 123. Here the artist is unidentified. An inventory of the Corsi collection of c. 1815 includes “Un Gesù nell’orto di Giorgio Vasari,” ACS 637, ins. 20, no. 2. In the printed sale catalogue of the Corsi collection (undated but based on ACS 637, ins. 20), copies of which survive in ACS, this painting is listed as an anonymous “S. Maria Maddalena” (no. 2). This catalogue also contains (no. 94) “Un Gesù nell’Orto, di Jacopo Lingozzi.”

<sup>55</sup> Bought from the painter on 27 January 1600/1 for L. 21 (plus L. 5 for the frame), GCS 409, op. 139 left; 427, op. 256 left; 442, f. 55r. Grand Duchess Christine sought to encourage a cult of St. Hyacinth in Florence in the mid 1590s, see Hall, *op. cit.* (see note 11), p. 109. A “qua-



dretto d'vna nonziata fatta da ponpeo" is listed among the goods inherited from Jacopo by Laura Corsini, GCS 445, f. 110v. For Pompeo Caccini as a painter, see also the preface to F. Vitali, *L'Aretusa favola in musica*, Rome (1620).

<sup>56</sup> GCS 408, op. 183 left, "per valuta dun quadro di nostra donna disse di mano di Jacopo di puntormo," purchased from Niccolò Betti. See also GCS 426, op. 190 right. On 31 May 1591, Jacopo paid to have "vn quadro di nostra donna," most likely the same one, crated and transported to an unknown destination in Rome, GCS 408, op. 186 left; 426, op. 190 right. However, the Pontormo Madonna is listed among goods inherited from Jacopo by Laura Corsini, GCS 445, f. [110]v. Further evidence of Jacopo as a collector of art is offered by a payment on 2 May 1587 of 10 ducats "per costo di 2 quadretti comperi dalle robe del Cardinale da Este," GCS 405, f. 125r; 415, op. 175 left. Similarly, on 6 December 1603 Jacopo's heirs paid the sculptor Cristofano Stati L. 38.10 in arrears "per auer fatto un petto di marmo a' una testa d'un filippino antico," GCS 443, p. 73; 410, op. 1 right.

<sup>57</sup> So listed in the inventory of goods owned jointly by Bardo and the heirs of Jacopo Corsi in ACS 1480, ins. 4. On 2 June 1587, Giovanni di Raffaello *dipintore* was paid L. 85, in part "per auere... dipinte, numero, 7 Cornice di tele di fiandra," GCS 426, op. 44 right.

<sup>58</sup> On 2 and 29 May 1585, payments are listed "dello ornamento del giuditio di Paride," GCS 436, op. 32 left.

<sup>59</sup> On 6 June 1591, Raffaello Rossini *rigattiere* was paid L. 14 "per uno ritratto del duca alesandro," GCS 408, op. 186 right; 426, op. 133 right. After Jacopo's death, the family's collection of Medici portraits had expanded to include Grand Duke Cosimo II, Grand Duchess Christine and Archduchess Maria Magdalena, see the inventory in ACS 637, ins. 19, nos. 79, 81.

<sup>60</sup> On 10 September 1591, Niccolò da Ferrara was paid L. 5 "per una tela alla fiammingha retrattoui drento firenze con lassedio," GCS 408, op. 194 right.

<sup>61</sup> GCS 406, op. 19 right; 416, op. 10 right. The painting had been sold to Stati "scultore di Bracciano" in early 1599, and it remained in the Corsi family at least until the early nineteenth century, see the documents in A. Forlani, *Andrea Boscoli*, Florence (n.d.), pp. 136, 141, 166, 171, 199-200. It is now lost, although two sketches and an engraving survive. Note, too, the description in Baldinucci, *op. cit.* (see note 10), III, p. 74: "Dipinse [Boscoli] per suo trattenimento un bacchanale in tela di sei in sette braccie con gran copia di femmine, che sonan diversi strumenti, opera capriciosa e bizzarra."

<sup>62</sup> Numerous Florentine sculptors received commissions from the Corsi family, including statues for the garden at Sesto and portrait busts. The property owned jointly by Bardo and the heirs of Jacopo Corsi included at least 30 tapestries, many of which had been purchased in Jacopo's lifetime, ACS 1480, ins. 4, and see also Ceppi-Conforti (ed.), *op. cit.* (see note 40), p. 72.

<sup>63</sup> For Bardo's collection, which probably included most of Jacopo's, see

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the inventory in ACS 637, ins. 19. The Corsi sale catalogue of the early 19th century (see note 54) lists some 260 pieces with a total value of 3,155 *zecchini*.

<sup>64</sup> See the inventory of the household of Giovanni Battista and Matteo Botti, dated 1 December 1588, in MM 29, ins. 1. Matteo Botti was the dedicatee of Stefano Venturi's *Il primo libro de madrigali pastorali a cinque voci*, Venice (1592), and he and Jacopo Corsi visited the Accademia degli Alterati together on 4 September 1586, see Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ashburnham 558, fasc. 2, f. 65v.

<sup>65</sup> Pompeo Caccini was paid L. 14 on 17 April 1600 "per hauere dipinto gli sgabelli," GCS 427, op. 247 left; 442, f. 41v. On 12 January 1583/4, Alessandro Fei received L. 77 "per dipintura d'vna cassa d'vno strumento, et di due targhe," GCS 436, op. 14 left. For the loans to Ligozzi, see GCS 433, opp. 58 left, 64 left.

<sup>66</sup> Galileo Galilei was lent 200 *scudi* by Jacopo Corsi in 1598, GCS 432, f. [36]v; 433, opp. 52 right, 53 left (27 August 1598). See also note 74.

<sup>67</sup> The association with Guarini is mentioned in ACS 646, ins. 2, p. 113. GCS Filza 50, now lost, contained a request and receipt of a loan of 100 *scudi* from Jacopo to Guarini dated 12 and 16 January 1600 (*stile comune?*) respectively.

<sup>68</sup> A. Solerti, "Laura Guidiccioni Lucchesini ed Emilio de' Cavalieri (i primi tentativi del melodramma)," *Rivista musicale italiana*, IX (1902), pp. 797-823, see pp. 809-810; N. Pirrotta, "Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata," *The Musical Quarterly*, XL (1954), pp. 169-189, see p. 178.

<sup>69</sup> Chiabrera was in correspondence with Jacopo from at least early 1595, see the letters from Chiabrera to Roberto Tito in O. Varaldo, "Rime e lettere inedite di Gabriello Chiabrera," *Atti e memorie della Società Storica Savonese* (1888), I, pp. 279-349, see pp. 302-303; A. Neri, *Lettere inedite di Gabriello Chiabrera*, Genoa (1889), pp. 36-41. On 2 March 1594/5, Jacopo paid one Orazio di Francesco *pittore* L. 49 "per 2 disegni per mandare a Genoua al chiabrera," GCS 409, op. 57 right; 427, op. 103 right. In September 1598, he lent the poet two servants (and a carriage?) "in 2 giorni andare a Lucha," GCS 442, f. 4v. In mid 1600, Jacopo lent him 200 *scudi*, GCS 432, f. [38]v; 433, opp. 52 left, 60 left (16 August 1600).

<sup>70</sup> An ode to Jacopo Corsi is printed at the end of O. Rinuccini, *La Dafne*, Florence (1600), given in Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), II, pp. 100-101. Other verse by Rinuccini connected with Corsi is contained in BNF Palatino 249. For verse by Chiabrera in Corsi's honour, see his *Rime*, Genoa (1599), pp. 134, 150. BNF II.iv.252, f. 152v has a set of *terze rime* by Giulio Dati dedicated "Al Signore Jacopo Corsi," and both Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Buonarroti 84, f. 134v) and Giovanni Soranzo (*Rime*, Milan [1606], p. 61) wrote verse on his death.

<sup>71</sup> Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, pp. 31-32. I have not been able to see this source or to ascertain whether the author is the same Giovanni da

Falgano who often appears in the Corsi accounts as one of Jacopo's notaries. According to Falgano's dedication, Jacopo was a *poeta*. Similarly, the oration for Jacopo's *esequie* in the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello reports: "delle Poesie particolarmente tanto seppe, che tutti i Poeti ricorreuano a lui per hauer giudizio delle opere loro," Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2241, f. 78v.

<sup>72</sup> For Bati, see note 12. Baccio Palibotria-Malespina also taught singing and keyboard playing to Giulio and Bardo Corsi, see GCS 407, f. 14r, op. 23 right; 424, op. 204 left; 425, op. 31. Later in the 1580s, he and his brother Piero received numerous gifts and loans from Corsi. For Messer Simone, see the salary payments from 4 July 1575 to 8 February 1577/8 in GCS 424, opp. 118 right, 124 right, 129, 216 left. On 11 July 1579, Jacopo entered a payment of L. 35 for wine "mandato di suo ordine a messer Cristofano [Malvezzi] da lucca canonico di san Lorenzo che li insegna sonare di tasto," GCS 407, op. 45 right. Giovanni Corsi had bought a *buonaccordo* for 8½ ducats on 17 January 1567/8, GCS 404, op. 113 left. One Ser Fabbrizio (see also note 93) is also recorded as teaching one or more of the Corsi brothers in the late 1570s and early 1580s, GCS 407, opp. 92 right, 110 right; 425, opp. 76 left, 100, 122 left. He also rented a room from the Corsi family from 1579-1592.

<sup>73</sup> A payment of L. 10 from Jacopo to Vincenzo Galilei, perhaps a gratuity, is entered on 24 December 1583, GCS 436, opp. 9 left, 14 left, and he was given L. 105 in early 1591, GCS 408, op. 174 left; 426, op. 190 left (1 February 1590/91). I can trace no payment that corresponds to the appearance of Galilei's 1584 volume. Although such a payment may be 'hidden' in another entry or have been paid from a different account, it does not seem that Jacopo made any direct or indirect contribution to the cost of publication. For a similar example, see note 87.

<sup>74</sup> According to ACS 646, ins. 2, p. 113, one of the organs was made by Galileo Galilei, but this cannot be ascertained from the accounts. However, Galilei and Corsi were in contact on matters to do with a keyboard instrument either for Jacopo's private use or for the Compagnia dell'Arcangelo Raffaello, see Burchi, *loc. cit.* (see note 3), pp. 41-43.

<sup>75</sup> Entries for instrument purchases, etc. survive in almost all of the account books used in this study, although most are in GCS 405-409. It is not known what happened to the collection after Jacopo's death. Bardo left "Un Cimbalo coperto di quorame nero fabbricato dal Pesaro" and "Un'Organo grande di Cipresso con Sua Custodia rabescata d'oro" to his heirs, see the inventory in ACS 637, ins. 19, nos. 5, 68, while Jacopo's son Lorenzo owned a spinet, a harpsichord, a theorbo and two guitars, see the inventories in ACS 958. However, instruments do not figure prominently in these and other inventories of Corsi property of the early seventeenth century onwards, and it seems that the bulk of Jacopo's collection was quickly dispersed.

<sup>76</sup> W. V. Porter, "Peri and Corsi's *Dafne*: Some New Discoveries and Observations," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XVIII (1965), pp. 170-196.

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<sup>77</sup> GCS 421, opp. 44 left (29 May 1571, identified as music by Striggio in GCS 423, fasc. 1, unpaginated), 55 left (28 May 1572).

<sup>78</sup> GCS 424, op. 170 left (11 March 1576/7).

<sup>79</sup> GCS 424, op. 170 left (2 April 1577). This is possibly Corteccia's *Responsoria omnia quintae ac sextae feriae sabbathique maioris hebdomade paribus vocibus*, Venice (1570). A copy had been purchased by the Compagnia del Gesù on 11 April 1571, CRS G.II, 805, 34, f. 176v.

<sup>80</sup> GCS 436, op. 33 left (1 July 1585). On *ibid.*, op. 30 left, there is also an entry of L. 44.10 "per piu libri comperatomi in Vinetia", dated 2 May 1585. Later references (*ibid.*, op. 30 right) reveal that 30 books were included in this batch.

<sup>81</sup> "per musiche dello strigio aute da lui [Sermartelli] piu fa," GCS 408, op. 88 right (7 May 1588); 426, op. 119 left.

<sup>82</sup> GCS 408, op. [115] left (24 March 1588/9); 426, op. 144 left. This cannot be matched with any surviving publications of Dominique Phinot and may possibly have been a manuscript.

<sup>83</sup> GCS 436, op. 48 left (30 March 1586).

<sup>84</sup> In late 1585, Ciliani was receiving a *provisione* from Jacopo Corsi for unspecified services, GCS 436, opp. 39 left, 43 left. He also received L. 7 before July 1586, GCS 436, op. 52 left; L. 7 on 4 December 1588 "per scriuitura di musica," GCS 408, op. 108 right (see also GCS 426, op. 144 left); and L. 7 on 15 April 1594, GCS 427, op. 89 left. On 12 December 1589, Jacopo lent Ciliani L. 98, GCS 408, opp. 141 right, 178 left; 426, op. 166 left (dated 11 December). Part of the loan was repaid, with the rest cancelled "per scritte di musica fatteli," GCS 426, op. 166 right (19 July? 1591). Ciliani was a member of the court musicians from 1579, see F. d'Accone, "The Florentine Fra Mauros: A Dynasty of Musical Friars," *Musica disciplina*, XXXIII (1977), pp. 77-137, see p. 136, and a "Zanobi di... Ghiani," probably Ciliani, appears in Andrea Boscoli's accounts, see Forlani, *op. cit.* (see note 61), p. 186. J. W. Hill, "Realized Continuo Accompaniments from Florence c. 1600," *Early Music*, XI (1983), pp. 194-208, p. 195, reports that the music manuscripts in BNF Magl. XIX, 115, 168 are on paper with a watermark matching that of GCS 409. However, this is not enough evidence to associate these manuscripts directly with Corsi. For a later use of music manuscripts in the Corsi household, see the payment for "un libro per scriuere l'arie che canta la Settimana," in GCS 443, fasc. 2, f. [7]v (23 March 1610/11).

<sup>85</sup> F. d'Accone, "Singolarità di alcuni aspetti della musica sacra fiorentina del cinquecento," in G. Garfagnini (ed.), *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, Florence (1983), II, pp. 513-537.

<sup>86</sup> "à guisa di cari fratelli quelli teneua, e da fratelli gli amaua, e come Fratelli delle cose sue comunemente godeuano," BNF Magl. XXXVIII, 115, f. 142r.

<sup>87</sup> I can trace no payment that corresponds to the appearance of Bati's 1594 volume. Although such a payment may be 'hidden' in another entry or have been paid from a different account, it does not seem that Jacopo

made any direct or indirect contribution to the cost of publication. For a similar example, see note 73.

<sup>88</sup> The account books record dealings between Jacopo and Giulio Caccini from 18 November 1578 to 13 February 1594/5, see GCS 405, f. 120r; 407, f. 18v; 408-409 *passim*; 415, op. 166 left; 425, opp. 17 right, 28 left; 426, op. 119 left; 433, op. 2 right; 436, op. 14 left. A receipt from Caccini to Jacopo for a loan of 25 *scudi* dated 26 November 1579 survives in ACS 473, no. 2. After Jacopo's death, Caccini repaid debts totalling 74.3.10 ducats, GCS 443, fasc. 1, pp. 21, 24.

<sup>89</sup> GCS 426, op. 112 left (1 December 1587), L. 58.6.8 for five months' rent. It is possible that Jacomelli was in Florence slightly earlier than is suggested in M. Fabbri, "La vicenda umana e artistica di Giovanni Battista Jacomelli « del violino » deuteragonista della camerata fiorentina," in Garfagnini (ed.), *op. cit.* (see note 85), II, pp. 397-438.

<sup>90</sup> See the letter given in Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, p. 48, n. 2.

<sup>91</sup> The letter survives in ACS 473, no. 33, and the loan is entered in GCS 426, op. 223 left (23 September 1592). Rasi was also given L. 70 by Jacopo on 23 August 1595 "quando [Rasi] ando a Roma," GCS 409, op. 62 right.

<sup>92</sup> The contract survives in GCS Filza 1, no. 27.

<sup>93</sup> 2 July 1583, L. 14 to Ser Fabbrizio "per auere Insegnato Cantare a vn fanciullo di taddio battiloro," GCS 407, op. 158 right (see also GCS 425, opp. 187 right, 192 left); 10 July 1595, L. 42 to Giuliano Manzuoli *prete* "per insegnare sonare e cantare a vna fanciulla," GCS 409, op. 59 right (see also GCS 427, op. 113 left).

<sup>94</sup> Pirrotta, *loc. cit.* (see note 68); H. M. Brown, "How Opera Began: An Introduction to Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600)," in E. Cochrane (ed.), *The Late Italian Renaissance, 1525-1630*, London (1970), pp. 401-443; Carter, *loc. cit.* (see note 5).

<sup>95</sup> In 1584, Raffaello Borghini speaks of a series of paintings by Botticelli in a room "nella via de' serui in casa di Giouanni Vespucci, hoggi del Signor Giouanni de' Bardi di Vernio Signore molto virtuoso, e gentile", *op. cit.* (see note 40), p. 351. This is the Palazzo Incontri, Via de' Pucci 1, see Ginori Lisci, *op. cit.* (see note 22), I, pp. 427-432. This weakens Ginori Lisci's suggestion that Bardi lived in the Palazzo Bardi alle Grazie, Via de' Benci 5 (directly opposite the Palazzo Corsi, but see note 22), *ibid.*, II, pp. 609-615.

<sup>96</sup> On the 1585 Ferrara visit, see note 49. On that of 1590, see Newcomb, *op. cit.* (see note 1), I, pp. 192-193, 203. Accounts survive in GCS 408, opp. 148 left (28 February 1589/90), 149 left; 426, op. 157 right.

<sup>97</sup> "per Gioseffo de antrj e de bello Judaico, e per le dimostrationi del zarlino in tutto L. 17.10.— al sermartelli," GCS 436, op. 5 left (30 March 1583). A copy of Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna*, Florence (1581), survives in the library of the Villa Corsi-Salviati at Sesto Fiorentino. There are some manuscript annotations, but nothing to confirm the tempting suggestion that it belonged to Jacopo Corsi.

<sup>98</sup> I borrow the term from Strainchamps, *loc. cit.* (see note 4), pp. 507-508.

<sup>99</sup> 20 November 1585, L. 74.12.4 "spesi nella cena fatta al signor Alfonso Fontanella," GCS 436, op. 39 left. Fontanelli may also have visited Corsi in early 1602, see the entry dated 18 January 1601/2, L. 213.2 spent "per le solite spese [di casa] fatte in 15 giorni mentre ci e stato il signor conte Anfolso," GCS 427, op. 285 left, and reference to a visit in 1601, possibly the same one, is made in the dedication of G. del Turco, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque*, Florence (1602). On Fontanelli, see A. Newcomb, "Alfonso Fontanelli and the Ancestry of the Seconda Pratica Madrigal," in R. L. Marshall (ed.), *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Music in Honor of Arthur Mendel*, Cassel (1974), pp. 47-68. Musical connections between Florence and Ferrara were strong in the 1580s. Giovanni de' Bardi and Giulio Caccini visited there in 1583, Newcomb, *op. cit.* (see note 1), I, pp. 191-194, 199-200, as did Alessandro Striggio in 1584, W. Kirkendale, "Alessandro Striggio und die Medici: Neue Briefe und Dokumente," in *Festschrift Othmar Wessely zum 60 Geburtstag*, Tutzing (1982), pp. 325-353.

<sup>100</sup> A. Newcomb, "Carlo Gesualdo and a Musical Correspondence of 1594," *The Musical Quarterly*, LIV (1968), pp. 409-436, see pp. 422-423.

<sup>101</sup> Caccini acknowledges his debt to Chiabrera in the preface to his *Le nuove musiche* (1602), ed. H. W. Hitchcock, Madison (1970), p. 46.

<sup>102</sup> Bati's dedication to Jacopo of his *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venice (1594), notes Jacopo's fame: "concorrendo nella casa sua, non solo tutta la nobiltà Fiorentina, ma quanti Signori capitano in questa Città per gustar di così fatti intrattenimenti."

<sup>103</sup> 24 September 1579, L. 2 "per la commedia di 3 sere," GCS 435, op. 8 left (on a loose insert in op. 4, this expenditure is described as "per la commedia di sesto"); 4 November 1583, L. —.13.4 "per andare alla Comedia," GCS 407, op. 166 left (see also GCS 425, op. 192 right); 6 March 1583/4, L. 6.12 "a chimenti mazzuoli per braccia 1½ di panno tane avto da lui per vna mascherata piu fa," GCS 436, op. 20 left; 1 March 1585/6, L. —.13.4 "per gli intermedj," possibly a printed text or account, GCS 436, op. 48 left; 16 June 1591, L. 35 "al detto [Jacopo Corsi] contanti a mon-tughi alla commedia," GCS 408, op. 187 right (see also GCS 426, op. 190 right).

<sup>104</sup> Payments survive in GCS 405, ff. 103r-105v (May-July 1584); 415, opp. 133, 158 left; 425, op. 251 left. See also A. Soletti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte medicea dal 1600 al 1637*, Florence (1905), repr. eds. New York (1968), Hildesheim (1969), p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> GCS 436, op. 36 left (20 February 1585/6).

<sup>106</sup> A concise listing of Jacopo's expenses is given in GCS 426, op. 151 left; see also GCS 408, opp. [115] right, 116 left, 119 right, 120, 123 right. Bardo spent L. 150 on cloth, masks, lances and "2 pelle d'argento" for the *giostra*, GCS 408, op. 120 left; 426, op. 158 left. He also paid L. 14 "a bartolomeo sermartelli libraio porto Giouanmaria di pulidoro suo fattore per 200 cartelli per la giostra di santa croce," GCS 408, op. 129 left (1 September 1589); 426, op. 155 left. On the 1589 entertainments as a whole, see A. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*, New Haven (1964), repr. ed. New York (1976), pp. 70-92.

<sup>107</sup> Bardo's collaborators included Giovanbattista Botti, Carlo Guiducci, Vincenzo Martelli, Federigo de' Ricci, Lorenzo Salviati, the Conte di San Secondo, Niccolò Vitelli and Girolamo Zanchini. Most were members of the Compagnia del Gesù. There is some confusion about the date. A list of payments, including entries for 12 scimitars, 12 beards, 162 lances, costumes, etc., is given in GCS 426, op. 202 left (see also GCS 408, opp. 186 right, 187 left) from June 1591. However, ACS 251 contains a set of individual invoices to Bardo Corsi and Piero Guicciardini "a conto della mascherata di cochierj" dated January and February 1589/90. Either the entertainment was done in two successive carnivals or the payments were very slow in entering the Corsi account books. The total cost came to almost 300 ducats (of which Bardo was expected to pay 34), including L. 254.3.4 "a musici," GCS 408, op. 187 left. A text for a "Canto di Cochieri" dated 21 February 1589/90 survives in BNF II.ix.45, see Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, p. 25.

<sup>108</sup> 10 March 1592/3, L. 51.16 to Gino Ginori "per la maschera delli scapigliati," GCS 427, op. 55 left; 409, op. 4 right. Gino Ginori provided the text for a *Mascherata delle fiamme d'amore*, performed with music by Luca Bati on 26 February 1595/6, see Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, p. 25; II, p. 56.

<sup>109</sup> 2 September 1595, L. 21 to Rinaldo della Vecchia "per la cocchiata," GCS 427, op. 113 left; 24 February 1598/9, L. 8.13.4 "a' fachini per portatura di strumenti a' la mascherata," GCS 442, f. 13r. For the "mascherata de satiri," see GCS 409, opp. 124 right (19 February 1599/1600), 128 right (15 April 1600); 427, op. 237; 442, ff. 37r, 38r, 38v, 41r.

<sup>110</sup> On the chronology of the *Dafne* performances, see S. Reiner, "La vag'Angioletta (and others), I," *Analecta musicologica*, XIV (1974), pp. 26-88, esp. p. 45, n. 60; F. W. Sternfeld, "The First Printed Opera Libretto," *Music & Letters*, LIX (1978), pp. 121-138, esp. pp. 131-136; and my letter to the editor in *ibid.*, pp. 522-523. Rather surprisingly, the account books have almost nothing new to offer on this vexed problem. Only two entries supplement the information already provided in Solerti, *op. cit.* (see note 6), I, pp. 61-63: 6 May 1599, L. 20 "per piu paia di Guanti seruiti per il Signor Jacopo, e' per la pastorale," GCS 442, f. 17v (see also GCS 409, op. 113 left; 427, op. 208 left, where this entry is dated 20 August 1599); 28 January 1599/1600, L. 62 "per piu lauori e serrami fatti per le carrozze e Rimesse e ferri per la commedia," GCS 409, op. 124 left; 427, op. 237 left; 442, f. 37v.

<sup>111</sup> The account books are again somewhat silent on the performance of *Euridice*: 16 October 1600, L. 306.12.9 "sono danari spesi per la comedia di Euridice che ancora non sono acconci a uscita," GCS 409, op. 135 right (see also GCS 442, f. 68v); 27 October 1600, L. 403.1 on household expenses "in tutto questo mese, che per esserci fatto la Commedia ci e stato assai forestieri," GCS 409, op. 135 right; 427, op. 250 left; 442, f. 51v; undated entry, "signor Jacopo Corsi per conto apparte della Commedia di Euridice, deue dare addi primo di febbraio [1601/2] L. 1685.15.9 pagati per mano della signora Laura [Corsini] per diuersi drappi e altro per fare abiti e diuerse altre spese come se ne uede il particolare per un conto In filza,"

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GCS 427, op. 304 left (and see op. 300 right); 409, op. 165 right; 442, f. [89]r. This “conto in filza” is now lost. Thus the total expenditure on *Euridice* appears to have been L. 1,993.18.6 (almost 285 ducats). This is rather less than Jacopo’s expenditure on the 1589 *sbarra*, although other payments may be ‘hidden’ in other entries in the accounts, and indeed Jacopo may not have paid for the entire venture himself. On the other hand, it may have cost less to mount the earliest operas than other forms of court entertainment.

<sup>112</sup> “È stata opinione di molti... che gli antichi Greci e Romani cantassero sulle scene le tragedie intiere; ma sì nobil maniera di recitare nonchè rinnovata, ma nè pur, che io sappia, fin qui era stata tentata da alcuno...”, Rinuccini, dedication to *L’Euridice*, Florence (1600), given in A. Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma*, Turin (1903), repr. ed. Hildesheim (1969), p. 40.

<sup>113</sup> Most of the performers are listed in the preface to Peri’s published score, *Le musiche... sopra L’Euridice*, Florence (1600 [= 1601]). See also C. V. Palisca, “The First Performance of ‘Euridice’,” in *Department of Music, Queen’s College of the City University of New York, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift*, New York (1964), pp. 1-23.

<sup>114</sup> “un gentilhommo di tante virtu et buone qualita, et morto amato da chiunque lo conosceui,” Ottavio Galeotti to Bardo Corsi, Terra del Sole, 21 January 1603 (*stile comune*), ACS 1605, ins. 2.

<sup>115</sup> “certificar Vostra Signoria di hauer preso grandissimo dolore di così acerbo caso non solamente per cagione di lei, a cui e molto vicino questo danno; ma ancora per rispetto della città nostra: la quale e restata priua d’vn gentilhommo di nobile, e sauio animo e di singolar fiera verso di lei,” Cosimo Baroncelli to Bardo Corsi, Antwerp, 24 January 1602/3, ACS 1605, ins. 1.

<sup>116</sup> According to BNF Magl. XXXVIII, 115, f. 141v.

<sup>117</sup> “della cortesia infinita, della magnificenza, e di tante religiose, e degne opere da lui operate,” Torsi, *op. cit.* (see note 31), f. [12]r.

<sup>118</sup> CRS G.II, 805, 36, f. 159v. The confraternity also arranged a requiem mass (probably sung) in Santa Croce, *ibid.*, f. 160r.

<sup>119</sup> “le quali così belle, e così magnifiche sono riuscite, che a gentiluomo privato non mai cosa somigliante nella città nostra è stata fatta,” Torsi, *op. cit.* (see note 31), f. [11]r. The occasion is more briefly described in the *ricordanze* of the confraternity in CRS A.CXLVII, 162, 21, f. 228v.

<sup>120</sup> See Appendix I. Gagliano published four madrigalian laments on Jacopo’s death, two by himself, one by del Turco and one by Strozzi in his *Il secondo libro de madrigali, a cinque voci*, Venice (1604). It seems reasonable to assume that these are the pieces performed during the obsequies. At least some of the music included in Gagliano’s *Officium defunctorum quatuor vocibus*, Venice (1607), probably also relates to this occasion. Neri Acciaiuoli’s oration survives in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2241, ff. 78r-85v.

<sup>121</sup> F. Vitali, *Musiche... libro primo*, Florence (1617), dedicated to Giovanni Corsi (“... con l’esempio del Signor Iacopo suo padre vero protettore de’ Virtuosi, da loro tanto amato in vita, quanto pianto nella morte”); O.



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Tarditi, *Madrigali a cinque voci in concerto*, Venice (1639), dedicated to Lorenzo Corsi (“... Signor Iacopo suo Padre che in vita s’acquisto nome di novo mecenate verso i Professori di Musica”), see Vogel, *et al.*, *op. cit.* (see note 2), II, pp. 1837, 1683.

<sup>122</sup> GCS 437, op. 7 right; 406, op. 41 left; 416, op. 87 left. The purchase agreement was signed on 1 January 1607/8.

<sup>123</sup> GCS 437, op. 21 right.

<sup>124</sup> GCS 437, op. [39] left; 406, op. 61 left. The financial arrangements with Cardinal Bandini were completed on 14 December 1624.

