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VIVA LA PAZZIA:

Representations of Madness in Early Music-Theatre in Italy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a contribution to reconsidering the concept of ‘madness’ in early modern Italy through the lens of music and cultural history. Focusing particularly on the period from the late sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, I investigate representations of madness in four case studies taken from a range of musicotheatrical genres, including *commedia dell’arte*, madrigal comedy, cantata, and early opera.

My focus in this research is on musicotheatrical works that include the terms *pazzo* or *pazzia*, which are conventionally connected with foolish and irrational behaviour. The *pazzo* has largely been received as a comic trope, but I regard these terms as heuristic devices prompting the invention of distinctive and creative mad scenes and scenarios. This thesis aims to locate the theme of madness in a broader context or address the distinctiveness of individual examples, which is a different approach from that of previous studies, which are inclined to catalogue the common features of operatic madness.

The four main chapters offer an analysis of particular musicotheatrical representations of madness, interpreted alongside their historical, social, religious, and cultural contexts. This research will contribute to a deeper understanding of each mad scene, which is characterized by the knowledge and experience of each performer or composer. Chapter 2 examines a mad scene improvised by the *commedia dell’arte* actress Isabella Andreini at a Medici wedding. Chapter 3 explores comic and satirical mad scenes involving two old men from the *commedia dell’arte*, composed by the Benedictine monk Adriano Banchieri. Next, Chapter 4 examines Pietro Antonio Giramo’s Neapolitan composition dedicated to a Tuscan princess, in which mad lovers from a pseudotheatrical hospital complain of their torment. The last chapter focuses on the feigned madwoman Damira in Pietro Andrea Ziani’s Venetian opera, performed by the Roman singer-actress Anna Renzi, who endeavours to retrieve her husband and her honour through a rhetorical use of performed madness.

By analysing these case studies, the thesis aims to explore the distinctive representations of each mad scene and the role of music, presenting a challenge to conventional approaches to the early ‘mad scene’ focused mainly on opera and its conventions. I am also able to draw conclusions concerning the relationship between musicotheatrical madness and the topics of identity and self-fashioning as a result of the interpretations developed in the case studies.

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DECLARATION

I, the author, confirm that the thesis is my work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means). This work has not been previously presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

INTRODUCTION

The theme of madness has been a long-standing topic treated across a variety of genres, including medicine, law, philosophy, epic poetry, theatre, and music. In the early modern European context, scholarly discussion of the representation of madness in the arts has tended to cluster into distinct topics: in philosophy, the Neoplatonism of Marsilio Ficino and its later reception; in literature, English Renaissance theatre; and in music, the ‘mad scene’ in Venetian opera. The aim of this thesis is to focus on the great fascination with madness in early modern Italy, examine representations of madness in a broad range of musicodramatic products, discuss the role of music in forming those representations, and ultimately reconsider the nature of madness as represented in musicodramatic contexts in this period. To achieve this goal, my research examines Italian musicodramatic works from the late sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century, focusing on four case studies whose genres range across *commedia dell’arte*, madrigal comedy, cantata, and early opera, in which performers and composers elaborated mad scenes and characters with varied musical and theatrical devices.

My interest in this thesis has focused on works that depict characters in disorderly mental states, termed *pazzo* or *pazzia*. Terminology is one of the essential points in my research, considering the diverse terms used to signify ‘madness’. To indicate absurd behaviours, contemporary poets, writers, librettists, and philosophers used terms such as *stolto* (stupid), *folle* (deranged), *matto* (crazy), *furioso* (enraged), *insano* (insane), *delirante* (raving), *sciocco* (silly), or *pazzo* (mad).¹ According to the 1612 *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, *pazzo* is defined as ‘oppresso da pazzia’ (oppressed by ‘pazzia’). *Pazzia*, on the other hand, means ‘mancamento di discorso, e di senno, contrario di saviezza’ (weakness of discourse, and of sense, contrary to wisdom).² In *Queen Anna’s New World of Words* (1611), collected by the English lexicographer John Florio (1553–1625), *pazzo* is translated as ‘foolish, fond, mad, simple’, whereas *pazzia* is translated as ‘folly, fondnesse, madness, dotage’.³ The present thesis examines case studies where performers, composers, or librettists used the term *pazzo* or *pazzia*, when intending to describe certain attributes or

¹ John Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words; or, Dictionarie of the Italian and English Tongues, Collected and Newly Much Augmented by John Florio, ... Whereunto Are Added Certaine Necessarie Rules and Short Observations for the Italian Tongue* (London: Melch. Bradwood. 1611).

Also see Naomi Matsumoto, ‘The Operatic Mad Scene: Its Origins and Early Development up to c.1700’ (PhD diss., University of London, 2005), 249-50.

² Accademia dell’*Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Jacopo Sarzina, 1623), 588.

³ Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 362.

actions of a character in a mocking or satirical style. In my case studies, the main target of such mockery is a person who is sick of love—lovesick—regardless of whether they would actually have been viewed as mad from a Renaissance clinical perspective.

Although contemporary perspectives on the nature of madness themselves are relevant to my research, my central focus is the nature of *representations* of madness. It has been noted that when it comes to operatic madness, the fashion for the depiction of mad scenes shifted in the eighteenth century from the comic to the serious, even pathetic. Referring to Domenico David's *Amore e dover* (1697) and Silvio Stampiglia's *Imeneo in Atene* (1723), Paolo Fabbri reads 'a tendency toward regularity and the tragic through which the mad scene was to abandon the world of simple comedy to become a characteristic of the newly emerging *comédies larmoyantes* of the second half of the eighteenth century'.⁴ This tendency can also be observed through the lens of terminology. As Naomi Matsumoto notes, 'an attitudinal shift from the merely comic and toward the insane', through which mad operatic characters were able to obtain new status as tragic protagonists in the eighteenth century. She also argues that using the term *pazzo* was avoided by some librettists because they preferred seriousness.⁵ The portrayal of pathetic women became one of the highlight scenes in opera, giving the singer an opportunity to demonstrate her musical virtuosity in her torment. For instance, in Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), there is a lengthy aria delivered by the heroine Lucia, who in her madness is trapped in an illusion of marriage with her lover Edgardo.

As I shall discuss in Chapter 1, scholars interested in representations of madness in music and theatre have particularly focused on verbal, behavioural, and musical features of mad characters, identifying key features such as metamorphosing mythological and historical figures, images of war or the underground, lengthy absurd speeches, singing and dancing, laughing suddenly, and other examples of unexpected or inappropriate behaviour. Incorporating several of these features, mad characters enriched and elaborated their performances. On the other hand, previous studies have generally lacked a comprehensive view, being selective rather than all-encompassing in their concerns and characterised by partial and, in some cases, anachronistic views of madness as an early modern topic. Their particular attention to mad scenes tends to overlook the historical, cultural, and social contexts in which such mad scenes were exploited on stage. My interest lies in the meaning

⁴ Paolo Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos: The Mad-Scene," in *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance 1580-1740*, eds. Ian Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 187.

⁵ Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," 255-6.

of mad scenes in relation to the whole trajectory of a character, narrative, or dramatic scenario rather than the categorisation of mad scenes as such. Therefore, this research devotes more space than have previous authors to investigating the backdrop of the compositions: the background of the performers, composers or dedicatees, associated historical and social events, contemporary political circumstances, and contemporary musical or theatrical trends. By addressing my case studies in this manner, I aim to prompt and model a reconsideration of the theme of madness in early modern music-theatre, and hopefully to broaden the idea of madness used in studies of early modern Italian theatre.

Another concern of this thesis is to reconsider our understanding of representations of madness. The terminological definitions discussed by Matsumoto suggest comic and foolish depictions of mad characters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while eighteenth- and nineteenth-century operas depict pathetic and desperate mad women. However, mad characters in the period covered by this study often are more complicated than these characterisations, their performances, full of variety, sometimes praised as manifestations of their intellect. In an eyewitness report, the historian Giovanni Vincenzo Verzellino (1562–1638) describes a performance given by the *Gelosi commedia dell'arte* troupe in 1584 in Savona.

Isabella Andreini, comic actress of supreme intelligence with her company of ingenious wanderers came in Savona, and recited for several days various kinds of comedy in the room of the palace of the Civil Lawsuits, with the great enthusiasm of citizens, and particularly of the Signor Gabriello Chiabrera, who sang for her, as soon as she appeared on stage to feign madness.⁶

In ‘Nel giorno che sublime in bassi manti’ (In the day when, sublime in lowly cloaks), probably written for this occasion, Gabriello Chiabrera (1552–1638) praised Isabella’s imitation of ‘alto furore’ (high, or divine, frenzy) and her wisdom.⁷ Madness is here a topic

⁶ “Isabella Andreini, comica di suprema intelligenza, con la sua compagnia di pellegrini ingegni venne in Savona, e recitò per alquant giorni comedie di varie sorti nella sala del Palazzo delle Causa Civili, con grandissimo gusto de’ cittadini, e particolarmente del signor Gabriello Chiabrera, che di lei ebbe a cantare, allorquando comparve sulla scena fingendosi pazza.” Giovanna Romei, *Teoria testo e scena: studi sullo spettacolo in Italia dal Rinascimento a Pirandello* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001), 194. All translations in this thesis are mine unless otherwise noted. Upon translation, I received generous support from my supervisor, Dr Tim Shephard.

⁷ “Nel giorno che sublime in bassi manti/Isabella imitava alto furore;/estolta con angelici sembianti /ebbe del senno altrui gloria maggiore;/Alhor saggia tra ‘l suon, saggia tra i canti/non mosse piè, che non sorgesse Amore,/nè voce aprì, che non creasse amanti,/nè riso fe, che non beasse un core./Chi fu quel giorno a rimirar felice/di tutt’ altro quaggiù cesse il desio,/che sua vita per sempre ebbe serena./O di Scena dolcissima Sirena,/ode Teatri Italici Fenice,/o tra Coturni insuperabil Clio.” Anne MacNeil, ed. and James Wyatt Cook, trans., *Selected Poems of Isabella Andreini* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 136.

closely related to artistic creation, considering, for instance, the Neoplatonic notion of the divine frenzy of the inspired poet. However, my focus is more on the creativity and intellect of the author/performer themselves, rather than spiritual force as such. To be more precise, I argue that the theme of madness provided composers and performers with an opportunity to use their talents inventively to generate their own mad scenes—a temporary license to break the usual rules. I, therefore, emphasise the importance of paying attention to the backstage elements of scenes that include disarranged characters: when and where did the scene take place? for whom it was performed? who was the performer or composer? what was their upbringing, musical, or otherwise? what kinds of music were familiar to them? Whereas we can catalogue the common features of ‘mad scenes’ from surviving documents, the selection of contemporary composers and performers was probably not patterned or determined. If mythological figures are mentioned in their mad speech, it is likely that they are somehow related to the content of the narrative and are not included simply as a device to imply disarrangement. If a character sings a particular song in their performance of madness, it is likely that the music was not chosen at random but rather directed towards a particular audience. Nonsense is not always nonsense. This point of view sometimes seems to be missing from previous studies, which tend to record characteristics of madness dissected and disaggregated from the whole context of a musicodramatic product. While the creativity exhibited in mad scenes has been discussed in relation to the term *furor*, as the result of an inspired condition, the discussion of the *pazzo* or *pazzia* remains relatively rare. In sum, the present research aims to relocate mad scenes with the terms *pazzo* or *pazzia* in a broader context, reconsidering them as the outcome of creativity peculiar to an individual composer or performer, rather than as exemplification of a predetermined operatic type, and exploring how music was exploited to form their distinctive world of madness.

The thesis begins with a chapter outlining overlapping perspectives on madness in early modern Europe, with a focus on the Italian Peninsula. This chapter looks into a number of disciplines, including medicine, literature, theatre, and music, to provide an overarching historical and theoretical framework. This chapter also reviews existing scholarly perspectives on the mad scenes in early seventeenth-century Italian opera, the body of literature that sits closest to the present study.

A series of case studies are given chronologically in the following chapters. The case studies intentionally represent a range of different musicodramatic genres current at the time, and in different ways pull against the established account of the early operatic mad scene. Chapter 1 shows how madness was read, understood, interpreted, and represented in

various discourses from medicine, theology, philosophy, epic poetry, music to theatre. The theme was elaborated in a complex matrix of inherited ancient knowledge and contemporary interpretations. Concerning madness, music was often cited as its prompt, its symptoms and its cure, and its representations were greatly developed along with the interest in music drama. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the theoretical frameworks for analysing the following case studies.

Chapter 2 examines the comedy *La pazzia d'Isabella* performed by the commedia dell'arte actress Isabella Andreini at the 1589 wedding of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I de' Medici, and the French princess, Christine of Lorraine. *La pazzia d'Isabella*, which includes musical elements in a prevaillingly spoken theatrical context, was delivered as part of the festive event to celebrate the newlyweds. This chapter re-reads this comedy, often considered the first landmark among theatrical mad scenes in early modern Italy, through the role of female performers and the context of the commedia dell'arte, an Italian theatrical style characterized by fixed roles and improvisation.

Moreover, closely related to commedia dell'arte is the case study considered in Chapter 3 that investigates the madrigal comedy *La pazzia senile* (1598) composed by the Benedictine monk Adriano Banchieri, known as an organist and music theorist. This chapter focuses upon Banchieri's musical and poetic representations of the madness of old men who are in love with young women and discusses them in relation to the counter-reformation, contemporary musical, and theoretical controversy, particularly *seconda pratica*.

Chapter 4 addresses the Neapolitan composer Pietro Antonio Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore* (1630s?), a rather complex and enigmatic print dedicated to the Tuscan princess Anna de' Medici. Composed of three distinctive parts, Giramo's cantata-like piece begins with the solo of a lovesick madman followed by a chorus and presents dramatic scenarios in a miniature of *Uno Hospedale*, in which a series of mad lovers seek admission, probably influenced by the theatrical depiction of inmates from a mental hospital, which became popular in this period through various sources, such as the sketch games in Girolamo Bargagli's *Il Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie sansei si usano di fare*, published in 1572.⁸ The solo of a madwoman with a successive chorus, which is the reprinted part, concludes the piece, thereby celebrating the mad.

Le fortune di Rodope e Damira (The Fortunes of Rodope and Damira, 1657), an

⁸ James Haar, "On Musical Games in the 16th Century," *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 15, no.1 (1962): 22-34.

opera by the Venetian composer Pietro Andrea Ziani premiered at the Teatro S. Apollinare in Venice, is the subject of Chapter 5. This chapter highlights the Roman singer-actress Anna Renzi and her role in the opera, King Creonte's consort Damira, who feigns madness to retrieve her unfaithful husband, who is in love with the courtesan Rodope. This chapter analyses Damira's madness as in fact a form of rhetoric that allows her, rationally and strategically, to exercise a degree of power in a situation where she has none. This reading is undertaken in dialogue with the contemporary social and cultural situation of mid-seventeenth century Venice, and particularly social norms concerning women's speech.

Finally, this thesis concludes with reflections on the distinctive characteristics of each case study and recurring topics that are shared across the corpus. This research is associated with developments in the current interest in identity in musical performance and the long-standing debate over the history of madness. I hope it will also contribute to providing new, critical insights into the analysis of repertoires of musical mad scenes beyond opera—and beyond modern established views of the operatic mad scene in the early modern period.

CHAPTER 1

Madness in the Early Modern Period: Theory, Practice, and Representations

Most of this thesis is devoted to a series of case studies of the musictheatrical portrayal of madness in the Italian Peninsula during the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries. Both the creators involved in the products and the listeners who enjoyed its varied forms brought to the task of representing madness with a rich prior understanding of its nature, as human experience, as medical phenomenon, as social problem, as philosophical concept, and as a literary topic. What made people so fascinated by this madness? To consider this question, this first chapter sets out those overlapping domains of understanding as an essential prerequisite for any adequately historicized reading of the representations of madness in specific contemporary musictheatrical performances and products.

I begin by discussing madness as a medical condition, prompted by particular physiological mechanisms, provoking particular symptoms, and remedied through particular cures and measures in the early modern period. The section also refers to the theological view of distracted conditions as demonic possession. Next, I review a parallel thread of discourses on madness in philosophy stemming from the Platonic and Neoplatonic readings of the frenzy of divine inspiration. I then investigate the representations of madness by overviewing a wide range of contemporary literary and theatrical works. Finally, I introduce the theoretical frameworks with the relevant scholarly literature to prepare for a critical discussion on the following case studies.

1.1 *Madness in Medicine and Theology*

In the medical context, mental disturbances have long been defined based on the humoral theory. This theory proposes that all humans are constructed of a mixture of the four humours, which, as identified in the writings of Hippocrates (B.C. c.460–c.370), are blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm.¹ This medical concept was widely prevalent for a long period but gradually disappeared in the seventeenth century when an English physician William Harvey

¹ Stanley W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 42.

(1578–1657) discovered the circulation of the blood.² The cause of illness, including mental illness, was conventionally understood as an imbalance of one of these humours. The term ‘melancholia’ (melancholy)—often thought equivalent to the modern concept of depressive illness—is derived from a compound ancient Greek word of μέλας (melas) and χολή (kholé), or *malaina chole*, which is translated as *atra bilis* in Latin and black bile in English, and it was considered to be caused by an excess of black bile.³ Galen (c.130–200 A.D.) developed the Hippocratic idea and connected four humours with classical elements, seasons, or temperaments. For instance, melancholy was considered to be under the dominion of earth and autumn. Then, perhaps because of the influence of paired combinations of qualities was associated with each humour: black bile was cold and dry. In the Middle Ages, it also came to be associated with astrology, which linked melancholy to Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn.⁴

As signs of melancholy, Hippocrates proposed, ‘[I]f a fright or despondency lasts for a long time, it is a melancholic affection’ in *Aphorisms*.⁵ The Persian philosopher and physician Ibn Sīnā (980–1037), the most important medieval Islamic medical writer known as Avicenna, also identified that melancholy was caused by black bile and described the signs of affliction in his five-volume medical text, *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* (*The Canon of Medicine*, completed in 1025), as follows: ⁶

The first signs of melancholy are bad judgment, fear without cause, quick anger, delight in solitude, shaking, vertigo, inner clamor, tingling, especially in the abdomen. ... Melancholy’s signs, which are in the brain, are especially an overflowing of thought and a constant melancholic anxiety, and a constant looking at only one thing and at the earth.⁷

All the case studies in this thesis deal with mental disturbances caused by love.

² Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 114.

³ Allan Ingram et al., *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression, 1660-1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 31.

⁴ Jennifer Radden, “Galen: Diseases of the Black Bile,” in *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva*, ed. Jennifer Radden (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 61-8.

⁵ Conrad Jachim Sprengell. *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates, and the Sentences of Celsus; with Explanations and References to the Most Considerable Writers in Physick and Philosophy, Both Ancient and Modern, to which are added, Aphorisms upon the Small-Pox, Measles, and other Distempers not so well known to former more temperate ages* (London: R. Bonwick et al, 1708), 162, Section 6.23.

⁶ Avicenna examined the history of humoral theory and was relatively smaller in scale compared to Aristotelianism or Galenism, his medical writings were enormously influential, not least upon the large intellectual movements in the Renaissance period, particularly from 1500 to 1674. See Jennifer Radden, “Avicenna: Black Bile and Melancholia,” in *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva*, ed. Jennifer Radden (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 75-8; Nancy G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy: The “Canon” and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

⁷ Radden, “Avicenna: Black Bile and Melancholia,” 77.

Lovesickness was described in a way that makes it interchangeable with melancholy, sharing ‘the outward signs of the illness in its depressive phase,’ by not only Galen but also by other Greek medical writers such as Oribasius (326–403 A.D.), Paul of Aegina (fl. c. 640 A.D.), and Caelius Aurelianus (5th cent. A.D.).⁸ Avicenna strongly built a connection between melancholy and *amor hereos*, the malady of love, distinguished from ‘ordinary’ love.⁹ In *The Canon of Medicine*, Avicenna provided a description of the disease:

The sickness is a melancholy worry similar to melancholy, in which a man is seduced into a state of excitement or continual application of thought over the beauty of certain forms.¹⁰

Avicenna called love melancholy *al-’ishq*, usually rendered as *’ishk* or *ilisci*, and used this term to denote both pathological and obsessive love and a Neoplatonic striving for the good.¹¹

The Anatomy of Melancholy, first published in 1621 and written by the English scholar Robert Burton (1577–1640), gave considerable space to the ‘Love-Melancholy’ section among the works on melancholy that have been dramatically increased from the end of the sixteenth century. Because fear and love are still connected, the author lists fear and sorrow as the main signs of love melancholy. Moreover, they are apt to mistake, amplify, too credulous sometimes, too full of hope and confidence, and then again very jealous, inapt to believe or entertain any good news ... but of all other passions, sorrow hath the greatest share; love to many is bitterness itself; *rem amaram* Plato calls it ‘a bitter potion, an agony, a plague’.¹² In *Discours de la conservation de la veuë: des maladies melancoliques: des catarrhes, & de la vieillesse (Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age*, first published in 1594), the French physician André du Laurens (1558–1609) explains the lovesick ‘love silence out of measure, and oftentimes cannot speake, not for any defect of the tongue imagination and rather because of I cannot

⁸ Peter Toohey, “Love, Lovesickness and Melancholia,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 17, no.2 (1992), 265-86. Also see Toohey, *Melancholy, Love, and Time: Boundaries of the Self in Ancient Literature* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 59-103.

⁹ Marion A Wells, *The Secret Wound: Love-Melancholy and Early Modern Romance* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), xiv.

¹⁰ “Haec aegritudo est sollicitudo melancholica similis melancholiae, in quo homo sibi iam induxit incitationem seu applicationem cogitationis suae continuam super pulchritudine ipsius quarundam formarum.” Avicenna, *Liber canonicus*, bk.3, fen I, tractatus IV, cap. 23. The Latin passage is quoted in John Livingston Lowes, “The Lovers Malady of Hereos,” *Modern Philology* 11 (1914), 513; Translation is cited from Wells, *The Secret Wound*, xlvi.

¹¹ Wells, *The Secret Wound*, 25.

¹² Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review Books, 2001), 2: 142-3.

tell what maner of conceitednes: finally, they invent continually some one or other strange imagination, and have in a maner all of them one special object, from which they cannot be weined till time have worne it out'.¹³ Similarly, in *De la maladie d'amor ou melancholie erotique. Discours curieux qui enseigne à cognoistre l'essence, les causes, les signes, & les remedes de ce mal fantastique (Erotomania, Or a Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy*, first published in 1623), written by the French physician Jacques Ferrand (b.1575), we read that '[F]or all Passions, that are of any long continuance, doe imprint ill Habits in the Mind; which by length of time growing stronger, are very hard to be removed ... He that hath contracted such an Amorous Disposition is love with every one he sees'.¹⁴

To manage mental health in general, it was important to maintain or restore humoral balance because health and illness were not distinctively separated conditions but were judged by the degree of humoral balance. It required the regulation of the six nonnaturals: the surrounding air, diet, evacuation and retention, exercise and rest, sleep and waking, and affections of the mind.¹⁵ Because the cause of melancholy was an accumulation of black bile in the brain, the remedies prescribed for the disease included frequent bathing or a well-balanced fluid regimen for evacuation.¹⁶ To treat lovesick melancholy, it was also recommended to bring a balance in the body. In his *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), the English physician Timothy Bright (d. 1615) states that if love melancholy thickened the blood, one needs to add another, contrary affection to remove it: '... and as one pinne would drive another, so the latter may expell the former... all kind of greevance is to be shunned, and onely pleasaunt, and delectable things to be admitted'.¹⁷ Burton lists adequate remedies such as diet, fasting, counsel, and persuasion, in the section on the 'Cure of Love-Melancholy' in his book. If no other means prove efficacious, 'the last refuge and surest remedy' is 'to let them have their desire'.¹⁸

¹³ André Du Laures, *A Discourse of the Preseruation of the Sight: Of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age* (London: Felix Kingston, 1599), 96.

¹⁴ Jacques Ferrand, *Erōtomania or a Treatise Discoursing of the Essence, Causes, Symptomes, Prognosticks, and Cure of Love, or Erotique Melancholy* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1640), 259-60.

¹⁵ Elizabeth Mellyn W., "Healers and Healing in the Early Modern Health Care Market," in *The Routledge History of Madness and Mental Health*, ed. Greg Eghigian (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 86. As for the six non-naturals, also see Saul Jarcho, "Galen's Six Non-Naturals: A Bibliographic Note and Translation," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 44, no.4 (1970): 372-7.

¹⁶ Radden, "Galen: Diseases of the Black Bile," 61-8.

¹⁷ Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie Containing the Causes Thereof, & Reasons of the Strange Effects It Worketh in Our Minds and Bodies: With the Physicke Cure, and Spirituall Consolation for Such as Have Thereto Adioyned on Afflicted Conscience* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1586), 256.

Bright wrote as a practical means to help his friend and others who suffered from melancholy. See, Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 15.

¹⁸ Burton, *The Anatomy*, 3: 228.

It is important to note that although disarranged people tend to be medically understood at the present time, until the end of the eighteenth century, when modern psychiatry was established in Europe, they were rather recognised as suffering a lack of morality. In *Folie et Dérison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, Michael Foucault tries to reveal the historical conditions that have formed the modern concept of madness as a disease, focusing on the classical age (*âge classique*), which is the period between the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century. He regards the establishment of a general hospital (hôpital général) in Paris in 1656 as a critical historical moment for the 'confinement' of the insane in European countries. Hospitals were charitable institutions that accommodated people suffering not only from mental illness but also from poverty. Since the sixteenth century, the purpose of charitable activities was to remedy the idleness of the poor, including the mad.¹⁹

Treatment of mental patients in this time varied by socioeconomic level in the Italian Peninsula. Hospitals, established as charitable religious institutions, were generally places for the rich who could afford to pay the expenses and could shelter a member of their family or relatives who were mentally ill. People from the lower classes tended to be detained, in Florence, for example, in the prison known as the Carcere delle Stinche, along with debtors and criminals, upon a magistrate's order. Some people were brought in at the request of their family or trusted community members such as priests or civic officials, whereas others were judged deranged when they committed a crime, instead of being convicted. The length of their stay ranged from several days to a lifetime, depending on various factors such as their behaviour in jail or the benevolence of the accuser.²⁰ The reasons of their detention were claimed to be their foul language, wicked behaviour or, in the case of women, unchastity, which, allegedly, offended other people.²¹ Documents from the mid-fifteenth century state that the more volatile patients were housed in small cells in the prison, commonly called *la pazzeria*, but also named *il mallevato*, *la vecchia*, *i grandi*, *la segreta*, *la torre*, *la cameraccia*, *la gabbia di ferro*, and *la buia*.²²

The treatment of the patients focused on their internment and control within the

¹⁹ Michael Foucault, *History of Madness*, ed. Jean Khalfa, and trans. Jonathan Murphy (London: Routledge, 2006). Also see, Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (*Folie et Dérison: Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, 1961, English translation was firstly published in 1964).

²⁰ Graziella Magherini and Vittorio Biotti, "Madness in Florence in the 14th-18th Centuries. Judicial Inquiry and Medical Diagnosis, Care, and Custody," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 21, no. 4 (1998): 355-68. The Insane were listed among the inmates of the prison as early as the mid-14th century.

²¹ Magherini and Biotti, "Madness in Florence," 357.

²² Magherini and Biotti, "Madness in Florence," 358.

hospital.²³ The medical records of the hospital in Treviso in the fifteenth century show that patients who suffered from mental illness were physically restrained because of their violent and uncontrolled actions and were not given any other treatment.²⁴ The *Ricettario* (1515) of S. Maria Nuova in Florence records treatments for mental disturbances ranging from lethargy and melancholy to *mal caduco* and frenzy, more violent forms of madness. For example, ‘pills of wild cucumber’ or a fern called polypody, dodder, black hellebore, and lavender were melancholy remedies in the *Ricettario* that were intended to purge black bile from the stomach. The main objective of treating the mad was to calm their harmful symptoms. Two surviving recipes in the *Ricettario* were designed to put them to sleep.²⁵

Ordinary men and women sought help from a variety of healers in a pluralistic health care market, including trained physicians, priests, exorcists, charlatans, occult healers, and empirics to deal with mentally disturbed family members.²⁶ In the early modern European society, in which the Christian tradition was deeply rooted, supernatural forces were also believed as a cause of mental illness. In particular, demons were conventionally identified as the culprits.²⁷ Diverse medieval and early modern writers, including Burton and the Anglican theologian Richard Sibbes (1577–1635), called melancholy ‘Satan’s bath’. The devil disturbed the sick with powerful imaginings while weakening their reason.²⁸ Caretakers in this situation sought spiritual physic because madness aroused sin and damnation.²⁹ Despite growing medical and philosophical scepticism, the theological view of madness as demonic possession retained credibility, and exorcism was widely considered an effective treatment. In contrast to many Italian physicians in the late seventeenth century, for example, Giovan Battista Chiesa claimed that all illnesses had a demonic or supernatural cause and exorcised hundreds of his patients.³⁰ In some cases, however, exorcism was itself subject to punishment. In Rome in 1559, a cobbler named Danese was jailed as a sorcerer

²³ Monica Calabritto, “Introduction,” in Tomaso Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness: L’hospedale de’pazzi incurabili*, edited by Monica Calabritto and translated by Daniela Pastina and John W. Crayton, and (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 21.

²⁴ David Michael D’Andrea, *Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy: The Hospital of Treviso, 1400-1530* (Boydell & Brewer: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 97.

²⁵ John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 312-3.

²⁶ Mellyn, “Healers and Healing,” 84. Also see David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanry in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

²⁷ Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West* (New Heaven: Yale University, 2013), 115.

²⁸ Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 223; David Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 66.

²⁹ Mellyn, “Healers and Healing,” 93.

³⁰ Levack, “The Devil Within,” 114; Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

because he used exorcism to cure the wife of Agostino the saddler, when she suffered from demonic possession.³¹ Exorcism was the most popular form of spiritual remedy; but the Spanish jurist and demonologist Girolamo Menghi (1529–1609) also listed as viable auricular confession, communion, the laying on of hands, saints’ relics, and pilgrimage.³² Some physicians, as for instance, the English medical practitioner and astrologer Richard Napier (1559–1634), emphasised the importance of the spiritual realm in medical practice. In contrast, Menghi, the Jesuit theologian Martin del Rio (1551–1608), and the German Jesuit Peter Thyraeus (1546–1601) clearly distinguished treatment approaches between bodily physicians and spiritual physicians, and between ecclesiastical physicians and folk healers.³³ Despite the risk of condemnation, nonetheless, the market for health care in early modern Europe combined natural, spiritual, and magical remedies to meet their clients’ demands.³⁴

Music and dance have been closely related to the distracted condition as its prompt, its symptoms, and its remedy. Around the Mediterranean and particularly in southern Italy, musical therapy was used for spider bites, a ritual known as tarantism, which appears in numerous treatises from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Tarantism was considered a hysterical condition caused by the alleged bites of a spider called *taranta* or *tarantula*. People believed that *tarantella*, a rapid and lively tune with brief repetitive phrases in increasing tempo, could cure tarantism. The patients danced to the music, thereby distributing the poison throughout the body.³⁵ The phenomenon known as *chorus Sancti Viti* or Saint Vitus’ dance was also characterised by dancing. According to Burton, Paracelsus called this dance ‘lascivious dance’ because ‘they that are taken from it, can do nothing but dance till they be dead or cured’.³⁶

The role of music is ambiguous, as it can be both the prompt and the cure of a disordered condition. Whether it is performed or heard, music has long been thought to provide therapeutic benefits. In the framework of the six Galenic nonnaturals, making music,

³¹ Thomas Vance Cohen and Elizabeth Storr Cohen, *Words and Deeds in Renaissance Rome: Trials Before the Papal Magistrates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 201.

³² Lederer, *Madness, Religion and the State*, 6, 11.

³³ Mellyn, “Healers and Healing,” 94-5.

³⁴ Mellyn, “Healers and Healing,” 95.

³⁵ Jean Fogo Russell, “Tarantism,” *Medical History* 23 (1979): 404-25; David Gentilcore, “Ritualized Illness and Music Therapy: Views of Tarantism in the Kingdom of Naples,” in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 255-72. Penelope Gouk, “Sister Disciplines? Music and Medicine in Historical Perspective,” in *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Penelope Gouk (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 179-85. Also see Henry E. Sigerist, “The Story of Tarantism,” in *Music and Medicine*, eds. Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948), 96-116; Karen Lüdtke, *Dances with Spiders: Crisis, Celebrity and Celebration in Southern Italy* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 2009), Chapter 13.

³⁶ Burton, *The Anatomy*, 1:142.

particularly singing, could be regarded as an exercise to rebalance the humours by simulating the pulse. Listening to music was also considered beneficial because it helped the listeners with digestion or relaxation.³⁷ In *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Burton recommends music for nearly all melancholics, acknowledging that it is ‘a roaring-meg against melancholy’, citing the view of Dutch physician and author Levinus Lemnius that music works by ‘affecting not only the eares, but the very arteries, the vitall and animall spirits, it erects the minde, and makes it nimble’.³⁸ Whereas Burton’s treatment of music and healing was relatively brief, he was greatly influenced by the works of his contemporaries, especially Timothy Bright’s *Treatise on Melancholy* (1586) and the Jesuit Thomas Wright’s *The Passions of the Minde* (1604).³⁹ The therapeutic effect of music on the torment of unrequited love was also a typical notion. In *The Doctor’s Visit* (1663–1965) by the Dutch painter Jan Steen, music is depicted as one of the three traditional cures for lovesick melancholy, along with food hoisted by a man behind a doctor and a female patient, and the beloved arriving at the door (Figure 1.1). In the early modern era, learned physicians prescribed music as a therapy based on their reading of esoteric books. Along with baths, food, wine, games, sleep, travel, or communication with friends, music was considered to restore physical vigour and alter moods.⁴⁰

³⁷ Penelope Gouk, “Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits in Early Modern Thought,” in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (London New York: Routledge, 2000), 186. As for music and exercise, see Gretchen Finney, “Medical Theories of Vocal Exercises and Health,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 40 (1966): 395-406; Gretchen Finney, “Vocal Exercise in the Sixteenth Century,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 42 (1968): 422-49.

³⁸ Burton, *The Anatomy*, 2:113.

³⁹ Gouk, “Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits,” 183.

⁴⁰ Linda Phyllis Austern, “Musical Treatments for Lovesickness: The Early Modern Heritage,” in *Music as Medicine: The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 213-45.

Figure 1.1. Jan Steen, *The Doctor's Visit*, c.1660–1665. The John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia Museum Art, Philadelphia. Cat. 510.

In the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, the practice of music was considered to dispel the mental instability and sorrow of melancholics, thereby soothing and harmonising their body and soul. This therapeutic nature of music was explained in what is known as ‘occult’ philosophy, which attempted to understand the relationship between body, mind, and soul, and was closely linked to the Neoplatonic idea of universal order and harmony. The next section explores this realm of philosophy, particularly the Neoplatonic view on the depressive condition, which was developed through the intense investigations of ancient Greek philosophy at a Platonic Academy in fifteenth-century Florence.

1.2 *Madness in Philosophy*

Traditionally, philosophers have found both negative and positive natures in distracted states. In the seventh book of *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle classifies ‘the melancholics’ (*hoi melancholikoi*), the melancholic condition, as those who are lacking in self-control because of recklessness (*propotesia*). They do not ‘wait for rational deliberation’ due to ‘their intensity’ (*sphodrotēs*).⁴¹ In the *Tusculan Disputations* 4.75, Cicero remarks concerning

⁴¹ Philip J. van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity: Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 148-51. As another example of recklessness, Aristotle takes “the irritable (*hoi oxeis*),” who also do not deliberate, but due to their speed (*tachutēs*). Angus Gowland, “The Ethics of Renaissance Melancholy,” *Intellectual History Review* 18, no.1 (2008): 104. In the

lovesickness that ‘of all disturbances of the soul there is assuredly none more violent ... the disorder of the mind in love is in itself abominable’.⁴² It was regarded as a personally and socially undesirable condition, associated with irrationality and the vices of lust, dullness, cowardice, and so forth.⁴³ On the other hand, in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* XXX.1, perhaps the most influential account in the classical antiquity of ‘the melancholics’ is closely related to brilliance, and in particular, divine inspiration.⁴⁴

After the spread of Greek scholars and texts following the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, ancient Greek philosophy had a considerable influence on early modern intellectuals in Europe. It brought another strand of ancient thinking on unconventional mental states to the fore in Europe, in particular, derived from Plato and late-antique Neoplatonism, and mingled with hermeticism.⁴⁵ From the mid-fifteenth century, a growing interest in occultist doctrines, especially in philosophical and medical circles, generated significant occult alternatives to the traditional view of madness.⁴⁶

It was Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), recognised as a philosopher, musician, and physician, who greatly influenced the contemporary way of conceiving madness through his study of the works of Plato and the Platonic tradition of thought they inspired. The Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church took place in Ferrara and Florence from 1438 to 1445. Cosimo de’ Medici (1389–1464), the founder of the Medici dynasty, established a center of Greek studies in Florence and selected Ficino to lead an informal circle, which was later known as the Platonic Academy, composed of Ficino’s friends, Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), Cristoforo Landino (1424–1498), and Gerolamo Benivieni (1453–1542).⁴⁷

In Plato’s writings, the theme of madness (μανία in Greek) most notably appears in his *Ion* and *Phaedrus*. In the *Ion*, the rhapsode Ion confesses that he is able to speak about Homer better than any other poet in a dialogue with Socrates. Socrates then concludes that it is not art or knowledge but divine inspiration that enables him to speak of Homer.

Aristotelian texts, melancholy, described as “Melanconia” or “Melancholia,” is another kind of madness.

⁴² Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. John E. King (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 412.

⁴³ Gowland, “The Ethics of Renaissance Melancholy,” 106-7; Aristotle, *Problems II: Books XXII-XXXVIII. Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, trans. W.S. Hett (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, first published in 1937), 158-69.

⁴⁴ Wells, *The Secret Wound*, 28. Jennifer Radden, “Aristotle (Or a Follower of Aristotle): Brilliance and Melancholy,” in *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva*, ed. Jennifer Radden (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 55-60. According to Radden, most authorities believe *Problemata* was written by one of Aristotle’s followers, perhaps Theophrastus. Also see Aristotle, *Problems II*, 163.

⁴⁵ Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 78.

⁴⁶ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1984), 438-41.

⁴⁷ Jacomien Prins, *Echoes of an Invisible World: Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi on Cosmic Order and Music Theory*. Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 234 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 25.

For all good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed. ... when falling under the power of music and metre they are inspired and possessed.⁴⁸

The better a poet is, the more his creation exceeds his own abilities, and rather derives from inspiration. Therefore, the poems produced are not the work of the poet, but of God.

like yourself when speaking about Homer, they do not speak of them by any rules of art: they are simply inspired to utter that to which the Muse impels them ... For in this way the God would seem to indicate to us and not allow us to doubt that these beautiful poems are not human, or the work of man, but divine and the work of God; and that the poets are only the interpreters of the Gods by whom they are severally possessed.⁴⁹

In this dialogue, Ion tells Socrates about his state when he moves the audience: ‘at the tale of pity my eyes are filled with tears, and when I speak of horrors, my hair stands on an end and my heart throbs’.⁵⁰ In this condition, one in which ‘he is not in his right mind’, the poet can create a good poem.

In the *Phaedrus*, Socrates discusses the theme of love with Phaedrus at the banks of a river. In their dialogue, Socrates classifies madness into two categories: ‘one produced by human infirmity, the other was a divine release of the soul from the yoke of custom and convention’.⁵¹ Placing greater value on the latter, Plato, speaking through Socrates, divided divine madness into four types: those of prophecy, purification, poetry, and love.⁵² In all cases, Plato glorifies divine madness as a blessing from heaven. According to Plato, love is the best and the highest, through which one’s soul can ascend to heaven to seek divine beauty.⁵³ The ascent of the soul is also discussed in the *Symposium*, which shares with the *Phaedrus* the common theme of love.

Ficino focused on the notion of divine madness and endowed it with profound

⁴⁸ Plato, *Ion*, trans. Benjamin Jovett (The Project Gutenberg EBook, 2013), <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1635/1635-h/1635-h.htm>.

⁴⁹ Plato, *Ion*.

⁵⁰ Plato, *Ion*.

⁵¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Benjamin Jovett (The Project Gutenberg EBook, 2013), <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1636/1636-h/1636-h.htm>.

⁵² Plato, *Phaedrus*. The term is sometimes translated as “mania” or “frenzy.” See David A. White, *Rhetoric and Reality in Plato’s Phaedrus* (Albany: State University of New York Press, c1993).

⁵³ Plato, *Phaedrus*.

intellectual and prophetic abilities by understanding Plato's Greek works. In *De vita libri tres* (*Three Books on Life*, 1489), Ficino interprets the function of the black bile, which had been considered negatively to cause idleness in the Middle Ages, as follows:

... black bile continually incites the soul both to collect itself together into one and to dwell on itself and to contemplate itself. And being analogous to the world's center, it forces the investigation to the center of individual subjects, and it carries one to the contemplation of whatever is highest, since, indeed, it is most congruent with Saturn, the highest of planets.⁵⁴

By adding astrological interpretation, Ficino added value to the nature of the black bile, which provides the individual subject with an opportunity for contemplation. Moreover, citing Democritus along with Plato, he asserts the intellectually superior state is only caused by madness: 'Democritus too says no one can ever be intellectually outstanding except those who are deeply excited by some sort of madness. My author Plato in the *Phaedrus* seems to approve this, saying that without madness one knocks at the doors of poetry in vain. Even if he perhaps intends divine madness to be understood here, nevertheless, according to the physicians, madness of this kind is never incited in anyone else but melancholics'.⁵⁵

In ancient Greek, music was considered to possess the power to calm a listener's mind and to lead them morally. Meanwhile, it was also regarded as threatening for exciting and misleading the listener. Being strongly influenced by the Pythagorean idea, in which music dominates the celestial, Plato developed his philosophy with a focus on the concept of 'virtue'. He therefore regarded music as a means of stabilising the mind, and ultimately the republic. Partially following Plato, Aristotle developed his own thought emphasising practical aspects of music as removing sorrow, providing amusement or rest and cultivating intellect. According to Aristotle's *Poetics*, music purifies the soul in a similar way tragedy provides catharsis for the audience. Additionally, it was sometimes recommended to use 'enthusiastic scale' to excite the soul because it ultimately restores the soul.

⁵⁴ Marsilio Ficino, *De vita libri tres (de triplici vita); apologia; quod necessaria sit ad vitam securitas. con aggiunte di amerigus corsinus* (Antonio Miscomini, 1489), I:4. "Atque ipsa mundi centro similis ad centrum rerum singularum cogit investigandum, evehitque ad altissima quaeque comprehendenda, quandoquidem cum Saturno maxime congruit altissimo planetarum." Translation is cited from Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, eds. and trans. Carol V. Kaske and John R. Clark. Binghamton: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. State University of New York, 1989), 115.

⁵⁵ "Democritus quoque nullos inquit viros ingenio magnos, praeter illos, qui furore quodam perciti sunt, esse unquam posse. Quod quidem Plato noster in Phaedro probare videtur, dicens poeticas fores frustra absque furore pulsari. Etsi divinum furorem hic forte intelligi vult, tamen neque furor eiusmodi apud physicos aliis unquam ullis praeterquam melancholicis incitatur." Ficino, *De vita libri tres*, I:5. Translation is cited from Wells, *The Secret Wound*, 25.

Ficino was interested in Plato's accounts of cosmic harmony, which is described in *Timaeus* 35b-36b and Book X of *Republic*, as well as the passage in the *Phaedrus* on the soul's recollection of the true beauty of heaven.⁵⁶ Ficino's focus in *De triplici vita* was on the spirit (*spiritus*), which connects the Soul of the World and the human souls to matter. In particular, he emphasised the superiority of hearing over other senses because its medium is air, the same kind as the spirit.⁵⁷ In comparison with the visual sense, Ficino emphasised the importance of a musical approach to the ear as follows.

Musical consonance occurs in the element which is the mean of all [i.e. air] and reaches the ears through motion, spherical motion: so that it is not surprising that it should be fitting to the soul, which is both the mean of things, and origin of circular motion. In addition, musical sound, more than anything else perceived by the senses, conveys, as if animated, the emotions and thoughts of the singer's or player's soul to the listener's souls; thus it preeminently corresponds with the soul [...] [M]usical sound by the movement of the air moves the body: by purified air it excites the aerial spirit which is the bond of body and soul: by emotion it affects the senses and at the same time the soul: by meaning it works on the mind: finally, by the very movement of the subtle air it penetrates strongly: by its contemperation it flows smoothly: by the conformity of its quality it floods us with a wonderful pleasure; by its nature, both spiritual and material, it at once seizes, and claims as its own, man in his entirety.⁵⁸

Ficino's *spiritus* theory further explains that if music imitates planetary music, it can transmit the planetary nature to the listeners through the medium of spirit. In doing so, music acts as a means to retrieve harmony in both the human soul and body, which are mutually influenced. As for music therapy in Ficino's theory, Jacomien Prins explains that 'Ficino

⁵⁶ Maude Vanhaelen, "Cosmic Harmony, Demons, and the Mnemonic Power of Music in Renaissance Florence: The Case of Marsilio Ficino," in *Sing Aloud Harmonious Spheres: Renaissance Conceptions of Cosmic Harmony*, eds. Jacomien Prins and Maude Vanhaelen (London: Routledge, 2018), 101.

⁵⁷ D. P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 3-29.

⁵⁸ ". . . musicam consonantiam in elemento fieri omnium medio; perque motum, et hunc quidem orbicularem ad aures provenire, ut non mirum sit eam animae convenire tum mediae rerum, tum motionis principio in circuitu revolubili. Adde quod concentus potissimum inter illa quae sentiuntur quasi animatus affectum sensuumque cogitationem animae sive canentis sive sonantis perfert in animos audientes. Ideoque in primis cum animo congruit. . . . Concentus autem per aeream naturam in motu positam movet corpus; per purificatum aerem, concitat spiritum aereum animae corporisque nodum; per affectum, afficit sensum simul et animum; per significationem, agit in mentem. Denique per ipsum subtilis aeris motum, penetrat vehementer; per contemperationem, lambit suaviter; per conformem qualitatem, mira quadam voluptate perfundit; per naturam tam spiritalem quam materialem, totum sumul rapit et sibi vendicat hominem." Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia* (1453). CiT XXVIII, 69r-69v. Translation is cited from Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, 8-9.

conceives of health as a form of harmony and of disease as a temporary lack or disturbance of harmony ... Ficino prescribes physical exercises involving music, which influence the pulse to rebalance the bodily humours and the passions of the mind'.⁵⁹ Most sixteenth-century music and medical theorists seem to have ignored Ficino, but his theory widely influenced contemporary and later works such as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and the German Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher's (1602–1680) *Musurgia universalis* (1650). Ficino's Neoplatonic and magical doctrine was also popular in courtly entertainments in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.⁶⁰

Whereas the Galenic, Aristotelian, and Platonic views of madness have a long history, neither epistemologies of the distracted condition nor its evaluation remained simple or constant in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. It was associated with astrological influence, demonic possession, an unstable physical organ, a contemplative nature, or other factors. The practice of psychological diagnosis and treatment was not only the monopoly of medical experts and folk healers but also lodged in the hands of legal and religious institutions.

The following sections review popular and influential works that include madness as a theme in epic poetry and theatre of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy. Although these works share their interest in madness with the medical, theological, and philosophical realms, and sometimes the scenes of mad characters display features of mental patients, they are different from reality. Elizabeth W. Mellyn reports in her study of mental diseases in Florence and Tuscany from around 1350 to 1650 that 'topsy-turvy, carnivalesque performances of folly that entertained as much as they challenged social norms' in art or literature 'bear little resemblance to' the mentally disturbed men and women documented in the archival records she examined.⁶¹ Although literary and theatrical works interacted heterogeneously with contemporary social and cultural practices, their purpose rather lay in *representing* madness in a way that showcased the creators' invention and virtuosity or directed satirical questions at society, and this is the point at which this thesis aims.

1.3 *Madness in Epic Poetry*

Poets, writers, playwrights, and dramatists have been inspired by the creativity of madness

⁵⁹ Prins, *Echoes of an Invisible World*, 186-7.

⁶⁰ Gouk, "Music, Melancholy, and Medical Spirits," 173-5.

⁶¹ Elizabeth W. Mellyn, *Mad Tuscans and Their Families: A History of Mental Disorder in Early Modern Italy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 6.

since antiquity, illustrating it as fearful and despondent or violent and manic.⁶² The epic poem *Orlando furioso* (The Furious Orlando), written by Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), is regarded to have a significant impact on later works in terms of raving madness in sixteenth-century Italian literature. By 1505, Ariosto had begun to work on the poem, using Charlemagne’s war against the Saracens as a backdrop. On several occasions, he recited parts of his work in front of Isabella d’Este (1474–1539). *Orlando furioso* gained enormous popularity after his first publication in 1516 and remained in print both within and outside Italy as well as in translation well into the seventeenth century. Its popularity can also be seen in sixteenth century *frottole* and madrigals, such as Bartolomeo Tromboncino’s (c. 470–after 1535) ‘Queste non son più lagrime’ (xxiii.126) or Jacquet de Berchem’s *Capriccio ... con la musica da lui composta sopra le stanze del Furioso* (1561), which assembled over 90 stanzas from *Orlando furioso*.⁶³

In canto XXIII, Orlando, the Christian knight, is driven out of his mind, where he knows that the pagan princess Angelica he loves elopes with the Saracen knight Medoro.⁶⁴

Non son, non sono io quel, che paio in viso:	I am not I, the man that easrt I was:
quel, ch’era Orlando, è morto et è sotterra;	Orlando, he is buried and dead,
la sua donna ingrattissima l’ha ucciso:	his most ungratefull love (ah foolish lasse):
sí, mancando di fé, gli ha fatto guerra.	hath kild Orlando, and cut off his head:
Io son lo spirto suo da lui diviso,	I am his ghost, that up and downe must
	passe,
ch’in questo inferno tormentandosi erra,	in this tormenting hell for ever led,
acciò con l’ombra sí, che sola avanza,	to be a fearfull sample and a iust
esempio a chi in Amor pone speranza. ⁶⁵	to all such fooles as put in love their trust. ⁶⁶

He then wanders and finds the cave where Medoro has engraved the epigram, which evokes rage, hatred, and frenzy in Orlando’s mind (che non fosse odio, rabbia, ira e furore; né piú indugiò, che trasse il brando furore).⁶⁷ He hacks at the rocks and trees with his sword and

⁶² Toohey, “Love, Lovesickness and Melancholia,” 275-9.

⁶³ James Haar, “Rore’s Settings of Ariosto,” in *Essays in Musicology: A Tribute to Alvin Johnson*, eds. Lewis Lockwood and Edward H. Roesner ([N.p.]: American Musicological Society, 1990), 101–25.

⁶⁴ Dennis Looney, “Orlando Furioso,” in *Encyclopedia of Italian Literary Studies*, eds. Gaetana Marrone, Paolo Puppa and Luca Somigli (New York; London: Routledge, 2007), 90-3.

⁶⁵ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso: secondo l’edizione del 1532 con le varianti delle edizioni del 1516 e del 1521*, eds. Santorre Debenedetti and Cesare Segre (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1960), 23: 128.

⁶⁶ Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso in English heroic verse*, trans. John Harington (London: Richard Field, 1607).

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A21106.0001.001/1:50?rgn=div1;view=fulltext>.

⁶⁷ Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 23: 129.

throws leaves or stones into a spring. After lying down on the ground for 3 days without any sleep, drink, or food, he wakes up and then takes off his armour and clothes and pulls trees from the ground with his exceeding force.

The frenzy of Orlando has enabled wider interpretations in scholarship. Pio Rajna pointed out that the title *furioso* ‘sa di latinismo’, in relation to the classical example of Seneca’s *Hercules furens* (*The Raving Hercules*) in which the hero is enslaved by the affliction of *furor*.⁶⁸ While appreciating the adaptation of *furor*, which contains the ideas of ‘martial rage’ and ‘amorous frenzy’ in Latin, Andrea di Tommaso has highlighted another dimension of the word cited in Cicero’s *Tusculan Disputations*, which was widely circulated in the Renaissance period.⁶⁹ Di Tommaso argues that, while explaining Orlando’s destructive behaviour in the countryside, Cicero considers Orlando’s *furor* as a proof of his prior wisdom, which was overwhelmed by love for Angelica. Clare Carroll regards Seneca’s *Hercules Oetaeus* (*Hercules on Mount Oeta*) as a model for Orlando’s canto XXIII and reads his madness in a Stoic context.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Carlo Ossola observes an allusion to Dante.⁷¹ Enrico Musacchio argues that Orlando’s *furor* is close to the Platonic *μανία*.⁷² In the medical context, Monica Calabritto diagnoses the protagonist’s frenzy as a case of *amor hereos*.⁷³ Similarly, Marion Wells contests that Orlando’s madness has originated in the tradition of erotic melancholy, which is characterized by an obsession with a phantasmic object of the beloved in the mind.⁷⁴ Other characters in this epic, such as Rodomonte, the King of Sarza in Algeria and the leader of the Saracen army, and the female Christian knight Bradamante, are driven to madness. The most obvious connection among their mad scenes is their rage and fury, causing loss of self, wanton destruction, or deep sorrow.

The next great epic in the conventional canon of Italian Renaissance literature, *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*, first published in 1581) by Torquato Tasso (1542–1595), was influenced by some of Ariosto’s depiction of frenzy as well as many other elements. During a brief stay in Venice, which was always under the danger of Turkish invasion, Tasso began to write this epic poem, which is set during the First Crusade. With

⁶⁸ Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell’Orlando Furioso: ricerche e studi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1900), 66-7. In his raving madness, the hero Hercules kills his wife and children, and then falls asleep.

⁶⁹ Andrea di Tommaso, “‘Insania and Furor’: A Diagnostic Note on Orlando’s Malady,” *Romance Notes* 14, no.3 (1973): 583-8.

⁷⁰ Clare Carroll, *The Orlando Furioso: A Stoic Comedy* (Tempe, Ariz: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 154-8.

⁷¹ Carlo Ossola, “Dantismi metrici nel ‘Furioso,’” in *Ludovico Ariosto: lingua, stile e tradizione*, ed. Cesare Segre (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976), 65-94.

⁷² Enrico Musacchio, *Amore ragione, e follia. una rilettura dell’Orlando Furioso* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983), 160-7.

⁷³ Monica Calabritto, “The Subject of Madness: An Analysis of Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso* and Garzoni’s *L’hospedale de’ pazzi incurabili*” (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2001), Chapter 1.

⁷⁴ Wells, *The Secret Wound*, 308.

dedication to Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara (1533–1597), it took over a decade to complete the work in 1575.⁷⁵ Different from that of Plato, Tasso tied *furore* to his literal creativity rather than divinity. François Graziani proposes an analogy between Tasso’s poetic inspiration and Aristotle’s theories of imitation: ‘parce que sans nier l’inspiration il ne lui donne pas une origine externe mais interne (because without denying inspiration, [Tasso] gives it an internal rather than external origin)’ and as a result, ‘la fureur poétique se confound pour lui [...] avec le genie poétique (he confuses poetic fury with poetic genius)’.⁷⁶ According to Julia M. Cozzarelli, Tasso also warned against passion and rage in lovesick madness because they blind our reason.⁷⁷ The *Messaggero* tells Tasso’s deep concern with the confusion of the mind, which blurs the distinction between the reality and the imaginary, the true and the false, referring to Dante.⁷⁸ For Tasso, reason was a solution to control the chaos of *furore*.

The following section discusses madness spoken theatre and opera, first introducing mad scenes in Monteverdi’s lost *La finta pazza Licori* of 1627 and in Venetian operas of the 1640s, and then outlining the existing understanding of the representation of madness both in spoken theatre and early opera with a particular focus on three distinctive features of mad characters: metamorphosis, language, and the world of dance and music.

1.4 *Madness in Performance*

Across the second half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, spoken theatre grew exponentially. Partly inspired by *Orlando furioso*, characters driven mad by lovesickness or feigning madness during romantic machinations became popular in theatrical performance. In both commedia dell’arte and commedia erudita (including the associated intermedi), love madness became a stock plot device with a rich vein in pastoral comedy. When the first public opera house opened in Venice in 1637, the theme of madness inspired a variety of operatic products. In the Venetian opera houses during the middle of the seventeenth century,

⁷⁵ Barbara Russano Hanning, “Tasso, Torquato,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed November 19, 2018. <https://doi-org.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27537>.

⁷⁶ François Graziani, “Le miracle de l’arte: Le Tasse et la poétique de la meraviglia,” *Revue des études italiennes* 42, no. 1-2 (1996): 117-39, cited from Julia M. Cozzarelli, “Torquato Tasso and the Furore of Love, War and Madness,” *Italica* 84, no.2/3 (2007), 173.

⁷⁷ Cozzarelli, “Torquato Tasso and the Furore of Love,” 178.

⁷⁸ “Né Dante si mostra meno dalla fantasia sforzato, quando [...] prorompe in questa esclamazione: O immaginativa, che ne rube, Chi muove te, se’l senso no ti porge?/E certo egli non si può negare che non si dia alcuna/alienazione di mente, la quale, o sia infermità di pazzia, [...] o sia divino furore, come quello di coloro, che da Bacco, o dall’Amor son rapit, è tale che può non meno rappresentar le/cose false per vere, di quel che faccia il sogno, anzi pare che/viepiù possa farlo, perchè nel sonno solo i sentimenti sono/legati; ma nel furore la mente è impedita [...]” Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata del sig. Torquato Tasso. Al sereniss. sig. don Alfonso II. duca di Ferrara. & c. Tratta da fedeliss. copia, et ultimamente emendata di mano dell’istesso autore. Oue non pur si veggono i sei canti, che mancano al Goffredo stampato in Vinetia; ma con notabile differenza d’argomento in molti luoghi, e di stile; si leggono anco quei quattordici senza comparatione piu corretti. Aggiunti à ciascun canto gli argomenti del sig. Oratio Ariosti* (Casalmaggiore: Antonio Canacci & Erasmo Viotti, 1581), 62-3.

scenes with disorderly behaviour by characters first appeared coincidentally but later developed into a purposeful tradition: in the 1640s, for instance, Giulio Strozzi and Francesco Saccati's *La finta pazza* (*The Pretended Madwoman*, 1641), Benedetto Ferrari's *La ninfa avara* (*The Avaricious Nymph*, 1641), Giovanni Francesco Busenello and Francesco Cavalli's *Didone* (*Dido*, 1641), Giovanni Faustini and Cavalli's *Egisto* (1643). The taste for the topos continued among later generations, as witnessed by examples such as Faustini and Cavalli's *Eritrea* (1652), Aurelio Aureli and Pietro Antonio Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657—a case study in this thesis), Nicolò Minato and Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno* (1666), and Giovanni Maria Pagliardi's *Caligula delirante* (1672).⁷⁹

Considering mad scenes in opera, it may be worth examining Claudio Monteverdi's (1567–1643) uncompleted opera, *La finta pazza Licori innamorata d'Aminta* (*The Feigned Madwoman Licori, in love with Aminta*), often identified as the first opera to include a mad scene. Composed in collaboration with the Venetian poet and librettist Giulio Strozzi (1583–1652), the work was probably created for the upcoming coronation of Vincenzo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua.⁸⁰ Although *La finta pazza Licori* was not completed, we can observe how Monteverdi elaborated the concept of his opera in the correspondence between Monteverdi and Alessandro Striggio (1540–1592), the Mantuan composer, instrumentalist, and diplomat, which lasted from the late spring and summer of 1627 until September of that year.⁸¹ In a letter dated 7 May, 1627, he vividly described his idea, particularly for the feigned madwoman Licori:

In my opinion, the story is not bad, nor indeed is the way it unfolds; nevertheless the part of Licori, because of its variety of moods, must not fall into the hands of a woman who cannot play first a man and then a woman, with lively gestures and different emotions. Therefore the imitation of this feigned madness must take into consideration only the present, not the past or the future, and consequently must emphasize the word, not the sense of the phrase. So when she speaks of war she will have to imitate war; when of peace, peace, when of death, death, and so forth. And since the transformations take place in the shortest possible time, and the

⁷⁹ Also see Matsumoto's list of mad scenes in the seventeenth-century Italian musical drama. Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," 429-30.

⁸⁰ Fabbri also points out that Licori would be Strozzi's first attempt to stage a mad character as the protagonist, since his previous works usually charged marginal characters with the role. He also suggests the appropriate adaptations and expansions of elements from a feigned madwoman in Licori to Deidamia in *La finta pazza*. See Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 157, 162-3.

⁸¹ On the analysis of the letters between Monteverdi and Striggio, see Gary Tomlinson, "Twice Bitten, Thrice Shy: Monteverdi's 'finta' 'Finta pazza,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36, no. 2 (1983): 303-11.

imitations as well—then whoever has to play this leading role, which moves us to laughter and to compassion, must be a woman capable of leaving aside all other imitations except the immediate one, which the word she utters will suggest to her.⁸²

Monteverdi then recommended Margherita Basile, a sister of the renowned composer and singer Adriana Basile (c.1580–c.1640), to sing the title role.⁸³ Through her madness, the composer aimed to display ‘the variety of moods’⁸⁴ and introduced ‘fresh delights and new inventions’.⁸⁵

Nino Pirrotta describes this dramatic sequence involving a mad woman as ‘a comical one, committed not to a crescendo of emotional intensity but to abrupt shifts from one idea to another on which the mad character (or the simulator of madness) concentrates time after time with utmost intensity’.⁸⁶ According to Gary Tomlinson, *Licori*’s fast musical transitions that respond to ‘the single word, and not to the meaning of phrases or sentences’ are intended to create ‘a kaleidoscopic mélange of passions’.⁸⁷ Ellen Rosand also emphasises ‘a distinctive treatment of individual words’ in addition to the rapid changes and variety of emotional expressions.⁸⁸ Massimo Ossi considers that the purpose behind such constant changes is ‘to blur the distinction between reality and appearance and to convey the character’s feigned madness’.⁸⁹

Although opera has been the primary focus for musicologists who are interested in the theme of madness, Paolo Fabbri has shown that the operatic mad scene borrowed its conventions from spoken theatres. This point can usefully be expanded further. As several

⁸² “La inventione non mi par male, né men la spiegatura; è vero che la parte di Locori per essere molto varia, non doverà cadere in mano di donna che or non si facci omo et or donna con vivi gesti et separate passioni, perché la immitatione di tal finta pazzia dovendo aver la consideratione solo che nel presente et non nel passato et nel futuro, per conseguenza la immitatione dovendo aver il suo appoggiamento sopra alla parola et non sopra al senso de la clausula, quando dunque parlerà di guerra bisognerà immitar di guerra, quando di pace pace, quando di morte di morte, et va seguitando, et perché le transformationi si faranno in brevissimo spatio, et le immitationi. Chi dunque averà da dire tal principalissima parte che move al riso et alla compassione, sarà necessario che tal donna lassi da parte ogni altra immitatione che la presentanea che gli somministrerà la parola che averà da dire.” The letter dated 7 May 1627. The original text is cited from Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi* (Turin: Ed. Di Torino, 1985), 262-3. For the translation, I refer to Claudio Monteverdi, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, trans. Denis Stevens (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1980), 315. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune eds., *The New Monteverdi Companion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1985), 63.

⁸³ “Crederò non di mano che la sig.ra Margherita [Basile] sarà la ecc.ma.” The letter dated 7 May 1627. Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 263; Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 320.

⁸⁴ The letter dated 7 May 1627. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 319.

⁸⁵ The letter dated 24 May 1627. Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 326.

⁸⁶ Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 278. Pirrotta and Rosand consider Monteverdi is probably the first composer to attempt to portray madness in opera. Also see Ellen Rosand. *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxford: University of California Press, 1990), 347.

⁸⁷ Gary Tomlinson, “Madrigal, Monody, and Monteverdi’s ‘Via Naturale Alla Immitatione.’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 101.

⁸⁸ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 347-9.

⁸⁹ Ossi, Massimo. “‘Pardon me, but your teeth are in my neck’: Giambattista Marino, Claudio Monteverdi, and the *bacio mordace*,” *The Journal of Musicology* 21 (2004): 177.

of my case studies demonstrate, mad characters and mad scenes are found across a broader field of music drama in this period, including but not limited to what a modern audience would call ‘opera,’ ranging from spoken theatre integrating musical numbers to dramatic dialogue and scenarios in nondramatised musical forms. Some examples, including some discussed in this thesis as case studies, significantly predate the introduction of the mad scene into opera proper.

Previous studies have revealed a wide range of behavioural and verbal features employed for constructing mad characters on stage: sudden laughter; the display of nudity, raving and ranting, singing and dancing; transforming mythological or historical figures; imagery of war or the underground; identity confusion or substitution; absurd speeches; allusions to music, dance, gambling, or literature; or cataloguing various things such as women’s defects, animals, or birds.⁹⁰ In performance, mad characters usually incorporated several of these features to demonstrate their disorder or transgression. I then take a detailed look at several features of mad characters, which seem particularly relevant to the case studies to be discussed in this thesis.

(i) Metamorphosis

References to mythology became common in mad scenes during the seventeenth century.⁹¹ In Lodovico Riccato’s *I pazzi amanti* (1613), for example, Eliodoro, who is in love with Erfilia, marvels:

What wonders do I see above: the Sun has opened a hostelry, the Moon kits out its tables, Mercury has come in, Jove offers me a toast—‘I give you good health’. Ah, ah: Cupid is drunk and Venus keeps a room for personal services.⁹²

In Sacrati’s *La finta pazza*, the female protagonist Deidamia feigns madness to prevent her lover Achilles from leaving for the Trojan war. In Act II, scene x, Deidamia’s speech bewilderingly flits from one topic to another. After a repeated call for battle ‘all’armi’, Deidamia lists the names of Greek monsters.

⁹⁰ See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 346-360; Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 157-95; Matsumoto, “The Operatic Mad Scene,” Chapters 7 and 8.

⁹¹ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 359.

⁹² “Gran meraviglie veggio qui sopra: il Sole ha aperto hosteria, la Luna gli apparecchia le mense, Mercurio è entrato, Giove mi fa un brindese. Bon pro ti faccia. Ah ah: Amore è ubriaco e Venere tien camera locante.” Lodovico Riccato, *I pazzi amanti comedia pastorale del signor Lodouico Riccato da Castel Franco* (Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1613), 72. Translation cited from Fabbri, “The Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 168.

La fiera d'Erimanto,	The Erymanthian Boar
L'Erinne Acarontea,	The Erinnys from Hades
Il Piton di Tessaglia,	The Python of Thessaly
La Vipera Lernea,	The Lernean Hydra
Ci sfidano a battaglia. ⁹³	They challenge us to a fight.

She then describes the imagery of war, transforms into Helen, whose beauty caused the Trojan war in Greek mythology, and seduces her lover, Paris. Like Deidamia, mad characters even transform themselves into mythological figures. One of the good examples is Francesco Cavalli's *Egisto* on a libretto by Giovanni Faustini, premiered at the Teatro S. Cassiano in 1643. In Act III, scene v, the protagonist Egisto, being rejected by his wife Clori, enters into a raging madness. After blaming his wife, the mad Egisto soon begs them not to harm his faithless wife after all, but then again condemns her. His temper goes back and forth between sorrow and rage. He then begins an imaginary argument with Cupid. His hallucination then transforms himself into Orpheus, who wanders in the world of Hades. In between Egisto's two mad scenes, a servant named Cinea gives a detailed account of his madness, which is similar to the hero's mad scene in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.⁹⁴ His madness continues in Act III, scene ix, when he asks Eurydice to return, maintaining his persona as Orpheus. He then experiences a sudden metamorphosis into the God of Love and begins to call the others mad.

In the sixteenth century, references to mythological subjects conventionally symbolized the aristocrat's power and glory in musical theatre. An ideal venue to demonstrate this spectacle was the intermedio, the productions that were staged between the acts of spoken plays, as we shall see in the next chapter. In the first intermedio of the main comedy *La pellegrina*, performed at the wedding in 1589 of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christine de Lorraine, the heavenly messenger Necessity, performed by a singer and lutenist Vittoria Archilei (c. 1550–c. 1620), opens the performance and descends to mortals, especially Christine and Ferdinando, who are analogized to Minerva and Hercules.⁹⁵ Descending on the cloud, she sings:

⁹³ Giulio Strozzi, *La finta pazzo. Drama di Giulio Strozzi* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), 63.

⁹⁴ "Signor l'hospite Egisto/L'intelletto hà travolto,/E' divenuto stolto,/Hor di furor ripien/La Campagna trascorre,/Hor s'arresta, e discorre/A sterpi, à tronchi, à venti/Con vari, e impropri accenti,/Hor tace, e bieco mira,/Nè conosce mirando,/Hor geme, & hor sospira/Hor ride, e v'è cantando/Sciocche, e immodeste rime./E talvolta di Clori il nome esprime." Giovanni Faustini, *L'Egisto favola drammatica musicale di Giovanni Faustini* (Venice, Pietro Milocco, 1643), Act III, scene viii, 78-79. Also see Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 351.

⁹⁵ Nina Treadwell, "She Descended on a Cloud 'From the Highest Spheres': Florentine Monody 'alla Romanina'," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 16, no. 1 (2004): 13.

Dalle più alte sfere	From the highest spheres,
Di celeste Sirene amica scorta	As friendly escort to the celestial sirens,
L'armonia son, ch'a voi vengo, ò mortali,	I, Harmony, come down to you, O mortals:
Poscia, che fino al Ciel Battendo l'ali	Because beating their wings
L'alta fama n'apporta,	Important tidings have come all the way up to the sky,
Che mai si nobil coppia il sol non vide	Because the sun has never seen such a noble couple,
Qual voi nuova Minerva, e forte Alcide.	As you new Minerva, and strong Hercules. ⁹⁶

Concerning the reason for which playwrights and dramatists included mythological topics in their mad scenes, Naomi Matsumoto suggests that the importance of mythological references in madness derives from Greek and Roman tragedies, in which madness was an expression of the god's rage or revenge.⁹⁷ On the other hand, it appears that metamorphosis into mythological or literary subjects in festive or comic contexts is one of the primary ways of demonstrating the changeability of mad characters or tricking others for some reason. Either way, it definitely created a kaleidoscopic impact on the stage to amuse the spectators.

(ii) Language

In tracing the origins of operatic madness, Fabbri remarks that various mad scenes in spoken theater focused on absurd speeches and lengthy monologues, which slow or interrupt the play.⁹⁸ In Act III, scene viii of Cristofaro Sicinio's comedy *Il pazzo finto*, published in 1603 in Rome, for example, the mad protagonist Flavio scatters phonic spasms in a dialogue with an old man named Pancratio.

You should know that sbrag, sbreg, sbrig, sbrog, sbrug was the carnal nephew of fac fec fic foc fuc, who was flogged through Rome by lac lec lic loc luc since he had stolen a pair of gnac gnec gnic gnoc gnuc. So that having in hand a certain gaf gef gif gof guf, I made an exchange with him this morning.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Treadwell, "She Descended on a Cloud," 5.

⁹⁷ Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," Chapter 1.

⁹⁸ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 157-95.

⁹⁹ "havete da sapele che sbrag, sbreg, sbrig, sbrog, sbrug era nipote carnale di fac fec fic foc fuc, che fu flustato per l' Roma da lac lec lic loc luc perche havea robbato un paro di gnac gnec gnic gnoc gnuc. Di modo che havendo io in mano un certo gaf gef gif gof guf, ne feci un cambio con chetta stamegna." Cristoforo Sicinio, *La pazzia finto comedia di Christoforo*

In *La centaura* (*The Female Centaur*, 1622), written by Giovanni Battista Andreini (1576-1654), an actor of the commedia dell'arte and playwright,¹⁰⁰ Lelio and Filenia feign madness and shout at each other from the opposite ends of the stage in Act I, scene v.

Filenia: huh, huh, huh, give it, give it, give it.
 Hey, hey; grab yourself, grab yourself, grab yourself.
Lelio: What do I see? This, you are a woman; give it, give it to the mad
 woman.
Filenia: Give it, give it to the madman.
Lelio: Be silence, except that.
Filenia: Hold your hands down, except that¹⁰¹

The rhythmic sound of repetitive words provides phonetically comic effects and pleases the ear. Unlike reading a text, uttering in performance has the power to transform and dominate the special domain through the auditory sense. In other examples, we encounter, as another verbal feature of mad characters, 'cataloguing', such as women's defects or animals. In Raffaello Borghini's (1537–1588) comedy *L'amante furioso*, an old man named Nastagio, who is madly in love with a young girl, Aretasila, unfolds an alliterative list of women's defects in Act II, scene xii:

thus, women make disturbances, debts, damages, dishonesties, difficulties, diffidences, deformities, delusions, debilities, dishonours, disadvantages, destructions, derisions, despairs, distress, duresses, disgraces, disciplines, discomforts, disparagements, denials, disquiets, and disorders¹⁰²

Along with these phonological examples, a lengthy speech is another notable verbal

Sicinio. Da toffia Al m. illustre, e reverendiss. sig. il signor Ruggiero Tritonio abbate di Pinarolo (Rome: Stefano Paolini, 1603), 94. Translation is cited from Fabbri, "the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 176.

¹⁰⁰ G.B. Andreini was the first son of Isabella Andreini, a renowned actress of the commedia dell'arte, whose mad scene at the Medici wedding in 1589 on which I focus in the next chapter.

¹⁰¹ 'Filenia: hu, uh, uh, dalli, dalli, dalli./Eh, eh, eh; piglia piglia piglia./Lelio: Che vedo? Quest, è donna; dalli, dalli alla pazza./Filenia: Dalli dalli al pazzo./Lelio: Sta cheta ve, se non che./Filenia: Tien giù le mani ve, se non che ...' Giovanni Battista Andreini, *La centaura, soggetto diviso. In commedia, pastorale, e tragedia. Di Gio. Battista Andreini fiorentino, servitore del Serenissimo D. Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duca di Mantova, di Mongerrato, &c. Alla Christianissima regina madre Maria Medici.* (Parigi: Nicolas Della Vigna, 1622). Also see Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," 258.

¹⁰² "... e perciò le donne danno disturbi, debiti, dishonestà, difficoltà, diffidenze, degormità, dimenticanze, debolezze, dishonori, disaventure, distrutioni, derisioni, diperationi, doglio, durezza, disgratie, discipline, dolori, dispetti, digiunti, disagi e disordini ...' Raffaello Borghini, *L'amante furioso comedia di Raffaello Borghini. d'intermedi à ciascun'atto appropriati adornata, al molto magnifico virtuoso M. Piero di Gherardo Capponi suo amico singularissimo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1583), 37-8. Translation is cited from Fabbri, "The Origins of an Operatic Topos," 175.

feature of mad characters. Giovanni Donato Cucchetti's *La pazzia favola pastorale*, performed at the wedding in Ferrara of Marfisa d'Este (1554–1608) is a good example. In Act IV, scene ii, driven to madness by a nymph's rejection of his love, Fileno gives a wandering soliloquy:

Dunque pensar vogl'io, ma che pensiero il mio sarà? Sarà d'amor: su, dunque, ché tutto in preda mi darò al pensiero.	So I would think, but my thought will be of what? It will be of love. Up, then, for I will give myself wholly as prey to my thought.
Io vo pensar che la mia donna è donna:	I am thinking that my woman is a woman:
dunque havrai danno s'ella è donna? Danno?	so shall I be harmed if she is a woman? Harm?
Che danno? Anzi piacer, perché si piega la donna più che tenerella pianta.	What harm? Rather pleasure, for woman is more pliant than a tender plant.
...	
E se levar vogl'io la cagion del mio mal, del mio tormento, che mi levì di vita fa bisogno, perché lo star in vita è la cagione d'amar, e amando sto in affanno: adunque per uscir di passion forz'è ch'io muoia, e certo vò morir. Ah traditori, traditori assassini. Oh da la strada, portatemi quell'ali, che li segua.	And if I wish to remove the cause of my will, of my torment, it is necessary for me to take my life, for to remain alive is the cause of loving, and in loving I remain in torment: so to escape my passion, I am forced to die, and certainly I wish to die, Ah traitors, traitorous assassins. Oh clear the way, bring me those wings so that I may follow her.
Io vengo, io vengo: olà, fermate il passo. ¹⁰³	I'm coming, I'm coming: hey, stand still. ¹⁰⁴

According to Paolo, 'it gives vent to an anadiploitic display of nonsense which does nothing more than exaggerate the witticism and *concettismo* of contemporary madrigals'.¹⁰⁵ More examples of this feature will be discussed in the next chapter.

Language thus represents the disarrangement of mad characters while providing a

¹⁰³ Giovanni Donato Cucchetti, *La pazzia favola pastorale di Gio. Donato Cucchetti venetiano* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1581), 49-51.

¹⁰⁴ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 171.

¹⁰⁵ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 170.

chance to display the verbal virtuosity of performers through word plays or meandering speeches.

Similar to the studies on the theme of madness in poetry and spoken theatre, analysis of operatic librettos that contain mad scenes has led scholarly attention to focus on how mad characters speak, in particular on their rhymes. There are four types of accent positions in Italian poetry, each with traditional affiliations to different kinds of subject matter.

1. *verso piano*—with the accent on the penultimate syllable
2. *verso tronco*—with the accent on the final syllable
3. *verso sdrucchiolo*—with the accent on the antepenultimate syllable
4. *verso bisdrucchiolo*—with the accent on the fourth syllable from the end ¹⁰⁶

In particular, *verso tronco* and *verso sdrucchiolo* are considered to be related to the speech of mad characters. According to *Grove Music Online*, ‘the *verso tronco* can be comic ... but on a structural level, it becomes most significant as an articulative device to indicate closure’; whereas ‘in librettos *versi sdrucchioli* often invoke pastoral resonances ... they also have a long history of association ... with infernal, demonic or magic scenes’.¹⁰⁷ Rosand observes the frequent adoption of *versi sdrucchioli* in operatic scenes of both invocation and madness, especially in relation to the underworld and strong negative emotions, and on occasion, comical and rustic elements.¹⁰⁸

In the abovementioned mad scene of Cavalli’s *Egisto*, Egisto sings a *canzonetta* in a sequence of quinary and quaternary *sdrucchioli*.

Celesti fulmini	Celestial lightning
onde vastissime	immense waves
cupe voragini	deep chasms
leoni getuli	Gaetolian lions
abbrusciatela	burn her
sommergetela	submerge her

¹⁰⁶ Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 618.

¹⁰⁷ The *verso piano* has the final accent on the penultimate syllable; the *verso tronco* puts an accent on the final syllable; the *verso sdrucchiolo* has the final accent on the antepenultimate syllable; and the *verso bisdrucchiolo* puts the final accent on the fourth syllable from the end. The *verso piano* is the standard form while the *verso tronco* and the *verso sdrucchiolo* can produce special effects. See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 344; Matsumoto, “The Operatic Mad Scene,” 281; Tim Carter, Graham Sadler, Peter Branscombe, Roger Savage, and Arnold McMillin, “Versification.” *Grove Music Online*, 2002, accessed December 12, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O008300>.

¹⁰⁸ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 359.

inghiottitela
divoratelatela!¹⁰⁹

swallow her
devour her!

However, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 5, it can often be observed that distinctive features of mad characters, such as these prosodic aspects, were used in a distorted way owing to the fact that madness, in nature, broke the rule even in itself once established as the form.

In contrast with the foul language that mental patients were claimed to use, wordplay or lengthy speech was particularly emphasised in spoken theatre. While illustrating the chaotic nature of the distracted characters, they also show the characters' linguistic mastery.

(iii) *Dance and Music*

As I discussed above, dance and music have been closely related to the distracted condition. They were considered as the signs and symptoms of illness, the causes of flames in the lover's heart, or comfort for the wounded soul. On stage, they take various forms under the name of madness, such as specific dance rhythms, the *ballo*, folk songs, and solmisation.

Dance was included in mad scenes to produce a rhythmic and dynamic effect. *Il mattaccino*, a masked dancer in spoken theatre whose name originated from the Italian word *matto*, performed acrobatics and moresca dances with high leaps, wearing bells on his legs to highlight his rhythmic motions. G. B. Andreini manifested an interest in this lively dance and introduced *Il mattaccino* into his plays *Lo Schiavetto* (The Little Slave, 1612) and *L'Adamo* (Adam, 1613). In *Lo Schiavetto*, the audience is amused by a choreographic variety—the Villan di spagna, Calata, Sfessania, and Bergamasca. A galliard dance was performed during a Calata performance at the Florentine carnival festivities of 1620 by those dressed as matachins.¹¹⁰ The insertion of hopping matachins in triple meter must have created a comical effect through rhythmical conflict because the Calata follows the patterns of the *bassadanza*,¹¹¹ a slow dance in a walking motion without leaving the floor.

In Cavalli's *Didone*, a fantasy and allegory of dance takes place in a conversation between the mad Iarba and one of the ladies-in-waiting.

¹⁰⁹ Faustini, *L'Egisto*, 70.

¹¹⁰ Kenley E. McDowell, "Il Mattaccino: Music and Dance of the Matachin and Its Role in Italian Comedy," *Early Music* 40, no.4 (2012), 659-70.

¹¹¹ Don Michael Randel, ed. *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 133. Calata is an Italian dance of the early sixteenth century known only by thirteen examples in Joan Ambrosio Dalza's *Intabulatura de Lauto* (1508). According to this source, the meters include 3/2 - reminiscent of the bassadanza proper, 3/4 - perhaps from the quaternaria, 6/8 - typical of the saltarello and 12/8 - of a piva.

Iarba :	Iarba:
Ma guarda queste mosche per quest'aria	But look at these flies in the air
Battono la canaria.	They beat the canary.
Seconda Damigella:	Second lady-in-waiting:
È il tuo cervel che vola,	It is your brain which flies,
e batte con le piume una ciaccona. ¹¹²	And dances a chaconne with the feathers.

Dance sometimes plays a role in concluding the mad scenes. In Saccati's *La finta pazza*, Deidamia's mad scene concludes with a *ballo* danced by mad people. The *Cannocchiale per la finta pazza* (Telescope of the *finta pazza*) gives a more detailed account of the scene:¹¹³

Then followed the court Eunuch, who gave Diomede a report on the fury of Deidamia, who then turned up with the captain of the armed chorus, and [Deidamia] pretended much frivolity speaking nonsense in such a way that the Eunuch, Diomede, and the Captain considered her completely mad; and because the nurse arrived and tried to tie her up with chains, the young lady gave cry, calling for help, and so the court buffoons, crazy in the head, who came out bizarrely dressed in various colors and sizes, made everyone withdraw and set her free. Deidamia then invited them with song to perform as a sign of happiness a *ballo*, as they did a very bizarre one, and as if madmen, except not so crazy that the art, the tempos, and the metres were very well marked, which not only gave delight to the eyes, but also to the intellect, seeing that even ridiculousness and discord are subjects of art and of ingenuity, and this was the end of the Epitasis, or second act.¹¹⁴

The libretto even suggests the musical connotations in the same scene. After a request for a dance, Deidamia immediately interrupted the dance, as if a soldier had pulled on the reins.

¹¹² Giovanni Francesco Busenello, *La Didone di Gio: Francesco Busenello. Opera rappresentata in musica nel teatro di san casciano nell'Anno 1641* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani. 1656), 58. Act III, scene ii.

¹¹³ "In any case, the nurse having arrived unexpectedly to tie her up, Deidamia is helped by some court buffoons, crazy in the head, who with shovels drive off the nurse and the others, who were speaking with her; after which action Deidamia invites these madmen to perform a *ballo* for the happiness of having won a victory. And here ends the second Act." Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, 17. "Epitasi, quero azzione seconda." Translation is cited from Irene Alm, "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence: Dance in the Seventeenth-Century Venetian Opera," edited by Wendy Heller and Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Cambridge Opera Journal* 15, no.3 (2003): 247.

¹¹⁴ *Il cannocchiale per la finta pazza*, 40-1. Translation is cited from Alm, "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence," 247.

Fermate, omai fermate,	Stop, stop already,
rapidi miei corsieri, il nobil trotto;	my rapid steeds, the noble trot;
alle corde, alle corde;	on the ropes, on the ropes;
no, no non paventate:	no, no, do not fear:
alle corde, alle corde,	on the ropes, on the ropes,
Cromatiche, o Diatoniche;	Chromatic, or diatonic;
fate, ch'io vegga, fate,	perform, that I might watch, perform,
s'i piedi havete, o più le mani armoniche. ¹¹⁵	if you have feet, or better, harmonious
	hands.

Irene Alm suggests that *alle corde*, which could equally be translated ‘to the strings’, may have a double meaning: ‘dancing on tightropes’ and ‘playing stringed instruments’.¹¹⁶

From the 1640s to the first decade of the eighteenth century, ballets occupied a regular place in an operatic production, which incorporated them both in completely independent form and in a form closely related to the main plot. By the 1660s and 1670s, they had taken a standard form at the ends of Acts I and II. The dancers portrayed a variety of roles, including imaginary creatures, animals, foreigners, people in particular professions, and even buffoons.¹¹⁷ In the 1650s, when dance music was not included in many operatic scores, it was nonetheless recorded in Marco Faustini’s account books for the Teatri S. Apollinare and S. Cassiano that *balli* were performed in some of Cavalli’s operas, as well as in Pietro Andrea Ziani’s *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*, which includes the *ballo di pazzi*, as I shall discuss in Chapter 5.¹¹⁸

Additionally, music contributes to mad scenes as an essential element to add a more joyous and comic atmosphere. Borrowing snatches of well-known songs seems to have been a common practice. In Cristofaro Sicinio’s *La pazzia* (The Madwoman, 1604), Tintinnaco, the ‘mad servant’ (*servo pazzo*), sings part of popular songs (Act I, scene i):

And I, who do not think of it, *la la dirido*. The cavalier pays the landlord, nin-lord, buf-lord—who has no roast [chestnuts] to sell? The woman, and her wit told her, pulled out the rocks and gave them to the people.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, 83

¹¹⁶ Alm, “Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence,” 216-80.

¹¹⁷ Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, “Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera,” in *Opera on Stage*, eds. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, and trans. Kate Singleton (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 178-91.

¹¹⁸ Alm, “Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence,” 223-5.

¹¹⁹ “E mi che non ghe penso la la dirido. Cappelletto paga l’hoste ninoste, bufoste, chi ha niente di caldaroste da vendere?”

In *La centaura*, written by G. B. Andreini, the mad Filena begins her part with a quotation of a popular song, ‘La Girometta’.

Hands down, you, or else ... Who made you those shoes that suit you so well, Girometta, that suit you so well? They were made for me by that cobbler Mars to the sound of drums and nakers with such melody that Teucer, King of Cyprus, died of bodily grief. Medusa’s head burst with laughter seeing the Hesperidean serpent making counterpoint on the back of Phrixus’ ram, and two falconers sang of the war made by the Giants against the cold jellies, and that scoundrel of a maidservant of Proserpina peeled a pig’s trotter with such grace that you couldn’t tell Asia from Europe. Then Tithonus decided to greet Aurora, and making himself shoes from the back feet to cross the sea of the Zabacche, there appeared the ghost of King Midas all shining of gold, accompanied by those huge ass’s ears which made a sun, for never had greater rain been seen. Meanwhile King Minos was pestling the sauce and an alchemist let rip such a big fart that the sea Oceanus, having gravel, pissed out the island of Japan and China and Peru. But hush, hush, lest those deaf people hear us.¹²⁰

‘La Girometta’ is also referred to in Francesco Torretti’s *La pazzia di Clorinda* (1645). In Act III, scene vii, Clorinda shouts

Oh what sweet music I hear! Hush all: oh good, oh, oh, oh, I don’t wonder now: they are the Greek poets who to the lute of Santin da Parma sing various songs on the tune of the Girometta.¹²¹

La femina, e l’ingegno li dicea, cavava i sassi e li dava alla gente.” Cristoforo Sicinio, *La pazzia comedia di m. Cristoforo Sicinio. All’illustriss. sig. il signor Diofebo farnese* (Venice: Roberto Meglietti, 1604), 4. Translation from Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 173 (with my addition).

I am not sure about which song it is, but the phrase “E mi che non ghe penso la la dirido(n)” appears in Orazio Vecchi’s “Margarita dai corai.” See Paul Schleuse, *Singing Games in Early Modern Italy: The Music Books of Orazio Vecchi*. Music and the Early Modern Imagination (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 108-9.

¹²⁰ “Tien giù le mani, vè, se non che. Chi t’ha fatto quelle scarpette, che te stan sì bene Gerometta, che te stan sì bene. Me le ha fatte quel ciabattino di Marte al suono di timpani e di gnaccare con tanta melodia che Teucro re di Cipro crepava di doglia di corpo. Il capo di Medusa scoppiava delle risa vedendo il drago esperido che faceva contrapunto sopra la groppa del monton Frisso, e duo sonagli da sparviere cantavano la guerra che facero i Giganti contra le gelatine fredde, e quella ribalda della fantesca di Proserpina pelava un zampetto di porco con tanta leggiadria che non si conosceva l’Asia dall’Europa. In quello Titone si risolse di salutar l’Aurora, e facedosi ferrare dai piè di dietro per passar il mar delle Zabacche, comparve l’ombra del re Mida tutta lampeggiante d’oro in oro, accompagnata da quelle sue orecchiacce d’asino che faceva un sole, che mai non fu veduta la maggior pioggia. Intanto il re Minos pestava la salsa et un alchimista tirò una correggia così grande, che ‘l mar Oceano havendo la renella pisciò l’isola del Giappone e della China e del Penù. Ma zitto, zitto, che quei sordi non ci sentano.” G.B. Andreini, *La centaura*, 15-6. Translation is cited from Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 169-70.

¹²¹ “Oh che musica soave io sento! Zitti tutti: oh bene, oh, oh, oh, non mi maraviglio adesso, e’ sono i poetu greci che su

Musical sources tell us that ‘La Girometta’ achieved its great popularity in the seventeenth century along with another popular folksong, ‘La bella Franceschina’, whose popularity spanned most of the sixteenth century.¹²² In his *Selva di varia ricreatione* (1590), the Modenese composer Orazio Vecchi (1550–1605) included a miniature madrigal comedy with nine voices. Under the title ‘Diversi linguaggi’, he employed the two female characters ‘La Franceschina’ and ‘La Girometta’ as *canto primo* and *canto secondo*, respectively, with other commedia dell’arte characters, such as Zanni and Graziano. Along with these two uppermost voices, another three voices among nine—*alto*, *tenore*, and *basso*—are designated ‘del Marenzio’, also with the names of their roles. The texts speak of the two girls in the third person, unlike the other characters who speak in the first person. ‘La Franceschina’ describes that the beautiful Franceschina wants to marry the man she desires, not the son of the count, to whom her father plans to marry her.¹²³ In ‘Girometta’, the third person asks Girometta who has wrought her tiny slippers and silken stockings, and Girometta answers ‘mio Amore’ (my beloved).¹²⁴ Seen from the tunes by Luca Marenzio (1553–1599) set to the texts of ‘La Franceschina’ and ‘La Girometta’ (Ex. 1.1 and 1.2), the melodies and rhythms were simple and joyful to sing.



Example 1.1 Luca Marenzio, ‘La Franceschina’¹²⁵

¹ Liuto di Santin da Parma cantan varie canzoni su l’aria della Girometta.” Francesco Torretti, *La pazzia di Clorinda* (Viterbo: Il Discep., 1625), 103. Translation is cited from Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 173.

¹²² Warren Kirkendale, “Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal ‘a diversi linguaggi’ by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi,” *Acta Musicologica*, 44 (1972): 181-235.

¹²³ “La bella Franceschina ninina bufina,/La fili bustacchina la piange, e la sospira,/Che la vorria mari nini, La fili bustacchi./Lo suo padre alla finestra ninestra bufestra/La fili bustachestra, Ascoltar quel che la di’ nini, /La fili bustacchi./Tasi, tasi Franceschina ninina bufina/La fili bustacchina, Che te daro mari nini,/La fili bustacchi./Te darogio lo fio del Conte ninonte bufonte/La fili bustaconte del Conte Constanti nini,/La fili bustacchi./E no vogio lo fio del Conte ninonte bufonte,/La fili bustaconte del Conte Constanti nini/La fili bustacchi./Che vogio quel giovenetto ninetto, bufetto,/La fili bustacchetto, che sta in prigione per mi nini/La fili bustacch.” See Kirkendale, “Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal,” 191.

¹²⁴ “<Prima Parte> Chi t’hà fatto quelle scarpette/Che ti stan si ben/Che ti stan si ben Girometta/Che ti stan si ben?/Me l’ha fatte lo mio Amore/Che mi vol gran ben/Che mi vol gran ben Girometta/Che mi vol gran ben.

<Seconda Parte> Chi t’hà fatto quelle calzette/Che ti stan si ben/Che ti stan si ben Girometta/Che ti stan si ben?/Me l’ha fatte lo mio Amore/Che mi vol gran ben/Che mi vol gran ben Girometta/Che mi vol gran ben.” See Kirkendale, “Franceschina, Girometta, and Their Companions in a Madrigal,” 203.

¹²⁵ The tune is cited from Orazio Vecchi, *Selva di varia ricreatione di Horatio Vecchi, nella quale si contengono varij soggetti a 3. a 4. a 5. a 6. a 7. a 8. a 9. et a 10 voci, cioè Madrigali, Capricci, Balli, Arie, Iustiniane, Canzonette, Fantasie, Serenate, Dialoghi, un Lotto amoroso, con una Battaglia a diece nel fine, et accomodatovi la intavolatura di liuto alle arie, ai balli et alle canzonette* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1590).



Example 1.2 Luca Marenzio, ‘La Girometta’¹²⁶

In early opera, one of the typical musical features of mad characters is solmization. In Cavalli’s *Didone* (1641), Iarba, King of the Getuli and the wooer of Dido, is driven to madness because of Dido’s rejection, in a story originating from Virgil’s *Aeneid*. His mad scene was a late addition, given that it was not included in the scenario published in the year of the opera’s premiere.¹²⁷ In Act II, scene xii, Iarba becomes angry, condemns not only Dido but womankind as a whole, and by the following scene madness has engulfed him.

O bella oltre ogni stima,	Oh beauty beyond every evaluation,
degnà di prosa, e rima,	worthy of verse, and rhyme,
e che il bel nome tuo sempre s’imprima	and may your beautiful name always be
	impressed
d’un bue pugliese in su la spoglia opima!	on the <i>spolia opima</i> of an Apulian ox! ¹²⁸
meritevole sei,	you are worthy,
che in suon d’f, fa ut,	who in the sound of F, fa, ut,
ti canti in un l’Arcadia e ‘l Calicut!	sing in Arcadia and Calicut!
or ascoltami tu,	now you listen to me,
guarda un poco là su.	look up there a little.
se tu vedi una gabbia,	if you see a cage,
or ti venga la scabbia!	now the scabies come to you!
ancor non ti se’accorto	Don’t you notice
che v’è dentro l’augel dal becco storto? ¹²⁹	that inside is the bird of the stupid beak?

‘The sound of F’ is restated ‘fa’ in the natural hexachord and ‘ut’ in the soft hexachord. Noteworthy is the notes ‘F, fa ut’ do not correspond to the actual notes that move e-e-f#,

¹²⁶ The tune is cited from Vecchi’s *Selva di varia ricreatione*.

¹²⁷ I-Vnm, It.IV, 355 [9879]. See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 122; Matsumoto, “The Operatic Mad Scene,” 124.

¹²⁸ *Spolia opima* - the spoils taken by a Roman general from an opponent commander, originally after a single combat.

¹²⁹ Busenello, *La Didone*, 53.

sung in contralto (Ex. 1.3).

The image shows a musical score for a contralto voice. It consists of two systems of music, each with a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the vocal line.

System 1:
 me - ri - te - vo - le se - i, che'in suon d'f, fa,
 ut ti can - ti in un l'Ar ca dia, e'l Ca - li - cut!

Example 1.3 Francesco Cavalli's *Didone*, Act II, scene xii, Iarba's mad scene

The same musical feature can be observed in Benedetto Ferrari's *La ninfa avara*, presented at the Teatro S. Moisè in the same year *Didone* appeared on stage. In Act II, scene iii, the nymph Lilla, who goes mad, delivers an incoherent monologue.

<p>Che tanti amori, che tanti humori? vuò star coll'allegria, tropp'hà cesso sever maliconia. O ben venuto Orfeo? cantami un poco in tuono d'effaut, s'è più bella l'Arcadia, ò Calicut. deh fà, ch'io miri alle tue dolci note</p> <p>correr dritto un grancio, E una Testugin caminar à volo; fammi di gratia udire un Asino cantar da Rosignolo. fammi un altro favore;</p>	<p>What great lovers, what great humours? I want to stay cheerful, grim melancholy has stopped excessively. Oh welcome Orfeo? sing me a little on the note F <i>fa ut</i>. which is more beautiful, Arcadia or Calicut. ah do it, that I might watch among your sweet notes</p> <p>a crab run straight, And a Tortoise walk in flight; please allow me to hear an Ass sing to a nightingale. do me another favour;</p>
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dimmi à che tù somigli il crudo amore.¹³⁰ tell me to whom you resemble,
cruel love.

Lilla plays with words, mistakes the shepherd Ghiandone for Orpheus, asks him to sing on a particular note on different hexachords, and then features animals in inverted roles.¹³¹ The mad scenes of *Didone* and *Licori* are possibly related to the allusion to music in *La ninfa avara*.¹³²

Defining madness as ‘a heightened emotional state in which the individual, at least for the moment, has lost control of himself or herself’, Enrique Alberto Arias discusses the use made in mad scenes of contrasting and abrupt design, marked by irregularity in text and music.¹³³ Then, does music—other than singing or playing instruments as in itself a token of madness—have any means to represent the derangement of the singer in opera, where people are recognised as mad due to peculiar words, deeds, and appearances on stage? Rosand argues that as ‘in opera singing is the normal mode of discourse, clearly the portrayal of operatic madness needs more. It requires that *its* language be shaped in an extraordinary, abnormal way; and its language is really two: music and text’.¹³⁴ When analysing madness in seventeenth century Venetian opera, Rosand reads a chronological shift in the musical dimension: the early stage obsessively adhered to ‘individual words and to word-painting techniques’, while later works aimed at unexpected effects by adopting, for instance, ‘unpredictable juxtapositions of recitative and aria’ or ‘the totally inappropriate setting of a particular text’.¹³⁵ She also illustrates the cooperation and conflict between music and text, ‘two distinct modes of discourse’ on the operatic stage.¹³⁶ On the other hand, Matsumoto argues that the music *per se* lacks the potential to define a character as insane. She finds that there are no clear distinctions between individuals who are mad and those who are not in terms of musical form. She presumes that since musical forms in the seventeenth century were already relatively fluid and flexible, they failed to provide a clearly defined norm that

¹³⁰ Benedetto Ferrari, *La ninfa avara di Benedetto Ferrari dalla Tiorba: rappresentata in musica in Venetia* (Milan, Pietro Ramellati, 1641), 227-8.

¹³¹ There is a pun on the word *tuono*. It can mean “thunder,” but also means “tone” in a musical context, which could have a significance similar to the modern “key” or “note.” In this case, it is translated as “note,” specifically the note F.

¹³² Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 350-1 n. 59; Matsumoto, “The Operatic Mad Scene,” 124.

¹³³ Enrique Alberto Arias, “Reflections from a Cracked Mirror: Madness in Music and Theory of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries - An Overview,” in *Essays in Honor of John F. Ohl: A Compendium of American Musicology*, eds. Enrique Alberto Arias et al., (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2001), 133-54, esp. 134.

¹³⁴ Rosand, “Operatic Madness: A Challenge to Convention,” in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 242.

¹³⁵ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 360.

¹³⁶ Rosand, “Operatic Madness,” 241-86. In this article, Rosand analyses the mad scenes of three characters: Deidamia in Strozzi and Saccati’s *La finta pazza* (1641), Iro in Giacomo Badoaro and Monteverdi’s *Il ritorno d’Ulisse in patria* (1640) and Orlando in Handel’s *Orlando* (1733).

might be subverted by mad characters. She believes that to determine whether madness is intended in particular contexts, one must evaluate poetry and other performative conventions.¹³⁷ According to Linda Austern, early modern composers were only able to express melancholy through music, unlike the contemporary writers and visual artists who had ancient models to imitate.¹³⁸ The scholarly discussion on musical features in mad scenes has been inconclusive as compared to verbal traits. This is an element to which the present work can therefore make a significant contribution.

iv) Gender

In all discourses related to madness, gender played an important role. In actual medical practice, the definition and the cure of the mad are based on their behaviour or status rather than gender.¹³⁹ On the other hand, recent studies have begun to focus on writings in late Renaissance Italy, often associated with women, such as the recipe book, thereby recuperating their importance to local health markets.¹⁴⁰ There are also traditionally medical languages that indicate the relationship between certain types of madness and gender. Melancholy has long been recognised either as a contemplative state of inspired genius or as a fragile and unstable state of hysteria, which literally arises from the womb. The former was implicitly regarded as masculine and the latter as feminine.¹⁴¹

In *L'Hospedale de' pazzi incurabili* (1586), Garzoni clearly differentiates the descriptions of masculine madness from feminine.¹⁴² In the men's ward, fictional and historical characters are introduced encyclopaedically under the names of mythical gods. For instance, in the eighteenth discourse, Garzoni uses madrigalesque tone to describe the torment of 'The Love-Mad', mentioning mad lovers such as the Roman Mark Antony, Pyramus and Thisbe, Strozza the Elder, Calentius, Hercules, and many other lovers. Garzoni then concludes the discourse with an oration to the god Cupid.¹⁴³ Female patients, on the other hand, were secluded and placed, mostly naked, in separate cells, each of which had an *impresa* and a motto. For instance, a tuft of wild nettles and the motto *In puncta vulnus* (A

¹³⁷ Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," Chapter 8.

¹³⁸ Linda Phyllis Austern, "'No Pill's Gonna Cure My Ill': Gender Erotic Melancholy and Traditions of Musical Healing in the Modern West," in *Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts*, ed. Penelope Gouk (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), 124.

¹³⁹ Calabritto, "Introduction," in Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 21.

¹⁴⁰ Sharon T. Strocchia, *Forgotten Healers: Women and the Pursuit of Health in Late Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge; MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).

¹⁴¹ Austern, "'No Pill's Gonna Cure My Ill,'" 113-36.

¹⁴² Tomaso Garzoni, *L'Hospedale de' pazzi incurabili nuovamente formato & posto in luce da Tomaso Garzoni da Bagnacavallo. Con tre capitoli in fine sopra la pazzia. Aggiuntovi di novo due copiosissime tavole una delle cose notabili, & l'altra de' capitoli*. (Piacenza: Gio. Bazachi, 1586).

¹⁴³ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 130-5.

wound in an instant) are depicted over the door of the first chamber. It is the chamber of a Roman matron, Claudia Marcella. The narrator reminds us of her young, beautiful days and tells of her wretched life in her present chamber: '[S]he sits on her bed, squalid and sick, urinal nearby. Every time you ask her to respond to you about this matter or that, she will take the urinal out of its basket and, looking at herself in it, she says that she is the wise Sibyl, admiring herself, sometimes in the glass, sometimes in the urine'.¹⁴⁴ The madness of men was mainly associated with the mind, whereas that of women was linked with the body.

Gender matters in operatic productions. In the preface of the 1643 libretto of *Egisto*, Faustini gave apologia for the madness of Egisto, a descendant of Apollo.

If you are a critic, do not despise the madness of my Egisto as the imitation of an action seen at other times treading the boards, transferred from the comic to the musical drama, since the all-powerful requests of a great person have forced me to include it in the work to satisfy the inclination of him who has to stage it.¹⁴⁵

According to Matsumoto, Egisto's madness marks a turning point in operatic mad scenes because they were usually allocated to female characters or secondary male characters, while the male principal protagonist remained sane because of his heroic nature.¹⁴⁶ Madness came to be enacted almost exclusively by female characters after Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* because of its threatening nature towards male authority.¹⁴⁷ Catherine Clément argues that men who lose their control and display their torment are regarded as feminine in later opera.¹⁴⁸

In her discussion of the construction of gender in seventeenth century dramatic music, Susan McClary explains how musical vocabulary for emotional and rhetorical inflection was developed in the seventeenth century. '[M]usic drama provides the incentive for the full scale entry of gender construction into music. Opera emerges and continues to function as one of the principal discourses within which gender and sexuality are publicly delineated—and are at the same time celebrated, contested and constrained'.¹⁴⁹ In her research on Monteverdi's

¹⁴⁴ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 190.

¹⁴⁵ "Se tũ sei Critico non detestare la pazzia del mio Egisto, come imitatione d'un attentione da te venduta altre volte calcare le Scene, trasportata dal Comico nel Dramatico Musicale, perchè le preghiere autorevoli di personaggio grande mi hanno violentato a inserirla nel'opera, per sodisfare al Genio di chi l'hà da rappresentare." Text and translation are cited from Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 160.

¹⁴⁶ Matsumoto argues that up to this point the mad scene was essentially a comic device, not properly integrated into the heroic action of the drama. See Matsumoto, "The Operatic Mad Scene," 128.

¹⁴⁷ Susan McClary, "Constructions of Gender in Monteverdi's Dramatic Music," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 3 (1989): 217.

¹⁴⁸ Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 118.

¹⁴⁹ McClary, "Constructions of Gender," 205.

Lamento della ninfa (1638), McClary argues how the nymph's lamenting outbursts are framed by the obsessive ostinato bass and the male chorus.¹⁵⁰ The scholarly interest in Venetian opera and contemporary madrigals has brought attention to the power of women in music. Surveying seventeenth century Venetian opera, Wendy Heller has identified female characters from Didone and Arianna to Ottavia, who support or challenge authority with their rhetorical power.¹⁵¹ Bonnie Gordon discusses how women gain power through their voices in Monteverdi's madrigals and music dramas, in reference to contemporary treatises on medicine, acoustics and singing.¹⁵²

These gender issues are significant throughout all four case studies of this thesis, which deals with women's madness in Chapters 2 and 5, and men's madness in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively, and have actively been extensively researched among music scholars, as will be mentioned later.

1.5 *Theoretical Frameworks for Interpretation*

The above discussions suggest that the theme of madness has gained considerable popularity across diverse artistic disciplines. Distracted people were represented variously, such as the idle sinner, inspired poet, admirable fool, or incurable lover. Its popularity is also obvious from the fact that many operas in the seventeenth century included mad scenes, which were sometimes less significant or even absent in the ancient Greek dramas upon which such operas were based.¹⁵³ How can we understand such a fascination with madness in any of its forms? And how can we interpret theatrical and musical representations of madness generated from this fascination?

To answer these questions, I propose two theoretical frameworks in relation to relevant secondary literature: theatricality and historicity. With regard to creativity, I first introduce the performative turn, which is a paradigm shift in humanities and social sciences rooted in anthropological studies of the 1940s and 1950s. In his anthropological study of conflict and crisis resolution among Ndembu villagers, Victor Turner proposed a theoretical model of 'social drama', which is defined as 'a sequence of social interactions of a conflictive, competitive, or agonistic type'. He describes its stages as a breach, a crisis, a

¹⁵⁰ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), Chapter 4.

¹⁵¹ Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

¹⁵² Bonnie Gordon, *Monteverdi's Unruly Women: The Power of Song in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁵³ See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 122.

redress, and a reintegration.¹⁵⁴ Turner also explored Arnold van Gennep's three phases in a rite of passage: *separation*, *transition*, and *incorporation*. Van Gennep called the phase of *transition* 'margin' or 'limen', in which the ritual participants pass through a period and area of ambiguity. In this phase, they do not belong to either the previous or subsequent social and cultural status. Turner drew attention to this transitional state between the two phases van Gennep proposes and developed the concept of liminality, which was portrayed as a period and space of ambiguity that exists within specific social and mental structures, a place of danger and vulnerability for those making the transition. The structural norms in the society are challenged and inverted, even temporarily. Liminality is particularly associated with the crisis stage in social drama, and Turner explained this as 'not a structural reversal, a mirror-imaging of "profane" workaday socioeconomic structure, or a fantasy-rejection of structural "necessities," but the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints'.¹⁵⁵

Turner further developed his concept by underlining the similarities between '*leisure* genres of art and entertainment in complex industrial societies and the *rituals and myths* of archaic, tribal, and early agrarian cultures'.¹⁵⁶ In terms of whether it is optional or obligatory, Turner distinguished the genres of postindustrial leisure as liminoid from the ritual form of cultural expression as liminal. For instance, Carnival is a genre of leisure, not an obligatory ritual. Unlike a tribal ritual, it is 'play-separated-from-work not play and work ludery as a binary system of man's "serious" communal endeavor'.¹⁵⁷ However, they are not entirely separate phenomena. For Turner, 'in liminality is secrete the seed of the liminoid, waiting only for major changes in the sociocultural context to set it agrowing into the branched "candelabra" of manifold liminoid cultural genres'.¹⁵⁸

This performative turn has helped to the broader cultural development of postmodernism. Philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler demonstrates the ambivalence and precariousness of the nature of concepts and identities in opposition to the traditional theories that attempt to define clear roles in society. Focusing on Turner's concept of 'social drama', Butler tries to apply the concept to gender. As anthropologist Victor Turner suggests in his studies of ritual social drama, 'social action requires a performance which is *repeated*.

¹⁵⁴ Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1988), 33.

¹⁵⁵ Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 44. Also see Simon Shepherd, *The Cambridge Introduction to Performance Theory* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), Chapter 4.

¹⁵⁶ Victor Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, eds. Sally Falk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 42-3.

¹⁵⁷ Victor Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology," *Rice University Studies* 60, no.3 (1974): 74.

¹⁵⁸ Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid," 75.

This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation', then she continues, 'Just as a script may be enacted in various ways, and just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives'.¹⁵⁹ Butler's theory of gender performativity was regarded as one of the influential concepts in queer theory and feminist theory in the '90s. According to Butler, gender is not a stabilized norm as a pivot in every act, but rather a temporary construction in the flow of time, which is compounded by casting a body into a certain mould and referring to a norm repetitively.¹⁶⁰

These theoretical concepts of liminality and performativity offer a framework for analysing madness in the case studies in this thesis. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period when the distracted condition became a new focus across a wider range of fields, becoming an object of treatment, theorization and representation.¹⁶¹ The above sections of this chapter have revealed that 'madness' in this period was understood variously in European society, and the nature of its concepts and identities were ambivalent. In other instances, the condition was described as a loss of oneself or being outside of oneself in Italian literary and theatrical productions. For instance, Orlando declares in his frenzy: 'Non son, non sono io quel, che paio in viso' (I am not I, the man that east I was). Protagonists in the case studies also face a crisis of identity when they fall into madness. For instance, Chapter 2 introduces the female protagonist, Isabella, who abandons herself to anger and frenzy and also 'uscì fuori di se stessa' (takes leave of her senses) after she loses her lover. It is a crisis. But to apply Turner's theory, it can also be a liminal phase that provides a venue for creativity outside the norms. It might provide some insight into why the discourses on madness flourished widely in early modern Italy. Contemporary performers, composers, playwrights, and dramatists enthusiastically employed the theme of madness as a dramatic device, which enabled them to reconceptualize the boundaries established in society and to fulfil their purposes with a variety of playfulness and creativity. Moreover, the concept of performativity blurs the boundaries of 'real' and 'feigned' madness. In performance, madness is used as a dramatic device to represent social and cultural issues. The presence of an actor, that of his or her body in acting, expanded the possibilities of representing madness and provided it with more reality. It provides the potential for fiction to create reality. In her

¹⁵⁹ Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 526.

¹⁶⁰ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999).

¹⁶¹ Neely, *Distracted Subjects*, 2.

study of Jacobean plays, Neely argues that English theatre reinvented the practices of confinement, contrary to the previous scholarly assumption.¹⁶² These concepts, derived through observations and perceptions of the theatrical act, will be discussed by investigating the case studies.

Historicity also needs to be taken into consideration to understand the epistemological frameworks of the period. How did people in sixteenth- and seventeenth century Europe develop the theme of madness? Stephen Greenblatt proposed the concept of self-fashioning in his classic study of major literary figures of the English Renaissance. His starting point is that ‘in sixteenth century England, there were both selves and a sense that they could be fashioned’. The fashioning of human identity is regarded as ‘a manipulable, artful process’ and is closely related to ‘theatricality’ in the sense of both disguise and histrionic self-representation. Greenblatt states, ‘major English writers of the sixteenth century created their own performances, to analyse the choices they made in representing themselves and in fashioning characters, to understand the role of human autonomy in the construction of identity’. Although successful self-fashioning helped the writers confident in themselves, it was always inseparable from cultural institutions—family, religion, or state. There is no ‘epiphany of identity freely chosen but a cultural artifact’.¹⁶³

Although Greenblatt’s focus is on the relationship with authority in the literature of the middle-class and aristocratic males, the concept of self-fashioning has been explored in a wide range of early modern genres to understand phenomena as newly constructing identity. Music scholars of early modern Italy have discussed how the act of music-making contributed to constructing the identities of composers or performers in early modern Italy.¹⁶⁴ Anthony Newcomb brought awareness to the significant conceptual change in women performers through tackling the accounts of virtuosic performances, particularly by the Ferrarese *concerto delle donne*, which was a group of three ladies serving as professional musicians at the Ferrarese court in the late sixteenth century.¹⁶⁵ Susan McClary also insists on the considerable influence of Duke Alfonso’s *concerto delle donne* upon cultural conceptions of subjectivity.¹⁶⁶ This Ferrarese ensemble inspired the powerful neighbouring

¹⁶² Neely, *Distracted Subjects*, esp. Chapter 6.

¹⁶³ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹⁶⁴ Also see Andrew Dell’Antonio, “Performances of Identity in Early Modern Italian Music,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 18, no. 1 (2015): 23-31.

¹⁶⁵ Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597* (Princeton, N.J.; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1980); Newcomb, “Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in Sixteenth-Century Italy,” in *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 90–115.

¹⁶⁶ Susan McClary, *Desire and Pleasure in Seventeenth-Century Music* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of

courts of the Medici and the Orsini. Nina Treadwell's *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court* shows how the Medici's imitation succeeded, most notably through the splendid performance of the most famous soprano of that era, Vittoria Archilei. In her *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, Suzanne Cusick builds her argument on Francesca Caccini's fostering agency as a female musician.¹⁶⁷ These scholarly discussions will bring a new perspective, particularly on women's madness, which was depicted in a relatively negative way in Garzoni's *L'Hospedale* or English Renaissance plays.¹⁶⁸

This present thesis will also contribute to criticizing the previous study on the history of madness. In *History of Madness*, Foucault argues that madness was driven to silence by coercive mechanisms of control in the classical age, that is, the Enlightenment, by marking as a symbolic event the elimination of madness in René Descartes' *cogito*. Before the classical era, according to Foucault, madness was considered as something not in conflict with reason but rather had the power to surpass reason.¹⁶⁹ In his 1963 lecture 'Cogito and the History of Madness', Jacques Derrida cast doubt on Foucault's interpretation of Descartes. Derrida asked whether Descartes intended to exclude madness under the name of *cogito*. He states, 'Foucault is the first, to my knowledge, to have isolated delirium and madness from sensation and dreams in this first *Meditation*. The first to have isolated them in their philosophical sense and their methodological function. Such is the originality of his reading'.¹⁷⁰ Descartes's *cogito* is not the focus of this thesis, but it would be worthwhile reconsidering Foucault's reading of madness because I will discuss case studies dating from 1589 to 1657, which Foucault regards as a transitional period from the Renaissance to the classical age. Moreover, these case studies that deal with mad scenes in Italian early modern theater direct questions at the theatricality of madness, an issue that is not taken into consideration in Foucault's history of madness.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown a range of overlapping contexts through which to understand the theme of madness. Medical practitioners explained it based on the humoral theory and catalogued its specific symptoms. Forms of melancholia, a depressive condition with many of the same symptoms as lovesickness, were brought on by an excess of black bile.

California Press, c 2012), Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁷ Suzanne G. Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court: Music and the Circulation of Power* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2015).

¹⁶⁸ Neely, *Distracted Subjects*, Chapter 3.

¹⁶⁹ Foucault, *History of Madness*, 56-9.

¹⁷⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 47.

Ecclesiastics sought the cause in demonic possession, which threatened human reason. The family, friends, and community members who care for the sufferers sought treatment through natural or supernatural means, ranging from sexual intercourse to exorcism. If their violence harmed the social order, the magistrates sent the afflicted individuals to a charitable hospital or a prison, depending on their financial status. Meanwhile, poets and philosophers regarded madness as divine inspiration, which was a means to achieve heavenly beauty beyond the capacity of their rational faculty.

While the representations of madness in contemporary literature, music and theatre responded flexibly to various elements of the medical and philosophical understandings, they created their own forms and styles to express disarrangement. In a plot-driven at least partly by romantic entanglements, the madness of lovesick protagonists serves as a tragicomic element allowing a display of behavioural brutality or mourning. Verbal dexterity, possibly along with choreographic variety, embroidered disarranged and changeable conditions. Music, which functioned as a means to elevate the soul in the Neoplatonic notion, also became a manifestation and treatment of madness in theatres. Its role was expanded naturally in musicodramatic products, principally enhancing the depictions of torment and confusion of lovesick characters.

Finally, theoretical frameworks have been introduced to deploy critical textual skills in combination with attention to the social and cultural contexts in which such texts were written, translated, reproduced, interpreted, and read.

CHAPTER 2

Isabella Andreini's *La pazzia d'Isabella* (1589)

The first case study concerns a mad scene in *La pazzia d'Isabella* performed by Isabella Andreini, a renowned actress of the commedia dell'arte, at the wedding in 1589 of Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I de' Medici, and the French princess, Christine de Lorraine. As a member of the Compagnia dei Gelosi, the notable commedia dell'arte troupe, Isabella cultivated her dramatic role as the innamorata, an improvisatory idiom, her virtuoso mastery of which the 1589 mad scene served paradoxically to display. In contrast to the previous studies that have focused on Isabella's literary achievement, this chapter closely examines the context for the performance, the nature of the commedia dell'arte, the actress' innamorata role, and then discusses how Isabella's feigned madness as a performative act contributed to her reputation and celebration at the Grand Ducal court in Florence.

2.1 *The Medici Wedding in 1589*

In the spring of 1589, there was a wedding ceremony for Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1609), Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the French princess Christine de Lorraine (1565–1637), daughter of Charles III, Duke of Lorraine (1543–1608) and Claude of Valois (1547–1575). After a long delay in the wedding ceremony for various reasons, including the disturbances in France, the war between Spain and England, the death of Catherine de' Medici (1519–1589), and the murder of the Duke of Guise (1550–1588), Christine eventually journeyed to Italy, accompanied by a splendid cavalcade, and triumphantly entered Florence on 30 April, 1589.¹ This royal wedding lasted almost 2 weeks, which coincided with the *calendimaggio*, a festival that announced the coming of spring, and began on 30 April and lasted over May in Florence. The wedding ceremony was luxurious and magnificent. The entire city celebrated the marriage between the powerful royal families with a wide range of festivities. For instance, Piazza Santa Croce became a locale for *giuoco di calcio* (football game), animal baiting and joust. In the courtyard of the Pitti Palace, *sfila* (a parade), *sbarra* (a foot combat), and *naumachia* (a naval battle) took place. Ecclesiastical rites were held in the churches of Santissima Annunziata, S.

¹ George F. Young, *The Medici* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1913), 343-4.

Lorenzo, and S. Marco.² James Saslow remarks, '[M]ore events were planned, more lavish theatrical entertainments initiated, more money spent, and more visual and written records were executed than for any Medici wedding before or after'.³

As the second surviving son of Cosimo I (1519–1574) and Eleonora di Toledo (1519–1562), Ferdinando was initially destined for the church from an early age. At the age of 14, he took up residence in Rome with the rank of cardinal and established a strong presence in the Vatican by devoting himself to the administration of ecclesiastical affairs as well as art patronage. Ferdinando was called back to the ducal succession as the former Grand Duke and Ferdinando's brother, Francesco I (1541–1587), suddenly died in 1587, leaving no eligible male heirs.⁴ Ferdinando was more independent and energetic than his introspective brother in every aspect and was interested in economically and politically restoring and strengthening his duchy, which had deteriorated during his brother's reign.⁵ Among his political initiatives was a resolution to shift the diplomatic affiliation of Florence towards France, reversing the previous foreign policy which took the side of Habsburg Spain. This political ambition is clear in his marriage plans: instead of selecting from the Habsburg-supporting noblewomen whose dowries Philip II (1527–1598) had promised to pay, Ferdinando chose Christine, a favorite granddaughter of Catherine de' Medici.⁶

The wedding ceremony was the new Grand Duke's great opportunity to manifest to foreign states the legitimacy, power, and virtue of the Medici through an allegorical program of artworks and spectacles. For instance, the fortification of their dynastic prerogative was prominent in the series of arches and street decorations for the entry of Christine into Florence. The first arch emphasised a connection between ancient Rome and Florence, and the theme was developed in the second arch, including the newlyweds' illustrious predecessors such as Catherine de' Medici, Popes Leo X (1475–1521), Clement VII (1478–1534), and the Grand Dukes Cosimo I and Francesco. Meanwhile, the wedding decorations and festivities plentifully used mythological imagery and emblems, likening the Grand Duke and his spouse to classical gods and goddesses.⁷ This was most apparent in the theatrical spectacles, particularly the main

² For a summarised schedule for the wedding, see James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996), 19. Important scholarly descriptions and discussions of the Medici wedding in 1589 are, in addition to Saslow's, those of A.M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637*. Translated by Hickenlooper (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1964), 70-92.

³ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 1.

⁴ Young, *The Medici*, 339-42; Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 10-6.

⁵ Gene A. Brucker, *Florence, the Golden Age, 1138-1737* (New York: Abbeville, 1984), 101-2; Samuel Berner, "Florentine Society in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971): 203-46.

⁶ Young, *The Medici*, 342; Roy C. Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 169-212; Ian Fenlon, *Music and Culture in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 208-9.

⁷ Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1984), 131; Nina Treadwell,

comedy *La pellegrina* (The Pilgrim Woman) and its intermedii, the highlights of the wedding festivities, which took place at a hall in the Uffizi Palace, now used as a part of the Uffizi gallery. The following section focuses closely on *La pellegrina*, by exploring in detail the plot and the mad scenes included in the comedy, which have received scant attention in the previous studies, and then moves to explore the intermedii.

Figure 2.1. Jacques Callot, *Couronnement de La Grande Duchesse (The Coronation of the Grand Duchesse)*, from *La Vie de Ferdinand Ier de Médicis série appelée aussi Les Batailles des Médicis (The Life of Ferdinand I de'Medici also called The Medici Battles)*, 1614–1620. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 57.650.364(14).

2.2 La pellegrina

La pellegrina, a comedy set in Pisa, was originally written by the Siennese academician Girolamo Bargagli (1537–1586) in 1564 for Ferdinando, but it had never received a performance before.⁸ Girolamo died in 1586, and his brother Scipione (1540–1612) adopted it and modified it for the wedding.⁹ The comedy has received less attention among modern scholars as a mere ‘pretext’ for its breathtaking intermedii, but embraces a respectful message to the bride Christine, by depicting an adventurous journey of the virtuous French heroine

Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: the 1589 Interludes for La pellegrina (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 17-25.

⁸ For a discussion of the circumstances and date of composition, see Karen Newman, “The Politics of Spectacle: La Pellegrina and the Intermezzi of 1589,” *MLN* 101 (1986), 98.

⁹ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 36. Scipione’s dedicatory letters are preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, H. XI. 24, c. 5, and dated March 4, 1587 ‘a incarnatione’ (probably 1588). See Newman, “The Politics of Spectacle,” 98, n14.

Drusilla, based on a story from Ariosto's *I Suppositi* of 1509.¹⁰ In the plot, Drusilla disguises herself as a pilgrim and travels to Pisa to look for her missing husband, an Italian merchant named Lucrezio.¹¹ Lucrezio has promised to marry Lepida, daughter of the old man Casandro [Cassandro], after learning the false news that Drusilla has passed away. But as she is in love with a hired tutor Terenzio, Lepida feigns madness to escape from the contract. Amidst much confusion, Drusilla struggles through the difficulties with her intelligence and is eventually reunited with Lucrezio.¹²

La pellegrina has been categorized as 'serious comedy', 'romantic comedy', or even 'tragicomedy', as the plot concentrates more on the exploration of emotions than provoking laughter.¹³ By likening the virtuous and pious French heroine to Christine, Saslow reads *La pellegrina* as a compliment to the bride.¹⁴ Saslow and Richard Andrews also observe the conceptual interrelation between the comedy and the intermedii, given that the heroine's miraculous qualities, which allow her to overcome her difficulties, evoke the image of Juno, who brings order and harmony in the domestic sphere.¹⁵ Karen Newman, while accepting that such a quality of Drusilla is emphasized in the comedy, infers a romantic connotation of the comedy from Lucrezio's decision to choose love instead of money.¹⁶ She also states that the 'choice [of *La pellegrina*] at such a wedding may not represent simply a compliment to Cristina, but also perhaps an idealisation of the arranged alliance that veiled the long and complicated financial and political manoeuvres involved in forging their union'.¹⁷

From the viewpoint of this thesis, it is notable that Lepida, who is about to marry Lucrezio, pretends to be mad to avoid getting married because of her love for Terenzio. Her disarranged behaviour is described variously using terms such as 'pazza', 'matta', 'diffetto', or 'accidente'. Tarchetta, servant of Casandro, describes her condition: 'one does not see clearly what's up with her: she stands like this, dazed and stunned: she turns her head, says a few things that don't make sense, and no one can listen to her'.¹⁸ Because of her illness, Lucrezio is reluctant to take Lepida as his wife and wants to cancel the contract.¹⁹ Lepida's disarrangement

¹⁰ Newman, "The Politics of Spectacle," 96; Richard Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios: The Performance of Comedy in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 227.

¹¹ Newman, "The Politics of Spectacle," 99. The Spanish heroine in the original text was modified for the matrimonial setting.

¹² Girolamo Bargagli, *La pellegrina commedia di m. Girolamo Bargagli materiale intronato: rappresentata nelle felicissime nozze del sereniss. Don Ferdinando de' Medici granduca di Toscana, e della serenissima madama Cristiana di Loreno sua consorte* (Siena: Luca Bonetti, 1589).

¹³ Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 228.

¹⁴ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 153.

¹⁵ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 36-7, 153; Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 226.

¹⁶ Newman, "The Politics of Spectacle," 104.

¹⁷ Newman, "The Politics of Spectacle," 103, 107.

¹⁸ "Eh non si vede chiaramente quel ch'ella s'habbia: se ne sta cosi balorda, stordita; gira il capo, dice alcune cose poco approposito, e non se le puo accoltare nissuno." Bargagli, *La pellegrina*, 60.

¹⁹ Lucrezio: "E che harei poi a far'altro, che rendere a Casandro i mille scudi, ch'io hebbi, quando si fece la scritta?" Bargagli,

is even taken as demonic possession.²⁰ In the end, Lepida's feigned madness functions successfully to create an opportunity for Lucrezio to visit Drusilla, who is disguised as a pilgrim, to ask for a treatment for the illness, and ultimately preserves the unity of the true lovers, Lepida and Terenzio, and Drusilla and Lucrezio. In a dialogue among Casandro, Drusilla and a chaperone, Ricciardo, in Act III scene x, it is told that this denouement has been achieved by the love of the two women, Drusilla and Lepida, for their lovers.²¹

At the 1598 Medici wedding, *La pellegrina* was performed in between the first and the second acts of the intermedii. As discussed above, it has been considered that there is an interrelation between the main comedy and its intermedii. Therefore, the next section focuses on this sumptuous theatrical entertainment to consider the meaning of the performance as a whole in relation to the topics of identity and self-fashioning in the aristocratic culture of sixteenth-century Italy.

2.3 *The intermedii for La pellegrina*

Popular from the late fifteenth century, especially at the court of Ferrara, intermedii, despite their subordinate nature, occupied a significant space for weddings in Italian Renaissance courts. Taking mythology and allegory as its subject, extremely elaborate intermedii was staged to mark important dynastic occasions and impress the audience in attendance with their inventiveness and magnificence. At the wedding festivities of Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539, Antonio Landi's (1506–1569) play *Il commodo* took place with the *intermedii* by Giovan Battista Strozzi, the Elder (1504–1571). In 1565, Francesco d'Ambra's comedy *La cofanaria* and intermedii planned by Giovanni Battista Cini (1525–1586) and composed by Alessandro Striggio (1540–1592) and Francesco Corteccia (1502–1571) were performed at the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Johanna of Austria (1547–1578).²² These intermedii comprised a much longer and more opulent spectacle than the comedy itself. For instance, the production of *La pellegrina* in 1589 costs 30,255 *fiorini*, 4 *lire*, and 25 *soldi*.²³

La pellegrina, 66.

²⁰ "Lucrezio: O matta, o spiritata, o simil'altre cosa. Atti molto stravaganti sono i suoi: se tu l'havesse veduta ier sera, quando io ci fui. Che vuoi tu ch'io faccia d'una donna indemoniata in casa?" Bargagli, *La pellegrina*, 21.

²¹ "Ricciardo: ... e mi fa quasi stare in dubbio, chi di voi due habbia fatto maggior dimostrazione d'amore: ò voi, al metterui in sì longo pellegrinaggio, od ella col farsi tener per matta. Drusilla: Gran pruova d'amore è la sua veramente: pure a me pare d'auanzarla di gran longa. Ma guardate digratia, quanto noi siamo contrarie in questa parte. Io so quel ch'io so, solo per haver Lucretio; & ella fa quel che fa solo per non haverlo." Bargagli, *La pellegrina*, 107.

²² Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*, Chapter 2 and 4.

²³ Strong, *Art and Power*, 136.

Figure 2.2. Orazio Scarabelli, A Stage Perspective; Part of the Celebrations for the Medici Wedding. 1589, c.1589. ©Trustees of the British Museum. 1897,0113.43.

One of the major innovations in the intermedi for *La pellegrina* was the presentation of an independent storyline under the unity of theme.²⁴ Giovanni de' Bardi (1534–1612), a Florentine literary critic, poet, playwright, and composer,²⁵ took a principal role, particularly being responsible for the primary concept of the intermedi. According to Bastiano de' Rossi (fl. 1585–1605), author of the official *descrizione* for *La pellegrina* and the *intermedi*, Bardi unified the six intermedi through the theme of the power of music, with heroic figures from Greek mythology, and aimed to recreate ancient music—both *musica mundana* in the intermedi 1, 4 and 5, and *musica humana* in the other intermedi. The plots were based on classical literature, especially Plato's *Republic*, Plutarch, Ovid, Virgil, and other minor writers. In the first intermedio, the heavenly messenger Necessity, performed by a singer and lutenist Vittoria Archilei (c. 1550–c. 1620), opens the performance and descends to mortals, especially Christine and Ferdinando, who are analogised to Minerva and Hercules. The comedy *La pellegrina* followed on from this opening spectacle. The second intermedio depicts a music contest between the Muses and the Pierides in a garden with orange and lemon trees. The contest ends

²⁴ Strong, *Art and Power*, 135.

²⁵ Claude V. Palisca, "Bardi, Giovanni de', Count of Vernio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 1, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.02033>.

with the victory of the Muses, and the Pierides turned into magpies. The third intermedio illustrates a heroic scene of Apollo defeating Python. This is followed by the triumph over horrific Lucifer in the fourth intermedio; and the fifth unfolds an ocean view where dolphins save the musician Arion. Finally, the last intermedio concludes with a pastoral scene in which the Olympian gods send Rhythm and Harmony to Earth, a myth derived from Plato's *Laws*.²⁶

Figure 2.3. Agostino Carracci, *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 1589–1592. ©Trustees of the British Museum. U,2.111.

Along with the unity of theme, the development of engineering techniques was another innovative aspect of the 1589 intermedio. Intermedi and associated special effects machinery reached their highest levels at the end of the sixteenth century in Florence, particularly, with the stage designed by the architect, engineer, and theatrical designer Bernardo Buontalenti (1531–1608).²⁷ In 1589, cloud machinery was used with exceptional lavishness. In the first and last intermedio of *La pellegrina*, clouds covered the whole stage, whereas single clouds appeared in other intermedi.²⁸ The prima donna Vittoria Archilei sang 'Dalle più alte sfere', introduced in Chapter 1, as she descended on her cloud. One of the commentators, Simone Cavallino, explains the opening of the first intermedio:

²⁶ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 30-3; Strong, *Art and Power*, 137-8.

²⁷ Alessandra Buccheri, *The Spectacle of Clouds, 1439-1650: Italian Art and Theatre* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 75; Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 311-14; Michael Anderson, "The Changing Scene: Plays and Playhouses in the Italian Renaissance," in *Theatre of the English and Italian Renaissance* eds. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 5; 'By the middle of the sixteenth century these effects, which were to be concentrated in the intermedio which separated the acts of a regular comedy, had become the chief delight of audiences and the occasional despair of poets: 'Nothing else is sought, desired and admired by the audience save the wondrous show, alas, of the intermedio!'

²⁸ Buccheri, *The Spectacle of Clouds*, 83-5.

[When] the first cloth fell, a cloud remained in the air, in which there was a lady dressed as an angel, who in the manner of an angel sang so sonorously, and with most beautiful accompaniments that everyone remained in wonder and stunned; and that cloud, having descended little by little, disappeared ...²⁹

Music deeply permeated the whole intermedii. It was more than a ‘soundtrack or a theme for unifying the subject matter’, Alessandra Bucchieri says. ‘Music merged with the whole stage ensemble, creating an acoustic effect that was wholly different from that which we experience in theatre today’.³⁰ In her close reading of the intermedii for *La pellegrina*, Nina Treadwell analyzes how music in the intermedii, particularly of female performers, left a lasting impression on the audience.³¹ Up to the 1589 wedding, female performance at court had been well-known and admired because of the *concerto delle donne* at Ferrara, in which Ferdinando also showed a strong interest.³²

On the other hand, music is also a site for political negotiation. On the strength of his experience of working as author and composer in the previous wedding festivities including that of Francesco’s half-sister Virginia de’Medici (1568–1615) and Cesare d’Este of Ferrara (1562–1628), and that of Francesco and his second wife Bianca Capello (1548–1587),³³ Bardi was assigned as a stage director to describe the underlying concept and coordinate the musical and costume details in the 1589 wedding. Although he did not write any of the libretto, Bardi was intended to be the ‘master of ceremonies’ at the 1589 wedding according to Rossi and Seriacopi. Bardi took a central role in the *camerata fiorentina*, which was the academic circle consisting of erudite members of Florence. Since 1573, they gathered to investigate the nature of Greek music and reform modern music following ancient practice, efforts which were considered to contribute to the development of opera.³⁴ However, at the 1589 Medici wedding,

²⁹ “Calata la prima tela restò in aria una nube che vi era dentro una Donna da Angiola vestita, che a guisa d’Angiola cantava si sonoro, & con bellissimi concetti che ogn’uno restò maravigliato, & stupido la qual nube, a poco a poco calata spari” Simone Cavallino, *Raccolta di tutte le solennissime feste nel sponsalizio della serenissima gran duchessa di Toscana fatte in Firenze il mese di maggio 1589. Con breuità raccolte da Simone Cauallino da Viterbo* (Rome: Paolo Blado Stampatore Camerale, 1589). Text and translation are cited from Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 235, n.26.

³⁰ Buccheri, *The Spectacle of Clouds*, 85.

³¹ Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, Chapters 4 and 7.

³² Treadwell, “She Descended on a Cloud,” 2-4.

³³ Palisca. “Bardi, Giovanni de’”; Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 25.

³⁴ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 28, 42-5; Claude V. Palisca, “Camerata,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed April 1, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04652>; John W. Hill, “Florence: Musical Spectacle and Drama, 1570-1650,” in *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Price (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 127-32.

The members included the poet Giovanni Battista Strozzi (1504-1571), the amateur musician Pietro Strozzi (1550-1609), the composer and music theorist Vincenzo Galilei (1520-1591), and the singer Giulio Caccini (1545-1618). The aristocratic poet Ottavio Rinuccini and the composer and singer Jacopo Peri (1561-1633), though not formally members, showed a great interest in the circle. They met in the houses of Bardi and Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602), a wealthy nobleman in Florence.

the Grand Duke appointed Emilio de' Cavalieri (c.1550–1602), a descendant of one of Rome's oldest and most reputable Roman families, as musical director instead Bardi. The majority of the music was composed under his music directorship by the madrigalist and organist Luca Marenzio of Rome and the *maestro di cappella* Cristofano Malvezzi (1547–1599) of Florence.³⁵ The conflict between this Roman composer, in favor of the Grand Duke, and Bardi, the senior member of the Medici court, is well-documented.³⁶ Whereas the influence of Neoplatonism in the Florentine intermedia has been discussed,³⁷ the effect intended by Bardi and recorded in Rossi's *descrizione* may not have functioned efficiently. Treadwell investigated the discrepancy between intended apprehension and the actual experience of the audience in her study devoted to the music of the intermedi.³⁸

The *pellegrina* and its intermedi were performed several times, although uncertainty still surrounds even the basic information, particularly the dates, despite numerous surviving sources concerning these performances at the wedding. The only summary of the chronological sequence of performances, written by a Frenchman, tells us that 'La commedie' (the comedy) was staged five times: the first to rehearse it; the second, at which he was present, for the arrival of the Grand Duchess; the third for the Florentine and foreign gentlemen; the fourth for the common people and courtiers of Florence, and the Venetian and Genoese ambassadors; and the last time for the Spanish ambassador, who arrived after the wedding.³⁹ However, according to the official log book to the Medici administration written by Girolamo Seriacopi, who took on the responsibility of acting as coordinator between the creative principles and the stage crews, and also maintained the logbook,⁴⁰ the fourth performance on 15 May may have been the Gelosi's second comedy *La pazzia d'Isabella*, not *La pellegrina*.⁴¹

³⁵ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 38-9.

³⁶ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 37-42; Nino Pirrotta and Nigel Fortune, "Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata," *The Music Quarterly* 40, no.2 (1954), 177; Palisca. "Bardi, Giovanni de'." Cavalieri's ultimate supremacy over the team of composers likely competed with or diluted the authority of Bardi at the court ceremony, which was perhaps the duke's intention to limit the influence of Bardi, the previous grand duke's favourite, on the Medici's court.

³⁷ Robert Donington, *The Rise of Opera* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), esp. Chapters 2 to 5.

³⁸ Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 68-9.

³⁹ "Pour faire ceste musicque le grand duc avoit recherché tous les plus habiles hommes d'Italie et aussi la commedie fust parachevee; et a esté representee cinq fois: la premiere pour faire l'essay, la seconde, où j'estois, pour la venue de la grand duchesse. Ce jour là y estoient les done de Florence fort bien parees avec une infinitté de pierreiries. La 3e fois pour le commung people et les courtisans de Florence. Ce jour là [y estoient] les ambassadeurs des Venetiens et Genevois qui estoient venuz vers le grand duc pour le congratuller en son mariage: je y entray avec eulx; et la cinquieme fois à la venue de l'ambassadeur d'Espagne qui arriva après les nocpes pour la mesme raison que les autres ambassadeurs." Luigi Monga, *Voyage de Provence et d'Italie: ms. fr.5550-B.N., Paris* (Genoa: Slatkine, 1994), 116, cited from Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 232.

⁴⁰ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 46. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*, 78.

⁴¹ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 169-70; In fact, the exact dates of the Gelosi's comedies are not confirmed because of Pavoni's alleged account that *La pazzia d'Isabella* was performed on May 13.

2.4 La pazzia d'Isabella in Pavoni's Diario

Replacing the main comedy *La pellegrina*, the *Gelosi* staged two comedies in between its acts of the intermedii, starring two renowned actresses: Vittoria Piisimi and Isabella Andreini. On 6 May, Vittoria acted in the title role in the comedy *La Zingara* or *La Cingana* (the Gypsy), written by Gigio Artemio Giancarli (d. before 1561), who was born in Rovigo and active in Venice.⁴² On the following Saturday, 13 May, nearly the end of the festivities, Isabella took the role of the innamorata named 'Isabella', who was driven to madness in the comedy *La pazzia d'Isabella*.⁴³ Except for the dates of their performances, these comedies were never officially. The diary published by Giuseppe Pavoni (1551–1641) is the only surviving record of the content and style of their performances.⁴⁴

Pavoni, who was of Brescian origin, is best known for his career as a pressman in Genoa in his later life.⁴⁵ The scarce sources on Pavoni's early life provide no information about why he happened to be at the wedding, aside perhaps from his relations with the Vizani, Bolognese patricians, to whom he dedicated his diary.⁴⁶ It should be noted that Pavoni's commentary on the festivities sometimes does not always correspond to the other surviving accounts, so its historical accuracy must be evaluated with caution.⁴⁷ But when it comes to the *Gelosi*'s performances, which received scant attention among the surviving records, it is the essential source.

⁴² Laura Riccioni, "GIANCARLI, Gigio Artemio," *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, 54 (2000), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gigio-artemio-giancarli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gigio-artemio-giancarli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

⁴³ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 162, 169, 302n27; Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 58-9, 232n55.

⁴⁴ Giuseppe Pavoni, *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pavoni: delle feste celebrate nelle solennissime nozze delli serenissimi sposi, il sig. don Ferdinando Medici, & la sig. donna Christina di Loreno gran duchi di Toscana: nel quale con brevità si esplica il torneo, la battaglia navale, la comedia con gli intermedii, & altre feste occorse di giorno in giorno per tutto il di' 15. di maggio, MDLXXXIX; alli molto illustri, & miei patroni offervandiss. li signori Giasoni & Pompeo fratelli de' Vizani* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1589).

⁴⁵ Luca Rivali, "PAVONI, Giuseppe," in *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 81 (2014), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-pavoni_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-pavoni_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

⁴⁶ Rivali, "PAVONI, Giuseppe,"; Graziano Ruffini, *Sotto il segno del pavone: Annali di Giuseppe Pavoni e dei suoi eredi 1598-1642* (Milan: F. Angeli, 1994).

⁴⁷ Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 33; Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 1.

Figure 2.4. Frontispiece of Giuseppe Pavoni's *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pavoni*. Bologna, 1589.

Unfortunately, Pavoni's description does not provide much information about *La Zingana*, but according to Giancarli's original libretto, there are multilingual characters: a Greek, a Bergamask, a Venetian, and a peasant from Padua. Above all, the heroine is said to speak Berber and Semitic vocabulary.⁴⁸ Pavoni gave unstinting praise to Vittoria's performance: 'but those who have not heard Vittoria playing the gypsy, have not seen, nor heard a rare and marvelous thing, such that I am sure this comedy left everyone most satisfied'.⁴⁹

On the other hand, Pavoni devoted more space to Isabella's mad performance in his memoir. According to Pavoni, the plot of *La pazzia d'Isabella* is as follows: A young woman named 'Isabella' is loved by two men, Fileno and Flavio, and loves Fileno in return; however, because her father firmly opposed to their marriage, Isabella attempts to elope with her lover. Flavio, on the other hand, happens to learn of their plan and tricks her into going with him instead. Fileno misunderstands this turn of events, thinking he is abandoned, and 'che come insano, over pazzo divenne, uscendo fuori di se stesso' (he became like an insane person or a madman, taking leave of his senses). Thereafter, Isabella also realizes her loss, abandons herself to anger and frenzy, and also 'uscì fuori di se stessa' (takes leave of her senses). Isabella then goes running through the city; speaks nonsense to passers-by in various languages such as Spanish, Greek, and Italian; and talks to the bride and sings 'certe canzonette pure alla Francese' (certain little songs in French or in a French manner). Although exactly which songs are not

⁴⁸ Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 150-1.

⁴⁹ 'ma chi non ha sentito la Vittoria contrafar la Cingana, non ha visto, ne sentito cosa rara & meravigliosa, che certo di questa Comedia sono restati tutti sodisfattissimi'. Pavoni, *Diario*, 29-30.

known, Pavoni tells us the songs ‘diedero tanto diletto alla Serenissima, Sposa’ (gave such delight to the Most Serene bride). Isabella then starts to imitate the dialects of her fellow actors in this play: Pantalone, Gratiano, Zanni, Pedrolino, Francatrippa, Burattino, Captain Cardone, and Franceschina. But when Isabella drinks a magic potion, this absurdity in speech transforms into an elegant and learned style. After regaining ‘suo primo essere’ (her former self), she explains the passions of love and the travails that test those who find themselves in similar traps, and the comedy ends. Pavoni concludes his account with unreserved praise, saying that *La pazzia d’Isabella* left ‘mormorio, & meraviglia’ (murmuring and wonder) among the listeners.⁵⁰

The comedy begins with a common plot of the commedia dell’arte: a father and a competing suitor hinder a young couple from being united. This sort of plot sometimes results in a happy ending for the lovers, but this time the loss of their love drives them to untreatable madness. The phrase in Pavoni’s text, ‘e lasciandosi superare alla rabbia, & al furore uscì fuori di se stessa’ (abandoning herself to anger and frenzy, she takes leave of her senses), implies that Isabella is no longer herself after she is driven to madness. This phenomenon reminds us of Orlando’s frenzy, in Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, as seen in the previous chapter. In *La pazzia d’Isabella*, however, Isabella’s madness brought chaos to her language and identity. Isabella talks to passers-by in Spanish, Greek, Italian, and many other languages, then finally to the bride in French. After singing, Isabella imitates the dialects of her fellow actors, such as the Venetian of *Pantalone*, the Bolognese of *Gratiano*, and the Bergamask of *zanni*, then finally she recovers her ‘former self’—that is, the innamorata—and talks about the passions of love and its travails.

Multilingual speech in Isabella’s madness has widely captured modern scholarly attention. Cesare Molinari reads a metaphorical meaning in Isabella’s metamorphosis from one role to the other, understanding the comic use of various languages as a loss of identity and the impossibility of a clear definition of the individual.⁵¹ Because of the relation to the intermedi, Anne MacNeil elaborates a Neoplatonic reading of Isabella’s verbal turmoil and musical devotion. Especially referring to Marsilio Ficino’s interpretation of Plato’s *Phaedrus*, she regards Isabella’s madness as the ‘divino furore’ (divine frenzy) of the inspired poet and depicts Isabella as a sibylline figure who conveys a celestial message to the bride, Christine.⁵²

⁵⁰ Pavoni, *Diario*, 43-6.

⁵¹ Cesare Molinari, “L’altra faccia del 1589: Isabella Andreini e la sua ‘pazzia’,” in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell’Europa del Cinquecento*, Musica e spettacolo. Scienze dell’uomo e della natura (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 2: 565-73. Also see Cesare Molinari, *La commedia dell’arte* (Milan: Mondadori, 1985), 122; Roberto Tessari, *La commedia dell’arte nel Seicento: “Industria” e “Arte giocosa” della civiltà barocca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969), 185; Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 164.

⁵² Anne MacNeil, “The Divine Madness of Isabella Andreini,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, no.2 (1995): 195-215; MacNeil, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell’Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University

Following MacNeil's discussion, Erith Jaffe-Berg further argues that the unruliness of Isabella's madness was a challenge against the court, which was ultimately incorporated into the Neoplatonic principle. She also regards Isabella's and Vittoria's multilingual performances as an allegory of 'the female body to reflect "European" or some other pan-national identity'.⁵³ According to Melissa Vickery-Bareford, Isabella's plurilingualism and improvised poetry enhanced her erudite image by linking the style of the *innamorata* to that of humanistic writers in rhetoric and imitation, and the loss of identity enables her to transcend not only her role of the *innamorata* but also her gender role.⁵⁴ Robert Henke focuses more on her imitation and argues that Isabella's madness is a formative construction in association with the *commedia dell'arte* characters, particularly the *buffoni* and *zanni*. In her madness, Isabella departs from her 'primo essere'—'first self', with the connotation of 'essential self', according to Henke—imitates dialects, 'as the Venetian *buffoni* would', and 'presents a buffoonish stand-up or revue-style performance, paying tribute to her immediate audience rather than the mimetic plot: first queen, and then her fellow actors'. Isabella's 'healthy and sane intellect' in her speech of love after drinking a potion distinguishes her from 'the "ciarlare" of the Dottore'.⁵⁵ Henke concludes his analysis by highlighting Isabella's 'literary figure', alluding to the theatrical influence on her performance.⁵⁶

To discuss Isabella's madness, it should be noticed that her performance took place at the wedding, to which Turner's ritual design adds a certain perspective as a dynamic process that is capable of challenging the established system and order. As previously stated, Ferdinando endeavored to consolidate the position of his country through a marital alliance with France. The liminal ambiance of the wedding must have granted Ferdinando a prerogative to take this opportunity for presenting the new ducal reign by emphasising its legitimacy and power through magnificent festivities. In particular, the *intermedi* was the most compelling symbolic and experiential spectacle to function as self-fashioning as it had been for the Medici dynasties. How, then, can we understand *La pazzia d'Isabella* in this context?

To answer this question, I first discuss the nature of the *commedia dell'arte* since Isabella was invited as an actress of the community and then introduce Isabella and the *Gelosi*. I expand my discussion to include *commedia dell'arte* actresses' mad scenes in the *commedia*

Press, 2003), 32-76.

⁵³ Erith Jaffe-Berg, *Commedia dell'Arte and the Mediterranean: Charting Journeys and Mapping 'Others'* (London: Routledge, 2016), 74-9.

⁵⁴ Melissa Vickery-Bareford, "Isabella Andreini: Reimagining 'Woman' in Early Modern Italy" (PhD diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 2000), 147-9.

⁵⁵ Robert Henke, *Performance and Literature in the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103-5.

⁵⁶ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 105.

dell'arte to reconsider the interpretation of *La pazzia d'Isabella*, then examine the social and theatrical circumstances of speaking various languages and dialects in sixteenth century Italy, and finally consider music in Isabella's mad performance, referring back to the discussion in the previous chapter.

2.5 *Commedia dell'arte*

The *commedia dell'arte* was a distinctive theatrical style that emerged in the Italian Peninsula in the mid-sixteenth century. In aligning herself with many scholars who place the *commedia erudita* in opposition to the *commedia dell'arte*, Louise George Clubb defines it as follows:

Commedia dell'arte (in the Cinquecento called *commedia al soggetto*, *commedia all'improvvisa*, or simply, *commedia all'italiana*) refers to one of the styles of acting cultivated by the professional players, exercising mnemonic verbal and gestural techniques to make a kind of drama related by plot and characters to the literary *commedia regolare*, but at one remove. Even at this early stage the *commedia dell'arte* was distinguished by improvisation on a minimal three-act *scenario*, or *soggetto*, in which fixed roles were taken by actors specializing in them.⁵⁷

In the medieval and Renaissance period, an 'arte' was an economic and political association.⁵⁸ Therefore, the term, *commedia dell'arte*, could be translated as 'comedy of the [actor's] guild'.⁵⁹ Notwithstanding, the term itself might be anachronistically given to improvised comedies performed by professional troupes, as plays bearing such a title did not exist earlier than the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793), a Venetian comedy writer, seems to be the first documented person to use the term in 1750.⁶¹ From the sixteenth century to the seventeenth centuries, performances in this theatre style could be referred to, as mentioned above, as *commedia al soggetto*, *commedia all'improvviso*, *commedia all'italiana*, and also *commedia degli zanni* and *commedia delle maschere*.⁶² 'Commedia' literally means comedy or play. However, actors in fact performed not only comedy but also other genres such as tragi-

⁵⁷ Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1989), 29.

⁵⁸ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 5.

⁵⁹ Judith Chaffee, "I Sebastiani: Commedia Geeks," in *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte*, eds. Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London; New York: Routledge, 2015), 456.

⁶⁰ Nino Pirrotta, "'Commedia dell'Arte' and Opera," *The Musical Quarterly* 41, no.3 (1955): 305. Richard Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala: A Translation and Analysis of 30 Scenarios* (Lanham, Md.; Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2008), xi.

⁶¹ Richard Andrews, "Molière, *commedia dell'arte*, and the Question of Influence in Early Modern European Theatre," *The Modern Language Review* 100, no.2 (2005): 445.

⁶² Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xi.

comedy, tragedy, pastoral, *intermezzo*, and *melodramma*. The actors were organized into touring troupes, which performed in various places from the piazza to court, not limited to the Italian Peninsula but also in neighbouring countries. Considering the fact that the troupes performed not only on festival occasions but all year around, Robert Henke argues that the term, *commedia dell'arte*, could mean 'theatre of the profession'.⁶³

A *commedia dell'arte* troupe consisted of 10 or so masked and unmasked performers who usually mimicked figures related to particular occupations, regions, and dialects. The central figures normally involved in a troupe are two old men, Pantalone and Gratiano; comic servants, the *zanni*; a captain, the *capitano*; and young lovers, the *innamorati*.⁶⁴ Pantalone, for example, is a wealthy Venetian, known as a major port and emporium during the Renaissance period. In *commedia dell'arte* plots which spotlight family conflicts between parents and children, he is often an avaricious father who tries to find his daughter a marriage partner convenient for him, or fears his son's dissolution of the patrimony, while lustfully pursuing a younger woman such as a courtesan or a female servant.⁶⁵ Gratiano, dressed in a black academic gown and wearing a black mask, a kind of pedant from Bologna, the university city. Piero Camporesi has described him as 'the crossroads for the professor and the charlatan, high and low culture, literary and orality'.⁶⁶ His most distinctive feature is his verbal acrobatics, which indiscriminately cites pieces of his unreliable knowledge in law, philosophy, and rhetoric, both in Latin and in Bolognese. Like his fellow Pantalone, the Dottore also pursues an object of lust and is disgracefully mocked (I shall discuss Pantalone and Gratiano in greater detail in the next chapter).⁶⁷ Zanni is a comic servant from Bergamo, which supplied labour to Italian cities, particularly Venice, in the sixteenth century. The name 'Zani' came from a northern dialect form of the name Giovanni. There are several versions of 'Zani', which were multiplied in the literature and improvised in plays:⁶⁸ Francatrippa, Brighella, Pedrolino, Arlecchino, and Burattino. The female servants included Francesichina and Colombina. They are cunning and subversive figures that generate intrigues and entanglements, like the *innamorati*.⁶⁹ The *innamorati* are the roles of elegant young lovers, who do not wear face masks to emphasize

⁶³ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 5.

⁶⁴ As for the roles or masks, see Henke *Performance and Literature*, 15-30; Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte: A Documentary History* (Oxford; Blackwell, 1990), 105-40; Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xix-xxxi; Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick eds. *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte* (London; New York: Routledge, 2015), 55-124.

⁶⁵ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 19.

⁶⁶ Piero Camporesi, *La maschera di Bertoldo. Le metamorfosi del villano mostruoso e sapiente, in Aspetti e forme del Carnevale ai tempi di Giulio Cesare Croce* (Milan: Garzanti, 1993), 261. Cited from Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 19.

⁶⁷ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 19; Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xxii-xxiii.

⁶⁸ Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xxiv.

⁶⁹ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 120-1, 146.

their identities and are well dressed in the latest fashion. They use the Tuscan-based speech, which was already recognized as the standard literary ‘Italian’ language, but their speech is based heavily on the style of Petrarch rather than real-life Tuscan.⁷⁰ In plot lines that mostly turn on love entanglements, it is often the *innamorati* who involve the other characters in intrigue and confusion directly or indirectly. They were major attractions of the plays, and actors specializing in the *innamorati* led some of the companies, such as Rinaldo Petignoni in the early *Gelosi*, Flaminio Scala in the *Confidenti*, and G. B. Andreini in the *Fedeli*; female *innamorata* leads included Virginia Armani, Diana da Ponti, Orsola Cortese, Brigida Bianchi, and Isabella Andreini.⁷¹

Figure 2.5. Anonymous, *Object: Object: La Donna Lucia. Il Signor Pantalon. Zany*, 1570. ©Trustees of the British Museum. 1870,1008.2898.

Italian actors usually committed to a single role for a longer period than their English counterparts, allowing them to construct their repertoires of verbal and gestural routines over a long time. Based on the traditional forms, they innovatively elaborated their roles, referring to other actors or oral legends.⁷²

Improvisation is the fundamental characteristic of the *commedia dell’arte*. It was not only their uniqueness, but also their necessity, because as touring troupes, they needed to prepare for culturally and sometimes linguistically different audiences each time. It was usual for the *commedia dell’arte* actors to reenact the same plot with minor changes fitted to specific

⁷⁰ Andrews, *The Commedia dell’Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xxix-xxxii; Marvin Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues: Languages at Play in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 78.

⁷¹ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell’Arte*, 120.

⁷² Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 15.

occasions.⁷³ Improvisation certainly helped to make each performance distinctive according to the audience's taste. Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards presume that improvisation was 'not entirely spontaneous; it was not devised wholly impromptu and off-cuff while the players were actually on a stage in performance'. To give a successful impression of the improvised performance was 'the outcome of long deliberation by, and close collaboration between, members of a troupe accustomed to playing together, and familiar with each other's stage personae'.⁷⁴ Niccolò Barbieri (1586–1641), writer and actor of the *commedia dell'arte* from Vercelli, wrote in 1643 that 'the players study and stock their memories with a great load of things, like wise sayings, conceits, love discourses, imprecations, and outbursts of desperation or despair, to have them ready when needed, and their studies are in tune with lineaments of the figures they perform'.⁷⁵ Pier Maria Cecchini (1563–1645), the Ferrarese writer and actor, also emphasized preparation for performances and cooperation among performers in his *Frutti delle moderne comedies e avisi a chi le recita* (*The Fruits of Modern Comedies and Advice for Those who Act in Them*) published in 1628, :

Improvised performances need to be undertaken by someone who has thoroughly considered beforehand those elements mentioned earlier [language, voice, gesture], and above all, the actor must be careful not to speak when his partner is holding forth, so as to avoid that confusion so tedious to those who are listening, and so disagreeable to the one speaking; and before responding he should allow the one speaking to reach the end of his sentence, although it is necessary too to remember that long sentences are awkward and unpleasant, therefore the new speech must be of a length that can be received easily by those listening.⁷⁶

⁷³ Robert Henke, "Form and Freedom: Between Scenario and Stage," in *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte* eds. Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London; New York: Routledge, 2015), 21-9.

⁷⁴ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 187.

⁷⁵ "I Comici studiano, & simuniscono la memoria di gran farragine di cose, come sentenze concetti, discorsi d'amore, rimproveri, disperazioni, e delirij, per haverli pronti all'occasioni, ed i loro studij sono conformi al costume de personaggi, che loro rappresentano" Niccolò Barbieri, *La supplica, discorso familiare di Nicolò Barbieri detto Beltrame, diretta à quelli che scriuendo ò parlando trattano de comici trascurando i meriti delle azzioni virtuose. Lettura per que' galanthuomini che non sono in tutto critici, ne affatto balordi* (Venice: Marco Ginammi, 1634), 27. Translation is cited from Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, "Commedia dell'arte," in *A History of Italian Theatre*, eds. Joseph Farrell and Paolo Puppa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 113.

⁷⁶ "Le Rappresentazioni improvise vogliono essere maneggiate da chi prima habbia ben premeditato que' modi accennati di sopra, con quelle habilitado brevemente discorse, & sopra tutto debbe il recitante guardarsi di non parlare nello stesso tempo, che l'altro ragiona, per non generar quella confusione tanto noiosa à chi ascolta, & così disconcia à chi parla, & prima, che rispondere lasciar che il periodo di chi parla sia giunto al fine, avvertendo però, che gli Periodi lunghi sono vitiosi, & dispiacevoli, onde il parlar alterato vuol' haver quella misura, che facilmente s'impara ascoltando." Piermaria Cecchini, *Frutti delle moderne comedie et avisi a chi le recita. Di piermaria Cecchini nobile ferrarese trà comici detto Frittellino. Dedicati al sereniss. Gran Duca di Toscana Ferdinando secondo* (Padua: Guaresco Guareschi, 1628), 17-8. Translation is cited from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 201.

Frutti delle moderne comedie is the first treatise on acting and discusses the aspects of the *commedia all'improvviso*. See Andrea Perrucci, *A Treatise on Acting, from Memory and by Improvisation* (1699), trans. and eds. Francesco Cotticelli, Anne

Domenico Bruni (b. 1580), a Bolognese actor, amusingly illustrated a scene in his *Fatiche comiche* (1623) in which a servant laments the running around required to provide the other actors with the books they need to prepare for their roles.

Alas! Listen. In the morning the signora calls me ‘Hey, Ricciolina, bring me the lover’s part from *Fiammetta*. I want to study it’. Pantalone asks me for the letters of *Calmo*. The Capitano wants the *Bravure* of Capitan Spavento. Zanni needs the *Astuzie* of Bertoldo, the *Fugilozio* and the *Hours of Recreation*. Graziano needs the *Sentenze dell’Erborente* and the *Novissima Polianta*, Franceschina asks for *La Celestina* to learn how to act the bawd. The *innamorato* wants the works of Plato, and they are asking me for this and that almost at the same time.⁷⁷

The strength of the improvised performance lay in the actors’ ability to memorize a great deal of material and to compose each particular performance with their unique talents, which both performers and spectators enjoyed physical and verbal virtuosity.

This section gives an overview of the nature of the commedia dell’arte and demonstrates how actors became familiar with their own roles as well as their fellow actors to succeed in their improvised performances and delight the audience. I continue my discussion by highlighting Isabella Andreini and the Compagnia dei Gelosi, one of the renowned sixteenth century commedia dell’arte troupes to which Isabella belonged.

2.6 *Isabella Andreini, Comica Gelosa*

Isabella, born in Padua in 1562 into the Venetian Canali family, began her stage career as a member of the Gelosi. There is no precise record of when and how she was involved in the company. According to F.S. Bartoli, in 1578, she married Francesco Andreini, a former soldier and the Gelosi’s actor, so she may have been a member of the Gelosi by then.⁷⁸ By this time, Francesco was the *capo comico* of the Gelosi and led the company with Isabella until her death

Goodrich Heck and Thomas F. Heck (Lanham, Md.; Toronto; Plymouth UK: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 206.

⁷⁷ “Ohimè, sentite. La mattina la Signora mi chiama: “Olà, Ricciolina, portami la innamorata Fiametta che voglio studiare”. Pantalone mi dimanda le Lettere del Calmo. Il Capitano le Bravure del Capitan Spavento. Il Zanni le Astuzie di Bertoldo, il Fugilozio e l’Ore di ricreazione. Graziano le Sentenze dell’Erborente e la Novissima Poliantea. Franceschina vuole la Celestina per imparare di far la ruffiana. Lo innamorato vuol l’opere di Platone e quasi in un punto chi mi comanda una cosa e chi un’altra.” Domenico Bruni, *Fatiche comiche di Domenico Bruni dello Fulvio, comico di Madama Serenissima Principessa di Piemonte, prologhi e dialoghi, parte seconda* (1623), prologo da Fantasca, prologo VIII. Cited from Roberto Tessari, *La commedia dell’arte: Genesi d’una società dello spettacolo* (Rome: GLF editori Laterza, 2013).

⁷⁸ Francesco S. Bartoli, *Notizie istoriche de’ comici italiani che fiorirono intorno all’anno MDL fino a’ giorni presenti. Opera ricercata, raccolta, ed estesa da Francesco Bartoli bolognese accademico ‘onore clementino* (Padua: li Conzatti, 1782), 1: 13-31.

in 1604.⁷⁹ The name of Isabella first appears in an official record regarding the Gelosi in a letter from Francesco in Ferrara to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua (1562–1612), written in 1583, in which he excuses himself and his wife from forming a new company under Vincenzo.⁸⁰ While on stage, Isabella specialized in the role of *innamorata*, a young woman in love and beloved, what seems to have distinguished Isabella from other contemporary actresses of the commedia dell'arte was her literary erudition. During her lifetime, she published a pastoral play *La Mirtillo* in 1588, and her lyric poetry or *Rime* in 1601, both of which are composed in the forms of sonnet, madrigal, canzonetta, scherzo, and tercet.⁸¹ Furthermore, Isabella's posthumous publications were edited and published by Francesco, under the title of *Lettere* and *Fragmenti* based on abundant letters and notes Isabella left at her death.⁸²

Isabella's friendly relations with leading contemporary poets and academicians underlined and reiterated her outstanding status. Her literary credentials were established in 1601: she published her *Rime* and also became a member of the Accademia degli Intenti of Pavia, in the name of 'Accesa', which means 'ardent'.⁸³ The Intenti consisted of a number of cardinals, nobles, and literati, among them, Duke Ranuccio Farnese of Parma (1569–1622) and Duke Cesare II d'Este of Modena (1562–1628). Her sonnets in *Rime* were mostly dedicated to eminent people or academy members, who rewarded Isabella with sponsorship and friendship. Unstinting homage was paid to Isabella by contemporary eminent men of letters, such as Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), Giovan Battista Marino (1569–1625), Gabriello Chiabrera (1552–1638), Antonio Maria Spelta (1559–1632), and Tomaso Garzoni (1549–1589).⁸⁴ In a contest held at the home of Cardinal Giorgio Cinzio Aldobrandini (1551–1610), one of her most important sponsors, G. B. Andreini records in his *Ferza* (1625) that Isabella's poems were judged second only to those of Torquato Tasso.⁸⁵ This emblematic status of Isabella as a

⁷⁹ M.A. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the 'Commedia dell'Arte' 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2006), 246.

⁸⁰ ASMN, Gonzaga, b.1256, cited from MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 272-3.

⁸¹ Isabella Andreini, *Mirtillo. Pastorale d'Isabella Andreini comica gelosa* (Verona; Sebastiano dalle Donne & Camillo Franceschini, 1588); Isabella Andreini, *Rime d'Isabella Andreini padovana comica Gelosa. Dedicate all'illustriss. & reverendiss. sig. il sig. cardinal S. Giorgio Cinthio Aldobrandini* (Milan: Girolamo Bordone, & Pietromartire Locarni, 1601).

⁸² Isabella Andreini, *Lettere d'Isabella Andreini padovana, comica gelosa, et academica intenta, nominata l'Accesa. Dedicate al serenissimo don Carlo Emanuel, duca di Savoia, & con privilegio, & licentia de'superiotti* (Venice: Marc'Antonio Zaltieri, 1607); Andreini, *Fragmenti d'alcune scritture della signora Isabella Andreini comica gelosa, & academica intenta raccolti da Francesco Andreini comico geloso, detto il Capitano Spavento e dati in luce da Flaminio Scala Comico, e da lui dedicati all'illustrissimo signor Filippo Capponi. Con licenza de' superiori, & priuilegi* (Venice: Gio. Battista Combi, 1617). All the works of Isabella Andreini have been republished in several places.

⁸³ It is specified in the title of *Lettere d'Isabella Andreini padovana, comica gelosa, et academica intenta nominata l'Accesa* (Letters of Isabella Andreini from Padua, comic actress of the Gelosi and member of the Academy of the Intenti, named Lady Ardent).

⁸⁴ MacNeil, *Selected Poems of Isabella Andreini*, 9.

Anne MacNeil, "Andreini [née Canali], Isabella," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed October 20, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.44147>; Cesare Molinari, *La commedia dell'arte* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999), 951-2.

⁸⁵ "Ma, se della felice memoria della mia studiosa Madre non io: ma altri parlar volesse, non direbbe, Che 'n Roma, fù non

poetess appears to have an anachronistic influence on the modern evaluations of Isabella's theatrical activity at the Medici wedding in 1589. When Isabella performed *La pazzia d'Isabella* at the age of 27, her first literary publication—the pastoral *La Mirtilla*—had only recently appeared in print. She was well-known, certainly, but as an elegant and virtuous actress rather than a talented woman of letters.

Gracious Isabella, dignity of the stage, ornament of theatres, spectacle no less superb in virtue than in beauty, has demonstrated too this profession in such manner, that as long as the world lasts, as long as the centuries endure, as long as the times and seasons have life, every voice, every language, every cry echoes the celebrated name of Isabella.⁸⁶

In the section in which he eulogizes the actresses of his time, Garzoni wrote in his encyclopaedic account of contemporary professions, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (The Universal Piazza of All the Professions of the World), first published in 1585. Isabella graced the stage, and her virtue and beauty decorated 'questa professione' (this profession). In the dedication of *La Mirtilla*, addressed to Lavinia della Rovere (1558–1632), Isabella herself reservedly states that she began to study poetry 'quasi da scherzo' (almost as a joke) and for the delight she found in it.

I began almost as a joke, most illustrious and excellent Signora, to apply myself to the study of poetry, and I found in it such delight that I have never since been able to give up such entertainments.⁸⁷

From the perspective of her literary contemporaries, this bud of her delight in literary work burst almost a decade later as her lyric poetry, which crowned her with honour. Nonetheless, it

solo di pinta: ma coronata d'Alloro in simulacro colorato fra 'l Tasso, e 'l Petrarca, alhorche doppo una mensa fattale dall' Illustrissimo, & Reverendissimo Cardinal Cintio Aldobrandini dov'erano per commensali sei Cardinali saputissimi, il Tasso, il Cavalier, de'Pazzi l'Ongaro, & altri Poeti preclari sonettando, e scrivendo improvvisi la stessa doppo il Tasso ne portò il primo vanto." Giovanni Battista Andreini, *La ferza ragionamento secondo contra l'accuse date alla commedia ... Gio. Battista Andreini fiorentino, trà comici del serenissimo s. duca di Mantoua, detro [sic] Lelio* (Parigi: Nicolao Callemont, 1625), 68.

⁸⁶ "La gratiosa Isabella decoro delle scene, ornamento dei Theatri, spettacolo superbo non meno di virtù, che di bellezza, ha illustrato ancor lei questa professione in modo, che mentre il mondo durarà, mentre staranno i secoli, mentre hauran vita gli ordini, e i tempi, ogni voce, ogni lingua, ogni grido risuonerà il celebre nome d'Isabella." Tomaso Garzoni, *Le piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, e nobili et ignobili. Nuovamente formata, e posta in luce da Tomaso Garzoni da Bagnacavallo. Al sereniss.mo et invittiss.mo Alfonso secondo da Este duca di Ferrara* (Venice: Gio. Battista Somascho, 1585), 738.

⁸⁷ "Io cominciai quasi da scherzo Illustrissima, & Eccellentissima Signora, ad attendere à gli studi della Poesia, e di tanto diletto gli trovai, ch'io non hò mai più potuto da si fatti trattenimenti rimanermi." Andreini, *Mirtilla*, A2r. For translation, I refer to Isabella Andreini. *La Mirtilla: A Pastoral*, trans. and intro. Julie D. Campbell (Tempe, Ariz: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 1-2.

should be noted that Isabella participated in the nuptial ceremony in 1589 not as a poetess but as an actress of the Gelosi.

Figure 2.6. Portrait of Isabella Andreini. *Mirtilla*. Verona, 1588

It is also worth noting that the Gelosi earned an exceptional reputation among the commedia dell'arte troupes. The reason was their origin. The earliest surviving record of the Gelosi is a letter from Baldassare de Preti in Mantua, 1568, to the castellan of Mantua:⁸⁸

His Excellency has had made a comedy from two companies: one of Pantalone, the other of Ganaza. His Excellency desired that they unite into one [company], and picked out the best players: these were Signora Vincenza and Signora Flaminia, who have recited very well, but were so well costumed that nothing could be better. Thus therefore at the Duke's wish the two rivals united, if not reconciled, and promoted artistic emulation between themselves, and also shared resources.⁸⁹

Both Vincenza Armani (1530–1569) and Barbara Flaminia were famous actresses of the commedia dell'arte, the former belonging to the company of Zan Ganassa, led by Alberto Naseli (1540–1584), and the latter to that of 'Pantalone', perhaps of Giulio Pasquati. Both companies

⁸⁸ According to Winifred Smith, the Gelosi was first heard of in Milan in 1569, when they acted with "that sweet siren" Vittoria Piisimi as their prima donna. See Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte: A Study in Italian Popular Comedy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912), 147.

⁸⁹ 'S. Ecc. ha fatto fare comedia da due compagnie: T una de Pantalone, l'altra del Ganaza. Ha voluto S. K. che si unisca in una, et ha tolto li migliori: li era la Sig. Vincenza et la Sig. Flaminia, quali hanno recitato benissimo, ma tanto ben vestite che non poterla esser più. Ecco dunque per voler del Duca riunite, se non rappacificate, le due rivali, e promossa fra esse la emulazione artistica, e anche quella suntuaria!' Alessandro D'Ancona, "Il teatro mantovano nel secolo XVI," in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Loescher, 1885), 5: 18; Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano: libri tre con due appendici sulla rappresentazione drammatica del contado toscano e sul teatro mantovano nel sec. XVI* (Turin, E. Loescher, 1891), 449.

visited Mantua to compete for the audience.⁹⁰ According to the record, the Gelosi was founded at the request of ‘His Excellency’, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga of Mantua (1538–1587), who wanted the two companies to pool their talent and resources. Along with the Compagnia degli Uniti and the Compagnia dei Confidenti, the Compagnia dei Gelosi, meaning literally ‘Company of the Zealous’, became one of the earliest troupes to attain recognition. The Gelosi named themselves in this manner following the literary academies and further elaborated the title in their *impresa*. Their *impresa* is the Latin god with two faces, Janus, with the motto, ‘Virtù, fama, ed onor ne fēer gelosi’, which has been translated as ‘The gelosi are forged with virtue, fame and honor’, ‘Virtue, fame and honor were jealous of the Gelosi’,⁹¹ or ‘Virtue, honour and renown are only for the jealous’.⁹²

The troupe, already known by the name of Gelosi, achieved a close relationship with France from an early stage. In 1571, they visited France, probably at the invitation of Duke Luigi Gonzaga of Nevers (1539–1595). On March 4, 1571, an English ambassador, Lord Buckhurst (1536–1608), visiting Paris for the wedding of Charles IX (1550–1574), referred to a performance in his letter to Queen Elizabeth (1533–1603) in London: ‘a Comedie of Italians that for the good mirth and handling thereof deserved singular comendacion’.⁹³ The Italians in question were possibly the Gelosi because in early May of the same year, what may have been the same troupe, referred to as ‘les Galozi’, performed for the baptism of Charles Henri de Clermont (1571–1640) in Nogent-le-roi, the audience for which may have included the 4-year-old Christine de Lorraine.⁹⁴ Up to the middle of the 1580s, the Gelosi’s reputation as the outstanding commedia dell’arte troupe was established, evidenced by their frequent invitations, particularly to Mantua, Genoa, Ferrara, Florence, and Venice. Over several decades, the Gelosi made its path touring through Italy and visiting the French courts, as official letters record, often regarding a license for performance or a permission to take leave.⁹⁵

The members of the Gelosi also built a firm connection with other royal families, which

⁹⁰ Robert Henke, “Border-Crossing in the Commedia dell’Arte.” in *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, eds. Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 24; Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 86.

⁹¹ Paul C. Castagno, *The Early Commedia dell’arte (1550-1621): The Mannerist Context*. American University Studies Series 26: Theatre Arts vol.13 (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 69. Cited from Vickery-Bareford, “Isabella Andreini,” 30-1.

⁹² John Rudlin and Olly Crick, *Commedia dell’Arte: A Handbook for Troupes* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), 14.

⁹³ Armand Baschet, *Les Comédiens italiens à la cour de France sous Charles IX, Henri III, Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: E. Plon, 1882), 15, 16n; “Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth, Volume 9, 1569-1571,” *Her Majesty’s Stationery Office*, 1874, accessed September 9, 2016, <http://>

dinner, where they found a sumptuous feast, adorned with music of a most excellent and strange concert, and with a comedy of Italians.”

⁹⁴ Baschet, *Les Comédiens italiens*, 18. Also see Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France: 1540-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 75; Baschet, *Les Comédiens italiens*, 8; Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell’Arte*, 61.

⁹⁵ As for the activity of the Gelosi, see Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell’Arte*, 61-4; MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 187-263.

gave them occasional invitations to courtly celebrations. For instance, in 1570, Zan Ganassa performed at Lucrezia d'Este's (1535–1598) wedding to Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere of Urbino (1549–1631).⁹⁶ The Gelosi visited Ferrara in 1579 to celebrate Alfonso II d'Este's marriage to Margherita Gonzaga (1564–1618), which was attended by Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian of Austria.⁹⁷ Namely, the Gelosi was one of several distinguished troupes that achieved a high reputation for their plays and performances far beyond the peninsula in the commedia dell'arte troupes whose activities grew and gained a wide audience in Italy from the late 1530s through to the 1630s.⁹⁸ Their intimacy with the French court possibly prompted Ferdinando to invite the Gelosi for his festive occasion in 1589, and I assume that their invitation was recognized as a sign of courtly prestige.

It is not directly related to mad scenes, but speaking of the theme of marriage, it would be worth referring to the *mariazo*, sometimes written *maridazo* or *mariazzo*, a dialect word meaning 'marriage'. Angelo Beolco (1502-42), a Paduan actor, singer, and playwright better known by his stage name 'Ruzzante' or 'Ruzante' took special interest in *mariazo*, as seen in his *La Betia* (1524/1525), which was performed twice: in 1523 for the wedding ceremony of Doge Antonio Grimani's grandson in the Ducal Palace to high-ranking patricians and in 1525 for a rehearsal for the festivity sponsored by the Triumphanti.⁹⁹ It opens with a lengthy debate among several male characters, young and old, discussing love, wondering if the god of love helps the villan Zilio, who is in love with Betia.¹⁰⁰ It can also be found in several texts of the commedia dell'arte related to the zanni characters: *Maridazo della Bella Brunettina*, *Cose Ridicolose e Maridazzo di Zan Falopa da Bufeto*, and *Maridazzo de Zan Panza de Pegora Alias Simon*.¹⁰¹ The protagonist in the latter *mariazo*, *Zan Panza de Pegora Alias Simon*, is Simone da Bologna, the primo zanni of the Gelosi troupe since the 1570s. Despite Simone's death, Francesco Andreini lists Simone as one of the regular members of the Gelosi troupe in his memoir *Le bravure*.¹⁰² There are relatively few records regarding this famous, witty actor.¹⁰³ According to a 1574 notice, Simone performed with his fellows in Venice before Henry III

⁹⁶ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 83.

⁹⁷ MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 202.

⁹⁸ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 55-8.

⁹⁹ Linda Carroll, "'(El) ge sa bon laorare': Female Wealth, Male Competition, Musical Festivities, and the Venetian Patriciate in Ruzante's Pavan," in *Sexualities, Textualities, Art and Music in Early Modern Italy: Playing with Boundaries*, eds. Melanie L. Marshall, Linda L. Carroll and Katherine A Melver (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 168.

¹⁰⁰ Angelo Beolco, *La Betia*, edited by Ludovico Zorzi (Turin: Einaudi, 1967). Jackson I. Cope, *Secret Sharers in Italian Comedy: From Machiavelli to Goldoni* (Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 1996), 40-1. Cope argues that one of the characters Barba Scati offers in his statements a parodic version of Bembo's commentary in *Gli asolani*.

¹⁰¹ All texts were edited by Vito Pandolfi, *La commedia dell'arte: storia e testo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957).

¹⁰² Francesco Andreini, *Le bravure del capitano Spavento. Divise in molti ragionamenti in forma di dialogo Et in questa quarta impresse dal proprio autore ricorrette, & aggiuntovi nel fine dieci nuovi ragionamenti dilettevoli, e curiosi* (Venice: G.A. Somasco, 1607), 28.

¹⁰³ Ferruccio Marotti and Giovanna Romei, *La commedia dell'arte e la società barocca* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1969), 2: 43.

(1551–1589), King of France, and was praised for being ‘very rare in representing a character of the Bergamask porter, [and even] more rare in the wits and the wise inventions’.¹⁰⁴ An anonymous poem *Lachrimoso Lamento*, published in 1585 in Venice, to lament Simone, who had recently deceased, praises Simone’s artistry not only in improvisation but also in writing. ‘He was the one who devised the plots of comedy, tragedy, and pastoral, and all the other zanni learned from him’.¹⁰⁵ *Maridazzo de Zan Panza de Pegora Alias Simon* is a lengthy poem composed of 54 stanze.¹⁰⁶ The theme of marriage was often selected as the central topic in Italian comedies of the period, for example, by the anonymous author of the *Veniexiana*, Florentine diplomat Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), and many others.¹⁰⁷ Including various scenes on a marital theme, the *mariazo* was frequently staged at marriage feasts or in the open air during Carnival.¹⁰⁸

Kathleen McGill suggests an important influence of oral culture in which women entertainers had participated in the development of improvisation of the sixteenth century commedia dell’arte. McGill points out that women’s knowledge contained poetic lyric but also less literary forms of lyric, which ‘consisted of *contrasti*, *frottole*, and *ballate*, which, although recited (and “interpreted”) by one singer, nevertheless were dramatic representations’. Some of them were related to marriage: ‘the joke “testament,” or humorous *ballata* supposedly delivered by a mother to her daughter before marriage’, and ‘*buffoneschi* like the *mariazo* of the fifteenth century “Il Mariazo a la fachinesca da ridere”’.¹⁰⁹ I therefore emphasize the importance of women’s own culture from which female performers could gain knowledge, different from the literary sphere which inclined to male dominance.

To discuss the creativity in Isabella’s mad performance, the next sections focus on Isabella’s signature role, the innamorata, and her eloquence and musicianship, and then traverse mad scenes in the commedia dell’arte scenarios.

¹⁰⁴ “rarissimo in rappresentar la persona d’un facchino bergamasco, ma più raro nell’arguzie e nell’invenzione spiritose.” Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 106.

¹⁰⁵ “Lu è stat quel che ha argumentà/Le Comedie, Tragedie, e Pastoral./Tal che tug i fachì da lu ha imparà.” *Lachrimoso lamento, che fè Zan Salcizza, e Zan Capella, invitando tutti filosofi, poeti, e tutti i facchi delle vallade, a pianzer la morte di Zan Panza di Pegora, alias Simon. Comico Geloso, hora hora posto in luce* (Venice: Frezzaria al Segno della Regina, 1585). The modern edition is in Ferruccio Marotti and Giovanna Romei, *La professione del teatro* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1991), 43-51. Translation is cited from Michele Marrapodi, *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare & his Contemporaries: Rewriting, Remarking, Refashioning* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 76.

¹⁰⁶ Pandolfi, *La commedia dell’arte*, 226-31.

¹⁰⁷ Laura Giannetti, *Lelia’s Kiss: Imagining Gender, Sex, and Marriage in Italian Renaissance Comedy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 231.

¹⁰⁸ Peter Jordan, *The Venetian Origins of the Commedia dell’Arte* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), 91.

¹⁰⁹ Kathleen McGill, “Women and Performance: The Development of Improvisation by the Sixteenth-Century Commedia dell’Arte,” *Theatre Journal* 43, no. 1 (1991): 63.

2.7 *Commedia dell'arte Actresses*

A landmark achievement of the *commedia dell'arte* troupes was the introduction of female actors to the professional stage. They first began to appear in the documents of the *commedia dell'arte* in the 1560s.¹¹⁰ By then, professional actresses were recognized as stars, and some of them directed their companies. The first actresses were *cortegiane*, high-class prostitutes, and suffered the censure often directed at their primary profession. Moreover, women's appearance on the public stage was condemned by moralists and banned in the States of the Church.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, actresses endeavoured to overcome this public preconception through their works, not confined to theatrical activity but including literary works, and some achieved social respectability, as did Isabella Andreini.¹¹²

The first documented actress of the *commedia dell'arte* was Vincenza Armani. In 1567, in Mantua, the ducal secretary Luigi Rogna reported that Vincenza and another actress known as Flaminia held a contest to vie with each other in the tragic arena and in *intermedi*. In a letter on 1 July, Rogna wrote:

Today two plays were performed, in competition with each other. One was done in the usual place by Signora Flaminia and Pantalone's company, who were accompanied by Signora Angela, the one who leaps so well. The other was performed ... by Signora Vincenza's company. Each company drew a large audience, but Flaminia's troupe more of the nobility. They did the tragedy of Dido adapted as a tragicomedy, and it came off rather well. The others, as I have heard, were rather clumsy.¹¹³

Rogna also described their contest in *intermedi* delivered in his letters on 5 and 6 July: Vincenza sang the role of Cupid in the tale of Clori, and Flaminia played a nymph in an *intermedio*, where satyrs and sorcerers danced *morescas*.¹¹⁴

Then yesterday, the two troupes performed competing *intermedi* at the same time. In

¹¹⁰ Jan Sewell and Clare Smout, *The Palgrave Handbook of the History of Women on Stage* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 110.

¹¹¹ Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xxix.

¹¹² Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, xxxi.

¹¹³ "Hoggi si sono fatte due comedie a concorrenza: una nel luogo solito, per la sig.ra Flaminia et Pantalone, che si sono accompagnati colla sig.ra Angela, quella che salta così bene; l'altra dal Purgo, in casa del Lanzino, per quella sig.ra Vincenza, che ama il sig. Federigo da Gazuolo. L'una et l'altra Compagnia ha avuto udienda grande et concorso di persone: ma la Flaminia più nobiltà, et ha fatto la tragedia di Didone mutata in Tragicommedia, che è riuscita assai bene. Gli altri, per quel che si dice, sono riesciti assai goffi." D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2: 449. Translation is cited from Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 86-7. Flaminia with her company performed a tragicomic version of the story of *Dido* from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (canto 37).

¹¹⁴ MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 34-5.

Vincenza's *intermedio* Cupid appeared, who liberated Clori, a nymph who had been turned into a tree. One could see Jove, who with a thunderbolt from above ruined the tower of a giant, who had imprisoned several shepherds ... Then Flaminia nicely decorated the hall with gilded leather and furnished herself with a beautiful nymph costume. She brought to Mantua those forests, mountains, meadows, streams, and fountains of Arcadia, ... Some praise the grace of one, and some extol the genius of the other, and that's how one passes the time in Mantua.¹¹⁵

Star actresses usually played the innamorata, and vying with one another in a contest of competing performances was one of the popular exhibits of the *commedia dell'arte*.

Her eloquence in refined and passionate speech on moral and philosophical love, showing a wide knowledge of Tuscan literature, particularly Petrarch, especially significant for the innamorata in dramatic representations.¹¹⁶ During the sixteenth century, when Dante's poetry had become outdated, Petrarch was socially and religiously applauded as the best model for vernacular poets because his decent courtly dictions influenced contemporaries.¹¹⁷ His love lyrics were widely read by upper-class young men and learned women throughout Italy. John Hale remarks that the influence of the classical literature did not totally sweep away the inclination towards Petrarch, which took root in writers of love lyrics attracted by 'his technical virtuosity and the beauty of the sound pattern'.¹¹⁸

Reading literary works deeply enough to memorise them was for the roles of the lovers, Cecchini emphasises this point in his *Frutti delle moderne comedie* and advises actors to control their speech to distinguish themselves from 'lower' figures.

Those who delight in acting the difficult role of the lover enrich their minds beforehand with a pleasant quantity of noble speeches pertinent to the variety of subjects the stage requires. But I must caution that the words which follow on from what has been

¹¹⁵ "Heri poi, a concorrenza e per intermedii, in quella della Vincenza si fece comparire Cupido, che con una folgore d'alto ruinò la torre d'un gigante, il quale havea imprigionati alcuni pastori; ... La Flaminia poi, oltre l'havere apparato benissimo quel luogo de corami dorati, et haver trovati abiti bellissimi da nimpha, et fatto venire a Mantova quelle selve, monti, prati, flumi et fonti d'Arcadia, per intermedi della Favola introdusse Satiri, et poi certi maghi, et fece alcune moresche, a tal che hora altro non si fa nè d'altro si parla, che di costoro. Chi lauda la gratia d'una, chi estolle l'ingegno dell'altra: et cosi si passa il tempo a Mantova." D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2: 451. Translation is cited from Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 91-2.

¹¹⁶ Natalie Crohn Schmitt, *Befriending the Commedia dell'arte of Flaminio Scala: The Comic Scenarios* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 40.

¹¹⁷ David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 40; Jennifer Helm, *Poetry and Censorship in Counter-Reformation Italy*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* 189 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 53.

¹¹⁸ John R. Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 325.

memorized should be so uniform with what has preceded them that the borrowing will seem more like a patrimony than robbery. Therefore to ensure this I think it in no way contemptible to advise the frequent reading of thoroughly elegant books for the most beautiful phrases leave a deep impression on those who read, deceiving whoever hears them into thinking them the mental progeny of the speaker. At the same time the actor who reads must ensure that his memory is controlled by his intellect (which distributes the treasure of memorized material across the vast field of opportunities constantly provided by the play) in such a way that he may hope to win approval and not meet with opprobrium, as some do who address a stupid servant or a base woman with those forms and concepts which should only be used with wise men and men of high standing.¹¹⁹

Andrea Perrucci (1651–1704), a Palermitan dramatist and librettist, gives instructions for the role of lovers in his prominent treatise *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata, ed all'improvviso* (*A Treatise on Acting, from Memory and by Improvisation*) published in 1699:

They must remember all the rules of movement, in voice and in action; they should master the very best Tuscan words in the Italian language, if not in their entirety, then at least those expressions most widely used, and the most convenient way to achieve this is by reading good Tuscan books like the *Onomastici*, *Crusca*, Pergamino's *Memoriale della lingua*, *Fabrica del mondo*, *Ricchezze della lingua*, and other Tuscan lexicons, together with the aforementioned *Prosodia italiana* by Father Spadafuora, in order to get the right accent and emphasis. Thus gradually the language will become familiar, fluent and flexible enough to express the ideas of the mind.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ “Sogliono questi, che si compiaciono di recitare la difficil parte dell'innamorato, arricchirsi prima la mente di una leggiadra quantità di nobili discorsi avinenti alla varietà delle materie, che la Scena suol apportar seco. Ma è da avvertire, che le parole sussequentii all'imate, vogliono haver acciò uniformità con le prime, che il furto paia patrimonio, & non rapina; onde per far ciò non mi par avviso sprezzabile una frequente lettura di libri continuatamente eleganti; poi che rimane à chi legge una tale impressura di ambilissima frase la quale ingannando chi ascolta, vien creduta figlia dell'ingegno di chi favella. Debbe insieme chi legge operar, che l'intelletto comandi alla memoria che dispensa il Tesoro de premeditati concetti nello spacioso campo delle continue occasioni, che la Comedia porge, in quel modo, ch'egli possa pretender di mieter applauso, & non di raccogliere odio, come fanno certi, che tratano con un servo sciocco, od'una femina vile, con quelle forme, & dottrine, che solo vanno adoperate con huomini saggi, & di eminenti conditione.” Cecchini, *Frutti delle moderne comedie*, 18-9. Translation is cited from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 126.

¹²⁰ “Si ricordino di tutte le regole del gestire, nelle voci, nelle azioni, e di ciò che si è detto nella Prima Parte: studiino di sapere la lingua perfetta Italiana, con i vocaboli Toscani; se non perfettamente, almeno i ricevuti, ed à questo conferirà la lettura, così de'buoni libri Toscani, come gli *Onomastici*, *Crusca*, *Memoriale della lingua* del Pergamino, *Fabrica del Moado*, *Ricchezze della lingua*, ed altri Lessici Toscani, con la detta *Prosodia Italiana* del P. Spadafuora per le brevi, e per le lunghe, e così piano piano si sarà la lingua pronta, facile, e docile...” Andrea Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata, ed all'improvviso Parti due, novevole non solo à chi si diletta di rappresentare* (Naples: Michele Luigi Mutio, 1699), Parte Seconda, Regola I, 194-5. Translation is cited from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 131.

As Perrucci's last phrase implies, the actor's practice of familiarizing the rules and the language was not to fix themselves in patterns but to enable themselves to get familiar with the role and use patterns fluently and flexibly in improvised performances.

Rogna's reports tell us that singing was talent of the commedia dell'arte actresses since their first appearance. In fact, the presence of singing actresses on stage preexisted in theatrical activities. Often cited in the musicological literature are those produced by Ruzante. On 24 January 1529, at a banquet at Ferrara organized by Ercole II d'Este (1508–1559) for his father Duke Alfonso I (1476–1534), two women sang 'canzoni e madrigali alla pavana' (canzoni and madrigals in the Paduan manner), in the peasant style the trademark of Ruzante's plays.

Ruzante and five companions and two women sang very beautiful canzoni and madrigals in the Paduan manner, going around the table vying in the recital of peasant jokes in the Paduan dialect, most amusing, dressed as Paduan contadini¹²¹

One of the talents that deserves special mention is actresses' cultivated musicianship. In a 1570 pamphlet in honor of Vincenza, her fellow actor and lover Adriano Valerini (c. 1545–1590) wrote a eulogy in which he placed music high among Vincenza's artistry, alongside rhetorical eloquence and improvisation.¹²²

In music, then, she was so good that she not only sang her part securely with the best singers of Europe, but miraculously composed in this profession, putting in song those same sonnets and madrigals, the words of which she also made, in such a manner that she came to be both musician and poet. She played a variety of musical instruments with such sweetness that it seemed she touched the well-tuned wood with angelic hand, and it appeared almost that she spoke with her fingers. With sweet sound, then, she accompanied the song with such grace, that every feeling, even if it were troubled and sad, remained happy and contented, and the souls, which no longer hear the semblance of that true harmony made by the stars in their motions, were taken by ineffable

¹²¹ "Cantarono Ruzzante e cinque compagni e due femmine canzoni e madrigali alla pavana bellissimi, e andavano intorno la tavola contendendo insieme di cose contadinesche, in quella lingua, molto piacevoli." Cristoforo da Messisbugo, *Banchetti composizioni di vivande e apparecchio generale*, ed. Fernando Bandini (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1960; originally published in 1549 by Giovanni de Buglhat and Antonio Hucher Compagni), 50. Translation is cited from Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, eds. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), 1: 344.

¹²² Emily Wilbourne, *Seventeenth-Century Opera and the Sound of the Commedia dell'arte* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 44.

sweetness, remembering their celestial home.¹²³

In the same pamphlet, the Mantuan playwright Leone de' Sommi (1525–1590) contributed his verses to praise the actress's versatile talents including singing and playing musical instruments.¹²⁴

Vittoria Piisimi is another celebrated musician. Vittoria was prima donna of the Gelosi from 1570 to 1578, but belonged to the Confidenti troupe when she performed at the Medici wedding in 1589.¹²⁵ She was also a worthy rival of Isabella. In Isabella's *La Mirtilla*, she took the role of a nymph Mirtilla, while Isabella played another nymph Filli, and they competed in a song contest over the heart of a shepherd Uranio.¹²⁶ On 24 July, 1574, in Venice, where Henri III, King of France was at present, Vittoria and her company joined in Cornelio Frangipani's (1553–1643) *Tragedia*, with music by Claudio Merulo (1533–1604).¹²⁷ Vittoria would have acted the leading female role of Pallas Athena.¹²⁸ The most famous performance by a commedia dell'arte actress among modern musicologists is the lament of Arianna sung by Virginia Ramponi Andreini (1583–c.1630), daughter-in-law of Isabella Andreini. As a substitute for Caterina Martinelli (d. 1608), who was due to sing but died suddenly, Virginia took the lead role in Ottavio Rinuccini's *Arianna* (1562–1621) and Claudio Monteverdi which was staged in 1608 for the wedding of Francesco IV Gonzaga (1586–1612) and Margherita of Savoy (1589–1655). Her preparation for the role in just six days indicates the routine vocal training of the commedia dell'arte actresses.¹²⁹ Singing was also incorporated with other talents such as dancing or acrobatics in their improvised performances. On May 7, 1616, an actress named 'La Vettoria', a leading member of the *cantimbanca* troupe, marvellously demonstrated her manifold skills to attract the audience.

¹²³ "Nella Musica poi fece profitto tale che non pure cantava sicuramente la parte sua con i primi cantori d'Europa, ma componeva in questa professione miracolosamente, ponendo in canto quell'istessi Sonetti e Madrigali, le parole de cui ella anco faceva, di modo che veniva ad essere e Musico e Poeta; sonava de varie sorti de stromenti musicali, con tanta soavità che d'angeliva mano pareva che fosser rocchi gli accordati legni, e pareva quasi che con le dita ella parlasse; al dolce suono accompagnava poi con tanta vaghezza il canto, che ogni senso, quatanque egro fosse e dolete, rimaneva lieto e contento, e l'Alme, che di quella vera armonia che fanno movendosi le stelle sentivano non più udità sembianza, d'ineffabil dolcezza si struggeano, rimembrandosi del suo celeste albergo." Adriano Valerini, *Oratione D'Adriano Valerini Veronese, in morte della divina Signora Vincenza Armani, cimica eccellentissima* (Verona: Bastian dalle Donne, & Giovanni Fratelli, 1570), in Marotti and Romei, *La professione del teatro*, 33.

¹²⁴ Eric Nicholson, "Ophelia Sings like a Prima Donna Innamorata: Ophelia's Mad Scene and the Italian Female Performer," in *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater*, eds. Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 86.

¹²⁵ Frances K. Barasch, "Italian Actresses in Shakespeare's World: Vittoria and Isabella," *Shakespeare Bulletin* 19 (2001): 5.

¹²⁶ MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 38-46; Wilbourne, *Seventeenth-Century Opera*, 45.

¹²⁷ Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 87.

¹²⁸ MacNeil, *Music and Women*, 15.

¹²⁹ Siro Ferrone, *Attori, mercanti, corsari: La commedia dell'arte in Europa tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1993), 268.

In the piazza every evening eight men and women perform comedies which last until half an hour after sunset ... The shapely Vettoria, dressed like a trim and neat boy, packs in large crowds with her dangerous leaps, her divine dancing, her sweet singing, and her beautiful gaze, that by its sweetness softens and lulls her audience, who sigh and cry out, ‘O, my heart, what is this marvel?’ Of course there are certain dirty old men who keep gazing at her with their mouths open, because they want to play games with her and have a taste themselves.¹³⁰

Isabella Andreini’s singing was also celebrated, particularly in verses by the Albanese poet Gherardo Borgogni published in 1586 and 1587.¹³¹ According to a Venetian manuscript of the late 1620s, Isabella sang Petrarch’s sonnet *Quando veggio dal ciel scender l’aurora* ‘with that angelic voice’.¹³² Thus, along with eloquence and literary erudition, music was one of the essential talents for the commedia dell’arte actresses, particularly in the role of the innamorata, which added glamour to their appearance on stage. Many of the actresses were skilled musicians, and their energetic activities contributed to the rise of professional female musicians, as Anthony Newcomb argues.¹³³

Pavoni’s description of *La pazzia d’Isabella* presents Isabella’s skills as the innamorata, including eloquent speech and musicianship. To deepen our understanding of Isabella’s creativity in her mad performance, the next section investigates mad scenes in the scenarios of the commedia dell’arte.

2.8 *Mad Scenes of the Commedia dell’Arte*

Although commedia dell’arte troupes rarely leave their plays in written form, we can trace their activities through scenarios, printed plays, and iconography left by commedia dell’arte actors or contemporaries who were interested in them. Often cited and important are the scenarios compiled in *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* (1611), written by Flaminio Scala (1552–1624), recognised as a leading theatre practitioner by contemporaries. He worked with the Desiosi, Uniti, and Accesi, which were all notable companies. On stage, he performed the *innamorato*, with the name Flavio, and when he became old, a Frenchman with the name

¹³⁰ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo Principato, 5140, cc.466v, cited from Robert Henke, “The Italian Mountebank and the Commedia dell’Arte,” *Theatre Survey* 38, no.2 (1997): 27.

¹³¹ Kathryn Bosi, “Accolades for An Actress: On Some Literary and Musical Tributes for Isabella Andreini,” *Recercare* 15 (2003): 84-6.

¹³² “e per ultimo condimento di una sì nobil veglia dal ciel scender l’aurora.” Venice, Museo Correr, Codice Cicogna 270, f.79: See Bosi, “Accolades for An Actress,” 84.

¹³³ Newcomb, “Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians?” 102-4.

Claudio or Claudione. There is no firm evidence to indicate Scala was professionally associated with the Gelosi troupe, but his friendship with the Andreini was confirmed in Francesco's *Le bravure del Capitano Spavento*, Giovan Battista's *Le due commedie in commedia* printed in 1622, and Scala's *Il teatro*.¹³⁴

Figure 2.7. Frontispiece of Flaminio Scala's *Il teatro delle Favole rappresentative*. Venice, 1640.

Scala's scenarios contain several examples that provide instructions on how to act mad scenes. For instance, in 'La finta pazza' (The Pretended Madwoman) on Day 8, the protagonist, Isabella is instructed to pretend to be an astrologer or to rehearse strange behaviors in front of her father or servants to, to avert her impending marriage to a man she does not love.¹³⁵ In 'Li duo finti Zingani' (The Two Disguised Gypsies) on Day 32, Oratio is driven to madness as he knows his sister Isabella is traveling to find her missing lover. Oratio, 'vestito da pazzo, si pone in mezo à lor duo, dicendo, e facendo di molte pazzie, poi bastona Ped. & Arlec' (dressed as a madman, places himself between the two, saying and doing many mad things; then he beats Pedrolino and Arlecchino).¹³⁶

On the other hand, there are the instances where detailed descriptions of mad speeches are given. On Day 38 of *the Il teatro*, there is a scenario called 'La pazzia d'Isabella'. Although it shares the same name with Isabella's comedy performed at the Medici wedding, the plot is quite different and more complex. At the end of Act II, the heroine Isabella is driven to absolute

¹³⁴ Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, ix-x.

¹³⁵ Flaminio Scala, *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative, ovvero, La ricreatione comica, boscareccia e tragica: divisa in cinquanta giornate* (Venice: Gio. Battista Pulciani, 1611), 26v.

¹³⁶ "[Oratio] vestito da pazzo, si pone in mezo à lor duo, dicendo, e facendo di molte pazzie, poi bastona Ped. & Arlec." Scala, *Il teatro*, 95r.

madness by the false news of her husband's death, 'si straccia tutte le vestiment ad' attorno, e come fossennata se ne corre per strada' (tears all her clothes and runs crazily off down the street).¹³⁷ In Act III, she demonstrates her lengthy mad speech after remarking that she wants to relate 'something extremely important':

I recall,—but the year I forget—that a harpsichord placed in concord a Spanish pavan with a galliard by Santin da Parma, as a result of which the lasagne, macaroni, and polenta put on mourning weeds since they could not bear the fact that the wild-cat should be a friend of the beautiful girls of Algeria. But as it pleased the Caliph of Egypt, it was decided that tomorrow morning you will be put in the pillory', [she says,] proceeding to utter other things typical of a madwoman As a madwoman, Isabella says to the Captain that she knows him; she salutes him and says that she saw him among the 48 heavenly images, dancing the canary with the moon dressed in green, and other entirely absurd things, and then with her cudgel she beats the Captain ... Isabella enters unhurriedly and places herself between Pantalone and Graziano, saying that they should be quiet and not make a noise because Jove wants to sneeze and Saturn wants to let off a fart. Then continuing with other absurdities, she asks them whether they had seen Horatius alone against the whole of Tuscany.¹³⁸

In the same Act, Isabella continues her madness even after seeing her husband alive.

The soul, according to Aristotle, is a spirit diffused throughout the barrels of muscatel wine from Monte Fiascone, and that's why the rainbow was seen giving a purgative to the Island of England because it couldn't manage to pee.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Scala, *Il teatro*, 116v. The translation is cited from Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 231.

¹³⁸ "Io mi ricordo l'anno non me le ricordo, che un'Arpicordo pose d'accordo una Pavaniglia Spagnola con una gagliarda di Santin da Parma, per la qual cosa poi, le lasagne, i maccheroni, e la polenta si vestirono à bruno, non potendo comportare, che la gatta sura fusse amica delle belle fanciulle d'Algieri: pure come pia que al calissa d'Egitto fù concluso, che domattina sarete tutti duo messi in berlina." seguitando poi di dire cose simili da pazza ... Isabella da pazza dice al Capit. di conoscerlo, lo saluta e dice d'haverlo veduto fra le 48 imagini clesti che ballava il canario con la luna vestita di verde, et altre cose tutte allo sproposito, poi col suo bastone bastona il Capt. ... Isabella arriva pian piano e si pone in mezo a Pantal. et a Gratiano dicendo che stieno cheti e che non facciano romore perché Giove vuol stranutare e Saturno vuol tirare una coreggia. Poi seguitando altri spropositi domanda loro se havrebbero veduto Oratio solo contro Toscana tutta" Scala, *Il teatro*, 117r. The translation is cited from Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 165-6.

¹³⁹ "Anima second Aristotele è spirito, che si diffonde per le botte del moscatella di Monte Fiascone, e che per ciò fu veduto l'arco baleno far un serviziale all'Isola d'Inghilterra, che non poteva pisciare." Scala, *Il teatro*, 117v. Translation is cited from Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 233. 'Isola' is 'island' in Italian, and also an Italian version of 'Elizabeth. See Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 102. For discussion on this mad scene, also see Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, 265.

On Day 41 of *Il teatro*, there is a tragedy ‘La forsennata principessa’ (The Demented Princess), in which a mad woman also delivers a lengthy speech. In Act II, Alvira, princess of Portugal, goes mad because of her husband’s betrayal and soliloquises:

I am not surprised that river water is sweet and seawater is salty, because salad always goes with philosopher’s oil, and with the Strait of Gibrelder, or Zibraltar, because both names are used. And yet, in accordance with its established destiny, the Great Bear—poor thing—put on her feet the boots of Artophylax and went to collect oysters and mussels in the Bay of Laiazzo, over toward Syria. Whether it’s true or not, yo-heave-ho, away, we go, and may God rot you, fast and slow; I wish you the worst, until you burst, and may you go straight to hell as well, and all day riding on an ass.¹⁴⁰

In Act III, she also shouts plenty of nonsensical things on a very high rock just before she jumps into the sea to die. Her speech is given as follows:

Oh what a huge mirror now appears before my eyes! In that mirror I can see the burning sun roasting on a spit over a fire of ice, that traitor of a Prince of Morocco, because because he stole a hen from a rooster in the Moor’s hostelry. Ah, aach, so you’ve got hold of him! Take some old lard and baste him properly, put some salt on him, feed him to a squadron of mouthless monsters: come on, you noble knights, this is where you leap over the perilous gap, this is the road to Montefiascone, this is the right way to Mestre and Marghera, this is the famous chariot of Fusina, and this is the real cauldron of maccheroni which had inside it the breeches of that wisest of philosophers, Gonnella. Farewell, farewell, my troops, farewell!¹⁴¹

One of the common points between these two mad women is their eloquent meandering speech. In ‘Esempio di sproposito in prosa’ (Examples of Absurdity in Prose)

¹⁴⁰ “Io non mi maraviglio, che l’acqua dal fiume sia dolce, e quella del mare salata, perche l’insalata v`a sempre col suo olio filosoforum, e con lo stretto di Gibiltarra, e vuoi di Zibilterra, che l’uno, e l’altro nome li vi`e detto, pure come piacque al suo fatal destino, quella poveretta dell’Orsamaggiore si calzò gli stivali d’Artofilace, & andò à pigliar ostreghe, e cappe loghe nel golfo di Laiazzo in ver Soria: che la cosa sia, e non sia, sia voga, voga sia, e sia, e sia col malanno che Dio vi dia, e nella vestra tasca vi sia la mala pasca, e con esate tempore vi sia anche il mal sempre, e tutto ‘l di sù l’Asen.” Scala, *Il teatro*, 129r. Translation is cited from Andrews, *The Commedia dell’Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 269.

¹⁴¹ “Oh che gran specchio mi si rappresenta mnanzi à gli occhi, io in questo specchio vedo il Sole tutto infocato arrostitir nello spiedo, ad un fuoco di ghiaccio quel traditore del Prene. Di Marocco per haver rubbata una gallina un Gallo all’hosteria del moro ... di quà si salta il periglio so varco, questa è la strada di Monte siasconi, questa è la vera via de Mestri, e de Marghca, questo è ‘l famoso carro di Fusina, e questa è la vera caldara de i maccheroni deve entro v’erano le brache del gon nella sapientissimo filosofo. addio, addio brigata addio.” Scala, *Il teatro*, 129v-130r. Translation is cited from Andrews, *The Commedia dell’Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 270.

among Perrucci's 'Soliloquii delle parti toscane' (Soliloquies of Non-Dialect Roles), an absurd act, called *sproposito*, is prescribed for use 'whenever lovers are overcome by madness real or feigned'.¹⁴² In such an absurd act, meandering speeches produced part of the comic effect.¹⁴³ Paolo Fabbri states that in contemporary plays and in the commedia dell'arte, mad scenes were regularly presented as *bravura* pieces, which show performers' virtuosity.¹⁴⁴ He also argues that absurdity, which was the fundamental element in mad monologues, is not 'marked by mental infirmity but likewise tending toward clownish exaggeration, perhaps mixed with the grotesque deformations of the "lingua graziana" (the language used by the character Graziano)', referring to Francesco Gabrielli's play based on *Pazzia di Scapino con spropositi pazzeschi et canzoni burlesvoli* (Scapino's Madness with Mad Absurdities and Burlesque Songs).¹⁴⁵ This perspective is similar to Henke's discussion of Isabella's speech in Scala's *La pazzia d'Isabella*, in which he argues that her speech is reminiscent of the oral compositional style of the *Dottore* or the charlatan.¹⁴⁶

It is worth noting that the above meandering speeches refer to persons or materials in various regions. In 'La pazzia d'Isabella', Isabella refers to 'a Spanish pavan ... the beautiful girls of Algeria ... the Caliph of Egypt' and 'the barrels of muscatel wine from Monte Fiascone ... Island of England'. In 'La forsennata principessa', Alvira cites 'the Strait of Gibreter ... oysters and mussels in the Bay of Laiazzo, over toward Syria' and 'that traitor of a Prince of Morocco ... a rooster in the Moor's hostelry ... the road to Montefiascone, ... the right way to Mestre and Marghera'. In contrast to the mad scenes of contemporary plays that often include military images, mythology, and the underworld, references to various cultures in mad scenes can be considered characteristic of the commedia dell'arte troupes, which toured all year. Foreign characters, such as Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Turks, appeared as secondary characters in the commedia dell'arte scenarios and scripted plays, although it has so far received little consideration in scholarship. Jaffe-Berg suggests that this was a reflection of the society, as foreign communities were common in the cities of the Italian Peninsula.¹⁴⁷ M.A. Katritzky observes that the innamorata or servant roles mocked foreigners and their habits by including materials in their speech to amuse a foreign audience.¹⁴⁸ Henke argues in his discussion of Scala's 'La pazzia d'Isabella', that the innamorata's disguised figure from the underworld or

¹⁴² "In qualche pazzia, ò vera, ò finta possono anche prepararsi degli spropositi, che possono essere ò prosa, ò versi, tutto essendo lecito a chie matto." Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, 221, Parte Seconda, Regola II.

¹⁴³ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 166.

¹⁴⁴ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 160, 165.

¹⁴⁵ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 165.

¹⁴⁶ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 102.

¹⁴⁷ Jaffe-Berg, *Commedia dell'Arte and the Mediterranean*, 14.

¹⁴⁸ Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 104.

the Middle East in her madness serves as ‘a semantic vent for the social “other”’.¹⁴⁹ The innamorate’s meandering speech in their *sproposito* was one of the highlights of the commedia dell’arte performances. Indeed, references from one thing to another created kaleidoscopic change of scene in their lengthy speech, which definitely produced a striking aural–visual effect.

Given that Scala included ‘La pazzia d’Isabella’ in his compiled scenarios, a mad performance was considered Isabella’s favorite stunt. As mentioned in the Introduction, the eyewitness report of historian Giovanni Vincenzo Verzellino (1562–1638) describes Isabella’s performance of feigned madness in 1584 in Savona. This tells us that Isabella acted in a mad scene before the Medici wedding in 1589, although the nature of her performance is unknown. Almost a decade later, the chronicler Giovanni Battista Spaccini (1570–1636) also recorded Isabella’s mad performance in Modena on 14 May 1598: ‘the Prince and Princess of Mirandola arrived, invited by the Duke to see the comedy that they are performing today, which is the *Pazzia della Isabella*, a glorious work’.¹⁵⁰

It seems that mad scenes were common on celebratory occasions, considering the cases of Lepida’s feigned madness in *La pellegrina* and the mad Fileno in Cucchetti’s *La pazzia favola postorale*. What is unique in *La pazzia d’Isabella* at the 1589 Medici wedding is that the protagonist Isabella delivered a lengthy speech that includes foreign languages, dialects, and music, which is also different from the abovementioned mad scenes. One of the purposes of speaking foreign languages was obviously to entertain the audience from various regions who had gathered to celebrate the newlyweds. But the comedy could be more profound than amusing. To deepen an understanding, the following section highlights the polyglotism in theatrical activities, including Isabella’s most intimate community, the commedia dell’arte, and discusses the satirical and spectacular nature that language mixture sometimes had.

2.9 *Speaking in Tongues in Sixteenth Century Italy*

Along with the rediscovery of ancient texts in the fifteenth century, a dispute over the language was ignited in Italy, especially concerning Latin’s superiority over vernaculars. Latin was considered to be important because of its traditional usage in Christian liturgy and ecclesiastical administration as well as its linguistic symbolisation of the Roman Empire. During the first half of the sixteenth century, the so-called *questione della lingua* (language debate) occurred in Venice, the European capital of printing, aiming at linguistic unity in the peninsula in a period

¹⁴⁹ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 102.

¹⁵⁰ “È venuto il principe e la principesa della Mirandola, invidati dal signor duca alla comedia che si fa oggi, ch’è La Pazzia della Isabella, opera bellissima [...]” Giovanni Battista Spaccini, *Cronaca di Modena*, eds. Albano Biondi et al. (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1993), 1: 122. May 14, 1598. See Bosi, “Accolades for An Actress,” 109.

of political turmoil. One of the leading contributors to this issue was Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), a Venetian patrician, and finally a cardinal. Insisting on the literary achievements of the Tuscan poets, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, he suggested that Tuscan can be equivalent to Latin.¹⁵¹ The diffusion of Tuscan, though ostensibly supported by cultural verification, was also motivated by political purposes, especially by Cosimo I de' Medici.¹⁵² Up to the second half of the sixteenth century, Tuscan Italian as the official national language of letters was, as Garrett Mattingly asserts, 'probably the commonest modern language in Europe' and the 'medium of social intercourse', although 'some ambassadors were either sadly deficient in it or lacked it altogether'.¹⁵³

With the decline of Latin, French and Spanish became the other major languages spoken among aristocrats and scholars. The courtly languages reflected the political power relations of the time.¹⁵⁴ European universities mainly taught these two languages as well as Italian due to their dominance in print culture.¹⁵⁵ Of course, there were people speaking more than these three. For example, the renowned Flemish composer Roland de Lassus (1532–1594), who spent some years in Italy, used to entertain his master in letters by mixing five languages: Latin, French, Italian, German, and Spanish, such as 'Je me retrouve avec la gracieuse letterine qu'il placuit a votre Excellence mihi scribere'.¹⁵⁶

Once one dialect has established its position as the 'standard', and eventually as an official *lingua franca*, the other regional vernaculars are likely to be relegated to marginalized positions. Yet sixteenth century Italian society still showed a mishmash of linguistic disagreement, and both the theatre and the printing press supplied the arena for ongoing debate. To employ dialects thus appeared as a realistic reflection of contemporary society, but also as mockery or protest against linguistic centralisation. The anonymous play *La Venexiana* (1536) is a famous example that includes multilingual characters such as a porter speaking his Bergamask dialect and a foreigner speaking a near-literary *lingua franca* along with other Venetian characters. However, Richard Andrews argues that the play only reflects the reality of the Venetian society, without the linguistic mockery found in other contemporary plays such as

¹⁵¹ Maurizio Campanelli, "Languages," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Michael Wyatt, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 139-63.

¹⁵² Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 97-8.

¹⁵³ Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 204-5.

¹⁵⁴ Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, 204-5.

¹⁵⁵ Peter Burke, "The Hybridization of Languages in Early Modern Europe," *European Review* 14 (2006): 106; Rocio G. Sumillera, "Translation in Sixteenth-Century English Manuals for the Teaching of Foreign Languages," in *Literary Translation: Redrawing the Boundaries*, eds. Jean Boase-Beier, Antoinette Fawcett and Philip Wilson (Houndmills; Basingstole: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 79-98.

¹⁵⁶ Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben/Briege* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976/77), cited from Burke, "The Hybridization of Languages," 108.

those of Ruzante, as introduced above.¹⁵⁷ Ruzante's plays relied heavily upon the one-act form of the *commedia buffonesca*, often a skit between two characters speaking contrasting dialects.¹⁵⁸ Ruzante's linguistic basis was formed by the three dialects of Venetian, Paduan, and Bergamask, whereas Florentine is almost always used, as Marvin Carlson argues, 'inevitably mocking the pretensions of this styled upper-class speech from the viewpoint of the more "natural" peasants',¹⁵⁹ to whom Ruzante devoted his affection throughout his life.¹⁶⁰

Andrea Calmo (c.1510–1571), a Venetian actor, poet, and dramatist, explicitly confronts the partisans of literary purity in the preface to his *Il travaglia* (performed in 1546): 'Whoever wants to hear the elegance of the Tuscan language should not search for it in these plays, but should look to Bembo, Trissino, Sperone, and other worthy poets'.¹⁶¹ All of his six comedies embrace a variety of languages and dialects. Venetian, Paduan, Tuscan, and Bergamask were in common use as in Ruzante's plays, but he also included fragments of German, Spanish, French, Albanian, and even Saracen. Calmo showed a strong interest in *greghesco*, the dialect of Venetian spoken by Greeks, who formed a significant colony in the city.¹⁶² In his comedy *La Spagnolias* (c.1549), there appear a German coal-heaver, a soldier speaking Bergamask, another, from Albania, speaking a mixture of Venetian and a little Greek, and a peasant speaking his local dialect.¹⁶³ Carlson notes, however, that Calmo was less careful than Ruzante in capturing the contemporary linguistic discourse, and rather more interested in displaying 'linguistic virtuosity for its own sake'.¹⁶⁴

Calmo's friend, the Venetian poet and playwright Antonio Molino, manifested a more progressive attitude towards the *greghesco* language. Molino refers to the language as 'nostra rumecca lingua' in the introduction to the *Primo libro delle greghesche* (1564). According to Daniel K. Donnelly, the Venetian word *rumecca* means 'Greek', and it is derived from the Greek demonym *romeki*. The word originally means 'Roman', thus marking Venice as the new Rome and the republic's Greek colonies as the Eastern Empire. Consequently, a *rumecca lingua* evokes the image of the Byzantines as citizens of the Roman Empire.¹⁶⁵ This particular language would have been fairly familiar among the audience, largely through immigrant communities

¹⁵⁷ Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 144.

¹⁵⁸ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 73.

¹⁵⁹ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 74.

¹⁶⁰ Linda L. Carroll, *Language and Dialect in Ruzante and Goldoni* (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1981), 101-28.

¹⁶¹ "chi vuole intendere la elegantia de la lingua Toscana, non la ricerchi in questi spettacoli: ma mirino il Bembo, il Tressino, il Sperone, & altri degni Poeti." Andrea Calmo, *Il travaglia comedia di m. Andrea Calmo. Nuovamente corretta, & ristampata, & di varie lingue adornata, cosa bellissima* (Triuigi, Fabritio Zanetti, 1601), 3-4.

¹⁶² Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 75.

¹⁶³ "Chesta nostra lingua gresesca taliano (this Greek-Italian Language of ours)." Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 135.

¹⁶⁴ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 75.

¹⁶⁵ Daniel K. Donnelly, "Cantar à la Venessiana: Venetian-Language Polyphony in the Second Cinquecento" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2014), 25, 138-9.

in urban Venice, which is reflected in the theatrical casting. Gigio Artemio Giancarli (d. before 1561) is sometimes given an equivalent position to Calmo,¹⁶⁶ though most of his characters speak almost standard Italian, since one of his only two surviving plays, *La Zingana* (1545), demonstrates verbal playfulness featuring especially the eponymous heroine.¹⁶⁷ Thus, in some cases, the usage of dialects in the sixteenth century was undertaken in conscious contradistinction to Tuscanisation, whereas it provided a golden opportunity for linguistic skillfulness in other cases.

As I have already discussed, the commedia dell'arte carried forward the dialect practice by applying a distinctive dialect to each comic character: Pantalone is a Venetian merchant, Gratiano is a Bolognese doctor who often misquoted Latin in his speech, *zanni* speaks Bergamask, and the standard language of *innamorati* is Tuscan. Additionally, commedia dell'arte scenarios involve frequent appearances of foreigners such as Arabs, Armenians, Jews, Turks, Greeks, and Romani.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, some actors of the sixteenth century commedia dell'arte troupes were well-known for their linguistic prowess. Francesco Andreini could play different characters alongside his famous role as Capitano Spavento. According to *Le bravure*, his repertory included:

the part of a Sicilian doctor, very ridiculous, ... the part of a necromancer called Falsirone, very stupendous for the many languages he had, such as French, Spanish, Croatian, Greek and Turkish, and marvelously, then, the part of a shepherd named Corinto in the pastorals, who played various different wind instruments, composed of recorders, and sang sylvan and trisyllabic (or proparoxytone) verses as an imitation of [Jacopo] Sannazaro, called Azzio Sincero, a Neapolitan shepherd.¹⁶⁹

Francesco was familiar with at least seven languages and dialects: Sicilian, French, Spanish, Croatian, Greek, Turkish, and Neapolitan. Henke argues that Isabella probably spoke a 'greghesca' much as her husband's necromancer Falsirone.¹⁷⁰ Tristano Martinelli (1557–1630), a Mantuan actor famous for the *zanni* role Arlecchino, was differentiated from other *zanni*

¹⁶⁶ Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 144; Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 74. Andrews argues that the surviving scripts of Calmo and Gigio Artemio Giancarli perhaps offer "a more or less continuous bridge" between Ruzante and the *commedia dell'arte*.

¹⁶⁷ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 76.

¹⁶⁸ Jaffe-Berg, *Commedia dell'Arte and the Mediterranean*, 8

¹⁶⁹ "la parte d'un dottor siciliano molto ridicolosa, faceva ancora la parte d'un negromante detto Falsirone, molto stupenda per le molte lingue ch'egli possedeva, come la francese, la spagnuola, la schiava, la greca e la turchesca, e maravigliosamente, poi, la parte di un pastore nominato Corinto nelle pastorali, suonando vari e diversi stromenti da fiato, composti di molti flauti, cantando sopra versi boscarecci e sdruciolati ad imitazione del Sannazaro, detto Azzio Sincero, pastor napoletano." Andreini, *Le bravure*, 28.

¹⁷⁰ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 104.

characters in terms of his macaronic speech. Martinelli blends French, Italian, Latin and some Spanish ridiculously in his *Compositions de Rhetorique* (1601), despite his claim on the frontispiece to be ‘*corrigador de la bonna lingua Francese e Latina*’ (corrector of good French and Latin languages), whose deliberate choice of words satirizes itself.¹⁷¹ In fact, by imitating or fantasizing other characters, one could classify the second *zanni* character, such as Arlecchino, as another verbal virtuoso. For example, the *zanni* imagines himself as a doctor gloriously returning to his homeland in the poem ‘*La dottrina del Zanni*’, published by the Venetian press in 1587. His poem concludes in a stanza that mixes Italian and Latin.¹⁷² Another example of the ’s linguistic imitation is in the *lazzo*, a sudden interruption into the main plot, often conducted by the *zanni* figures. In a scenario preserved in a manuscript dated to 1622, there is a *lazzo* in which Coviello and the *zanni* silently receive a scolding from the *Capitano*. As soon as the *Capitano* leaves, they start to mimic his rage,¹⁷³ presumably in a dialect associated with the south of Italy, Neapolitan, Sicilian, or Calabrian.¹⁷⁴

As a result, the commedia dell’arte is undoubtedly a multilingual genre and may overlap with how languages were used in the courts or in publications of this period, for instance, in terms of a reflection of society. The use of dialect in commedia dell’arte is to some degree characterized by the social status of the speaker, or as already discussed, in ludic and satiric ways. For example, Pantalone and Gratiano, members of the governing class, use Venetian and Bolognese, whereas Bergamask is the language of servant figures, the *zanni*.¹⁷⁵ Yet the linguistic variety of the commedia dell’arte characters likely reflected the social reality of the period humorously through stereotyping the characters, rather than marking the hierarchical relation between the ruling languages and the other dialects.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, a long stage life that toured various cities enabled several actors to evolve their linguistic ability as part of their virtuosic performance.

¹⁷¹ Tristano Martinelli, *Compositions de rhétorique de m. don Arlequin, comicorum de civitatis Novalensis, corrigidor de la bonna lingua francese et latina, condutier de comediens, connestabile de messieurs le badaux de Paris, et capital ennemi de tut les laquais inventeurs desrobber chapiaux* ([s.l.]: [s.n.], 1601), 58. As for Martinelli, see Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 153-74. Corrigador is fake-Spanish, bonna is fake-Italian, lingua is mixed French-Italian. That is, this claim satirizes itself.

¹⁷² “*Tornando faro stupi mo la brigada/E sper che in quella fiada/Ai me vegnerà contra in comitiva/A son de tamburi, campani, e piva/Cridando viva viva/O magnus eccellentes Dotororum/Quia illustrabit nostre valatorum;/Hie est quel zanolorum:/Quid anno studiando, die et mensis/Nomen dedit valate Bergomensis*”, cited from Pandolfi, *La commedia dell’arte*, 204; Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 130. Also see Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 123. “Public entertainment and festivity always focused on the celebration of Venice, but its organization was usually devolved to private groups, ‘licensed’ formally by the state for the occasion.”

¹⁷³ Mel Gordon, *Lazzi: The Comic Routines of the Commedia dell’Arte* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1983), 38.

¹⁷⁴ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 78.

¹⁷⁵ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 21-7, 130-5.

¹⁷⁶ In evidence, Franceschina, a maidservant character, appeared as “the Tuscan maid.” See Frank Northen Magill, *Critical Survey of Drama: Foreign Language Series* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Salem Press, 1986), 22-33; Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 78.

2.10 La pazzia d'Isabella as *Self-Fashioning*

The linguistic and musical features in the commedia dell'arte plays splendidly unfolded in Isabella's mad performance at the 1589 wedding, despite the fact that it is impossible to obtain the exact description of Isabella's performance on that occasion. Because not all of her guests from various cities and countries could have followed her rapid and nonsensical speech if she delivered it in her familiar language, Isabella drew various dialects and languages into her madness. Isabella was most likely inspired by her fellow actors as well as contemporary polyglottic plays to construct this unparalleled speech.

Another attractive element to increase Isabella's reputation for her performance as a feigned madwoman was music. References to music, particularly the world of dance and popular song, can often be used by mad characters in spoken theatres of seventeenth century Italy, as the previous chapter reveals.¹⁷⁷ We can find more examples in Scala's *Il teatro*. In 'Il Finto Negromante' (The Fake Magician) on Day 21 in Scala's *Il teatro*, 'seeing her father coming, she [Isabella] immediately starts to sing, and Arlecchino to dance; Gratiano seeing Isabella dancing and singing, thinks she has gone mad' (e vedendo uscire il padre, subito ella comincia à cantare, & Arlece. à ballare, in quello Gratiano vedendo isab. Ballare, e cantare, crede ch'ella sia diventata pazza).¹⁷⁸ There are other scenes where music is used; however, as Nino Pirrotta points out, it is more 'natural' compared to the intermedi or opera.¹⁷⁹

It has been discussed that rhythmic conflict is a marked characteristic of madness. In 'La pazzia d'Isabella' in Scala's *Il teatro*, there is a phrase 'a harpsichord placed in concord a Spanish pavan with a galliard' by 'Santin da Parma'.¹⁸⁰ This reference to musical instruments is associated with the world of dance because the Spanish Pavane, or 'Pavanigha Spagnola', is a dance in a solemn movement, naturally of Spain.¹⁸¹ The gagliarda is also a dance, but more lively in triple metre, popular in Italy and France.¹⁸² Thomas Heck, therefore, argues that the speech of Isabella in Scala's 'La pazzia d'Isabella' produces intentional discord by contrasting a galliard with a Spanish Pavane, which is a stately dance in double metre.¹⁸³ In the case of

¹⁷⁷ Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 165. Fabbri introduces other references mad characters often employ: literature, cookery, and mythology.

¹⁷⁸ Scala, *Il teatro*, 61r-61v. Translation is cited from Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 123-4.

¹⁷⁹ Pirrotta, "'Commedia dell'Arte' and Opera," 312.

¹⁸⁰ As Fabbri points out, the musical features were often reused as clichés. See Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 173.

¹⁸¹ "Pavana" *Treccani Online*, Enciclopedia on line, accessed September 9, 2016,

<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/Pavane/>

¹⁸² "Gagliarda" *Treccani Online*, Enciclopedia on line, accessed September 9, 2016,

<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gagliarda/>

¹⁸³ Thomas F. Heck, "Incidental Music in Commedia dell'arte Performances," in *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte*, eds. Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London; New York: Routledge, 2015), 255-67. According to Heck, "Santin di Parma" is Santino Garsi da Parma, a famous sixteenth-century Italian lutenist and composer.

Isabella's singing at the Medici wedding, it can be inferred that Isabella's singing conforms to the commedia dell'arte's convention of including a familiar song in mad scenes, as discussed in Chapter 1, and to the innamorata's practice of drawing out her talents flexibly in her improvised performance. The apparent commitment to Christine and the delight that Isabella's singing brought provides speculation that 'certe canzonette pure alla Francese' was perhaps familiar to the young French princess. The intention of her musical performance brought about concord, rather than discord. Whatever it is, the song must eventually become a little but unforgettable gift for the bride.

In his diary, Pavoni concludes his description of Isabella's madness as follows:

through acting this madness demonstrating her sane and learned intellect; Isabella leaving such murmuring and wonder among the listeners that for as long as the world lasts her beautiful eloquence and her worth will always be praised.¹⁸⁴

It is worthwhile to note that Pavoni used the term 'virtù' (virtue) to describe Isabella's absurdities. In fact, he employed a similar expression earlier in his diary, where he reported the conventional competition between the commedia dell'arte actresses, in which they argued which actress should act first.

At another time they perform the madwoman, and it will be Isabella's turn to act the madwoman; the worth of which, and the loveliness in carrying out her ideas, there is no need to carry it out now, which is already known, and her virtues are displayed to all Italy.¹⁸⁵

Here, Pavoni used the term *virtudi*, a plural form of *virtude*, which is a variant of *virtù*. The term also appears to admire Isabella on stage in the abovementioned Garzoni's *La piazza universale*, published four years before the wedding:

The gracious Isabella, decorum of the scenes, ornament of the stage, a superb spectacle, no less virtue than beauty.

¹⁸⁴ "... mostrando nel recitar questa Pazzia il suo sano, e dotto intelletto; lasciando l'Isabella tal mormorio, & meraviglia ne gli ascoltatori, che mentre durerà il mondo, sempre sarà lodata la sua bella eloquenza, & valore." Pavoni, *Diario*, 46.

¹⁸⁵ "Un'altra volta faranno poi la Pazzia, & toccherà à l'Isabella à far la Pazzia; il valor della quale, & la leggiadria nell'esplicare i suoi concetti, non occorre hora esplicarlo, che è già noto, & manifesto à tutta Italia le sue virtudi." Pavoni, *Diario*, 29-30.

The term *virtù* stems from the ancient Roman concept of the Latin word *virtus*, indicating virtue synonymous with manliness—*vir* means man, so *virtus* is manly virtue specifically. Myles McDonnell remarks that the kind of manliness it signifies was ‘a quintessentially public value that was displayed, tested, won, or lost in the delimited context of service to the Republic’.¹⁸⁶ Machiavelli and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) struggled with the underlying problems that threatened their country during Renaissance and called for a return of *virtù*, which they believed was necessary prevent the conquest by other countries and the corruption of governments.¹⁸⁷ Machiavelli sought manly *virtù* in contrast with *fortuna*, considered feminine, but also in opposition to the virtue of Christianity, also considered feminine.¹⁸⁸ This term has also been used in contemporary medicine. According to Felix Gilbert, it ‘signified the force which gave vitality to a living being, and on whose presence life and strength of the whole organism depended’.¹⁸⁹ Gilbert also suggests that the medical connotation of the word was familiar to Machiavelli and his contemporaries.¹⁹⁰

How was this term connected to women? Lisa Jardine investigates the fifteenth century learned women and their outstanding accomplishments in orations, dialogues, and letters, which were praised as examples of manly virtue.¹⁹¹ For instance, Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), a classical scholar and a central member of the Platonic Academy of Florence, celebrated the Latinity of the renowned scholar Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558) and praised the poet and Greek scholar Alessandra Scala (1475–1506) not only for her Greek competence but also for her performance as ‘antique womanhood of supreme virtue’.¹⁹² The intellectual achievements of these women humanists were ‘mythologised’ because they were unexpected for their male counterparts, who believed in women’s fundamental inferiority. The praise of Lauro Querini for Isotta Nogarola (1418–1466) underlined this view: ‘For that true virtue, which is essentially male, you have sought with singular zeal ... Such as befits the whole and perfect virtue men attain’.¹⁹³ Referring to the definition of *virtù* by the *Accademia della Crusca*,¹⁹⁴ MacNeil has

¹⁸⁶ Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁸⁷ Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 438.

¹⁸⁸ Maria J. Falco, *Feminist Interpretations of Niccolò Machiavelli* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 225.

¹⁸⁹ Felix Gilbert, “On Machiavelli’s Idea of Virtù,” *Renaissance News* 4, no.4 (1951): 54.

¹⁹⁰ Gilbert, “On Machiavelli’s Idea of Virtù,” 55.

¹⁹¹ Lisa Jardine, “‘O decus Italiae virgo’, or The Myth of the Learned Lady in the Renaissance”, *The Historical Journal* 28, issue 4 (1985): 805-10.

¹⁹² Jardine, “‘O decus Italiae virgo’,” 810.

¹⁹³ Margaret L. King, “Book-lined Cells: Women and Humanism in the Early Italian Renaissance,” in *Beyond Their Sex: Learned Women of the European Past*, ed. Patricia Labalme (New York; London: New York University Press, 1980), 76. Also see Juliana Schiesari, “In Praise of Virtuous Women? For a Genealogy of Gender Morals in Renaissance Italy,” *Annali d’Italianistica* 7 (1989): 68.

¹⁹⁴ MacNeil, “The Divine Madness,” 200. According to the *Accademia della Crusca*, the concept of virtue is based, at least in part, on St Thomas’s *Summa theologiae*; as the courtiers describe it, “Virtue is a habit of the mind, ordered according to human

argued that Pavoni's employment of humanist terms, particularly *virtù* and *valore*, 'hints at Isabella's erudition and gentility',¹⁹⁵ and combines Pavoni's humanistic terms with Isabella's reputation in theatrical and literary circles, thereby tailoring *La pazzia d'Isabella* in accordance with the taste of the intermedi, in particular, its Neoplatonism. On the other hand, Juliana Schiesari criticises the Renaissance application of *virtù* to praise women's intellectual and/or political achievements, considering the contradiction the term implies. 'Given the patriarchal basis of Renaissance culture which measured the worth of woman according to a male standard of *virtù*, the ideological category of 'virtue' can be seen implicitly or explicitly to subsume the distinction achieved by certain women to the approximation of a masculine ideal, either by effacing their differences as a woman (*virtù* qua virago) or by underscoring their difference from men in such a way as to deny them their sexuality (*virtù* as feminine chastity)'.¹⁹⁶

La pazzia d'Isabella at the Medici wedding in 1589 can be viewed as performance within a performance from a metatheatrical point of view. According to Turner, a wedding is a rite of passage, which celebrates the transition of a member of a society from one state to another. Ferdinando and Christine left their former state and moved to the next as the Grand Duke and Duchess. Tuscany also endeavoured to achieve a new position in the European powers. This transitional process corresponds to Isabella's mad performance. According to Pavoni's diary, Isabella's disorderly play provided a liminal space, in which she loses herself and recovers 'her former self'. But she is different from what she was in terms of her experience which enabled her to explain 'the passions of love, and the travails which test those who find themselves in similar traps'. Moreover, this study provides a historical clue that *pazzia* was not an expression of disorderly states of a 'mad' woman, but something on which a performer could act.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the comedy *La pazzia d'Isabella*, recited by Isabella Andreini, the commedia dell'arte actress, at the Medici wedding in 1589. According to Pavoni's diary, Isabella's *pazzia* demonstrated dramatic virtuosity through imitating various languages and dialects, which together produced an impressive effect and an example of her *virtù*. Her multilingual speech was probably intended to amuse the international audience. Musical performance is a familiar part of the representation of madness in the commedia dell'arte plays, which enables us to assume that Isabella inserted popular songs that may have been familiar to

nature, with respect to reason" ("La virtù è abito della mente, ordinata a modo dell'umana natura, convenevole alla ragione").

¹⁹⁵ MacNeil, "The Divine Madness," 200.

¹⁹⁶ Schiesari, "In Praise of Virtuous Women?," 69.

the audience, particularly the French princess whose response to Isabella's singing is mentioned by Pavoni. Overall, this chapter draws the interpretation of this relatively well-studied comedy more towards its theatrical background, rather than the courtly or literary framework. Isabella's mad scene displayed the most artful and skillful elements of her talent as the innamorata, amasing the audience with her linguistic and musical skills as well as her erudition, and mastery of the social and political circumstances surrounding language in the period. Simultaneously, Isabella uses madness as a dramatic device through which to perform her creativity, thereby fostering her agency of the innamorata idiom.

CHAPTER 3

Adriano Banchieri's *La pazzia senile* (1598)

The second case study investigates the Bolognese composer and Benedictine monk Adriano Banchieri's *La pazzia senile* (The Madness of Old Age, first published in 1598), which belongs to the musical and theatrical genre known as the madrigal comedy. This chapter discusses the madness of old men from the commedia dell'arte characters, who are unrequitedly in love with young women, in relation to contemporary social, religious, and musical contexts. Banchieri's great interest in the current music techniques and controversy is interspersed in his musical and poetic representations of their madness, which aim to amuse the performers and listeners.

3.1 *Old Men in Early Modern Italy*

Early modern Italian definitions of old age ranged from 30 to 70 years. Dante regarded old age to begin at 47 years. The Venetian poet and writer Moderata Fonte (1555–1592) follows Cicero's life span in dating old age from 45 to 50 years. The Veronese physician Gabriele Zerbi (1445–1505) considered that the decline into old age began between 30 and 40 years.¹ A wide range of sources on the theme of old age and love, in relation to matters of decorum, morality, marriage, or longevity, indicates that people, even in their senescence, retained a keen sexual interest. However, the sexuality of the old could be viewed as socially problematic. In *Il libro del cortegiano* (*The Courtier*, 1528), Castiglione chides an amorous old man, in the voice of a Genovese nobleman Federico Fregoso (1480–1541):

He shall knowe his age, for (to saie the trueth) it were no meete matter, but an yll sight to see a man of eny estimation being olde, horeheaded and toothlesse, full of wrinckles, with a lute in his armes playing upon it and singing in the middes of a company of women, although he coulde doe it reanablye well. And that, because suche songes containe in them woordes of love, and in olde men love is a thing to bee jested at: although otherwhile he seemeth emonge other miracles of his to take

¹ Joseph Patrick Byrne, *The World of Renaissance Italy: A Daily Life Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood, an Imprint of ABC-CLIO, 2017), 1: 192. Also see Creighton Gilbert, "When Did a Man in the Renaissance Grow Old?" *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967): 7-32.

delite in spite of yeres to set a fier frozen herts.²

To avoid such inappropriate displays, the elderly courtier was advised to refrain from playing music as well as from dancing. Fregoso instead suggested that the appropriate behaviour for the old was to guard the younger generations with experience and wisdom.³

Love, along with anger or shame, was thought to be ill-suited to the aged. In his encyclopaedic treatise on love, *Libro di natura d'amore (Book on the Nature of Love, 1525)*, Mario Equicola (1470–1525), the scholar at the court of Isabella d'Este, warned against the dangers of excessive intercourse, which included 'bloody discharge, a cold and dry condition of the blood, weakness, early onset of old age, loss of vision and various physical deformities'.⁴ Contemporary physicians cautioned against sexual desire among the elderly based on humoral theory. As it aged, the human body became colder and dryer, circumstances that mitigated sexual behaviour. In chapter XLIII 'Permission and Prohibition of Sex in the Resumptive Regimen' of *Gerontocomia* (1489), the first medical book to deal with old age, Gabriele Zerbi (1445–1505) suggests that the elderly should avoid sexual intercourse: 'Sex should simply be avoided by old men ... and they should live a celibate life worthy of heaven since from the orifices of their veins and small arteries all over the body no superfluity exudes back to the testicles and seminal vessels'.⁵ The emission of semen causes a reduction of heat and moisture, which weakens the aged body. Zerbi acknowledges that sexual desire is still ardent in the old and recommends that they take certain precautions—for instance, one should not stay awake too long after intercourse.⁶

In the law courts of sixteenth-century Italy, the age gap in marriage seems to have been a recurrent issue. In Venice, for example, the Patriarch's Court sometimes received petitions from women who hoped to separate formally from their old husbands because they were, allegedly, forced to get married by their relatives against their own will. The average

² "... ché in vero non si conviene e dispare assai vedere un omo di qualche grado, vecchio canuto e senza denti, pien di rughe, con una viola in braccio sonando, cantare in mezzo d'una compagnia di donne, avvenga ancor che mediocrementemente lo facesse, e questo, perché il piú delle volte cantando si dicono parole amorose e ne' vecchi l'amor è cosa ridicula; benché qualche volta paia che egli si diletti, tra gli altri suoi miracoli, d'accendere in dispetto degli anni i cori agghiacciati." Baldessar Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione* (Venice: Heirs of Aldo Manuzio il vecchio & Andrea Torresano il vecchio, 1528), Libro Secondo, Capitolo XIII.

As for the translation, I refer to Baldessar Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio Divided into Foure Bookes*, trans. Thomas Hoby and ed. Walter Raleigh (London: David Nutt, 1900).

³ Castiglione, *Il libro di cortegiano*, Libro Secondo, Capitolo XIV.

⁴ Anthony Colantuono, *Titian, Colonna and the Renaissance Science of Procreation: Equicola's Seasons of Desire* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 37.

⁵ Gabriele Zerbi, *Gerontocomia: On the Care of the Aged, and Maximianus, Elegies on Old Age and Love*, trans. L.R. Lind (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), 273.

⁶ Zerbi, *Gerontocomia*, 274.

age at marriage was more than 30 for men, and 15 for women.⁷ *Il merito delle donne* (*The Merit of Women*, 1600), written by Moderata Fonte, presents the drawbacks of marriage as one of the themes in a dialog among seven women from various backgrounds. The newly married Cornelia is asked ‘Volete voi dunque che s’amino i vecchi? Non ammettendo gli adolescenti e meno gli maturi?’ (Do you want us to love the elderly, to the exclusion of youths or mature men?).⁸ Cornelia replies:

I am not saying that, because you all know that a bird in the hand of a boy and a young woman in the hand of an old man will never be well together. Old men are as astute as mature ones, on the contrary they exceed them, but in all the rest they are lacking much, for their merry years have passed and with them their every attractiveness and elegance.⁹

In the instructions on the role of lovers in *Dell’arte rappresentativa*, Perrucci suggests that young actors rather than old ones should be appointed in love affairs to avoid deplorable appearances on stage.

One should choose lovers who are young and not old, for among players there is a well-known saying, ‘Zanni old, lovers young’. Old age is not suited to love, and anyone in love in his old age attracts laughter and derision, not applause [...] Again, as they need to be addressed with phrases like ‘my life’, ‘my adorable’, ‘my handsome’, any actor not so, or not appearing to be so, looks ridiculous, for women do not love old men. Moreover when their memory fails them they are unable to act.¹⁰

⁷ Joanne Marie Ferraro, *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 62-3.

⁸ “Io non dico cotesto perche ben sapete, che un uccello in man dun putto e una giovене in man d’un vecchio non mai bene. I vecchi partecipano dell’astuzia delli maturi, anzi gli eccedono in ciò e nel resto poi son manchevoli di molte buone parti, poiche hanno passato gli anni dell’allegrezza ed insieme e consumata ogni lor venusta e leggiadria, hanno mangiato il fior della lor farina e non e avanzato altro in loro che crusca o semola, che si dice. Oltra di ciò sono gelosissimi e sospettosi per natura, pegri e inabili a i pericoli, alle fatiche e lunghe osservazioni de gli amanti; sono fastidioso ed avari.” Moderata Fonte, *Il merito delle donne, scritto da Moderata Fonte in due giornate. Oue chiaramente si scuopre quanto siano elle degne, e piu perfette de gli huomini.* (Venice: Domenico Inberti, 1600), 35. Translation is cited from Ferraro, *Marriage Wars*, 64, amended.

⁹ Fonte, *Il merito delle donne*, 35. Translation is cited from Ferraro, *Marriage Wars*, 64.

¹⁰ “Gl’innamorati devono scegliersi giovani, e non vecchi, essendo rito(?) presso i Comici il detto: Zanni Vecchi, ed Innamorati Giovani; poiche la Vecchiaia disdice ad Amore, e chi è Innamorato in Vecchiaia, è degno di riso, e di scherno, e non d’applauso ... Second, perche dovendo esser chiamati mia vita, mio vago, mio bello, non essendo uno tale, ò che vi paia almeno, sembra ridicolo, perche le Donne non amano i Vecchi, e terzo, perche mancandoli la memoria, si rendono inabili á recitare...” Perrucci, *Dell’arte rappresentativa*, Parte Seconda, Regola I, 193-4. Translation is cited from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell’Arte*, 131.

However, this harsh treatment of the elderly does not mean that society does not value the aged. In early modern Italian society, the elderly undertook important roles in government and politics and were expected to guide younger generations. In Venice, for instance, political life began by rule at the age of 40, and one needed to be at least 60 to serve in the Senate.¹¹ Peter Jordan argues that the post-Tridentine environment underlined the spiritual parenthood of the papacy, which was reflected in an emphasis on obedience to fathers within the family, and reinforcement of hierarchical authority in general. Particularly in Venice during the sixteenth century, fathers needed to restrict marriage because of the economic decline. The theatre offered a cathartic and imaginary place where the sons who remained politically and financially impotent could overturn their oppressive status, by mocking the sexual impotence of their fathers.¹²

The next section explores further how sixteenth-century writers and dramatists depicted the character of an old man in love and how music was involved in their representation in the theatre, where the theme of a ridiculous old man was highly favoured.

3.2 *Old Men in Love on Stage*

On the Renaissance stage, an old man in love was a popular figure of satire, whose characterization varied according to the audience's taste and the political and social issues of the period and region. Renaissance writers or dramatists took as a model an old man from contemporary literature or ancient drama, a typical character known as *senex* (plural: *senes*). The Plautine corpus includes the 29 *senes*, and several plays employ an old man, legitimately called a *senex amator*, who pursues a young woman and attempts to satisfy his desire.¹³

One obvious example in the Renaissance literature is an eponymous old man, Calandro, in *La Calandria* (1513), composed by Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470–1520), a political adviser to the Medici family who later became a cardinal.¹⁴ Castiglione wrote the original prologue.¹⁵ The plot alludes to Plautus's *Menaechmi* and also borrows elements of an old man in love from Boccaccio's *Decameron*.¹⁶ The most relevant tale in the *Decameron* is IX. 5, in which an old man named Calandrino is infatuated with a young woman, Niccolosa,

¹¹ Byrne, *The World of Renaissance Italy*, 192.

¹² Peter Jordan, "Pantalone and il Dottore: The Old Men of Commedia," in *The Routledge Companion to Commedia dell'Arte*, eds. Judith Chaffee and Olly Crick (London; New York: Routledge, 2015), 65-6.

¹³ See K.C. Ryder, "The 'Senex Amator' in Plautus," *Greece & Rome* 31, no.2 (1984): 181-9.

¹⁴ Richard Andrews, "Erudite comedy," in *A History of Italian Theatre*, eds. Joseph Farrell and Paolo Pippa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 42.

¹⁵ Julia M. Cartwright Ady, *Baldassare Castiglione the Perfect Courtier: His Life and Letter, 1478-1529* (London: John Murray, 1908), 333-5.

¹⁶ Andrews, "Erudite comedy," 43.

and is humiliated due to the intrigues of his friends.¹⁷ In *La Calandria*, Calandro is a cuckold, trying to disclose an affair between his wife, Fulvia, and Lidio, one of the young cross-dressing twins who disguise as each other. This comedy was recited for the first time on February 6, 1513, in Urbino during a phase of important political change: the Medici had returned to Florence on September 1, 1512, and shortly after the performance, Pope Julius II (1443–1513) died on February 20, and Giovanni de' Medici (1475–1521), a patron of Bibbiena, became Pope Leo X on March 11. In the following years 1514 and 1515, the comedy was also performed at the Vatican in Rome.¹⁸ Furthermore, the high popularity of *La Calandria* allowed it to become the most-reprinted *commedia erudita* of the century.¹⁹ *La mandragola*, written by Niccolò Machiavelli, is another prominent example. An elderly man named Nicia has a young, beautiful wife, Lucrezia, but they are childless. The protagonist Callimaco desires to sleep with Lucrezia and deceives Nicia by telling her that mandrake is effective for her fertility, but will kill the first man to have sexual intercourse with her. Without any suspicion, Nicia offers his reluctant wife, who later desires Callimaco willingly as her lover.²⁰ The dates hypothesised for its composition range from 1512 to 1520, but its first production probably took place during the carnival season in 1518. In his *Elogia doctorum virorum*, Paolo Giovio (1483–1552), the Catholic bishop, doctor, historian, and biographer from Como, said that Pope Leo X had heard of the success of the comedy in Florence and had it performed in Rome with the same actors.²¹ Moreover, a letter of the Florentine politician Giovanni Battista della Palla (1489–1532) dated April 26, 1520, mentions that the comedy was ready to be recited before the Pope.²² Thomas Babington Macaulay considers Nicia as ‘a positive fool’ and praises him as ‘the glory of the piece’.²³ Pasquale Villari argues that Nicia, ‘this presumptuous simpleton’, is ‘the truest and most ingenuous personage of a world wherein every one, including those most bound to have

¹⁷ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. John Payne (London: Villon Society, 1886), 3: 184-94.

¹⁸ Ronald L. Martinez, “Etruria Triumphant in Rome: Fables of Medici Rule and Bibbiena’s Calandra,” in *Renaissance Drama 36/37. Italy in the Drama of Europe* (2010), 69. Eugene J. Johnson, *Inventing the Opera House: Theater Architecture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 38.

¹⁹ Andrews, “Erudite comedy,” 42.

²⁰ Niccolò Machiavelli, *La mandragola commedia di Niccolò Macchiavelli fiorentino. Nuovamenteriveduta, & ricorretta per Girolamo Ruscelli* (Venice: Plinio Pietrasanta, 1554); Niccolò Machiavelli, “The Mandragola (*La mandragola*),” trans. Leonard G. Sbrocchi and J. Douglas Campbell, and intro. Donald Beecher, in *Renaissance Comedy: The Italian Masters*, edited by Donald Beecher (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 2: 101-62.

²¹ Pasquale Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli* (T.F. Unwin, 1898), 342.

²² Giorgio Inglese, “Niccolò Machiavelli,” *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 67 (2006), accessed January 22, 2020, [https://treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-machiavelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://treccani.it/enciclopedia/niccolo-machiavelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

²³ “But old Nicias is the glory of the piece. We cannot call to mind anything that resembles him. The follies which Molière ridicules are those of affectation, not those of fatuity. Coxcombs and pedants, not absolute simpletons are his game. Shakespeare has indeed a vast assortment of fools; but the precise species of which we speak is not, if we remember right, to be found there ... Cloten is an arrogant fool, Ostrie a foppish fool, Ajax a savage fool; but Nicias is, as Thersites says of Patroclus, a positive fool.” Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays: Contributed to the Edinburgh Review* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1852), 1: 40-1.

some conscience, are utterly devoid of any'.²⁴

The theatrical trope of an aged lover is particularly developed in the work of Andrea Calmo, introduced in the previous chapter. He usually starred in his plays as an avaricious Venetian *vecchio*.²⁵ In *Rodiana*, first performed in 1540 in Venice, Calmo acted as the part of an old Venetian lawyer called Cornelio, who competes with his son for a young woman, Beatrice. In Act III, scene vi, Cornelio discusses sexual desire in the aged with Demetrio, Beatrice's father. When Demetrio asks if he feels ashamed of being in love at such an age, Cornelio justifies himself repeatedly by citing the venerable men of antiquity and the Romance tradition: 'anche Aristotele e Marguttino e Quintiliano hanno voluto assaggiare questo limone' (Aristotle and Morgante and Quintilian also wanted to taste this lemon); and then 'anche Aristotle e Marguttin e Quintilian ha volesto manzar de sto çitronato' (Aristotle and Morgante and Quintilian also wanted to eat this citron).²⁶ Here Calmo likens a female body to bitter fruits such as the lemon and citron. In *Il travaglia*, an old Venetian widower Collofonio falls in love with Leonora, a daughter of Proculo, a merchant from Ragusa. He justifies his desire through humoral theory, but his physical deficiency frustrates his intentions.²⁷ A servant of Proculo reports 'Un vecchio vecchio, brutto brutto che ancora non ha i denti' (An ugly ugly, old old man, who does not even have teeth),²⁸ and Leonora derides him as 'quel sdentato stomacoso' (that toothless, disgusting man).²⁹ Collofonio sometimes expresses his torment in love with a scatological analogy. After reviewing the expenses spent on Leonora, Collofonio curses 'Che vegna le maroèle a Cupido e so mare putanazza!' (May hemorrhoids come to Cupid and his mother, whore!).³⁰ The purse was also a common euphemism for the scrotum,³¹ and spending coins for ejaculation.³² Some scholars consider that Calmo should be credited with creating the character of the Venetian Magnifico, a predecessor of Pantalone in the commedia dell'arte, with which he is now closely linked along with Antonio Molino and Angelo Beolco.³³

²⁴ Villari, *The Life and Times of Niccolò Machiavelli*, 374.

²⁵ Charles Warren, "Calmo, Andrea," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, January 22, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04612>.

²⁶ Andrea Calmo, *Rodiana: Comedia stupenda e ridicolosissima, piena d'argutissimi moti e in varie lingue recitata* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1985), 146-7.

²⁷ Calmo, *Il travaglia*, Act I, scene iii, 10r-10v.

²⁸ Calmo, *Il travaglia*, Act IV, scene ix, 76v.

²⁹ Calmo, *Il travaglia*, Act IV, scene xiii, 79r.

³⁰ Calmo, *Il travaglia*, Act II, scene xci, 42r.

³¹ Deborah L. McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience*. Studies in Book and Print Culture (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 173; Stephen L. Wailes, "Potency in Fortunatus," *The German Quarterly* 59, no.1 (1986): 5-18.

³² Jane Mills, *Erotic Literature: Twenty-Four Centuries of Sensual Writing* (Hong Kong: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 149.

³³ Warren, "Calmo, Andrea."

Music is a frequent accompaniment for amorous old men. In Calmo's *Il travaglia*, Collofonio, enamoured of young Leonora, performs a serenade with a lute in disguise at her balcony.³⁴ Calmo is especially associated with the musical style known as the *giustiniana*, also called by various terms including *justiniana*, *vinitiana*, and *viniziana*.³⁵ *Giustiniana* was a term widely used in the fifteenth century in relation to the poetry and music of Leonardo Giustiniani (c.1383–1446), the Venetian poet, humanist, and statesman.³⁶ The earliest surviving polyphonic settings of Giustiniani's poetry are *Con lagrime bagnandome nel viso* and *O rosa bella* composed by Johannes Ciconia (c. 1370–1412). The genre is more fully characterised in the *justiniane* in *Frottole libro sexto* printed by Ottaviano dei Petrucci (1466–1539).³⁷ The term reemerged in the middle of the sixteenth century when it can be found, for instance, in the *Primo libro delle justiniane a tre voci*, compiled by the Venetian composer Vincenzo Bellavere (1540–1587) and printed by Girolamo Scotto (1505–1572) in 1570.³⁸ In 1575, the heir of Scotto printed *Secondo libro delle giustiniane*, which included the compositions of Giuseppe Policreto (?1548–1623).³⁹ In 1571, the Venetian composer and organist Andrea Gabrieli (?1532/3–1585) published *Greghesche et justiniane a tre voci*.⁴⁰ The similarity between *giustiniana* texts in Scotto's *Primo libro delle justiniane* and Calmo's light verse leads one to believe Calmo's association with the *giustiniana*.⁴¹ The musical form of the sixteenth-century three-part counterpoints was distinct from their sweet and pleasing quattrocento predecessors.⁴² Textually, *giustiniane* commonly depicts a foolish old Venetian man who is sick of love. As was already mentioned, this particular style of singing is closely linked to Calmo's *Il Magnifico* and remains a feature of the successor character Pantalone.⁴³

³⁴ Calmo, *Il travaglia*, 30v-31v. Act II, scene ix. Kenley points out that the scene is followed by the Matachin's dance, which is characterized by acrobatic feats and moresque dances with high leaps. See McDowell, "Il Mattaccino," 663.

³⁵ David Fallows, "Giustiniana," *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 7, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11240>.

³⁶ David Fallows, "Giustiniani [Justinian], Leonardo," *Grove Music Online*, accessed May 2, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11241>.

As for the variants of Giustiniani, see Shawn Marie Keener, "Love 'alla Veneziana': Singing Giustiniane on Stage and Off," in *Amor docet musicam: Musik und Liebe in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Sabine Meine and Dietrich Helms (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012), 249f.

³⁷ Fallows, "Giustiniana"; James Haar, "Petrucci's 'Justiniane' Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52, no. 1 (1999): 1-38.

³⁸ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 831.

³⁹ Giuseppe Policreti, *Il secondo libro delle giustiniane a tre voci. Di Gioseph Policreti da Treviso et d'altri eccellentissimi musici* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1575).

⁴⁰ Fallows, "Giustiniana."

⁴¹ Donnelly, "Cantar à la Venessiana," 55-6.

⁴² As for *giustiniane* in the fifteenth century, see Walter H. Rubsamen, "The Justiniane or Viniziane of the 15th century," *Acta Musicologica* 29, Fasc. 4 (1957): 172-84.

⁴³ Orazio Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena: The Night Games of Siena*, eds. Donald Beecher and Bryan Gillingham (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2004), introduction.

The following sections focus on Adriano Banchieri and his works while surveying music activities in Bologna and discussing the madrigal comedy as a musical genre and also examine how he developed the theme of an old man in love in his first madrigal comedy, *La pazzia senile*.

3.3 *Adriano Banchieri*, Bononiensis Monachus

In the late Renaissance, when Banchieri devoted himself to musical activities, Bologna prospered as a ‘second city’ of the Papal States. It was a leading musical centre in Italy along with Venice and Rome in the seventeenth century. Despite significant economic changes in the early seventeenth century, the city constantly maintained lively cultural activities supported by prominent citizens in political and ecclesiastical institutions. There were almost 150 churches, monasteries, and charitable confraternities. The principal religious orders, such as the Dominicans, Franciscans, and the Jesuits founded musical academies, churches, and libraries in which artists and musicians could fulfil their potential.⁴⁴ The *Accademia dei floridi*, the first music academy that included professional musicians, was founded by Banchieri in around 1614–1615. They gathered to present their compositions, first in the monastery and later in the house of Banchieri’s friend, Girolamo Giacobbi (1567–1629), choirmaster, conductor, and composer.⁴⁵ The influential and celebrated *Accademia filarmonica* was founded later in the century by count Vincenzo Maria Carrati (1634–1675), in 1666.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Anne Schnobelen, “Bologna, 1580-1700,” in *The Early Baroque Era: From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Cutis Price (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 103-20.

During the seventeenth century, musical activity flourished in abbeys and monastic composers increasingly came into view, such as Serafino Cantone (c. 1565-c.1630) and Pirro Visconti Borromeo (1560-1604), both of whom were also Benedictines and were also active in Milan. See Bosi, “Accolades for an Actress,” 73-117.

⁴⁵ Schnobelen, “Bologna, 1580-1700,” 107; Oscar Mischiati, *Adriano Banchieri (1568-1634): profilo biografico e bibliografia delle opere* (Bologna: Casa EditriPàtron, 1971), 43-5.

⁴⁶ Schnobelen, “Bologna, 1580-1700,” 107.

Figure 3.1. Portrait of Adriano Banchieri in *the Cartella musicale*. Venice, 1614

Adriano Banchieri was born in Bologna on September 3, 1568, and was baptised a month later in the baptistery of the Cathedral. At the age of 18, Banchieri entered the Olivetan order of Benedictine monks in the monastery of S. Michele in Bosco, in the suburbs of Bologna, became a novice, and he changed his original name Tomaso to Adriano in 1589. In 1592, Banchieri was at the monastery of S. Bartolomeo e S. Ponziano in Lucca, then he moved to S. Benedetto in Siena in the following year. He returned to his original monastery in Bosco in 1594, where he was assigned the duty of an organist in 1596. From 1600 to 1603, he stayed at S. Maria at Regola at Imola as an organist. In the following several years, he appears to have been at S. Elena in Venice and S. Maria in Organo in Verona. In 1607, he returned to S. Michele in Bosco and contributed to the establishment of the aforementioned *Accademia dei floridi* and remained there until just before his death in 1634.⁴⁷

Banchieri actively committed to musical activities while taking holy orders. In *Lettere armoniche* (1628), he asserts that he began studying music in childhood, but little is known about his early musical education.⁴⁸ He probably learned much of his musical skills under Gioseffo Guami (1542–1611), the illustrious Luccan organist and composer, when he was in Lucca.⁴⁹ Additionally, Banchieri built relationships with many of the most prominent Italian musicians of his time, including Giammateo Asola (1532–1609), Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), and Claudio Monteverdi. Moreover, the surviving printed letters show his broad correspondences with counts, cardinals, writers, and historians of the time.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The most detailed biographic profile of Adriano Banchieri is Mischiati, *Adriano Banchieri*, 39-52; Martha Farahat, "Adriano Banchieri and The Madrigal Comedy," 3 vols (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1991), 1-46; Abigail Lois Ballantyne, "Writing and Publishing Music Theory in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy: Adriano Banchieri and His Contemporaries" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2014), 6-7; William S. May and Frans Wiering, "Banchieri, Adriano," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed January 5, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01932>.

⁴⁸ ". . . Ed emineti studi, & io fin da fanciullo in questa armonicamente m'approfitai, ed in essa diatonicamente mi sono incanutito, accoppiando il di lei compiacimento alla mia continuatione, . . ." Adriano Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche del R.P.D. Adriano Banchieri bolognese abbate olivetano, & academico dissonante, intrecciate in sei capi ... Al M.R.P.D. Domenico luchi abbate di s. bernardo* (Bologna: G. Mascheroni, 1628), 10.

⁴⁹ On the title page of his *Concerti ecclesiastici*, Banchieri declares himself to be "discepolo del Sig. Gioseffo Guami" (a disciple of Signore Gioseffo Guami). See Banchieri, *Concerti ecclesiastici à otto voci, di D. Adriano da Bologna monaco olivetano, discepolo del Sig. Gioseffo Gnami, aggiuntovi nel primo choro la soartitura per sonare nell'organo commodissima, nuovamente composti, & dati in luce* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1595). He also included a musical piece entitled "La Guamina" in *Canzoni alla francese a quattro voci per sonare dentrovi, un echo, et in fine una battaglia a otto, e dui concerti fatti sopra "Lieta godea"* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1596).

⁵⁰ Farahat, "Adriano Banchieri," 4-5; Abigail Ballantyne, "Social Networking in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The

As a composer, Banchieri produced all-around compositions, from sacred music such as psalms for divine services, motets, and masses, to secular music such as canzonettas. He was also a renowned music theorist, whose music-theoretical writings are now considered to be one of the great contributions to musical scholarship around 1600.⁵¹

La pazzia senile was first published in 1598 and was reprinted repeatedly up until the middle of the seventeenth century, which demonstrates its considerable popularity. After its first publication in Venice in 1598, *La pazzia senile* was republished at least seven times: 1599, 1601, 1604, 1607, 1611, and 1621 in Venice, 1601 also in Köln. It is now categorised as a genre called the madrigal comedy, along with *Il studio dilettevole* (1600), *Il metamorfosi musicale* (c.1601), and *La prudenza giovanile* (1607).⁵² *La pazzia senile* was Banchieri's first work in the genre, after he had already produced several examples of satirical literature and secular music, such as *La nobiltà dell'asino* (first published in 1592), *Concerti ecclesiastici a otto voci* (1595) and *Canzoni alla francese a quattro voci* (first published in 1596), *La nobilissima, anzi asinissima* (first published in 1597), and *Canzonette a tre voci* (first published in 1597). *La nobiltà dell'asino* is a good example to demonstrate his satirical tendency. To explain why the ass (*asino*) is the noblest of all the beasts, Banchieri praises the ass at length on various grounds, playfully and sometimes exaggeratingly referring to its appearance in poetry or mythology to its usefulness in humans' daily life.⁵³

3.4 Music as Entertainment

According to Oxford Music Online, the term 'madrigal comedy' signifies 'madrigalesque entertainment music', which flourished in the late Renaissance in the Italian Peninsula. It is composed of Italian secular vocal pieces, such as villanellas and canzonettas, usually

'Harmonious Letters' of a Monk-Musician," in *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips' 450th Anniversary*, eds. David J. Smith and Rachelle Taylor (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 231-50.

⁵¹ Piero Gargiulo, "Adriano Banchieri tra 'antico' e 'moderno': una ricognizione sui trattati," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 41 (2006): 227-60, esp. 238-9.

⁵² Banchieri published *La saviezza giovanile* in 1628, as a revised edition of *La prudenza giovanile*. For more about this edition, see Martha Farahat, "On the Staging of Madrigal Comedies," *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 126.

According to Cecil Adkins' "Genealogical Table of the Madrigal Comedy," Banchieri's other works are also categorized into the genre. For example, *Convito musicale* (1597) and *Il Donatio* (1599) belong to "Category I Continuity provided only by the title." The above-mentioned four comedies are classified into 'Category 4 Continuity provided by plot and character development.' See Cecil Adkins, "Vecchi and the Madrigal Comedy," in Orazio Vecchi, "*L'Amfiparnaso*": A New Edition of the Music with Historical Analytical Essays, ed. Cecil Adkins (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 7. In studies on madrigal comedies, also see W. J. Ballard, "The Sources, Development, and Culmination of the Dramatic Madrigal" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1957). Wayne Allen Glass, Jr., "The Renaissance Italian Madrigal Comedy: A Handbook for Performance" (DMA diss., University of Arizona, 2006).

⁵³ Adriano Banchieri, *La nobiltà dell'asino di Atabalippa dal Perù provincia del mondo novo, tra dotta in lingua italiana ... Con la tavola di tutte le cose piu notabili* (Venice: Barezzi Barezzi, 1592). For translation, I refer to Adriano Banchieri, *The Nobleness of the Ass: A Worke Rare, Learned, and Excellent* (London: Thomas Creed, 1595).

designed for three to six voices, and bound by a common dramatic thread.⁵⁴ The English term ‘madrigal comedies’ seems to have been first coined by Alfred Einstein in *The Italian Madrigal*.⁵⁵ The term may have originated in *L’Amfiparnaso* (1597) by the Modenese composer Orazio Vecchi, whose subtitle is *comedia harmonica*, and whose preface refers to the work as a *comedia musicale*.⁵⁶ Referring to Vecchi, Einstein explains that ‘[H]is so-called “madrigal comedies,” which are anything but comedies and which have no more to do with the theatre, the stage, or the birth of the opera than Striggio’s *Cicalamento*, follow after a long and fruitful preoccupation with the canzonetta’.⁵⁷

The term ‘madrigal comedy’, which has been used ‘rather indiscriminately by others’ as David Nutter remarks,⁵⁸ requires some explanation and definition. Its composers in sixteenth-century Italy called their works by various names, such as *comedia harmonica* or *raggionamenti comici*. This musical genre was probably designed to provide entertainment for social gatherings held at Italian academies in the evening.⁵⁹ The word ‘comedy’ implies the literary genre, but Nino Pirrotta refers to *L’Amfiparnaso* and argues that ‘the action and the development of the play are far below the minimum of coherent and logical succession we should expect from the most mediocre comedy’. He continues that the role of listeners, who were familiar with the plots and characters of the *commedia dell’arte* that the genre generally employed, was to connect and integrate patchy scenes and episodes of the play into ‘a real comedy plot’.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it is commonly understood that Vecchi did not mean his madrigal comedies to be staged.⁶¹ This assumption is derived from the prologue of *L’Amfiparnaso*, where one of the characters, Lelio, declares that ‘questo di cui parlo spettacolo si mira con la mente dov’entra per l’orecchie non per gl’occhi’ (this [spectacle] of which I speak is admired with the mind, into which it enters through the ears,

⁵⁴ David Nutter, “Madrigal Comedy,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed January 1, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17409>.

Alessandro Striggio’s *Cicalamento delle donne al bucato* (1567) is generally counted as the earliest example of this genre. But it is sometimes distinguished as a descriptive style of madrigal pieces from those based on the literary genre. See Nutter, “Madrigal comedy.”

⁵⁵ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, eds. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), 2: 772. Paul Schleuse points out that in the nineteenth century, the Austrian composer and music historian August Wilhelm Abros used the German coinage Madrigal-Kömodie (“madrigal comedy” in English) in *Geschichte der Musik*, ed. Nottebohm (Leipzig, 1878), 4:264. See Paul Schleuse, “‘A Tale Completed in the Mind’: Genre and Imitation in *L’Amfiparnaso* (1597),” *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 2 (2012): 115.

⁵⁶ Nutter, “Madrigal comedy.”

⁵⁷ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2: 772-3.

⁵⁸ Nutter, “Madrigal comedy.”

⁵⁹ Nutter, “Madrigal comedy.”

⁶⁰ Pirrotta, “‘Commedia dell’Arte’ and Opera,” 310-1.

⁶¹ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2:794-5. Edward J. Dent, “Notes on the ‘Amfiparnaso’ of Orazio Vecchi,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12, no.3 (1911): 330-47. A more detailed discussion on the staging of madrigal comedies see Farahat, “On the Staging”, 123-43.

not through the eyes).⁶²

It is also widely discussed that Vecchi attempted to mingle music as ‘grave’ (serious) and comic verse as ‘piacevole’ (gay) throughout his major works.⁶³ William R. Martin indicates that the title of *L’Amfiparnaso* is ‘a reflection of his adherence to the sixteenth-century literary philosophy that the “Parnassus” of expression is to be reached through contrasting the serious (“grave”) with the gay (“piacevole”)’.⁶⁴ This subject matter continuously arises in the prologue delivered by the aforementioned Lelio. Here Vecchi announces his composition of a ‘dopia novità’ (two-faced novelty), which quite possibly represents ‘the two slopes of Parnassus; one devoted to music and the other to comic poetry’, to use Laurie Detenbeck’s words.⁶⁵

Although there is no documentary evidence of any direct interactions between the two composers, Banchieri is often regarded as Vecchi’s successor, imitator, and admirer.⁶⁶ In *Lettere armoniche* (1628), Banchieri acknowledges his imitation of Orazio Vecchi:⁶⁷

I a poet? It is true, that 30 years have already passed, since in imitation of Orazio Vecchi I composed and brought to light, in my youthful frenzy, some serious and some witty *strambotti*, set to my own notes, which numbered four books for three voices.⁶⁸

This statement is immediately followed by mention of his four works, *La pazzia senile*, *La prudenza giovanile*, *Il studio dilettevole* and *Il metamorfosi musicale*.⁶⁹ In the earlier part of *Lettere*, Banchieri includes *L’Amfiparnaso* among other works which:

Seeing in the concerto some witty trills, or pleasing passages, will be consonant

⁶² Orazio Vecchi, *L’Amfiparnaso commedia armonica: Venezia 1597* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1597; facs. Repr., Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1997), xviii.

⁶³ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2:776; Nutter, “Madrigal comedy”.

⁶⁴ William R. Martin, “Vecchi, Orazio [Horatio],” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed on February 28, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29102>.

⁶⁵ Laurie Detenbeck, “Dramatized Madrigals and the Commedia dell’Arte Tradition,” in *The Science of Buffoonery: Theory and History of the Commedia dell’Arte*, University of Toronto Italian Studies 3, ed. Domenico Pietropaolo (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1989), 59.

⁶⁶ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2:802; Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 118-119; Farahat, “On the Staging,” 124-6.

⁶⁷ Farahat, “Adriano Banchieri,” 10.

⁶⁸ “Io poeta? È vero, che già trent’anni scorrano, ad imitatione d’Orazio Vecchi composti, e diedi in luce, nel mio furore giovanile alcuni strambotti serii, e faceti applicati alle mie solfe, che furono quattro libri à tre Voci. Pazzia senile, Prudenza giovanile, Studio dilettevole, e Sue metamorfosi.” Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, 18-9.

⁶⁹ The title of *Studio dilettevole* clearly indicates borrowings from *L’Amfiparnaso: Il Studio dilettevole, e tre voci nuovamente con vaghi argomenti e spassevoli intermedii fiorito dal Amfiparnaso comedia musicale dell’Horatio Vecchi*. See Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2:802.

with the harmony of Aristotle in the *Poetics*, with Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, with Homer in the *Odyssey*, with [Cesare] Caporali in the *Orti di Mecenate*, with Monteverdi's *scherzi*, with Vecchi in the *Amfiparnaso*, and with other similar writers, poets, and musicians, dramatists.⁷⁰

This enables us to imagine that Banchieri perhaps modelled on *L'Amfiparnaso* in the process of composing his madrigal comedies. Although it is possible to observe their similarity in the combination of music and comedy, and the employment of commedia dell'arte characters and plots, the comparison, nevertheless, marks a critical difference between the two compositions.⁷¹ First, several scholars suggest that Banchieri may have intended his comedies to be staged.⁷² In the preface and introduction of *La prudenza giovanile*, Banchieri elaborately instructs the reader concerning how it should be performed and staged.⁷³ Banchieri also provided his ideas on staging in the preface to *La saviezza giovanile* (1628). In *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri did not indicate his ideas on staging, but the *avvertimenti* (notices) instruct one of the singers to read aloud everything written before the melodies, such as the titles and *argomenti* (subjects), which aims to clarify the plot for the audience. Banchieri's intention to deliver individual words is more apparent in his approach of reducing the texture from the five voices of *L'Amfiparnaso* to three, as well as in his frequent use of homophony. Additionally, Banchieri eliminates the scenes of attempted suicide that insert a tragic element into Vecchi's piece; instead, the comical side is given greater emphasis, through a focus on the elderly lovers.⁷⁴

Aside from the discussion on a comparison of the madrigals of Vecchi and Banchieri, it is certain that both composers ambitiously sought the possibilities of 'modern' music, now on the brink of a historic transition period. The next sections explore their interest in the contemporary musical movement, in particular, *seconda pratica*, and how Banchieri unleashed his creativity in composing *La pazzia senile*.

⁷⁰ "però udendosi nel concerto qualche arguto groppetto, ovvero piacevole passaggio, saranno consonanti all'armonia del Aristotle nella Poetica, al Boccaccio nel Decamerone, ad Omero nell'Odissea, al Caporale ne gl'Horti, al Monteverde ne gli scherzi, al Vecchi nell'Amfiparnaso, & ad altri simili Scrittori Poeti, e Musici Dramatici" Banchieri, *Lettere armoniche*, A3v.

⁷¹ While admitting Banchieri's inheritance from Vecchi, Detenbeck argues that *La pazzi senile* is more 'truly consistent with the commedia dell'arte tradition' in terms of a plot, characters and dialogs. See Detenbeck, "Dramatised Madrigals," 62.

⁷² Farahat, "On the Staging," 129; Detenbeck, "Dramatised Madrigals," 61.

⁷³ Farahat, "On the Staging," 130-5.

⁷⁴ Schleuse argues that the scenes of attempted suicide were 'characteristic of the relatively new literary genre of pastoral tragicomedy', and also points out its absence in *La pazzia senile*. See Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 136; Schleuse, "A Tale Completed in the Mind," 123-4.

3.5 L'umor bizzarro

In *La pazzia senile*, a peculiar character called 'L'umor Bizzarro', or the Capricious Temperament, delivers the prologue and the epilogue. I here introduce a unique and oddly violent prologue:

Prologo Recitato	Prologue Recited
Dall'umor Bizzaro	By the Capricious Temperament
Illustri spettatori,	Illustrious spectators,
Qui son venuto fuori	Here I have come out
Alla vostra presenza	Into your presence
Per farvi riverenza.	To make reverence to you.
Sapete voi ch'io sia?	Do you know who I am?
A non vi dir bugia,	Not to tell you a lie,
I' son l'umor bizzaro	I am the Capricious Temperament
Che amazzo, squarto, e sbarro	such that I murder, butcher, and eliminate
Oche, Torte, e Presciutti.	Gooses, Cakes, and Hams.
Però silentio tutti,	But silence everyone,
Che veggio Pantalone in atto humile	For here comes Pantalone in a humble mien
Per dar principio alla PAZZIA SENILE ⁷⁵	To begin LA PAZZIA SENILE

This character does not belong to the commedia dell'arte tradition, nor does it appear in *L'Amfiparnaso*, and therefore may be a distinctive character for the piece. In his other madrigal comedies, Banchieri presents further characters with the name of 'umor': 'L'umor Risoluto' (The Resolute Temperament) in *Il studio dilettevole*, and 'L'umor Cromatico' (The Chromatic Temperament) in *Il metamorfosi musicale*; they also deliver prologues. What was the purpose of the composer to create these characters?

This device in Banchieri reminds us of Orazio Vecchi's *Le veglie di Siena* (1604), which contains 'I varii humori della musica moderna' (various humors of the modern music), divided equally into two categories, 'gravi' (serious) and 'piacevoli' (gay). The first part is described as 'gli humori faceti' (the witty humours) and contains three games of linguistic imitations, *La caccia d'Amore* and the *bisticci*. The second part represents a single game in

⁷⁵ Adriano Banchieri, *La pazzia senile ragionamenti vaghi, et dilettevoli novamente composti, & dati in luce con la musica di Adriano Banchieri bolognese. Libro secondo, a tre voci* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607), 6.

which 14 ‘humours’ are demonstrated.⁷⁶

L’umor grave	L’umor gentile
L’umor allegro	L’umor affetuoso
L’umor universale	L’umor perfisioso
L’umor misto	L’umor sincero
L’umor licentioso	L’umor svegghiato
L’umor dolente	L’umor malenconico
L’umor lusinghiero	L’umor balzano

Therefore, there are 14 imagined singers, each of which was actually sung by five or six real singers in polyphony. According to the *proposta* (proposition) given by Alto-Quinto-Basso trio, each singer selects their style, and the one who most ‘arouses the emotions’ will be the winner.

Hor sù, dunque da i vostri disparei	So come now, from your differing ideas
Questo gioco traremo:	we shall make this game:
Che chi di voi più desterà gli affetti,	whichever of you most arouses the emotions
Col suo lodato modo,	with his praiseworthy style
Quell’havra premio di memoria eterna.	shall have the prize of eternal fame.
E lo potrem chiamare:	And we shall call it
Gli humori di musica moderna. ⁷⁷	“The humors of modern music”. ⁷⁸

It has been discussed that *Le veglie* in turn reflects Girolamo Bargagli’s *Il Dialogo*. This Sienese parlour game book was dedicated to Isabella de’ Medici (1542–1576), a daughter of Cosimo I and Eleonora, and the wife of Paolo Giordano I Orsini (1541–1585). The book describes a theory of play with 130 examples of games which were supposedly played in the Sienese soirées. Before the recent hiatus caused by the war, these were originally enjoyed during Sienese festivals.⁷⁹ Bargagli’s *Il Dialogo* influenced contemporary works, such as

⁷⁶ Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena*, Title Page. Also see Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 177-244.

⁷⁷ Orazio Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena* (1604), 30.

⁷⁸ Translation is cited from Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 230.

⁷⁹ Girolamo Bargali, *Dialogo de’ giuochi che nelle vegghe sanesi si vsano di fare. Del Materiale Intronato. All’illustrissima, et eccell. Signora donna Isabella de’ Medici orsina duchessa di bracciano* (Siena: Luca Bonetti, 1572).

Tomaso Garzoni's satirical treatise, *L'Hospidale de' pazzi incurabili* (The Hospital of Incurable Madness, 1586), which catalogues a variety of social deviance. Garzoni took the title of *L'Hospidale* from one of the games in *Il Dialogo*.⁸⁰ Vecchi clarifies the difference among 14 humours of different natures in his *Le veglie* from 'those humors in Garzoni's hospital for the mad', stating his humors of 'wise men who have a place at the tables of Princes'.⁸¹ On the other hand, James Haar conjectures that Vecchi's work draws a good deal of inspiration from the '*giuochi sensei*', although he indicates that the second part of *Le veglie* is not closely associated with Bargagli.⁸² Paul Schleuse considers Vecchi's intention in *Le veglie* is 'to present a wide range of musical genres and imitations rather than to evoke 'realistically' a series of documented games'. Particularly drawing attention to Vecchi's musical settings in the second part of *Le veglie*, which are considered 'errors' described by Giovanni Maria Artusi (1540–1613), Schleuse argues Vecchi's positive commitment to *seconda pratica*, the musical practice referred to in the controversy between Artusi and Monteverdi.⁸³

The writings of Banchieri also show his affirmation of this innovative musical style, intended to 'make the words the mistress of the harmony'.⁸⁴ In *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo* (1609), he parallels contemporary composers who imitate the affections indicated by the words of a song with orators who move listeners with sweet voices.

Thus one who seeks through practical music to express a madrigal, motet, sonnet, or one of the other poetic forms and rhymes, must work by imitating the sentiments with the harmony, so that in singing it matches the taste not only of the composer himself, but equally the singers and the listeners. Without doubt, so far as harmony is concerned music must be subject to the words, seeing that the words are the things which express the concept, and thus if the word seeks sorrow, passion, sighs, doubt and error, or other such mishaps, such words must be clothed with equivalent harmony.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 244.

⁸¹ Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 244.

⁸² Haar, "On Musical Games," 34.

⁸³ Schleuse, *Singing Games*, 230-44.

⁸⁴ "... è stata (in questo genere di musica) di far che l'oratione sia padrona del armonia e non serva." "Dichiaratione," in Claudio Monteverdi, *Lettere, dediche, e prefazioni*, ed. Domenico De'Paoli (Rome: De Santis, 1973), 396.

⁸⁵ "... così ricercasi al Musico pratico nell'esprimere un Madrigale, Motetto, Sonetto, ò quali sieno altre poesie, & ritmi deve operare imitando con l'armonia gl'affetti acciò, che nel cantare habbino gusto non solo il proprio compositore, ma parimente gli cantori, & audienti; Non è dubbio, che la Musica in quanto all'armonia deve essere soggetta alle parole, atteso, che le parole sono esse, che esprimono il concetto, la onde se la parola ricerca dolore, passione, sospiri, interrogativo errore, ò altro tale accidente, tali parole debbono essere vestite con equivalente armonia." Adriano Banchieri, *Conclusioni nel suono dell'organo. Di D.Adriano Banchieri colognese, olivetano, & Organista di S. Michele in Bosco. Novellamente*

In *Cartella musicale* (1614), Banchieri also emphasises the importance of composers in imitating great orators.

Thus, the modern composer of music, in expressing a madrigal, motet or any other words, must work to imitate with the harmony the sentiments of the oration, such that the song gives delight not only to its own composer, but equally to the singers and the listeners.⁸⁶

In the same treatise, he also criticises the predecessors (*gl'antichi*) for focusing only on the rules of counterpoint and frequently causing a contradiction between words and music.⁸⁷

To return to *L'humor bizzarro*, the character's peculiar speech in the prologue suggests that it is a particular type or shade of madman, marked by a stormy and capricious temperament. Furthermore, the context of *La pazzia senile* enables us to assume that *L'humor bizzarro* dominates characters in love, particularly the two old men. As I will discuss later, the musical analysis indicates that Banchieri's intention lies more in producing new expressive effects through playing this musical entertainment. Therefore, though Banchieri was not directly inspired by Vecchi's *Le veglie*, given that *La pazzia senile* was published earlier, Banchieri's stance on music indicates his inclination towards *seconda pratica*, and suggests its practice in his compositions. In this sense, the characters in Banchieri's madrigal comedies who combine humour and musical expression can be considered to symbolise the composer's experimental projects.

3.6 La pazzia senile

La pazzia senile comprises an introductory part, three main parts, and a concluding part. The following characters from the commedia dell'arte appear in the main parts: two young lovers,

tradotte, & dilucidate, in scrittori musici, & organisti celebri. Opera vigesima. Alla gloriosa vergine, et martire santa cecilia devota de gli musici, & organisti. Dedicata (Bologna: Hairs of Gio. Rossi, 1609), 58-9.

⁸⁶ “Cosi ricercasi al moderno co[m]positore di Musiche nell'esprimere un Madrigale Motetto ò quali sieno altre parole, deve operare imitando con l'armonia gl'af[f]etti dell'Oratione, accio che nel cantare habbino diletto non solo il proprio compositore [sic], ma parimente gli Cantori & audienti.” Adriano Banchieri, *Cartella Musicale nel canto figurato ferma, & contrapunto del P.D. Adriano Banchieri bolognese monaco olivetano. Novamente in questa terza impressione ridotta dall'antica alla moderna pratica, & dedicata. Alla santissima madonna di Loretto con privilegio* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1614: fac., Forni 1968), 166.

⁸⁷ For Banchieri and his interest in *seconda pratica*, see Takaharu Oai 大愛崇晴, “Chosaku to shite no ‘Daini no Sakuhou’ ha Naze Kakarenakatta ka – Monteverdi to Sono Doujidai ni okeru Sakkyoku jyou no Kisoku to Dokousei – “ 著作としての『第二の作法』はなぜ書かれなかったのか—モンテヴェルディとその同時代における作曲上の規則と独創性—[Why ‘Seconda Pratica’ was not Written as Literary Work: Compositional Rules and Originality in the Period of Monteverdi and His Contemporaries],” *Seijyo Bungei 成城文藝* 209 (2009): 138 (1)-114 (25).

named Doralice and Fulvio; Doralice’s father from Burano, Pantalone; Doralice’s suitor from Francolino, Gratiano; Pantalone’s servant from Vallada, Burattino; and a courtesan from Mazorbo, Laretta. Additionally, the prologue and the epilogue are delivered by *L’umor bizarro*, who was detailed in the previous section, who delivers, as well as mascherate-like characters for the intermedi.

Figure 3.2. Frontispiece of Adriano Banchieri’s *La pazzia senile*. Venice, 1598

The plot is also common in the *commedia dell’arte* scenarios.⁸⁸ Doralice, a young woman, is in love with Fulvio, but Pantalone tries to have his daughter married to his friend Gratiano. Pantalone pursues Laretta while Gratiano sings a parodied love song for Doralice. In the end, the young lovers are happily married while the older lovers are left mocked. After the epilogue, the comedy ends with a lively song.⁸⁹ *La pazzia senile*’s structure varies according to the editions. My analysis was created based on the 1607 edition.

Table 3.1. Summary of the Scenes in *La pazzia senile* (1607)

Numbers	Protagonists	Subjects
1. Introduction	The author	
2. First Intermedio	Matches	
3. Prologue	Capricious Temperament	Capricious Temperament enters and becomes terrifying/He calls for

⁸⁸ The employment of the *commedia dell’arte* convention could be an imitation of *L’Amfiparnaso*. Farahat points out that Banchieri could also have a chance to obtain knowledge of the *commedia* from his teacher Guami, as during his stay at the court in Munich, Guami had probably a link to Orlando di Lasso and Andrea Gabrieli, whose compositions and performances included *commedia personae*. See Farahat, “Adriano Banchieri,” 7.

⁸⁹ Enrique Alberto Arias, *Comedy in Music: A Historical Bibliographical Resource Guide* (Westport, Conn.; London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 18. “The balletto is a dance song type, popular in the late 16th century. Giovanni Gastoldi’s first collection, *Balletti a cinque voci* (Venice: Amardino, 1591), includes descriptive titles that the individual texts elaborated. Typically in two or more sections, each ending with a fa-la-la refrain, the balletto used a symmetric structure with internal repetitions.”

		silence and utters strange words/But then he leaves as Pantalone is coming.
First Part		
4. First Discourse	Pantalone	The old Pantalone is in love/With Lauretta, and only with her is he consumed/But in the end he is left much mocked.
5. Second Discourse	Pantalone and Burattino	Burattino discloses to the old man an odd circumstance/That Doralice makes love at night/Whence the furious man wishes to give her to Gratiano.
6. Third Discourse	Fulvio	Madrigaletto recited by Signor Fulvio to his beloved/Doralice while she dries her hair in the sun.
7. Fourth Discourse	Gratiano and Pantalone	Gratiano enters greeting Pantalone/They conclude the marriage agreement and then depart/But in the end, he remains a blockhead.
8. Second Intermedio	Bertolina	
Second Part		
9. First Discourse	Pantalone and Burattino	Pantalone gives Buratino a list/Of his relatives from Rovigo that he should invite/But the servant indeed does not like the Latin.
10. Second Discourse	Doralice	Doralice had heard her father clearly/that she was given to be the bride of Gratiano/But longing for Fulvio, she says sighing.
11. Third Discourse	Gratiano	Here is Gratiano playing a <i>chittarino</i> /Telling Doralice of his achievements/And Doralice is silent, oh Baboon.

12. Fourth Discourse	Pantalone and Laretta	Pantalone talks with Laretta/About his suffering for love of her/But, mocked, he promises her bitter revenge.
13. Third Intermedio	Chimney sweeps	
Third Part		
14. First Discourse	Gratiano	The Doctor returns with the chittarino in his hand/He sings ‘Vestiva i colli alla sua Diva’/But he wastes his time (poor Gratiano)
15. Second Discourse	Fulvio	Fulvio says sadly to Doralice/Dear, my life, dear, my love/Why do you leave me (Alas) for that doctor?
16. Third Discourse	Doralice	
17. Fourth Discourse	Pantalone	All confused the poor little old man/Doesn’t know what to do with himself, finally takes his leave/To turn his love into a nasty trick.
18. Leave	Capricious Temperament	Returning, Capricious Temperament gives leave/Thanks the spectators for their silence/That they have kept and to them makes reverence.
19. Dance of Country Girls		

Each main part includes four *ragionamenti* (discourses), consisting of the characters’ dialogues and monologues, the latter allocated only to the four lovers, Pantalone, Gratiano, Fulvio, and Doralice. In general, the dialogues function to progress the story while the monologues describe the characters’ sentiments for their lovers. The music scores of the prologue, discourses, and epilogue are preceded by a tercet called *argomento* (subject) surrounded by a decorative square, which outlines the content of the subsequent song (Fig. 3.3). The reader is instructed that one of the singers should read this argument before singing, to inform the audience the song’s theme.

Figure 3.3. ‘Argomento’, First Part, First Discourse in *La pazzia senile*. Venice, 1607

La pazzia senile, which was influenced by the new musical movement, analogously demonstrates a contrast between ‘old’ and ‘young’, not only in the plot but rather in the musical context. In what follows, I begin to discuss how Banchieri weaved his interest in *seconda pratica* into this unique madrigal comedy under the theme of *pazzia* by focusing first on the young lovers and then spotlighting the old men in love to analyse their solos.

3.7 *The Young Lovers as ‘gl’antichi’*

Fulvio and Doralice, educated and graceful young lovers speaking the most polished Tuscan, are among the main stock characters of the commedia dell’arte and are from originate in the *innamorati*. Fulvio and Doralice are no exception, except insofar as they are not really the focus of the plot. Their solos, Fulvio in the first part and Doralice in the second, manifest their affection for each other, demonstrating Petrarchan reflection with metaphorical associativity, for example, at the line-ends: ‘oro’ (gold) and ‘tesoro’ (treasure), ‘sole’ (sun) and ‘suole’ (alone/sole), ‘loco’ (place) and ‘foco’ (fire), in Fulvio’s solo. Petrarch’s style is also reflected in the use of oxymoron—in this case, water and fire are present simultaneously.⁹⁰ Fulvio eulogizes his lover’s preciousness and absoluteness for him by using these tropes:

< First Part, Third Discourse. Fulvio solo >

Se nel mar del mio pianto	If in the sea of my tears
Bagnasti, Doralice, il bel crin d’oro	You bathe your beautiful tresses of gold,
	Doralice,
È vostro, o mio tesoro,	It is yours, oh my treasure,
Perché sciugarlo al sole	Because drying them in the sun
(Anima mia) che abandonar vi suole?	(My soul) how can I leave you alone?

⁹⁰ Gordon Braden, *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1999).

Correte a me, che in un medesimo loco Run to me, so that in one and the same place
 Havrete sempre l'acqua, e sempre il foco. You will always have water, and always fire.

Se nel mar del mio pian - to
 Se nel mar del mio pian - to del mio
 Se nel mar del mio pian - to del mio pian - to
 del mio pian - to Ba - gna - sti Do - ra - li - ce il bel crin d'o - ro
 pian - to Ba - gna - sti Do - ra - li - ce il bel crin d'o - ro
 Ba - gna - sti Do - ra - li - ce il bel crin d'o - ro

Example 3.1 *La pazzia senile*, the first part, the third discourse, Fulvio solo, bb. 1-11

Fulvio's solo, which reflects the classical trend in contemporary madrigals, is written in counterpoint and sung in a melancholic tone with sweet Petrarchan verses.

By maintaining these features, the lovers become dialogic in their solos in the third part, in which we can find a dramaturgical and musical connection with the old lovers. They are titled 'Proposta di Fulvio alla sua amata Doralice' (Declaration of Fulvio to his lover Doralice) and 'Risposta di Doralice a Fulvio suo amante' (Reply of Doralice to Fulvio, her lover):

< Third Part, Second Discourse, Declaration of Fulvio to his lover Doralice >

Ditemi in cortesia	Tell me please
Doralice anima mia	Doralice my soul
A che dar tante pene a questo core	For what do you give so much pain to this heart
Col' prender per marito quel Dottore?	By taking for your husband that Dottore?

< Third Part, Third Discourse, Answer of Doralice to Fulvio, her lover >

Deh Fulvio, anima mia	Oh Fulvio, my soul
Non sarebbe pazzia	Would it not be mad
Che Doralice avesse quel Dottore?	For Doralice to have that Dottore?
Siate pur voi mio sposo e mio signore.	You are my husband and my lord.

Fulvio is concerned about Doralice's change of heart in his declaration, and in her reply, Doralice flatly refutes his accusation and asserts that Fulvio is her only love. Their concern for Gratiano would give them, and perhaps the audience, a moderate feeling of tension and heightens their amorous relationship. By doing so, the author can create a common and popular dramatic effect.

More intriguingly, we encounter in this section the first and last instance of the word 'pazzia' in the entire comedy (save the title). It appears in Doralice's response to Fulvio's anxiety about her feeling for her unwelcome fiancé. Doralice declares that it would be 'pazzia' if she chose the Dottore. This usage of 'pazzia' might be rather colloquial, but given its presence on the title page, we cannot miss the effect of the word at this point. In the music, the upper two voices echo the first line of Doralice's answer, 'Non sarebbe pazzia' (Would it not be mad), with a descending stepwise melodic motion from d'. The notes of 'pazzia' move g-f#-g, or d-c#d, creating a chromatic movement. This distinctive motion is also effectively used in Pantalone's mad scene, as will be explored subsequently. In the lover's solo, this contrapuntal movement is resolved in the following line as an ironic reply, 'Che Doralice avesse quel Dottore?' (For Doralice to have that Dottore?), with assertive homorhythmic texture.⁹¹

⁹¹ Farahat analyzes that narrative speech tends to be set syllabically and homorhythmically. Moreover, imitative forms are used for affective sections while syllabic forms are used for less emotional states. See Farahat, "Adriano Banchieri," 186.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. The first system, starting at measure 3, features a vocal line with lyrics: "a Non sa-reb - be paz - zi - a Non sa - reb - be paz - zi - a Non sa - reb - be paz - zi -". The second system, starting at measure 6, features a vocal line with lyrics: "a Che Do - ra - li - ce haves - se quel Dot - to - re? Sia". Both systems include a piano accompaniment with a bass line and a treble line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

Example 3.2 *La pazzia senile*, the third part, the third discourse, response of Doralice to Fulvio, bb. 3-7

While expressing their sentiment, Fulvio and Doralice's solos draws the audience's attention to their madrigalesque characteristics most familiar to their contemporaries. It displays a clear contrast with the capricious solos of the old lovers, Pantalone and Gratiano. The next section first addresses Gratiano and his music in relation to the Counter-Reformation, which had a significant impact on musical practice in the ecclesiastical institutions of the period.

3.8 *Gratiano in Love: Mocking the Orthodox*

Gratiano is an aged man often from Bologna, in early scenarios, most often a lawyer or a doctor of medicine.⁹² Contemporary images show Gratiano wearing an academic dress. His name's origin has been attributable to a variety of people, including the learned twelfth-century jurist Gratiano, the fourteenth-century Dante scholar Graziano de'Bambagioli, a barber in Francolino, the learned man found in macaronic verses, and the pedant in the dramatic tradition.⁹³ While being Pantalone's companion, Gratiano appears on stage sometimes as a father or husband, like Pantalone, and is generally in love with a young

⁹² Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 7.

⁹³ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 116.

woman.⁹⁴ His speech attempts to support his erudition by rhetoric or authentic quotations but instead exposes his ignorance or absurdity. In Lodovico de' Bianchi's *Le cento e quindici conclusioni in ottava rima del plus quam perfetto Dottor Graziano Partesana da Francolin* (The hundred and 15 conclusions in ottava rima of the more-than-perfect Doctor Graziano Partesana of Francolin), the self-confessed master utters self-evident facts of nature, the world and human life as if they were aphorisms or new discoveries:

La Rosa ch'è fiorida, sa da bon,	The flowering rose smells good,
E l'uomo che mania, non è mort,	And the man who walks is not dead,
Un che sempre abbia stort, mai ha rason,	Someone who is always wrong is never right,
La nave ch'è in alto mar, è via dal port,	The ship that is on the high seas is away from port,
Chi non vol star in pas, faza costion,	He who does not want peace, let him argue,
E chi non vol andar pian, camina fort,	And he who does not want to go slow, let him walk fast,
E quell ch'è fat a quadro, non è tond,	And that which is square is not round,
E chi non vol esser al prim, sippa al second. ⁹⁵	And he who does not want to be first, should be second. ⁹⁶

The other linguistic characteristic of Gratiano is malapropism. Pier Maria Cecchini, the *capocomico* of the commedia dell'arte troupe Accesi, explains how to perform the role of Gratiano in *Frutti delle moderne comedie*.⁹⁷

He should introduce words he thinks highly sophisticated, but which are in fact as ridiculous as anything you are likely to hear, like *interpretare* for *impetrare*, *urore* for *errore*, *secolare* (fancying it to be Tuscan) instead of *scholari*, and so on, without giving insult to the region or the individual.⁹⁸

According to Robert Henke, the presence of these linguistic characteristics is also noted in a

⁹⁴ Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 7.

⁹⁵ Molinari, *La commedia dell'arte/scelta*, 929-30.

⁹⁶ Translation is referred to Jordan, "Pantalone and il Dottore," 66.

⁹⁷ Crick and Rudlin, *Commedia dell'Arte*, 42.

⁹⁸ "... Inquando lasciarsi (con qualche sobrietà) uscir di bocca di quelle parole secondo loro più scielte; ma secondo il vero le più ridicole, che si ascoltino; Come sarebbe à dire. Interpretare, per impetrare. uore, per errore. Secolari (credendosi di parlar Toscano) per Scolari, & altre simili, che no vituperano la patria, & il personaggio." Cecchini, *Frutti delle moderne comedie*, 21-2. Translation from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 128.

letter written by Lodovico de' Bianchi to Ferdinando II in 1589, in which the author names himself 'Il Dottor Graziano' of the Gelosi. 'Here, even the Tuscan translation is not impervious to *grazianatoria* corruption, mainly in its hyperbolic, parodic redundancies ... In the burlesque letter proper, we continue to observe a method of verbal production that surely transferred to stage practice . . . "per aver" becomes "per vendere," and "gia" becomes "il ghiaccio." Poetic word-play creates nonce-words: "speranza" [hope] thus becomes "suspiranza," which combines "speranza" and "sospirare" [to breathe]'.⁹⁹

Figure 3.4. Watercolor illustration of the scenario *Il Gratiano innamorato*. Corsini MS.¹⁰⁰

In *La pazzia senile*, Gratiano's first solo appears in the second part. He sings a new song for Doralice, playing a *chittarino*, a small guitar:

< Second Part, Third Discourse, Gratiano, playing and singing >

Trinc tin tin tin tin tronc

Doralice mia bella,

Ascolta un poc una canzon novella

Trinc tin tin tin tin tronc

My beautiful Doralice,

Listen a moment to a new song

⁹⁹ Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 144.

¹⁰⁰ Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 127.

Ch'al to Duttur Gratian la vol cantar That your Dr Gratiano wants to sing you
E con al chittarin la vol sunar. And with the *chittarino* he wants to play.

Mi son adottorade I was bestowed
In una terra dentr' una cittade In a country inside a small city
E ho tegnù tre bott confusion And I have kept three confusional barrels
E sempr'hò fatt humor al mie saion. And I've always fitted humor to my long skirted coat.

A Padova, e Bulogna At Padua, and Bologna
Cinq'ann' ho lett' senza una vergogna I studied for 5 years without discredit
E s'hò Aristl' tutt' in tal cervell, And so I have a brain full of Aristotle,
Piatton, Bartl' e Bald' con al Javell. Piattone, Bartolo and Baldo with Javelli.

Sì che, Doralizzina, Such that, little Doralice,
A vuoi te sippi la mia fandesina. I want you to be my girl.
Però fam'al to spos' ch'a t'ho purtà Thus marry me and I will give you
Una gullana d'or e dù cotà. A necklace of gold and two coats.
Trinc tin tin tin tin tronc. Trinc tin tin tin tin tronc.¹⁰¹

After an onomatopoeic prelude on the guitar and a brief announcement to his fiancé, Gratiano ostentatiously brags about his brilliant academic background in the rhyming verse, referring to the names of philosophical, legal, and theological authorities, sometimes including jokes or *double entendres*. Particularly, the third stanza lists distinguished philosophers and lawyers, whose names have double meanings. 'Aristl' indicates Aristotle but also *arista*, which means a 'pork loin'. *Piatton* is meant to be Plato, but its actual meaning is a 'big plate'. *Bartolo* is Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313 or 1314–1357), one of the most renowned continental jurists of Medieval Roman Law.¹⁰² But 'Bartolo' might also be a character in the anonymous brief farce *Entremés de los romances* (Interlude of the Ballads)

¹⁰¹ As Gratiano misuses language, it is difficult to apprehend the original puns and translate the exact meaning. I refer to Carolina Coronedi Berti, *Vocabolario bolognese italiano* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1872) and Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. I am sincerely grateful for the generous advice of Dr Paul Schleuse for the translation.

¹⁰² Francesco Calasso, "Bartolo da Sassoferrato," *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli italiani, vol.6 (1964), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolo-da-sassoferrato_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/. Banchieri included the name of Bartolo also in *La nobiltà dell'asino* (Venice: Barezzi Barezzi, 1592), 54. "Bartolo famosissimo legista."

who goes mad from reading the ballads.¹⁰³ ‘Baldo’ is probably Baldo degli Ubaldi (1319 or 1327–1400), a disciple of Bartolus, who wrote extensive treatises on the law. Contrarily, ‘Baldo’ also means ‘cocky’ and was the name of the protagonist in Teofilo Folengo’s (1491–1544) eponymous satirical epic written in macaronic verse.¹⁰⁴ ‘Javelli’ probably means a philosopher and theologian Giovanni Crisostomo Javelli (c. 1470–c. 1538), who wrote substantial commentaries on the works of Plato and Aristotle and taught theology at the University of Bologna.¹⁰⁵ Gratiano’s characteristics are intensified such as punning the names of renowned intellectuals and slipping tongues in the madrigal, which add comic and satirical tastes. It can be assumed that frequent references to food imply Gratiano’s appetite for women. In a strophic form, Gratiano’s bragging is sung in a simple homophonic texture (Ex. 3.3).

Alla Bastarda

Trinc tin tronc tin tin tronc, tin, tin, tin, tin, ti, ri tronc

Trinc tin tronc tin tin tronc, tin, tin, tin, tin, ti, ri tronc

Trinc tin tronc tin tin tronc, tin, tin, tin, tin, ti, ri tronc

6

Do - ra - li - ce mia bel - la, A - scola un poc u - na can

Do - ra - li - ce mia bel - la, A - scola un poc u - na can

Do - ra - li - ce mia bel la, A - scola un poc u - na can

Example 3.3 *La pazzia senile*, the second part, the third discourse, Gratiano solo, bb. 1-9

¹⁰³ Anthony J. Cascardi, *The Cambridge Companion to Cervantes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 60. Also see Ramón Menéndez-Pidal, “The Genesis of ‘Don Quixote,’” in *Cervantes Across the Centurie. A Quadricentennial Volume*, eds. M.J. Bernardete and Angel Flores (New York: Dryden Press, 1947).

¹⁰⁴ Teofilo Folengo, *Baldo*, trans. Ann E. Mullaney (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ Dagmar Von Wille, “Javelli, Giovanni Crisostomo,” *Treccani Online*, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 62 (2004). [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-crisostomo-javelli_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-crisostomo-javelli_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

Triple time in the third stanza offers a variation to the melody otherwise sung in common time. Gratiano's song sounds pleasing and buoyant. Each stanza is sandwiched between the strums of the chittarino.

In the first bar of this solo, there is an instruction 'Alla Bastarda', which marks Gratiano's absurdity in this part. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical terminology, the word *bastarda* was originally used for a solo repertory, principally for a kind of small viola da gamba, called a *viola bastarda*, developed during the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶ With this instrument, a player performed a piece alone, which was originally set in polyphony. Its range midway between bass and a tenor enabled the player to shape a melodic line by moving freely through various voices with diminution or improvising new counterpoints.¹⁰⁷ The term *viola bastarda* appeared for the first time in music history in a treatise on ornamentation, *Il vero modo di diminuir* (1584), written by the composer, instrumentalist, and writer from Udine, Girolamo dalla Casa (c. 1543–1601), although the instrument was already in existence beforehand.¹⁰⁸ Several virtuoso players were actively involved in this genre, such as the viola da gambist Orazio Bassani (1550–1615) known as 'Orazio della Viola'.¹⁰⁹ The instrument was also employed in intermedii. For instance, the reports of the intermedii for *La pellegrina* performed for the wedding of Ferdinand I de' Medici and Christine de Lorraine in 1589 included a 'viola bastarda' in the second intermedio and a 'basso di viola bastarda' in the fourth.¹¹⁰

Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), the German composer, organist, and music theorist, summarized this style: 'a good player set himself to play madrigals, or whatever else he likes, on this instrument: with great effort, he can produce the harmony and counterpart of all the parts, playing now up in the cantus, now down in the bass, now in the middle of tenor and alto, and decorating the whole piece with divisions—thus nearly all the parts can be distinctly heard at entries and cadences'.¹¹¹ Ian Woodfield notes that Praetorius also suggests that 'the term 'bastarda' derives, not from any physical feature of the instrument but an aspect of its

¹⁰⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation: The Music for the Florentine Intermedii*, Musicological Studies and Documents 30 (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 55.

¹⁰⁷ Jason Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, edited by George Houle and Glenna Houle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), xvii.

¹⁰⁸ Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation*, 55-6.

¹⁰⁹ Ian Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 178.

¹¹⁰ Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation*, Appendix, VII:B1 and D2-3.

¹¹¹ "sondern ein guter Meister die Madrigalien, vnnd was er sonst vff diesem Instrument musiciren wil, vor sich nimpt, vnd die Fugen und Harmony mit allem fleiß durch alle Stimmen durch vnd durch, bald oben außm Cant, bald vnten außm Baß, bald in der mitten außm Tenor vnd Alt herausser suchet, mit saltibus und diminutionibus zieret, vnd also tractiret, daß man ziemlicher massen fast alle Stimmen eigendlich in jhren Fugen vnd cadentien daraus vernemen kan." Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*. Documenta musicologica. erste Reihe 15 (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1968), 47. Translation is cited from Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum, II, De Organographia: Parts I and II*, Early Music Series 7, trans. and ed. David Z. Crooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 55.

musical style; in ornamenting part-music the viola bastarda is not tied to any one voice of the original composition, but migrates from one line to another over a very wide range, becoming, as it were, a “bastarda” of all the voices, embellishing now the soprano, now the tenor or alto, now the bass’.¹¹²

This style has been gradually adopted for singers and other instruments. Among the *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620) of Riccardo Rognoni (c. 1550–before 1620), a member of the Rognoni family famous for their violin schools in Milan, there is a setting for a bass singer, which is originally Palestrina’s motet ‘Pulchra es amica mea’ for the lower four voices and requires a singer to move within a range of two octaves plus a minor third (E-g’). The Venetian composer and cornettist Giovanni Bassano (1558–1617) also arranged several pieces in a similar style for a bass singer ‘alla bastard’, although the term itself does not appear.¹¹³ The work *La pazzia senile* by Banchieri is likely inspired by this *viola bastarda* style. In Gratiano’s first solo, the singers are instructed to sing the solo in a *bastarda* style. From a different point of view, it indicates the transformation of the old doctor into the chittarino, which signifies his madness. I shall return to this musical style in the next section.

Just before the lovers’ Proposta—Resposta, Gratiano’s second solo appears. He sings a parody of ‘Vestiva i colli’, a five-part secular madrigal by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525/1526–1594).¹¹⁴ This madrigal was among Palestrina’s most popular songs, along with ‘Io son ferito ahi lasso’ and ‘Alla riva del Tebro’. It became exceptionally famous after its publication in the collection *Il desiderio, secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, de diversi auttori* published in 1566.¹¹⁵ It was also reprinted throughout the century and even into the following century, inspiring a lot of composers in later generations who either arranged the song for instruments or borrowed it in ‘parody’-masses.¹¹⁶ In fact, just 2 years before the publication of *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri himself composed a piece based on ‘Vestiva i colli’ with the subtitle ‘L’Alcenagina’, reducing Palestrina’s five-voice texture to four.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Woodfield, *The Early History of the Viol*, 179

¹¹³ Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, 29-32.

¹¹⁴ Alfred Einstein argues that this is “a *canzon francese* with Italian text.” See Alfred Einstein and Willis Wager, “Narrative Rhythm in the Madrigal,” *The Musical Quarterly* 29, no.4 (1943): 478.

¹¹⁵ I have found two publishers responsible for the publication of this madrigal in different articles: the Venetian musician Giulio Bonagionta da San Genesi and Girolamo Scotto. *Il Desiderio, Secondo Libro de madrigali a cinque voci* was published by the latter. See Einstein and Wager, “Narrative Rhythm,” 475; Nicola Lovrinić, “Palestrina’s Vestiva i Colli as a Model for the Parody Process in Gabriello Puliti’s Early Works,” *De Musica disserenda* 4, no.2 (2008): 24; Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Il libro primo dei madrigali (spirituali) a 5 voci: secondo la stampa originale del 1581*, ed. Raffaele Casimiri (Rome, Scalera, 1940) 117-21.

¹¹⁶ Jerome Roche, “‘The Praise of It Endureth for Ever’: The Posthumous Publication of Palestrina’s Music,” *Early Music* 22, no.4 (1994): 631-639; Einstein and Wager, “Narrative Rhythm,” 475.

¹¹⁷ In Banchieri’s *Canzoni alla francese*, there are two compositions based on Palestrina’s works: no.6, “Canzon Sesta. L’Alcenagina. Sopra “‘Vestiva i colli’,” and no. 9, “‘Canzon nona.’ La Camerina. Sopra ‘Veni dilecti mi’.” See Clara Marvin,

It is worth considering here the motivation behind Banchieri's selection of a madrigal by Palestrina, a composer whose career was mostly based in Rome, the spiritual and intellectual centre of the Catholic Church's Counter-Reformation. Following the pronouncements of the Council of Trent in 1562 and 1563, the reformers main concerns with sacred music were the elimination of secular elements and the intelligibility of the liturgical text. Although it was not a decree, the Archbishop of Bologna, Lodovico Beccadelli's (1501–1572) first suggestions on music to the papal legates indicated avoidance of the 'lasciviousness' such music contains:

It must also be considered whether the kind of music that has now become established in polyphony, which refreshes the ear more than the mind and which seems to incite lasciviousness rather than religion, should be abolished from the Masses, in which things are often sung, such as *della caccia* and *la battaglia*.¹¹⁸

As for the issue of textual intelligibility, which had been omitted from the final version of the canons and decrees, cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597) included the issue in the final redaction of the 'Acts'.

In the deliberations regarding music in divine service, although some rather condemned [than approved] it in churches, the rest, however, and especially the Spanish, gave their vote that it should by all means be retained in accordance with the most ancient usage of the Catholic Church to arouse the faithful to love of God, provided that it should be free of lasciviousness and wantonness, and provided that, so far as possible, the words of the singers should be comprehensible to the hearers.¹¹⁹

In this wave of post-Tridentine reforms, the Cappella Sistina, to which Palestrina was admitted by the pope Julius III in 1555, was assigned to test the implementation of the

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: A Research Guide (New York; London: Routledge, 2002), 73.

¹¹⁸ 'Item animadvertendum, an species musicae, quae nunc invaluit in figuratis modulationibus, quae magis aures quam mentem recreat et ad lasciviam potius quam ad religionem excitandam comparata videtur, tollenda sit in missis, in quibus etiam profana saepe cantantur, ut illa della caccia et la bataglia' (CT 8:918), cited from Craig A Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no.1 (2002): 8.

¹¹⁹ "De musica in divinis agenda, tametsi aliqui eam potius in ecclesiis damnarent, reliquitamen, et praesertim Hispani eam omnino ex antiquissimo catholicae ecclesiae instituto ad excitandum fidelium in Deum affectum retinendam censuerunt, modo lascivia petulantiaque vacaret, et quoad eius fieri posset verba canentium ab audientibus intelligerentur." This version, from Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Sacra Congregazione del Concilio, MS 105, is published in CT 3, pt. 1, p429n, cited from Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," 23.

conciliar desires in 1565 by Cardinal Vitellozzi Vitelli, one of the commission's eight members.¹²⁰ Their task was '[T]o sing some Masses and to test whether the words could be understood, as their Eminences desire'.¹²¹ Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli*, published in 1567, demonstrates his awareness of this ecclesiastical issue.¹²² As a Roman Church musician, his latter compositions had a tendency towards the sacred and were generally recognized among his contemporaries as reflecting the ideals of the Counter-Reformation. Following his death in 1594, his Roman successors began to Palestrina's style as 'stile antico' (old-fashioned style), 'partly in homage to him and partly to maintain the union of liturgy and music he had forged'.¹²³ The term also rallies the formalism of his concise and sublime music dedicated to the Tridentine principle and kept distance from innovative musical experiments his contemporaries attempted, such as chromatism, the effective use of dissonance, or dramatic expression of words.¹²⁴

In *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri places Palestrina's correct text, labeled as 'Madrigale Antico', just to the left of his own, highlighting both the composer of the original madrigal and his own imitation. Using musical materials from the original madrigal, Banchieri revised his madrigal for three voices: imitative textures and balanced melodic styles. The most characteristic feature is that the sound of the *chittarone* opens the piece and is also inserted between the two quatrains and at the end (Ex. 3.4).

¹²⁰ Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 871-97, esp. 871-74; Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1976), 284-98.

¹²¹ See the relevant documents published in Pierluigi Giovanni Palestrina, *Pope Marcellus Mass: An Authoritative Score, Backgrounds and Sources, History and Analysis, Views and Comments*, ed. Lewis Lockwood (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 10-36.

¹²² Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*, 874.

¹²³ Stephen R. Miller, "Stile antico," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, August 11, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26771>.

¹²⁴ As for the conflict between "stile antico" and "stile moderno," see Carter, Tim, and John Butt, ed. *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Randel, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, 492.

Example 3.4 *La pazzia senile*, the third part, the first discourse, Gratiano serenade, bb.1-6

Banchieri, unlike in the first solo, does not use a *bastarda* style to distinguish vocal registers for the instrumental sound from Gratiano’s singing, suggesting that the method does not wholly represent Gratiano’s absurdity this time. In contrast to Palestrina’s *Vestiva i colli*, contrapuntal music starts with the lowest voice and is sequentially followed by the higher voices. The final line of each stanza is partially sung in a homophonic form. We assume his stratagem lies more in the verse. Gratiano’s version inherits the original rhyme and meter, hendecasyllabic eight-line stanzas in *rima incrociata*. On the other hand, the content has undergone a significant change:

<Trasmutazione di Gratiano>

<Transmutation of Gratiano>

Rostiva i corni, e le castagne in forno,
 Il prim’havea dei novelli humori
 Sospiravan le rane arbori e mori
 Cinti d’erbe e di trombe in fin al corno.

Roast the horns, and the chestnuts in the oven,
 The first had some new humors
 The tree frogs sigh and die
 Enclosed with herbs and with trumpets

at the end of the horn.

Quando mi corro al'apparir d'un storno,	When I hurry at the appearance of a starling,
Cogliendol con la man tra puri fiori	Grasping it with my hand among pure flowers
Mi disse un sier guidon, per tanti ardor	A milky pennant said to me 'For such ardor
A te mi volgo, e leccami d'intorno.	I turn towards you, and lick me all around'.

Here, Gratiano displays his characteristic lapse of memory in all its naked glory. He replaces words with those that have similar pronunciations but different meanings, for instance, 'intorno' (around) with 'forno' (oven) or 'amori' (loves) with 'humori' (humours), thereby changing the original balmy content. The harmonic music, paying close attention to the syntax and accent of lyrics, gives an incongruous impression to listeners because of its odd content. Thus, Banchieri's selection of the renowned madrigal of Palestrina as 'Madrigale Antico' and its extreme modification probably mocks 'stile antico', by demonstrating the limits of musical techniques to express the meaning of lyrics radically.

3.9 *Pantalone in Love: Subversion of Hierarchy*

Pantalone is one of the primary characters in the commedia dell'arte, originally known by his formal title 'Magnifico'. Although there are several suppositions, the origins of the name of Pantalone are vague. Perhaps it derives from a Venetian patron saint, Saint Pantaleone, or from a Magnifico who 'plant[ed] the lion' (pianta leone) of Venice in the Levant.¹²⁵ Pantalone and his avaricious and libidinous characterization are also associated with the *senex* in Plautus and Terence, 'Pappus' in Atellan farces, the old men of Renaissance learned comedy, and amorous old men in Andrea Calmo's plays as immediate predecessors.¹²⁶ Pantalone is often depicted in the pictorial record as an old man with a knobby body and white beard in scarlet hose, sometimes wearing a long black robe.¹²⁷ Cecchini describes Pantalone as 'non essendo mai detto personaggio inferior di conditione Cittadina, o almeno di facultoso mercante' (never lower than the status of citizen, or at least of rich merchant).¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 7f; Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 115.

¹²⁶ Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 19; Kathleen M. Lea, *Italian Popular Comedy: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte, 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the English Stage* (New York: Russell, & Russell, Inc, 1962), 19; Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 115. Elaine Fantham, "The Earliest Comic Theatre at Rome: Atellan Farce, Comedy and Mime as Antecedents of the *Commedia dell'Arte*," in *The Science of Buffoonery: Theory and History of the Commedia dell'Arte*, ed. Domenico Pietropaolo (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1989), 9.

¹²⁷ More discussion on Pantalone's clothing, see Peter Jordan, "In Search of Pantalone and the Origins of the *Commedia dell'Arte*," *Association Revue internationale de philosophie* 2, no.252 (2010) 218-20.

¹²⁸ Cecchini, *Frutti delle moderne comedie*, 25-6.

Massimiliano Troiano's report in 1568 is most likely the first surviving record of Pantalone's performance on stage. It suggests that Orlando di Lasso (1530/1532–1594), one of the most renowned Franco-Flemish musicians in sixteenth-century Europe, sang in the character of Pantalone for entertainment at the Bavarian court in 1568. 'detto che fu il prologo, messere Orlando fe' cantare un dolce madricale a cinque' (After the prologue was spoken, Messer Orlando led the singing of a sweet five-part madrigal).¹²⁹ After the following scene, involving the lover Polidoro, Pantalone reappears:

From another part of the stage emerges Messer Orlando, dressed as the Magnifico in a long surcoat of crimson satin, with scarlet shoes in the Venetian style and a long black gown reaching to the ground. He is wearing a mask, the very sight of which is enough to make the public laugh, and has a lute in his hands. He is playing and singing: "Who passes through this street and sighs not, is happy indeed."¹³⁰

The anonymous *Capriccii et nuove fantasie alla Venetiana di Pantalone de' Bisognosi* (*Caprices and New Fantasies in the Venetian manner, by Pantalon de' Bisognosi*, 1601),¹³¹ composed of 27 pieces, provides the most detailed materials of early Pantalone and amply describes Pantalone's indiscreet interest in young women.¹³² In the 'Contrasto de Pantalon e so Innamorata' (Argument between Pantalone and his Beloved), Pantalone uses a musical metaphor to express his desire: 'mistro esperto intreta co'l so trombon' (skilled master enters with his trombone). He is however given the cold shoulder by the woman, saying, 'Vergogneve no se esperto/ A tegrir dretto el trombon' (Shame on you, you are not skilled/at keeping the trombone straight).¹³³ The instrument's extendable slide is here made to carry a sexual overtone. The analogy between the trumpet and penis was long-standing—can be found, for example, in a story in the *Facetiae* by the scholar and humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), which was first published in 1470 and regularly reprinted up to the mid-sixteenth century.¹³⁴ Flaminio Scala's *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* is another

¹²⁹ Pandolfi, *La commedia dell'arte*, 2:80. The translation is cited from Giacomo Oreglia, *The Commedia dell'arte*, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (London: Methuen, 1968), 5.

¹³⁰ "Da l'altro canto della scena uscì messere Orlando, vestito da Magnifico, con giubbone di raso cremisino, con calze alla veneziana di scarlatto et una veste nera, lunga in sino a terra, con una maschera ch'n vederla forzava la gente a ridere, con un liuto alle mani, sonando e cantando: Chi passa per questa strada/e non sospira, beato sé . . ." Pandolfi, *La Commedia dell'arte*, 80. Translation is cited from Oreglia, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 6.

¹³¹ Anonymous, *Capriccii et nuove fantasie alla venetiana, Di Pantalon de' Bisognosi, Di novo posti in luce* (Vicenza and Brescia, 1601), 17^r. The modern edition is in Pandolfi, *La commedia dell'arte*, 1:314-7.

¹³² See Henke, *Performance and Literature*, 148; Jordan, "Pantalone and il Dottore," 67-8.

¹³³ *Capriccii et nuove fantasie alla venetiana*, cited from Jordan, "In Searching of Pantalone," 212.

¹³⁴ Poggius Bracciolini, *Opera Omnia* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1964), 1: 483.

informative source on the commedia dell'arte characters. Pantalone often takes the role of an authoritative father who manages to have his child marry the wealthy spouse of his choice, while sometimes he falls in love with a young woman.

Figure 3.5. Jacques Callot, Pantalone, c. 1618–1620. © Trustees of the British Museum. 1861,0713.857.

Figure 3.6. Recueil Fossard, Pantalone. Image from *Ur Fossard volymen; Man som tittar fram ur en ridå; 'Tous les avengles voudroient voir comme vous, tous ceux qui sont cy dessous'*, c. 1600. Photo: Nationalmuseum. NMG 2189/1904.

The description of 'Parti dei vecchi' (The Roles of the Old Men) in Perrucci's *Dell'arte rappresentativa* is paralleled to the other accounts on an old man by depicting a gap between his normal authoritative attitude and childish behaviours when he is in love.

Pantalone First, about Pantalone, whoever performs this part should be accomplished in the Venetian language, in all its dialects, proverbs and words, presenting the role of an ailing old man who nonetheless tries to appear youthful. The actor should memorize various things to say at appropriate moments, like advice to his son, counsel to kings and princes, curses, compliments to the woman he loves, and such other matters as he chooses, in order to raise laughter at opportune moments by his respectability and seriousness. He should depict a person of maturity, but one who is all the more ridiculous because while he ought to be a person of authority, setting an example and serving as a lesson to others, he is possessed by love, and behaves so like a child that one may say *puercentum annorum*, and his avarice, so typical of old men, is overcome by a greater vice, namely, love, something wholly unsuitable to an elderly person.¹³⁵

In *La pazzia senile*, Pantalone is the father of a young woman, Doralice. As in other scenarios of the commedia dell'arte, he is manoeuvring to secure the marriage of his daughter to his favoured suitor, Gratiano. However, what makes this comedy unique is Banchieri's particular focus on the elderly merchant's own amorous affair. In the *soggetto* (subject matter), Banchieri centres on Pantalone: his origin, his manoeuvres concerning his daughter's marriage, its failure, and then his unrequited desire for the courtesan Lauretta:

There lives in Rovigo (a large territory of the most celebrated Signoria of Venice) an old man called Pantalone, a merchant from Murano, ... The abovementioned Pantalone, meanwhile, is in love with a courtesan from Mazorbo called Lauretta, revealing his love from whom he receives only disdain in return; such that in the

¹³⁵ "Per dire dunque qualche cosa di loro, e prima del Pantalone. Chi rappresenta questa parte hà da avere perfetta la lingua Veneziana, con i suoi dialetti, proverbi, e vocaboli, facendo la parte d'un Vecchio cadente, ma che voglia affettare la gioventù; può premeditarsi qualche cosa per dirla nell'occasioni, cioè persuasioni al figlio, consigli a' Regnanti, ò Precipi, maledizioni, saluti alla Donna, che ama, ed altre cosucce à suo arbitrio; avvertendo, che cavi la risata a suo tempo con la sodezza, e gravità, rappresetando una persona matura, che tanto si fà ridicola, in quanto dovendo esser persona d'autorità, e d'esempio, e di avvertimento agli altri, colto dall'Amore, fà cose da fanciullo, potendo dirsi; puer centum annorum, e la sua avarizia, propria de' Vecchi, viene superata da un vizio maggiore, ch'è l'Amore, a persona attempata tanto sconvenevole." Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, Parte Seconda, Regola VI, 246-7. The translation is cited from Richards and Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte*, 132.

end the poor elderly madmen are left the butt of the joke with their hands filled with flies.¹³⁶

In the following, I investigate the three scenes particularly related to Pantalone's expressions of love for Lauretta. The first scene is his solo at the opening of the first part, after a humorous prologue by *L'humor bizzarro*.

< First Part, First Discourse, Pantalone solo >

Povero Pantalon,	Poor, Pantalone
Lauretta xe cason	Lauretta is the reason
Che no magno boccon	For which I eat not a bite
Piú che me sappia bon.	That tastes good to me.
Per che?	Why?
Cho magno cho bevo cho dormo, fin cho cago	When I eat, when I drink, when I sleep, even when I shit
Lauretta, del to amor son inbriago. ¹³⁷	Lauretta, I am inebriated with your love.

Pantalone cannot eat or get Lauretta out of his head: the verse expresses the typical signs of love sickness. With the instruction 'cantate questo piano' (sing this softly), the first lines are declamatory, sung in homophony (Ex. 3.5).

¹³⁶ "Habita in Rovigo (Terra grossa dell'Illustrissima Signoria di Venetia) un Vecchio per uomo Pantalone Mercante Muranese il quale un giorno ragionando con Burattino dalla vallada suo servitore intende che ogni notte dat Signor Fulvio vengono fatte mattinate a Doralice Sua figliuola, & che sonando & cantando nel lauto di li ne seguono molti amorosi ragionamenti dall'una parte & l'altra: il buon Pantalone come zeloso dell'honor suo tutto in colera va, & trovando Gratiano Dottore antico da Francolino promettegli detta sua figliuola per moglie restando insieme la sera farne le nozze: Doralice che il tutto dalla sua sinistra ha udito manda a chiamare il Signor Fulvio suo innamorato contandogli minutissimamente il seguito tra il Padre & il Dottor Gratiano, in fine pigliano partito, & sposansi insieme senza saputa del Vecchio. Il sudetto Pantalone ancora è innamorato dl una Cortigiana Mazorbese chiamata Lauretta alla quale scoprendogli l'amor suo da lei ne vien sprezzato; dove in fine i poveri Vecchi pazzi restano burlati con le mani piene di mosche." Banchieri, *La pazzia senile*, 3.

¹³⁷ Banchieri, *La pazzia senile*, 8.

1 *Cantate questo piano*

Po - ve - ro Pan - ta - lon, Lau - ret - ta xe ca - son Che no man - gno boc

Po - ve - ro Pan - ta - lon, Lau - ret - ta xe ca - son Che no man - gno boc

Po - ve - ro Pan - ta - lon, Lau - ret - ta xe ca - son Che no man - gno boc

Example 3.5 *La pazzia senile*, the first part, the first discourse, Pantalone first solo, bb. 1-5

Yet, with the rhetorical question ‘Perchè?’ (Why?) of the fifth line, the rhythm turns into disorder. This reaches a climax after the words ‘fin cho’ (Ex. 3.6).

10

bon Per - chè per - chè cho

bon Per - chè per - chè per - chè per - chè cho ma - gno cho be - vo cho

bon Per - chè per - chè per - chè per - chè cho ma - gno cho be - vo cho

14

ma - gno cho be - vo cho dor - mo, fin - cho

dor - mo cho ma - gno cho be - vo cho dor - mo,

dor - mo cho ma - gno cho be - vo cho dor - mo, fin cho

Example 3.6 *La pazzia senile*, the first part, the first discourse, Pantalone first solo, bb. 10-16

Noteworthy in the following section is Banchieri’s usage of *giustiniana*-style syllable

repetitions. Alfred Einstein states, ‘The *Pazzia senile*, the first of Banchieri’s madrigal comedies, ... makes the stuttering Pantalone the very centre of the “action” and accordingly uses the conventional three-voiced texture of the *giustiniana*; the whole might indeed be called a dramatized *giustiniana* in nineteenth numbers’.¹³⁸ This musical feature is used also in Vecchi’s madrigal comedy *L’Amfiparnaso* (1597): Pantalone calls to a courtesan named Hortensia, the object of his desire, but stammers on the ‘n’ of her name, which becomes ‘ne’ (Ex. 3.7).

The musical score for Example 3.7 consists of five staves, each representing a different vocal part: Canto, Alto, Tenore, Quinto, and Basso. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and features a stuttering effect on the word 'Hortensia'. The lyrics are as follows:

Canto: [Silence]

Alto: mi, Hor - ten - sia Hor - ten - si - a Hor te ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne nen - si - a.

Tenore: [Silence]

Quinto: ten - si - a Hor - ten - si - a Hor te ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne nen - si - a.

Basso: ten - si - a Hor - ten - si - a Hor te ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne ne nen - si - a.

Example 3.7 Orazio Vecchi’s *L’Amfiparnaso*, Act II, scene i, bb. 25–27

For the amorous Pantalone in *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri uniquely uses *giustiniana* in his word ‘cago’, ‘cagare’ in infinitive form, which means ‘to shit’ (Ex. 3.8). What is particularly musically effective is that the audience is kept in suspense and with some expectation as Pantalone stammers on ‘ca’ before hearing the whole word ‘cago’ in all voices. Scattered vocal parts then come together in the next declaration: ‘Lauretta, del to amor’. The music then concludes with the repeated stepwise motion of ‘son imbriago’. In the verse, the scatological connotation of Pantalone’s desire for Lauretta is also intensified by the last Venetian word ‘imbriago’ (drunk), which is rhymed with ‘cago’. Thus, his disordered desire for Lauretta is not only expressed with loss of appetite, as in the earlier part of the verse, but embellished with an excretion.

¹³⁸ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 2:772-3.

17

ca ca ca ca ca - go cho ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca -
 fin cho ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca -
 ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca ca - go fin cho ca go,

23

go, Lau - ret - ta, del to a - mor Lau - ret - ta del to a - mor
 go, Lau - ret - ta, del to a - mor Lau - ret - ta del to a - mor son im - bri
 Lau - ret - ta del to a - mor Lau - ret - ta del to a - mor son im - bri

Example 3.8 *La pazzia senile*, the first part, the first discourse, Pantalone first solo, bb. 17-27

The second scene developing Pantalone’s craving for Lauretta falls during the second part, when Pantalone visits his beloved. He asks her to come out to the balcony, and they exchange a piquant dialog, a common dramatic device between an amorous old man and a young woman, found, for example, in the anonymous *Capricci*, and sometimes involving puns.¹³⁹ His call for Lauretta imitates Petrarchan style at the first words: ‘oro’ (gold) and ‘moro’ (I die).

Pantalone:

Lauretta, viso d’oro

Lauretta, face of gold

Non vedistu che moro?

Do you not see that I die?

¹³⁹ For instance, in ‘Contrasto de Pantalon e la so Inamorata’, from *Capricci et nuove fantasie alla venetiana*, Pantalone asks the *innamorata* to open the shutter and come to the balcony to see him on the street. See *Capricci et nuove fantasie alla venetiana*, 17r. Modern edition is in Pandolfi, *La commedia dell’arte*, 314-7. Keener also points out that Giuseppe Policreti’s *Il secondo libro delle giustiniane, a tre voci ...* (1571) has four texts in which the scenes take place in a balcony. See Keener, “Love alla Veneziana,” 258-9.

Pero fatte al balcon
E scolta Pantalon.

So come to the balcony
And listen to Pantalone.

Lauretta comes out and asks what he wants. Pantalone answers ‘Vorave cara fia’ (I want you dear girl) and demands a kiss. Lauretta, however, flatly refuses it.

Lauretta:

Basarte non gho voia
Ti xe bavoso moia
Peró non ghe pensar
Che no te voi basar.

I do not want to kiss you
You are drooling brine
So you must not think
That I want to kiss you.

This turns their conversation towards an exchange of verbal abuse, including a pun: *amoroso* (lover), *moroso* (debtor), and *morosus* (peevish).

Pantalone:

Chó diavol mi bavoso?

What the devil, I’m drooling?

Lauretta:

Varde che bel moroso

Short fool who is such a fine lover,

Pantalone:

Furfanta, questo a mi?

Rascal, this to me?

Lauretta:

Camina via de qui

Walk away from here

However, once we focus on their rhymes, we can find some interesting features. Both of the characters reciprocally sing a quatrain. But after Lauretta dismiss Pantalone, the context of their dialog is antagonistic, but their rhymes reveal that the two opponents create a couplet together. As Lauretta leaves him in the end, poor Pantalone ends up completing the final couplet by himself.

Pantalone:

Carogna, te n’incago

Snake, I shit on you

Lauretta:

Vecchiazzo, te la lago

Little old man, I leave you

Pantalone:

Aspetta, voio andar

A farte far sfrisar.

Wait, I want to go

to have you made to crawl.

Pantalone's sexual desire for Lauretta is directly inscribed in his speech to her, such as 'I want you'. But throughout the discourse, there is no sign of *giustiniane*. How did Banchieri represent the absurdity of his love this time?

Banchieri set this entire dialog in a homophonic and syllabic style and repeats the same melody of the first strophe with minor variations in triple meter. This musical texture is partly to ensure the audibility of the words, so that the audience would be able to understand their quarrel, which simultaneously makes rhyming poetry together. However, I believe that Banchieri's main goal is to ensure intelligibility of vocal registers. On the first bar of this solo, there is the instruction 'Parte Bastarda' for every voice (Fig. 3.7).

Figure 3.7. 'Parte Bastarda'. First Bar of the Bass Part, Second Part, Fourth Discourse in *La pazzia senile*, 1607.

As we already know, the *bastarda* style requires the singers to change their vocal registers. In the 'terzo avvertimento' (third notice) of a 1604 edition of *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri explains:

In other songs where there are changes of clef, change the voice always at the octave, either higher or lower, as the case may be, that in all respects the masculine voice will be discerned from the feminine voice; and if for such songs there may be enough singers to do this in dialogue, it will succeed better.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ "In altri canti dopo saranno mutationi di Chiavi mutisi la voce sempre in ottave, ò alta ò bassa, che ella sia, che in tutto sarà discernere la voce Masculina dalla Femmina, & quando in tal canti fossero tanti cantori, che si facessero in dialogo meglio riuscirebbe." Adriano Banchieri, *La pazzia senile* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1604). The original text and translation are cited from Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, 31.

Banchieri's intention of creating 'bastarda' in music by changing the vocal ranges is also apparent in his later madrigal comedy *La prudenza giovanile* (1607):

The singers will sing from the [part-] books ... and wishing to sing "alla bastarda" they will number three; nevertheless, it being convenient, they would do better to number six: two sopranos, two tenors, alto and bass, singing and remaining silent according to the occasion.¹⁴¹

The different clefs, therefore, represent different genders. In the case of *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri requires the three singers to sing Pantalone in the tenor and bass clefs and Lauretta in the soprano and alto clefs. If one follows the original concept of 'alla bastrada' to play all the voice parts on one melodic voice or instrument, male singers sing the higher notes in falsetto. But as Banchieri states in *La prudenza giovanile*, it would also be possible to arrange the ensemble so that male and female singers were responsible for each respective vocal range. In either case, this treatment of clefs, associating them with different characters, is different from the contemporary madrigals, thereby including ludic elements into the musical performance.

¹⁴¹ "Gli cantori canteranno sopra gli libri ... & volendo cantare alla bastarda sarranno tre: tuttavia essendovi commodità meglio sariano in sei, Dui Soprani, Dui Tenori, Alto, & Basso, cantando & tacendo secondo le occasioni ..." Adriano Banchieri, *Virtuoso ridotto tra signori, e dame, entr'il quale si concerta recitabilmente in suoni et canti una nuova comedia detta Prudenza Giovanile. Quinto libro de gli terzetti, et opera quindicesima* (Milano: l'herede di Simon Tini, & Filippo Lomazzo, 1607). The original text and translation are cited from Paras, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, 31.

Parte Bastarda

Lau - re - ta, vi - so d'o-ro Non ve - dis - tu che mo-ro? Pe - rò fa - tte al bal -

Parte Bastarda

Lau - re - ta, vi - so d'o-ro Non ve - dis - tu che mo-ro Pe - rò fa - tte al bal -

Parte Bastarda

Lau - re - ta, vi - so d'o-ro Non ve - dis - tu che mo-ro Pe - rò fa - tte al bal -

7

con E scol - ta Pan - ta - lon Chi chia - ma la Lau - ret - ta O

con E scol - ta Pan - ta - lon Chi chia - ma la Lau - ret - ta O

con E scol - ta Pan - ta - lon Chi chia - ma la Lau - ret - ta O

Example 3.9 *La pazzia senile*, the second part, the fourth discourse, duet of Pantalone and Lauretta, bb. 1-11

In the Second part, the fourth discourse of *La pazzia senile*, the singers begin singing the name ‘Lauretta’ in a low voice as a lecherous old man, and the next moment, in a high voice they turn into a haughty young courtesan (Ex. 3.9). From a man to a woman, to a man to a woman. To this, the triple metre adds a dance-like movement. As the quarrel becomes bitter, the singers have to change their vocal range quickly in every line. They have to smoothly change their vocal registers or stop when it is not their turn. Upon reaching the final couplet, completed by Pantalone alone, the singers have to resist the impulse to swap to Lauretta’s voice. Performing this *bastarda* must have been comic and guaranteed to make the audience laugh uncontrollably.

In the last part, Pantalone’s final amorous episode provides an uncommon scene depicting the lovelorn Pantalone, who is rejected by Lauretta and left utterly confused.

< Third Part, Fourth Discourse, Pantalone solo >

Pantalon, che vòstu far?

Pantalone, what do you want to do?

La Lauretta t'ha soiao.

Lauretta blew me out.

Mi che son imbertonao.

Me who is in love.

Senza essa non voi star.

Without her I do not want to live.

Pantalon che vòstu far?

Pantalone, what do you want to do?

The five-line poem reveals Pantalone's incurable love for Lauretta. He describes himself to being in love with the word 'imbertonare', which means 'to fall in love', instead of the word 'imbrigare', used in the first soliloquy, connoting fascination or interest.¹⁴² The music wavers between echoing movement and homophonic texture: the first, third, and last lines are sung in counterpoint, whereas the other lines are performed in homophony. The two voices often move together in the former fabric, with the other voice imitating their motion. The part which is worthy of note is its chromatic melodic movements (Ex. 3.10).

¹⁴² "Imbertonàre. N. Pass. Amore Corripi, ... S'amouracher, [To fall in love]. Innamorarsi. Modo basso. Varchi"; "Imbrigàre, att Lo stesso che Intrigare, imbrogliare. 2 - Mettere in briga, in istudio, in sollecitudine, quasi Provocare. 3 - N. pass. Brigare, prender briga, ingegnarsi, industriarsi. 4 - Intrigarsi, impacciarsi, prendersi cura, briga o pensiero. Arcaismo." Marco Bognolo, *Panlessico italiano, ossia dizionario universale della lingua italiana* (Venice: Girolamo Tasso, 1839), 235 and 239.

The image displays a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has three staves: two vocal staves (Soprano and Alto) and one bass staff. The lyrics for the first system are: "Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon" on the vocal staves, and "Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon Pan - ta - lon" on the bass staff. The second system also has three staves. The lyrics for the second system are: "Pan - ta - lon che vos - stu far? che vo - stu far? che" on the vocal staves, and "lon che vo - stu far? che vo - stu far? che vo - stu" on the bass staff. The music is in a 3/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat major or D minor).

Example 3.10 *La pazzia senile*, the third part, the fourth discourse, Pantalone final solo, bb. 1-4

In particular, its descending stepwise motion on the phrase ‘Mi che son imbertonao’ (Ex 3.11) is similar to that setting Doralice’s reply to Fulvio ‘Non sarebbe pazzia’ (Would it not be mad), which is the only place the word ‘pazzia’ is used in the entire piece. There the notes of ‘pazzia’ move $g-f\#-g$, or $d-c\#d$, creating a chromatic movement, a device was also used to set the word ‘imbertonare’. Different from Doralice’s musical part, the higher two voices in Pantalone repeat the same melody, whose final note does not stop at g , but goes up to a . Besides, the bass part is also added to break the rule of counterpart.

7

ia - o. Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o Mi che son im -

ia - o. Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o Mi che son im - ber - to -

ia - o. Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o Mi che son im - ber - to -

9

ber - to - na - o Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o, Sen - za es - sa

na - o Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o, Sen - za es - sa

na - o Mi che son im - ber - to - na - o, Sen - za es - sa

Example 3.11 *La pazzia senile*, the third part, the fourth discourse, Pantalone final solo, bb. 7-10

Music history met the dramatic changes in the period when Banchieri lived, including the flourishing and decline of madrigals and the appearance of opera.¹⁴³ This was a period of transition, creating a conflict between the old and new ideas. Symbolised by the controversy between Artusi and Monteverdi, various discussions on contemporary music theory and practice ultimately cultivated the next generation. Banchieri's *La pazzia senile* reflects this momentary confusion comically and skilfully. Homophony and counterpoint alternate in the *pazzia* of Pantalone and Gratiano. Antonio Cascelli's discussion of the metaphor of the column in late sixteenth-century music theory comes to mind when considering the use of a counterpoint to represent the sense of 'falling apart' as a result of love madness. Castelli contrasts two images of the column, stable and collapsing, to depict the different effects on the auditor of homophony and counterpoint, likening the different voices of polyphony to ropes pulling the column in different directions, creating confusion and disorder. He states, 'the "negatively judged" experience of listening to contrapuntal music is metaphorically

¹⁴³ Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

understood through another experience, which is judged negatively because of its consequences—that is, the column falling apart. In this inability to hold together a sense of unity, contrapuntal writing is a representation of the fragmentation of a human subject who cannot follow all the different parts at the same time, with the risk of the column falling apart'.¹⁴⁴ In the previous chapter, we have observed scholarly discussions on the fluctuation of identity in *La pazzia d'Isabella*, in which the mad Isabella imitates various languages and dialects. If madness is represented by the loss of a sense of unity in oneself or identity, it could be said that the musical practice of Banchieri to represent the madness of *i vecchi* is to reflect their capricious temperament by using contemporary musical styles such as *giustiniana* and *bastarda* style, and also deploying counterpoint in contrast with homophony, sometimes throughout and at the other times in alternation, to indicate the disincorporation of the subject in the experience of love madness. The repeated publication implies the popularity of *La pazzia senile*, in part because it features the commedia dell'arte characters. The readers could enjoy the pseudoexperience of a commedia dell'arte play but also go through a dynamic musical change in the period through their voices.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the verbal and musical representations of Pantalone and Gratiano in love in Adriano Banchieri's earliest madrigal comedy, *La pazzia senile*. To demonstrate their capricious temperament, Banchieri ably employed and elaborated each feature of the two characters: Pantalone's stuttering and Gratiano's pedantism. In music, he used contemporary styles, *giustiniana* and *alla bastarda*, inventively to depict the changeability of their distracted condition, which makes the piece more theatrical. Moreover, Banchieri's interest in *seconda pratica* can be observed from his treatment of counterpoint and chromaticism. Using a counterpoint to the word 'pazzia' in Doralice's solo and 'imbertonare' in Pantalone's final solo may suggest Banchieri's satire regarding *musica antica* as madness. The repeated publications of *La pazzia senile* indicate its wide popularity. In a familiar form of the commedia dell'arte, the piece must have been enjoyed as recreational music while reflecting and critiquing the musical convention in the period.

¹⁴⁴ Antonio Cascelli, "Visual Metaphors in Music Treatises: Metaphor as Experience in Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna*," in *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, eds. Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), 206.

CHAPTER 4

Pietro Antonio Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza* (1630s?)

This chapter investigates *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore* by the Neapolitan composer Pietro Antonio Giramo. In this unique piece dedicated to Anna de' Medici, Giramo presents mad lovers visiting the hospital to beg for her mercy. The chapter begins with an overview of Giramo's life and work and gives an explanation of Anna de' Medici and the social and political circumstances in Florence in the first half of the seventeenth century. I then discuss the relationships among carnivals, games, and madness based on contemporary letters and treatises. The following sections separately analyse *Il pazzo con la pazza* composed of three main parts.

4.1 *Pietro Antonio Giramo and Neapolitan Music in Florence*

Pietro Antonio Giramo, also known as Pietro Antonio Girami, probably spent majority of his life in seventeenth-century Naples. Although there are scant sources about the composer himself, the surviving documents fragmentarily tell us about the path of his musical activity. *Breve racconto della festa a ballo* (A Brief Report of the Dance Festival), published in Naples in 1620, is the first documentary record connecting him to music.¹ *Breve racconto* reports on a dance festival held on March 1 in Posillipo in the same year to celebrate recovery of Philip III of Austria (1578–1621) from illness following his state visit to Lisbon in 1619. The dance festival was added at the end of the annual Carnival season, and Giramo offered his composition 'Festa riso' as the opening piece. The other contributors to this royal event were the leading Neapolitan composers of the time: the court chapelmaster, Giovanni Maria Trabaci (1575–1647); the court organist, Francesco Lambardi (1587–1642); the Neapolitan wind performer, Andrea Ansalone; and the dancing master of this *festa a ballo*, Giacomo Spiardo.² Apart from this, Giramo's other surviving printed works are preserved in three

¹ Pietro Antonio Giramo, et al., *Breve racconto della festa a ballo. Fattasi in Napoli per l'allegrezza della salute acquistata della Maestà Cattolica di Filippo III. d'Austria. Rè delle Spagne, alla presenza dell'Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. sig. duca d'Ossuna vicerè del regno, nella real sala di palazzo al 1. di marzo 1620* (Naples: Costantino Vitale, 1620).

² Roland Jackson, *A Neapolitan festa a ballo "Delizie di Posilipo boscarecce, e maritime", and Selected Instrumental Ensemble Pieces from Naples Conservatory MS. 4.6.3* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1978); John A. Marino, *Becoming Neapolitan: Citizen Culture in Baroque Naples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 186.

publications. The first two surviving copies are *Arie a più voci* (Arias for Several Voices) and *Arie a più voci: primo libro della Seconda Opera* (Arias for Several Voices: First Book of the Op. 2). Although the date and place of publication and the publisher for the first copy are recorded, those for the latter copy are unknown.³ According to Whenham, the latter volume contains variations on the Romanesca, ‘Ruggero’, ‘Ciaccona’, and other basses for three or four voices.⁴ The subtitle of this volume indicates that it may be the second *Arie a più voci* published after the first copy and implies the existence of later songbooks which do not exist. Giramo’s third surviving publication, which I discussed in this chapter, is *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl’infermi d’amore* (The Madman with the Madwoman Reprinted and a Hospital for the Lovesick) published in Naples, which was dedicated to Anna de’ Medici (1616–1676; fig. 4.1).⁵

Although Florence was proud of its musical traditions, Giramo was not the first Neapolitan to involve himself in the city’s musical life, and Anna was not the first Medici to patronise Neapolitan music. Paolo Giordano I Orsini and his wife Isabella de’ Medici had patronised the presence and circulation of Neapolitan musicians in Florence in the previous century: documentary evidence indicates that musicians sang in the Neapolitan style with instrumental accompaniment at the Orsini court as early as 1559.⁶ According to the Este agent Francesco Susena, Isabella de’ Medici ‘kept in her room there certain musicians of Signor Paulo [Giordano I Orsini] who sing *alla napoletana* to the lute, and others with voices alone, and one who sings to keyboard accompaniment’.⁷ In Orsini’s account books, the Sienese composer and singer Scipione delle Palle (d. 1569)—teacher of the much more famous Giulio Caccini (1545–1618)—appears as one of the first musicians trained in Naples to find work in his household.⁸ Along with delle Palle, some of the composers of early

³ Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Arie a più voci* (Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1630); Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Arie a più voci: primo libro della Seconda Opera* (S.l.: s.n., prima metà del 1600).

Also see Federico Ghisi, *Alle fonti della monodia: Due nuovi brani della Dafne e il Fuggiloto musicale di G. Caccini* (Milan: F.lli Bocca, 1940), 75; John Whenham, “Giramo [Girolamo], Pietro Antonio,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed September 13, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11201>.

Ghisi introduces Giramo’s *Arie* published in 1630. Referring to Ghisi, Whenham explains rather the later volume of *Arie*.

⁴ Whenham, “Giramo, Pietro Antonio.” According to Ghisi, Ruggero is a knight who appeared in Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*. In the literature, Ruggero is regarded as the progenitor of the House of Este. See Ghisi, *Alle fonti*, 75.

⁵ Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Il azzo con la pazza ristampata, et uno Hospedale per gl’infermi d’amore* (Naples: [s.n.], before the middle of 1600). The solo original score is preserved in the Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze (Mus.47).

⁶ Valerio Morucci, *Baronial Patronage of Music in Early Modern Rome* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

⁷ ‘Hoggi ... È venuto un camerier del principe di fiorenza che m’ha detto S. Ex.a essere del tutto netta di febre, e senza doglia, in boniss.mo termine, se non che è debile: in questo suo male s’è servita assai della musica secondo che m’ha refferto questo gentilhuomo; in quasi tutta la notte faceva ne lali camera sua star alcuni musici del Sor Paulo che cantano alla napolitana nel leuto et altrj con voce, et uno con l’instrumento et a questo modo passava la maggior parte del tempo ...’ Letter of Francesco Susena (Florence, 25/26 January 1559) to Alfonso d’Este, MOs, Ambasciatri Firenze, busta 20, cited from David S. Butchart, “‘La Pecorina’ at Mantua, *Musica Nova* at Florence,” *Early Music* 13, no.3 (1985): 364.

⁸ Tim Carter, “Delle Palle [Dalle Palle, Del Palla, Vecchi detto Delle Palle], Scipione,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed January 13, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07491>.

Neapolitan monodies who were active in Rome, such as Giovanni Tomaso Cimello (1512–1591) and Gian Leonardo dell’Arpa (1530–1602), were connected with the circle of the Colonna-Orsini.⁹ Giramo himself may previously have intersected with Florence through his participation in the celebration of Philip III’s recovery from illness. The Medici grand dukes continued to claim a good friendship with Spain, and Philip III’s consort Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), daughter of Archduke Charles II (1540–1590) and sister to Maria Maddalena (1589–1631), Anna’s mother. Although a link through this means remains conjecture, the extreme paucity of documentation pertaining to Giramo makes any reasonable hypothesis worth considering.

4.2 *Anna de’ Medici and her Florence*

The duchy shifted its focus from development to stability in the first half of the seventeenth century, when *Il pazzo con la pazza* was presumably composed, and eventually entered a decline.¹⁰ The Florentine elites preferred the quiet life over their traditional mercantile activities around the turn of the seventeenth century, and the city gradually lost its economic dynamism. The Venetian ambassador Francesco Badoer (1570–1610) remarked in 1609 that ‘... for some time now, the nobility has begun to abandon mercantile activities, the young have started to spend more time than they did before at horse riding, promenading, or at the court, bringing a very decorative effect to this city’.¹¹ During this period, the reign of the duchy was handed over to several sovereigns. Cosimo II de’ Medici (1590–1621), the elder son of Ferdinando I and Christine de Lorraine, died in 1620, leaving his young son Ferdinando II de’ Medici (1610–1670) as the heir. Therefore, Christine and his wife Maria Maddalena served as joint regents in accordance with Cosimo II’s will. Whereas post-Enlightenment historians have underestimated their reign, accusing them of wasting money to fund the ‘vanity’ of court life and contributing significantly to the state’s economic decline,¹² more recent studies have reevaluated their talent and efforts to protect the lineage and reign the country.¹³ In 1630, an outbreak of plague killed 2,000 citizens and plunged the city into crisis. Ferdinando and his brothers soon embarked on a plan to improve living

⁹ Morucci, *Baronial Patronage of Music*.

¹⁰ Young, *The Medici*, 2:373-89. John Rigby Hale, *Florence and the Medici* (London: Phoenix, 2001), 189.

¹¹ “da certo tempo in qua, comincia la nobiltà ad uscir del mercante, principiando li giovani ad attendere con più frequenza che non facevano, al passeggio, alla corte ed alla cavallarizza: il che riesce a grand’ornamento della medesima città”, quoted in Paolo Malanima, *I Riccardi di Firenze: una famiglia e un patrimonio nella Toscana dei Medici* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1977), 119.

¹² Young, *The Medici*, 2:390; Henry Edward Napier, *Florentine History from the Earliest Authentic Records to the Accession of Ferdinand the Third Grand Duke of Tuscany* (London: Edward Moxon, 1847), 5: 424-58.

¹³ Cusick, *Francesca Caccini at the Medici Court*, 42-7.

conditions by establishing a Board of Health, and the new institution was a success, although it was later censured and required to do severe penance by Rome. Ferdinando married Vittoria della Rovere (1622–1694), the only child of Federico Ubaldo della Rovere (1605–1623) and Claudia de' Medici (1604–1648), a year after the plague broke out once more in 1633. The deaths of Maria Maddalena in 1631 and Christine in 1636 resulted in Ferdinando gaining more political control. By this time, Florence had lost much of its political superiority on the peninsula, which had been established by his predecessors, and the Jesuits reigned supreme at the Florentine court. Ferdinando found himself unable to oppose them; however, he brought improvements in other areas of court and city life. He roughly nearly doubling the size of the Grand Ducal palace and supported the Florentine inlay-work or *pietra dura* industry. Between 1639 and 1642, Ferdinando and Vittoria had one daughter and two sons. Two of them died in childhood, but one of the sons, Cosimo III (1642–1723), lived to succeed his father.¹⁴

Anna was born in Florence as the third daughter of Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena. After the failure of a plan for Anna to marry Gaston, Duke of Orléans (1608–1660), she was engaged to Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Austria (1628–1662) and married in 1646. They preferred court life in Florence to the countryside of Innsbruck and spent more time there.¹⁵ Anna was a patroness of art and had a passion for music. Barbara Strozzi (1619–1677), a Venetian singer and composer, dedicated her *Sacri Musicali Affetti, Op.5* in 1655 to Anna, who was the then Archduchess of the Tyrolean branch of the Habsburgs.¹⁶ In the dedication of *Il pazzo con la pazza*, Giramo calls her 'Anna de Medici, Principessa di Toscana' (Anna de' Medici, Princess of Tuscany), leading to the hypothesis that Anna was still unmarried and living in Florence when she received the dedication of the piece. In the book's contents, Giramo adopts the conceit of presenting a gallery of distracted people so that, he says, they can receive the mercy of this Medici princess.

¹⁴ Young, *The Medici*, 2: 422; Napier, *Florentine History*, 5: 424-58.

¹⁵ Young, *The Medici*, 2: 397 and 422. Deborah Marrow, *The Art of Patronage of Maria de' Medici* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982), 49-51.

¹⁶ Robert L. Kendrick, "Intent and Intertextuality in Barbara Strozzi's Sacred Music," *Recercare* 14 (2002): 84-5.

Figure 4.1. Justus Sustermans, Portrait of Anna de' Medici (1616–1676), Archduchess with her Lapdog, c.1630. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie. 803.

To discuss Giramo's unique piece in the contemporary social and cultural context, the following section focuses on carnivals and games, both of which provided a time and space for representing madness in comic and creative ways that seem closely related to *Il pazzo con la pazza*.

4.3 Carnivals, Parlor Games, and Madness

In early modern Italy, carnivals were conventional venues for the spectacle of madness. On June 22, 1514, the first day of the feast of Florence's patron saint John the Baptist, one of the floats called the *fusta piena di matti* (ship full of fools) appeared in Florence. About 30 men who were disguised as devils followed behind it. At one point, they caught someone from the crowd and threw him into the ship.¹⁷ A letter from the merchant and poet Niccolò Martelli (1498–1555) to Lucantonio Ridolfi (1510–1570) describes an event during the carnival of 1546 under the patronage of Cosimo I's infant son, five-year-old Francesco; the procession took the form of a masquerade entitled *Trionfo di tutto il mondo* (Triumph of the entire world), with universal madness as its theme.¹⁸ According to the letter, Francesco led a cortege of maskers impersonating people of diverse professions: 'poets, philosophers, astrologers, painters, architects, sculptors, farmers, knights of every order, judges, notaries, prosecutors, doctors, soldiers, . . .'.¹⁹ In Naples, a march of the mad also took place on a

¹⁷ Maria-Luisa Minio Palvello, *La "Fusta dei Matti": Firenze giugno 1514* (Florence: F. Cesati, 1990), 12. Also see Mellyn, *Mad Tuscans and Their Families*, 6.

¹⁸ Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici: Public Celebrations, Politics, and Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. Translated and edited by Nicole Carew Reid (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 106-7.

¹⁹ "Don Francesco (Primo Genito di sua Eccell. Invittiss.) mandò fuori il Triomfo di tutto il Mondo che per altro modo più prop[r]io chiamar non si puote essendo quel della solenne PAZZIA, dove interveniva tutte le oppinioni & fantasie de gli huomini, con una insegna innanzi al Carro che gittava il Giacchio tondo, che copriva ogn'uno con un motto che diceva tutti,

festive occasion. By the late seventeenth century, when the Marchese del Carpio, Gaspar de Haro (1629–1687), became the viceroy, Naples had gained a widespread reputation for its carnival celebrations. The carnival season began at the feast of S. Antonio Abate on 17 January and reached its summit before Ash Wednesday. People wearing satirical and lascivious masks with carts bearing food were the established form of the Neapolitan carnival during the Spanish reign.²⁰ In 1680, the city's chronicle narrates a carnival march of the mad inmates from the *Incurabili* as follows:

The mad people from the *Incurabili* appeared at the Palace in masks, led by Master Giorgio, who went in an open carriage elegantly dressed; they performed several dances of their kind, that is to say mad.²¹

These events at carnival suggest the theatrical nature of carnival and also provide examples of theatrical representations of a group of 'mad' people.

Victor Turner regarded carnivals and theatre as 'a dominant mode of public liminality' in early modern societies. According to Turner, public liminality is 'comunitas weighing structure, sometimes finding it wanting and proposing in however extravagant form new paradigms and models which invert or subvert the old', and carnival is 'a particularly interesting illustration of this ambiguity'.²² In *From Ritual to Theatre*, Turner cites the example of the carnival at St. Vincent and the words of the investigator, R. Abrahams, and describes 'only *certain types* of personalities who are attracted to the carnival' as those who 'can most aptly personify "disorder" versus "order" at the carnival'. Moreover, focusing on the flexible modes of participation in carnival, he defines it as a genre of 'leisure enjoyment, not an obligatory ritual, it is playman's "serious" communal endeavor'.²³ Carnival was a

& diceva il vero. Accompagnavonlo con mirabile ordine, POETI riccamente vestiti (come egli harebbono andare) & non iscononati comee son lasciati ire: colpa di questo pessimo secolo. Seguitava di poi Filosafi, Astrologi, Pittori, Architettori, Scultori, Agricoltori, Cavalieri d'ogni religione; Giudici, Notai, Procuratori, Dottori, Soldati, Preti, Frati, d'ogni habito, Gentil'huomini, Vinitiani, Napolitani, Cortigiane, Cortigiani, Mercatanti, Cittadini, Medici, Fisici, Cerusici, Artigiani d'ogni Mestiero; & tutti i primi Signor Temporarli & Spirituali, che per non vi esser tedioso non" Niccolò Martelli, *Il primo libro delle lettere di Niccolò Martelli* (Florence, 1546), fols. 78v-81, cited from Louis A. Waldman, *Baccio Bandinelli and Art at the Medici Court: A Corpus of Early Modern Sources* (Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 2004), 251: 322.

²⁰ Dinko Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples: Francesco Provenzale (1624-1704)* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 11.

²¹ 'Li pazzi degli Incurabili mascherati a Palazzo guidati da Mastro Giorgio, quale andava in galessa scoperta galantemente vestito, e fecero ivi alcuni balli da quello ch'erano, cioè pazzi.' Confuorto 1930 (21 February 1680) and already Fuidoro 1934-39, (17 February 1667). See Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi in Napoli dal Vicereame alla capitale* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1968), 90; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 10-1.

²² Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 6, no. 4 (1979): 474.

²³ Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*, 43.

temporal occasion whereby people transcended the boundaries, inverted the power structure, and contradicted the values and rules of everyday life. The world turned upside down was expressed through plays, processions, songs, and games.

Game culture and analysis were popular in the sixteenth century, and games were one of the popular social diversions along with hunting, chess, singing or falconry in Italian patrician society.²⁴ In particular, parlour games were cultivated in Siena to a great extent, and sophisticated treatises on the subject were written by Girolamo Bargagli and his brother Scipione introduced in Chapter 1. Girolamo was a lawyer and also a man of letters, whose famous work is *La pellegrina*. Scipione was also a man of letters and a member of the Academy of the Intronati.²⁵ According to Girolamo, games are ‘a festive activity of joyful and amiable company, where upon a pleasing or ingenious proposition made by one as author and guide of such action, all the others do or say some thing different from each other; and this for the purpose of pleasure and entertainment’.²⁶ The Bargagli brothers divided their parlour games into two types: ‘gravi’ (serious) and ‘piacevole’ (gay). The former includes light-hearted topics such as ‘Giuoco degli animali’ (Game of the Animals) or ‘Giuoco degli epitaffij’ (Game of the Epitaphs) and challenges the players’ imagination and wit. The latter is frivolous and often obscene, such as ‘Giuoco de’bisticci’ (Game of Quarrels) or ‘Giuoco della Caccia d’Amore’ (Game of the Hunt for Love).²⁷ Dinko Fabris suggests a relationship between Giramo’s *Uno Hospedale* and Neapolitan carnival games.²⁸ He refers not to a specific game but to ‘games (*veglie*) typical of Siena’, represented by Girolamo’s *Il Dialogo*, whose dedicatee is Isabella de’ Medici, the wife of Paolo Giordano I Orsini, discussed above as a patron of Neapolitan music in Florence and also the great aunt of Anna de’ Medici.

Some of the Bargaglis’ ‘gravi’ games that deal with the topic of love share similar characteristics with those in Giramo’s *Uno Hospedale*. *I trattenimenti di Scipione Bargagli* (The Diversions of Scipione Bargagli) written by Scipione sets the scene in Siena during the

²⁴ George W. McClure, “Women and the Politics of Play in Sixteenth-Century Italy: Torquato Tasso’s Theory of Games,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 3 (2008): 751.

²⁵ Thomas F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century: And Their Influence on the Literatures of Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 267. Nino Borsellino, “Bargagli, Girolamo,” *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 6 (1964), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/girolamo-bargagli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/;

Nino Borsellino, “Bargagli, Scipione,” *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. 6 (1964), https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scipione-bargagli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

²⁶ “Una festevole attio ne d’una lieta, & amorosa brigata, dove sopra una piacevole, od ingegnosa proposta fatta da uno, come autore, & guida di tale attione, tutti gli altri facciano, o dicano alcuna cosa l’un dall’altro diversamente; & questo à fine di diletto, & d’intertentimento.” Bargagli, *Dialogo de’Giuochi*, 34. Translation is cited from Crane, *Italian Social Customs*, 269; The definition is also cited in Haar, “On Musical Games,” 22.

²⁷ Bargagli, *Dialogo de’Giuochi*, 5-7. Also see George W. McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 24-5.

²⁸ Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-Century Naples*, 11.

siege of the city by Cosimo I de' Medici in 1554–1555. In the story, young men and women enjoy playing decorous and pleasing games, telling stories, and singing love songs. One of their games is 'Giuoco de' Ciechi' (Game of the Blind), which is also compiled in Girolamo's *Il Dialogo*.²⁹ In the game, each player pretends that he has become blind through love, and to relate the true and powerful reasons which have reduced him to that state; then he utters a brief prayer to be delivered from his blindness and performs some acts to show that he is blind. Then, they shall be aided and treated in their needs by the ladies as they seem to deserve.³⁰ Girolamo's *Il Dialogo* contains a game called 'Spedale de' pazzi' (Hospital for the Mad), which would in practice come very close indeed to the experience of performing Giramo's *Uno Hospedale*. In this game, each player is required to feign madness on account of love; then, the player explains how they have been driven to madness and display an act of madness. The following is Bargagli's description of how to play the game.

I have also seen a game they do at the mad hospital, where you make believe that all those in the party are mad for love, and that a hospital has been founded, where mad lovers are comfortably received and treated. But because it was not allowed for anyone to feign madness in order to remain there in great luxury, everyone was required to go into the presence of the Rector, located above the hospital, setting out the reason for their madness, and then performing an act of madness. And after they had been approved as mad people, the game goes mute, performing an act of one person's madness, and of another's. On the subject of this game I don't want to leave out a witty anecdote, which I heard said by a beautiful spirit, which goes thus: he asked a woman who was sitting at his side, while they played the game, of whom there was word that she had a great number of lovers, what did she make of this new hospital for mad lovers? She replied, I say, that she was attending not for refuge, but 'only to understand those who go mad for love of me'.³¹

²⁹ Bargagli, *Dialogo de Giuochi*, 83.

³⁰ Crane, *Italian Social Customs*, 306.

³¹ "Giuoco ho veduto anche farsi dello Spedale de pazzi, dove si finge che tutti quei della brigata sieno pazzi per amore, & che uno spedale si stato fondato, dove commodamente sieno ricevuti, & trattati i pazzi innamorati. Ma perche qualcuno non fosse, che per istare quivi a grande agio si fingesse pazzo, & non fosse, à ciascuno sia necessario l'andare nella presenza del Rettore, sopra lo spedale ordinato, la cagione esponendo per la quale impazzato sia, & un atto da pazzo da poi facendo. Et dopo che sono stati approvati per pazzi, il giuoco va in mutola, facendosi un'atto della sua pazzia, et quello d'un altro. Nel proposito del qual giuoco non voglio lasciar in dietro un arguto motto, ch'io sentij dire ad un bello spirito, percio che domandogli una donna che gli sedeva allato, mentre si faceva il giuoco, di cui era voce che havesse un gran numero d'amanti, che cosa dite voi di questo nuovo spedale de pazzi innamorati? Rispose, io dico, che converrà che sia d'un gran ricetta, a capir solamente quelli che impatriscono per amor nostro." Bargagli, *Dialogo de Giuochi*, 86-7.

Thus, game participants are required to feign madness for real by giving plausible reasons. Plausibility is probably important for enjoying the game because it causes cognitive and emotional confusion in the ambiguity between reality and pretence. Moreover, playing such games could be one of the means to demonstrating carnivalesque inversion in a courtly society.

In the following sections, I will discuss Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata/Et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore* in detail: first, I overview the piece and then present separate readings of *Il pazzo/La pazza*. Finally, I examine *Uno Hospedale*, which makes a more self-evident connection with music drama and the world of theatre.

4.4 *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata/Et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore*

Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza* is a rather complex print, comprising three sections in which the pages are numbered separately. The first, beginning with the main title page, includes a dedication to Anna de' Medici, a printer's note, and 'Ogn'un che mi sàper savio', which is a cantata-like composition comprising a monologue with continuo delivered by a madman, in the baritone range but with falsetto interjections, followed by a 'Serenata' for the same forces, and concluding with a 'Choro de Pazzi' (Chorus of Madmen) for three voices. This part is *Il pazzo* announced in the title. The second part begins with a new title page announcing *uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore* and continues with another dedication to Anna de' Medici. There follows a semidramatic composition in which a series of mad lovers complete short dialogues with a representative of the hospital, seeking admission, interleaved with three-voice sections, and concluding with a four-part madrigal in honour of the dedicatee. The final part does not have its title page but restarts the page numbering from 1 with a second printer's note. This is *La pazza* of the title, and in structure, it is similar to *Il pazzo*: 'Chi non mi conosce', a cantata-style solo monologue in contrasting sections, delivered by a madwoman in the soprano range, followed by a five-voice 'Choro de Pазze' (Chorus of Madwomen). At the end is the announcement 'Il Fine della Pазza' (The End of the Madwoman). The layout of the print is summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Structure of *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore*

<i>Il Pazzo</i>	
	All'altezza serenissima di Anna de Medici principessa di Toscana†

	Lo stampatore†
	Ogn'un che mi sàper savio
	Serenata
	Choro de pazzi
<i>Uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore</i>	
	All'altezza serenissima di Anna de Medici principessa di Toscana†
	Per l'infermi d'Amore
	All'altezza sereniss, di Anna de Medici
<i>La piazza</i>	
	Lo stampatore†
	Chi non mi conosce
	Choro de pазze

† sections without music

Two printer's notes, entitled 'Lo stampatore', attached to *Il pazzo/La pazza* explain the composer's intention to deliver the piece and his definition of madness, respectively. The printer's note for *La pazza*, subtitled 'A' Detrattori' (To the Critics), is presumably reprinted along with the music from the original publication—in other words, it predates the paratexts of *Il pazzo* and *Uno Hospedale*. The main purpose of the text is to propose concisely an apologia for and philosophy of madness.

One does not joke with madmen; the weak of mind do not grasp, neither the rules of music, such as the style of recitation no longer in practice, nor those of poetry (not the proper profession of the author of this music); recalling that the freedom of the mad is not subject to rules. Therefore if the madmen are too troublesome, and are rebuffed with stones, which will be well weighed before throwing, I know also that this work will be more admired by the wise than by the mad, being the envy of its rivals. And if you are able to detect some shortcoming, consider, with compassion, that Love and Madness are the cause; accept finally the author's affection, for he intends only to delight you.³²

³² "Non si scherzi co'pazzi; non si morda chi è scema di cervello, così nelle regole della Musica, come nel non continuato stile del recitare, ovvero nella Poesia (non propria professione dell'istesso Autore di questa Musica) ricordandovi la libertà de'Pazzi non esser soggetta à regole: Percioche se i Pazzi sono troppo molestati, si risenteno co' sassi, quali saranno ben pesati prima che tirati: sò anco, che questa fatica sarà più ammirata da'Saggi, che da'Pazzi; essendo l'invidia frà pari; e se pur qualche mancamento vi fiscorgesse, dee considerari, compatendo, che Amore, e Pazzia ne sono caggione: gradite in

Here, madness is interpreted as a license to violate the rules of song and poetry, and paradoxically, by doing so, to produce work that can be understood more by the wise. As discussed in Chapter 1, this view is presumably built on the positive Neoplatonic reading of madness as a form of divine inspiration that enables the artist to encapsulate truths inaccessible to his rational faculty. However, it can also partake in a vein of contemporary thinking that links the license of the mad with a positive ideal of freedom. Teodoro Angelucci (d. 1600), a physician and a man of letters born in Belforte, writes, ‘che lo viver sciolto/E’ da ver pazzo, e a l’nom più naturale/Ch’aver lo spirto in tante leggi avvolto’ (to live loosely/and like a real madman, and more natural to man/than to have his spirit convoluted by many rules.³³ Angelucci knew Tomaso Garzoni, author of *L’Hospitale de’ pazzi incurabili*, and wrote sonnets to him when Garzoni’s *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* was published in 1585.³⁴ Praise for the unruliness of the mad can also be found in the Florentine poet Antonio Francesco Grazzini’s (1503–1584) *Capitolo in lode della pazzia* (Chapter in Praise of Madness), composed before 1541. The narrator of this poem begins his encomium by declaring his preference for madness over wealth, honours, or position, if the gods will grant his wish. He remarks that a madman is not subject to the law nor to the executioner:³⁵

<p>Si possono impiccare i magistrati ché indarno son le loro esecuzioni, non sendo i pazzi alle leggi obbligati.³⁶</p>	<p>The magistrates can go hang because their executions are in vain, since madmen are not subject to the law.³⁷</p>
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The printer’s note in *La pazza* ambivalently announces the unruliness of madmen, who prompt both offense and admiration, due to their weakness exposed by love for women. This indicates Giramo had an ironic attitude towards madness—approaching the topos of madness as a space of creative license, while simultaneously using it as an excuse for error; ostentatiously citing the base nature of the subject, while claiming that it will be understood more by the most astute listeners.

tanto l’affetto dell’Autore, quale intese à dilettarui.” Giramo, *La pazza*, “Lo stampatore,” 1.

³³ “Capitolo di Theodoro Angelucci a Tomaso Garzoni sopra la Pazzia,” in Giorgio Greco ed. *Rime piacevoli di sei begl’ingegni piene di fantasie, strauaganze, capricci, motti, sali & argutie. Con lequali si spiegano molti soggetti curiosi, e fuori del comune parere, degni da sapersi da qualunque spirito leggiadro. All’illust. sig. il sig. Leonida Belli* (Vicenza, Giorgio Greco, 1603), 153. Translation is cited from Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 3

³⁴ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 2.

³⁵ Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 183.

³⁶ Antonio Francesco Grazzini, *Le rime burlesche* (Florence: Sansoni, 1882), 562.

³⁷ Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 183.

Il pazzo begins with the other printer's note, in which Giramo explains why *La pazza* is being 'ristampata' (reprinted) together with *Il pazzo*. The explanation sits within the prevailing conceit of madness, creating poetic slippage between the madman of the text and the author's identity and referring to *Il pazzo* and *La pazza* of the title as brother and sister:

Recently my press produced an amorous Madwoman, and while waiting for something more substantial from the Author, here newly he brought me a Madman, much to my astonishment, because his genius, from which it emerged with the Muse, had never before produced issue like it. And while he wished to enclose within it all his misfortunes which have no equal in the world, he changed his mind on seeing that his sister was widely received with some applause, even by many learned men, as their own daughter, divesting her of her paternal clothes, and adorning her with their own, such that he is left forgotten by all, they not wishing to care for madmen; but he keeps his soul turned to greater things, which I hope soon to present to you.³⁸

We can assume from the note that Giramo had already published *La pazza* before the present work, but that its critical success had brought with it considerable imitations. In fact, Giramo's *La pazza* evidently found its audience because sections were copied into several contemporary manuscripts. The cantatas from *La pazza* gained certain reputation as *La pazzia*.³⁹ This one is titled as 'Pazzia venuta da Napoli del Girami', apparently written by Giramo himself in the text 'Chi non mi conosce dirà'. The collection titled 'Roman Cantatas' embraces 39 works for solo voice and continuo, mainly by composers who lived in Rome in the seventeenth century. The other composers include Marco Marazzoli (1602–1662), Luigi Rossi (1597–1653), Mario Savioni (1608–1685), Carlo Caproli (1614–1673), and so forth.⁴⁰ Another setting of the text is restored in two libraries. Bibliothèque Nationale de France holds the one under the title 'Chi non mi conosce dira' else la mia: poesia del sigr. Pistro Ant°.

³⁸ "Vi rappresentorno i giorni passati le mie stampe una amorosa Pazza, & mentre aspettava dall'Autore parto più nobile, ecco di nuovo mi reca un Pazzo non senza mia meraviglia, poiche il suo ingegno, da che si caso con la Musa, non li bà già mai prodotto parti simili, & mentre volea egli quello racchiudere à ciò le sue sciagure per lo mondo non comparissero; mutò pensiero in vedere, che sua sorella fù con qualche plavso comunemente accettata anzi da molti addottata per propria figlia, spogliandola delle paterne vesti, & adornandola delle loro, del che ne resta obligato à tutti, non volendo egli tener cura de Pazzi; ma tiene rivolto l'animo à cose maggiori, le quali spero presto presentarvi." Giramo, *Il pazzo*, 'Lo stampatore', 1.

³⁹ As for the storage locations, see Margaret Murata, "Singing about Singing, or the Powers of Music," in *In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2, eds. F. Della Seta and F. Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki and University of Western Australia Press, 1989), 381; Fabris, *Music in Seventeenth-century Naples*, 41.

⁴⁰ "Roman cantatas," 1600, Music Library General Manuscript Collection, US-Eu, ms, Northwestern University; Also see Murata, "Singing about Singing," 381.

Girami, musica del sigr. Mario Savioni’—in this case attributing the music to Mario Savioni.⁴¹ The last *Chi non mi conosce dirà* is compiled as the final piece under the title ‘La follia’ in a manuscript in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana that includes 10 canzoni or arias. According to the general note, it is a ‘Canzone, a voce sola, di autore ignoto’ (song for solo voice, author unknown).⁴²

Turning aside from his intention to write on more elevated topics, Giramo therefore seeks to reassert his creative paternity by presenting the ‘Pazzo’ as the fraternal counterpart to his ‘Pazza’. *Il pazzo* is clearly modelled on *La pazza*, with both structural and textual echoes, but in the later compositions, the format is quite considerably extended.

4.5 *Anna de’Medici as a Healer*

We now turn from the printers’ notes to the dedication. From the perspective of music-theatre, the most interesting feature in this composition concerns how the dedicatee is integrated into the dramatic plot. Both *Il pazzo* and *Uno Hospedale* carry dedications to Anna de’ Medici; the earlier *La pazza* has no dedication, at least in its reprinted form. The first dedication is by far the longest:

To her Most Serene Highness

Anna de Medici

Princess of Tuscany

And who does not know, most serene lady, that the father will be considered mad by all, whose son has the nerve to dedicate such humble jokes to such a high [lady], in every way you will excuse me in respect of the eagerness, which encourages me not to wait any longer in offering these as from the most humble servant, even if they are useless, given that for the moment no other work has been dictated by my humble Muse, although I hope in the future to bring to completion greater things that I might present to you. Accept this in the meantime, such as it is, thus I dare to beg Your Highness (against the usual paternal affection) not to regard it with a gracious eye, because with this it would certainly become wise, and could not then offer you that delight, which is habitually taken from such a person, and thus I confess, that I value your taste higher, than the health of my son, who is satisfied to remain where he finds

⁴¹ “Cantates italiennes de différents auteurs. Tome II,” 1650 to 1680, Musique manuscrite, F-Pn Rès. Vm7 109, fol. 47 r°, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

⁴² “La follia,” 1601-1700, I-Rvat Chigi Q. VI. 86, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

himself under your protection, and humbly I bow. Naples.⁴³

Giramo repeats the assertion in the dedication that he plans to write greater things in the future but claims that for the moment, this is all he has prepared. Meanwhile, Anna is addressed as ‘Principessa di Toscana’ (Princess of Tuscany). These two factors give us faint indications as to the date of the print, which is otherwise undated. Born in 1616, Anna was married in 1646, and at that point became Archduchess of Austria rather than a princess of Tuscany. If we are to take seriously Giramo’s implication that this is an early work, it is also relevant that his only dated publication—considered his earliest work—appeared in 1620. Considering the topic of lovesickness, and the continual implication that Anna may herself be both its prompt and its remedy, it seems clear that the print cannot date from before about 1630, and a date in the 1630s seems most likely. However, the fact that *La pazza* is here *ristampata* adds an extra complication: it carries no internal or external dedication to Anna, and thus it predates both the other compositions with which it is printed and Giramo’s appeal to Anna’s patronage. The dedication implies that the gap between *La pazza* and *Il pazzo* was not lengthy, but sufficient for the nature of the reception of the former to become clear. It is striking that *Uno Hospedale* has its title page, as if at some point it was envisaged as a separate publication, but before release was integrated with *Il pazzo* and *La pazza* almost as matching bookends for the longer and more explicitly dramatic composition.

In the dedication to *Uno Hospedale*, Giramo declares that it is Anna’s gaze that will cure all the inmates, who suffer from madness and the vain desires of human hearts.

To whom better could this Hospital of the Lovesick be dedicated than to Your Serene Highness, of whom the honest and holy glances of those potent Medici eyes cause heal all these illnesses arising from the crazy fantasies and vain desires of human breasts. Deign therefore to undertake this office, which, further, will heal the world, and will be rewarded in paradise.⁴⁴

⁴³ “E Chi non sà, Serenissima Signora, che sarà da tutti più stimato pazzo il padre, ch’il figlio hauendo tanto ardire di dedicare fcherzi sì baffi à tanta Altezza, in ogni modo mi scuserà in parte l’impacienza, che mi spinge à non aspettare più tempo in osserirmeli per seruo humilissimo, ancor che inutile, non havendo per hora altro parto compito della mia pouera Musa, pure spero per l’avvenire dar compimento à cose maggiori per portergliele presentare. Riceva in tanto questo, quale egli e, ardisco però di pregare V.A. (contro l’ordinario affetto paterno) à non rignardarlo con occhio cortese, perche con ciò al sicuro diverria savio, e non potria all’hora recarli quel diletto, che prendere da tali persone si suole, & così confesso, che più stimo il suo gusto, che la sanità d’un mio figlio, il quale si contenterà di restarsene qual’egli si ritrova sotto la sua protettione, & humilmente me l’inchino. Napoli.” Giramo, *Il pazzo*, “All’altezza serenissima di Anna de Medici Principessa di Toscana.”

⁴⁴ “A chi meglio potea dedicare questo Hospedale de gl’ Infermi d’Amore, che à V.A.S. i cui sguardi honesti, e santi de quegli occhi MEDICI potenti ponno guarire tutte queste infermità di pazze imaginationi, e vani desiderij de’ petti humani. Degnisi dunque fare tale officio, che oltre, che gioverà al mondo, ne farà premiata dal cielo.” Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*,

Similar claims are made in the ‘Choro de Pazzi’ which concludes *Il pazzo*, a melancholic three-voice villanella-like composition in triple time (Ex. 4.1):

Choro de Pazzi

Chorus of Madmen

Mora, mora chi non è pazzo,
viva, viva chi segue amore
perché l’empie di bell’humore
che li dà gioia, e sollazzo
mora, mora chi non è pazzo

Die, die who is not a madman,
live, live who follows love
because of the surfeit of good humor
which gives them joy, and gaiety
die, die, who is not a madman.

Vivan, vivan tutte le belle
moran, moran le donne brutte,
perche ingrata sono pur tutte,
mentre sono d’amor rubelle,
vivan, vivan tutte le belle.

Live, live all the beautiful women
die, die the ugly women,
because they are unpleasant for all,
while they are blushing for love,
live, live all the beautiful women.

Viva, viva à ME, DICHI amore,
viva’l guardo d’occhio Reale,
che ti fa PAZZO immortale,
et’infonde nobil furore,
viva, viv’ à ME, DICHI amore.⁴⁵

Live, live to me, you say love,
live in the gaze of the royal eyes,
that makes you immortally mad,
and instills in you noble frenzy,
live, live to me, you say love.

The musical score is written in 3/8 time and consists of three staves. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff is the vocal line, the second is the piano accompaniment, and the third is the bass line. The lyrics are: Mo-ra, mo-ra chi non è paz-zo, vi-va, vi-va chi se-gue a-mo-re.

Example 4.1 *Il pazzo*, ‘Choro de Pazzi’

“All’altezza serenissima di Anna de Medici Prencipessa di Toscana.”

⁴⁵ Giramo, *Il pazzo*, 22.

Giramo uses a number of metaphors and themes in these texts that clarify Anna's own role in the action. Her gaze is identified as simultaneously being both the cause and the cure of the madness suffered by the various characters. The gaze of the beloved is often identified as the specific prompt of love in Italian Renaissance love verse. It attracts, threatens, or encourages a viewer. In his sonnet, 'Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade' (I'll sing of the sweet time of my first youth), Petrarch sings: 'She whose mere glance can steal the minds of men/opened my breast, and took my heart in her hand/and warned: "You must not say a word of this"'. In another sonnet, 'Fera stella (se 'l cielo à forza in noi)' (Cruel the star (if the heavens have power)), he sings, 'cruel the lady who, with eyes that shine/and bow which only liked me as a target/struck me; on which, Love, I do not stay quiet/since with those weapons you could ease my pain'.⁴⁶ The alluring nature of woman's gaze was widely feared because it could capture the viewer's heart and provoke lustful passion. Women's eyes are averted in Renaissance portraits because of their seductiveness.⁴⁷

Giramo was building on a separate and equally entrenched Renaissance tradition when he recognised the princess's gaze also as curative. Contemporary love verses describe how the gaze of the beloved consoles and rejoices the poetic persona in love. This corresponds to the medical discourse on love, which indicates that affection from a beloved one could be a good remedy for those experiencing lovesickness. Moreover, recent studies have revealed the traditional role of women in health and healing, both within and beyond the domestic sphere, in early modern Europe. Women were often a significant part of the commerce and commodity of health and well-being over a lifetime, as midwives, nurses, caregivers, or authors of recipe books.⁴⁸ This background possibly reflects the specific inspiration of Bargagli's game.⁴⁹ In the abovementioned game of the Blind, each player pretends to be ill with some complaints of love. Ladies then take the role as 'veins or springs of medicinal waters good for his malady'.⁵⁰

Therefore, women appear to play a particularly significant, if paradoxical, role in relation to the mad characters and to the drama. On the one hand, each madman has been

⁴⁶ "Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade": "Questa che col mirar gli animi fura/m'aperse il petto, e 'l cor prese con mano/dicendo a me: Di ciò non far parola." 'Fera stella (se 'l cielo à forza in noi': 'et fera donna, che con gli occhi suoi/et con l'arco a cui sol per segno piacqui/fe' la piaga onde, Amor, teco non tacqui/che con quell' arme risaldar la pòì." Francesco Petrarch, *Canzoniere e Trionfi* (Venice: Gabriele di Pietro, 1473). Translations are cited from Francesco Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, trans. and intro. J.G. Nichols (Manchester: Carcanet, 2000).

⁴⁷ Loren W. Partridge, *Art of Renaissance Florence, 1400-1600* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2009), 103.

⁴⁸ Mary E. Fissell, "Introduction: Women, Health, and Healing in Early Modern Europe," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82, no.1 (2008): 1-17; Strocchia, *Forgotten Healers*.

⁴⁹ David Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 22.

⁵⁰ Crane, *Italian Social Customs*, 307.

afflicted through love for a woman, so women are the cause of their madness; but women are also called upon to provide the remedy. It is also worth mentioning that many of the voice parts are in an alto or soprano tessitura, making them readily accessible to voices from both the genders. These generic feminine roles run in parallel with that specifically identified for the patroness Anna de' Medici.

In the 'Choro de Pazzi', the capitalization pairs the words MEDICI (doctor) and PAZZO (madman), precisely so as to imply a clinical relationship. In fact, the Medici family was often associated with the golden medicinal fruit of the Hesperides, the *mala aurea*. In Tuscany, it was identified with the *mala medica* or the sour orange. The relationship between the Medici and the *mala medica* offered a pun. Furthermore, the link was commonly mobilized in praise for the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, as the doctors (*medici*) who would treat the nation's and the Church's illnesses. As for Leo X, the doctor's image gradually changed into that of a shepherd or succourer who looked after his charges.⁵¹ Public recognition of the Medici's spiritual and physical curative capability—indicated at the simplest level in their family name—is clearly a part of the allegory built around the dedicatee in both *Il pazzo* and *Uno Hospedale*.

Being an attractive woman, Anna is a prompt of lovesickness. However, because of her curative nature and status as a Medici princess, she is also able to marshal the disorderly world through her gaze, healing the lover's disordered mind. This paradox of the royal female doctor whose gaze both causes and cures madness creates the ambiguous states of 'PAZZO immortale' (immortally mad) and 'nobil furore', in which some may read the Neoplatonic view of madness as the divine 'frenzy' that inspires the poet. By these allegorical means, Giramo integrates Anna into the action of both the scenario unfolded in the songs and the author in composing the works, pushing forward the ambivalent and ironic account of madness described in the printer's note to the earlier *La pazza*.

The following sections analyse the main content of the print into two parts. The first deals with *Il pazzo/La pazza* by comparing one with the other and the second discusses *Uno Hospedale* in relation to contemporary circumstances of mental hospitals and their dramatisation.

⁵¹ George L Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Interpretive Guide* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 49.
Marica Tacconi S., *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 187.

4.6 La pazza and Il pazzo

As the printer's notes indicate, *Il pazzo* was composed following the success of his sister *La pazza*, Giramo's earlier work. They are compositions in monodic form, consisting of several semantic divisions with unconventional musical practices, although the newer composition *Il pazzo* is the more sophisticated work. In general terms, the cantata-like *La pazza* and *Il pazzo* make use of many musical and poetic devices of madness that are by now expected and familiar. One of the notable devices common to both compositions is a rhythmic variety: *La pazzia* changes the rhythm 10 times and *Il pazzo* 16 times. In both the cases, rhythmic changes are applied to show the disorderly nature of madness, but also they generally mark semantic pauses. In the following, I examine the compositions in turn, with a focus on the distinctive features of mad siblings.

i) La pazza

La pazza begins her solo 'Chi non mi conosce' with a gentle melody, the tune of which boasted popularity among contemporaries as discussed above. The first distinctive feature we notice is the part where the madwoman sings solmization syllables. After reiterating 'sentite' (listen), the madwoman desires to versify and sing (Vorrei verseggiare ... vorrei cantare). Then, she starts to sing 'la sol fa mi fare'. Solmization is often used in mad scenes of spoken theatres to produce a comic, punning effect; her solmization is sung in the soft hexachord (Ex 4.2).

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the piece 'La pazza'. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff, both in common time (C). The first system, starting at measure 20, contains the lyrics: 'Vor - rei ver - seg - gia - re ò cie - lo ò ter - ra ò ma - re no nò'. The second system, starting at measure 24, contains the lyrics: 'no nò vor - rei can - ta - re la sol fa mi fa - re, ma'. The melody is simple and features some rhythmic variations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

Example 4.2 *La pazza*, 'Chi non mi conosce', bb. 20-28

After the solmization, the madwoman falls silent temporarily, but her frenzy makes her want to shout, dance, jump, and show joy. Giramo expresses her changeable mood from melancholic to joyous with rapidly varying musical and rhythmic textures (Ex. 4.3).

35
Al vol - t'A - mor fie - ro mi le - ga la lin - gua, e mu - ta mi fa Già sen - to

43
man - ca - re la vo - c'e par - la - re non pos - so più nò; Ma poi con fu - ro - re

47
vor - rei gri - da - re bal - lar, e sal - ta - re most - ra - re la gio - iach'al co - re mi stà.

Example 4.3 *La pazza*, 'Tal volt' Amor fiero', bb. 35-50

Then, she makes fun of 'Signore cavalier' (Sir Knight). A gibe at the miserable 'Signor cavariero' suddenly bursts into laughter with descending notes (Ex 4.4). Sudden laughter is one of the typical signs of madness. For instance, in Act III, scene ix of Faustini's *L'Egisto* (1643), Egisto turns himself into a lively hawker, a public storyteller, a magistrate, and Cupid. He then suddenly laughs: 'Siete, siete pur sciocchi, ah, ah, ah, ah' (You are, you are, indeed fools, ha, ha, ha, ha).⁵²

⁵² Faustini, *L'Egisto*, 82. Also see Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos," 178-9.

67

gias-so con stra - li al car - ca - sso, gli oc - chi hai ben - da - ti co i pan - ni strac -

73

cia - ti ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah, Si

Example 4.4 *La pazza, 'Al volta mi burlo', bb. 67-77*

In the following passage, Giramo weaves songs in the Neapolitan and Calabrian styles. After the remark ‘Si sona l’aria del Colascione’ (One sings the aria of the Colascione), the madwoman declares she wants to sing in the Neapolitan and a little in the Calabrian style (*voglio cantar’ à la napoletana e n’altro poco à la calavresella*) (Ex. 4.5). The Colascione is a long-necked lute, originally derived from the Middle Eastern Tanbūr; this string instrument was widely used in Naples around the middle of the sixteenth century.⁵³ The madwoman’s desire to sing in recitative is followed by a lively aria (Ex 4.6). Singing is another familiar feature of mad characters; however, in this piece, singing is the normal mode, so the portrayal of madness needs somehow to be distinguished. Giramo achieves this by adopting the songs from his own land to represent the disorderly state originally.

⁵³ Dieter Kirsch, “Colascione,” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed February 18, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06064>.

94 Si sona l'aria del Colascione.

vog-lio can - ta - r' à la na - po - le - ta - na e n'au-tro po - co à

100 la ca - la - vre - sel - la sver - ze fa - ces - se la for - tu - na ca - na fa - re pie - to - sa chel - la

Example 4.5 *La pazza*, 'Amor senpr'hò da stridere', bb. 94-105

110 vi cha si squa-ghia st'ar-ma co m'à nzun-za e me sen-to a-bru-scia lo se-ca ta - li stu co - ri si mi

114 nuz - za co - m' à trun - za, A - mu - ri su - lu è cau - sa di stu ma - li, ò di stu ma - li

Example 4.6 *La pazza*, 'Voglio cantar'à la napoletana', bb. 110-117

Moving into three-four time, the light-hearted melody describes the madwoman's call for a medical doctor and reference to herbs and complains of her torment (Ex. 4.7).

131

O dot - ti me - di - ci fa - te un col - leg - gi - o di me chi sà se vir - tù tro - va - si

139

d'her - ba che mo - va - si di me a pie - tà

Example 4.7 *La pazza*, 'O dotti medici', bb. 130-142

The madwoman transforms herself into an astrologer (*astrologhessa*) and strays into a celestial sphere, observing 'the Milky Way the candor of my own self among the signs of the Zodiac' (*miro ne la via lattea il candor de mia sè fra i segni del Zodiaco*). A star tells her 'you were unhappily born to serve a cruel man' (*una stella mi dice tu sei nata infelice per servir un crudele*). She then mentions that 'I say that among many thoughts, sons of my mind, the greatest of the brothers is impertinent, wishes a man desire in conflict with his fantasy, [which] has ever been thought the cruelest madness' (*dico che fra tanti pensieri figli de la mia meute il maggior de' fratelli è impertinente vuol d'un huomo il volere contra sua fantasia s'intese mai la più crudel pazzia*). Giramo embellishes this part with pressing quavers and semiquavers, and concludes with fanfare-like passages (Ex. 4.8).

192

la mia men-te il mag-gior de' fra - te-li è im per - ti - nen - te vuol d'un' huo-mo il vo - le - re

195

con-tra sua fan-ta - si - a s'in-te - se mai la più cru - del la più cru - del paz - zi - a.

Detailed description: The image shows two systems of musical notation for a vocal line. The first system, starting at measure 192, consists of three measures. The melody is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The lyrics are: 'la mia men-te il mag-gior de' fra - te-li è im per - ti - nen - te vuol d'un' huo-mo il vo - le - re'. The second system, starting at measure 195, consists of six measures. The melody is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), Bb4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), C4 (half). The lyrics are: 'con-tra sua fan-ta - si - a s'in-te - se mai la più cru - del la più cru - del paz - zi - a.' The bass line in both systems consists of simple harmonic accompaniment in a bass clef.

Example 4.8 *La pazza*, 'Un mi chiama ignorante', bb. 192-200

Cursing her lovesickness, the madwoman calls Love a traitor and orders it thrown in a prison of her heart with rapid semiquavers. Her curse turns into a plea to the soul by asking it to fly, and then moves to a resentful complaint against her cruel lover. The interesting musical device is a repetition of the same melody on the following phrase by emphasising on the term 'maledetto': 'I am cursed, cursed loves, that time when I saw my cursed desire, my heart, which loves one who despises it, cursed, the bitterness of such a cruel man' (sia maledetto amore maledette quell'hore ch'io vidd'il mio desio maledetto il cor mio, ch'ama chi lo disprezza maledetta l'asprezza d'huomo così crudele) (Ex. 4.9).

209

sen vo - lò sia ma - le - det - to a - mo - re ma - le - det - te quel l'ho - re ch'io vid - d'il mio de -

212

si - o ma - le - det - to il cor mi - o, ch'a - ma chi lo dis - prez - za ma - le - det - ta l'as - prez - za d'huo

Example 4.9 *La pazza*, 'Date la voce', bb. 209-214

Finally, the madwoman asks her thoughts to dance, which is a favorite topic in contemporary mad scenes, as we shall see in the following chapter. She gives them dance instructions, ordering in particular the dance of Faithful (*il ballo di fedele*) and the dance of Folly (*il ballo di folia*) (Ex. 4.10). The madwoman lowers the curtain of her long solo: 'I can no longer play the string of hope; it is too false, and that of desire, wishing to tune it [to the other], and they broke it, from too much pulling' [String as in the string of a musical instrument]' (*non posso più sonare la corda de la speme e troppo falsa, e quella del desio, volsi accordarla, ed essi rotta, per troppo tirarla*) (Ex. 4.11).

238

a pren de-te-la per ma-no hor-sù in-chi-na-te-vi pri - ma à l'i-dol mi - o fa la la la

243

la la la gi - ra - te con la men-t'in - tor-no in-tor-no fa la la la la la quel pen-sier fal-ta

Example 4.10 *La pazza*, ‘Ballate ò miei pensier’, bb. 238-247

256

non pos-so più so - na - re la cor-da de la spe-me e trop-po fal-sa e quel-la del de-sio

262

vol-si ac-cor-dar - la ed es-si rot - ta per trop - po ti - rar - la.

Example 4.11 *La pazza*, ‘Ballate ò miei pensier’, bb. 256-268

In *La pazzia*, Giramo employs a variety of characteristics related to theatrical madness: solmization, sudden laughter, varying moods, reference to medicine, transformation into an astrologer, cursing the lover, and dance. The next section examines *Il pazzo*, in which Giramo expresses his considerable interest in madness as a composer in a bolder manner.

ii) Il pazzo

Figure 4.2. Frontispiece of Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Il pazzo con la pazza*, 1630?

While inheriting the characteristics of his distracted sister, *Il pazzo* dramatizes his lovesickness excessively. Like the madwoman, the madman also sings solmization, this time with a colascione: ‘devò dir una canzone, dammi quel colascione, tocca à, la sol, re, Certo stà buono a fè, ma dimmi un poco di, quello b, fa, b mi, non par scordato’ (I must recite a song, give me that colascione, play la, sol, re, Sure it is good i’faith, but tell me a little of that b fa, b mi, it does’t seem out of tune). Solmization is sung in the soft hexachord by hovering firstly ‘la sol, re’ and then ‘b ♭ fa b[♮]mi’.⁵⁴ Different from his counterpart, the madman’s solmization goes irregularly: in the first solmization, ‘re’ is sung after ‘la sol’, and the second solmization does not correspond to the actual notes. The singer mistakenly convinces himself saying ‘non par scordato’ (It does not seem out of tune) (Ex. 4.12).

⁵⁴ B♭ becomes fa in the soft hexachord and B[♮] is mi in the hard hexachord.

31

re-vò dir u-na can-zo-ne dam-mi quel co-la-scio-ne toc-ca à, la sol, re

36

Cer-tostà buo-no a sè ma dim mi unpo-co di quel-lo b, fa, b mi non pars-cor-da-to

Example 4.12 *Il pazzo*, ‘Ogn’un che mi sà per savio’, bb. 31-40

The next notable feature is the point at which the rhythm changes. Up to now, the rhythmic changes mostly correspond to the semantic pauses. But in the phrase ‘non posso cantar più, altri suoni altri canti brama la donna mia, già t’intend’ò mio pensiero’ (I can no longer sing, my woman yearns for other sounds, other songs, you already understand ah my thought), the madman unexpectedly changes his rhythm between ‘la donna’ (woman) and ‘mia’ (my), as if he cut through the semantic cohesion (Ex. 4.13).

52

non pos-so can-tar più al-tri suo-ni al-tri can-ti bra-ma la don-na

56

mi-a già t'in-ten-d'ò mio pen-sie-ro già

Example 4.13 *Il pazzo*, ‘Non posso cantar più altri suoni’, bb. 52-60

The madman quickly changes his rhythm again from three-two time to common time and exhibits other characteristics that could be considered musically evocative of madness, such as stuttering on the word ‘tutte’ (all). The note f rhythmically continues up to the word ‘lume’ (light; Ex. 4.14). The monotonous tone seems mismatched to the lascivious statement ‘tu ttu ttu ttu ttu tu ttu ttu, deh chi si vuol comprare il cor de la mia donn’ad estinguersi un lume’ (al all all all all all al all all, ah whoever wants to buy the heart of my woman to extinguish a light). We have already seen the comic and scatological uses of stuttering in the previous chapter, which are the distinctive characteristics of the commedia dell’arte character Pantalone when he is in love. The phrase involving stuttering is probably a sexual innuendo, just like Pantalone’s solo, as it refers to buying the woman’s affection. The specific characteristics are likely to have been taken from the representation of a male character who is driven to love madness.

Example 4.14 *Il pazzo*, ‘tu ttu ttu ttu ttu ttu tu ttu ttu’, bb. 73-80

With the next rhythmic change, the madman shows his piety to other people. As if he were a pharmacist, the madman makes a long-winded speech: ‘Signori hò privileggio per far noto un rimedio che hà fatto esperientia contro del mal d’amore, e ancor ch’io potrei dire, che quello altro non sia ch’humore, e bizzarria che nasce dal pensiero, e quando detto humore viene per le persone prendete un buou bastone’ (Gentlemen, I have the privilege to present a remedy which has been proven against love sickness, and what’s more I can say that [love sickness] is nothing other than humor and whimsy born of thought, and when the said humor comes to people, take a goodly stick.—in other words, his remedy for love sickness is a

beating). Giramo employs monotonous semiquavers to convey this market trader's patter (Ex. 4.15).

Example 4.15 *Il pazzo*, 'Signori hò privilegio', bb. 105-111

His madness then produces an imaginary conversation with his lover: 'Vaeggiando tal volta mi par di ragionar con la mia donna e par che mi risponda Signora' (Raving on such an occasion, I reason with my woman and it seems that Signora responds to me).

Woman : What do you want?

Madman : I am wounded.

Woman : You are wounded, so medicate yourself.

Madman : I do not want to cure the pang.

Woman : And yet you do.

Madman : I long for revenge.

Woman : And you make a quarrel.

Madman : It will be with you alone, you have wounded me.

Woman : You lie in your throat.

Madman : I testify to you, it is the heaven, the earth, and love.

Woman : I do not have weapons.

Madman : Your eyes are arrows.

Woman : My eyes do no harm.

Madman : Your eyes do no harm? Look at my heart.

Woman : I have poor sight, and I cannot find my glasses.

Madman : Give me your hand, touch my breast and feel how burning flames exhale from my heart, touch touch love it so much.

Woman : I find my hands are inside the gloves.

Man : So, do not believe God.

Woman : Go, how mad you are!

Madman : Ah, my strange frenzy, how can he be wise, the one who follows love.⁵⁵

128

Va-neg-gian-do tal vol-ta mi par di-ra-gio nar con la mia don-na e par che mi ri-

132

Si cancia la voce in falsetto

spon-da Sig-no-ra che vo-le-te io son fe-ri-to se-te fe-ri-to se-te fe-ri-to e

137

voi vi me-di-ca-te non vò sa-nar la pia-ga e voi vi sta-te bra-mo ven-det-ta

Example 4.16 *Il pazzo*, 'Vaeggiando tal volta', bb. 128-140

⁵⁵ "che volete/io son ferito/sete ferito ii. e voi vi medicate,/non vò sanar la piaga/e voi vi state/bramo vendetta/e voi fate querela/farà contro te sola tu m'hai ferito,/menti per la gola/testimonio vi è'l ciel la terra, e amore/io non hò armi/gli occhi tuoi son strali/gli occhi miei non fan mali/gli occhi tuoi non fan mali? miram' il core,/hò corta vista, e non mi trov'occhiali,/dammi la man, toccam' il petto e senti quant' esalan dal cor fiamme cocenti tocca tocca gli ador cotanti/me ritrovo le man dentro de guanti/Dunque creder non dei/vanne che pazzo sei/ò mio strano furore com'esser savio può chi segue amore com'esser savio può chi segue amore." Giramò, *Il pazzo*, 8-10.

The madman fervently expresses his love for the woman who takes on an indifferent attitude. The dialog depicts how the gaze of a woman pierces the heart of the madman. If the phrase ‘Si cancia la voce in falsetto’ (One sings the voice in falsetto) is present, the singer must sing the female part in a higher range. The different clefs represent different characters, and we are already familiar with this style from our study of *La pazzia senile* in the previous chapter.

The madman then starts playing the game *boccie* in an attempt to win the heart of his woman (Vorrei giocare con la fortun' a boccie per guadagnare la mia donna il core). The *boccie* is possibly a ball game played on a long narrow court. Players are divided into two teams, and a small ball called *a boccino* is thrown first. Each team throws balls, and the winner is the team that gets closest to the *boccino*. The madman again changes his rhythm, ignoring the semantic cohesion, between ‘io’ (I) and ‘vincerei’ (would win: probably vincerei) (Ex. 4.17).

175

Vor-rei gio-car Vor-rei gio-car con la for-tu-n' a boc-cie per gua-da-gnar de la

183

mia don-na il co-re e s'una de le sei TOS-CA-NE ha-ves-se per der non tei-ne-re-i, che an-

188

cor ch'el-la gio-cas-se con quel boc-cion d'At-lan-te io vir-ce-re-i io

Example 4.17 *Il pazzo*, ‘Vorrei giocare’, bb. 175-191

With an earnest question to Love, the madman delivers an aphorism of madness. ‘Amor ahi quanto sà amor ahi quanto pò, lo sciocco fá galante, fá dotto l’ignorante’ (Love, ah, how much do you know, Love, ah, how much can you do, it makes the fool amorous,

makes the ignoramus learned). Again, changing his rhythm from common time to three-two time so as to cut the semantic cohesion between ‘io’ (I) and ‘Sempre’ (always), he continues to deliver a speech in three-two time, which reminds us of a lengthy nonsensical speech in mad scenes of the commedia dell’arte scenarios (Ex. 4.18).

I always at the mirror with water of flowers, I splash the foliage, with gloves of Roma I also know the simpleton then spit round speaking Tuscan with saying this way, and lynxes with hairs it squeezes me tying my heart all effects, of that madman Love.⁵⁶

196

A - mor ah quan - to sà a-mor ahi quan-to pò, lo scioc-co fà ga - lan - te, fà dot-to l'ig-no -

200

ran - te, io Sempre à lo spec - chio con ac - qua de

Example 4.18 *Il pazzo*, ‘Amor ahi quanto’, bb. 196-203

The madman also transforms himself three times, much like his sister. First, he becomes a doctor. He articulates his belief that his woman loves him despite little verbal expressions by mixing Latin (*Che mens est attendenda, sed non verba, sò che la donna mia mi ama di core, e mi ama quanto pò ancor che con la lingua diea nò sò sò sò sentite stravaganti amirate*). He transforms into a donkey after that. Being hit by his lover with a walking stick, he brings the burden of pains, torments, and love (*da dottore mi transforma in Asino, mentre con gran patientia porto la soma de pen’e tormenti, e amor con un capestro me gira ove li piace, e la mia donna senza descrittione, me percuote su’l dorso co’l bastone*). Finally, he becomes a

⁵⁶ “io sempre à lo specchio con acqua de fiori mi spruzzo le chiome, con guanti di Roma sò anco il bagiano poi sputo tondo parlando toscano con dir quinci, e linci co’ crini mi strinci legandom’ il core effetti tutti, de quel pazzo Amore.” Giramo, *Il pazzo*, 11-2.

painter. He thinks that he conceals his passions, but in front of his lover, he feels dying and does not know how to color (mentre penso celar gli ardori miei ma innanzi à lei poi mi sento morire così di segno e non sò colorire).

228

An-cor mi fa dot to - re men-tre ne la me mo-riaan-cor si ser - ba, Che men-sest att-en-

232

den-da, sed non ver - ba, sò che la don-na mia mi a - ma di co - re, e mi a - ma quan - to

236

pò an - cor che con la lin-gua die - a nò sò sò sò sen-ti-te stra-va-gan - ti a - mi - ra - te

Example 4.19 *Il pazzo*, ‘Sempre à lo specchio’, bb. 228-240

A combination of static and dynamic movements makes up the music. For instance, the feigned doctor begins to sing stably with quavers on c#, but after three bars, he alters the musical texture with a descending stepwise motion followed by an octave leap (Ex. 4.19). This style is used repeatedly throughout the madman’s transformations.

With the hallucination of a balcony scene, *Il pazzo* approaches the finale. The madman imagines coming beneath the balcony of his lover. He tells her ‘acqua d’anes conforta’l stomaco con bon favor con bon’ (acqua d’anes comforts the stomach with good favor and good), but with the rhythmic change, continues ‘odor la polacchina che si beve ogni matina’ (odor the boot which one drinks every morning). His imagination continues as he answers his lover shyly, with downcast eyes and a murmured voice: ‘questa è l’acqua de mia vita destillata per questi occhi dal fornello del mio petto con il foco de sospiri, per sperar pieto, s’aita quest’è l’acqua di mia vita’ (this is the water of my life, distilled through these

eyes [as tears], from the stove of my chest with the fire of sighs, in hope of mercy, of aid, this is the water of my life).

273
 vor-rei sot-t'il bal - co - ne de la mia don-na di-re ac - qua d'a-nes con - sor - ta'l

279
 sto - ma-co con bon fa - vor con bon o - dor la po-lac-chi-na che si be-ve og-no ma-ti-na

Example 4.20 *Il pazzo*, 'Acqua d'anes consorta'l stomaco', bb. 273-284

Giramo's usage of rhythmic changes is interesting: common time represents his soliloquy while three-four time represents him conversing with his lover (Ex. 4.20). Consequently, Giramo competently succeeds in creating a pseudodialogic scene in a distinct manner from the clef changes discussed earlier.

In the final scene, birds of jealousy begin to fly around them, and he tries to drive them away because they attract his lover. Therefore, he asks her to open the balcony and decides to play a serenade, which links into the melancholic and beautiful 'Serenata' (Ex. 4.21).

361
 1. Do - ve sei? che fai? che pen - si do - ve sei vi - ra, che fa - i?

Example 4.21 *Il pazzo*, Serenata, bb. 361-367

After singing the serenade, the madman is left alone and begins to search for his lover and singing birds in a flutter, in common time (ov'è l'albergo del mio caro tesoro ov'è l'angel,

che canta ov'è la nott'o scura ove son'io dolente ove il cervel mi vola). The madman says, 'Voglio il silentio al mio dolore, e far, che un muto sguardo le di mandi pietà, con dir suentura ti ciedon la carità, con amor voglio unirmi, ch'è assai di me più astuto e i cieco, e ignudo, io farò pazzo, e muto' (I want to be silent in my grief, and make, that a mute gaze send mercy, with words of sustenance they ask you for charity, with love I want to unite myself, who is far more cunning than me, and blind, and naked, I'll make myself mad, and mute). This is announcing the end of the madman's performance, followed by the 'Choro de Pazzi', introduced earlier, where the chorus asks Anna de' Medici to cure him with her gaze.

The next section of this chapter analyses *Uno Hospidale*. I begin by contextualizing the elements, setting out the situation of clinical care for the insane in Italy, and then reviewing the various ways in which the mad hospital has already been turned into a source of entertainment and theatre.

4.7 *Dramatising the Mad Hospital*

Since the Middle Ages, hospitals, or *ospedali*, in the Italian Peninsula have been charitable institutions often run by religious orders, and supported by rents from properties, individual donations, lay confraternities, or guilds. They cared for the sick and also served other purposes, such as providing residential care to the elderly or foundlings.⁵⁷ The tradition of Christian charity was central to the founding and the mission of Renaissance hospitals: historians point out the dual themes of health and religion in the Italian hospitals of this period.⁵⁸ John Henderson remarks, '[T]he hospital was rather seen at the time as the institutionalization of the image of Christ the Physician, who received the poor in the shape of Christ the Pilgrim'.⁵⁹

Tuscany, particularly Florence, was a pivotal region for the development of medical institutions.⁶⁰ The architect and painter Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) highly praised Tuscan hospitals in his book *De Re Aedificatoria (On the Art of Building)*, printed in 1485:

In Tuscany, in keeping with the long-standing local tradition for religious piety, wonderful hospitals are to be found, built at vast expense, where any citizen or

⁵⁷ Byrne, *The World of Renaissance Italy*, 364.

⁵⁸ Katharine Park and John Henderson, "'The First Hospital Among Christians': The Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Medical History* 35 (1991): 164-88; John Henderson, "Healing the Body and Saving the Soul: Hospitals in Renaissance Florence," *Renaissance Studies* 15, no.2 (2001): 188-216; Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*; Park, "Healing the Poor: Hospitals and Medical Assistance in Renaissance Florence," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (London; New York: Routledge, 2011), 26-45.

⁵⁹ Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 90.

⁶⁰ Park, "Healing the Poor," 27.

stranger would feel there to be nothing amiss to ensure his health.⁶¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were 44 hospitals active in Florence, and half of them survived right up to their suppression in the eighteenth century.⁶² Among them, Santa Maria Nuova was the largest hospital. Founded in the thirteenth century, it became a model hospital admired by other Italian and European cities.⁶³ In his *Storia fiorentina*, the Florentine historian Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565) describes the city of Florence in 1527 and divided its hospitals into two categories:⁶⁴

In Florence there are two styles of hospitals, some that receive male and female patients, keeping them apart, treating and looking after them until they have recovered, without charging them anything ... Other type of hospital is that which receives and gives shelter not only to travelers or to other healthy people, but also to the poor of the city, who for a night or two receive food and lodging without paying anything.⁶⁵

A report by Marco Foscarini (1477–1551), the Venetian ambassador to Florence in 1527, also praised the Florentine hospitals:

God wanted our magnificent [Santa Maria Nuova] to be thus endowed with hospitals, and also to be a place like the city of Florence: and our gentlemen who try to support and conserve the new incurable hospitals and also other places deserve great honour, because there are mediators to acquire the grace of God against this state and to have our serenity honoured by the world. I therefore conclude that the city of Florence is a devout, and Christian and religious city.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT, 1988), 129.

⁶² Henderson, "Healing the Body and Saving the Soul," 191.

⁶³ Park, "Healing the Poor," 28.

⁶⁴ *La Storia fiorentina* was written on behalf of the Duke of Cosimo. It covered the period from 1527 to 1538, although it was not published until 1721.

⁶⁵ "Sono in Firenze di due ragioni spedali, alcuni raccettano gl'infermi così uomini come donne, benchè separatamente gli uni dalle altre, e tengono facendogli medicare e governare insino a tantochè sieno risanati, senza pigliar cosa nessuna da loro." Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina di Benedetto Varchi*, edited by Lelio Arbib (Florence: Società Editrice delle Storie del Nardi e del Varchi, 1843), 2: 109. The translation is cited from Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 89.

⁶⁶ "Dio volesse che questa nostra magnificissima fosse così dotata di ospitali, e luoghi più come la città di Firenze: e però questi nostri gentiluomini che si sforzano di reggere e conservare i nuovi ospitali d'incurabili ed altri luoghi più, meritano laude grande, perchè ci sono mediatore d'acquistar la grazia di Dio verso questo stato e di far onorare dal mondo la serenità vostra. Concludo adunque che la città di Firenze è una devota, cristiana e religiosa città." Marco Foscarini, "Relazione di Firenze del clarissimo Marco Foscarini tornato ambasciatore da quella repubblica l'anno 1527," in *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Albèri aspese di una società*, series 2, ed.

All these hospitals and charitable facilities were placed under the control of Duke Cosimo I in 1542 and were subject to the *Buonomini del Bigallo*, a government supervisory committee.⁶⁷

By the middle of the sixteenth century, those with mental illness were usually cared for by their families or locked in secured spaces in prisons or hospitals, if violent.⁶⁸ Santa Maria della Pietà dei Pazzarelli in Rome was the first dedicated institute for the mentally ill.⁶⁹ In 1548, a Spanish chaplain in Rome, Ferrante Ruiz, and a nobleman from Navarre, Diego Bruno, along with his son Angelo, founded the Compagnia dei Poveri Forestieri. They gathered abnormal people wandering about the city into Ruiz's house to care for them. By 1561, they had received official approval as a confraternity, and from 1575, they were concerned exclusively with the mentally ill.⁷⁰

By the first half of the sixteenth century, the mentally ill in Florence were usually chained up in the cells of the Florentine prison, Carcere delle Stinche. They were admitted to the Stinche at the request of members of the family or the community to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, rather than based on the opinion of medical specialists.⁷¹ Hospitals, including Santa Maria Nuova, were reluctant to admit them.⁷² According to a juridical case of 1570, the Grand Duke rejected Alessandra degli Albizi's petition to bring her mad husband to Santa Maria Nuova for care. The duke responded, 'Santa Maria Nuova does not admit mad people unless they are *miserabili*; if she wants to send him to the Stinche she can do it, but she needs to consider that she has to pay the expenses'.⁷³ Given this situation, Alberto Leoni (1563–1642), a Carmelite friar originally from Mantua, attempted to establish an institution in Florence to care for the mentally ill, in collaboration with other friars and Florentine patricians. His efforts were rewarded in 1643, a year after his death, when the project received Grand Ducal approval and was officially established as Santa Dorotea de' Pazzarelli, a hospital on the eastern outskirts of the city. Santa Dorotea admitted her first patient in 1647, after 4 years of careful planning. It took almost 40 years for Santa Maria Nuova to follow

Eugenio Albèri (Florence, 1839), 1: 25.

⁶⁷ Byrne, *The World of Renaissance Italy*, 364; Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 189.

⁶⁸ Magherini and Biotti, "Madness in Florence," 355-68;

⁶⁹ Byrne, *The World of Renaissance Italy*, 365, 513.

⁷⁰ Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century*, 194.

⁷¹ Magherini and Biotti, "Madness in Florence," 355-68; Mellyn, *Mad Tuscans and Their Families*.

⁷² Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital*, 313;

⁷³ "Santa Maria Nuova non ricever pazzia se non [miserabili] et s'ella vuol mandarlo alle Stinche lo può fare ma bisogna pensare di darli le spese." ASF, OGP 2253, no. 437rv, cited from Mellyn, *Mad Tuscans and Their Families*, 226, n. 98.

suit and open a ‘pazzeria’, a ward for poor mad people, in 1688.⁷⁴

The Ospedale degli Incurabili, formally known as Santa Maria del Popolo degli Incurabili in Naples, was one of the two major hospitals, along with the Ospedale della Santissima Annunziata, referred to as ‘the two eyes of Naples’, that supported the city’s health needs.⁷⁵ The Ospedali degli Incurabili were hospitals built in many Italian cities from the late fifteenth century to the sixteenth century to care to those with syphilis or other incurable diseases, when syphilis spread across the Italian Peninsula.⁷⁶ The hospital in Naples was founded by the Spanish Roman Catholic religious Maria Lorenza Longo (1463–1539). She was the wife of the minister Giovanni Longo (Longo in Italian), who accompanied Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain (1452–1515) to Naples to take over the reign. When Charles VIII’s (1470–1498) army was stationed in Naples in 1495, Italian physicians discovered syphilis on French soldiers’ bodies, and it rapidly spread over the kingdom. Maria wanted to assist these incurable patients. Pope Leo X’s papal bull *Nuper pro parte* laid the foundation of Santa Maria del Popolo degli Incurabili on March 11, 1519. Maria accepted those with syphilis, but also pregnant prostitutes, who were also considered ‘incurable’. Following Maria’s death, the hospital continued to offer assistance to patients, including those suffering from mental illness.⁷⁷

The theatre of the mad hospital was particularly well developed in sixteenth-century Europe, in England, and the work of English playwrights may have influenced Italian contemporaries, including Garzoni.⁷⁸ In London, visited St. Mary of Bethlehem Hospital, best known as Bedlam and specialized in the care of the insane since the fifteenth century, became an established form of entertainment.⁷⁹ Kenneth Jackson argues, ‘the hospital was some sort of theater, a place of perverse and sometimes fashionable entertainment for

⁷⁴ Mellyn, *Mad Tuscans and Their Families*, 2-3, 193-5; Donatella Tombaccini et al., *Florence and Its Hospitals: A History of Health Care in the Florentine Area* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2008), 36, 94-5; Simone Ragagli, “Leoni, Alberto,” *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 64 (2005), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberto-leoni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

⁷⁵ Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing*, 125.

⁷⁶ Giorgio Cosmacini, *Storia della medicina e della sanità in Italia: Dalla peste nera ai giorni nostri* (Rome; Bari: GLF Editori Laterza, 2016).

The hospitals that had the same purpose were founded in the following cities: Genoa in 1499, Savona in 1513, Bologna in 1513, Rome in 1512-15, Naples in 1517-19, Vicenza in 1518-19, Verona in 1519, Brescia in 1520, Florence in 1520, Venice in 1522 and Padua in 1526.

⁷⁷ Agostino Falanga, *The Venerable Maria Lorenza Longo: Foundress of the Hospital of the Incurables and of the Capuchin Poor Clares of Naples, 1463-1542* (New York: Paulist Press, 2009); Marco Luchetti, “Maria Lorenza Longo and the Birth of the ‘Incurabili’ Hospitals in Naples,” *Hoktoen International: A Journal of Medical Humanities*, <https://hekint.org/2019/09/03/maria-lorenza-longo-and-the-birth-of-the-incurabili-hospital-in-naples/>.

Tampa, M., I. Sarbu, C. Matei, V. Benea, and SR. Georgescu, “Brief History of Syphilis,” *Journal of Medicine and Life* 7, no.1 (2014): 4-10.

⁷⁸ Rob Conkie and Scott Maisano, *Shakespeare & Creative Criticism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), 103-4.

⁷⁹ As for Bethlem, also see MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*; Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988); Duncan Salkeld, *Madness and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

Londoners'.⁸⁰ In response to this popularity, English playwrights portrayed mental hospitals in their plays, particularly between 1598 and 1630.⁸¹ In Act V, scene ii of Thomas Dekker's (c.1572–1632) *The Honest Whore, Part One* (1604), the Duke of Milan, Gasparo Trebatzi, arrived at the Bethlem monastery with his company to interrupt the wedding of his daughter, Infelice (Unhappy). They observe the patients at the hospital while waiting for the wedding. The first inmate was an old man wrapped in a net. The second madman is driven to madness by jealousy over his wife. The third believes that he is dead.⁸² In John Webster's (c.1580–c.1632) *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613-4), Ferdinando, the Duke of Calabria, arrests his twin sister, the eponymous Duchess, and her children because of her unapproved marriage with her steward Antonio. He sends eight madmen to them, ostensibly to cure her melancholy, but in reality to torment her. One of them sings a song, 'to a dismal kind of Musick,' in Act IV, scene ii.⁸³

The theatrical potential of mad asylums was observed on a festive occasion in seventeenth century Italy, as seen previously, and was also exploited in literary contexts. The narrator of Garzoni's *L'Hospitale de' pazzi incurabili* guides spectators around the hospital by introducing traditional categories of madness. These patients are well-known historical or mythological figures. Garzoni, for instance, vividly describes the extremity and changeability of 'The Love-Mad' in the eighteenth discourse and enumerates mad lovers such as the Roman Mark Antony, Pyramus and Thisbe, Strozza the Elder, Calentius, Hercules, Haemon of Thebes, Sappho, Phaedra, Dido, Phyllis, daughter of Lycurgus, Aristotle, Nero, and many other lovers. Garzoni then concludes the discourse with an oration to the god Cupid.⁸⁴ Monica Calabritto argues that while following the traditional notion of madness proposed by Erasmus or Angelucci, Garzoni perceives it from a moralistic standpoint rather than finding divine inspiration or wisdom. Madness is something to be avoided and punished as an 'aberration'.⁸⁵ In the summary of the abovementioned discourse, Garzoni states that a mad lover 'comports himself in such a way that beasts are sometimes more wise and more prudent than one of the love-mad'.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Kenneth S. Jackson, *Separate Theaters: Bethlem ("Bedlam") Hospital and the Shakespearean Stage* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 11.

⁸¹ Jackson, *Separate Theaters*, 20.

⁸² Thomas Dekker, *The Honest Whore with, the Humours of the Patient Man, and the Longing Wife. Tho: Dekker* (London: Valentine Simmes and others, 1604).

⁸³ John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfey: A Tragedy* (London: D.N. and T.C., 1678), 52. As for mad scenes in English theatre, I refer to my Masters Dissertation "'Adieu, Transporting Joys': Mad Songs of Anne Bracegirdle in the Restoration Play" (University of Southampton, 2015).

⁸⁴ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 131-5.

⁸⁵ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 1-12.

⁸⁶ Garzoni, *The Hospital of Incurable Madness*, 130.

Contrary to Garzoni's hospital, distancing the narrator and the spectators away from the mad people, the nature of Giramo's composition invites the readers to be the mad lovers themselves through performance.

4.8 *Uno Hospedale*

A closely related case is Orazio Vecchi's *Le veglie di Siena* (1604), in which five or six real singers sing in polyphony imagined personas who are influenced by various humours, as discussed in the previous chapter. For instance, 'L'humor malenconico' sings of their suffering in the song 'And my bitter tears/which come from my sad eyes' (E mie lagirm'amare/Ch'escono fuor da le mie luci meste).⁸⁷

Figure 4.3. Frontispiece of Pietro Antonio Giramo's *Hospedale de gl'ingermi d'amore*, 1630?

Clearly the most dramatic component of the anthology, involving a setting, dialogs between contrasting characters, and (at the end at least) dramatic action, *Uno Hospedale* theatricalizes the real space and inmates of the emerging specialist mental health institution, already well established in London but at precisely the time Giramo was writing in the process of disaggregating from the Ospedali degli Incurabili in both Florence and Naples. Giramo's dramatization is richly integrated with the practicalities of the hospital, including a registrar in charge of admissions, a diagnostic consultation, different specialist wards, and a range of cures and therapies. The hospital building is also physically instantiated in the songs, occupying a location on a street, with a door that may be shut to refuse admission to those thought contagious. However, its inmates sit between the real clinical diagnosis of lovesickness and the fertile poetic traditions surrounding the persona of the lover. On the

⁸⁷ Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena*, 40.

other hand, *Uno Hospedale* seems to be in the current of the contemporary game culture. I particularly highlight parlour games in Scipione Bargagli's *I trattenimenti* and Girolamo Bargagli's *Il Dialogo*, which seem to have been the proximate inspiration for Giramo's gallery of madmen. These elements serve to preface an examination of *Uno Hospedale* itself.

Throughout *Uno Hospedale*, seven lovers sing one after another in dialog with the interlocutor, who is referred to as the Rector of the hospital in Bargagli's game. In each case, they explain their plight to the interlocutor, who decides whether or not to admit them and identifies which curative or therapeutic interventions are required. The dialogs reveal the particular forms of lovesickness suffered by each madman, as well as the hospital prescriptions for their treatment.

The first patient is a wounded lover, who restates his wound to comic excess, a gesture that is encouraged and imitated by his interlocutor (Ex. 4.22).

Wounded Lover:

Here, give me help in my torment.

Interlocutor:

What is your malady?

Wounded Lover:

I am wounded in the heart.

Interlocutor:

What is your malady?

Wounded Lover:

I am wounded.

Interlocutor:

What is your malady?

Wounded Lover:

I am wounded in the heart, in the heart, I am wounded in the heart.

Interlocutor:

The wound of the heart is a mortal wound, it is a mortal wound. Enter, enter into the hospital.

12 Amante Ferito

Ec-co mi da-te a - i - ta al mio do - lo - re: Il son fe - ri-to al

Che mal' è'l tuo: 6

20 2

co - re, io son fe - ri - to io son fe - ri - to al co - re al

Che mal' è'l tuo? Che mal' è'l tuo? #

29

co - re io son fe - ri - to al co - re:

2

La pia - ga del co-re è pia - ga mor -

38 3

ta - le è pia - ga mor - ta - le En - tra en - tra ne l'hos - pe - da - le.

Example 4.22 *Uno Hospedale*, 'Amante ferito', bb. 12-45

The repetition in the soprano part underlines the lover's wound in an ascending stepwise motion. As an anonymous inquirer, but in effect taking the role of the Rector of the hospital in Bargagli's game, the bass part asks about his disease and invites him to the hospital in

contrary motion.

The second protagonist is a mad lover who sways between contradictory conditions, which are imitated in music with opposing movements (Ex. 4.23). The phrase ‘volo sopra il ciel’ (I fly above the sky) rapidly ascends from d’ to f with a change from semiquaver to quaver to reach a high point on a crotchet. On the other hand, the phrase ‘giaccio in terra’ (I lie on the ground) remains on d across an auxiliary note c#. The monotonic ‘piangendo’ (crying) also makes a contrast with the winding ‘rido’ (I laugh).

Mad Lover:

One in the clutches of love requests aid.

Interlocutor:

What pain torments you?

Mad Lover:

I don’t know what’s got into me, I hate myself, and love and desire others; and I fly above the sky, and lie on the ground grazing on sorrow, crying I laugh, and in tears I take joyful pleasure, and solace.

Interlocutor:

Take this one to live with the madmen, and for his remedy prepare: little to eat, and plenty of cudgels.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ “Un’in fermo d’amor dimand’ aita/Qual pena ti tormenta?/Io non sò qualche m’habbia, odio me stesso, & altri amo, e desio; e volo sopra il ciel giaccio in terra pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido, E nel piant’hò piacer gioia, e sollazzi/Ponete questi ad habitar con pazzi, e per rimedio suo gli preparate poco mangiare, e molte bastonate.” Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 4-6.

81 Amante Pazzo

Un' in fer - mo d'a - mor di - man - d'a - i - ta:

Qual pe - na ti tor -

88

Io non sò quel - che m'hab - bia, o - dio me stes - so, e al - tri a - mo, e de -

men - ta:

94

si - o; e vo - lo sov ra il ciel, e giac - cio in ter - ra pas - co mi - di do -

99

lor, pian - gen - do ri - do, E nel pian - t'hò pia - ce - r

Example 4.23 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante pazzo', bb. 81-102

The third lover is blind. His guide dog, who also serves as a conventional symbol for faithfulness in love, has escaped, and he is looking for the hospital. He complains to his interlocutor that his blindness conceals his lover's true intentions from him. The interlocutor

answer that time may heal his malady.

Blind Lover:

Where is the hospital? Where is the hospital? Whoever is able, lead this wretch, who is blind of eye and of mind. That treacherous dog, who was my guide, known as Fidelity, has fled from me, and I know not which is the way to the hospital.

Interlocutor:

Stop, for you have arrived where you wish. What malady afflicts you?

Blind Lover:

I have opened my eyes, and yet I cannot discern the truth. It seems that my lady is also everyone else's. She says no, and I being blind believe her, I do not see the trick.

Interlocutor:

This is a malady which lingers long. Ease it with the oil of time, so that he will be able to clear up the truth of his lady.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ "Ove stà l'Hospedale ii. accompagni chi può questo dolente, che più degli occhi suoi cieco è di mente quel cane traditor, ch'era mia guida, detto la Fedeltà da me è fuggito & io non sò qual sia de l'Hospedalla via/Fermati, che sei giunto, ove tu brami, Che mal t'affligge?/Aperti hò gli occhi, e pur non scerno il vero, Par, che la donna mia tutta d'altri pur sia, ella dice, che nò, io cieco il credoe, l'inganno non vedo/questo è mal che v`a lungo un getelo con l'oglio del tempo, che potrà di sua donna chiarirla verità." Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 6-10.

146 Amante Cieco

O - ve stà l'Hos-pe - da - le O - ve stà l'Hos-pe - da - le ac-com-pag - ni chi

153

puòques-to do-len - te, che più de gli oc-chi suoi cie-co è di men - te quelca-ne tra-di-tor,

157

ch'e-ra mia gui - da, det - to la Fe-del - tà da me è fug - gi - to e io non

160

sò qualsi - a de l'Hos-pe - dal la vi - a. Fer - ma - ti, che sei giun-to, ove tu

Example 4.24 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante cieco', bb. 146-163

In common time, the music of the blind lover is staggering with sporadic dissonances and changes of rhythms reflected by his unstable mind and condition. He is lost in every way. The encouraging and stable music of the interlocutor can be a new guide of this miserable

lover (Ex. 4.24).

Fourth is the elderly lover, who finds he cannot lie his way out of the ridicule which such characters conventionally prompt.

Elderly Lover:

Oh you of the hospital, oh you of the hospital, one laden with years asks your help,
who holds in his heart a mortal wound.

Interlocutor:

You are injured at such a decrepit age.

Elderly Lover:

The fault isn't mine.

Interlocutor:

Whose is it then?

Elderly Lover:

An old man, who can't see and grabbed at me. An old man, who can't see, and
grabbed at me.

Interlocutor:

It will be a joke and a game among the women that an old man is wounded by a
child. The lovesickness has penetrated to the bone. As remedy, prepare a grave over
there.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ "O voi de l'hospedale ii. un carco d'anni vi dimand aita, che tiene al core; una mortal ferita/In sì cadente età piagato sei/La colpa non è mia/E di chi è?/D'un cieco, che non vidde, e colse à me, d'un cieco, che non vidde, e colse à me/De le donne farà scherzo, e trastullo ch'un vecchio sia ferito da un fanciullo il mal d'amore t'hà penetrato l'offa per rimedio apprestate li ha fossa." Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 10-5.

214 Amante Vecchio

O voi de l'hos-pe - da - le O voi de l'hos-pe - da - le un car-co

219

d'an - ni vi di-man-d'a i - ta, che tie-ne al co - re u-na mor - tal fe-ri - ta:

223

in sì ca - den-te e tà pia-ga - to se - i; E
La col - pa non è mi - a:

226

di chi è?
D'un cie - co, che non vid - de, e col se à me d'un cie - co, che non vid - de, e col se à

Example 4.25 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante vecchio', bb. 214-229

The bass, which represents the elderly lover, repeats the same phrases twice: 'O voi de l'hospedale' (Oh you of the hospital) and 'd'un cieco, che non vidde' (who can't see, and grabbed at me). In either case, the repetition is intensified in music. For instance, the first

word 'O' in the first phrase begins with f, then c' in the next time. It is as if he raised his voice thinking that the interlocutor cannot hear him (Ex. 4.25).

The fifth protagonist is a poor lover, for whom the hospital has advice but no cure. If his beloved is noble of heart, she will overlook his poverty; otherwise, his situation is hopeless. This appears to be a reflection of the contemporary situation of the hospitals which are reluctant to accept incurable patients without money.

Poor Lover:

Since I have also joined the hospital, I hope to heal a great infirmity.

Interlocutor:

From which malady do you suffer?

Poor Lover:

From poverty.

Interlocutor:

Which one? Which one?

Poor Lover:

From poverty.

Interlocutor:

It is to the hospital that the miserable and the anguished come to recover treasures and joys.

Poor Lover:

I love and follow an angelic beauty.

Interlocutor:

And what, then, afflicts you, and makes you wretched?

Poor Lover:

I haven't a penny.

Interlocutor:

If you're in love with a mean woman, hospital won't do you any good, you're beyond hope; but if the object [of your love] is kind and gentle, money does not concern a noble breast, money does not concern a noble breast.⁹¹

⁹¹ "Poiche giunto pur sono à l'hospedale di guarir spero tanta infermità'/Di che mal pati tu?/Di povertà/Di che? di che?/Di povertà/E à l'hospedale ov'è miseria, e noie vieni per ritrovar tesori, e gioie/Amo, e seguo un angelica bellezza/E che dunque r'affligge, e fà meschino?/Non haver un quatrino/Se tu sei di vil donna innamorato non ti giova hospedal sei disperato: ma s'è gentile, e placido l'oggetto, l'interesse non move un nobil petto l'interesse non move un nobil petto." Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 15-8.

274 Amante Povero

Poi-che giun-to pur so - no à l'hos-pe - da - le di gua-rir spe - ro tan -

282

ta in-fer - mi - tà: di po-ver - tà di po-ver - tà:
Di che mal pa ti tu, di che? di che?

291

e à l'hos-pe - da - le ov' è mi se - ria, e no - ie vie - ni per ri - tro var te -

299

A - mo, e se - guo un an - ge - li - ca bel - lez - za
so - ri, e gio - ie e che

Example 4.26 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante povero', bb. 274-306

The time signature turns into three-two, and the harmony creates a calm and even a sacred atmosphere, although the content is severe for the poor (Ex. 4.26).

The sixth protagonist is a bold lover, whose Petrarchan ethic of service may yet win over his beloved. His remedy is hope.

Bold Lover:

Where is the hospitaller?

Interlocutor:

I am here. What torment worries you night and day?

Bold Lover:

So high have I set my thoughts that I have little or no hope. For he who climbs too high, the fall will be all the more fatal.

Interlocutor:

Know that the well-born soul does not disdain to be loved, therefore serve with faith, that you will at least have pity, if not mercy. I have put these in the room of hope.⁹²

⁹² “Dov'è l'hospedaliere?/Io sono qui, qual tormento t'affanna nott'e di?/Tanto alto hò collocato il mio pensiero, che poco, ò nulla spero à chi troppo alto sale la caduta sarà poi più mortale:/Sappi ch'alma ben nata non sdegnà essere amata, dunque serui con sede, ch'haurai pietade almen se non mercede ò la ponete questi entro la stanza de la speranza.” Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 18-21.

Amante Ardito.

381

Do - v'è l'hos-pe-da - lie - re,

6 56 Io so - no qui, qual tor-men - to t'af - fan - na not - t'e

385

tan-to al-to hò col-lo - ca-to il mio pen-sie - ro, che po-co, ò nul-la spe-ro à chi trop-
di:

390

po al - to sa - le la ca-du - ta fa - rà poi più mor - ta - le:

6 sap - pi ch'al-ma ben

395

na - ta non sdeg-na es-se-re a - ma - ta, dun-que ser - vi con fe - de, ch'ha - vrai pie-ta-de al-men

Example 4.27 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante ardito', bb.381-398

Returning to common time, the music of the lover bravely runs down from d' to a to inquire about the location of the hospital. His lack of confidence, however, appears in music in which the phrase 'à chi troppo alto sale', (for he who climbs too high) reluctantly ascends from c#

to e#, whereas the next phrase ‘la caduta sarà poi più mortale’ (the fall will be all the more fatal) goes down an octave (Ex. 4.27).

The seventh and final lover is full of jealousy, a form of madness that prompts horror and panic in his interlocutor. He is an unwelcome guest.

Jealous Lover:

Who receives the sick, oh you of the hospital?

Interlocutor:

Oh, what a pale, deathly face I see. Who has so defeated you that you suffer such martyrdom?

Jealous Lover:

Ah, it is jealousy that kills me.

Interlocutor:

Get away from here!

Jealous Lover:

No, for pity’s sake!

Interlocutor:

Get away from here!

Jealous Lover:

No, for pity’s sake!

Interlocutor:

Inmates—run! Banish the plague! Drive out death! Bolt the doors! Banish! Drive out! Bolt, bolt the doors!

Interlocutors:

Go away, go away, you’re leaving, flee, flee, flee, flee, flee, flee, flee, whoever has such a wicked plague, what a hellish poison is jealousy, what a hellish poison is jealousy, what a hellish poison is jealousy.⁹³

It is the interlocutor who is rattled seeing the jealousy lover, as seen in his trembling music. Once he knows the cause of sickness, the interlocutor mercilessly rejects the lover’s entrance.

⁹³ “Chi riceve gl’infermi, ò voi de l’Hospedale?/Uh che pallido volto moribondo temiro, chi t’hà così piagato come hai tanto martire/Ahi che la gelosia mi fa morire/Parti da qua/Non per pietà/parti da qua/Non per pietà/Infermi correte sbandite la perste scacciate la morte serate le porte, sbandite, scacciate, serrate, serrate le porte/Vattene vattene parti fugga fugga, fugga fugga, fugga fugga chi hà perste sì ria, che veleno d’inferno è gelosia che veleno d’inferno è gelosia, che veleno d’inferno è gelosia.” Giramo, *Uno Hospedale*, 22-5.

It becomes a musical tug-of-war in the same rhythmical form.

455 Amante Geloso

tà non per pie - tà:
par-ti da quà In - fer - mi cor - re - te sban - di - te la pes - te scac -

461

cia - te la mor - te ser - ra - te le por - te, sban - di - te, scac - cia - te, ser - ra - te, ser - ra - te le

469

vat - te - ne par - ti vat - te - ne, che fai, par -
por - te, vat - te - ne che fai par - ti che fai

476

ti, che fai, fug - ga, fug - ga, fug - ga, fug - ga fug - ga fug - ga fug - ga,
par - ti, fug - ga fug - ga, fug - ga fug - ga,
par - ti, che fai, par - ti, che fa - i, fug - ga fug - ga fug - ga

480
 fug - ga chi hà pes - te sì ri - a, che ve - le - no d'in - fer - no è ge - lo - si -
 no è ge - lo - si -
 no è ge - lo - si -

488
 a che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si -
 a, che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no, d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si
 a, che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si -

497
 a che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si - a.
 a, che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si - a.
 a, che ve - le - no d'In - fer - no è ge - lo - si - a.

Example 4.28 *Uno Hospedale* 'Amante Geloso', bb. 455-503

Then, the second soprano shouts to bolt the doors. Although each of the madmen's dialogs is followed by a trio, this final case is quite different. This trio leads on directly from the hospitaller's instructions, rather than following as a separate song. Turning to two-three time, the trio invectively condemns the lover asking for help: jealousy is 'perste sì ria' (a wicked plague) and 'veleno d'inferno' (a hellish poison). With its rapid pace and chaotic interactions among the voices, it brings the succession of vignettes to a suitably disorderly close, in both musical and narrative terms (Ex. 4.28).

In each case save the last, after this exchange, a trio follows, using a repeating formula in which the singers ask women in general for help on the madman's behalf: 'Donne deh per pietate qualche soccorso date/E sia quel che potete' (Women, ah for compassion give

some help/And this is what you can do). The trio could be understood as comprising other hospital staff, or perhaps inmates, or it could be categorized as a Chorus character standing outside of the dramatic action to comment upon it. The required assistance is tailored to the particular form of lovesickness suffered by each inmate:

Amante ferito (Wounded lover) - un guard (a look), un benno (a sign), un risk (a laugh)

Amante pazzo (Mad lover) - sassi (rocks), pugni (punches), mori (bites)

Amante cieco (Blind lover) - bugie (lies), menzogne (falsehoods), inganni (deceits)

Amante vecchio (Old lover) – bugie (pranks), fisch (whistles), risi (laughter)

Amante povero (Poor lover) – premio (bounty), seme (hope), elemosine (alms)

Amante ardito (Brave lover) - aura (wind), aiuto (aid), ali (wings)

The music through which this help is named always remains the same: a descending stepwise motion from f' to d' echoes in the upper two voices with a pedal point (Ex. 4.29).

The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: un guar do un ri so un cen no. The melody is a descending stepwise motion from f' to d'.

Example 4.29 *Uno Hospedale*, asking women for help, bb. 61-66

These forms of assistance are fully subscribed to the prevalent irony, as they appear to be perfectly chosen to make several of the characters' situations worse. The blind lover, for example, is ill precisely because his beloved is unfaithful, and the elderly lover is afraid of ridicule.

It is intentional to place *La pazzia* at the end of the whole piece when it is reprinted. In other words, the final song the performers sing is the 'Choro de Pазze'. In contrast with the songs we have already seen, this five-voice chorus cheerfully encourages the mad lovers: 'Viva Viva ii. la pazzia viva ogn'un ch'hà tal furore così vuole il pazzo amore ch'ogni amante pazzo sia Viva ii. ii. la pazzia' (Long live madness, long live all who have this frenzy, the

madman Love wishes that every lover be a madman, long live madness).

The image shows a musical score for a chorus in Italian. It consists of five staves: four vocal staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and one bass line. The music is in 3/4 time and the key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Vi va vi va vi va la paz zia vi va o". The vocal parts enter in a staggered fashion, with the Soprano and Alto parts starting first, followed by the Tenor and Bass parts. The bass line provides a rhythmic accompaniment.

Example 4.30 *La pazza*, 'Choro de Pazze'

The chorus is then followed by a monodic tune, in which four voice parts praise the world of mad lovers by taking their turn in singing (Ex. 4.31).

The image displays a musical score for a choral piece titled 'La pazza, Choro de Pазze'. It consists of four staves, each representing a different vocal part: Canto (Soprano), Alto, Tenore (Tenor), and Basso (Bass). The music is written in a single system with a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in Italian and are distributed across the four parts. The Canto part begins with 'Son le sfe - re' and continues with 'per a - mo-re paz z'e gi - ran con fu - ro - re Ve-di il mar tut -'. The Alto part continues with 'to a - mo - ro-so paz-zo po fa-ssi or go glio-so Can-gia an-cor la ter - ra vo-glia hor si ve-st'ed hor-si'. The Tenore part continues with 'spo-glia S'a-mor paz - zo il tut - to reg-ge paz-za og - n'al - tra co - sa si - a. Vi-va ii.'. The Basso part continues with 'spo-glia S'a-mor paz - zo il tut - to reg-ge paz-za og - n'al - tra co - sa si - a. Vi-va ii.'. The score includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the vocal lines.

Example 4.31 *La pazza, 'Choro de Pазze'*

Giramo has expanded his potential of representing madness by uniquely using his compositional techniques, drawing on the rich game culture and theatrical tradition. In comparison with contemporary music, this piece shows several noteworthy musical features. First, dialogs are fully sung, in contrast with early operas, where they were generally set in recitative. Moreover, as I discussed in relation to the madrigal comedies in the previous chapter, the voices obviously represent different characters, a device not seen in contemporary madrigals. Another distinctive characteristic of Giramo's piece is how he involves the dedicatee in his scenario as the woman who prompts and cures the mad lovers. Furthermore, he humorously insinuates the Medici and Tuscany into the lyrics. These could represent slightly risqué praise for the Tuscan princess and definitely provide playful elements among courtiers enjoying this extraordinary piece.

Like *La pazzia senile, Il pazzo con la pazza* is also intended to be performed by the readers. The participants in Giramo's *Hospedale* are able to transcend boundaries between man and woman, rich and poor, young and old, health and ill, feigned and actual madness by performing various mad lovers. This result provides a critical insight into the role of

mental hospitals in early modern Europe. According to Foucault, the confinement was a seventeenth century institutional creation, and the mad were confined along with the poor, beggars, venereal patients, and debtors. He also alleges that they were obstacles to the formation of capitalist society at the time. The role of institutions in this era was to separate them from the public.⁹⁴ In Giramo's *Uno Hospedale*, the inmates are not isolated because of their 'unreason'. Contrarily, the piece invites its readers to go mad, and the choruses in *Il pazzo* and *La pazza* celebrate the mad. In the printer's note of *La pazza*, Giramo leaves a paradoxical statement that his work will be understood more by the wise than by the mad.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to reveal various aspects of Pietro Antonio Giramo's *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore*, which has received relatively little attention among musicologists, despite rich content relating to the theme of madness. With an interesting device to involve the dedicatee Anna de'Medici in the scenario, as a healer, Giramo unfolded his world of the mad, tactfully using characteristics that can be found in contemporary mad scenes, such as stuttering, solmization, metamorphosis, and also change of clefs discussed in the previous chapter. *La pazza*, which was reprinted for this publication, demonstrates Giramo's representations of a madwoman with his music liberating from rules, which includes an abrupt change of rhythm. *Il pazzo*, generated from his success in *La pazza*, ably elaborates the composer's idea of a madman with his tricky musical language. In *Hospedale*, Giramo deliberately changed the music of each lover according to their chief complaint. The incomparable piece allowed the participants to enjoy being a mad lover and also blurred the distinction between fiction and reality. This chapter surely will contribute to developing a discussion on mad scenes in early modern Italian theatre and also provide an insight into the history of mental hospitals of the period.

⁹⁴ Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5

Pietro Andrea Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657)

The fourth case study examines Venetian composer Pietro Andrea Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (*The Fortunes of Rodope and Damira*, 1657), focusing on the mad scenes of Damira, as performed by the Roman singer-actress Anna Renzi. In relation to women's speech in contemporary literature and the myth of Venice in the mid-seventeenth century, this chapter discusses how Damira's multiple identities, including a feigned madwoman and her music, created kaleidoscopic changes in the opera, which contributed to self-fashioning of the performer.

5.1 *Pietro Andrea Ziani, Venetian Opera Composer*

Pietro Andrea Ziani (c. 1616–1684) was a Venetian organist and composer. In his early years, Ziani belonged to the convent of S. Salvatore, where he served as an organist, and was employed at S. Marco, probably as a singer. In 1657, he moved to Bergamo to serve S. Maria Maggiore as *maestro di cappella* after Maurizio Cazzati (1616–1678). He then returned to S. Marco in 1659 and became a music director at the Ospedale degli Incurabili. Meanwhile, he benefited from opportunities to serve as Kapellmeister to the dowager Empress Elenora (1630–1686) in Vienna and to direct performances at Dresden in celebration of the marriage to Elector Johann Georg III of Saxony (1647–1691). In 1669, Ziani succeeded Francesco Cavalli (1602–1676) to become the first organist of S. Marco. Ziani failed to succeed Cavalli as *maestro di cappella* after his death in 1676. Two years later, he resigned from S. Marco and moved to Naples. Ziani's commissions for the Venetian stage continued even after he gained a post in Naples at the Conservatorio S. Onofrio and later at the Cappella Reale di Palazzo. Ziani's compositions are mostly operas and oratorios but also include sacred and secular vocal music such as motets, masses and canzonette, and instrumental music.¹ During the 1670s and 80s, Ziani actively promoted the career of his nephew, Marc' Antonio Ziani

¹ Theophil Antonicek, Harris S. Saunders and Jennifer Williams Brown, "Ziani, Pietro Andrea," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed December 11, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30946>; Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 145-6.

(1653–1715), a composer active mainly at the courts of the Gonzaga in Mantua and of the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna.²

Ziani began composing opera in the middle of the seventeenth century and went on to provide more than 30 works for the Venetian and Viennese stages over 28 years. Cavalli had established a leading position in the opera world when Ziani entered it, producing operas for Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence, and France. In Venice, Cavalli had a long-term collaboration with the librettist Giovanni Faustini (1615–1651), who ran the Teatro S. Apollinare. After the death of Giovanni, his brother and lawyer Marco Faustini (1606–1676) succeeded in the impresarial duties, and later managed two other theatres, the Teatro S. Cassiano and the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo. From the very beginning of his career as an opera composer, Ziani provided his operas for the Faustinis' theatres.³ Along with Antonio Cesti (1623–1669), Ziani is considered a contributor to the building of a new operatic generation after Cavalli, one characterized by 'easily accessible lyricism'. In one of his letters, Ziani expressed the view that the public has lost interest in long soliloquies, characteristic of Cavalli's opera, and preferred canzonettas.⁴

5.2 Le fortune di Rodope e Damira

Le fortune di Rodope e Damira was one of Ziani's early operas, composed for the Venetian stage just before he was assigned to S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo. The opera, comprising a prologue and three acts, was premiered in 1657 at the short-lived Teatro S. Apollinare. *Le fortune* was the only opera staged in Venice during the 1657 carnival season and the last opera presented at the Teatro S. Apollinare.⁵ The librettist was Aurelio Aureli (d. 1708) of Murano, who contributed to Ziani's other operas and also to the operas of Marc' Antonio Ziani.⁶ The role of the 'director of the sets and the machines' was shared by Gaspare Mauro and Francesco Santurini (1627–1682), who also worked as 'engineers' on *L'incostanza trifante ovvero il Teseo* with music by Ziani at the Teatro S. Cassiano.⁷ The dedicatees are

² Theophil Antonicek and Jennifer Williams Brown, "Ziani, Marc' Antonio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.30945>.

³ Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, "Marco Faustini and Venetian Opera Production in the 1650s: Recent Archival Discoveries," *The Journal of Musicology* 10, no. 1 (1992): 49-50.

⁴ Harris S. Saunders, "Ziani, Pietro Andrea (opera)," *Grove Music Online*, 2002, accessed December 11, 2018, <https://doi-org.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O006567>.

⁵ Saunders. "Ziani, Pietro Andrea (opera)."

⁶ Claudio Mutini, "Aureli Aurelio," *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 4 (1962), accessed December 11, 2018, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/aurelio-aureli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

Thomas Walker and Norbert Dubowy, "Aureli, Aurelio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed December 11, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01535>.

⁷ Lorenzo Bianconi, Giorgio Pestelli and Kate Singleton, *Opera on Stage* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 131.

Marc' Antonio Correr and Alvise Duodo, both of whom were business partners of the Faustini.⁸ The cast list includes familiar members for the Faustini productions,⁹ Anna Renzi, Giacinto Zucchi,¹⁰ Raffaele Caccialupi,¹¹ Antonio Draghi,¹² and Antonio Formenti. Additionally, the theatre newly welcomed Anna Maria Volea,¹³ Carlo Macchiati, Filippo Manini, Pietro Cefalo,¹⁴ and Caro Manelli.

Table 5.1: Reconstructed Cast List for *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*

Actors and actresses	Characters
Giacinto Zucchi (B)	Creonte, king of Egypt
Anna Renzi (S)	Damira, wife of Creonte believed to be drawn to the Nile, pretending to be a farmer girl, Fidalba
Anna Maria Volea (S)	Rodope, lover of Nigrane
Carlo Macchiati (C)	Nigrane, knight at the royal palace, in love with Rodope
Filippo Manini (C)	Brenno, general of the Egyptian army, passionate for Rodope
Caro Manelli (S)	Lerino, page of Rodope
Raffaele Caccialupi (T)	Sicandro, king's favorite courtier
Antonio Draghi (B)	Bato, farmer
Pietro Cefalo (C)	Nerina, wife of Bato
Antonio Formenti (T)	Erpago, court painter

⁸ Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini," 58, 69.

⁹ They were also hired for Faustini's other opera productions. See Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini," 69.

¹⁰ Giacinto Zucchi appeared in the Venetian operas mounted by Marco Faustini during the 1650s and 1660s, including Ziani's previous opera, *Eupatra* (Venice, 1655). He also created the role of Seneca in Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (Venice, 1643) and joined the cappella of S. Marco in 1648. See Patrick Macey, "Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke and Josquin," in *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, Early Music History 15, ed. Iain Fenlon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 127. Tim Carter, *Understanding Italian Opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 27

¹¹ When he sang in Bologna, Raffaele Caccialupi was recruited by Marc'Antonio Correr for S. Aponal for the 1656/7 season. For the next season, he performed in Ziani's *L'incostanza trionfante* (1658). He was also working for the Empress. In 1659, he was married to Vittoria Seliprandi, a relative of the singer Carlo Seliprandi, who was of Mantua and worked for the Empress Eleonora. See Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini," 60; Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 42; Marko Deisinger, "The Music Chapel of Empress Eleonora II. Source-related Difficulties in Researching the History of an Italian-dominated Institution in Vienna (1657-1686)," *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts* 3, no. 3 (2016): 176.

¹² Antonio Draghi (1634/5-1700) was one of the most prominent musicians in Vienna during the last third of the seventeenth century. He was an Austrian of Italian birth, and also active as composer, administrator, and librettist. See Rudolf Schnitzler and Herbert Seifert, "Draghi, Antonio," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, December 11, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.47603>.

¹³ Maria Volea was the daughter of Giacomo Volea, a musician in Turin. For this stage, she earned 1960 lire, while Anna Renzi earned 1860 lire. See Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 185f. Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini," 59-60.

¹⁴ Pietro Cefalo was one of the choirs of S. Antonio in Padua. Along with the other singers from "il Santo," Filippo Manin and Pietro Paolo Benigni, Cefalo participated in Faustini's productions. See Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 190.

(S : Soprano, C : Counter tenor, T : Tenor, B : Bass)

The lack of records makes it difficult to grasp the scale of the 1657 premiere, including such factors as the attendance figures, revenues, and expenses of the opera.¹⁵ However, its success and reputation can legitimately be assumed, given that the opera was restaged in Florence and Torino in 1662.¹⁶

The opera spotlights two women vying for the attention of the Egyptian King Creonte: Rodope, a beautiful courtesan; and Damira, the king's virtuous consort. *Delucidazione* (Explanation) preceding the main part describes the backdrop to the opera. An eagle drops a stocking onto Creonte's chest one day while he is delivering the law to his people. He diligently looks for his possessor, who turns out to be Rodope, and falls in love with her. In *Delucidazione*, Aureli explains that the story of an eagle bringing Rodope's sock to Creonte is based on the works of 'Polidoro, Virgilio, Erodoto, Strabone' (Polidoro, Virgil, Herodotus, Strabo) and other authors.¹⁷ He then seems to have elaborated this story to compose the opera. Creonte, who is married to Damira, princess of Lydia, decides to get rid of her so that he can satisfy his longing for Rodope. He takes his wife on a boating trip to the Nile. She believes that her husband will board after her, but instead finds herself alone in the boat offshore. Damira is presumed to have drowned in the river after the boat collides with a rock, so Creonte proceeds with his plan to marry the courtesan. However, Damira is saved by a farmer, Bato, and adopted as his daughter, Fidalba. Unaware of his wife's fortune, Creonte goes hunting. He falls off his horse and happens to be saved by the same farmer, Bato.

The prologue depicts an exchange among the mythological goddesses at the palace of Delight. Delight and Lust let Hymen sleep and try to take away his belongings. Juno, on the other hand, finds and reproaches their mischief. She awakens Hymen and orders him to restore the harmony at the Egyptian court. Hymen regains his belongings and returns to the earth. Act I begins with a scene in which Sicandro, a courtier favourite of the king, finds Bato bringing Creonte on his shoulders. In reward, Bato is invited to court with his wife, Nerina, and Damira in disguise as Fidalba. Meanwhile, Rodope feigns her affection for the

¹⁵ Glixon and Glixon, "Marco Faustini," 48-73.

¹⁶ In Florence, the opera was performed five times from November to December. See John Walter Hill and Lorenzo Bianconi, "Le relazioni di Antonio Cesti con la corte e i teatri di Firenze," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 11, no.1 (1976): 34; Beth L. Glixon, "Scenes from the life of Silvia Gailarti Manni," in *Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, Early Music History 15, ed. Iain Fenlon (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 136.

¹⁷ Aurelio Aureli, *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira. Drama per musica di Aurelio Aureli. Fauola terza* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1657), 3.

king to usurp the throne and is actually in love with Nigrane, a knight of the court. The act ends with the joyful arrival of Bato's family at the court. Act II introduces Damira's solo about her fate in front of her own portrait on the wall in the courtyard, which was painted by Erpago, a painter at court. Hearing about the marriage of the king and Rodope, Damira decides to pretend to be mad to disrupt their wedding. Meeting Damira in disguise as Fidalba, Creonte begins to feel the pangs of conscience. Rodope, on the other hand, eggs on Brenno, her other suitor, to kill the king. Damira's feigned madness continues and triggers a *ballo* by the mad men at the end of the act. In Act III, Brenno tries to carry out his plan. On the first attempt, Brenno fails, but instead he pins a crime on Nigrane, who is sent to jail. Knowing that her lover is in jail, Rodope dons a disguise and tries to rescue him on the night of carnival together with Lerino, her page. Meanwhile, Damira's true identity is revealed, and she and Creonte decide to unite again. Soon after, Brenno makes a second attempt to commit regicide. However, Nigrane, who has escaped from jail, prevent it. Everything is brought to light; Creonte forgives Brenno and Rodope, and allows the latter to be united with her love, Nigrane. The opera concludes with a wish for the longevity of Damira's reign.

Figure 5.1. Frontispiece of Aurelio Aureli's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*. Venice, 1657.

This is the plot as it unfolds in Aureli's libretto. In the score, there are several scenes which are missing or different from those in the libretto. In Act I, the scenes xiv, xv, and xvi in the libretto are missing from the score. In Act II, there are no missing scenes from the libretto. Ziani largely omitted the scenes in Act III. The remaining are scenes i, ii, iii, v, vii, viii, xii, xiii, xv, xx, and xxi. In all of the above acts, several scenes in the score do not always reflect the full texts in the libretto, but include part of them.

To deepen an understanding of *Le fortune*, the following sections examine the Roman singer-actress, Anna Renzi, and then explore two typical types of women characters in an operatic production, both of which characterize Damira in *Le fortune*: the abandoned woman and the feigned madwoman.

5.3 *Anna Renzi, Roman Singer-Actress*

Anna Renzi (1620–1660)—one of the most renowned singer-actresses in Venice, especially during the 1640s—began her career in Rome, taking part in the operas at the French embassy. In 1640, accompanied by a composer from Bertinoro and her teacher, Filiberto Laurenzi (1619 or 1620–d ?after 1659), Renzi stepped onto the Venetian stage.¹⁸

Figure 5.2. Jacobus Pecinus Venetus, Portrait of Anna Renzi, from *Le glorie della signora Anna Renzi romana*. Venice, 1644. Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, Venice.¹⁹

She was soon catapulted to fame after singing the title role in *La finta pazza*, an opera in a prologue and three acts written by Giulio Strozzi (1583–1652) and set to music by Francesco Saccati (1605–1650). This opera was staged first at the Teatro Novissimo, the newest of the Venetian theatres, during the 1641 carnival season and achieved unprecedented success in attracting the Venetian audience, continuing for 12 performances over 17 days.²⁰ In *Le glorie della Signora Anna Renzi romana*, a collection of encomiastic poems for Renzi published in 1644 by some members of the Accademia degli Incogniti, Strozzi, one of the

¹⁸ Thomas Walker and Beth L. Glixon. “Renzi [Rentia, Renzini], Anna” *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed September 13, 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23212>.

Nicola Badolato, “Renzi, Anna,” *Treccani Online*, Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 87 (2016), accessed December 24, 2018, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anna-renzi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anna-renzi_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

¹⁹ The image is cited from Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 229.

²⁰ Rosand. *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 110-24; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, ‘Dalla Finta Pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici’, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 10 (1975), 414; Lorenzo Bianconi, “Finta pazza, La.” *Grove Music Online*, 2002, November 5, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O009223>.

dedicators, described the moment when Renzi charmed Venice as follows:²¹

This singing Nymph of the Tiber came at the end of the year 1640, to please with her delicious virtue this palace of Neptune in the Adriatic, and in acting, as she made the feigned foolishness of Deidamia, truly enchanted not only the senses of the common people, but also the souls of more exquisite professors of harmonious drama.²²

Three years later, *La finta pazza* began to row out into other cities in Italy and even to Paris at the hands of touring troupes, the Accademici Febiarmonichi and the Accademici Discordati.²³ After the triumph in *La finta pazza*, Renzi again appeared at the Teatro Novissimo during the next season in Vincenzo Nolfi and Sacrati's *Il Bellerofonte*. For the 1643 season, she sang instead at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in *La finta savia* written by Strozzi with music largely by Laurenzi and several other composers, and in *L'incoronazione di Poppea* by Giovanni Francesco Busenello (1598–1659) with music largely by Claudio Monteverdi.²⁴ In 1644 and 1645, Renzi returned to the Novissimo to perform in *La Deidamia* and *Ercole in Lidia*. After the closure of the theatres for two seasons because of the war over Crete, Renzi sang for *La Torilda* and *Il Cesare amante* back at the SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Between the tours in Genoa and Innsbruck in the following years, Renzi returned to Venice for final performances at the S. Apollinare, singing in Ziani's operas *Eupatra* and *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* in 1655 and 1657, respectively.²⁵

²¹ It was dedicated to Filiberto Laurenzi. The dedicators include the members of the Incogniti, who were not musicians, but intellectuals and connoisseurs of music. They often represented themselves by their initials and academic names. See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 230; Glixon, "Scenes from the life of Silvia Gailarti Manni," 109.

²² "Venne questa canora Ninfa del Tebro nel fin dell'anno 1640 a beare con la sua delitiosa virtù questa Reggia di Nettunno nell'Adria, e nel rappresentar, che ella fece la finta stoltezza di Deidamia, rapì daddovero non solo i sensi a gli huomini vulgari, ma gli anima ancora de' piu esquisite professori dell'Armoniche azzioni." Giulio Strozzi ed., *Le glorie della Signora Anna Renzi romana* (Venice: Gio. Batista Surian, 1644), 5-6.

²³ See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 110-24; Bianconi, "Finta pazza, La."

²⁴ Walker and Glixon. "Renzi, Anna."

²⁵ Walker and Glixon. "Renzi, Anna."

Figure 5.3. Frontispiece of *Le glorie della Signora Anna Renzi romana*. Venice, 1644.

Le glorie contains Strozzi's informative observations on Renzi's performance style, which helps us in some measure understand her acting and her strengths on the stage:

The action with which one gives soul, spirit, and being to things, must be governed by the movements of the body, by gesture, by the face, and by the voice, now raising it, now lowering it, becoming indignant, and turning suddenly to calm; at once speaking quickly, another time slowly, moving the body now to this, now to that side, clutching the arms close, and extending them, laughing, and crying, now with little, now with much agitation of the hands: our Lady Anna is furnished with an expression so lively, that the dialogue, and the discourses seem not recalled from memory, but born in the moment. In sum she transforms herself entirely into the person she represents, and seems now a Talia full of comic gaiety, now a Melpomene rich with tragic majesty. I would call her the fourth Grace, if she were not capable of teaching grace to the Graces, and equally vivacity and elegance to Venus.²⁶

Strozzi especially highlighted Renzi's flexible and dexterous movement of her body and voice in acting. With the help of such skills, Renzi made her roles appear so lively and natural that she seemed to be identical with the very person she acted. Strozzi continued his technical

²⁶ "L'azione con la quale si dà l'anima, lo spirito, e l'essere alle cose, deve esser governata dal movimento del corpo, dal gesto, dal volto, e dalla voce, hora innalzandola, hora abbassandola, sdegnandosi, & tornando subito a pacificarsi: una volta parlando in fretta, un'altra adagio, movendo il corpo hor a questa, hor a quella parte, raccogliendo le braccia, e distendendole, ridendo, e piangendo, hora con poca, hora con molta agitazione di mani: la nostra Signora Anna è dotata d'una espressione sì viva, che paiono le risposte, e idiscorsi non appresi dalla memoria, ma nati all'ora. Insomma ella si trasforma tutta nella persona che rappresenta, e sembra hora una Talia piena di comica allegrezza, hora una Melpomene ricca di Tragica Maestà Io la chiamarei la quarta Gratia, s'ella non fusse valevole d'insegnar gratia alle stesse gratie ebrio, e la leggiadria alla medesima Venere." Strozzi, *Le glorie*, 8-9. The translations of Strozzi's remarks on Renzi in *Le glorie* are partly referred to Rosand's. See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 232.

observations with a passage focusing on her voice:

She masters the scene, understands that which she utters and utters it so clearly, that those who miss her words are lacking ears. She has a nimble tongue, a sweet pronunciation, not affectatious, not hurried, a voice full, sonorous, not bitter, not hoarse, never offending with excessive sharpness: this is born of the temperament of the chest, and of the throat, which judging by such a good voice must be very hot, which enlarges the passages, and very humid, which softens them, and makes them supple. By means of this she has happy ornaments, and a joyful trill, double, and reinforced, and it is said of her, that as much as 26 times, with carrying all the weight of an opera, she has repeated it one evening after another, without losing even one carat of her theatrical, and most perfect voice.²⁷

Renzi's voice carried well in a theatre and sounded pleasant on the ear. What amazed Strozzi was that it did not lose its vigour despite the long run of nightly performances. Her deliberate treatment of words, and flexibility and strength of voice were highly praised. Based on Strozzi's description and the surviving music in which Renzi performed, Ellen Rosand affirms: '[I]t is clear that Renzi's vocal style was not primarily showy or virtuosic – though she certainly possessed flexibility of voice. Her roles called for dramatic intensity above all. Her interpretations, then, would have enhanced the effect of opera as drama; opera was not yet the vehicle of vocal pyrotechnics it was soon to become'.²⁸ It could also be argued that composers probably considered recitative as a pertinent vocal style for Renzi to express her dramatic roles. Referring to Ottavia in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, Wendy Heller argues 'What makes Ottavia so unusual is not solely a result of her insistence on speaking rather than singing—that is to say, her preference for recitative instead of aria ... Ottavia's unique manner of expression is apparent in the nature of that recitative: a terse, angular, often colourless recitative, sometimes dissonant, other times forbiddingly consonant, but devoid of sensual chromaticism. Her preferred melodic gestures seem almost designed to negate

²⁷ "Padroneggia la Scena, intende quel che proferisce, e lo proferisce sì chiaramente, che non hanno l'orecchie, che defiderare: Hà una lingua sciolta, una pronuntia suave, non affettata, non presta, una voce piena, sonora, non aspra, non roca, ne che ti offenda con la soverchia sottigliezza: il che nasce dal temperamento del petto, e della gola, per la qual buona voce si ricerca molto caldo, che allarghi le vie, e tanto humido, che le intenerisca, e mollisichi. Per questo ella hà il passaggio felice, e'l trillo gagliardo, doppio, e rinforzato, ed è intervenuto à lei, che ben venti sei volte, con reggier tutto il peso d'un' opera, l'hà replicata quasi una sera doppo l'altra, senza perder pur un caratto della sua teatrale, e perfettissima voce." Strozzi, *Le glorie*, 9-10.

²⁸ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 234. The surviving music for four of Renzi's roles includes Sacracati's *La finta pazza*, Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, Laurenzi's *La finta savia*, and Ziani's *Le fortune*.

any sense of lyricism'.²⁹

The preference for recitative is shared by the character of Damira in Ziani's *Le fortune*. Damira is given fewer aria-like passages despite a leading role. Furthermore, although Ziani generally puts the title 'aria' at the beginning of an aria, Damira's aria-like passages in Acts I and II are not so labelled even though Damira's 'Mura adorate, e care' in Act I, scene xvii is as colourful as the arias sung by other characters, such as Rodope or Lerino. Importantly, as I shall discuss later, Damira's parts in the mad scenes are mostly delivered in recitative.

Recitative occupied a significant position in seventeenth century vocal performances. Recitative, which originated in Florence as a 'new' style of singing, was a critical reaction to a pervasive practice that flaunted the virtuosity of musicians with extravagant embellishments and elaborations.³⁰ The negligent approach in the elaborate style to respect the coherence of the text, especially in *drammi per musica*, could not be overlooked. In the newly invented recitative style, contemporary accounts particularly emphasise the clarity of words and the flexibility of voice. In 1640, the author, traveller, and music amateur Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) stated that singers of the present age:

hardly had other skills: of singing soft and loud, of increasing the voice little by little, of diminishing it with grace, of expressing the affections, of following the words and their meanings with judgment; of making the voice joyful or melancholy, of making it plaintive or ardent when necessary.³¹

In *Le glorie*, Strozzi also admired Renzi's faculty of observation and intellect sparkled in few words. He described how Renzi sensibly observed other actors and fully made use of it in her lively performance.

I have considered, other than physiognomy, which in her does not lie, that also this is true, that to form a sublime intelligence one requires, specifically great intellect, much imagination, and good memory, if these three things have no contrary and

²⁹ Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 153.

³⁰ Richard Wistreich, "Vocal Performance in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, eds. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 398-420, esp. 406-8.

³¹ "non avevano quasi nel cantare altra arte del piano e del forte, del crescere la voce a poco a poco, dello smorzarla con grazia, dell'espressione degli affetti, del secondar con giudizio le parole e i loro sensi; del rallegrar la voce o immalinconirla; del farla pietosa o ardita quando bisogni." Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma: testimonianze dei contemporanei* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1903), 162. Translation is cited from Strunk W. Oliver, *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, Rev.ed, edited by Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 4: 40.

have not in the same person any natural opposition. All are in the gift of kind nature, which has, but few times, united these three characteristics, as if in a republic, without an imbalance of power toward the one or the other. The lady Anna, naturally of melancholic temperament, has spoken few words, but those shrewd, reasonable, and her fair utterances are worthy of the highest praise. Thus she goes silently observing the actions of others, and thus when she has to represent them, aided by blood, with which she is well provided, and by bile, which if it rises (without which men cannot undertake great things) raises the spirit, she is assisted by what she has learned from the observations she has made. Thus she has benefited from a most propitious conjunction of the heavens to equip her with a genius so observant, and singular.³²

Ingegno (genius) is a term derived from the Latin *ingenium* and is employed in humanist paeans to praise the inventive capacity of artists and their works. When applied to the beholder of the works of art, it often admires his discernment. Above all, *ingegno* represented the natural and intrinsic quality of its possessor, which was ‘virtue that could not be learned’.³³ Although more often related to masterpieces of architects, painters, sculptors, or goldsmiths, the term frequently appeared in sixteenth-century descriptions of theatrical works, particularly in relation to the stage scenery and machinery.³⁴ The painter and architect Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) used this term to praise the scenography created by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) for the S. Felice Annunciation in circa 1435.³⁵ In 1598, when *La pellegrina* was staged for the Medici wedding, Bastiano de’ Rossi, academician and official writer of the wedding, used the term in praising the stage machinery of Bernardo Buontalenti (1531–1608) in his account of the theatre’s decorations:

The architect [Buontalenti] furthermore uses his ingenuity (*ingegnato*) to produce

³² “Io hò considerato, oltre la fisonomia, che in lei non mentisce esser vero ancor quello, che formar un ingegno sublime si ricerca, cioè grande intelletto, molta imaginativa, e bella memoria, come se non fussero queste tre cose contrarie, e non havessero nell’istesso soggetto alcuna naturale oppositione. Dono tutto della cortese natura, che sà, ma rade volte, unir questi tre habiti, quasi in republica, senza la maggioranza dell’uno, ò dell’altro. La Signora Anna di temperamento malinconico per adustione hà discorso poche parole, mà quelle accorte, sensate, e degne per i suo’bei detti del premio della Lode: Così ella vò tacitamente osservando le azzioni altrui, e quando poi hà da rapresentarle, aiutata dal sangue, del quale ella è copiosissima, e dalla bile, che se le accende (senza la quale non possono gli huomini intra prender cose grandi) mostra lo spirito, evalor suo appreso con lo studio delle osservationi fatte: Onde ella hà havvuto i Cieli molto propitij per renderla d’un ingegno sì riguardevole, e singolare.” Strozzi, *Le glorie*, 9-10.

³³ Luke Syson and Dora Thomson, *Objects of Virtue: Art in Renaissance Italy* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Museum, 2001), 135.

³⁴ Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 33-4.

³⁵ Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 294.

most abundant inventions, so that with quantities of machines ascending and descending from heaven, passing through the air, and coming out from under the stage, and with very frequent changes of scenery, he can show his lively wit (*suo vivo ingegno*), and at the same time bring to the people, both marvel and delight.³⁶

In the preface to *Euridice*, Jacopo Peri admires the music of Vittoria Archilei, a renowned singer who also performed as a prima donna in the intermedi of *La pellegrina*.³⁷ Peri noted that he demonstrated the new manner of singing (i.e., recitative) to Archilei, calling her the ‘Euterpe of our age’ (Euterpe dell’età nostra), and introduces her as follows:

Signora Vittoria Archilei, who has always made my music worthy of her song, by adorning it not only with those *gruppi* and with those long *passaggi* both simple and double, which by the liveliness of her wit (*vivezza dell’ingegno suo*) are encountered at every moment - more to obey the practice of our times, than because she judges that in them consist the beauty and the force of our singing—but also those sorts of delights and graces which cannot be written, and if written, cannot be learned from the notation.³⁸

Because *ingegno* was primarily attributed to men, it became an exceptional term of praise when applied to women and their work during this period.³⁹ Using this term to praise Renzi

³⁶ “Egli s’è oltr’a ciò ingegnato di far l’Architetto abbondantissimo d’invenzione, acciocchè esso, con quantità di macchine saglienti, e discendenti dal Cielo, passanti per l’aria, e uscenti di sotto ‘l parco, e con ispessi mutamenti di scena, possa mostrare il vivo suo ingegno, e in un tempo recare al popolo, e maraviglia, e diletto.” Bastiano de’ Rossi, *Descrizione dell’ apparato e degl’ intermedi. Fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nelle nozze de’ Serenissimi Don Ferdinando Medici, e Madama Cristina di Loreno, Gran Duchi di Toscana* (Florence: Anton Padovani, 1589), 17. The original text is cited from Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 224. For the translations, also see Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 34 (translation slightly modified).

³⁷ Archilei took various major and minor roles in the intermedi of *La pellegrina*, most notably Harmony in the first *intermedio*. As for her roles, see Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, esp. Chapters 4 and 7.

Her fame for musical virtuosity was highly esteemed by contemporary composers and intellectuals. In the preface of his *L’Euridice* (1600), the composer Giulio Caccini calls Archilei “cantatrice di quella eccellenza che mostra il grido della sua fama” (female singer of the excellence who shows the renown of her name). In *Discorso sopra la musca* (c. 1628), an aristocratic banker and intellectual Vincenzo Giustiniani states, “Vittoria [Archilei], dalla quale ha quasi avuto origine il vero modo di cantare nelle donne” (Vittoria [Archilei], from whom one has almost had origin of the true manner of female singing). See Gaetano Poggiali, *Serie de’ testi di lingua stampati, che si citano nel Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (Livorno: Tommaso Masi e comp., 1813), 49; Vincenzo Giustiniani, *Discorsi sulle arti e sui mestieri* (Florence: Sansoni, 1981), 24.

³⁸ “... dimostrarai loro questo nuovo modo di cantare... come anco a quella famosa, che si puo chiamare Euterpe dell’età nostra, la Signora Vittoria Archilei, la quale ha sempre fatte degne del cantar suo le Musiche mie, adornandole non pure di quei gruppi e di quei lunghi giri di voce semplici e doppi, che dalla vivezza dell’ingegno suo son ritrovati ad ogn’hora, più per ubbidire all’uso de’ nostri tempi, che perch’ella stimi consistere in essi la bellezza e la forza del nostro cantare, ma anco di quelle e vaghezze e leggiadrie che non si possono scrivere, e scrivendole non s’imparano da gli scritti.” Jacopo Peri, *Le Musiche di Jacopo Peri nobil fiorentino sopra l’Euridice del sig. Ottavio Rinuccini rappresentate nello spozalio della cristianissima Maria Medici regina di Francia e di Navarra* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600), “A Lettori.” The translation is cited from Treitler and Murata, *Strunk’s Source Readings in Music History*, 153.

³⁹ Florio, *Queen Anna’s New World of Words*, 253. Also see Treadwell, *Music and Wonder*, 35.

indicates her natural talent as an actress, which must have charmed a large audience in seventeenth-century Venice. The following sections examine two typical female characters in operatic productions to grasp the feigned madwoman Damira: abandoned women and feigned women.

5.4 *Abandoned Women*

The story of *Le fortune* begins with the dramatic setting of the female protagonist, Damira, being abandoned by her husband. A woman abandoned by her husband or lover had become a stock symbolic character on the Venetian stage by the 1640s. *Arianna*, an opera by Ottavio Rinuccini and Claudio Monteverdi, is about the abandonment of Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, King of Crete. She assists Theseus in killing the Minotaur in the labyrinth at her father's palace in exchange for a promise of marriage, but she is deceived and abandoned on the shore. Rinuccini's libretto probably reflects Giovanni dell' Anguillara's (1517–1570) translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which contains Ovid's own version of Ariadne's lament from the *Heroides*. Catullus's poem on the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, *Carmina* 64, which depicts Ariadne's abandonment, influenced Ovid's version of her lament.⁴⁰ As if echoing this setting, the opera *Arianna* was composed for the celebration of the marriage between Francesco Gonzaga (1586–1612) and Margherita of Savoy (1589–1655) at the Mantuan court in 1608, where the leading role was sung by Virginia Ramponi (1583–c.1630), a commedia dell'arte actress and Isabella Andreini's daughter-in-law.⁴¹ It was later revived for the 1640 carnival season at the Teatro S. Moisè in Venice. Monteverdi's complete score is lost, but *Arianna*'s lament has survived in several manuscripts and printed versions.⁴² The lament portrays the abandoned *Arianna*'s repentance and despair in a tone of grief, repeatedly calling Theseus' name.⁴³ According to the eyewitness account of Federico Follino, who

⁴⁰ For a discussion on Rinuccini's sources, see Gary Tomlinson, "Rinuccini, Peri, Monteverdi, and the Humanist Heritage of Opera" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 182-91; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 254-7; Bojan Bujic, "Rinuccini the Craftsman: A View of His 'L'Arianna,'" *Early Music History* 18 (1999): 75-117; Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 82-3.

⁴¹ Richard Andrews, *The Commedia dell'Arte of Flaminio Scala*, 272.

⁴² John Whenham, "Arianna," *Grove Music Online*, 2002, December 20, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O900175>. Also see Suzanne G. Cusick, "There Was Not One Lady Who Failed to Shed a Tear": Arianna's Lament and the Construction of Modern Womanhood," *Early Music* 22, no.1 (1994): fl.

⁴³ *Arianna*'s lament is one of the most discussed compositions of Monteverdi in modern scholarship. As for the English scholarship in this opera, see J.A. Westrup, "Monteverdi's 'Lamento d'Arianna,'" *Music Review* 1 (1940): 144-54; Tomlinson, "Madrigal, Monody, and Monteverdi," 60-108; Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 125-31; Silke Leopold, *Monteverdi: Music in Transition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Chapter 4; Eric Thomas Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), Chapter 8; Cusick, "There Was Not One Lady," 21-41; Cusick, "Re-Voicing Arianna (And Laments): Two Women Respond," *Early Music* 27, no.3 (1999): 436-38, 441-45, 447-49; Tim Carter, "Lamenting Ariadne?" *Early Music* 27, no.3 (1999): 395-405; William V. Porter, "Lamenti recitativi da camera," in *Con Che Soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance 1580-1740*, eds.

attended the wedding in Mantua, listened to this lament, ‘there was not one lady who failed to shed a tear’.⁴⁴ The opera saves the lamenting Arianna in the end by preparing for her marriage with Bacchus.

During the next carnival season, the Teatro S. Cassiano premiered *Didone*, composed by Cavalli to a libretto by Busenello.⁴⁵ Based loosely on Virgil’s *Aeneid*, the opera tells the story of Didone, queen of Carthage, who loves Enea to the sacrifice of her status and honour. She is finally abandoned, but, as Busenello explains in the preface, the dramatic closure is contrary to the original source.⁴⁶ Iarba (Iarbas), King of the Getuli, who has gone mad after being rejected by Dido, is cured in time to interrupt Didone’s attempted suicide after Aeneas has abandoned her; Dido then accepts the hand of Iarba.

Empress Ottavia in *L’incoronazione di Poppea*, written by Busenello with music of Monteverdi and others, suffers a more severe fate than her fellows in misfortune. The libretto was based primarily on Tacitus’s *Annals*. With the intention to focus on the historical figure of Emperor Nero, rather than the familiar ancient mythology, the opera premiered in 1643 at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In the opera, in his quest to marry his mistress, Poppea, Nero begins to eliminate those who stand in their way, that is, the philosopher and Nero’s tutor Seneca and Nero’s wife Ottavia. The jealous and furious Ottavia terrifies Ottone, who is hopelessly in love with Poppea, into killing his beloved. Ottone disguises himself in the clothes borrowed from Drusilla, who is in love with him. His murder attempt fails, and Ottavia, Ottone, and Drusilla are all expelled from Rome.⁴⁷ In Act III, scene vi, Ottavia sings a poignant lament, set in recitative in common with her entire role, to bid farewell to her homeland, Rome.

Renzi played Ottavia, and probably also Drusilla and Virtù.⁴⁸ During the 1643 season, in which Renzi performed Ottavia and also Aretusa in *La finta savia*, a French diplomat visited the Venetian theatres and wrote home suggesting enthusiastically that two women, Anna Valeria and a ‘Signora Annunciacia’, who could be Renzi, be invited to France.⁴⁹

Ian Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 73-110; Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, Chapter 3.

⁴⁴ “... Ne fu pur una Dama che non versasse qualche lagrimetta al suo pianto.” Federico Follino, *Compendio delle sontuose feste fatte l’anno MDCVIII nella città di Mantova*, as cited in Angelo Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma* (Milan: R. Sandron, 1905), ii, 145. As for translation, see Cusick, “There Was Not One Lady,” 22.

⁴⁵ Dinko Fabris, “Didone by Cavalli and Busenello: From the Sources to Modern Productions,” in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Opera*, ed. Beth L. Glixon (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 159-80.

⁴⁶ Busenello, *La Didone*, A2r-A2v.

⁴⁷ Ellen Rosand, “Incoronazione di Poppea, L.” *Grove Music Online*, 2002, December 29, 2018,

<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O902316>; Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, Chapter 4.

⁴⁸ Magnus Tessing Schneider, “Seeing the Empress Again on Doubling in ‘L’incoronazione di Poppea,’” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 24, no.3 (2012): 249-91.

⁴⁹ Margaret Murata, “Why the First Opera Given in Paris Wasn’t Roman,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (1995): 87-105, esp. 101-2.

Le glorie also contains encomia on her performance as Ottavia. According to a sonnet written by G.B.V:

O di celeste spirto aspetto, e voce, del paradiso sol vaga Sirena, che repidiata da Neron in scena, formi armonico misto, e dolce, e atroce.	Oh appearance and voice of a celestial spirit only charming Siren in heaven repudiated by Nero on stage you make a harmony mixed, sweet and dread.
---	---

Hor con tremula, hor lenta, hor con veloce fugga, e pausa si turba, e rasserena l'alma tua d'armonia tutta ripiena, che sè ben punge i cor, già pur non noce.	Now with trill, now slow, now quick runs and rests disturb you, and plain style your soul is filled with harmony, which although it pricks at the heart, does not wound it.
--	---

Mentre in esilio al mar tu doni il pianto, si ferma l'onda, e si raffrena il vento, per coglier le tue perle, e'l dolce canto.	While in exile you give tears to the sea the waves stop, and the wind refrains, to gather your pearls, and the sweet song.
--	--

ANNA lo stesso ciel io miro attento à tuoi dogliosi accenti Amante, e in tanto in ruggiada stillarso al tuo lamento. ⁵⁰	ANNA I watch the same heavens, attentive to your sorrowful lover's tones, and fully dripping with dew at your lament.
--	---

The poetry comforts 'Disprezzata Regina', who has escaped from Nero's cruel treatment and may find a moment of peace in the gentle sea. The other description by Benedetto Ferrari (c. 1603–1681) of Poppea's final lament tells us how Renzi got right into the role of Ottavia.

Non è Ottavia, che lagrime diffonde esule, esposte a le spumose arene; è un mostro, che note alte, e profonde acrescer vâ lo stuolo de le Sirene. ⁵¹	She is not Ottavia, shedding tears exiled, exposed on the foamy sands; she is a monster, whose high and low notes add to the company of the Sirens.
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⁵⁰ G.B.V., "Per la Signora Anna Renzi romana univa Cantatrice nel Teatro dell'Ilustrissimo Signor Giovanni Grimani," in Strozzi, *Le glorie*, 30.

⁵¹ Benedetto Ferrari, "Per la Signora Anna Renzi Romana Insigne Cantatrice," in Strozzi, *Le glorie*, 28.

Thus, an abandoned woman was a symbolic character in seventeenth-century opera, and Renzi's performance of *Ottavia* left a remarkable impression. However, as Richard Andrews points out in his argument about *Arianna*, the focus is not on a woman's derangement but on her 'suffering predicament', which appeals to the audience's feelings.⁵² The feigned madwoman we shall see in the following section is also abandoned, but differs from other abandoned women in opera in that the protagonist attempts to recover her lover's affection by pretending to be mad.

5.5 *Feigned Madwomen*

The massive success of *La finta pazza* in 1641 resulted in the popularity of mad scenes, which were new to operatic productions.⁵³ The opera is set on the island of Skyros. The Greek ambassador Ulysses comes to the island together with Diomedes to seek Achilles, who has escaped the Trojan war. Achilles has disguised himself as a young woman and was hidden by his mother, Thetis (a nymph), in the women's quarters of the palace of Lycomedes, the king of the island. He is secretly in love with Lycomedes' daughter, Deidamia. Ulysses does, however, succeed in publicly exposing Achilles through a trick. Deidamia, at the thought of him abandoning her, pretends to be mad with grief to dissuade him from returning to war. As the *choro d'Isolani* sings, Deidamia's madness is 'Bellicosa pazzia' (warlike madness), presenting kaleidoscopic imagery, some of which refers to Achilles's forthcoming departure, such as images of war and references to the Trojan war. She also refers indirectly to their secret amorous affair and mentions mythic figures.⁵⁴

The mad scenes of *La finta pazza* show Saccati's musical creativity to illustrate the changeability of Deidamia's *pazzia*. Her music seems to reflect and embellish the poetic design to represent mutability.⁵⁵ For instance, the battle imagery begins with Deidamia's trumpet fanfare in arpeggio, soon followed in the canon by the other characters while the

⁵² Andrews, *The Commedia Dell'arte of Flaminio Scala*, 272.

⁵³ For more details about this opera, see Fausto Torrefranca and Theodore Baker, "Opera as a 'Spectacle for the Eye'," *The Musical Quarterly* 1, no.3 (1915): 436-52; Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Della 'Finta Pazza alla Veremonda': Storie di Febiarmonici," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 10 (1975): 379-454; Myron Schwager, "Public Opera and the Trials of the Teatro San Moisè," *Early Music* 14, no.3 (1986): 387-94; Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*; Rosand, "Operatic Madness," 241-48; Beth Glixon, "Private Life of Public Women: Prima Donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-Century Venice," *Music and Letter* 76, no.4 (1995): 509-31; Wendy Heller, "Reforming Achilles: Gender, 'opera seria' and the Rhetoric of the Enlightened Hero," *Early Music* 26, no.4 (1998): 562-81; Alm, "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence," 216-80; Roger Freitas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no.2 (2003): 196-249; Christopher Drew Armstrong, "Myth and the New Science: Vico, Tiepolo, and the Language of the *Optimates*," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005): 643-63; Nicola Michelassi, "La doppia finta pazza: un dramma veneziano in viaggio fra Italia e Francia" (PhD diss., Università degli studi di Firenze, 2013).

⁵⁴ Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, 63-72.

⁵⁵ I refer to part of the score of *La finta pazza* included in Rosand, "Operatic Madness," 248-54.

lower parts beat out of martial rhythm. The later part in the mad scene sees a shift from duple meter to triple metre for her pathetic lament in *versi sdrucchioli* (see Ex. 5.1 and 5.2).

Example 5.1 *La finta pazza*, Act II, scene xi, Deidamia's mad scene⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The scores of *La finta pazza* are cited from Rosand, "Operatic Madness," 241-87.

Example 5.2 *La finta pazza*, Act II, scene xi, Deidamia's mad scene

Then, Act II concludes with a *ballo* danced by madmen. According to the 'Argomento e scenario' (Argument and scenario), the nurse tries to tie up Deidamia, but the madmen help her escape. Deidamia then invites them to a *ballo* to rejoice at their victory.⁵⁷

Her madness continues in the following act. In Act III, scene iii, Deidamia shouts at her father: 'Alla caccia, alla caccia, al monte, al bosco/Atheon, Atheon/La lepre se ne va' (To the hunt, to the hunt, to the mountain, to the forest/Actaeon, Actaeon/the hare is leaving).⁵⁸ In the same act, scene vi, her feigned raving finally succeeds in appealing to the pity of Achilles.

Achilles:

E qual medica mano
rendere mai ti potrebbe

And what medical hand
could ever give you back

⁵⁷ Giulio Strozzi, *Argomento, e scenario della Finta pazza. Drama di Giulio Strozzi. Da rappresentarsi con solenne apparato di musiche, macchine, e scene, il presente Carnouale dell'anno mille e seicento quarantuno, nel Theatro Nouissimo della città di Venezia* (Venice: G. B. Surian, 1641), 17. I refer to Alm, "Winged Feet and Mute Eloquence," 246-7.

⁵⁸ Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, 76

il perduto discorso?	the lost discourse?
Deidamia:	
La man sola d'Acchille.	Only the hand of Achilles.
Achilles:	
Eccola pronta.	Here, it's ready.
Deidamia:	
Caro pegno di fede,	Dear pledge of faith,
fido albergo d'Amore,	I trust in the dwelling of Love,
io ti restringo pure, e pur son desta;	I hold you then, and thus I am awoken.
sì, sì che non ho pazzo	yes, yes, I do not have madness
che d'allegrezza il core. ⁵⁹	but rather a joyful heart.

Deidamia's response to Achilles's question about a remedy for her madness is deeply rooted in the medical tradition of the time because marriage, or more precisely, sexual intercourse, was a conventional treatment for female madness in early modern Italy, as discussed in Chapter 1. To cure the madness of his lover, Achilles gives her his hand in marriage.

In *La finta pazza*, Deidamia's mad scene plays double roles: first, it offers a liminoid space for Deidamia to transition from one status to another, to be more specific, from unmarried to married, and second Renzi could demonstrate her dramatic and musical virtuosity through its transitional state, which successfully impressed her performance of a feigned madwoman on the audience's mind. It has been discussed that the success of *La finta pazza* may have influenced the addition of mad scenes in the later productions, *Didone* and *La ninfa avara*.⁶⁰ Although the situation is more complex in *Le fortune*, Damira's feigned madness also provides a space for transition to restore her identities as consort and queen. Acting as a feigned madness could be a means of self-fashioning for the performer, Renzi. Women's role in dialogues appears to play an important role in setting the mad scene in this Venetian opera. In the following section, I will therefore discuss the relationship between women and speech, focusing on contemporary literature and parlour games.

⁵⁹ Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, 89.

⁶⁰ Ellen Rosand suggests that the mad scenes in *Didone* and *La ninfa avara* may have been added late following the success of *La finta pazza*. See Ellen Rosand, "The Opera Scenario, 1638-1655: A Preliminary Survey," in *In Cantu et in Sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, Italian Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2, eds. F. Della Seta and F. Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki and University of Western Australia Press, 1989, 341-2; and Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 122-3.

5.6 *Women's Speech in Early Modern Italy*

Numerous Renaissance treatises reiterated cultural conventions concerning women's silence. As often cited, in *De re uxoria (On Marriage)*, written in the early fifteenth century, the Venetian patrician Francesco Barbaro (1390–1454) introduced an episode in which a woman warned a man who stretched her arm outside her mantle in public. He then claims that '[I]t is proper, however, that not only arms but indeed also the speech of women never be made public; for the speech of a noble woman can be no less dangerous than the nakedness of her limbs'.⁶¹ Barbaro also refers to a phrase of Sophocles, that silence is 'the most outstanding ornament of women' and continues to state that 'women should believe they have achieved glory of eloquence if they will honour themselves with the outstanding ornament of silence'.⁶² The sixteenth-century conduct books continued to emphasize silence as a virtue of women.⁶³ In *La civil conversatione*, probably the most successful Italian conduct book written in the decades around 1600, Stefano Guazzo (1530–1593), a diplomat and author from Casale Monferrato, asserted that 'highly praised in a woman is that silence which so ornaments her and enhances her reputation for prudence'.⁶⁴ There was the social concern for its implicit association of women's speech in public with sexual deviancy. That is, in terms of bringing something inside out, the act of delivering her word was likened to that of exposing her body.⁶⁵ Ann Rosalind Jones has argued that 'the link between loose language and loose living arises from a basic association of women's bodies with their speech: a woman's accessibility to the social world beyond the household through speech was seen as intimately connected to the scandalous openness of her body'.⁶⁶ Another great concern was women's intervention in the sphere of politics through their speech. The study of rhetoric, which had a traditional relation with politics, was specifically recommended to be excluded from women's education.⁶⁷ Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444), a humanist scholar, proclaims the exclusion of women from the study of rhetoric in his treatise *De studiis et litteris*.⁶⁸ This

⁶¹ Benjamin G. Kohl, "Francesco Barbaro," in *The Earthly Republic: Italian Humanists on Government and Society*, eds. Benjamin G. Kohl et al. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 205.

⁶² Kohl, "Francesco Barbaro," 206.

⁶³ Ruth Kelso, *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 50-1, 100-1.

⁶⁴ "è sommamente lodato nella donna quel silenzio che tanto l'adorna e che tanto accresce l'opinione della sua prudenza." Stefano Guazzo, *La civil conversatione del sig. Stefano Guazzo gentiluomo di Casale di Monferrato. Divisa in quattro libri. ... All'illustriss. et eccellentiss. sig. Vespasiano Gonzaga* (Brescia: Tomaso Bozzola, 1574), 111v. Also see Ann Rosalind Jones, "Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth-Century Women's Lyrics," in *The Ideology of Conduct: Essays in Literature and the History of Sexuality*, eds. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (London: Routledge, 2014): 42-8.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 172-4.

⁶⁶ Ann Rosalind Jones, "Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women: Lyric," in *The Poetics of Gender*, ed. Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia University, 1986), 76.

⁶⁷ Horodowich, *Language and Statecraft*, 173.

⁶⁸ Virginia Cox, "Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric: De Studiis et Litteris Revisited," *Rhetorica* 27 (2009): 47-75.

idea is shared by the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540), one of the outstanding pedagogues of the sixteenth century and a very widely read author. His educational conduct advice focuses on the domestic roles of women and prevents them from the study of rhetoric; he states, ‘silence is the embellishment of matrons’.⁶⁹ Thus, along with various virtues expected for women, such as obedience or honesty, modesty was a desired quality not only of women’s conduct but also of their speech.⁷⁰

On the other hand, women had been participating in the public sphere, as musicians, singers, actresses, painters, or writers. For instance, women have appeared on the literary scene since the fifteenth century in Italy and displayed their intellectual and artistic capabilities through genres such as poetry, letters, religious narrative, chivalric romance, or correspondence.⁷¹ The recent study has explored female presence in early modern literary dialogues. Virginia Cox counts as ‘one of the great novelties of the early modern tradition of literary dialogue’ was ‘the incorporation of female speakers alongside male’.⁷² Female speakers have regularly appeared in Italian dialogue from the early sixteenth century. Women at court were expected to be witty and informed participants in the conversation, which was frequently about love.⁷³ In Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano*, women as the *donne di palazzo* who joined male courtiers in conversation remain demure throughout most of the text, their responses being witty and sophisticated.⁷⁴ Jones observes that Castiglione deliberately avoids sexual implications in speeches delivered by the ladies of Urbino.⁷⁵ In the early part of the Book one, Castiglione explains that a mixed-sex conversation was freely delivered solemnly, in deference to the Duchess:

... there was never agrement of wyll or hearty love greater betweene brethren, then was there beetweene us all. The lyke was beetweene the women, with whom we

⁶⁹ M, IV, 370; R,I, 1313 b. “Inter feminae tuae disciplinas silentium numerato, magnum sexus illius ornamentum,” cited from Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), 195.

⁷⁰ Kohl, “Francesco Barbaro,” 189-228. Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli, ed. *Women in Italy, 1350-1650: Ideals and Realities: A Sourcebook* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 142.

⁷¹ As for women’s writings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Virginia Cox, *Women’s Writing in Italy, 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Cox, “The Female Voice in Italian Renaissance Dialogue,” *MLN* 128, no.1 (2013): 53-78; Cox, *Prodigious Muse: Women’s Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Janet Smarr, *Joining the Conversation: Dialogues by Renaissance Women* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Meredith K. Ray, *Writing Gender in Women’s Letter Collections of the Italian Renaissance*. Toronto Italian Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

⁷² Cox, “The Female Voice,” 53.

⁷³ Jones, “Nets and Bridles,” 43.

⁷⁴ Virginia Cox indicates that women’s presence itself in a vernacular dialogue could be striking for contemporary readers. See Virginia Cox, “Seen But Not Heard: Women Speakers in Cinquecento Literary Dialogue,” in *Woman in Italian Renaissance Culture and Society*, ed. Letizia Panizza (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre, 2000), 386. “Where modern readers are struck by the silence of Castiglione’s women speakers, his contemporaries would have been more likely to be struck by the fact that there were women present at all.”

⁷⁵ Jones, “Nets and Bridles,” 44.

hadde such free and honest conversation, that every manne myght commune, syt, daly, and laugh with whom he had lusted. But such was the respect which we bore to the Dutchesse wyll, that the selfe same libertye was a very great bridle. Neither was there anye that thought it not the greatest pleasure he coulde have in the worlde, to please her, and the greatest grieffe to offende her. For this respecte were there most honest condicions coupled with wonderous greate libertye, and devises of pastimes and laughinge matters tempred in her sight, besyde most wyttye jestes, with so comelye and grave a majesty.⁷⁶

While there were some paradoxes and dilemmas for courtly women between silence and eloquence, the equality of women with men in the discourse was thus affirmed (at least in principle) by sympathetic contemporary men of letters. The audacious acts of women writers could easily become the object of accusation, so that it may have been necessary for women to enact obedience and humility to expectations for them to defend themselves and remain to be involved in a culture dominated by men.⁷⁷ Cox, on the other hand, cites positive instances of female public speakers in Roman history and their successors in fifteenth-century Italy and suggests that '[w]hile moral concerns certainly existed regarding women and speech, staged and officially sanctioned displays of female eloquence were clearly socially and morally acceptable'.⁷⁸

This accommodating attitude toward women was more apparent, particularly in the Sienese game culture. Following the Accademia degli Intronati, Girolamo Bargagli's *Il Dialogo* aims to encourage women to display their wit and express themselves, beyond their conventional norm of modesty. In the context of the Intronati, men would sometimes take on the role of supporting women, who were not accustomed to speaking in public, for instance, by whispering suggestions. George W. McClure refers to the commedia dell'arte in terms of this energetic participation by women. '[I]n contrast to the largely silent, passive women in Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*, Bargagli's ludic women may and should perform with brio in these polite games, just as they are beginning to appear in the commedia

⁷⁶ “. . . mai non fu concordia di volontà o amore cordiale tra fratelli maggior di quello, che quivi tra tutti era. Il medesimo era tra le donne, con le quali si aveva liberissimo ed onestissimo commercio; ché a ciascuno era licito parlare, sedere, scherzare e ridere con chi gli pareva: ma tanta era la reverenzia che si portava al voler della signora Duchessa, che la medesima libertà era grandissimo freno; né era alcuno che non estimasse per lo maggior piacere che al mondo aver potesse il compiacere a lei, e la maggior pena il dispiacerle. Per la qual cosa quivi onestissimi costumi erano con grandissima libertà congiunti ed erano i giochi e i risi al suo conspetto conditi, oltre agli argutissimi sali, d'una graziosa e grave maestà . . .”. Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, Libro Primo, Capitolo IV. As for translation, see Castiglione, *The Courtyer of Count Baldessar Castilio*.

⁷⁷ Jones, “Nets and Bridles,” 40.

⁷⁸ Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, 9.

dell'arte'. McClure indicates that Sodo, a narrator of *Il Dialogo*, recounts that these professional comedy troupes inspired him to create a Game of Comedy and emphasizes the role of women 'as performers, not just spectators'.⁷⁹ The surviving records show that parlour games were also played in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Veneto. In Treviso in 1610, the poet Guido Casoni (1561–1642) directed the performance of some *giuochi d'ingegno*, games of the Sienese type.⁸⁰ While Marino Grimani (1532–1605) was a doge from 1595 to 1605, there were several plays performed at the banquets. The plays were written possibly by Enea Piccolomini of Siena and originated from the Sienese game model.⁸¹

In the latter decades of the sixteenth century, Venice and the Veneto became important sites for women's writing in Italy.⁸² As introduced in Chapter 2, Isabella Andreini produced a pastoral play and lyric poetry while working as an actress in the commedia dell'arte. Not a few women writers of the era produced important bodies of work and were acknowledged in their own time: Maddalena Campiglia (1553–1595), Valeria Miani Negri (1563–1620), Veronica Franco (1546–1591), besides Moderata Fonte, born Modesta Pozzo (1555–1592), and Lucrezia Marinella (1571–1653). Some of their activities developed in the context of a constant debate known as the *querelle des femmes*, literally meaning 'dispute of women'. This intellectual debate on the nature of women was initially advanced by women of the higher ranks in fifteenth-century France, most notably the French poetess Christine de Pizan, who published *Le Livre de la Cité des Dames (The Book of the City of Ladies)* in 1405.⁸³ The repercussions of this dispute also spread throughout other European countries and continued for centuries, attempting to defend women against the long-standing notion that women were intrinsically inferior to men. Since the mid-1580s, the *querelles des femmes* had risen once again to prominence in the literary academies of the mainland Veneto. Fonte and Marinella were the most notable figures in this feminist movement. Their treatises appeared in response to Giuseppe Passi's diatribe against women in *I donneschi difetti (Of Feminine Defects)*, published in 1599. Marinella published her *La nobiltà et l'eccellenza delle donne co' diffetti et mancamenti de gli uomini (The Nobility and Excellence of Women, and the Defects and Vices of Men)* in 1600, in which she theoretically develops her argument

⁷⁹ McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women*, 55-80.

⁸⁰ Haar, "On Musical Games," 24, n.13.

⁸¹ Jonathan Shiff, "Enea Piccolomini in Venice: Sienese Games and the Grimani Banquet Plays," *Italica* 70, no. 3 (1993): 329-46.

⁸² Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, 121.

⁸³ Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Theory and the "Querelle des Femmes", 1400-1789," *Signs* 8, no.1 (1982): 4-28.

about the equality, if not superiority, of women to male counterparts in value and nobility.⁸⁴

Fonte's *Il merito delle donne* was published posthumously in the same year by her mentor and friend, Giovanni Niccolò Doglioni (1548–1629). In a dialogue among seven female characters that represent different stages of women's social life—maidens, wives, and widows—Fonte highlighted women's achievements and worth and criticized laws and customs that oppress women.⁸⁵ In *Il merito delle donne*, Fonte presents a discussion among female speakers on marriage.⁸⁶ Cornelia describes how in married life 'one finds the misery of being more subjected than ever, and confined between walls like beasts; it is as if one is placed not under a dear husband, but an odious guardian'.⁸⁷ Then she concludes, 'Admire what a great achievement of a woman is marriage; to lose her possessions, lose herself, and gain nothing other than children, who give her travails, and the rule of a man, who dominates her will'.⁸⁸ In the later dialogue, two experienced women, a mother and a queen, teach unmarried young women how to act with great tact in their relations with an abusive husband. For example, if he is arrogant, she should be humble and treat him with blandishments. If he is strict, she should be patient and tolerant. A woman is advised to master tactics to handle her husband with diplomacy to reestablish harmony in their conjugal relationship.⁸⁹ Women's initiative in marital relationships is suggested in *Della dignità, e nobiltà delle donne*, written by the courtier and profeminist Cristoforo Bronzini (c. 1580–1640):

The remedy and the true way to control strange and choleric husbands is wife's challenge to imitate a physician, to cure the husband's defects with contrary medicine; therefore if he is cruel and imperious, it is appropriate to control him with humility; and if he shouts, a wife should keep silent, since the reaction of wise women is silence; and wait to speak, and declare her will to the husband, when he has a tranquil mind.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Paola Malpezzi Price and Christine Ristaino, *Lucrezia Marinella and the "Querelle des Femmes" in Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Madison; Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), Chapter 5.

⁸⁵ Paola Malpezzi Price "Moderata Fonte (1555-1592)," in *Italian Women Writers: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. Rinaldina Russell (Westport; Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1994), 128-37. Cox, *Prodigious Muse*, 236-49.

⁸⁶ As for a discussion on marriage in Fonte's *Il merito delle donne*, see Paola Malpezzi Price, "A Woman's Discourse in the Italian Renaissance: Moderate Fonte's 'Il merito delle donne'," *Annali d'Italianistica* 7 (1989): 174.

⁸⁷ "si trovano le misere esser più soggette, che mai; & a guida di bestie, confinate tra le mura, essersi sotto poste in vece d'un caro marito, ad un odioso guardiano." Fonte, *Il merito delle donne*, 27.

⁸⁸ "Mirate, che bella ventura d'una Donna è il maritarsi; perder la robba, perder se stessa, e non acquistar nulla se non li figliuoli, che le danno travaglio, e l'impero d'un huomo, che la domini a sua voglia." Fonte, *Il merito delle donne*, 59.

⁸⁹ Fonte, *Il merito delle donne*, 146-47. As for the translation, I refer to Rogers and Tinagli, *Women in Italy, 1350-1650*, 140-142.

⁹⁰ "Il rimedio, e vero modo di vincere i Mariti strani, e colerici è, che la Moglie s'ingegni ad imitazione de' Medici, di curare i difetti del Marito con medicine contrarie; Onde s'egli è crudo, & imperioso, conuiene vincerlo con l'umiltà; e se egli grida, ella taccia, perche la risposta delle saggie Donne è il silenzio; & aspetti à parlare, & à dichiarargli la volontà sua, quando egli haverà l'Animo tranquillo." Daniela Hacke has also cited this part, but until the phrase "la risposta delle saggie Donne

Like Fonte, Bronzini suggests that a wife can have the initiative in their marital relationship. The way to ‘control’ the husband is to take a contrary reaction to his behaviours, thereby neutralizing temperaments and leading to harmony in the household. Bronzini also emphasises the importance of equality in a conjugal relationship in bringing concord both in the family and the state.⁹¹

After the first opera house opened in 1637 in Venice, opera became an important means of representing the *Serenissima* and women, sometimes gloriously and at other times satirically. A prime example is *Il Bellerofonte*, composed by Francesco Saccati based on a libretto by Vincenzo Nolfi. It was performed in Venice in 1642, starring Renzi as the prima donna. In the prologue, Innocence, Neptune, and Astrea sing to admire the *Serenissima*, against the scene of the port in the city of Patara.⁹² They conclude the prologue with a hymn to Venice.

<p>Città sopra qualunque il mondo ammira saggia ricca e gentile, son de le tue grandezze un’ombra vile sparta Atene, e Stagira quindi vedranno i secoli futuri correre à i lidi tui gonfio di lume per tributarti il Ciel converso in fiume.⁹³</p>	<p>City above anything the world admires wise, rich and gentle, a humble shadow of your greatnesses are Sparta, Athens and Stagira therefore they will in future centuries run to your beaches inflamed with light as tribute to you the sky is transformed into a river.</p>
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The Venetian opera is a seasonal entertainment that appeals to a wide public. Beth and Jonathan Glixon state ‘a successful operatic season reinforced the status of the city (and not just its patrician rulers) as the entertainment capital of Europe’.⁹⁴ Presenting women on stage is essential for its commercial appeal. It was also an opportunity to examine the position of women in society, which had already been discussed in a vast array of treatises regarding women, from their training and education to their virtues and vices, part of which

è il silenzio.” Cristoforo Bronzini, *Della dignità, e nobiltà delle donne. Dialogo di Cristofano Bronzini d’Ancona. Settimane seconda, e giornate ottava. alle ss. spose novelle* (Florence: Simone Ciotti, 1628), 82. See Daniela Hacke, *Women, Sex, and Marriage in Early Modern Venice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 122.

⁹¹ Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 268.

⁹² See Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*; Rosand, “Music in the Myth of Venice,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 536-37.

⁹³ Vincenzo Nolfi, *Il Bellerofonte drama musicale del signor Vincenzo Nolfi da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Novissimo di Venetia l’anno 1642* (Venice: G. B. Surian, 1642), 21.

⁹⁴ Glixon and Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera*, 322.

was discussed above.⁹⁵ Whereas operatic heroines could be iconic symbols of the Republic, they sometimes became paradoxal.

L'incoronazione di Poppea was probably controversial since the victory was allotted to Nero and Poppea, despite Ottavia's legitimate efforts to protect the country and her marital status. Fenlon and Miller consider the opera as approving of Stoicism because Ottavia's fate was caused by her rejection of Seneca's advice.⁹⁶ Ellen Rosand counters this interpretation by pointing out that Seneca's ineffective and repressive Stoic preaching lacked compassion for Ottavia.⁹⁷ Ottavia unable to suppress her emotion after Seneca's death, attempts to murder Poppea but fails to overturn her fate. Ottavia sings in a sombre and poignant mode, in contrast to Poppea's unhesitating arias with alluring chromaticism and flourishing melismas. Rosand observes that Ottavia's attempt to control herself results in an upsurge of emotion.⁹⁸ Ottavia's distinction is defined by Heller as her 'bemoaning not only her own fate but also that of the entire female sex' with her cry 'o delle donne miserabil sesso'.⁹⁹

As for a woman's rhetoric in politics, Agrippina, the mother of Nero, takes a significant role although she is not highlighted in Busenello's and Monteverdi's *Le incoronazione di Poppea*. Her political competence, strength, and courage were praised, but they were also recognised as sins as they were virtues in and for men. In Venice, where the government's exclusive nature regulated individual power and regarded it as a threat, Agrippina's manoeuvring for power was received with admiration and anxiety.¹⁰⁰ The Venetian Patrician Pietro Angelo Zaguri emphasised Agrippina's politics in his two plays *La messalina* and *Le gelosie politiche e amoroso*. They were presented privately in 1656 and published in 1657.¹⁰¹

Women's speech was the object of restriction as well as that of admiration. In *Le fortune*, Damira confronts the crisis of her married life—that is, of her reign. In her mad performance, Damira's speech works splendidly to restore her honour and love. Meanwhile, the role with multiple identities provides Renzi with an opportunity to present her renowned talent as a singer-actress. The following sections explore how Damira's speech and music

⁹⁵ More discussions, see Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*.

⁹⁶ Iain Fenlon and Peter N. Miller. *The Song of the Soul: Understanding "Poppea"*, Royal Musical Association Monographs 5 (London: Royal Musical Association, 1992), 90.

⁹⁷ Ellen Rosand, "Seneca and the Interpretation of 'L'incoronazione di Poppea'," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38, no.1 (1985): 46.

⁹⁸ See Ellen Rosand, "Monteverdi's Mimetic Art: L'incoronazione di Poppea," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1, no. 2 (1989): 126; Ellen Rosand, "Operatic Ambiguities and the Power of Music," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no. 1 (1992): 78-9. Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 144.

⁹⁹ Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 139.

¹⁰⁰ Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 149.

¹⁰¹ Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, Chapter 7.

work through her feigned madness.

5.7 *The Rhetoric of Damira's Madness*

When she learns of the wedding of Rodope and her husband, Damira decides to retrieve both her status as queen and the love of her husband. Overall, her objective is not to accuse him on his face nor to raise sympathy, but through her madness to prompt her husband to recognize his own fault and repent. To achieve this purpose, Damira imposes a double twist upon her identity, first by adopting the persona of Fidalba and secondly that of a madwoman. This subtly veils her true identity as queen, allowing her to challenge her husband's behavior without doing so as his wife. In the following, I will investigate in particular detail three scenes in which Damira feigns madness to regain her status and honor by means of euphemistic declarations and explain the ways in which Ziani's music supports her scheme.

The first scene takes place in Act II, scene x. In reward for saving him, the King Creonte invites Bato, Nerina, and Damira (as Fidalba) to his court. When they arrive, Damira's appearance surprises her husband: 'If Damira was not buried/By the voracious whirlpools/Of the Nile,/Now confused I would say/She is my wife'.¹⁰² Rodope however persuades him not to be deceived by the similarity. Furious with Creonte's affection for Rodope, Damira decides to pretend to be mad:

No 'l permetterò mai	I will never allow it
Stolta mi fingerò,	I will pretend to be fool, ¹⁰³
Così indegni imenei perturberò.	Thus will I disturb the shameful nuptials.
Ferma signor, che fai?	Stop sir, what are you doing?
In qual legge d'Egito	In which law of Egypt,
Dimmi o re trovi scritto,	Tell me oh king[,] do you find it written
Che ad un'huomo lascivo	That to a lascivious man
Per poter satollar	To be able to sate
L'ingorde voglie	Greedy desires
Sia concesso l'haver	It is permitted to have
Più d'una moglie? ¹⁰⁴	More than one wife?

¹⁰² Aureli, *Le fortune*, 55. Act II, scene x. "Se non fosse del Nilo/Entro i gorgi voraci/Sepellita Damira/Hor confuso direi/È mia moglie costei."

¹⁰³ According to *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, *stolto* also means *pazzo*, *sciocco*, *di poco senno*. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*. December 24, 2018, http://vocabolario.sns.it/html/_s_index2.html

¹⁰⁴ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56. Act II, scene x.

Damira brings up Egyptian law and asks Creonte if he is ‘permitted to have more than one wife’, thereby pointing out euphemistically but exactly Creonte’s duty as both king and husband. The scene is set in Egypt, but the content reflects the social context of early modern Italy. The dissolubility of marriage was strongly opposed in the Tridentine rules because it betrays permanent union made before God, which is grounded in Matthew 19:6—‘What God has joined together, no man may put asunder’.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, Damira’s reference to the Egyptian law implies Creonte’s infidelity toward her and the church.

Example 5.3 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene x, Damira’s mad scene, bb. 42-49

In the score, the phrase ‘Ferma signor’ (Stop sir) signals her interruption with a change of key and a descending leap from d’ to a. It takes those present by surprise because she is a farm girl. To their ears, therefore, she is just ‘ranting and raving’ (Che vaneggia costei?).¹⁰⁶ The inconsistency created by her double disguise makes people consider that the ‘Poor woman goes mad (Miserella è impazzita)’, as Creonte utters.¹⁰⁷

Then, Damira suddenly celebrates the forthcoming nuptial between Rodope and Creonte in an elegant d-minor; however, this aria-like passage strikes the ear ironically considering her contrary intention.

Damira:

Tra nozze sì liete
Si suoni, si canti,

Through such happy nuptials
People play, people sing,

¹⁰⁵ Ferraro, *Marriage Wars*, 4.

¹⁰⁶ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56. Act II, scene x.

¹⁰⁷ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56. Act II, scene x.

Allegri, e festanti
 Ò sposi godete.¹⁰⁸

Cheerful, and festive
 Oh joyful newlyweds.

63

Damira

Trà no - zze sì lie - te si suo-ni si suo-ni si can -

67

- - ti si suo - ni si can - ti al - le - gri è fes

Example 5.4 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene x, Damira's first mad scene, bb. 63-70

Noteworthy is Ziani's musical treatment for this part. He increases the texture of the accompaniment, something which can only be seen in a few scenes: Damira's suffering from her cruel fate (Act I, scene v), Bato's delight in finding relief from his labour (Act I, scene vii), Nigrane's longing for Rodope (Act III, scene v), Damira's triumphant aria to declare her survival (Act II, scene xiv), and here. The first three scenes self-contentedly depict their sentiments, whereas the latter two parts, in which Damira is pretending madness, are more intended to create a dramatic effect. Indeed, Damira's false sentiment in the quartet tugs at the heartstrings of Rodope and Creonte. Although they had doubted her sanity a moment before, they joyfully responded in a duet to her mock celebration lured by her aria-like

¹⁰⁸ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56. Act II, scene x.

passage. Yet, Damira's abrupt halt in triple metre chills their complacency.

Rodope and Creonte:

Godiamo sì godiamo,	We are content, yes we are content,
E le destre accoppiamo.	And we join our right hands

Damira:

Fermate,	Stop,
Che fate?	What are you doing?
Fermate.	Stop,
In onta di Damira	In disgrace of Damira
A nove nozze aspiri ò Rè crudele,	You aspire to new nuptials, oh cruel king,
Al suo bello infedele	Unfaithful to her beauty
Tenti novi himenei?	You attempt new nuptials?
Fulminatelo ò Dei. ¹⁰⁹	May the gods strike you down.

¹⁰⁹ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56. Act II, scene x.

81 Rodope

Creonte Go-dia-mo sì go - dia-mo go - dia - mo sì go - dia - mo go - dia - mo sì

Go-dia-mo sì go - dia-mo go - dia - mo sì go -

84

e le des - tre le des-tre_a coppia - mo

Damira dia-mo e le des-tre_a coppia - mo Fer-ma-te Fer - ma-te che fa -

89

- te fer - ma - te fer-ma - te In on-ta di Da-mi - ra

Example 5.5 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene x, duet of Rodope and Creonte, and Damira's interruption, bb. 81-93.

The name of Damira engenders suspicion among those present. In her following speeches, Damira seems to be getting closer the heart of the matter, but when Creonte questions her, she returns to oracular ambiguity:

Damira:

Viva ancora è colei, che credi estinta,

She is still alive, who you believe to be dead,

È qui presente

She is here present.

Creonte:

Ov'è?

Where is she?

Damira:

Colà dipintà.¹¹⁰

Painted there.

109 Damira
Viva ancora e colei che cre-di-e-stin-ta e qui pre-sen-te Ov'è co-la di-pin-ta

Creonte
Ov'è

Damira
co-la di-pin-ta

Example 5.6 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene x, first dialogue between Damira and Creonte, bb. 109-114

I argue that her scheme launches at full scale here, by returning to seemingly evasive or cryptic responses that, on the contrary, are figuratively precise and direct. In her feigned madness, Damira's tactics to achieve her purpose to disturb the 'illicit' marriage are conducted around two leitmotifs in particular: the portrait and mythology.

Damira's reference to the phrase 'Painted there' is a portrait of herself painted by Erpago. It is on the wall in the courtyard of the royal palace and depicts Damira's misadventure in the Nile. This portrait has already appeared in Act I, scene xiii, where Creonte apprehensively hesitates to marry Rodope:

Rodope:

Che ti turba mio Rè?

What disturbs you [,] my king?

Creonte:

Stravagante caduta,

Outlandish outcome,

Portentosi accidenti

Extraordinary accidents

Prodigiosi portenti,

Prodigious miracles,

S'animano le tele

The canvases come to life

Per turbar le miei gioie, ed un ritratto

To disturb my joys, and a portrait

Su le dolcezze mie vomita il fele.

Vomits evil on my good mood.

Benché estinta Damira

Although Damira is dead

Invida a miei contenti anco in pittura:

She envies my contentment still in paint

Le mie delizie funestar procura.¹¹¹

Tries to sadden my delights.

¹¹⁰ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 56-7. Act II, scene x.

¹¹¹ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 33-34. Act I, scene xiii.

Soon after this scene, in front of the very portrait, Lerino sings a solo, which includes a profound remark on the difference between a woman and a painting. For him, a painting is similar to a woman in every part except that the former is art to be enjoyed with the eyes, whereas the latter is nature to be enjoyed with ears and hands.¹¹²

The resemblance between a portrait and a sitter was much discussed in accounts of portraiture in Renaissance Italy. At the beginning of Book II of *On Painting*, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) comments on the portraits of antiquity: ‘Painting contains a divine force which not only makes men present, as friendship is said to do, but moreover makes the dead seem almost alive. Even after many centuries they are recognized with great pleasure and with great admiration for the painter ... the face of a man who is already dead certainly lives a long life through painting’.¹¹³ Portraits were employed originally to commemorate the dead, but by the late fifteenth century, portraiture also embraced living women, their status, important events, and beauty.¹¹⁴ A portrait does not only resemble a sitter, but presents an idealized view of the sitter. In other words, portraits could be a means of fashioning their identities.¹¹⁵ Portraits of women in the fifteenth-century courts and in Florence, for example, stressed family lineage.¹¹⁶ In sixteenth-century sources, there is a large group of paintings identified by the term *ritratto* (portrait), which portray beautiful and erotic women with flowers, which represent the pleasures of love. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, this genre was popular in Venice and also in Milan and Rome.¹¹⁷ One of the most famous portraits is *La Bella* created by Titian in 1536. It depicts a young, beautiful woman in an elegant blue dress, whose hairdo implies that she might be a newlywed bride. However, the absence of a wedding ring suggests instead that she was a courtesan. Partridge reads in this portrait a tension between erotic seduction and chaste virtue.¹¹⁸ Tinagli argues that unlike their Florentine equivalents, Venetian female portraits represent ‘types rather than individuals’. They ‘play with the senses of the beholder—with touch as well as sight’.¹¹⁹

¹¹² Aureli, *Le fortune*, 34-35. Act I, scene xiv.

¹¹³ “Percioche ella ha veramente in se una forza molto divina; non solo, perche come dicono de l’amicitia, la pittura ci faccia esser presenti quei, che sono absent, ma perche anchora rappresenta a i vivi quei, che son morti dopo lunghi secoli; accioche siano conosciuti con gran maraviglia de l’artifice, & piacere di quei, che veggono ... A questo modo i volti dei morti per mezzo de la pittura in un certo modo vivono una vita molto lunga.” Leon Battista Alberti, *La pittura* (Vinegia: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1547), 18. The translation is cited from Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. John Richard Spencer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 63.

¹¹⁴ Paola Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art: Gender Representation and Identity* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 47-84.

¹¹⁵ Mary Rogers ed. *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art* (London: Routledge, 2019).

¹¹⁶ Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art*, 49.

¹¹⁷ Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art*, 98-101.

¹¹⁸ Loren W Partridge, *Art of Renaissance Venice, 1400-1600* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 246-7.

¹¹⁹ Tinagli, *Women in Italian Renaissance Art*, 103.

Figure 5.4. Titian, *La Bella*, c. 1536. Galleria Palatina, Florence.

In *Le fortune*, Damira's portrait is called most frequently *ritratto* and sometimes *dipinto* or *imago*. The libretto tells us little about the painting, other than that it 'shows the accident that occurred to Damira in the Nile' (*dipinto si vede l'accidente occorso a Damira nel Nilo*).¹²⁰ Other information is available only from the characters' reactions to the portrait. For Damira, it represents 'The miserable and severe story/Of my tragic fates' (*De miei casi funesti/L'istoria miserabile, e severa*);¹²¹ for Creonte, 'Miserable, and sad portrait' (*Ritratto miserabile, e funesto*);¹²² for Rodope, 'This abhorrent, and in my view adverse image' (*Quest'haborrita, e à me contraria imago*);¹²³ and for Lerino, 'Cursed portrait' (*Maledetto ritratto*).¹²⁴ Damira's portrait commemorates the late queen, but in the Venetian *ritratto*, it evokes pity or antipathy rather than pleasure or admiration. The painting could have an additional impact on Creonte because it implies his betrayal, and with it a crisis of the lineal and conjugal bond that his wife represented. The appearance of Damira in Act II, scene x obviously gives to Creonte an illusion that her portrait had come to life. As will become apparent later, the double presence of Damira in art and nature will turn into an impetus to overturn the situation as the drama proceeds. Given that there is no mention of the use of a portrait in the previous studies, it was presumably a rare treatment in contemporary operatic mad scenes and a creative device of the librettist to create a psychological confusion by visual illusions.

¹²⁰ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 44. Act II, scene i.

¹²¹ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 44. Act II, scene i.

¹²² Aureli, *Le fortune*, 73. Act III, scene iii.

¹²³ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 71. Act III, scene i.

¹²⁴ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 34. Act I, scene xiv.

The other leitmotif in Damira's madness is mythology, as I have already discussed, a theme often deployed by mad characters on Italian stages. In the following conversation in Act II, scene x, Damira brings out this orthodox motif when she responds to Creonte:

Creonte:

Chi sei?

Who are you?

Rodope:

Ciò tu li chiedi?

You ask her that?

È una pazza, non vedi?

She is a madwoman, can't you see?

Damira:

Chi son? Non mi conosci?

Who am I? Don't you know me?

Son tua moglie, e Regina

I am your wife, and queen

De gli astri, che abbandoni

Of the stars, whom you abandoned

Mio supremo Tonante, io son Giunone.¹²⁵ My supreme thunderer, I am Juno.¹²⁶

Juno is, of course, the wife of Jupiter, who suffers from her husband's infidelity. Creonte has in fact described himself as Jupiter in the previous Act.¹²⁷ Thus, Damira cloaks her criticism of Creonte's unfaithfulness in a mythological metaphor and one that glorifies Creonte just as it accuses him. But the strategy functions ambiguously because the mythological reference also signals her insanity. In this way, Damira manages to conceal her identity and intention while insinuating Damira's presence into Creonte's mind.

Damira's music in this scene moves among various musical forms from aria-like passages, to arioso, and recitative. The point is that this is not a reflection of Damira's disturbed condition, but rather her *imitation* of such a condition that plays a part in her stratagem in disturbing the marriage. Importantly, her lines relating to the portrait and mythology are delivered only in recitative, which clearly conveys Damira's rhetorical statements. This approach appears to be successful in putting Creonte and Rodope into a mentally unstable position. Creonte warns of the infectiousness of Damira's madness: 'If we dwell here any longer, I am not sure if we too will go mad' (Se più qui dimoriamo/Dubito, ch'ancor noi seco impazziamo).¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 57. Act II, scene x.

¹²⁶ "My supreme thunder" indicates Creonte as Jupiter as thunder is a symbol of Jupiter.

¹²⁷ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 36. Act I, scene xvi. After he finds Nigrane and Brenno being in love with Rodope, Creonte warns them, calling himself Jupiter: 'Tanti fulmini Giove/Non ha per saettar i rei viventi' (Jupiter does not have/Many thunders to shoot the liaving offenders).

¹²⁸ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 58. Act II, scene x.

120 Creonte Rodope Damira

Chisei? Cìò tu li chiedi È una pazza non ve-di? Chison? non mi co-

124

no - sci? Son tua mo - glie, e re - gi - na de - gli as tri che ab - ban -

127

do - ni mio su - pre - mo to - nan - te, io son Giu - no - ne

Example 5.7 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene x, first dialogue between Damira, and Creonte, bb. 120-129

Damira's rhetorical madness continues in Act II, scene xiv, where she encounters Creonte and Lerio. Damira addresses Lerio as 'murderous Mercury, the lascivious messenger of my great Jupiter' (Mercurio assassino/Del mio Gran Giove Messagier lascivo) and asks him about her own tomb.¹²⁹ Damira jubilantly sings the following C major aria in triple metre in response to Lerio's answer that the queen was drowned in the Nile:

Damira:

Fate tutti allegrezza	Make everyone cheerful
È viva Damira,	Damira is alive,
Quest'aura respira.	She breathes this air.
Son vane le doglie,	The sorrows are useless
È pazzo chi accoglie	It is mad to accept
Nel cor la tristezza,	Sadness into the heart,

¹²⁹ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 61. Act II, scene xiv.

Fate tutti allegrezza.¹³⁰

Make everyone cheerful.

31

Damira

Fa-te tu-tti_a lle - gre-zza Fa-te tu-tti_a lle-gre-zza È

36

vi - va Da - mi - ra que - st'au-ra res - pi - ra Da-mi - ra que - st'au-ra res - pi - ra

Example 5.8 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene xiv, Damira's solo, bb. 31-42

Unlike the previous mad scene, this aria-like passage does not engender uncertainty in the audience. Creonte and Lerino are simply amazed, uttering 'Poor delirious woman' (Povera delirante) and 'What nonsense' (Quante sciocchezze), respectively.¹³¹ Damira then declares in recitative style: 'You will have me in the eyes, if you do not have me in the heart' (M'havrai ne gli occhi, se non m'hai nel core).¹³² Indeed, seeing the portrait and Fidalba, both of which so much resemble his dead wife, Creonte begins to repent his past conduct. It is also worth noting that Creonte describes his own mental turmoil as imbued with madness: 'In my confusion I believe, that we have been infected with this madness (A mia confusion

¹³⁰ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 62. Act II, scene xiv.

¹³¹ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 62. Act II, scene xiv.

¹³² Aureli, *Le fortune*, 62. Act II, scene xiv.

credo, che abbiate/In questa pazza infusa)'.¹³³

Act III, scene iv, illustrates the final encounter between Creonte and Damira as a feigned madwoman. Aureli wrote the scene for dramatic effect in a way which obscures the distinction between reality and appearance.¹³⁴ Following the previous scene in which Creonte is soliloquizing Damira's illusion in front of her portrait, Damira talks to Creonte, entering the stage as if she had walked out of the painting, something that can be deduced from Creonte's response: 'Do I speak to the paints, and am I a friend of ghosts?' (Parlo ai colori, e son dell'ombre amico?). Creonte tries to leave for Rodope, but Damira holds him back. She comes to the reality beyond the painting, and Creonte realizes that he is talking with the madwoman. Damira then employs the aforementioned leitmotifs: reference to the portrait and mythological metaphor, with the story of Olimpia this time, a princess of Holland abandoned by her lover Bireno, as told in canto 9 in Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. Whether astonished, embarrassed, or indifferent, Creonte just utters 'Stravagante pazzia' (Extravagant madness). Damira finally declares what is on her mind: 'No, no, you will not be/A spouse of the other, oh cruel exterior, you will be mine' (No, no, che non sarai/Sposo d'altre o crudel fuor, che di me). In Aureli's libretto, in Act III, scene xx, Damira reveals her true identity and tragically asks Creonte to kill her if he will not accept her as his wife.¹³⁵ But Ziani removed the scene and instead put at the climax in this opera a transformation of Damira from a portrait and a madwoman to her true self, delivered in a recitative.

¹³³ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 73-5. Act II, scene iv.

¹³⁴ The scene in Ziani's score is shortened almost by half with preserving an essential structure.

¹³⁵ "Ombra non son, nè meno/Fidalba di costei figlia supposta/Son Damira, che vive .../Prima a scordarti d'essermi consorte/E poi dammi la morte." (I am not a shadow, neither/Fidalba of his supposed daughter/I am Damira, who is alive ... Before forgetting that I am your consort/and then give me the death). Aureli, *Le fortune*, 91. Act III, scene xx.

Damira

Cie - lo che sem pre in fes - to Al vi-ver mio t'a-ggi - ri e quan-do ohi mè

4 Creonte

ec - co l'empio che fo de-ggiosco prir-mi o no Sven tu - ra - ta Da-

8 Damira Creonte

mi-ra Lacri - me vo-le o gge-tto Cru-del Che di-co Par lo ai co-

14 Damira

lo - ri e son dell' om - bre a-mi-co Ro-dope a te ne ven - go Dimmiti

20 Creonte

pre-go ca-ro A - pe - lle gent - il, che da-ma è ques-ta? Se con dar - la con vie-ne

Example 5.9 *Le fortune*, Act III, scene iii, second dialogue between Damira and Creonte, bb. 1-24

It is of great interest that Damira deliberately avoids the use of *versi sdrucchioli* as a framework to refer to madness. Indeed, her lines are generally delivered in *verso piano* or *verso tronco*. This becomes particularly evident when we analyse a *ballo* scene at the end of Act II. Sicandro informs Damira, Bato and Nerina of an incursion of madmen, and it is he, not Damira, who speaks in *versi sdrucchioli*. Furthermore, Damira initially runs away, and only Bato is left behind, surrounded by a troop of madmen:

Sicandro:

Fuggite rapidi	Run away rapidly
Lunge di qui.	Far from here.
Diversi stolidi,	Several fools,
Che l'orme seguono	Are following the track
Di questa misera	Of this miserable woman
Qua se ne vengono:	Here if they come:
Se qui vi trovano	If they find you here
Dar vi potrebbero	They could give you
Le loro insanie	Their insanities
Qualche molestia	Some trouble
In questo dì.	In this day.
Fuggite rapidi	Run away rapidly
Lunge di qui. ¹³⁶	Far from here.

Fake identities, contradictory statements, mythological references, and musical changeability all contribute to Damira's feigned madness. On the other hand, her poetic meter underlines her constant sanity. Unlike Ottavia, Damira's music is not disturbed by her passion. On the contrary, she rationally controls both her music and her situation. Her feigned madness agitates others and confuses the boundary between those who are mad and those who are not. Interestingly enough, Damira's disorderly state finally creates order in her marital relationship, family lineage, and ultimately, the kingdom.

Renzi's acting with multiple identities, in addition to the mad scenes, is another highlight of *Le fortune*. In some settings, the audience noticed a shadow of another character in the character performing in front of them. In Act I, scene v, on the condition that Damira as the consort, was believed to be drowned, she first appears under the disguise of Fidalba and laments her misfortune.

¹³⁶ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 68-9. Act II, scene xxi.

The image displays a musical score for a vocal solo. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom three are piano accompaniment. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system shows the beginning of the phrase, and the second system continues it. The lyrics are: "Che che mi gio - va e - sser Re - i - na che che mi gio - va che mi gio - va e - sser Re".

Example 5.10 *Le fortune*, Act I, scene v, Damira's solo, bb. 1-8

The other scene in which Damira plays two different identities is in Act II, scene xx, where Damira as a farmer girl Fidalba acts as a feigned madwoman in front of her adoptive parents, Bato and Nina. In a friendly manner, differing from the way that she uses her deliberate tactics for Creonte, Damira mocks her adoptive father. She calls Bato 'My Theseus' (Mio Teseo), Dido's treacherous lover. But it soon turns out to be a parody, as Bato responds, 'What Theseus? Eh, I am Bato' (Che Teseo? Eh, ch'io son Bato).¹³⁷ Unlike the scenes thus far, Damira's intention does not lie in arousing disturbance and uncertainty, but simply provoking puzzlement. Damira then laughs at Bato, calling him 'Curious Actaeon' (Curioso Atheone), which makes her rustic parents yet more confused.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Aureli, *Le fortune*, 68. Act II, scene xx. The parodic depiction of Arianna and Didone's laments was found in the Roman predecessor, *Primavera urbana* written by Ottaviano Castelli in 1635. Before coming to Venice, Renzi participated in two of his other operas. As for *Primavera urbana*, see Murata, "Why the First Opera Given in Paris Wasn't Roman," 92.

¹³⁸ Damira says, "Curioso Atheone/Te 'l meritasti à fé: non è da credere/Quanto mi fai tu ridere/Solo in mirarti; ah ah" (Curious Actaeon/You deserved it to faith: it is not to believe/How much you make me laugh/only in watching you; ah ah). Aureli, *Le fortune*, 68. Act II, scene xx.

11 Bato Damira Bato

Non in-tende né sa ciò, che a lei si fa-ve-lla Fig-lia Mio be-ne. A chi?

17 Damira Bato

Mio Te-se-o, i-dolo ama-to. Che Te-se-o Eh, ch'ioson Ba-to

22 Damira

Curioso Athe-o-ne te'l me-ri-ta-sti a ffè non è da cre-de-re quan-

26 Bato

to mi fai tu-ri-de-re sol in mi-rar-ti ah ah il mio vo-lo cos'hà

Example 5.11 *Le fortune*, Act II, scene xx, dialogue between Damira and Bato, bb. 11-28

Mad scenes which flourished in the early 1640s rapidly died out and appeared only occasionally in later years.¹³⁹ *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* flashed like embers. Renzi, who had first appeared as a feigned madwoman 16 years before, closed her career on the Venetian stage as, once again, a feigned madwoman, using her madness as a rhetorical device to (re)gain her love and honour. Moreover, her innate talent, high skills, and rich experience as a singer-actress enabled her to act and sing according to the changes not only within madness, but beyond it. Ziani tailored music for these various identities with rapid and rhythmical musical fragments or melancholic recitatives to enhance a dramatic, kaleidoscopic effect. With amusement or puzzlement, the audience and other characters must have seen Damira's wavering identities as a farmer girl, a madwoman, and a queen.

¹³⁹ Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 357-8.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Pietro Antonio Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*, focusing on the singer-actress Renzi and her acting and music of multiple identities, including the feigned madwoman. The complex plot provides Renzi with an opportunity to act multiple roles: a farmer girl, Fidalba, a feigned madwoman and the consort, Damira. The innovative use of a portrait of Damira deepens the confusion. Damira's feigned madness contributes to her deliberate diplomacy to expose the errors of her husband's conduct and regain harmony in their conjugal relationship as well as in their reign. From one point of view, the opera can be considered a paean to women because the faithful wife's initiative is aligned with the advice and proposals of Fonte and Bronzini. Contrary to the outcome of *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, in which an absolutist ruler carried the day over his faithful wife, Damira achieved justice by preventing decay of the kingdom and retrieving republican values. When paying attention to Renzi's established reputation as an ingenious singer-actress, particularly a feigned madwoman in Saccati's *La finta pazza*, *Le fortune* can be read as presenting *pazzia* as a means of fostering public identity for Renzi.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I examined mad scenes and characters in four case studies, taking into account various contextual factors. These case studies have raised a number of important issues relating to musical and theatrical representations of madness in early modern Italy. In this conclusion, I will give a brief overview of the case studies, summarise the primary findings of my investigation, and offer prospects to broaden the discussion generated by this current research.

Contrary to previous scholarship that sought to define the normative or genre expectations of a mad scene, the four case studies have made clear that each mad scene has distinctive characteristics unique to each performer and composer, related to the creative possibilities offered by their professional and social situations. Chapter 2 reveals Isabella Andreini's paradoxical demonstration of her verbal and musical skills through her madness, cultivated in relation to her stage role as the *innamorata*. Her mad scene is elaborated on the basis of her literary erudition and expertise in music and performance, which the role enabled and indeed required her to achieve. Furthermore, her education and working environment, with multilingual colleagues including her versatile husband Francesco, and her experience of touring abroad, contributed to the linguistic virtuosity of her improvised mad scene at the Medici wedding in 1589. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 disclosed Adriano Banchieri's extensive knowledge of contemporary musical forms and styles, as well as his engagement with the *commedia dell'arte*, which allowed him to create the capricious and satirical mad scenes of two old men in love, Pantalone and Gratiano. His deep interest in *seconda pratica* is also an element forming the basis of his representation of madness in *La pazzia senile*. In Chapter 4, I analysed the complex text of Pietro Antonio Giramo's publication *Il pazzo con la pazza ristampata et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore*. This work—really three separate compositions given a kind of unity through themes, paratexts, and presentation—is particularly inventive in the way it folds the identity of its dedicatee, Anna de' Medici, into its thematics. Moreover, Giramo was influenced by the contemporary popularity of employing a hospital as a theatrical space in game culture and carnivals, bringing the medical discourse on madness more fully into play than we observed in the other case studies. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses Consort Damira's madness, feigned purposefully and intelligently, as a subtle strategy to

retrieve her love and honour. Alongside references to mythology—one of the recurring features of mad scenes, here adopted as part of Damira’s own genre construction of a mad role, internally to the drama—Damira also makes highly individual use of her own portrait to convince her unfaithful husband. Her mad scenes are characterized by musical features of recitative, which pervade much of the repertoire of Anna Renzi and were received as part of her particular dramatic intensity and skill.

Madness as a Means of De/constructing an Identity/es

As I discussed in Chapter 1, madness in the early modern era was described as ‘externalization’, in Tomlinson’s phrase. Loss or fragmentation of identity was conceived as a phenomenon particularly associated with mad characters. This aspect of madness is particularly clarified in my case studies. The madwoman Isabella ‘uscì fuori di se stessa’ (takes leave of her senses) in *La pazzia d’Isabella*. She then speaks in different languages and imitates her fellow actors, in a linguistic performance of self-disaggregation. Isabella returns to ‘suo primo essere’ (her former self) as the innamorata after drinking a magical potion. Pantalone and Graziano, in *La pazzia senile*, also do not remain in themselves when they are driven to love madness. If we put ourselves in the actual singers’ position, we can see how they use *bastarda* style to transform two old men into a small guitar and a courtesan during their performance. In *Il pazzo con la pazza*, each character seems to have a distinctive identity related to their own symptoms of lovesickness; but as in *La pazzia senile*, the actual singers sing to each lover in turn, performing the mercurial quality of lovesick behavior which the gallery of madmen is meant to demonstrate and in the process performing a fragmentation of their own identity. Damira in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* is ably clothed in the identities of a country girl, Fidalba, and a madwoman, to conceal her true identity as the royal consort; she also courts dissociation of identity from her body to its representation in her painted portrait.

In his discussion of *La pazzia d’Isabella*, Cesare Molinari regards Isabella’s comic use of various languages as a loss of identity.¹ But is it just a loss of identity, or is it in fact a process of attaining another identity? In none of my case studies is the loss of identity a simple and unambiguous matter. As we have already seen, ambiguities arise,

¹ Molinari, “L’altra faccia del 1589,” 565-73.

particularly from the relationship between the performer and the character performed, one which is already charged with difficult questions of identity. Both Isabella Andreini and Anna Renzi enjoyed an enthusiastic reception of their performances of feigned madness as a component of their identities as celebrated artistes. In these cases, one could read the performance of a loss of self in mad roles paradoxically as a form of self-fashioning or the acquisition of another self, on the part of the performer, beyond the dramatic plots. This dynamic is actually highlighted within the drama in plots involving feigned madness, such as that of the character Lepida in *La pellegrina* discussed in Chapter 2 and that of Damira in *Le fortune*. In both these cases, an abandoned wife fashions a mad self as an act of focused intellect and rhetoric intended to restore her true place and identity, adopting a mad discourse as a form of covert rhetoric that mobilises her very powerlessness to achieve a position of agency. In this analysis, early modern mad characters emerge as a space in which questions about self-fashioning and the nature of identity can be asked and subjected to empirical investigation, drawing creatively on the destabilization of identity already entailed in acting or singing a part.

Apart from self-fashioning, performing multiple identities brings confusing but entertaining elements. Isabella's imitation of her various languages and fellow actors certainly amused the audience with kaleidoscopic changes. Damira's case serves in a more complicated way. The characters and the audience perceive Damira's performance differently because the former is unaware that Damira pretends to be insane, resulting in a cognitive and emotional gap among the audience (those within the play and those outside of it). Damira's feigned madness can be enjoyed by the audience, and the other characters in the play must be surprised by her actions because they are unaware she is pretending. *La pazzia senile* and *Il pazzo con la pazza* thematise madness in terms of composition and publication, such that it is a clear expectation among the participants in a performance. In performing the former, whose characters of the commedia dell'arte were definitely familiar among the general public, the singers could experience various characters from Pantalone to the *innamorati*. The most confused situation for their identities emphatically comes in the mad scene of Pantalone and Gratiano, where they transform into a woman and a musical instrument, respectively, with the changes of clefs. Meanwhile, *Il pazzo con la pazza* was composed probably as a social diversion for gatherings of patrician men and women. The composition requires the readers to perform

mad lovers, which is a dramatic setting, but can happen in reality. On the threshold between fiction and reality, the performers confront the moment in which their ‘true self’ mingles with their ‘dramatic self’.

Reconsidering Madness in Early Opera

Interrelations and interactions between opera and other contemporary musical and theatrical genres have long received scholarly attention. In his seminal article titled “Commedia dell’Arte’ and Opera,” Nino Pirrotta argued for the importance of the commedia dell’arte for the invention of opera, although he denied a direct link.² Fabbri has already argued that various characteristics of representations of madness which can be found in earlier dramatic products probably formed the necessary preconditions for the acceptance and development of operatic madness.³ Emily Wilbourne traces the sounds of the commedia dell’arte particularly in the nonmusical sounds found in early opera.⁴

Some of the musictheatrical works and performances considered in this thesis date from well before what is generally accepted as the first operatic ‘mad scene’, in Monteverdi’s uncompleted opera *La finta pazza Licori innamorata d’Aminta* of 1627. Several features found in the case studies give us a sense of how opera composers would have drawn from preexisting musictheatrical works, not necessarily operatic in nature, in constructing their mad scenes. The mercurial changeability evident in Isabella’s madness can be observed as a core characteristic of feigned madwomen in early operas, including *La finta pazza Licori* and also the other touchstone of scholarship on the operatic mad scene, Saccati’s *La finta pazza*. The present study has shown that this changeability is not limited to madwomen, but applies also to men who are sick of love in *La pazzia senile* and *Il pazzo con la pazza*, which are expressed through proficient compositional strategies. Metamorphosis plays a great part in this changeability. Mad characters transcend the boundaries to become different persons, gods, animals, or even inanimate objects. The characteristic ‘stuttering’ employed during Pantalone’s mad scene in *La pazzia senile* and that of the madman in *Il pazzo con la pazza* is also seen in Monteverdi’s *Il ritorno d’Ulisse* where the parasite Iro stutters before he challenges

² Pirrotta, “‘Commedia dell’Arte’ and Opera,” 305-24.

³ Fabbri, “On the Origins of an Operatic Topos,” 157-95.

⁴ Wilbourne, *Seventeenth-Century Opera*.

Ulysses to a wrestling match. References to solmization by the madman and the madwoman in *Il pazzo con la pazza* appear as a distinctive feature of mad characters also in Cavalli's *Didone* and Ferrari's *La ninfa avara*.

Neely has highlighted the inventive nature of theatrical representations of madness in her study of distracted subjects on the English Renaissance stage. Theatre invented 'new language for the mad' and 'the practice of confinement'.⁵ Whereas some aspects of mad characters in Italian theatres have persisted for generations, others have been temporarily constructed based on various factors such as time and region, plot and performer, and contemporary social and cultural trends. This dialogue of the generic and the specific is, for instance, exemplified in the recurring references to a portrait of the madness of Damira, a character who might otherwise be regarded as a typical tragic madwoman. The highly unusual nature of this device among the conventions of operatic madness indicates the potential for creative expansion of mad scenes, not only reusing cliché but working within the creative space of the conceit to use new elements.

The thesis has also expanded our understanding of the early 'mad scene' in opera, finding musicothatrical representations of madness in examples that would not fit the definition developed by opera scholars. *La pazzia senile*, for example, includes a juxtaposition of scenes and episodes that might not have been categorised as a 'mad scene' in a conventional sense, first because they lack the traditional features of the 'mad scene', and second because their dramatic approach relies on an appeal to the listener's (and the performer's) imagination rather than a literal staging. This last aspect also applies to *Il pazzo con la pazza*, in which the use of a dramatic scenario rather than a plot as such, and the variability of musical formats across the print as a whole, would make it difficult even to define which part constitutes a 'mad scene'.

The findings in this thesis have also contributed to discussions of the use of musical language to represent madness. As Austern points out, unlike writers or visual artists, contemporary musicians had no ancient models to imitate. However, this did not prevent them from developing their own language. The contributions to this subject are more explicit in Chapters 3 and 4, in which the composers' act of fostering agency is expressed through innovative compositional techniques, some of which may have moved

⁵ Neely, *Distracted Subjects*, 2.

across into music drama in the following decades. In *La pazzia senile*, Banchieri uniquely used contemporary musical techniques such as *giustiniana* and *bastarda* style and developed his interest in *seconda pratica* in the dialogue between homophony and counterpoint. Following characteristics that represent madness, such as solmization, metamorphosis, or sudden laughter, Giramo adventurously explored the usage of clefs and rhythms to build a dramatic setting in monodic or polyphonic textures. These examples highlight the need, at least at this stage, to search the musical language for madness with an eye not to the generic but to the inventive features achieved through madness by performers and composers—some of whom explicitly viewed the mad character as a creative space freed from the usual rules. If we consider that representations of madness to be something performative and creative, we can find various forms of musical language in the contemporary contexts. In this sense, a dialogue or a struggle between two forms of expression, music and text, had already begun before the appearance of early opera, although it became a more urgent issue in the seventeenth century, within a changing musical landscape.

Reconsidering Madness in the Early Modern Period

The focus on mad scenes in early modern Italian theatre allows us to reconsider the medical, theological, and philosophical views upon madness and the role of musical and theatrical representations of madness. The case studies vividly demonstrated that madness served as a transitional and creative site for composers and performers to construct their identities, experiment with virtuosic techniques, and challenge established norms. Mad characters do not only exhibit the conventional symptoms of madness—depressive, gloomy, or sorrowful, closely associated melancholy. Rather than being a mere safety valve, deflecting attention from social ‘others’, they can, on the one hand, reflect certain values of the community, and on the other hand, criticise the social order.

The current research focuses on Foucault’s reading of madness in history. When applying Butler’s concept of performativity is applied to madness, performing madness is an act of constructing the concept of madness. According to this theory, ‘theatrical’ madness refers to the act itself supports rather than any original or true nature of madness. This perspective differs from Foucault’s because his history sets out the substance of madness as an essential prerequisite. According to the foregoing discussion, there is no

single 'authentic' history of madness, traceable to a certain time, place, or author, but rather histories of 'madness' with widely diffused and varied interpretations.

Moreover, the thesis has provided a new perspective on gender in madness. Women are not exclusively associated with the body, or men with the mind. Feigned madwomen have a skilful command of language and rhetoric to represent their madness, whereas madmen in love are unable to escape their bodily torment.

Thus, aside from offering an analysis of several understudied musicoperatic works, the contributions of this thesis fall into four categories. First, I demonstrated how thorough contextualisation can help us see the distinctiveness and innovation in performers' and composers' approaches to madness, rather than cataloguing the normative features of operatic topos, something that better matches contemporary views of mad subjects as opportunities for creative license. Second, I have shown how mad characters are not used merely for comic or tragic effect but also to provide creative opportunities to play with the nature of the self and of identity, playing out in precisely the period when questions of 'self-fashioning' seem to be at the front of people's minds. Third, I have demonstrated that the operatic 'mad scene' is not a unique musical phenomenon and does not alone define the engagement of musicians with madness in this period. Dealing with music-theatrical genres, some predating the 'mad scene' in opera, I have broadened the framework of mad scenes, which are not always presented in the form of a distinct 'scene' and contributed to a discussion on the musical language of mad characters. Finally, this thesis prompts us to reconsider Foucault's framework of madness and suggests some alternatives for interpreting madness. In all four respects, this thesis presents a challenge not only to the established wisdom in opera scholarship but also to the history/ies of early modern madness.

APPENDIX

Pavoni, Giuseppe, *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pavoni: delle feste celebrate nelle solennissime nozze delli serenissimi sposi, il sig. don Ferdinando Medici, & la sig. donna Christina di Loreno gran duchi di Toscana: nel quale con brevità si esplica il torneo, la battaglia navale, la comedia con gli intermedii, & altre feste occorse di giorno in giorno per tutto il di' 15. di maggio, MDLXXXIX; alli molto illustri, & miei patroni offervandiss. li signori Giasoni & Pompeo fratelli de' Vizani*, pp. 43-6.

Il SABBATO, che fù alli tredici, il Gran Duca volse, che si recitasse la Pazzia d'Isabella, essendosi molto compiacciuto delle grandi inventioni recitate dalla Vittoria in persona della Cingana, che gli parve una meraviglia, non che intelletto di donna.

Et così havendo il Gran Duca fatto sapere alli Comici Gelosi questo suo pensiero, su le vintidoi hore nella Scena istessa ove si è recitata la Pellegrina, fecero anco la Pazzia, con quelli istessi Intermedii, che si sono altre volte detti. Il soggetto principale di detta Comedia fù questo, che Isabella figliuola unica di M. Pantalone de' Bisognosi s'innamorò di Fileno Gètil'huomo molto virtuoso, e lui di lei. La serva d'Isabella s'innamorò ancora lei del servitore del Sig. Fileno, & il servitore di lei; per il cui mezo li loro patroni si servivano dell'ambasciate. In questo mètre Flavio, studente in detta Città che Padova per nome s'è chiamava, s'innamora d'Isabella, ma non trova riscontro, perche lei era di già presa dell'amore di Fileno. Avenne, che il detto Gentil'huomo la fece da un suo amico domandare al padre per moglie, il vecchio rispose non volerne fare altro, sendo che Fileno era troppo giovanetto, sopra di che ne passò per mezo d'amici molti ragionamenti, ne mai fù possibile à poter concluder nulla. Perilche li giovani innamorati vedendo il lor negotio andar tutto al contrario, vennero in tanta disperatione, che non sapevano che partito pigliare al fatto loro, e stando le cose in questi termini, Isabella si risolse alla fine di torsi di casa del padre una notte, & andarsene con Fileno in altri paesi, e così posero l'ordine per la sera, dandosi i cenni l'un l'altro del riconoscersi. Simile accordo fece la serva con il servitore di star'uniti, e seguir la fortuna de i lor patroni.

Avenne, che mentre ponevano l'ordine di questa fuga, Flavio, che stava in disparte nascosto, udi tutti li ragionamenti passati tra l'amata, & il suo rivale: & ne prese

tanto cordoglio, quanto si può imaginare chi habbi provato simili tormenti. La onde si dispose servirsi di questa occasione, e per tal via conseguire la sua amata Isabella, come fece. Così venuta l'ora dell'accordo: ma un poco prima, comparve Flavio & con li cenni, che Fileno dovea dare ad Isabella si fece udire: la quale subito n'uscì di casa, & sù raccolta con tanto contento di Flavio, che più non si può imaginare: & così alla muta se n'andarono: ne appena ebbero volte le spalle, che comparve Fileno col servitore, & fatti li cenni ordinati, non comparve mai nessuno. Alla fine la serva si fece fuori dell'uscio, & disse à Fileno, che non trovava la Patrona, & cercando di nuovo per casa, non la seppe mai ritrovare: la onde il misero, & infelice Fileno venne in tal dispiacere, che cominciò à farneticare, col discorrere fra se ove se ne potesse essere andata, & tanto immerso stette in questi pensieri, che come insano, over pazzo divenne, uscendo fuori di se stesso.

L'Isabella in tanto trovandosi ingannata dall'insidie di Flavio, ne sapendo pigliar rimedio al suo male, si diede del tutto in preda al dolore, & così vinta dalla passione, e lasciandosi superare alla rabbia, & al furore uscì fuori di se stessa, & come pazza se n'andava scorrendo per la Cittade, fermando hor questo, & hora quello, e parlando hora in Spagnuolo, hora in Greco, hora in Italiano, & molti altri linguaggi, ma tutti fuori di proposito: & tra le altre cose si mise à parlar Francese, & à cantar certe canzonette pure alla Francese, che diedero tanto diletto alla Sereniss, Sposa, che maggiore non si potria esprimere. Si mise poi ad imitare li linguaggi di tutti li suoi Comici, come del Pantalone del Gratiano, del Zanni, del Pedrolino, del Francatruppe, del Burattino, del Capitan Cardone, & della Franceschina tanto naturalmente, & con tanti dispropositi, che non è possibile il poter con lingua narrare il valore, & la virtù di questa Donna. Finalmente per funtione d'arte Magica, con certe acque, che le furono date à bere, ritornò nel suo primo essere, & quivi con elegante, & dotto stile esplicando le passioni d'amore, & i travagli, che provano quelli, che si ritrovano in simil panie involti, si fece fine alla Comedia; mostrando nel recitar questa Pazzia il suo sano, e dotto intelletto; lasciando l'Isabella tal mormorio, & meraviglia ne gli ascoltatori, che mentre durerà il mondo, sempre sarà lodata la sua bella eloquenza, & valore.

On Saturday, which was the thirteenth, the Grand Duke wished that *la Pazzia d'Isabella* be performed, having been quite pleased with the great inventions recited by Vittoria in

the character of Cingana, which he believed was a wonder, coming from the intellect of women.

And thus, the Grand Duke having conveyed his thoughts to the Comici Gelosi, at ten o'clock at night, on the same stage where *la Pellegrina* was acted, *la Pazzia* was also performed with those same intermedi which have already been described. The main plot of the abovementioned comedy was this: Isabella, the only daughter of M. Pantalone de' Bisognosi, fell in love with Fileno, a very virtuous gentleman, and he with her. The maidservant of Isabella also fell in love with the servant of Signor Fileno, and the servant with her. Through them, their patrons passed messages. Meanwhile, Flavio, a student in that city which is called Padua, falls in love with Isabella, but does not find his love requited because she was already in the grip of love for Fileno. It came to pass that the abovementioned gentleman via a friend of his asked her father's permission to marry, [but] this old man replied that he didn't want to do it, thinking that Fileno was too young, over which he [Fileno] made many arguments, by means of his friends, but it proved impossible to reach any agreement. Because of which these young lovers, seeing their affair entirely confounded, entered into such despair that they did not know what course to take to advance their affair, and things being in this state, Isabella finally decided to leave her father's house one night and elope abroad with Fileno, and thus they laid plans for the evening, exchanging signals to identify each other. The maidservant made a similar agreement with the servant to remain together, and to follow the fortune of their patrons.

It came to pass that while they laid plans for this elopement, Flavio, who was hidden nearby, overheard all the exchanges between his love and his rival and from them received such affliction, as much as can be imagined by anyone who has experienced similar torments. Whence he arranged to take advantage of this occasion, and by this means to obtain his love Isabella, and he did. So the agreed time came; but shortly before, Flavio appeared and made himself heard with the signals that Fileno was to have given to Isabella. She immediately came out of the house and was united with Flavio with such happiness that more could not be imagined. And so they went off quietly. No sooner had they left then Fileno appeared with the servant and gave the agreed signals, [but] no one ever appeared. In the end, the maidservant came out of the door and said to Fileno that she could not find the mistress and, searching the house again, she did not know how to find her: hence the miserable and wretched Fileno became so displeased, that he started

to rave, discussing with himself where she could have gone, and so engrossed was he in these thoughts that, he became like a madman or a crazy person, taking leave of his senses.

Isabella, meanwhile, finding herself deceived by the snares of Flavio, not knowing how to remedy her suffering, gave herself over completely to grief, and so, defeated by passion and abandoning herself to anger and fury, she took leave of her senses, and like a mad woman she went running through the city, stopping now this one, and now that one, and speaking now in Spanish, now in Greek, now in Italian, and many other languages, but all without purpose: and among other things she began to speak French, and also to sing certain little songs in the French manner [or: to sing certain little songs also in French], which gave such delight to the Most Serene bride that more could not be expressed. She then began imitating the dialects of all her fellow actors, such as that of Pantalone, of Gratiano, of Zanni, of Pedrolino, of Francatrippa, of Burattino, of Captain Cardone, and of Franceschina so naturally, and with such absurdities, that it is not possible with language to recount the worth and virtue of this lady. Finally, using the fiction of the art of magic, with certain water which she had been given to drink, she returned to her former self, and therein, with an elegant and learned style, explaining the passions of love and the travails which test those who find themselves in similar snares, she brought the comedy to an end; through acting this madness demonstrating her sane and learned intellect; Isabella leaving such murmuring and wonder among the listeners that for as long as the world lasts her beautiful eloquence and her worth will always be praised.

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