

Chivalry, Academy, and
Cultural Dialogues

The Italian Contribution to European Culture

Essays in Honour of Jane E. Everson



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25. Riccardo Brusagli, 'Nel salotto degli Intronati', in Girolamo Bargagli, *Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usano difare*, a cura di Patrizia D'Incalci Ermini, introduzione di R. Brusagli (Siena: Accademia Senese degli Intronati, 1982), pp. 9–39 (p. 19).
26. Sull'Accademia Grande o Senese cf. Kosuta, 'L'Académie siennoise'; per significative osservazioni sul rapporto tra politica e Accademia negli anni di cui ci siamo occupati in questo lavoro cfr. inoltre Salvatore Lo Re, 'Bartolomeo Carli Piccolomini testimone e interprete della crisi senese (1525–1531)', *Transalpina*, 17 (2014), 65–84.

CHAPTER 9



Performing Female Cultural Sociability
between Court and Academy:
Isabella Pallavicino Lupi and
Angelo Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere* (1584)

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On New Year's Eve 1583, Angelo Ingegneri, an up-and-coming Venetian theatre expert and distinguished member of both the Accademia Olimpica of Vicenza and the Accademia degli Innominati of Parma, dedicated his printed pastoral drama, *Danza di Venere* [Dance of Venus] to the young aristocrat Camilla Lupi (1569–1611) of Soragna (near Parma). He describes in his unusually long and detailed prefatory letter how the girl, then aged around fourteen and unmarried, ennobled his work by deigning to play the role of the lead nymph, 'in compagnia d'altre nobili damigelle (fra di quelle sembrando vera Diana, cinta delle sue vaghe cacciatrici: o più tosto chiarissima luna nel mezzo di tante rilucenti stelle)' [accompanied by other noble maidens (whereby you seemed a true Diana, surrounded by her delightful huntresses, or rather the dazzling moon in the middle of a multitude of shining stars)]. Camilla's graceful performance made his 'pastorale e rozza musa' [pastoral and rustic muse] pleasing to the ears of 'una corte quasi regale, com'è quella di Parma' [an almost royal court, like that of Parma] as well as to the young prince, Ranuccio Farnese.¹ Ingegneri notes that his play was originally composed 'a contemplazione dell'Academia Olimpica, oggidi famosissima e gloriosa' [with the Olympic Academy in mind, which is today most famous and glorious]. However, it was completed under the patronage of the girl's mother, the Marchesa Isabella Pallavicino Lupi.²

Ingegneri's dedicatory letter of *Danza di Venere* is unusual for various reasons besides its length. Firstly, in contrast to other existing documentation of elite female dramatic performances found mostly in manuscript sources (which I have termed elsewhere *drammatica secreta*), it highlights Camilla Lupi's performance in *print*.³ Secondly, there is noticeably no mention of the *apparato* or stage set used for the occasion of the performance, unlike some earlier Ferrarese printed pastoral plays, despite the clearly political dimension of the performance with the Farnese court in attendance.⁴ Thirdly, no date or specific occasion is mentioned for the performance, and the ambiguously worded reference to the venue has been the object of recent

critical discussion.⁵ As we shall see, the possible political message of the play makes it significant whether the play was performed in the Parma court (which at that time lacked an official theatre) or in the elegant Lupi castle in the imperial feud of Soragna, as hitherto unused evidence suggests is more likely.⁶ Finally, it is notable that the play was published distinctly from the performance venue in Vicenza by the short-lived Stamperia Nova (1584–85), with the city's emblem on the frontispiece; even though Ingegneri had collaborated with the Viotti press of Parma to prepare the first full edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* in 1581, with the support of Pallavicino Lupi, as we will see. The Stamperia Nova is associated with only three other publications, of which two are by authors linked to Pallavicino, though the printer seems to have been later connected with the Accademia Olimpica.⁷

Ingegneri was following an established practice by the late sixteenth century in dedicating his play to a female patron — or implicitly two female patrons, since the preface celebrates equally Camilla's mother. Especially in reserved circles in Ferrara, Mantua and Florence there was a longstanding tradition of elite female cultural and theatrical protagonism, which resulted in pioneering new developments in dramatic, musical and balletic performance from the 1570s to the 1580s. These include the famous and highly exclusive Ferrarese innovations of the *concerto delle dame* (*musica secreta*), and the *balletto della duchessa* patronized by the last Duchess of Ferrara, Margherita Gonzaga d'Este.⁸ Other female patrons with a strong interest in secular dramatic texts and performance in these years included the Duchess of Mantua, Eleonora de' Medici Gonzaga, and the Marchesa of Massa and Carrara, Marfisa d'Este, with whom Ingegneri also had some contact.⁹ We learn from the dedication that Isabella Pallavicino Lupi, the Marchesa of Soragna commissioned the play because '[aveva] pensiero d'essercitar, con tale occasione, la pronta memoria, il felicissimo ingegno e la grazia incomparabilmente leggiadra di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima [Camilla Lupi]' [she wanted to exercise on this occasion the ready memory, the most lively mind, and the incomparably elegant grace of your Ladyship].¹⁰ The performance was apparently designed to showcase the girl's rhetorical and intellectual skills as well as her beauty, virtues which are linked with her desired future marriage. Such an aim coincides with the importance given to the theme of matrimony and love in the play, as represented visibly and thematically by Venus.

The printed play's strategic positioning between academy and court thus raises various questions relating to the dramatic and textual patronage of this play.¹¹ Why was there a change of dedicatee? How far did this change affect the way the play-text was composed? What is the resulting textual status of the printed version, and how does this text reflect or alter the meanings of the original performance it commemorates?

This essay suggests that a complex dynamic of displaying/concealing is evident in the paratexts of the 1584 *princeps*, which is identifiable within the play-text itself and in the performance event, as far as it can be reconstructed. Building on recent important studies on Ingegneri and the *Danza di Venere* by Guido Baldassarri, Laura Riccò, and Roberto Puggioni, this study will therefore shift the focus onto how the text was (re)shaped for performance and in print.¹² An analysis of the

performance event will throw light on the socio-political uses and dramaturgical impact of aristocratic female social performances in the Parma area in the 1580s, then a somewhat peripheral centre though closely connected with the courts of Mantua and Ferrara. This essay will also consider Ingegneri's strategic presentation of the play in the period when he was preparing the famous inaugural performance of the Teatro Olimpico of Vicenza (March 1585), which would consolidate his reputation in the history of Italian theatre. It will be argued that the play-text and paratext suggest different agendas at work related to the self-fashioning both of the dramatist and patron — practical, theoretical and aesthetic on Ingegneri's part, and socio-political on the part of the patron. These agendas were projected particularly onto Camilla's performance before the Farnese court of Parma.

Danza di Venere: The Protagonists and the Performance Context

Before exploring further the Soragna performance, let us briefly discuss the 'co-protagonists' of the event. Angelo Ingegneri (c. 1550–1613) is well known to theatre historians not only for his key role in the acclaimed Teatro Olimpico performance of Orsatto Giustinian's translation of Sophocles' *Edipo Re*, but also for his important treatise on dramatic poetry (*Discorso della poesia rappresentativa* [Discourse on Poetry for the Stage], 1598) and for his tragedy (*Tomiri*, 1607).¹³ *Danza di Venere* is his first known play, and is influenced especially in the second half by the most significant example of pastoral drama at that time, Tasso's *Aminta* (printed 1581). *DV* too has a relatively simple plot which focuses on relations between the nymph Amarilli and the shepherd Coridone; it is set in Sicily on the feast day to Venus. Coridone, who had gone mad (or melancholic) after learning his father's identity was unknown, is cured — through Venus's influence — when he sees the beautiful Amarilli and falls in love with the nymph. However, his desire to marry her is thwarted by Amarilli's father, who has promised her to a 'foreign' and legitimate shepherd. Coridone then resorts to a planned abduction during the societal Dance of Venus using a group of satyrs. This plan goes awry and, on believing Amarilli dead, Coridone apparently dies of grief. His resuscitation, after the recognition of his true, legitimate identity and the annulment of the nymph's previously contracted marriage, allows the conventional happy ending.

As Laura Riccò has shown, Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere* served as a silent 'subtext' to his Aristotelian project with the *Discorso* (1598) to chart the theoretical development of pastoral drama, as a counterpart to Guarini's model. Surprisingly, however, Ingegneri makes no direct reference to his play alongside the numerous other examples of this genre.¹⁴ This play's performance also informed his ideas on the social uses of pastoral, as is most obvious in his comments on the potential of the 'third genre' to allow decent women and virgins on stage: 'admettendo le vergini in palco e le donne oneste, quello che alle comedie non lice, danno luoco a nobili affetti, non disdicevoli alle tragedie istesse' [by allowing virgins and honest women on stage (which would not be appropriate in comedy), pastorals can give rise to noble emotions, fitting even for tragedies].¹⁵ The treatise and the play are only brought together explicitly in a joint edition in Genova in 1604, which rededicates

Danza di Venere to Giovanvincenzo Imperiali on the occasion of his marriage and for obvious reasons removes the references to the Pallavicino Lupi women from the paratext and text (I.5.699, 714–21).¹⁶

Isabella Pallavicino Lupi (c. 1550–1623) is a less-known figure, because of the still fragmentary and inaccessible sources on her.¹⁷ From what can be pieced together there is clear evidence of her exceptional activity and unusual visibility as a patron in many fields of arts and letters, as well in religious arenas, like several notable Pallavicino women before her.¹⁸ We have no direct verification as yet, unfortunately, of her near contemporary Francesco Agostino Della Chiesa's claim that Pallavicino 'parlava, e scriveva elegantemente latino, e componeva versi toscani' [spoke and elegantly wrote Latin as well as composing Tuscan verse].¹⁹ But she is celebrated during her widowhood (presumably in her twenties, from 1571) for her literary refinement, virtue and qualities as a cultural patron by writers from across northern and central parts of Italy criss-crossing courts, academies and religious orders.

Pallavicino gained particular renown for having negotiated with the Duke of Ferrara and financed the first complete edition of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* printed in Parma (1581), as recorded in the dedicatory letter by Ingegneri.²⁰ This marks the first evidence of her association with the Venetian. More unusually, following her association with the Innominati academy of Parma and the Olimpici of Vicenza she later founded her own academy (the 'Illuminati') in Farnese by 1600, which she seems to have actively headed, as 'Principessa'. She may in addition have instigated the establishment of the Mariani press there.²¹ The Marchesa clearly also cultivated eclectic forms of social visibility, as shown by her patronage of a celebrated 'hairy-faced' girl, a gift from the Duke of Parma, who was painted by Lavinia Fontana among others in the 1590s.²² Pallavicino's cultural patronage involved her in negotiations over financial and religious matters with Bishops, Cardinals and Dukes on a par with other better known female patrons of her day.²³ Her culture and conspicuous spending earned her both praise from literati including Torquato Tasso, Tommaso Stigliani and Ingegneri, and accusations of prodigality by moralists. This trait seems to underlie her later break with her son, the heir to Soragna.²⁴

Pallavicino's patronage of secular theatre appears to have been equally innovative and visible during the few years when she held cultural pre-eminence in Soragna. In all, four printed plays were dedicated to her in 1584–88 (counting Ingegneri's indirect dedication), of which three were pastoral plays. This genre became increasingly popular following the publication of Tasso's *Aminta* (1581) and was, as noted, considered suitably decent for women to engage with. Those dedicating plays to her may have hoped for remuneration or recognition perhaps linked with past or hoped for performances. This may have been the intention when the bookseller Francesco Mammarello dedicated the second edition of Giovanni Donato Cucchetti's *La Pazzia, pastorale* to her in 1586, following a performance in Parma which the Marchesa had not attended.²⁵ The actors were the otherwise unknown Compagnia dei Pellegrini, who performed a new prologue for the occasion and lavish *intermedi* of a distinctly political nature, which Carlo Ossola argues significantly altered the interpretation of the play.²⁶

The dedication by Anton Maria Garofani, a cleric and Pallavicino courtier, of a posthumous re-edition of Niccolò Secchi's *Il Beffa, commedia* (1584) to Isabella Pallavicino Lupi just one day after Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere*, suggests a lively but polemical local interest for drama. Garofani explicitly contrasts his virtuous patron's taste for new plays with the local academies or *ridotti* of 'male pezze d'huomini spenserati' [unpleasant, thoughtless men] who mostly 'pascono la mal composta sua natura, e di chimere, e di fabbriche in aria; & alla fine con qualche Apologia del non dir mai bene, adempiono quelle parti del corpo eshauste, alle quali non pò supplire l'otio, per grande, ch'ei sia' [satisfy their badly formed nature with idle fancies and castles in the air, and finally with an apology for always speaking ill, they fill those exhausted parts of their body which idleness cannot satisfy, however great it is].²⁷ Such remarks recall the fourth and final play (co-)dedicated to Pallavicino, Maddalena Campiglia's *Flori, favola boschereccia* (1588). In the second dedicatory letter, to Curzio Gonzaga, Campiglia similarly refers to anticipated male detractors, at which she declares her own alternative 'feminine' style of dramaturgy which may contravene certain 'male' academic norms.²⁸

Pallavicino is also associated with another of the earliest examples of female-authored drama, by the Parmense aristocrat Barbara Torelli Benedetti. Torelli's undedicated manuscript play *Partenia* refers to the Marchesa under her hellenizing nickname 'Calisa', as immortalized by Tasso.²⁹ Together with Campiglia, Torelli was important in promoting a new type of 'serious', de-eroticized and spiritualized pastoral drama modelled especially on Tasso's *Aminta*, which explored unconventional, feminine-oriented ideas on love and marriage. *Flori* and *Partenia* point to the role played by Pallavicino and her circle in experimenting with the new trend in Italian culture at this time of 'converting' secular genres, which Virginia Cox has argued 'served in many ways to shift the centre of literary gravity onto more classically feminine terrain'.³⁰

Yet Pallavicino's approach to dramatic patronage should properly be regarded as bi-gendered, since she also promoted public dynastic spectacle of a more 'masculine' kind during the years when she enjoyed political influence as a widowed Marchesa of the imperial feud of Soragna and as the guardian of her infant son and daughter. An anonymous manuscript *discorso* of 1586 delivered to the Innominati academy of Parma, perhaps by Ingegneri, provides new evidence of a chivalric spectacle hosted by Pallavicino in Soragna featuring prince Ranuccio Farnese:

Sig.r Principe, voi nelle prime [azioni cavalleresche] già tanto instrutto che finchè durerà Soragna od almeno giachè sarà quell'orizzonte illustrato dal doppio di beltà, e di valore suo splendidissimo Sole la Signora Donna Issabella [sic], viverà la stupenda memoria delle prove quivi fatte dall'Eccellenza Vostra.

[Your highness the Prince is already so well trained [in chivalric actions] that as long as Soragna lasts, or at least as long as its horizon is illustrated by its most splendid sun, Lady Isabella, who is doubly resplendent in beauty and merit, so shall the marvellous memory survive of the feats your Excellency committed there.]³¹

Pallavicino also prepared a lavish pastoral performance starring her young ladies-in-waiting as nymphs as part of the varied five days of celebrations to mark her son's dynastic wedding in 1589 on the model of other local feudal rulers of both sexes,

including the notorious Barbara Sanseverina Sanvitale, Marchesa of nearby Sala and Colorno.³² In this regard she could draw on her personal experience of political spectacle in Brussels at the court of Margaret of Austria, whom Isabella served as a lady-in-waiting (by 1567–86).

This information suggests that Pallavicino was well aware of the gendered and political potential of theatre, and its specifically epideictic function in addressing a court and its ruler. As Maria Galli Stampino has argued, such a function was equally possible in pastoral drama despite its apparently 'non-political' nature.³³ The courtly audience attending the *Danza di Venere* performance, possibly in late 1583, in the castle of Soragna and played by a girl from two powerful feudal families poised for a dynastic marriage, must equally have been alert to such questions. The play's focus on love and marriage raised issues that were especially sensitive in the period just following the notorious collapse of the marriage of Ranuccio Farnese's sister, Margherita, to Vincenzo Gonzaga (annulled 9 October 1583). Moreover, relations between the powerful, pro-imperial Pallavicino family and the more recently papal installed Farnese rulers were also problematic in the last years of the 'Stato Pallavicino', which occupied strategic territories between the Farnese territories of Parma and Piacenza.³⁴ Old enmities clearly lingered following the anti-Farnese plot in which Duke Pier Luigi was assassinated with the support of the Pallavicini clan in 1547. Despite the families' formal reconciliation Alessandro Farnese finally annexed their state in 1587 when he became Duke. In this light, I want to suggest that the *Danza di Venere* performance functioned as a controlled form of social and political address in these key years — a delicate operation, which would explain the use of the apparently 'apolitical' pastoral and a 'feminized', submissive mode of performance, and the subsequent oblique presentation of the printed play.

The Commission of *Danza di Venere*, c. 1583

As we have seen, Isabella Pallavicino Lupi already knew Ingegneri when she commissioned a play from him, following their collaboration on the 1581 edition of *Gerusalemme liberata*. Other intermediaries, including especially Muzio Manfredi, a member of the Innominati Academy of Parma like Ingegneri, may also have intervened to bring the play to her attention.³⁵ Ingegneri had joined the Olimpici in April 1580, a year after this Academy decided to break several years of theatrical silence and perform a pastoral play. He states that he began composing his pastoral play at the 'particular request' of Giacomo Ragona his 'very dear and eminently qualified Lord'.³⁶ The unspecified 'indisposizioni' [indispositions] and 'tanti altri travagli' [many other travails] which caused the play to be left incomplete may, on the other hand, discreetly allude to the academy's decision on 19 February 1583 to perform a tragedy, which would better reflect their Aristotelian interests and grandiose self-celebratory aims.³⁷ We do not know when exactly Ingegneri proposed his play to Pallavicino; perhaps after he realized it was unlikely to be performed by the Olimpici. Perhaps the group even rejected his play, as was the case with Fabio Pace's (now lost) pastoral *Eugenio*.³⁸ Nor do we know if and how *Danza di Venere* corresponds with the play entitled *La limonata* that Ingegneri apparently presented to the academy.³⁹ But given the author's status in the academy from

1580, it is likely that *Danza di Venere* in its early form underwent critical discussion within the academy. It may even have been read aloud publicly, as Pace's play was in January 1583, followed by virtuoso female singing by Maddalena Casulana. The existing version of Ingegneri's play, with its choral dancing and emphasis on erotic love, would perhaps have made it seem less appropriate for a public academy performance. However, a strong female role (played by a man) had been portrayed in their 1562 performance of Trissino's *Sofonisba*.

While the influence of academy discussions on Aristotelian dramaturgy and ancient and modern performance practices are clearly traceable in Ingegneri's printed *Danza di Venere*, it is more problematic to quantify how far the play was adapted or completed for Pallavicino's purposes. From the opening scene, certainly, *Danza di Venere* corresponds to the stated aim of showcasing her daughter's rhetorical skills, beauty and virtues. Amarilli is appropriately the first human character to enter the stage after the prologue, featuring Venus with her cupids. The nymph's appearance before daybreak, as the first to worship the goddess, emphasizes the nymph's religious devotion, as declared from her opening lines:

Deh, che sia benedetta
Da la madre d'Amor per mille volte
Questa voglia, ch'è in me, di farle onore. (I.1.101–03)

[Ah, let this desire in me to honour my goddess be blessed countless times by the mother of Love.]

Despite Ingegneri's comparison of the girl to Diana in his dedication, the play itself does not entertain the prospect of the girl choosing the single life, a choice which often provides an 'obstacle' to be overcome in pastoral plays, including Tasso's *Aminta*. Instead, Amarilli's rather unusual devotion to Venus justified for Ingegneri the use of a 'private' (domestic) love plot in his pastoral.⁴⁰ As for Camilla-Amarilli's beauty, this was demonstrated in the second scene by its virtuous effects on the deranged shepherd, Coridone. On seeing her asleep on stage, he is visibly (and verbally) transformed from an uncouth rustic into a noble Petrarchan lover in a way that explicitly dramatizes Boccaccio's tale of Cimone.⁴¹

Camilla's oratorical skills and memory would have been put to the test in her unusually lengthy speaking role, amounting to 413 lines (counting half lines) — around an eighth of the total number of 3263, not counting the prologue — as against the 199 spoken by Silvia in Tasso's *Aminta* in only three scenes.⁴² Amarilli appears across all five acts of the play, in nine scenes out of twenty-four, and has to dance and sing (without instrumental accompaniment) during the chorus of the central 'Dance of Venus' in Act III. The mixed-metre, lyric section at the end of the first scene, which begins 'Quel rosignuol, che sì soave piange' (I.1.129–38), might also have been sung solo.⁴³ Camilla and her ladies may perhaps have been trained in this kind of performance by Ingegneri, who within the next two years or so would direct the *Edipo Re* performance with its complex choruses set to music by Andrea Gabrieli. Ingegneri may even have directed the performance on stage in the guise of the elderly shepherd, Leucippo, given the Venetian's long association with this literary 'nickname'.⁴⁴

However, Pallavicino may also have been involved in training her daughter, just as she later oversaw the education in the Soragna court of Camilla's daughter (also named Isabella, 1593–1651) up to the age of around eight:

i suoi ordinarii trattenimenti et occupationi in tutto questo tempo furono d'imparare a leggere e scrivere; a suonare e ballare; et a recitare drammi e rappresentationi pastorali: conciosiaché in esse havea una mirabile attitudine (italics mine)

[her customary entertainment and occupation at that time was to learn to read and write; to play instruments and dance; and to perform plays and pastoral performances; since she had a marvellous aptitude for these]⁴⁵

The fact that these activities stopped after the girl's disfigurement from smallpox ended possibilities for her marriage, indicates their very specific purpose.

Camilla's public performance as a marriageable girl should be seen as a bid by her mother to display her as a living embodiment of the feminine virtues of chastity, piety, and beauty, as well as of the humanist ideal of the 'learned lady'. As Virginia Cox notes, this ideal would give her symbolic capital and perhaps display her ability to act as a diplomatic and cultural mediator, as required sometimes for aristocratic consorts.⁴⁶ Interestingly, Ingegneri's celebration of her 'felicità dell'ingegno e [...] grazia nel favellare miracolosa' [mental acuity and [...] miraculous grace in speaking] and 'donnesco sapere' [feminine knowledge],⁴⁷ recalls the same qualities praised in the new type of 'learned actress' then gaining great prominence on the public and court stage in Italy. Vincenza Armani (d. 1569), who had been admired by the Parma court, was notably commended in print for her quick-wittedness, unaffected eloquence, and erudition, and was said to have 'first introduced pastorals on stage'.⁴⁸ While perhaps attributing skills similar to a female *virtuosa* to Camilla, Ingegneri carefully offsets any potentially negative associations with a professional actress by calling the aristocrat an 'onestissima verginella' [most honest virgin], like Diana surrounded by her ladies. Hardly surprisingly in view of norms of decorum, he makes no mention of any male performers, though five male speaking characters appear in the cast list. The group of bestial satyrs who will burst on stage in Act III are notably omitted from this paratext.⁴⁹

Overt and 'Secret' Meanings of the *Danza di Venere*

In presenting the play's main theme of marriage Ingegneri's dedication involves a careful reframing of the action to emphasize the girl's dynastic function. Ingegneri highlights a key scene in the play (II.3) in which the nymph Amarilli (Camilla) is given a didactic lesson on marital obedience by her father with 'prudenti avvertimenti' [prudent warnings] for her future marriage. The dramatist concludes by hoping that she will indeed marry someone of equally prestigious rank.⁵⁰ This initial presentation of the scene conceals the fact that Amarilli/Camilla briefly voices real concerns about bad or jealous husbands in arranged (political) marriages (lines 1169–74; 1185–90). On-stage, the father figure (Licida) may also have had less authority than is suggested in the dedication. In a pastoral played before a mixed-sex, courtly audience, Licida's obsession with legitimacy and patrimony in marriage over his daughter's welfare (II.2.1021–26; II.3) may have been ambivalently received.

His 'realistic' perspectives on marital relations and misogynistic views, including the suggestion that wives should be beaten to keep them submissive (II.3.1241–49), must also have presented a tonal contrast to the 'courtly' and neo-Platonic inspired *innamoramento* scene with Coridone in the first act (though this also has a 'comic' subtext).

Socio-political ideas on marriage are most dramatically represented at the centre of the play in Act III, 3–4. These scenes feature the 'Dance of Venus' and its violent interruption with the dramatic abduction (rape) of Amarilli on stage by a whole group of satyrs, rather than the solitary and sometimes comic figure normally found in pastoral plays.⁵¹ The dance involves two choruses of four nymphs and four shepherds, singing a repeated polymetric text unaccompanied, with the stage instruction 'ballando, cantano' [sing while dancing].⁵² Space does not permit a detailed examination of the structural and symbolic function of the dance, which has been described as a 'micro-spectacle' of cosmic (but perhaps also gender) harmony, visualizing Platonic ideals of interior harmony and love's power to create concord out of violence ('raptio') and discord.⁵³ Additionally, the dance allowed Ingegneri to explore in practice much debated ideas relevant to the Teatro Olimpico performance regarding whether choral episodes and inter-act choruses should be danced, sung, or accompanied by instruments, either by the actors themselves or by others offstage. For the Soragna event he may even have used an all-female cast (besides himself as the 'older' shepherd). Although mixed amateur noble performances could take place privately in court, as in a performance of *Andromeda* hosted by Barbara Sanseverino Sanvitale involving the youthful Vincenzo Gonzaga and Ippolita Torelli, all-female pastoral performances were also possible in reserved courtly contexts. Indeed, Muzio Manfredi envisages this for his 1602 pastoral, *Contrasto amoroso*, where he suggests a woman could play the single young shepherd.⁵⁴ Ingegneri may also have been consciously imitating the tradition of virtuoso, choreographed ballets established since 1581 by the Duchess of Ferrara Margherita Gonzaga Estense. Indeed, one performed in 1582 involved her performance with seven ladies, four dressed as nymphs and four cross-dressed as shepherds — a configuration like that in *Danza di Venere*.⁵⁵

I would argue that the fact that Amarilli is abducted during the dance by a group of satyrs, instigated by the despairing Coridone, must have carried political connotations, as well as Neoplatonic and traditionally erotic associations as in epithalamiums. It would have evoked a rich stock of classical myths of rapes, including Lucretia and the Sabine women, as well as Boccaccio's tale of Cimone, which combined erotic conquest with political ideas of destabilizing regimes and refounding new orders of greater or lesser morality, based on marriage.⁵⁶ It is in these central scenes, evoking order/disorder and questions of the legitimacy of such conquest, that more potentially subversive aspects come to the fore in performance, aspects that were deliberately concealed from readers or given a different gloss in the author's paratext.

Building up to the attack, numerous political or military metaphors are used in the first two scenes of Act III. Allusions are made to conquest ('assalto', III.2.1881), to the importance of force, submission and rebellion, recalling the language

of Giraldi's satyr play *Egle* (performed in Ferrara in 1545) whose rape sequence Ingegneri explicitly reworks in line with the happy ending of the play.⁵⁷ The political message of the play would likely have been reinforced and given topical immediacy by Camilla Lupi's impersonation of the part of Amarilli. Audience members may have recalled the case of her own maternal grandmother, also Camilla Pallavicino (the mother of Isabella), who was brutally abducted shortly after her marriage in 1545 by Duke Pier Luigi Farnese (great-grandfather of Ranuccio) when he attacked and occupied the feud of Cortemaggiore in the absence of her husband. On this occasion the aim was, however, probably to prevent male succession.⁵⁸ Camilla was only freed in 1547 after Pier Luigi's assassination in a plot to which, as mentioned, the Pallavicino were party. Could the staged abduction then of the younger Camilla Lupi — a Pallavicino by matrilineal descent, as Ingegneri's dedicatory letter clearly reminds us — carried out by bestial satyrs (and pointedly not her lover) have been meant as a reminder to the Farnese of the consequences of such violence if not reconciled through matrimony? And could it have served to question the happy ending that ensued when marriage followed? If so, such political critique or warning is carefully veiled in the play-text and defused by being ventriloquized by a male voice, both on stage and in print. Amarilli is herself presented as a model of obedience to her father, steadfast against persuasion by Coridone's friend, Titiro, to resist the forced marriage:

- TITIRO Negar, gridar. Vorrebbe
 Il tuo padre sforzarti?
- AMARILLI Ahi, che *troppo disdice*
 A buona figlia il contrastare a cui
 Solo ubbidir conviensi. [...]
 Che vuoi ch'io faccia? Dimmi.
 Ma guarda non m'essorti
 Ribellarmi al mio vecchio;
 Al qual (che che di me dispor gli piaccia)
 Voglio ubbidir mai sempre. (III.2.1826–30, 1846–55; italics mine)
- [TITIRO: Refuse, protest against this! Does your father want to force you?
- AMARILLI: Ah, it is most inappropriate for a good daughter to contradict the
 person she must obey. [...] What would you have me do? Tell me.
 But don't urge me to rebel against my venerable father; he may
 wish to settle me [in marriage], but I want to obey him always.]

By the end of the play, when Coridone's legitimate identity has been established by his father and his actions have been redeemed by heroic combat to defend Amarilli from the satyrs, the rape can be interpreted as a socially acceptable means of reconciling unruly individual passions. The act secures dynasty, wealth, and succession, sanctioned by the patriarchal community and by the goddess Venus. All's well that ends well, it would seem, at least from a male, patriarchal perspective. Though for some members of the audience at least, the spectacular display of erotic violence, Coridone's initial madness due to the taint of illegitimacy and the spectre of a disrupted marriage settlement must have left a lingering impression given recent Farnese history, especially in the absence of a final staged union of the lovers.

Conclusion

Transposed from the 'male' academy context of the Olimpici of Vicenza to a female courtly performance, and back again to Vicenza for printing, Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere* presents an interesting case study for the dramatist's self-fashioning both in literary and stage terms. It suggests a textual performance which is overtly and covertly manipulated to reflect the play's hybrid status. This allowed the playwright/director to position himself and his work within an academic community in the absence of its performance in the Teatro Olimpico. The aristocratic female dedicatee and performer could thereby also acceptably play out their dynastic aspirations. Possible critique is discreetly dispelled through mediated speech, combined with conventionally 'feminine' symbolic forms of representation like dance.

The printed edition appeared at a significant moment for Ingegneri, presumably after spending some intense months scrutinizing dramatic texts proposed for the inaugural Olimpici performance, and shortly before he began directing the preparations, including the choreography, the lighting and music. It is no surprise then that the play closely observes the rules that he himself proposed regarding unity and verisimilitude. This experience of working with Camilla and her ladies may, however, have encouraged Ingegneri's use of a young female actor (the daughter or wife of the well regarded, semi-professional actor Giovan Battista Verrato) to play Jocasta in the academy performance of *Edipo*, as well as the academy's women musicians and other female non-speaking parts — an innovation for the Olimpici.⁵⁹ Meanwhile, what impact did the event have on Camilla and her mother? Unfortunately, as is so often the case, this question is hard to answer in the absence of eye-witness accounts. Camilla made a good political marriage to the duke's loyal relative Mario Farnese (Duke of Latera) some three years later in 1587, with a dowry of 30,000 gold *scudi*.⁶⁰ Could her *Danza di Venere* performance have had any effect on these arrangements? It is possible: Charles I of England married Henrietta Maria of France after first seeing her at a rehearsal for a court ballet in 1623.⁶¹ Significantly, Muzio Manfredi chose to commemorate Camilla's performance in a printed madrigal shortly after her wedding.

To conclude, this essay suggests that there is more to the play in performance than meets the eye in the printed version. Ingegneri's dedicatory letter deliberately conceals or redirects the attention of readers from potentially subversive aspects evident to the original courtly audience, and carefully contains aspects of political conflict and critical interrogation of family and gender identity. Linked with Vicenza and its main academy, the printed edition of the *Danza di Venere* distanced the co-protagonists from the strained relations with the Farnese, but highlighted the exclusive and innovative aspects of the Pallavicino-Lupi's social performance. Nonetheless, an attentive contextual reading of this play suggests that theatre in this case provided an important means both of negotiating a female political voice, and building an academic reputation.

Notes to Chapter 9

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1. Angelo Ingegneri, *Danza di Venere*, ed. by Roberto Puggioni (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), p. 57 (both quotations). References (*DV*), unless otherwise indicated, will be to this modern critical edition based on the *princeps*, Angelo Ingegneri, *Danza di Venere, Nell'Accademia de' Sig. Olimpici di Vicenza detto il Negletto. Et l'Innestato in quella de' Signori Innominati di Parma. All' Illustriss. S. Camilla Lupi* (Vicenza: Nella Stamperia Nova 1584, Con Licenza de' Superiori). The preface is entitled: 'All'illustrissima Signora Camilla Lupi', 31 December 1583, and appears in the *princeps* fols 12^r–15^r. Translations mine. Ranuccio Farnese (1569, r. 1592–1622), then also aged around fourteen, was the grandson of Duke Ottavio of Parma and Piacenza and the son of the great *condottiere* and sometime governor of the Netherlands, Duke Alessandro Farnese.
2. *Danza di Venere*, p. 57. Ingegneri notes that *DV* was composed at the request of Giacomo Ragona, an Olimpico academician. The rededication of his play is noted also in the *Atti* of the Accademia Olimpica, though associated here with Giacomo's brother Alfonso Ragona, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza, *Atti dell'Accademia Olimpica* (henceforth A.O.), 2 (10), 1583 [fol. 26^v], 77: 'Il S.e Angelo Ingegneri avendo già composta per ordine de' SS.ri Accad.ci, et ad ist.a del S.e Alfonso Ragona una Pastorale intitolata La Danza di Venere, et rissoltosi di recitar Tragedia, e non Pastorale, egli la diede alla luce dedicandola alla S.a Camilla Lupi'. Alfonso Ragona helped to negotiate the inaugural performance of *Edipo Re* by the Olimpici (A.O.2 (10), 1584, fol. 28^v).
3. Sampson, Lisa, "'Drammatica secreta": Barbara Torelli's *Partenia* (c. 1587) and Women in Late-Sixteenth-Century Theatre', in *Theatre, Opera, and Performance in Italy from the Fifteenth Century to the Present: Essays in Honour of Richard Andrews*, ed. by Brian Richardson, Simon Gilson, and Catherine Keen, Occasional Papers (Leeds: The Society for Italian Studies, 2004), pp. 99–115. On choreographed elite female performances, see Nina Treadwell, "'Simil combattimento fatto da dame": The Musico-theatrical Entertainments of Margherita Gonzaga's *balletto delle donne* and the Female Warrior in Ferrarese Cultural History', in *Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music*, ed. by Todd M. Borgerding (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 27–40; and Giuseppe Gerbino, *Music and the Myth of Arcadia in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 202–39.
4. Cf. the preface Alberto Lollio's *Aretusa* (Ferrara, 1564), which briefly notes the artists and actors, the places and dates of performance besides members of the ducal family in attendance, see Lisa Sampson, *Pastoral Drama in Early Modern Italy: The Making of a New Genre* (Oxford: Legenda, 2006), p. 174.
5. Critics tend to consider the date 1583, since the dedicatory letter recalling the performance is dated 31 December 1583; see Puggioni, p. 10 n. 3, and p. 21.
6. Muzio Manfredi notes in his *argomento* for a madrigal to Camilla Lupi Farnese that as a girl 'insieme con le sue damigelle, e quelle della Sig. Donna Isabella, sua madre, recitò in Soragna la *Danza di Venere*, Pastorale del Sig. Angelo Ingegneri' [with her ladies and those of Lady Isabella, her mother, she performed in Soragna the *Danza di Venere*, a pastoral by Signor Angelo Ingegneri], *Cento Madrigali* (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1587), p. 63; italics mine.
7. For the Stamperia Nova, apparently managed and then bought by Agostin dalla Noce in 1585, Edit16 lists four printed works: *DV* (1584); Gregorio Ducchi, *Lagrima di diversi poeti volgari, et latini. Sparse per la morte dell'illustriss. et eccellentiss. madama Leonora di Este* (1585 [col. 1584]); Curzio Gonzaga, *Rime* (1585); and *Compositioni volgari, et latine, in lode del clariss.mo sig.or Luigi Mocenico [sic] capitano di Vicenza* (1585). Both Ducchi and Gonzaga were closely associated with Pallavicino Lupi, see Maddalena Campiglia, *Flori, a Pastoral Play*, ed. by Virginia Cox and Lisa Sampson (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 4, 6–8, 11, 13–15, 32–33. Dalla Noce later printed many works by members of the Accademia Olimpica.
8. Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579–1597* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University

- Press, 1980); Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *Cronistoria del Concerto Delle Dame Principalissime di Margherita Gonzaga d'Este* (Florence: SPES, 1979); Kathryn Bosi, 'Leone Tolosa and Martel d'amore: A balletto della duchessa Discovered', *Ricerche*, 17 (2005), 5–70; Treadwell. On female court patronage, see Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400–1650* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), pp. 22–23, 40–44, 185–89, 207.
9. See Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 124–26; for earlier elite all-female ballets at the French court of Cathérine de' Medici, pp. 154–58; Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 84, 109; and above, n. 8. For theatre patronage by Medici women in the seventeenth century, see Kelly Harness, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art, and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006). The question of female dramatic patronage across Italy, however, still invites further comparative research. On Ingegneri's negotiations to arrange the marriage of Marfisa d'Este to Alderano Cybo Malaspina, see Simona Foà's entry on Marfisa in *DBI*, 43 (1993). <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marfisa-d-este_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 10 July 2014]. For Marfisa's role in the *balletto*, see Treadwell, pp. 29, 32.
 10. *DV*, p. 57.
 11. For the English context, cf. David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English drama, 1570–1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), esp. the Introduction, and chapters 1 and 3 ('The Printing House and Textual Patronage' and 'Women as Patrons of Drama').
 12. Guido Baldassarri, *Angelo Ingegneri: Itinerari di un 'uomo di lettere'* (Vicenza: Accademia Olimpica, 2013), pp. 9–74; Laura Riccò, 'Ben mille pastorali': *Litinerario dell'Ingegneri da Tasso a Guarini e oltre* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), esp. pp. 249–86; Puggioni, ed., *DV*, pp. 9–54. See also the Introduction to Angelo Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche*, ed. by Maria Luisa Doglio (Modena: Panini, 1989). For reasons of space this essay will not consider the two manuscript sources of Ingegneri's play: a full version in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Drammat. Allacci 295 int. 6) and a version of the prologue entitled 'Venere / Nel primo giorno di Maggio / di Angelo Ingegneri' [Venus on the first day of May, by Angelo Ingegneri] in the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (Ms. Cicogna 191 [537]: Poesie / Varie / MSS., part 1, fols 15^r–18^v), which Baldassarri conjectures may be linked with the wedding of Cesare d'Este and Virginia de' Medici (Florence, 1586) (p. 31, n. 60).
 13. Ingegneri, *Della poesia rappresentativa...* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1598); *Tomiri, tragedia* (Naples: Giovan Giacomo Carlino e Costantino Vitale, 1607). On Ingegneri and the Olimpici, see Stefano Mazzoni, *L'Olimpico di Vicenza: un teatro e la sua 'perpetua memoria'* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1998), pp. 96–97 and *passim*. On *Tomiri*, see also Roberto Puggioni, 'Sulla dedicatoria della "Tomiri" (1607) di Angelo Ingegneri', in *La letteratura degli italiani 4. I letterati e la scena, Atti del XVI Congresso Nazionale Adi, Sassari-Alghero, 19–22 settembre 2012*, a cura di G. Baldassarri, V. Di Iasio, P. Pecci, E. Pietrobon e F. Tomasi (Rome: Adi editore, 2014), <http://www.italianisti.it/Atti-di-Congresso?pg=cms&ext=p&cms_codsec=14&cms_codcms=397> [accessed 6 June 2016].
 14. Riccò, p. 252.
 15. Ingegneri, *Della poesia*, p. 7; see also Cox, *Prodigious Muse*, pp. 92–97; Gerbino, p. 203.
 16. On the 'recontextualized' edition by Giuseppe Pavoni, see Puggioni, pp. 15, 37–42; Baldassarri, p. 65.
 17. Though see Cox and Sampson, eds, *Flori*, pp. 4, 6, 9, 13, 29, 33; Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, pp. 17–18, 77, 84, 94, 105, 116, 265; Stefano Andretta, *La venerabile superbia: Ortodossia e trasgressione nella vita di Suor Francesca Farnese (1593–1651)* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1994), pp. 56–57; Carlo Ossola, *Dal Cortegiano all' 'Uomo di mondo': Storia di un libro e di un modello sociale* (Turin: Einaudi, 1987), pp. 113–20; Gerbino, pp. 205–06.
 18. Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580: Negotiating Power* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). On Isabella's mother, the learned Camilla Pallavicino, Marchesa of Busseto and Cortemaggiore (c. 1515–1561), celebrated among others by Pietro Aretino, see esp. pp. 5–6, 47–60; see pp. 53 and 55 for the dating of Isabella's birth (after her sister Vittoria, born c. 1548).

19. Francesco Agostino della Chiesa, *Theatro delle donne letterate* (Mondovi: G. Gislandi & G. T. Rossi, 1620), p. 201 (entry dated 1580). For Maddalena Campiglia's representation of Isabella Pallavicino Lupi composing poetry, see Cox, *Prodigious Muse*, p. 116.
20. Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata* (Parma: Erasmo Viotti, 1581), Ingegneri's second dedicatory letter is to Isabella Pallavicina [sic] Lupi, 1 March 1581 [+iv^v], she is also recalled in his first dedication to Duke Carlo Emanuele of Savoy. In the very slightly altered edition, printed just after in Casalmaggiore by Antonio Canacci and Erasmo Viotti (1581), the dedication to Pallavicino Lupi is replaced by Ingegneri's letter 'A Gl'Intendenti lettori'.
21. See Cox, *Prodigious Muse*, p. 17; and Romualdo Luzi, 'Alessandro Donzellini e alcuni aspetti della vita culturale al tempo dei Farnese', in *Alessandro Donzellini: Letterato e storico di Bolsena tra i secoli XVI-XVII* (Bolsena: SPQV Editrice, 1994), pp. 91-97 (pp. 96-97); my thanks to Prof. Giuseppe Bertini for suggesting this source.
22. Lavinia Fontana, *Tognina (Antonietta) Gonzales*, c. 1595 (Blois, Musée des Beaux-Arts). The girl holds a piece of paper which notes her patronage by 'Donna Isabella Pallavicina sig.a Marchesa [Sora]gna'. On Gonzales, whose rare condition of hypertrichosis made her a curiosity in European courts, and who came to Parma in 1583, see Lucia Marinig, in *Gonzaga: La celeste galleria. Le raccolte*, ed. by Raffaella Morsella (Milan: Skiro, 2002), pp. 200-01; Caroline Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana: A Painter and her Patrons in Sixteenth-Century Bologna* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 162-65.
23. On Isabella Pallavicino's involvement with religious institutions in Cortemaggiore, Piacenza and Soragna (where she tried to open a Servite convent in 1589), see Bruno Colombi, *Soragna: Cristiani ed ebrei otto secoli di storia* (Parma: Battei, 1975), pp. 146-47; McIver, p. 55 n. 230.
24. 'le sue liberalità furono sì eccessive, che portata dal brio della sua nascita, e ricchezze, lasciò il Marchese Gio: Paolo suo figlio privo di un miglione di valsente, che essa havrebbe potuto conservargli' [her liberality was so excessive, as a consequence of her magnificent family and wealth, that she left Marquis Giampaolo, her son, without a million [currency not specified] that she could have saved for him] (Ippolito Calandrini, *Il Publico Spezzese. Historia Dell'Antichissima, e nobilissima famiglia degli Illustrissimi Signori Marchesi di Soragna, e vita del glorioso S. Lupo vescovo, e confessore* [...] (Parma: Per Mario Vigna, 1653), p. 103. Giampaolo Lupi later repented causing their rupture, see his dedicatory letter (1611) to his *Meditatione [sic] devote sopra l'acerbissima passione del N. Sig. Giesu Christo* (Parma: Anteo Viotti, 1621). On Pallavicino's enormous inheritance from her mother and her loans from Jews, see McIver, pp. 55-56; Colombi, pp. 269, 281.
25. Gio. Donato Cucchetti, *La Pazzia, favola pastorale* (Ferrara, appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnacini, e fratelli, 1586, ad istanza di Francesco Mammarello). The first edition (1581) had been dedicated to Marfisa d'Este, following a failed performance; it was rededicated to her in 1597.
26. Ossola, *Dal Cortegiano*, p. 113; also Riccò, pp. 144-46.
27. Anton Maria Garofano, 1 Jan. 1584 [n. p.] in Nicolò Secchi, *Il Beffa Comedia ... Data in luce per Antonio Maria Garofani, Alla Illustriss. Sig. Donna Isabella Pallavicina, Lupi, Marchesa di Soragna* (Parma, Per gl'Heredi di Seth Viotti, 1584). On Garofani, who also wrote secular verse and co-dedicated a religious work (*Sommario delle Indulgenze*, Parma, 1582) to Barbara Torelli Benedetti and Lucretia Scotti Angosciola, see Ireneo Affò, *Memorie degli Scrittori e Letterati Parmigiani*, 7 vols (Parma: Dalla Stamperia Reale, 1793; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969), IV, 301-03.
28. Cox and Sampson, *Flori*, pp. 14-15.
29. Barbara Torelli Benedetti, *Partenia, a Pastoral Play* [c. 1586], ed. and trans. by Lisa Sampson and Barbara Burgess-van Aken (Toronto: Iter/Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2013), v.3.376, p. 287 n. 126. Tasso's sonnet 'Calisa, chiome d'oro a l'aure estive' was written around December 1581 (*Le Lettere di Torquato Tasso...*, ed. by Cesare Guasti, 2nd edn, 5 vols (Naples: Gabriele Rondonella, 1857), II, 198. The name is probably a portmanteau of *kalos* (Greek: beauty) and *Isabella*. It is used in the pastorals of Ingegneri and Campiglia.
30. Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, p. 27; see also pp. xvi, xviii-xx, 19-50; 92-103; and on female patronage of women writers, pp. 115-18, 155-58.
31. Anon., *Discorso dell'Accademia e del Principe fatto nell'Accademia de S.ri Innominati di Parma. All'entrar al principato di quella dell'Ilmo et Ecc.mo Sig. Principe Rainuzio Farnese* [composed 1586, copied 1835], Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Ms Parm, 1291, fol. 7^v. On its authorship, see Lucia Denarosi, *L'Accademia degli Innominati di Parma: Teorie letterarie e progetti di scrittura (1574-1608)* (Firenze: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2003), pp. 53-61, 411.

32. Il Faticoso Milanese, *Trionfi di cinque giornate fatti in Soragna per le nozze dell' illustriss. Sig. Beatrice Obici Lupi* (Reggio: Hercoliano Bartoli, 1589); for the staging of Christoforo de' Aleotti Coradini's pastoral play, *Fileno*, with visible *intermedi* on the final day of the festivities (28 September 1589), first in the garden then transferred inside the castle because of a storm, see fols C2^v-C3^v. An unspecified comedy was staged the day before. Margaret of Austria was the Governor of the Low Countries (1559-67), and lived estranged from her husband Duke Ottavio Farnese of Parma. On her court and protection of Pallavicino, who served as her lady-in-waiting, see Giuseppe Bertini, *Le Nozze di Alessandro Farnese: Feste alle corti di Lisbona e Bruxelles* (Milan: Skira, 1997), pp. 37-44, 97, 136, 137, 139 (my thanks to Prof. Bertini for this reference); McIver, pp. 54-55. On Barbara Sanseverino Sanvitale's staging of a private aristocratic mythological play involving Vincenzo Gonzaga, see Sampson, 'Drammatica secreta', p. 107.
33. Maria Galli Stampino, 'Epideictic Pastoral', in *Drama as Rhetoric/Rhetoric as Drama: An Exploration of Dramatic and Rhetorical Criticism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp. 36-49.
34. On Farnese hostilities against the Pallavicino family and the 1547 plot, see for example Emilio Nasalli Rocca, *I Farnese* (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1969), pp. 81-83, 86-87, 127-29; Marco Boscarelli, 'La conquista farnesiana dello Stato Pallavicino', *Archivi per la storia*, 1.1-2 (1988), 185-97.
35. Muzio Manfredi 'Il Fermo Academico Innominato' collaborated with his fellow academy member, Ingegneri, on the *Gerusalemme Liberata* edition and produced a paratextual sonnet on Camillo Lupi for the 1584 *princeps* of *Danza di Venere* ('Pargoletta Guerriera, il cui valore', fol. [5^v]) printed also in Manfredi's verse collection for the marriage of Vincenzo Gonzaga and Margherita Farnese, *Cento donne* (Parma: Nella Stamperia d'Erasmo Viotti, 1580), p. 42; not in Puggioni's edition.
36. 'a particular richiesta d'un academico di essa, Signor mio molto caro e segnalatamente qualificato', *DV*, p. 57.
37. A.O.1 (5), fols 11^v-12^v; see Mazzoni, pp. 95-98; 102-03.
38. Mazzoni, p. 96.
39. The reference exists only in the eighteenth-century summary of earlier *atti* by Bartolomeo Ziggioni, *Memorie dell'accademia Olimpica*, BBV, ms Gonzati, 21.11.2 (2916), fol. 37. On the public reading of Pace's play, see A.O.2 (10), [fol. 25^v, p. 48], 74.
40. Riccò, pp. 258-59.
41. *Decameron*, Day 5, 1. On Ingegneri's self-conscious imitation of this 'thematic/diegetic hypotext' along with other sources by Boccaccio and others, see Puggioni, *DV*, p. 57.
42. *Aminta*, 1.1, 4.1, 4.2.
43. This section (alluding to Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, 311) appears like a madrigal in ten lines mostly of mixed hendecasyllables and *settenari*, with lines 129 and 132 unusually in ten syllables. The metre is AbBC AddC eE.
44. See Ingegneri's 'canzon pastorale' to Isabella Pallavicino Lupi before *Danza di Venere* (1584), fols. 6^v-8^v (not in Puggioni's edition); Baldassarri, p. 16 n. 24; Sampson and Burgess-Van Aken, p. 276 n. 4.
45. Andrea Nicoletti, *Vita della venerabile madre suor Francesca Farnese detta di Giesù Maria* (Rome: Giacomo Dragonelli, 1660), p. 3, quoted in Andretta, *Venerabile superbia*, p. 53.
46. Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy*, pp. 3-8, 22-23. Cf. the audience's wonder on beholding the noble virgins playing nymphs at the 1589 Soragna pastoral performance: 'attoniti quasi, di se stessi fuori restavano: Nudrimento soave areccavano all'orecchie le melate parole, à gli occhi, i proportionati gesti, gli atti amorosi, e dolci, di semplicità purità coperti, e le belle maniere' (*Trionfi di cinque giornate*, fol. C3^v).
47. *DV*, p. 58.
48. 'che dirò delle Pastoral da lei prima introdotte in Scena', Adriano Valerini *Oratione* (Verona: Bastian Dalle Donne et Giovanni fratelli, [1570?]); quoted in Ferruccio Marotti and Giovanna Romei, *La commedia dell'arte e la società barocca. 2. La professione del teatro* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1991; repr. 1994), II, 31-41 (p. 36). For the influence of *virtuosa* actresses on elite female performers, allowing for differences due to decorum, see Treadwell, pp. 31-33; Gerbino, pp. 194-215. I thank Virginia Cox for suggesting this comparison. See also Giuseppe Bertini, 'L'attrice Vincenza Armani a Parma nel 1568 e la Corte dei Farnese', *Aurea Parma*, 94.1 (2010), 3-10 (pp. 4-6, 10).
49. Thanks to Alexandra Collier for noting this point. Men and women performed in the 1589 Soragna pastoral.

50. *DV*, p. 58.
51. Groups of satyrs are, however, found in drama inspired by the ancient Greek satyr drama, such as Poliziano's *Orfeo*, Giraldo Cinzio's *Egle*, and Pace's *Eugenio* (which had dancing satyrs and *sileni*, see Mazzoni, p. 138). See recently with useful bibliography Katie Rees, 'Satyr Scenes in Early Modern Padua: Valeria Miani's *Amorosa speranza* and Francesco Contarini's *Fida ninfa*', *The Italianist*, 31.1 (2014), 23–25 (pp. 30–32).
52. *DV*, III.3, p. 131. The text (ll. 1927–55) is strophic and meant to be repeated, and includes *ottonari* ('Ch'ogni cosa s'innamora') and *quaternari*, for example in the four-line chorus ('La là, la là'). On Ferrarese *balletti*, sung and danced by noblewomen, see Bosi, pp. 30–32, 34 and n. 8 above.
53. Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 176–77.
54. Sampson, *Pastoral drama*, p. 106; and "Drammatica secreta", p. 107; Gerbino, pp. 206–14.
55. Newcomb, *The Madrigal*, pp. 36–37; Bosi, pp. 12–16; Treadwell, pp. 29–30.
56. On the intrinsically theatrical exploration of political morality implied in the Rape of the Sabines myth, see Jane Tylus, 'Theater and its Social Uses: Machiavelli's *Mandragola* and the Spectacle of Infamy', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53.2 (2000), 656–86. For a subtle exploration of the 'interpretative dilemma' posed by imaginings of myths of violent conquest and rape at the root of civilization and marriage, see Susanne L. Wofford, 'The Social Aesthetics of Rape: Closural Violence in Boccaccio and Botticelli', in *Creative Imitation: New Essays on Renaissance Literature In Honor of Thomas M. Greene*, ed. by David Quint, Margaret W. Ferguson, G. W. Pigman III, Wayne A. Rebhorn (Binghamton, NY: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies SUNY, 1992), pp. 189–238.
57. In Giraldo's *Egle* the satyrs attack on the dancing nymphs ends tragically with the nymphs escaping and being transformed on stage.
58. McIver, pp. 52–53.
59. See the eyewitness accounts by Giacomo Dolfin and Antonio Riccoboni in Alberto Gallo, *La prima rappresentazione al Teatro Olimpico, con i progetti e le relazioni dei contemporanei*, preface by Lionello Puppi (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1973), pp. 33–37, 39–51; also Mazzoni, pp. 131–32, 141–43, 147; on the two female musicians/singers, see Fenlon, pp. 127–28; Virginia Cox, 'Members, Muses, Mascots: Women and Italian Academies', in *The Italian Academies 1525–1700: Networks of Culture, Innovation and Dissent*, ed. by Jane E. Everson, Denis V. Reidy and Lisa Sampson (Oxford: Legenda, 2016), pp. 132–69 (pp. 150–52); Lisa Sampson, 'Amateurs meet professionals: Theatrical activities in late sixteenth-century Italian Academies', in *The Reinvention of Theatre in Sixteenth-Century Europe: Traditions, Texts and Performance*, ed. by T. F. Earle and Catarina Fouto (Oxford: Legenda, 2015), pp. 187–218 (p. 193).
60. Stefano Andretta, 'Farnese, Mario', *DBI*, 45 (1995), <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/mario-farnese_%28Dizionario_Biografico%29/> [accessed 18 July 2014].
61. Melinda J. Gough, "'Not as Myself': The Queen's Voice in *Tempe Restored*", *Modern Philology*, 101.1 (2003), 48–67 (p. 55). For Manfredi's madrigal, see n. 6.

CHAPTER 10



Treasures of Knowledge: *Thesoro* as a Handbook in the Sixteenth Century

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Medici Archive Project

This contribution aims to illustrate briefly the origin and the use of the word *thesoro* or *tesoro* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publications, in order to contextualize the use of such word in the title of an anonymous book published under false imprint, the *Thesoro politico* (1589).¹ After a short description of this volume, I shall comment on the definition given to the word *thesoro* in Italian (*thesaurus* or *thensaurus* in Latin, *tresor* in French, and *thesauro* in Spanish) in current dictionaries, and mention the use of the word *thesoro* in the context of the projects devised by the founder of the *Accademia veneziana*, also called *Accademia della fama*, or *Accademia veneta*. Finally, I shall look at a selection of sixteenth-century publications using the word *thesoro* in the title.

In 1589, under the false address *Accademia italiana di Colonia*, and with the fictitious name Alberto Coloresco as the printer of the academy, appeared a very original publication. The full title is

THESORO POLITICO | CIOÈ | RELATIONI | INSTRUZIONI
TRATTATI, | DISCORSI VARI. | D'Amb(asciato)ri | Pertinenti alla cognitione,
et intelligenza delli stati, | interessi, et dipendenze de più gran Principi del | Mondo.
Nuovamente impresso a benef- | ficio di chi si diletta intendere, et per | tinentemente
discorrere li nego- | tii di stato. | [printer's device] | Nell'Accademia Italiana di
Colonia | L'Anno 1589.²

The book has a short introduction promising a second part containing the same kind of material. The book contains thirty-two different texts, which in my interpretation can be divided into three sections. The first consists of the opening essay, a theoretical introduction to the art of statecraft by the controversial author Scipione Di Castro, political advisor to Giacomo Boncompagni, the legitimate son of Pope Gregory XIII: *Delli fondamenti dello stato et instrumenti del regnare*.³ This is followed by a second section containing a series of ambassadors' reports, which include the first printed edition by some famous Venetian diplomats. This section can be divided into the following subsections: first come the reports on