Chivalry, Academy, and Cultural Dialogues
The Italian Contribution to European Culture

*Essays in Honour of Jane E. Everson*

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CHAPTER 9

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

Lisa Sampson
University of Reading

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 preface how the girl, then aged around fourteen and unmarried, enamored his work by designing to play the role of the lead nymph, ‘in compagnia d’altrì nobili damigelle [fra di quelle sembrando vera Diana, cinta delle sue vaghe cacciatrici; o più tosto chiarissima luna nel mezzo di tante rilevuenti 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 corti quasi regale, cont’è quella di Parma’ [an almost royal court, like that of Parma] as well as to the young prince, Ranuccio Farnese. Ingegneri notes that his play was originally composed ‘a contemplazione dell’Academia Olimpica, oggi 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 fief of Soragna, as hitherto evidence suggests is more likely. Finally, it is notable that the play was published distinctly from the performance venue in Vicenza by the short-lived Stamperia Nova (1584–86), 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 segreta), 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 Duchesses of Mantua and Ferrara, the 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 lovely mind, and the incomparably elegant grace of your Ladyship].9 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 playtext 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 preface, which is identifiable within the playtext 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 Ricco, 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 1588], 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 Giustini’s translation of Sophocles’ Edipo Re, but also for his important treatise on dramatic poetry (Discourse on Poetry for the Stage, 1598) and for his tragicomedy (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 in 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 been 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 Danza di Venus using a group of satyrs. This plan goes awry and, on believing Amarilli dead, Coridone apparently dies of grief. His resurrection, 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 Ricciò has shown, Ingegneri’s Danza di Venere served as a silent ‘subtext’ to his Aristotelian project with the Discourse on Poetry (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 comedia non lice, danno luogo a nobili affetti, non discricvelli alle tragedie istesse [by allowing virgins and honest women on stage (which would not be appropriate in comedy), pastoral 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
The dedication by Anton Maria Garofani, a cleric and Pallavicino courtier, of a posthumous re-edition of Nicolaè Scocchi’s Il Beffe, 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 petze d’huonini spenserati’ [unpleasant, thoughtless men] who mostly ‘pascono la mal composta sua natura, e di chimere, e di fabrique in aria; & alla fine con qualche Apologia del non dir mai bene, adempieno quelle parti del corpo estushe, alle quali non pò supplire l’oitio, per grande, ch’e’i’z [ج] satisf y 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.42 Such remarks recall the fourth and final play (co-)dedicated to Pallavicino, Maddalena Campiglia’s Flori, favola boscheresca (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 dramaticity which may contravene certain ‘male’ academic norms.48

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 helenizing nickname ‘Calisa’, as immortalized by Tasso.49 Together with Campiglia, Torelli contributed to the promotion of a new type of ‘seria’, 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’.50

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 aminta of 1586 delivered to the Innominati academy of Parma, perhaps by Ingegneri, provides new evidence of a chivalric spectacle held by Pallavicino in Soragna featuring prince Ranuccio Farnese:


[Your highness the Prince is already well trained [in chivalric actions] that as long as Soragna lasts, or at least as long as its horizon is illuminated 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 Excellence committed there.]51

Pallavicino also prepared a lavish pastoral performance starring her young ladies—waiting as nymphs as part of the varied five days of celebrations to mark her son’s dynastic wedding in 1580 on the model of other local feudal rulers of both sexes,
including the notorious Barbara Sanseverina Sanvitale, Marchesa of nearby Sala and Colomo.53 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.54 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 passed 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.55 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 'teniminarsd', 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 Ludi 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.56 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'.57 The unspecified 'indisposizioni' [indispositions] and 'tanti altri lavori' [many other works] 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.58 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 Poco's (now lost) pastoral Eugenia.59 Nor do we know if and how Danza di Venere corresponds with the play entitled La rimedio that Ingegneri apparently presented to the academy.60 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 Poco's 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 Tristano's Sogno.

While the influence of academy discussions on Aristotelian dramaticurgy 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:

Dicha, che sia benedetta
Da la madre d'Amor per mille vole
Questa voglia, ch'è in me, di farle onore.

[Ah, let this desire in me to honour my goddess be blessed countless times by the love 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.61 As for Camilla-Amarilli's beauty, this was demonstrated in the second scene by its virtuous effects on the deranged shepherd, Coridon. 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.62

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.63 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 resogna, che si soave piange' (1.1.129–38), might also have been sung solo.64 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, Leucippe, given the Venetian's long association with this literary 'nickname'.65
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 ordinari trattenimenti e occupazioni in tutto questo tempo furono d'imparare a leggere e scrivere; a suonare e ballare; e a recitare donzelli e rappresentazioni pastorali: consciaciach in esse havea una mirabile attitudine (statics 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].

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, Ingegnieri’s celebration of her ‘felicità dell’insegno e [...] grazia nel fiambellare miracoloso’ [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. Vincenzo Armati (d. 1696), 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, Ingegnieri carefully offsets any potentially negative associations with a professional actress by calling the aristocrat an ‘onestissima verginiella’ [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 Ingegnieri’s dedication involves a careful reframing of the action to emphasize the girl’s dynastic function. Ingegnieri 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 her 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.59 The dance involves two choruses of four nymphs and four shepherds, singing a repeated polyphonic text unaccompanied, with the stage instruction ‘ballando, cantano’ (sing while dancing).60 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 Platonian ideals of interior harmony and love’s power to create concord out of violence (’raptio’) and discord.61 Additionally, the dance allowed Ingegnieri 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 Marinelli envisaged this for his 1602 pastoral, Contrasto amonoso, where he suggests a woman could play the single young shepherd.62 Ingegnieri may also have been consciously imitating the tradition of virtuoso, choreographed ballets established since 1581 by the Duchess of Ferrara Margherita Gonzaga Este. 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.63

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 epitaphialiums. It would have evoked a rich stock of classical myths of rapes, including Lucretia and the Sabine women, as well as Bocaccio’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.64 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
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 dynamic 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 versimilitude. 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 Giovanni 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—a innovation for the Olimpici. 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. 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 1623.81 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

1 gratefully acknowledge the generous award of a Major Research Grant by the AHRC (Italian Academics, 2000–2002) and a British Academy Small Research Grant, which allowed us to undertake research for this essay.

1. Angelo Ingervig, 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 principio, Angelo Ingervig, Danza di Venere, Nell’Accademia de’ Sig. Olimpi di Vicenza detto il Novecento. Ed l’insertato in quella de’ Signori Insanati di Parma. A’ Illustris. S. Camilla Lupi (Vicenza: Nella Stamperia Nova 1784, with Licenza de’ Superiori). The preface is entitled: “All’illustrissima Signora Camilla Lupi, 31 December 1831, and appears in the principio folios 112v–113r. Translations mine. Rambacce Farnese (1590, T. 1522–1524), then also aged around four hundred, was the granddaughter 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. Ingervig notes that DV was composed at the request of Giacomo Ragona, an Olimpico academian. The redecoration of his play is noted also in the Act of the Academia Olimpica, though associated here with Giacomo’s brother Alfonso Lupi, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Vicenza, Acti dell’Accademia Olimpica (henceforth A.O.), 2 (10), 138 [col. 20v], 77: “Il S.e Angelo Ingervig avendo già composta per ordine de’ SS.ri Accad. et al da del S.e Alfonso Lupi una Pastorale intitolata La Danza di Venere, et risoluzioni di recitar Teatro: Pastoralfe, egli la diede alla luce dedicandola alla S. Camilla Lupi. Alfonso Lupi helped to negotiate the inaugural performance of Edipo Re by the Olimpic (A.O.) 10, 1584, fol. 1a).


4. Cf. the preface Alberto Lollio’s Aeternus (Ferrara, 1594), which briefly notes the artists and actors, the places and dates of performances 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. Critica tend to consider the date 1583, since the dedicatory letter recalling the performance is dated 31 December (1583); see Puggioni, pp. 10 n. 3, and p. 25.

6. Mariuz Manfredi notes in his argument for a madrigal to Camilla Lupi that this was as a girl ‘invisile con le sue damigelle, e quelle della Sig. Donna Isabella, sua matria, recito in Sangue la Danza di Venere. Pastoral de’ Sig. Angelo Ingervig’ [with her ladies and those of Lady Isabella, her mother, she performed in Sangue the Danza di Venere, a pastoral by Signor Angelo Ingervig].

7. For the Stamperia Nova, apparently managed and then bought by Agostina dalla Noce in 1585, edition lists four printed works: DV (1584); Gregorio Ducchii, Lagnime di diversi poeti volgari, et latini, in the mezzo alla morte dell’illustris. S. Maria Onorata; et eccellenis. modum Lustra in Tellus (1584) [col. 154r]; Corneto Maddalena (Maria Francesco Onzani, 1589), p. 6, italic mine.

8. For the Stamperia Nova, apparently managed and then bought by Agostina dalla Noce in 1585, edition lists four printed works: DV (1584); Gregorio Ducchii, Lagnime di diversi poeti volgari, et latini, in the mezzo alla morte dell’illustris. S. Maria Onorata; et eccellenis. modum Lustra in Tellus (1584) [col. 154r]; Corneto Maddalena (Maria Francesco Onzani, 1589), p. 6, italic mine.

9. For the Stamperia Nova, apparently managed and then bought by Agostina dalla Noce in 1585, edition lists four printed works: DV (1584); Gregorio Ducchii, Lagnime di diversi poeti volgari, et latini, in the mezzo alla morte dell’illustris. S. Maria Onorata; et eccellenis. modum Lustra in Tellus (1584) [col. 154r]; Corneto Maddalena (Maria Francesco Onzani, 1589), p. 6, italic mine.


11. Guido Baldassarri, Angelo Ingervig: invenitore di un ‘uomo di lettere’ (Vicenza: Accademia Olimpica, 2002), pp. 92–97. Lane, “‘Tre mille pastori’,” Litteratura dell’Oggi, 2 (1962), and Giovanni Marini, Danza di Venere, ed. by Roberto Puggioni (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), pp. 249–286. Puggioni, ed., DV, pp. 9–24. See also the Introduction to Angelo Ingervig, della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentarle le fanciulle servitrici, ed. by Maria Luisa Doglio (Modena: Pintori, 1989). For reasons of space this essay will not consider the two manuscript sources of Ingervig’s play: a full version in the Biblioteca Comunale di Firenze, and a version in the Vatican City (Drammat. Allacci 295 int. 6) and a version of the prologue entitled ‘Venere / Nel primo giorno di Maggio’ / ‘di Angelo Ingervig’ (Venus on the first day of May, by Angelo Ingervig) in the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (MS. Cicognia 191 [517]; Poesie / Varie / MSS., part 1, fol. 15v–15r), which Baldassarri conjectures may be linked with the wedding of Cesare d’Este de’ Medici (Florence, 1586) (p. 31, n. 65).


20. Torquato Tasso, Gerusalemme liberata (Parma: Erasmo Vanni, 1589), ingegneri's second dedication letter to Isabella Pallavicino [della] Lupi. I March 1584." [19] she is also recited in his first dedication to Duke Carlo Emanuele di Savoy in the very slightly altered edition, printed just after in Cervaraio by Antonio Camacci and Erasmo Vanni (1581), the dedication to Pallavicino Lupi is replaced by ingegneri's letter to GLtalianolettori.

21. See Cox, Prodigious Muse, p. 117; and Rinaldo Lupi, "L'Alessandro Donzelli e alcuni aspetti della vita culturale al tempo dei Farnese," in Alessandro Donzelli: Lettere e storie di Bolsena tra i secc. XVI-XVIII (Bolsena: SPQV Editrice, 1994), pp. 97-97 (pp. 96-97); my thanks to Prof. Giuseppe Bertini for suggesting this source.


23. On Isabella Pallavicino's involvement with religious institutions in CorteMaggio, Piezenza and Soragna (where she tried to open a Servite convent in 1583), see Bruno Colombo, Soragna: Cristiani ed etere atti della storia (Parma: Battei, 1975), pp. 146-47; McVey, p. 15 n. 230.

24. "Le sue liberalità furono di eccellenza, che portata dal bravo della sua scuola, e richiesteni, lasciò il Marchese Gio. Paolo suo figlio privo di un migliaio di valenze, che essa loro pudora conservavagli! [her liberality was so excessive, as a consequence of her magnificent family and wealth, that she left Marquis Giampalio, her son, without a million [currency not specified] that she [laudatoboxed] to the lamb! [Appaloza della] Pallavicino, il Bolognese quadrato di Cal cứu, e nobilissima famiglia delle Illustrissimi Signori Marchesi di Soragna, e della gloria di S. Lupo vescovo, e confessore [...]' (Parma: Per Mario Vigna, 1653), p. 122. Giampalio Lupi later repent悔med converting their rupture, see his dedicatory letter (1615) to his Moltiplicato[dis] amore sopra l’erobizione posizione del N. Sig. Gio. Casa Croci (Parma: Antonio Vanni, 1614), on Pallavicino's enormous inheritance from her nacher and heir loans from Jews, see McVey, pp. 55-66; Colombo, pp. 269, 281.

25. Giov. Donato Cucchetti, La Piazza, sana pastorel (Ferrara, appresso Gino Cesare Cagnonici, and fratelli, 1581, ad istanza di Francesco Manzamaroli. The first edition (1581) had been dedicated to Marquis d'Este, following a failed performance; it was reprinted in 1597.

26. Osada, Dal Corteggiano, p. 113; also Riccò, pp. 144-46.


29. Barbara Torelli Benedetti, Patronage, a Pastoral Play c. 1580, ed. and trans. by Lisa Sampson and Barbara Burgess-Van Allen (Trenton: Icen/Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2003), viii, 116. Tasso's sonnet "Calza, chissà d’oro a l’aur la estiva" was written around December 1581 (Le Lettori di Tasso ...), by Cesare Gusati, and ed., vols 5 (Naples: Gabriele Rondinella, 1837), 118. The name is probably a portmanteau of kolos (Greek: beauty) and Isabella. It is used in the pastoral of Ingegneri and Campagna.


CHAPTER 10

Treasures of Knowledge:
Theoro as a Handbook in the Sixteenth Century

Simone Testa
Medici Archive Project

This contribution aims to illustrate briefly the origin and the use of the word theoro 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). After a short description of this volume, I shall comment on the definition given to the word tesoro in Italian (thesaurus or thesaurus in Latin, tesoro in French, and thesoro in Spanish) in current dictionaries, and mention the use of the word theoro in the context of the projects devised by the founder of the Academia veneziana, also called Academia della firma, or Academia 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 Academia 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


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. 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