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Leone de' Sommi: Jewish participation in Italian Renaissance theatre

Botuck, Wendy Sue, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1991

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LEONE DE' SOMMI: A JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE THEATRE

by

Wendy S. Botuck

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1991

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

24 Sept. 1990
Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Sept 24, 1990
Date

Executive Officer

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Abstract

Leone de' Sommi: JEWISH JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE THEATRE

by

Wendy S. Botuck

Adviser: Professor Cynthia Munro Pyle

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the life and career of the theatrical artist, playwright and philosopher Leone Ebreo de' Sommi (1525/7-1590/2) within the context of Renaissance culture in sixteenth-century Italy. Before de' Sommi actually becomes the subject of discussion, several elements which contributed to the fertility of cultural endeavor are to be addressed. The chief of these is the propagation of the humanist ideal in Italy, with a view toward the roles therein played by playwriting and theatrical production. The participation in this movement by Jewish scholars other than de' Sommi is to be given particular attention. As one draws closer to the years of Leone de' Sommi's active years in the theatre, the theatrical traditions of both the Jewish and non-Jewish populations in Italy are addressed. De' Sommi, an inhabitant of the city-state of Mantua which was ruled by the culturally-minded Gonzaga family, is but one of many artists who pursued careers against the rich back-

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ground of artistic patronage enjoyed by all who lived in that city.

The actual treatment of Leone de' Sommi's involvement in theatrical and community matters is addressed in several ways. One is biographically, in a chapter which attempts to draw a portrait of this multi-sided man. Another is through identifying where his treatise Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (written ca. 1565, published in its original language in Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1968) stood within the spectrum of what was being written dramaturgically at the time. Another was by examining the four of his plays that remain extant: Tre sorelle (Three sisters, published for the first time in Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982), Hirifile, Il Tamburo (both these plays appear in print for the first time in the Appendices of this dissertation), and Tsahoth B'dichuta d'Kiddushin (translated from the Hebrew as The Comedy of Wedlock, written ca. 1550, published Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1946).

In summation, the career of Leone de' Sommi and the contributions he made to the growth of the theatrical medium are shown to be considerable, and worthy of note.

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PREFACE

I was first made aware of the part played by Jews in the cultural outburst of the Italian Renaissance through reading an excerpt of Leone de' Sommi's Dialogues, a sixteenth-century treatise on playwriting and stagecraft, as published in A. M. Nagler's text A Source Book in Theatrical History (1952). De' Sommi was the man in charge of theatrical production and general entertainment for the Gonzaga court in Mantua throughout a good part of the sixteenth century, and his Dialogues provide written evidence that he was an important contributor to the philosophy of dramatic structure.

That de' Sommi could have flourished in a field where Jews did not customarily have access was an interesting realization and increased the desire to know more than was evident in educational material currently circulating. It came to mind that perhaps de' Sommi's fame was an isolated example--a momentary spark--but he was merely the most illustrious member of a Jewish community which was very active in the performing arts. The extent of this community's contribution, however, cannot easily be measured as there is a paucity of material available describing its activities. Available scholarship, though, deals largely with the theatrical role played by Leone de' Sommi in his service to Gonzaga nobility and what he accomplished

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generally as a public representative of his Jewish brethren.

The methodology of this study is essentially historical, in that the focus is on one man--Leone de' Sommi--who was very much a product of the cultural growth which marked the Cinquecento (sixteenth century) in Italy. An essential source for those of Leone de' Sommi's plays that are no longer extant is Bernardino Peyron's codification of the contents of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin Codices Italici manu exarati in Bibliotheca Taurinensis Athenaei (Turin: Apud Carolum Clausen, 1904). Transcriptions (not previously published) of Hirifile and Il Tamburo provide heretofore unknown evidence of his dramatic output. Two of de' Sommi's plays were published: Tre sorelle (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982), and de' Sommi's only Hebrew play, Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1946). Several nineteenth-century literary journals with an eye toward Jewish concerns contain articles which enrich a study of both Leone de' Sommi's life and work: Vessillo Israelitico, Revue des Etudes Juives, Il Mosé, The Jewish Quarterly Review and Rassegna Mensile di Israel. Alessandro d'Ancona's magnificent book Origini del teatro italiano (2 vols. 2d ed., Rome: Loescher, 1891) gives one of the earliest detailed estimations of Leone de' Sommi's contributions to theatre in the Cinquecento. Lydia Pegna, in an article which was published in the journal Rassegna Mensile di Israel (Vol. 7, n. 12, April 1933) presented transcrip-

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tions of several letters and legal petitions authored by de' Sommi.

The most important primary source available for both a career and character study of Leone de' Sommi is his Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (ca. 1565). A reading of this treatise, coupled with consideration of Leone de' Sommi as a subject of scholarly interpretation brings me to the conclusion that he was a man who dealt with practical theatre matters in ways which should have been worthy of more attention. He pointed to explicit methods which did not seem to be the norm in theatrical practice in his own day. His incisive and down-to-earth explanations of the various aspects of theatrical production are written in ways which should have been recognized for their validity long before our time by practitioners and theorists. In the first dialogue, for example, de' Sommi states that the Greeks lay unjustified claim to having originated Western drama. He believes that Moses, as the reputed author of the Book of Job, had in that book already introduced characters and situations in dialogue form. In the third dialogue, actors are warned that voice and gesture should be pared down to only what is necessary and natural to the particular situation; any extraneous movement is to be discouraged and condemned.

The primary aim of this dissertation was to recreate a very special Jewish experience in Italian Renaissance theatre--that of Leone de' Sommi. The significance of

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such a study is that it may increase awareness and appreciation of Jewish contributions to Italian Renaissance theatre and initiate additional scholarly forays into this area. The desired goal was the realization de' Sommi broke ground in terms of new performance technique and dramatic theory. He held an exalted theatrical position at the Gonzaga court and in the theatre world of the Italian Renaissance. Recognition of this fact is an important reason for researching the particular subject of this dissertation.

Chapter 1 traces those threads of the cultural and intellectual climate of sixteenth-century Italy which could conceivably have had an effect on both the philosophy and dramatic output of Leone de' Sommi. These include the contribution of the ancient cultures (which were undergoing their own renaissance at this time) and the ways in which Renaissance scholars sought to represent these cultures within their own works. The humanist movement is discussed in just such a way--as a link forged between the products of ancient culture and the rebirth of these products in a new age. The immense contributions of Jewish scholars not only to the propagation of humanist concepts, but also to the dissemination of the ancient masterworks, are addressed alongside those of their non-Jewish brethren. The Greek and Roman progenitors of Leone de' Sommi and his colleagues in dramaturgical and scenographic matters are also analyzed with a view to those ideas which are most magnetic. The contribution

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made by the philosophic dialogue form is examined in the light of de' Sommi's masterwork having been composed according to its criteria.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of Italian theatre and dramatic practice in the sixteenth century, and an attempt is made to establish a sense of the Jewish theatrical spirit as being equally powerful. The influence of religious practices upon dramatic output was certainly strong in Christian circles, so any evidence that such was also the case with Jewish theatrical practitioners is suggested as well.

Chapter 3 discusses Mantua as a vital center of theatrical art, and those attributes of its ruling family--the Gonzagas--which made the city such a rich haven for those endowed with creative spirit. That these rulers felt it not only their obligation but their genuine desire to patronize artists involved in many fields, was a benefit extended to Jewish artists, Leone de' Sommi included.

Chapter 4 attempts to create a biography of Leone de' Sommi. It was in his capacity of scrittore accademico at the Accademia degli Invaghiti that de' Sommi wrote the majority of his plays, so his involvement therein is described. The fertile milieu offered by the Gonzagas of Mantua to all artists regardless of religious heritage made it possible for Leone de' Sommi to have such an impressive output, though comparatively little of that output is extant. What is known of de' Sommi's non-extant

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theatrical works is presented here in as much detail as possible. His life outside the theatrical world was a rich one as well, and his active participation in his own community's concerns are described at length. As an example, many Jews who found themselves on the wrong side of the law often had Leone de' Sommi as their mouthpiece in the Ducal court.

Chapter 5 assesses Renaissance dramatic theory as it was developed during this time. As the threads of scenography and diction are the two strongest ones in de' Sommi's Dialoghi, the initial pages of Chapter 5 take the logical step of presenting Italian Renaissance theories of the drama to which de' Sommi likely was exposed and by which he may have been influenced.

Chapter 6 encompasses an analysis of Leone de' Sommi's landmark treatise Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (1565). It is not possible to pigeonhole this work as either a scenic or a theoretical one. With this in mind, each dialogue is analyzed, in succession, according to the main ideas that underlined it. Dialogue One, then, deals with de' Sommi's version of drama and its genesis, Dialogue Two the structural aspects of plays, Dialogue Three de' Sommi's acting and costuming prescriptions, and Dialogue Four his principles of scenography and the preferred structure of intermedii. As a coda, this chapter takes a brief look at the state of dramatic and scenographic theory through treatises which were written after Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi. Special

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attention is given to the writings of Angelo Ingegneri and Giambattista Guarini because through the information they present, one can support the hypothesis that they were exposed in some way to de' Sommi's theories or work-practice.

Chapter 7 presents analyses of the Italian plays by Leone de' Sommi which are complete, or nearly so. Two of them, Il Tamburo and Hirifile, have not yet been published in their original language, so transcriptions taken from microfilms of the original manuscripts housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin are provided in two appendices following the main text of the dissertation. Tre Sorelle is the only other of de' Sommi's Italian plays which survives. His landmark Hebrew pastoral comedy, Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (The Comedy of Wedlock) is also subjected to similar treatment.

Chapter 8 presents my conclusions where specific Jewish contributions to the theatrical life of sixteenth-century Italy, in particular those of Leone de' Sommi in Mantua, are enumerated. They are placed within the perspective of theatrical development during the Italian Renaissance, where I hope they will stay as deserved.

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comedy of wedlock) was used here, and who communicated through his letter his willingness to help me in my research.

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Calandra	Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, La Calandra
Campbell	Lily Bess Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance
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Catalogus	Paul Oskar Kristeller, ed., Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum
Chambers	E. K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage
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Coniglio	Giuseppe Coniglio, I Gonzaga
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De Rossi	Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, Dizionario Storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere
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Hartnoll	Phyllis Hartnoll, The Oxford Companion to the Theatre
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CHAPTER 1

CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

What made the Italian Renaissance a period rich in both artistic and philosophical endeavors, and why did Italy become the first country to manifest what would be known as the Renaissance spirit? These are questions which are difficult if not impossible to answer. The implied "rebirth" resulted from the development of Renaissance humanism, a set of intellectual beliefs that burst into erudite circles through the dissemination of newly discovered and printed ancient works. The humanist movement that ushered in the Renaissance saw scholarly emphasis turn from religion towards a philosophy that took human inspiration into account.

The study of Aristotle's treatises and those of his commentators figured largely in the curriculum of the European cathedral schools from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Also, educational use of subject matter that was inspired by the curriculum of ancient Roman youth was not a new idea. The study program of these schools included the subjects of the Quadrivium and Trivium such as Grammar, Dialectic (the word "dialectic" itself originates from the Ancient Greek expression for the art

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of conversation, dialektos) [1] Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. [2] The supporters of this Ancient resurrection saw the above-mentioned course of study as necessary to the basic education of the human spirit. [3] The "artes liberales," or "studia liberalia" were a direct derivative of the spirit Seneca exhibits in his Epistle 88, where the above arts are listed as non-mercenary (not like the mechanical arts--painting and sculpture--with which one could earn a living), and "liberal" in that they are worthy of a free man. [4] What was reborn in the humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the enthusiasm and respect for ancient authors such as Plato, Aristotle, and Horace and a desire by scholars to recreate what was solid and admirable in those writings in their own works. They sought to study Grammar, Rhetoric, Arithmetic and Geometry with the idea of entering into the ancient spirit behind these subjects and applying it to their own needs. [5]

Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374), widely accepted as the father of the Renaissance, heads the long list of humanist scholars who searched the monastic and cathedral libraries of Europe for the neglected and deteriorating manuscripts of ancient Greek and Roman authors. [6] Petrarch and his friends spared no effort in gathering available manuscripts, their most treasured find being a requested copy of Homer in Greek, a language Petrarch could not read. [7] His writings were the first to exemplify adherence to

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humanist philosophy to so large an extent. Emblematic of such an adherance are the letters to be found in his vast correspondance written to Homer, Cicero, Livy and others, composed as if to contemporary colleagues. [8]

Others similarly occupied were such scholars as Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), who found the Institutiones of Quintilian, also while at the Swiss monastery of St. Gall. Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) who, as apostolic secretary, was present at the Council of Constance (1414-18) [9] spent much of his spare time during these days in the successful pursuit of ancient manuscripts. The four lengthy excursions Poggio made during this period netted some marvelous treasures. The first was to Cluny, France, sometime during the spring and summer of 1416, where he discovered a codex of Cicero's Orations, among which were two theretofore unknown ones--Roscio Amerino and P. Murena. [10] The second trip was in the summer of 1415 to the Monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland where he found the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus, the commentary of Asconius Pedianus on five Orations of Cicero, a substantial collection of works by Quintilian and, as a point of interest for theatre scholars, a manuscript of the De Architectura by Vitruvius. [11] The third trip was in January 1417, the destination also being the Monastery at St. Gall, where a complete manuscript of Lucretius' De Rerum Natura was discovered. [12] This particular manuscript was lost, but several copies both direct

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and indirect are extant, one of which was in the hand of Niccolò Niccoli (1364-1437), [13] whose vast collection of manuscripts was the basis of the future Bibliotheca Laurentiana. [14] The final trip was in July of 1417 and comprised a general excursion to various sites throughout France and Germany, where he successfully traced some eight additional orations by Cicero. [15] In 1420, Poggio also discovered an manuscript of Petronius' Satyricon in England. [16]

The German scholar Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) garnered many valuable manuscripts in his tireless journeys through Europe's dungeons and tombs. In October of 1426, a trip to Cologne gave him his first discoveries, Cicero's De Re Publica, and, of central importance to theatre historians, a manuscript containing sixteen of Plautus' plays. [17] In the latter part of 1421 Gherardo Landriani, who was the Bishop of Lodi, found within the archives of his own cathedral five works by Cicero: De Inventione, Rhettorica ad Herennium, De Oratore, Orator and Brutus. [18] The first six books of Tacitus' Annales along with the full complement of Pliny the Younger's letter were found in the monastery of Corvey in 1508.

This is but a small indication of the findings made by the enthusiastic researchers of Europe's religious houses and libraries, but the results of this scholarly detective-work were the powerful and influential first steps of the movement that was humanism, which in itself

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was the forerunner of the Renaissance. [19] What was forgotten, though, in the light of all this research, was the credit due to scholars of the Middle Ages who were the ones to have kept these manuscripts in the monasteries and churches that the humanists would eventually discover. One of the differences marking the humanist attitude from that of the Middle Ages collector towards these works was that it was less encumbered by religious prejudices.

It was but a short step from this point to the ensuing call on the part of scholars to study, examine and correct these manuscripts, [20] and throughout the fifteenth century Greek scholars whose flight from Turkish persecution brought them into Italy, were pressed into teaching their language to Italians who thirsted for it. Important to remember is the fact that by the sixteenth century, these years of continuous learning had put a strong enough mechanism in place that enabled scholars to pursue the study of Greek along with the Greek and Latin works themselves (it was easier to find means to attain proficiency in Latin due to its being the language of the Catholic Church throughout Europe).

Such intense effort could not help but have some effect on Leone de' Sommi (1527-1592), an Italian Jew and a theatrical scholar of great stature who manifested a wide spectrum of interests both practical and theoretical in his field. He certainly would have had access to the Ancient authors, and thus have obtained the right of an

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expert to criticize them as roundly as he did in his Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (1565), a treatise which handled questions of dramatic theory both critical and practical. Jewish scholars prior to Leone de' Sommi also felt the attraction of this rebirth of antiquity in their own circle. Many of them played pivotal though as yet poorly recognized roles in the spread of humanist philosophy. In this respect, as far as dramaturgical theory is concerned, the work of Hebrew scholars had an importance to Renaissance scholarship that has been acknowledged, but again, not adequately. In the tenth century, an Arab scholar, Abu-Baschar, had already translated Aristotle's Poetics into his own language (ca. 935 A.D.). [21] The knowledge that Jewish scholars possessed of Arabic permitted them to translate Aristotle's works into Hebrew [22] and then into Latin. In this light, then, it is interesting to note the contribution of Jewish scholars in the dissemination of Aristotelian works to general theatrical scholarship. Few of these men could make direct Greek-to-Latin translations, but they were prized for their ability to translate Arabic sources into Latin, as shown above.

A notable exception from the ranks of Christian scholars is to be found in the figure of Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494). He had in his possession a Greek manuscript of the Poetics (now in the collection of the Bibliotheca Laurenziana, Laur. 60.14), [23] which shows a number of

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entries made in his own hand. An exact dating of this manuscript is not possible, but one may hazard a guess that it likely came into Poliziano's hands around 1489, when, in his opening lecture on the Odyssey, he includes Latin paraphrases which prove to have been strongly influenced by the original Poetics. [24]

Similarly, Giorgio Valla owned a Greek manuscript of Aristotle's Poetics which is now in the D'Este collection (Estensis gr. 100). From it he made a direct Latin translation of Aristotle's treatise (1498). Scholars who choose to compare this translation with the D'Este version of the Greek manuscript find a clear genesis from the earlier version to Valla's. Several additions which were made to the original text were determined to be in Valla's hand. [25]

To whatever extent, then, translation was a prized tool in scholarly methodology at this time. Closely alligned in spirit was the movement which began around the thirteenth century and grew out of the desire on the part of Christian scholars to master the Hebrew language as a key to more comprehensive study of the Old Testament as well as the rabbinic and scholarly commentary attached thereto. [26] Cabalistic works (especially the Zohar, the definitive "text" on Jewish mysticism [27]) provided additional reasons for Christian humanists to pursue the study of Hebrew.

This last point is most cogently exemplified in the

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work of Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), one of the era's most active scholars as well as its greatest champion in the field of Jewish studies. Pico was an important contributor not only in this realm, but in the restoration of Plato to a position of preeminence in humanist circles. In 1486, he drew up a list of nearly 900 propositions which he announced himself as prepared to publicly debate against any scholar who chose to do so, even offering to pay the travel expenses to Rome for any participant who did not have the means. Sadly, the series of debates never occurred, as Pope Innocent VIII found a small percentage of the suggested topics much too heretical for public display. [28] Pico's masterpiece, De Hominis Dignitate (in English, Oration on the Dignity of Man) was conceived as a general introduction to the aborted series of disputations. This essay was considered in its time (and is still so considered) to be a prime example of humanist literature. [29]

General humanist scholarship took a giant leap forward under the aegis of the Medici family, and this was no more evident than in Cosimo the Elder's efforts to bring the ancient works up to an even higher plane. He founded what was known as the Platonic Academy, which dedicated itself to the purpose of interpreting Greek philosophy, centering, of course, on Plato. [30] A most important participant in this movement was Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), whose interest in researching the works of Plato in

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their original Greek was stimulated and encouraged by Cosimo. [31] In 1459 he began his intensive study of the Greek language. Cosimo, in 1462 or 1463 gave him the annual profits from a farm at Montevecchio, near the Medici villa at Careggi, along with a Greek text of Plato's Dialogues, the idea being that Ficino would have the means to support himself while translating them into Latin, thereby making them available to a public with no understanding of Greek. This effort eventually led to his own translated and annotated versions of Plato and other platonically inspired works. [32]

The academy was not a formal institution, but comprised a collection of philosophers and scholars who, at intermittent meetings in Cosimo's palace or at the home of an academy member, read and discussed part of a Platonic dialogue, or some similarly-inspired work. As all of these men were fairly devout Christians, the principal aim in many of these discussions was how one might reconcile the spirit of humanism with that of Christian practice, a task fraught with much controversy at that time. Jewish scholars who were attracted to humanist studies found themselves saddled with similar problems, in their attempted reconciliation of God-worship with immersion in the sea of literature having the natural impulses of man as an object.

The conflict between proper worship of God and involvement in secular artistic pursuits was an issue that

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would plague Leone de' Sommi as a theatrical artist, and thus deserves further explanation. There was an unfortunate perception of humanists by their enemies as being people whose statements of religious belief were deemed empty due to their "pagan" cultural associations. This also forms the basis for much of the antipathy felt by Jewish religious hierarchy throughout these years towards any of their own who chose pursuance of the dramatic arts as a career. At odds here were the basic beliefs of the early humanists that logic and natural philosophy (two fields of interest that were among those which interested the Ancient authors) were antithetical to Jewish religious principles. [33]

In this regard, there has been a fair amount of speculation as to the part played by Saint Thomas Aquinas' works in the propagation of humanist philosophy. It is clear that the basic structure of his masterwork, Summa Theologiae, is inspired by the give-and-take prized in scholastic dialectic, but this is where the similarity ends. [34] St. Thomas basically found a way to reconcile scholarly speculation with adherance to religious doctrine, but the issue of giving him a solid place in humanist history is a far more difficult task. [35] Aquinas' work served the additional purpose of mollifying the great sense of distrust that grew amid Christian scholars of the "Muslim Aristotle" (a term used to designate the Aristotle understood through the versions of his works coming to

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them via Arab scholars). [36] Aquinas, through his published commentary on a few Aristotelian works, and through the weaving of some obvious threads in the Summa Theologiae, tried to minimize the perception of a dangerous Muslim influence having infused these translations. This made it possible for Christian humanists to examine the works of Aristotle in a doctrinally acceptable atmosphere, for it was not possible to separate Aristotelian and Christian concept as exemplified in the works of Aquinas. [37]

Jewish intellectual participation in the humanist movement began quite early, and centered largely in the south of Italy. In the middle years of the thirteenth century, It became clear that the position of Jews in Spain was threatened, so many Spanish Jews looked to Naples for sanctuary from persecution. [38] Sicily and Apulia were at that time ruled by the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, one of the more open-minded monarchs of the day, so the large groups of Aragonese and Catalonian Jews were readily received. He was an avid scholar, and one profoundly touched by the Hebrew "fever." His personal Physician was Guglielmo Mizolo Portaleone, Leone de' Sommi's great-great-grandfather, and Guglielmo may have had some influence in Frederick's decision to open the Neapolitan doors to the Spanish-Jewish refugees. [39] Frederick recognized that an important way in which scholarship could be served would be in the employment of a large number of Jewish translators, men who, as stated

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above, enjoyed a wide linguistic ability. Via these men, therefore, he would be able to create a way by which the men of learning at his court could have access to the classic Greek works. His advancement of the interests of Jewish scholars did not stop, however, at the importation of mere pedagogues. Jacob Anatoli was invited by Frederick to settle in Naples, founding a university (ca. 1224) where Hebrew lectures were purported to have been given. Around the year 1230, Anatoli earned the immense praise of his master for doing a Hebrew translation of the Commentaries written by the Arab scholar and philosopher Averroës on Aristotle's Topics, Rhetoric and Poetics. [40]

Averroës (1126-1198), whose true name was Abul Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd, was born in Córdoba and received a traditional education in the priciple disciplines of Islamic culture, jurisprudence and theology, and studied medicine, eloquence, poetry, literature and philosophy, as well. [41] His eminence in theatrical history is due to his having done an abridged commentary of Aristotle's Poetics in the twelfth century (one of a few others by Arab scholars that followed that done by Abu-Baschar. The original Arabic manuscripts were lost at an early date, but two somewhat reliable copies, both done by Judaeo-Arabic scholars, are available. The first one, according to the scribe's marginalia, was completed in 1356. It includes a Hebrew translation opposite the Judaeo-Arabic text. The other cannot be as definitively

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dated, as the year indicated on the title page, 1216, is written in a hand other than that of the scribe, and in modern arabic numerals. [42] In the sixteenth century, Jacob Mantino, a Spanish physician who had come to Rome in 1539 as personal physician to Pope Paul III (Farnese, 1534-49), published a Hebrew translation of Averroës' Aristotelian commentaries as part of a larger collection of the latter's works (11 volumes, Venetiis: Apud Iuntas, 1550). [43] The high regard in which he was held by his superiors caused Mantino to receive an appointment to the medical faculty of the Sapienza, the only Jew believed to have been similarly invested in this era. He also translated a number of works into Latin, dedicating his version of Averröes' commentary on Plato's Republic to the Pope.

Two other preeminent Jewish scholars who participated in such scholarly activity include Abraham de Balmes, who published a Latin translation of Averröes' Aristotelian commentaries into Latin (Venice: Anton de Sabio, 1523) [44] The other, Elijah del Medigo, was conversant in Hebrew, Latin and Greek, and his writings gained him sufficient accolades as an Aristotelian expert to justify his being summoned to Padua to arbitrate an academic dispute on some aspect of Aristotelian philosophy. [45] His subsequent lectures at the university there caught the attention of Pico della Mirandola, who became his avid student and who climaxed the Hebraic revival with his study of Cabalism (mysticism) in which he believed the key to Christian

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faith was to be found. [46]

During the fifteenth century, humanist scholars received their most enthusiastic champion in Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492), who ruled in Florence from his father Piero's death in 1469 to his own death in 1492. It was under Lorenzo's patronage that the Platonic Academy attained its height of influence. Marsilio Ficino had been appointed Lorenzo's tutor while doing his work at Montevecchio on the Platonic texts, and retained no small influence with his matured charge. [47] Lorenzo, also known as Il Magnifico, was a poet of no small ability, but along with his dedication to aesthetic and intellectual pursuits, he worked hard to embody the ideal of the good citizen--one of the prime lessons garnered at the Platonic Academy. [48] Along with other men of means, he hired those who would go throughout Italy and abroad to purchase manuscripts of ancient works, thereby spending enormous amounts of his personal fortune. In the case of works that were not available for purchase he sent paid copyists to transcribe them. It is to be noted that after Lorenzo's death, the entirety of these works were brought together with those Cosimo de'Medici had had placed in the Monastery at San Marco, the sum total of both collections forming the basis of a library Michelangelo was later to design for their safe-keeping. The name of this collection was eventually to be the Bibliotheca Laurentiana. The building then housing this collection had been designed by

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the architect Michelozzo Michelozzi as part of the new Convent San Marco commissioned by Cosimo in 1437. Cosimo and Niccoli's collection was moved into its permanent home in 1571. [49]

The Poetics became the cornerstone of the renaissance of dramatic theory in Italy, and subsequently across Europe as well. Aristotle's theories were claimed authoritatively by European men of learning in their attempts to create a drama that was both meaningful and functional. The Poetics, because it was composed close in time to the bulk of Plato's work, seemed to be its author's answer to a negative attitude in relation to poetry and poets that is present in many of Plato's works. [50] Humanists were cognizant of these facts, but their treatises staunchly supported other "facts" which were more the product of wishful thinking than a true reading of Aristotle's text. The most obvious example was the entrenchment of the "three unities", which was later insisted upon by classicists, who used the distorted theories in Lodovico Castelvetro's 1570 treatise Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta as their justification. Only one of these "unities," (that of action) was actually asserted in the Poetics, and another (that of time) merely mentioned. Much more of how this was manifested in the works of specific men will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Horace's Latin treatise, Ars Poetica, written sometime in the first century B.C., had been available for

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scholarly perusal basically from the time of its genesis. The year 1470 saw the printing of the Ars Poetica in Italy. [51] In availability, its history differs from that of Aristotle, which had unfortunately lain in obscurity for many centuries, excepting those times when the Arab scholars caused its momentary reappearance. The true beginning of Aristotle's august prestige in dramaturgical matters was in 1498 when Giorgio Valla published his Latin translation of the Poetics (28 years after Horace had been published). Traces of both men's theories are to be found in Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi.

Scenographically, the earliest written evidence of visual elements in the Greek theatre comes from the pen of a Roman writing in the first century A.D., Vitruvius Pollio (ca. 70-15 B.C.), whose work De Architectura was brought to people's attention through the manuscript found by Poggio at St. Gallen in 1416. [52] It was printed for the first time in 1511, [53] and translated into Italian in 1521. [54] The part of Vitruvius' work that deals with Greek scenic conventions had an enormous influence on the theoretical reconstruction of the Greek theatrical performance space, and heavily affected the classicists' own attempts at building theatres during the years of the Renaissance. [55] That it forges a very important connection between the drama of the ancient world and the burgeoning drama in Renaissance Italy is the central reason for its high value. Understanding this bond, here in the case of

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Vitruvius and elsewhere, is essential to an understanding of the cultural atmosphere of Leone de' Sommi's world, that in which his Dialoghi was created.

The other source for scenographic information in Ancient times is Pollux, a Greek living in the second century A.D., who provided much information on Ancient Greek theatre in his Onomasticon. Little is known of him other than his having been a professor at Athens, likely in architectural studies. Sadly, the years of his birth and death cannot be made more specific. A sense of skepticism is inevitably attached to a consideration of Pollux's theatrically related statements in the Onomasticon, a problem one faces similarly in a study of Vitruvian theory as expressed in the De Architectura. [56] Humanist scholars, in pondering these two texts, lie at the foundation of this mistrust. The difficulty of dating the texts is one of the reasons, the other being that one of them is Roman. In the humanists' frustration at having no other definitive evidence of what the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes looked like in performance, the statements of Vitruvius and Pollux were assigned as scenographic authorities for an era of which the Renaissance had no experience. One cannot deny that they hold some level of importance for current-day scholars, and for two very specific reasons. The first is their validity in pointing to the methods by which Romans essentially rebuilt the decaying Greek theatres to their

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own specifications, and the second (as already revealed) is the structural inspiration claimed of them by Renaissance theatre architects.

There is no intention here to fully analyze the development of all dramatic forms in ancient Greece, or to explore every aspect of Greek theatrical convention that had an effect on Renaissance scholarship. It is, however, my object to present information to clarify the line of development which does indeed exist from the earliest forms, through to Socrates, Plato and Cicero, and finally to Italian Renaissance scholars who admired and imitated these literary ancestors. Leone de' Sommi was one of these admirers, but proved himself less intransigent than most of his colleagues by being willing to append new and often revolutionary ideas to the ancient ones, reflecting the well-earned opinions of a theatre practitioner.

With this in mind, one may begin with a consideration of the popular mime, one of the older art forms to come out of ancient Greece. The mime made its appearance in the early years of the sixth century B.C. in Megara, an Athenian suburb. An intense vigor seems to have characterized mime performances, which in turn extended a powerful influence over the Old Comedy of Athens in its formative years. [57]

The principal literary form that ties together both the Ancient and Renaissance worlds, at least as far as theater is concerned, is that of dialectic. [58] Inspired by

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Socrates and brought by Plato to the level of mastery, it comprises by definition a method of intellectual investigation (in dialogue form) manifested by the participants in the "combat" of false and true beliefs on the given subject of discussion. Socrates has a unique position in this respect, being included as a seminal figure in philosophical and literary history without being an author in his own right. His existence, though, was full of moments when he argued on behalf of the nature of man and the morality by which he insisted that man pattern his life.

It is a logical conclusion that the practice of dialectic was one of the chief occupations of those scholars and philosophers active in the Platonic Academy of Ancient Greece. Aristotle himself was a member of the Academy from 367 B.C. until Plato's own death in 347 B.C.. An important, albeit indirect source for knowledge of Plato's ideas by scholars in the Middle Ages was Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), whose outline and concise compendium of Plato's ideas was the most complete, though severely edited, spectrum of original Platonism available to these men. Cicero's humanist ideal, which took the best elements of philosophy, rhetoric and dialectics, supported the use of knowledge in day-to-day existence as being the most laudable object of educated man. His two-book work entitled Academica (published in two versions in 45 B.C.), and the work entitled Topica (published in 44

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B.C.), both embody dialectical form in special ways. The former presents a debate between traditionalists and skeptics (mainly academics) on the nature of truth, and the latter an enormous list of all possible kinds of arguments likely to occur amidst men of intellect.

The philosophy of Cicero was the greatest of all the possible influences on Italian Renaissance scholarship. He had an overriding belief that each and every citizen's responsibilities lay not only in the improvement of his own intellectual and moral state, but also in the continual performance of civic duties. The notion of the statesman-philosopher was born with Cicero, and it was an idea that found ripe soil for growth in a country such as Italy where men such as Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) and Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) considered civic responsibility as a natural outgrowth of humanist intellectual activity. Bruni believed that the moral doctrines covering the functions of government were to be considered of the greatest importance, because they serve toward improving the lot of all the citizens under its control. [59] Salutati, also, did not see the execution of his scholarly duties at the expense of interaction in the day-to-day existence of others, but rather that his obligation was to bond with the average citizen in mutual betterment. [60]

Patronage of the arts, especially to the extent exhibited by the Gonzaga family, can be deemed a logical out-

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growth of such a humanistic backdrop. Artistic careers which reached high stature under such patronage (Leone de' Sommi is only one example) benefitted enormously from this attention and concern.

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CHAPTER 2

ITALIAN AND JEWISH THEATRICAL TRADITION

The sixteenth century in Italy represented a true flowering of scholarly endeavor in the liberal arts. Theatrical pursuits made their contributions therein, and in ways that marked this era as highly influential for future generations of artists. It has been explained to some extent in the previous chapter the profound effect the rediscovery of ancient manuscripts had upon the desire by scholars from Petrarch onward to establish a philosophy of scholarly and artistic practice that would take into account the contributions of predecessors but prove itself somehow unique to its own time. The noteworthy efforts of Italian theatrical artists both at this time and in preceding centuries were to be seen not only in the actual products of their efforts, but in the groundwork these endeavors laid for the later development of drama in Europe, especially France and England. 1

The common thread that can be followed in determining how several European countries fostered an art of the drama is seen in the institution that was firstly the common progenitor and subsequently the sponsor of these dramatic efforts: the Roman Catholic Church. When one considers the complete picture of drama throughout the

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early Middle Ages, there is not very much which distinguishes the end results of the earliest Italian creativity from those of either the French, Spanish or German sources. With the exception of English Medieval drama (which was in the vernacular), Latin was generally the language of theatrical expression and the subject matter was restricted to the following areas: Biblical episodes, recreations of Saints' lives, incidents from the Apocrypha, or parables which would in some way exemplify the universal justice of God. It was only with the increased use of the vernacular in religious drama that these countries began to branch off from the above-stated inflexibility and produce enough works of a differing flavor that theatrical scholars would have to analyze them on a country-by-country basis. [2]

The point of origin for these drammi liturgici is believed to have occurred early in the tenth century A.D., when simple tropes were inserted into the introductory portion of the Easter Mass and came to be known by the opening query they all had in common: "Quem Quaeritis?" The first instance of such a trope being composed was in approximately the year 930 A. D. under the influence of the Abbate Oddone of Cluny in the French Monastery of Saint Benoît on the Loire, known better in its earlier incarnation as Saint Fleury:

R.: Angelus Domini locutus est mulieribus,

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> dicens: Quem Quaeritis? An Jesum quaeristi? Jam surrexit, venite et videte, alleluia, alleluia.
> Ant.: Surrexit Christus (et illuxit populo suo, quem redemit sanguine suo, alleluia). [3]

One of the earliest extant examples comes from the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Gallen in Switzerland. It was added to the processional just prior to the "Introit" of Matins on Easter morning. [4]

> Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o christicolae?--Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.--Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis.--Surrexit dominus de sepulchro, qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluia, alleluia! [5]

It is not commonly believed that there was conscious dramatic representation or performance involved here, but an exchange of words is in evidence. A slightly earlier version of the same trope has come down to the current day from an Officium Sepulchri which had been performed at Montecassino. The "stage directions" are clear:

> Processione finita, vadat Sacerdos post altare, et versus ad Chorum dicat alta voce: --Quem quaeritis?--Et duo Alii Clerici, stantes in medio Chori, respondeant:--Jesum Nazarenum.--Et Sacerdos:--Non est hic.--Illi vero conversi al Chorum dicant:--Alleluja!-- [6]

From these somewhat humble beginnings, to the opulence of the Italian sacre rappresentazioni, the polish of the English Cycle plays and the autos sacramentales of Spain, it is evident that many sought to bring Church legend and

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practice closer to the common folk, and in doing so created the movement towards representationalism as a didactic tool and, more importantly, drama as an art.

The general growth of scholarship in the outside world at this time had an effect on how succeeding generations of Churchmen were to present the Quem Quaeritis trope to their congregations. New scenes with creatively designed speeches and hymns were added, including the Visitatio Sepulchri (pronouncements of the Three Marys with responses from the disciples), and a representation of John and Peter themselves entering Jesus' open tomb to witness the place of the miracle. The Victimae Paschali is a perfect example of this. With the exception of the first two lines, it is wholly a dialogue between the disciples and Mary Magdalene outside the open tomb. [7] Who actually composed it is in question--with many scholars claiming authorship on behalf of Nokter Balbulus (840-912) of the Monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland, who did much to perfect the introduction of tropes into the text of an existing liturgy, and others for Wipo, also a friar at St. Gall, who may have written it around the year 1125. [8]

A most fertile ground for increased growth in liturgical representation came about as a result of large-scale construction of cathedrals, and the establishment therein of the schools and universities which were designed to become important seats of learning for Christian youth.

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The curriculum fostered by these schools was that of the Medieval Trivium and Quadrivium, in other words, the Seven Liberal Arts (Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music). As has already been explained in Chapter One, these subjects were tailored according to how they might better illustrate the Christian dogma that the Church clerics sought to inculcate in their youth. [9]

Humanists were to borrow liberally from scholastic methodology, especially in the rational and objective approach taken toward Greek and Latin scholarship. Where they differed from their Medieval predecessors was in their enthusiastic desire to delve into and replicate Ancient methodology in their own studies. [10] This unification of the ancient and liturgical worlds as represented by the cathedral schools takes on great significance when seen within the professed desire of the Church to increase the faith and dedication of its members. In the long run, this coexistence of Christian dogma within a classically inspired system of education was to prove itself a powerful catalyst to dramatic growth. [11]

To examine the growth of liturgical drama within its Italian frame is to see the development of two progressive species of theatrical art at once distinct and interdependent. The earliest of these, the laudi drammatiche, were of an art-form most peculiarly Italian, originating in

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Umbria and very much connected spiritually to the penitential movement of the Flagellanti.[12] The laudi (or "praises," as the prayer-statements of those practicing this way of life were known) initially took the form of a song or chant, moving at a later point towards recitation and culminating logically in both dialogue and theatrical imitation.[13]

In the middle of the thirteenth century, when the popularity of poetry in the vernacular was growing in Italy, there were basically two dramatic forms available for public consumption--that of Latin religious drama and a crude vernacular drama which made use of sacred materials, the laudi drammatiche.[14] The adaptation of vernacular Italian for use in the realm of sacred drama had not been long in coming, though, and it occurred when the Catholic clergymen relinquished their directorial and production responsibilities of these religious pieces as the performance space moved into the piazze of the cities. Especially with the declining use of Latin as the medium of expression and the growing popularity of vernacular usage in dramatic pieces, religious theatre became less universal and more nationalized.[15] There are extant examples of dramatic laudi from this period that support this fully, and one of the better-known authors whose name survives was Jacopone da Todi (ca. 1230-1306). Born Jacopo da' Benedetti into a family of fair means, in 1258 he

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became greatly influenced by Raniero Fasani and the movement of the Flagellanti which the latter inspired. [16] Giving up all of his personal possessions, he joined the groups of penitents who wandered from place to place in rough clothing and prayed for God's grace and mercy. [17] The year 1278 saw the end of this long period of trial, when he entered into the Order of the Franciscans. [18] The final decade of his life saw Jacopone embroiled in ecclesiastical controversy. In 1297, an acrimonious debate occurred among the Franciscans in which those who sought to rigidly preserve the ascetic quality of their lives were ranged in opposition to those who preferred exceptions to the customary behavior. Jacopone was strongly on the side of the ascetics, and when Pope Bonifacio VIII sided with the revisionists, Jacopone joined a splinter-group of Franciscans who began to question the legality of Bonifacio's election to the Papacy. As a result, Jacopone found himself imprisoned for a term of five years. [19]

His most famous composition, and his only dramatic poem, was the Donna del Paradiso. One is not to assume that dramatic elements were not to be found in any of Jacopone's other poems, but that in this work he clearly broke out of the dialogue form characterizing his earlier penitential laudi by adding a third character and a chorus. [20] The specific date of composition is not known,

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but has been surmised by modern scholars as having seen the light sometime between the years 1278 and 1298, the beginning year of Jacopone's five-year incarceration.

Writers of the laudi held that theatrical representation was not incongruous with religious practice. These men suffered no conflict of interest (representational art versus Church doctrine) in pursuing such a train of thought. They believed, and rightly so, that the Mass itself was a reconstruction of the life, passion and death of Jesus Christ, and that it owed almost as much to the inherently dramatic aspect of the life recounted therein as to its sublime and elevated nature. In a similar manner to their counterparts in England, the laudi were arranged cyclically, holding strictly to the holidays of the Church calendar. When the laudi had grown far enough away from the roughness and crude declamation that had characterized those sung by the Disciplinati or Flagellanti in early years, and they began to require more detailed preparation among the participants (including costuming), it is believed that they came again to be presented in church as part of the service to which they belonged. There are, interestingly, manuscripts of sixteenth century laudi cycles preserved from both the Umbrian and Abruzzi districts, two areas where liturgical drama was more actively produced.

The sacre rappresentazioni were as elaborate and sump-

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tuous in presentation as the laudi drammatiche were simple. [21] As far as can be ascertained, they began to appear in Florence around the middle of the fourteenth century, and until the middle of the sixteenth century they remained a truly Florentine art form. Lorenzo de'Medici himself was an avid composer of sacre rappresentazioni, [22] and these were among the magnificent spectacles put on to mark many a grand occasion of his reign. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), a famous architect of the time and one of the earliest developers of the theory of perspective, was often the designer of these spectacles and through them helped bring the age of theatrical machinery to liturgical drama. One of his most elaborate inventions, and the earliest of an elaborate nature of which there is any record, is the Paradiso. Designed for the sacra rappresentazione which accompanied the celebrations of the Feast of the Annunciation at the Chiesa di San Felice in Piazza, it truly inspired praise. In his book Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architetti, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) left a detailed description of how this remarkable piece of stage machinery worked. A small group of angels was suspended from the roof in a copper dome which would be lowered to the stage, and one of them would come out and announce the coming of Christ:

> Dentro la mandorla era a uso d'angelo un

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> giovinetto di quindici anni circa, cinto nel mezzo da un ferro, e nella mandorla da piè chivardato in modo che non poteva cascare: e perché potesse inginocchiarsi, era il detto ferro di tre pezzi, onde inginocchiandosi entrava l'un nell'altro agevolmente. E così, quando era il mazzo venuto giù e la mandorla posata in sulla residenza; chi metteva la chiavarda alla mandorla, shiavava anco il ferro che reggeva l'angelo; onde egli uscito camminava per lo palco e, giunto dove era la Vergine, la salutava e annunciava. Poi tornato nella mandorla, e raccesi i lumi che al suo uscirne s'erano spenti, era di nuovo chiavardato il ferro che lo reggeva da colui che sotto non era veduto; e poi, allentato quello che la teneva, ell'era ritirata su, mentre cantando gli angeli del mazzo e quelli del cielo che giravano, facevano che quello pareva propriamente un paradiso; e massimamente che, oltre al detto coro d'angeli ed al mazzo, era accanto al guscio della palla un Dio Padre, circondato d'angeli simili a quelli detti di sopra, e con ferri accomodati di maniera, che il cielo, il mazzo, il Dio Padre la mandorla con infiniti lumi e dolcissime musiche, rappresentavano il paradiso veramente. [23]

It is clear that Brunelleschian ingenuity served the purposes of the Church quite well indeed.

The pioneer composer of sacre rappresentazioni, however, and the one for whom that art-form gained its status in the eyes of posterity, was Feo Belcari (1410-1484), one of Italy's earlier dramatists of record. [24] Belcari (and the others) improved in their own ways upon the effect of the laudi by retaining the liturgical acceptability of their predecessors, but creating truly dramatic characterizations within those confines. The

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sacre rappresentazioni were specifically composed in an ottava rima dialogue-form, in the vernacular of the designated audience. Here, then, is yet another example of colloquial usage at a time when the majority of European authors preferred Latin as the medium. In a most curious way, the craze to reproduce Latin works was gathering steam just as the laudi were beginning to take shape, and this powerful movement had hardly any effect upon the laudi's ultimate configuration. The episodes of the sacre rappresentazioni were structured within what was certainly the most basic of dramatic forms; that is, they maintained a line of development from a beginning to an end. The scenes followed one another so that the life of whichever holy person was being delineated would move neatly through the whole spectrum: birth, life, suffering, final martyrdom for the Christian faith, and entrance into eternity.

Whatever was being represented, they all took on a highly didactic tone in that the central aim was invariably to show Christian adherents the futility of being concerned with earthly matters. [25] In spite of there being a necessary imposition on choice of subject matter, there was a sense of freedom in the composition of these works which would disappear with the growing influence of Aristotelian-inspired strictures on playwrighting. [26] This basic point is necessarily reinforced when considering the

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role played by the newly rediscovered ancient works of Greece and Rome in creating a cultural identity for Renaissance Italian scholars. It has already been mentioned that the dramatic aspect of this cultural explosion would, in the Cinquecento (sixteenth century) and beyond, manifest itself philosophically in a clear lack of creative license on the part of playwrights. Classical doctrine would provide strictures of its own, condemning the episodic structure of liturgical drama to disuse, and functioning similarly to the strictures of the Catholic Church in telling authors of the sacre rappresentazioni what subjects they could or could not explore in their works.

The actors in the sacre rappresentazioni were members of the local confraternities and thus not professional performers, [27] and the locale of performance was as often out in the open with multiple staging as in the churches. There was a festaiolo, or boss, who in addition to being the head actor and prompter, oversaw all the production details, including the training and the direction of the actors (generally young and always male). Theatrical scholars had not as yet mistakenly derived the Three Unities from Aristotle's Poetics, so the sets of the sacre rappresentazioni could represent as many locales and scenes as were needed to fully expound upon the episode at hand. No attempt was made to segregate characters accord-

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ing to rank or virtue (or lack thereof, a cardinal rule whose transgression would not seem possible in the near future). [28] These sacre rappresentazioni, in a way similar to the laudi, were truly characteristic of human complexity in a way that would not be possible again for many, many decades.

There were other movements of Italian theatrical activity that owed little or nothing to Church patronage and influence. The first of these flowed from artists who were connected in service to one of the Italian courts, usually through membership in one of the many literary academies which were springing up with regularity from the sixteenth century onward, and sponsored by various noble families. [29] The general desire of artists who belonged to such academies was to delve into the massive amount of classical dramas making their reappearance through Humanist search efforts. The scholars who examined and commented upon these works were thereby making personal statements that established the criteria by which they imagined a truly "classical" drama should be judged. The earliest of these efforts were all in Latin and varied in subject-matter. One example is by Albertino Mussato (1261-1329) whose Eccerinus (ca. 1315) was said to be the first tragedy ever written by an Italian. It was influenced by Senecan form, yet kept the religious subject matter as its plot. Antonio Laschi wrote a play called

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Achilles (ca. 1390), and by the very nature of the title, it is evident that a classical theme was attempted.

Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444) has the distinction of being the first Italian to have written a comedy. His Paulus (ca. 1389) was in Latin and likely written in Bologna where he was a student of logic, physics and medicine at the university. Paulus was but one of many comedies written in the Quattrocento (fifteenth century) by young men attending the various Italian universities whose words give a fair representation of their experiences. [30] Paulus embodied a satiric view of the title-character's life at the University of Bologna, and tells of his initial desire to give up all his selfish and useless indulgences and devote himself completely to his studies. Two servants--Herotes and Stichus--stand at opposite poles in a possible answer to Paulus' dilemma; the former wishes the young man to remain lazy and pleasure-bent, and the latter pricks the young man's conscience to hold onto his resolve to reform. [31] Such a play could neither be grateful for lessons learned from the medieval theatrical tradition, nor would it create lessons by example by which Machiavelli and other writers of the commedia erudita in the Cinquecento (sixteenth century) might profit.

In a very real way, Vergerio's comic play represents a unique though short period in dramatic composition where playwrights did not (as did their colleagues in the Cin-

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quecento) consider the characters in their plays according to a narrow set of criteria, but drew them in a manner quite novellistic in scope. [32] Such an attitude was somewhat protected by the fact that at this time playwrights, especially those who were students as well, were engaged in a craft which was not as yet considered a prestigious profession. The era had also not arrived when scholars would delve into the dramatic ramifications of Aristotle's Poetics, especially in the delineation of the supposed Unities of time, action and place. [33]

As the Cinquecento approached, however, there were increasingly large numbers of playwrights who sought to explore their subject matter in vernacular Italian. Sadly, the majority of these works are now known more for being important watermarks in the timeline of dramatic composition than for being literary "gold pieces" of which Italy might justifiably be proud. Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) wrote his Sofonisba in Italian, in 1515, and supervised its first production in 1524 at Vicenza. [34] Though with not much in the way of excitement to recommend the plot, Sofonisba was the first tragedy to maintain a close adherence to the structure of its Greek predecessors, and that is its basic value to scholars of today. Giambattista Giraldi-Cinthio (1504-1573) was probably the most popular of the Italian tragedians in the Cinquecento. His Orbecche (1541), a recasting of a horrific revenge

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tragedy in the Senecan manner, was the first Italian tragedy in the vernacular ever to be produced. [35] Succumbing to the tastes of the audience in his later years, Cinthio wrote most of his remaining tragedies with happy endings.

Comedies fared much better than tragedies in this regard. Selected comedies of both Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533) and Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) qualify as "gold pieces" in this category to some extent. Ariosto's La Cassaria and I Suppositi (performed for the first time in 1508 and 1509, respectively) can claim to be among the first products of the early writers of Italian comedy. Both plays were performed at Ferrara in a permanent structure built according to Vitruvian precepts. [36] Ariosto laid much of the groundwork for what was to become the commedia erudita, the form brought to its crest by Machiavelli. Aretino neither created nor followed any such rules in his writing. Though he wrote a fairly well-known tragedy (Orazio, 1546), his comedies are those works for which he is best remembered. They were enormous popular successes, enjoyed to a far greater degree by audiences than those works by any other active playwright of the Cinquecento. Il Marescalco (The Stablemaster) was probably the greatest of his successes, and it is interesting to note that it was composed during a year's sojourn in Mantua (1526-7, one of the possible years of Leone de' Sommi's birth), and published a few years later

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(1533).

A shining example of success in comedic composition is Niccolò Machiavelli's Mandragola (1513-1520), his one great comedic masterpiece and one of the finest comic plays ever written. In it, the structure of Roman comedy was followed scrupulously, with liberal borrowings of the stock characters therein, but Machiavelli's imaginative sense of human nature and its frailties as revealed in all his works, dramatic and otherwise, pushed the aforementioned rules beyond their conceptual limits. The play ingeniously couched a trenchant, biting satire of sixteenth-century Florentine life within the well-worn comic conventions. The infamous mandrake root was certainly given its most lasting testimony in this most perfect exponent of commedia erudita (learned comedy) ever produced by the Cinquecento.

Easily, the most significant contribution of Italian artists to the diversity of drama in Europe was that of the commedia dell'Arte (also known as commedia a soggetto, commedia all'improvviso, or commedia all'Italiana). It was arguably the first truly professional theatre movement that developed in Europe. The first seeds of inspiration came through the work of Angelo Beolco, Il Ruzzante (ca. 1502-1542), who produced and acted in a series of plays detailing the gossips and exploits of the character Ruzzante, a brash and noisy Paduan citizen. Beolco himself

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took the name Ruzzante as his professional alias, and could be said to have begun the custom of many commedia actors who established their fame through the selection, perfection, and performance of one and only one stock character. Tristano Martinelli (1557-1630), a member of the Confidenti troupe was the earliest known "owner" of the role of Arlecchino.

In 1568, Alberto Ganassa formed what would become the first commedia troupe of record, he himself an Arlecchino. The remaining years of the sixteenth century were to see many more such troupes form, all with stock characters performing in prearranged lazzi (set pieces of comic business), but tailored specifically to the audiences before which they performed. It is therefore obvious that the commedia dell'arte as a genre had as much claim to being a drama of the people as the sacre rappresentazioni.

Jewish Theatrical Tradition

Jews were certainly not immune to the lure of classical studies, though their traditions seemed to discourage involvement with such "secular" concerns. [37] These concerns included exploration of how classicism manifested itself theatrically. There was, however, an unusual set of problems experienced by men such as Leone de' Sommi who chose to immerse themselves in the creation, production, and performance of plays. [38] It helps, first of all, to

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analyze these men in terms of their positions within the general cultural movement of the day and according to how they functioned within their own religious communities. Though the Mantuan Jewish community did not become a ghetto until 1610, far later than in the majority of other Italian cities, [39] there was indeed a ghetto mentality which pervaded the minds not only of those who chose to live wholly as Jews, but also those whose livelihoods took them regularly into the world outside their own neighborhoods. Jewish artists of Leone de' Sommi's calibre who had to please both their Christian patrons and their rabbinic leadership faced the burdensome task of living the outward life of Renaissance men while maintaining their inner spirituality, and thus their right to membership in the Jewish community. There was indeed an outer shell as well as an inner core to one such as Leone de' Sommi, that enabled him to live his life effectively in both his chosen worlds.

How, then, could Jewish artists remain devout in their artistry as well as their Judaism? How could such a one as Leone de' Sommi leave equally powerful legacies to both his artistic descendants and his Jewish neighbors? In attempting an answer to these questions, it would be well to examine the relationship of Jews to theatrical concerns at given points throughout their known history. There is, first of all, almost nothing extant in post-Biblical lit-

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erature that testifies to any works having been written by Jews for the express purpose of being performed in a theatre, the only exception being Ezekiel the Poet, or Ezekiel of Alexandria. We know of him from Eusebius, Archbishop of Caesarea (260-339), a scholar in a wide range of field both religious and secular who, in Preparatio Evangelica (9:28) quotes from a unique tragedy written in Greek entitled Exagoge, a faithful dramatic version of the Exodus from Egypt. [40] His source is Alexander Polyhistor, a Greek scholar of the first century A. D. (his superimposed pseudonym "Polyhistor" meaning "very learned"), whose Concerning the Jews contained the above-mentioned fragments. Eusebius refers to this play's author as Ezekiel, the "writer of tragedies." [41]

That Jewish leaders in communities of post-biblical times (especially throughout the Hellenistic-Roman era) were aware of (and disapproved of) the circuses, theatres, and amphitheatres that permeated their world is clear. Rabbinic commentary is replete with examples of the extreme ethical distaste with which not only theatre but the paganism of all Roman forms of entertainment were regarded.

Before specific evidence is presented that supports the general rabbinic disapproval of theatrical concerns, it is fascinating to note that in Rome during the time of Nero there were Jews quite active on the stage. One

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actor's name comes down to us through the hand of Flavius Josephus (ca. 37-ca. 106 A.D.), a Jewish historian without whose works a substantial part of Jewish history would have been forever lost. [42] With the non-judgmental attitude of communicating facts, Josephus cites the case of Aliturus, a Jew, known to be one of Nero's favorite actors. [43] In the third century, there is even mention made of a rabbinical scholar by the name of Simon Ben Lakish, who at one point was reduced to the circumstance of earning his living as an attendant in the Circus.

The Talmud (coming from the Hebrew word which means "to study"), is considered one of the world's greatest collections of divinely inspired literature. Some of the opinions expressed therein date back to ca. 600 B.C., before the establishment of the Roman Republic, and it was as an Oral Law (in Hebrew, Torah sheh be'al peh, in English "learning by memory") that they were transmitted from scholars to disciples throughout the centuries. During the first century A.D. Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi (in English, Judah "the prince," 135-220 A.D.) began the enormous task of committing the Oral Law to paper, a task that was not completed until the fifth century A.D. by Ashi bar Simai (Ashi, son of Simai).

The Talmud was and currently remains a staple of all pious Jews' program of daily study. In the latter half of the first century A.D., as a result of the Jewish popula-

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tion's rebellion against Rome, the Jews were scattered and forced to assume a nomadic lifestyle. This necessitated a greater need for leadership and supervision on the part of the rabbis to help the populace maintain their faith and answer questions of proper Jewish life-practice in the midst of the many alien cultures which threatened to overcome their piety. It is easy, then, to see why there is such frequent mention in the pages of the Talmud of the entertainments which clearly held an attraction for many Jews. Rabbis thus felt the need to censure these weak citizens in order to prevent further descent into improper behavior. One can naturally deduce that there would not have been discouragement of theatrical attendance by Jewish citizens where none had occurred to warrant such censure!

The Talmud, then, records many of the rabbinic discussions which took place on subjects of community concern. Several of these talks addressed such aspects of representational recreation as dancers and dancing, painting, attendances at circuses and stadia, and general theories of pleasurable entertainment. [44] One of these has much in common with the ludi saecularis that were staged as a matter of course amidst the spectacular carnivals and pageants of ancient Rome. One ludus in particular was arranged by Emperor Philippus around 247 A.D., and introduced the spectacle of a halting dancer ridden upon by a

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strong man, as a satire on the power-hungry desires of Decius, his rival. The Talmudic episode tells of a festival, occurring once every seventy years, where a healthy man who is dressed as Adam and decorated with gold pieces is made to ride on a lame man. [45]

The idea of men being forced to "ride" other men as one would a horse reflects the customary pejorative manner in which Jews either directly participated in Christian entertainments or were portrayed therein by others through the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. These are the first examples of their participation in the drama that occur with any sense of regularity, though they do not represent an involvement of which one could be proud. The Giudate, plays put on out of doors during the Carnival season, were mounted on ox-carts, and embodied mockeries of Jewish life and customs. Jews enjoyed a respite from the giudate in the sixteenth century, during which time they were forbidden because of the uncomfortable atmosphere their performance engendered in the community, but they were to reappear in the late sixteenth century and remain until their final prohibition in 1768. [46]

It is possible that a Jewish sense of the theatre (like the Christian in its own way) may originate in the nature of Jewish religious worship, [47] but this prospect is intertwined with many prejudices which have long persisted on the part of Jews toward representationalism,

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especially as exhibited through music. Pious Jews had long considered it improper to have instrumental music in the synagogue. [48]

Salamone Rossi was a famous Jewish composer who came into prominence at the Mantuan court in the late 1580s, remaining active in Mantuan musical circles until the late 1620s. In addition to his secular compositions, he wrote a large body of works for use in synagogue worship, but there is no evidence that any temples availed themselves of these compositions during his lifetime, or for a long time afterward. [49] The supposed impropriety of music in the synagogue was addressed by one of the most venerable of Jewish scholars active in the golden years of Gonzaga rule, Leone da Modena, who wrote an introduction to Salamone Rossi's collection of sacred music: Cantiques de Salomon Rossi--Psaumes, Chants et Hymnes (1622). [50] The basic point of his apologia is that Rossi's music deserved an honored place in the liturgy practiced by Italian synagogues, and there was just as much in Jewish history that supported the use of music in religious worship as there were examples that discouraged it. [51]

One of the more unusual credits Salamone Rossi claimed, which ties him to the subject at hand, was his participation in a sacra rappresentazione produced by Giovanni Battista Andreini in Venice (1617), entitled La Maddalena. The following words make up the full title of

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the musical-drama Maddalena as given in its first published version:

> Musiche de alcuni ESCELLENTISSIMI MUSICI, composte per la Maddalena, sacra rappresentazione di Gio. Battista Andreini, fiorentino. Stampa del Gardano, Venetia MDCXVII, appresso Bartholomeo Magni. [52]

In addition to Claudio Monteverdi, the other collaborators were Allessandro Guinizzani, and Muzzio Effrem (the maître de chapelle of the Gonzaga family). Rossi added a balletto for four voices, with violin accompaniment, to be sung at the end of the production. [53]

Insofar as Jewish religious worship in Italy was concerned, it is important to note that there were musical elements in synagogue worship, due to the diversity of Jewish ritual traditions having been adopted into the Italian religious framework. Music in the synagogues was not developed on as grand and elegant a scale as in the churches. That it was there at all is due mainly to the classical influence which, as noted, was in full force in Italy during the Cinquecento. The diversity of Jewish ritual (and the musical manifestations thereof) was reflected in the wide variety of synagogues in active use at this time. [54]

Jewish images in Easter plays grew in number and importance, and not just in Italy. In what is now known as Germany, from the early thirteenth century onward

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theatrical representations at Easter-time included a debate between the two figures Synagoga and Ecclesia, [55] reflecting commonly-held Christian assumptions about Jewish belief. When the social and religious concerns of the Christian populace began to be introduced into Christian religious drama, the effects on how Jews were portrayed therein were extraordinary. [56] As often as not, Jews were forcibly requested to burlesque themselves. An example of this is the Corso degli Ebrei, another of the Carnival-time performances of a satiric bent. In these, Jews were forced to act as mounts for Christian soldiers in their pseudo-horse races. This is not an illustrious precedent from which a Jewish participant in Renaissance theatre might claim inspiration, but it nevertheless must have had an effect on Leone de' Sommi.

Insofar as Jewish characters in the plays of non-Jewish playwrights of the Cinquecento are concerned, Aretino, in his play Il Marescalco (The Stablemaster), brilliantly creates the figure of a Jew, a jewelry/accessories/cosmetics merchant, and through this man's interchanges with a few of the other characters much is revealed concerning the nature of the position Jews held in society at large. This play was written in Mantua; its characters' railing against the impossibility of punishing recalcitrant or unlikeable Jews shows that protective laws were then in existence. [57] Essentially, it

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did not matter in which way a playwright chose to characterize a Jew appearing in his cast. The fact that there were Jews at all in the plays of Christian playwrights was in itself reflective of the existence of a distinctive enough Jewish population upon which to base such characterizations. [58]

The first truly Jewish theatrical expression, that is, until the full development of Yiddish drama was to occur in the nineteenth century, was the purimshpil (Purim play). [59] Though the first extant purimshpil dates from as late as 1708, this is not the date of their origin. Purimshpils are said to have begun as early as the sixteenth century, in Italy and in other European countries, and they mirrored many of the same aspects as did the mummers' plays [60] and mysteries, and the Italian sacre rappresentazioni. The custom was for the purimshpilers to carol through the streets, generally in a state of inebriation. Young Jewish students often elected from among themselves a Purim King and a Purim Rabbi, who would parody religious observance and the dialectical process of the passing of knowledge between teachers and disciples. These figures served in a function similar to that of the Christian Bishop Fool, a man designated to lampoon the celebration of the Easter Mass. As part of their public celebrations of the Purim holiday, the revelers were to go from house to house both singing and performing from among

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a variety of plays.

As is logical, this play was usually the traditional story of the Purim holiday, but it was not unusual for other Old Testament stories to be performed, such as those of Joseph's brothers selling him into slavery, Jonah and the whale, David and Goliath, the sacrifice of Isaac, King Solomon's wisdom, Sodom and Gomorrah and Moses' confrontation with Pharaoh.

It is not unreasonable to presume that as a young man, Leone de' Sommi may have himself participated in such celebrations, and in such a way as to influence his choice of career. At a time before the documented evidence begins to appear supporting de' Sommi's active theatrical participation, he must have partaken in a way of life that on occasion encouraged dramatic expression.

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CHAPTER 3

MANTUA AS A THEATRICAL CENTER

There is an essential paradox befalling one who attempts to determine those factors that made the city of Mantua such an important cultural center during the Renaissance era. The chief cause presents itself when one reflects upon the reasons why the city remained solidly in the hands of one family for so long a period without falling prey to the political infighting and bloodshed typical in the power struggles of many Italian city-states at the time. [1] Mantua was not by any means able to borrow influence on her own behalf from an innate military might, from being territorially larger than its neighbors, or from having a geographical environment propitious to easily attained economic development. [2] For the century preceding their ascension to Mantuan rule, the Gonzagas had established themselves as the most aggressive rival to the ruling Bonacolsi family. [3] Interestingly, they were not in those early years as yet known by their more illustrious surname, but as the Corradi, citizens of Gonzaga, a village near the city. Once they began their Mantuan dynasty as "capitani del popolo" upon their overthrow of the Bonacolsi family in 1328, [4] they followed the custom of nobility by naming themselves after their place

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of origin.

As the Gonzagas, they provided the city of Mantua with approximately three centuries of brilliant and creative leadership, ensuring economic prosperity and an unimagined cultural preeminence that was out of proportion to both their population and their resources. This fact must be taken into account when discussing Mantua under the Gonzagas. Considering Mantua's geographical location prior to the annexation in 1536 of Monferrato [5] and the more spectacular addition of Guastalla in 1539, one finds a city surrounded by the more powerful and physically endowed states of Milan to the west, Venice to the east and north, and the smaller states of Parma, Modena and Ferrara to the south. It is indeed easy to see that the use of guile would have to become a necessary component in the Gonzaga's quest for political survival, and guile (as well as luck) indeed figured largely in the auspicious beginnings of their dynasty. That they were able to parlay their political acumen into so long and relatively scandal-free a tenure is truly a testament to their abilities in this arena.

That tenure was from the start a charmed one. Can Grande della Scala, the ruler of Verona, had successfully secured the help of the Gonzagas in his desire to force the Bonacolsi out of their ruling seat, professing himself willing to share any subsequent loot. Can Grande died in

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1329, within months of the takeover, thus negating any necessity for the Gonzagas to share the spoils of victory. A later attempt by Can Grande's son Mastino to retake Mantua by a systematic assassination of all the Gonzagas in the line of succession was forestalled by the diplomatic coup of an arranged marriage between Mastino's sister Verde and Ugolino Gonzaga in 1340. [6] His marriage to Verde, as timely as it was in securing the desired friendship of the neighboring state of Verona, was but the first of Ugolino's three marriages, all but possibly the second politically motivated. He was a widower in the first two cases, and made his third wife a widow due to his assassination by his brothers Francesco and Ludovico Gonzaga on October 14, 1362. Ludovico became the sole ruler when he repeated himself by murdering Francesco in 1368. [7] Some time later, in the year 1402, a plan contrived by Galeazzo Visconti of Milan to overthrow the Gonzagas was stopped by his death from the plague. The light in which this good fortune was to be viewed, was that the episodes and methods used to secure Mantuan rule in Gonzaga hands became the easier means by which the safety and betterment of a city might be insured. [8]

With very few exceptions, the Gonzaga family made it their obligation to make their city a haven where artists of the highest caliber could practice their crafts with full sponsorship and support. The criteria for such sup-

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port did not necessarily include adherance to the Roman Catholic faith. Jews had lived in Mantua since the thirteenth century, and had thoroughly permeated the economic framework of Mantuan life by the Cinquecento. It would have made little sense for the Mantuan rulers not to maintain some sense of openmindedness in their relations with Jewish citizens--artists and performers included.

The conscious effort to forge a behavioral code by which princes and their royal supporters might live reflected the best intentions of the humanist movement which had long sought to transfer such a code from the philosophical world of ancient Greece and Rome to their own time. The attempted idealization of society through a ruler who, by his own example, encouraged intense cultural and political involvement in his courtiers was the norm throughout Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Such a society was that advocated by Niccolò Machiavelli in his work Il Principe (completed in 1513, published in 1532), by Giovanni della Casa in his Galateo (written 1552-1555), but nowhere to greater effect than in Il Libro del Cortegiano, written in 1519 by Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) under the sponsorship of Pope Leo X. Artistic expression as put forth by Castiglione was not by any means a professional enterprise. [9] This fact also held true for the majority of courtly theatrical performances in the Italian Renaissance, with the obvious exception of

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the Commedia dell'Arte.

Elsewhere, as in Mantua, plays were presented within the confines of the courts for the noble inhabitants of those courts and their guests. The plays themselves were written and performed by men who were attached in service to the ruling nobility, and a method was being established whereby an artistic product was to be cultivated and defined according to criteria originating from its noble patrons. It is interesting to note that what was arguably the first regular comedy of the Italian theatre was written by a Mantuan citizen (the play was Formicone, written by Publio Filippo Mantovano for a court production in November of 1503, in the second decade of Isabella's marriage to Francesco). The specific identity of Publio has not been established, and there is no clarification to be found in the first published edition of Formicone which was done in 1524: Comedia di Publio Philippo Mantovano della Formicone (Roma: F. Palvo, 1524). 10

The "argomento," as expressed in the text of the play, contains the following words:

> Lucio Apuleio, ne l'Asino aureo, narra una elegantissima favola, la quale Publio Filippo adolescente, per essercitazione del suo ingegno, al presente ha composta in una comedia, della quale, se benignamente m'ascoltarete, brevemente narrarovi l'argumento. 11

It is possible that the powerful cocoon of patronage

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supporting such artistic endeavor encouraged a belief outside of Italy that though there was an enormous amount of theatrical activity going on, it did not really result in an individualized product that future generations would admire. Independently-minded requests like that made by Leone de' Sommi on April 15, 1567, for a room in which plays could be presented for the delight of anyone who could afford the price of admission were more the exception than the rule. [12] De' Sommi's request was denied, and one wonders that in spite of the well-known Gonzaga liberality to artists, how seriously they would have taken such a request. Professional theatrical art that saw the light of day without full noble patronage was, at that time, both discouraged and denigrated. [13]

Court dominance of artistic expression was not to be seen as evil in all its aspects, though, and the efforts of the Gonzagas from Gianfrancesco onward prove this to be the case. Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1395-1444) was the first of his family to make artistic patronage a significant component of his reign. Though his own education was too early to follow that curriculum established in the humanist tradition, his belief in the validity of such a study program was behind the inspired invitation extended Vittorino da Feltre to found a humanist school at the Mantuan court. [14] Paola Malatesta, Gianfrancesco's wife, had been the first to suggest such a need to her husband,

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in the search for a tutor who would inculcate both Christian and Ancient values in her children. Lodovico, the heir apparent, and his young contemporaries received their primary education there, all of them taking their lessons to heart. This was truly one of the great acts which was to grace Gianfrancesco's tenure as Marchese, and make possible an atmosphere to which Lodovico upon his ascent to power in 1444 could entice humanistically inspired artists of Andrea Mantegna and Leon Battista Alberti's stature. [15] The tradition continued into Isabella d'Este's time, in her choice of the philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi to tutor her son Ercole. [16]

Isabella d'Este, as a child, had been exposed to the finest possible example of artistic patronage, being the daughter of Ercole d'Este of Ferrara, an avid admirer of the arts. From an early age she proved herself amenable to the humanist educational curriculum, shining equally in the study and composition of both Latin and vernacular Italian poetry. [17] The truly lavish patronage of artistic concerns for which Mantua of the Renaissance is so well-known began in full force in the year 1490 when Isabella, then sixteen years old, was married to Francesco II Gonzaga, she having been betrothed to him from the age of nine. [18] The arts were considered important to the enrichment of court life not only for the stature and beauty which they lent to the many ceremonial occasions that

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graced day-to-day life at the court, but for representing the summit of elegance for the properly-educated nobleman, to be enjoyed at any time.

Isabella was an accomplished musician who could play the cittern, and studied the lute with Angelo Testagrossa around the year 1495. [19] Toward the end of the fifteenth century she began to study the lira da braccio, an instrument principally associated with the traditions of courtly improvisation, and in addition she sang and could play the keyboards. Her position as an important and musically literate patron of music who consequently understood the technical aspects of composition is unusual. [20] During her first years as marchesa, Isabella dramatically expanded the population of singers, instrumentalists and composers living at and working for the court. She was a voracious collector of both antiquities and contemporary works of art, most of which found their way into both her "studiolo" and "grotta", the two major investments that were the beneficiaries of her time thus spent.

Isabella d'Este did not patronize theatre as enthusiastically as music, painting, sculpture and non-dramatic literature, but Ercole d'Este's appetite for all matters theatrical gave his daughter an object-lesson that was not dismissed once she was in a position to herself become an artistic patroness.

The earliest extant indication of a theatrical company

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that truly proved itself worthy of such a designation was founded in Mantua--the "Università degli Ebrei" (known also as the "Università Israelitica"), established under that name in 1511. This company was a permanent comic company in service to the Gonzaga rulers, and whose performers were taken from a large group of men in the Jewish community who were always willing to be actors. Jews as actors do not necessarily present an incongruity, though. Their having been outsiders at many points historically had thus easily created in them a propensity for portraying the stories of others, giving the sadder and more painful episodes a peculiar sense of sympathy. The ready adaptability and linguistic virtuosity of the Jews was also felt to have a natural kinship with the mimetic talents of the actors. [21] It is important to note that the laws restricting Jewish activity had not yet taken on the harsh aspect which characterized them in the early years of the seventeenth century, so there was no discouragement of such involvement. [22]

The level of appreciation for the Jewish players was so high that whenever Jewish holiday customs interfered with customary performance schedules (such as no performing, lighting of torches and putting in motion of stage machinery on the Sabbath and other holidays), the Jewish concerns were given precedence. As part of the preparations for Vincenzo's birthday celebrations in which the

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Università degli Ebrei were to participate, Ottavio Lambertesco, carver in the Mantuan court, relayed the above concerns in a letter to Donati, the Ducal secretary, on July 21, 1588:

> Quello che importa, et che sono i suddetti Hebrei sforzati a mettere in consideratione dell' A. S., si è che il giorno del 22 di Settembre, nel quale vengono commessi ad essere all'ordine per recitare questa Favola, è una delle più sollenni e principali feste che abbiano tra loro, et non solo il 22, ma il 23 ancora, e'l 24 è Sabbato: si che sarà necessario o di anticipare il d.o tempo un giorno, overo d'aspettare alla Domenica seguente, quando non si volesse far l'opera manchevole di molte vaghezze, come di fuochi et di suoni e d'altre piacevolezze, non comportate dalla legge hebraica a farsi in simil giorni festivi. [23]

The privilege of performing at court would not in all likelihood have been extended to a community which had not decisively proved its considerable experience as well as its expertise in theatrical performance. One's interest in the Università degli Ebrei is piqued by the possibility that Leone de' Sommi was thereby provided with his earliest opportunities of exercising his latent theatrical talents.

Another such performance by a Jewish acting troupe was among the celebrations accompanying the marriage of Duke Francesco with Caterina of Austria on August 7, 1549:

> L'intertenimento pare che possa essere di un paro di Comedie, nel che non vi è luogo al proposito più di quel Palazzo della Ragione,

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> essendo basso. Di queste due, si è disegnato di farne recitare una a'nostri recitanti di Mantova, e l'altra a gli Hebrei. Nel che, per fare che a quei signori tedeschi la cosa non venga in fastidio, dovendo stare ad un diceria così longa, senza intenderne parola, s'è pensato oltre gli intermedj di musiche, moresche et altri simili passatempi, che si potrà d'atto in atto far venire una persona che in lingua loro dichiari sommariamente quel che si avrà da dire et da fare in quell'atto. [24]

Clearly, the Jewish community had many creative resources at their disposal which could be used at such times. Some of these included a gift for composing musical intermedii and dances, and other wordless ways in which the German-speaking segment of the audience might be entertained while being apprised in a courteous manner of plot developments. The Università degli Ebrei performed Bernardo Pino's Gli ingiusti sdegni for Vincenzo's second wedding (to Leonora de'Medici) in 1584, with dances which had been commissioned from Isacchino Ebreo [25] and intermedii composed by Leone de' Sommi himself. The last recorded example of a performance by the Università degli Ebrei was a tragedy (title unknown) performed in Mantua commemorating the death of Alfonso d'Este II, the last Duke of Ferrara, who died on October 27, 1597. [26]

In the case of performances that took place within the confines of their own community, the Jews could claim no subsidy from their ruler, but for Jewish actors who appeared in municipal productions (to which category

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belonged the ones described above), the Mantuan community bore the budgetary responsibility. [27] To prevent such a financial commitment from overburdening their treasury, the Gonzagas instituted a tax, payable by the Jewish community, that procured for the Jewish actors the "right" to accept those invitations to perform at court functions.

In Ferrara, Duke Ercole followed the best humanist tradition as well as personal inclination by having manuscripts of Greek plays translated into Italian and subsequently performed for his noble retinue, and his passion for the Roman plays was always being indulged through continual reworkings into the vernacular. The artists who created both these Greek and Roman reincarnations, and plays of a liturgical bent as well, were supplied with unlimited funds to design fancy costumes and intricate scenic effects. Isabella was twelve years old when a momentous occasion in theatrical history of the nature described above occurred at her father's court. Ercole had collaborated with Niccolò da Correggio in a production of Plautus' Menaechmi that had been carefully translated into Italian verse, and was produced on January 25, 1486. Isabella was an enraptured member of the audience on that date. [28]

The figure of Niccolò da Correggio presents one of the most fascinating character portraits of the many available during this era. He was born in 1450, the son of Niccolò

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III d'Este Marchese of Ferrara's illegitimate daughter Beatrice and the senior Niccolò da Correggio, who deserted Beatrice before young Niccolò's birth. With his mother's marriage four years later to Tristano Sforza of Milan, Niccolò was taken into the Este family circle and brought up alongside the young Alfonso d'Este, to whom he was quite close. With Isabella d'Este's marriage into the Gonzaga family in 1490, Niccolò da Correggio thus forged major connections with the powerful rulers of Ferrara, Milan and Mantua, and became an indispensable figure in all aspects of court-life at each city. [29]

Though Ercole d'Este was never known for great magnanimity towards the Jews under his rule, Isabella had contact in her own education with Jewish masters, one of whom was her dance tutor, Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro. In addition to being a dance maestro, Guglielmo was a theorist of the dance, and wrote one of the earliest extant treatises on the subject entitled Trattato dell'arte del Ballo. His own stature, as well as the importance of this work, is testified to by the fact that it exists in a number of manuscript copies, the earliest (De Pratica seu Arte Tripudii vulgare opusculum) dating from 1463, unpublished, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Fonds Italien 973). [30] Included in this codex is a poem extolling Guglielmo's virtues as a dancemaster, written by the Poet Laureate of Milan Fran-

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cesco Maria Filelfo (1398-1481). It reflects the high regard in which Guglielmo was held by his contemporaries, including his most illustrious pupil, Isabella d'Este:

CANZON MORALE DI MARIO PHILELPHO
AD HONORE ET LAUDE
DI MAESTRO GUILIELMO HEBREO

Qual fama hormai, qual gloria fia di Alceo,
De chi l'antiquità tanto ha cantato
Del dolce Cloma, et claro Timotheo,
Che se Terpandro fusse ben rinato,
Seria da men, se ben quel bon Cradia,
De quel, de chi questo volume è
honorato?
Tanto è soave e angelica harmonia
Nel dolce suon di Guiglielmo hebreo,
Tanto è nel bel danzar la lizadria,
L'arme faria riporre al Machabeo,
A Salamon il senno, e al re Davit,
Humiliare il crudel Heuristeo.....
Il suo danzar non è d'industria humana,
Ma d'ingegno celeste et saper divo,
Senza aparenza simulata et vana ... 31

Isabella, in addition, married into a family that, with scattered exceptions, maintained a hospitable attitude toward Jewish matters requiring their attention. 32 The importance of the Jewish community especially in theatrical concerns was immense, and from the fifteenth century onward, the talents of many Jewish performers were called upon to grace the productions that accompanied the important events celebrated by the Gonzaga family. There was a Gonzaga connection to the first recorded example of a Jewish theatrical production in Italy, on the occasion of the marriage of Maddalena Gonzaga (sister of Marchese Francesco) to Duke Francesco Maria of Urbino on October

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28, 1489. The bridegroom wrote a letter, now in the Archivio Gonzaga, testifying that the wedding party saw a drama based on the story of Judith and Holofernes which was staged "... cum spese et operatione de li Hebrei di questa terra" (at the expense of and arranged by the Jews in this community). [33]

Ways in which the nature of Francesco and Isabella's theatrical patronage becomes clearer are through the attention to detail that characterized the productions with which they were associated, either as patrons or as audience members. Bibbiena's La Calandria had four productions in the early years of its existence (not counting its 1506 première during the Carnival celebrations at Urbino), the first one at the court of Urbino on February 6, 1513, sponsored by Baldassare Castiglione, a friend of Bibbiena's. Girolamo Genga (1476-1551), a disciple of Raffaello, designed the scenery. Bibbiena, though, was not able to attend the performance due to his required presence in Milan on political business. [34] A few months later he was elected Cardinal due to the favor of the newly-elected Pope Leo X (1513-1521), and to mark both the celebrations another production of La Calandria was performed in Rome, December 1514.

The following month, January 1515, a revival was restaged in honor of Isabella d'Este, as part of the spectacular entertainments offered to her by Pope Leo X during

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one of her audiences with him. In this production, Bibbiena's clever plot maneuver of making the twins a boy and a girl succeeded in revealing an entirely new aspect of the plot by lending a salaciousness to the bedroom scenes that heretofore had not been considered possible. [35] Baldassare Peruzzi designed dazzling perspective sets, and the entire production was so well-received that it was repeated in Rome the following year. Giorgio Vasari, in Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architetti scritte da Giorgio Vasari, describes the magnificent artistry exhibited by Peruzzi in his design work:

> Quando si recitò al ... papa Leone La Calandra, comedia del cardinale di Bibbiena, fece Baldassare l'apparato e la prospettiva, che non fu manco bella, anzi più assai che quella che aveva altra volta fatto ... prima o poi che si recitasse la detta Calandra, la quale fu delle prime comedie volgari che si vedesse o recitasse, basta che Baldassare fece al tempo di Leone X due scene che furono maravigliose, ed apersono la via a coloro che ne hanno poi fatto a'tempi nostri. Né si può immaginare come egli in tanta strettezza di sito accomodasse tante strade, tanti palazzi, e tante bizzarrie di tempi, di loggie, e d'andari di cornici così ben fatte, che paarevano non finte, ma verissime, e la piazza non una cosa dipinta e picciola, ma vera e grandissima. [36]

Isabella must have been sufficiently entertained by Bibbiena's work for she herself supervised a production of La Calandria in Mantua, February 1520. It was directed by Baldassare Castiglione, who had written a prologue that accompanied the original manuscript. Quotation of a small

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part of this prologue is important, as Castiglione makes a case in it for the preferred use of prose in dramatic expression:

> Voi sarete oggi spettatori d'una nova commedia intitulata Calandria: in prosa, non in versi; moderna, non antiqua; vulgare, non latina ... Rappresentandovi la commedia cose familiarmente fatte e dette, non parse allo autore usare il verso; considerato che e' si parla in prosa, con parole sciotte e non ligate. Che antiqua non sia dispiacer non vi dee, se di sano gusto vi trovate: per ciò che le cose moderne e nove dilettano sempre e piacciono più che le antique e vecchie; le quali, per longo uso, sogliono sapere di vieto. Non è latino: però che, dovendosi recitare ad infiniti, che tutti dotti non sono, lo autore, che piacervi sommamente cerca, ha voluto farla vulgare; a fine che, da ognuno intesa, parimenti a ciascuno diletti ... [37]

This particular performance gladdened the heart of Bibbiena, who was unable to attend due to rapidly failing health (his death was to come in November 1520). [38] The last of the productions to be discussed here took place ten years later (in Mantua, 1530), when entertainments were being arranged to commemorate the visit of the Italian Emperor Carlo V to Mantua. [39] The scenes and machines were designed by Giulio Romano (1492-1546). Vasari gives some sense of the visual elements:

> ... nella venuta di Carlo Quinto imperatore a Mantova (nel 1532) per ordine del duca fe' Giulio molti bellissimi apparati d'arche, prospettive per comedie, e molte altre cose; nelle quali invenzioni non aveva Giulio pari, e non fu mai il più capriccioso nelle

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> mascherate, e nel fare stravaganti abiti per giostre, feste e torneamenti, come allora si vide con stupore e maraviglia di Carlo Imperadore e di quanti v'intervennero ... 40

A letter dated November 3, 1532 by Ippolito Calandra, the producer in charge of this performance, acquaints one with the preparatory details preceding this particular version. There is a clear desire here for performers to pay attention not only to each other but to how they project to the audience. Calandra also deems it necessary to provide the performers with a well-organized system of backstage personnel to smoothly move them along their way:

> ... bisogna che quelle che son dentro la scena e governano la commedia odano così bene come quelli che sono fuori che l'ascoltano, e più tocca a loro che ad altri per sapere quando hanno da mandare fori e dentro a posta sua ... l'altro si come li recitatori vanno recitando, di dentro continuamente li va seguitando uno o due con il libro in mano e se per disgrazia il falla o che si scordi ... subito quello di dentro lo dice e lo ricorda ed aiuta ... che quando non si facesse così non saria persona alcuna che non fallasse ... 41

Actors held a very special place in the hearts of the Gonzaga princes, due no doubt in large part to the enjoyment of their performances, but also to the word thus spread of Mantuan theatrical expertise and supremacy. The Università degli Ebrei certainly made their contribution to this reflected glory.

The names of several actors who pursued active careers

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survive in association with Gonzaga patronage. Clearly the most celebrated of these performers was Flaminia, the Roman actress upon whom Leone de' Sommi lavishes the highest of praise in his Dialoghi. [42] The powerful effect engendered by her 1566 appearances on the Mantuan stage was testified to in a letter dated July 24, 1566:

> Heri alle 22 hore nel accompagnare alla sepoltura mio fratello al Carmini, si attaccò una delle maggiori questioni che mai habbia veduto per il grandissimo numero dell'armi mi date. La quale era fra gli Comedianti et quelli del Signor Cesare, figlio di Ferrante Gonzaga di Guastalla, et La Flaminia fece con gli sassi cose stupende, al pari di una Marfisa ... [43]

The year 1567 marked Flaminia's return to Mantua, her increasing fame feeding an already intensely competitive feud between her and the actress Vincenza, to which antics the Mantuan populace was a delighted audience. Vincenza was the lover of Federico Gonzaga di Gazzuolo, whose support fueled those admirers who were on her side. It is even believed that the two prima donnas had their own separate theatre spaces in which their performances might be showcased. [44]

The building of theatres took on a feverish pace under Gonzaga patronage. The first of these theatres was among the first permanent theatre structures, that built by Giovanni Battista Bertani between 1549 and 1551 in the northernmost sector of the castle. Another was con-

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structed by Ippolito Andreasi in time for the 1591 Mantuan production of Giambattista Guarini's Pastor Fido. [45] What could be considered the flagship of all Mantuan theatres, though, is that built by Antonio Maria Viani and known for its magnificent architecture and the fascinating intricacy of its theatrical machinery. This theatre was the first which could be known as an "opera house," its trial production being Marco da Gagliano's La Dafne (January 1608). Dedicated "al Serenissimo Signore Di Vincenzio Gonzaga Duca di Mantova e di Monferrato," [46] its sumptuous inaugural performance took place on May 28, 1608.

The performance that formally inaugurated Viani's theatre was the collaborative effort of Ottavio Rinuccini and Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) entitled Arianna, commissioned to mark the marriage of Francesco Gonzaga with Margherita di Savoia. [47] The original published edition of Marco da Gagliano's La Dafne contains in its composer's introductory material some information about the première of Arianna:

> ... tra molte ammirabile feste, che da S. A. furono furono ordinate nelle superbe nozze del Serenissimo Principe suo Figliuolo <Francesco> e della Serenissima Infanta di Savoia volle, che si rappresentasse, una favola in Musica, e questo fu l'Arianna, composta per tale occasione dal Signore Ottavio Rinuccini, che il Signore Duca a questo fine fece venire in Mantova, il Sig. Claudio Monteverde, Musico celebratissimo capo della musica di S. A. compose l'arie in modo si esquisito, che si può con verità affermare, che si rinovasse il pregio

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> dell'antica musica, percioche visibilmente mosse tutto il Teatro a lagrime. [48]

The atmosphere of declining tolerance that characterized the gradually weakened hold of the Gonzagas on Mantuan rule provided only one additional occasion in which the services of the Jewish company was requested--a comedy mounted in 1605. The star of this production was Simone Basilea, who proves to be one of the most interesting figures to emerge in a study of Jewish theatrical participation in the Italian Renaissance. Born in Verona, he attained great fame from his ability to perform entire comedies by himself. The esteem in which he was held is attested to not only by his being given permission to leave Mantua and perform elsewhere, but also by the fact that he was not required at such times to wear the badge of identification worn on the outer layer of clothing by all other Jews. One such petition relating to Basilea concerned the freedom of movement sought by his supporters in order to facilitate more widespread performances:

> ...concediamo licenza in virtù della presente a Simone Basilea, hebreo, che con la sua sola voce rapresentar comedie di molti personaggi, di poter, a nostro bene placito, però andar et stare in qualsivoglia città et luoghi dei nostri Stati et recitar comedie senza portar segno alcuno al capello o in altri luoghi come fanno gli altri ebrei eccetto che in Mantova dove vogliamo che porti il solito segno, comandando perciò espressamente a tutti li ministri officiali et Datiari nostri non gli debbano dar molestia alcuna per tal conto ne fargli

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> pagar datii per li suoi panni da dosso ne per quelli che adopera nelle comedie. In fede di che la presente sarà firmata di nostra mano <Francesco II Gonzaga> et del nostro sigillo. Dato dal nostro Palazzo di Porto li 2 giugno 1612. [49]

The careers of Simon Basilea and Leone de' Sommi seem indicative of a "golden age," a very special time where Jewish artistic practitioners enjoyed an unusual freedom of expression. Matters did not bode well for the continuance of such freedom, when in 1516 Venice became the first of many Italian cities to segregate their Jewish citizens. The decision made in 1610 to confine the Mantuan Jewish population within walls (relatively late, according to the above trend), [50] severely curtailed interaction by the Jews with the Christian community, but in spite of this edict, Christian nobility continued to seek treatment from Jewish physicians and attended performances by Jewish actors and musicians.

The year 1628 not only signified the end of Vincenzo II's fourteen-month reign in Mantua and the eventual passing of control from the main branch of the house to its French relations (the Duc de Nevers) in 1630, but also marked the beginning of the end of the period in which the Gonzaga dynasty constituted a power to be reckoned with in European affairs. The Thirty Years' War was rapidly spreading its field of operations, and the German Emperor Ferdinand II had the intention of buttressing his own

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empire through annexing to it the severely weakened state of Mantua. [51]

This decline, happening gradually over the course of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, was echoed in the death of the golden age of Jewish cultural contributions, when the Church was finally able to gain the continual upper hand in the matter of subjugating all aspects of Jewish influence. The living conditions of Jews had already deteriorated quite a bit by virtue of their having been ghettoized for nearly two decades. A heinous episode which sadly reflects this downward progression occurred at the turn of the seventeenth century and is particularly indicative of how political convenience had quashed the respect held by previous Gonzaga rulers for the Jewish citizenry in their state. The Church, with no apparent objection on Vincenzo's part, had successfully put forth an order that all non-Mantuan Jews were to return to their own homes. Those natives remaining were subjected to the ravings of an anti-semitic friar, Bartolomeo Cambi, Vincenzo having decided that protecting his Jews could not be accomplished without Church retribution, truly his greater fear. When a rumor had passed among the hysterical population that the Jews, in defense, had denigrated Cambi, Vincenzo's way of settling the panic was by arbitrarily choosing seven Jews for public hanging. [52]

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A Mantuan Jew who lived through this painful era was the poet and scholar Abramo Massarani, born of a family with a long history of illustrious connections to the Gonzagas. [53] Abramo is the author of an extremely important monograph, L'Esilio e il Riscatto: le Vicende degli Ebrei Mantovani tra il 1627 e il 1631 (published in Venezia, 1634) which describes in detail the particular climate which the political upheaval created for Mantuan Jews. This work presents, by extension, primary evidence that participation in cultural matters was no longer a viable option for Jewish artists. A selected quote gives one some idea of why such involvement was fairly impossible:

> Nel giorno 13 del detto mese <Shevat>, verso sera, il Duca <Vincenzo II> uscì dalla Corte a cavallo con molti principi e si diresse verso la Chiesa del Duomo, che è nella Piazza, e di là andò a quella del Carmelo. Nel tornare a Corte, giunto nella Piazza della città, sentì una alta voce di popolo, che gridava: viva il Duca. I Giudei, unitisi agli altri, continuavano a gridare così. Il Duca si volse ai suoi servi e disse loro: "Che è questo grido ch'io sento? Percoteteli e tacciano." Il suo pensiero era che percotessero quelli che gridavano. La folla, credendo che il Duca avesse dato il permesso di percuotere i Giudei e far di loro ciò che volevano, di corsa si avvicinarono al Ghetto per abbattere e distruggere. Per miracolo i Giudei si riunirono nel Ghetto, chiudendo le porte. Allora la moltitudine, con inaudita crudeltà e sdegno, raccolte delle pietre le gettarono contro le finestre, che davan sulla strada, spezzarono i vetri, e per mezzo di scale, pensavano di entrare nelle case dei Giudei, Dio ne guardi, e ucciderli. Ma il Signore Dio ebbe pietà dei poveri Giudei, perché, mentre moltissimi si eran avvicinati con

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> roncole e scuri per spezzare le porte del Ghetto, un giovane ardito, sfidando la morte, uscì dal Ghetto e nella piazza grande s'incontrò con due primari Consiglieri del Duca. Questi gli domandarono perché piangesse e, saputane la causa, ne riferirono a Corte. Il Duca ... allora mandò subito il Conte Francesco Gonzaga con parecchi cavalieri armati. La moltitudine fu dispersa e rimase sbigottita e avvilita per non esser riuscita nell'intento. [54]

Mantuan Ghetto life was becoming less and less synonymous with full participation in the life of the city--artistic careers included. The ways and means of patronage had virtually disappeared for Jewish artists, having no champions in their rulers.

One must then be grateful that the span of Leone de' Sommi's life fell within a period where the progression of his magnificent career went along relatively unmolested. He would not have accomplished half of what he did accomplish without the encouragement and support of the Gonzaga princes to whom he was in service. It mattered little that their motivation may have been as self-serving as it was liberal. De' Sommi gains a lasting mark as one of few Jews whose fame, talents and noble connections were of sufficient magnitude to protect him from persecution in the exercise of his multi-faceted career.

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CHAPTER 4

TOWARD A BIOGRAPHY OF LEONE DE' SOMMI

There are many irrefutable facts relating to the life of Leone de' Sommi (1525/7-1590/2). First, his family was one of Italy's most illustrious Jewish families, among whose members were many physicians to Italian nobility. [1] Also, he was a highly valued servant at the court of the Gonzagas in Mantua, where his theatrical talents were put to great use. The productions of which he was in charge often marked the visit of a European dignitary to court, and it is possible that the 1574 visit to Mantua of King Henry III of France saw some expression of de' Sommi's theatrical gifts. B. D. Vigénere's contemporary account of this visit, and the lavishness of the events presented therein, indicates this possibility:

> Vous n'eussiez tant demeuré (benins Lecteurs) à estre participans des triomphes & magnificences qui furent faictes l'an passé, en la tres-noble & celebre cité de Mantoue, au passage de sa tres chrestienne maiesté par l'Italie; n'eut esté que pour vous mieux representer les arcs triomphaux, portes, statues, et autres belles fantasies, & inventions d'une bien grande despence, il a esté besoin les faire retirer & portraire au vray, & puis les tailler en plaches de cuiure, comme vous pouuez icy veoir. [2]

From the testimony of de' Sommi's own writing, he was much adept at designing what could be termed "belles fantasies"

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for the pleasure of those he served, and his services would certainly have been sought for this occasion.

Admiration for de' Sommi grows tenfold when one realizes that his devoted service to the Gonzagas did not preclude an immense concern over the general quality of Jewish life in Mantua. The influence which his position with the Gonzagas gave him, provided excellent means by which he actively advocated his people's welfare, especially where legal matters were concerned. Though the above details combine to create a tantalizing and illustrious portrait, there are at the same time questions concerning several aspects of de' Sommi's life that are not so easily answered. It is a great source of frustration that too many blocks of his life cannot be properly documented.

For current purposes he will be known as Leone de' Sommi, but primary and scholarly sources have him variously listed as Leone di Somi, Leoni de Somi, Leone Ebreo di Somi, Leon de Somma, Sommo do Portaleone [3], Leon de' Sommi, Leone Ebreo de' Sommi, Yehuda Sommo, Judah Sommo, Leone de' Sommi Portaleone and Leone Sommo de Portaleone. Italian Jews generally had at least two names, this being reflective of interesting customs in the nomenclature of Italian Jews. With a few noteworthy exceptions (the families De'Rossi and De'Vecchi, for example) Italian Jews' names were artificially created and imposed upon

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them by the government. This was done in a variety of ways. If a family happened to have originated in Germany, their name would logically have become "Tedesco," a Polish family "Polacco," a Greek family "Greco." A French family might be renamed "Gallico" or "Gallo," and in this way Sh'muel Sarfatti became Giuseppe Gallo ("Sarfatti" means "French" in Hebrew). Gallo translated the Celestina by Fernando de Rojas into Hebrew (written in 1499, the translation is no longer extant, but the introductory poem, enumerating the plot, does survive), thus figuring largely in the history of Hebrew drama as fostered in Renaissance Italy. [4] Others had their names taken from Italian translations of their Hebrew names, thus the surname "Mazal-tov" became "Buonaventura" and "Cohen" became "Sacerdote," the first name "Shelomo/Solomon" became "Pacifici," thus forming a play on the word "shalom." Still more families had their names chosen for them from the cities or neighborhoods in which they lived, (eg. Jacob Fano and Dani'el Fano) and this is the case of Leone de' Sommi of the Portaleone family. The Porta Leone district lay adjacent to the main Jewish settlement of Rome, and was in itself an Italianization of "Sha'ar Aryeh" (translated from the Hebrew as "Lion's Gate"). [5] "Yehuda" (or "Judah") typically became "Leone," and with the "de' Sommi" (translated from the Italian as "of the highest") [6] added, we have Leone de' Sommi Portaleone, the artist and scholar.

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Complicating the matter for contemporary researchers is the existence of two other similarly named men. "Leone Ebreo" also figured as the Italian pseudonym of one quite well-known man, more well-known by his Hebrew name, Giuda Abrabanel (translated as "Judah, father of the sages of God", 1460-1530). He was a poet and philosopher, author of the famous work Dialoghi d'amore written in 1501/2 in Italian, but not published until 1535 (five years after Abrabanel's death) in Rome, at the instigation of his friend Mariano Lenzi. [7] Lenzi wrote a letter to Aurelia Petrucci strongly supporting Leone's literary effort, and it was incorporated into the published version as mentioned above. A partial repetition of Lenzi's warm recommendation is worthwhile:

> Benché stimo ... far in un tempo due non piccoli guadagni, scioglier' parte di questo obbligo con voi, & obligarmi (se l'ombre obligar' si possono) Maestro Leone, che havendo io questi sui divini dialogi tratti fuora de la tenebre in che essi stavano sepolti, & postoli quasi in chiara luce, & al nome di si valorosa donna (come voi sete) raccomandatili, credo certo ch'egli se ne debbia sommamente rallegrare. [8]

The formal dialectical structure of Leone Ebreo's Dialogi was dear to the hearts of humanist scholars across Europe, so it was not surprising to find them published at later points into Hebrew, Latin, French, Spanish and English translations. [9]

Abrabanel was one of the more famous scholars who

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found himself in exile because of his religious affiliation. In the year 1483, he fled Portugal with his family, eventually finding his way to Italy in 1492. He had a license to practice medicine, but his main interests were in philosophy (as stated above), mathematics and astronomy. Abrabanel numbered among his friends large numbers of the intellectual communities in both Naples and Rome, at whose universities he was a lecturer. Not the least of these acquaintances was the avid humanist Pico della Mirandola, who commissioned him to compose a treatise on the Harmony of the Heavens.

The Dialoghi d'Amore is a landmark in the history of both literature and aesthetics, and marked its author as a man at one with the spirit of Renaissance scholarship. It contains three dialogues between Filone and Sofia (the two Lovers) and Saggezza (the Italian word for "wisdom"). Abrabanel maintains throughout that the human and divine aspects of life were indivisible, and that love is the basic reality of life. 10

> Questo tal desiderio si chiama amore, e è di cose non havute che si desiderano havere, o veramente de l'havute che si desiderano godere con unione, & l'uno & l'altro propriamente si chiama desiderio, ma il secondo fu propriamente amore, di forte che definiamo l'amor desiderio di fruire con unione, o veramente desiderio di convertirsi con unione ne la cosa amata. ... prima quel conoscimento debbe essere di Dio secondo che si può havere di cosa tanta immensa & tanto alta, & conoscendo noi altri la sua perfettione, per che non bastiamo a conoscerla

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> interamente, l'amiamo, desiderando fruirlo con unione conoscitiva la più perfetta che sia possibile, Questo tanto amore & desiderio fa che siamo astrutti in tanta contemplatione ch'il nostro intelletto si viene a sollevare in modo che illuminato d'una singulare gratia divina, arriva a conoscere più alto che l'humano potere, & l'humana speculatione, & viene in una tal'unione e coppulatione col sommo Dio, che più presto si conosce nostro intelletto essere ragione & parte divina, che intelletto in forma humana, e al'hora si satia il desiderio suo. ...& ben potria essere che restasse l'amore & il desiderio, non d'havere il conscimento unitivo, che già l'ha havuta, ma di continuare la fruitione di tal'unione divina, che è verissimo amore. ... [11]

As with other Jewish men of learning in this era, such pantheistic leanings conflicted strenuously with the Jewish Orthodox way of life which he outwardly practiced.

The second gentleman was known as "Judah, Messer Leone," but in Jewish circles as Judah Ben Yechiel (translated from the Hebrew as Judah son of Yechiel) a scholar, philosopher and poet. He was active in the latter half of the fifteenth century, writing and studying with equal facility in Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Italian. It is likely that Judah Ben Yechiel's greatest contribution to scholarship was in his mammoth attempt to equate Hebrew with the Classical languages in both its power and poetic beauty. A book entitled The Drippings of the Honeycomb, published in the late 1470's in Mantua, [12] actually attempted to analyze the Holy Scriptures according to criteria set up in the writings of Cicero and Quintilian.

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Equally in this spirit, he wrote a book on logic and a grammar of Latin, in Hebrew, so Classical theories could be studied by Jewish students. The above efforts caused him to become the subject of accusations from both Jews and Christians who maintained that the Hebrew language was best left in the Biblical realm. The violent arguments ended only with the imposition of exile upon the author and his main detractor, Rabbi Joseph Kolon. [13]

Another Jew who had much influence in intellectual circles was Bonet Lattes (Jacob ben Emanuel Provenzale). His birthdate is unknown, but his birthplace was in southern France (as is evidenced by his name, "Provenzale") and his many occupations included those of rabbi, physician and astronomer. [14] His belief in the power of the stars led him to publish a yearly set of predictions for the future (these publications covered the years 1493 to 1498). At around this time he settled in Rome, where, as a rabbi, he was called upon by the Pope to be a judge and legal intermediary in the Jewish community. He also cultivated friendships with Christian humanists, such as Johannes Reuchlin. [15] With Lattes, then, and especially with the others just mentioned, there is proof that Jewish scholars immersed themselves in the same currents of scholarly concern as did Christian scholars.

There is confusion surrounding the dates of de' Sommi's birth and death. De' Sommi's exact gravesite is

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unknown, nor has the gravestone survived, but the texts of the epitaphs thereon are extant, and give means by which this issue may be considered. His sixty-five year lifespan is surmised from a notice in the Necrologium of Mantua:

> [10 Maggio 1590] M. Leon de Somma hebreo nella contrata di Camello è morto di febbre in 15 di, d'anni 65. [16]

One birthdate (1525) is then deduced by accepting the above as valid evidence. The other possible birthdate (1527) is presumed on the strength of two additional primary sources supporting his date of death as having occurred in 1592. [17]

Supporting the latter birthdate are the texts of Leone de' Sommi's epitaphs, one by an unknown Mantuan citizen, and the other as composed by his contemporary and friend, Daniel Fano. Both epitaphs offer a most useful means by which details of Leone de' Sommi's life may be restored. The first of these (the words that actually graced his Mantuan gravestone), is translated from the Hebrew as follows:

Men of Nahar Dea
How many and how many
In the man alive yesterday
Today he is encased in a block
His is a golden tongue
Among the poets
His hands designed
Truly this is a year of sacrifice
approaches close to God

go out and see
high merits
blossomed so.
and in the low places
and it is powerful
and in his plans
a small temple
his purified soul
now after death

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> In the year 5352 [1592] the most noble legislator and benefactor Signor Yehuda di Porta Leone, may the just remember him for a blessing, went from being a living man up to God and left behind him the blessing of a sanctuary which he built with his own hands.
>
> This was composed by an inhabitant of Mantua and was put on the gravestone of the eminent Sommi mentioned above, and may his memory be blessed. [18]

Daniel Fano, who transmitted the above author's words through his own pen, [19] added a passionate eulogy of his own, translated from the Hebrew as follows:

> Prepare the site for him and proclaim
> stone now has been made sharp stone.
> Raise a lament, because Yehuda Leone passes
> through the inhabitants of this world as
> from a world of poverty to paradise.
> Truly he was brilliant in every field,
> in wisdom he designed a sanctuary and
> his own hands built it at the end of his
> years. He measured with his full fist
> and didn't change it. And he divulged the
> details of the temple and the palace with his
> writer's pen and put as condition that they
> would be called with a name. And in the year
> [5]346 [1586] a place was created for his name
> in the garden, shining soul of this generation,
> at peace again, his scholarly honor thus
> perpetuated even though he left us joyless.
>
> Epitaph for the tombstone of his people's
> benefactor, the legislator Signor Yehuda Sommi
> di Porta Leone (may his memory be for a blessing)
> whose hands prepared a sanctuary in his old age.
> He died and was gathered to his ancestors in the
> year 5352 [1592], and they buried him in Mantuan
> soil. I, the young Dani'el Fano of Ciriè, wrote
> this. [20]

It is difficult to reconstruct the formative years of Leone de' Sommi's life, for incidents documenting his

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childhood are few and far between. When de' Sommi began his service to the Gonzagas in the early 1560's, there was no longer such a woeful lack of information relating to his activities. The Portaleone family (that to which Leone de' Sommi belonged) was a well-established one, and a close look at the background of some of de' Sommi's ancestors can help point toward what his early years may have been like, and thus justify the respect in which he was ultimately held by his princely patrons.

Guglielmo (Benjamin) Portaleone, Leone's great-grandfather, was a renowned physician, highly considered by Christian colleagues. The quality of medical service performed was such that when his work took him to Naples, Ferdinand I knighted him, [21] one of the few times recorded in this era when a Jew was so honored (and one of the few high privileges which was to be denied Leone de' Sommi in his own illustrious career). [22] Later, Guglielmo was to be found in the service of Galeazzo Sforza of Milan, after whose death he resettled in Mantua and practiced medicine until the turn of the sixteenth century. From this generation on, Mantua remained the home base for the majority of Portaleones.

Guglielmo and others of the Portaleones who practiced medicine were allowed to treat Christian patients in spite of canonical laws prevalent at that time which prevented Jews from doing so. [23] These laws, including those that

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forbade Christians from seeking medical help at the hands of Jewish physicians had been in existence for several hundred years, enforced by both religious and secular ordinances. A prime inducement for such laws was the inordinate fear that the physical influence held by the Jewish doctor over his patient might extend to moral and religious matters. The laws included not only prohibitions against practicing medicine among non-Jews, but also the study of medicine at the universities and the holding of official medical positions at court. It truly was a testament to the high esteem in which these Jewish physicians were held that there were so many exceptions to the rule.

Abraham Portaleone I, Guglielmo's son, was given permission by Pope Paul III (Farnese, 1534-49) [24] to practice medicine, serving Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, attending Giovanni delle Bande Nere (ancestor of the Medici grand dukes of Tuscany) on his deathbed, and returning at a later time to Mantua to serve Federico Gonzaga I as personal physician. Abraham's brother (and De' Sommi's grandfather) Lazzaro, having been given dispensation by Pope Alexander VI (Borgia, 1492-1503) to practice medicine on June 17 1499, acquired as patient Prince Carlo Giovanni Sassatelli, commander of the army of the Venetian republic, and subsequently Francesco Gonzaga I and some of his successors. His two sons, David I and Abraham II

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(Leone de' Sommi's father), followed in the family footsteps by also practicing medicine as a career. Both were accorded the dispensation of Pope Leo X (Medici, 1513-21) in 1518 to practice medicine, the former in Mantua and the latter in Sermide. [25]

Abraham II had two sons other than Leone, the middle son. The younger of these two, Lucido (or Meir, translated from the Hebrew as "giver of light") became a physician. He practiced first in Sermide (having received papal permission to do so) and later found himself in the service of Vincenzo Gonzaga I as one of his physicians. Leone's elder brother Abraham III (one of the more famous of the clan) was a philosopher as well as a physician, studying at the University of Pavia and receiving his license from the College of Physicians in Mantua. He was a student of Jacob Fano, who was later to provide a moment of confrontation in Leone de' Sommi's own early artistic experience. In 1573 Abraham earned an appointment as body-physician to the ducal household in Mantua, receiving from Pope Gregory XIII (Boncompagni, 1572-85) in 1577, the coveted "privilege" to practice medicine among Christians, reinforced again in 1587 by Vincenzo Gonzaga, as authorized by Pope Sixtus V (Peretti, 1585-90). In 1591 he received dispensation from Pope Gregory XIV (Sfondrati, 1590-91) to treat any patient whom he chose to see, notwithstanding what religion they practiced. At

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Guglielmo Gonzaga's insistence, he composed the first work ever written on otology (diseases of the ear), a book in Latin which encapsulated many of his medical opinions entitled Consilia medica, another entitled Cura di malattie (neither was published), and another entitled Dialogi tres de auro (published in 1584) where the possible use of gold in medical treatment was addressed, [26] Abraham's masterpiece, however, was another work entitled Shilte ha'gibborim (it has not as yet been translated; the title means "The Shield of Heroes", written 1607 and published 1612), which dealt in an intelligible way with the history of the Jewish religion and its practices. [27] This work was said to be the first Hebrew book that made use of European punctuation.

Abraham III's son David II served as physician for an extended period in the courts of Vincenzo I, Francesco, Ferdinand and Vincenzo Gonzaga II, and David's son Guglielmo, who had studied medicine at the public academy of Siena, was permitted (as was his grandfather) the privilege of continuing his studies alongside his Christian colleagues at the College of Physicians in Mantua. When David II died (in 1655), it was requested of Pope Innocent X (?amphili, 1644-55) to grant Guglielmo the same privileges that had been accorded his father and grandfather. [28]

A look at Leone de' Sommi's choice of career when com-

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pared to those made by his ancestors and descendants is, then, quite startling. Leone, as a practitioner of the theatre, seems the proverbial "black sheep" in this family of medical men, though it is hypothesized (with no obvious evidence) that he turned his back on a flourishing surgical practice to engage in his true chosen profession.

It is safe to assume that with the precedent of medicine as the accepted career for the Portaleone males, and with the lack of precedent for Jewish involvement in a field so clearly representational as that of the theatre, that Leone de' Sommi must have encountered much resistance not only from his family but also from the Jewish community when his theatrical bent became clear. Theatrical activity had long been considered by Jewish Talmudic scholars as an abomination, dramatists were the dregs of the earth, and the characters that were portrayed in all plays were amoral and low-class. [29] Exodus 20:4 stated that "you will not make for yourself any idol, or any resemblance of anything in the heavens above and on the land below, or in the waters under the land," and this was taken at face-value. Leone de' Sommi's plays, as will later be seen, were paeans to decency in comparison with those of Pietro Aretino and Niccolò Macchiavelli, two who incurred the brunt of Jewish scholarly ire. De' Sommi, though, through his proud insistence (in the early pages of the Dialoghi) on the fundamental contribution of Old

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Testament Scripture to the formation of a dramatic philosophy, proved his own originality.

There is a problem in tracing de' Sommi's interest because adequate documentation of his active career in the theatre and of his general community involvement comes into play only after the early 1560's. No documented evidence specifically linking him to theatrical activity before the 1560's is extant, but it does not deny the existence of such involvement.

As a representative of his people, Leone de' Sommi has a position in history as important, in its own special ways, as his position in theatrical history. It creates a much fuller portrait of him to know that a man of whose Jewishness there is no trace in all but one of his plays, aligned himself so strongly to his brethren in bringing his influence to bear in the amelioration of their daily lives. He was the official bearer of his community's legal petitions before the Ducal court, and in many arguments he represented the winning side.

His greatest and most crucial case occurred in 1566 (the petition was dated March 13), and embodied a successful move to have Guglielmo Gonzaga cede court responsibility over the Jews in legal and financial matters. Not only that, but decisions issuing from the resulting Jewish court were fully recognized and certified as legal by the Ducal court:

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Ossurpandosi alcuni Rabini Hebrei, emuli et concorenti del fedelissimo Servo di V. Ecc. Moise Provenzali hebreo, certe autorità che non hanno nè possono havere, hanno ardito di comandargli, contra il giusto et lontano da ogni equità, come si potrà far fede all'Ecc. V. Ill.ma, et la lor mira non è altro che volerle far smacco, havendole per fisso tre giorni di tempo, o che si ridica d'un suo parere, che ha pubblicato contra un libello de ripudio, stante le informationi che egli ne ha, ovvero che dia le ragion sue nelle mani loro, et che altrimente pubblicaranno una scomunica contro di lui. Per la qual cosa, egli fa ricorsso a' piedi di V. Ecc., supplicandola voler degnarsi di commettere che secondo il rito hebraico, si chiarito per arbitri non sospetti, primieramente se costoro hanno autorità contro l'esp.te et appresso farle dar tempo da poter usare le sue ragioni, 'nanti a giudici hebrei, non partiali né sospetti, acciò che V. Ecc., et il mondo conosca la malvagità di questi tali, et che non vadino altieri di conseguir cosa contra ragione, contra il dovere, et contra ogni legge humana et divina; la qual non vuole che uno innocente sia giudicato da nemici, come costor sono. Notificandosi a . Ecc. che già il detto de Provenzali è partito per Ferrara, per chiarire i casi suoi, atteso che ivi si trova il principale de la causa, per mostrare le sue magioni, onde si spera che tali si trovaranno che non ocorrerà venire ad altri meriti. [30]

On April 1, 1569, Duke Guglielmo received a petition from Leone de' Sommi on behalf of a Jewish butcher named Jacob, who was brought into court for having sold meat at a price which was sufficiently higher than the ceiling set by law and caused concern among Christian butchers. De' Sommi was able to successfully engineer Jacob's appeal on the grounds that kosher meat by its very nature cost more to process. Charging higher prices for the meat, then,

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was totally within line:

> E solito de gli hebrei (per certe loro osservanze) pagar la carne a' lor beccari un quattrino di più la libbra, ordinariamente di quello che pagano li Christiani. Et nel tempo de la Quaresima, che il beccaro hebreo non può vendere a' Christiani, non è uso da segatarne, se prima non s'intende con li massari o communità loro, per ciò che, se la carne non fosse come la cercano essi hebrei nelli interiori, bisognarebbe gettarla via. Et però, in tali occasioni, per ricompensare il gran risico che corre il beccaro, si contentono pagaria alcuna cosa più del solito, ovvero donarli una somma di danari per che faccia de la carne: si come, al presente, ha fatto il fedelissimo di V. Ecc., Jacob, beccaro, hebreo, che di consenso pur de' massari, come è solito, per bisogno de la Pasqua loro, ha amazzati due manzi questa Quaresima, et per che la sorte lo ha aiutato che sono sani di dentro, per invidia da che che sia è stato accusato, et con una citatione sola, senza haver havuto tempo di dire le sue ragioni, intende che hier sera per li detti due manzi da li Magnifici Massaro et Sapienti fu condennato in libbre 6000 in circa, et da quelli ricorso, intende che non ha appellatione, onde è costretto gettarsi a' piedi di V. Ecc. supplicandola a volersi degnare di commettere a qual giudice più gli piace, che, non ostante detta condennatione, egli sia ammesso a le diffese, et a novo giudicio, acciò che così ingiustamente non sia il povero esp.te, gravato, ove non ha pur il modo di sostentare la sua povera famiglia; ed questo ottenendo (come spera) riceverà per gratia et dono da V. Ecc., a cui egli humilmente s'inchina et raccomanda. [31]

Other petitions which he handled included requiring wealthy Jews on visits to Mantua to stay at the Jewish hostel. It had been the habit of such visitors to stay at

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the homes of Jews in a comparable financial state to their own, to the point that the hostel, operated by Judah Sermoneta, came near to bankruptcy. De' Sommi's arguing of the case raised the hostel's status and brought its owner (the "ba'al ha'machaneh") financial solvency (January 5, 1571). [32]

On May 20, 1578, he wrote the following letter as protest against the lack of balance in determining citizens' payment of taxes:

> L'humilissima Università de gli Hebrei et li banchieri di Mantova, sendo oppressi da molte et insopportabili gravezze, ordinarie et straordinarie, volendo compartir le tasse et le altre spese comuni fra loro, et havendosi per fermo che la mente di V. Alt. Ser.ma è che ogni uno porti il suo dovuto carico, si come anco si comprende del Decreto concesso loro ultimamente, in generale, ove si vede che tutti gli hebrei del dominio hanno a conferire nel pagamento delle tasse, al che facendosi da alcuni qualche resistenza, sono sforzati ricorrere a V. Alt. Ser.ma supplicandola prima devotamente a non volere concedere ad alcuno essentione nelle tasse a pregiudicio loro; et appresso, restar servita di concedere ad essa Università et banchieri che, in ogni caso di discordia intorno alle tasse et spese comuni, tutti gli hebrei della castella, come ancor gli altri, habbiano a regolarsi nel modo e forma che comporta la legge e rito loro, si come tenuti, essendo hebrei; et si come si è sempre stillato fra essi. [33]

On March 3, 1588, he bore a request to Vincenzo (through his wife Eleanora de'Medici) which sought to delay an attempt on the part of Christian silk merchants

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to change the particular commercial laws governing that profession until their counterparts in the Jewish community had a chance to contribute their ideas in the matter:

> L'Università de gli Hebrei di Mantova, humilissimi et devoti servi dell' A. V. Ser.ma, porse una supplica et una informatione al Ser.mo Sig. Duca, per rimediare a quello che i mercadanti della seta non solo a pregiuditio di essi Hebrei, ma anco a danno della città in generale, et della Camera Ducale, in particolare. Et S.A. Ser.ma si riserbò a volervi havere matura consideratione, dopo il suo felice ritorno di Monferrato. Hora, intendendo essi Hebrei che quelli dell'arte non cessano di procurar li medesimo, in absenza dell'A. S.; sono sforzati supplicar, come fanno, la V. Ser.ma a non voler innovar cosa alcuna che possa tornare in pregiudizio de' lor negotij, se prima non s'informa pienamente della ragione ch'essi hanno pronto di mostrarle in difesa loro, et utile della Camera in particolare, et beneficio di tutta la città in generale. 34

The delay was granted him.

Another of de' Sommi's important achievements on behalf of his fellow Jews, as cited before from his gravestone, was the construction of a synagogue on a special piece of real estate in Mantua. In 1585, he had petitioned to purchase some real estate. No document survives attesting that his petition was granted or indicating the exact location upon which the synagogue once stood. The assumption that de' Sommi was able to purchase the land is logical, for de' Sommi would not have been

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able to construct any building on land which he did not own.

At the twilight of Leone de' Sommi's life there occurs an almost bizarre incident involving one of his close acquaintances, Abraham ben Hananiah Jagel (1553-1623), a scholar and philosopher of no small note. This incident reveals that de' Sommi's thoughts ran quite often along lines antithetical to his chosen profession, and demonstrates his own philosophical talent. Rabbi Barukh Abraham da Spoleto had given a sermon in Modena touching on transmigration of souls, stating that only sinful souls transmigrate into animal bodies, and this engendered a heated discussion between Leone de' Sommi and Jagel. The former described what he believed to have been an experience of transmigration undergone as a youth, and involved finding a cache of old Hebrew texts in a town with which neither he nor his ancestors had had any connection. [35]

Among his known artistic capabilities was a talent for poetry, one example of which was a source of major controversy in the Jewish community, and this when de' Sommi was a mere twenty years old. At that time, he produced a poem entitled Magen Nashim (In Defense of Women), where examples of biblical, classical and contemporary Italian women were brought forth in general praise of the female sex. [36] What made this interesting was its unorthodox manner of presentation. The poem is constructed of alternat-

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ing lines of Hebrew and Italian, each line dependent on the next for the meaning of the whole. The Hebrew lines had no meaning independent of the Italian lines and vice-versa, though they were misinterpreted as such by a scholar in the mid-1800's who chose to publish only the Italian lines, falsely imagining a sense of completeness in his work. [37]

Jacob Fano, a highly respected poet and Rabbinical scholar of the day, vehemently opposed de' Sommi's poem on one basic point: the impropriety of his mixing secular and sacred tongues in the same work. Fano's reaction was to write a satire against women, Shilte Hagibborim Shishim (in English, Sixty Shields of the Mighty, published in 1556) and incongruously paired with an elegy Fano composed with the title B'nei Sh'loshim (translating from the Hebrew as Thirty Sons) in memory of the thirty Marrano martyrs of Ancona (they were so sentenced for having returned to Jewish practices in spite of having converted to Catholicism). This poem so incensed the Catholic and Royal hierarchy that Fano was ordered punished and as many copies of the volume as could be found were ordered burned. [38]

Sixteen manuscripts of de' Sommi's output were among the works catalogued at the National Library of Turin. [39] Unfortunately, a fire in 1904 destroyed nearly all the contents of this library, so of de' Sommi's manuscripts

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(eleven of which were single plays) only two, those of Hirifile (a five-act pastoral drama in verse) and Il Tamburo (a five-act comedy), survived in a fairly complete state. A small collection of poems by de' Sommi survived the fire in Turin in a somewhat legible condition, but a very unusual volume that was lost was one in which de' Sommi translated 45 of the Old Testament Psalms of David into Italian verse. Bernardino Peyron identifies the Shelfmark number as N. VII. 79, and the accompanying description of its contents includes an eight-line excerpt of Psalm 113, the first psalm cited in de' Sommi's rather haphazard arrangement:

> Laudate Dio, laudate o servi suoi,
> Laudate il nome del superno Dio.
> Sia celebrato il nome suo da voi
> Mai sempre, e non sia mai posto in oblio.
> D'onde si leva il sol, fin dove poi
> Si corca, ha gloria il nome del Dio Mio;
> Sopra ogni gente eccelso è il mio Signore
> E sopra tutti i cieli erge il suo honore. [40]

De' Sommi's poetic abilities are clearly evident in the above-quoted words, and the loss of this volume is a loss to us. [41] Currently, several fragments of heavily damaged manuscripts are in the process of being restored to their maximum condition of legibility. [42] If it were not for the efforts of Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, an eighteenth-century Christian Hebraist who was an avid collector of manuscripts, posterity would not even have been given Leone de' Sommi's masterwork on dramatic and per-

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formance theory, Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (ca. 1565), of which De Rossi had a copy made for his personal library in Parma. [43] The original manuscript of the Dialoghi sustained quite heavy damage as a result of the fire, so one must be grateful for De Rossi's zealousness as a collector. This priceless copy found its way (along with the entire De Rossi collection) to the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma where it is currently housed.

It is likely that these Dialoghi were the result of many discussions on the nature of drama which took place at the Accademia degli Invaghiti. These exchanges were monitored and ultimately controlled by the guiding genius of Leone de' Sommi. [44] In the Dialoghi, Veridico, the master-designer and director, establishes himself with his two colleagues Massimiano and Santino as the arbiter of all that is theatrically proper. The Dialoghi are not only Leone de' Sommi's most important work, but constitute an important exposition on the ways and means of theatrical production in Mantua during the Cinquecento. It was in his capacity of "scrittore accademico" of the Invaghiti that he produced and wrote his plays.

Basile de'Preti was the first to mention a theatrical production arranged by Italian Jews. His letter to an unknown Mantuan recipient in 1525 (one of the years mentioned earlier in this chapter--along with 1527--as Leone

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de' Sommi's possible birthdate) gives a small bit of detail about this landmark occasion:

> Domani si farà un altra Comedia pur a casa delli figlioli del ... Zoanne, quale recitarono li Judei, per esser anche per loro composta: et cussi spassaremo questo poco Carnevale. [45]

A Jew purportedly wrote the play (though the title is not known) and the production took place in the house of a Gonzaga scion. Leone de' Sommi's own theatrical involvement, as has been intimated, began at least in the early 1560's, coinciding with the formation of the Accademia degli Invaghiti in 1562 by Cesare Gonzaga, prince of Guastalla. [46] All true members of the Invaghiti were required, as per the instructions of Pope Pius IV in his bull of April 8, 1564, to wear a special Christian-oriented insignia on their collars. Because Leone de' Sommi was Jewish, the possibility of his wearing a Christian insignia bothered the other members as much as it did him. On these grounds, sufficient reason was established to deny him knighthood and the accompanying title of "Cavaliere" in spite of his hard work and the ardent support of Cesare Gonzaga that it be given him. De' Sommi did not allow this slight to go unnoticed, through a plaintive letter written to Cesare in hendecasyllabic verse, quoted here in part:

> Perché dunque appo voi d'indegne note

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> Son io macchiato per aver diversi
> Riti dai vostri e leggi più rimote?... 47

He nevertheless enjoyed supervisory capacities in the theatrical enterprises of the Academy, though under the inferior title of "scrittore accademico." 48

The influence that this position gave him justified presentation of a petition to Francesco Gonzaga on April 15, 1567, requesting the establishment of a public theatre in a "stanza" (room) where plays would be performed for any citizen who had the price of admission:

> Il devotissimo, benché indegno, et humil servo dei V. Ecc. Leone De' Sommi hebreo, assicurato dalla benignità di quella, s'induce a chiecderle per singular gratia et favore, un Decreto, di poter egli solo per anni X dar stanza in Mantova, da rappresentar comedie a coloro, che per prezzo ne vanno recitando; offerendosi egli dare ogni anno a' poveri de la Misericordia, sacchi due di formento per mostrarsi in parte grato de l'havuta gratia; ovvero il prezzo di quello a chi più piacerà a l'Ecc. V., il che (ben che senza suo merito) per gratia ricerca, a' piedi di quella devotamente inchinandosi. 49

There is no evidence that his request was ever granted, but the episode is crucially important if one realizes that it predated the construction of the first public theatre of record in this era, The Theatre, built by James Burbage on the outskirts of London in 1576. 50

Plays of Leone de' Sommi whose titles alone survive include Drusilla, a tragedy written and dedicated to

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Cesare Gonzaga of Guastalla. [51] This play was not one of the texts at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin, but it has an importance in that it prompted Cesare Gonzaga to nominate de' Sommi for membership in the Accademia degli Invaghiti. [52] The apparent genius exhibited in the writing of Drusilla merited a mention by Torquato Tasso in his Trattato della dignità:

> ... Principe di alto ingegno e di maturo giudizio, amatore dei letterati e dei poeti grandissimo, ai quali porgeva non solo materia, ma comodità di scrivere e poetare. [53]

Others are the tragedy entitled Gl'Ingiusti Sdegni, with a prologue and intermedii separately titled as Gli Onesti Amori, [54] a five-act comedy La Diletta, [55] Gli Sconosciuti, a 1575 prose comedy performed for an eminent royal contingent, among whom were the Dukes of Mantua, Ferrara and Parma, [56] La Fortunata, a prose comedy with outlines and Hebrew notes [57] and Le nozze di Mercurio et di Philologia, a 1584 play composed in honor of Carlo Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, based on a story by Martianus Capella, [58] the introduction to which reads:

> Io ho introdotto serenissimo Signore una nuova et molto nobile rappresentazione la quale oltre a contenir in se giochi cavalereschi, e maneggi d'arme, con uarii e festeuoli balli, sarà, senza dubbio, per la uagezza et marauiglia delle apparende, e per la grauità et maestà del soggetto tanto grata, e diletteuole, quanto nova e misteriosa. Et sopra tutto, di tanta

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> eccellenza per se stessa, che non potrà in alcun tempo essere auilita, come hogidi sono le comedie. [59]

The Marriage of Philology and Mercury was the work that inspired the foundation of the quadrivium and trivium as the basic means of Medieval scholastic education. [60] Its nine books include two dealing respectively with the betrothal and marriage of the two title characters, [61] and the final seven embody female allegorical impersonation of the Seven Liberal Arts: Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Astronomy and Harmony, [62] all of which, united, are meant to create the most truthful way of life.

Fragments do survive of the prose comedy Il Gianni-zzero (1582), [63] Adelfa, a prose comedy in five acts), [64] and I Doni (1575), a heroic pastoral tale written to commemorate the death of Cesare Gonzaga. [65] A complete Italian play survives, Tre Sorelle, written in 1588 and dedicated to Duke Vincenzo I. It is preserved in the Biblioteca Communale of Mantua, Shelfmark 729--F III 38. a play which scholars must be thankful had not ended up in the Turin collection. [66] Two Italian plays as yet unpublished--Hirifile and Il Tamburo--survived in an almost complete condition, and the first working editions of both plays are appendicized in this dissertation. Outside of this general period is his sole Hebrew play, considered to be the first of the dramatic genre in this lan-

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guage, a comic pastoral work with Commedia dell'Arte influences entitled Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (translated from the Hebrew as "The Comedy of Wedlock", ca. 1550). [67]

This brief survey indicates de' Sommi's dramatic output. None of his works were published in his lifetime, the first of them to receive wide dissemination being the Dialoghi, which appeared in selected English excerpts in 1927 and in a complete English translation ten years later. [68] De' Sommi was what one scholar has called "the first scientific theatrical producer of modern times," [69] an appellation which will make greater sense in the upcoming discussion of the Dialoghi), and his contributions must be gauged with that idea in mind.

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CHAPTER 5

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE THEORIES OF THE DRAMA BEFORE LEONE DE' SOMMI

The contributions of Italian theatrical practitioners to the shape of developments in their field during the era of the Renaissance has been (and still is to the present day, more often than not) viewed with a limited eye. Two different groups of theatrically oriented men contributed to the legacy of Italian Renaissance theatrical practice: scholars who were inspired by humanist principles in their creation of the language of modern dramatic criticism, and those whose expertise in the art of set design is currently esteemed greater than the talents of the playwrights whose works they staged. Both of these groups will be discussed in this chapter, with evidence presented that will support their being considered as worthy contributors to theatrical history.

It bears repetition that the Italian Renaissance treatises of the drama (both theoretical and scenographic) that were written in the sixteenth century stand at the end of a line of development that reached backward into Ancient times. The works of Horace, Vitruvius, Aristotle and Pollux were as fodder to theatrical scholars who, from the fourteenth century onward, used them to nourish the

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revival of Ancient theories of the stage and tailor them to a more modern conception.

To first address those treatises that fall within the category of dramatic theory, it is important to know and understand the capacity in which Aristotle's masterwork, De Poetica, written in 335 B.C., served them. In much the same way as Vitruvius' De Architectura served Serlio in his attempt to create a scenographic method, the Poetics provided its successors with the inspiration they sought in their attempt to view dramatic output against set criteria. The classic definition of tragedy is therein contained:

> A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself; ...in a dramatic, not a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions. 1

The year 1498 saw the milestone publication of Aristotle's De Poetica as translated by Giorgio Valla into Latin. It appeared on the last day of September in 1498, in a miscellaneous collection of Giorgio Valla's works published under the title Libellus de Argumentis (Venetiis: Simonem Papiensem Bevilaquam, 1498). In addition to Valla's versions of Ancient treatises by Euclid, Nichephorus, Hypsicles, Aristarchus, Cleonides, Eusebius, Cleomedes, Psellus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, this text included the De Coelo, Poetica and Magna Moralia of

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Aristotle. [2] His effort became the basis for countless attempts by theorists in the years that followed who attempted to establish their own sense of dramatic law in the light of the opinions offered by Aristotle. [3] For some of these men, especially during Leone de' Sommi's active years in the theatre, the act of digesting and then imitating classical dramatic theory created seemingly immutable opinions to which they were slavishly devoted. [4] This attitude did not lead to the production of creatively interesting plays, as works where there is correspondence to classical dogma were generally ponderous in nature. One must understand that this proliferation of dramaturgical concerns was a powerful influence, and it is critical in an analysis of such a one as Leone de' Sommi as he submitted his personal contribution, Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (1565), to the lengthy list of critical works.

In the wider realm of poetic theories, however, literally hundreds of treatises were written after Valla's milestone work, some with general commentary on ancient theory as their aim, others with highly specialized topics of comparatively little interest. A discussion of the treatises which form the cornerstone of sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance dramatic criticism reveals their variety: publications of Aristotle's Poetics in the original Greek, translations and commentaries (sometimes both) of

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the Poetics into either Latin or the vernacular and treatises that use Aristotle as inspiration, but whose premises are more or less original. This chapter will lean rather heavily on works that fall into the final category, for theirs are the more novel contributions. Attention will, of course, be given to the significant exponents falling outside that category.

In 1508, ten years after Giorgio Valla published his Latin translation of the Poetics at Venice, the first complete edition of the Greek text appeared (Rome: Aldus Press). The genesis of this edition is quite interesting. Aldo Manuzio Romano, a Venetian of Jewish descent, had founded a press in the late fifteenth century, and one of his prime objectives in so doing was rescuing the masterpieces of Ancient Greek and Latin literature from oblivion. Students of today for whom the name Aldo Manuzio has no significance, still claim an indirect acquaintance with him through their ownership of books graced with the "Aldine" press trademark on the frontispieces. [5]

The year 1536 was a banner year in the history of Aristotelian criticism, as it saw the publication of two landmark works in the history of literary criticism. The first was Alessandro de'Pazzi's Latin translation of Aristotle's Poetics, accompanied by a complete version of the Greek original (Aristotelis Poetica, Venetiis:

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Aedibus Haeredum Aldi, 1536). Pazzi faithfully translates the original text, as his version of Aristotle's definition of tragedy exemplifies:

> tragoedia est imitatio actionis illustris, absolutae, magnitudinem habentis, sermone suavi, separatim singulis generibus in partibus agentibus, non per enarrationem, per misericordiam verò atque terrorem perturbationes huius modi purgans. [6]

A value which scholars contemporary to Pazzi saw in his work was that it was portable, compared with the enormous size of the tomes previously published. [7]

The second treatise to appear in 1536 was La Poetica di Bernardino Daniello Lucchese (published in Venice, 1536). This was the first Aristotelian commentary to be written in vernacular Italian, and the first such work that contained references (few though they were) to tragedy and comedy as genres of dramatic poetry. The bulk of Daniello's life was devoted to scholarly translations and analyses of ancient works, with the Poetica being by far the most famous of them. His is a thesis that does manifest an unwavering devotion to the precepts of the Poetics, but it has a clear prose-style that is one of its chief recommendations. Insistence upon a five-act structure in tragedies is an idea which made its first vernacular appearance here. One of his chief contentions is that poetry was not to be denigrated, and is as necessary to the human race as philosophy:

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> La Poesia sia cotanto a gli huomini necessaria, quanto è la Philosophia. Ma direm noi per cio, che le cose alla vita di loro necessarie, sieno sempre et le più belle et le più robusti? Certamente no. Anzi per cio che ella necessaria non è, maggiormente si prova la bellezza et nobilità sua .... [8]

Daniello defines the nature of comedy and tragedy according to traditional criteria:

> ... a Comici sogliono esser materia le più famigliare, et domestiche operationi, per non dir basse et vili; a Tragici le morti de gli alti Re, et le ruini de grandi Imperi: a gli Heroici più excelsi fatti de gli Imperatori et di altri huomini nell'armi magnanimi et valorosi. ... La tragedia imitatrice delle più terribili, et miserabili cose, non lecito parmi, che in essa si debbiano introdurre huomini giusti, et virtuosi, in vitiosi et in ingiusti per adversità della fortuna cangiati ... [9]

In a slightly different vein, Daniello also believed that comic writers could make use of the grandiloquence that characterized tragic speech. The first Renaissance instance of decorum as a dramatic precept also made its appearance in this treatise in conjunction with the above-mentioned point:

> ... non pare che ben si convenga ad huomo (quantunque grande et di nobil legnaggio sia) fuori della patria sua cacciato, l'usar parole gonfie & superbe nell'altrui. Né si vieta al Comico alcuna fiata, in parte usar della grandeza del Tragico. Come il Padre irato verso il figliuolo, per haver esso sopra di lui imperio & potesta. [10]

As seen above, the customs which dictate the types of lan-

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guage tragic and comic characters are permitted to employ are not as cleanly distinguished in Daniello's treatise as his fellow Aristotelians might have desired.

Daniello strongly suggests (in a Horatian manner) that cruel, impossible and unseemly deeds, as well as lasciviousness of any kind, never be shown onstage,

> Oltre acciò perché o le cose in scena si soglion fare, o refferirvisi le fatte; e da vedere quali fare vi si deono, & quali no. Quelle che far non vi si deono, sono le crudeli, l'impossibili, & le dishoneste. ... Et nelle comedie i lascivi bacci, gli abbracciamenti & i congiugnimenti venerei, et simili a queste cose. [11]

and that anything exhibited onstage serve the higher purpose of teaching as well as entertaining its audience:

> Ambo <poetry and history> studiano in muover gli affetti, il decoro di ciascuna cosa, et materia servando. Ambo insegnano, dilettano, & giovano parimente. [12]

Many of the above-mentioned ideas had an enormous influence on Leone de' Sommi in the writing of his Dialoghi.

Giovanni Battista Giraldi-Cinthio (1504-1573) was born of a noble family in Ferrara, where his multi-faceted study program included concentrations in both medicine and philosophy. That Giraldi-Cinthio was first and foremost a poet gave a positive tinge to the manner in which his literary efforts were presented. Rarely does one sense in

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Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi Cinthio Nobile Ferrarese (dated 1543, publ. in Venice: Paul Manutius [Aldus Press], 1554) any bombastic attitude, the exposition sliding smoothly from one thought to the next with the true grace of an artist. [13] It is this treatise which had the greatest influence on Leone de' Sommi in the forging of his own dramatic philosophy. [14] Though there appears to be no evidence proving any artistic collaboration between the two scholars, there is no doubt that de' Sommi had access to Giraldi-Cinthio's Discorsi, and thus cultivated a great affinity with the man's works.

The Discorsi starts out with a statement on the validity of his treatise, following the example of Daniello in his use of the vernacular:

> ... havendomi voi chiesto, che io vi ponga in carto quello, ch'al tre volte vi ho detto del comporre delle Comedie, et delle Tragedie: quantunque nella nostra lingua non habbia anchora ragionato alcuno di questa materia, ne alcuno habbia ancor messo mano ad isporre la Poetica di Aristotile; la quale come è utilissima, così è piena di difficultà incredibile. [15]

It can justifiably claim credit for being the first treatise to honorably address Aristotle's theory of dramatic poetry, while at the same time maintaining the scholarly dignity of its author in providing a fresh and original viewpoint on the older material.

Giraldi-Cinthio was as forceful as he was respectful

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in his purpose of presenting original material:

> Non è però ch'aspettiate qui da me tutto quello ch'Aristotile dice, et comanda intorno alle cose sceniche, ma solo quello, ch'ad una famigliare lettera, et ad una breve introduttione mi parerà per hora convenire. [16]

Aristotle's theories, to Giraldi-Cinthio, were to serve merely as a catalyst to his own, more modern point of view.

He asserted, in common with other theorists, that both comedy and tragedy were imitations of actions, the difference between the two being that tragedy

> ... imita la illustre et reale, et questa la popularesca et civile: et però fu detto da Aristotile, che la comedia imitava le attioni peggiori. Non che ci volesse significare, che imitasse le vitiose et le ree, ma le meno illustri, le quali sono peggiori, quanto alla nobiltà, se si conferiscono colle reali. [17]

This is a somewhat traditional concept, and while there are many such concepts in the Discorsi, Giraldi-Cinthio does not hesitate to revise them if it means a more sensible performance. It is in this spirit that he is willing to put time constraints on the playwright. He flatly declares that the playwright does well in paying attention to possible audience boredom in limiting the time of a tragic performance to four hours, and that of a comedy to three hours:

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> Giudico che non sia se non bene, che il Poeta misuri col giudicio il tempo, si che senza increscimento de gli spettatori, finisca la favola, et mi credo io, che la rappresentatione della Comedia non voglia meno di tre hore, ne quella della tragedia meno di quattro.'[18]

At one point Giraldi-Cinthio shares reminiscences with Bonzoni (or "M. Giulio," as he is often addressed throughout the treatise) of the great success that his Orbecche earned at its première. The nature of these recollections is not in terms of what an excellently constructed play it was [19], or what a fine storyline he had chosen to represent, but what powerfully communicative acting had been presented:

> Come avenne M. Giulio, della guerriere vostra, la quale nella rappresentatione della nostra Orbecche, veduta la testa di Oronte, la persona del quale voi rappresentavate, subito cadde come morta, non altrimenti, che se voi veramente havesse veduto morto. Ma non fu ciò maraviglia ... Maragivlia fa ben, che in M. H. giovane straniero vi havesse quella rappresentation la forza, che vi hebbe: il che ci può mostrare, quanta sia la virtù di queste attioni, se sono rappresentate da persone simili a voi. Ed da altri, che siano parimenti ammaestrati dal nostro M. Sebastiano Montefalco, l'attione del quale è miracolosa, et è stata conosciuta per tale non solo nella mia Orbecche, ma molto prima nella Cassaria [verse, 1529], et nella Lena [1529] dell'Ariosto; quantunque fussero, et questa et quella di varia natura. Che non si vide mai huomo, c'havesse ugualmente i risi, et i pianti in mano a sua voglia, et la voce et i gesti acconci a questi, et a quelli, come egli gli ha, et fa havere a tutti coloro, che sono ammaestrati da lui, tal ch'egli solo

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si può dire l'Esopo et il Roscio de i nostri tempi. [20]

No other theorist of this era reaches a more perfect balance between acquaintance with and respect for Aristotelian theory, and success in molding such theory to his personal artistic vision. The respect accorded to Greek theatrical contributions by Giraldi-Cinthio was not similarly bestowed by Leone de' Sommi, who insisted that the "mendaci Grechi" (lying Greeks) had more competitors for the title of originator of drama in the Western world that most people would admit. [21]

Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in Librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica Explicationes (1548), was to have the distinction of being the first complete commentary on Aristotle's Poetics. It was dedicated to Duke Cosimo de' Medici, as was the treatise Poetica d'Aristotile tradotta di Greco in lingua vulgar' Fiorentino da Bernardo Segni Gentilhuomo et Accademico Fiorentino (1551) to be discussed later in the chapter, and the introductory words which Robortello directs "ad lectorem" illustrate the reverence with which he viewed his task and the importance now to be accorded the end-result:

Quoniam semper insita fuit in omnium animis sententia, librum hunc Aristotelis de arte Poetica oscurissimum esse adeò, ut a nullo posset satis intelligi; veritus aliquando sum, dum explicationes has commentabar, et scribebum, ne malam de me homines opinionem imbiberent, quod, quae alij reiecerant

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> propter obscuritatem, ea ego illustrare me posse confiderem; cum praesertim praevio carerum interpretis alicuius lumine. [22]

Robortello's treatise has a structure which was common to its time. The entire text is formed around several quotations in Greek script taken from Aristotle's original, each followed first by a Latin translation of the excerpt, and then completed by Robortello's personal commentary, in Latin, on what he imagines the significance of the excerpt to be. After presenting and digesting Aristotle's definition of tragedy and comedy, he expresses these thoughts:

> Suscipitetiam tragoedia, et comoedia differentiam eam, quae est subiecta rerum materie desumpta; nam tragoedia cum versetur in imitatione, et representatione calamitatum, et miseriarum regis, aut herois alicuius; praestantiones utique imitatur, illorum verò potissimum miseriam explicat, qui insignes sunt, quoniam ex horum persona maior cietur commiseratio, quam si eorum recenseatur calamitas, qui ignobilis sunt, ac viles. Comoedia verò actiones imitatur hominum humiliores, et viliores, ut satis in ipsorum scriptis perspici potest. [23]

Robortello picks up on a dramatic point ascribed to the ancient dramatists, that being the precept limiting the entrances on the scene by tragic characters to no more than five. This point is one which Leone de' Sommi, in Dialogue two of his Dialoghi, also ascribes to his Greek predecessors. [24]

Giovan Giorgio Trissino (1478-1550) garnered fame as a

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playwright (Sofonisba 1515; publ. Roma: Lodovico Vicentino Scrittore e Lautio Perugino Intagliatore, 1524) in addition to being the composer of Divisioni della poetica. His Poetica contained six books, the first four of which (published in Vicenza: Tolomeo Ianiculo, 1529) contained no references to dramatic poetry. The fifth and sixth books, containing the dramatic references, were written in 1549 and published posthumously (Venetia: Andrea Arrivabene, 1563). All six books were not published as an entity until 1729 (Verona: J. Vallarsi). The chief problem which becomes evident in an examination of Trissino's Poetica is the same one behind the defects in Sofonisba, namely its imitation of Greek style in an excessively servile manner that paradoxically draws it far from the sublimity of that style to one that is dry, empty and boring. Trissino's definition of poetry serves well in exemplifying this:

> La poetica adunque, come nel principio dell'opera dissi, è tutta imitatione, la qual cosa fu prima da Platone ingegnosamente considerata, e poi da Aristotele dottamente affirmata, percioche se volemo considerare le cause della generatione, e cominciamento di essa, le troveremo essere due, e tutte due naturali; l'una delle quali è, che lo imitare è naturale all'huomo da fanciullo infuso, l'altra è, che le rime & il canto ci sono dati dalla natura: che l'imitare poi ci sia naturale, si può chiaramente comprendere, essendo l'huomo più d'ogni altro animale imitatore. [25]

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The prescription for which Trissino is most famous, a criterion made evident in Sofonisba, is his belief, emulating the Senecan model, that a playwright should make use of maxims (sententious phrases or statements that are morally apt and are quickly understood) as often as possible. [26] This is evident in his Poetica as well, in the didactic attitude underlying the words. In Trissino's definition of comedy, one can see this clearly:

> Basta sapere che la Comedia, è imitatione de i cattivi, e vitiosi, ma non in ogni estremità di vitij, ma solamente di quello, che è brutto, dal quale nasce il ridiculo a suo luoco tratteremo diffusamente ... La favola poi comica, si compone di attioni, diverse da quelle della Tragedia, e quasi contrarie, percioche si come quella fa lo effetto della sua dottrina con misericordia, e con lachrime, e con tema, che son cose meste, così questa lo fa con burle, e con riso, che sono cose allegre, onde si come in quella si ricercano attioni misericordiose, di huomini grandi, e illustri, così in questa si diano porre attioni giocose di persone basse, et ignore, e si come in quella intervengono dolori, e morti, e quasi sempre termina in infelicità, così in questa se ben intervengono alcune turbulentie, non sono però, né conferite, né con morti, e tutte terminano bene, cioè in nozze, paci e tranquillità. [27]

One point for which Trissino must be lauded is the high respect in which he held his native language as an eloquent means for the discussion of dramatic philosophy. In the following excerpt, he praises vernacular Italian as being a worthy medium to bring forth the dramatic theories

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of the Ancients:

> ... questa nostra lingua, la quale sempre si havemo sforzato arricchire delle dottrine de gli antichi, e darle tutto quello augumento, e quel splendore che ci ha concesso Iddio di poterla dare; E però pregheremo divotamente sua divina Maestà, che si degni fare, che le presenti nostre fatiche, tanto siano grate a i studiosi di questa lingua, quanto è il nostro desiderio di farle piacere, e bene. [28]

Though Trissino continually attempted to justify Sofonisba in Aristotelian terms, the play itself provides examples that prove such a connection to be counterfeit. That there was no recognition scene nor any reversal of fortune is a fact that Trissino, had he truly understood Aristotle, would not have let pass. The twenty years that stood between the publication of the fourth volume of his Poetica and the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes, saw the publication of Pazzi's Latin translation of Aristotle and Daniello's Poetica, which dealt in a much more honest fashion with Aristotelian precepts. It is clear that the latter two volumes of Trissino's treatise, in their greater clarity of thought, owe a debt to the scholarly activity that took place in this interrim period.

The first complete Italian translation of Aristotle's Poetics was by Bernardo Segni, who produced his work in 1551 on the commission of Duke Cosimo de' Medici, to whom it is dedicated. [29] Segni's Poetica contained yet another

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traditional translation of Aristotle's discussion on the nature of tragedy, one that was to change words but not sentiment in several treatises to follow:

> ... è adunque la tragedia una imitatione d'attione virtuosa perfetta, et che habbia grandezza con parlar suave separatamente in ciascheduna sua spetie nelle parti di coloro, che van negociando: conducendo l'espurgatione degli affetti non per via di narratione, per via di misericordia, et di timore. [30]

In this treatise, Segni speaks of a time a few years prior to its publication when he witnessed a group of young noblemen perform a tragedy with great flair:

> Et qui mi sovviene quando tre anni fa alcuni giovani nobili di questa città vol-son' far recitar una Tragedia ... che in tal modo, cioè, la Tragedia verrebbe a muover' più gli animi, et maggiormente ad esser' intesa da gran multitudine: usandosi ... di dar'un modo rilevato di voce con qualche numero al parlare, che fan'gli istrioni. [31]

Performance, thus, is seen by Segni as a key instrument in the presentation of a tragedy, to be considered along with the six parts which were, according to Aristotle, to make up the form of tragedy: diction, fable, manners, sentiment, spectacle and music. Segni's belief that a tragedy communicates itself best through actual performance marks one of the first times where a scholar confirmed any such conviction clearly in writing. His view was to become more and more popular, making room for one such as Leone

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de' Sommi to make use of his practical experience in determining a personal philosophy of the theatre.

Antonio Sebastiano Minturno wrote two treatises that have places of importance in the history of dramatic theory. The first was in Latin, De Poeta (Venice: Franciscus Rampazetus, 1559), the other L'arte poetica del Signor Antonio Minturno (Venice: Giovan Andrea Valvassori, 1564), in vernacular Italian. A Catholic priest who spent his entire life in service to the Church, Minturno was also a poet and writer of monographs on many issues of religious doctrine. De Poeta (1559) did not pretend to be the Latin version upon which the Italian treatise was later based, nor did the two works even mirror each other in the points each chose to address. Some similarity can be found, however, one place being in the conception both have of the Aristotelian nature of tragedy, very much along traditional lines:

> Cum Tragoedia principum optimatumque; statum effingat; qui ut summum obtinent locum, ita in maximus periculis, et in gravissima rerum perturbatione versantur, bello, tumultu, seditione, invidia, libidini, fortuna, domi, soris persaepe exagitati. [32]

That he considered his analysis of the poetic medium almost in the vein of a mission, is eminently clear in both treatises. The introduction to L'Arte poetica del Signor Antonio Minturno, dedicated to the members of the

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Academy of Como, makes this more particularly clear:

> Io ho sempre stimato, Signori miei honoratissimi, la Poesia non pur esser di tutte le scienze reina, ma lor madre anchora; et le Muse non solamente di tutte l'arti eccelenti inventrici, ma etian dio governatrici di tutte le cose. [33]

This later of the two treatises is composed in dialogue form, with Minturno himself as the self-styled expert whose opinions were sought and handed down with finality. One of those opinions concerns Minturno's definition of drama, or "scenic poetry", and within that definition one again senses echoes of the Aristotelian and Horatian precepts that concerned the men who thought of the nature of dramatic composition:

> Cos'è la Scenica Poesia?
> Minturno: Imitatione di cose, che si rappresentino in Theatro sotto una materia intera, et perfetta, e di certa grandezza comprese: la qual si fa, non semplicemente narrando; ma introducendo persone in atto et in ragionamento, e con dir soave, et dilettevole; né senza canto, né senza ballo; cioè hor con una sola di tutte queste tre cose; hor con due, et hor con tutte tre insieme, né senza apparecchiamento alle qualità di ciascuna materia conveniente, per dilettare a riguardanti con profitto. [34]

This marks the first time the Horatian element of "profit" and "pleasure" graced a treatise dealing with the Renaissance theory of poetry. [35] It is fascinating to note that Minturno makes the choice to interpret his subject not

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just as dramatic poetry, but as scenic poetry, thus making stage presentation an integral part of the poetic expression. As is evident here, scholars were beginning to make the deduction that theory and practice were equal partners in the field of drama. In Minturno's mind, there was even less which differentiated the sentiment of the purely theoretical from the practical aspect of theatre.

Minturno's L'Arte poetica is made up of four books, the second of which deals with what is called "scenica poesia." Not only does its dialogue format mark this treatise as original, but many of Minturno's prescriptions align him very closely in spirit with Leone de' Sommi and his practical conception of theatre.

This point is illustrated through the six parts Minturno deems essential to the structure of a tragic poem. All these parts prove him right within the Aristotelian norm: plot, manners, words, sentiments and music and stage apparatus. Minturno considers the sixth element, "stage apparatus," in much the same way as Aristotle saw the role of "spectacle" in theatre. If a proper stage equipment for onlookers is not to be lacking in any production, precedence must be given the mechanical means by which stage effects are achieved. The audience is also kept in mind when Minturno desires that playwrights not only limit the number of episodes, but make them brief so the action can resolve itself quickly

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and avoid testing the audience's patience.

Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) became the foremost exponent of Aristotelian poetic theory in the Cinquecento, and it was his scholarly zeal in this arena that caused his work to be the first one to spread the Neoclassical influence throughout Europe. One must not assume Scaliger to be a proponent of the Aristotelian definitions of poetry at the expense of any original input, for this was not the case. He received a medical degree from the University of Padua, and his earlier years saw Scaliger practicing medicine, starting from the time he served as a soldier in the army, and through to the time spent as a doctor in the service of Antonio della Rovere in France. It was at this time that he began to devote much time to literary pursuits, producing a Latin grammar De causis linguae latinae (written in 1540, published posthumously in Geneva: Petrus Santandreanus, 1580), and the work for which he is best known, Poetices Libri Septem (published posthumously at Lyons: Antonius Vincentius, 1561). This treatise is quite didactic in tone, and one may read a good deal into a page without coming to the end of a sentence, but it did (albeit pedantically) set up a formula of literary structure and criticism that was the first such attempt in the Cinquecento. He manifests a distinct cleverness by stating that he refuses to attack the sanctity of Aristotle's definitions, but only wants to

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add his own emendations.

Scaliger's basic premise in Poetices Libri Septem is an attempt to have literary output conform to Aristotelian precepts, with original addenda as suggested above. He steps slightly away from the norm in saying that:

> ... tragoedia, quanquam huic Epicae similis est, eò tamen differt, quòd raro admittit personas viliores." [36]

At work here is a belief that not only the theories to be found in Ancient treatises may impose conditions on poetry. When one considers the larger spectrum of a theatre performance, both the playwright and the production staff must take the nature and the needs of the audience into account. It is in this spirit that Scaliger does not scruple to take issue with Aristotle whenever he sees fit to do so, as in the excerpt above. In the main, he echoes the others in saying that tragedies are to be populated by " ... reges, principes." [37] Scaliger believes it proper for tragedy to deal with the affairs of kings and princes within its boundaries, that it may begin tranquilly and end in horrific decimation, but he points out several places where Aristotelian theory falls short of the mark as far as a performance ethic is concerned.

Without question, to Scaliger the one and only essential element in tragedy is acting, as the tragic form atrophies without performance. Everything put on the

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stage must be true-to-life, though regulated by the laws of decorum, so he deplores longwinded speeches, as does Leone de' Sommi. Again, this anticipates the importance accorded the art of acting by Leone de' Sommi in Dialogue Three of his Dialoghi.

Early theories of theatrical scene design

The initial forays into scenographic theory are the efforts made by the men who, in promoting the illusion of the stage, systematized the principles of perspective design. From the early years of the Cinquecento, perspective became the basic principle governing the construction and design of the Renaissance court theatre, but for close to two hundred years prior to this, painters and architects had already been creating masterpieces according to its criteria. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), initially an architect and eventually a designer of stage machinery, [38] was the first who practiced perspective in his craft with any regularity. His efforts were connected mainly through his duties as organizer of the religious festivals celebrated in the church, particularly the lavish productions of the sacre rappresentazioni. [39]

Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) took this process one step further, in his treatise De Pictura (1435) by stating the means by which the theory of perspective could be achieved in drawing. He prepared two versions of De

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Pictura, the better one in Latin (written in Florence, 1435, and dedicated to Gianfrancesco Gonzaga sometime between 1438 and 1444) and the other in Italian (written, not translated, in a much less precise manner by the author in honor of Brunelleschi around July 1436). In Book I, his basic definition of linear perspective is presented with great simplicity:

> Est namque superficies extrema corporis pars quae non profunditate aliqua sed latitudine tantum longitudineque atque perinde suis qualitatibus cognoscatur. Qualitatum aliae ita superficiei inhaerent ut prorsus nisi alterata superficie minime semoveri aut seiungi queant. Aliee vero qualitates huiusmodi sunt, ut eadem facie superficiei manente, ita sub aspectu tamen iaccant, ut superficies visentibus alterata esse videatur. Perpetuae autem superficierum qualitates geminae sunt. [40]

The person to whom the bulk of credit is owed for paving the way toward perspective becoming a workable process in theatrical production was the master Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), who changed the conception of perspective from one that was almost parallel to the picture plane to one that could move in any and all directions away from the viewer.

> La prospectiva lineale s'astende nello ofitio delle linie visuali o provare per misura quanto la cosa seconda è minori che la prima; e quanto la terza è minore che la seconda, e cosi di grado in grado insino al fine delle cose vedute. [41]

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Men who were connected in a much closer way to the theatre as a prime source of income were the ones that molded the theory of perspective into an art of set design, the first of these being the painter and architect Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536). Better known by theatre historians as Sebastiano Serlio's teacher, one of the milestones of his career was the perspective design he arranged for the 1514 production of Bibbiena's La Calandria at the Vatican, directed by its author in honor of the visit of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga to the Pope. The entire set [42] proved to be the first extant example of "trompe l'oeil" in set design, "cheating the eye" of the audience being the essence of perspective.

It was Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), who codified the use of perspective in theatrical set design in the second book of his treatise Architettura di Sebastian Serlio Bolognese in sei libri divisa (written in 1545; published in Italian in Venice: Combi, & La Nou, 1663). One points to him as the man who originated the art of scenography for modern times, because he was the first to categorically state that creating the illusion of space is a fundamental component of the theatre man's craft. It is important to recognize that Serlio's part in the growing significance of theatrical scene design is to be seen in his making ideas that had already been outlined by Vitruvius workable in Renaissance theatres. His articula-

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tion of the three generic types of set design were clearly Vitruvian in aspect and followed the three basic genres of dramatic expression (tragic, comic and satyric). [43]

The association between the Serlian fixed sets and the Vitruvian criteria that had inspired them was forged in an even stronger way by the choices publishers of later editions of Vitruvius' De Architectura made to include Serlio's prints as illustrations. The contribution of Serlio, then, is to be seen in his well-proven ability to translate established theories of set design and theatrical construction into the basic system of production already in existence in the Cinquecento--namely that which graced the courts of princes.

This completes the examination of both the dramaturgical and scenographic theorists whose work fell chronologically prior to that of Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi. That some of the previously described treatises might have influenced de' Sommi in the genesis of his own work seems clear, but it is quite difficult to determine what impact, if any, he had on those theorists who followed him. His Dialoghi were not published in his lifetime, and it is doubtful whether the manuscript enjoyed enough of his colleagues' respect to justify the circulation of copies. If one is to judge according to the evidence of how producers chose to mount their productions after the 1560's, the criteria established by Leone de' Sommi were certainly not

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factors taken into account.

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CHAPTER 6

LEONE DE' SOMMI'S "QUATTRO DIALOGHI IN MATERIA DI RAPPRESENTAZIONI SCENICHE AND LATER THEORISTS

Leone de' Sommi's Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (Four dialogues dealing with stage performances) are emblematic not only of its author's prodigious theatrical insight, but also of sixteenth century Italy itself, which saw practitioners and theorists of drama enthusiastically exploring their subject. A close examination of this remarkable treatise proves that Leone de' Sommi was a man whose expertise in matters theatrical was clearly in evidence. [1] The Dialoghi cover a wide range of dramatic subjects both theoretical and practical, the information being revealed through the questions asked by two gentlemen, Massimiano and Santino, of an expert theatre craftsman--Veridico (in English, I speak the truth), answering all practical and theoretical questions posed to him.

De' Sommi himself states, in an introduction "a' lettori" (to the readers) [2] that the value of his work was to be seen in its potential usage by intelligent producers who wanted honest expression of their onstage work. The Dialoghi are thus set up as a true professional's manual,

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and a warning is put forth that:

> ... a chi non ne occorre il bisogno, che né utile né piacere di tal lezzione aspetti. [3]

His prescriptions were not meant to remain tantalizing theories that withered away on paper, but to be tried and successfully executed in the theatrical arena of the court of Mantua.

Before any critique of the Dialoghi can be attempted, some attention must be given to the question of the date of their composition. The introduction is dated 1556, and it is highly possible that the Dialoghi may very well have been written at that time. Many scholars believe them to have been composed (at least in part) some years later, due to specific references in the text which support a later date. [4] In the third dialogue, de' Sommi mentions five actors and actresses all of whom enjoyed success:

> tra molti galantuomini che di recitare perfettamente si sono dilettati a' tempi nostri (come il mirabile Montefalco, et lo svegliatissimo Veratto da Ferrara, l'arguto Olivo, et l'acutissimo Zoppino da Mantova ... et molti altri che potiamo aver conosciuto a' tempi nostri), mirabile mi è sempre paruto et pare il recitare d'una giovane donna romana, nominata Flaminia. [5]

Three of these names make a dating of de' Sommi's Dialoghi anywhere in the 1550's an impossibility. [6]

Chief among the performers de' Sommi lists, and the only one he mentions in any great detail, is the Roman

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actress Flaminia. She made her Mantuan debut in 1567 to great acclaim, returning the following year for several encore performances. It is the paucity of events mentioned prior to her debut that has led scholars to conclude that de' Sommi composed the portion of the third dialogue in which Flaminia is mentioned not in 1556, but in 1567 or 1568.

The second clue is to be found in Dialogue Four, when mention is made of the setting which was erected at the Mantuan court to provide a place for the celebratory tourneys honoring the marriage of Duke Guglielmo to Eleanor of Austria. Though de' Sommi does not mention the specific date of the wedding, it is known to have occurred on April 29, 1561. No theatrical performances were held in the setting (and it was, in fact, torn down immediately after the tourneys on the marriage eve, though thousands of ducats had been spent on its erection and decoration). De' Sommi, though, through the mouths of the participants in the Dialoghi, states that this structure would, if it had been allowed to survive, have served perfectly as a place where both comedies and tragedies might have been performed:

> Massimiano: Molto superbo aparato mi parve quello che nel cortile della mostra nel suo castello fece fare lo Illustrissimo signor Duca di Mantova, alle sue felici nozze, et benché non servisse ad altro che a quel gioco cavaleresco per quella sera, sarebbe però stato mirabile da rappresen-

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tarvi et comedie et tragedie.

Veridico: Dal cavalier Leone, così perfetto architetto, non poteva uscir cosa se non perfetta, come in vero fu quella, ricca di tante scolture, ornata di sì mirabile architetura, vaga di tante varie et belle invenzioni.[7]

The "cavalier Leone" mentioned in the above exchange is not Leone de' Sommi himself, though the Dialoghi are marked by many self-aggrandizements. The man alluded to is Leone Leoni Aretino, who had been commissioned especially to accomplish this one great task. It is realistic, then, to conclude with some certainty that Dialogues Three and Four (in which the above examples occur) were not written until the 1560's. This cannot be proven with equal certainty for dialogues one and two.

It makes sense, prior to beginning a full analysis of the Dialoghi, to discuss something of the unusual quality of their structure. So much of the uniqueness of this work lies not only in the actual information imparted, but in the very tone of its makeup. Unlike the majority of theatrical treatises in this era, Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi have a sense of being inextricably tied to the basic realities of the theatre world.

Angelo Ingegneri's treatise Della poesia rappresentativa e Del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche was printed in 1598. The first part of this treatise is basically a restatement of that which is

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reproduced in the treatises of his contemporaries, identifying perfection in dramatic structure with ancient models. The second part, though, that deals with actual questions of production, receives credit for being the first Renaissance treatise inspired by theatrical activity in its own day and not by the Vitruvius/Serlio school of design ideas.

Ingegneri does indeed deal with theories which were not uniformly common in his time (especially in the area of lighting), but even in this case he does not propose anything that was not stated first in the Dialoghi of Leone de' Sommi some thirty to forty years earlier. There is little possibility of proving that Ingegneri had access to the manuscript of de' Sommi's Dialoghi, but the subject-matter of both treatises shows that both men were ready to explore the newest ideas that were making themselves known in the practical theatre world.

There is a sense of earthiness and satirical humor suffused throughout the Dialoghi, subtly evident even within the respectful language employed to refer to Mantuan nobility. No boring and pedantic pronouncements populate de' Sommi's work--indeed, that tendency in others is brought to severe ridicule and censure.

If works of art can in any way be said to reflect the life and personality of their creators, Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi are perfect examples. [8] The truth of this remark

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is borne out at the very beginning of the first dialogue. Massimiano has ordered a surcoat and circlet from Veridico, identified as a "ricamatore" ("embroiderer" [9]). The latter, then, is not only capable of designing costumes but executing the details of their construction, as well. Veridico is telling his two friends of a play he himself has authored, and which is soon to be performed as part of the Carnival festivities. Veridico is thus a writer whose work is known and respected by Mantuan society, and sought after at times when a celebration requires theatrical performance. He describes to the other two men some of the costumes which he has designed for one of his plays. Veridico, then, designs costumes for his own plays when they are put into production. In answer to a request by his friends for permission to attend that day's rehearsal, Veridico mentions having given no instruction for the actors to meet that day. He thus seems to function as an executive producer/director in that he sets up the rehearsal schedules, he controls the rehearsals when they are in session and he has the actors subject to his authority. Veridico has thus been identified as a highly-reputed theatre craftsman.

The remainder of the first dialogue, then, carefully unfolds along the lines set up by Leone de' Sommi himself:

> Nel primo si tratta principalmente de
> l'origine delle comedie e di alcuni leggi
> et osservazioni loro, et se gli convviene

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> la prosa o il verso, et molti avvertimenti sopra le tragedie et altri poemi scenici. [10]

The importance of de' Sommi's Dialoghi, and why they are to be distinguished from other contemporary treatises, becomes clearer as the author develops each sequential subject. [11]

Because the third and fourth dialogues contain pronouncements on acting styles and design concepts, many of which were far ahead of their time, the research which has been done on de' Sommi's treatise emphasizes those final two dialogues and does not give his critic/philosopher persona the attention it deserves. There are unconventional theatrical ideas brought forward in the first two dialogues, but even where the subject at hand lacks novelty, extraordinary opinions by a Renaissance scholar and a well-practiced theatre man abound. The simplicity and clarity with which these opinions are expressed, making a study of them accessible to laymen, is an asset as well.

Dialogue One

The first dramaturgical opinion offered by de' Sommi at the outset of the first dialogue aligns him with and builds upon the thoughts offered by his illustrious antecedents. In response to Massimiano's question as to what a play is, and how drama came about, Veridico says:

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> La comedia, secondo la sentenza de' più savii, non è altro che una imitazione overo essemplar ritratto de la vita umana, dove si hanno a tassar i vizii per fuggirli, et ad approvar le virtù per imitarle. [12]

The idea of imitation as a main element of drama did not make its first appearance in Aristotle's Poetics, but almost forty years earlier, in the Republic by Plato (373 B. C.). Socrates (Plato's "Veridico") says to his two interlocutors:

> ... there is one kind of poetry and tale telling which works wholly through imitation, as you remarked, tragedy and comedy ... [13]

Thus, when the words of the poet (the narrative element) are removed and the alternation of speeches (the imitative element) remains, the end-result is tragedy (or comedy, as the case may be). This was more accurately codified, certainly, by Aristotle. Leone de' Sommi understands and accepts these definitions, but comes closer to Horatian theory in insisting that the didactic quality of drama is not only to be considered along with its entertainment value, but is to be encouraged as necessary. Many of de' Sommi's prescriptions can be understood if the "pleasure and profit" motive is kept in mind.

Fundamentally, de' Sommi was an artist with one foot in the practical and the other in the theoretical side of his craft. He affirms the importance of analyzing the

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world of drama, probing the thoughts of his past and present colleagues, but leaves the field open for further reform in tying the success of his work to how well it could "incitar altri a supplire ov'io sarò manchevole." [14] Filling in what others have left unsaid (and undone) is de' Sommi's policy throughout the Dialoghi and his career. He presents, then, an interesting case-study when held up against the intellectual backdrop pictured above.

De' Sommi saw many confusing inconsistencies with how earlier theorists in the Cinquecento interpreted Aristotelian precepts, and communicated in a straightforward manner through a statement in Dialogue One that, with all due respect to the sensibilities of his predecessors, he deemed it a waste of time to repeat what others had already stated:

> Queste cose sono per me tanto più difficili, quanto più fin ora ho veduto autori che, parlandone, ne hanno più confusamente trattato. Et io per me, se ne avessi a ragionare per compiacervi, mi protesto che non vorrei repetere se non poco di quello che altri ci hanno scritto sopra; non perché io sia tanto temerario che non approvi le sentenze de' più savii di me; ma perché mi parrebbe fatica gettata il ridir quello che altri hanno già detto ... [15]

Originality of thought prevailed even when the particular idea, such as the nature of tragedy, had been the subject of many volumes of opinions by others.

This is especially evident in Dialogue One, where several statements seem to show that he toes the line as

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far as not upsetting the sanctity of past opinions is concerned. The practical theatre-man will not remain hidden for long, however, breaking forth in an attack on the Greek influence, equating singleminded belief in it with lack of originality in dramatic theory:

> mi ricordo aver altre volte sopra questo sogetto esplicata una mia stravagante opinione (per non lasciar tutta la riputazione a i mendaci grechi usi sempre d'usurparsi la gloria altrui, applicandosi le invenzioni di molte arti et virtù delle quali si ha chiarissima notizia, per le più vecchie et divine istorie, essersi trovati da molto più antichi di loro). [16]

Self-protectively calling his ideas themes for discussion rather than affirmations, de' Sommi proposes that the Greeks, had they been honest with themselves, might have admitted a debt owed to the ancient Hebrews in the adoption of the dramatic art. De' Sommi argues on behalf of the Book of Job as a drama in spirit, [17] because this holy writing marks the earliest extant example of the introduction of human characters engaged in dialogue, and involved in a human experience. Indeed, there is much in Job which would have made him quite acceptable as a tragic hero for the adherents to the ideas expressed by Aristotle in his Poetics. With the necessary changes of detail, Job could very well be considered de' Sommi's Oedipus--Oedipus who served as Aristotle's exemplar of the tragic hero. [18]

The strong hand of the author, be he Moses or another,

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is most evident in the deep thought which was invested in the construction of the character of Job. One is presented with a man who is all too human and who has a mind of his own. He grows emotionally in a way unusual for biblical characters. Beginning as a submissive sufferer at the hands of his misfortunes, Job moves through intense bitterness of spirit, and finishes invested with the strength that comes to one whose faith has been sorely though successfully tried. Job clearly has no control over his fate, and this is precisely the element that invests the tragedy of Oedipus with its most powerful tragic elements. Oedipus and Job are both pawns of the heavenly powers that rule in their respective worlds, and the two men live their lives suffering a series of terrible misfortunes that for a good deal of the time have no outward cause or meaning. Only in the resolutions of their situations is there major divergence: Job's steadfast faith in God earns him the return of all he had initially lost, and Oedipus is condemned to suffer for his formerly unknown "sins" by wandering in blindness over the land he had once ruled in abundance.

De' Sommi being the consummate artist and scholar, probably saw this for what it was, and gave the story of Job its due importance in Dialogue One. It is, of course, a mistake to consider the Book of Job a drama from all the angles by which a piece may be so considered. At the core

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of the book there are long stretches of dialogue and speech in which there is no dramatic action. Leone de' Sommi's point is well taken, though, for there is an unavoidably dramatic spirit, if not always movement, at work.

Not coincidentally, he also would have noticed that the precept of decorum, prized by Aristotle and insisted upon by his Renaissance followers, is diligently observed in the use of four messengers to bring Job vivid reports on the ways in which his misfortune is taking shape. The unity of place is evident, as well. Also, taking for granted that Job's story is true, the ancient precept which has the best tragedies derived from "vere et antiche istorie." [19], is observed. Even if one does not believe this story to be a true chronicle, de' Sommi continues,

> par che si conceda il tessere le tragedie con il filo ancora di qualche misteriosa favola che sia nota, sotto cui si conosca complicato non solo il senso morale, ma anco lo spirito teologico. [20]

As far as can be ascertained from extant materials, Leone de' Sommi is the only theorist of the time who strongly asserts such an opinion.

Leone de' Sommi, then, is nothing less than original when dramatic matters are being discussed, deeming it a waste of time to regurgitate what other scholars may have already said. This attitude is spelled out in the first

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dialogue when Santino asks Veridico a series of very basic questions, such as: what is drama? who were the first dramatic authors? did they write in poetry or prose? why are plays divided into five acts? Veridico's response is essentially de' Sommi's: create your own opinions--regurgitating other people's opinions is simply a waste of time. [21]

Aristotle had promoted tragedy as having characters of a higher type whose misfortunes are due to human frailty. With few exceptions, this is followed closely by Renaissance scholars who studied in this field. Giraldi-Cinthio (1543) believed that tragic events refer to the actions of the "illustri et ... reali" (eminent and ... royal). [22] Robortello (1548) says that, as Aristotle shows, tragedy imitates the "calamitatum et miseriarum regis, aut herois alicuius." [23] Minturno as well, (1559, 1563) has tragedy as a record of serious happenings to those of high rank:

> ...cum tragoedia principum optimatumque ... ita in maximus periculis, et in gravissima rerum perturbatione versantur. [24]

Scaliger rephrases his version to say that tragedy rarely allows lower classes of people to populate its environs:

> ... tragoedia, quanquam huic Epicae similis est, eo tamen differt quod raro admittit personas viliores. [25]

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As has already been said, de' Sommi follows a basically Horatian line in defining tragedy. With his comments relating the Book of Job to a concept of drama predating that of the Greeks, he makes his own journey into novel territory.

In Dialogue One, where there is much more juxtaposition of old with new dramatic ideas than in the other three, originality as a dramatic precept comes more definitely to the fore. No sooner is an Aristotelian precept mentioned, than de' Sommi provides himself with an escape valve by which exceptions to that precept may be allowed.

This escape valve was the preservation of the naturalness of the dramatic situation. The primary responsibility of the playwright was to make certain that all details of that situation--from character development to the movement of the plot--coincide with the truthfulness of the story. This belief of de' Sommi's set him apart from his contemporaries in allowing him to justify dramatically what might not otherwise be done in this era.

> Quantunque non par che si sconvenga introdur come sarebbe, per grazia di essempio, un servo malizioso et astuto, una fantesca baldanzosa et scaltra, un parasito adulatore et bugiardo, un vecchio sospettoso et avaro, sarebbe però vizio intollerabile l'applicar cottali diffetti ad un giovane gentiluomo, ad uno studente nobile, ad una damigella onorata, o ad uno antico et saggio padre di famiglia. Ben è vero che si concede anco, e riesce leg-

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> giadrissimo, quando, per tassare uno errore, s'introduce un personaggio qualificato, che di quello machiato sia ... si introducesse un medico, o vogliam dir un maestro di ricette, il quale facesse più stima d'uno scudo che de la salute d'un uomo, aspirando sempre più al guadagno che a far una cura onorata; overo se si introducesse un dottore di legge a tradire uno suo cliente, corrotto dalla parte; o un vecchio che, per amore ribambito, facesse qualche sciocchezza. [26]

Doctors and lawyers, presumably decent men of respectable professions could, according to what de' Sommi believed possible in drama, exhibit vices that were not characteristic of their calling. Virginal princesses, whose stature would protect them from the vagaries of the street world, could appear in comedies, as well. When de' Sommi says, then, that "bisogna avertire di dare il suo naturale alle cose." [27] the possibility is there, though unstated, of all types of characters and situations appearing in places where the playwright chooses to place them. An understanding of what naturalism meant to de' Sommi is essential not only to the full appreciation of his participation in his chosen field, but in the delineation of the general nature of Jewish participation in the scholarship and culture of the age. [28]

Maimonides, the great Jewish scholar of the twelfth century (1135-1204), provided the link between the Greek scholars of ages past and participation of his co-religionists in the Aristotelian explosion of the fif-

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teenth and sixteenth centuries. He was born in Cordova, Spain, and many peregrinations led to his final settlement in Cairo. There he certainly came into contact with the great Arabic translations of Aristotle's philosophical masterpieces, and from them established his opposition to the dependence of a world view on reason and the natural process. In his opposition, he became one of the first scholars, Jewish or no, to link the philosophy of ancient Greece with a possible new interpretation of life in the universe. [29] Taking these considerations into mind, it is not difficult, by extension, to see why Jewish rabbinical leadership saw such an immense threat in any of their adherents who allowed themselves to be motivated by such a non-traditional doctrine as Aristotelian naturalism. In Leone de' Sommi's time, this threat was seen as being even stronger in the venue of theatre, where not only was Aristotle's text planting the seeds of a very powerful influence on dramatic theory, but theatre by its very own nature was representational, an anathema to the Jewish religion.

Dramatic naturalness has a particular connotation as applied to the first dialogue of Leone de' Sommi's master-work. This has already been hinted at, and is tied into what he sees as the playwright's responsibility toward the creation of as true-to-life as possible a story to be produced onstage. Some of the most important points to be

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learned by a reader (and taken to heart by a playwright) have to do with characterization, and they are equally valid today:

> il precetto di non voler che alcuno si travesti in scena, però che non ha del verisimile che uno, il quale vuol cangiar i panni per non essere conosciuto, o per qualche altro suo secreto effetto, lo facci in loco publico. Et, per questa ragione medesima, un amico nostro moderno si ha tolto per legge in una sua nova comedia che nessuno de gl'interlocutori suoi facci di quei lunghi ragionamenti da per sé ... Suol dir questo galantuomo che, si come è riputato a vizio che uno istrione, stando in scena, volga il suo ragionamento a gli spettatori, perché quelli non sono sempre dove finge di esser il recitante, così li pare isconvenevole che uno, il quale si finge essere in una strada publica, debba con lunghi soliloqui alzar le voci fuor d'ogni natural costume et, lontano da ogni civile creanza, parlar come pazzo da sé solo, non avendo auttorità, come si è detto, di parlar mai con gli uditori. [30]

Leone de' Sommi is not against "asides," but he is firm in his belief that long soliloquies are a severe strain both to the dramatic situation and the audiences's credulity. As he accurately points out, "la scena ... è il cimento delle comedie," [31] the stage is the prime indicator of a play's success potential, and nothing should be put onstage--be it an inept actor or an inconceivable event--that will not make complete sense in the performance. He, thus, is clearly against any stratagem which could break the illusion of reality in the dramatic situation, such as soliloquies, prolonged asides, and changing costume in

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public, as stated above. Abstract occurances which may convey much charm in the reading of a particular play may translate into an absurd violation of a story's naturalness.

One of the more important aspects of the drama brought up in Dialogue One is de' Sommi's contribution to the debate on the appropriate usage of prose and verse, when and how each was to be employed. Critical opinion is mixed on this subject. Aristotle relates that with the advent of tragedy and comedy as new means of artistic composition,

> ...those naturally drawn to the one line of poetry (iambic) became writers of comedy instead of iambs, and those naturally drawn to the other (heroic) writers of tragedies, instead of epics, because these new modes of art were grander and of more esteem than the old. [32]

He believed that the expression of the meaning in words (diction) was equally important in prose and verse. Insofar as which mode of composition was to be used in tragedy as opposed to comedy, Aristotle remains quite vague. It was a sensible interpretation of Italian Renaissance critics to assume the necessity of grand heroic verse as the means by which serious happenings of the nobility might be exhibited. Equally sensible was prescribing the use of prose in the conversations of the populace when their daily events were being examined.

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Down to almost the last critic, this is held as gospel. De' Sommi follows this line along with his colleagues, but it is clear that he desires to lessen the distance between the two in insisting that prose is not the poor relation of verse, but its equal. Dignity was to be found in both realms and perfection in them could be maintained if equality was admitted in spite of the inherent differences.

> ... nelle comedie sia da seguir la prosa, come più naturale de i ragionamenti familiari, et che nelle tragedie non si sconvenga il verso, per aver esso più maestà et altezza, conforme alla qualità di tal poema. Ma che sia però sí fatto il verso, che nel recitarlo abbia qualche convenienza con la prosa. [33]

The playwright is strongly cautioned to avoid falling into the trap of monotony which too close an adherance to verse and meter may create. By breaking the lines in a pleasing way, not ending sentences at the close of verses and avoiding repetition of sounds, a playwright may not "cadere in quella severa locuzione et in quella noiosa rissonanza" common to many heroic tragedies, and gain instead "la facilità della prosa." [34] In this same vein, the colloquial element of prose was not to be confused with lack of excellence in a comparison with tragic verse. The same basic standards of perfection were to be maintained.

Time and again, as evidenced here, de' Sommi insists

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that suitability for stage representation be the bottom line of consideration for the playwright. The powerful rules of the drama set up by the ancients are used as mere starting points for critics and playwrights (such as de' Sommi) with a bent for originality. De' Sommi succeeds admirably at "improving" ancient theory in those areas where he feels it may be needed.

Dialogue Two

Dialogue Two opens with a discussion of the five-act structure in drama. A philosophy that truly makes Leone de' Sommi a child of his age was in his belief that drama was to be the mirror of the perfect human being, and such perfection was best expressed in a human being's composition, both literally and figuratively, in five parts. Application of numerological precepts to explaining the whys and wherefores of human existence was a popular concept from the Middle Ages onward, but the world of dramatic criticism does not seem to have produced an individual other than de' Sommi who sought to establish such a numerological connection with drama. The number five has an enormous amount of specific implications when considered in this context, all of which add considerable enrichment to a discussion of theatre in the Italian Renaissance. Numerology in drama also provides a means by which Renaissance dramaturges who found themselves divided

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between their religious upbringing and the fact of their being active in a representational field, might be brought closer to a sense of the Divine in their work.

A spiritual sense unites the four major elements of the Universe (air, fire, earth and water), bringing them together and giving them meaning by a magical, indefinable quality of perfection from a heavenly source. In accepting the belief that God created man both to be an entity within himself and an integral part of the universe in which he lived, man receives his individuality and his kinship with the Divine. This easily supports the concept of the number five as the most perfect combination of both worldliness and animality along with spirituality. [35] The sense of wholeness and perfection in the number five helps sustain this idea generally when brought up in connection with drama. [36] Leone de' Sommi himself attaches such basic importance to this idea and lists so many supporting instances in which man is divisible in five parts that the truth in this equation must be accepted.

In fact, the ancient Greek and Roman playwrights followed with varying degrees of accuracy the prescription ascribed to them by de' Sommi of limiting the appearances of a character in any given play to five. The Greek tragedians do not seem to violate this proscription, except by a stretch of the circumstances. Aeschylus, for example, being the oldest known of the Greek playwrights

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whose work is partially extant, seems to enforce this rule within the context of his own works. The only noticeable exception is in his Oresteian Trilogy when certain characters appear in more than one of the component plays and whose appearances in total supercede the established amount. If Aeschylus' extant plays are judged as single units, only Clytemnestra in the Agamemnon and Orestes in the Libation Bearers with four appearances apiece, come close to violating such a proscription. The single plays of Sophocles are similarly set up as far as entrances are concerned, with only Oedipus in Oedipus Rex and Theseus in Oedipus at Colonus making five entrances apiece. As well, none of the characters in Euripides' plays make more than the established number of appearances. Odysseus in Cyclops comes onstage five times, as do Dionysus in the Bacchae and Elektra in the play so named for her.

In analysing the comic plays of Aristophanes with respect to this rule, there is little evidence as to how character movement is choreographed. In Lysistrata, for example, the title character herself makes six entrances, and Myrrhine, one of her female cohorts, appears ten times. Pisthetairos in the Birds appears six times. Such unevenness applies as well to the Roman comic playwrights, especially the plays of Plautus. Euclio in the Pot of Gold appears onstage at least twelve times, and Hegio of the Prisoners seven times. It is fairly clear, then, that

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de' Sommi's belief that ancient playwrights prescribed no more than five appearances per character is either his own mistake or a deduction based on plays which did not survive intact beyond his era. There is little internal evidence in both the ancient comedies and tragedies for Leone de' Sommi to have made such a claim.

The point here is not to establish the numerologic approach as the most important way by which the length of plays may be judged. It is necessary, however, to examine any antecedent of a prescription such as the rule of five acts per play whose influence persisted for so many years in the minds of playwrights. Leone de' Sommi, within the text of his Dialoghi, begins this particular argument by proposing that five is the first "marriage number, since it is a combination by addition of the female 'two' and the male 'three'":37

> ... il numero quinario, come sapete, contiene in sé il bino et il trino ... il pari si applica alla femina, et lo impari, come più perfetto, maschio si noma ... questo numero ha gran forza contra i Demoni, et, per quello che si legge de l'occulta filosofia, si trae che egli è potentissimo contra i veleni ... cosí cinque apunto sono le parti estreme di questo microcosmo, le quai sono: il capo prima, l'una et l'altra mano che son tre, et ambi i piedi che son cinque ... non solamente ha cinque parti estreme questo corpo umano, ma ogni uno di questi estremi è in cinque destinto. Perché, si come cinque sono le dita di ogni mano et altretanti sono quelli di ogni piede, cosí nel capo vi sono cinque parti principali; cioè negli occhi la virtù visiva, nell'orecchie l'udito, nel naso

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> l'odorato, et nella bocca il gusto che son quattro, et la quinta ... ben affermo che sia l'inteletto, ultima forma umana, che è nel cerebro. [38]

New Testament lore is peppered with just as many allusions to this number, the more obvious ones being as follows: Jesus Christ blessed the five loaves that fed five thousand people (Matthew 14:19-20, John 6:9-13), both "Soter" (Saviour) and "Pater" (Father) have five letters, and there are five extremities of the Cross. [39] It must be pointed out that the purpose here is to understand an important justification of the five-act structure by the Renaissance scholar at hand, and its codification as one of the most central of dramatic laws.

Farces, eclogues and satyr plays were not bound by this stricture, but that does not mean that their three-part division did not have its own rationale in a numerological context. Comedy in its three-act form was also considered perfect through the three-part division of the body. It is likely that de' Sommi, as an intellectual, would have accepted the religious equations of the Holy Trinity in supporting this different means of play-division. It goes hand in hand with his conclusion that the human body can equally be considered as having three parts, and that the perfection therein is valid in its own way--according to its own criteria:

> ...è conforme anche essa a l'umana forma,

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> la quale si divide pur anco in tre parti, che con i tre mondi hanno similitudine: perochè, dal panicolo, che diafragma vien detto, fin basso alle gambe, ha conferenza l'uomo co'l basso mondo; da quella zela fin alla gola, ha proprietà con il celeste; et la testa poi, che è la superior parte del corpo, è vero simulacro del mondo spirituale. [40]

In other words, "soul" added to "body" equals the "spirit." This idea, in addition to all the aforementioned information, became second nature to Leone de' Sommi and his colleagues, and is one of the ways the obsession with Aristotelian precepts on their parts can be understood. Especially if one considered the five-act structure, as already indicated, a dramatic idea whose importance lasted into modern times. The essence of de' Sommi's philosophy, its true value as seen through his own words, is that as man cannot be separated from his God as man's creator, so also is man indivisible from the art which he himself conceives and brings forth:

> Come il core destribuisce lo spirito a tutte le membra, cosí il soggetto dispensarà le sue sustanze a tutte le parti di questo poema, talché non paia esservi cosa soverchia né oziosa, sí come nel corpo nostro non è membro alcuno fabricato invano. [41]

The depiction of society, which man establishes through his relationships with others, is seen as the end of drama, so the closer the relationship between man and his story as portrayed onstage, the better the dramatic work.

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There is, very near the end of Dialogue Two, a postscript to the discussion on how verse and prose were to be used in dramatic works. Verse is presented as better for satyr plays and eclogues, two genres which had been given scant mention. This is a fair conclusion as relates to the conversations of shepherds, which are generally the stuff of eclogues, because the simplicity and otherworldliness of such episodes are thus given a more stately proportion. Satyr plays in their Renaissance incarnation, however, are more like pastoral eclogues--burlesques of mythological subject-matter supported by choruses of misshapen deities, and de' Sommi does not offer adequate defense as to why verse can be sanctioned for such use while, say, prose is better suited for comedy when its subject-matter is usually more refined. This makes little sense, as in almost all other parts of the Dialoghi he sets himself up as the final arbiter in all matters theatrical and goes out of his way to vigorously defend his ideas.

Indeed, immediately following this particular point, de' Sommi takes issue with those who self-righteously state it a sin for pagan gods to be given a place in pastoral plays, and those who desire comedies to be totally devoid of any obscene expression. With the first topic, de' Sommi allows for man's innate intelligence insofar as

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> ... sarà concesso ... senza scandalo della religione, poiché non vi è più da temere che da così sciocche idolatrie l'uomo si lasci ingannare sendo omai certo tutto il mondo non vi esser altro che un solo Dio degno di esser veramente adorato et riverito. [42]

The very paganism of these deities gives them the qualifications to be the butt of humorous treatment.

Pure practicality reigns with the second point in question--allowing licentious dialogue to permeate comedies--and de' Sommi's logic is unassailable, even by the jaded criteria of our own day:

> la bellezza delle comedie è che vi sia da trattenere ogni uno (et particolarmente a' tempi nostri), et è necessario, dovendo elleno al generale servire, dar la sua parte, ma con modestia, ad ogni qualità di persona, et tener desti anco coloro che adormentati si stanno, mentre con dotte sentenze et con discorsi essemplari il poeta s'ingegna di giovare altrui, destandosi poi con risi sfegatati ad un motto poco onesto, o ad una parola poco modesta, nel modo che fa apunto, per suo mal uso, il cane d'un fabro, il quale dorme all'alternato suono del martello, con il quale il suo patron guadagna il vitto, et si desta poi al suono del dente, che 'l guadagnato pane consuma et frange. [43]

Leone de' Sommi again proves himself unique among his colleagues, for it is rare, almost nonexistent, for critics of drama in the Italian Renaissance to take the public taste into account at all, much less use it as a criterion for artistic creation. The only regulation which de' Sommi attaches to this allowance is that

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> ... bisogna avvertire di velar sempre ogni concetto men che onesto con parole mai sempre onestissime. 44

Leone de' Sommi pays consistent attention to the audience. His cognizance of the necessity of a realistic performance and design ethic is not merely support to his artistic integrity, but also a means to hold audience attention closely to what is occurring onstage. He envisions the power of public taste in the success or failure of a production. He also had it in mind to change the nature of the audience experience by making them more interested in the proceedings onstage than in each other. Allowing for such influence in determining practical aspects of the theatre scene seemed to serve their long-range purpose.

One does well to notice that the Italian of the original manuscript identifies these men of false piety not merely as "ipocriti" but as "ipocratoni" (the biggest of hypocrites, using the suffix "-oni"). Here again, as countless other place also testify, playwrights and dramaturges must recognize and admit the truth of what man is, negative points and all.

Dialogue Three

Leone de' Sommi, as has already been noted, is best known in scholarly circles for the material developed within Dialogue Three. Among other things, the great importance of a producer/director who supervises all

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aspects of a production is underlined here. Massimiano makes the following comment to Santino in anticipation of Veridico's lecture to them on play production:

> egli abbi guidate più comedie che composte;
> onde son certo che egli sarà fatto più
> esperto nel modo del condurle, che nelle
> proprietà loro nello invenzionarle ... [45]

De' Sommi himself must also have seen his creativity as being more truly based upon his supervisory capacities within the context of a production. Throughout this dialogue, what is consistently made clear is de' Sommi's belief that a play must be whole in all its aspects, with both sense and entertainment value in the dialogue, episodes, choice of actors and plot development. Any one of the above is not to be considered superior over any other; thus is a perfect theatrical vehicle identified and/or created.

This tone is established at the outset (and must be kept in mind throughout) when Veridico is asked how he would choose a play, once he had been asked to produce one. Before a specific answer is given, he announces himself as being among those who consider "quella comedia esser perfetta che, levandone una poca parte, resti imperfetta." [46] The choice of a play, then, takes on all the earmarks of only one of the many major decisions that when seen as a whole allow for a perfect production. Thus, when either brand-new or little-known plays are

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preferred to the warhorses of the repertoire, it is because de' Sommi looks for how they may be exciting both to audiences constantly on the lookout for new and interesting vehicles, and to good actors who seek to exercise their talents in unique plays. The actors' very capability is called into question if they are asked to perform in an all too well-worn play:

> dovendo l'istrione ingegnarsi et sforzarsi quanto più può (come diremo) d'ingannar lo spettatore in tanto che li paiano veri i successi che se gli rappresentano, sapendo l'ascoltante prima quello che ha a dire et a fare il recitante, li par poi troppo aperta et sciocca menzogna, et la favola perde di quel suo naturale con che ella ha sempre da esser accompagnata; onde l'uditore, quasi schernito, non solo vilipende lo spettacolo, ma disprezza anco se medesmo che come fanciullo si sia lasciato condure a udir, come si dice in proverbio, la novella de l'oca. Il che non aviene così delle comedie nove ... " [47]

At this point, the discussion on play production begins, and with it the rich meat of Leone de' Sommi's dramatic theory. Many twentieth-century theatrical scholars have long accepted that realism and sense must govern all aspects of a production. That de' Sommi states such things with firm conviction in an era where maintaining such convictions went against the grain of mainstream dramatic theory give him a special uniqueness and make him deserving of respect.

Before rehearsals of the play at hand even begin, de'

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Sommi declares, there is much to which a conscientious producer must see:

> Prima io ne cavo tutte le parti ben corrette, e quindi, eletti i personaggi che mi paiono più atti (avvertendo il più che si può a quei particolari di che ragionaremo più avanti) li riduco tutti insieme; et, consegnato a ciascuno quella parte che più le si conviene, fo legger loro tutta la comedia, tanto che sino a i fanciulli, che vi hanno d'aver parti, siano instrutti de soggetto di essa, o almeno di quello che a lor tocca, imprimendo a tutti nella mente la qualità del personaggio che hanno da imitare; et licenziati con questo, le do tempo di poter imparare le parti loro. [48]

This is how the strong hand of the producer/director whose word is final asserts itself. With none of the many other dramatic theorists in sixteenth-century Italy is such a well-rounded conception of drama at work. At this time, there seemed to be a purity that was to be preserved in critical writing: each species of drama had its own criteria, with no crossing of boundaries.

There are isolated examples in other critical works where non-theoretical comments seem to infiltrate, but these are exceptions to the general trend. Francisco Robortello (1548) demands that the dramatist envision the plot before writing the play to determine the appropriateness of the stage representation:

> ... non satis est simplici quadam ratione fabulam, actionemque constituere, conari etiam debet poeta; ut aptis, ornatisque, ac maxime significantibus verbis eam con-

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> stituat; sibique cultiore quadam forma expolitam ponat ante oculos; sic enim facilius dilucidiusque perspiciet, quid diceat, quidue non diceat; quid superfluum fit; quid mutilum .... Poeta igitur qui actionem fabulae ornati descriptam sibi propowuerit; quasi spectator quidam in scena intuebitur singula exactè; intereritque ipse agendae fabule maximum est iudicium vulgi, in picturis, poematibusque iudicandis. [49]

Julius Caesar Scaliger, in his work Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons: Antonius Vincentius, 1561), deplores long-windedness in drama,

> ...quod tamen iliud est ab eo quod succinctum dicitur. ...perspicuitas est facilitas orationis ad rem intelligendam. ... Praeterea non est verum, a Claritate puram effici orationem: sed è contrario potius para perspicuam. Est enim para oratio duplex: aut in qua nihil peregrinum, aut in qua sordidum. [50]

and insists as well that any kind of drama must be realistic, though affected by decorum:

> Qua de re tamesti dixinus aliquid in personarum tractatione, tamen qui multum oportet esse attentum Poetam ad decorum, hic quoque aliquid considerabimus. [51]

Antonio Minturno, in L'arte poetica del Sig. Antonio Minturno (Venetia: Giovan Andrea Valvassori, 1564), says that a playwright must provide proper stage equipment for the audience's entertainment, and that dramatic episodes should be few and brief, so as not to cultivate impatience in said audience. One of the only other sixteenth-century

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treatises to deal with more than one aspect of the drama at the same time made its appearance in 1598, some thirty years after de' Sommi composed his Dialoghi. Its title is Della poesia rappresentativa e Del modo di presentare le favole sceniche, by Angelo Ingegneri (publ. Florence: Niccolò Veteri, 1734) with both dramaturgy and theatrical production subject to full treatment. 52

The next issue tackled by de' Sommi is the central importance of actors to the success of a theatrical production, and how intimately their specific skills must be considered by the producer prior to their being cast. While acting as an art had certainly been in existence since ancient times, acting as a profession did not come into its own in most European countries until the sixteenth century. In England, the 1570's saw the professional actor make great strides in the establishment of his reputation and livelihood. In 1572, English law recognized acting to be a legal profession, with troupes being obliged to obtain performing licences. An additional law in 1574 created a post whose occupant would both license the acting troupes and censor their plays--the Master of Revels. The earl of Leicester's Men, headed by James Burbage, was the first troupe to be granted a license under said law. Burbage himself, two years later, was to be given credit for constructing the first public theatre in Western Europe--The Theatre.

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In Spain, the importance of drama and theatre to the general population was testified to by the immense popularity of Lope de Rueda. Though this man supervised the Corpus Christi festivities at the court of Philip II in the 1550's and wrote plays for public consumption over the course of his career, he was to be best known for his abilities as a performer both at court and on tour. There were no permanent theatres in the years of his activity (the first ones did not appear in Spain until the 1570's) but this made little difference, as performance spaces likely included courtyards and city squares as well as private locales indoors.

Italy certainly boasted the first truly professional public theatre in Europe when the first of the commedia dell'arte troupes formed in the 1560's. These groups of actors determined the shape of each performance by the strength of their improvisational techniques, were responsible for all expenses and their coffers received each and every bit of monetary profit. Though they owed their careers to the patronage of noble masters, the commedia actors were allowed quite a bit of latitude in the subject-matter they chose to explore onstage. In the years when the theatrical talent of Leone de' Sommi flowered, the comic lazzi of the commedia dell'arte troupes were popular throughout the country. Indeed, when de' Sommi discusses what he considers to be a natural acting

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technique, he may very well have had in mind not only the uniqueness of those who performed in his own productions but that of the commedia actor, whose performances he must have witnessed many times. For his own purposes, de' Sommi regards the correct choice of actor for each part in the play at hand to be the most basic of choices to be made:

> ... oso dire, anzi affermo per vero, che più importi aver boni recitanti che bella comedia, et che 'l sia il vero, abbiamo veduto molte volte riuscir meglio, al gusto de gl'ascoltanti, una comedia brutta, ma ben recitata, che una bella mal rappresentata. 53

Critical works dealing with acting theory are extremely rare in de' Sommi's era. As far as can be seen, his Dialoghi mark the first treatise in which the art of performance is discussed with as much earnestness and dignity as had been accorded to the other issues of dramatic structure. William Shakespeare, whose Hamlet appeared a few years after de' Sommi's death in 1590/1592, exhibits similar beliefs. Hamlet, giving direction to the players who are to perform The Murder of Gonzago, bids each of them to take vigilant care with their chosen roles:

> Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it
> to you, trippingly on the tongue. But if you mouth it, as
> many of our players do, I had as lief the town crier spoke
> my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your

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> hand, thus, but use all gently, for in the very torrent,
> tempest, and (as I may say) whirlwind of your passion,
> you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give
> it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul to hear a
> robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters,
> to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for
> the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable
> dumb shows and noise....
> Be not too tame neither, but let your own
> discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the
> word to the action, with this special observance, that you
> o'erstep not the modesty of nature. For anything so
> overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at
> the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror
> up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her
> own image, and the very age and body of the time his
> form and pressure ... 54

When de' Sommi outlines exactly what attributes he considers an actor must have in order to be thought of as competent and talented, there are several points held in common with the above prescriptions.

It is not difficult to determine from the eloquence and spirit of Shakespeare's own plays that his actors would of necessity have had to be master of the above-mentioned qualities to properly interpret the roles. Physical suitability, alertness, powerful interpretative ability, a naturally fine and expressive voice, and espe-

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cially the ability to suit gesture and emotional expression to the mood of the moment are the more important points mentioned by de' Sommi. Something which requires repetition is that the Dialoghi were never published, so the chance of their having been a major influence in the advocacy of a more realistic acting style is not likely.

De' Sommi nominated Flaminia, the Roman actress, as the best possible comtemporary embodiment of the ideal actor. Calling her the most extraordinary actress he had ever had the privilege of seeing, de' Sommi goes on to extol her in an even more laudatory manner:

> oltre all'essere di molte belle qualità ornata, talmente è giudicata rara in questa professione, che no credo che gli antichi vedessero, né si possi fra' moderni veder meglio; perche infatti ella è tale su per la scena, che no par già a gli uditori di veder succedere cosa vera et improvisamente occorsa, talmente cangia ella i gesti, le voci et i colori, conforme a le varietà delle occorenze, che commove mirabilmente chiunque l'ascolta non meno a maraviglia che a diletto grandissimo. [55]

De' Sommi's testament to Flaminia as preserved above gives her to posterity as the first professional actress of whom there is definitive proof. [56] His celebration of Flaminia's talent must surely have been from firsthand testimony, so clear is his judgment in other theatrical matters. Perhaps he might even have directed some of her performances, though it cannot be established as certain. In this regard, it is also important to note that de'

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Sommi was a well-travelled impresario of theatricals in other parts of Italy, so additional chances to witness Flaminia's acting would have been available, and subject for his commentary.

A point made which is likely emblematic of de' Sommi's own skill as a theatrical artist is when Veridico claims that

> giova molto ... lo aver per guida lo stesso autore de la favola, il quale ha virtù, generalmente, de insegnar meglio alcuni ignoti suoi concetti che fanno comparir il poema più garbato, et i suoi recitanti per conseguenza paiono più desti. [57]

This clearly represents a lesson born of long experience, providing a cohesive center of creativity which can mold and inspire the many egotistical variables that make up a theatrical production. If the play's author is also its director (and preferably so), de' Sommi points out, he becomes a source of information to a talented actor who seeks even the smallest point which will enrich the portrayal of his character. With actors whose abilities are much more mundane and workmanlike, an author/director can do what talent cannot and himself suggest those movements and actions which will make these actors' portrayals seem more real, natural and inspired. Liveliness of both action and expression are extremely important, whatever the source of their inspiration, and they must be encouraged at all times.

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De' Sommi re-emphasizes this when he styles the actor's movements "eloquenza del corpo," and says that "son di tanta importanza, che non è per aventura magiore l'efficacia delle parole che quella de i gesti." [58] The attributes which embody his idea of a truly talented actor formulate the only law which seemingly can be applied to such a natural-born sense of expression as the art of acting. De' Sommi says only that

> il recitante dee sempre portar la persona svelta, et le membra sciolte, et non annodate et intere. Deve fermar i piedi con leggiadria quando gl'occorre, servar co 'l capo un certo moto naturale, che non paia che egli l'abbia affissato al collo co' chiodi; et le braccia et le mani (quando non facci bisogno il gestar con essi) si deono lassar andare ove la natura gl'inchina. [59]

He goes on at some length in this vein, similarly applying his philosophy of appropriate choice to how a character's vocal tone is established and developed. In a powerful recapitulation, the actor is directed to scrupulously observe the natural manner of the character he is to represent, with even the most minor of violations of such a manner styled a capital crime. Naturalness of dialogue, conversations which seem not to be memorized from a script but brought forth from the inspiration of the moment were to be the order of the day. It is this method which he saw as such an integral part of Flaminia's acting gifts, that of making the written word appear not as a passage

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learned but as whatever the evolving situation dictated that she say.

By comparison with the novelty of much that has already been discussed, de' Sommi's philosophies surprisingly take on a slightly conservative aspect when his ideas concerning costuming are analysed. These particular exchanges, though, contain valuable nuggets of information which testify even moreso to the uniqueness of Leone de' Sommi's dramatic thought. There is a belief expressed that the most successful plays, be they comedies or tragedies, establish their locales in places where more vivid and unusual costumes can be displayed to the audience. Veridico, in this part of the dialogue, reflects such a belief when he anticipates the success of his upcoming production to both Santino and Massimiano, attributing his future glory to its setting in Constantinople. He saw that it was possible to leave intact the ancient precept of "gl'abiti appropriati et i colori assegnati a tutte le qualità de i recitanti" [60] by looking for novelty within those models. Another underlying reason not inconsequential to this discussion, as de' Sommi points out, is:

> ci parrà sempre verisimile il veder succeder fra genti strane, e che non conosciamo, di quelle cose che per lo più nelle comedie si rappresentono, che vederle acadere tra cittadini co' quali abbiamo continova pratica. Et se questo riesce ben nelle comedie tanto più succederà bene

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nelle tragedie. [61]

He notes the tendency to pare down Mediterranean-style costuming to a set of prototypes (such as old men always in white robes, youths in colored ones, parasites with folded cloaks and courtesans in yellow). De' Sommi's dismissal of such prototypes is soundly expressed as "così fatte osservazioni sarebbono, per la varietà de gl'usi, vani, o poco conosciuti." [62] Greek models serve no useful purpose for a costumer, because the overuse of such models has already been the cause of boredom both with the actors and the audience. This is yet another example of de' Sommi's disinclination to generalize any theatrical enterprise to a few well-worn prescriptions. [63]

There may seem to be a sense of conflicting theory in a man who on the one hand regularly insists upon promoting the naturalness of the dramatic situation in its verbal and physical aspects, and on the other hand speaks of a higher esteem for an ancient style in theatrical production. How this issue may be resolved is by remembering de' Sommi as a man to whom respect and admiration for ancient custom did not necessarily mean blind devotion. This was true for the most famous (though not necessarily the best) of the men engaged in humanist activities. It is possible to believe that the renaissance of Greek and Roman dramatic topics appealed to de' Sommi, who was committed to finding strange and unusual material to attract

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his jaded audiences.

De' Sommi follows a few basic principles of costume design that are revealed in the course of discussing the ideal costume for tragedies, and they reflect his preference for the ancient style. That these costumes were also different from the customary wardrobe in which Mantuans dressed themselves each day was not a small point of consideration to a producer who sought to entertain his audience:

> nel vestir ... dovrà sempre chi le guida esser deligentissimo, non vestendo mai (se sia possiblile) i suoi interlocutori a i modi che modernamente si costuma, ma nelle maniere che su le scolture antiche, o su le pitture figurati si veggono, con quei manti, et con quelli abbigliamente co' quali si figurano cosi vagamente quei personaggi de gl'antichi secoli. [64]

This careful producer must also manifest an ability to practice economy in the execution of the costumes, by the re-use of whatever secondhand cloth may be available. Whether creating the costumes from scratch, or culling them from a prince's discarded wardrobe, one rule holds sway: "Io mi ingegno poi quanto più posso di vestire i recitanti fra loro differentissimi." [65] When he moves on to the subject of pastoral costuming, the above dictum takes on an added importance, as the society therein depicted is fairly uniform, with few major differences in the types of characters that populate them. [66] De' Sommi's

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method provides detailed means by which an enterprising producer may dress these sylvan denizens:

> coprir le gambe et le braccia di drappo di color di carne et, se sarà il recitante giovane et bello, non si disconverà lo aver le braccia et le gambe ignude, ma non mai i piedi, i quali sempre hanno da essere da coturni o da socchi leggiadramente calzati; abbia poi alcuno d'essi un fiaschetto o una scodella di qualche bel legno a cintola, altri un zaino legato sopra una spalla, che gli penda sotto l'opposito fianco. Abbiano ognun d'essi un bastone, altri mondo altri fronzuto, in mano ... incapo le capillature, o finte o naturali, altri aricciati et altri stesi et culti ...
>
> Alle ninfe ... convengono le camisce da donna, lavorate et varie, ma con le maniche, et io soglio usare di farci dar la salda, acciò che, legandole co' munili o con cinti di seta colorate et oro, facciano poi alcuni gomfi che empiano gli occhi et comparano leggiadrissimamente. Gli addice poi una veste dalla cintura in giù di qualche bel drappo colorato et vago, succinta tanto che ne apaia il collo del piede; il quale sia calzato d'un socco dorato, all antica, et con atilatura, overo di qualche somacco colorato. Gli richiede poi un manto sontuoso ... Le chiome folte et bionde che paiono naturali, et ad alcuna si potranno lasciar ir sciolte per le spalle, con una ghirlandetta in capo, ad altra, per variare, aggiungere un frontale d'oro, ad altre poi non fia sdicevole annodarle con nastri di seta. [67]

This in-depth presentation ends with a rather characteristic statement by our author, that "chi essercita questi poemi sia bene essercitato, perché è molto più difficile condur una si fatta rappresentazione che stia bene, che non è a condurre una comedia." [68] De' Sommi, in making

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such a statement, is ever aware of his own expertise. [69]

Dialogue Four

The fourth and final dialogue deals with stage machinery (with specific examples of special effects given from the celebrations which accompanied the wedding of Duke Guglielmo), and the origins of a concept of lighting design that covers both the play at hand and the complete space in which the play was both performed and witnessed. As far as the physical setting of the given play was concerned, it is easy to determine that the precept of perspective as formulated by Serlio had an enormous influence upon Leone de' Sommi. Perspective design had for a long time been seen as one of the possible solutions to all the problems posed in the humanists' queries as to maintenance of the unity of place and unity of genre within the play's structure. If, though, scenography is to be equated with the tragic, comic and satyric sets as illustrated by Serlio, where was there room for extension and improvement by creative free-thinkers? Dialogue Four opens with a conversation between Veridico and his friends where the issue of perspective design is immediately addressed, and it emerges as one of the most staunchly-enforced principles to be found in Leone de' Sommi's vocabulary as a theatrical designer:

Veridico: Presto Marcletto, et tu Farfanicchi

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pigliate una di quelle scale per uno, et cominciate ad accendere quei lumi....

Santino: Io sto volentieri alquanto più lontano, per veder meglio che bello effetto faccia quella prospettiva.

Veridico: Mi ritirarò anch'io dunque costi. Su, presto; oh là! allumate pur tutte quelle bozze!

Massimiano: Veramente gran forza ha quest' arte della pittura, quand'ella è bene intesa; che, a star qui, tanto m'inganno che, bench'io sappia quella non esser altro che una tela piana, mi par una strada che corra mezzo miglio. [70]

Massimiano is suitably impressed with the results, as expressed above in his praise. Perspective, in this case a painted one, was seen as a masterful means to cheat the spectator's eye by bringing the essence of their neighborhoods into the somewhat stylized format of the set. Not only does de' Sommi (through Veridico) state that this should be the norm when the design is in the hands of talented artists, but he alludes to the idea that actors with a potent sense of communication are equally empowered.

Veridico's reply is a reiteration of de' Sommi's basic belief that the art of perspective is an art in its being exercised by people of talent and dedication. Be these people designers, producers or actors, their power over the forces of illusion should be brought to bear with equal force within the production at hand:

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> Questa forza istessa avrà il perfetto comico che quantunque sappiamo che egli ci recita una favola, se sarà diligente nel rappresentarla, ci parrà un sucesso veracissimo. [71]

Always central in the ensuing discussions concerning the ways a dramatic set may best be designed for the audience's delight, is the successful presentation of the perspective. Veridico disclaims his ability to discuss set architecture with any sense of expertise:

> perché non è mia professione, né l'architetura, né la pittura, come anco perché sarebbe impossibile darne essempi a bastanza. [72]

Veridico goes on to detail his ideas that both the design of the set and the lighting effects must first illuminate the particular idea of perspective before attempting to support whatever emotional turns the plot was to take. The capability and clarity with which he outlines each purpose makes the above claim of being a novice in set architecture an erroneous one.

Today, there is recognition on the part of some scholars that the development of the art of set perspective, which burst into pre-eminence at this time, had as its basis the aspiration of many Renaissance artists to present realistic settings whose purpose was to emulate real-life locales. [73] Leone de' Sommi's desire to have a perspective set "cheat the eye" of the audience and not

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strain their credulity as well, embodied one of the earliest attempts in the Italian Renaissance to do so. Such a purpose acted as a restraint to those who would myopically promote perspective set design to the detriment of other elements of production, and offered a creative, more practical solution to making perspective part of the practical theatre man's vocabulary.

The Dialoghi mark what at least one scholar has called the end of a long period of experimentation by many practitioners, de' Sommi included, who clearly earned the right to state their opinions with authority. [74] De' Sommi proved himself unlike his colleagues in his ability to see beyond the recapitulation of ancient allusions that marked their work. His theories (as has been mentioned before) went through their trial right on the stage, and not in noble salons or scholarly academies.

The discourse on lighting takes its next turn in response to Santino's observation that Veridico had allowed for many more torches and candelabra onstage than in the auditorium. Veridico's words are important as a possible guiding principle for designers like Ingegneri, and any artist to whom lighting was as important a component of a production as the actors or the set:

> Come sapete, è cosa naturale che l'uomo, stando al buio, vede molto meglio una cosa che di lontano riluca, che non farebbe stando in loco luminoso, perché la vista va più unita all'obietto, senza vagare, o ... l'obietto si

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> viene più unitamente ad appresentare a l'occhio. Et però non pongo io se non pochissimi lumi nella sala, facendo splendidissima la scena; e quei pochi ancora, pongh'io da tergo agl'ascoltanti, acciò che la interposizione di tai lumi non offusca loro la vista ... [75]

In this light, it is necessary to remember that part of the importance of Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi is in their having manifested ideas, such as the one above, at a point in time several years before anyone else did so. [76]

The remainder of Dialogue Four discusses the scenic machinery to accompany pastoral plays in their country settings, de' Sommi's version of the "fourth-wall" effect, and the proper use of prologues and intermedii in a play. The same common denominators function in the determination of de' Sommi's theories relating to the above elements: the setting must be naturally expressed and it must be gauged according to the effect it has upon the spectators.

> ... che se la favola pastorale si avrà da rappresentare di estate, come par che più si convenga, in loco aperto, et di giorno, bastarà che la sua scena sia eminente et verdeggiante, et che, nello scoprirsi, porga vaghezza a'veditori. E questo si fa agevolmente rappresentando con le frondi e co i fiori, et con gl'arbori fruttuosi, le staggioni più allegre, ponendo tra'rami di varii uccelli, che co'l canto incitano la letizia, facendo anco alle volte erarvi sopra conigli o lepri, et altre cose simili, che rappresentino il naturale delle campagne gioconde, et de'boschi solitarii; et che con giudicio siano finti quei monti, quelle valli, quei tugurii, quei fonti e quegli antri od altre cose tali che vi occorrono facendo i lontani con le osservazioni

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> prospettive, et lasciar dinanzi tanto loco piano, a guisa di un prato fiorito, per recitarvi sopra ordinariamente, quanto è larga una gran scena. [77]

A central exchange immediately follows this one, and it speaks of what is known in contemporary terminology as the "fourth-wall" effect, and referred to by Santino as the "open scene." It inspires in Veridico a lengthy commentary upon the validity of scenes where they seem to be " ... quelle che si vede anco dentro alle lor stanze." [78]

> Benché paia di certa vaghezza il vedersi in scena una camera aperta, ben parata, dentro alla quale (dirò così per essempio) uno amante si consulti però tanto fuor del naturale essere la stanza senza il muro dinanzi (il che necessariamente far bisogna), che a me pare non molto convenirsi, oltra che non so se il recitare in quel loco si potrà dire che sia in scena. Ben si potria, per fuggire questi due inconvenienti, aprir come una loggia od un verone, dove ricoresse alcuno a ragionare; ma non mi torrei però licenza di far stare nel resto voto il proscenio, e però condurci che i lor ragionamenti in tai lochi fossero sempre o in fine in tai lochi fossero sempre o in fine o in principio de gl'atti; acciò che quasi di intermedio se li potesse dar nome. [79]

Though de' Sommi here allows that scenes minus the "front wall" can produce a beautiful effect, he sounds a clear and unaccustomed retreat from his usual insistence upon naturalness as an issue of paramount importance in both theatrical performance and design. To him, the "fourth-wall" effect crosses the border between naturalness as is proper in the theatrical realm and naturalness that usurps

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the laws of science and ceases to be art. After all, in the above quote Veridico states that as far as acting without the "wall in front" is concerned, "non so se il recitare in quel loco si potrà dire che sia in scena." He certainly remains more faithful to a classically inspired sense of scene design.

Within the very same speech that contains de' Sommi's comments on the "fourth-wall" effect, Veridico begins a discussion on the importance of intermedii within the context of a play. Coming where it does, his first statement is somewhat of a surprise, as he seeks to prevent the intermedii from becoming more fantastic than the plays they accompany:

> ... prologhi estraordinarii, dico che quando sono d'invenzioni che eccedono il naturale, non molto convengono alle commedie, le quali hanno da essere di cose naturalissime ripiene. 80

Veridico's perfect example of an appropriate prologue is the one which opened a successful tragicomedy of the previous year. It embodied an argument between Comedy and Tragedy, unnamed by Veridico, but by the nature of the prologue, one logically deduces it to be that which opens Leone de' Sommi's own Hirifile, where there is just such a debate.

He insists that intermedii contain nothing that will distract the spectator from following the plot of the play

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once each intermedio is finished. Allowance is made for some tragedies and pastoral plays, where the acts of gods and supernatural beings may have bearing, but to Leone de' Sommi the bottom line is that:

> ... se questi intermedii avranno poi qualche proprietà con le favole, senza dubbio si faranno più riguardevole. [81]

Dialogue Four closes with Veridico referring to an anonymous pastoral play which had a set of intermedii that he deemed so thoroughly appropriate to the plot of that play as to seem an integral part of its structure. Frustratingly for readers of the Dialoghi Veridico gives no details because he does not have that play on hand, so we are essentially left to wonder about his example of the most perfect union of intermedii and plot. In lieu of the desired answer to this question, Veridico describes the feast enjoyed by the spectators after the performance of this play, with admiration of how even the details of serving each course were in the pastoral spirit.

> ... Comparvero prima quattro giovinetti, vestiti da monache, che con panieri di diverse insalate fioritissime, salutorono una sorella del signore, che era in capo di tavola, et da parte della madre priora glie le donorono, perché le godesse per amor suo; poi, pigliata occasione da l'essere gia tutta la brigata assettata a tavola, ristrette insieme (in bellissimo concerto cantando), benedirono la mensa, et fra tanto vennero le insalate concie; et perché era il banchetto da grasso et da magro, si come dovendo venir pesce in tavola, si faceva

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> comparir prima pescatori diversi, che da varii lochi mostravano averne addotto, et subito di quelle sorti medesime ne comparivan di cotti; cosi se di capretti, o di altri simili carni domestici venir doveva, compariva o un pastore od un villano a portarne de'vivi, appresentandone ora al signore, et ora a gl'invitati, con diversi motti et arguzie et subito di quelle sorti n'era imbandita la mensa; et medesimamente, prima che gli uccelli cotti venissero, gli uccellatori di vivi ne portavano, or con musiche et ora con versi et ora con parole sciolte accompagnandoli; et il medesimo, se di selvagine doveva imbandire lo scalco, varii cacciatori comparivano con corni strepitosi et cani, et di diverse maniere n'aducevano, appresentando ad uno un capo di cinghiale, ad un altro una lepre, a questo un daino, et a quello un capriolo, et cosi di tutti. [82]

De' Sommi follows Serlio in his assumption that theatres were to be set up in already existing rooms, and the play indicated above would most certainly have been produced in such a room. Even de' Sommi's 1567 petition for a public theatre where any who had the price of admission could enjoy the dramatic fare onstage, took the shape of a request for any "stanza" the Gonzagas deemed appropriate for that purpose. Theatres as self-standing structures were not clearly in either man's frame of reference.

Later Theorists

An evaluation of the theorists and practitioners whose work chronologically followed Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi reveals that interesting developments were pushing the

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field of scenography beyond its known boundaries as far as the growing sophistication of stage machinery was concerned. With the advent of strong principalities as political forces within Italy, and with the theatre itself having become more a social exercise for the audience than a place to watch a performance, it became a mark of honor and prestige for princes to vie with each other in the employment of artists who would conceive of the most splendid effects. Brunelleschi, Alberti, da Vinci and Peruzzi contributed to the growth of this movement, but it was not until the turn of the seventeenth century that construction of new machinery for stage effects became a passion. There are two names that immediately come to mind with regard to the proliferation of elaborate stage machinery: Nicola Sabbattini (1574-1654) [83] and Giacomo Torelli (1608-1678). [84]

Scenographic activity after the years of Leone de' Sommi's theatrical involvement was clearly in a state of explosive growth. With the exception of the unmistakably clear connection between de' Sommi and Ingegneri in the realm of lighting design and acting precepts, it is not possible to say with any certainty that the careers of men like Sabbattini and Torelli owed anything in the way of inspiration to Leone de' Sommi.

Angelo Ingegneri (1550-1613) is the theorist/ practitioner whose writings show the possibility of having

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been influenced the most by Leone de' Sommi's theories. Not only did he address theoretical issues in his Della poesia rappresentativa e Del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche (1598, publ. Florence: Niccolò Veteri, 1734), but he gives a full rendering of the practical aspects of theatrical activity and how such effort contributes positively to the overall sense of a production. Creative directors are aware that each and every component is an equal contributor to the overall look of a production, and Ingegneri is a strong believer in this:

> L'apparato consiste nella scena, dove si fa la rappresentazione, insieme co'l teatro, dove stanno gli spettatori a vederla, e delle persone, che la recitano ... 85

It is clear from the above words that Ingegneri and de' Sommi would consider the actor as much an apparatus of theatrical expression as they would a cloud-machine, or a well-decorated set of angled wings.

Both men held to the precept that each play must aim for naturalness in its principles of casting the actors and regulating their performance styles, the structure of the theatre viewing-space and its design aspects. Also, Ingegneri and de' Sommi both believe that for an actor to properly portray his assigned character, he must have at his command all the elements necessary to make that portrayal dynamic and lively. The following compendium of excerpts from Ingegneri's opinions and advice to the actor

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illustrates the above statement to great effect:

> ... le persone, per quanto elle servono alla vista, ricerca due qualità. Abitudine naturale, e vestimenti. ... Pero quando il recitante fosse per l'età dissimile dal personaggio, che s'intendesse d'imitare, rimarrei contento di dargli barba, e chioma dal pelo convenevole, nel rimanente lasciandolo coll'aspetto donatogli dalla natura... Nella voce adunque si considerano due cose; la quantità, cioè, ch'ella sia grave, acuta, grande e picciola; e la qualità, cioè, ch'ella sia chiara, roca, pieghevole, dura e simili... Il gesto consiste ne i movimenti opportuni del corpo, e delle parti sue, e specialmente delle mani, e molto più del volto, e soprattutto degli occhi--dalla voce regolata, e dal buon gesto nasce necessariamente il decoro, il quale e la perfezione d'ogni ben rappresentata favola. [86]

Both Angelo Ingegneri and Leone de' Sommi spend a great deal of time in their respective treatises discussing how each of them views the implementation of lighting as a tool that could enhance not only the physical qualities of the play, but its emotional character as well. De' Sommi contended that severe changes in the emotional status of the characters on stage necessitated either the intensifying or the decreasing of lighting-levels, depending on the direction of the emotional path:

> ... io mi son trovato a condur una volta, tra le altre, una tragedia, et essendo stata la scena allumata giocondissimamente per tutto il tempo che i successi de la istoria furono allegri, quando cominciò poi il primo caso dolente della inopinata morte d'una reina, onde il coro, esclamando, stupiva

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> come il sole potesse patire di veder tanto male, feci (si come avevo preparato) che in quello istante la maggior parte de i lumi de la scena che non servivano alla prospettiva furono velati o spenti; la qual cosa cagionò un profondissimo orrore nel petto degli spettatori. Il che riuscì mirabilmente, per universal giudicio, ... [87]

He was convinced that not only would the actors appear to better advantage, but lighting that was designed to fit the plot would have some influence in suggesting that the audience pay closer attention to the play than to each other. Ingegneri's philosophy of lighting design sounds familiar to the one stated above:

> ... abbiasi avvertenza ... di fare, che tutta la luce vada a percuoter la fronte della scena, le prospettive, e 'l proscenio, e non si diffonda mica nel teatro, ove stanno gli spettatori, il quale quando sarà più oscuro, tanto sarà parere la scena più luminosa, e all'incontro più lucido, ch'egli sia, disgregherà maggiormente la vista de i riguardanti, e sarà loro riuscire men chiaro, e men vago quello, ch'è di somma importanza, che sia bene e distintamente veduto. [88]

After the auditorium was completely darkened, the means used to light the stage area were hidden lights, to be placed at the foot of the stage, with reflectors to better illustrate the actors. "Footlights" were to remain the popular mode of illuminating the stage until only recently.

Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538-1612) and his place in theatrical history are assured through his having authored

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what was considered to be one of the prime pastoral tragedies of the day, along with the Aminta of Torquato Tasso (1544-1595; Aminta was written in 1573 and published in 1580). Guarini was born in Ferrara, and after graduating from the University of Padua with a degree in jurisprudence, began an illustrious diplomatic career. Guarini, in fact, began the writing of Pastor Fido in 1569, at a time when he held a diplomatic position on the d'Este family's behalf at the court of Turin. The play was actually not published until 1590, and its first production took place at Mantua in 1598, where, at the invitation of Vincenzo II Gonzaga, Guarini supervised the production details and subsequently enjoyed a great success.

The 1602 edition of Pastor Fido included an extra composition which was indicated by the following appendage to its title:

> ... con un compendio di Poesia tratto da i duo Verati, con la giunta d'altre cose notabili per opera del medesimo S. Cavaliere ... [89]

The Compendio della poesia tragicomica is Guarini's contribution to the bibliography of critical treatises concentrating on the nature of the drama. It opens with what could be termed Guarini's personal credo of the dramatic expression, and it is tied into the precept of verisimilitude:

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> Il verisimile parimente è pur di due sorte, cioè probabile & imitabile. Da questi quattro termini, contemplabile, eligibile, probabile & imitabile nascono tutte le scienze, tutte le facoltà, et tutte l'arti. Dal vero contemplabile deriva la divina Filosofia, la scienza naturale, le Matematiche ... Dal vero eligibile poi procedono le Morali, L'Etica, la Politica, e l'Economica che insegnano di governar se stesso, la Republica e la famiglia ... Nel probabile son fondate la Dialetica, e la Retorica, maestra l'una del disputare, e l'altra del persuadere. Dall'ultima finalmente vien la poetica, che ha per fin l'imitare ... che cosa è rassomigliarsi al vero, se non imitare? 90

This statement does not reveal Guarini to be dogmatic in the establishment of his own artistic philosophy, but to be a critic of honesty and respect. He renders the proper homage to Aristotle, and then makes one of the more original improvements to Aristotelian theory in his constitution of the genre of tragicomedy not as a hybrid between the two genres already established, but one that has the strength to stand on its own:

> ... si potrebbe nuovamente qui dubitare qual fosse in atto un tal misto della Tragicomedia, ed io risponderei che ciò fosse il temperamento del diletto Tragico, et Comico, che non lascia traboccar gli ascoltanti nella soverchia, né malinconia Tragica da che risulta un poema d'eccellentissima forma, et temperatura, non solo molto corrispondente all'humana complessione, che tutta solamente consiste nella temperie di quattro humori, ma della semplice, et Tragedia et Comedia, molto più nobile, come quella che non ci reca l'atrocità di Casi, il sangue, et le morti; che sono visti horribili, et inumane, et non ci fa dall'altro lato si dissoluti nel

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> riso, che pecchiamo contra la modestia e'l decoro d'huom costumato. [91]

Guarini clearly dislikes the fact that the pastoral play is commonly delineated as the only exponent of the tragicomic genre by fellow critics, and defends the variety to be had by the writers of tragicomedies as much greater than that which one finds in pastorals:

> Con ciò sia cosa che la voce di Tragicomedia ci dimostra la qualità della favola, et la voce di Pastorale quella delle persone che in essa si rappresentano, le quali, percioche potevano essere cittadine, volle il poeta, che si sapesse ch'eran pastori. Et percioche di questi altri son nobili, et altri no, questi fanno la Comica, et quelli fanno la Tragica, et ambo insieme la Tragicomica, che viene a essere pastorale per le persone in essa rappresentate. Non son dunque nel Pastorfido tre favole, una di persone private, che fanno l'azion Comica, l'altra di personaggi grandi, che fanno la parte tragica, et la terza di pastori, che fanno la pastorale, ma una favola sola di pastorali persone mista di Tragedia, et Comedia, ma tessuta comicamente, ch'è un sol poema. [92]

Drama as a reflection of the vicissitudes of human existence approaches its more complete definition in Guarini's conception of tragicomedy. What Guarini shares of his theoretical philosophy with Leone de' Sommi is merely in his ownership of the personality trait that was de' Sommi's watchword--a professed willingness to tread where no other theorist would dare.

Leone de' Sommi might well have appreciated this, for

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in spite of the clarity that characterizes his exposition in the Dialoghi, de' Sommi's contributions to his craft were more considerable in their practical applications. It is a sad commentary that almost nothing survives that might testify to the exercise of de' Sommi's enormously wide-ranging talent in the field of theatrical production other than the evidence that comes from de' Sommi's own penning of the Dialoghi.

One reaches the inescapable conclusion that with the few exceptions as noted before, Leone de' Sommi and his Dialoghi were somewhat of an island unto themselves in terms of being influenced by and influencing other theorists in their studies of the field of drama. Leone de' Sommi clearly was as capable as a sponge of absorbing the ever-changing culture in which he lived, but the nature of the times was such that his practical and theoretical work probably provided no such help for his successors.

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CHAPTER 7

DRAMATIC WORKS OF LEONE DE' SOMMI

The plays by Leone de' Sommi which could be listed on the complete résumé of his lifetime in the theatre, including the eleven plays catalogued at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin in 1904, present in the mere suggestion of their existence eloquent testimony of a man who clearly felt no discomfort in using the dramatic medium as an expression of his creativity. The profound tragedy in de' Sommi's case is that a scant four plays remain extant that are capable of being studied in any depth, and that can bear witness to his talent as a playwright: two Italian plays in damaged condition from the Turin collection--Hirifile and Il Tamburo--a single Hebrew play, Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (The Comedy of Wedlock), and a third Italian play, Tre Sorelle, housed at the Biblioteca Comunale of Mantua.

Hebrew playwriting was not to be taken up in earnest until the early years of the seventeenth century, in Amsterdam. There, Jewish refugees from Spain (called "Marranos," those who publically professed themselves devout Christian converts but who maintained Jewish practices in the privacy of their homes) used the medium of the drama to gain some self-respect as Jews in their new

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home. [1] One of these men created an inestimable reputation for himself as a Hebrew playwright--Moses Zacuto (1625-1697). [2] Other Jews who later attained prominence in the field of Hebrew dramatic literature included Samuel Romanelli of Mantua (1757-1814), [3] and Moses Chayim Luzzatto (1707-1747), who was an Italian Jew making his home in Amsterdam. [4] Luzzatto wrote many important plays, one of which, Tehilah Layesharim (Praise for the Righteous, published 1743), was written very much in an allegorical style. It tells of how Pride, with the help of Falsehood, attempts to win the hand of Praise (the English word for "tehilah"), who decides instead to wed Righteousness. [5]

Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin

The center of discussion in this chapter is the earliest of these Hebrew plays, Leone de' Sommi's Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (The Comedy of Wedlock, ca. 1550). Not only is this play the only one of de' Sommi's known dramatic works to be written in Hebrew, but it is believed to be the first play extant ever to have been written in the Hebrew language. It is also one of only two complete plays by Leone de' Sommi that has yet been published, [6] the other being Tre Sorelle (1588). [7] De' Sommi lived in a time where the use of Hebrew by anyone for any purpose other than religious was cause for repudiation on the part of Jewish communal leadership, so the appearance of

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Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin creates through its uniqueness an interesting picture of its author's courage. From the controversy occasioned by his use of Hebrew along with Italian in his bilingual poem Magen Nashim (In Defense of Women), it is clear that de' Sommi continued to pursue his interest in promoting the Hebrew language as one with as much power of expression as Latin, Greek or Italian.

Tsahoth is a comedy of intrigue as complicated and full of twists as any other that was written at the time, and as with them, it threatens to engulf its readers with an excess of characters and plot developments. [8] Nonetheless, Tsahoth has many merits that outweigh its cumbersome structure, and some of those merits will be discussed here.

The Prologue to Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin is a soliloquy by a personification of Wisdom (the Hebrew word for wisdom used in the original text is "chachmah"), and embodies the greatest merit to be found in the play. De' Sommi's reason for utilizing Hebrew as the medium of communication, is most eloquently stated here:

> I realize that the wise of many lands ... have taken pride in the way that they employ language to delight mankind. Their works have been performed before men of distinction and high degree, and in their words pleasure and utility are perfectly conjoined. Their eloquence has been used to crush contemptible men and to elevate those who are worthy and to bring them honor. Now some playwrights among the gentiles have looked down upon the Jews because they seem

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> to lack this literary facility. It is for this reason that I have this day resolved to show that the Hebrew language is not inferior in its artistic power. Indeed, what is a crowning glory for other languages is but the glitter of a shoe-buckle for Hebrew. Hence, men should not deem it a defect in that language because they have not seen it cast, ere now, into a pleasing comedy. Rather, it is because the words that constitute this holy tongue are of most ancient and wondrous origin, and it has seemed unworthy for such sacred words to be used solely for human pleasure. [9]

To gain proper comprehension of the plot, one must recognize that to be a Jew at this time was to be a human being whose life was regulated not only through laws established by the ruling families of the cities in which one lived, but by a set of daily laws inspired by sacred literature and administered by a rabbinical hierarchy. This fact is central to the heart of all the actions of the characters in Tsahoth.

A reading of the following paragraph, excerpted from a tractate of the Talmud entitled Gittin (dealing, interestingly, with questions relating to divorce) helps one to grasp the basic premise behind the action of Zsahoth Bedichuta D'Kiddushin:

> If a man assigns all his property to his slave, the latter becomes 'ipso facto' free, but if the man excepted a piece of land, however small, he does not become free .... If a man lying dangerously ill assigned all his possessions to his slave and then recovered, he may retract the grant of the property but not the grant of freedom. [10]

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Developing within the customary five-act structure, the plot of Tsahoth (the title will be designated as such for the duration of this chapter) hinges quite clearly on the above point of Jewish law. Sholom (in Hebrew, peace), a rich merchant, has died abroad, leaving everything to his slave Shovel (from the Hebrew word "chovel," meaning mate). The various plot twists develop with this premise in mind. Shovel cleverly keeps Sholom's will a secret from Jedidiah (in Hebrew, beloved one of God), Sholom's son and the one to whom it most matters, and the latter is not even apprised of Sholom's death until Act four, through his servant Pash-Hur. Also, it is not until the fifth act that the first of the play's characters, Obed (the "nouveau riche" Shovel's lackey, Obed being the word for "servant" in Hebrew) understands that there is a solution whereby Jedidiah may regain his inheritance.

He makes strong hints to Master Greedy ("Hamdan" is his name in the Hebrew text, the Hebrew word for "greedy") that Jedidiah can once again become a wealthy man through judiciously obseving the provision in Sholom's will that allows Jedidiah to choose one thing from the entire estate. De' Sommi creates a marvelous sense of irony in the fact that Master Greedy, for all his sly intelligence, is never able to understand the hints presented to him by Obed. The assumption on Sholom's part that his son will no doubt choose Shovel as his one allowance (thus by

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extension inheriting the lot) proves to be a cruel joke, as it comes to fruition in the closing scenes of Act five only through the intervention of Rabbi Amitai, Jedidiah's mentor, who advises his student to choose Shovel as the item he will inherit, thus settling all the madness.

The importance of the above-mentioned quote from the Talmud comes to light through the love tribulations of Jedidiah. He had been betrothed to Beruriah (in Hebrew, chosen one of God), whose parents Deborah (in Hebrew, bumblebee) and Amon, Beruriah's father, had heartily encouraged the match until knowledge of the disposition of Sholom's will proves Jedidiah a pauper, and they break off the engagement. Upon promising her to another man, Asael (in Hebrew, God so did), they spirit her away to the country in hopes of distancing her emotionally as well as physically from her former suitor. Jedidiah, himself a student of the sacred texts, consults with a shyster lawyer, Master Greedy (the Hebrew text has this character's name as Chamdan, which translates to "greedy" in English), who suggests he stealthily pursue with Beruriah what is known in Jewish law as a Nissu'in, or a marriage by sexual intercourse. This was a ceremony which customarily took place one year after the formal betrothal (Shiddukhin), 11 at which time the wife was escorted to her husband's house and they formally began cohabitation.

Both Jedidiah and Master Greedy are also aware that a

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breach of the former's betrothal contract has been perpetrated by Beruriah's parents. By their betrothing her to a second man, Asael, without the full knowledge and acceptance of the dissolution of the original contract by both Beruriah and Jedidiah, Amon and Deborah have ignored an essential point in this most essential of Jewish life-cycle customs. Master Greedy, in particular, is aware of the precept that participants in a betrothal contract must enter into it of their own volition, and must be cognizant of what they are doing. It is this loophole which he proposes to Jedidiah that they use in the latter's defense, if the "marriage by sexual intercourse" is revealed to the public:

> Jedidiah: Say that the matter of our being alone together becomes public knowledge, G-d forbid. Suppose that Beruriah, desperate to save herself, should declare that I made her elope, but also testifies that she had informed me when I took her, that she was betrothed to another. How in the world could my words be believed that I knew nothing of the second engagement?
>
> Master Greedy: I am confident that you can extricate yourself from that situation by declaring it inconceivable that Beruriah, whom all know is your betrothed, should be given to another without your knowledge. Nevertheless, if she would say something to you about being betrothed to another, you could testify that you thought she was trying to cool your passionate advances by making up so incredible a story. 12

Not only were elements of Tsahoth's plot affected by

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the stringency of such customs, but also the inspirations for speeches uttered by any number of the characters concern Jewish laws and customs that were inherent parts of their daily lives. Tsahoth is peppered with occasions where pieces of sacred text are clearly behind a particular speech, but whose presentations are perverted by the the nature and personality of the character uttering de' Sommi's chosen words.

One example of this is occurs in the course of a conversation between Jedidiah and Pash-Hur, his servant. The former is lauding the virtues of his mentor, Rabbi Amitai (his name is from the Hebrew word "emet," meaning "truth"), and his diligence in the study of sacred literature. Pash-Hur, a saucy man grounded in the realities of the world and human nature, responds:

> What's the use of wisdom if the wise man cannot fill his stomach with it and if it can't get him a fine, well-paying position? Now this is the way I see things. The only true advantage in getting rich--its only real joy--lies in eating and having a good time. And the only genuine honor comes from being able to hang around the mansions of the best people. The real world rests precisely on these three standpoints! [13]

This is a clear, though thoroughly perverted allusion to and understanding of a proverb in the sacred text Pirkei Avot (Sayings of the Fathers). Pirkei Avot is probably the most widely known of the tractates of the Mishnah (the compilation of legislation on Scriptural principles

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assembled around 210 A.D. by Rabbi Judah the Prince, and which formed the basis of the rabbinic discussions to be found in the Talmud. [14]) The contents of Pirkei Avot are, however, almost totally of a moral character, and nowhere is this more clear than in the following excerpt:

> Simon the Just ... used to say, Upon three things the world is based: upon the Torah [Five Books of Moses], upon Divine service, and upon the practice of charity. [15]

Simon the Just would not have understood one of the meanings of his three cornerstones of the world as eating, hanging around with rich people, and having a good time, as was the case with Pash-Hur, but de' Sommi's genius was in showing that knowledge of sacred texts was not confined to those who did them full justice.

Tsahoth is replete with moral commentary which is revealed by just such a technique as seen in the above passage. In Act IV, Scene 3, Shovel's planned marriage to Master Greedy's youngest daughter implies not only the obvious conjugal union but also the meeting of two men whose lives are ruled by their corrupt intentions. After arrangements have been made for Shovel to meet his future bride, Greedy is left alone, and exults in the possibilities of wealth that lie ahead for him and his family:

> To think, that at one stroke Heaven has raised me from direst poverty. This

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> bridegroom of mine is my salvation. In generosity he is a prince and in social standing he is head and shoulders above other men. So he is truly deserving of praise. Because of him, today I have gone from sorrow to joy, and from darkness to great light. [16]

Not only is the audience made privy to Greedy's total delusion on every point he praises in his future son-in-law, but the final sentence in the above excerpt embodies two of the most powerful images that are woven throughout the Old Testament, light and darkness, as metaphors of Godliness and profanity. One can gain much in a reading of the following quotations from the Old Testament, especially in the light of how Master Greedy applies such a metaphor to his own situation:

> For Thou art my lamp, O Lord, and the Lord will lighten my darkness (2 Samuel 22:29)
>
> For thou wilt light my candle, the Lord my God will enlighten my darkness (Psalms 18:28)
>
> The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined (Isaiah 9:2).

It is easy, with the temptation to dwell upon the diverse ethical and religious elements of Tsahoth as presented, to avoid addressing one element which has as much if not more of an influence on how this play can be viewed. Notwithstanding the fact that the action takes place in the Middle East of Ancient times, the characters

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are very much those that populated the world of the Cinquecento known by Leone de' Sommi, men and women he would have known as his neighbors, and as the characters in the plays he read, directed and wrote. The majority of the characters delineated in Tsahoth are direct reflections of the "zanni" that developed within the improvisational scenarii of the commedia dell'arte through the hundreds of "lazzi" that were at their fingertips. [17]

Pash-Hur is very much a Brighella, the crafty comic servant who is always at the center of the action and thus is most capable of providing a running commentary on the moral ineptitude manifested by characters such as Master Greedy. The following exchange typifies Pash-Hur:

> Greedy: But of course you have no lack of legal counselors here in the city, the least of whom is far abler than I to direct you how to proceed in your case. But let me give you a word of advice. Be sure to reward him generously with the coin of the realm.
>
> Pash-Hur: Just look at this shyster slyly demanding a fee for his services!
>
> Greedy: Don't hesitate to give him one or two talents. In that way he will certainly comply with your request and provide a subtle stratagem that will enable you to bring your case to a successful conclusion.
>
> Pash-Hur: What a marvelous pitch!
>
> Jedidiah: I have no-one here in the city to take my side and advise me as to how to proceed except yourself. Moreover, I shall pay you most handsomely for your services, exactly as you have suggested.

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Greedy: Heaven forbid that I should be found accepting money for my legal work!

Pash-Hur: Now he makes himself out to be a noble-hearted fellow. [18]

Pash-Hur's passionate devotion to the affairs of his master inspire him to advise Jedidiah that consulting with Rabbi Amitai might better serve his long-range interests, advice that goes unheeded until the play's dénouement, at which point the unwise choice is made to retain Master Greedy.

Jedidiah and Beruriah are a typical pair of "innamorati," each bewailing the bitterness of their fates and proclaiming their great love for each other with equal energy. Jekarah and Shovel are very much Colombina and Arlecchino, scheming cleverly to improve their lots at the expense of their betters. Shovel has the slow wit of his Italian counterpart, for even after having read the will he still does not know that there is a need to protect his new-found wealth from the hands of its rightful inheritor. Jekarah, Beruriah's servant, has ultimate responsibility for making the "marriage by sexual intercourse" a public issue, thus making Jedidiah the butt of the immense wrath of Beruriah's parents and forcing him to defend himself in trial at the religious court. As is typical of Italian Renaissance comedy, she serves her mistress only when it is convenient to her own desires.

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Amon is a classic Pantalone, a wealthy man who is married to a woman who, though she doesn't cuckold him as Pantalone's wife typically does, rules him as if he had no will of his own. Amon is always unwittingly ready to be made a fool. One sees this to be true in the opening scenes of Tsahoth, where Jedidiah's now non-existent inheritance is the cause of a rupture in their daughter's happiness. Amon knows full well that the betrothal between Beruriah and Jedidiah is sacred and not to be broken, yet he is unsuccessful in holding his moral ground, and cannot prevent the betrothal that Deborah desires to forge with Asael.

Amon: The character that Jedidiah had a few days ago is the character that Jedidiah has today. Isn't he still bright and clever? With the aid of such generous endowments he'll regain the wealth that he had before.

Deborah: Quite possibly, husband, but the fact remains he's a lot poorer now than last night!

Amon: How can you compare being bright and clever with money?

Deborah: How can you compare a soul with a body?

Amon: A soul gives life. Without it the body is nothing--a nobody!

Deborah: Money likewise brings things to life, and without it life can be pretty deadly. To have character only means something is lacking. Just to be bright is dumb, unless one has something in the hand. [19]

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It is not long after this exchange that he agrees to obey his wife's wishes and affiance his daughter to Asael.

In Master Greedy one sees a perfect mixture of characteristics that in a commedia scenario would be embodied by the Dottore. He is a doctor of law, and always has at his command the right words to serve himself in the situation at hand. Greedy is as fraudulent in all his offers of help to a potential client such as Jedidiah, and thinks as much of advancing his own interests as might the Dottore in any of his incarnations. In this, Leone de' Sommi supports his own theories of morality as they should apply to doctors of medicine, law or philosophy in the exercise of their professions. These words are to be found in the first of his Dialoghi, and they bear repetition:

> ... Ben è vero che si concede anco, et riesce leggiadrissimo, quando ... introducesse un medico, o vogliam dir un maestro di ricette, il quale facesse più stima d'uno scudo che de la salute d'un uomo, aspirando sempre più al guadagno che a far una cura onorata: overo se si introducesse un dottore di legge a tradire un suo cliente, corrotto dalla parte, ... [20]

The role of Rabbi Amitai is de' Sommi's most original characterization, and it is the only one of all those in Tsahoth which cannot be pigeonholed according to a preestablished commedia dell'arte pattern. He is designated as the moral and upright spirit of the play, which is why he makes an appearance only at the end, after the

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characters have had ample chance to lose their way in the evils and false counsels that have heretofore been perpetrated until there is almost no recourse to a moral resolution. It is at the tribunal over which Rabbi Amitai presides that all the confusion relating to the disputed inheritance is resolved, and de' Sommi has a voice of "emet," or "truth" whereby his thoughtless characters can learn the errors of their past ways. De' Sommi's definition of comedy as stated in the Dialoghi is thus fully supported in practice:

> La comedia...non è altro che una imitazione overo essemplar ritratto de la vita umana, dove si hanno a tassar i vizii per fuggirli, ed ad approvar le virtù per imitarle ... 21

Not surprisingly, Master Greedy is on the receiving end of the majority of Rabbi Amitai's quietly didactic speeches, as is seen in the following exchange:

> Greedy: Look around you gentlemen, and see if there is anyone who suffers more than I. Now these disreputable slaves are ridiculing me--people whose ancestry is so despicable that I would not even keep them with my sheepdogs.
>
> Pash-Hur: May such a state await you!
>
> Rabbi Amitai: Well, don't fault us for your ills but your evil passion to amass wealth. How can anyone who has placed his soul in peril of damnation be angry, except at himself? Lo and behold, your rash judgments and evil actions have brought you nothing in return. Your wicked quest to have your elder daughter marry a man who did not want her, and

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> your younger daughter to marry a wretch whose family was unknown has brought you to this state of derision. You have no one to blame but yourself. Let all ignoramuses who lust after Mammon look on your folly and take heed. They will realize that it is far better to ally one's daughter with a praiseworthy individual of solid background than to tie oneself to a gold and silver-laden jackass, devoid of spiritual quality and substance. [22]

Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin proves, though in a more rambling manner than might be desired, its worthiness as the first extant example of Hebrew dramatic literature. It is emblematic of both the worlds in which its author moved.

Hirifile

Two of Leone de' Sommi's extant plays, Hirifile and Il Tamburo (appended in this dissertation) have not previously been published in their original language, much less translated into any other language. It is ironic that these two plays, along with Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin and Tre Sorelle, provide in their small number a varied spectrum of the different creative phases that characterized the life of their composer. A special set of problems greets any scholar who chooses to analyze Hirifile and Il Tamburo, as well as any of the fragments of Leone de' Sommi's dramatic material housed at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin.

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Bernardino Peyron had the immense responsibility for codifying the entire contents of the library, and his 1904 catalogue Codices Italici manu exarati qui in Biblioteca Taurinensis Athenaei [23] is a valuable assessment of that remarkable collection. In examining Peyron's painstakingly detailed product, there is as much a sense of frustration as admiration in the realization that most of what he takes such care to describe is no longer in existence; a fire destroyed virtually the entire contents of the library in 1904.

The Biblioteca Nazionale shelfmark number to de' Sommi's play is N. IV. 18, listed under the specific title Hirifile Pastorale:

> Dramma pastorale, in versi ed in cinque atti
> di Leone Ebreo de Sommi.
> In prologo loquentes inducantur tres personas, nempe Tragedia Comedia et Veridico.
> Prologus autem incipit:
>
> Mentre la già avilita mia sorella
> Che a comici spettacoli suol dare
> Decoro et metro hora negletta stassi,... [24]

There was a considerable amount of fire and water damage done to this manuscript, but one must be grateful that the damage occurred in such a way so as not to prevent a fairly complete comprehension of the plot. One, possibly two, lines which fell at the tops of the folios and several words at the beginnings of the top few lines on those pages have been lost, but that is all. The manu-

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script of Il Tamburo suffered similar though slightly more extensive damage, enough that there is a lack of clarity in several parts of the plot.

Sadly for those who seek to study Hirifile, the specific date of composition is not indicated anywhere in the manuscript, or by Peyron in the information accompanying the codex number. [25] A possible solution to this question is to be found in one of Veridico's speeches in the fourth of Leone de' Sommi's Dialoghi. In telling Massimiano and Santino that it is of paramount importance for a clever playwright to arrange his prologues so they conform with the spirit of the play they introduce, Veridico supports his statement by recalling a play which they all had enjoyed a few years before:

> Io vi darò essempi di quelli che, da pochi anni in qua, abbiamo veduti nella città nostra, et da questi si potranno comprender tutti. Non vi ricorda egli come riusci vago il prologo di quella tragicomedia del carnevale passato, dove il poeta introdusse la comedia et la tragedia a colloquio insieme? [26]

Hirifile itself opens with a debate between the personifications of Tragedy and Comedy, both of whom defend the relative merits of their crafts. Their exchange is quite testy, as is shown here:

> Comedia: Dunque con mesti et dolorosi
> effetti pensi aggradire in questi allegri
> tempi a Done, a Cavalieri, a'somi Duci?
> Che sol d'Amor, sol di pietà son vaghi?

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> Tragedia: Ben sai se non t'acieca il proprio Amore, che molto più conviensi in questo loco il mio Regio piacer che'l tuo solazzo perché se tu appresenti in stil dimesso avaritia di vecchi, astuti ingani di servi, et frodi d'impudiche et lorde meretrici, et d'Amor lascivi effetti. Io l'honor, la giustitia, et il consiglio et mille altre virtù discopro ogni hora con nobil gravità con alti essempi. [27]

The resolution of their conflict is offered through Virgilio, who verbally points out to the contentious pair that each has a special value in its own realm, and one is not superior to the other.

If one accepts that Hirifile is the play to which Veridico refers in Dialogue Four [28] (there is no external evidence) this would date the terminus ante quem Hirifile could have been composed as being either 1556 (the year de' Sommi attaches to the dedication of the Dialoghi) or 1565-6 (the year during which the Dialoghi likely were composed, according to internal evidence).

There is much value in a study of Hirifile, especially in its being a prime example of the pastoral tragicomedy as it was known in the Cinquecento. Inspired by the Greek satyr play, the pastoral differed from its predecessor in choosing to deal with a more idyllic society of shepherd and nymphs (and more refined satyrs, as Hirifile's "Satiro" will show). [29] Common traditions appearing in the majority of pastoral plays are: the arguments which are proposed both for and against love (hunting and pastoral

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pleasures versus passion), characters whose desires are frustrated to the point of suicide (Hirifile, the title character suffers in this way, as do all the men in love, with the exception of Cariteo, whose temporary madness protects him from such behavior), nymphs whose choice of chaste behavior is opposed by figures of lust (in Hirifile, Clitia is pursued unendingly by the Satiro) and the ultimate reconciliation between Diana and Venus, thus allowing the triumph of love. All these elements are concerned in the plot of Hirifile, as will be gradually explained.

Hirifile is characterized, as are most pastoral plays, by pairs of characters who play conflicting roles relating to the essential war between the goddesses Venus and Diana. The quest for love's fulfillment is consistently frustrated by the followers of Diana who seek to maintain their chastity as well as their general distance from even the slightest hint of lascivious behavior. The opening scene is a conversation between the title character and his older friend Veridico, where Hirifile mourns the coldness not only of Orenia, the woman he desires, but tells of his friend Alessi, whose similar desire for Orenia led to unforeseen consequences:

Amava il misero
Anch'egli Orenia, et, temendo il suo sdegno,
.....ardiva scoprirle l'amor suo.
Ma stando egli dolente un giorno, assiso
Appresso un fonte, et credendo esser solo,

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Si dolea senza fin del crudo Amore.
Volse la sorte sua, ch'ivi non lungi
Ritrovandosi Orenia, si nascose
Per ascoltarla. Al fin fatta pietosa,
Non pensando ella esser però cagione
Del gran martir de l'infelice Alessi,
Forse comossa dal comun desio
Ch'è di mai sempre intender gli altrui
fatti,
Baldanzosa, al Pastor si fece avanti
Con bel saluto, et con cortese affetto
Gli dimandò qual pastorella fosse
Tanto cruda ver lui. Egli, a la voce
Di lei, confuso et stupido stè alquanto,
Poi sortò in piè, con humiltà l'accolse.
Et dopo il molto esserne chiesto, al fine
Tutto tremante, disse, "Io vuò mostrarti
Il bel ritratto de la mia nemica."
Et fattala affacciar sul sacro fonte
Le disse, "Hor quivi mira!" Et ella
simplice-
Mente guardò a ne l'onde, et visto il suo
Bel volto, tosto divenuta come
Di foco in viso, per vergogna, e sdegno.
Con furor grande si fuggì lontano
Né mai più il volse né veder, né udire. 30

Hirifile himself has resolved to dress as a woman for the purpose of better approaching Orenia, who would otherwise refuse to be alone with him. Another young shepherd, Selvaggio, is an equally sad victim of love, having already been rejected by Clori before the action of the play begins. Cariteo, the third victim of love, has literally gone crazy for the affections of his lady, Clitia. Due to Cariteo's having had the nerve to tell Clitia how much he adores her, she sprinkled drops of a special water (owned by all of Diana's followers) in his face that made him act in all ways as one possessed by demons. Clitia is also the subject of a Satyr's intense

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admiration, who has in mind the total satisfaction of his senses:

Io per Clitia mi struggo, e la natura
Mi incita sempre a seguitarla pronto.
Et ella sdegnosetta, ogni hor mi fugge
Più che timida Dama un can latrante.
Deh perché in noi tanta lascivia pose
La gran madre Natura se deveve?
Farei si odiosi a queste altere
Nimphe ...? [31]

Much of the novelty of Leone de' Sommi's Hirifile comes through the scenes in which the poor Cariteo and the Satyr have prominent parts. The former still pursues Clitia, but his pursuit is no longer just fueled by his passion, but also by his madness. One of the first times he appears onstage with his dog Pettulco, his fortunate conversant is the Satyr, the other contender for the affections of Clitia. De' Sommi cleverly constructs their conversation so that Cariteo's misapprehensions, generally to be pitied, have a tinge of cruel humor:

Cariteo

Clitia cerco io, ove sei gita?

Satiro

Son qui, Vien pure, entra sicuramente.

Cariteo

S'io v'entro mi trarai più l'acqua in fronte?

Satiro

Perché de l'acqua? Hai forse si gran sete?

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Cariteo

Caldo e sete oh gran caldo, ho sempre corso.

Satiro

Entra che qui ti starai meco, e insieme
Coglieremo del fresco a piacer nostro.

Cariteo

Oh sì.

Satiro

Ma che vuol dir che tu l'hai chiusa?

Cariteo

Sì perché l'hai serrata.

Satiro

Spingi.

Cariteo

Spingi.

Satiro

Io spingo.

Cariteo

Io spingo.

Satiro

Chi è la?

Cariteo

Chi è quello? 32

Clitia, who professes to know the means by which Cariteo may regain his sanity, does accomplish that miracle later in the play, in the process learning her lesson that

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spurning love is against the laws of the universe. This is a lesson learned by Clori as well, and has the benefit of giving Selvaggio the object of his desires.

It has already been stated that love and chastity are the central, combative issues in the plot of Hirifile. In supporting this proverbial tug-of-war, de' Sommi composes a prologue which opens the third act, where Diana and her followers come up against Venere and Cupid. [33] Their exchanges clearly reflect the conversations that occur between the various couples whose desires conform with one or the other of the above-mentioned tendencies:

DIANA

I tuoi vani diletti,
Venere, e i tuoi non veri
Amorosi piacere
Con cui gli incanti egri mortali aletti,
Al mio casto pensiero,
Al mio culto verace
Ceder devrian, si come l'ombra al vero.

VENERE

Co'l tuo culto fallace
Tu la natura offendi.
Mentre a struger il mondo incauto attendi,
Ma il mio, che tanto piace
Rende felice ogni alma
Conservandolo sempre, in gioia e'n pace
Et di'tristi pensier sgombra ogni salma. [34]

As Virgilio was able to mediate in the dispute between the figures of Tragedy and Comedy in the initial prologue of Hirifile, there is also an arbitrator in this prologue--Giove, king of the gods:

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Ponga, il mio ceno, a le contese vostre
Fine, et ciascuna in me s'acqueti al tutto,
Ché se ad una di voi dominio intiero
Nel mondo io dessi, egli saria distrutto.
Voglio che al mondo resti
Libero dei mortali ogni volere,
Seguendo hora de l'una i riti honesti,
Hor de l'altra il piacere. [35]

The "deus-ex-machina," so to speak, of Hirifile is embodied in a character by the name of Tiresia, not surprisingly a blind prophet. He is able to tell Cariteo and Hirifile, now united as comrades in the hopes of finding their loves, that the poor women have been kidnapped by Diana and her minions. Clear indications are evident in Tiresia's words of how Leone de' Sommi envisioned the scene in which Clitia, having been turned into a tree by Diana, returns to her world. By electing to develop this particular part of the plot directly onstage, Leone de' Sommi consciously violated the principles of decorum, thus allowing himself to take full advantage of his own scenographic talents:

Tiresia
Ne lo schiantar ch'io faccio hor questo ramo
Aprir vedrai. Da l'altro lato il tronco
Tu presto ne trarai la Ninfa amata.
Ecco, tosto, pastor, cogliela in braccia!
Nè ti spaventi cosa alcuna! Scostati!

Cariteo

O dolce vita mia.

Clitia

O santo Amore,
Dove son'io? [36]

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Il tamburo

Il tamburo (translated from the Italian as "the Drum," and referring to the means by which the avaricious character Crisogono hides his fortune) is the other play that survived the Turin fire in a fairly readable state. The Biblioteca Nazionale shelfmark number of Il tamburo is N. II. 16, as Peyron indicates. The unfortunate thing here, as with many of the other manuscripts of which Peyron speaks in his catalogue, is that no clear date of either dedication or première is indicated.

This play is a comedy that boasts of an intricate plot, filled with frustrated intentions of love, mistaken and/or hidden identities which are revealed only at the last moment. The premise upon which Il tamburo is based is not introduced until Messer Silvatico does so in the second scene of the second act. His daughter Hedola proves to be the only family member who survived the sinking of the ship which was to rescue them from certain servitude to the Turks in their homeland. She has become engaged to Florido (Messer Britio's son), a young man of sterling character. Messer Silvatico is somewhat reconciled, though still grief-stricken, to the disaster which took the lives of his remaining family (including his wife, other children, and a brother). He has accomplished this through the joy he experiences knowing his daughter

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Hedola is to be wed:

> ... e che'n mar vidimi
> A pericol di morte, ove somergersi
> Scorsi il legno, ond'uscito apena; morti vi
> Restarò il fratel mio caro, a la piccola
> Dolce mia figliuolina; e che nell'Isola
> Solo habitata d'animai salvatichi;
> La ove spinto fu il batello, in cui
> discendere
> Sforzomi lei per lo Mar crucciosissimo;
> Morrimi in braccio la bella, e dolcissima
> Mia consorte Peristrata, come hebbemi
> Quest'altra figlia partorita; ch'Hedola
> Volsi nominare; perché per miracolo
> Divino certo, una capra salvatica
> Con le poppe di latte piene offertasi,
> Undici mesi l'allattò benissimo; ... [37]

The audience is certainly privy to many of the secrets which de' Sommi creates between his characters, and one of the most obvious ones is the trick perpetrated by Callidoro. "He" in reality is Messer Silvatico's daughter Herminia, long presumed dead. Outwardly the dear friend of Florido throughout most of the play, Callidoro maintains a hidden affection for him and is extremely upset at the prospect of his marrying elsewhere. This makes eminent sense when one discovers that Callidoro is but the lovelorn Herminia in disguise! During Act Five, Scene Thirteen, it is revealed that not only has Herminia returned to life before the eyes of her father, but her Uncle, Messer Silvatico's brother, is also alive. The following exchange proves itself full of all the emotional savvy of which de' Sommi's genius is capable:

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M. Silvatico

Fermati un poco, se io non così mutolo
Stato sopra di me, e perché stupido
Sono, i morti in veder, che risucitano.
Dite di gratia, sete voi Nicobolo
Nativo di Lisbona?

Nicobolo

No, venutomi
Sono da Scio, che nel fuggir la barbara
Turchesca servitute, a'forza spintovi
Fui da furia di Mare.

M. Silvatico

O stupendissimo
Miracolo! E da Scio, solo partistevi?

Nicobolo

A che rinovellarmi hora le lagrime
Di cui ho un Mar versato, per la perdita
D'un mio fratel maggior è; ch'annegarvisi
Vidi con la sua Donna, insieme uscitisi
Di Nave, e nel batello giù calatisi.

M. Silvatico

Havrebbe havuto mai nome Leonico
Vostro fratello, e sua Donna Peristrata?

Nicobolo

Tali erano i lor nomi.

M. Silvatico

E voi vedestigli
Sommerger?

Nicobolo

Con quest'occhi.

M. Silvatico

Sommerger, voi?

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Nicobolo

O come se perirono.

M. Silvatico

Qual voi periste anco perì Leonido
O mio caro fratello, o dolce figlia,
Io son quel morto. ... [38]

Tre sorelle

Tre sorelle (Three Sisters) is the last of three surviving dramas composed by Leone de' Sommi in the Italian language (Hirifile and Il tamburo being the others), and the only one to have been published as of this moment. [39] The sole manuscript believed to exist of Tre sorelle is preserved in the Biblioteca Comunale of Mantua (729--F III 38--), with precious little material that might fill in the gaps of either its compositional or its production history. At the beginning there is a dedication to Duke Vincenzo II Gonzaga of Mantua and Monferrato, herein presented in part:

> Tra molti e varii componimenti scenici da me fatti, e appresentati per lo più in servizio de'Serenissimi Predecessori dell'Altezza Vostra Serenissima, aveva io questa comedia delle Tre Sorelle non anco publicata. La quale non solamente con prontissimo animo consacro e dono all'Altezza Vostra in iscritto, come parto assai piacevole della mia grave età, ma glie l'appresento anco in scena col soccorso universale della mia Nazione, tanto devota dell Altezza Vostra

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Serenissima quanto per debito le conviene, supplicandola a volerla gradire come fattura d'un suo antico e devoto servitore e come appresentata da'suoi devotissimi sudditi e servi. Li quali altro non desiderano che viver in grazia dell'Altezza Vostra Serenissima, e meco umilmente a quella inchinandosi le preganc sempre da Dio nostro Signore felicissima e lunga vita. Di Mantova il 24 di settembre 1588. [40]

Two distinctly different scripts are evident in this manuscript, one the hand of the copyist (who is responsible for transcribing the main body of the play) and the other that of Leone de' Sommi himself, who personally penned the dedication, the list of "interlocutori," or characters, and the short rhyme that presents the "argomento della favola," or plot of the story: [41]

Ha tre figliole Eurònica Carrara,
Olimpia è l'una, vedova, qual ama
Fulvio: ma un suo congiunto invan la brama,
Mosso da amor ma più da voglia avara.
Lucrezia è l'altra, al suo marito cara,
Il qual bramando eredi a l'opra chiama,
Sciocco, un campion con disusata trama,
Qual poscia a disamar per tema impara.
La terza, ancor pulcella, ha poca dote,
Ma con pazza prudenza al fin l'ottiene
Un ricco, che per lei stolto si finge.
Così, dopo il girar d'instabil ruote
Fortuna, ond'hanno assai disturbi e pene
Tutti, a più cari nodi Amor gli stringe. [42]

In Tsahoth Bedichuta d'Kiddushin, an unmistakably strong Italian tradition punctuates the continual references to Judaic matters. Tre sorelle is similarly invested with the burlesque spirit that embraces the theatrical tradition of comedy in the Italian Renaissance,

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though with no Jewish allusions. Most particularly, Leone de' Sommi borrows liberally from Niccolò Machiavelli's Mandragola, to the point where Tre sorelle might even be said to be the Mandragola's thematic child. From the "Argomento" one draws the first allusions to Machiavelli's masterpiece, such as the May-December marriage of Lucrezia (also the heroine's name in the Mandragola) with Pacifico, an old man, who desires but has been unable to acquire a legal heir from his union with her. Shades of the whys and wherefores of Lucrezia's marriage to the old fool Messer Nicia in Mandragola are indisputable. De' Sommi takes this aspect of the plot several steps further, for Pacifico is not a simpleton who can easily be cuckolded. Quite the opposite, he has had an affair with Lisetta, the maid who serves his sister-in-law Olimpia, with the result that Lisetta is pregnant. His offhand comments on this situation are sufficiently heartless to separate him totally in spirit from Messer Nicia:

> Mi pareva d'aver tirata al buio Lisetta, fantesca di mia socera, alla quale più volte ho avuto il pensiero.... E in fatto delle fini, con mio grandissimo piacere mi pareva ch'ella fosse già gravida di me, ond'io rideva ed ella si lagnava,... ella avrà le doglie del partorire e io l'allegrezza del figliolo che desidero. [43]

Perhaps because the composition of this play falls in the waning years both of Leone de' Sommi's life and his theatrical creativity, there is a clear sarcasm and bit-

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terness evident that characterizes even the purely humorous exchanges between the characters, and it is born of one who has experienced more through life than he may have wanted or expected. Love, as defined through the actions of the various couples in Tre Sorelle who indulge in it, has, with the exception of the relationships desired by both Olimpia and Diletta (their respective lovers being Fulvio and Carino), very little if any of the natural enjoyment of lovers who come together because they genuinely want to be with each other. This tone is immediately set in the first scene, where the servant Tansillo is advising his master, the young Fulvio, on how he may best succeed in marrying Olimpia, the woman of his heart, in spite of the imminent danger of her being given to Nardino, the wealthy heir:

> Fulvio: Io ho detto che, violentando la natura mia, gli ho fatto rubar le lettere che egli crede aver mandate a Roma a tale effetto; ma non posso ne voglio perseverare in cosi fatta fraude.
>
> Tansillo: Eccoci su le nostre conscienze: io vi dico, Signor Fulvio, che non è più il tempo di Giovan Bonino e la bontà e la lealtà non bastano a potersici reggere: perché ora, come dice lo Stragualcia, con fraude e con inganno bisogna viver mezo l'anno, e con inganno e falsità si vive poi l'altra mettà. 44

Tansillo is not unwilling to serve his master, but does not want to waste time putting up with the young man's qualms about what needs to be done to win Olimpia.

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Morality is clearly not a force to be reckoned with in the world of Tre sorelle.

Even when Fulvio proves himself willing to follow Tansillo's machinations to their mutually desired end, the latter cannot refrain from a cynical reply:

> Fulvio: ... quanto a Lisetta, crederei farmela benigna perché stand'ella a servizio d'Olimpia, prima che si maritasse, mostrava desiderare che io le fossi sposo. E se non sottentrava così d'improviso l'Ottonaio ad oferirsi di torla senza dote, sarebbe stata mia, aiutandomici costei, ma la madre fu troppo presta a prometterla a colui.
>
> Tansillo: Egli ne fece il peccato e la penitenzia in un anno, lasciandoci la pelle: il che doveva recare a voi speranza d'averla ora più ricca e più bella che mai. [45]

Also, this exchange points toward a mother who, like Sostrata in the Mandragola, cares little for the virtue and happiness of her daughter, but more for what the riches that her daughter's strongboxes will contain.

Fulvio is not the only suitor for illicit favors. Capitan Fracasso, a swashbuckling type who is in Mantua only to escape a duel incurred with a foreigner in Legnano, is very much the Callimaco of Mandragola in that he is willing to overlook accepted moral codes when the fulfillment of his passion for Lucrezia is at stake. De' Sommi gives him a touch of the vicious which is missing in the schemes of Machiavelli's lover, and those of Fulvio as

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well. As Callimaco conspires with the parasite Ligurio towards the end of bedding Lucrezia, Fracasso's licentious intentions relating to his Lucrezia are planned in collusion with his servant Zarda. The fulfillment of Callimaco's intentions do include, after he has his way with Lucrezia, the enjoyment of a permanent relationship with her, though through the deviant means of becoming a boarder in the home she shares with her husband. Fracasso, on the other hand, makes no pretense at thinking beyond the satisfaction of his lust, and with no care whatsoever for the moral status of his partner as a result of their proposed tryst:

> ... ma sappi certo, Zarda, che io non sono entrato in questo ghiribizzo amoroso per altro che per un passatempo finche giungano le mie spedizioni. ... ne vedrai l'essempio in questo mio maneggio venereo, avend'io deliberato che'l marito istesso sia quello che mi conduca a giacer con la moglie. [46]

The conclusion of Tre Sorelle does see to it that those who have attained their relationships through either dishonest or amoral means are not allowed to keep the fruits of their labors. On the other hand, in the cases where relationships are characterized by true love, successful unions are assured. Diletta, the youngest of the three sisters (and who, along with her sister Lucrezia, never makes an onstage appearance) is united with Carino, and Olimpia's engagement with Nardino is broken and

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permission given for her to take Fulvio as her new husband.

Tre sorelle is a fine testament to Leone de' Sommi's genius, sadly unrecognized in its full flower due to the paucity of his works. It is not really a masterpiece in the tradition of a Mandragola or a Marescalco, but there is a clarity and a confident dramatic intent conspicuously present here (as in the other plays), which is emblematic of a gift for theatrical expression that is deserving of notice.

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CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has been a process close to my heart throughout the months and years of research that it has taken to bring it to a successful conclusion. From the earliest possible moment when I began to follow through on my desire to know more of Leone de' Sommi beyond what was mentioned in either history textbooks or anthologies of theatrical criticism, his worthiness of being researched on any level became eminently clear. That he pursued a life in the theatre in spite of the difficulties being Jewish might have brought to bear on such a professional choice is a courageous choice in itself. What is even more admirable is that his fame never tempted him to lose touch with his origins, for he maintained strongly committed connections with the Jews of Mantua until the day he died.

I hope my effort to contribute to the task of spreading de' Sommi's fame into the present day will bear fruit, and inspire others to delve even further into the fascinating history of Jewish contributions to theatre as we know it.

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NOTES

Chapter 1. CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

1. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Lexicon: abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, Revised and Enlarged edition (Oxford, University Press, 1983) s. v. "dialektos". To limit the complete meaning of dialectic to the definition as previously stated would be a mistake, however, for there are many philosophic variants of dialectic. Some are tinged with a desire not to support but to refute a hypothesis by logical development of its inevitably negative characteristics. Others come to the aid of archetypal notions by investigating probable causes and/or specific case studies. All aspects of dialectic have in common the desire to arrive at some essential truth by the method of reasoning. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy Vol. 1 of 8, Paul Edwards, Editor in Chief (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1967; reprint edition, 1972, 387).

2. William Harrison Woodward believes that it was wrong to conclude that the curriculum of the "Seven Liberal Arts" thoroughly disappeared with the growth of the Humanist movement. He states that the basic program of study remained the same, but the relative importance of each concentration shifted, and several of them were approached with an interpretation totally at odds with their Medieval predecessors. The Church fathers who supervised the educational process at the cathedral schools used ancient works with none of the humanist sense of reclaiming long-lost treasures, but with an eye toward how they might support Christian doctrine. Here was manifested the scholastic's desire merely to understand Roman literature or history--not reinterpret and adapt it for a new age. Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators (New York: Columbia University Press, 1897; reprint, Classics in Education No. 18, New York: Teachers College/Columbia University, 1963), 27-37; henceforth Woodward.

3. The ancients, as well as the humanists, saw the liberal arts and literary discipline as integral ingredients for the cultivation of man's morality and intellect. During their scholastic incarnation, Greek

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studies were not generally included, Latin being the preeminent language of the Church, under whose supervision these schools were conducted. The formal art of rhetoric was one whose influence was felt most strongly in early Renaissance Italy, cultivated as it was by those in service to popes, princes and emperors from the end of the thirteenth century onward, in their letter and speech-writing duties. As Paul Oskar Kristeller points out, "the study and imitation of classical Latin authors came to be considered as the prerequisite for the elegant composition of those letters and speeches which the professional rhetorician was supposed to write." Kristeller, "Humanist Learning in the Italian Renaissance," in the second volume of Renaissance Thought: Papers on Humanism and the Arts (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1st ed., 1965; 4); henceforth Kristeller 1.

4. Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series XXXVI, 2d printing with minor corrections (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 37.

5. Woodward 38.

6. Morris Bishop emphasizes Petrarch's invaluable service to literary scholarship through his zeal in both collecting and editing the ancient manuscripts. Petrarch's method of critically editing literary texts was the first such system developed, and the "literary codex" thus assumed the standard form by which it is currently defined: text collated, revised and corrected, and written with large margins for plenty of notes by the editor. Bishop, Petrarch and his World (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), 90.

7. Frederick Artz mentions that Petrarch searched for and found someone who could teach him Greek, but he " ... did not persevere long enough to master the language." Artz, The Mind of the Middle Ages, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953; 3d ed., rev., Chicago: University of Chicago Press/Phoenix Books, 1980), 435-6; henceforth Artz.

8. Burckhardt states that the object of letter-writing at the time of Petrarch was ... rather treated as a "literary work done to give evidence of scholarship and to win the consideration of those to whom it was addressed." The letters of Cicero and Pliny were to be used as models (Burckhardt 238-9). In the case as described above, Petrarch's letters to the great men of antiquity prove him to be an extremely vain man who recognizes these men alone as his equals (Artz 437).

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9. This was the Council called to end the Papal schism in the Catholic Church which had resulted from the return of the Papacy (under Urban VI, 1389-1404)) to Rome from Avignon. Two sets of Popes each calling themselves the Vicar of Christ had set up their own seats of power, a situation that was solved only with the advent of Martin V (1417-1431), whose political acumen brought forth the supremacy of the Roman line. Henry H. Halley, Bible Handbook 24th ed., (Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library div. Zondervan Publishing House, 1965), 778-9.

10. Remigio Sabbadini, Le Scoperte deo Codici Latini e Greci ne'Secoli XIV e XV (Firence: G. G. Sansoni, Editore, 1905), 77; henceforth Sabbadini.

11. Sabbadini 78-9.

12. Sabbadini 79.

13. Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum: Medieval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries, Volume II, editor-in-chief Paul Oskar Kristeller (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1971), 351; henceforth Catalogus.

14. Poggio Bracciolini himself was one of the executors of Niccoli's will, the main purpose of which was to ensure that a public library be established in which scholars could freely study the manuscripts in Niccoli's collection. Berthold L. Ullman and Philip A. Stadtler, The Public Library of Renaissance Florence (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 47; henceforth Ullman and Stadtler.

15. Sabbadini 81.

16. Catalogus 291.

17. Sabbadini 110.

18. Sabbadini 99.

19. John Addington Symonds saw the Renaissance not as political or artistic history, but more as an "intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind to make use of ... the arts, books and knowledge that were being discovered" at the time. Symonds, A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy, edited by Lieut.-Colonel Alfred Pearson (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1966), 3.

20. The humanist program of comparing various versions of ancient texts, emending and then recopying them,

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were the early steps which led to the development of the art of literary criticism (Kristeller 1 6).

21. E. Lobel speaks of an "Abu-Bishr" who died in A. D. 940 and who authored a translation of Aristotle's Poetics from a manuscript which must consequently be considerably anterior to the resulting work. E. Lobel, The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's "Poetics" (Oxford: University Press for Bibliographical Society, 1933), 17; henceforth Lobel.

22. A. Cohen describes the process by which Aristotelian philosophy, via Arabic translations, reached the Arabs and influenced their thinkers, subsequently passing into the hands of Jewish readers. The Jewish inclination towards medical studies led them in particular to the standard texts of the Greek physicians, those having also been translated into Arabic. An " ... acquaintance with scientific method was the result and a desire to delve more deeply into the writings of the Greeks." Cohen, The Teachings of Maimonides (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1927), 5. Paul Oskar Kristeller adds that Jewish participation in such activity took on another aspect in the Middle Ages, when he speaks of many cases where not only did Jewish scholars help Christian translators in their work, but supplied intermediate translations into either Hebrew or Spanish, languages with which Christian scholars were more familiar. Kristeller, "Jewish Contributions to Italian Rennaissance Culture," Italia 4, (1985), 12.

23. Lobel 8.

24. Lobel 5.

25. Lobel 14.

26. In this regard, Cecil Roth cites the efforts of fifteenth-century Popes, from that of Nicholas V whose enormous collection of Hebrew manuscripts constituted what was to be the nucleus of the Vatican Library collection, to Sixtus IV who purchased several more manuscripts and sought out Hebrew copyists who translated Cabalistic works into Latin. Roth, The History of the Jews in Italy (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 203; henceforth Roth 1.

27. This book, known also as the Book of Illumination, was compiled in Spain, under the direction of Moses de León, believed to have been its author, as well. Sem Dresden describes the central figure of this masterpiece as Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, whose teaching style was a give-and-take discussion on anything in both earthly and

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heavenly spheres. His was the voice of wisdom, the final authority in these wide-ranging talks. Dresden, Humanism in the Renaissance, translated by Margaret King (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968: 33); henceforth Dresden. This version of dialectical discourse, then, was a typical manifestation of the humanists' view that ancient scholarly pursuits must be made relevant in terms of their own issues. Leone de' Sommi's Veridico, along with his two companions Massimiano and Santino, support the case for a modern dialectic through their discourses in Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche.

28. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Commentary on a Poem of Platonic Love, trans. Douglas Carmichael (Lanham MD: University press of America, Inc., 1986), x-xi.

29. This oration was the most passionate challenge placed in the path of those who espoused traditional religious dogma. Its potent charge can be established from the following excerpt: " ... we have given you, Oh Adam, no visage proper to yourself, nor any endowment properly your own, in order that whatever place, whatever form, whatever gifts you may, with premeditation, select, these same you may have and possess through your own judgment and decision. The nature of all other creatures is defined and restricted within laws which We have laid down; you, by contrast, impeded by no such restrictions, may, by your own free will, to whose custody We have assigned you, trace for yourself the lineaments of your own nature ... We have made you a creature of neither heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, in order that you may, as the free and proud shaper of your own being, fashion yourself in the form you may prefer. It will be in your power to descend to the lower brutish forms of life; you will be able, through your own decision, to rise again to the superior orders whose life is divine." Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Oration on the Dignity of Man, translated by A. Robert Caponigri (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956; Sixth printing, 1971), 7-8.

30. Burckhardt gives Cosimo de'Medici the credit for having recognized Platonic philosophy as one of the greatest gifts of Ancient culture, for spreading Platonism amidst his friends, and " ... fostering within humanistic circles themselves another and a higher resuscitation of antiquity" (Burckhardt 227).

31. Arthur Field notes that Ficino immediately began to draft translations of the Plato, giving lectures and commentaries and treatises as his examination of the material progressed. Acquaintances who chose to follow his teachings with regularity formed a Platonic society

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which they called the Academy. Field, The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 3.

32. Ficino's principal philosophic work was entitled Platonic Theology (Theologia Platonica), published in Florence in 1471. As the Dutch scholar Sem Dresden (Dresden 24) points out, Ficino customarily gathered his friends at his country house, where he would preside over freewheeling discussions on the ideas of Plato. Those for whom direct contact was impossible, correspondence took its place. Ficino's complete translation of the works of Plato was printed around 1483, and other ventures included commentaries on the works of Plotinus, translations/commentaries of works written by Plotinus' disciples, and translations of Dionysius the Areopagite, who was concerned with mysticism in the medieval era. The results of these forty-odd years of painstaking research was the centerpiece of the Neoplatonist's personal library.

33. Morris Bishop describes this conflict as being between Aristotle's system for explaining the Universe (somewhat mechanistic, with no provision for the exercise of free will, intervention of duty, miracle or revelation) and that espoused by the Church. God seemingly has no function in an Aristotelian conception of the Universe. Bishop, The Middle Ages (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987; originally published as The Horizon Book of the Middle Ages, New York: American Heritage, Inc., 1968), 245.

34. Each of the sixty themes in the Summa Theologiae poses a series of articles, in question-form, which are subdivided according to subject matter. Once the question is stated, a point or more is stated in support of an initial point of view, often one heretical in concept. St. Thomas then points out that there are other ways in which this particular issue may be considered, and posits a reply, generally viewed as being his own. In the third topic addressed, Knowing and Naming God, there is a discussion on whether or not any created intellect can see God's essence by its natural powers. Aquinas takes all possible sides in the argument, coming to the conclusion that a created mind cannot see God's essence by its own natural powers, because it is beyond the scope of human comprehension to truly see God. St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae. Translated by Herbert McCabe. Vol. 3, Knowing and Naming God (Manchester: Blackfriars/New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company/London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1964), 14-15.

35. The temptation to create a stronger tie than really existed between the philosophies of Aquinas and

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humanism was addressed to some extent in Paul Oskar Kristeller when he notes the anxieties suffered by theologians having received the traditional scholastic and religious education, who were now faced with the temptation of humanist study. Kristeller says that humanism as a powerful movement of secular origin had an influence upon the religious literature and thought of the Renaissance the extent of which has not yet been determined. Lay humanists as well as churchmen acively participated in this movement. Kristeller, "Thomism and the Italian Thought of the Renaissance," in Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning, edited and translated by Edward P. Mahoney, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies no. 1 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974), 56.

36. Deno John Geanakoplos emphasized that these twelfth-century versions of Aristotelian philosophy and science entered the West via the Arabs of Spain. The point to be made here is that this was an Aristotle colored by Muslim theology, not Christianity, as was to be the case after Constantinople fell into the hands of Latin conquerors in 1204. At this time, most of the original Greek texts of Aristotle and other scientific writers became more readily available to Western scholars. Geanakoplos, Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 61-2.

37. In his Summa Theologiae, Aquinas states the following in response to an accusation that ceremonial ritual in Church can become representational, or theatrical: " ... As we have already said, the ceremonial precepts are those which regulate the worship of God. Now this worship is twofold: internal and external. For since man is made up of soul and body, both must be used for the worship of God; the soul by interior worship, the body by exterior; hence it is written, 'My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God.' And as the body is governed in relation to God by the soul, so the exterior worship is governed by the interior ... " To Aquinas, in no other way can clerics exemplify the all-encompassing truth of God so powerfully to the human mind other than representationally. St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Volume 29, The Old Law, Part II, Question 101, Articles 1-4 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. and London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1964), 117-20. Salvatore Paterno echoes that human reason cannot grasp the sublimity of God, and in this light supports the theatricality of Christian ritual. Paterno, The Liturgical Context of Early European Drama (Potomac: Scripta Humanistica, 1989), 41.

38. Joshua Bloch, "Hebrew Printing in Naples," in

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Hebrew Printing and Bibliography, ed. Charles Berlin (New York: New York Public Library and Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1976), 113; henceforth Bloch.

39. Bloch 113.

40. Averroës' Three Short Commentaries on Aristotle's "Topics," "Rhetoric," and "Poetics", ed. and trans. Charles E. Butterworth (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 2; henceforth Averroës.

41. Averroës 1.

42. Averroës 1-2.

43. Averroës 2.

44. Averroës 2.

45. Roth 1 206.

46. Roth 1 208.

47. Ficino, interestingly, did not complete this monumental project until 1491, the year before Lorenzo's death. Hugh Ross Williamson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1974), 133; henceforth Williamson.

48. Lorenzo's success in solidifying the government of Florence under his hand was truly due to having been trained from his earliest years in the history and philosophy of the classic governments as seen and expounded upon by members of the Platonic Academy (Williamson 146).

49. Ullman and Stadtler 4, 47.

50. A small sampling from a few of Plato's writings would support the above statement:

"I want you to think of my adventures as a sort of pilgrimage undertaken to establish the truth of the oracle once for all ... I turned to the poets, dramatic, lyric, and all the rest ... It is hardly an exaggeration to say that any of the bystanders could have explained those poems better than their actual authors. So I soon made up my mind...that it was not wisdom that enabled them to write their poetry, but a kind of instinct or inspiration, such as you find in seers and prophets who deliver all their sublime messages without knowing in the least what they mean." Socrates' Defence (Apology), 22.b,c. Translated by Hugh Tredennick.

"Because I presume we are going to say that so it is

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that both poets and writers of prose speak wrongly about men in matters of greatest moment, saying that there are many examples of men who, though unjust, are happy, and of just men who are wretched, and that there is profit in injustice if it is concealed, and that justice is the other man's good and your own loss ... " Republic III, 392.b, translated by Paul Shorey.

"Thus the only case in which it will be right to make pleasure our standard of judgment is that of a performance which provides us with neither utility, nor truth, nor resemblance ... " Laws II, 667.d, translated by A.E. Taylor.

"By the ancient and general Hellenic rule, there was none of the freedom of the present custom of Sicily and Italy, which leaves things to the majority of the audience and decides the victory by their votes, a practice which has corrupted the poets themselves--since their standard in composition is the debased taste of their judges, with the result that it is actually the audience who educates them ... " Laws II, 658.b-c.

The above excerpts come from The Collected Dialogues of Plato, edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, Bollingen Foundation Series #71 (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961). Particular works cited and the translators involved, are indicated after each respective excerpt.

51. Oscar Brockett mentions this fact, but there is no more specific information indicating the city of publication or the publishing house. Brockett, The Theatre: An Introduction, 3d ed.. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), 141.

52. Sabbadini 79.

53. Gabriele Morelli gives the title of this edition as M. Vitruvius per Jocundum solito castigator factus, cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intellegi possit...ac Magis quam numquam aliquo alio tempore emendatum (Venezia: Fra' Giocondo, 1511). Morelli, L'Architettura di Vitruvio--una guida illustrata (Firenze: Alinea Editrice, 1988), 155; henceforth Morelli.

54. The title of this translation is designated as Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione De Architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurati, per il quale facilmente potrai trovare la moltitudine de li abstrusi et reconditi vocaboli a li suoi loci et in epsa tabula con summo studio expositi et enucleati ad immensa utilitate di ciascuno studioso et benivolo de epsa opera (Como: Cesare Cesariano, 1521). Morelli 155.

55. Peter Arnott addresses the common belief that the

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Greek theatre of the fifth century B.C. was essentially the same as that described by Vitruvius, with little or no recognition given to the fact that Vitruvius was writing of a Greek theatre already altered by nearly three centuries of Roman improvements. Arnott, Greek Scenic Conventions (Oxford: University Press, 1962; reprint, Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 1.

56. Roy C. Flickinger asserts that Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides are the three major reasons for scholarly interest in the Ancient Greek theatre, and Pollux and Vitruvius, who flourished many centuries later, never claim to be representing the theatre of this earlier period. It is an alluring business to ascribe the pronouncements of both Vitruvius and Pollux to the Greek theatre of the fifth century B.C., but Flickinger goes on to say that, at least in the case of Pollux it makes more sense to suppose that he had the theatre of his own day in mind, that of Nero. Flickinger, The Greek Theatre and its Drama, 4th ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1936; Chicago Reprint Series issue 1960, Fourth impression 1968), 78, 98.

57. " ... the Old Comedy in general is content with a much laxer construction (than tragedy or New Comedy). It is not primarily the representation of an 'action' or 'experience,' to which character is secondary, but its bent is always towards the representation of a set of characters, turned loose to bring about the action by their interplay ... The extreme of this concentration on character is found in the Mime, which stands at the opposite pole to tragedy ... the Mime has no action at all; it represents a few characters in a situation which does not change. The interest is entirely focussed on the study of character, and no preoccupation with larger issues stands in the way of extreme realism ... " Francis Macdonald Cornford, The Origin of Attic Comedy, Edited with Forward and Additional Notes by Theodor H. Gaster (Oxford: University Press, 1934; reprint ed. Gloucester Mass: Peter Smith, 1968), 172.

58. The relationship between dialectic and the form which it most often took, that of the dialogue, is most aptly described, again by Alvin Gouldner. He believed the dialogue a highly suitable tool for exposing dialectical method by the very nature of its structure. In Gouldner's own words, " ... the dialogue not only talks about the method but in its very form displays the method of question and answer that Socrates believes so crucial to the dialectic" (Gouldner 219). He goes on to suggest, with a frame of reference of particular interest to theatrical historians, that " ... the use of the dialogue form by Plato in part suggests that he is taking the role of the

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dramatist. To an important extent it is from a dramatist's standpoint that he chooses to comment on human life. It is in part because Plato feels tragically about the human condition that he writes dialogues, for these enable him to take to role of the tragedian" (Gouldner 218-19). Plato's work, however, cannot be relegated to the level of entertainment; the unbreakable association of Ancient Greek theatre with the religious observances of the day made this impossible.

59. Eugenio Garin, Italian Humanism, trans. Peter Munz (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), 41; henceforth, Garin.

60. Garin 27-8.

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Chapter 2. ITALIAN AND JEWISH THEATRICAL TRADITION

1. " ... during the Renaissance especially Italy is the exchange and mart of dramatic forms. She has not many golden pieces. Her wealth is mainly in silver and in bonds ... " Phyllis Hartnoll, The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, 3d ed., 3d reprint (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 481; henceforth Hartnoll.

2. E. K. Chambers, whose two-volume set The Mediaeval Stage (1903) remained for many years the definitive scholarly work on the early years of European drama, aptly pointed this out: "In yet another way the coming of the vernacular affected the character of the religious drama. It had been cosmopolitan; it was to be national: and from the fourteenth century, in spite of a few lendings and borrowings, and of a certain uniformity in the general lines of development, it really requires separate treatment in each of the European countries." Chambers, however, displays some prejudice in the following comments: "In Italy the divergence from the common type was perhaps most marked of all, although I think that Signor d'Ancona [Alessandro d'Ancona, author of Le origini del teatro italiano, 2 vols, 1891] and others have perhaps pushed the doctrine of the independence and isolation of Italian drama to an extreme." Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage Vol 2. (Oxford University Press, 1903; 4th reprint, London: Lowe and Brydone, Ltd., 1954), 91; henceforth Chambers. The Italian theatrical historian Giuseppe Pardieri echoes Chambers' belief that increased development of liturgical drama in each of the European countries took on an independence of thought in the production of works: " ... solo più tardi, a causa degli avvenimenti che permisero e determinarono, sul finire del Medioevo, la formazione delle grandi communità nazionali, il dramma venne acquistando caratteri differenziati." Pardieri, Il teatro italiano e la sua tradizione, Politica Scienze Arti e Mestieri No. 3 (Fasano di Puglia: Basilicata Editrice, 1967), 16; henceforth Pardieri.

3. Johann Drumbl, Quem Quaeritis: Teatro Sacro Dell'Alto Medioevo (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1981), 75; henceforth Drumbl.

4. Drumbl 167.

5. From Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester's Regularis Concordia (ca. 975) as quoted in Chambers Vol. 2, 14-15.

6. Pardieri 17.

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7. Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis points out that the uniqueness of this drama is that with the exception of the first two lines (which are versified), the entire text is in dialogue. The disciples speak clearly of their anxiety to know the success or failure of Mary Magdalene's mission to the opened tomb, and the latter proudly announces that she has witnessed His having risen from the dead. De'Bartholomaeis' Le origini della poesia drammatica Italiana (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1924), 133; henceforth De Bartholomaeis.

8. De Bartholomaeis 133.

9. William Harrison Woodward, Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators, Classics in Education no. 18 (New York: Teachers College/Columbia University Press, 1963), 27; henceforth Woodward.

10. Woodward 38.

11. Teaching at these schools encompassed the literary as well as the theological: primary among each student's duties was to master the writing and speaking of Latin prose and verse. Understanding the full spectrum of Roman classics was thus fostered through imitation, and in this, dramatic exercizes were to play a part. Frederick B. Arzt, The Mind of the Middle Ages, 3d ed., revised (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1980), 311.

12. The Flagellanti comprised a penitential movement whose as subsequently described as follows by Giuseppe Pardieri: " ... ad opera delle Compagnie dei Disciplinati, composte e formate dai ferventi seguaci di quel Raniero Fasani che, nel 1260, vestito di un semplice sacco e armato di una disciplina, con la quale si flagellava, aveva incominciato a percorrere tutta la regione incitando i fedeli alla preghiera e alla penitenza. Questi Disciplinati vennero chiamati anche Flagellanti, oppure Laudesi, per le laudi che essi recitavano in onore di Cristo" (Pardieri 20). Joseph Spencer Kennard points out that the deep emotionalism in these laudi had a primitive and unpolished aspect to it: " ... unlike the hymn, it is the improvisation of ignorant men, and is sung in Italian and not Latin, the language of the hymn. For the laud is of the people, ardent, fervid, and disconnected; while the hymn is of the church, ecclesiastical and grave, and preserves the rules of its pagan source." Kennard, The Italian Theatre: From its Beginnings to the Close of the Seventeenth Century, Vol. 2 (Reprint edition, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964), p. 28; henceforth Kennard.

13. The word laudes originally designated a certain part of the clerical "uffizio" the whole of which was

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called Matins. At the end of this section, it was common to recite some psalms, especially numbers 148 to 150, all highly laudatory in content. In liturgical terms, laus has a more specific meaning--it comprises the Alleluia of the Mass, the point at which such recitation often occurred. De Bartholomaeis 237.

14. The songs of the Flagellanti, whose movement inspired the growth of the laudi, were always sung in the vernacular. De Bartholomaeis 216.

15. De Bartholomaeis 216.

16. Alessandro d'Ancona, Jacopone da Todi: il "Giullare di Dio" del secolo XIII, Biblioteca Umbra no. 1 (Todi: Casa Editrice "Atanor," 1914), 12; henceforth d'Ancona 2.

17. d'Ancona mentions that Jacopone even went to the extent of trying to forget all the worldly knowledge he had accumulated (d'Ancona 2 24).

18. Francesco Pedrina, ed.. Poesia e critica: Storia e Antologia della letteratura italiana, Vol. 1, Dal Medio Evo al Quattrocento (Milano: Casa Editrice Luigi Trevisini, 1967; 136; henceforth Pedrina.

19. Pedrina 136.

20. George T. Peck, The Fool of God: Jacopone da Todi (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1980), 132; henceforth G. Peck.

21. Cecil Roth notes that " ... the contemporary Jew sometimes figures, too, in the sacre rappresentazioni, or morality plays, such as the well-known Agnolo Ebreo. Agnolo's Christian wife persuades him to abandon the practice of usury and give his money away in alms. Heaven compensates him for this by enriching him miraculously: he picks up money in the street and finds a jewel in the belly of a fish. Realizing that only the God of the Christians can make him rich, he becomes baptized." Roth, The Jews in the Renaissance (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 247; henceforth Roth 1.

22. One of these, entitled San Giovanni e Paolo, is included in complete form in the appendix of Paolo Emiliani-Giudice's Storia del Teatro in Italia, Volume one (Florence: Successori Le Monnier, 1869); henceforth Emiliani-Giudice.

23. Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de'più eccellenti pit-

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tori, scultori, e architetti (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1846-56), . General information on the "Paradiso" was excerpted from Il luogo teatrale a Firenze: Brunelleschi, Vasari, Buontalenti, catalogue from exhibit at Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Museo Mediceo, 5/31-10/31/75' (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1975), 64. The design of the "Paradiso" was improved upon by men such as Francesco d'Angelo Il Cecca (1447-1488), who added clouds to hide the machinery (Hartnoll 599).

24. He " ... was the most important author of the sacra rappresentazione" and was " ... one of the first to cement the above-stated form." Titles of his works include San Giovanni nel deserto, Annunziazione di Nostra Donna and Abramo e Isac (Pardieri 23).

25. "drammi semi-liturgici" was the term oftentimes used to designate the sacre rappresentazioni. Cesare Molinari, Spettacoli fiorentini del Quattrocento (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1961), 72; henceforth Molinari.

26. " ... dunque il triplice gioco delle così dette inesorabili regole aristoteliche è rotto; e il poeta si giova liberamente di tutti gli espedienti che gli offre la storia ovvero leggenda per ordire il dramma a suo modo; il principio estetico di cotesti drammaturgi fu quindi ... il medesimo di quello che ai di nostri si vorrebbe da taluni stabilire" (Emiliani-Giudice 159).

27. " ... venivano reclutati fra gli stessi cittadini, i quali, riuniti in corporazioni o confraternite, si esercitavano e si preparavano con grandissimo scrupolo e zelo alla recita. Vi prendevano parte solo gli uomini, quasi sempre in età giovanile per poter sostenere, con una certa verosimiglianza, anche i ruoli femminili previsti dal testo" (Pardieri 22). Cesare Molinari also points out that the activities of these confraternities led to productivity in another artistic field: " ... ebbero un'importanza fondamentale per lo sviluppo della poesia religiosa popolare, poiché fu proprio in seno ad esse che nacque e si sviluppò l'uso di cantare laude sacre in lingua volgare, laude che, secondo l'opinione più comunemente accettata assunsero, in progresso di tempo, forma drammatica, in Umbria" (Molinari 68).

28. " ... kings, queens, courtiers and beggars, thieves and wastrels, priests, monks, nuns, judges and physicians, shepherds, peasants and robbers. Truly here all the world is indeed a stage; and found upon this stage, each man and woman plays a part. Here also appear God the Father and Jesus and the Virgin, angels and heavenly messengers, Satan and devils from Hell" (Kennard 38).

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29. The Intronati (deaf ones) of Siena was one such literary and dramatic society in the Cinquecento, and in 1538 they collectively published a comedy entitled Gl'Ingannati (the deceived), a play to which William Shakespeare's Twelfth Night owes an immense debt of gratitude as far as plotline and character (Viola) is concerned. Gl'Ingannati enjoyed a remarkable success, the end of the sixteenth century having seen at least twenty Italian editions published, beyond the original one, as well as a translation into Spanish and one into Latin.

30. Antonio Stäuble, La commedia umanistica del Quattrocento (Firenze: Nella sede dell'Istituto Palazzo Strozzi, 1968), 167; henceforth Stäuble.

31. Stäuble 10.

32. Stäuble 165.

33. Stäuble 236.

34. The timing of the Vicenza production was concurrent with the publication of the first of many editions of Sophonisba in the Cinquecento, La Sophonisba del Trissino (Roma: Lodovico Vicentino e Lautitio Perugino, July 1524). A second edition followed two months later: La Sophonisba del Trissino (Roma: Lodovico de gli Arrighi Vicentino Scrittore, September 1524), and was dedicated by Trissino to Pope Leo X. The Cinquecento saw close to sixteen editions of Sophonisba--a remarkable number. Convegno di studi su Giangiorgio Trissino, ed. Neri Pozza (Vicenza: Accademia Olimpica Vicenza, 1980), 230, 238.

35. Hartnoll s. v. "Giraldi."

36. Hartnoll s.v. "Ariosto."

37. Deuteronomy 22:5 states as follows: "the woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God." When the theatrical element of the Hellenistic revival was in full swing, Jewish leaders induced their brethren to confront and ultimately reject that art which was a product of a culture totally alien to their own. Jewish intellectuals who desperately wanted to participate in the artistic renaissance thus had enormous difficulty if they also wanted to be identified as devout Jews. That there is so little documented evidence of Jewish artistic involvement testifies to the success maintained by these leaders in its prohibition among the general population.
Though not to quite the same extent Christian artists

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were faced with a similar scepticism expressed in New Testament scriptures. For example in I Peter 3:3-4 it states "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; But let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptiple, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price." That the Church in the long run supported such "ornamentation" as long as it was art that could be ultimately controlled by Church hierarchy, made the road tred by Christian theatrical artists quite a bit easier.

38. Jonas Barish, in The Antitheatrical Prejudice, states as follows: " ... the workings of what we may term hard-line, fundamental antitheatricalism may perhaps be further clarified by comparing it with old-style antisemitism. The historical connection between them, indeed, goes back to a day when Jews and actors were lumped together as undesirable members of society, like prostitutes ... The wandering Jew joins with the vagabond mountebank to exploit the poor, and move on. When, on occasion, actors are defended, it is likely to be because, like Jews and prostitutes, they constitute a lesser evil in the absence of which a worser might prevail. A plentiful supply of prostitutes helps deter sensual males from molesting respectable women; the presence of the Jews reduces the temptation for Christians to engage in usury. Just so, the arrival of the actors helps dissuade simple folks from following even more vicious pastimes than the ones the players offer." Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 464-5.

39. This was due largely to the concerted efforts of the Gonzagan Dukes who fought the edict to "localize" their Jews, not through any altruistic motivation, but because the Jews were too intrinsic a part of the economic and artistic lifeblood of the city to warrant separation from the Christian citizenry.

40. Encyclopedia Judaica s. v. "Ezekiel the Poet."

41. Because of the sophistication shown in the scenario, the assumption was made that Ezekiel of Alexandria may very well have composed a number of biblical tragedies for the Jews in his community. In using a profane form of composition to acquaint the audience with their past history, the greater purpose would have been served of keeping Jewish citizens from attending the Roman theatres and being influenced by the paganism within them.

42. (Flavius Josephus), "... Famed historian of Judaism who, when defending Jerusalem against Rome,

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capitulated before the siege in an effort to save his people. After the destruction he departed for Rome, where he remained as an apologete for Judaism ... His classics, Antiquities of the Jews and The Wars of the Jews, are main sources of Biblical historical knowledge." Dagobert D. Runes, Dictionary of Judaism (New York: The Wisdom Library div. The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959), 138.

43. At a point when Josephus and several of his companions had come to Dicearchia (Puteoli) for the purpose of seeking a pardon for some companions who had gotten into trouble of a sort, he recounts "...I became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor of plays, and much beloved by Nero, but a Jew by birth: and through his interest became known to Poppea, Caesar's wife, and took care, as soon as possible, to entreat her to procure that the priests might be set at liberty. And when, besides this favour, I had obtained many presents from Poppea, I returned home again." Josephus, "The Life of Flavius Josephus," as presented in The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian, containing twenty books of Jewish antiquities, seven books of the Jewish War, two books in answer to Apion, the martyrdom of the Maccabees, and the life of Josephus, written by himself, translated from the original Greek according to Havercamp's accurate edition, together with explanatory notes and observations ... and a complete index by the late William Whiston, Rev. (Philadelphia: Kimber and Sharpless, 1811), 940. Aliturus' name turns up some centuries later, curiously, in a novel by the Polish author Henryk Sienkiewicz entitled Quo Vadis (1895), a work which explores the growth of Christianity amidst the decadence of Nero's Rome. Appearing as the uncle of the fictitious Roman centurion Marcus Vinicius (who is in love with a Christian woman) is Petronius, historically Nero's arbiter of elegance. He mentions Aliturus in a letter written from Antium to his nephew:

"... The actor Aliturus represented Oedipus yesterday wonderfully. I asked him, by the way, as a Jew, if Christians and Jews were the same. He answered that the Jews have an eternal religion, but that Christians are a new sect risen recently in Judea; that in the time of Tiberius the Jews crucified a certain man, whose adherants increase daily, and that the Christians consider him as God." Sienkiewicz, Quo Vadis, translated from the Polish by Jeremiah Curtin (1896; Airmont Classic Edition, New York: Airmont Publishing Company, 1969), 131.

44. David Cole maintains that as the Talmud can be considered as both a " ... transcription of earlier conversations between rabbis" and " ... a prescription for future conversations between ... teachers and students who in their classrooms and study groups will re-enact the

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rabbinic conflicts it preserves", the Talmud itself can be thought of as a "dramatic" text. Cole, "Toward a Jewish Dramatic Theory," Tikkun 4, n. 2 (March/April 1989), 27.

45. " ... he is dressed in the attire of Adam, and on his head is placed the scalp of Rabbi Ishmael, and on his neck are hung pieces of fine gold to the weight of four zuzim, the market places are paved with onyx stones, and the proclamation is made before him: 'the reckoning of the ruler is wrong. The brother of our lord, the impostor! Let him who will see it see it, he who will not see it now will never see it. Of what avail is the treason to the traitor or deceit to the deceiver!' And they concluded thus: 'Woe unto the one when the other will arise!'" The Babylonian Talmud, "Abodah Zarah" (p. 58, no. 11b) edited and translated by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1952); henceforth Talmud (with "volume name" added).

46. One of the later of the Giudate was the contribution of the Fisherman's Guild to the Carnival festivities, as they were " ... accustomed to present, as its dramatic chef d'oeuvre at this season, burlesques of Jewish ceremonial, such as the mock-funeral of a rabbi" (Roth 1 245).

47. During the days before the Second Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans (70 A. D.), when the Day of Atonement observances were at hand, there was a special service performed by the High Priest with the Congregation in attendance. The text had enormous dramatic allusions both in its dialogue-form, and in the descriptions it embodies, indicated herewith in a short excerpt :

Cong.: Thou art strong in power and very great in might; for who can do according to thy mighty acts" Thou didst lay the beams of lofty chambers above the cold, surging waters, and the world thou didst hang upon nothing.... Thou didst desire Levi, the man thou didst love, to minister unto thee, to separate and to consecrate from his stock him that should minister in the Holy of Holies ...

Leader: The water of purification was sprinkled upon him to cleanse him, and each day he sprinkled the blood, burnt incense and trimmed the lamps, that he might become accustomed to the sacred service.

Cong.: Then the wise elders that sat in the gate gathered around him, and they said unto him, Read aloud the portions of the Law. On the dawn

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> of the ninth day they escorted him to the eastern gate, and some of the beautiful sacrifices of the Day of Atonement passed before him. Toward sunset, the meal that was prepared for him was frugal, that his sleep might be calm ... they sought by thoughtful speech in expounding the Law and by reading Holy Writ to keep him wakeful until midnight. With joy, they to whom the first lot fell, removed the ashes from the altar; the second lot was cast for the removal of the ashes from the altar of incense and from the lamp, the third lot was cast among fresh priests, for one that should assist at the offering of incense; and for the arrangement of the members of the sacrifice was the fourth lot cast ...

Synagogue Service for the Day of Atonement, edited and translated by Arthur Davis and Herbert M. Adler (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1959), 159-60.

48. The Temple in Jerusalem, prior to its destruction in 70 A.D. during the Jewish rebellion against Rome, enjoyed music as an intrinsic part of its worship service. Out of respect for a glory that was no more, many Jewish communities, those in Italy being no exception, attempted to see to it that music never resurfaced in any form of synagogal worship.

49. Aron Marko Rothmüller aptly describes why this was the case: "When he [Rossi] was writing these religious works, which undoubtedly were modelled on the style and nature of contemporary church compositions, the Jews had not yet experienced the spiritual and intellectual reformation which came in the days of the Emancipation in nineteenth-century Germany. We know that church vocal music had followed a very different line of development from that of synagogue vocal music ... In Rossi's day synagogal singing still consisted usually of a solo performance on the part of the cantor, with the congregation singing in unison; where there was a choir it sang the responses or accompanied the cantor. But the church already possessed a highly developed choral music, together with independent instrumental works. The church had already developed first its homophonous and then its polyphonous choral music, but all this was still unknown to the synagogue and Jews could not but regard this kind of music as completely alien." Rothmüller, The Music of the Jews--An Historical Appreciation. Translated from the German by H.S. Stevens (S. Brunswick, NJ: Thomas Yoseloff, 1967), 119.

50. Cantiques de Salomon Rossi--Psaumes, Chants et Hymnes. Venice: Appresso gli Pietro e Lorenzo Bragadini,

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1622.

51. In 1877, the French musicologist Samuel Naumbourg edited Rossi's collection of sacred music for publication. Part of Leone da Modena's introduction is translated as follows: "Can we forget King David, that sublime poet who was the first to teach music and singing to the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, as we are told in the book of Chronicles. It was known that it was he who created and instituted vocal and instrumental music during the long period of the first and second temples. But our exile and our dispersion over the surface of the globe, and the terrible persecutions that have beaten us down, have brought with them the decadence and the loss of our arts and sciences; for the anger of the Lord had fallen upon us and there is little left of our intellectual riches ... Salamone revealed himself to us as a great musician, distinguished in the musical sciences not only among the Jews but also among the Christians. His abilities have been rewarded by his elevation to the first rank of singers attached to the court of the Dukes of Mantua. His musical compositions published to Italian texts have had such success that many are sung and admired everywhere. His music has won such favor that one may well say that the Lord has opened the eyes of the blind ... Be blessed then, my brothers, for having begun the publication of the work of the eminent musician who has composed these psalms and hymns. Render praise to the Lord by singing this beautiful music in our sanctuaries on the Holy days." Salamone Rossi, Cantiques de Salomon Rossi, with introduction by Leone da Modena, Out of print Classics Series of Synagogue Music #16 (New York: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion's School of Sacred Music, 1954), 2.

52. Vincent d'Indy contributed an essay on the life of Salamone Rossi to the Naumbourg edition of Cantiques de Salomon Rossi (1877) and in it he cites the title of La Maddalena as given here. In Cantiques de Salomon Rossi, 2 parts, transcrits d'après les deux éditions princeps, Venise: 1600 & 1607, par Vincent d'Indy (Paris: S. Naumbourg, 1877), 17.

53. "At the resplendent festivities in 1608 to celebrate the marriage of the Prince of Mantua, when Monteverdi's L'Arianna was first performed, he <Salamone Rossi> composed the music for the first intermezzo (Roth 1, 289). In 1589 he also had published a collection of nineteen canzonette for three voices, and several collections of madrigals, dedicating one of them to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga.

54. "At the beginning of the [Renaissance] period there was only one order of prayer in all of Italy, the

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Italianic daily prayer book, also known as Minhag Bene Romi [Good Roman custom] or Minhag Lo'ez [eternal custom], generally resembling the Ashkenazic [Germanic] and Sephardic [Mediterranean] prayer orders ... " Moses A Shulvass, The Jews in the World of the Renaissance, translated from the Hebrew by Elvin I Kose (Leiden: E. J. Brill,. 1973), 203; henceforth Shulvass. Both the Ashkenazic and Sephardic rituals allowed singing, but with no accompanying instrumentation. The former was of a more melodious nature, and the latter employed a Turkish-like chanting, neither of which would have been appreciated as musical by a possible Christian witness.

55. "Synagoga, a figure representing Judaism, appears in a debate with her counterpart, Ecclesia. As can be anticipated, Synagoga resists Ecclesia's arguments that Christ is indeed the promised Messiah, an argument that is supported by the presence of the patriarchs from the Hebrew Bible and with demonstrable evidence that Christ arose from the grave. Synagoga is predictably stubborn, defends the literalness of the Bible, and with occasional exceptions remains unconvinced and unconverted. It is important to note here that in attire, in manner and idiom the Jew is not distinct from her opposite, Ecclesia, which is in sharp contrast to later developments." Fritz Cohen, "Jewish Images in Late Medieval German Popular Plays," Midstream Vol. 35, no. 6 (August/September 1989), 21-2; henceforth Cohen.

56. "In an Easter drama of seven scenes, performed in Prague in the thirteenth century, ... much of the play is concerned with the attempt by the Jews to prevent Christ's resurrection and to suppress news of it after the event. The Jews are shown chanting in Hebrew, walking in procession to the synagogue in order to discuss ways to prevent Christ from making problems for them. Persuaded with a large sum of money, Pontius Pilate agrees to post guards at Christ's tomb to prevent his resurrection. The guards engage in much bragging as to how they will deal with Christ should he rise from the tomb. No doubt the spectators were amused by these posturings, knowing full well that the guards would promptly fall asleep and on waking would find the tomb empty" (Cohen, 22).

57. In Act III, Scene 2, the stablemaster's boy-servant recognizes the entrance of the Jewish merchant in the following way:

> The fellow who's banging his drum to call people to buy his rubbish looks to me like that Jew with the bloodshot eyes and yellow face. Yes, it is him. I'd let him have it with a stone full on the chest if it weren't a crime to get at the Jews.

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The stablemaster himself, unhappy at being forced into a wedding by the Duke, finds the insult of a Jew attempting to sell him jewelry for his future bride doubly detestable:

> You see what has happened through my terrible bad luck! One of those who crucified Christ makes a mockery of me and despite my position I'm not allowed to punish him.

"The Stablemaster" (il marescalco), translated by George Bull, appearing in Five Italian Renaissance Comedies, edited by Bruce Penman (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1978), 147, 149.

58. Emilio Ré states as follows: "Perché evidentemente quel tipo, e la satira che n'era la sostanza e il motivo, non poteva sorgere e svilluparsi che appunto nei centri dove viveva una congregazione ebraica numerosa e dove la vicinanza, gl'interessi e la conoscenza dovevano concorrere insieme a facilitarla." Ré, "Qualche nota sul tipo dell'Ebreo nel teatro popolare italiano," Giornale storico della letteratura italiana 60 (1912): 396.

59. Nahma Sandrow describes the Purim holiday as commemorating " ... a post-Biblical episode of Jewish history, and Purim plays reenact that episode, as recorded in the Old Testament Book of Esther, known as the Megile (scroll). Haman, prime minister to Ahasuerus, King of Persia, plots to kill off all the Jews in the kingdom. The heroes of the story are the Jewish sage Mordecai and his young cousin Esther. Providentially the beautiful Esther wins the King's heart and becomes Queen of Persi, replacing Queen Vashti, who has fallen from favor and is hanged. Mordecai and Queen Esther foil Haman's plot, and the King has Haman hanged on the very gallows that had been prepared by Haman for Mordecai." Nahma Sandrow, Vagabond Stars--A World History of the Yiddish Theatre (New York: Seth Press, Inc., 1977; 1st Limelight Edition, 1986), 2.

60. Mummers were also groups of actors who performed buffooneries at the Christmas season in mask or dumb-show, travelling from house to house, with Father Christmas to present them to each audience. Songs and dances were generally included in these performances as well.

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Chapter 3. MANTUA AS A THEATRICAL CENTER

1. The integral role played by the Gonzaga family in the socio-political and cultural life of Mantua is impossible to ignore in any discussion of Mantuan history: "Non c'è altro città-stato italiana, salvo Modena, che presenti la continuità, senza interruzione genealogica, di una signoria locale per quasi quattro secoli. E però storia di Mantova e storia dei Gonzaga non sono dissociabili." Ernesto Sestan, "La Storia dei Gonzaga nel Rinascimento," in Mantova e i Gonzaga Nella Civiltà del Rinascimento, (Mantova: La Città di Mantova in collaborazione con Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1977), 17.

2. In an extremely clever move, Medieval Mantuans diverted the Mincio river into the plains that surrounded the city, thereby artificially creating three wide lakes connected to the shore by two moles. Their being totally surrounded by water thus created a greatly increased sense of political security, while at the same time providing the means by which Mantua could be made a vital trade center. This positive coin had its flip-side, however, in the constant threat posed during the winter season of flooding, an adversity still feared to this day. "... the effects of the Mantuan marshes and waterways ... extended beyond the purely economic. Flooding produced vast stretches of stagnant water which, in the dangerous humidity of summer, brought malaria ... as well as swamp fever ... Flooding also hindered communications, often making roads impassable and carrying away bridges..." Iain Fenlon, Music and Patronage in Sixteenth Century Mantua, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 11; henceforth Fenlon.

3. Pompeo Litta, in his well-known geneology of famous Italian families, includes among his subject-matter an in-depth outline of the Bonacolsi family. He mentions the fact that Francesco Bonacolsi was the last "Capitano del Popolo" to rule Mantua before the takeover of the Gonzagas in 1328. By extension, one gleans from Litta's analysis of Francesco's life that his experiences indeed were only the beginning of the violence that was to characterize the juggling for power in Mantua at the time: "Si era invaghito di Anna da Dovara moglie di Filippino Gonzaga, e si vantava con impudenza, che alle sue voglie si prestasse l'impudica donna. Ciò diede molto alla congiura, che esterminò la sua casa. Si crede da molti, che morisse in prigione col fratello; da altri, che rimanesse ucciso col padre, e strappatigli i genitali gli fossero conficcati in bocca, si per ingiuria, che per vendetta alle offese fatte all'onor maritale dei Gonzaga." Litta,

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Delle Famiglie Celebri Italiane, Vol. 1-Part 2 (Milano: Si vende presso l'autore, 1819), 117.

4. Luigi Gonzaga, on August 28, 1328, became the first of the Gonzagas to be acclaimed " ... capitano generale del comune e del popolo di Mantova ... L'11 Novembre ottenne dall'imperatore il vicariato, che successivamente il 17 Giugno 1354 Carlo IV riconferma ai Gonzaga ... Luigi Gonzaga non solo riuscì ad assicurare per sé ed i suoi successori il possesso di Mantova e del suo territorio, ma poté inserirsi abilmente nelle vicende della politica internazionale." Giuseppe Coniglio, I Gonzaga (Mantova: dall'Oglio Editore, 1967), 16; henceforth Coniglio.

5. Fenlon underlines the fact that the acquisition of Monferrato presented the Gonzagas with what was to be the greatest hazard to their safety: " ... the new territory was physically separated from the rest of the duchy and surrounded on three sides by the Duchy of Savoy. The envious eyes which Savoy habitually cast on Monferrato remained the most immediate threat to Mantuan security throughout the period" (Fenlon 11).

6. Coniglio is expansive on the important role played by Ugolino Gonzaga in the early years of Gonzaga dominance in Mantuan politics. He was a " ... uomo di grande capacità ... diplomatico abilissimo, sentiva in sommo grado la responsabilità del potere ed era il più intelligente tra i figli di Guido, il più adatto a passare abilmente attraverso le difficoltà notevoli dei tempi" (Coniglio 21).

7. Copialettere e Corrispondenza Gonzaghesca da Mantova e Paesi (28 Novembre 1340-24 Dicembre 1401) (Roma: Ministero dell'Interno-Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato LIX, 1969), 9.

8. Scholarly opinion is somewhat united in that intellectual power figured more largely in Mantua's political and artistic growth than might be imagined. Indeed, Fenlon states that the cultural radiance characterizing the years of Gonzaga rule provided a blinding façade to weaknesses difficult to overcome: " ... throughout the middle decades of the sixteenth century, stability was achieved by careful administration, avoidance of conflict with neighboring states, and a strengthening of links with the principal Italian states and particularly with the Habsburg empire ... These attitudes toward foreign states opened up channels of communication which, together with powerful connections within Italy, produced important artistic results; but the system of checks and balances was extremely delicate" (Fenlon 12). Giuseppe Amadei also points out that there

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was an intensely cerebral aspect to Gonzaga political philosophy, in that they achieved their power base through a " ... politica duttile, scaltra, spesso abbastanza disinvolta, la quale, con acume e intelligenza, ha costantemente cercato di trovare le sue aspirazioni più sicure." Amadei, Il Giornale dei Mantovani (Mantova: Edizioni CITEM, 1976), 19. Kate Simon also points to the Gonzagas as being one of the earliest advocates of a political tool that did not enjoy widespread usage in Renaissance Italy--that of diplomacy: "There was need for constant wariness against both internal emnities and the dangers inherent in Mantua's geographical and political situation between the two mighty states of Milan and Venice. To cope with potential threats ... to find out what papal and imperial powers might be planning, Mantua became a pioneer in the fine art of diplomacy. At an early stage, she kept ambassadors in foreign courts, primarily informants but often skilled diplomats ... The Gonzaga had, even before the mid-fourteenth century, a representative in the imperial court and probably also in Ferrara." Simon, A Renaissance Tapestry: The Gonzaga of Mantua (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), 19; henceforth Simon.

9. There was, to Castiglione, only one royal court which presented the highest example of polished manners--and it was the one which he chose to use as the backdrop of his book. This was the court of Urbino as ruled by Guidobaldo da Montefeltro and Elisabetta Gonzaga, herself the sister-in-law of Isabella d'Este. Offering opinions throughout the book are illustrious real-life figures such as Pietro Bembo, Giuseppe Pallavicini and Cesare Gonzaga.

According to Castiglione, that which was to encourage an artist in the practice of his craft was very strictly circumscribed. It is easy, by association, to deduce from such an attitude that the look of a theatrical performance that was the product of so rarefied a society must be of an equally idealized character:

> ...non voglio che 'l nostro cortegiano faccia come molti, che subito che son giunti ove che sia, e alla presenzia ancor di signori de' quali non abbiano notizia alcuna, senza lasciarsi molto pregare si metteno a far ciò che sanno e spesso ancor quel che non sanno; di modo che par che solamente per quello effetto siano andati a farsi vedere e che quella sia la loro principal professione. Venga adunque il cortegiano a far musica come a cosa per passar tempo e quasi sforzato, e non in presenzia di gente ignobile, né di gran moltitudine; e benché sappia ed intenda ciò che fa, in questo ancor voglio che dissimuli il studio e la fatica che è necessaria in tutte le cose che si hanno a far bene, e mostri estimar poco in se stesso

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questa condizione, ma, col farla eccellentemente, la faccia estimar assai dagli altri.

Baldassare Castiglione, Il libro del cortegiano, a cura di Ettore Bonora, GUM Nuova Serie #15 (Milano: U. Mursia & Co., 1972), 51.

10. Publio Philippo Mantovano, Formicone, ed. Luigina Stefani (Ferrara: Italo Bovolenta Editore, 1980), 12, 19.

11. Formicone 19.

12. The complete text of this request is summarized in Chapter Four.

13. Winifred Smith makes the statement that one of Leone de' Sommi's costuming and makeup requirements as stated in the third of his Dialoghi, may be seen within the milieu of his duties as "scrittore accademico" of the Accademia degli Invaghiti, founded by Cesare Gonzaga. She suggests that his abhorrence of the use of masks and false beards where nature might better serve the purpose " ... shows that De Sommi had in mind the amateur performances of academicians [with which he was occupied] rather than those of professionals." She goes on to say that his criticism might also be " ... directed against the street actors whose use of masks and other farcical disguises is often reproved by academic writers ... " Winifred Smith, The Commedia dell'Arte (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964), p. 71

14. The "Casa Giocosa," as the Mantuan school was better known, followed a specific curriculum advocated by the personal example of Vittorino himself who, in his daily life, proved himself an accomplished fencer, rider and dancer, as well as a magnificent scholar. Burckhardt points out that " ... here for the first time gymnastics and all noble bodily exercises were treated along with scientific instruction as indispensable to a liberal education." Jacob Burckhardt, Civilization of the Renaissance, translated by S. G. C. Middlemore from the 15th ed. of the German original, 1878, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1929; First Harper Torchbook edition, 1958), 221. A more exact listing of the subjects for study included riding, wrestling, archery, fencing, swimming, plus mathematics, Latin, Greek, history, philosophy, theology, music, drawing, dancing, and outings to the countryside (Simon 35). Simon adds that " ... as tutor to the Gonzaga children ... Vittorino's was the first court school, the school that shaped the man Ludovico Gonzaga ultimately became and, through him, the city-state universally admired for its culture and beauty" (Simon 31).

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15. Selwyn Brinton reemphasizes the importance of this period in Mantuan cultural history: " ... under Lodovico and his immediate successors, the city became--like Florence of the Medici--a centre of the New Learning in Italy, of the culture and arts of the Renaissance", and that to Gianfrancesco " ... must be given the credit of having brought Vittorino to Mantua, and having placed his own children under his guidance." Brinton, The Gonzaga--Lords of Mantua (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1927), 68.

16. Coniglio 1 247. Martin L. Pine discusses this choice of Isabella's as well, though he clarifies that while Pomponazzi himself was too preoccupied with university duties to supervise Ercole's education, he directed two of his best students to take over the task (with Pomponazzi's supervision, of course). Pine, Pietro Pomponazzi: Radical Philosopher of the Renaissance (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1986), 48.

17. Fenlon 16.

18. "La vera importanza di Mantova come centro d'arte e di mecenatismo, di buon gusto, di raffinatezza e di modernità cominciò con l'arrivo di Isabella ... " So states Valentino Brosio in La Rosa e la spada: Isabella d'Este e Francesco Gonzaga (Torino: Fògola Editore, 1980), 95.

19. Pietro Canal, Della musica in Mantova (Mantua: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1980; Ristampa dell'edizione di Mantova, 1981), 9.

20. Fenlon 16.

21. Barish 466-7.

22. Alessandro d'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano, 2 vols, 2d ed. (Rome: Loescher, 1891. Reprint (2 vols in 1), Rome: Bardi Editore, 1971), 398-9; henceforth d'Ancona.

23. Quoted in D'Ancona 427-8.

24. D'Ancona 401-2.

25. Eduard Birnbaum, The Jewish Musicians at the Court of the Mantuan Dukes (1542-1628), English edition, revised and augmented by Judith Cohen, Documentation and Studies #1, ed. Hanoch Avenary (Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv Press, 1978), 15.

26. D'Ancona 428.

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27. Moses A. Shulvass states that " ... there is evidence that as early as 1525 the Jewish community paid this tax and kept on paying it uninterruptedly to the very end of the period. This suggests that there were among the Jews of Mantua such talented actors, that the Duke preferred to accept their artistic services in lieu of a regular tax." Shulvass, The Jews in the World of the Renaissance Translated by Elvin I. Kose (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 247.

28. " ... elaborate scenery was constructed in the courtyard of the castle, providing the many entrances and exits which a comedy of errors requires. Musicians, actors, costumers and torchbearers were hired and instructed, and the text revised, with Correggio supervising everything ... Ferrara's populace was invited to the performance, which lasted for many hours, the play being interspersed with pantomimic mythological scenes, dances, songs, and rough jokes by the clowns. It is considered a pivotal date in the history of the theatre, being the first full-scale 'modern' presentation of a play" in Italy. George R. Marek, The Bed and the Throne--The Life of Isabella d'Este (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976), 21; henceforth Marek.

29. Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, the editor of Niccolò da Correggio's complete works, presents vital information relating to Correggio's life and artistic contributions. She states that if one studies enough about him, a clear picture forms of a " ... brillante cortigiano che metteva spesso a disposizione di quell'eimes figures, too, in the sacre rappresentazioni, or morality plays, such as the well-known Agnolo Ebreo. Agnolo's Christian wife persuades him to abandon the practice of usury and give his money away in alms. Heaven compensates him for this by enriching him miraculously: he picks up money in the street and finds a jewel in the belly of a fish. Realizing that only the God of the Christians can make him rich, he becomes baptized." Roth, The Jews in the Renaissance (Pin which he executed his political and diplomatic responsibilities: "Niccolò began to shoulder the responsibility of his domain sometime around the age of 17 or 18 ... and was formally invested with lands in the Parma area in October 1468. He appears in connection with various state and military matters throughout the anonymous Diario Ferrarese and Zambotti's chronicle of the same name from this time on ... " From Cynthia M. Pyle's "Politian's 'Orfeo' and other 'Favole Mitologiche' in the Context of Late Quattrocento Northern Italy" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, April 1976), 8.

30. Giuseppe Mazzatinti, as quoted in Otto Kinkeldey, A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance: Guglielmo

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Ebreo, (reprinted from A. S. Freidus Memorial Volume, New York 1929; New York: Dance Horizons, Inc., 1972), 4 [Kinkeldey is the source for the following information as well]. Kinkeldey also identifies four other codexes, the first of which, at the Magliabechiana in Florence (Class XIX, 9.88), was published in condensed form in 1864, some four-hundred years after the estimated date of composition (edited by Adrien de la Fage, and to be found in Essais de dipthérographie musicale, Paris). The first complete version of Guglielmo's work was edited by Francesco Zambrini and ultimately published in Bologna, 1873. The Biblioteca Palatina of Modena also boasts of a manuscript (VII.A.82) that was eventually published in 1885, Della virtute et arte del danzare ed di alcune opportune et necessarie particelle a quella pertinenti (edited by Giovani Messori Roncaglia, Modena 1885). The Episcopal seminary at Foligno has a manuscript (B.V.14) published in 1887. It included detailed descriptions of eight of Guglielmo's dances, Otto bassedanze di M. Guglielmo da Pesaro e di M. Domenico da Ferrara (Foligno: Michele Faloci Pulignani, publisher). The Biblioteca Comunale of Siena has a manuscript that was catalogued in 1848 by Lorenzo Ilari (L.V.29) under the title of Trattato della danza composto da Maestro Guglielmo, ed in parte cavato dell'opera di Maestro Domenico, Cavaliere Piacentino. Carlo Mazzi, in 1915, published an edition of this manuscript entitled Una sconosciuta compilazione di un libro quattrocentistico di balli (Firenze).

31. My edited version of Giovanni Maria Filelfo, "Canzon morale di Mario Philelfo ad honore et laude di maestro Guilielmo Hebreo," quoted in full by Otto Kinkeldey, A Jewish Dancing Master of the Renaissance: Guglielmo Ebreo (New York: Dance Horizons, Inc., 1972; reprinted from A.S. Freidus Memorial Volume of New York, 1929), 40-42.

32. Coniglio states that Francesco gave appearance, on the whole, of being very tolerant regarding the Jews of Mantua. "Le sue gride erano in genere a loro favore ed egli, contrariamente a quanto avveniva altrove e con larghezza non comune tra i signori del tempo, giunse a permettere che potessero circolare senza avere il segno che erano obbligati a portare ben visibile sulle vesti. Il suo ultimo decreto del 30 Ottobre 1518 è improntato allo stesso spirito di tolleranza e sarebbe interessante poter stabilire se ciò era dovuto a sentimenti realmenti liberali o costituiva la contropartita de ingenti prestiti ricevuti dai finanziari ebrei. Ancora il 23 Agosto 1489 concesse loro di costruire una sinagoga, mentre banchi venivano aperti a Borgoforte, Castellucchio, Castiglione Mantovano, Gonzaga, Governolo ... " (Coniglio, 247).

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33. Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, Mantova e Urbino: Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga nelle relazioni famigliari e nelle vicende politiche (Torino: L. Roux et C., 1893), 49.

34. Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, La Calandra, ed. Giorgio Padoan. Medioevo e Umanesimo #57 (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1985), 1-2; henceforth Calandra.

35. Marek 187.

36. Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite de'più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti, Volume 10 (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1854), 95; henceforth Vasari plus new volume number.

37. Ireneo Sanesi, Commedie del Cinquecento, Vol I (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1912), 3.

38. Calandra 3.

39. Massimo Felisatti, Isabella d'Este--la primadonna del Rinascimento (Milano: Bompiani, 1982), 270; henceforth Felisatti.

40. Vasari, Volume 8, 227-8.

41. Ippolito Calandra, as quoted in Felisatti 270-1.

42. For further discussion of the nature of Flaminia's acting talents please see Chapter Six of this dissertation (Leone de' Sommi's Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche).

43. The letter, found in the Archivio di Stato di Mantova (henceforth ASM), busta 2575, lettera 24 luglio 1566; quoted in Giuseppe Amadei's article "Note sul teatro a Mantova nel Rinascimento" in Mantova e i Gonzaga nella Civiltà del Rinascimento (Mantova: La Città di Mantova in collaborazione con Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1977), p. 157; henceforth Amadei.

44. " ... uno, quello della Flaminia, si trovava presumibilmente nell'attuale via Ardigò. Press'a poco sull'angolo destro della piazzetta di San Luigi. E detto infatti in una documentata memoria che quando quella casa fu comprata nel 1588 della Compagnia di Gesù, 's'addimandava delle Commedie', il che fa supporre fosse proprio il luogo solito in cui si sa che la Flaminia recitava nel '66. L'altra casa, in cui si esibiva la formazione della Vincenza, era certamente in Piazza del Purgo, e precisamente in casa di Lanzino Boniforte o in uno degli stabili di cui il mercante medesimo era proprie-

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tario" (Amadei 157).

45. Amadei 158.

46. Marco da Gagliano, La Dafne, facsimile of original edition, Firenze: Appresso Cristoforo Marescotti, 1608 (Bologna: Forni, 1970), ii; henceforth Gagliano.

47. The score is now lost, with the exception of Arianna's famous lament, "Lasciatemi morire,) and a few other fragments. Virginia Andreini was the originator of the title role. The New Kobbé's Complete Opera Book, Edited and Revised by the Earl of Harewood (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976), s.v. "Monteverdi" (p. 9)

48. Gagliano ii.

49. Luigi Rasi, I Comici Italiani. Vol. 1 (Florence: Fratelli Bocca Editore, 1897 e 1905), 292-3.

50. Alan Charles Harris has done a painstaking study of the demography of the Jewish ghettos in Italy, Venice and Mantua among them, and states that the inhabitants therein in 1612 represented almost five-percent of the total population up to the year 1630 (2355 people). Harris, La demografia del ghetto in Italia (Roma: La Rassegna mensile di Israel, 1967), 4, 10.

51. Romolo Quazza, La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato (1628-1631), 2 vols. (Mantova: Casa editrice G. Mondovi, 1926; henceforth Quazza.

52. Roth 1 326.

53. Isacco Massarani (or Isacchino Ebreo), possibly Abramo's great-grandfather, was the musician and dance-instructor who had charge of the young Isabella d'Este's lessons in those areas upon her marriage to Francesco Gonzaga. Abramo Massarani, L'Esilio e il Riscatto: le Vicende degli Ebrei Mantovani tra il 1627 e il 1631, ed. and trans. from the original Hebrew edition of Venice, 1634 (facsimile included) by Gustavo Calò (Bologna: A. Forni, 1977; henceforth Massarani.

54. Massarani 3-4.

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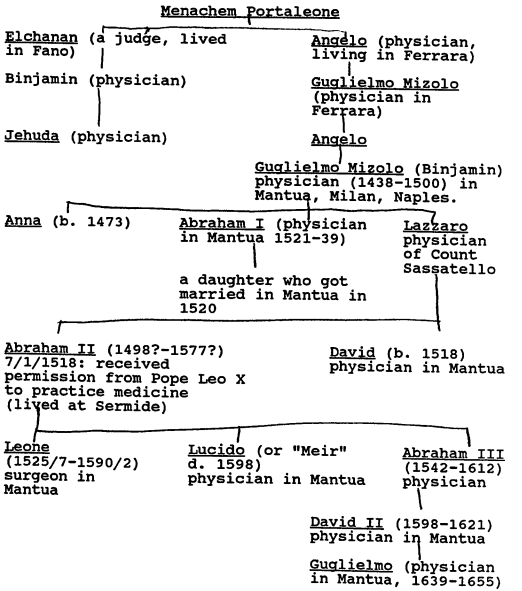
Chapter 4. TOWARD A BIOGRAPHY OF LEONE DE' SOMMI

1. The Portaleone family tree is presented below:



The above information was culled from the following sources: Volume one of Nello Pavoncello's book entitled Antiche famiglie ebraiche (Rome: Caruca Editore, 1982); henceforth Pavoncello; Marco Mortara's article "Un Important Document sur la famille des Portaleone," Revue des études

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Juives 12 (1886), pp. 113-116; and Mortara's book Indice alfabetico dei rabbini e scrittori Israelitici di cose giudaiche in Italia con richiami bibliografici e note illustrative (Padua: Premiata Tipografia Editrice F. Sacchetto, 1886).

2. B.D. Vigénere, La Somptueuse et Magnifique Entrée du Tres Chrestiene Roi Henry III de ce nom, Roy de France et de Pologne, Grand Duc de Lithuanie, et c. En la cité de Mantoüe, avec les portraits des choses les plus exquises (Paris: Nicholas Chesneau, 1576), 3.

3. Chaim (or Jefim) Schirmann edited the first publication of de' Sommi's hebrew play Zechut Bedichuta d'Kiddushin (Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1946), and indicated his name as "Sommo do Portaleone".

4. This poem is fully quoted in Moses Cassuto, "Me'shiray Yoseph Ben Sh'muel Sarfatti: Ha'Commedia Ha'Rishonah b'ivrit" (From the Songs of Joseph Son of Sh'muel Sarfatti: The First Comedy in Hebrew) in Jewish Studies in Memory of George Alexander Kohut (New York: The Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, 1935): 524-28.

5. Cecil Roth, The History of the Jews of Italy (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946): 359-60; henceforth Roth 1. Marco Mortara indicates: "l'aggiunta 'Portaleon' probabilmente deriva dal'luogo di abitazione in Mantova, nell'allora sobborgo, poi piazza 'Porta Leona'." Mortara, Indice alfabetico dei rabbini e scrittori Israelitici di cose giudaiche in Italia con richiami bibliografici e note illustrative (Padua: Premiata Tipografia Editrice F. Sacchetto, 1886): 51. Vittore Colorni disagrees, stating that " ... il nome Portaleone deriverà ... dall'omonimo quartiere romano posto vicino al ghetto, e non già, come pensò il Mortara, dal quartier pure denominato di Porta Leone esistente a Mantova." Colorni, "Note per la biografia di alcuni dotti ebrei vissuti a Mantova nel secolo XV," Annuario di Studi Ebraici 1 (1934): 181.

6. There is no evidence as to why the "de' Sommi" was inserted between Leone's two given names. My belief is that it was added by Leone himself, and was a healthy and natural choice by one who acknowledged his own success in theatrical endeavors. One sees much evidence of this self-esteem in the Dialoghi (1565).

7. Roth 2 132

8. Dialogi d'Amore di Maestro Leone Medico Hebreo (Roma: Antonio Blado d'Assola, 1535), introduction; henceforth Leone Ebreo.

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9. Louis Finkelstein, ed., The Jews--Their History, Culture and Religion (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949), 554.

10. Roth 2 132

11. Leone Ebreo 33a and b.

12. David Werner Amram mentions that Abraham Conat founded the first Hebrew press in Mantua, Italy in 1475, and The Drippings of the Honeycomb was one of the first books disseminated. The year 1475 is not specified as the date of publication. Interestingly enough, this book was the first Hebrew book known to have been published in the lifetime of its author. See David Werner Amram, Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy (London: The Holland Press, Ltd., 1963): 30-1.

13. Heinrich Graetz, History of the Jews. Vol. 4, From the Rise of the Kabbala 1270 C.E. to the Permanent Settlement of the Marranos in Holland 1618 C.E.. (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949): 289-90.

14. Cecil Roth, The Jews in the Renaissance (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 232; henceforth Roth 2.

15. Encyclopedia Judaica, (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1971), s. v. "Bonet Lattes."

16. In his own words, Bertolotti states that " ... Forse era il padre od altro della famiglia, poiché vedremo nel 1610 accennarsi un Leone, che sembrerebbe quello, di cui ci siamo occupati. Antonino Bertolotti, I musici alla corte dei Gonzaga dal secolo XV al XVIII (Milan: G. Ricordi and Co., 1890), 56.

17. "Come si è giunti a indicare questa data? Si sono fuse due notizie: quella (1590), reperita dal Bertolotti, com'egli dice, nel Necrologio mantovano, secondo cui il 10 maggio 1590 ... e quella, comune alle due epigrafi ebraiche, che indica nell'anno 5352--corrispondente al 592 dell'era volgare." Ferruccio Marotti's introduction to Leone de' Sommi's Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (Archivio del teatro italiano no. 1. Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1968), xxvii.

18. (transliteration:)

Ahnshei Nehardea	Tz'u ur'u
Camah v'camah	Ma'alot ramot
Etmol b'eesh chai	Zarchu achen
Hahyom b'goosh coos'u	Uv't'homot
Oh'toh lahshon zahav	V'ahdir hoo
Bain ham'shoruhrim	U'v'muhzimot

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Ahf cohnuhnoo yadav M'aht mikdahsh
Va'y'hi tahmim d'eem V'rosh eemot
Ehmoonahm sh'naht corbahn l'El hikreev
Nahfsho m'tahera l'acharay mot.

B'shnaht chahmesh alahfim sheen/noon/bet
m'od na'alah camah Yehudah m'sha'ar aryeh
eesh chai alah el ha'Elokim acharav
B'rachah mikdash ahsher conuhnoo yadav.

choobarah ahl y'day toshahv Mantova
V'hooshahmah b'mahtzevaht ha'ahloof Sommi
l'v'rahchah.

David Kaufmann, "Leone de' Sommi Portaleone--Dramatist and Founder of a Synagogue in Mantua," The Jewish Quarterly Review 10 (April 1898), 458; henceforth Kaufmann.

19. David Kaufmann states that in his possession was a small quarto volume, bound in parchment, containing poems and letters by Daniel Fano, among which was the text of Leone de' Sommi's gravestone epitaph (Kaufmann 454).

20. (transliteration:)
Neer'u ahlaychem v'car'u nah
Ehven ahsher hah'y'tah l'rosh peenah
C'l'yoshvay tevel sh'u kaynah
kee ven m'rodeem sahr b'toch ed'nah
aryeh yehudah hoo v'gahm ehmoonah
hachacheem b'kol da'ah oo'v'tvoonah
M'shachen oo'mikdahsh chen haloe bahnah
ahz cohnuhnoo yahdahv b'sof shanah
mahdahd b'sh'ahloe v'loh sheenah
deenay p'raht mikdash v'efdahnah
gam hem b'et sofayr k'tav mahnah
koolahm b'shem yikrah
b'shnaht

k'vohd chahcham y'nahchel b'toch geenah
kee achahrahv hish'eer b'lee reenah.

Keenah l'shoom ahl mahtzevaht k'vooraht ehven doeraysh
tov l'ahmoh ha'm'chokeck c'moh Yehudah Sommi mi'Sha'ar
Aryeh zichronoh l'v'rachah ahsher conuhnoo y'day la'ahsoht mishkahn oomikdahsh l'eht z'kaynahtoe v'yahgoo'ah va'yay'ahsehf el ahmahv b'shnaht sheen/noon/
bet vayik'r'voo ohtoh artzah Mantova. Choobahrah ahnee ha'tzeer Daniel Fano ... (Kaufmann 459-60).

21. " ... médecin de Ferdinand I, roi de Naples, qui lui accorda, entre autres faveurs et privilèges, nombreux et mérités, le titre de cavagliero. Il fut ensuite médecin de Galeozzo Sforza, duc de Milan, jusqu'à sa mort, et, depuis 1478, il se rendit à Mantoue, sa patrie, où il exerça la

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médecine jusqu'en 1500, sous Ludovic Gonzague, marquis de Mantoue, Federico, marquis successeur, et Francesco, successeur de Federico, sous les pontificats des Papes Sixte IV, Innocent VIII, Alexandre VI ... " Marco Mortara, "Un Important Document sur la Famille des Portaleone," Revue des Études Juives 12 (1886): 114; henceforth Mortara 1.

22. Elijah ben Sabbatai (Elias Sabot) was the first of the Jewish physicians knighted in recognition of their skill. He was in the personal service of Pope Eugenius IV, and the court of Ferrara as well. Cecil Roth, The Jews in the Renaissance (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 215.

23. Mortara 1 114.

24. Dates comprising the reigns of certain popes as cited in this chapter were taken from a complete listing in The Vatican Collections--The Papacy and Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 253-5. The names of the Popes who gave permission to the many Portaleone physicians were taken from Marco Mortara, "Un Important document sur la famille des Portaleone," Revue des Etudes Juives 12: 1886, pp. 113-116.

25. Pavoncello 100.

26. Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, Dizionario storico degli autori ebrei e delle loro opere, 2 vols in 1 (Parma: Dalla Reale Stamperia, 1802), 96; henceforth De Rossi.

27. De Rossi 96-7.

28. Mortara 1 113-116.

29. Jonas Barish suggests that the key to both the damnation of Jews involved in mimetic arts from the Renaissance era onward and to the understanding of such participation is to be found in the very structure of the Old Testament, for "if it is lawful for written narratives, including those in Scripture, to trade in fictions and fables and disguises, it must be lawful for the stage to be likewise". He further suggests that not only were Jewish actors denigrated for their choice of profession but they were also not accepted as full members of Jewish society, making their situation somewhat worse than that of their Christian counterparts. Barish, The Antitheatrical Prejudice (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 125.

30. Archivio Gonzaga in Mantova, F. II. 8, in Lydia Pegna, "Alcune lettere inedite di Leone de' Sommi," La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel 7, n. 12 (April 1933), 551; henceforth Pegna.

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31. Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova S. III, n. 9, in Pegna 551-2.

32. Shlomo Simonsohn, History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua, translated from the Hebrew by the author with Donia Mayer, Sally Twite and Reuven ben Joseph (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher Ltd., 1977), 407.

33. Archivio Gonzaga, S. II., in Pegna 552.

34. Archivio Gonzaga, S. III, n. 10, in Pegna 554-5.

35. " ... When he (Sommo) was about twenty years old, he had occasion to travel to Rome with a group of friends. When he arrived in the city of Viterbo--a place he had never visited--and when he observed the gate of the city, he looked at the place as if he recognized it and as if he had dwelt there for some time. He was an expert on its pathways and alleys and he found his way in any direction he wished to go. Upon approaching a certain street, he said to his companions: 'Let us go this crooked way, which turns to the right.' They took the path, and he knew every place they passed until they found one particular house. He asked the owner if he would be kind enough to allow him to enter the house. The man agreed, and he entered ... He then asked the owner if he could ascend to a most remote room. The man answered: 'Do as you please.' He went into the room accompanied by the owner and proceeded to speak to him: 'Please, master, examine the wall beyond the window.' He did so, striking it with a hammer, and they discovered a cache of old Hebrew books. Sommo went on to say that the books were so old that the letters had been blurred and the bindings had been eaten by worms. The astonished owner asked Sommo how he had known of the whereabouts of these books ... The property had been in his family for the last eighty years and there was no record of Jewish ownership. Sommo could explain the bizarre experience only by recourse to the concept of transmigration: his soul must have displayed a faint memory of a previous life." David B. Ruderman, Kabbalah, Magic and Science: The Cultural Universe of a Sixteenth Century Jewish Physician, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 122-3. Ruderman's source for the above anecdote was a collection of Yagel's daily thoughts, letters and social commentary entitled Bat Rabim (basically translated as Daughter of Many). It exists in manuscript form, and has never been published.

36. Kaufmann 447.

37. David Kaufmann mentions that Marco Mortara had believed the poem to be lost [Mortara, "Leon de' Sommi," Il Mosé 8 (March 1885): 151], but he recalls that the German scholar A. Neubauer extracted the Italian lines and published

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them in the Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, vol. VII (1882): 347-9.

38. The issue was settled in a most creative way: " ... An anonymous poet, having compared the respective merits of both de'Sommi's and Fano's poems, caused the dispute to be settled by a woman, Deborah, ... to the detriment of Jacob. Deborah and Jacob are represented as carrying on a poetical dialogue, both alternately bringing forward their charge and defence, till Jacob, overwhelmed by a flood of accusations, withdraws from the contest ... he [Fano] was guilty of a greater offence than he charged Leone de Sommi with, that his verses were disfigured by Aramaic and Talmudic phrases, so much so that they were unintelligible. Leone de Sommi, on the other hand ... had made the vernacular, which was understood by everyone, subservient to holy thoughts. The anonymous poet, then, ...decided that ... the "Defence of Women" of Leone de Sommi gained the victory" (Kaufmann 448-9).

39. Bernardino Peyron codified the contents of the National Library of Turin and published his findings in Codices Italici manu exarati qui in Bibliotheca Taurinensis Athenaei (Turin: Apud Carolum Clausen, 1904); henceforth Peyron 1. The significance of this catalogue is inestimable, because many of Leone de' Sommi's works in the Turin collection did not survive the 1904 fire, so Peyron's references to these non-extant works are their only surviving notice.

40. Peyron 1 279-80.

41. " ... la traduzione dei salmi si raccomanda per la conoscenza, che l'interprete aveva della lingua biblica e per quella forbitezza di verso, che non potrebbe mai mancare affatto in un cinquecentista." Bernardino Peyron, "Note di storia letteraria del secolo XVI, tratte dai manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino," Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Atti 19 (1883-84), 750; henceforth Peyron 2)

42. Angelo Giaccaria, "Identificazione di manoscritti italiani frammentari nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino," Giornale storico della letteratura italiana 164 (1987, fasc. 526): 206-18.

43. Cecil Roth, The Jews in the Renaissance (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959): 262; henceforth Roth 2.

44. Winifred Smith, The Commedia dell'Arte (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964), 78.

45. " ... quando gli israeliti mantovani recitarono in casa di un rampollo gonzaghesco una commedia 'per loro composta': il che può tanto voler dire composta perché da essi

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fosse recitata, quanto composta da uno di essi." Alessandro d'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano, 2 vols., 2d ed. Rome: Loescher, 1891; Reprint, 2 vols. in 1 (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1971), 401; henceforth d'Ancona.

46. " ... Giulio Cesare Gonzaga, ... istituì nel novembre del 1562 l'Accademia degli Invaghiti nel suo palazzo... Nel 1564 gli Invaghiti ottennero dal Pontefice Pio IV il privilegio, da essi impetrato, di "legittimare bastardi, creare notai et dottori in legge, in medicina, filosofia, in ogni maniera di scienze, di creare poeti, di fare cavallieri et simili cose .... " Michele Maylender, Storia delle accademie d'Italia, vol. 3 (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1928): 363.

47. The petition of Leone de' Sommi to Cesare Gonzaga (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. I. 10) as quoted in Peyron 2, 747-8. D'Ancona also presents the above three lines specifically in their hendecasyllabic form (d'Ancona 406).

48. " ... (Cesare Gonzaga) was empowered to knight the members, and wanted de'Sommi to become a member, with the title of "Cavaliere" (Roth 2 256-7). The prejudices exhibited by others in the fraternity (Benedetto Marliani, in particular) put immovable obstacles in this path... De'Sommi's protest and Gonzaga's support (for de' Sommi's full and equal membership) went for naught. His title became 'scrittore accademico.' (academic writer, d'Ancona 406. This responsibility was somewhat akin to that of the ancient "scriptor.") Bernardino Peyron describes the import of this event in detail: " ... ma almeno il Principe non faceva distinzione per gli ingegni, ... che o la scelta a Scrittore, o forse il desiderio manifestato dall'ebreo De Sommi di paregiarsi per qualche titolo agli altri del Letterario Collegio ... non sorrise a Bernardino Marliani ... insigne letterato a quei dì ..." He points out that " ... Scrittore Accademico non voleva ancor dire Accademico," and deduces that " ... la carica data a Leone Ebreo puossi argomentare dalla sua qualità di poeta drammatico e dall'uso già invalso in altri Accademie di sceniche rappresentazioni" (Peyron 2 746).

49. Lydia Pegna interprets this to be a particular request made on behalf of the same Jewish company whose performances had been mentioned in de'Preti's 1525 letter. Archivio Gonzaga di Mantova, E. XXXIX, 2, quoted in Lydia Pegna, "Alcune Lettere Inedite di Leone de' Sommi," La Rassegna Mensile di Israel 7, n. 12 (April 1933), 550; henceforth Pegna.

50. Phyllis Hartnoll, ed., The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, 3d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), s. v. "Burbage, James."

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51. Peyron does make some mention of Drusilla, which basically completes the available information: "Nec sane alius a nostro fuit ille Leo Hebraeus, cuius drama Drusilla in Ducum Mantuae bibliotheca delitescens noverat Tiraboschius ... Nec parva laus ei fuit, quod, Hebraeus quum esset, illius Ducis sibi gratiam atque aestimationem conciliaverit ... " Peyron 1 113 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. IV. 10)

52. Along with the script of I Doni, a pastoral play written by de'Sommi both in memory of the recent passing of Cesare Gonzaga and in honor of his successor, Ferrante, Shelfmark N. III. 35 (now destroyed) of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin collection purportedly contained the text of Cesare's petition on Leone de' Sommi's behalf (Peyron 1 98, and Peyron 2 747).

53. Torquato Tasso, Trattato della dignità, in Peyron 2 747. Peyron's description of Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. IV. 10 (that which contains the Dialoghi) contains larger amounts of information relating to de'Sommi than all of the other catalogue entries with which he deals. Among other things, he mentions Tasso's praise: "Nec parva laus ei fuit, quod, Hebraeus quum esset, illius Ducis sibi gratiam atque aestimationem conciliaverit, cuius Torquatus Tassus ingenium laudavit. ... " (Peyron 1 114)

54. Peyron points toward a dedication, possibly to Eleonora of Austria, who married Duke Guglielmo in 1561, or perhaps to Leonora de'Medici, second wife of Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga: "Nomen 'Eleonora' passim versibus ingeniose intercluditur, uti in ultimo: 'mentre il mondo le ammira e il ciel le honora.'" Peyron 1 262 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. VII. 12)

55. " ... (di Leone de Sommi Ebreo). Auctoris nomen desideratur in codice. Verum ex autographo, atque ex notis rabbinico charactere exaratis auctor dignoscitur." Peyron 1 98 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 36)

56. The intermezzi about Amore and Psiché that were composed to accompany the production of Gli Sconosciuti do survive, however. They were published in a collection edited by Ugo de Maria, La Favola di Amore e Psiché nella letteratura italiana (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1899): pp. 282-91]. Peyron also mentions them: " ... opera autografa di Leone Ebreo de Sommi, con postille ebraiche ... Exordium hoc pertinere videtur ad comoediam eiusdem auctoris dictam: Gli Sconosciuti ..." Peyron 1, 143 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. IV. 58)

57. "Haec fabula composita est, quam anno MDLXXXV nuptiae cuiusdam principis celebrarentur ... Caroli Emmanuelis I, qui eo ipso anno uxorem duxit, et cui auctor aliquot drammata sua inscripsit." Peyron indicates texts for the accompanying intermedii. Peyron 1 92 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 16).

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58. The Latin work De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, by Martianus Capella was written early in the fourth century A.D.. It was translated twice into Italian: the first time by Alfonso Buonacciuoli (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1578), and the second time by Evreta Misoscolo (1629). Capella's remaining work was contained in a seven-book work entitled De Septem artibus liberalibus. De'Sommi's version is mentioned in Peyron 1 101 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 41).

59. " ... my most Serene Lord, I have presented a new and very noble work which, other than its containing rustic games and arms-drills, with varied joyful dances, will be, without doubt, through the beauty and wonder of their contrivances, and for the depth and majesty of the subject matter, enjoyable as it is new and unknown. And above all, [this work will be] of such perfection in and of itself, that it will never be castigated at any time, as plays are in these days." De'Sommi's introduction to Le nozze di Mercurio et di Filologia as quoted by E. Narducci in "Intorno ad un comento inedito di Remigio D'Auxerre al 'Satyricon' di Marziano Capella", Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche e fisiche 15 (September 1882): 507.

60. Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts, 2 vols., trans. William Harris Stahl and Richard Johnson with E. L. Burge (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), Vol. I p. 97; henceforth Capella.

61. "When she <Virtue> learned that it was Philology whose espousal Apollo was urging, she was seized with such joy and enthusiasm that she behaved with less severity of deportment than was her wont. She called to mind that Philology was her own kinswoman, a patroness of Prophecy, who had been so well commended, and most generous to Wisdom in giving her valuable ornaments. In addition, said Virtue, Psyche, who at first lived a primitive sort of existence, has been so refined by Philology that whatever beauty and embellishment Psyche had she acquired from the polish Philology gave her; for the maiden had shown Psyche so much affection that she strove constantly to make her immortal. ..." (Capella Vol. II, p. 14 n. 23)

62. Capella Vol. II index.

63. Peyron indicates that this play had Hebrew notes in its columns, and he also says that it " ... fu recitata in Mantova il giorno di Carnevale, 1582 ... Nomen auctoris ex aliis codicibus pariter autographis eruitur." Peyron 1 96 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 29)

64. This comedy is also indicated as having Hebrew notes in the columns: " ... Nomen auctoris desideratur, sed nos-

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citur ex eius autographis et notis hebraicis." Peyron 1 96 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 35)

65. "Nomen auctoris innotescit ex aliis codicibus autographis. Confer quae moneo ad cod N.IV.10 Praemissa est epistola: 'Al Ill.mo et ecc.mo S.re il Sr. Don Ferrando Gonzaga, Duca di Guastalla.' Hic successerat patri suo Caesarianno MDLXXV, qui Societatem, cuius nomen: 'Degli Invaghiti,' Mantuae instituerat. Hac fabula poeta principis mortem allegorice deflet, et filii animum vult sibi conciliare." Peyron 1 98 (Bib. Taur. Shelfmark N. III. 35)

66. Tre Sorelle has since been published in its original language, edited by Giovanna Romei, Archivio del teatro italiano, #8, (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982).

67. The Hebrew edition of de'Sommi's play as scholars know it today was put together by Chaim Schirmann (Jerusalem: Tarshish Books, 1946) from a few differentmanuscripts, none of them actually written in Leone de' Sommi's lifetime. Schirmann describes the manuscripts from which he made his reconstruction. The most important of these (because it identifies the author as being Judah, now dead, who wrote this comedy in his youth) was copied in 1618, and is now to be found at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City (Codex 1373 of the Elkan Adler Collection). Schirmann, "Juda Sommo, fondateur du théâtre hébreu," Revue de la Pensée Juive 2 (1950-1): 86-98. Alfred S. Golding, professor of Theatre at Ohio State University, took Schirmann's version and translated in in consultation with Reuven Ahroni, professor of Judaic and Near Eastern Languages at Ohio State (Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation, #13. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions Canada, 1988).

68. The first edition of Allardyce Nicoll's Development of the Theatre (London: George G. Harrup and Co., Ltd., 1927) contained excerpts of de' Sommi's Dialoghi translated into English (Appendix B). The 1937 edition included a complete translation (Nicoll was assisted in this task by Dr. Angelo Lipari of Yale University) of the Dialoghi, marking the first time they were published in their entirety. They were incorporated as well in both the 1948 and 1966 editions of Nicoll's text.

69. Roth 1 198.

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Chapter 5. ITALIAN RENAISSANCE THEORIES OF THE DRAMA BEFORE LEONE DE'SOMMI

1. Aristotle, "De Poetica," translated by Ingram Bywater, in The Basic Works of Aristotle, edited and with an introduction by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, Inc., 1941; nineteenth printing), p. 1460; henceforth Poetics.

2. Giorgio Valla tra scienza e sapienza, ed. Vittore Branca (Firenze: Leon S. Olschki Editore, 1981), 96.

3. This process if most aptly explained by Lily Bess Campbell when she says that "Always men desired first to possess in full their heritage from the past, to reproduce the past in their present. This period of possession was followed by a period of imitation, of molding new materials in old forms, and this in turn by a period of modification, which as complete mastery of technique was attained through imitation, resulted in experimentation and finally in original creation." Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 9; henceforth Campbell.

4. Campbell reinforces this herself when she states that the sixteenth-century playwright found himself "bound by a more and more definite set of rules deduced from classical authority" (Campbell 70).

5. David Werner Amram tells that though Manuzio's contribution to the humanist movement was the publication of the ancient Greek works, he actually achieved his greatest fame through the printing of Latin and Italian texts whose letters were in what came to be known as Aldine type, later as "italics." In claiming the origination of this print-type, Manutio came into conflict with Gershon Soncino, scion of the great publishing house (founded in 1483 by Nathan, his grandfather) who also claimed this print-type as his own. Amram cites letters by Popes Alexander VI (Borgia, 1492-1503), Julius II (Della Rovere, 1503-13) and Leo X (Medici, 1513-21), that confirm Manutio's right-of-origination to the Aldine script, giving him the power of a modern copyright in preserving the print-type as his own. Amram, The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy (London: Holland Press, Ltd., 1963), 98-99.

6. Alessandro de'Pazzi, Aristotelis Poetica (Venetiis: Aedibus Haeredum Aldi, 1536), 9; quoted in Bernard Weinberg, A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of

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Chicago Press, 1961; 2nd printing), 371; henceforth Weinberg.

7. Weinberg 372.

8. Bernardino Daniello, La Poetica di Bernardino Daniello Lucchese (Vinegia: Giovan'Antonio di Nicolini da Sabio, 1536), 17; henceforth Daniello.

9. Daniello 34.

10. Daniello 38.

11. Daniello 38.

12. Daniello 42.

13. This treatise was written in the form of a letter, to Giulio Ponzio Bonzoni, who performed the role of Oronte at the premier performance of Orbecche that took place at its author's house in 1541. The easy flow of the exposition is somewhat in the nature of comfortable discourse between friends.

14. In the Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo, s. v. "Giraldi-Cinthio," it is said of him that "il gran merito di G. fu quello di aver trasportato la tragedia dall'accademia alla scena, in obbedienza a uno schietto interesse per lo spettacolo e nel tentativo d'indontrare, ora assecondando ora correggendo, i gusti di un pubblico disavezzo al genere."

15. Giovanni Battista Giraldi-Cinthio, Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi-Cinthio Nobile Ferrarese (Venezia: Garbiel Giolito et fratelli, 1554), 201-2; henceforth Giraldi.

16. Giraldi 202.

17. Giraldi 203.

18. Giraldi 203-4.

19. At a later point in the Discorsi, Giraldi-Cinthio does speak of the structural power of Orbecche, when he states that the story inspired horror and compassion in the best nature of tragedy, and that the cruel and desperate death of Orbecche, the female lead, was highly realistic in all its aspects (Giraldi 265).

20. Giraldi 240-1.

21. "Mi ricordo aver altre volte sopra questo sog-

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getto esplicata una mia stravagante opinione (per non lasciar tutta la riputazione a i mendaci grechi usi sempre d'usurparsi la gloria altrui, applicandosi le invenzioni di molte arti et virtù delle quali si ha chiarissima notizia, per le più vecchie et divine istorie, essersi trovati da molto più antichi di loro .... " (Dialoghi 13).

22. Francesco Robortello, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in Librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica Explicationes. Florentiae: In Officina Laurentii Torrentini Ducalis Typographi, 1548; Facsimile edition, Poetiken des Cinquecento no. 8, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1968), 1; henceforth Robortello.

23. Robortello 23.

24. Leone de' Sommi's allusion to this point is in Dialogue two of his Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche, quoted as follows:

> ... la osservazione di alcuni de gli antichi che non premettevano che i lor istrioni uscissero più di cinque volte in scena (benché questo da' moderni poco si osservi) ...

Edited by Ferruccio Marotti, Archivio del teatro italiano #1 (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1968), 27; henceforth Dialoghi)

25. Giovanni Giorgio Trissino, La Quinta e la Sesta divisione della poetica di Trissino (Venetia: Andrea Arrivabene, 1562), 5; henceforth Trissino.

26. The chorus that closes the play is a perfect example of this:

> La fallace speranza de' mortali,
> a guisa d'onda in un superbe fiume,
> ora si vede, or par che si consume.
> Spesso fiate, quando ha maggior forza,
> e ch'ogni cosa par tranquilla e lieta,
> il ciel ne manda giù qualche ruina.
> E talor, quando il mar più si rinforza
> e men si spera, il suo furor s'acqueta,
> e resta in tremolar l'onda marina;
> che l'avenir ne la virtù divina
> è posto, il cui non cognito costume
> fa' l nostro antiveder privo di lume.

Giovan Giorgio Trissino, "Sofonisba," in Il Teatro Italiano, Vol 2, La tragedia del Cinquecento, ed. Marco Ariani (Torino: Einaudi, 1977), 78.

27. Trissino 30.

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28. Trissino 46.

29. "All'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signor et Padre mio il Signor Cosimo de' Medici duca di Firenze." Bernardo Segni, Poetica d'Aristotile tradotta di Greco in lingua vulgar' Fiorentino da Bernardo Segni Gentilhuomo et Accademico Fiorentino (Vinegia: Bartholomeo detto l'Imperador e Francesco suo genero, 1551), 171; henceforth Segni.

30. Segni 171.

31. Segni 173.

32. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, De Poeta (Venetiis: Franciscum Rampazetum, 1559); Facsimile edition, Poetiken des Cinquecento #5 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), 41.

33. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, L'Arte poetica del Signor Antonio Minturno (Vinegia: Gio. Andrea Valvassori, 1564); Facsimile edition, Poetiken del Cinquecento #6 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971), 1; henceforth Minturno 1.

34. Minturno 1 49.

35. "Poets wish either to benefit or to delight or to say things that are simultaneously pleasing and applicable to life." Horace, The Art of Poetry, verse translation and introduction by Burton Raffel., original Letin Latin text of Horace's Ars Poetica and prose translation by James Hyne (Albany: S. U. N. Y. Press, 1974), ll. 333-4.

36. Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri, Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons: Antonius Vincentius, 1561): 144; henceforth Scaliger.

37. Scaliger 12.

38. The "Paradiso," developed for the annual representation of the Annunciation at the Church of San Felice in Florence, was properly credited to Brunelleschi. It embodied his means to lower the actor portraying the Angel of the Annunciation, hidden behind cherubim, to stage-level for his stated purpose, and to subsequently lift him heavenward.

39. Eugenio Battisti, Filippo Brunelleschi: The Complete Work, trans. Robert Erich Wolf (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1981), 300.

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40. "A surface is the outer part of a body which is recognized not by depth but by width and length, and also by its properties. Some of these properties are so much part of the surface that they cannot be removed or parted from it without the surface being changed. Others are ones which may present themselves to the eye is such a way that the surface appears to the beholder to have altered, when in fact the form of the surface remains unchanged. The permanent properties of surfaces are twofold." Both the Latin and the English translation are to be found in Leon Battista Alberti, "On Painting" and "On Sculpture", ed. and trans. and notes by Cecil Grayson (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1972), 36.

41. Kim H. Veltman and Kenneth D. Kale, Linear Perspective and the Visual Dimensions of Science and Art, Studies on Leonardo da Vinci I (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986), 95. Veltman discusses, among other works, the short but valuable thirteen-page treatise by Leonardo da Vinci on perspective. It comprises part of a manuscript to be found in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris, Shelfmark Number A [published as Les Manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci: le Manuscrit A de la Bibliothèque de l'Institut, facsimile edition by Charles Ravaisson-Mollien (Paris: Quantin, 1881)].

42. As the action of La Calandria takes place in Rome, Peruzzi's sketch had one major street in perspective, with replicas of both antique and Renaissance momuments that actually figured in the city's decor. Some of these were the " ... Colosseo, Torre delle Milizie, il campanile di S. Lorenzo in Miranda, l'obelisco Vaticano, Colonna Traiana, Castel Sant'Angelo, le tre colonne del tempio dei Càstori." Enciclopedia dello spettacolo, s. v. "Peruzzi."

43. The first English translation of Serlio's Architectura contains the following references to the abovementioned sets:

Comic

I will first entreat of the Comicall, whereof the houses must be made as if they were for common or ordinarie people, which for the most part must be made under roofes in a hall, which at the end thereof hath a chamber for the pleasure or ease of the personages.

Tragic

Houses for tragedies, will bee made for great personages, for that actions of love, strange adventures, and cruell murthers (as you reade in

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ancient and moderne Tragedies) happen always in the houses of great Lords, Dukes, Princes, and Kings. Therefore in such cases you must make none but stately houses. ...

Satyric

The Satiricall scenes are to represent Satirs, wherein you ust place all those things that bee rude and rusticall, as in ancient Satirs they were made plaine without any respect, whereby men might understand, that such things were referred to rusticall people. ... for which things Vitruvius speaking of scenes, faith, they should be made with trees, Rootes, Herbs, Hils and Flowres.

Sebastiano Serlio, The Book of Architecture, Facsimile of first English edition, London: Robert Peake, 1611 (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1970), fols, 24, 25 and 26.

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Chapter 6. LEONE DE' SOMMI'S QUATTRO DIALOGHI IN MATERIA DI RAPPRESENTAZIONI SCENICHE

1. " ... the Max Reinhardt of the sixteenth century," as he was called by Cecil Roth in The Jews in the Renaissance (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 267; henceforth Roth 2.

2. Leone de' Sommi, Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche, ed. Ferruccio Marotti; Archivio del teatro italiano no. 1 (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1968): 6; henceforth Dialoghi. Any translations from the Dialoghi are mine, based in part upon the translation found in Allardyce Nicoll's book The Development of the Theatre.

3. " ... for the one to whom it presents no need,...he may expect neither usefulness nor pleasure in this lecture ... " (Dialoghi 55).

4. Allardyce Nicoll states: " ... internal evidence demonstrates that, though they may have been begun in that year, they were certainly not completed until at least a decade later ... One might suggest that the composition of the original manuscript was undertaken about this time; it may be that the copyist's date 1556 was put in error for 1565." Nicoll in the introductory material to de' Sommi's Dialogues, Appendix B in The Development of the Theatre, 3d ed. (London: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1948), 252. Ferruccio Marotti takes a slightly different tack when he reminds us that " ... in 1556, one remembers, he (de' Sommi) was around thirty years old, and only with great dificulty would he have been able to acquire that vast experience of directing scenic spectacle which he shows in the Dialoghi" (Dialoghi 77). Alessandro d'Ancona also has reservations about 1556 as a possible date of composition, stating that " ... we believe that they belong to another later year, perhaps 1565, or 1566." D'Ancona, Origini del teatro italiano, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Rome: Loescher, 1891; Reprint, 2 vols in 1, Rome: Bardi Editore, 1971), 410; henceforth d'Ancona.

5. Among the many gentlemen who in our times are delighted to act to well onstage (like the marvelous Montefalco, the rousing Veratto of Ferrara, the witty Olivo, and the sharp Zoppino of Mantua ... and many others that we have all known in our times), the acting ability of a young Roman girl whose name is Flaminia has always and will always seem to me the most marvelous (Dialoghi 42-3).

Sebastiano Clavignano da Montefalco participated in

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the 1541 première of Giraldi-Cinthio's Orbecche, and the première of the same author's Egle in 1545. Giovan Battista Verato performed in the 1555 première of Agostino Beccari's Sacrificio. Piero Olivo of Mantua starred in Ariosto's I suppositi, mounted at the Mantuan court in 1553. Filippo Angeloni was nominated by Duke Guglielmo to become the sole licensee of all theatrical performances as well as of the concessions which operated at those times.

6. Ferruccio Marotti spells this out a bit more succinctly:

> Innanzi tutto, oltre al riferimento alle nozze del Duca Guglielmo, gli accenni a Giovan Battista Verato famoso "histrione" la cui attività è documentata fra il 1567 e il 1589, e a Filippo Angeloni, "superiore" dei comici mercenari nel ducato di Mantova a partire dal 1580: sono tutti indizi che pur senza avere un valore probante assoluto avallano l'ipotesi della nostra datazione.

(Dialoghi xxvii)

7. Massimiano: That set which our Illustrious Lord the Duke of Mantua had built in the courtyard of his castle for his happy wedding celebrations was fabulous, and even though it served no further purpose than for the equestrian show that was presented that evening, it would have been equally capable of having both tragedies and comedies produced in it.

Veridico: Sir Leone, who is such a marvelous architect, could not have brought forth anything that was not perfect, enriched as it was with so many sculptures, decorated with such amazing architecture, and beautified with so many different and exquisite inventions (Dialoghi 61).

8. Catherine Anne Blanchard-Rothmüller mentions that they "reveal more about their author as literary critic, philosopher, director and stage manager than any of his extant works." Blanchard-Rothmüller's annotated translation of de' Sommi's Dialoghi (Four Dialogues on Stage Production. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), xix; henceforth Blanchard.

9. Dialoghi 9.

10. In the first dialogue one deals mainly with the origin of comedies and with some laws and observations pertaining to them, and whether prose or verse suits them better, and many warnings about tragedies and other scenic poems (Dialoghi 3).

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11. Blanchard-Rothmüller states that "the greatest importance of de' Sommi's Dialogues, however, lies in their being an almost perfect intermediary between the dramaturgical and the theatrical aspects of the world of drama during the sixteenth century in Italy--and as such, they constitute the first work of this kind known to have been written" (Blanchard xii).

12. Drama, according to the belief of those most knowledgeable, is nothing more than an imitation, or rather a model taken from human life, where they have to tax vices in order to flee them, and laud the virtues in order to imitate them (Dialoghi 12).

13. Plato, "Republic," translated by Paul Storey, in The Collected Dialogues of Plato edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, Bollingen Foundation Series #71 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961. 5th reprint, March 1969), 639.

14. ... inspires others to fill in wherever I might be lacking (Dialoghi 7).

15. These things are so much more difficult for me, since up to now I have seen authors who, when speaking of such matters, deal with them more confusedly. And as for me, if I must talk of these things in order to please you, I protest that I would not want to repeat more than the littlest bit of what others have written on the above points; not because I am so daring as to disagree with the pronouncements of those wiser than me; but because it is tiresome to retell what others have already said ... (Dialoghi 12).

16. I remember having explained many times before my strange opinion on this subject (not to leave all the credit to the lying Greeks, accustomed to always usurping the glory of others, crediting themselves with the invention of many arts and virtues of which, through the oldest and most divine histories, there is clear proof that they originated in much more than ancient times (Dialoghi 13).

17. "Ancient Jewish tradition ascribed the book to Moses. While Moses was in the wilderness of Midian (Exodus 2:15) which bordered on the Edomite country, he could easily have learned the story of Job from Job's immediate descendants. Or, indeed, Job himself may have still been alive, and may have personally related the story to Moses, giving him a copy of his own family records." Henry H. Halley, Halley's Bible Handbook (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House/Regency Reference Library, 1927. 24th edition, 1965), 241.

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18. Solomon B. Freehof asserts that in Job there is "a man who suffered a catastrophic downfall. He was catapulted from wealth to poverty, from the companionship of a happy family to an almost complete bereavement ... The book at its very beginning awakens what Aristotle said is necessary to the appreciation of tragedy, namely, the sense of pity. A noble, worthy man, for no fault of his but simply because Satan in heaven does not agree with God's appreciation of Job, simply because of the accuser's cynicism, is hurled into misfortune." Freehof, The Book of Job--A Commentary (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1958), 3,5.

19. true and ancient stories (Dialoghi 15).

20. One must grant, it seems, that the weaving of a tragedy comes from the basic thread of some already established tale, in which not only moral sensibility but also religious spirit is involved (Dialoghi 15).

21. Dialoghi 12.

22. Giovambattista Giraldi-Cinthio, Discorsi di M. Giovambattista Giraldi-Cinthio Nobile Ferrarese (Vinegia: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari et Fratelli, 1554), 208.

23. Francesco Robortello, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in Librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica Explicationes (Florentiae: In Officina Laurentii Torrentini Ducalis Typographici, 1548); Facsimile edition, Poetiken des Cinquecento #8 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1968, 23.

24. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, De Poeta (Venetiis: Franciscum Rampazetum, 1559); Facsimile edition, Poetiken des Cinquecento #5 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), 41.

25. Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri, Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons: Antonium Vincentium, 1561), 144.

26. However much it makes sense to introduce, for the sake of an example, an evil and clever servant, a bold and shrewd maidservant, a fawning and lying parasite, a distrustful and avaricious old man, it would be an intolerable vice to apply such defects to a young gentleman, a noble student, a respected young maiden, or to an old and wise father of a family. It is quite true, though, that one is allowed, for the purposes of pointing out an error, to introduce a qualified person who is stained with a particular vice...as one would introduce a doctor, or let us say a master of prescriptions, who would

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set more value by money than by a man's health, always looking forward more to what he will earn than to a respectable cure; or one might introduce a lawyer who betrays his client, bribed by the other party; or an old man who, for loving in his dotage, commits some foolishness (Dialoghi 18-9).

27. One need be warned to present all things in their natural state (Dialoghi 19).

28. "The insistence that reason alone offers us truth undermines the basis of a revealed Scripture, and of the belief in the special vocation of any particular religious community. A God who is incapable of free decision and free initiative and whose actions must always conform to natural law cannot of course perform miracles. He cannot respond to prayer. What is perhaps even more serious, such a God can concern Himself only with a general order or nature, but hardly with individual members of the species ... A "naturalist" religion may help a philosopher explain the universe, but it offers us very little of the things which can help us live in it." Ben Zion Bokser, The Legacy of Maimonides (New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1950), 14; henceforth Bokser.

29. "Aristotelian thought ... generalized its method into a philosophy of naturalism, in which the laws of natural causality are the sole factor in the making of events. In this doctrine, there is no design working itself out in the universe, but only blind necessity; the individual's life is moved by chance, and is not under any special providence of God ..." (Bokser 105).

30. ... the prescription of not wanting anyone to don a disguise while onstage, because it does not ring true that one who wants to change his outfit so as not to be recognized (or for some other secret reason) should do it in a public place. For the same reason one of our current friends has taken for law in one of his new plays that none of the actors should enter into any long soliloquies ... this gentleman customarily says that, as it is reckoned a vice that an actor onstage should address his lines to the spectators (because those people are never in the place where the actors are pretending to be) thusly it seems nonsensical that one who is pretending to be in a public street, should raise his voice in long soliloquies beyond any sensible custom, and far from any civil belief, speak to himself like a crazy man, having no permission, as was said, to ever speak with the spectators (Dialoghi 19-20).

31. the stage ... is the adhesive of plays (Dialoghi 22).

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32. Aristotle, "De Poetica," translated by Ingram Bywater, in The Basic Works of Aristotle, edited and with an introduction by Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, Inc., 1941; nineteenth printing), 1458.

33. ... in comedies one must use prose, as it is a more natural thing in intimate conversation, and in tragedies one should make use of verse, the latter having within it more majesty and loftiness, adapting to the subject of such a story. Verse, however, should be so constructed that in the recitation it somewhat approximates prose (Dialoghi 23).

34. ... fall into that severe phrasing and into that boring rhyme ... the ease of prose (Dialoghi 23).

35. Russell A. Peck gives this theory its religious aspect when he points out that God created five species of living creatures (man, quadrupeds, fish, reptiles and birds), the fifth day of the world saw the beginning of animal creation (Genesis 1:19-20), and the Pentateuch (symbol of Old Testament Law) contained five books. Peck, "Numbers as Cosmic Language," in Essays in the Numerical Criticism of Medieval Literature, edited by Caroline D. Eckhardt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1980), 60; henceforth R. Peck.

36. Vincent Foster Hopper proposes that according to medieval numerology the number five turns out to be the only number that "reproduces itself in its last digit when raised to its powers." Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism--Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 102; henceforth Hopper.

37. (R. Peck 24). Peck does not mention Leone de' Sommi in any way in connection with this topic.

38. ... the number five, as you know, contains within itself the numbers two and three ... the even number applies itself to the feminine, and the uneven number, because it is more perfect, determines itself to be masculine ... this number holds great power against Demons and, for he who reads of occult philosophy, it can be deduced that it is most powerful against poisons... thus, the extremities of this human microcosm number exactly five, those being: the head, both hands making three, and both feet making the total five... Not only does this human body have five extremities, but each one of those five is in itself divisible into five parts. The explanation is that there are five fingers on each hand and five toes on each foot, also in the head there are five princi-

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pal parts; these are in the eyes which hold the gift of sight, in the ears where the sense of hearing is, in the nose where the sense of smell is located, and in the mouth where the sense of taste is (thus making four parts), and the fifth ... I strongly state that this is the intellect, the highest aspect of the human being, which is in the brain (Dialoghi 28, 30).

39. R. Peck 74.

40. ... this format is also in conformity with the human body, which can be equally divided into three parts, and that is comparable to the three worlds: from the stomach (which has come to be called the diaphragm) down to the end of the legs, man has equivalence to the lower world; from his waist up until the throat he is very much like the heavenly world; and the head, then, which is the highest part of the body, is a true image of the spiritual world (Dialoghi 33-4).

41. As the heart spreads the spirit to all parts of the body, so the plot gives of its substance to all parts of the play, so that there seems to be nothing excessive or boring in it, as with our own human body there is not one part that was created uselessly (Dialoghi 32).

42. ... it will be allowed ... without scandal to religion, since it is no longer to be feared that man will allow himself to be fooled by such silly idolatries, the whole world by now being certain that there is none but the one God who is worthy of being truly worshipped and revered (Dialoghi 35).

43. The beauty of comedies is that it is in them to deal with everybody (particularly so in our times), and it is necessary for comedy, being of general service, to do its part with all types of people (with modesty, though), considering even those who proceed to fall asleep while the poet exerts himself to entertain others with scholarly pronouncements and perfectly constructed speeches, those who then wake themselves up with uncontrolled laughter at a dishonest statement, or an immodest word, in the exact manner that a blacksmith's dog, who sleeps through the hammering sounds with which his master earns his living, and then wakes up at the sound of his master's teeth, chewing and digesting his well-earned bread (Dialoghi 35-6).

44. ... one must always be warned to cover any less than honest concept with more high-minded words (Dialoghi 36).

45. He has directed more comedies than he has writ-

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ten; thus I am sure he has become a greater expert in directing them, than in the correct way they are to be written (Dialoghi 37).

46. ... it is a perfect comedy when it becomes imperfect through the removal of its smallest part (Dialoghi 38).

47. ... the actor must stretch his talent and try as hard as he possibly can (as we will say) to fool the spectator into thinking that the episodes re-enacted for him seem real, if the spectator knows beforehand what the actor is going to say and do, all of it will then seem to him too obvious and a foolish lie, and the story will lose that bit of the natural with which it must always be invested; whereupon the listener, almost mocked, not only disparages the production, but also belittles himself because as a young boy he has allowed himself to be forced to hear the story of the goose (as it is said in the proverb). This is something that never happens with new comedies ... (Dialoghi 38)

48. First, I take out all the corrected parts, and then, having chosen the performers who seem to me most able (alerting you as much as possible to those particulars of which we will talk more later on) I gather them all together; and, having given out to each one that part which fits him the best, I make all of them read the play together, even the little children who have parts in it, are taught the plot, or at least that part of it in which they are involved, branding in all of their minds the qualities of the character whom they must imitate; having begun them with this, I give them time to be able to learn their parts (Dialoghi 39).

49. Francesco Robortello, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in Librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica Explicationes (Florentiae: In Officina Laurentii Torrentini Ducalis Typographi, 1548), 185.

50. Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri, viri clarissimi, Poetices Libri Septem (Lyons: Antonius Vincentius, 1561), 174 (a & b); hewnceforth Scaliger.

51. Scaliger 99 a.

52. Leone de' Sommi's treatise, for the above-stated reasons, is "customarily held to be the first work of its kind" (Blanchard xxv). Blanchard-Rothmüller also states that Ingegneri's treatise was the only one outside of de' Sommi's which dealt with multiple aspects of drama simultaneously. Ingegneri's work is in reality two self-contained essays in one, published under the same cover.

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53. ... I dare to say, rather I affirm it to be the truth, that it is more important to have good actors than a good play, and it is also true that many times we have seen an awful play succeed more with audience taste if it was well-acted, as opposed to a good play poorly acted (Dialoghi 39).

54. Hamlet 3.2.1-23

55. ... other than being gifted with many beautiful qualities, she is esteemed so rare in this profession, that I do not believe the ancients ever saw her like, nor could one see any better these days; it is in fact because she is so incredible onstage, that it seems to the listeners that they are seeing true episodes occurring before their eyes, for she changes her gestures, voices and colorations, and conforms to changes of circumstance, wonderfully moving whomever hears her not merely to marvel, but to the greatest of delight (Dialoghi 43-4).

56. Rosamond Gilder gives Leone de' Sommi the credit due him in the preservation of Flaminia's talent and fame. Gilder, Enter the Actress--The First Women in the Theatre (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1960), 57.

57. It is extremely pleasing ... having as director the very author of the play, he who has the gift, generally, of being better able to teach some hidden concepts which can make the play seem more beautiful, and his actors as a result seem more lively (Dialoghi 46).

58. The eloquence of the body ... they are of such great importance that the effectiveness of words is not by chance greater than that of actions (Dialoghi 47).

59. the actor must always have a slim figure, and arms that are agile and not tied up in knots and awkward. He must place his feet with lightness when it is necessary for him, keeping a natural movement for his head so it does not seem that he as affixed is to his neck with nails; his arms and hands (when there is no need to make gestures with them) must be allowed to remain when nature inclines them (Dialoghi 47).

60. Appropriate clothes and colors that conform to all the qualities of the performers (Dialoghi 49).

61. It will always seem more realistic to us to see what happens among foreign people with whom we are not acquainted, rather than to see those things which for the most part are represented in comedies befall citizens with whom we have continuous dealings. And if this succeeds

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well in comedies ... so much moreso will it succeed well in tragedies (Dialoghi 50).

62. such observations would be, by the frequency of their usage, worthless, or little known ... (Dialoghi 48).

63. This is not a new feeling for de' Sommi, his having already pointed out that it is boring and a waste of time, as a theorist (and by extension as a practitioner), to retravel territory marked by predecessors (Dialoghi 12, quoted fully earlier in this chapter).

64. In costuming ... he who is in charge must be extremely diligent, never dressing his performers (if it is at all possible) in the ways one dresses at the current time, but in the ways seen on antique sculpture, or paintings, with those cloaks and outfits by which characters of long-ago centuries appeared so beautiful (Dialoghi 50).

65. I exert myself (as much as I am able) to dress the performers differently from one another (Dialoghi 49).

66. As K.M. Lea points out, "the individual dramatist is to be free to dictate in the case of the enchantress and of any special deity which he may introduce, but for the fanciful costume required for the nymphs and shepherds de Somi claims the authority of the ancient poets." Lea, Italian Popular Comedy. 2 vols. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1934; reprint, 2 vols in 1, 1962), 334.

67. ... cover the legs and arms with flesh-colored tights and, if the performer is young and handsome, it would not be inappropriate to leave the arms and legs uncovered, but never the feet, which must always have cothurni or beautifully fitting socks; he must then have a light shirt ... and over it, two animal skins ... some of them should have a flask or a bowl fashioned from a beautiful piece of wood at his belt, others a pouch tied over one shoulder, which hangs down the opposite side. Each of them must have a staff in their hands, some smooth and others ornate ... their hair may be wigged or real, some elaborately styled and others hanging down and straight ...

For the nymphs ... they require a women's dress, well-decorated and varied, with sleeves, and it is my custom to put starch in them, so that, when jewelry is tied upon them, or silk girdlesbeautifully colored or golden, will inflate in a way that will fill the eye and make them most exquisite. I then would add to this a skirt from the waistband downward of some good quality and beautifully colored cloth, gathered in such a way that the curve of the foot can be seen; the feet are to be covered with a

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golden sock, in the ancient way, and close-fitting, or rather some colored boot. She also requires an elaborate cape ... thick, blonde hair which seems real, one can leave the hair of some of them hanging on the shoulders, with a garland on top, or (for a change) add a frontlet of gold, or tied with silk ribbons (Dialoghi 53).

68. ... he who attempts one of these pastoral shows must be well-practiced, for it is much more difficult to win success in them than in comedies (Dialoghi 53).

69. Luigi Rasi says that few works surpass de' Sommi's Dialoghi in the importance which they hold as an in-depth delineation of the total theatrical experience in the sixteenth century. In particular he notes that the development of the outer accoutrements of the theatrical profession (voice, gesture and diction), and how the audience experience of a play is to be viewed, as " ... quel progresso che fa dal palcoscenico, nel nome santo della verità, e a scapito dell'arte e del buon senso, una stanza a quattro pareti, senza tener conto quasi mai che per una di esse, il boccascena, gli spettatori had diritto dai palchi e dalla platea di vedere e udire quel che accade lassù; quel progresso, dico, ha vita da poco più che trent'anni." Rasi, I Comici Italiani, Vol 1 (Firenze: Fratelli Bocca Editore, 1897), 116.

70. Veridico: Hurry up ... take one of those ladders and start lighting those lights ...
Santino: I am standing a little further back, to better see what a beautiful effect the perspective will make.
Veridico: Then I am also going back there. Look there, quick; oh my! Light all those designs!
Massimiano: This art of painting truly has great power, when it is understood well; because I fool myself to such an extent standing here, that even though I know this is no more than a flat curtain, it really seems to me like a street running back a half of a mile. (Dialoghi 59).

71. ... the perfect actor must have this very same power, that however much we know that he is acting out a story, if he is diligent in its representation, it will seem to us like an actual event (Dialoghi 59).

72. ... because neither architecture nor painting is my field, and I then would not be able to illustrate my points with enough examples (Dialoghi 59).

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73. Orville K. Larson states as follows: "These Renaissance artists constantly strove for greater realistic effects. In order to simulate realism, while following the laws of perspective, they foreshortened and built up sections of their decorations in three dimensions." Larson goes on to say that the voice of practicality in the midst of all this came from Leone de' Sommi himself: "Leone di Somi, who was stage manager and director of court theatricals for the Gonzaga family of Mantua ... complains that (without the fourth wall, the impression of verisimilitude is lost)." Larson, commentary on "Historical Development of the Box Set" by John H. McDowell (Theatre Annual 1954, 29).

74. That theory should be so far developed to exact ... statement ... nearly a century of familiarity on the part of educated people with classical canons and technic, and an even longer time spent on the elaboration of stage machinery. Winifred Smith, The Commedia dell'Arte (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964), 78.

75. As you know, it is a natural thing that man, if standing in the dark, will see some far away thing much better if it is well-lit, than if he himself had been in a well-lit place, because sight goes more directly to the object, without wandering or ... the object presents itself more clearly to the eye. That is why I put but a few lights in the auditorium, which makes the scene (onstage) quite splendid; and those few I put behind the listeners since the intervention of such lights obscure the sight ... (Dialoghi 65-6)

76. To the contrary, Catherine Anne Blanchard-Rothmüller (Blanchard xxv-xxvii) puts forth the belief that the Dialoghi's " ... true significance and worth must be determined by time, which, in my opinion, will proclaim their exceptional value as a sourcebook for virtually all important aspects of sixteenth-century Italian drama." This is certainly true, but her statement that little importance needs be attached to their having predated Ingegneri's treatise by some years denies de' Sommi the credit as an innovator that he deserves.

77. ... if the pastoral story is to be represented as happening in the spring, it seems better in an open space during the daytime, and it will suffice that the scene be rich and full of greenery, and that the spectators sees its beauty immediately upon discovering it. And one can do this easily, representing the happiest seasons with ferns and flowers, and fruit-filled trees, which carry in its branches many kinds of birds who create joy with their song. One can also at various times cause rabbits, hares

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and other such animals to come onstage, animals which are part of the happy countryside and of the lonely forests; and with good taste one can fake mountains, valleys, and those hovels, fountains and caves or other such things which could be shown in proper perspective, and to leave a level area in front, disguised asf a field full of flowers, to do the regular acting, with as much space as the scene permits (Dialoghi 66-7).

78. Dialoghi 67-8.

79. Even though there is some sense of beauty in seeing a scene of an open room, well-furnished, in the midst of which (I tell you as an example) a lover consults with a pimp, and it appears real, it is, however, unnatural to have the room without the "fourth-wall" in front (which one must have); it does not make very much sense to me, because one cannot say that acting in such a place is going on on a stage. One could, in avoiding these two inconveniences, open <the scene> onto a loggia or a balcony, where one could go to talk; but I would not want to have recourse to otherwise allow the stage to stay empty, and therefore I would arrange that their conversations in such places would always be at the end or beginning of the acts; so that it may seem like an intermedio, if one could call it such (Dialoghi 68).

80. ... extraordinary prologues, I refer to those that contain elements exceeding the natural, do not fit well in comedies, which are full of the most natural things (Dialoghi 68).

81. ... if these intermedii appropriately identify with the plot of the play, without doubt they will be considered in a more positive light (Dialoghi 71).

82. ... First of all, four young boys appeared, dressed as monks, who with baskets of varied and rich salads, saluted a sister of the Master who was at the head of the table, and gave them to the Mother Prioress, to enjoy them as a token of love for her; then, noticing that the whole group was seated at the table, together (singing in a beautiful melody), they blessed the meal, and in a little while the dressed salads came; and because the banquet was rich, when the fish were to be brought to the table, different fishermen appeared, who were dressed in the costumes of different places, and at the appearance of each one their specialized dishes also appeared; so also with the kids, or with other similar domestic meats to be brought on, a shepherd or a peasant appeared to bring the animals in alive, presenting them first to the Master, and then to the guests, with witty and clever remarks, and then the already-cooked courses of these animals would be

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served; and similarly, before the courses of fowl were brought in, hawkers brought them in alive, with melodies and verses and specially chosen words accompanying them; and similarly before the meat was served, many hunters with strident horns and setters appeared, presenting to one guest a wild boar's head, to another a hare, to another a deer, and another a roe, and so on with them all (Dialoghi 73-4).

83. The first edition of Sabbattini's Pratica di fabricar scene e macchine ne' Teatri di Nicola Sabbattini da Pesaro was published at Pesaro in 1637, but the material to which scholars refer in any examination of his career actually came out in a more complete edition the following year, in Ravenna (Pietro de'Paoli e Gio. Battista Giovannelli Stampatori camerali, 1638; henceforth Sabbattini). Book 2 included Sabbattini's very specific instructions on how the many stage effects of which he was master could be achieved by others, and this ingenious methodology is indeed what sets him apart from the designers who remained working with already established models.

Book 1 approaches the construction of the average sixteenth-century theatre, and the design of scenery from the principle of one-point perspective, as had been stipulated by Serlio nearly one hundred years earlier. For whichever play was on the boards, the appropriate number of angled wings were to be stationed on each side of the stage, with the shutter in the rear. The central purpose to Book 1 embodies practical solutions to the questions on how best to change those wings with the least possible annoyance to and greatest possible wonderment on the part of the audience.

> La teorica non è difficile, ma è più facile la Pratica, e per darne un esempio fresco, le Machine mentovate in ambi due questi libri sono state in gran parte praticate ne gli Spetacoli nobilissimi, che ultimamente si sono rappresentati in Pesaro nel Teatro del Sole, e sono riuscite cosi felicemente, c'hanno apportato particolare amiratione, e diletto a i riguardanti (Sabbattini 165).

84. Giacomo Torelli was equally adept as an architect, engineer and scenographer, and he had the curious distinction of being the first professional scene-painter who was not primarily an artist. Born at Fano in 1608, into what was believed to be a fairly well-to-do family, he forged a great reputation through spectacular scenic effects designed especially for the Teatro Novissimo in Venice during the years 1641-45. Such was the wonderment engendered by his magical machinations that Torelli earned the nickname "il stregone" (the wizard or sorcerer). The significant contribution marking his years

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at the Teatro Novissimo and for which Torelli is best known even today was the chariot-and-pole method of scene-changing which he perfected. Slots were cut through the stage floor through which poles passed, on top of which flat wings were mounted. By maneuvering one central winch, an intricate system of winches, pulleys and ropes beneath the stage could accomplish simultaneous movement of the flats above stage, thus facilitating much quicker scene changes.

The year 1645 saw Torelli being invited to Paris by Cardinal Mazarin. Through the many productions he supervised at both the Palais Royal and the Petit Bourbon (whose backstage works he renovated) the best of Torelli's work took place, though not without alot of difficulty. The French did not adapt will all that much ease from the traditional groove system to Torelli's elaborate scene-shifting methods. For many years he was obligated to design very conventional scenery for ballets performed by the king for his court at the Louvre. France at this time was in the midst of their own classical revival, and were obsessed with the replication of uniform set designs as per the example of Sebastiano Serlio. It was a source of great frustration for an innovator like Torelli to be obliged to collaborate with a system of production that was following criteria that had passed out of style quite some time before in Italy.

In spite of this, Torelli remained in Paris until 1662, when the vicious rivalry between him and Gaspare Vigarani (1581-1663) ended in Torelli's expulsion from France. Alone on the field of victory, Vigarani took all the innovative machinery that Torelli had created with such care, ostensibly for use in the Salles des Machines he was building for the King in the Tuileries, but saw to it that they were completely burnt. Torelli's influence had been sufficiently extensive for the destruction of his machines to have had no real impact, and the road had been paved for the golden age of French theatre as exemplified by Molière.

85. Angelo Ingegneri, Della poesia rappresentativa e Del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche (Firenze: Niccolo Vetteri, 1734), 88; henceforth Ingegneri.

86. Ingegneri 95, 100, 109-10.

87. I once found myself doing a tragedy, and I kept the scene well-lit all the time while the goings-on of the story were happy. When the first sad moment (the unexpected death of a queen) caused the chorus to exclaim in shock that never under the sun had such misery been experienced, I arranged (having figured it out beforehand) at that moment to have the majority of the lights that were not being used to illuminate the perspective either

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veiled or extinguished. This caused a deep horror in the breasts of the spectators. It succeeded wonderfully, according to general opinion (Dialoghi 63-4).

88. Ingegneri 94.

89. Giovanni Battista Guarini, "Compendio della poesia tragicomica," in Il Pastor Fido, Tragicommedia Pastorale (Venetia: Gio. Battista Ciotti, 1602), title page; henceforth Guarini.

90. Guarini 1.

91. Guarini 13.

92. Guarini 52.

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Chapter 7. PLAYS BY LEONE DE' SOMMI

1. Phyllis Hartnoll, Oxford Companion to the Theatre, 3d ed., (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 516, s.v. "Jewish drama;" henceforth Hartnoll.

2. Zacuto was born in Holland of Spanish parents, and upon his return to Mantua distinguished himself as one of the city's more respected rabbis. When there he composed the play Yesod Olam (translated from the Hebrew as "founding of the world," date unknown). Cecil Roth states that this was one of the few Hebrew dramas of the period, and depicted the fiery youth of Abraham, his rescue by an angel from a furnace into which he had been thrown after destroying his father's idols and a vision of the afterlife in a vaguely Dantesque tradition. Roth, The History of the Jews in Italy (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 400; henceforth Roth 1.

3. Romanelli was born and bred in Mantua, and contributed to Jewish participation in theatrical arts by translating the plays of Metastasio, among those of other Italian authors.

4. Hartnoll 516.

5. Hartnoll 516.

6. The first published version of Tsahoth in its original Hebrew was edited by Chaim Schirmann (Jerusalem, Tarshish Books, 1946).

7. Edited by Giovanna Romei, Archivio del teatro italiano number 8 (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982).

8. Jefim Schirmann, the scholar to whom is due the premier edited version of Tsahoth, says, in this light, that "...le récit, même très condensé, de son argument tout entier, risquerait d'être fort long et de dérouter le lecteur." Schirmann, "La première pièce du Théâtre hébreu," Revue de la Pensée Juive 2 (1950-1): 98.

9. Leone de' Sommi, Ebreo, A Comedy of Betrothal (Tsahoth B'dichutha d'Kiddushin) Translated and with an introduction and notes by Alfred S. Golding (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions Canada, 1988), 69; henceforth Golding.

10. This is excerpted from the Talmud, Order "Nashim," Tractate "Gittin" (8b, p. 29) of the Babylonian Talmud, edited and translated into English with notes,

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glossary and indices by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein (London: Soncino Press, 1952); henceforth Talmud.

11. Kiddushin, or betrothal, was the formalization of the engagement. According to Rabbi Daniel B. Syme, this could be effected in one of three ways, the third of which has a bearing on de' Sommi's play:

a. kesef (money)--where the formal exchange of an object of value was performed in the presence of at least two witnesses.

b. shetar (document)--the signing of a legal document in the presence of two witnesses that testified to the couple's intent to marry and specified the bride's rights in case of a dissolution of the engagement or marriage.

c. Biah (intercourse)--cohabitation as a means of betrothal originated in the Bible (an example is to be found in Genesis 24:67, concerning the betrothal of Isaac and Rebeccah), but was discouraged by the rabbis.

Rabbi Daniel B. Syme, The Jewish Wedding, Part I, reprinted from Reform Judaism Magazine (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1982), 4.

12. Golding III. v., 104-5.

13. Golding I. iii., 74-5.

14. Please see Chapter Two for further explanation of the Talmud and how it pointed towards the Jewish attitude toward involvement in theatrical activity.

15. Pirkei Avot (Sayings of the Fathers), with translation and commentary by the Very Reverend Dr. Joseph H. Hertz (New York: Behrman House, Inc., Publishers, 1945), 1:2.

16. Golding IV. iii., 110-11.

17. Golding 45 (introduction).

18. Golding II, viii., pp. 92-3.

19. Golding I. i., 72-3.

20. Dialoghi 18-9.

21. Dialoghi 12.

22. Golding V. xi., p. 138.

23. Bernardino Peyron. Codices Italici manu exarati qui in biblioteca Taurinensis Athenaei. Turin: Apud Carolum Clausen, 1904; henceforth Peyron 1.

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24. Peyron 1 119.

25. Abd-el Kader Salza is very curious about this point, and proposes a thesis that points to a possible date of composition for Hirifile. He confirms that there is no date indicated on the Torinese manuscript, and suggests a span of years from 1554 to 1573 in which Hirifile likely was composed: " ... può veramente l'Irifile assegnarsi all'età da noi supposta? Ed esser tenuta per fermo posteriore al Sacrificio (1554), ma anteriore all'Aminta (1573)?" From "Un Dramma Pastorale Inedito del Cinquecento: L'Irifile di Leone De Sommi," Giornale Sotrico dlla Letteratura Italiana 54 (1909): 118; henceforth Salza.

26. Dialoghi 69.

27. Hirifile, Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin, Shelfmark N. IV. 18, ll. 17-30; henceforth Hirifile.

28. Such a hypothesis can be deduced from the discussion which occurs in this dialogue around the subject of prologues and the necessity of their being thematically in unison with the play that follows. Please refer to note #26, (p. 213) in this chapter for the specific citation.

29. Hartnoll 722.

30. Hirifile I, ll. 146-74.

31. Hirifile I, ll. 331-37.

32. Hirifile I, ll. 491-500.

33. Later in this chapter, further information is presented that might support the propriety of such a prologue.

34. Hirifile III, ll. 16-24.

35. Hirifile III, ll. 16-24.

36. Hirifile V, ll. 202-11.

37. Leone de' Sommi's Il tamburo, Manuscript at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin, Shelfmark number N. II. 16, ll. 76-90 [Microfilm]; henceforth Tamburo.

38. Tamburo V. xiii. ll. 535-66.

39. Tre sorelle. ed. Giovanna Romei. Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982.

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40. As Giovanna Romei describes the extant manuscript of Tre Sorelle: " ... consta di 52 carte e di 8 fogli di guardia moderni solidali con la legatura, quattro all'inizio e quattro alla fine del manoscritto; delle 52 carte le prime due e le ultime tre sono bianche." From Leone de Sommi, Tre Sorelle, edited by Giovanna Romei, Archivio del teatro italiano no. 8 (Milan: Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1982), 77; henceforth Sorelle.

41. Sorelle 78.

42. Sorelle 4.

43. Sorelle I. ix, pp. 18-19.

44. Sorelle I. i, p. 7.

45. Sorelle I. ii, p. 9.

46. Sorelle I. v, p. 13.

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NOTE TO APPENDICES A AND B

In both of these plays, accent marks will be according to modern usage. Also, characters' names that are abbreviated in the manuscript will be fully cited in my text. Some spelling will be modernized for more accurate comprehension. Other than those compromises, I have chosen not to change the majority of either spellings or grammatical constructions. In so doing I hope to maintain as much as possible of the original flavor of both Hirifile and Il Tamburo.

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APPENDIX A *

1/recto

Hirifile pastorale

<di Leone de' Sommi.

1/verso (book plate, Biblioteca Reale di Torino)

<Personaggi>

<Comedia>
<Tragedia>
<Vergilio>
<Hirifile>
<Selvaggio>
<Satiro>
<Cariteo>
<Veridico>
<Clitia>
<Clori>
<Diana>
<Venere>
<Giove>
<Egone>
<Tiresia Cieco>

*Note: As there was some damage to this play resulting from the 1904 fire that destroyed many of the manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin, there are missing lines indicated in several places. In this respect, the following transcription was greatly aided by substantial excerpts quoted in the article by Abd'el Kader Salza entitled "Un Dramma Pastorale Inedito del Cinquecento: L'Irifile di Leone De' Sommi," Giornale Storico Della Letteratura Italiana 54 (1909): 103-19. Microfilm, New York Public Library.

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PROLOGO

(Tragedia, Comedia, Vergilio)

Tragedia

2/recto Mentre la già avilita mia sorella
Che a comici spettacoli suol dare
Decoro et metro hora negletta stassi
Fra la plebe più bassa in più vil loco.
Io che conosco il Regal merto vostro,
Spettatori honorati, ecco qui vengo
Con un tragico mio nobil poema
Per far di me spettacolo più degno.

Comedia

Chi è colei che temeraria ardisce
D'impedirmi il proscenio, ove hoggi intendo
Far di me bella, et improvisa mostra?

Tragedia

Non per spiacere a te, che pur mi sei
Sorella, et cara, ma più tosto venni
Per supplir io, ove il tuo pregio manca.
Riputando a disnor che hoggi ti lasci
Veder qui tanto disprezzata et vile.

Comedia

Dunque, con mesti et dolorosi effetti
Pensi aggradire in questi allegri tempi
A Done, a Cavalieri, a sommi Duci,
Che sol d'Amor, sol di pietà son vaghi?

Tragedia

Ben sai se non t'acieca il proprio Amore
Che molto più conviensi in questo loco
Il mio Regio piacer che'l tuo solazzo.
Perché se tu appresenti in stil dimesso
Avaritia di vecchi, astuti inganni
2/verso Di servi, et frodi d'impudiche et lorde
Meretrici, et d'Amor lascivi effetti;
Io l'honor, la giustitia, et il consiglio
Et mille altre virtù discopro ogni hora
Con nobil gravità, con alti essempi.

Comedia

Io non men porgo util diletto altrui

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Co'l piacevole stil, che tu ti faccia
Con la tua maestà grave, et severa.
Né perché io sia tal hor sprezzata, voglio
Che ti caggia in pensier ch'io sia in me stessa
Tanto avilita ch'io mi prezzi meno
Di quel che mi prezzai quando con tanto
Honore, et maestà, Theatri et loggie,
Alzar mi vidi a più felici tempi.

Tragedia

Piacemi assai che nel tuo basso stato
Ove t'ha posta in ver l'altrui sciochezza,
Tu, la tua nobiltà non obliando,
L'animo altero et incorotto serbi.
Pur se al mio maggior grado i primi honori
Non neghi, et se a ragion concedi ch'io,
Trattando ogni hor cose più illusti et gravi
Più pregio acquisto, non devria spiacerti
Cedermi anco hoggi un si honorato loco.

Comedia

Quanto più grave et più severa sei,
Nel trattar cose lagrimose et meste,
Men ti convien lo star fra gente allegra.

Tragedia

3/recto Fermati ch'oltre al suon che .....
L'orecchie, parmi di veder lontano
Il gran Maron, ch'in questi lidi nacque.
Si ch'egli è d'esso, et se ti piace, voglio
Che al suo parer ci raportiamo al tutto.

Comedia

Il tuo giudicio apunto in ciò mi aggrada,
Perché sincero fia non men che saggio.

Vergilio

Fin ne gli Elisij Campi ove ho mia stanza,
S'è udito il son delle contese vostri
Dive felici. Et io che di voi due
Sempre con l'altre sette alme sorelle
Honorar soglio i gloriosi nomi.
Vago di riveder nel patrio nido,
I miei gran figli a tanta altezza eretti
Quanto chiede il lor merto, è'l mio desire;
Per gratia otteni dal motor superno
Di qui venir, si per godermi lieto
La grata vista de gli ameni campi

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Ov'io nacqui, et si ancor per esser mezzo
Di terminar (come si dee) la vostra
Dolce contesa, che sol tende a fine
D'honorar l'alta mia diletta prole,
Con cosa in parte dei suoi merti degna.

Comedia

Questo è il nostro desio.

Tragedia

Questo cerchiamo.

Vergilio

Et perché in ver de l'una il troppo humile
3/verso .....concetto si disdice?
Il Real maestà, ne ben conviene
De l'altra il mesto, et lagrimoso affetto.
Fra lieta gente a la stagion più bella
Parmi ragion d'appresentar qui cosa
Di gravitade insieme et piacer mista.
Io, dunque, che cantai gli agresti carmi
Non men che i fatti de gli Heroi, vedendo
Titiro et Melibea vie più graditi
Ne i lor dolci, soavi, et grati accenti
Che d'Edipo di Tantalo et d'Atreo
Gli horrendi amari, et dolorosi casi
Lodo. Et vorrei che di pastori et Nimphe
Tessendo bella et amorosa historia
(Ma breve), una di voi le desse il grave
Et l'heroico sermon, l'altra il giocondo
Et piacevole stile, et fra gli estremi,
La maestà Regal lasciar da un lato
Et da l'altro anco l'humiltà del volgo.
Senza passar a cose ond'habbia l'alme
Per troppa compassione, affanno et tedio,
Et senza cader anco in quel profuso
Et vano riso ond'han gli sciocchi gioia,
Stando nel mezzo ove virtù risiede.
Et io, se consentite al parer mio
Come eccelente Mago, m'offro hor hora
4/recto Far trasportar questo spettacol tutto
Senza sconcio d'alcun mirabilmente.
Là sotto il vago et temperato cielo
In lido al mare ove hebbe scettro in terra
Il grande Arcade che di Giove nacque
Di cui serba anco il glorioso nome
Ove de lordi vitij immaculate
L'alme si serban santamente ancora
D'honor, di gloria et di virtù sol vaghe.

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Comedia

Tanto esseguito fia quanto proponi.

Tragedia

Ma senza indugio.

Vergilio

Eccomi hor hora pronto
A far quanto ho promesso et come tosto
(Senza pur avedersene) con arte
Fian trasportati altrove. Così ancora
In brevissimo tempo, et senza noia,
Fian qui rimessi ove il bel Mincio irriga
Il fecondo terreno ove io son nato,
Che come caro al cielo per l'alto pregio
Di tanti Heroi che in ogni età produce
Mertà di mantenersi ogni hor felice.

* * * * * * * * * *

4/verso is blank

5/recto

(Hirifile pastor...
Veridico pastor)

Hirifile

Mi ha pur giovato in tanto il tuo consiglio,
Veridico mio caro, che in questo habito
Posso veder sovente la mia Orenia,
Con lei parlare et ritrovarmi seco.
Hora a cacciar le boscareccie Fiere,
Hor tender lacci a semplicetti Augelli,
Hora a sturbar i lor secreti a pesci
Con mille belle et dilettose insidie.
Ma trovo (ahi lasso me) che quanto è il commodo
Maggiore et qui con lei ragiono et scherzo.
Donescamente tanto accresco il foco
Che m'arde, et tosto ridurammi in cenere:
Tutto perché io non oso parlar seco
Se non di cose al suo desio conformi.

Veridico

Gli hai tu scoperto ancor (com'io ti dissi)
Il tuo desio? Mostrando parlar d'altra
Terza persona per veder com'ella
Si risenta?

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Hirifile

Non mai.

Veridico

Per qual cagione?

Hirifile

Per dubbio ch'ella, inteso l'esser mio,
Non si sdegni, e mi scacci, come intesi
Ch'ella già discacciò l'audace Alessi.

Veridico

Che fece ella ad Alessi?

Hirifile

Amava il misero
Anch'egli Orenia, et temendo il suo sdegno
5/verso .....ardiva scoprirle l'amor suo.
Ma stando egli dolente un giorno, assiso
Appresso un fonte, et credendo esser solo
Si dolea senza fin del crudo Amore.
Volse la sorte sua, ch'ivi non lungi
Ritrovandosi Orenia, si nascose
Per ascoltarla. Al fin fatta pietosa,
Non pensando ella esser però cagione
Del gran martir de l'infelice Alessi
(Forse comossa dal comun desio
Ch'è di mai sempre intender gli altrui fatti)
Baldanzosa, al Pastor si fece avanti
Con bel saluto, et con cortese affetto
Gli dimandò qual pastorella fosse
Tanto cruda ver lui. Egli, a la voce
Di lei, confuso et stupido stè alquanto,
Poi sorto in piè, con humiltà l'accolse.
Et dopo il molto esserne chiesto, al fine
Tutto tremante, disse: "io vuò mostrarti
Il bel ritratto de la mia nemica."
Et fattala affacciar sul sacro fonte
Le disse: "hor quivi mira." Et ella simplice-
Mente guardò ne l'onda, et visto il suo
Bel volto, tosto divenuta come
Di foco in viso, per vergogna e sdegno,
6/recto Con furor grande si fuggì lontano,
Né mai più il volse né veder, né udire.

Veridico

Non so com'io mi debba creder ch'ella

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Si sdegnasse così, senza qualche altra
Cagion, che l'altro fu modesto e bello.
Ma dimi, eravi forse altra persona
Quando ciò avvenne?

Hirifile

Sì, che Orenia seco
Havea per quel che intesi, Aminta e Clori.
Et da quelle eccitata, ella hebbe ardire
Di chieder al pastor l'alta cagione
De suoi tormenti, et del suo amaro pianto.

Veridico

Ecco la cagion dunque del suo sdegno,
Et non senza ragion si fuggì irata.
Ch'ogni effetto d'Amor vuol secretezza,
Ma se da solo a solo tu la senti
Altro sperar non poi, che bon successo.

Hirifile

Mi ritiene ancc (a non celarti il vero)
Certa timidità che ogni hor m'assale
Tosto ch'io voglio aprir la bocca, e dirle
Cosa che s'appartenga al caso nostro.
Et provo in me quel c'huom suol dir, che Amore
Lega la lingua altrui, gli spirti invola.

Veridico

Sí, a gli sciocchi, et pochi esperti amanti
Ch'anzi amor desta i sonnolenti ingegni.
Porge al timido ardir, fa il pigro pronto
6/verso .....stender sue gratie Amor su quegli
Che con risserve timidi, e sospetti,
Non s'arischiano a far mai prova bona.

Hirifile

Si grand'animo aggiunge il tuo consiglio
Al mio desir, che pria che'l sol tramonti
Deliberò tentar la mia fortuna.

Veridico

Questo è il tuo meglio, se però non vuoi
Come prima ti dissi, e meglio fora
Lasciar d'amarla.

Hirifile

Questo far non posso

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Né potendo vorrei.

Veridico

Non ti do torto
Perché, oltre l'esser la tua Nimpha amabile
Per sue rare bellezze, et sue virtuti
Parmi anco, a l'età tua non sconvenirsi
L'esser amante. Et se giunta a l'ardire
Che ti bisogna, havrai modestia, spera
Tutto ciò che di ben può dar Amore.
Ma se sfrenato troppo, o troppo timido
Sarai, non t'aspettar contento alcuno.

Hirifile

Con la tua scorta, io non potrò perire
Ond'io vado a tentar fortuna e Amore.

Veridico

Va che fortuna e'l ciel ti sian secondi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Selvaggio et Veri<dico>)

Selvaggio

Ahi, crudo Amore. Ahi, dispietato cielo.

Veridico

Ecco quest'altro ancor, che infelice ama
7/recto E faria co'l suo duol pietosi <pianti>.

Selvaggio

Come a miei danni congiunti <sempre>
Fate dubbia la speme o'l dolor certo?

Veridico

Selvaggio mio! Perché, deposto il plettro
(Fuor del costume tuo) non fai le piagge
Risonar d'ogni intorno del bel nome
De la tua Nimpha, amorosetta et cara?

Selvaggio

Oh Veridico mio, mentre credetti
Che in parte Clori il mio cantar gradisse
Con rozzi versi, et boscareccie rime,

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Mi godea d'esplicar, cantando, quello
Che'l cor sentiva, hor d'ira, hora di piacere.
Ma poiché a mille prove, aperso vidi
Ch'ella me fugge, e che'l mio canto abhorre.
Ceco io me stesso, et la mia cetra odiando
Quella, appesa ad un tronco, ho condennata
A perpetuo silentio et io sol cerco
Le più riposte selve e i più deserti
Campi, ove spero al fin che morte acerba
Debba por fine, al mio crudel martire.

Veridico

Questa credenza tua, contraria è in tutto
A quel che conosco io, per prova certa.
Né la tua bella Nimpha, che non solo
Come tu creder mostri, non ti sprezza,
Ma te gradisce, e'l tuo cantar gli è caro.

Selvaggio

Ahimè che mal puo darsi fede a quello
7/verso <Che> l'huom vede pur contrario effetto.

Veridico

Se'l tuo stato, Selvaggio, et la tua etade
Acerba ancora, e'l delicato viso
Non ti fosser sospetto, et se com'io
Dal crin canuto è più da voglie honeste,
Affidato potesti alcuna volta
Ragionar seco, com'io fo sovente.
Sempre però di cose honeste, e degne
Del honor suo, ben potresti esser sicuro
Ch'ella non t'odia, et non t'ha punto a vile.
Et se tal'hor ti fugge, e ti si mostra
Severa in vista, rigidetta, e schiva,
Non per proprio voler ma il fa per zelo
De la sua castitade. Anzi non nega
D'haverti sol fra mille amanti caro.

Selvaggio

Se questo fosse, o s'io potessi almeno
Darmi a creder in parte esser ciò vero,
Chi saria al mondo più di me felice?

Veridico

Credi, Selvaggio, a me. Credemi certo
Che ne la Nimpha tua si gran forza have
Timor d'infamia, et sol desio d'honore,
Che le fa disprezzar quel ch'ella havrebbe

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Con l'altre donne tutte a sommo grado.
Piace ad ogni altra esser tenuta bella,
Gode ogni Donna esser da molti amata.
Ma Cloride gentil, sola, fra mille
8/recto Mostra haver gran dolor.....
Perché, amata da molti, a molti si.....
L'alte sue doti celebrar co'l canto
E teme (ben ch'ella habbia il cor pudico)
Che temeraria alcun giuditio faccia
Ch'ella, co'l darsi in preda a qualche amante,
Non si procacci questi applausi, i quali
Havria non men, che l'altre donne a grado,
Si non temesse, che'l suo honor macchiato
Ne restasse, d'infamia anco che falsa.

Selvaggio

Che debbo dunque far? Deh, tosto caro
Dammi soccorso o almen qualche consiglio.

Veridico

Io (se in te fossi) a la negletta lira
Non senza speme ancor dando di piglio
Tenterei, d'erger la tua gloria al cielo
Con dotti versi, et con purgate rime,
Ma con modestia tal ch'altri, che lei,
Comprender non potesse in quella alcuno
Vostro d'Amor particolare effetto.
Ma in velati concetti, e nomi finti,
Sol compresi da voi spiegare in versi
Anzi celare ogni accidente vostro.
Ben si vorrei, che in general tessendo
La lunga historia de suoi pregi (in vero
Degni del suon d'ogni pregiata cethra)
Nel celebrar la castità di ch'ella
Arma il candido petto, et nel far noto
8/verso .....d'Amor, troppo allo orgoglio
301 .... (dico) che questi et altri ancora
Suoi honorati biasmi, al mondo tutto
Posser per la mia lingua aperti, e chiari
Certo non sol di non cader per questo
In sua disgratia ma sicuro in parte
D'haverne anco appo lei degna mercede.

Selvaggio

Questa avvertenza ancor che sempre havuta
Con maggior osservanza haver debb'io.
Et affidato dal tuo dir me'n vado
A pigliar co'l plettro il cavo legno.

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Veridico

Vanne felice ch'io vuò qui nel bosco
Cercar d'un capro c'ho smarrito, e s'io
No'l vi trovo, tornar poi d'indi al gregge.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Satiro solo)

Ben disse il ver, chi disse sotto il cielo
Non potersi trovar stato perfetto.
Bramoso è d'arichir il poverello
Et de la sua miseria ogni hor si lagna.
Né il ricco ingordo mai si trova satio
Ma quanto più possiede, più haver brama
Questi teme di perder l'acquistato.
Et de l'altrui quell'altro invido scoppia
Et così, a tutti quegli che stimati,
Qui son felici, alcuna cosa manca.
Non per altro cred'io, se non che essendo
9/recto L'alma divina, et <imortale, questa>.
326 Non può nel carcer suo caduta.....
Ma non so già qual sia l'alta cagione
Che noi pur Semide, benché terreni
Debbiamo haver gli animi infasti ogni hora,
Non men c'habbia un mortal soggetto al tempo.
Io per Clitia mi struggo, e la natura
Mi incita sempre a seguitarla pronto.
Et ella, sdegnosetta, ogni hor mi fugge
Più che timida Dama un can latrante.
Deh, perché in noi tanta lascivia pose
La gran madre Natura se deveve?
Farei si odiosi a queste altere Nimphe,
Ma son disposto (poiché non mi vale
Prego, o sospiro, o lamentar ch'io faccia)
Ricorrere a la forza e suo mal grado
For da Clitia crudel quel ch'ella tanto
Pertinace gran tempo m'ha negato.
Ma sento gente, io mi voglio hor partire
Et tornerò qui tante et tante volte
Che un tratto, la corrò da solo a solo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

[Cariteo Pastor (pastor pazzo
con un cane), Veridico et
Clitia Nimpha]

Cariteo

Di te voglio far razza, ad ogni modo

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Sta pur allegro, il mio gentil Pettulco, ah, ah, ah.

Veridico

Et ecco qui l'insano Cariteo
9/verso .....vien, co'l suo levriero.

<Cariteo>

<Ma> non s'inamorar, vé ch'io te'l dico,
Che non mi basterian queste catene,
A far che tu non iscappassi.

Veridico

Oh quanto
Dolci sarebbon queste sue pazzie!
De la pietà non trafiggesse i cori
Di chi già lo conobbe acorto e saggio;
Quanto Pastor, che in queste piagge alberghi.

Cariteo

O se troviamo una stiviera, voglio
Che facciamo i bei Bracchi. Abaia un poco--
Fatti udir co'l latrar. Deh fatti udire
Che correran giù forse a la sfilata
Le belle cagne de vicin Pastori.

Veridico

Certo, ch'io biasmerei (se fosse lecito)
La nimpha di Diana che, sprezzandoti
D'acqua incantata, non ti fece subito
Cangiare in fera o divorare a cani
Come già avvenne ad Ateon qui appresso.
Poiché con atto si crudel cangiandoti
L'human discorso, in bestiale instinto,
Ti lasciò in vita assai peggio che morto.

Cariteo

Tratienti hor'un pochetto, fo' un boccone
Ch'anch'io m'assetto qui per bere un tratto.

Veridico

Si suol dir c'ha bon tempo il can del cieco,
Et a me par, che l'habbia quel del pazzo,
Poiché costui gli ha dato tutto il cascio
Et per lui tiensi il pan muffido e nero.

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<Cariteo>

10/recto .....ber prima, o vuoi.....
Bevi.

Veridico
Come s'affana a far, che seco
Il suo can beva.

Cariteo

Hor su non ti sdegnare
Che bevo io prima, hora cantiamo
Salti, diletti, giochi, feste e canti,
Capricorno e Gemelli e Cancro e Tauro
Con Augurij, Presagij, Auspicij, Incanti,
Dal Borea al'Austro e dal mar Indo al Mauro.
Luna latone, Triforme et Diana
Notho, Rovaio, Greco et Tramontana, ah, ah, ah.

Veridico

Si come essendo savio, amabil era,
E grato a par d'ogni altro così anch'ora.
Puote chiamarsi in vero un dolce pazzo.

Clitia (a Clori)

Ecco qui, ohimè, l'insano mio nemico.
Fuggi, Clori sorella, fuggi, dico.

Cariteo

Ecco una Nimpha, eccone un altra, levati
Camina té, té, té, camina dico.

Veridico

Fuggi pur, Clitia, fuggene che s'egli
Ti giunge, fa certa vendetta insieme
Di tua miseria, e di tua crudeltade.
Ma vuò seguirlo, e vuò vederne il fine.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Clitia sola)

Certo ch'io l'hebbi al fianco, e non so come
Schivato habbia il furor di quello insano.
10/verso .....<dietro> ad un cespuglio, mentre
<Così> credea, ch'io le fuggissi inanti.
E non so dove sia voltata Clori.
Che mal habbia quel pazzo! Ma più stolta

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Son io, a temer tanto d'un tal huomo.
E s'io l'incontro più, vuò far bon animo
Ad ogni modo che potrà egli farmi!
Et se mi diede tal virtù Diana,
Che co'l licor, che in viso gli spruzzai,
Li tolsi al tutto l'inteletto humano.
Sperar ben degg'io, ch'un di questi strali
Ch'io gli avventi il torrà di vita in tutto.
E fia somma mercé, levar dal mondo
Quei che cercava a me levar l'honore.
Ma non hebbe egli et non havrà alcun altro
Unqua poter di volger la mia mente
Da te, mia sacra dea, che in cielo e in terra
Et ne l'inferno ancor, sei riverita.
Tua fui, tua sono, e sarò tua mai sempre.
A te mi diedi e come nacqui, tale
Mi ti serb'io perché altro pregio al mondo
Non è che l'honestade, e quella donna
Che dishonesta vive, senza dubbio
Che si può dire assai peggio che morta.
Et ecco, o Diva mia, che di be' fiori
Che con vergini man pur dianzi colsi.
Voglio hor tesserti qui vaga ghirlanda
11/recto Et <ornar> il tuo <Altar> .....
Mi son caduti, il più d'essi,.....
Mentre i fuggia dal pazzo mio nemico.
Ecco che questi ancor qui sparger voglio
Ad honor tuo e andar di novo a coglierne
Per satisfare al mio sacrato voto.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Satiro et Clitia)

Satiro

Hor ve ch'io l'ho pur colta.

Clitia

Ohimè son morta.

Satiro

Tu non mi fuggirai certo se prima
Tu non compiaccia amica al mio desire.

Clitia

Eh, satiro gentil, leggiadro e caro!

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Satiro

Oh così fammi vezze!

Clitia

Eh, non volere
Farmi l'honore in si palese loco.

Satiro

No, no, qui non è alcuno, e se pur pure
Sei tanto vergognosa--andiamo, andiamo.
Quinci entro al Bosco, e ti convien risolvere
Per forza o per amor di compiacermi.

Clitia

Io son contenta. Io ti vuò compiacerti,
Ma in loco almen secreto.

Satiro

Andiam nel bosco.

Clitia

Sai che fia meglio?

Satiro

Dillo, su, ch'io ho fretta.

Clitia

Che vediam s'entro a quella Capannuccia
V'è alcun Pastore, e se non v'è persona,
Questo fia loco comodo e secreto.
Perché nel Bosco (come sai) Diana
Spesso et le Nimphe nostre a caccia vanno,
Et potrian disturbarne.

Satiro

Dici il vero.

<Clitia>

11/verso .....dunque poiché l'uscio è aperto,
.....tu, se v'è alcun dentro, ch'io
Non voglio entrare, se prima io non son certa
Che non vi sia persona. Che s'alcuno

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Vi fosse, e mi vedesse entrarvi seco,
Chiaro inditio havria poi del mio misfatto
Et ne sarei per sempre vergognata.

Satiro

Chi m'assicura poi, che tu non fugga
Mentr'io quivi entro a ricercar per tutto?

Clitia

Voglio che t'assicuri il veder, ch'io
Son già disposta al tuo voler, sperando
Che la cosa tra noi sia poi secreta.

Satiro

Non dubitar che pur l'aria il risappia.

Clitia

E son certa ch'essendo altrui celato
Il fatto tanto fia come non fosse.

Satiro

Dici il vero e conosco hor che sei saggia
Non men che bella.

Clitia

Hor entra e cerca dunque.
Lasciami pur, va circa e non temere
Che poiché a ciò necessità mi stringe.
Lodo il ciel che potrò senza peccato
Trarmi ogni voglia, ancor che poca honesta.

Satiro

Oh questa tua conclusion mi piace.
Et sij certa che molte e molte donne
Si fatte occasion comprarian care
Per satisfare a le lor voglie intense.
Et poter con lo scudo de la forza
Dal disnore schernirsi, et dal peccato.

<Clitia>

12/recto
Il credo. Hor entra.....
481 Passa nella stalletta, e cerca.....
Ti lodo, oh casta Dea, che mi hai dimostro
Bel modo d'ingannare questo animale.
Prima ch'ei possa aprir questo serraglio,

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Havrò pur tempo da fuggir ben ch'egli
Velocissimo al corso, i passi affretti.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Cariteo pazzo, et Satiro)

Cariteo

S'io ti giungea, so ben quel c'havrei fatto.
Ma fa pur conto tu ch'io t'habbia giunta,
E ch'io t'habbia baciata almen tre volte.

Satiro

Oh Nimpha? Oh Clitia? E non v'è alcuno hor entra
Clitia?

Cariteo

Clitia cerco io, ove sei gita?

Satiro

Son qui. Vien pure, entra sicuramente.

Cariteo

S'io v'entro, mi trarai più l'acqua in fronte?

Satiro

Perché de l'acqua? Hai forse sì gran sete?

Cariteo

Caldo e sete, oh gran caldo, ho sempre corso.

Satiro

Entra che qui ti starai meco, e insieme
Coglieremo del fresco a piacer nostro.

Cariteo

Oh sì.

Satiro

Ma che vuol dir che tu l'hai chiusa?

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Cariteo

Si perché l'hai serrata.

Satiro

Spingi.

Cariteo

Spingi.

Satiro

Io spingo.

Cariteo

Io spingo.

Satiro

Chi è la?

Cariteo

Chi è quello?

Satiro

Son io.

Cariteo

Son io, hor apri.

Satiro

Se non apri,
Sai, io m'adirerò di bona sorte.

Cariteo

Ah, ah, ah.

Satiro

Tu non rispondi? Oh Clitia!

Cariteo

Oh Clitia.

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Satiro

12/verso Aspetta
505 .....mai havermi giunto
.....c'ho le forze sopr'humane
Et posso, et voglio atterrar questa porta.

Cariteo

Ahan?

Satiro

Che ti credevi? Ove sei gita?

Cariteo

Che?

Satiro

Dove è gita?

Cariteo

Dove è andata Clitia?

Satiro

Clitia dov'è? Che guardi tu qui dentro?

Cariteo

510 E tu, che guardi fuori?

Satiro

Io cerco Clitia.

Cariteo

Anch'io la cerco.

Satiro

Certo ella è fuggita.
Nimpha malvagia, adunque mi hai schernito?
Ma s'io ti giungo.

Cariteo

La vuò giunger io.

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FINE DEL PRIMO

13/recto

SECONDO <ATTO>

(Selvaggio solo, su la lira)

Poiché'l cor lasso affida
Nova speranza, e'n parte
Scaccia il timore, ond'io tutt'era oppresso.
Là, dove Amor mi guida
In questa e in quella parte,
Cercando altrui pongo in oblio me stesso.
Lei cerco (ahimè) che impresso
M'ha il cor de la sua bella et viva imago.
E temo errante, e vago
Il ritrovarla, e veder poscia i giri
De suoi begli occhi avversi a miei desiri.

Ben vorrei goder sempre
De la sua dolce vista,
Ma il dubbio di spiacerle indi m'affrena.
E'n disusate tempre
La gioia, ho co'l dol mista
Ne'l contemplar la fronte alma, e serena
E là dove mi mena
Pien di vaghezza ogni hor l'alto desio.
Mi scaccia il timor rio
Ne so confuso homai, chi far mi deggio
Ch'è mal s'io miro e s'io non miro peggio.
13/verso .....
E'l gran desio raffreno,
Fuggendo il riveder quel che'l cor brama.
Ma amor lo stringe e sforza
Prima che venga meno
A tornar là dove ei sovente il chiama.
Né se più teme o s'ama
Con più fervor poss'io discerner anco.
Ben so che afflitto e stanco
Tenta, e non sa come coprir la fiamma
Che celata lo strugge a dramma a dramma.
E temo (ahimè) fra molti
Pregiati, altri Pastori
Cui piace il bel, che abbaglia ogni human senso.
Che alcun (se non ha colti
I Frutti) habbia già i fiori,
Ch'io bramo invan con mio cordoglio immenso.
Et forse amore intenso
Con altri (odio fingendo) hor la tien chiusa
In parte ond'ella ha esclusa
La folta schiera d'altri infausti amanti,

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Dannati meco a sempiterni pianti.
Poiché impossibil parmi,
Che beltà al mondo rara.
Da ogniun bramata, a tutti al fin si neghi.
Tali d'Amor son l'arme,
14/recto Che usbergo non ripara
D'honestà il cor, ch'egli no'l pr<ia>
A lunghi instanti preghi.
Raro resiste alma che amar si sente,
Ond'io piango dolente
Il non poter (si Amor l'ardir m'invola)
Al suo cospetto ungua formar parola.
Così di lei pavento
Ma il casto orgoglio di ch'ella arma il core,
Scaccia il mio gran timore.
Ond'il mal che l'offende, il duol che'l preme,
L'assicura anco et li da gioia et speme.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Hirifile vestito da Nimpha
et Orenia, et Clitia)

Hirifile

Si che così altri piacer (sorella dolce)
Se Amor non lo condisce, è apunto come
Senza fior prato et senza gemma anello.

Clitia

Oh, ecco Orenia mia compagna et seco
Sta un altra Nimpha ch'io non riconosco.

Hirifile

E sappi, Orenia mia, sappi che Amore
Solo ha poter di far felice altrui.

Clitia

Da Amor parla? Oh sacrilega! Deliberò
Dietro a quest'olmo starmi un poco a udire.

Hirifile

Né si curi del ciel, chi in terra vive
Felice amando e del suo Amor contento.

Orenia

Vorresti dunque perseguir Amore,
14/verso .....paresse l'honor suo.

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.....ma non perde unqua l'honore
Donna, amando chi l'ama honestamente.
Amando dico un solo, ma colei
Che a più d'uno fa copia di se stessa
Quella si, ch'è ben degna d'ogni biasmo.
Et che'l sia il vero, ecco la tua Diana
Propria che tanto d'honestà comenda.
Non è stata ella ignuda, ne le braccia
De'l bello Endimion ben mille volte?
Et se ben visse, et vive casta in tanto,
Che non vuol far di se copia a più d'uno.
Chiaro si vede, che'l vergineo fiore
Serbar non volse, pazzamente intatto
Anzi sapendo, quanto mortalmente.
Pecchi contra il gran Giove chi s'oppone
A l'ordin di Natura, il qual commanda
Che si la dona come l'huomo debba
Cercar per succession farsi imortale.
Volse ella ancor congiungersi e co'l mezzo
D'Amor, cagion d'ogni contento, farsi
Felice in terra e in ciel beato.

Clitia

(O iniqua.)

Hirifile

Perché il gioco amoroso è sol che n'erge
E felici et beati al ciel.

Clitia

(Malvagia.)

Hirifile

Et io, mercé d'Amor, son felicissima.
Amo bello, gentil, cortese amante.
Egli è il mio core, io son la vita sua,
Sempre sto seco in altij.....
Et se pur in mill'anni un pen.....
M'occupa un sol momento, ecco lui pronto
A levarmi la noia et congiungendo
A la mia la sua bocca, in cotal modo
Mi dice: "vita mia, hor che vorresti?
Sangue mio, cor mio dolce, anima mia,
Che hai? Che vuoi? Che ti bisogna?" Ond'io,
Obliando ogni noia, indi ripiena
D'amoroso piacer, lo miro, il tocco,
L'abbraccio dolce, e me lo stringo al petto.

15/recto
101

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Orenia

Non più, sorella, non più che delibero
S'io ne devessi subito morire,
Provar anch'io questa dolcezza.

Clitia

(Oh infida.)

Orenia

Né già il rispetto di Diana, un'hora
Mi riterebbe, s'io sapessi a cui
Donar l'Amor, di che già tutta avampo.
Et per scoprirti quel, che fin adesso
Al mio proprio pensier quasi ho celato
Poich'io credo poter liberamente
Teco cominciare ogni secreto.
Dicoti che gran tempo ha, che desidero
Gustar anch'io d'Amor qualche diletto,
Se non che certa timidezza vile
M'ha tenuta fin qui sempre infra due.
Ma se Alessi il Pastor, che mostrò tanto
Di core amarmi, havea più del gentile
15/verso .....Alessi almen stimato degno.
.....amato, io ti confesso il vero
Che già a quest'hora sarrei fatta sua
Secretamente. Ma non vorrei darmi
Però in preda a persona abietta e vile.

Clitia

(Come ha perduto ogni vergogna, subito
Ch'ella s'è data a l'ape in preda.)

Hirifile

Che qualità sapresti addimandare
In uno amante, per disporti a amarlo?

Orenia

Sopra questo da te, come più esperto,
Vorrei consiglio.

Hirifile

Pur?

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Orenia

S'io t'ho da dire
Quel ch'a me pare, io crederò che basti
L'haver di quelle parti che tu dianzi
Ne'l tuo si caro amante mi lodasti--
Cioè: giovan, gentil, leggiadro, et bello.

Hirifile

Et se a questo anco s'aggiungesse, ch'egli
T'amasse più che'l cor, che gli occhi suoi,
Non sarebbe più degno del tuo Amore?

Orenia

Si, veramente.

Hirifile

E tu non lo faresti
Del tuo Amor degno?

Orenia

Si, senza alcun dubbio.

Clitia

(Oh che sfacciata!)

Hirifile

Eccoti dunque, Orenia,
Uno che solo è degno del tuo Amore.
Eccoti me, che servidor ti sono,
E non compagna.

Orenia

Ohimè, che sarà questo?

Hirifile

Ecco, chi t'ama assai più che se stesso.
Io son quel pastorel di cui pur dianzi
Sotto altro nome io ti dicea ch'in veste
16/recto Femenil seguir volse la sua <donna>.

Orenia

Ah traditore, ah perfidio.....

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Hirifile

Deh, non fuggire! Ahimè, non mi ti torre
Che già mi ti sei data!

Orenia

A questo modo? Lassami, Ingannatore ti dico.

Hirifile

Lasciarti no, questo non sarà mai.

Clitia

(Sto in dubbio, s'io la debbo ire a soccorrere.)

Orenia

E che vuoi tu da me?

Hirifile

Ch'io t'ama. Che ti contenti

Orenia

Io son contenta, hor su vuo' tu altro?

Hirifile

Si, che tu ami anco me, di pari amore.

Orenia

Dunque mi vuoi far forza, acciò ch'io t'ami?

Hirifile

Far forza, no, ma tu mi sei tenuta
Ad amar di ragione.

Orenia

Tu m'inganasti.

Hirifile

Anzi non t'ingannai, perché s'io dissi
D'amarti, eccomi pronto a farti certa

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In tutti i modi, che'l mio amor trapassa
Quello di qual si sia più fido amante.
Ch'io giovan sia, tu'l vidi, et la fortezza
Et leggiadria per esser naturale
Di questa età, non mi parrà vergogna
Il vantarmene, e dirti, ch'io non cedo
Al trar del palo, al correre, a la lotta
A qual si sia in Arcadia altro pastore.
So che beltà non ho, né gentilezza.
Ben ch'io sia nato de la bella Oritia
Et del nobil via più d'ogni altro Aglaveo;
Ch'ambi per te seguir, lasciai dolenti.
16/verso .....non han di me novella
.....uno Amor però si abietto
Ch'io non meriti amando esser amato
Tanto più che mercé de gli alti Dei.
Di grosso armento et di lanoso gregge
Abandono più ch'altro pastor qui intorno.
Due mille capri et ben tre mille agnelli
Pascono i campi di mio padre, e Fori
E ..... infinite, in modo ch'io
Di puro latte abondo in ogni tempo.

Orenia

Questo ti credo. Et ti conosco appresso
Per cortese, gentil, prudente e forte.
Né per questo diss'io che m'ingannasti,
Ma per havermi tu fin qui celato
Sotto mentita gonna, il viril sesso.

Hirifile

Questo ti fia argomento, o dolce Orenia,
De'l mio rispetto et del mio grande Amore,
Che non potendo star da te lontano.
Per non ti dar nota d'infamia, volsi
Sotto habito di Nimpha, starti appresso.

Clitia

(E chi havria preso di costei sospetto,
Vedendola con un creduta femina?)

Hirifile

Si che, vita mia cara, a che negarmi
Tua dolce gratia? Deh non esser causa
Ch'io con le proprie man mi dia la morte,
Che senza te durar non posso in vita.

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Orenia

Ah, lusinghiero, come ben s'infinge!
17/recto Credi tu ch'io non sappia <che tu non sei>
Donna com'io? E forse anco man<data>
210 Da la mia casta Dea qui per tentarmi?
No, no, non mi ci cogli ingannatrice.

Hirifile

Hor su, sorella, io ben m'avveggo c'hai
Dubbio e timor di molte cose vane.
Ma vieni in questo antro--vien, ti prego,
215 Ch'ivi m'offro levarti ogni sospetto.
Deh, vieni, Orenia dolce, e sta sicura
Ch'io vorrei pria morir, che usarti inganno,
Ne scompiacerti o farti oltraggio alcuno.

Orenia

Hor su, io son contento.

Hirifile

Oh me felice.

Clitia

220 (Vuò seguirle e veder che fine ha il gioco.)

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Veridico et Cariteo pazzo,
et due ninfe)

Veridico

Fermati un poco, hor dimi che vuoi fare
Di quella vanga?

Cariteo

Deh, stati un po cheto
Ch'io son deliberato d'arichire, ah, ah, ah, ah.

Veridico

Questo non mi par già desio di pazzo.

Cariteo

225 E far ricca ancor Clitia.

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Veridico

Oh come ancora
Così senza inteletto, ha sempre in bocca
Quella crudel ch'è del suo mal cagione!

Cariteo

Questo è il loco, tien pur, tien questo cane.

Veridico

Come vuoi fare?

Cariteo

Hor tieni, e lo vedrai.

Veridico

Da qui di gratia, io voglio pur vedere
Che altro novo humore è questo suo.
17/verso .....

<Cariteo>

..già tronato, ecco un diamante, ah, ah, ah, ah.

Veridico

Anzi un giacinto, no dico pur bene,
Oh che dolce pharnetico!

Cariteo

Un palascio
Mi par questo, e fia bono d'attacare
Per un pendente al bel collo di Clitia,
ih, ih, ih, ih.

Veridico

Si, ma per far con lei, le tue vendette
Gettarla poi con quello al collo, in fiume.

Cariteo

Ecco un perla, eccone un altra, oh queste
Fian bone, per appenderle a l'orecchie,
ah, ah, ah, ah.

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Veridico

La crudeltà di lei, teco, non merta
Altro don che cotesto. Oh come il misero
Di ciottoli si cavea!

Cariteo

Ove sei gito?
Porgemi qua il mio cane.

Veridico

Eccolo tieni.
Chi crederia che mille et mille volte
Costui, di verde honor già il capo ornasse?
Dolce sonando la sampogna, a prova
Con Meri o con Silvan cantando a gara,
Udendolo hor parlar fuor di se stesso
Con voce così ruvida, e incomposta?
Miser chi in Donna spera o in Amor crede.

Cariteo

Oh, oh quanti fiori! Fermati, Pettulco.
Fa bona guarda a queste gioie, mentre
Ch'io ne raccolgo tanti che se'n possa
Ornar la nostra Nimpha il capo, e'l seno,
ah, ah, ah, ah
Ecco un Narciso! Oh che bianchi ligustri!
18/recto Quante.....
Va trova un vinco, o un ramo di.....
Ch'io vuò legarli insieme, e farne un mazzo.
A chi dico io? Galiotto? E che non vai?
Ben si, tu parli bene, hai gran ragione
Che la cathena non ti lassa andare.
Da tu qui mente che ne vado io stesso,
E tu non ti slegar da quel troncone.
E se alcun vien per torti quelle gioie,
Corregli dietro fin che tu lo giunga.

Ninfa I

Andiam pur tosto.

Ninfa II

Andiam che se ben amo
Orenia, il fallo suo mi par si grave,
Che quasi lieta son del suo mal fine.

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Cariteo

Oh Nimpha, oh traditrice, io t'ho veduta.
Aspetta, aspetta, piglia. Oh s'io ti giungo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Veridico, Clitia, et Clori)

Veridico

Che rumore sent'io? Che sarà questo?
Che il cor da poco in qua non mi sta queto,
E par che un non so che di timor novo
M'ingombra il petto. E pur non so di cui.

Clitia

E non andrà gran tempo Orenia altiera
Del comesso adulterio.

Clori

(Oh meschinella.)

Veridico

Che cosa dicon de Orenia costoro?

Clitia

Che condennata a morte come rea.
Già le compagne nostre l'han condotta
18/verso .....valle al bosco e tosto
.....vedrenla dal cinghiale horrendo
Che co'l dente e co'l urto ha vendicate
Già mille offese, de la nostra Diva.

Veridico

Certo, che havran costor visto scherzare
Hirifil mio con la sua bella Orenia.

Clitia

Et hoggi havran pur fin suoi giorni infami
Per dar essempio a chi impudica vive.

Clori

E in vero a gran ragion vituperata
More chi vive dishonestamente,

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Perché nulla d'honor più resta a Donna
A cui la castità levata sia.
Il che conoscend'io, solo, è cagione
Ch'io sdegni di Selvaggio udir i preghi.
Ancor ch'io lo conosco in parte degno
D'esser caro tenuto ma più caro
Haver debbo il mio honor che il suo contento,
Benché il sentirmi amar non mi dispiaccia.

Clitia

Tu fai bene a far forza anco a te stessa
Fuggendo ogni hor la vista di colui
Che corromper potria la casta mente.
Ma de la nostra Dea gli alti vestigi
Seguendo sempre ubidire al suo ceno,
E per non perder tempo, andiam con l'altre,
Si come ella commanda, a condur l'empia
E trista Orenia, a la dovuta pena.

Clori

19/recto Andiam, che a vendicar tanto empio effetto
Hoggi..... pur .....

<Veridico>

311 Misera Orenia, misero chi <crede> .....
D'alcun piacer mondano haver dile<tto>
Che duri molto. Oh come i gran contenti
Quasi vigilie sono, a i dolor grandi!
315 Ma ohimè, che dal palese mal d'Orenia
Certo preveggo il suo fine Hirifile.
Ahimè ch'io l'veggo et evitar no'l posso.
Poiché, o per lei t'ucciderà il dolore
O per salvarla, a certa morte andrà.
320 Ne so pensar, non che trovar rimedio
A tanto male. O sacrosanto Amore,
Adopra hoggi, ti prego, il valor tuo.
Mostra, signore, il tuo potere immenso
Contra queste superbe tue nemiche.
325 Aiuta, prego, la gentile Orenia,
E con lei salva il tuo fedele Hirifile
Che sol pente seguir sono a periglio
Anzi già certi son di morte acerba.
Et se a gli Dei può darsi obligo alcuno,
330 Tu sei tenuto a salvar questi amanti
Che per esser tuoi servi, hoggi fian morti.
Ma se gli aiuti, con tuo grande honore
Sempre di tua pietà farassi historia
Per questi boschi, e'l nome tuo sacrato
335 Rissonare udirai, per mille bocche
De più saggi pastori e qui d'incensi

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19/verso .....et d'altro.....
...vedransi i tuoi sacrati altari.
Deh, salva dunque, salva o santo Dio,
Questi devoti tuoi, novelli amanti.
Et io, che so quanto biasmevol fora
Invocando gli Dei per qualche aiuto,
Starsi poi neghitoso e non cercare
Co'l valor proprio d'aiutar se stesso.
Voglio andar ratto qui su'l vicin colle,
Per condur meco alcun pastore armato.
Ma chi veggo io venir su da la valle?
Questi Hirifil mi par! Si ch'egli è desso,
C'ha già deposta la femenil gonna,
E preso l'arme e ne conduce seco
Tutti compagni armati. Ecco come egli
Apunto ha il mio pensier messo ad effetto.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Hirifile co'compagni, et Veridico)

Hirifile

Ecco apunto Veridico.

Veridico

Ove vai?

Hirifile

A salvar la mia Orenia da le insidie
Che gli appresta Diana, havendo inteso,
Come è fata per me di vergin Donna.

Veridico

Come lo seppe?

Hirifile

Io no so dirti come,
Ma stando io seco in un antro riposto
Prima a dolce parlar de nostri amori
Poscia a coglier di quei l'alte primitie,
Mi vidi sopragiunto da una squadra.
20/recto Anzi.....
Che disturbando ahimè, tanto.....
Quanto può in cielo gustar, alma beata
Mi tolser da le braccia, armata mano,
La bella donna mia, anzi il mio core.
E via ne la portar per darla in preda,
Per quel ch'io intendo, a le selvaggie fiere.

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Io d'improviso, et poi giunto senz'arme
In habito di donna--altra difesa
Non potei far né darle alcun soccorso,
Sol ch'essortarla anco a sperare aiuto.
Indi veloce corsi a pigliar l'arme,
E compagni in soccorso, e vò a salvarla.

Veridico

Tu fatto hai quel che apunto io far volevo.
Havendo in parte il caso strano udito
Ma il timor vince et mio sperar d'assai.

Hirifile

Io spero più, ne le robuste braccia
Di questi amici, che s'io havessi meco
La figliuolo di Laico e Meleagro,
Gran vincitori del cinghiale horrendo
Che pur mandò Diana irata a dani
Del calidonio Regno. Et se nel bosco
Fosser mille orsi appresso a quel Cinghiale
Di che hoggi ha si gran tema il volgo errante,
Spero, dico, salvar la bella Orenia.
E sana haverla hoggi ancor nuda in braccia
Habbi io, pur Amor solo in mio favore.
20/verso .....poi.....
.....il mondo contra, ch'io no'l caro.

<Veridico>

Poiché voi siete molti et bene armati,
Et io senz'arme, altro soccorso darti
Non so miglior, ch'andarne al sacro Tempio
E di candida stola il capo ornando,
Offrire un bianco et innocente Agnello
A la madre d'Amore, e poi versare
Di caldo latte una piena urna a piedi
De'l semicapro Pan, perché ne'l bosco
Mandi a voi tutti il suo presto soccorso.

Hirifile

Questo può assai giovar, questo farai.
Mentre noi altri a corporal difesa
Saremo intenti, et l'un con l'altro effetto,
Rade volte, o non mai, fallir vediamo.

Veridico

Hora andiate ch'io vado.

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Hirifile

Ecco qui il pazzo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Cariteo)

Pettulco! Oh mio Pettulco, e dove sei
Camina te te te, vieni, e vedrai
Pastori, a gara e gli animai, gli spiedi
Le Nimphe, ho inteso, e Clitia, et un Cinghiale
Voglio anch'io al bosco, per salvare il cane.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Hirifile)

Hor, pria che andiam, poiché non s'ode ancora
Lo strepitoso suon de corni, e tarda
Il satio nostro Tirsi, a darne il segno.
21/recto Vi.....
Per saper meglio poi, quando fia...
E schivare, e ferir più arditamente.

LA MORESCA

E'L SUON DEL CORNO

FINE DEL SECONDO

21/verso

TERZO ATTO

Prologo

(<Diana> con le Nimphe,
co i cani a bassa et
Venere co' cupido, et Giove)

DIANA:

Poiché'l mio puro zelo
Può far altrui beato,
Et aprire a ciascun la via del cielo,
L'oltraggio di colei
Che iniqua ha profanato
Il mio culto, con vitij infami et rei,
Esser dee vendicato,
Tanto che prenda essempio
Ogni mortal del suo ben degno scempio.

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VENERE:

Lieta dal mar risorgo ov'io son nata
Per mostrar anco in terra
La forza che nel ciel m'è riserbata,
Et la tua mortal guerra
Alma Fedea volger in dolce pace
Con gran contento d'ogni mio seguace.

DIANA:

I tuoi vani diletti,
Venere, e i tuoi non veri
Amorosi piacere
Con cui gli incanti egri mortali aletti,
Al mio casto pensiero,
Al mio culto verace
Ceder devrian, si come l'ombra al vero.

22/recto

<VENERE>:

Co'l tuo culto fallace
Tu la natura offendi,
Mentre a struger il mondo incauto attendi.
Ma il mio, che tanto piace,
Rende felice ogni alma
Conservandolo sempre, in gioia e'n pace
Et di tristi pensier sgombra ogni salma.

DIANA:

Il conservar il male
Con pensier sciocchi et vani,
Et a pergo gettarsi il vero bene
Non è virtù ma vitio; e il gioire
Solo di piacer frale
E un viver infelice, anzi un morire.

GIOVE:

Ponga il mio ceno a le cortese vostre
Fine, et ciascuna in me s'acqueti al tutto,
Che se ad una di voi dominio intiero
Nel mondo io dessi, egli saria distrutto.
Voglio che al mondo resti
Libero de mortali ogni volere,
Seguendo hora de l'una i riti honesti,
Hor de l'altra il piacere.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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(Amore)

Tu che in folti boschi ogni hor selvaggie
fiere
In caccia segui, co'l tuo vano errore
.....piacere
22/verso Poi preda farem d'ogni human core.
Tu Aeril sempre et fredda, con severe
Voglie mi fuggi et segui il vano honore.
Ch'io con diletto ogni hor manterò il mondo
Co'l mio solo fervor lieto, et fecondo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Selvaggio, et Eco)

Eco

Non cerco hor che del sol più ferve il raggio
Ombra d'opaco cerro, o cavo speco,
Ma qualche colle aprico, ermo et selvaggio.

Selvaggio

Chi odo io qui d'intorno? Hor chi è qui meco,
Che pietoso per nome anco mi chiama,
Forse perché'l mio duol disfoghi seco?

Eco

Echo invisibil, c'hai sol voce, et fama,
Deh, dimi, che far debbo acciò ch'Amore
Contenti un giorno la mia intensa brama?

Ama

Amo, ahimè--troppo e doppio affanno ha il core
Per non saper chi a la mia fé sincera
Debba dar premio e fine al mio dolore.

L'hore

L'hore et il tempo che su'l tutto impera
Fan la mia pena ad ogni hor più acerba et dura,
Onde l'alma usa al mal pave, et dispera.

Spera

23/recto Come ho a sperar se'l mio male non cura,
Cloride bella? Anzi ogni hor più ritrosa
Come selce a'miei dani il cuore indura?

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Dura

Ahimè, ch'ella è crudel troppo e sdegnosa
Et del cordoglio mio, del mio tormento,
Gode implacabil sempre, empia et fastosa!

Osa

Oserei, ma tu, Amor, ogni ardimento
M'involi et non cred'io ch'a gli altri togli
Come a me forza in formar ogni accento.

A cento

S'io non son dunque solo et non mi sciogli
Da si bel nodo, et la nimica mia
Ardita a seguitar par che m'invogli.

Vogli

Ecco io la seguo, et prego che men ria
Mi si mostri; et tu, Amor, s'io ne son degno,
Sij meco ov'hoggi il tuo voler m'invia.

Via

Poich'io solo a quel Sol neve divengo.

Vengo

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Veridico et Egone
et Clitia)

<Veridico>

Nova cagion da temer più che prima!
M'han dato hora gli Die con tristo Auguro
23/verso .....
86 .....ucciso Agnello.
.....il latte io l'ho veduto
Di sanguigno color anco macchiato.
Et che altro puo inferir misero Hirifile
Se non che tinto del suo proprio sangue
Con Orenia nel bosco habbi a perire.

Clitia

O gran forza d'Amor, o gran miracolo!

Veridico

Che vorran dir si fatte meraviglie,

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O Clitia bella? E qual nuovo accidente
Ti fa stupir del tuo nimico Amore?

Clitia

Mai più da me, mai più non fia sprezzato
C'hor troppo immenso il suo poter conosco.

Veridico

Deh, dimmi, Clitia--dimmi qual cagione
Ti cangia hor si da l'un a l'altro estremo?

Clitia

L'haver veduto hor hora con questi occhi
Quel ch'al tutto è impossibil di vedere.

Veridico

Deh, dillo homai, non ci tener più in pena.

Clitia

Ho veduto (hor gran caso) hora nel bosco
Da le forze d'Orenia restar vinta
Et morta al fin la spaventosa belva
Che a più forti pastor die morte acerba.

Egone

Orenia è stata co'l cinghial vittrice?

Clitia

Questo mercé d'Amor con gli occhi vidi,
E'l credo apena.

Veridico

Egli è incredibil certo,
Ma dimmi, prego, come andò la pugna?

Clitia

Per ordin di Diana fu condotta
24/recto Da noi giù sul .....
Ove noi tutte di comun volere
Le lasciamo portar gli strali et l'Arco,
Imaginando noi ch'ella devesse
Instigando il Cinghial, farlo più rabbido.
Et così spinta con furor nel bosco,
Tutte intente eravamo al suo mal fine.

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Quando, uscendo il Cinghial bavoso e irato,
Fuggir le ratti e sbigottiti tutti
Color che per salvarla erano corsi.

Veridico

Et che faceva Hirifile meschino?

Clitia

Egli tra i primi fu d'un urto offeso,
Et dal cinghial balzato in aria, tanto
Che cadendo indi lungi, io credea certo
Che fosse morto, perché stette un pezzo
Senza mai batter fianco. Al fin viscosso,
Pallido in viso, et sbigottito stava,
Stupido come huom che, sognando cose
Horribili, si desta pien d'horrore.
In tanto Orenia, con intrepid'Alma
Sempre più ferma e senza mutar faccia,
Prima un ferrato stral scoccò da l'Arco
Che tutto entrò al Cinghial nel destro fianco.
Indi prese ella un biforcato spiedo
Che di man cadde ad un pastor fuggendo
Come una torre immobile fermasse,
Aspettando la fiera a lei voltata.
24/verso .....a ferir più velocemente
.....che morta al fin le cadde a piedi.

<Veridico>

Non fu questo il cinghial, ch'in un sol giorno
Lacerò il forte Aminta, Ergasto e Admeta,
Poich'hebbe uccisi i lor feroci cani?

Clitia

Questo fu d'esso.

Veridico

O gran poter d'Amore!
Certo esser puote ogni impossibil cosa
Ov'egli il favor suo, benigno, adopra.

Clitia

E non è dubbio, che voler divino
Fu l'esser tutti gli altri in fuga volti,
Restando al fin vittoriosa Orenia
Per miracolo incauta, inerme, e sola.

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Egone

Come s'inganna co'l giuditio un huomo?
E come sempre al pensar mal siam pronti?
Ecco hor m'avveggo, che più giustamente
155 Pensando al meglio. Interpretar potevi
Il vermiglio color nel latte asperso
Al sangue del cinghial, vinto da Orenia?
Ma eccola qui apunto, e seco è Hirifile,
Salvo et allegro.

Veridico

Oh benedetto Amore,
160 Che, sicuri, vi fa goder l'un l'altro,
Et me gioir a'ogni contento vostro.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Hirifile, Orenia, Egone, Veridico, et Clitia)

Hirifile

Oh Veridico caro, d'Amor prima
Et poi la tua mercé, son io felice!
Questo è il pastore (Orenia) il cui consiglio
25/recto Come dianzi io dissi.....
166 Ch'io godo quanto ben puo dar honore.

Orenia

Io, non meno di te, gli son tenuta.
Dunque, né voglio hor qui renderli gratie
Per non parer di creder con parole
170 Pagar le cortesie d'un tanto amico.

Veridico

Deh, lasciam tali cerimonie a quelli
C'habitan le città, servan le corti!
Che a noi non si conviene altro ch'insieme
Goderci, et con Amor servir l'un l'altro.

Hirifile

175 Ben dice, il mio Veridico cortese,
Che, havendo ei cagionato utile a noi
Può dir, d'haver giovato a se medesmo.

Orenia

Et tu, che fai qui, miserella Clitia?

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Pur hor dite m'havveggo hor che dirai?

Clitia

Dico (Orenia mia cara) che mal feci
A cercare il tuo danno, e tu ben fai
A seguir quel che ti puo far felice.

Hirifile

Tu procacciasti dunque danno a Orenia?

Clitia

Anzi, io fui quella che, più ch'altra, odiandola.
Non manco già per me ch'ella non fosse
Come femina rea, ne'l bosco uccisa.
Et ben perdon ne cheggio, e vi confesso
Ch'io feci male. Ma lo stesso inganno
In ch'eri anco tu avvolta, o Cara Orenia,
Hebbe poter di farmiti nemica.
De'l che pentita et con Amore è teco
Chiamomi in colpa e me ne batto il petto.

<Veridico>

25/verso .....molto ben sapere
.....habbia gran poter l'esser nudrito
Sotto una religione ancor che vana.
Et tutto ciò che in essaltarla, adopra
Chi vive in quella è bene o mal che faccia.
Sempre cred'io che sia di scusa degno
Tu che per zelo sol de la tua boca
Quel che facesti contra Orenia hai fatto,
No già per conceputo odio ver lei
Chiedendone perdon, ben ne sei degna
E credo anco che Orenia ti perdoni.

Orenia

Io le perdono, si, con tutto il core.

Clitia

Et io ringratio il ciel, che al mio pensiero
Contrario effetto succedesse apunto.
Mercé d'Amore, il quale hor per cangiarmi
Tanto, ch'io non sia più quella che soglio.
Fa che mi spiace tutto ciò che amai,
Et quel che già mi spiacque, amando bramo.

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Veridico

Se questo è ver, l'odio che già portasti
Al miser Cariteo c'hai sì mal concio
Deve esser dunque in grande Amore rivolto.

Clitia

Non in vergogna a dir che dici il vero.

Hirifile

Oh, satio Cariteo, perché non odi?

Veridico

Poco gli gioveria l'udir, poich'egli,
Senza intelletti, il ben dal mal non <di>scerna.

Clitia

Deh così potess'io farlomi amico
Com'io gli potrà render l'intelletto.

Veridico

Di farlo sano hai dunque forza, o Clitia?

<Clitia>

26/recto Si, facilmente.....
Rispetto di Diana, havrei.....
Por man del fonte c'ho virtute oculti
Di risanar color ch'ella, sdegnata
Come bestie, far errar senza intelletto;
Ma s'io fo questo, so che Cariteo
Mai più non mi vorrà veder, né udire.

Veridico

Et per ciò vuoi restar di render sano
Il più grato pastor c'habbia l'Arcadia?

Clitia

Anzi restar non voglio, a mode alcuno
Ch'io non son più (come già fui) tant'empia
Che patissi veder tal crudeltade.
Et, per far penitenza del mio fallo,
Goderò di languir per Amor suo,
Che forse Amore, anco ver me pietoso,
Mi darà un giorno gratia di godere

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Quel ben, di ch'io mi sento al tutto indegna.

Orenia

Ecco, sorella, acciò che tu non resti
Sconsolata, m'offerisco d'insegnarti
Un secreto, che altrui sforza ad amare
Qual già insegnò la vecchia Sinvanella,
Sagace Maga ad Antigon bifolco
Mentre ardea tutto de l'amor d'Hortensia.
Et tal secreto tene a lei più occulto
Che non tien chiuso il suo thesor l'avaro.

Clitia

Questo ti prego, che m'insegni, e paghi
Di tanta humanità la mia nequitia,
Acciò che in questi boschi ogni un dir possa
26/verso .....cagion di vita.

<Hirifile>

.....che volea lei porre a morte.
Troppo è piena d'Amor la Nimpha mia.
Troppo è dolce e cortesa la mia Orenia,
Né si può creder mai ch'odio, o di sdegno
Alberghi seco.

Orenia

Qual mi sia, tua sono,
Né credo io che stia bene altrui lodare
Se stesso et essaltar le cose sue.

Egone

Deh, lassate hora il moltegiarvi insieme,
Che Clitia imparar possa il bel secreto
Da farsi amare.

Clitia

Si, di gratia.

Orenia

Hor nota
Dello stridente lauro, sette frondi.
Cogli a suo nome (hor che la luna è piena)
Et d'Elitropia detta gira'l sole
Sette altre foglie, e poi sette radici
De'l vil trifoglio, et fa del tutto polve.
Piglia de l'acqua poi d'un fonte vivo

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Pur a suo nome, et ben lavati in quella
270 Ambo le mani, il nome suo chiamando.
Poscia, infondi in quell'acqua le trit'herbe
Et danne a bere a chi desij che t'ami,
Che vedrai senza dubbio effetto grande.
Et se per caso, qualche lieve sdegno
275 Turbasse in parte l'amorosa gioia,
Piglia di due colombi accompagnate
27/recto I tenerelli.....
In fiora in acqua pura, o in latte....
Danne a lui parte, e'l resto per te bevi,
280 Ch'unqua sdegno non fia, che più ti sturbi.

Clitia

Queste son cose facili ad ogni uno,
Ma difficili a me però che subito
Ch'io gli habbia reso, il suo smarrito seno
Com'io resterò calda del suo amore.
285 Temo ch'egli ver me fia d'odio acceso,
Ne saprei poscia come fargli bere
Ne l'acque l'amor mio, come mi insegni.

Hirifile

Io m'offro, ad essersi anco in ciò fautore,
Pur che sano mi rendi il mio compagno.

Egone

290 Et io con lui, me t'offerisco ancora.
Ma perché un tal amor fora imperfetto,
Non essendo spontaneo? Ecco, io vuo darti
Bel modo far che Cariteo, più tuo
Sia di proprio voler, che di se stesso.

Clitia

295 Questo cerco io, et questo è sol ch'io bramo.

Egone

Voglio, sorella, come tu cominci
A conversar con lui, ch'ogni hor t'ingegni
Far quel che sai, che gli diletta et piace.
S'egli sta lieto, et tu mostrarti allegra,
300 Et s'egli è mesto, sta dimessa alquanto
Cercando ogni hor levarli quella noia
Con gioconde carezze, e compiacerlo
Di ciò che gli diletta. Et se non poi
Mostra dolerti almen, de l'impotenza
27/verso ..... (.....avenir puote).
306 S'egli teco i adiri, benché a torto

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Non cercar tu garrir teco in quell'impito
Ma soffra tanto che gli passa l'ira.
Non patir mai, ch'egli ti vegga incolta
Ma sempre monda, sempre honesta e adorna,
Quanto comporta il grado et l'età vostra.
Et finalmente (e questo il tutto importa)
Amalo di bon cor, se vuoi ch'ei t'ami.
Questi son, Clitia, questi son gli incanti,
Questi i secreti son da farsi amare.
Et senza questi, quanta esperienza
Fè Zoroastro mai, ne l'arte sua
Poco o nulla varrà. Stanne sicura.

Clitia

Chi non sa questo, che ogniun dee proporsi
Comprar l'amor, con gli amorosi effetti?
Né speri esser amato chi non ama,
Né haver honor chi altrui non riverisce.
Aiutatemi pur voi tutti insieme
A farmi amico Cariteo, s'io sento
Già un non so che per lui di grato e dolce.
Per occulta virtù, scorrermi al core
Et s'io non so poi far opera ch'egli
Perseveri ad amarmi, mio fia il danno.

Veridico

Questo faremo hor hora.

Hirifile

Andiamo a lui,
Ch'anco deve essere dove io lo lasciai
Atorno al cinghial morto co'l suo cane.

28/recto

<Veridico>

Andiam.....
Ove Clitia gentil commodamente
Potrà operar suoi sacri alti misterij
Che rendan sano il nostro satio amato.

Clitia

Mi piace. Andiam senza più indugio.

Hirifile

Andiamo.

FINE DEL TERZO

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28/verso

<QUARTO ATTO>

<Prologo>

<Selvaggio>

... mia Clori ogni hor l'horme cercando
Perdo la speme e'l giorno
Assiso sopra questo alpestre sasso,
Ov'ella usa sovente far ritorno.
Voglio sfogare il mio martir cantando,
Che forse a me pietosi è l'Aura, e i Venti
Porteranno spirando amici intorno
A le sue orecchie i miei dogliosi accenti.
Clori, Clori gentil, Clori che tanto
Godi del mio martir--Clori superba,
Perché benigna al mio doglioso canto
Non ti volgi men cruda, et meno acerba?
Clori, perché presti al giglio, e al molle Acanto
Puro il candor che'l tuo bel petto serba.
Perché in viso si bella, in cor si cruda,
Ti mostri sempre a me di pietà ignuda?
Ben mi prometton le tue luci liete
Ciò che di dolce ingombra il desir mio.
Et par, ch'ivi mirando, il cor s'acquete
Et ch'ogni suo martir pongo in oblio.
Ma, pensando a le parti più secreti,
Al suo fiero pensier spietato et rio
Manca la speme, in me cresce il dolore,
Visto che armato hai sol di sdegno il core.
Degnati, Clori, almen degnati in parte
Notitia haver de l'esser mio non vile.
Ascolta il cantar mio, benché senz'arte
Cui pur da pregio il nome suo gentile
29/recto A te hai.....
Non sol la greggia mia sacro, et.....
Ma i campi e i prati miei che molti sono
Pur ch'egli accettò, io t'offerisco et dono.
Ma, ohimè, che in vano spargo offerte et preghi
Che non puote o non vuol Clori ascoltarmi.
Deh, santo Amore, per me pietà ti prieghi
A voler tu che poi solo aiutarmi.
L'imensa tua pietà non mi si nieghi!
Le prati a Clori; i miei dogliosi larmi
Si che pietosa pria ch'ei più mi sfaccia,
M'accolga amica entrar le belle braccia.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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(Satiro)

Certo che in minor pregio mai non furo
Gli dei sacrati, come sonno in questa
Malvagia in tutto, et scelerata etade,
Ne sol noi, Boscarecci Semidei.
Ma fin nel ciel veggo sprezzato Giove
Da la malitia et sceleranza humana,
La qual a tanta estremità è condotta
Che al vitio, hora da nome di prudenza.
Et quel che in noi bontà dovria stimarsi
Che non sappiam guardarci da gli inganni,
Non conoscendo noi malitia o fraude.
Hora i malvagi chiamano sciochezza,
Tenendosi più saggi, et più pregiati
Color che così l'astutia, et co'l mentire
Fan qualche scorno a chi di lor si fida.
Ma io ho già trattato un novo modo
Per coglier pur da Clitia il dolce frutto
29/verso .....hanno promessi.
.....birone del mar a cui sovente
Ho prestato io del mio favor in terra
D'addormentar co'l hor soave canto
Clitia crudel, la prima volta ch'ella
Veder si lassi a questi lidi intorno.
Et benché novo sdegno in me gran parte
Già spento habbia del fuoco ov'io tutt'arsi,
Debbo mostrarle almen che quant'io voglia
Usar forza od'inganno io l'saprò fare.
Anzi il vuò fare, et le Sirene amiche
M'han già avvertito ch'io con calda cora
Debba chiuder l'orecchie, al primo suono
De loro accenti! Acciò che anch'io non resti
Vinto dal sonno, et così vincere spero
Il crudo orgoglio di si ingrata nimpha.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Veridico et Selvaggio)

Veridico

L'ho veduto con gl'occhi, et credo apena
Che Cariteo, già pien di furor pazzo,
Sia mai potuto ritornar si savio.

Selvaggio

A me non men di meraviglia porge
L'udirlo raccontare.

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Veridico

Bello è il sentirlo
80 Essaltar la pazzia, narrando quanti
Gran privilegi gode, un che sia pazzo.

Selvaggio

Io per me vorrei anzi esser, qual era
Il gentil Cariteo, ch'esser qual sono
30/recto Infausto.....
85 Poiché non conoscerà egli il.....
Lieto vivendo a par d'ogni felice.

Veridico

Egli nel vero afferma che non mai
Hebbe di cosa alcuna affano o noia
Mentre fu pazzo, et vuol che la pazzia
90 Sia divino furore, che tien l'huom sempre
Lieto, senza pensier noioso alcuno.
Et certo (come ei dice) alti decreti
Son quei de' pazzi, essi primamente
Non conoscendo honor, non han vergogna
95 Di dir, o far, quel che lor cade in mente.
La fortuna ha de'pazzi estrema cura!
Essi non han Nemico che gli offenda,
Et se <offendono> altrui, non portan pena.
Sono il più d'essi poi, sani et rubusti
100 Che non gli offende il gelo o il caldo estivo.
Par chi son nel mangiar, non curan pompe
Ne confidano in altri, che in se stessi
Onde non restan mai d'altri ingannati?
Che più dice egli, se co'l simulare
105 Sol d'esser pazzo, già salvo la vita?
Il pastor, ch'a gollia roppe la fronte--
Chi più si salverà che un pazzo vero?
Però ben dir solea Sulmone il saggio,
Che un poco di pazzia molto più vale
110 Ch'ogni sublime honor, ch'ogni scienza!

Selvaggio

Dice ei pur questo, che volesse ancora
30/verso .....anzi devol il cielo
Ringratia, e insieme la mia Clitia bella
La qual pietosa gli ha renduto il seno,
115 Che compagno fa l'huom quasi di Giove.
Ma l'eccolo ch'ei vien co'l nostro Hirifile.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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(Selvaggio, Cariteo, Veridico, Hirifile)

Selvaggio

Piacemi, Cariteo, non sol vederti
Nel primo stato, ma godo io che Amore,
Benché mi faccia di miseria essempio,
Te almeno fa goder con la tua ninfa
Tranquilla et dolce, anzi beata vita.

Cariteo

Et io non solo laudo i sacri Dei,
Che a tanto ben mi rendano a me stesso--
Ma ringratio gli amici anco e fra gl'altri
Fe che godi vedermi in tale stato.
Et prego Amor, che a tuoi desir secondo
Accresca hoggi il mio ben, co'l tuo contento.

Veridico

Certo, che se'l duol nostro, un tempo acerbo
Fu a vederti in miseria hoggi altrettanto.
Piacer sentiam, vedendoti felice!

Hirifile

Et io, che del suo ben gioisco a parte,
Mercé d'Amor per non mostrarmi ingrato
De ricevuti hoggi Venerij doni.
Ecco, che seco, questo bianco Agnello
Si come ei quel capretto, ad offrir vado
A la madre d'Amor, Venere bella.
31/recto Et voi.....
Con noi, si degno sacrifitio.....

Veridico

Questo ci fia gratia e piacere.

Selvaggio

Ahimè, infelice!
Di chi render poss'io gratia ad Amore?
Di che lor darla et ringratiarlo debbo?

Veridico

Anzi honorarlo et procurar dovresti
Di placarlo, se teco ei fosse irato.

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Cariteo

Et chi sa, ch'ei non volga--saggio, benigno--
A te la faccia come a noi fatt'have?

Selvaggio

Anzi venir mi voglio, et non essendo
D'altro hor provisto, questo bianco velo
Ch'io già involai a la mia Ninfa ingrata,
Co'l qual soglio asciugar l'amaro pianto.
Onde si vede anco bagnato, et molle
Su'l fuoco sacro, hoggi offerir vogl'io
Come cosa più cara c'habbia al mondo.

Veridico

Mi piace et sperar dei c'habbian con questo
Fin le lacrime tue, fine il tormento.
Andiamo dunque, ma per qual cagione
Hora che mi soviene, con voi non sono
Lieti pastori, anco le Ninfe vostre?

Cariteo

Ci seguano ambe ma per via l'han tolto
Cura di coglier Mirra, Amomo e Incenso,
Che basti al sacrifitio, e sarran tosto
Al tempio, dove a preparar l'andiamo.

Selvaggio

A fatti dunque.

Veridico

Andiamo che ai divin culti.
.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

31/verso

(Orenia, Clori, Clitia, et Satiro)

Orenia

Quanto lo stato nostro era imperfetto,
Hor comprender possiam, Clitia sorella.
Poiché da gli occhi Amor si ha tratto il velo
Con che abbendate ei tema Diana
Et tu, Clori gentil, par ch'anco temi.

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Clori

Non l'essortarmi voi, non l'haver anco
D'Amor veduti si mirandi effetti.
Mi commosse, quant'hora ch'io mi sento
Tutta agitata, et da invisibil mano
Quasi premer il cuore.

Clitia

E questi apunto
Son d'Amore veri et propri effetti.

Orenia

Certo!

Satiro

Ecco, s'io non m'inganno, ecco qui Clitia.
Vado a far cenno a le Sirene et voglio
Che hoggi vantarmi almen d'haver potuto
Vincer con arte la malitia humana.

Clitia

Quanto error fosse il nostro Orenia, e quanto
Il danno, stando neghitose e sole.
In me lo provo et no'l saprei ridire.

Orenia

Sai perché crescie ogni hor la gioia in noi,
Clitia gentil? Perché d'un altro cuore
Ha ciascun di noi fatt'hoggi acquisto
Amando Hirifil io, tu Cariteo!

Clitia

Et così Clori, al suo fedel Selvaggio
32/recto Dandosi.....
D'haver anco acquistata.....
Et con si fidi et virtuosi amanti,
Ogni nostro piacer communicando.
Colma di doppia gioia havremo i petti!

Orenia

Mentre giovani siamo, altro diletto
Egual non cred'io che si provi a quello
Ch'amor concede a li seguaci suoi.

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Satiro

Eccola ov'io v'ho detto, hor cominciate
Il canto vostro ch'io son fatto sordo.

PRIMO CANTO DELLE SIRENE

Sola, perfetta pace è la tu dolce guerra,
Dolce, caro, benigno et grato Amore.

Orenia

Oh, che dolce armonia!

Clori

Che grati accenti
Che, passando nel cor, rapiscon l'alma.

Satiro

Comprendo a gl'alti ch'in dolcezza vanno.

SECONDO CANTO DELLE SIRENE

Altro piacer verace l'alma non gusta in terra
Che la tua dolce pace e'l dolce ardore,
Né d'altro human diletto il cor s'appaga.

Satiro

Ecco che già da languidezza vinti
Par che non posson sostenersi in piede.

TERZO CANTO DELLE SIRENE

Servi dunque ad Amor con pure zelo
L'alma di piacer vaga,
Poich'a lui serve il mar, la terra, il cielo.

Satiro

In che dolce atto a riposar s'è messa
32/verso .....
.....in grembo a lei son poste.
Quasi che ad arte anco vietarmi vogliano
Quel ch'hora a suo mal grado haver potrei.
E'l vorrò forse, bench'a dir il vero,
Quanto il gioco amoroso, e senza amore
Fuoco altrui puo recar gioia o contento.
Vorrò dunque io con violenza, quello
Ch'amor et cortesia pur devria darmi.

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Sarò in me stesso hor si perduto, ch'io
Me medesmo avilisca, hoggi in tal modo
Se con le parti miei ferine il senso
A la carnal imperfettion m'abbassa.
Non sono io poi ne la suprema forma
De l'essenza divina essempio intiero?
Nò, ch'io non voglio quel ch'ella mi nega,
Ma uno mostrar almen d'haver potuto.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Selvaggio, Hirifile, et Cariteo)

Selvaggio

Il lor tanto tardar mi fa temere.

Hirifile

Et a me ancora fa dubitar non poco.

Satiro

Voglio legarle insieme tutte et voglio
Che Clitia almen conosca chiaramente
Che suo mal grado havrei quel ch'io volessi.

Selvaggio

Che sent'io qui vicino?

Hirifile

Ohimè, che veggio?

Cariteo

Ahimè, che quella è Clitia, ah traditore!

Selvaggio

E quella è la mia Clori.

33/recto

<Hirifile>

E quella.....

<Cariteo>

Dalle, dalle

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Selvaggio

Ah, malvagio!

Hirifile

Piglia, piglia.

Satiro

L'impito di costor voglio fuggire
Per hora, et s'io vorrò, non puo mancarmi
Questa satisfation per questo mezzo,
Non volend'io però mai cosa a forza.

Cariteo

Clitia? Oh Clitia mia dolce!

Hirifile

Orenia cara!

Selvaggio

Destati, Clori mia!

Hirifile

Destati homai.

Cariteo

Che non rispondi, o Clitia!

Hirifile

O dolce Orenia!

Selvaggio

Che non rispondi, Clori, al tuo Selvaggio?

Orenia

Ohimè, dove son'io?

Hirifile

Su, vita mia.

Selvaggio

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Et tu, Clori.

Cariteo

Oh Clitia, ohimè, ch'è questo
Ch'ella non si risente!

Orenia

Ah, caro Hirifile!

Hirifile

Non dubitar che tu sei meco.

Cariteo

Oh, Clitia!
Ohimè, che strano caso sarà questo!

Selvaggio

Oh Dei! Ohimè! Che cosa è quel che veggio?
Che nuvoletta densa è quella ch'io
Su dal lito del mar ascender veggio?

Cariteo

Ahi, che rispinto è pur non so da cui
33/verso .....altra.....
271 .....e ricopre la mia Clitia.

<Selvaggio>

Ahi, lasso,
Che la Nube già volta verso il bosco,
Et seco Clori mia se'n porta ancora!
Qui già sortò ov'ella era un vivo fonte.

Cariteo

Chi mi ti soglie, ohimè, Clitia, e mi lassa
Infelice in tuo cambio un humil pianta.

Hirifile

Seguiamo, Orenia, i nostri amici degni
Di pietade et d'aiuto. Et ecco Egone--
Viene, Egone, con noi!

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Egone

Che ci è di novo?

Hirifile

Vieni che l'udirai oh strano caso!
Vediam di dar se non soccorso almeno
Qualche conforto a i disperati Amici.

Egone

A quali?

Hirifile

A Cariteo, et a Selvaggio.

FINE DE QUARTO

34/recto

<ATTO QUINTO>

<Veridico, et Egone>

<Veridico>

.....
Certo questi pastori, et le.....
Saran fermati in qualche antro, a diletto
Posto il culto divin tutto in oblio.
Deh, come puote un buon fatto felice
Tanto ebriarsi ne'l piacer, che ingrate
Agli Dei poi di fraudi, il culto, e i voti?
Ma se la vista non m'inganna, io veggo
Egon che apar, tutto pensoso e forte.
Mi darà di costor qualche novella.

Egone

Oh Veridico mio, gran caso è questo!

Veridico

Che cosa è occorsa?

Egone

Non lo sai?

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Veridico

Non io.

Egone

Qui da insolito sonno oppressa Clitia
E Cloride anco, da Selvaggio amata.
Mentre l'uno pastor confuso, et l'altro
Cercava farle rissentire, aparse
Una nube, che cinse ambe le Nimphe
E seco le portò verso la selva
(Per quanto credon gli infelici amanti).
Et poi nel bosco di Diana giunta,
Quella predace Nube isparve, e mai
Non puote alcun di noi entrar nel bosco,
Indi rispinti da invisibil mano!
Si che tu puoi pensar, come rimasi
Siano gli amanti sconsolati in tutto,
Chiamando il ciel crudel, le stelle inique,
34/verso .....

<Veridico>

.....in fin sotto infelice stella
.....anco io ben se gli converta in male
Ne fu renduto al infelice amante.
Pur dianzi il seno, ne ver lui benigna
S'è mostrata hoggi si ritrosa Nimpha.
Se non per maggior danno ond'io già temo
Che disperato al fin non si dia morte.

Egone

Già lo facca, e seco anco Selvaggio
Morir volea, se Hirifile non era
Et io con lui, ad oviarlo pronti.
Et gli habbiamo essortati anco a sperare
Qualche salute.

Veridico

Et che salute i miseri
Ponno sperar se già vediamo aperto,
Che ciò è voler de gli sdegnati Dei
Contra il cui sdegno, ogni human opra è vana.

Egone

Pur si è veduto--e si vede anco spesso--
Che guai, che vann' con contrito core
Per soccorso agli Dei, sono essauditi.

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Veridico

Bisogna anco appo Giove, haver favore
Che se tal'hor pietoso i preghi ascolta,
Spesso anco inessorabile si trova.

Egone

Si quanto è indegno il pregator, ma sempre
La bontà de gli Dei, soccorre a'boni.

Veridico

Spesso aviene anco (o satio mio) che in questa
Vita mortal, sono i migliori appressi.
Ma lasciam questo, e dimmi, se tu sai,
Che.....

<Egone>

Ricercare vogliono.....
Dio divino, il qual sai c'hebbe da Giove
In ricompensa de perduti lumi,
Gratia d'antiveder tutto il futuro.
Et intender (se puon) da quel pietoso
Vecchio, s'hanno a sperare alcun rimedio
A così horrendi, et non più uditi casi.
Et per questo sono iti a l'indovino
Insieme con Hirifile già un pezzo,
Et eccoli qui apunto, s'io non erro.

Veridico

Fermianci, et udirem quel che succede.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Tiresia cieco, Cariteo, Hirifile,
Veridico, Selvaggio et Egone)

Tiresia

Bastami di saper quel c'ho già inteso
Ne havete hora a far altro che guidarmi
Ne'l proprio loco, ove è successo il caso.

Cariteo

Ecco che già vi sei, vecchio divino,
Et questo Arbore apunto ov'io t'appoggio,
Sol si Clitia restò germe infelice.

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Selvaggio

E questo è, Ahimè, quel lacrimoso fonte
Che restò sol di Clori infausta norma.

Tiresia

Hor voi mi regerete intorno tanto
Ch'io resti apunto al fin del terzo giro
Co'l visto tutto a l'oriente volto.

Hirifile

Ma non devria dolersi un huom, d'alcuno
Sinistro caso, che dal ciel gli avenga.
35/verso .....
.....compensar gli Dei
.....supplicato ben qual mal che mandano
A chi con pace i lor flagelli accetta.

Veridico

Lo fanno et lo puon far gli Dei, ma rare
Volte fruisce (o tardi) alcun contento
Quegli che il ciel comincia haver nemico.

Hirifile

Mira Tiresia, che, perduto havendo
Per sdegno di Giunon la luce amata,
Come subito Giove, in don li diede
Virtute oculta, onde con l'occhio interno
Vede, et sa altrui predir tutto il futuro.

Veridico

Si, ma son rari a queste gratie eletti.

Cariteo

Già il terzo giro hai volto, o sacro vecchio.

Selvaggio

Et hai la faccia venerando apunto
Rivolta verso la nascente Aurora.

Hirifile

Deh, mira, come si contorce et gonfia
Quasi patir non possa, la tremenda
Deitade, che in lui s'asconde, e cela.

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Veridico

Tacere stiamo ad ascoltarlo intenti
Che già s'acquieta, et a parlar s'appresta.

Tiresia

Quel santo Amor, che l'universo tutto
Mantien felice, e con sacrati nodi
Due core insieme, santamente unisce
Non puo temer, che Deitade alcuna
A sdegno l'habbia; non passando il segno
Che l'honesto Himeneo prescritto gli have.
Quindi è che Orenia, uscì dal bosco illesa
36/recto Perché.....
111 Così per quel che mi si.....
Anco avverrà, d'ambe le Nimphe.
Le guai, prima che'l sol giunga a l'occaso,
Tien liberata dal pudico Amore.
Di cui novellamente una si devota
L'altra infra due (non ben rissoluto anco)
Con l'opre intenta era a seguir Diana.
Ma co'l cuore inchinava il sacro Amore
Che premesse il cangiar Cloride in fonte
Quasi per darne a l'emula sua Dea
L'ultima parte: et creatura nova.
Indi tornarla, al culto suo, più degno.
Et quindi è ancor che la già austera Clitia
Restò conversa in boscareccia pianta
Acciò che indi cangiando, l'esser primo
Rinovellata a lui tutta si dia,
Et ambe insieme a la Triforme Dea
Dato hanno il censo de la spoglia sola.
Ma per se poscia Amore anzi per voi,
La miglior parte d'ambe due riserba.

Cariteo

Ahimè, il mio bene!

Selvaggio

Ahimè, la vita mia!

Tiresia

Et quella deità che rese salva
Orenia, hora m'insegna a salvar queste.
Perché in quel modo, che lucina trasse
Il bello Adon dal lagrimoso tronco
In cui l'infausta Mirra era cangiata?
36/verso .....lume ancor,.....et felice
Però tu senza indugio, hor ti preveda

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D'aguzze falci, o di toglienti scuri
Et d'huomini anco, che di tagliar fian pronti
La pianta, poich'ella ne sia fuor tratta.

Egone

Ecco ch'io più vicino a li miei campi.
Per lui vo a proveder, di quanto hai detto.

Selvaggio

Ahimè, di Clori mia che sarà mai poi?

Tiresia

Anco la Ninfa tua quasi novello
Vertunno, il quale infiamma o in rio cangiato
Tosto rassume ancor la prima forma.
Non sol da amor le fia tosto renduta
La propria imago, m l'haverai si amica
Che, vedendola apena, il potrai credere.

Selvaggio

Che far debb'io per ottener tal gratia?

Tiresia

Proveder ti bisogna d'una accesa
Facella al fuoco inestinguibile, che arde
Su l'sacro altar de l'amorosa Dea.
Acciò che con gli occulti alti misterij
Che sua mercé dal ciel Giove m'insegna,
Io possa almeno intepedir quel freddo
Humor che stilla dal novello fonte
Ond'è cangiata la tua bella Clori.
Si che poi l'habbi, e calda del tuo amore
Et ne la prima forma amica in braccio.

Veridico

Ecco io vado veloce e a te la porto.

Hirifile

Anch'io voglio venir per menar meco
37/recto Orenia.....
166 Andiamo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

(Cariteo, Egone, Tiresia, Orenia,
Clitia, Hirifile, Clori)

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<Tiresia>

Ecco il mio caro Egone.

Egone

Ecco, o bon vecchio,
Homini destri e pronti per troncare
Quando fia tempo, l'arbore che chiude
Del nostro Cariteo la vita e l'alma.

Tiresia

Quand'io vi farò cenno arditi, dunque
Taglierete la pianta, e non temete
Se ben n'udisti horrendi scoppi e tuoni,
Ne se vedeste uscirne e strali e fuoco.
Non havrete timor di seguir, dico,
Con intrepido cor l'assunta impresa.

Egone

Così farano, et ecco qui Veridico
Con una face ardente in mano, et seco
E Hirifile anco, con la bella Orenia.

Veridico

Ecco padre divin la face accesa.

Tiresia

Sta bene, e per non porvi indugio, dunque
Prima tu Cariteo cerca (poich'io,
Cieco, no'l veggo) intorno a questo tronco
Un fatal samuscel con poche foglie
D'aureo colore, a cui rosseggia in cima
Un rittondetto frutto.

Cariteo

Al segno è questo.

Tiresia

Fa ch'io l'possa con la man pigliare.
37/verso .....del mio cor, chiusa, e del tronco
191 Non temer, figlio, che non è simile
De l'amata tua Clitia il novo caso
A quel de le sorelle di Phetonle,
Ma per me havrà piacer, contento, e vita.

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Orenia

Nel porre egli la man su l'ramo, sento
Fin dentro a le midolle alto terrore.

Hirifile

Ben puo star lieta questa età, che gode
D'un huom si venerando, c'ha il cor puro
Come ha monde le mari, si che gli Dei
Non si sdegnano haverlo al culto loro.

Egone

Tanto più quell'età doler si deve
Che vede aministrar le cose sacre
Da man profane, micidiali, o ladre.

Tiresia

Ne lo schiantar ch'io faccio, hor questo ramo
Aprir vedrai da l'altro lato il tronco.
Tu presto ne trarai la Ninfa amata!
Ecco, tosto, pastor, cogliela in braccia!
Ne ti spaventi cosa alcuna? Scostati!

Cariteo

Oh, dolce vita mia!

Clitia

Oh, santo Amore,
Dove son'io?

Cariteo

Tu sei con chi t'adora.

Orenia

Oh Clitia mia, con tutto il cor m'allegro!

Clitia

Te ne ringratio.

Hirifile

Oh, che veggio io?

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Veridico

Gran cose!
38/recto Hor.....

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

<Selvaggio, Tiresia, Orenia,
Hirifile, Egone, Veridico, Clori, Cariteo>

<Selvaggio>

E fa che.....
Ecco che già vi sei.

Tiresia

Hor tu l'abbraccia
Et se avampar ben lo vedessi tutto
Non disgiunger da quelle..... mani
Fin ch'io non te n'accenno.

<Selvaggio>

Ecco io l'abbraccio.

<Tiresia>

Volgi hor la tua ver la mia faccia apunto.

<Selvaggio>

Eccomi volto.

<Orenia>

Io pur di terror m'empio.

<Hirifile>

Ohimè, che veggio?

<Egone>

Oh somo, eterno Giove!

Veridico

Meraviglioso effetto, ecco che l'acqua
Del fonte, tutta è già conversa in fiamma.

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<Tiresia>

Vedi che già sparisce il fonte.

Egone

Et ecco
Che già par che risorga in forma humana
La bella Clori.

Orenia

Io 'l veggo, e'l credo apena.

Clori

Ahi, ch'io tutt'ardo! Ahimè, dove son'io?

Selvaggio

In braccio a chi t'adora.

Clori

Oh mio Selvaggio!

Selvaggio

Io, si, tuo son, ma non son già ancor certo
Che tu sia però mia.

Tiresia

Io t'assicuro
Ch'ella fia tua, né puote esser d'altrui.

Clori

Esser tua voglio.

<Tiresia>

38/verso .....io, non puo dar fede
246 .....pur tutti ferma fede, a quella
Ch'io vi dico, et che già ne havete, in parte.
Ben ...pra in mano, et nel pensier volgete:
Che quand'usi huom doppo il commesso errore
Che alcun non è che senza errar qui vivo.
N'ha dal ciel tosto, la condegna pona
Quello puo dirsi in ver, di Giove amico
Il qual non vuol, che con la somma grave
Di molti errori, un suo devoto però.

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Ma d'uno in un li va spurgando, a fine
Che restando d'error, resti anco tosto
Ogni martir che disturbar lo possa.
Lodate dunque il ciel, del mal sofferto,
Devoti, o figli; et sia l'obietto vostro
Sol quello Amor, che vi puo far felici.
Amate, dico, con ardente zelo
Prima l'alta cagion d'ogni cagione!
Ami tu Cariteo, la bella Clitia--
Et tu, Cloride bella, ama Selvaggio--
Degnissimo d'amando esser amato!
Ami Hirifil ancor la bella Orenia,
Ne più temiati unque disturbi, o noia,
C'ha il reciproco amor tal privilegio
Mentre il casto Himeneo è protettore.
Lieti n'andate dunque al Regio albergo
Di montan vero a festeggiar mentre
39/recto Fo qui.....

<Cariteo>

Meglio è che la qui da parte,.....
Per farti almen la compagnia dovuta.

Tiresia

Non bisogna che voi siate presenti
Però n'andrete ch'anch'io, tosto, tosto
Farò condurmi a quello albergo, andato
Et rest'in sol questi bifolchi meco.

<Cariteo>

Poiché così comandi, andremo!

<Hirifile>

Andiamo!

<Clori>

Vieni, o Selvaggio mio!

<Selvaggio>

Andiamo insieme.

<Hirifile>

Comuni sian tra noi le gioie, come
Comun erano gli affanni! Andiamo!

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<Veridico>

285 Io vengo.

<Hirifile>

Hor, tutti amici, fate a questo tronco
Sentir de le Bipene il grave peso.

LA MORESCA, ET IL FINE

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APPENDIX B

1/recto

IL TAMBURO

Comedia

<di Leone de' Sommi>

<Personaggi:>

1/verso

<Placida Balia>
<Hedola>
.....<no>minatosi Callidoro
<Florido> giovane
<Britio v>ecchio
...servitore nominatosi Nibbio atempato
<Si>lvatico vecchio dottore
<Tran>gugia e Moscione, servitori
<Pros>pero giovane scolare
<Vi>lucchio, quasi compagno di Prospero
<Gir>ola alloggiator dei scolari
Passera quoco
<Ni>cobolo vecchio forestiere
<F>acchino finto
Crisogono vecchio
Tramo servitore
Procuratore
<Herminia>

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2/recto

<ATTO PRIMO>

<Scena Prima>

<Hedola, Placida>

<Hedola>

.....
Per quanto ben mi voleva.....
Ciò c'ho detto nell'animo.....
Che questo core è suo, fateli.....
Ch'io son si disvenuta, ch'alfin.....
Forza morire. Se qualche ricapito
Non si da che possiamo insieme vivere,
Pensando bene sopra a quel che disseci
Hiersera mio Padre, quando heri ultima-
Mente a letto ci uscivamo di camera--
Cagion di farmi tutta notte piangere!

Placida

Io gli farò a saper quel che desideri.
Vanne, su. Dico.

Hedola

Deh, Balia, mettetemi
In gratia sua.

Placida

Faronne ogni opra tua
Dovrò mai più; che non è punto lecito
Di lasciarti veder'.

Hedola

In voi rimettomi,
Dolce mia Balia.

Placida

.....l'è ardita. Lasciami
Socchiuder l'uscio. Griasse, quando 'l fistolo
Si raggirà tra gambe altrui, gli stuzzica
Tant'intorno alle buche. Ch'ei fa romperci
Il collo alla fin fin n'un fil di paglia:
Perch'è tant'importuno ch'ove mettere
Non puote'l capo, almen la coda ficcavi.

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Costei m'ha spinta fuori acciò ch'io pratichi
Cosa, ch'a pur pensarvi, tutta sentomi
Rimescolare, e sotto mi si fiaccano
Le gambe sì, ch'apena posso movermi.
Né so come habbia mai la lingua a sciogliere
Per dir parola, c'habbia verso, o gratia.
Ma per haverle di principio il proprio
Mio latte dato, anzi 'l cuore, et havermela
Allevan da poi, c'havea sol'undici
Mesi sua figlia; (che la'nfelicissima
Sua madre si morì non so in che Isola
Dishabitata, a quel che'l padre dicemj.)
2/verso .....Hedola
.....
.....amor grandissimo
.....inver tale in me generano
.....non la perder; che possibile
....., ch'io mi stessi a veder struggere,
<Po>verina, per amar caldissima-
<Men>te, o meschina, questo gentil giovane,
Che c'è tornato acanto. E perché dubita,
Che suo padre non tenga stretta pratica
Di maritarla ad un altro; vuol ch'io facciagli
A sapere'l suo ardore; e'nsieme preghilo
A increscerli di Lei; che far disporresi
Quel ch'a lui piacerà, se ben fuggirsene
Di casa convenisse Le (o, che quanti scandali
Nascon dal troppo amare!) Et hor vedutolo
Da un balcon di casa nostra altissimo
Nella sua corte, il qual portar faceasi
La cappa con la spada, per uscirsene
Fuor. Vuol ch'i lo'ncontri ma bene
compiacciala
Solamente perché per sposi prendansi,
Ch'io non ci voglio punto metter d'anima.
O, comparir lo veggio; o, che bel giovane
Infatti è egli! In buona fé de che Hedola
Ha ragion di portargli amor grandissimo.
Vè con che gratia si pulisce! Facciasi
San Niccolo che lo digiuno; gratia.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Seconda

(Placida, Callidoro)

Placida

Buon dì, vicino!

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Callidoro

A Dio, Madonna Placida.

Placida

Già sete fuori di sì mattin, Callidoro? Gode
.....'l sonno da chi di cure è carico.

<Callidoro>

3/recto ....l'un con l'.....
E che si prestan quelli.....
Che da comprar talhor ma.....
Questo è da dir a quei solo, dirmi
Per qualche parte loro degna, d'essere
Havuti cari: non a me ch'un povere
Forestier sono, e voto d'ogni merito.

Placida

Ah, non v'è a mente, che farsi troppo humile.
Suol dar sospetto altrui di gran superbia
E chi puo esser, che di voi più meriti
D'esser'amato? Essendo gentilissimo
(lasciando stare hor le bellezze), e gratia
Havendo tale, che non i vostri nobili
Costumi vi rendete amabilissimo?

Callidoro

Et a buon'hor così, ch'apena vedesi
Lume, staman vi piace di me prendere
Giuoco; co'l darmi insieme anco la baia!

Placida

Non in fé mia, che tutti cominciandomi
Da me, di cosa di Messer Silvatico
Vi amiamo tanto in verità. Callidoro,
Che sparerenci per farvi servitio;
E poco d'altro mai tra noi ragionasi,
Che delle vostre belle creanze. Massima-
Mente Hedola, la mia allevata et unica
Figliuola del Padron (qual chi compiacesi
Nelle lode di voi), ch'ella medesima
Altro mai non ha in bocca; né quietasi
Quel di che non vi vede, e non amiravi.

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Callidoro

O questo è ben burlarmi, e darmi a credere
D'esser qualche bel gesto! Io già non pascomi
Di questi fiumi, e conosco benissimo
Quant'io meritar posso; che Lei amimi
Come volete dimostrare è proprio
Un voler certo ch'io le habbia troppo obligo.
Mia no; ma che da voi buon cambio
....le sia; com'ella infatti merita.
3/verso .....
.....è richissimo
.....da noi d'intendere
.....voi dite, di me spasimi
.....ci son, cui già l'ha volto l'animo,
....de più degni. Tra quali è quel Prospero,
.....ch'ei meco è giorno, e notte pratica
Veder quant'egli può, sol per sua causa.
Che per haver occasion più còmoda
Di raggirarsici intorno? Che ci ha frascide?
Oh, non dite cosi; che pure in gratia
L'è stato un tempo.

Placida

E ver, ma l'avarissimo
Suo padre, se non volse che per moglie
Lo prendesse, parvegli ragionevole
Che la tenga a lui più rivolto l'animo?
Ella non è una frasca, anzi ha giuditio;
E sa, che quel che non si può per debiti
Modi ottener--bramarlo è gran sciocchaggine.

<Callidoro>

E volete inferir, che poi voltatasi
Ella sia a me, per divenirmi moglie?

<Placida>

Se dentro vi cercaste, troverrestevi
Due cuori.

Callidoro

E come questo men possibile
Sarebbe, s'io di già non fosse gravido?

Placida

Anzi è pur neccessario, se partitosi

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E il cuor da lei; ove'l meschino andatone
Sarebbe, se non dove egli può vivere?

Callidoro

E se'l mio con il suo fosse scambiatosi?

Placida

Deh volessilo il ciel, che mai più lecito
Cambio, né più dovuto far potrebbesi.
O in che gran contento, oh in che piacevole
Vita vivresti se fosse congiungere
Si bella coppia Amor! Qua nascerebbone
Figliuoccioni biancosi, voi bianchissimo.
Ed ella latte e sangue, e morbidissima:
Se ben l'è dimagrata, e'n viso fattasi.
4/recto O per havere.....
Il suo pensiero in voi.....
La notte, né un boccon, se ben.....
Può porsi in bocca; e manco giù.....
E s'ammazza da sé co'l sempre piangere.

Callidoro

Mal, fino ad hora, son'invero accortome.
Né è però stava all'erta a discoprirmela
Ch'anch'io non guari stetti ad'invaghir.
Ma diceva fra me, che sai se'n gratia
Le verrai mai, uscendo d'altra Patria?

Placida

Questo, che'nporta? Quante si maritano
Fuor di Turino! E quante qui ne vengono
D'altre terre, e paesi! In gran pericolo
V'havete messo, con l'esser si timido.
Che se non si ripara tosto, dubito
Che'l padre non la dia ad un certo Florido,
Qual spesse volte noi lo veggiam'essere
In vostra compagnia.

Callidoro

Ohimé, che ditemi?
Florido dunque cerca di tor moglie?
O sfortunata, o in tutto infelicissima!

Placida

O, non vi disperate, il mio Callidoro,
Che non è fatto ancor nulla! Ma disseci

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Certe parole, apunto nell'andarsene
Suo padre al letto, che nel ver mi messono
Nell'orecchia una pulce, qual fermatasi
In tutta notte non è di combattere
Col mio cervello; et ha fatto si che Hedola
Ha sospirato sempre, e lamentatasi.

Callidoro

Ahi, questo del mio amor fia'l giusto premio,
E questo'l frutto c'ho di lui promessomi!

Placida

Se si fa presto, io già non isgomentomi.
Se bene innanzi di Messer Silvatico
E di casa uscito, per andarsene
In San Francesco, non so a che far viso.

Callidoro

Et io, che potrò far?

Placida

4/verso Come che subito
Sucito prendi.....necessario
.....prendere
.....Anche a lei'l dare ad intendere.
.....che voi disponiatevi
.....mai no fia per prendere
.....se dovesse ben fuggirsene
.....fin in Turchia.

Callidoro

Hor questo piacemi.
...mandatemi dunque da lei, e fatele
La parte mia tale inbasciata. Ditele
Che di me s'assecuri; e infinit'obligo
Le ho del suo amor, quand'ella cosa degnasi
Di volermi per suo. Altresi accettola
Per mia, ma non si lasci di poi svolgere.

<Placida>

Svolger? Che dite voi? Non se di Francia
Fosse fatta Reina, fia possibile
Farla mutar di questo buon proposito?
Ma fate pur che la vi sia Callidoro
Raccomandata, perché cosi imposemi
Dir vi dovessi per sua parte in ultimo.

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<Callidoro>

Raccomandatemi voi e'n la mia anima!
Fate pur ch'io riveggavi, e sappiatemi
Informar ben di quanto segue.

Placida

Siami
Detto per sempre, che pur un'agucchia
Non moverasse ch'a saper no'l facciavi.
Orsù, a Dio.

Callidoro

Et voi ancora felice andatene.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terza

(Callidoro, Florido)

<Callidoro>

Ahi, che sarà di me, s'avien che Florido
Prenda colei per Donna? Ahimè, finiscansi
Felici giorni, e'l dolce qui dia lor termine
Ma comparisce. Intender da lui voglialo.

<Florido>

5/recto Che.....
Seguir mio padre tutto.....
Per l'amicitia nostra.....
Il ver di quel, che si ragiona.

<Florido>

Tu di me forse, che ben non compiace
Di ciò che sempre a me sarà possibile?

Callidoro

Tal dubbio è quello, ch'a morir conducemi.
So ben che sei cortese, però parlami
Liberamente. Ch'ei tu padre in Pratica
Stretta di darti donna?

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Florido

Anzi è verissimo.

Callidoro

Ohimè, ch'io moro!

Florido

C'hai tu, 'l mio Callidoro?
La fronte si ti suda, e sei si pallido
Fatto!

Callidoro

Ahimè vapor, che vanno credermi
Al capo; e danno al cor dolor grandissimo.

Florido

Che vuol dir ciò? Forse staman levatoti
Sarai troppo per tempo, e nello stomaco
Sarà'l cibo indigesto.

Callidoro

Così pensomi,
Ma, per tornare a quel che noi dicevamo,
Questo punto non fa già a quel proposito,
Che per fin nostro proposto ci havevamo.
Cioè, d'acquistar gloria immortalissima
Co'l mezzo in guerra delle perfettissimi
Nostr'armi, e fare a morte onta, e disdegnio.

Florido

Che vuoi tu far; n on sai ben come dicesi,
Che pazzia è star sempre in un proposito?

Callidoro

Sì, se di migliorar'occasion porgesi!
Ma se vai discorrendo qual sia'l proprio
Fine dell'huom, tu troverrai nell'ultimo
Esser l'honor--che lo fa felicissimo
Il qual s'acquistar per i proprij meriti.

Florido

Non si può esser'anco honoratissimo,

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Prendendo donna?

Callidoro

Egli è dificilissimo
Ponendo l'honor tuo nell'altrui arbitrio.
E lasciando da parte tutti gli oblighi--
Pensier, fatiche, spese, risse, e stropij,
E cose altre infinite, a cui sott'entrano
I maritati.....
.....debbian
.....quando avvien che nascono
.....seni, o che si muoiono
.....

Florido

O quanti ne'n vecchiamo!
.....ancor di questi poi riescono
.....<in>grati, et infami, e pezzi d'asini?
.....per te, e me per galant'huomini.

<Callidoro>

Non si parla, se non a quai pericoli
Si son, chi si marita. Ahimè, misera me,
Che con la scura'n su'l piede condottami
Sono, a dare.

Florido

Callidoro, tropp'obligo
Ho a mio Padre, sicché contentandosene
Egli a me forza è in somma prender moglie.
E s'io non t'atterrò quel che promessoti
Ho sino in Portogallo, per Dio scusami
Massime, che di niuno, o poco scomodo,
Non ti seguendo io alla guerra; ti può essere.
Ma io veggio là mio Padre.

Callidoro

Molto affrettasi
Di venir verso noi; ed è allegrissimo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quarta

(Britio, Florido, Callidoro)

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Britio

Oh, come insieme ambi duoi trovarvi piacemi!
Te, per farti a saper che, per Dio gratia,
T'ho accompagnato con una bellissima
Fanciulla, savia, d'assai bella, e nobile--
Figliuola herede di Messer Silvatico!
Quanto più posso, tant'io vi ringratio:
Voi, perch'avvenga, che siate amicissimo
Del mio figliuol, n'habbiate in voi medesimo
6/recto Quel.....
266 .....
Ch'ei si vien.....
Non occorre, ei rimanesse.....
A' tanto sospirar? Che fu, Callidoro,
Che v'ha fatta svenire?

Callidoro

.....

Britio

Andatevene in casa; e riposatevi
Su'l letto alquanto, che passeran subito.
Perché vogliam che voi siate partecipe
Delle nozze; et il primo che con Florido
Di compagnia la sua sposa anco visiti.

Callidoro

Ahi, questi a me son colpi mortalissimi!

Britio

Tu, vanne, e fatti far qualche bell'habito
Acciò come convien mutarti d'animo,
E di costumi; così ne diam segno,
La novità de'vestimenti, e l'opere.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quinta

(Callidoro da sé)

Già più non ti bisogna, ahi, Donna misera,
Vincer la tua natura; e questa ascondere
Sotto animo virile, e modi, e habiti.
Ma di cuore mandando, vile e timida,
Aprir la porta a opran lamenti, e piangere
Tutta tua vita, e pensando al preterito,

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E mirando il futuro tutto in lagrima
Convertir questo corpo, e in sospir l'anima!
A che servitio t'ha l'esser fuggitati
Dal dolce vecchio zio? Anzi
Padre piùttosto, il qual, da piccolissima
Bambina, toltati alla inrefrenabile
Tra del Mar; da cui li tuoi dolcissimi
Parenti, a morte fur condotti, e fattati
Con.....
.....e gioie
.....habito e nascondere
.....chi misera
.....o giorno infelicissimo.
.....te veder, non mio bel Florido.
.....Amore, infido, e crudelissimo
.....di Lei m'infiammasti; e facesti ardere
<Su>bito, che'n Lisbona in vista apparvemi
Lei che fu dato il Regno a chi doveasi,
Venuto in Portogallo anch'esso milite.
O, ne gli occhi suoi pace promettendomi,
Mi festi ardir di seguirlo, partendosi
Di là per ritornar qui. E sì ben fingere
Con tutti m'insegnasti d'esser maschio;
E soldato ancor'io, che conosciutami
Per donna non ha mai, né lo scoprirmeli
Mi sono ardita. Per ciò che temendomi,
Ch'ei non m'havesse per men c'honestissima
Donna; egli poscia non m'havesse in odio.
Onde, de man la speranza cadendomi,
(Come pur cadut'è) ch'un di per moglie,
Se lo volesse il ciel, m'havesse apprendere,
Io non cadessi, ov'hor caduta trovomi,
Nel centro d'infinita aspra miseria.
Deh, quanto fora meglio d'annegassimi,
Fossi in core ancor'io in età tenera!
Che indugiar crud'Amor che tu annegassimi
Hor ch'i miei danni son atta a conoscere,
Nell'oceano d'errori innumerabili?
Ma, che altro è'l più? Il voler legge al
preterito
Porre, se non fermare il cielo, e movere
La terra in giro? Horsu ripigliam l'animo,
Gelati spirti; non conviensi a nobile,
E magnanimo cuor lasciarsi vincere
Da timor mai; ma ben a l'ira volgere
Ti con.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

290 6/verso 296 300 305 310 315 320 325 330 7/recto

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

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Scena <Sesta>

(Nibbio, Callidoro)

<Nibbio>

E con si poca discretione, battesi
All'altrui porte? Che le man ti secchino.

Callidoro

Ah, tanto male a me, Nibbio; e non bastante
Quei, che fortuna e Amore d'accordo fanno.

Nibbio

O, Padron mio Callidoro, perdonami!

Callidoro

Non Callidoro più, ma Herminia chiamami.

Nibbio

E tu vorrò, che da qui innanzi Stichio
Per lo mio nome proprio ancor me nomini;
S'arripigliarsi il suo vale, e non Nibbio.
Ma che'è cagion di mutation si subito?

Callidoro

L'havere a pianger, come una vil femina,
Degli error miei, e della mia disgratia.

Nibbio

Ch'è seguito di novo?

Callidoro

Oimè, scappatomi
E ben l'occasion di poter'essere
Mai più contenta; e cagion di non vivere
Più s'è porta. Da tanto mal rimedio
Già non vegg'io che dar si possa, oh povera
Esule figlia.

Nibbio

Non tenermi in dubbio
Di gratia più.

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Callidoro

Ah, ch'il tanto amato Florido
Ho seguit'io, per farmi infelicissima.

Nibbio

Ho forse conosciuto che sei femina?
E ti ha fatto anco oltraggio?

Callidoro

Almeno havessilo
Voluto Amor, che minor n'havrei doglia.

Nibbio

En così tosto Herminia sei scordatati.
Quanto t'importa conservarti vergine?
C'ha fatto adunque?

Callidoro

Ha il rio preso moglie,
Hor che sarà di me?

Nibbio

Certo, scarsissimo
Convien c'habbiam ogni partito. E massima-
Mente, c'hormai molto poco inver restaci
Di ciò c'habbiam portato, più da spendere--
Tanto siam stati in ogni cosa prodighi.
Bramando di venire, e stare in gratia
7/verso Di chi.....difficili
.....pericoli.

<Callidoro>

.....potentissimi.
.....son de'saggi, e ottimi
.....

Nibbio

Hor ben, maturamente cogita
.....travagliata, quel che meriti;
.....tu lasciato scontentissimo
.....buon zio; per cagion della tua perdita.
....pel timor c'havrà, che non sia femina
...mondo divenuta. Per non mettere
Hor'in conto la roba, che rapitogli

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Hai, e me schiavo suo teco menatone:
Per seguir l'appetito con vanissimo
Bisogno, e quanto ancor contradicessilo,
Tu'l sai. Ch'avanti ch'io lasciassi indurmini
Quanto mi fosti dietro, e se poi fecilo,
Fu perc'havessi almen me per custodia,
Come sempre ti fui infino di nascità.

<Callidoro>

Tu hai ragion, ma degli error preteriti
Altro non si può far se non pentirsene
Pensiam pur hor di dar qualche ricapito
All'avenir che buon sia, se non ottimo.

<Nibbio>

Danar convien, che sian la basa u'posisi
L'edifitio; che n'ha poscia a difendere
Di fortuna e d'Amor dall'aspre ingiurie.
De'quali, da che tarda a provedercene--
Prospero amico tuo--et amante d'Hedola,
I l'andrò a ritrovare.

Callidoro

Sta, che in animo
M'a venuto un pensier, che potrebb'essere
Salute sua, e mia.

Nibbio

Di e ben come Herminia?
Questi vuol pur ch'ancor dica Callidoro.

<Callidoro>

Sai pur quant'egli lei ama, et ella spasima
Di me. Chi sa, che questi amor non cansino
Qualche scompiglio co'l mezzo di Placida
Sua Balia, il quale rompa, come dicesi
Per proverbio, poi l'ovo in bocca a Florido?
8/recto Va ch'ella venga.....
Nel pensier, chi farà.....
Verrà sua moglie, al dispetto.....
E di suo Padre; e di quanti volessimi
Farli contrasto. Ma bene avertirscilo
Che'l Parentado è fatto, e però subito
C'havrà provisto a' danari, tosto affrettisi
Di venir giù a casa ov'io aspettolo,
Provedendo la trama con cui tessere
Possa la tela, ch'ordisco.

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Nibbio

Spediscomi.

Callidoro

Io dentro vò le mie sventure a piangere!

ATTO SECONDO

Scena Prima

(M. Silvatico, Trangugia, Moscione)

<M. Silvatico>

Chi quanto può non si assottiglia, e'ngegnasi
Di spendere i denar con quel vantaggio,
E con quel più risparmio ch'è possibile,
Va gettando via'l suo senza proposito?
Con gran danno del Prossimo, e suo biasimo,
Contrafacendosi alla commutabile
Giustitia della qual fanno grandissimi
Quistioni nostri dottori, in demutuo
Dando; trattato bello et utilissimo.
Però, ancor ch'io voglia far bellissime
Le nozze della mia figliuola, et unica
Herede, Hedula mia; la qual, benissimo
Per gratia del Signore, ho ad uno nobile
Giovane, e bello maritata; e voglio
Spender per quest'assai. Nondimeno obligo
E mio con avertenza, e non dissimile
Modo da quel c'ho detto i denar spendere.
Sicché Trangugia, e tu, Moscion, dilibero
Che mentiate a cavallo; et inopposite
.....n'andiate, e facciate a clientoli
8/verso Miei.....
.....accorghino
.....benissimi
.....possibile
.....in su mercati andandone
.....figlio, ch'un torso pur dicandolo
.....in piazza qui.

Trangugia

Dite benissimo,
.....gran ragion; ch'è pur grandissima,
.....degna di color, che n'hanno il carico.

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.....infinito poi danno del Prossimo
.....massime de'pover; ch'ogni piccola
Frutta, in salata non sia dalle trecchole.
E da' rivenditor rapita, subito
Ch'arriva in Piazza, e rivenduta il doppio
Poscia da loro. O non ei convenevole
Che fusse al meno sino al hor di prandio,
Prohibito a costor sotto gravissime
Pene, il comprar da'foresi?

M. Silvatico

Ben l'ordine
N'è stato fatto.

Trangugia

E perché non l'osservano?

<M. Silvatico>

Dicon che son difesi, quando gli errano
Da'cortigian, da grandi; e non gli lasciano
Da lor punire.

Trangugia

O, non c'è'l serenissimo
Duca, il qual come giusto, anch'è piissimo
Verso i poveri; a lui che non ricorrono?

<Moscione>

Perché da quei di buoni ingoffi pigliano;
Sich'al can s'assomiglian del Pagliaio.

<M. Silvatico>

Perché tragicamente non dì a cerbero?

<Moscione>

E'fan con loro a parte.

Trangugia

Egli è certissimo,
Perché'l proprio lor danno non vorrebbono,
Né due mai spenderebbon, se potessino
Spender solament'uno.

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M. Silvatico

Hor aviatevi
In casa a far colitione; et amettere
Le bestie vostre prestamente in ordine.
Ch'io vengo a darvi denar, a fin che subita-
Mente partiate.

Moscione

Ci spediam n'un attimo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

9/recto

Scena <Seconda>

<Messer Silvatico>

.....
.....tenuto sono felice.....
Ha di sopra le spalle un.....
Com'è a trovar partiti rag.....
Per le figliuole da marito; andandone
A pericolo grande, immo grandissimi
Di riscontrarsi in qualche bestia, ò giovin,
O atempata, che ti faccia rompere
(Come si dice) il collo. Ond'in un'attimo
Mandi le carni tue al macello, e perdere
Miri la dote qual'hai havuta a mettere.
Insieme pria con fatiche indicibili
In fatto l'huomo mai no doverebbesi
Sbigottire; né mai perdersi d'animo
Per qual ria sorte si voglia, ò disgratia
Che ti s'incontri. E che ti voglia abbattere,
Ch'ogni cosa alla fine ha'l suo contrario,
Su com'ha il suo rovescio ogni medaglia.
Ecco mé alhora quando noi fuggivamo
Da Scio, mia Patria, l'aspra e intollerabile
Servitute de'Turchi. E che'n Mar vidimi,
A pericol di morte, ove somergersi
Scorsi il legno, ond'uscito apena. Morti vi
Restarò il fratel mio caro, e la piccola
Dolce mia figliuolina; e che nell'Isola
Solo habitata d'animai salvatichi;
La ove spinto fu il batello, in cui discendere
Sforzomi lei per lo Mar crucciosissimo.
Morimmi in braccio la bella, e dolcissima
Mia consorte Peristrata, come hebbemi
Quest'altra figlia partorita, ch'Hedola
Volsi nomare. Perché per miracolo

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Divino certo, una capra salvatica
Con le poppe di latte piene offertasi,
Undici mesi l'allattò benissimo.
Mentr'io d'herbe e radici, e di salvatici
Animali vincere onde Silvatico
9/verso Voluto.....
.....già
.....
.....spaventevole
.....e rivestitomi
.....Patria al fin condussimi.
.....del serenissimo
.....Emanuel Filibert, Duce invittissimo,
....., e raccolto; e innumerabili
.....e favori ricevuti; e datomi
Ad essercitar poscia le santissime
Leggi di cui professor pria fui in Padova.
Tante richezze ho fatte, che non possomi
Nessuno avanti. E senza tor più moglie
Per conservarmi sempre fresca in animo
La infelicissima mia Peristrata,
Tal'ho questo figliuola in sin da tenera
Età allevata; c'hora ben potutola
Ho maritare al più bello, e'l più nobile
Giovin di questa terra. Sich'a l'ultimo
Da si estrema miseria a felicissimo
Stato son giunto; il che interviene a gli
huomini
Che in ciò che Loro incontra a Dio
s'appigliano.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terza

(Prospero, Nibbio)

<Prospero>

Cosa non è, che più travagli, e stimoli
L'animo mio, ch'a l'amico carissimo
Mio Callidoro in tanti giorni prossimi
Passati, non mi sia stato possibile
Far servitio. Di che? Di quel che gli huomini
Tener dovrian men conto; oro vilissimo,
Più stimato da lor, che'l sangue proprio.
10/recto O avaritia.....
.....legato.....
Mio padre, di cui intorno.....
Sono talmente; che quello ogni sua.....
Pone in servirla. Tal che si dimentica...
Non sol di me; ma ancor di sé medesimo

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Onde non pur sovieni, in quel che stringere
La necessità naturale.

Nibbio

E a voi.....
Altri modi? Et amici, che vi prestino
Per qualche tempo la somma promessaci?

Prospero

Già non l'havrei creduto, se ricchiestoli
Non havessi, e mi trovo ingannatissimo.

Nibbio

Dunque vorrete che, per la medesima
Raggion, si trovi ingannato Callidoro?

Prospero

Non già; se bene, a fé, dovessi vendere
Per questa somma tutto quel che possomi
Venire in mano di mio Padre a l'ultimo
Della sua vita. E per questo ho dat'ordine
A Vilucchio, il conosci?

Nibbio

Si, quel giovane
Che vostro Padre, in nome di compagnio,
Vi tiene appresso per ispia.

Prospero

Che seguiti
Tanto color, che m'han promesso farmeli.
O'n'un modo, o'n'un'altro, securissima-
Mente trovar; che fra tre dì certissimo
Glieli porterò a casa io, e non si dubiti
Della mia fede.

Nibbio

Et voi dunque fidatevi
Di Vilucchio? Che per tutore dato v'ha
Vostro Padre, che non vi lasci spendere?

Prospero

Si, si, noi siam d'accordo; e tant'egli amami,
Che'n sin far carte false, è paratissimo

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Per amor mio. Sperando ch'io'l rimuneri
Dove dal Vecchio assai più d'una pomice
155 Alido, sa che mai haverebbe un Picciolo.

Nibbio

Ma voi non avertite punto, Prospero,
Ch'essendosi staman tra Messer Britio
Padre del Giovane, e Messer Silvatico
Padre della vostr'Hedola.

Prospero

Eh, volessilo
10/verso Il cielo.....non disturbar
161 .....battervi
.....: che rimedio
.....più. Però bisognano
....., per poter corrompere
165 .....a servire in questo a fare il diavolo.

<Nibbio>

<Siate> felice, o sventurato Prospero!

<Prospero>

....vò morire. Io vò da me medesimo
Prima ammazzarmi, che sentir mai ch'Hedola
Sia donna d'altri. O Padre iniquisissimo,
170 Che per non tener casa, e per non spendere
Nel modo che conviensi a gente nobile,
Mai ha voluto ch'io l'habbia per moglie.
Monstruosa avaritia, e tirannissima!
Hor, poiché morto i sia, ei ch'è decrepito
175 Dell'oro suo far'un figliuolo, facciasi.

Nibbio

Tempo non c'è per questi feminili sconvenevoli
Lamenti--convienvi hora far grand'animo,
E far n'un certo modo l'impossibile
Per haver pria i denar. E poscia mettere
180 Il mondo sottosopra, in sin che rompere
Facciam queste lor Nozze. Hora intendetemi?

<Prospero>

Tu di'l ver, Nibbio, e molto ben consiglimi.

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<Nibbio>

A'fatti, dunque.

Prospero

Io vò a cercar Vilucchio.
Et s'io dovessi ir a rubare ad occhij
Aperti di ciascuno, a fé promettoti,
Ch'avanti che tu senta sonar vespero,
Io sarò co'denari da Callidoro.
Raccomandami a lui.

Nibbio

Fia fatto, subito.
Il molin gira ben, tempo è d'amettere
Su, che farina si farà in gran copia.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena <Quarta>

<Prospero da sé>

11/recto .....
Il core, e gli.....
L'aghiacciato velen della.....
Gelosia. Dato da principio a.....
M'havea, che questo giovane Callidoro
Fosse nimico e rival potentissimo
Nel infinito amor ch'io porto a Hedola.
Perché dove da lei Favor grandissimi
M'eran fatti ad ogni hor; poiché, tornatoli
Acanto a casa ei fu, più mai veduta la
Ho farmi buona cera. Anzi, di subito
Che mi vedea, fuggiva. Ond'ero d'animo
Molto cattivo, ver di lui, se fingere
Ben m'ingegnava il contrario; per commodi
Occasione haver io d'andare attornole.
Ma chiaro hor veggo ben, che fedelissimo
Amico ei m'è, poscia che tosto fatto mi
Ha'ntender, come sono in gran pericolo
Di poter perder quella per cui il vivere
Caro m'è solo. Et insieme promessomi
Di darmi aiuto in un così grandissimo
Caso contra a'nimici potentissimi.
Però non sol per mio interesso, forza mi
E di trovar denari. Ma per mostrarmeli
Quell'amico, che'nfatto io li debb'essere,
Come farò? Poiché si stretto tienemi

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Il duro padre mio, ch'apena mandami
Coperto. E come? In modo che vergognomi
Comparir tra'miei pari; e più non capito
Alle scuole, a non far le banche battere.
Ed ei che stassi alla cascina, a vivere
Meschinamente, per da canto mettere
Sempre denari, dell'honor mio non curasi.

* * * * * * * * * *

Scena <Quinta>

<Prospero, Vilucchio>

<Vilucchio>

11/verso
.....
.....
.....in parria
.....ardire, e in una macchia
.....qui vostra; et hor'eccoti
.....che da felicissima
.....è stato avanti a gli occhi postomi.
.....quando da un Pittor, che lavoravami
.....ond'è solo abozzato, il qual faceasi
Hora ruffiana far per insegna; e tolto mi
Sono il fischiar; per ciò che perffettissimo
Uccellatore io sono.

Prospero

Dì benissimo:
Ma sarò ben l'uccellaccio io, ch'a credere
Mi son dato, ch'in un così grandissimo bisogno
Ov'io mi trovo, ogni grand'opera
Havessi fatta, perché mi venissimo
In man gli scudi, che t'ho detto.

Vilucchio

E farteli
Venire spero. Pur che da te datomi
Sì a l'aiuto qual'io ti dico.

Prospero

Hor lasciami
Nelle miserie mie; e tu via, via, e prenditi
La burla d'altri; io non ho tempo a chiachiere.

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<Vilucchio>

Né io burlo; né ciancio!

Prospero

E perditissima
La speme per me, di poter più essere
Contento.

Vilucchio

Hor di qual testo, ò, chi osa parlarne?

Prospero

Quella, che dice la mia bellissima
Signora, è maritata.

Vilucchio

A cui?

Prospero

A Florido,
Di Messer Britio <il figlio>.

Vilucchio

Ben burli me
Tu hora.

Prospero

Non fò a fede, che Callidoro
Me l'ha fatto per Nibbio hor'hora intendere.
E mi promette di far forza, ed opera,
Che'l parentado si scompigli, e straccisi.
L'havrò denari da poter corrompere
Certi, c'hanno di questo mezzo a essere.

Vilucchio

12/recto .....
.....che con belle parole.....
Promesso ò ò altos montes.....
Grandia; per vedere a che in.....
L'ambitioso vapor risolverebbesi:
Se in oro, o se in aria. Ma qual'il misero
Alchimista, da poi ch'è fatto povero,

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Lo boccia aprendo, che l'ha a far richissimo;
Vento vi trova sol. Tal nel lor'animo
Ritrovat'ho. Chi dice, che mancatoli
Da quello è stato, che dovea prestarglieli
Altro ch'ancor non ha riscossi i crediti.
Chi, che'l frumento li bisogna vendere
E quale, è tanto ocupato, ch'attendere
Non ha potuto ancora al tuo negotio.
E chi, che non ha il modo a insieme mettere
Tal somma prestosi.

Prospero

Ahi, mentite maschere
D'huomini senza fede, et ingratissimi!
Et io non ho, privando me medesimo
Di quel c'ho havuto, non che pe'miei
commodi,
Ma miei bisogni; per li lor servitij
Già tante volte (e tu lo sai) servitoli?

Vilucchio

Troppo lo so. Con tal moneta pagansi
Le cortesie. Ond'a d'imbrogliar rivoltomi,
Cercavo, s'io potevo, torre a credito
Qual si vuol mercantia. Che poi, vendendola
Con quanto si volesse danno, e perdita,
Se'n trahessi i danar, che ci bisognano.
Ma vana è stata ogni fatica; vogliono
Tante promesse, e tai contratti, e farsene
Tante cautioni dare, che fra quindici
Giorni a gran pena a capone verrebbesi.

Prospero

Bei danar certo, dunque hor'hor'harannosi.

Vilucchio

S'un poco haver tu vuoi di pacientia,
Conoscerai che son per strada, e vengoci
A trovare.

Prospero

A cavallo, o a piedi?

Vilucchio

Dicoti
.....; ascolta più disperatissimo

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12/verso Me ne nò.....

Prospero

.....che faceasi
.....dietro un pesantissimo
.....adagio verranno: s'amovere
.....suon di tamburo.

Vilucchio

Se vuoi intendere
.....da portar robe. Il qual domandomi
.....quelle ch'ivi ha riscontrare il numero
....danar consegnati? Ed io rispondoli
Che non è quivi ancor, che quello affitio
L'amico mio, quale aspettavo essercita.
Fa posar egli il tamburo, e cominciami
A domandar di varie cose. All'ultimo
Molto mi prega, che'n cortesia facciali
Trovare in casa qualcun, ch'io conoscalo
Per huom da bene, e cortese. Una camera
Buona, dove alloggiar; perché bisognali
Star qui in Turino alcun giorno, per causa
D'un Giannetto di Spagna, ch'azzoppato s'è
Per la strada, e a dietro il suo famiglio
Rimaso è, che'l conduce per la briglia;
E per altri sua affari importantissimi.

Prospero

Ben, qual sarà poi il fin di questa historia?

Vilucchio

Ch'ei seco porta i danar non accorgiti?

Prospero

Rispondo, che se quivi vuolmi attendere
Al quanto: volentieri andrò a informarmene,
E s'uno amico mio, ch'è cortesissimo,
E da ben come l'oro, ha una camera
Dispacciata, ch'io so esser bonissima,
Men ben non vi starà che'n casa propria.

Vilucchio

Dice, che fin a notte vuolmi attendere.
Ma ben, che quanto prima posso diagli
Risposta, ond'io volando a trovar vengoti.

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Prospero

A che fare?

Vilucchio

Che l'alloggi; anzi la pania
Stenda sopra la macchia, dove prendere
Voglio, fischiand'io poi quest'uccellaccio.
13/recto Dalle.....
330 .....onde.....
M'ha saputo?

Prospero

Alla.....

Vilucchio

Da qua, che la port'apra homai in.....
Tò, piglia il barba gianni; il qual poi <metter>
In su qualch'hasta al balcon per insegnia.
335 E per la Porta di dietro faremoci
Portare i nostri letti, e insieme Girola
(Nostr'oste, e buon compagno) fa che prestici
Per sala, e per cucina, masseritie
Bastanti a far che qui s'alloggi credere.
340 Tu vò dell'oste, figlio finga d'essere.

Prospero

E se mio Padre in questa comparisseci
Adosso, per disgratia?

Vilucchio

Vò che Girola
Stia fra la Porta, e Pò; se pur vedessilo
Comparir, cianci tanto che trattenghilo
345 Al meno un'hora, che d'avanzo bastaci
Al caso nostro. E lo farà benissimo!
Il resto farò io.

Prospero

Hor via spediamoci.

ATTO TERZO

Scena Prima

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(Messer Silvatico, Placida)

<M. Silvatico>

Io mi stupisco! Ascolta un po' qua, Placida:
Che maraviglia grande è questa, c'Hedola
Di maritarsi mai negato havendomi,
Hora, che pur n'è tempo ragionevole.
Ond'è forza, che senta qualche stimolo
Di natura, di farlo così nieghimi?

Placida

Vi par' ei si gran fatto?

M. Silvatico

Si! Dicendole
Massimamente di volerla a Florido
Dar, tanto bello, rico, e gentil giovane.

Placida

No pensa forse a cotesto, ch'è semplice
13/verso Com'.....
.....ch'ella
.....pregarmi insolido
.....dir che farsi monaca.
.....e che mi spiace, e premimi
.....cosa a pensar, Messer Silvatico,
.....da ben fanciulla, e riguardevole,
Havere in compagnia a dormir d'un giovane:
.....fare.

M. Silvatico

Che?

Placida

Voi non volete intendere.

<M. Silvatico>

Mi commovo io, non ch'altro a ricordarmene
Io sono anche contento, ch'una timida
Figliuola si spaventi.

Placida

Ogniun pensilo;

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/ Quando al bruscior c'ha assopportar considera.

<M. Silvatico>

Già di no maritarsi, dovria causa
D'esser'un tal' di timore.

Placida

Amor più propria-
Mente, dica ei, ch'ella porta a Callidoro!

M. Silvatico

Che ciarli tu costi da te medesima?

Placida

Ch'humore è mi cred'io c'ha di star vergine.

M. Silvatico

Troppo gran torto hora mi fece, havendomi
Tenuto in isperanza d'haver animo
Di propagar la nostra stirpe, ed essere
Della vecchiezza mia saldo sostegnio;
Non havend'io voluto prender moglie
Più mai, per la memoria di Peristrata
Sua madre, prima mia consorte, et anima.

Placida

Che benedetta sia cotesta lingua.

M. Silvatico

Ti prego dunque, la mia cara Placida,
Che tu le mostri il vero; e persuadala
A non farmi un tal torto, ed esser causa
Ch'io viva; anzi, ch'io muoia scontentissimo.
Ma si mariti a questi, a cui promessala
Ha volentieri.

Placida

Né farò ben ogni opera.

M. Silvatico

Intanto io vado a farle far ricchissime
Vesti, e n'fornirla di gioie bellissime.
A fin, che ben ornata, poi specchiandosi,

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Scorga le sue bellezze; et invaghirsene
Lo specchio faccia, e consigli a godersele.

* * * * * * * * * * *

14/recto

<Scena Seconda>

<Prospero, Girola>

<Prospero>

.....
Tu no'l sapessi cred<ere>.....
Fosse qui hosteria; solo.....

<Girola>

Star Prospero in cervello, e.....
D'animo, in dire assai bugie. .....
Si bene arditamente, ch'ei non dubita
Che tu non sia'l figliuol dell'oste.

Prospero

Lascia
La cura a me, ch'io farò ben. Ma spacciati
Tu d'andar verso il Po e, trattenendoti
Per la strada, sta pur vigilantissimo
Che se per caso venisse Crisogono
A Turin, no ci sturbi; ma con chiacchiere,
Con darli qualche novitate a'ntendere,
Trattienlo al meno una buon'hora.

Girola

Insegni
Gazerotto a volar, c'hai le calvaggini.
Non so io quel che bisogna. Ma eccoti
Vilucchio, e'l forestiere. Hor, ch'alla pania
Ne vien quest'uccellone; su, su, asconditi
Dentro, ed io d'ire all'uffitio mio spacciomi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Seconda

(Vilucchio, Nicobolo, Facchino)

<Vilucchio>

Signor, non state più si malinconico,
C'homai siamo alla casa, ov'alloggiatovi

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Ho; e potrete con vostro grand'agio
Sopr'un buon letto riposarvi commoda-
Mente--voi sendo, com'infatti veggovi,
Molto ben stanco, pel camin longissimo
Fato da voi.

Nicobolo

Non ha il camin stancatomi,
Ma gran pensiero la mente travagliami.
In andar dietro a chi è fuggito, e fuggisi
Da me, tropp'a gran torto; a che aggiunto si
E'il mio cavallo, come dianzi dissivi,
Stato inchiodato. Et adietro a man menalo
Tramo mio servitor, si che servitio
14/verso Alcun.....
81 .....

Vilucchio

Meglio
.....tutta Italia,
.....che costui, dov'io menovi,
.....gentil'huomini
.....; e si bene accarrezzali,
.....si trovan me'che'n casa propria:
.....tutto gentile, et è ricchissimo.

<Facchino>

....uccello è quel dipinto in questa insegnia?

<Nicobolo>

...Barbagianni, qui in Turin lo dicono.

<Facchino>

Barbazuanne o'allucù, che'l cancar'
Ti'nsegna, mò missier onde se voli, si
Non mi a terra butt'ol Valison, ch'a mi pi
Nol poss tegnir sul spal; cocrè col diavol
A chilo tal pesantor.

Vilucchio

Alla porta eccoci.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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Scena Quarta

(Vilucchio, Prospero, Nicobolo, Passera, Facchino)

<Vilucchio>

Olà di casa. O un di voi, o che fare?

Prospero

Chi domanda? Eccolo,

Vilucchio

Gli occhi. Il vedrai, se tu no chiudeti

Prospero

O, amico, ch'è da far?

Vilucchio

Chiamate il vecchio. Benissimo.

Prospero

Quel che cercate! E se'n qualcosa possovi Non è'n casa. Ditemi
Servir'io'ntanto ei vien, che fia prestissimo;
Che con un servidore è andato apprendere a comperar
Costi pollaglia, e frutti per la tavola.

<Vilucchio>

Poco fa li parlai, et ei promessimi
D'alloggiar questo signor nella camera
Costi del piano; qual so ch'è bonissima.

<Prospero>

Sia co'l buon anno, apunto ha dispacciatoli
Staman'un gran signor; però servitevi
Della casa, che siamo a i vostri commodi
Apparecchiati. Signor mio, venitene
Dentro.....
.....servitor.....
Moro non fai, che.....

15/recto
111

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Non ho ancor messo il.....
Costui, che posi quel tamburo in.....
Costi da basso. Oltre Facchino.

Facchino

.....
Mi non ho cul ducale?

Prospero

Posa Passera <cuoco>
Quel cappon, che di gamba istivai traggali...

Vilucchio

Dove son gli altri servitori?

Prospero

Andato
E uno con mio Padre, e l'altro, credomi
Che sia alla stalla; ma tosto ci fiano
Ben tutti.

Vilucchio

Vostra Signoria pur entri.

Nicobolo

.....
Dove debb'ire giovane amorevole.

Prospero

A perdonar signor, s'avanti passoli.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quinta

(Placida da sé)

Havrà bel dire, e far Messer Silvatico,
C'Hedola sua (come'n proverbio dicesi)
Pontati ha'piedi al muro; e discontorcesi
In modo tal, che mai le farà prendere
Florido per marito! Sol Callidoro
Chiama, Callidoro vuol, sol'e'a Callidoro
Si raccomanda. E com'io nulla dicole
Di quel che imposto m'ha suo Padre, battesi,

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Piange, straccia i capeglie et, oimè, gettasi
Al collo. E come una impazzata, dicemi:
"Ah traditora balia, ahi cruda, satiati
Di vedermi morire; anzi tu passami
Con un coltel la golla; che passatomi
Ha'l cor, né a morir basta, il mio Callidoro:
Io con le proprie man mi voglio uccidere!"
E in questa a cercar per casa mettesi
Di qualche gran mal farsi, io tosto dietro le
Vo.....
.....
.....amar sentomi;
.....andar con lui medesimo,
.....tutto; e inginocchiatami
.....di pregarlo, e in gratia chiedere
.....gentilezza, che non lascila
.....suo morir; ma in moglie prendala.
.....veggo non so chi, perché non veggami
<parlare> con lui, voglio l'uscio socchiudere,
Stare al fesso a veder che via vadane.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Sesta

(Facchino da sé)

Ch'a povure home aduc fà portà gran carich'
E no paga ol debit; co u real doveasi,
Dar'un carolus? Andà poss tu o'l Diavol.
Chi ben conoscer vuol, che sia amicitia,
Riguardi me; ch'al par d'ogn'altro nobile
Essendo, fatto m'ha d'un facchin l'habito;
E l'essercitio vile insieme prendere
Per aiutar ne'bisogni il carissimo
Amico mio, l'innamorato Prospero.
Perché servir Vilucchio non volendosi
Per buon rispetto, d'un facchino, offer-
simigli;
E d'habito d'à zanni rivestitomi,
C'haver'in casa, a portare spontanea-
Mente, hora sono quel tamburo messomi.
O felici coloro, ch'amar fannosi,
Come amar da ciascuno si fa Prospero.
Ma il forestiero, et ei già di cas'escono!

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Settima

(Prospero, Nicobolo, Facchino)

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<Prospero>

Senza far colition', si presto uscirvene
16/recto Vclete.....
171 Si mette il destin.....
Ben del viaggio; poi.....
A far vostri negotij con più.....

Nicobolo

Né appetito, né stanchezza <dannomi>
175 Molestia--sol'un servidor travagliam<i>....
Ch'è rimasto un po' indietro, e un <cavallo>
Di molto prezzo a man; qual'inchiodomilo
Un traditor maniscalco alla Novale
Se.....

Prospero

O vigliaccho, o disgratia pur grande....

Facchino

180 Parti ch'ei sappia acomodarsi, e fingere?

Nicobolo

Né di poter quietar mi basta l'animo
Se non vado alla porta, o fuori, a intendere
S'arrivat'è od a discoprir se veggolo
Venir. Acciò per Turin non aggirisi
185 Di me cercando; a qui torn'hora.

Prospero

Piacemi
Quel che più piace a voi.

Nicobolo

Dunque apparecchisi
In tanto il desinar. Ma, ò, la insegnami
La strada.

Prospero

Vi conviene. O, gli è quell'asino
Del facchino ancor qui. Vien là tu, menalo
190 A Porta di Palazzo.

Facchino

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Pagament ha lo dat mi?

Prospero

Va pur via, spaccia; ch'al tornar faremoti
trionfar.

Nicobolo

Vien pur via; perché benissi<mo>
Ti pagherò.

Facchino

Volte chilò. Bellissima
Cosa sarà, se'n qualche schiera scontromi
Di donne, o di scolar, che mi conoschino.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Ottava

(Prospero, Vilucchio)

<Prospero>

Io ber certo mi posso chiamar Prospero,
Posci che la fortuna così prospera-
Mente m'ha posto con assai più facile
Mezzo che non pensava. E in mio arbitrio
Resta'l Tamburo, ove danar moltissimi
Convien, che sieno a come pesa, uscendosi
Da sé.....

<Vilucchio>

.....santissimo
.....questo diavolo.

Prospero

.....ah, ah, quanto più pesa qui piacemi
.....ah, ah!

Vilucchio

Si, si, riditene
..debbi haver pure un grand'obligo,
Usiam per facchin senza pagarcene,
E di disgombrar la casa spacciati.
Vo correndo a portarlo a Callidoro.

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Prospero

Raccomandami a lui; e insieme pregalo,
C'havendo in man da contentar benissimo
Quelli, di cui servir si vuol per rompere
In bocca l'ovo a Florido; che spaccisi.
Se caro gli è, non mi veder distrugger.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Nona

(Tramo, Vilucchio)

<Tramo>

O là, dov'è Nicobolo? E n'porti tu
Questo tamburo?

Vilucchio

Che nebbiolo, e canolo
Di tu? Lasciami andar!

Tramo

Dico Nicobolo
Padrone del tamburo, e mio.

Vilucchio

D'un diavolo
Mi par cotesto nome. Qui non s'usano
Tai nomi, tu debb'esser fuori in segnio
Di qualche chiasso uscito, o qualche Bettola.
Forse che'n viso non pari ebbro fracido?

<Tramo>

Deh, non stare a burlarmi; e tosto insegnami
Di gratia, ov'è'l Padron della valigia,
E mio.

Vilucchio

Che del tuo sia non è possibile
Essendo ella del mio.

Tramo

Non riconoscola

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A queste segni qui?

Vilucchio

Tu mi par proprio
Un bar, se non fia parti tosto, accusoti
Al capitan di giustitia; a cui portolo
A render, perch'è suo, e a te far mettere
Al collo un laccio!

Tramo

E dove mai si dicono
A i forestier da ben cotesti ingiurie?

Vilucchio

17/recto .....
235 .....infatti.....
Da lontano ove alfin.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Decima

(Vilucchio, Nibbio, Tramo)

<Vilucchio>

O di casa.

Nibbio

Che have?

Vilucchio

Amico. E'n aprimi
Mai più, ch'io entri a posar questo carico
Che mi spezza la spalla.

Nibbio

O, O, rallegromi
C'habbi preso il mestier di gentil'huomini
Di Piazza. Questo ch'è?

Vilucchio

Quest'è la scon<tra>
Delle pene maestre, che lasciate le
Ha un'uccellaccio inpaniato, e che fuggirsene

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Ha voluto; e presente ne fa Prospero,
Perché son tutte d'oro, al tuo Callidoro:
Acciò che se ne serva pe'suoi commodi.

Nibbio

Perch'ancor tu non rimanda alla pania
Di qualcun'altro, entra pur presto, e posale.

Tramo

Hor, c'ho veduto apunto ove portatone
Ha'l tamburo costui; riconoscere
Vo ben la strada e la casa; e ben mettermi
Nella memoria ogni segnale. Hor vadone
A cercar del Padron novelle intendere.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Undecima

(Placida da sé)

O pure un tratto di passar, fermata si
E, tanta gente. Quando a petto mettesi
Fortuna qualche d'uno, ella non fermasi
Mai, fin'a tanto, ch'al fondo non caccialo.
Di qui passare aposta certo credomi
Tante persone ha'fatto, a fine che agio
Di favellar non habbia con Callidoro.
17/verso S'a casa.....
.....e intendere
.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

<Scena> Duodecima

<Nibbio, Placida, Callidoro>

Nibbio

.....c'è, Madonna Placida?

Placida

Callidoro, dov'è?

Nibbio

Qui abasso.

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Placida

Chiamalo,
Di gratia un poco presto.

Callidoro

Chi mi nomina?
O, Balia mia.

Placida

Vostr'è pur quella misera
Di mia allevata, ahi.

Callidoro

Che sospiri, Balia,
Sono questi che fate?

Placida

(Ahi).

Callidoro

O là.

Placida

La povera
Si getterà in un Pozzo, o da un'altissima
Finestra giù, se non è soccorsa subito.

<Callidoro>

Che pensier l'è venuto?

Placida

I Padre dissele
Dianzi, d'haverla data.

Callidoro

A cui?

Placida

A Florido,
No'l sapete?

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Callidoro

Così foss'io già staromi
Poi che mille hora morte non dispacciomi.

Placida

Deh, non vi tribolate tanto, che rimedio
Manderà'l cielo. Che seben conclusole
Ha'quel buon'huomo di Messer Silvatico
Di voler ch'ella in ogni modo prendalo.
Non dimeno alla fine il cervel beccasi,
C'h'a nessun patto vuollo; e però mandami
A voi raccomandarsi e a farvi intendere
Che se volete voi torla per moglie,
E disposta a far tutto, e a voi fuggirsene
Quando altrimenti far non possa.

Callidoro

Ditemi
S'io volessi parlarle, per concludere
Seco ad un tratto quel che far convienesi--
L'aconsentirà ella?

Placida

O, o, si domandatemi
Se sono stelle in cielo!

Callidoro

Horbene, fatemi
18/recto Quand'.....
291 .....

Placida

A fin, ch'a riparlar pur.....
Ond'a qualch'un, sospetto.....
Ella vi metterà quel bel.....
Che suol portare al collo, quando.....
La testa. Glie l'havete visto?

Callidoro

Ditelo
Ad altri, cento volte. E alhora apritemi
L'uscio di dietro, e di qualche più commoda
Camera, dov'io entri al punto mostromi.

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Placida

L'hora sarà sicura doppo vespero,
Che fuora uscito fia Messer Silvatico,
E la camera a pian sarà'l proposito.
E sapete, che'n casa siam solissime;
Perch'a buon'hora alla liscia andarono
Le due serventi; e di fuor cavalcarono
I servitori.

Callidoro

Amore ci è favorevole.

Placida

Ma vedete, con patto, ch'io non sappia
Ch'altro che ragionar già tra voi facciasi.
Al più, al più darsi un baccio contentomi.

Callidoro

Fidatevi di me, che se venissimi
Ben d'alcun altra cosa desiderio,
Io certo non potrei.

Placida

Darmi a intendere
Vorreste, che l'odor de'bianchi giglij
Che porta in seno, e di rose vermiglie
Che'n faccia sempre fresche le risplendono,
In modo l'appetito no facessivi
Risentir, che non fesse a corne stendere
La mano? A qualche matta il dresti a credere
Però sopra la fé vostra giuratelo.

Callidoro

E cosi fo. Ma intanto per me datele
Un dolce bacio.

Placida

Anzi le fia dolcissimo.
State avertito pur.

Callidoro

Vigilantissimo.

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* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terzadecima

(Callidoro, Vilucchio)

<Callidoro>

Vilucchio, ove sei? Presto qua.

Vilucchio

Eccomi.

Callidoro

18/verso .....
325 .....amat'Hedola
.....d'essere
.....non vuol che esso.

Vilucchio

Attender
.....premettere.

Callidoro

Egli farsela
.....sappia; il qual per la dio gratia
330 ....., e piedi. E poi dì che tant'amalo,
.....dar si vuol prima, che tocchila
Hor' homo mai.

Vilucchio

Deh, Amor, benedichila.

<Callidoro>

Vò questa nova a dargli, anzi pur l'anima
A lui mi raccomanda; e lo ringratia
335 D'haver con tanto studio provedutomi
Meglio di quel che non ho domandatoli.

<Vilucchio>

A quel raccomandarsi tocca, et a rendere
A voi sempre mai ratie infinitissime.
Ma ecco, veder parmi venir Girola,
340 E desso. Panzan dar debbe a Crisogono.
Non ci voleva manco in questa pratica!

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Me n'andrò di qua a trovar Prospero.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quartadecima

(Crisogono, Girola)

Crisogono

Tu hai buon dire, io dico, che son povero.
E mi bisogna far gran masseritia
Acciò ch'io possa a capo d'anno mettere
Tanto da canto; che pagar per Prospero
Possati la dozzina; e per Vilucchio;
Il qual studiar lo faccia. E cura anch'habigli
Di no ir qua, e là innamoracchiandosi;
E perder tempo dietro a giuochi, e femine.
Havete il torto seco; ch'è buon giovane.
E Dio ve'l dica se studia. Consigliovi
Di contentarlo hormai di darli moglie.

<Girola>

Moglie 'en! Mi consigli ben, si a distruggere
19/recto Ciò.....
356 .....
Tener'a forestier, che.....
....alli sposi, da signori.....

<Crisogono>

Com'hoggi fassi, ch'è una.....
Alle superfluità, ch'io veggo fa.....
E perch'i piè delicati non tocchino
Terra, oimè, che danno se scontrassino
In un sassolino; tien lor la carroccia.
O di creso il tesor non basterebbeci!

Girola

Hor voi non dite, che vedreste nascere
In vita vostra i nipotin, che vivere
Vi farien molto più allegro.

Crisogono

Bastanmi
L'allegrezze, ch'io ho di non far debiti.

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Girola

E la stirpe di voi propagherebbesi.

Crisogono

C'ho io a far di stirpe, o di progenie?
A fare ho io di non haver'a vendere
Quei pochi ben ch'io ho, ch'apena bastano
Così, così l'entrate hoggidì a vivermi
Soletto alla Cascina; e intanto ponere
Mente, che contadini non mi rubino.
E se pur loro molte cose mangiano
Ancora io ne vivo, e non ho a spendere
Quant'agli e quante zacchere
Più goderiano di me?

Girola

E voi nodritevi
Di simil cibi?

Crisogono

Che vuoi tu, ch'io empiami
La pancia di cappon, danar cavandone?
Io mi contento più delle frusaglie,
Che non fan quei che la gola sempr'vengonsi.

Girola

Che vin bevete voi della montagnia?

Crisogono

Dio me ne guardi, me lo convien vendere
Donde trarrei io da pagarti? Prendere
Lascio, tratto c'ho'l vino da principio,
Alla vinaccia un po'l gagliardo di forte,
e mettere
Poi vi fò sopra acqua bollente, e tenere
Pome, che da per loro in terra cascano;
Che l'altre convien serbare. E di poi
stringere
Fò tutto al torchio, che dirai tu? Che escene
19/verso Un.....
.....la povera
.....

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Crisogono

Fa pur che avezzi
.....sempre poscia piacele
.....se vuoi, perch'ho portatone
.....arlotto, per non dare scommodo
.....sete a nessun giù; e causa
.....genti d'ardere ogni dì correre
A mangiarla, e vivo vivo struggermi;
Stiesi ogniun pur da sé, ch'io pratiche
All'osteria non vò, per non ispendere
A doppio.

Girola

Saviamente il pan debb'essere
Buono, che voi mangiate; che ricolgonsi
Costi bei grani.

Crisogono

Tanto bei, ch'andarmene
Farebbono in mal'hor s'io non facessivi
Mescolar veccie, fave, o mochi, o ciceri,
Che fanno un po'l pan sodo, onde men mangiasi.
E tien più l'huom gagliardo assai.

Girola

A gli asini
E a d'altre bestie dansi per tal causa.
Non mi si potria mai cavar dell'animo,
Ch'un pozzo d'oro in casa non trovassivi.

Crisogono

Che di tu? Non un quarto pure. O facciami
Se'l conto adosso di quel spendo, e vienemi
In casa.

Girola

A che venire a piedi, e in zoccholi,
Non vi stancate?

Crisogono

A punto. L'essercitio
E buon, se non in quanto che fa accrescere
Altrui l'appetito, sicché mangiasi
Poi troppo infatti, e la roba consumasi.

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Girola

Fors'ella è fatta per altro che vivere?

Crisogono

S'ha a viver sì; ma non a un tratto spenderla.
Vedi tu questi zoccoli? Per dodici
Paia di scarpe m'han servito. Mettoci
Certi bulletton sotto, che non lascioli
Mai consumare.

Girola

O, che capel!

Crisogono

Lasciatomi
Fu da un frate in casa, ch'a capitolo
Andava, fa vent'anni, et iscordosselo
Vada per quel che lui, e'l suo compagnio
20/recto In una.....

<Girola>

431 .....
.....portar?

Crisogono

.....
L'acqua si cara; un bel.....
E buono a molte cose, assai.....
435 Star netto; ch'io da me medesmo..... .
Hor su, noi siamo a casa; va via, Girola,
A desinar che n'è più c'hora.

Girola

Aspettovi
Se par volete alcuna cosa; e andrencene
Insieme a desinar co'l vostro Prospero.

Crisogono

440 No, no, va pur, ch'io ho fatto una bonissima
Colition, con un pane, e un capo d'aglio.
Ne vò fargl'altro.

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Girola

Eh di gratia lasciatevi Svolgere.

Crisogono

O, non dir più, che tu m'hai.....

Girola

Perdonatemi, io'l fea per bene.

Crisogono

Hor vattene
Mai più; che'l capo co'l ciarlare ha toltomi.

Girola

Mi raccomando.

Crisogono

Che le forche impichimi.

Girola

Credo, che pur costor spediti havrannosi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quintadecima

(Crisogono da sé)

Pur dinanzi levommisi in che collera
Montar m'ha fatto questo impronto. O asino
Vuol fare il conto adosso altrui, e mettersi
A indovinar s'io ho danar. Vorrebbonsi
Egli, e'l mio figlio accordare a rubarmegli.
Ond'io non posso star quieto d'animo,
Se molto spesso il mio cuore, la mia anima
Non visito. Et in quelli alquanto specchiomi
E perché'l gallo staman più del solito
Raspava all'Aia in un lato medesimo.
Mi fe'ntrar in pensier, se dir volessimi,
Va guarda i tuoi danar, se mai toccati gli
Havesse alcuno. Ond'io mi mossi subito,
Perché sendo del sole uccello, dicono,
Ch'egli indovina ben che mai potrebbono

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20/verso Trovargli.....
.....
465 .....L'ambascia
.....chiarir l'animo
.....già mai non lasciati
.....o ch'io non veggoci
.....con'altre volte ho vistoci.
470 .....vedrò come la va Crisogono.

ATTO QUARTO

Scena Prima

(Crisogono da sé)

Egli è ben ver, come le genti dicono.
Tu sei bugiardo più d'un gallo! O, trovasi
Animal più di lui bugiardo? Sono mi
Chiarito, esser'il suo raspar falssissimo.
5 Ma'l mio thesoro, o oro splendidissimo
Tra le stelle del cielo, e il sol medesimo,
Sta si ben. Ch'un granel pur sol di polvere
Stato punto non è mutato sopravi.
Non dimen di rivederlo è forza statami,
10 Il qual m'ha tutto rallegrato. Hor vadansi
A riporre color, che sempre dicono
Il vino è quel che'l cuor rallegra. Favole
L'oro è sol quel, che farlo può allegrissimo.
E quando a viver sano, i Dottor dicono,
15 Che bisogna star lieto; ch'altri vogliono
Dire, se non che l'or fa l'huom sanissimo?
Sien benedetti i passi, che far fattimi
Ha'l mio dolce thesoro; io credo vivere
Gli anni di Nestor se spesso lo visito,
20 Si mi nodrisce, e fa allegrar gli spiriti.
Ond'ogni mia fatica, voglio spendere
In trovar modi di far masseritia,
Per accrescerlo sempre, e star sanissimo.
21/recto Ma.....
25 .....Prosper ci porta.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Seconda

(Vilucchio da sé)

Cerca, e ricerca, io no so dove Prospero
Fitto si sia. Da che la casa ha sgombro
Havrebbe ad esser ritrovar lasciatosi,

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Sapendo quanto gli importa risolvere
Hoggi le cose sue. Et hor mai di vespero
L'hora ne vien, ch'andar deve a Callidoro.
O maladetta sia la mia disgratia!
Dirà che son'io quel che non sollecito.
Ma chi venir veggio di lá si carico?
Mi par lui, e non già; anzi è essissimo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terza

(Prospero, Vilucchio)

<Prospero>

Tre, gli Imperador, gli Indi, I cannibali
non hanno più di me oro. O Prosperissimo
Giorno ben in sin qui per te pur, o Prospero!
Hormai senza che'l tuo Padre avarissimo
Aconsentisca, potrai sposar'Hedola,
Se non l'ha il cielo destinata a Florido.

Vilucchio

A che tanto s'allegra? E di che domine
Ha pieno il lembo della capa? O Prospero,
Onde vieni? C'hai costi? E dove portilo?

Prospero

Di casa di mio Padre vengo, e numero
Quasi infinito di scudi ho qui, e portoli
A casa il mio carissimo Callidoro.

Vilucchio

Come, e da chi gli hai havuti?

Prospero

Io ho trovati.

Vilucchio

Trovati?

Prospero

Si.

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Vilucchio

Ma dove, e come?

Prospero

Fatto, c'hebbi sgombrar tutto in un subito...
21/verso Serro.....
.....egli dietro mi.....
.....per la scala; ascondimi.....
.....v'eran vecchie tavole
.....veggo che di subito
.....non mira a'l terreno, e raspalo
.....poi ne trahe pannacci sucidi,
....se parla, tutto rallegrandosi.
Poscia, ogni cosa torna al luogo pristino;
E sopra sale, e sento che fuor vassene.
Io corro presto in quel luogo medesimo,
E raspo anch'io'l terreno; e fuori trattone
Una pietra, e gli stracci. A un tratto veggomi
Abbagliato da l'or, che quivi stavasi.

<Vilucchio>

Mostra, a fé ch'ancor'io abbagliar veggomi
La lor natura è in fin far cechi gli huomini.
O quanti scudi, o vecchio arco pazzissimo!

Prospero

Io aggiummate il lembo di lor'empiomi;
E più là apparmi non so che nerissima
Cosa, tocco, e carbon sento son'. Empione
Il medesimo luogo, e sopra messovi
Gli stracci, di coprir com'era ingegnomi.
Poi su correndo me ne vengo, et escomi
Per la porta di dietro, e giù trovato mi
Hai. Tutto'l fatto hor narratoti, lasciami
Andar via, ch'io non reggo si gran carico
Più; e ch'anco qualcun qui non discoprissimi.

Vilucchio

Camina pure. Un pezzo fà mandatomi
Haveva in fretta a cercarti Callidoro,
Perché ti vuol con Hedola congiungere.
Et al dispetto d'ogniuno tu sposila
Come da lui sentirai.

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Prospero

O felicissimo
Me, c'hor si ricco sono; se favorevole
Amor sarammi in quest'altro negotio,
Questi segno ne sono evidentissimo!
Bussa, fa ch'entri presto.

Vilucchio

Aprici, Nibbio,
Che con questi le guerre, e paci fannosi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

<Scena Quarta>

<Vilucchio>

22/recto .....
.....fuor: perché'l.....
E che guardando di Tramo.....
Assai; né perciò nulla anco ho.....
Di molto passata senza accorgermene,
L'hora del desinar; talché la collera
Fatto m'ha venir sete insopportabile,
E da mangiar lo stomaco anco chiedemi.
Ma perch'all'osteria qui sparecchiatosi
Sarà, di ragion tutto; una bonissima
Colation farò hora, riserbandomi
A far da vero a cena. Ma non veggoci
L'insegna, non so già parmi smarittomi.
Questa pure è la strada, e questa, anch'essere
Pare la casa pure, ove condussemi
Colui. L'è essa certo, e che lasciatoci
Ho le mie robe si importanti. Piacciati
Fortuna, che le cose hoggi ben vadino.
Quel Barbagianni dipinto, ben dettemi
Com'io'l vidi, nel naso. Ond'hor mi dubito,
Che non fosse presagio, ch'al fin tocchа a me
D'essere un vero Barbagianni, a mettere
In man non conosciuta; e senza guardia
Quant'ho con esso meco di gran prezzio.
La porta è ferma, tic/toc/tic/toc, ma busserò,
tic/toc/tic.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quinta

(Crisogono, Nicobolo, Girola)

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<Girola>

Oh, Domine.

Crisogono

Che ò vengavi a buon'atta, o tardi vengavi
Non trovo in casa una volta né Prospero,
Né Vilucchio.

Nicobolo

Hor vedrai, ch'andrà malissimo,
Niuno sento.

Crisogono

Ov'hor saranno fittosi?

Girola

Prospero alla lettion sia andato, credomi.

Nicobolo

22/verso .....
.....la pratica.

Crisogono

.....studia, dicalo
.....

Nicobolo

O, Messer Oste!

Crisogono

Piace.

Nicobolo

.....la figlia, ah, ah, ah.

Crisogono

Chi raggirà
.....alla mia casa?

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Nicobolo

Non uditemi?
.....Messer Oste.

Crisogono

Ei vuol la porta rompere,
.....la percuote.

Nicobolo

O là, che'l cancaro
Vi mangi, aprite!

Crisogono

I ladri, oimè, mi rubano!

Nicobolo

Che i ragnateli, e la polvere?

Crisogono

Intendomi
Ben'io. Che vuoi tu dì costì? Chi battere
Senza discretion fatti?

Nicobolo

Sete fammelo
Fare, e fame.

Girola

Ah, ah, ah, a buon'hora ben trarratela--
Ah, ah, ah!

Nicobolo

O caro padron, di gratia, apritimi
Presto!

Crisogono

Me'n guarderò ben'io che vuoi aprati,
Perché mi rubi? Un minchione debb'essere
Baro costui, o ubriaco fracido.

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Nicobolo

Che d'imbriaco dite? Domandatene
Vostro figliuol, se nulla in corpo e'ntratomi
Oggi.

Crisogono

Che sa mio figlio? Testimonio
Non occorre--perché ò un ladro publico
Tu già non sia, o pel vin non farnetichi
A questa foggia tristi, qui si trattano
I forestier? Quest'è'l buon nome ch'odesi
Per tutto, della casa serenissima
Di Savoia; che sí bene e amorevole-
Mente, i forestier vede.

Girola

Anzi è certissimo,
Quanto più faccia ciascuno altro Principe.
Che vuoi tu inferire?

Nicobolo

Se non che publica-
Mente, qui s'assassina.

Crisogono

Tu ben mentire
Per la gola; che'n questo stato possono
Con l'oro in mano andare in sino a i piccoli
Fanciulli. Tanto fassi rigidissima
Contr'a'tristi, et a i buon santa giustitia,
Perché tenersi il mio qua dentro ardiscono;
23/recto Se pur.....
Ch'io stesso l'ho portato.

<Girola>

.....
Tu che l'hai portato.

<Nicobolo>

.....
Volete voi, negarla mai più, potrami.....
Il figliuol vostro.

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Crisogono

Egli che.....
E che ragion v'ha sopra.

Nicobolo

Per c'havuto.....
Ha da me.

Crisogono

O ch'impazzisco, o che tu.....!
O che'n fatti pur cerchi di rubarmelo!
E quando, e dov'ha maicidate havutolo.

Nicobolo

Staman qui dentro nell'Osteria, diavolo,
O che cose son queste!

Crisogono

Hor bene aveggo
Buon'huom che l'hai segnato, adormentatoti
Doppo haver ben bevuto. Qui non fecesi
Osteria mai, ne qui meno in casa entraci
Altri che me, che sol le chiavi tengone
E porto sempre meco.

Nicobolo

O'nefandissime
Barrerie! Qui non fassi osteria?

Crisogono

Mentine
Stu'l di.

Girola

Non vedi ch'insegna non tiencisi?

Nicobolo

Ben ci era dianzi pure.

Crisogono

E ch'insegna eraci?

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Nicobolo

Del Barbagianni.

Girola

O, la cosa è chiarissima!
Costui è matto; e accorti ancor non erancene.

Crisogono

Tu bene un Barbagianni sei grandissimo.
O va, buon'huomo, va! Qui non alloggiasi.

Nicobolo

Andrò, ma prima il mio tambur rendetemi.

Girola

O questa è bella; egli si da ad intendere
D'esser un Tamburino.

Crisogono

Non bisognati
Tamburo; va pur via. Che per Dio gratia
Non ci habbiamo più guerre, né più havran
cene;
Del valore, e virtù mercé del Principe.

Nicobolo

Ah, vorreste ribaldi, dare a credere
Ch'io fosse qualche pazzo! Per non rendermi
Il tamburo, ove son denari, e lettere'
Di cambio, molto più che per tre milia
Scudi.

Girola

Egli intorna pur alle medesime
Quando co'pazzi le buone non vagliono;
Convien venire alle peggioti. Girola
23/verso Tienli.....

<Nicobolo>

191 .....
.....il popolo
.....sete verissima.

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.....più tacere che Prospero
.....a patirne troppo. Uditemi
.....che'n due parole il vero scoprovi.
....havete ambi duo ragion dimostrovi.
Sopr'il mio non ha già ragione.

Girola

Sommelo.
Ma ci è un grand'inganno!

Nicobolo

Io'l so benissimo,
Che tocca a me.

Girola

Di gratia, un po' lasciatimi
Dire che se prima non ve n'ho Crisogono
Detto nulla, e restato per non farvene
Haver travaglio; et anco pur pensandomi,
Che la cosa haver fin potesse.

Crisogono

Domine,
Che fia?

Girola

La vostra casa in somma è solita
Da tre dì in qua, di tramutarsi in varie
Forme; hora pare una Torre, hor che
disfacciasi;
E quando non ci sia, e quando cuocacisi.

Nicobolo

Che canzoni? E che dir ciancie
Ti pensi a un mio par?

Crisogono

Come è possibile
Cotesto?

Girola

Perché'n fatti ella debb'essere
Fatata, ond'ella stranamente cangiasi.

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Crisogono

Son baie!

Nicobolo

Dite pur barerie pessime.

Girola

Baie? E ancor non sapete come a Fiesole
Presso a Fiorenza, cittade antichissima,
La buca però là ove..... le fata habitano.
E che le donne, ch'a veder là entrano,
N'escon poi, qual cavalla, e qual mutatasi
In vacca; e trasmutati gli huomin'esconne
In diversi animai con corna, o senzane?
De'quali alcun ritorna nel suo essere,
Et altri in quelle fore
Ma non vedeste a lo scotto mirabili
Far qui trasmutationi? Che miracoli
Certo farean, et illusion chiamavarle,
Quanti scudi, quant'oro, e quante gioie
Convertiva in carboni, e in cose stranie?

Nicobolo

Di tu gli scudi?

Girola

Dico, e tramutavali
24/recto Da un.....
.....che mal per voi:.....

<Nicobolo>

Che narra Plinio in una.....
Di quel Gigante, ch'appariva.....
Ho.

Girola

Questo avvien quand'.....
Nelle cantine, o morti seppellisconsi.

Crisogono

Io tremo tutto; i tuoi scudi, Crisogono!

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Girola

Sicché stamane huomo da bene occorsevi,
Che questa casa un'osteria paressivi.
Ma che sia ver non già; e cosa siavi
Alcuna vostra, certo non può essere.

Crisogono

I miei danari, ohimé, che già non sienosi
Partiti, o tramutati anch'essi! Correre
Voglio a vedere.

Nicobolo

E dietro ancor'io vengovi.

Crisogono

Non farai; fatti in là, tiral fuor Girola;
Che non mi rubi, e poscia al diavol vadane.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Sesta

(Nicobolo, Girola)

Nicobolo

Così mi proibite il mio?

Girola

No, dicovi
Che v'ingannate, che altri là non entravi
Mai se non lui che ben di rado vieneci.
Perché continuamente al Poder'habita
Fuori della cittade; e sempre portasi
Le chiavi appresso.

Nicobolo

E come perciò, puotesi
Conchiudere, che'l baro non rattengasi
Il mio, staman da me proprio lasciatovi?
Non può haver l'inganno egli far fattomi?

Girola

No, che se bene in sé certo avarissimo,

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E non dimeno homo da bene; e ha carico
Di conscienza seltorrebbe.

Nicobolo

O corpo di
Chi non vò dir, tu vuoi pur farmi credere
Che'l vero no sia ver, vero, verissimo!

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Settima

(Crisogono, Nicobolo, Girola)

<Girola>

.....laccio, e impiccati
.....meritissimo.
.....

Crisogono

Tieni, piglia Girola
.....il mio cuor l'anima rendimi;
.....miei danari.

Girola

Quai danar? Ditelo
.....mio.

Crisogono

Pensier, fatiche, masseritia,
Non haver mai havuto bene, non m'essere
Tratto una voglia; i miei danar, non odimi?

<Girola>

Dove sono?

Crisogono

Eran, non vison, rubati mi
Sono stati.

Nicobolo

O ribaldi: et a dire hor trovano
D'esser stati rubati, per non rendere
Il mio a me. Ma v'ingannate pessimi

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Dite dov'eran mai più.

Crisogono

Sotteratigli
Havea in cantina; e poco fà rivistigli
Haveva, e v'eran pur. Ma non più già hor
sonovi.
Carbon vi sono, o thesor lucidissimo,
Che t'ha fatto si nero? Se non fossemi
Stato appresso, direi che tu.

Girola

Convien misi
Per l'amicitia nostra.

Crisogono

E chi rubatigli
Si prest'haver può mai? O infelice, o misero
Me, tanti scudi, oimè!

Nicobolo

Deh, né se'fingono
Bene tra loro i marioli.

Girola

Quanti erano?
Tremila scudi?

Crisogono

Oimè, ben più di quindici
Mila passavano.

Girola

Ma non accorgetevi
Che nessuno può havergli havuti? Prospero
Gli havrà toccati su.

Crisogono

Ma se non sonovi,
Non convien che qualch'uno habbia rubatoli.

Girola

Neccessario non è, ma tramutatasi

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Bene; come la casa anch'essa mutasi.

Crisogono

E ritorneran'egli nel lor'essere?

Nicobolo

Ladri, la roba mia homai rendetemi;
Ch'a me non entran queste vostre chiacchiere.

<Girola>

Si ben, se vorrà quel, c'ha trasmutatoli
Costui lo in cantator parmi Crisogono.
25/recto Vedete.....carbon.....
Alla mala derrata questo.....
Fa di carboni oro ti dico; spacciati.....
Alchimista non son; ma huom per.....
Vecchio iscemonito pentire.

Girola

Deh, fate
Per amor, galant'huomo.

Nicobolo

Si punirne.

Crisogono

Io dico che ti spacci, acciò riveggali
Tosto in viso si belli, come furono.

Nicobolo

Qui non verrene a capo mai. Rivolgomi
Alla giustitia, et al Duca medesimo.

Crisogono

Ove vai, negromante? Tienlo Girola,
I miei danari in carbon convertitoli,
Non mi vuoi rendere, aiutami a correre
Dietro a costui Girola; su, via, piglialo!

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Ottava

(M. Silvatico da sé)

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Ahuo, mai più i giorni miei già non occorsemi
Non poter gli occhi aprir; né poter reggermi
In piedi per lo sonno. Ahuo, in fin convienemi
Tre a gettare in sulletto; e posarmivi
Tanto, che passi un po' questa cascaggine.
Che la notte passata non havendomi
Potuto addormentar mai, raggirandosi
Nel cervello il pensier d'havere apprendere
Partito di mia figlia. E haver ben carico
La mano al ber, nel fare e render brindisi
Con questi amici miei; che, rallegrandosi
Del buon partito, han voluto ch'io desini
Con loro ond'io so apena ov'hora.
Me n'entro dimi pian pian quagiù in camera
E, la finestra chiusa, gettomi
Sopr'al letto attastoni; al fine che Hedola
Non pensi c'habbia qualche mal veggendomi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

25/verso

Scena <Nona>

(Callidoro da sé)

.....subito
.....fortuna prospera
.....campana fattami
.....un sol pezzo. Ove mai Florido
.....hora? Acciò che veder facciali
.....Hedola entrar Prospero. Onde messoli
Nell'orecchio tal pulce, ei si deliberi
Lasciarla. Buon principio! Messer Britio
Padre suo veggo, il qual saprà ben darmene
Aviso a pien. Ma a lui non sarà meglio
Farlo veder. Ch'i vecchi assai più creduli,
E sospettosi sono, et egli a Florido
Ben lo ridirà. A lui dunque rivolgomi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Decima

(M. Britio, Callidoro)

<M. Britio>

Non mai da l'alba in qua, son rincontratomi
Nel padre di mia Nuora; e pur bisognami
Parlar seco di cose, ch'appartengono
A'queste nostre Nozze. Io dunque andrommene

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Poi, ch'io son qui; da quei di casa, a
intendere
Ov'hora egli sia.

Callidoro

Allegri, Messer Britio.

Britio

Ben Callidor sapete, anch'io risentomi
Qualche poco in su questo sponsalitio.

Callidoro

Chi sa, ch'ancora a voi una non diasene?

Britio

Si, che'n quel fare, io fo più che mai pegno.

Callidoro

Potete Messer Britio esser certissimo
Hormai, quant'ami il vostro figliuol Florido;
Sicché per questo ogni suo ben desidero.
Ma sopra tutto del suo honor grandissimo
Conto tengo; talche la vita propria
Volentier metterei per suo servitio.
Se io l'oso? Anzi a lui ben spesso ridicolo
26/recto E ve n'ho.....
.....
Non voglio.

Britio

E da gli.....
Gli occhi vostri medesimi.....
Come?

Callidoro

Fatevi in qua. Vedete.....
Dal Balcon su'l Giardin quello.....

Britio

Ben che volete inferire? Si che veggolo.

Callidoro

Hor che'n casa non è Messer Silvatico;

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In modo ascoso stando, che niun veggavi;
Ma ben possiate coi chiaro comprendere
Ciò, che da questo per lo giardin seguane.
Come già cento volte anco è seguitone,
Vi chiarirete da noi stesso. Io partomi.

Britio

Infatti io vo' spiar quel c'ha a succedere.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Undecima

(Callidoro, Prospero)

<Callidoro>

Su, che gliè l'hora, e nessun passa. Turati
Nel mantel bene, et il capel giù tirati.
Acciò non ti conosca Hedola, e Placida
Da me. E fa pur d'entrar dentro alla libera.
Poi la porta serrata, via di lancio
Passato l'horto a capo chino. In camera
Ficcati, e la finestra serra subito.
Perché sendo all'oscuro non conoscati,
Fin che la sposi; pian parlando, o mutolo
Stando. Et alla mente habbi come pingesi
L'occasione, se lasci hor di prendere
Davanti i suoi capei, sempre poi fuggesi.

Prospero

La tocca a me.

Callidoro

Per mia fede, che mi dubito.

Prospero

Che'l troppo amor forse levar non lascimi
Di'n sule balle? Non farò assicuriti
Ch'io lasciarolla consolata, e fattasi
Tutta mia.

Callidoro

Hor su via, tempo non perdasi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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26/verso

Scena <Duodecima>

<Florido>

385 .....
.....che condotta mi
.....contra chi mai non fecemi
.....per me la fai tutt'arder', e
.....nimica hor mi fai mettere
390 .....piglio l'honore; anzi la propria
.....di chi per me più vite spendere.
Vorrebbe se l'havesse. Ahi, ahi, me misera,
So ch'io t'offendo; ma perdonami Hedola
Poi, che m'ha spinto acciò colui che spinta ti
395 Ha, l'honor chiaro tuo macchiare, e tingere;
E che'l mondo, et il ciel ha in sua
Tirrannide.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terzadecima

(M. Britio da sé)

Non che con questi stessi occhi miei proprij,
Con queste mani, disse M. Nicia,
Chiarito me ne sono. Od hora tengasi
400 Sua figliuola per sé Messer Silvatico;
O la mariti ad altri, che più piacciale.
Ch'ella moglie non fia già del mio Florido.
Va poi di tu, chi havria mai pensatolo?
Forse di lei, e di sua Balia Placida
405 Non havrebbe ogniun detto, che le fossero
Due santerelle. Quasi mai vedeasi
La fanciulla andar fuori; e se andavavi,
Forse, che gli occhi alzar veduto, havrestile.
Co'l libro in mano, e la corona a cintola
410 Tanti santi graffiava, e tanti pater no-
Stri'nfilzava; che niun già credutosi
Havrebbe mai, ch'altro infilzar piacessele.
Ma pensar convenia, ch'ell'era femina
Di carne come l'altre. O come pratico
27/recto E il.....
416 .....
.....ch'un gatto.....
.....dentro com'i udij la.....
Il resto poi, chi pensar vuollo per.....
420 Ch'a me non vò più ch'appartenga.....
Padri, ch'alle figliuole loro tengono.....
Appresso compagnie, che al veder paiono
Angeli; e Diavoli poi sempre riescono.

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Infine, infatti quella mona Placida
Va loro a piacimento. Onde a sbrigarsene
Voglio, c'hor'hora se ne vada Florido.

ATTO QUINTO

Scena Prima

(Placida da sé)

Dove, misera, fuggo? E dove ascondomi
Da quest'huomo infuriato, e tanto in collera?
Cui proprio par che gli occhi fuoco schizzino.
O, infelicissima a noi. O, che scompiglio
E questo in questa casa! Mentre stavami
Alle finestre su di sopra, a scorgere
Per tutto intorno se Messer Silvatico
In quel che a parlar'ita era a Callidoro,
La meschina figliuola; od altri fossero
Comparsi. In un baleno ecco ch'io veggolo
Correr su verso me, che lamentandosi,
Piangendo, urlando con le man battevasi
Tutta mal concia, scompigliata. E dietrole
Suo Padre, ch'anco a me sgridando; presela
Per i capegli, e pugni, e calci d'andole
27/verso Nella.....
.....
.....prendere
.....lungi l'animo
.....tutta tremo, e movere
..... . Il traditor Callidoro
.....hàbbia osservata mi dubito.
.....da troppa voglia, come sogliono
Lasciarsi vincer quelli, ch'amando ardono.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Seconda

(M. Silvatico, Placida)

<M. Silvatico>

Dove fuggi, ribalda? Infedelissima,
Torna in qua sciagurata! non bastandoti
D'haver tenuto mano, c'habbia a perdere
L'honor; ch'anco vorrai andar bandendolo
Per tutta la città!

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Placida

Messere, habbiatemi
Compassion; che la compassion causa,
Et origine è stata, ch'alla povera
Figliuola io permettesi. Ch'a Callidoro
Parlasse in casa qui, ma non facessino
Altro già; ma se l'han fatto, fatto hannolo
Senza saputa, e senza mia licentia.
Volevi voi ch'io consumar lasciassila
Di questa voglia?

M. Silvatico

Bestia--che Callidoro?
Prospero è quello, che si poco usato mi
Ha rispetto.

Placida

Perché dite voi Prospero?
Se gli è il vicino nostro qui Callidoro?

M. Silvatico

O scemonita, non conosc'io Prospero
Da Callidoro?

Placida

Oimè come puot'essere
Questo giamai? Guardate ben!

M. Silvatico

M'hai frascido.
Dico che gli è pur Prosper, qual venuto mi
E in casa, a violar mia figliuol'Hedola.

Placida

Che parolaccie dite voi? O, guardila
Da un Iddio disaventura simile.

M. Silvatico

28/recto .....
.....hor non.....
.....abbasso allo scuro.....
Svegliar da un tramenio,.....
E dalla voce di lei? Che dicevali

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Non far cuor mio, che tu m'amazzi.

Placida

Oimè, non dite più, no; ch'io vergognomi,
O ribaldella!

M. Silvatico

Alla qual voce subito
Scagliatomi dal letto in piedi, veddonmi;
E correnď ella si fuggì di camera,
Il che voleva par pur anco il giovane.
Ma non pote, ne'suoi panni, intrigandosi.
Onde corsi io all'uscio, e a me tirandolo
Per la gagliarda cricca, restò in gabbia
Il traditore, il nefando. E se gli escene,
Impazzato poss'io andarne al diavolo.

Placida

Ben fia messere a gastigare il pessimo,
Che ci ha tradite.

M. Silvatico

Entra su in casa. E guarda
Di non uscir, né di parlar con anima
Nata, ch'anco per te ci fia da rodere
Del duro, ti so dire.

Placida

Ecco ubidiscovi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Terza

(M. Silvatico da sé)

O sfortunato, o misero Silvatico.
Hora, che tu pensavi felicissima-
Mente, quel che riman di vita vivere;
Sei più che mai in preda alle miserie,
Cagion del poco feminil giuditio!
Ben non si deve speme in nulla mettere;
Ch'ogni cosa quagiù troppo è mutabile.
Ma voglio alla ferrata in presto a intendere
Come'l caso è seguito, essendo Prospero
Stato pigliato in cambio di Callidoro
Da queste cervelline. E di poi prendere

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28/verso Quel.....
81 .....
.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quarta

(<Britio>, M. Silvatico)

Britio

.....già mai quel cervellin di Florido;
.....così gran bisogno non ritrovolo?
.....posso quietar, fin che disdettosi
Questo parentado non sia. Ma veggo là
Chi m'ha ben scorto da lontano, e fuggesi
Ascolta, non serrar, vien fuori. Dicoti
Che mariti tua figlia a chi più piaceti,
Ch'al mio figliuol non voglio darla.

M. Silvatico

Ah, Britio,
Son queste cose da farsi tra gli homini
Da bene pari nostri? E per qual causa
Ti movi a dirmi questo?

Britio

A che fia dirtela
Se tu stesso la sai?

M. Silvatico

Com'è possibile
Ch'io la sappia, se tu così di subito
M'affronti, et alla rotta così parlimi?

Britio

Se non sai, va impara. Hor che sei vecchio,
Maggior vergogna t'è. Né è verisimile
Tu non sapere hormai si lunga pratica.

M. Silvatico

Non ti intendo.

Britio

Se questo no vuoi intendere,

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Intenderai ben quest'altro. Disdicoti
Il Parentado, che staman conchiusesi.

M. Silvatico

Ascolta. Perché parti? Di gratia odimi
Tanto, ch'io dico due parole; Britio,
Deh non partir cosi alla rotta!

Britio

Favole.

M. Silvatico

Ahi, come così presto ha nuova havutone?
Quella bestiaccia, prima havrà ciarlatone
Con qualch'un che l'effetto sia seguitone.
Come sarà, che'l dolor non ammazzimi?

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quinta

(Procuratore, M. Silvatico, Nicobolo)

<Procuratore>

Questo è un Dottore, a cui parlato; subito
29/recto Ci saprà.....

<Nicobolo>

.....
Sono, a esser percosso da.....
Colpi, di ria fortuna. Ahi, lasso.....

<Procuratore>

Egli fatta ragion buona, e sommar.....

M. Silvatico

Con l'esilio, con morte, e con la perduta
De'beni; questo dell'honore avanzali
Tutti.

Procuratore

I Duca qua vuole. Che santissima-
Mente, giustitia a ciascuno aministrisi.

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Nicobolo

Credo ben, ma ne'Giudici è'l pericolo.

M. Silvatico

Onde si fieramente il cor feriscemi,
E lo'nfiamma a vendetta.

Procuratore

Ma bisognavi
Provar la vostra intentione.

Nicobolo

Hor'eccoci
In su libelli, in su processi e cedole.

M. Silvatico

Che se vendetta severa non prendere.

Nicobolo

Da non venirne a capo mai.

Procuratore

Parrebbevi
Ragionevol, ch'alcun senza mostrarlovi
Perché primieramente voi dovessila,
V'adomandasse qual cosa, e volessiia?

M. Silvatico

Che'l cor soffocariemi al fermo credomi.

Nicobolo

Dite'l ver, ma qui sotto il serpe ascondesi,
Che la ragione avelena, mordendola.

M. Silvatico

Né men contra di me si move, e'n focasi.

Nicobolo

Con le storsion vostre, e con lo stendere
Per ingrassarvi, senza fin le cause.

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M. Silvatico

Pensando all'error mio e da pocaggine.

<Procuratore>

Mettete mano alla borsa, et hor datemi
Un par di scudi. O voleteli porgere
Al Dottor voi, che là veggo. Acciò possaci
Ben consigliar, studiando il caso.

M. Silvatico

Havendola
Mia figlia data in guardia.

Nicobolo

Deh, habbiatemi
Compassion; ch'al presente non trovomi
Un soldo, havendo nel Tambur rubatomi
Tutti i danar c'haveva.

M. Silvatico

A quella bestia
Di sua Balia.

Procuratore

Con ch'ardir dunque possoli
Porre in man questa causa?

Nicobolo

Sto per vendere
Un cavallo, e riscosso, i danar portoli.
Che c'è di novo?

Procuratore

Poco. Pure aprendovi,
Signor Dottor, di costui qui il bisognio.
29/verso Egli.....
150 .....che di tremilia
.....uscito; e poi tornatovi
.....anzi negato gli
.....della casa, tenendola
.....hor quid agendum adomandasi.

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<M. Silvatico>

.....una adomanda; e provi d'essere
.....veduto, co'l tambur menatovi,
...fermato il processo con quest'ordine.
Tornate a me. Via andate.

Nicobolo

In che travaglio
Sia, potete pensar Dottor; trovandomi
Qua forestier, che pel mondo ammazzandomi
Dietro ad una nipote vò; fuggitasi
Da me fin da Lisbona et hor rubati mi
Sono stati i danar c'haveva, e lettere
Di cambio.

M. Silvatico

Da così il Mondo! Anch'io trovomi
Con dispiaceri grandi! Consolatevi
Con il non esser solo. E però andatevi
A far far le scritture, che bisogniamo.

<Nicobolo>

O crudele avaritia, et insatiabile,
Che'n questa sorte di gente è. Non vistosi
Porger danar, pel Procaccio ha speditomi.
Ringratio il ciel, che più tosto affogatosi
In mare sia il mio fratell'il qual già datosi
Era ad avocar; che soffocar lasciatosi
Fosse in questo si cupo, e ingordo pelago.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Sesta

(M. Silvatico, Crisogono)

<M. Silvatico>

Ma poiché co'l pensier vò imaginandomi,
Come possa a tal mal porger qualch'utile
Rimedio. Altro non veggo, o far che Prospero
Hedola sposi, o, sposar non volendola,
Darli la morte e la figliuola monaca
Lasciar si faccia, poich'io sia fuggitomi.
30/recto Co'l mezzo.....

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<Crisogono>

.....vegg'io.....
Fia da Britio avvertito.....
L'animo mio da che ver me.....
Et non l'havrebbe rattenuto il.....
Si via fuggiva il negromante pessimo
Per non rendermi il mio, per me mutatolo
In carboni, e per se l'oro fin toltosi.
Ma veggo a me venir Messer Silvatico!
Da lui, ch'è detto, vò pigliar consiglio
Di questo fatto. I travagli non mancano,
Né le disgratie mai, Messer Silvatico!

M. Silvatico

Volendo voi l'honesto, ben potretevi
Liberare ad un tratto; senza c'habbino
Le cose vostre a patir nulla.

Crisogono

Voglialo
Il Ciel!

M. Silvatico

Vogliatel voi pur, ch'anch'io vogliolo.

Crisogono

A che dubitar punto, s'anch'io vogliolo?
Non havendo altro bene, anzi mia anima
Essendo.

M. Silvatico

Havete ragion.

Crisogono

Dov'è? Ditelo
Mi presto!

M. Silvatico

Appresso di me è, che rinchiusolo
Ho'n camera.

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Crisogono

Hor su, dunque qua rendetemilo
Che non posso più viver; s'io non veggolo,
Rendetemel sù, dico!

M. Silvatico

Un poco adagio!
Render lo debbo, con disavantaggio?
Quando anco a me si renda quel che toltomi
E stato, alhora il metterò in arbitrio
Vostro. E non prima; se ben comandasselo
Il Papa stesso, non che l'Arcivescovo.

Crisogono

C'havuto ho il vostro mai? In collera
Mi farete salir. Se più tenetemi'l
Mio.

M. Silvatico

L'havuto; se non voi, il vostro figlio!

Crisogono

Ch'a fare ho io di quel c'havuto il figlio?
L'ho manceppato; e qui hor'hor diredolo
Per non gli esser tenuto, il mio rendetemi!

M. Silvatico

V'è ben tenuto quel, da cui se resomi
Non è quant'egli debbe, ben potrebbeci
Lasciar la vita alfine.

Crisogono

30/verso Par.....Dunque ubligatomi
.....
.....
.....mio medesima-
<Mente>.....tutto non dic'io; che vogliolo
..... .

M. Silvatico

Aparte almen saravi anch'Hedola.

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<Crisogono>

.....che non Hedola? Che ha far Hedola
<Con quel> ch'è mio?

M. Silvatico

Ha a far, c'havendo a rendere
....lei, da me l'honor; convien che sposila.
Ond'a parte con voi fia del mio genero,
.....figlio.

Crisogono

E i danar-- di chi fieno?

<M. Silvatico>

Fia a loro i danar.

Crisogono

No, no, non piacemi!
Voglio che'l mio sia mio!

M. Silvatico

Non puo mai essere
D'altri la dote, che del figlio è propria;
Se non in quanto a quel ch'è suo, medesima-
Mente è del Padre.

Crisogono

Chi di dote parlami?
I miei danar che mi rendiate dicovi,
Che detto havete haver serrati in camera.

M. Silvatico

Non ho detto cotesto.

Crisogono

Testimonij
Dove sete? Ei non l'haver detto negami.

M. Silvatico

Nego, d'havervi già mai detto, d'essere
Chiusi vostri danar.

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Crisogono

Che dunque?

M. Silvatico

Prospero
Dico rinchiuso haver, là dove toltomi
Ha, l'honor con mia figlia mescolandosi.
La qual se non isposa, mi delibero,
Ch'ei vi lasci la vita.

Crisogono

Se vuol lascila
Anch'io la mia voglio lasciar; se resimi
Non sono i miei danar, c'hanno rubatimi.

M. Silvatico

Più importa a me l'honore, che non fannovi
I danari; e però fate che sposila.

Crisogono

Anzi, perch'a me più i danari importano
Che l'honor vostro; non vo che ragionisi
Di nulla, in sin che non ho'l mio!

M. Silvatico

Non dolga
Di me, Prosper, né tu, balordo vecchio;
S'egli ci lascia la vita, e tu il figlio.

<Crisogono>

Vedi come costui la baia ha datomi.
Poss'io morir se da me non ammazzomi!

* * * * * * * * * * *

31/recto

<Scena Settima>

(M. Silvatico <da se>)

Che cos'è grande ingiuria, e in.....
Se'nteramente, et a ragion non ven.....
Più matto son di lui, che bestialissimo
Per l'avaritia è divenuto; et avido

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Tanto dell'Or, che del figliuol non curasi,
Qual'have unico al mondo. O detestabile
Vitio, e nefando, che si'acechin gli homini!
Ma voglio prima veder come Prospero
La intenda, avante al modo io volti l'animo
Della vendetta, e del mio scampo cogiti.
Che se mia figlia sposar vuol pacifica-
Mente, il tutto ben poscia con Crisogono
Si potrà accomodar; ma se Callidoro
Ci ha colpa, i non vo'già che più ritorni
In Portogallio, però voglio intendere
...a punto, come in questo sia intrigatosi.
Lasciami tosto entrar pria, ch'avicininsi
Il Padre, ed il figliuol, che di là vengono
Per darmi forse più dolore. Ahi, misero!

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Ottava

(M. Britio, Florido)

<Britio>

Dell'amicitia, più non è cos'utile,
Mio figlio; e però sendoti amicissimo
Callidor, come a gli effetti è chiarissimo.
Che s'ei non ci avertiva, o in che gran Pelago
Eravamo annegati infelicissima-
Mente; senza, ch'al nostro honor rimedio
Havessimo nessun se non mettevamo
Mano al sangue, e però figliuol mantientelo.
Ed hora andando a trovarlo, ringratialo
Di tanto benefitio et offeriscili
Non sol quanto noi habbiamo, ma le proprie
31/verso Vite.....

<Florido>

..... ?

<Britio>

Ritornati
.....si avicinano
.....hore, e quivi aspettami.
..tutto ceniam c'harò spediromi da un certo
mio.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

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Scena Nona

(Florido, Nibbio)

<Florido>

O là, non mi volete aprire!

Nibbio

O Florido,
Il ben venuto!

Florido

Il ben trovato Nibbio,
Callidoro che fa?

Nibbio

Sta malenconico,
E tanto impensierito, che mi dubito
Ei non si amali.

Florido

E che vuol dir? Che causa
N'ha?

Nibbio

Già non altra, fuor che da voi vedesi
Lasciare; ov'ei pensava haver'a vivere
In vostra compagnia, insieme andandone
Alla guerra. Ma voi, prendendo moglie,
Resterete con lei, per seco attendere
A far buon tempo.

Florido

Non c'è più pericolo.
E rotto, e fracassato tutto! Andiamolo
A rallegrare!

Nibbio

Voi farete benissimo.

* * * * * * * * * * *

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Scena Decima

(M. Silvatico da se)

Chi d'Amore alle forze crede opponersi?
Presume anco di far che sia possibile
Dio non esser Dio, da cui derivano
Tutte le cose, qual da'fonti nascono
I rivi, e quei non scaturendo, mancano
Anch'essi. Amando lungamente Prospero
Mia figlia (havea tentato ben di prenderla
Per Donna) ma se bene io contentavami,
Mai non volse suo padre aconsentirgliene,
32/recto Ma destinat'.....
.....
....presentendo, ch'io.....
Tenuto ha mezzo per lo quale.....
In casa mia; et aspettato in camera
Ov'a l'oscuro io fisso dormiva. Hedola,
La quale innamorata di Callidoro
Cercò parlarli co'l mezzo di Placida.
Talch'esser lui credendo quel, ch'entrato vi
Era, ivi venne; onde valsosi Prospero
Dell'occasion buona, tosto presala
In braccio; e perché lei non conoscevalo,
Sotto voce le chiese, se voleasi
Maritar seco: acconsentigli. Ei, trattosi
Un'anello di dito, e nel suo messolo;
Prego come a sua moglie. Ch'al santissimo
Lor matrimonio compimento dessero,
A fin che disturbar più non potessesi.
Ond'ella, essendo del medesim'animo,
Fu cagione ch'alhora io risentissimi,
Ch'adormentato, di me non accorsonsi.
Però liberamente hor'egli havendomi.
Narrato questo fatto, e non volendosi
Indietro ritirare; anzi pregatomi
Ch'io li perdoni, e che ancora contentimi
Di quel che'n cielo era ordinato, in animo
Havuto non havendo farmi ingiuria.
Ma ch'egli solamente è dar lasciatosi
In preda a Amor, ch'al fin suo poscia ha scortolo.
Non ha potuto contener le lagrime,
E per figliuolo haverlo, non che genero,
Gli ho promesso. Ma poscia interrogatolo
Com'habbia fatto acciò tirar Callidoro;
M'ha detto con danar, pei quali messo si
E a'ngannar quel forestier', e ascondergli
Il suo Tamburo. Appresso a cui ritrovansi
Ancora scudi forse venti milia
...Prosper di là, dove sepoltogli

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32/verso Havea.....
350 .....delibero
.....alzar gli occhij;
.....naso anco gli spicchino;
.....gli il cor sempre mai rodere
.....sua propria coscienza; e misera-
355 <Mente> viver, si come il tristo merita.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Undecima

(M. Silvatico, Callidoro, Florido)

<M. Silvatico>

Apri, apri, ò là! Se non che'n terra sbattoti
La Porta, esci, esci qua fuora Callidoro,
Anzi assassino, traditore, anzi pessimo
Sporco ruffiano, anzi infamabilissimo
360 Rubator dell'honore altrui!

Callidoro

Adagio,
Che pensate di far, Messer Silvatico?
E per quale cagion si brutte ingiurie
Mi dite voi?

M. Silvatico

Con queste dita voglioti
Trar gli occhi fuor di testa e'l naso morderti
365 Con questi denti, e dal viso spiccartelo.

Florido

State indietro, e perc'hor così voresstelo
Inghiottire? Perché tanto oltraggiatelo?

M. Silvatico

Questo furfante, ladro, impiccat', asino,
E quel, c'ha messor si grande scompiglio
370 Tra voi, e me! Questo è'l Ruffiano pessimo
Ch'a tradigion messo m'ha in casa Prospero
Per levarmi l'honore; e disturbatoci
Ha il parentado, e fatti inimicissimi.

Callidoro

Vere non sono tante cose.

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M. Silvatico

O pessimo,
375 Ei nega quel, ch'è più del Sol chiarissimo!

Florido

Questo a me dunque, amico infedelissimo,
Guarda, che non sia ver; ch'al mondo essempio
D'adulatori, e di ruffian far voglioti.
33/recto Quando.....
380 .....la gola, che si.....
La sua buona ventura in donna.....
Non havresti; né tanto oltraggio.....

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Duodecima

(Crisogono, Callidoro, Florido, M. Silvatico)

<Crisogono>

Non trovo via, ch'a'miei denar conducami.
Ma non vorrei però gettare il manico
385 Dietro alle scure.

Callidoro

Per me non ha già Florido
Perso la sua ventura in prender moglie.

Crisogono

Ei fece dianzi un gran minacciar Prospero
Quel Dottore; e perché le cose premono
Tal volta dell'honor tanto.

M. Silvatico

E tu posti
390 In bilancio l'honor non hai?

Crisogono

Ch'inducano
Le genti a far gran vendette.

Callidoro

Non perdesi

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Se'n mano a quel che di cuore ama mettesi.

Crisogono

Tal che di lui a gran ragion mi dubito,
Ch'a se'l pensier le tue carni al fin tirano.
Oimè, chi quello è là, che in mezzo messosi
Hanno quei duoi? Là corro.

M. Silvatico

Odi, Crisogono.
Ecco chi appresso ha i tuoi danari.

Crisogono

O pessimo
Ladro, Ladrone, arci Ladron, Ladrissimo,
Rendeteli presto qua. Se non che cavoti
Con queste mani il cuore.

Callidoro

O infelicissimo,
Tanti volete di me fare stratio?
E là dove l'amor ch'io porto a Florido,
Alla vostra figliuola, e al vostro Prospero,
M'ha mosso a fare a tutti bene. Un cambio
Tal mi si rende?

Crisogono

Ben, sò dire, ha'fattomi
A tormi il mio. Su qua, ti dico, rendilo!

M. Silvatico

Vuol forse dire a me? Perch'n'sbaraglio
Ha messo l'honor mio?

Florido

Forse la moglie
Levando a me?

Crisogono

Son tutti i vostri segnij
I miei danar, fatti son solo. Spacciati.
Trovali sù!

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33/verso

<Scena Tredecima>

<Callidoro, Nicobolo, Crisogono,
Trangugia, M. Silvatico, Florido>

<Crisogono>

.....
.....con gentil'huomini
.....d'avantaggio.

Callidoro

Voletemi
.....di dosso?

Nicobolo

Col presumiere,
.....quello il mio Tambur fosse.

Crisogono

Il cuor, dicoti,
Voglio trarti del petto, il mio tenendomi!
Egli è esso, vi dico, e portar vidilo
Là dentro in quella casa.

Callidoro

Non potretelo
Trarre di qui, che non ci è più Crisogono.

<M. Silvatico>

Ei vuol far le marie hora, pensandosi
Con questo ripararsi. Tu ci hai amettere
La vita, traditore.

Trangugia

Seguitatemi.
La domanderò io bene, e nomi mettere
Ad ogni paragon con quei che ci habitano.

Florido

Che forestier saran questi?

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M. Silvatico

Inner paremi
Quel, che si querelo con meco, d'essere
Stato giuntato.

Crisogono

Et a me par l'Astrologo
Che m'ha incantata la casa e mutatomi
L'oro in carboni.

Callidoro

Oimè, questo è Nicobolo,
E quello è Tramo!

Florido

Ov'ho io già mai vedutoli?
S'adomandate quel che costi habita.
Eccolo qui.

Crisogono

O là, fuggir vorestiti?
Florido, tienlo; e voi, Messer Silvatico,
Nol lasciate scappare.

Callidoro

Sete voi, Diavolo,
Sbirri con facultà di far presaglia?

Tranguia

Quel Tamburo? O là non ascondetevi
Nol potete negar, perché vedutolo
Ho con quest'occhi qui nella medesima
Casa portar, dove state.

M. Silvatico

Non neghilo
Perché lo proverrà Prosper.

Crisogono

Vé, publico
Ladro ch'è questo! O incautator dicevoti
Lo, che non era in casa mia?

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Trangugia

O Nicobolo,
Deh mirate, quel viso; a me par'essere
Tutto quello d'Herminia!

Nicobolo

Hor su lascia
Vedere in viso; poi ch'assomigliatevi
34/recto Ad una.....

<Trangugia>

.....
.....non foss'huomo.....
Che ella fosse essa direi.

Nicobolo

.....
Anzi è pur'essa. A questo modo her<minia>...
Ne vai pel mondo? Qual vita, qual'habito
E questo tuo?

Crisogono

O, che perversa femina
Mai più n'ho simil conosciuta!

M. Silvatico

Un poco. .....

Nicobolo

Questo si conviene a nobile
Flglia, nata di case, a parenti otimi?

Florido

Come possa esser questo? In me stupiscomi!

Nicobolo

E da me poscia tuo zio, in santissimi
Costumi ammaestrata, e virtù nobili.
Dov'è l'honestà tua? Come hai gettatoti
Sotto i piedi l'honore, e la vergognia?

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Florido

In questo riprension punto non merita.
Perch'io che da Lisbona ho accompagnatola
Fin qua in Italia sempre, e praticatola
Del continuo qui, suo amicissimo,
Viver veduta l'ho tanto honestissima,
Ch'accorto non mi son che fosse femina.

Nicobolo

Voglialo Dio, che sia così.

Florido

Credetemi.

Crisogono

Questo non fa a miei danari medesima-
Mente, né a quel c'hai tolto a gli altri
pessima.

Callidoro

Stato a me tolto è ben quel che poteasi
Più tormi.

Crisogono

Buono; a punto questo paremi
Il tempo di Ciolle abbate. Quei c'haveano
A dare, a i creditori adomandavano
Chi t'ha rubato? E che mai?

Callidoro

Il cuore, misera
Me, e Florido se'l tiene, ne potuto lo
Ho mai radomandare, ne'ritornalo,
Dal di primiero, che'n Lisbona vidilo.
Che di star seco, tanto ben trovatosi
E, che tornar da me non ha curatosi.
Ma non potendo io già senza cuor vivere,
Forzata fui da voi, mio Zio, fuggendomi;
Seguirlo sempre, e però sotto specie
34/verso Di far.....
.....seco mettermi
.....ov'ei tornavasi,
.....e Stichio Nibbio
.....ch'io resto tutto attonito.
.....temendo mio cuor, che non toltoli

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...l'albergo; ov'alloggiare havevasi
Quel della figlia di Messer Silvatico.
L'Amore instrutto, a disturbare ei diedesi
Le vostre Nozze, e per la porta chiudere
In tutto a lei, farla sposare a Prospero.
Ch'assai più di se stesso sempre amatola,
Restava senza cuore anch'egli, e morto ne
Saria, se stata data fosse a Florido.
E per commodo haver poscia di vivere
Da suo pari con lei, li furti sonosi
Fatti da lui; a voi prima Nicobolo
Del Tamburo, e da poi a voi Crisogono
Del Thesoro, ch'in otio ascoso stavasi.
Ma tutto appresso a me sta in vostro arbitrio,
Hor questi son dame, i commessi scandoli,
Questi hoggi i furti, e i tradimenti fattivi.
Ma se prego già mai in gentilissimo
Cuore, hebbe forza, humilemente pregovi
A perdonarmi ogniun di voi, scusandomi,
Ch'essend'io donna, non bastava a vincere
Le possenti d'Amor forze che vincono
Anco in cielo gli Dei. Horsù, Nicobolo,
E voi, Messer Silvatico, e Crisogono,
La pietade d'assai molto più vincavi
Dello sdegno, ma ò tu, mio amato Florido,
Non ti sdegnar che'l cor mio afflittissimo
Entro al tuo petto si ricovri, e vivasi.

Nicobolo

Se mai da pietà vinto fu disdegnio,
Io son forzato per l'amor, portoti
Com'a figliuola, da poiché privata ti
35/recto Hebbe.....
521 .....più che prima. Poscia.....
Conservata ti sei.

Crisogono

.....
Ti voglio haver, che non dee.....
Alle mani, e a'denti; provedutosi
Essendo pel tuo mezzo il nostro Prospero
Di rimedio a suo gusto, per quel diavol
Che voi Giovini sempre tanto stimola
E i miei danari più carbon non stannosi.

Florido

Ben nimico sarei di me medesimo
Se dal tuo Cuore, Herminia, felicissima
Vita ricever posso; in contra cambio

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Il mio non ti donassi e i tuoi gran meriti
Non mi legasser, piacendo a Nicobolo
Teco col nodo d'Himeneo santissimo.

M. Silvatico

Fermati un poco, se io non così mutolo
Stato sopra di me, è perché stupido
Sono, morti in veder, che risucitano.
Dite, di gratia, sete voi Nicobolo
Nativo di Lisbona?

Nicobolo

No, venutomi
Sono da Scio, che nel fuggir la barbara
Turchesca servitute, a'forza spintovi
Fui da furia di Mare.

M. Silvatico

O stupendissimo
Miracolo! E da Scio, solo partistevi?

Nicobolo

A che rinovellarmi hora le lagrime
Di cui ho'un Mar versato, per la perdita
D'un mio fratel maggiore; ch'annegarvisi
Vidi con la sua Donna, insieme uscitisi
Di Nave, e nel batello giù calatisi.

M. Silvatico

Havrebbe havuto mai nome Leonico
Vostro fratello, e sua Donna Peristrata?

Nicobolo

Tali erano i lor nomi.

M. Silvatico

E voi vedestigli
Sommerger?

Nicobolo

Con quest'occhi.

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M. Silvatico

Sommerger voi?

Nicobolo

O come se perirono?

M. Silvatico

Qual voi periste anco perì Leonido.
O mio caro fratello, o dolce figlia,
Io son quel morto, e date pianto, et altresi
35/verso Tu sei.....

<Nicobolo>

.....hor
.....s'è vero o sognomi
.....hor felicissimo
....., e baci suoi dolcissimi
.....dov'è.

M. Silvatico

Ahi, che la misera
.....che m'hebbe quella figlia,
.....pur hor meritata al figliuol'unico
Qui di Crisogon; si morì in un'Isola
Inhabitata, ove fortuna spinseci.
Ed'io più mesi, qual fera silvatica
V'hebbi a far nutricare a una selvaggia
Capra, da Dio mandata, lei che Hedola
Per ciò chiamai. E a me dissi Silvatico,
Indi fu tratto nel modo, che dirloti
Voglio a più agio, il tutto ben narrandoti.

Nicobolo

O cara mia cognata, Iddio habbiati
Coronata del santo tuo martirio!

Florido

A me, piacendo a voi, anco sia lecito
Participar di questi maraviglie,
E de'vostri contenti. Concedendomi
La figlia voi, voi la Nipote Herminia
Per donna; acciò le sia qual son dovutole.

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M. Silvatico

Negar non te la posso; poi che datone
Dal cielo, che mi sia pur caro genero.

Nicobolo

Et io te la confermo, e herede facciovi
Di quant'ho, qual'è molto in vero, et ottimo.

Florido

O, dolce sposa!

Herminia

O, marito dolcissimo,
Ben sento hor che'l tuo cuor la vita donami.

Trangugia

Quant'a servo fedel cordialissimo
Ei convien mi rallegro.

Crisogono

O felicissimo
Giorno per me, nel qual la luce tornami
Nella mente; onde il mio saper s'illumina,
La qual lungi da lei allontanata si
Era, ma i vostri veri et amirabile
Casi, e le cose a me accorse fattomi
Hanno il vero hoggi espressamente scorgere
In loro. E'l corso variato, e instabili
36/recto Delle.....
596 .....non voglio.....
.....i quai quanto più.....
Tanto più inquiso l'huom con.....
Ma insieme hora con voi miei.....
I ben, che Dio n'ha dati. Mi delibero
Communicare, e farne ogniun partecipe,
E vosco in pace godermi, e con Hedola
Mia cara Nuora, e col mio figliuol Prospero
Sperando in braccio di breve ricevere
Qualche bel Nipotino. Al quale il bischero
Toccando adosso mi spilli, che d'angeli
Acqua mi paia, e me ne faccia ridere.

M. Silvatico

Queste son cose in ver, che s'appartengono
Propriamente alli par nostri, et huomini

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Saggi, e da bene, e non da bestie indomite.

Nicobolo

Et io punto da voi già non partendomi,
Voglio il mio trasportar qui; con proposito
Di godermi con voi gli anni miei ultimi.

* * * * * * * * * * *

Scena Quartadecima

(Florido, Britio, Crisogono,
<Nicobolo>, Herminia, M. Silvatico)

<Florido>

Ecco mio Padre, che sarà Partecipe
Delle nostre allegrezze! O mio Padre ottimo,
Se vi piacque Staman di farmi genero
Qui di Messer Silvatico, non fiavi
Grato che seco, i rimanga il medesimo?

Britio

Messer no; perché'n casa mia non vogliovi
Sospetti, non che fatti.

Florido

Già non dicovi
Per conto della sua seconda figlia,
Ch'è maritata al figliuol di Crisogono.

Crisogono

Quest'è la sua, che per voi vogliamo Hedola.

<Florido>

Dov'havete trovato, a far ch'un giovane
Ne prenda un'altro? Indi seguire havrebbene
Ch'anco le donne tra lor maritassinsi
36/verso Di che.....
.....questo Callidoro?
.....esser credendoci
.....: e per seguirmi, essendosi
.....inamorata, qua in Italia;
.....nome, e vestissi d'huom'habito.
.....s'è trovato esser figlia del suocero
Qui mio, e nipote altresi qui di Nicobolo
Fratel di lui.

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Britio

E prima non sapevilo
Che tanto seco hai praticato?

Florido

Credami
Ogniun di voi che no, perc'honestissima
E stata sempre, et ascosa.

Britio

O minchion, piacemi
Adunque, poscia, che cotanto amatevi
E tutti accetto per Parenti. E godomi
Delle vostre allegrezze.

M. Silvatico

Hormai entriancene
A veder tra nipote, et l'altro genero,
Che stanno alquanto travagliati; e diamoli
Nuove di tutto; ch'ancor lor si allegrino.

Herminia

Ed io abracci mi sirocchia, e facciale
Conoscer che l'amor tant'ardentissimo,
Ch'ella mi pose subito vedutami,
Fu cagionato del sangue medesimo
Per l'occulta virtù, c'hor chiara fiale.
Ma resta pria ch'a stichio, o buon Nicobolo,
Di perdonar vi piaccia, e voi Crisogono
Insieme perdoniate anco a Viluchio
Di ciò c'han fatto lor. D'Amor lasciatisi
Guidar per conseguir questo fine ottimo.

Crisogono

S'io li perdono! Anzi a tutti compagnio
Da qui innanzi voglio esser con lor'utile.

Nicobolo

E dalla servitute io, Stichio libero,
E dono a l'altro il Tamburo, il qual causa
E stato, che noi siam riconosciutici.

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Herminia

Tramo, va a dirlo lor, ma chiamai Nibbio,
Che non rispinderatti per istichio.

<Nicobolo>

Ascolta un pò qua prima, di a Vilucchio
37/recto Che.....
.....
.....lo diamo per marito.....

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