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THE SUBJECT OF MADNESS: AN ANALYSIS OF ARIOSTO'S ORLANDO FURIOSO AND GARZONI'S L'HOSPEDALE DE' PAZZI INCURABILI

by

MONICA CALABRITTO

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

2001

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

1/25/2001
Date

Clare Carroll (acting)
Chair of Examining Committee

1/25/2001
Date

William E. Coleman
Executive Officer

Nancy G. Siraisi

Ottavio Di Camillo

Daniel Javitch
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Abstract

THE SUBJECT OF MADNESS: AN ANALYSIS OF ARIOSTO'S ORLANDO FURIOSO AND GARZONI'S L'HOSPEDALE DE'PAZZI INCURABILI

by

Monica Calabritto

Adviser: Professor Clare L. Carroll

My dissertation analyzes how early modern genres, medical tradition and issues of gender shaped the way Ludovico Ariosto and Tomaso Garzoni perceived and interpreted madness. The comparison of the canonical Orlando Furioso (3d ed. 1532) with the lesser known L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili (1586) suggests that a change occurred in the perception and representation of madness and that Ariosto's and Garzoni's texts bookend this development. Ariosto elaborates elements belonging to the medieval tradition of madness—the classification of passions and the medical and literary notions of amor hereos. Garzoni reworks elements reflecting changes that occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century: the growing availability of the encyclopedic and commonplace genres and of the treatises on emblems and imprese thanks to the print market, the new values of the Catholic Reformation and the increased importance of medical observation. This change in the representation of madness is rooted in a long-standing medical tradition that had not substantially changed since Hippocrates and Galen.

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My analysis focuses on the complex connection between the atmosphere of increasing normalization imposed by the cultural ideology of the period and the treatment of madness in Ariosto's and Garzoni's texts.

Through the representation of madness, the authors address issues concerning agency and selfhood. They adopt rhetorical strategies which depend on the hybrid generic dimension of the texts and on the authors' perception of gender and subject. Ariosto identifies madness with an excess of passion and blurs the traditional distinction between masculine and feminine love madness. Ariosto's use of parody as a rhetorical counterpoint to the generic contamination occurring on the text's structural and narrative level allows for a definition of the notions of subject and gender that is dynamic and pluralistic.

Garzoni juxtaposes literary genres and uses medical and encyclopedic language to classify masculine madness, while exploiting the impresa to represent feminine madness. Garzoni's choice of a hospital recalls spaces of treatment for mad people created throughout early modern Europe. The dissertation investigates the connection between Garzoni's fictional hospital and the methods of treatment and seclusion of mad patients in Italian hospitals and the medical tradition.

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I would like to dedicate my dissertation and the work and sacrifices that it entailed, to the memories of my mother, Rosa Orlando, and my dearest friend and mentor, Armida Lamedica. I

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am sure that they would be very proud of me. In fact, I know they are; and I, in thinking of them, "m'illumino d'immenso."

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Introduction

What did "madness" mean to individuals in the early modern period? How did they perceive it and represent it? My dissertation responds to these questions by investigating a vast and complex range of topics related to the early modern notion of madness in its various manifestations and from different perspectives. Madness is the main topic, that is, the "subject" of my dissertation, but it is also the filter through which I investigate issues concerning the early modern "subject."

Three major lines of investigation have shaped my approach to the subject of madness. The first line centers around the structures and the rhetorical strategies related to specific early modern literary genres. The second examines the early medical tradition in its bipartite division—the official medical discourse and the pseudo-medical vulgarized talk. The third focuses on the perception and treatment of gender in relation to the generic rules established by the texts that I analyze, the ideological frame within which the medical discourse evaluated humoral theory and human physiology, and the social response to madness as synonym of transgression and deviance. These trajectories constantly intersect with each other, creating a complex net of interpretations in which the image of madness is reticulated.

My investigation of the representation of madness has as its obvious contested starting point in Foucault's Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique. Since its publication in 1961, Foucault's text has radically changed the way intellectuals conceive of the notion of madness and its relationship with reason, power and selfhood.[1] As the title suggests, Foucault focuses his attention on the Classical age, which he associates with the middle of the seventeenth century. Foucault argues that during this period madness became a

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subdivision of "unreason" ("déraison"), which reason condemned as a disorder of the will but also viewed as pure animality. Confinement of the "unreasonable" individuals—mad people, but also criminals, the elderly, the poor and libertines—became a characteristic of the "age of reason."[2] If at first confinement was considered a solution to counter the growing problem of poverty and begging in the urban areas of Europe, it subsequently became a form of social and moral control. The forced labor that the institutions of confinement imposed upon the inmates was considered a fit punishment for individuals whose madness was assimilated to social and moral guilt.[3]

The attitude toward madness in the Classical period is in stark contrast, Foucault maintains, with the medieval and early modern experience of madness. In these periods, "folie," which in French means "madness" and "folly" at once, was inextricably connected with reason and considered even one of its forms of expression (43-44). During the Renaissance, madness resided at the root of things and could be still unveiled in its tragic dimension, which assimilated it to death: "Sous la conscience critique de la folie, et ses formes philosophiques ou scientifiques, morales ou médicales, une sourde conscience tragique n'a cessé de veiller" (40) ("Underneath the critical consciousness of madness and its philosophical or scientific, moral or medical forms, a silent tragic consciousness never ceased to exist"). After the Renaissance, madness was silenced and confined, and its tragic content, its "truth" was rarely revealed because buried beneath the interpretive layers of modern science. With Histoire de la folie, Foucault showed that he was not interested in writing a history of the evolution of the knowledge of madness from the point of view of reason. Rather, he intended to give voice to the tragic experience of

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madness, before its separation from reason, which became irrecoverable by the end of the seventeenth century.[4]

In later works, Foucault came to reject the idea that one could investigate the experience of madness "by interrogating the being of madness itself, its secret content, its silent, self-enclosed truth."[5] Instead, Foucault favored a "genealogical" approach that analyzes the relationship between the discursive practices of madness in a certain period and the non-discursive social practices of power to which structures of knowledge are connected.[6] Thus, the ways early modern texts represented madness were connected to the changes in the structure of medical, legal religious and governmental institutions. These changes did not necessarily produce an organic and unified practice of power, but a constellation of unrelated and sometimes contradictory structures, contingent upon the knowledge of madness and its discursive practice.

Foucault's text is not a "history of events or institutions but of experience, the experience of madness [...] this experience is not understood in terms of the perception or thoughts of individuals; rather, its subject is the anonymous consciousness of an age."[7] Since the publication of the English translation of Histoire de la folie many scholars, mostly historians, have criticized Foucault's approach to madness as a-historical or lacking historical veracity.[8] Although supportive of Foucault's general approach to madness, the editors of the multi-volume The Anatomy of Madness point to the fact that many individuals who were considered "psychiatrically abnormal" were not secluded in institutions of confinement until the second half of the nineteenth century.[9] Eric Midelfort even criticizes Foucault for the inaccuracy of his historical data.[10] As a conclusive remark to his criticism of Foucault's Histoire he argues that "many of its arguments fly in the

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face of empirical evidence, and that many of its broadest generalizations are oversimplifications."[11]

In fact, Foucault's approach to the representation of madness as a mutable social construct rather than as an immutable entity that scientific observation and modern rationalism identified through various historical periods has affected many scholars who intend to investigate the notion of madness in any historical period. Indeed, in the introductory chapter of his book A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany, Midelfort gives a definition of madness that reflects the impact of Foucault's general understanding of madness as a variable and "historical" construct[12] on scholars whose theoretical methodologies are strikingly in contrast with his:

> A basic assumption here is that one cannot understand madness and mental disorder in a society until one understands the social contexts within which madness and mental disorder are diagnosed and treated. And one cannot grasp the ideas about madness held by intellectuals, theologians, physicians or lawyers until one uncovers the larger context of their thinking, the nodal intellectual points where madness posed deep challenges by calling the very categories of humanity and reason into question.[13]

My analysis of early modern madness and its representation is rooted in Foucault's general approach to madness as social construction, whose complex dimension is revealed through the study of its links with various discursive practices. It also shares Midelfort's concern for historical accuracy and his interest in analyzing in detail the social milieu in which early modern madness was perceived and theoretically

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elaborated by various intellectual groups, particularly in relation to the notion of reason.[14] Such a conflation of methodologies, which at times produce conflicting interpretations of a specific event, allows me nonetheless to exploit Foucault's theoretical tenet which conceives of madness as an existential experience and Midelfort's concern to investigate with historical accuracy the way individuals perceived early modern madness. The perception, representation and treatment of madness in the early modern period requires the modern reader to acknowledge the contrast between modern and past notions of madness, the strangeness that ensues from the contrast, and the possibility of deciphering this strangeness through a detailed historical investigation of such contrast. Being aware of the gap keeps the reader away from attempting a facile "translation" of the past into the present.[15]

In recent years other scholars have investigated the way medical discourse, literary texts and philosophical thought interacted with one another in their representation of madness from various perspectives. Alan Thiher, for instance, has written a survey of the representation of madness in medicine and literature from the ancient period to modern times "in terms of the development of those discourses that have defined the self."[16] Thiher's analysis spans several centuries and takes into consideration various literary texts. My analysis, instead, is centered on a specific period and place—sixteenth-century Italy—and revolves around two texts, Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, the third edition of which was published in 1532, and Tomaso Garzoni's L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili, published in 1586.

The choice to compare a canonical text of Renaissance Italian literature to a minor text representative of the interest in the encyclopedic and medical traditions is based on

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the idea that the two texts constitute the signposts in the chronological development of the way sixteenth-century intellectuals perceived and interpreted the subject of madness. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Ariosto elaborates and combines elements that belong to the medieval tradition of madness but that are still in use in the sixteenth century: the classification of passions, the image of the mad man as a savage being and the medical tradition of amor hereos. At the end of the same century Garzoni elaborates new and specific elements that were developed in the second half of the sixteenth century: the growing interest that intellectuals showed in the encyclopedic and commonplace traditions and in the use of images in their texts, the values purported by the Catholic Reformation and by the Church after the Council of Trent and the growing interest in medical observation. Besides the many differences, the two texts share the use of medical notions and practices which were based on the texts of Hippocrates and Galen and had not substantially changed throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The static nature of the medical tradition justifies and supports the change over time of medical notions regarding the perception and representation of madness. The change in the representation of madness constitutes the focus of my research in the analysis of Orlando Furioso and L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili.

In my work I am interested the construction of selfhood, which in my analysis intersects with the notion of gender. The notion of selfhood is implied in the title of the dissertation. Indeed, the term "subject" does refer to the topic of madness and to the notion of early modern selfhood. The "self" has been the object of a vast array of critical studies from various perspectives and different periods. In Rewriting the Self, for instance, the authors of this collaborative effort reject the mystifying nature of a linear

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development of the notion of selfhood in Western culture and provide the reader with an exploration of "changing notions of selfhood from a historical perspective."[17] Some scholars who have focused their attention on the early modern period have pointed out that investigating the idea of an early modern subject can lead to an unwanted connection with modern psychoanalysis, with the risk of producing anachronistic results.[18] In fact, there are a few studies that effectively apply psychoanalytic methodologies to the construction of selfhood in the early modern period. In The Gendering of Melancholia Juliana Schiesari offers a balanced use of psychoanalytic theory in her approach to melancholy and the construction of the (gendered) self through the experience of loss.[19] While I do not completely espouse the psychoanalytic bias with which Schiesari colors her argument, I share with her the conviction that the responses to certain social and cultural practices are not only gendered but vary within the gender. Therefore, the response to madness is not homogeneous and unanimous but varies according to social and racial status.[20] By investigating early modern madness in relation to the notions of gender and subject from a historical and materialist perspective, Carol Thomas Neely has established a model for my research. Neely bases her observation that madness is "the most social of maladies to those who observe its effects" on MacDonald's work on insanity in seventeenth-century England. She argues that the "multifaceted gendering of madness" must be examined "as it unfolds in treatises on melancholy, hysteria, and witchcraft, in medical and legal practice, and in the drama."[21] The successive embodiment of madness in these discursive practices allows for a flexible definition of "gender difference" that "cannot be assumed but must always be reformulated in specific cultural and historical contexts."[22] Even though Neely's focus is on English drama, and

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particularly Shakespeare, her interest in the way the subject of madness and the gendered subject itself change according to different discourses coincides with my multidisciplinary analysis of madness through the deforming lens of literature, medical and legal tradition and philosophical thought. Specifically, Neely's interest in the way language shapes and is shaped by madness has informed my analysis of the rhetorical strategies that Ariosto and Garzoni used in their texts to represent madness, gender and the subject.

More or less fifty years separate the third edition of Orlando Furioso and the first printing of L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili. Yet, the way Ariosto and Garzoni represent madness could not be more different. In Ariosto, madness is pervasive and ambivalent. It affects most of the characters and even the narrative voice. It results from the intersection of disparate notions on the nature of passion, love madness and reason which the author combines together from several genres of the literary tradition, the medical discourse and the philosophical thought. The madness of one character, Orlando, is mirrored upon the other characters, both men and women, who manifest different degrees of insanity. The characters' reactions to madness contribute to a composite definition of the self and to a dynamic and flexible notion of gender, yet within the limits of a hierarchy imposed by the medical tradition on love madness, whose language and images has been thoroughly studied for the medieval and early modern period. In Garzoni, madness is a way to distinguish the sane, that is, the "normal" people, from the sick, the deviant and the aberrant individuals. The distinction between normality, which Garzoni identifies with sanity, and madness could not be clearer. The medical and the encyclopedic traditions that Garzoni elaborates into his text allow him to reduce madness to a subject that can be

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dissected and catalogued into several categories and to attribute to his categorization a scientific appearance. Garzoni also establishes a clear distinction between masculine and feminine madness: in his hospital, while the male patients can be cured, the female patients are destined to a secluded life. In Orlando Furioso and L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili the presence of medical language and images depends in part on the widespread use of such elements in the daily life of the period and on the osmotic relationship between literature, medicine, science and philosophy that characterized the early modern period.

I structured the dissertation in five chapters. Chapter I and III concentrate on Orlando Furioso, while chapter II, IV and V focus on L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili. Chapter I and II examine the treatment of madness in the two texts from the perspective of language, genre, and rhetorical strategies. Chapter III, IV and V discuss the way Ariosto and Garzoni represent madness in terms of gender, while chapter IV explores the links in structure, organization and treatment of the patient between Garzoni's fictional hospital and the historical institution in the early modern period. Chapter IV also compares Garzoni's representation of feminine madness with medical and legal treatises and lay people's descriptions of madness.

In chapter I, "Madness in Orlando Furioso: A Dialogue of Traditions," I examine Ariosto' text in relation to its genre. The generic conflation of epic, tragedy, lyric poetry and chivalric romance mirrors a contamination of literary, medical and philosophical discourses. It also corresponds to the rhetorical strategy of parody. Several scholars have already underlined the hybrid nature of Ariosto's text. Some scholars do so by examining Orlando Furioso in the larger context of the contemporary debate on genre; some

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underline Ariosto's originality in manipulating narrative elements that belong to the chivalric tradition, while others stress the notion of "compromise" as a variation of the Renaissance strategy of imitatio.[23] Scholars have also individuated parody as a constitutive element of Ariosto's attitude toward the tradition and examined it through the Bakhtinian notion of parody itself.[24]

In chapter II, entitled "Medicine and Rhetoric in Garzoni's L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili," I analyze how juxtaposition and compartmentalization characterize the author's approach to madness and gendered selfhood. Garzoni exploits the medical tradition in its various dimensions—the official medical discourse expounded in medical tracts, the vulgarization of such discourse in literary texts and in pseudo-medical treatises like Garzoni's text, and the tradition of the charlatans exemplified by the work of individuals like Leonardo Fioravanti.[25] In other words, Garzoni considers the medical tradition as the main epistemic instrument to understand and catalogue madness, even though the nature of his cataloguing increasingly shifts from the medical to the moralistic language of seclusion and punishment of the deviant. The rationalized, discursive quality of madness (specifically, of masculine madness) in L' hospedale is the constitutive principle of Garzoni's treatment of the official medical tradition and its popularized version.

The medical tradition shares its cataloguing nature with a vast range of genres, which flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and which can be all subsumed under the general denomination of the encyclopedic tradition. Indeed, L' hospedale is an encyclopedia of languages, genres, and traditions, organized by the topic of madness and subdivided in twenty-nine categories. Paolo Cherchi, a scholar of

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Garzoni, was the first to underline the encyclopedic nature of Garzoni's work. He also drew a connection between the encyclopedic tradition as a genre and the commonplace tradition as a rhetorical strategy.[26] The works of Walter Ong on the impact of print in early modern culture, Anne Blair on the genre of the theatra mundi and Lina Bulzoni on the notion of mnemonic space have helped me analyze Garzoni's juxtaposition of the medical and the encyclopedic tradition through the rhetorical strategies of citation and commonplace.[27]

In chapter III, "Gender and Madness in Orlando Furioso," I use parody to delineate a notion of gendered subject in the text. Ariosto blurs the distinctions between high and low linguistic registers in his representation of madness by producing what I call a "semantic contamination." On the narrative and structural level he conflates highbrow and lowbrow literary genres, the medical tradition of love madness and the philosophical thought of Neo-Platonism on love. On the level of characters he creates a porous subject, which mirrors a fluctuating notion of madness and blurred boundaries between genders. The presence of a vulgarized medical language in the representation of madness in Orlando Furioso is not new to Ariosto's scholarship—Massimo Ciavolella's and Marina Beer's works have already discussed this topic before me.[28] However, the use of the medical language and the medical tradition as formative elements for the construction of the gendered subject in Ariosto's text is original to my research. In this chapter I consider the madness of various female characters—Bradamante, Dalinda, Alcina, Gabrina and Fiordispina—as responses to and elaboration of Orlando's climactic madness and to the light of the medieval and early modern medical reflection on erotomania.

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In chapter IV, "Patients in and out of L' hospedale: between reality and fiction," one of my main concerns is to establish the extent to which Garzoni follows the medical tradition in his treatment of gendered madness. Is Garzoni mirroring in L' hospedale the social and legal practices of the period in terms of medical institutions, medical treatment and diagnosis? The analysis of a range of medical and medico-legal documents and chronicles reporting eyewitness accounts of madness provides me with the evidence to argue that Garzoni shows a much more conservative outlook regarding the treatment of gendered madness than the actual practice of the period. Early medical texts and practice repeatedly blurred the distinction between genders in their account of madness. Garzoni establishes a rigid distinction that is reflected in the narrative and rhetorical levels of the text.

Garzoni uses the narrative dimension of the early modern medical discourse in his treatment of feminine madness and creates case histories for each female patient of the hospital. Specialists in the history of early modern medicine convincingly argue that, far from writing only commentaries of the textual medical tradition, contemporary physicians developed narrative sections in their works to establish their own medical persona within the tradition and to show their innovative and successful elaboration of the Hippocratic-Galenic corpus.[29]

The rational, analytical and abstract dimension that characterizes Garzoni's treatment of masculine madness gives way to a more concrete, individual dimension in his description of feminine madness, thanks to the narrative sections that the author inserts in each category of madness. However, Garzoni adopts the rhetorical strategy of the impresa as an alternative way of cataloguing and containing feminine madness, thus

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creating a friction between the narrative section and the image. Chapter V, entitled "Cataloguing feminine madness in L' hospedale," studies Garzoni's creation of original imprese as an expression of the lively debate on the tradition of emblems and imprese that characterized the writing of the sixteenth-century Italian intellectual élite. Contemporary treatises on emblems and imprese are analyzed to illuminate Garzoni's peculiar use of such a device. Through Garzoni's use of imprese I analyze the function of the gaze in relation to the audience and to the object perceived, and the construction of the notion of gendered selfhood within the limits of the emblematic tradition.

My analysis is based on a critical reading of contemporary treatises on imprese and emblems written between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries and on an eclectic array of modern theoretical approaches. Norman Bryson and Mieke Bal offer a semiotic approach to visual art and to the notion of gaze which helps me understand the shifting nature of the relationship between audience and author on the one hand and object of representation on the other. Sander Gilman contributes to an understanding of the visual representation of madness and of the related notions of sanity and illness in terms of socially conditioned perceiving as seeing. Lynda Nead establishes an important distinction between obscenity and pornography in relation to the female body and elaborates on the notion of framing and gaze in visual art. Finally, the studies of Karen Pinkus and Armando Maggi showed me the possibility of integrating rigorous textual research of sixteenth-century emblems and imprese with the emerging notion of selfhood in the early modern period. Pinkus does so by analyzing the affect that the Catholic Reformation had upon the creation of Achille Bocchi's emblems, while Armando Maggi interprets the development of the notion of subject in Italian imprese in conjunction with

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Neo-Platonic thought.[30] Finally, my analysis of Garzoni's imprese offers a further contribution to the notions of cultural control and censorship in the post-tridentine period. I connect Garzoni's L' hospedale to the contemporary debate that members of the Catholic Church launched about the power of images and the relationship, fraught with tension, between image and word. I argue that Garzoni's L' hospedale constitutes an indirect statement in favor of the cultural censorship that the Catholic Church exercised over words and images in the new age of printing.

From these introductory remarks it is evident that my work is not only on madness and not specifically on literary texts. In fact, my analysis of madness in Ariosto and Garzoni has benefited from recent studies of social and cultural history of medicine along with a great number of primary texts that helped me decipher the murky notion of madness and its ideological implications in sixteenth-century Italy.

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Notes

[1] Michel Foucault, Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique (Paris: Plon, 1961). The edition that I have consulted was printed in 1972 under the title of Histoire de la folie à l' âge classique suivi de Mon corps, ce papier, ce feu, et La folie, l' absence de l' oeuvre (Paris Gallimard, 1972). The English translation, which goes under the title of Madness and Civilization. A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason (New York: Random House, 1965) is a dramatically abridged version of the original French. For a discussion of the reception of Foucault's text in the United States based on the abridged edition, see Colin Gordon, "Histoire de la folie: An Unknown Book by Michel Foucault," History of Human Sciences 3(1990): 3-26.

[2] See Foucault, Histoire de la folie, 65 and, by the same author, "Madness and Culture," in Mental Illness and Psychology, tr. Alan Sheridan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) 67. Foucault wrote this text in 1954 and radically revised it in 1962, a year after the publication of Histoire de la folie. For an analysis of this text and its relation with Histoire de la folie see the the foreword to Mental Illness and Psychology by Hubert Dreyfus, vii-xl.

[3] For a comparative analysis of the phenomenon of confinement, see Norbert Finzsch, "Elias, Foucault, Oestreich. On a Historical Theory of Confinement," Norbert Finzsch and Robert Jutta eds., Institutions of Confinement. Hospitals, Asylums and Prisons in Western Europe and North America 1500-1950 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 3-16.

[4] For an analysis of Foucault's rejection of the notion of evolutionary history and "history" tout court, see Alan Sheridan, Michel Foucault. The Will to Truth (London; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1980) 14 and Gary Gutting, "Foucault and the History of Madness," in Gary Gutting, ed., The Cambridge Companion to Foucault (Cambridge: UP, 1994) 63 and ff.

[5] Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, tr. A.M. Sheridan-Smith (New York: Harper & Row, 1977) 32. Dreyfus quotes and comments this passage by stating that in The Archaeology of Knowledge Foucault rejected the hermeneutic approach to history, which is based on the interpretation, or "translation," of a hidden truth (xxxiii-xxxiv).

[6] For an analysis of Foucault's genealogical method, see Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

[7] Gutting, 63.

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[8] See Gutting's article and bibliography for a discussion of the different stances historians have assumed toward Foucault's text. From a literary perspective, Carol Thomas Neely criticizes Foucault's periodization as merely functional to the Classical period. Neely argues that Foucault defines Renaissance negatively by labeling it post-medieval and pre-classical. See Carol Thomas Neely, "Recent Work in Renaissance Studies: Psychology. Did Madness have a Renaissance?" Renaissance Quarterly 44 (1991): 779-780.

[9] W.F. Bynum, R. Porter, M. Shepherd eds., The Anatomy of Madness. Essays in the History of Psychiatry, vol. 3 (London; New York: Tavistock Publications, 1985-1988) 1. The first volume is entitled "People and Ideas," the second "Institutions and Society" and the third "The Asylum and its Psychiatry." In the introduction of volume 1, the editors, in agreement with Foucault, state that "to understand insanity, we need to consider both the free power of madness as an existential moment of the human condition and also its inscription within the disciplines of nosology, pathology, and therapeutics" (7).

[10] See Erik H.C. Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault," Barbara C. Malament ed., After the Reformation: Essays in Honor of J.H. Hexter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980) 247-266 and, by the same author, the introductory chapter of A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999).

[11] Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization," 259.

[12] Foucault, Mental Illness and Psychology, 69.

[13] H.C. Erik Midelfort, A History of Madness, 2.

[14] Michael MacDonald can be considered a precursor of Midelfort in his belief that social and cultural conditions influence the perception and the treatment of madness. MacDonald writes that "[...] the types of insanity people recognize and the significance they attach to them reflect the prevailing values of their society; the criteria for identifying mental afflictions vary between cultures and historical periods" (1). See Michael MacDonald, Mystical Bedlam. Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981).

[15] Midelfort, A History of Madness, 15. Later in the book Midelfort adds that "[m]adnesses of the past are not petrified entities that can be plucked unchanged from their niches and placed under our modern microscopes. They appear, perhaps, more like jellyfish that collapse and dry up when they are removed from the ambient seawater. To see what madness

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meant in the sixteenth century, to see how it was experienced and treated, we must learn to swim" (49).

[16] Allen Thiher, Revels in Madness. Insanity in Medicine and Literature (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999) 10. Thiher explains that the goal of his study is "to explore how doctors and writers have historically made madness the center of their writing, this in view of a historical phenomenology of how the Western imagination has represented madness to itself" (2).

[17] Roy Porter ed., Rewriting the Self. Histories from the Renaissance to the Present (London; New York: Routledge, 1997) 1.

[18] See, for instance, Stephen Greenblatt, "Psychoanalysis and Renaissance Culture," Patricia Parker and David Quint eds., Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) 210-224. For a critical analysis of Greenblatt's essay, see Juliana Schiesari, "The Gendering of Melancholia: Torquato Tasso and Isabella di Morra," M. Migiel and J. Schiesari eds., Rewriting Woman. Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991) 233-241.

[19] Juliana Schiesari, The Gendering of Melancholia. Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992). See also Valeria Finucci, The Lady Vanishes. Subjectivity and Representation in Castiglione and Ariosto (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992); Ibid. and Regina Schwartz, eds., Desire in the Renaissance. Psychoanalysis and Literature Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994).

[20] In order to define the interrelationship between gender and social and discursive practices Juliana Schiesari writes: "While both men and women are constructed as gendered subjects in and through social and discursive practices, the positionings of women and men within those practices and their varying responses to those positioning chart differences between genders (and within genders if we consider not only sexual but also class and racial differences.) As such, differences arise out of the specific and multiple ways the subject encounters herself/himself within various social and psychological practices" (26).

[21] Carol Thomas Neely, " 'Documents in madness': Reading Madness and Gender in Shakespeare's Tragedies and Early Modern Culture," Shirley Nelson Garner and M. Sprengnether eds., Shakespearean Tragedies and Gender (Indiana UP, 1996) 76.

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[22] Neely, "'Documents in madness,'" 96. For a discussion of the notion of gendered subject from a feminist perspective, see by the same author "Constructing The Subject: Feminist Practice and the New Renaissance Discourse," English Literary Renaissance 18 (1988): 5-18.

[23] Daniel Javitch, Proclaiming a Classic. The Canonization of *Orlando Furioso* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991); Sergio Zatti, Il *Furioso* tra epos e romanzo (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 1990); Dennis Looney, Compromising the Classics. Romance Epic Narrative in the Italian Renaissance (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1996).

[24] Clare Carroll, The *Orlando Furioso*. A Stoic Comedy (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1997). For Bakhtin's notion of parody see M. M. Bakhtin, "The Discourse of the Novel," in The Dialogic Imagination, tr. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Texas: University of Texas, 1996) 259-422 and Linda Hutcheon, "Modern Parody and Bakhtin," in Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson, eds., Rethinking Bakhtin. Extensions and Challenges (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1989) 87-103.

[25] See Piero Camporesi, Camminare il mondo. Vita e avventure di Leonardo Fioravanti medico del Cinquecento (Milan: Garzanti, 1997)

[26] Paolo Cherchi, Enciclopedismo e politica della riscrittura: Tomaso Garzoni (Pisa: Pacini, 1980).

[27] Walter Ong, Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word (London: Methuen, 1982); Ibid., "Commonplace Rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare," in Classical Influences on European Culture 1500-1700. Proceedings of an International Conference held at King's College, Cambridge, April 1974 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976) 91-126; Ibid., The Presence of the Word. Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History (New Haven: Yale UP, 1967); Ibid., Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge: UP, 1958); Ann Blair, The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997); Lina Bulzoni, La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa (Turin: Einaudi, 1995).

[28] Massimo Ciavolella, "La licantropia d' Orlando," in Vittore Branca, Claudio Griggio et alii, eds., Il Rinascimento. Aspetti e problemi attuali. Atti del X Congresso dell' Associazione Internazionale per gli Studi di lingua e letteratura italiana. Belgrado, 17-21 Aprile 1979 (Firenze: Olschki ed., MCMLXXXII) 311-323; Marina Beer, Romanzi di cavalleria. Il "Furioso" e il romanzo italiano del primo Cinquecento (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987).

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[29] See Nancy Siraisi, The Clock and The Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997).

[30] Mieke Bal & Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," The Art Bulletin LXXIII (June 1991): 175-209; Norman Bryson, Vision and Painting. The Logic of the Gaze, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1983); Sander Gilman, Disease and Representation. Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1988); Ibid., Seeing the Insane (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1996); Lynda Nead, Art, Obscenity and Sexuality. The Female Nude, (London & New York: Routledge, 1992); Karen Pinkus, Picturing Silence. Emblem, Language and Counter-Reformation (Ann Arbor: The Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996); Armando Maggi, Identità e impresa rinascimentale (Ravenna: Longo, 1998).

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Chapter I

Madness in Orlando Furioso: A Dialogue of Traditions.

I.1. Parody, contaminatio and irony: a definition of the subject of madness in Orlando Furioso.

At the end of canto XXIII of Orlando Furioso the paladin Orlando erupts into furor and follia after he discovers that his beloved Angelica has fallen in love with Medoro, a Moor and a simple soldier:

> ...e cominciò la gran follia, sì orrenda,
> che de la più non sarà mai ch'intenda.
> In tanta rabbia, in tanto furor venne,
> Che rimase offuscato in ogni senso.
> [.....]
> Quivi fe' ben de le sue prove eccelse,
> Ch'un alto pino al primo crollo svelse:
> E svelse dopo il primo altri parecchi,
> Come fosser finocchi, ebuli o aneti (Orlando Furioso, XXIII, 133-135).[1]
> And the great folly (insanity) started, so horrible, that no one will ever hear a worse instance. He fell into such anger, in such frenzy, that all of his senses were darkened. [...] Then he performed truly exceptional deeds, and he uprooted a tall pine tree at the first shake. And he uprooted, after the first, many others, as if they were fennel, daneworth or dill.

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In these stanzas the representation of Orlando's madness oscillates between excess of passion and mental illness. Ariosto gives an example of Orlando's prove eccelse ("heroic exploits") as if they were a peasant's ordinary work; he compares the uprooting of trees to picking "celery-stalks." Orlando's uprooting of trees as if they were vegetables creates a dialogic relation between the epic and the tragic registers that define the description of Orlando's deeds on the one hand and the comic, low style of their comparison with a peasant's job on the other. Ariosto's definition of Orlando's actions as "eccelse" leads the reader to compare the paladin to an epic hero whose martial exploits are ready to start. The deflation of the epic tone occurs through the mixture of the "heroic" action with the low-style language and images. Orlando's "eccelse imprese" consist in uprooting tall pine trees as if they were stalks of celery, fennel or dill. At the same time, the epic register elevates the colloquial language by its relation with it. The epic model expressed through Orlando's parodic aristeia is intertwined with the tragic model of Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus, where Hercules uproots trees to build his funeral pyre, and with the lyric model of Petrarch's Canzoniere, where the lover suffers in an idealized sylvan setting.[2]

At the beginning of canto XXIV the narrator addresses the reader directly and warns that everybody can be affected by folly, pazzia, which he defines as lack of reason caused by excess of love or by what the medieval and Renaissance tradition called amor hereos.[3] The effects that madness produces in Orlando Furioso are varied, and the entire text offers a huge range of examples. Ariosto produces a dialectical notion of insanity that fluctuates among several notions of madness, which the medical, philosophical and literary traditions have shaped. The image of madness as lack of reason and excess of passion is represented in canto XXIV:

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E quale è di pazzia segno più espresso

Che, per altri voler, perder se stesso?

Vari gli effetti son, ma la pazzia

È tutt' una però, che li fa uscire.

Gli è come una gran selva, ove la via

Conviene a forza, a chi vi va, fallire:

Chi su, chi giù, chi qua chi là travia.

Per concludere in somma, io vi vo' dire:

A chi in amor s' invecchia, oltr' ogni pena

Si convengono i ceppi e la catena. (XXIV, 1-2)

And which is the most manifest sign of folly than losing oneself through somebody else's will? // Various are the effects, but the folly which makes them out is only one. It is like a great forest, in which those who enter must perforce lose their way out: one up, one down, one here, one there, all lose the way. To conclude, in the end, I want to tell you: those who grow old in love, should be put in chains and fetters, besides suffering any kind of pain.

Madness is to lose oneself "through somebody else's will," that is, to fall in love and become enslaved to the object of his or her desire and grow old with such illness, the pain of love. According to Ariosto, madness is the extreme consequence of an excess of passion, that is, love. In his Ars Medica the doctor Teodoro Angelucci defines love as a subcategory of libido, that is, violent desire or longing, which is an affectus, a passion,

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along with "voluptas; aegritudo [...] et metus [...]"(II, 110) ("pleasure, grief [...] and fear [...]").[4]Angelucci draws this fourfold division of passions from Cicero and ultimately from the Greek Stoics.[5] The doctor locates love in the same category with "ira, excandescentia, odium, inimicitia, discordia, indigentia, desiderium, optatio, & cetera eiusmodi" ("anger, irascibility, hatred, enmity, discord, need, longing, wish, and other [passions] of this kind") and states that "amor est appetitus unionis." ("love is a passion for union.")

In the selva of madness of Orlando Furioso characters long always for something or somebody that is out of reach, thus displacing their libido on some other object, in an aimless search without direction. Critics have offered several interpretations of the beginning of canto XXIV, linking it to the Neo-Platonic notion of μανία ("inspired frenzy"), the Stoic concept of passion as error and the literary model of the beginning of Dante's Inferno.[6] The image in stanza 2 that portrays an individual mad for love in chains and fetters recalls descriptions in medical treatises of the treatment that subjects affected by violent madness received in some Italian hospitals at the beginning of the early modern period.[7]

Ariosto's Orlando Furioso offers a composite view of the notion of madness, which the author represents as a product of various traditions as much as of different genres. Many critics have already analyzed the strategies that Ariosto uses to manipulate the narrative structure and the content of other texts into his own. Among them, Clare Carroll, Sergio Zatti, Daniel Javitch and Dennis Looney have provided insightful analyses for my general reading of the text and in particular of the relationship between the notion of genre and the subject of madness.

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Carroll and Zatti apply respectively the Bakhtinian notion of carnivalesque and parody to explain the dialogue between different genres in Orlando Furioso.[8] Both authors define the notion of imitation and the dimension of historical awareness as the basis on which Ariosto created his text. Carroll uses the Bakhtinian concept of parody to emphasize the "ambivalent and paradoxical effects of this form," which "mocks and celebrates" at the same time the models to which it alludes (14). Zatti argues that Ariosto wrote a text "in equilibrium" between epic and romance by re-contextualizing two narrative devices characteristic of the chivalric romance, the quête and the entrelecement (15-19). He also interprets the rhetorical mechanism of irony as an "epistemic instrument [...] of the mechanisms, the forms and ideology of the 'romance'" (11). Javitch adopts the word "grafting" to define the syncretic union of epic and romance in Ariosto's text, which, the critic argues, produces its modernity.[9] Dennis Looney defines the Orlando Furioso as a hybrid genre and a product of the notion of compromise that Renaissance authors adopted to "incorporate" the classical models into their vernacular poems.[10]

Parody, contaminatio / "contamination" and irony are the rhetorical strategies with which I intend to analyze the way literary genre and medical and philosophical traditions shape madness in Orlando Furioso. The representation of Orlando's madness oscillates between the classical definition of madness as furor, which alludes to the literary genres of tragedy and epic and to the philosophical doctrines of Neo-Platonism and Stoicism, and the notion of madness as mental alteration, which is linked to the medical tradition. The mixture of classical and vernacular language that Ariosto uses to describe Orlando's altered state evokes the parodic tension between epic and chivalric romance and between the idealized vision of love expressed in the tradition of courtly

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love and its "clinical" observation in the medical tradition. The rhetorical strategy of parody repeats and imitates models with critical distance.[11] Zatti links this type of critical distance in Orlando Furioso to irony and its epistemic function. Ariosto re-contextualizes old patterns and illustrious models with the critical historical awareness that parody brings to a reading of the text. This historical awareness is not only part of the process of composition but is also an effect of the re-contextualization that the author performs on the content and the structure of the text and that the reader perceives. The text claims its ties to an ancient world, but at the same time asserts its place among the moderns.

I.1.i. Contaminatio, "contamination" and parody: from Ariosto to Bakhtin.

In order to employ Bakhtin's notion of "contamination" as an interpretive tool of Orlando Furioso, it is necessary to explore if and which concepts of "contamination" were actually available to Renaissance writers.

In the introductory chapter of The Light in Troy, Thomas Greene defines contaminatio as a syncretic type of imitation, which mixes heterogeneous models. The result is that the past is no longer fragmented but assimilated to the present moment of the text in such a way that the reader cannot detect the historical distinction between the model and the text.[12] Looney adopts the term contaminatio from Greene's argumentation and gives the word a different connotation. The critic assimilates the term contaminatio to that of "compromise," which he uses to explain the mechanism of intertextuality in Ariosto's text and the more general notion of imitatio in the Renaissance.

The term contaminatio does not appear in Renaissance rhetorical treatises.[13] However, Classical and Renaissance authors used the word in their discussion of

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imitation. A look at the etymology of the term contaminatio reveals that originally the verb contaminare, from which the substantive derives, had a neutral meaning. It was connected to the root *tag and the verb tango and meant "to bring into contact, to touch."[14] In the classical period the original meaning was converted into that of polluting, defiling or corrupting through contact and in a moral, sexual or literary sense. The Latin comedian Terence uses the verb contaminare twice in the prologues of Andria and Heautontimorumenos[15] to describe the accusations of his detractors. In Andria, Terence states that his critics "id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant / contaminari non dicere fabulas" (ll. 15-16) ("they blame this as having occurred and thereby argue that the author does not say that the plots are combined"). Terence replies that "qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium Plautum Ennium / accusant, quos hic noster auctores habet, / quorum aemulari exoptat neclegentiam / potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam" (ll. 18-21) ("those who accuse him, accuse Naevium, Plautus and Ennium, whom this writer of ours has as models and whose careless freedom he prefers to emulate to the obscure accuracy of these individuals [his detractors]"). In the prologue of Heautontimorumenos, Terence claims that if he is accused of "contaminating" Greek plots rather than inventing his own in Latin, he is in good company, since other Latin authors have done the same before him.[16] Terence uses the term in its literary meaning when he describes his censors' accusations that he mixed and blended the plots of different comedies, thus creating hybrid texts. Ariosto claims that he has done what Terence and Plautus had done before him in their texts, namely, mixing two plots from two different comedies. In the prologue of his comedy I Suppositi Ariosto states:

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> ...et come essi [Terentio et Plauto] Menandro et Apollodoro et gli altri greci nelle loro latine Comedie seguitaro, egli [Ariosto] così nelle sue volgari, i modi, et processi de latini scrittori schifar non vuole. Come io vi dico dallo Eunucho di Terentio, et dalli captivi di Plauto, ha parte dello Argumento delli suoi soppositi transonto. Ma si modestamente però, che Terentio, et Plauto medesimi risapendolo non l' harebbono a male, et di poetica imitatione più presto che di furto gli darebbono nome. (I Suppositi, II)[17]
>
> ...and as they followed Menander and Apollodorus and the other Greeks in their comedies written in Latin, so he does not intend to avoid the manners and the procedures of the Latin writers in his [comedies] in vernacular. And I tell you that he had derived part of the subject of his Suppositi from Terentius' Eunuchus and Plautus' Captivi. However, [he did it] in a such unassuming way, that even Terentius and Plautus, if they had known it, would not have taken it badly, and would have called it poetic imitation rather than theft.

The verb contaminare had originally a neutral connotation, which is evident from the semantic dissection of the word. However, Terence loads the verb with negative or at least ambiguous meanings.[18] The word contaminatio was not available to Renaissance writers as a rhetorical figure, but it was known through Terence's comedies, as it is clear from the prologue of Ariosto's I Suppositi. When modern philologists adopted contaminatio to define the procedure of blending two or more models together by following Terence's example, the word appears to have acquired again the neutral stance

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that the verb contaminare originally had and from which the substantive contaminatio derives.[19]

Readers perceive the strategy of contaminatio in a negative or positive way, depending on the function it plays in the critic's analytical strategy more than on the writer's construction of the text. Greene considers the category of contaminatio as one of the imitative strategies available to Renaissance writers. Greene's argument implies that by using contaminatio the writer wipes out the differences among the various models and creates a homogeneous text by eliminating the fragmentary nature of history itself. For Looney, the imitative strategy of contaminatio does not exclude the historical dimension in Ariosto's text. Critics like Maria Cristina Cabani define contaminazione as a phenomenon linked to parody and as the result of the juxtaposition or superimposition of various statements. The effect of "contamination" upon the statements depends on the elements put into contact, and it can be either positive or irreverent or both at the same time.[20]

In my investigation of the representation of madness in Orlando Furioso, I intend to define a space, narrative and theoretical, where the word "contamination" still has a neutral meaning. At this point, I consider it necessary to compare the historical definition of the term contaminatio / "contamination" to Bakhtin's notions of "infection," parody and irony, in order to create a space between early modern observations on the concept of imitation and contemporary theories on parody.

In "Discourse of the Novel," Bakhtin uses the words "infect" and "infected" and the metaphor of "chemical union." Bakhtin defines infection as the result of any "socially significant verbal performance" (290) upon certain aspects of language and as the effect

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of the encounter in a novel between the author's language and that of the characters and among the characters' languages.[21] "Chemical union" is the metaphor with which Bakhtin describes the result that the insertion of "another's discourse" has on "the speech that frames it" both "on the semantic and emotionally expressive level," and which is not a "mechanical bond" (340). Both images—the infection and the chemical union—imply contact and union. The Russian term for the word "infection" is "zarazhenie," which has the relatively neutral sense of "infectious," besides that of transmittable disease. The image of infection, which is always at some level identical with the source but adapts itself to each organism in order to survive, is germane to that of "chemical union" and expresses the interconnected nature of words, languages and social utterances involved in the phenomenon.[22]

These images and their function also evoke what Bakhtin defines as heteroglossia, and, by affiliation, the rhetorical strategy of parody. For Bakhtin, both heteroglossia and parody are types of "double voiced discourse," along with irony (324).[23] Bakhtin considers parody a literary process by which different words and discourses shed mutual light one onto another. The model and its parodic elaboration force the reader to interpret the text not from a privileged point of view, but to shift his/her reading from one point of view to the other. In Ariosto's text, for instance, the "touching" or the "infection" implied in the encounter of the epic and tragic registers with the comic languages and images that Ariosto uses to describe Orlando's madness deflates the high model and elevates the comic at once.[24] If one upgrades the notion of "contamination" and "infection" from the level of the single word to that of discourse and text, one finds parody. Parody implies contact between two texts, the one that imitates and the other that is the object of

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imitation.[25] For some scholars Renaissance imitation is a form of parody, since it entails historical perspective by having the imitating text confront and sometimes clash with the past model.[26] In her interpretation of parody, Hutcheon uses Bakhtin's terms "centripetal" and "centrifugal" to define what other critics have called the ambivalent nature of parody.[27] This ambivalent dimension is based on the double mechanism of authorized transgression, which admits the conservative and hierarchical element linked to the repetition and imitation of the model, and of the regenerative, progressive activity in the text linked to the need of repeating the model but with a difference.

Orlando Furioso provides a stimulating ground for the application of contaminatio, infection, parody and heteroglossia. Through the application of these terms the reader investigates the work on several levels, from the simple word to the whole text and its models, and from the literary dimension of the text to the vaster social and ideological settings within which the text needs to be located. In fact, by Bakhtin's definition, the ideological dimension is present even in the simple encounter of two words, since the words themselves need to be always put into the context of a social utterance, a speech that is uttered among individuals.[28]

Along with parody, irony is an important rhetorical strategy that informs the concept of madness and its interpretation in Orlando Furioso. According to the Renaissance definition of the term, irony is "a figure of speech in which the speaker said or implied the opposite to his intended meaning" and "a means...of mockery."[29] Irony is a rhetorical device that is based on the reader's acknowledgment of the double meaning implied in the uttered statement.[30] In Orlando Furioso, Ariosto creates a narrator who, thanks to irony, is a character and a critic of the story at the same time. As a character, the

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narrator identifies with Orlando mad for love. After the general statement about the nature of madness at the beginning of canto XXIV, the narrator reveals to the reader that he is insane for the love of a woman as much as Orlando is for Angelica:

> Ben mi si potria dir:-Frate, tu vai
> L'altrui mostrando, e non vedi il tuo fallo.-
> Io vi rispondo che comprendo assai,
> Or che di mente ho lucido intervallo;
> Ed ho gran cura (e spero farlo ormai)
> Di riposarmi e d' uscir fuor di ballo:
> Ma tosto far, come vorrei, nol posso;
> Che 'l male è penetrato infin all' osso. (XXIV, 3)
>
> You might well say: "My friend, you indicate / the faults of others, yours you do not see." / But I reply: "I see the matter straight / In this brief moment of lucidity, / And I intend (if it is not too late) / To quit the dance and seek tranquillity. / And yet I fear my vow I cannot keep: / In me the malady has gone too deep. (Reynolds)[31]

A few stanzas later, the narrator reacts to the event of madness that affects Orlando and himself by splitting from his "double" Orlando and by using ironical distancing. He describes the "incredibil prove" of the mad Orlando among a group of terrified peasants, and his actions appear to be at the edge between the epic "furor" and the more prosaic "pazzia":

> Viste del pazzo l'incredibil prove.
> [.....]

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si voltan per fuggir, ma non sanno ove,

[.....]

Il pazzo dietro lor ratto si muove:

Uno ne piglia, e del capo lo scema

Con la facilità che torria alcuno

da l' arbor pome, o vago fior dal pruno.

[.....]

chi monta su le case e chi sui templi

[.....]

onde l'orrenda furia si contempli,

ch' a pugni, ad urti, a morsi, a graffi, a calci,

cavalli e buoi rompe, fracassa e strugge;

e ben è corridor chi da lui fugge. (XXIV, 5, 1; 3; 5-8 and 7, 3; 5-8)

First [the peasants] see the incredible deeds of the madman [...] then, they turn to run, but they do not know where [...]. The madman swiftly moves after them: he grabs one, and he takes off his head as easily as a man could pluck an apple from a tree or a pretty flower from a thorn bush [...]. [The peasants] climb on the top of houses and on the roof of churches [...] from there they contemplate the horrendous fury, for he breaks, smashes and destroys horses and cows with punches, bumps, bites, scratches and kicks- and swift is he who can escape him.

Orlando's "exceptional deeds" are a good example of Bakhtin's "double voicedness." Bakhtin argues that both parody and irony are "double-voiced", that is, they

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imply a contact of two or more voices. The dialogue does not have, and is not, always peaceful. Sometimes it is more of a clash than an encounter. Yet, such contact produces always something that mutually changes both parties, like a "chemical union," through imitation but with a difference.

The reader is forced to interpret the stanzas quoted above from at least two different points of view, which derive from the narrator's interpretation of the scene and from the character's delusional state. The narrator uses a mocking and derisive viewpoint when he emphasizes Orlando's delusional state. At the same time, he adopts a serious perspective when he underlines the epic dimension of the character and the magnitude of his actions. The discrepancy between the heroic dimension of Orlando's actions and the objects towards which these actions are directed create laughter, but also impels the reader to recall the epic tradition of the aristeiae and of martial fury to which the episode alludes. The discrepancy is most evident on the linguistic level, where words belonging to the high register "touch" words of the low register. The lofty expression "exceptional deeds" is put next to the prosaic word pazzo which could be translated as "nuts" or "cracked." The words that describe the peasant's escape evoke epic battles, but the way Orlando kills the peasants plunges the scene into the prosaic world of "flowers" and "apples." Finally, the peasants' climbing up to the roofs of houses and churches recalls Aeneas climbing up the roof of his house to contemplate Ilium in flames.[32] From there, the peasants observe Orlando's "horrendous fury," which recalls the epic μηνις. However, the epic tone is immediately deflated by the description of the way Orlando expresses his wrath—he uses punches, bumps, bites, scratches and kicks—and of the objects towards which his wrath is directed—horses and cows. Orlando's uncontrollable

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fit of anger may also be an allusion to the violent behavior of mad individuals that medical treatises describe in relation to mania, but also to the last stages of love madness. Indeed, what doctors called "wolf's madness" was a manifestation of love madness, which reduced the individual to an animal dimension.[33]

After leaving the mad and naked Orlando wandering on the bridge where he will battle with Rodomonte many cantos later, the narrator digresses into another story, that of Zerbino, through the technique of entrelecement, characteristic of the medieval chivalric romance:

> Di qua, di là di su, di giù discorre
> Per tutta Francia; e un giorno a un ponte arriva,
> Sotto cui largo e pieno d'acqua corre
> Un fiume d'alta e di scoscesa riva.
> Edificato accanto avea una torre
> Che d'ogn'intorno e di lontan scopriva.
> Quel che fe' quivi, avete altrove a udire:
> Che di Zerbin mi convien prima dire. (XXIV, 14)
>
> [Orlando] roamed across the length and breadth of France, until one day he came to a bridge. Beneath it a broad, full river flowed between steep, craggy banks. Beside it there stood a tower commanding a sweeping view in all directions. What he did here you shall learn later on: first I must continue Zerbin's story (Waldman, 284).

Ariosto has already used the expression "di qua, di là di su, di giù" to define madness a few octaves earlier (XXIV, 2, 5). This time, the expression emphasizes Orlando's lack of

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direction and his consequent meandering through the text because of his madness, which results in the paladin's desultory appearance and sudden disappearance throughout the poem until his healing in canto XXXIX. Ariosto expresses madness on the level of the plot by creating a discontinuous space made of digressions, interruptions and sudden appearances and accounts of Orlando's madness by other characters, who in turn digress from their story to narrate the paladin's madness.[34] Zatti and other critics have pointed out that the "wandering" of the narrative plot corresponds to the "wandering" of the mad Orlando from reason and from his duty of fighting the Saracens.[35] Zatti argues that the narrator's use of these traditional narrative devices is charged with a critical perspective "sulla digressione, sulla deviazione, sul differimento degli esiti, sull' interferenza e il groviglio dei fili narrativi" (16) ("on digression, diversion, postponement of the outcomes and on the interference and tangle of narrative threads"). That is, the narrator not only uses these old devices but he also interprets them through the rhetorical strategy of irony. The narrator elaborates aspects of the literary tradition from which Ariosto's text derives. He uses the techniques of entrelecement and quête, the epic fury of Orlando, the Neo-Platonic undercurrent of Orlando's love but at the same time he undermines and "contaminates' these aspects with other elements, or simply interprets their relative value with the help of irony.

I.2. The multiple dimension of madness in Orlando Furioso.

The subject of madness in Orlando Furioso has as many faces as the models that Ariosto uses in composing his text.[36] In the shaping of madness in Orlando Furioso, the

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epic and tragic models intersect with the chivalric and medical traditions and lyric love poetry.

In the Iliad, μηνις 'wrath' is linked to the anger of gods.[36] In the ancient world the gods inspire madness, and Plato uses this notion of the term in the Phaedrus and in the Symposium to define an altered state produced by erotic passion.[37] In the Aeneid, furor, furia or furiae express violent anger and extreme passion and are connected to the gods and to humans as well. Both μηνις and furor, furia or furiae are in contact with the notion of madness.

In the opening pages of the Bellezze del Furioso (1574) Orazio Toscanella uses the Italian term furore to describe the allegorical meaning of the character of Orlando: "Orlando significa in furore in questa opera: et risanato, l' essempio di un perfetto capitano" ("Orlando in this work means fury: when healed, he is the example of the perfect captain.").[38] Toscanella compares the paladin's furor to that of Orestes, as described by Virgil: "Molti di molti furiosi scrissero; ma tra gli altri Virgilio nel terzo dell' Eneide di Oreste figlio di Agamennone, et di Clitemnestra, che per havere uccisa la madre furioso divenne" (195) ("Many have written about many furious characters. Among others, Virgil in the third book of the Aeneid wrote about Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, who became furious for having killed his mother").[39] G. B. Pigna, championing the affiliation of Ariosto's text to ancient epic, sees in Orlando's character a revival of the mythic Hercules, whose furor is implicit in the title of the poem and looms imposingly in two tragedies of the Stoic Seneca, Hercules Furens and Hercules Oetaeues.[40]

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During the Renaissance, many intellectuals used the figure of Hercules as a metaphor to represent what human beings are capable of doing and how they are caught between the limits of the divine and the animal dimension. In Orlando Furioso, Ariosto frequently compares the paladin to Hercules.[41] Some critics have argued that the choice of Hercules as a model for Orlando is an indirect, or even parodic, praise of the D'Este family. Ercole d' Este, who ruled Ferrara from 1471 to 1505, was the father of the cardinal Ippolito d' Este, Ariosto's patron.[42]

The love madness that affects medieval knights is also a common feature of the chivalric romances of the Round Table.[43]

The metaphor of sickness or distress caused by love, recurrent in the courtly love tradition and lyric poetry, becomes literal in the case of Orlando and is associated to the medical tradition.[44]

In Orlando Furioso the representation of madness "infects" Orlando and other characters as well, such as Bradamante, Olimpia and Fiordispina. Madness is expressed through a variety of traditions that collide one with another, and by doing so, change one another. The contact of several discourses that contribute to the shaping of madness corresponds to the plurality of voices that help create a hybrid genre. Through the different layers of meanings that constitute the representation of madness, the reader is able to envision the social and cultural environment in which Ariosto composed the poem. The poem contains various genres, which at various times clash with one another. It also produces a plurality of voices, which derive from the elaboration of several traditions on madness. This plurality of voices tends to disintegrate the unity purported by the supporters of Aristotelian poetics. Another kind of unity emerges, however, since

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Ariosto is very careful in containing the hyperbolic nature of the text through the rhetorical strategy of irony and the self-conscious use and elaboration of techniques established by tradition.

I.2.i. What does a word really mean? The contaminatory dialogue among words, sentences and genres.

In Orlando Furioso Ariosto shapes madness through what I term semantic contamination of classical, popular and medical terms that describe Orlando's altered status. The "contamination" of high and low linguistic registers in the description of Orlando's madness expresses a tension that exists also on the generic and cultural level, between the epic and the chivalric tradition and between classical and popular elements. Parody emphasizes this tension on the level of words, style and images, while irony enacts it in the narrative structure of the text, with the help of a self-conscious narrator. This tension redefines dialectically the different traditions and keeps the interpretation of Orlando's madness oscillating among them.

On a semantic level, two different categories of terms define the notion of madness in Ariosto's text. The words furore, furioso, furibondo and ira derive from Classical Latin, while the terms matto, pazzo, pazzia, folle, follia, sciocco and sciocchezza derive from late Latin and are introduced in the vernacular between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century. Rabbia, which derives from Classical Latin rabies, belongs to both groups and has a different meaning in each.[45] The analysis of the terms that define madness in Orlando Furioso contribute to establish the notions of contamination, infection and parody at the smallest level of a literary text, that is, the

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word. The word is never an autonomous entity and it is always in contact with other meanings that the word has acquired over an extended period of time.

The meaning of the word furor oscillates between frenzy, which does not change the psychological and moral features of an individual, and insania, which effects the individual's mind and desire. This oscillation creates an ambiguity between what can be considered a natural, uncontrollable phenomenon and what instead is related to human behavior. In the Tusculanae Disputationes Cicero defines furor as "mentis ad omnia caecitatem" ("blindness of the mind in all relations") (3.5.11), which he finds exemplified in Ajax's and Orestes' altered status. According to the Stoic tradition on which Cicero bases his distinction, furor is different from insania ("folly"), which he defines an "unsoundness of mind." A wise man cannot be affected by insania, since "unsoundness of mind" is equal to foolishness and, therefore, the contrary of wisdom. He keeps the title of sapiens even when furor attacks him: "Quod [furor] cum maius esse videatur quam insania, tamen eius modi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania" (3.5.11) ("Seeming [furor] more serious than insania, it is so, that furor can happen to a wise man, while insania cannot").[46] Later in the treatise, Cicero assimilates furor with ira and ultimately with insania: "Quid est enim quo non progreadiatur eodem ira, quo furor? Itaque iratos proprie dicimus exisse de potestate, id est de consilio, de ratione, de mente: horum enim potestas in totum animum esse debet" (4. 36, 77-78) ("For in what direction will not anger go to the same length as madness? And so we say appropriately that angry men have passed beyond control, that is, beyond consideration, beyond reason, beyond intelligence: for these should exercise authority over the entire soul") (King).[47] Cicero defines ira as a lust to punish somebody who has committed an injustice (IV, 37, 79). At

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another point of the treatise, he states that ira is "the beginning of insanity," which he exemplifies through the epic characters of Achilles and Agamemnon (4.23.52).[48] Orazio Toscanella observes that by putting in contact the terms ira and furore in the first stanza of canto I ("...seguendo l' ire e i giovenil furori / d' Agramante lor re...") Ariosto "artificiosamente ha proceduto [...] ponendo prima ira, che furore; perché prima s' accende l' ira ne i petti humani, et poi se vivacemente in esso loro s' apprende, ne risulta (come attesta Seneca) il furore." ("skillfully started [...] by locating first ira and then furor, because ira stirs up in one's heart. Then, if it tenaciously remains in one's heart, furore results, as Seneca attests.")

In the climactic scene of Orlando's madness Ariosto accepts Cicero's blurring of boundaries between furor and insania:[49]

> Il quarto dì, da gran furore commosso,
> E maglie e piastre si stracciò di dosso.
> [.....]
> e cominciò la gran follia, si orrenda,
> che de la più non sarà mai ch' intenda.
> [.....]
> In tanta rabbia, in tanto furor venne,
> Che rimase offuscato in ogni senso. (XXIII, 132-134)
>
> The fourth day, moved by great frenzy, he stripped off his armor and his chain mail. [...] And the great folly (insanity) started, so horrible, that no one will ever hear of a worse instance. He fell into such anger, into such frenzy, that all of his senses were darkened [...].

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The conflation of terms that represent madness creates a tension among different semantic categories. Furore, rabbia and follia belong to different linguistic registers and evoke sometimes contrasting images. Together, they inflect one another.

Furore is a term linked to the epic register and evocative of epic characters like Aeneas and Turnus.[50] In the Aeneid, a poem to which many supporters had compared Orlando Furioso since the first years of publication,[51] Virgil uses furor, furia/furiae and furens to define martial rage, the personification of wrath, and madness. This combination of meanings recalls the dialogic tension contained in the words furor and furens, since both are associated with frenzy and insania.[52] In the climactic scene of Orlando's madness, furore, which signifies martial fury as well as insane passion, ira and madness, accompanies Orlando's scattering of his armor. Through the scattering of Orlando's armor Ariosto elaborates the chivalric model of the knight's madness for love and his regression to an animal stage. Thus, in the space of two lines, Ariosto produces a tension between the high tradition of the epic genre and the low tradition of the chivalric romance.

In several passages of the poem the words furore and furioso describe a warrior's wrath in battle. During the Saracen's siege of Paris the fury that qualifies the behavior and the actions of the pagan Rodomonte is rendered with the term furore and its affiliates, namely ira and odio.[53] In canto XLV Ariosto describes Bradamante's fiery attacks against Ruggiero with the terms odio and furor (XVL, 7-8). Enraged by the wounds that his opponent has inflicted him, Rodomonte "a maggior rabbia, a più furor si mosse" (XLVI, 121, 5) ("was goaded to a greater rage, a greater fury") against Ruggiero, who finally kills him. In vernacular literature, furioso/furore refers primarily to a subject who is

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seized by a violent anger that he shows through deeds and/or words.[54] In Orlando Furioso there are several instances in which furore has this meaning and becomes a synonym of ira and rabbia. At the beginning of the poem, Rinaldo, who is in love with Angelica swears "per isdegno e per furore" ("with indignation and anger") that he would kill his rival Orlando (II, 18, 7-8). Zerbino tries to kill the Saracen Medoro "con ira e con furor" (XIX, 10, 3).

As it is evident from the passages quoted above, the sequence odio/rabbia/ira/furore appears to define several scenes of martial wrath and violent anger. Ariosto uses these words also to describe Orlando's madness in stanza 129 of canto XXIII—"Veder l'ingiuria sua scritta sul monte/l'accese sí ch'in lui non restó dramma/che non fosse odio, rabbia, ira o furore [...]." (XXIII, 129, 5-7) ("To see the wrongs done to him written on the mountain enflamed him so that each drop that remained in him was hatred, rage, wrath or fury [...].")—and slightly changed a few octaves later—"in tanta rabbia, in tanto furor venne [...]" (XXIII, 134, 1).

While ira and furore belong to the high brow tradition of epic, tragedy and Stoic philosophy, rabbia is more difficult to locate. In Classical Latin rabies first refers to animal savagery and ferocity, but it is also a synonym of furor and defines violent passion and extreme rage. In late Latin rabia is connected to the Greek λύσσα, "madness". In both Classical and late Latin rabies/rabia is assimilated to a bestial dimension. Several times Ariosto uses the term rabbia to emphasize the animal aspect of rage. In canto X Ariosto compares Olimpia, who has just found out that she has been abandoned by Bireno, to Hecuba, whom the sudden discovery of the body of her dead son transforms into "rabbia" (X, 34, 5-6). In canto XVIII the author compares Rodomonte's reaction to

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the news that his beloved Doralice has disappeared to that of a tigress who finds out that her cubs have been taken away from her and "avampa di tant' ira,/a tanta rabbia, a tal furore s'estende [...]" (XVIII, 35, 4-5) ("she blazes up in such a passion, her rage takes her so far [...]) One canto later, Ariosto likens Medoro who guards the body of his dead leader Dardinello to a she-bear who protects her cubs and "freme in suono di pietà e di rabbia [...]" (XIX, 7, 4) ("quivers with pity and rage at once [...]" Waldman, 217). After the episode of Orlando's madness, Ariosto describes Isabella's pain at the death of her beloved Zerbino in a way that evokes Orlando's plunging into bestial madness (XXIII, 134, 7-8): "In tanta rabbia, in tal furore sommersa l'avea la doglia sua [...]" (XXIV, 87, 1-2) ("her pain had plunged her in such a frenzied rage [...]"). Ariosto describes a similar reaction when Fiordiligi finds out that her husband Brandimarte is dead and she is filled with "furor" and "rabbia" so much that she hurts her body (XLIII, 164, 2).

Rabbia is also the term with which Ariosto defines the love sickness that affects several characters of the poem who are thus deprived of their reasoning faculties and become as senseless as animals. Rodomonte is obsessed by "amorosa rabbia" ("amorous rage") for Doralice's betrayal (XXVII, 111, 6), while Bradamante admits that she is a slave of love's fury ("furore"), thus slightly elaborating an expression that Ariosto has used to describe Rodomonte's altered state because of love.[55] In the last two cases, rabbia becomes a synonym for love frenzy and alludes to the Neo-Platonic notion of erotic madness as well as to the medical interpretation of love as a sickness that weakens the individual's mind and therefore reduces him or her to the level of a beast.[56]

Ariosto terms Orlando's madness also as follia. The expression "gran follia, si orrenda" with which the paladin's madness begins in canto XXIII conflates a vernacular

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term with adjectives and expressions that allude to an epic, martial context. Folle derives from the Classical Latin follis, which means "leather bag." Folle and its derivative follia appeared in the vernacular in the first half of the thirteenth century. During that period, the word folle became a metaphor for "empty head" and it was considered the opposite of saggio. Follia, termed as "lack of wits, of moral control"[57] seems to cover the semantic area that insania had occupied in Classical Latin, as Cicero defines it in the Tusculanae Disputationes:

> Io ti dico d' Orlando e di Rinaldo:
>
> Che l'uno al tutto furioso e folle
>
> Al sereno, alla pioggia, al freddo, al caldo,
>
> Nudo va discorrendo il piano e 'l colle [...]. (XXVII, 8, 1-4)
>
> I mean Orlando and Rinaldo: the one is completely crazed and demented, scouring hills and plains, naked, in rain and shine, in the cold and the heat [...] (Waldman, 324).

The combined effect of furioso and folle in the same line emphasizes the composite nature of Orlando's madness, trading between epic fury and empty-headedness.

Several times the adjective folle means "irrational desire" and implies a moral dimension of transgression or aberration. In stanza 6 of canto I the Saracens' invasion of France is called "folle ardire" and is repeated in canto XIV, 132 when the pagans tried to attack Paris' walls. Mandricardo calls Ruggiero's persistence in keeping the emblem that he claims as his "follia" (XXVI, 102, 6), a reckless and transgressive act that the pagan warrior intends to punish. On the moon, St. John tells Astolfo that God made Orlando "folle" like Nebuchadnezzar, because, like the biblical character, Orlando has deviated

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from his duty, that his, to defend the Christian faith (XXIV, 65). Ariosto uses "folle" also to describe an irrational or deviant passion. The conniving Polinesso defines Ariodante's love for Guinevière "folle" (V, 31, 2) and Fiordispina calls his passion for Bradamante "folle [desio]" (XXV, 368). After having drunk from the fountain of Hatred, Rinaldo deems his passion for Angelica "folle" (XLII, 64, 4). Folle and follia appear throughout the poem as isolated terms; however, the combination of furioso and folle occurs only in reference to Orlando's madness.

Just as follia, folle, rabbia and ira inflect furore and its derivatives in the passages quoted above, so in canto I, 2 matto contaminates furore: "Dirò d' Orlando in un medesmo tratto [...] che per amore venne in furore e matto [...]" (1, 2, 1-3) ("Of Orlando I will tell, that at once [...] he became for love frenzied and mad"). Furore and matto show their combined effect "in un medesmo tratto." The contamination between two different semantic registers allows the two terms to inflect one another and to change their original meaning. The word matto appears in the vernacular around the thirteenth century and is used as a synonym of stultus, follis, and sine sensu.[58] It defines a person who is seized by irrational instincts that provoke hilarity more than fear or repulsion. In Orlando Furioso, matto is synonymous with pazzo, a term introduced into the vernacular at the end of the thirteenth century.[59] Pazzo and pazzia define a mental alteration, whether permanent or temporary. In Ariosto's poem the terms matto, pazzo and pazzia define characters who have lost their reasoning ability or perform actions that go against common sense.

The terms that constitute the vocabulary of madness in Orlando Furioso derive from different traditions and each have a specific meaning, which Ariosto exploits

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throughout the poem. The various terms describe the madness that befalls different characters and that is produced mostly by the passion of love in all its shades and aspects, but also by anger, jealousy and lack of reason. However, only in Orlando's madness all these terms and the traditions to which they belong come together and inflect each other. Within the character of Orlando, Ariosto contaminates the epic warrior in wrath, the tragic hero and the courtier in love.

The semantic conflation is most evident in Ariosto's treatment of Orlando's madness even though its effects reverberate on the treatment of madness in the rest of the poem and reflect the contamination of literary genres and cultural traditions that pervades the entire poem. The representation of Orlando's madness is at the crossroad of disparate traditions: from those contrasting perspective the reader is asked to perceive the poem and the madness inside of it.

I.2.ii. Ariosto the Neo-Platonist and the "fisico."[60]

Ariosto was at least acquainted with Platonic and Neo-Platonic philosophy through the lectures on Plato's Timaeus of Sebastiano Dall'Aquila, a doctor at the court of Ferrara and a Neo-Platonist. Ariosto also had contacts with Gregorio da Spoleto, teacher of Latin and Neo-Platonist, who resided in Florence between 1487 and 1492, where he probably met Marsilio Ficino.[61] Also, Ariosto's friendship with the Neo-Platonist men of letters Bembo, Castiglione and Equicola might have influenced the composition of Orlando Furioso.[62] It is not my intention to pursue a detailed investigation of the many possible interrelations between Ariosto's text and Renaissance Neo-Platonism and its vulgarization. However, it is my goal to endorse the argument that in

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sixteenth-century Italy Neo-Platonism went well beyond the philosophical circle and the Platonic Academy of Florence; it reached the courts and became part of a social code of behavior, a catalogue for all occasions.

The Neo-Platonic code of behavior is layered upon previous models that Petrarchan love poetry, stilnovismo and medical tradition have produced for the representation and elaboration of the notion of love.[63] A trained doctor, Ficino uses humoral theory in his commentary to Plato's Symposium to explain the passions that love produces in human beings.[64] Ficino elaborates Plato's fourfold division of madness in the Phaedrus and reduces it to the opposition between furor, which is godsent, and insania, which is a human condition and can affect either the heart or the brain and reduce the subject to a beast: "Insanie morbo infra hominis spetiem homo deicitur et ex homine brutum quodammodo redditur" (oratio septima. Caput III. 245) ("With this type of insania, man falls below the human species and from man he is transformed into sorts of beasts"). This opposition recalls that which Cicero has expounded in the Tusculanae Disputationes.

For Ficino, love affects individuals through sight, which he considers the privileged sense for reaching the truth: "Animi cibus est veritas. Ad eam inveniendam oculi, ad discendam aures magnopere conferunt" (Oratio V. Caput II, 181) ("Truth is the food of the soul. The eyes devote great energy to find it and the ears, to learn it"). All types of love start with a glance at the beloved object. However, a purely contemplative love will raise above the body to reach reason; an active love will maintain itself within the sight and finally the voluptuous love descends into the body to privilege the sense of touching (Oratio VI. Caput VIII, 212). Ficino calls "contemplativi hominis amor divinus,

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activi, humanus, voluptuosi ferinus [...]." ("divine love [which is characteristic] of the contemplative man, human love of the active man, bestial love of the man driven by passions [...].") In the sixth discourse of his commentary to Plato's Symposium Ficino describes the contemplative and the active type of love. To these types of love Ficino opposes the "amor ferinus," "beastly love" (Oratio septima. Caput III. 245).

When the soul of a lover is totally taken by the thought of the beloved, "in amati imaginem phantasia infixam ipsumque amatum amantis animus rapitur" (214) ("the lover's soul is drawn toward the image [of the loved one] imprinted in the imaginative faculty and toward the obeject of love itself"). The spirits, which are made of the finest part of blood, are conveyed through the sight to the object of one's love and "illuc evolantes assidue resolvuntur" (ibid.) ("constantly flying up towards that point [the object of one's love] they lose strength"). The upward evaporation of burnt humors such as bile, black bile and blood from the heart to the brain produces madness: "Qui adusta bili vexantur, vel a nemine lacessiti vehementissime irascuntur, alte vociferantur, in obvios irruunt, se ipsos et alios cedunt" (ibid.) ("Those who are tormented by burned melancholy, get very angry even with no provocation, shout from afar, rush into passersby and beat themselves as well as others").[65] The subject in love pines away, and the only part of the blood left in his body is "maculosus, crassus, aridus [...] et ater" (ibid.) ("defiled, thick, dry [...] and black"). Finally, the lethal vapours that the burnt blood produces within the body rises to the brain of the subject who becomes melancholic: "Ex sicco enim crasso atroque sanguine melancolia, id est, atra bilis efficitur, que suis caput vaporibus opplet, cerebrum siccat, animam tetris horrendisque imaginibus diu noctuque solicitare non cessat" (ibid.) ("Melancholy, that is, black bile, is

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produced from blood that is dry, thick and black. [Melancholy] fills the head with its vapours, dries the brain and constantly stimulates the soul with dark and horrendous images, day and night"). Ficino argues that beautiful images and music are the best remedies to cure love madness and that melancholic people, like Sappho and Socrates, are more prone than others "ad amandi artem" (215) ("to the art of love"). The vapors produced by bile have on the subject a similar effect to that which Ariosto describes in his representation of Orlando's climaxing madness (XXIII, 125-128). What Ficino describes appears to be related to the illness that doctors have called "erotomania" since the Middle Ages and that affects many of the characters in Orlando Furioso, particularly Orlando.[66]

In their treatments of the passion of love, both Ficino and Ariosto conflate Neo-Platonism and medical tradition. Massimo Ciavolella and Marina Beer have been the first scholars who fully acknowledged the importance of the medical tradition in Orlando Furioso and who investigated the connections between this tradition and the literary and philosophical models present in Ariosto's text.[67] Ciavolella maintains that references to amor hereos or lycanthropia were a common feature of contemporary medical treatises circulating during Ariosto's time and must have influenced the author's "cultural humus" (321). Beer believes that Ariosto shapes his notion of "erotomania" on the medical tradition more than on the Neo-Platonism circulating in the Italian courts. To Beer's argument I would add that even the Neo-Platonic view of love—at least that which Ficino describes in his commentary of the Symposium—might have influenced, although indirectly, Ariosto's view of madness in Orlando Furioso. Indeed, Ficino's work appears to blend together philosophy and medicine.

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The contact among the different traditions active in Ariosto's hybrid genre produces, as Beer says, an "authentic parody," where old and new layers coexist in a modern form of narrative.[68] The medical tradition, then, is one among the many models Ariosto adopts in his analysis of madness. The medical language, however, is a prosaic tradition inserted in a literary context created by the "contamination" and parodic contact of several highly structured genres. Its introduction into Ariosto's text produces, to use Bakhtin's metaphor, a chemical union that changes both parties.

I.3. The subject of madness: Orlando.

The canonical status that Orlando Furioso acquires almost immediately after its publication transforms the poem into "a guide and storehouse of rhetorical examples for all would-be writers and orators."[69] In Bellezze del *Furioso*, Toscanella considers Ariosto as an example that writers should follow when they treat subjects such as the art of horse riding, fishing, and boating, since in his poem he imitates the specific language of each of these arts (220).[70] Toscanella also compares Ariosto to a fisico ("doctor") and considers Orlando's madness a clinical case of furore, whose cause "non poteva meglio per avventura da più eccellenti fisici che alhora vivessero essere descritta [...]" (195) ("the most illustrious physicians who lived in that period could not have better described [than Ariosto]").[71] At the beginning of his commentary, Toscanella emphasizes the connection between the status of Orlando "che per amore venne in furore e matto" and the Neo-Platonic production of dialogues on love. He writes: "Come per amore si possa venire in furore e matto, si legge nei Dialoghi da i dottissimi Filosofi M. Sperone Speroni, & M.

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Leone Ebreo." ("In the dialogues of the very learned philosophers Sperone Speroni and Leone Ebreo it is possible to read the way one can become furious and mad out of love.")

In his commentary of canto XXIII, Toscanella explains the development of Orlando's madness throughout the poem in a way that is both medical and philosophical. Toscanella lists two causes, one "intrinsic," the other "extrinsic," which produce furore. Toscanella identifies the intrinsic cause of madness with melancholy, which appears to be a common feature among individuals whose humoral balance leans toward the dry and cold elements. Toscanella supports his argument by quoting the authority of Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, and Celio Rodigini.[72] Quoting Galen, Toscanella writes: "[...] certi pazzi divennero per ira orrida; e trapassante il segno; o per smisurata passione d'animo; perché il corpo a questo modo travagliato era atto, et apparecchiato a questi affetti"(194) ("[...] some became mad because of a terrible and boundless anger or because of an excessive passion in their soul; their body was suited for these sufferings and prepared for these affections"). Toscanella describes melancholy as the intrinsic cause of madness and links it to the individual's body, his/her organic complexion and humoral balance. Toscanella argues that "Orlando per cagione estrinseca divenne furioso" ("Orlando became furious due to an extrinsic cause"):

> [il furore] che da cagione estrinseca procede nasce da obietto, che rappresentatosi all' occhio, entra nel senso commune; et indi alla fantasia passando, rappresenta la sua forma, sempre di maniera, che in tutte le cose, pare all' huomo di vederla; et continuando in questa impressione l' affetto non lascia dormire et induce a piangere tanto, che si disseccano I ventricoli del cervello in modo, che si trabocca in furore. (195)

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> [furious madness] that arises from extrinsic causes begins from an object that enters in the common sense after having been represented to the eye. Then, it moves to the imagination and its form is represented always in such a way that men seem to see it everywhere. Since this impression persists, the passion keeps one from sleeping and leads to cry so abundantly, that the ventricles of the brain dry up and that [the passion] is transformed into furious madness.

Toscanella's explanation of Orlando's madness recalls Ficino's description of the way the subject is smitten by love. Toscanella's language derives from the humoral tradition, which links the functioning of the organism to bodily fluids and to the connection between the body and the brain. Both medical and philosophical traditions argue that the object of love can mold its image in the lover's "fantasia" or imaginative faculty through his eyes. Beer quotes the medieval medical treatise of Bernardus Gordonius, entitled Lilium medicinale (574) in which melancholy, "erotomania" or "amor hereos" are inextricably connected into one explanation:

> Amor qui hereos dicitur est sollicitudo melancolica propter mulieris amorem.
>
> Causa huius passionis, est corruptio extimative, propter formam & figuram fortiter affixam [...]Virtus igitur extimativa, quae est altior inter sensibiles, praecipit ymaginativae [sic] & ymaginativa concupiscibili, & concupiscibilis irascibili, irascibilis virtuti motivae lacertorum, & tunc movetur totum corpus spreto ordine rationis, et currit de nocte & de die per viam & in via, spernendo calorem & frigus & omnia pericula

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> cuiuscunque conditionis sint, cum iam amplius non potest quiescere corpus [...] (110-111).[73]
>
> The love that is called hereos is a melancholic anxiety caused by the love for a woman.
>
> The cause of this illness is the corruption of the judging faculty, through a form and a figure that has been strongly impressed in it. [...] Therefore, the judging faculty, which is higher than the other faculties perceived with the senses, comes before the imaginative faculty, the imaginative faculty comes before the desiring faculty, the desiring faculty comes before the irascible faculty and the irascible faculty comes before the faculty that has the arms move. Then, the entire body moves, rejecting any order of conduct, and runs night and day, from street to street, defying heat, cold and any kind of danger, since the body can no longer stay still [...].

Aristotle was the first philosopher who thought that the imaginative faculty was the mediator between the mind and the body and others after him followed his model. In Amatorius, Plutarch stresses the importance of imagination as a catalyst for the fixation of the lover's interest on the object of his desire.[74] Ficino thought that imagination was somehow concrete, circulating from the object to the subject through what was called pneuma, "animal spirit," and which Galen thought was made of invisible particles of blood.[75] These spirits were thought to be located in the ventricles of the brain. Toscanella mentions "the ventricles of the brain" as the part of Orlando's brain most affected by madness.

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In the second octave of canto I, Ariosto defines love as the cause of Orlando's madness: "Dirò d' Orlando in un medesmo tratto/ [...] che per amor venne in furore e matto" (I, 2, 1-3) ("I will tell you of Orlando who all of the sudden/ [...] fell into fury and madness because of love"). Orlando is affected by amor hereos, which the medical tradition connects to melancholy.[76] Ariosto reintroduces the character of Orlando in canto VIII, when the paladin has a fearful dream about Angelica that leads him to leave the Christian camp and to abandon his duty of Christian champion against the infidel in order to pursue the object of his passion:

> La donna sua, che gli ritorna in mente,
> Anzi che mai non era indi partita,
> Gli raccende nel core e fa più ardente
> La fiamma che nel dì parea sopita. (VIII, 72, 1-4)
> His lady came back to his mind, even though, in fact, she never left, and rekindled in his heart to a scorching degree the flame that seemed to wane during the day.

The image of Angelica is impressed in Orlando's mind and memory. The power of Angelica's image on Orlando's mind and memory has a striking analogy with Plutarch's statement about the effect that the image of the beloved has on the imagination of the lover and ultimately on his memory:" [...] the imagination of lovers, being as it were impressed upon the memory of the lover in fiery characters, just like encastum paintings, remain forever moving, living, speaking."[77] In the description of Orlando's dream Ariosto blends the medical and philosophical explanation of the paladin's obsession for Angelica with one that derives from the very old tradition of dream interpretation.[78] In

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the explanation of a dream, physiological and moral elements that are connected to the individual's identity enter in contact with prophetic elements that are visible in the structure and the content of the reverie.

Between canto VIII and canto XXIII, where the climax of Orlando's madness occurs, the paladin appears in the episode of Olimpia (cantos IX-XI). The characters of Orlando and Olimpia bear some important similarities.[79] A monomaniacal passion besieges both characters. Orlando's obsession for Angelica's idealized image makes the paladin stray away from his duty as a Christian champion; Olimpia's passion for Bireno causes the death of her father and brothers and the loss of her land (IX, 50). Like Orlando's passion for Angelica, Olimpia's passion for Bireno is absolute and almost idolatrous, without any correspondence to reality: "[...] io credea e credo, e creder credo il vero, / ch' amassi ed ami me con cor sincero" (IX, 23, 7-8) (" [...] I believed and still believe and I believe that this is true, that [he] honestly loved me and loves me").

Olimpia's story appears to forecast that of Orlando. In canto X, she finds out that her idealized image of Bireno clashes with the real Bireno, who is a deceitful and cunning man and who betrays her and leaves her on a deserted island for another woman, younger and more beautiful than she. When she finally realizes the truth, Olimpia's furious reaction is likened to the mythical figure of Hecuba, whose madness Ovid and Dante describe the moment she discovers the mutilated body of her son Polydorus.[80] Olimpia's reaction to Bireno's betrayal anticipates Orlando's reaction to the discovery of the love nest of Angelica and Medoro in canto XXII: "Or si ferma s' un sasso, e guarda il mare: né men d' un vero sasso, un sasso pare" (X, 34, 7-8) ("Now she stands on a rock, and gazes towards the sea; she seemed to have turned into stone, no less than a rock"). In the

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end, Ariosto transforms the character of Olimpia from a female alter-ego of Orlando to a substitute for Angelica, whom Orlando saves from certain death. Because of her strong analogies with Orlando, one can consider Olimpia as affected by "erotomania," which affected both men and women. Doctors recommended as a cure for both genders to sleep with the object of their desire. However, if men could sleep with other women when their beloved was unavailable, women were subjected to bloodletting and could not choose a substitute for the release of their amorous passion.[81]

Yet, Ariosto does create a lover for Olimpia, namely Oberto king of Ireland, who takes Bireno's place and frees Orlando from worrying about a woman who has become an obstacle to his search for Angelica.[82] In his wandering, Orlando meets another woman, Isabella, whom he saves from a band of brigands and who is the faithful lover of Zerbino. A few cantos later, Ariosto qualifies Isabella with a form of absolute love, which withstands the pressing and rude advances of the Saracen Rodomonte. Isabella and Olimpia have in common with Orlando the absolute nature of their passion, and an unwillingness, permanent in the case of Orlando and Isabella, to bend to circumstances and show flexibility. Ariosto describes neither Olimpia's nor Isabella's passion in the clinical way he does with Orlando's furor. However, he seems to consider the passion of the two women as a variation of the Neo-Platonic concept of love and of the medical observations of its effects on the individual's body and mind.

"Nel gran disio, di che a fin mai non venne" (XII, 66, 8) for Angelica "che nel carcer d' Amor lo tenea chiuso" (XII, 73, 8) Orlando finally reaches the cave where Angelica and Medoro have consummated their love. Many critics have already noticed the strategic position of the description of Orlando's madness, exactly in the middle of

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the poem, and the "contamination" of several literary genres within a pastoral setting. Orlando's obsession for Angelica and Medoro's love is produced by the fixation of their image in the paladin's imaginative faculty:

> Orlando per cagione estrinseca divenne furioso; però il poeta dice che havendo letto in vari lochi il successo tra Medoro, et Angelica, talmente s' affissò in quel pensiero, che piangea sempre, et si maravigliava come avesse una fontana d' acqua si vivace [...] (Le Bellezze del *Furioso*, 195).
>
> Orlando became furious because of extrinsic causes; for the poet says that, after having seen in various places the success between Medoro and Angelica, [Orlando] fixated on that thought so much that he was always crying and dazed as if he had a source of flowing water [running from his eyes] [...]

Ariosto describes Orlando's heart as under the grip of a "cold hand" (XXIII, 111, 6). In medical language and in Neo-Platonic thought the fumes provoked by the boiling blood were thought to move from the heart, which loses heat, to the brain. The narrative voice suddenly assimilates his own dejected status to Orlando's madness for love. Critics have explained this assimilation by arguing that the narrative voice appears to oscillate between identification with and ironic distancing from the character of Orlando. They link such oscillation to the structure of the text, which errs in digressions and interrupted actions like the characters of the poem affected by love.[83] One should add that the position of the narrative voice in the episode of Orlando's madness is similar to that of an eyewitness doctor, who bases his judgement on experience and observation.[84] As soon as it acquires the professional role of fisico, the narrative voice starts to carefully describe

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the effects of love madness on Orlando. The pain provoked by the discovery of the love between Angelica and Medoro causes the tears to remain inside Orlando's body and particularly in his head, which appears heavy because of the liquid that cannot get out:

> L' impetuosa doglia entro rimase,
> Che volea tutta uscir con troppa fretta.
> Così veggiàn restar l' acqua nel vase,
> Che largo il ventre e la bocca abbia stretta;
> Che nel voltar che si fa in su la base,
> L' umor che vorria uscir, tanto s' affretta,
> E ne l' angusta via tanto s' intrica,
> Ch' a goccia a goccia fuore esce a fatica (XXIII, 113).
> His impetuous grief, set upon erupting all too quickly, remained within. A broad-bellied, narrow necked vase full of water has the same effect, as can be observed: when the vase is inverted, the liquid so surges to the neck that it blocks its own egress, and can scarcely do more than come out drop by drop (Waldman 279).

The narrative voice uses a simile taken from daily life and bases it on observation and experience. If it is true that the narrator creates an idyllic setting and uses language and images made of multiple layers of literary allusions, the description of the effects of Orlando's shattered love for Angelica on his body relies on the technical language of medicine and Neo-Platonism.[85] Orlando begins to show the typical symptoms of a man affected by love malady. The symptoms—sighs, tears, flying from humanity and seeking isolated places—are similar to those of melancholy :

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Celar si studia Orlando il duolo; e pure
Quel gli fa forza, e male asconder pòllo:
Per lacrime e suspir da bocca e d' occhi
Convien, voglia o non voglia, al fin che scocchi.
[.....]
Di pianger mai, mai di gridar non resta;
Né la notte né 'l dì si dà mai pace.
Fugge cittadi e borghi, e alla foresta
Sul terren duro al discoperto giace. (XXIII, 121, 5-8; 125, 1-4)

Orlando tried to conceal his grief but it so pressed him, he could not succeed: willy nilly the sighs and tears had to find a vent through his eyes and lips. [...] There was no checking his cries and tears; night and day he allowed himself no respite. Towns and villages he avoided, and lay out in the open on the hard forest-floor. (Waldman, 280-281)

In octaves 126-128 Orlando becomes the interpreter of his own symptoms, and adopts a language that is between medicine and philosophy. Before being overwhelmed by madness which plunges him into an animal-like silence that lasts almost until the end of the poem,[86] Orlando explains in a detailed way the phase that precedes the climax of his madness:

Queste non son più lacrime, che fuore
stillo dagli occhi con sì larga vena.
[.....]
Dal fuoco spinto ora il vitale umore

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Fugge per quella via ch' agli occhi mena;

Ed è quel che si versa, e trarrà insieme

E 'l dolore e la vita all' ore estreme.

Questi ch' indizio fan del mio tormento,

sospir non sono, né i sospir sono tali.

[.....]

Amor che m' arde il cor, fa questo vento,

Mentre dibatte intorno al fuoco l'ali. (XXIII, 125-126)

These are no longer tears that drop from my eyes so abundantly. Urged by fire, my vital humor is now flying through that path that leads to the eyes; this is what is spilling out, and will draw out my grief and my life at its last hour. // These sighs, which are a token of my anguish, are not sighs. Sighs are not like this: those cease sometimes; while I never feel that my chest exhales its grief to a lesser extent. Love that burns my heart makes this wind, while beating its wings around the fire. Love, by what miracle do you keep my heart ever burning but never consumed?

According to the medical tradition, love melancholy was believed to bring the blood to a boiling state, so that it produced vapors that lifted up to the brain. The burned fumes of the blood force out of the body all the liquids and the vital humor. The image of the winged love belongs to the emblematic tradition and, as such, is invoked in lyric poetry. Also, scholars have traced the source of Orlando's elaborate monologue to a Latin epigram entitled Ad Amorem, written by the sixteenth- century Neapolitan poet Michele

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Marullo.[87] However, in Ariosto's text Love is also the personification of the medical symptoms that accompany amor hereos. The traditional motive of the winged Love is "contaminated," put in contact with and transformed by the medical tradition of love melancholy.

After the monologue in stanzas 126-128 at the end of which Orlando announces the splitting of his spirit from the body, the paladin destroys the cave of Angelica and Medoro and wanders aimlessly for three days, without eating or drinking. Finally, with an act that repeats the beginning of the madness of Tristan and Yvain in the medieval chivalric tradition, Orlando tears away his armor, scatters it left and right in the forest and remains completely naked. He is turned into a homo selvaticus "beastly man," cut off from civilized society and living in the woods. When he declares Orlando out of language and culture, Ariosto puts in contact several literary traditions and exploits the polysemic dimension of the language of madness. Through the language of madness, various literary traditions such as epic, chivalric romance, lyric poetry, vernacular prose, medical tradition, vulgarization of Neo-Platonism enter in contact one with another.

Looney observes that in the third edition of Orlando Furioso (1532) Ariosto substitutes the verb contaminare with turbare, which means "to make turbid, cloudy," but also "to derange":

> E quella fonte, già si chiara e pura,
> Da cotanta ira fu poco sicura;
>
> Che rami e ceppi e tronchi e sassi e zolle
> Non cessò di gittar ne le bell' onde,

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> Fin che da sommo ad imo si turbolle
>
> Che non furo mai più chiare né monde (XXIII, 130, 1-2; 131, 1-4).
>
> The spring, too, which had been so clear and pure, was scarcely safer from wrath such as his; branches, stumps and boughs, stones and clods he kept hurling into the lovely waters until he so clouded them from surface to bottom that they were clear and pure never again (Waldman, 281).

As Orlando shatters forever the clear waters of this pastoral setting "from top to bottom," so Ariosto deranges and upsets divisions among genres and discourses.[88]

The term turbare is also a metaphor for the tension created among the different traditions and genres, which are not in a peaceful relationship with one another, but rather in a constant state of turmoil. Ariosto engenders a hyperbolic text in its allusions to other models and texts, which he is able to contain especially when the text seems most out of control, that is, in the description of Orlando's madness. In the stanzas following Orlando's scattering of the armor, the reduction of the paladin Orlando to a beast deprived of reason becomes total, even though the narrator alludes to tragic and lyric models to describe Orlando's "incredible deeds." According to the medical model, which is only one of the several layers of which Orlando's madness is made, the paladin's love malady reached the ultimate level of lupinositas or "wolf's madness," which is a form of melancholy listed in the medical treatises. At the same time, one can read Orlando's furor as the expression of the beastly type of love that Neo-Platonists put at the bottom of their ladder because it focuses on the possession of the body. Finally, the deflation of Orlando to a rustic savage man likens his heroic figure to the earth, the field and the products that peasants cultivate and that Orlando destroys. Orlando's speech to the shepherd in canto

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XXIX is structured as a business transaction between goods that are of enormous value for a peasant, that is, a horse and a mare. The figure of Orlando is likened to that of the peasant fool, which, a generation later, Giulio Cesare Croce elaborates in Bertoldo e Bertoldino.[89]

Conclusion.

In the Orlando Furioso, Ariosto constructs a complex notion of madness, which intersects the text at many different levels: language, genre, rhetoric, and narrative structure. The vulgarization of the medical and the Neo-Platonic discourse on love which occurred at the court in Ferrara probably contributed to the shaping of the notion of madness in Ariosto's text, even though they are not the only ones or the most important.[90]

When finally Orlando regains his wits, he pronounces the Latin words "solvite me," which allude to a bucolic poem, a Latin tragedy and a canonical text.[91] This multiple allusion implies an oscillation among the conciliatory solution of the bucolic genre, the heavy ideological implications of Hercules' awakening, and the Biblical resonance of the miracle. Yet, the vase with Orlando's wits recalls the traditional image of the doctor portrayed while examining the urine of his patients. Astolfo plays the role of the doctor toward the patient Orlando. Medical remedies were based on the principle of ingestion—for instance, a good diet—and expulsion—of liquid, blood, urine and feces. Doctors considered bloodletting part of the therapy to cure love melancholy and excessive desire.[92] The cure that Astolfo administers to Orlando in canto XXXIX is based on the principle of inhalation, which was common among the remedies used to cure the so-called hysterica passio. Strong smelling fumes were applied either to the genitals or the

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nostrils of the woman to reestablish the normal position of the womb within her body. In Orlando's case, however, the paladin inhales his own wits and the cure is immediately miraculous.

Ariosto plays with several languages and traditions. He employs an extensive range of devices to give life to a dialogic representation of Orlando's madness, which reflects indirectly on other characters who are affected by love madness to a lesser extent—Rodomonte, Bradamante, Fiordispina, Isabella and Olimpia. Ariosto's text and Orlando's madness have to be read by taking into consideration their many interpretations among which no one prevails but all contribute to create a multiple reading. Parody stands next to serious allusion and they are in dialogue one with the other.

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Notes

[1] Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando Furioso (Milan: Garzanti, 1974). Unless otherwise specified, all the translations are mine.

[2] Clare Carroll considers Seneca's Hercules Oetaeus (ll. 1620, 1639-41) as a model for Orlando's madness in canto XXIII, 134-135. See Clare Carroll, 159. For Petrarchan allusions see Carlo Ossola, "Dantismi metrici nel Furioso," in Cesare Segre, ed., Ludovico Ariosto. Lingua, stile e tradizione (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1974), and more recently Maria Cristina Cabani, Fra omaggio e parodia. Petrarca e petrarchismo nel "Furioso" (Pisa: Nistri Lischi, 1990).

[3] See section I.2.ii and I.3, for a more detailed discussion of the notion of amor hereos in relation to the medical tradition in the early modern period. See also Ciavolella's article "Eros and the Phantasms of Hereos" in Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, eds., Eros and Anteros: The Medical Tradition of Love in the Renaissance (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1992) 75-85 and the pages that Giorgio Agamben dedicates to the subject in his book Stanze. La parola e il fantasma nella cultura occidentale (Turin: Einaudi, 1977) 130-145.

[4] Teodoro Angelucci, Ars Medica ex Hippocratis Galenique thesauris potissimum deprompta, ac singulari quodam et perspicuo sententiarum ordine exposita, per Theodorum Angelutium Medicum. Cum indice rerum, et verborum copioso (The Art of Medicine derived chiefly from the repertories of Hippocrates and Galen and explained in a so to speak distinguished and clear arrangement by Teodoro Angelucci, medico. Con un copioso indice di soggetti e di parole) (Venice, 1588). Active in the second half of the sixteenth century in Venice, Teodoro Angelucci died in 1600. Besides the Ars medica, he wrote Sententia quod metaphysica sint eadem quae physica (1584), a polemical work against the Neo-Platonic philosopher Francesco Patrizi. He also translated Virgil's Aeneid. For biographical information, see Dictionaire des Sciences Médicales. Biographie Médicale. Tome I (Paris: Panckoucke, 1820) 258-259. Angelucci was a friend of Tomaso Garzoni and a wrote a capitolo in praise of Garzoni and L'hospedale. For further information regarding The friendship between Angelucci and Garzoni see chapter II.

[5] For an overview of the role of passions in the ancient and early modern period see the introductory chapter of Susan James's book Passion and Action. The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 1-25, and particularly 5-6.

[6] For a discussion of Orlando's furor as a form of inspired madness close to the Platonic μανία, see Enrico Musacchio, Amore, ragione, e follia. Una rilettura dell' *Orlando Furioso* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983) 160-167. For a reading of Orlando's madness as

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an expression of the Stoic dismissal of passions as errors see Carroll, 154-158. For the allusion to Dante, see Ossola.

[7] Vittorio Biotti reports that in the hospital of S. Maria Novella in Florence demented people were kept in vinculis in order to be treated. If this cure did not work they were sent to the prison of the Stinche. Vittorio Biotti, "Il folle nella società fiorentina e toscana del XVI e XVII sec. E la nascita di 'S. Dorotea de' Pazzarelli'," in Alberto de Bernardis, ed., Follia, psichiatria e società. Istituzioni manicomiali, scienza psichiatrica e classi sociali nell' Italia moderna e contemporanea (Milan: Angeli Ed., 1982) 180-181.

[8] Carroll, 14-15; 64. Sergio Zatti, 129.

[9] Daniel Javitch, "The Grafting of Virgilian Epic in Orlando Furioso," in Valeria Finucci, ed., Renaissance Transactions. Ariosto and Tasso (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1999) 71-72.

[10] Dennis Looney, 16-21.

[11] See Linda Hutcheon, 88.

[12] Thomas Greene, The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry (Yale UP, 1982) 38-40, for the definition of the technique of contaminatio. Later in the work, Greene analyzes Poliziano's Stanze per la Giostra as an exemplary illustration of early Renaissance "contaminatio". According to Greene's reading, Poliziano conflates different literary segments into a highly refined literary stanza. Greene argues that Poliziano is conscious of performing a healing process of unification among several literary fragments, thus trying to overcome the danger of fragmentation implied in locating the literary text in a historical context and in subjecting it to the passing of time. See Greene, 147-170. Greene also defines the Latin and vernacular poems of Petrarch as examples of this syncretic type of imitation. In particular, he finds in sonnet 3 of the Canzoniere, which narrates the poet's first vision of Laura, "elements from the Christian gospels, the *dolce stil nuovo*, and Ovid's *Amores*" (39).

[13] The term contaminatio does not appear in any of the manuals of rhetoric that I have been able to consult so far—Antonio Mancinelli's Carmen de floribus (1493), M. Bartolomeo Cavalcanti's Rhetorica (Ferrara, 1559) and Gabriele Zinani's Sommarii di varie retoriche greche, latine e volgari (Reggio, 1590). In La prima [e seconda parte] della copia delle parole... (Venice, 1562) Giovanni Marinelli defines the word contaminare as "stain." in literal and metaphorical sense. The term contaminatio does not appear either in Heinrich Lausberg's Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study, tr. M. T. Bliss, A. Jansen and D. E. (Orton, Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill, 1998).

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[14] See Lewis and Short Latin Dictionary 1907 and Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1968 for the etymology of contaminare. See also Ashmole's comment to Terence's comedies in Sidney G. Ashmole, ed., The Comedies of Terence (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1910).

[15] See Looney, notes to page 21 and ff. regarding the reference to Terence and Gian Biagio Conte, Letteratura latina. Manuale storico dalle origini alla fine dell' impero romano (Florence: Le Monnier, 1989 [1st ed. 1987]) 80, for a discussion of the term contaminare in reference to the two passages from Terence.

[16] "Nam quod rumores distulerunt malevoli, / multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit / paucas Latinas: id esse factum hic non negat / neque se pigere et deinde facturum autumat. / habet bonorum exemplum, quo exemplo sibi / licere id facere quod illi fecerunt putat" (16-21) ("Indeed, as for the rumors that the malignant [detractors] spread out, that he had combined many Greek plots while he made few in Latin, he does not deny that he had done so, he declares he is not ashamed and will do it again. He has the example of good writers, by whose example he believes that he is allowed to do what they had done [before him]").

[17] Lodovico Ariosto, I Suppositi (Bologna: Forni, 1976). This text is a photostatic reproduction of the 1525 prose edition of Ariosto's play printed in Venice by Zoppino and the 1551 verse edition printed in Ferrara by Giolito. Looney quotes Ariosto's I Suppositi to contextualize the term contaminatio within the early modern theoretical reflection on the subject.

[18] For a negative meaning of the term contaminare see also Poliziano's letter to Paolo Cortesi, quoted by Greene. Poliziano writes on the subject of imitation. He uses the verb contaminare to describe the passive aping of Cicero that contemporary writers in Latin perform in their writings: " [...] stylum quasi panem frustillatim mendicant, nec ex die solum vivunt, sed et in diem; tum nisi liber ille praesto sit, ex quo quid excerpant, colligere tria verba non possunt, sed haec ipsa quoque vel indocta iunctura vel barbaria inhonesta contaminant." ("[...] they beg fragments of style as if it were bread, and live for the day; and if they do not have in front of them a book from which they can extract something, they cannot put together three words. And even these words, they contaminate with an unrefined link or with shameful barbarity.") Poliziano, instead, relies on assimilation and integration of several models, which the writer needs to "digest" in order to create his own style and text.

[19] See Gian Biagio Conte, 584, under the entry contaminatio.

[20] See Maria Cristina Cabani, 178.

[21] Bakhtin describes "infection" between the language of the author and that of the characters in a text as a product of the phenomenon that he calls "hybridization." M.

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M. Bakhtin, "The Discourse of the Novel." The instances where Bakhtin's translators use the words "infected" and "infect" are at pp. 236, 290, 315 and 320. The chemical metaphor is used only once at p. 340.

[22] For the note on the meaning of the Russian "zarazhenie" and its function I acknowledge my debt to Caryl Emerson and Amy Mandelker, who graciously talked with me about this subject in conversations and correspondence.

[23] See also Gary Saul Morson, "Parody, History, and Metaparody," in Gary Saul Morson and Caryl Emerson, eds., Rethinking Bakhtin. Extensions and Challenges (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1989) 65.

[24] Carroll links explicitly Bakhthin's notion of parody as he expounds it in Rabelais and His World (tr. H. Iswolsky [Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984] 84-95.) to Ariosto's "dialogue with the past". She also underlines the "double-voicedness" of parody when she writes: "Bakhtin's definition of parody, developed in his study of Rabelais, conveys the ambivalent and paradoxical effects of this form. According to Bakhtin, parody is at once destructive and regenerative, subversive and conservative of the traditional forms which it both mocks and celebrates" (14).

[25] Lausberg, 369, § 824. 6 reports a passage from Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria 9.2.34 in which the author defines parody on the basis of the etymology of the word: "ut dicta autem quaedam, ita scripta quoque fingi solent [...] haec cum per se figura est, tum duplicatur, quotiens sicut in haec causa ad imitationem alterius scripturae componitur [...] incipit esse quodammodo παρωδή, quod nomen ductum a canticis ad aliorum similitudinem modulatis abusive etiam in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur" ("But we may introduce not only imaginary sayings, but imaginary writings as well [...] This is in itself a figure, and is doubly so whenever, as in the present case, it imitates a document produced by the opposing party. [...] In this case the figure borders on parody, a name drawn from songs sung in imitation of others, but employed by an abuse of language to designate imitation in verse or prose"). The *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, tr. H.E. Butler, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP) 393-395.

[26] See Hutcheon, 91-92.

[27] Hutcheon states that "in Bakhtin's terminology, parody can be centripetal—that is, a homogenizing, hierarchicizing influence. But it can also be a centrifugal, denormatizing one. And I think it is the paradox of its authorized transgression that is the root of this apparent contradiction. Parody is normative in its identification with the Other, but it is contesting in its Oedipal need to distinguish itself from the prior Other" (102).

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[28] For the notion of language as product and at the same time manifestation of a dialogue among multiple discourses and ideological forces operating through words see also M. Bal and N. Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," The Art Bulletin LXXIII (June 1991): 174-208, Vincent Crapanzano, "Translation: Truth or Metaphor," Res 32 (Autumn 1997): 45-51, and, by the same author, Hermes' Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire. On the Epistemolgy of Interpretation (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 12-14; 17-18.

[29] See Dilwyn Knox, Ironia. Medieval and Renaissance Ideas on Irony (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1989) 82, 145. In his manual of rhetoric Bartolomeo Cavalcanti states that "in qualunque maniera d' Ironia si debba intendere il contrario [...] L' ironia, adunque in più parole sarà, come se parlando d' uno scelerato, di cui s' havesse a far giudicio, dicessimo l' innocenza, et i santi costumi suoi lo fanno certamente degno d' essere assoluto" ("one must intend the opposite in any form of Irony [...] Thus irony will be expressed with several words, as if while talking about a wicked individual who needs to be judged we professed his innocence and that his holy habits make him certainly worthy of being absolved") (283). Cavalcanti relates irony to the notion of discrepanza (divergence) "dalla parola, e la pronunzia, et i gesti, e la persona, e la natura della cosa; la qual discrepanza ci mostra chiaramente, che la parole altro dinotano, che quello, che apparisce" ("from the word, the pronunciation, the gestures, the person and the nature of the thing. This discrepancy clearly shows us that words signify something else from that which appears") (284). Irony is associated not only to the written word but also and especially to the visual performance of the individual who uses irony in his speech. Irony seems to reside not only in the persuasiveness of what is said and to whom, but also in how it is said. For a detailed definition of the term see Lausberg, 266-268, §§ 582-585.

[30] Roman and Medieval rhetoric have connected irony to allegorical interpretation, since both irony and allegory imply a surface and a real, hidden meaning. In the Institutio Oratoria Quintilian writes: "Allegoria, quam inversionem interpretantur, aut aliud verbis, aliud sensu ostendit, aut etiam interim contrarium [...] In eo vero genere quo contraria ostenduntur ironia est: illusionem vocant..." ("Allegory, which they explain with the term of inversio, either shows one thing with words,and another thing in its sense, or even the contrary [...] In truth, in the type where contraries are shown, there is irony (called illusio)...) (8.6.44-54). In book I of the Etymologiae Isidore of Seville defines allegory as "alieniloquium," that is "other-speech," where "aliud ... sonat, et aliud intelligitur [...] Huius tropi plures sunt species, ex quibus eminent septem: ironia, antirphrasis, aenigma, charientismos, proemia, sarcasmos, astysmos. Ironia est sententia per pronuntiationem contrarium habens intellectum" (Etymologiae, I, 37. 22-23) ("it sounds one thing and it means another...There are many types of this trope, of which seven are distinctive: irony, antiphrasis, enigma, charientismos, paroemia, sarcasm, astysmos. Irony is a sentence that has a contrary meaning through its pronunciation"). Joseph A. Dane quotes, translates and discusses both passages in The Critical Mythology of Irony (Athens and London: The Univ. of Georgia Press, 1991) 48-55.

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[31] Orlando Furioso (The Frenzy of Orlando). A Romantic Epic by Ludovico Ariosto, 2 vols., tr. B. Reynolds (New York: Penguin, 1977).

[32] Virgil, Aeneid, II, 302-313.

[33] See section I.3 for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

[34] The story of Zerbino and Isabella immediately follows the story of Orlando's madness in canto XXIV. It intersects it again later in the same canto, when Zerbino fights Mandricardo for Orlando's armor and dies (XXIV, 56-85).

[35] See Corrado Bologna, La macchina del "Furioso". Lettura dell' "Orlando e delle "Satire" (Turin: Einaudi, 1998) 112-113.

[36] Marina Beer writes about the composite nature of Orlando's madness. See Marina Beer, 99-102.

[36] The term μηνις is only used to define gods' rage, but the warrior Achilles, a being whose existence is both divine and human, also has μηνις. I thank Prof. Carroll for bringing to my attention the meaning of the term during a graduate seminar on comparative epic.

[37] See Plato, Phaedrus 245b-245c3; 251a2-251b6; 265a5-25c3. In the Symposium, Plato provides Alcibiades with traits that characterize the portrait of the lover in the Phaedrus. See 212d3 and ff. See also Ruth Padel's discussion of madness in the ancient world in In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1992) and Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[38] Orazio Toscanella, Bellezze del Furioso di M. Lodovico Ariosto; scelte da Oratio Toscanella: cogli argomenti et allegorie dei canti: con l' Allegoria de i nomi propri principali dell' opera: et co i luochi communi dell' autore, per ordine di alfabeto, del medesimo, (Venice, 1574) (The Beauties of the *Furioso* by Sir Lodovico Ariosto, chosen by Orazio Toscanella, who provided the book with the subjects and the allegories of each canto, the allegory of the proper nouns of the main characters of the text and the common places of the author in alphabetical order).

[39] Virgil mentions Orestes twice in the Aeneid: III, 330-332, in relation to the killing of Pyrrhus and IV, 470473, in relation to Dido's madness.

[40] Pigna's commentary of Orlando Furioso was important in establishing Ariosto's poem as a canonical text within the epic tradition. On this subject, see Daniel Javitch, Proclaiming a Classic, 17-28. Pigna taught rhetoric at the University of Ferrara after Ariosto's death until his pupil Giraldi took his place. For the reference to Pigna's

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comparison between Orlando and Hercules see Walter Moretti, Ariosto narratore e la sua scuola (Bologna: Patron, 1993) 101. For a detailed analysis of the title of Orlando Furioso see Edoardo Saccone, "Il 'soggetto del Furioso," in Il "soggetto" del "Furioso" e altri saggi tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento (Naples: Liguori, 1973) 201-247. For an analysis of the connection between Orlando and the Stoic tradition, see Carroll,158-160.

[41] See Albert Russell Ascoli, Ariosto's Bitter Harmony. Crisis and Evasion in the Italian Renaissance (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987) 52-59, for a recent overview of the figure of Hercules in Renaissance Italian culture. Ascoli gives a list of passages of Orlando Furioso in which Ariosto refers to Ercole I and II d' Este (58, n.31). Lilio Gregorio Giraldi alludes to Ercole I d' Este at the beginning of the entry "Hercules" in his Historia de deis gentium (Ferrara, 1563). He also wrote a treatise entitled Vita Herculis. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479-1552) was active in Ferrara at the court of the D'Este family. He was the pupil of G.P. della Mirandola. In Orlando Furioso the allusions to Hercules are located before and after Orlando's madness. In canto IX, (56, 1-2) Olimpia defines Orlando's aspect as erculeo and she hopes that the paladin's physical features mirror his moral virtù. In the same canto, Ariosto alludes to Hercules' fight with the giant Anteus (IX, 77) son of Gea, who regains strength by touching the ground, when he describes the fight between Orlando and the king of Frisa. Ariosto uses the same image to describe Orlando's fight with the pagan Mandricardo for the sword Durindana, which occurs just before the scene of the paladin's madness. In canto XI, 41, the narrator describes Orlando's strength in defeating the sea monster as superior to anybody else's. He expresses the same concept with two almost identical sentences after Orlando goes mad (23, 53; 63). In canto XII, the narrator defines Orlando's deeds during his search for Angelica as "le fatiche e gli affanni che sostenne / nel gran disio, che a fine mai non venne" (66) ("the labors and tribulations that he endured in pursue of his great desire, which he never satisfied").

[42] In canto XXXV, 8-9 of Orlando Furioso St. John praises cardinal Ippolito and his virtues.

[43] For an extended list of chivalric models of Orlando's madness see Pio Rajna, Le fonti dell' *Orlando Furioso* (1876; Florence: Sansoni, 1975) 394-399. Beer mentions Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato as an antecedent for Orlando's madness in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso. For an analysis of Boiardo's poem in connection to Orlando Furioso, see Looney, and Peter V. Marinelli, Ariosto and Boiardo. The Origins of *Orlando Furioso* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1987). See also Jo Ann Cavallo, Charles Ross eds., Fortune and Romance: Boiardo in America (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1998). For a detailed investigation of Orlando Furioso and its connections with the narrative structures of the medieval chivalric romance, see Daniela Del Corno Branca, L' *Orlando Furioso* e il romanzo cavalleresco medievale (Florence: Olschki, 1973). For a more general inquiry on the links between Ariosto's text and the chivalric tradition in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, see Beer.

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[44] Musacchio defines Orlando's madness as a "parodic substitution of a rhetorical figure with a fact" (162). See also Beer, 97.

[45] For information about the etymology of the terms mentioned in the chapter, I use the following reference texts: for Classical Latin, Oxford Latin Dictionary; for Late Latin Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900-1980); for Italian, Salvatore Battaglia, Grande Dizionario della lingua italiana (Turin: UTET, 1978), Fernando Palazzi, Gianfranco Folena, Dizionario della lingua italiana (Turin: Loescher, 1992), Giacomo Devoto, Giancarlo Oli, Il dizionario della lingua italiana (Florence: le Monnier, 1990). I am aware that the lexica that I use to trace the history of the terms in question constitute a conservative force in the development of the word. The lexica often base their definitions on the interpretation that earlier dictionaries have given of the term. For a similar observation on the use of the lexicographical tradition in the definition of the term "irony," see Dane, 37-40.

[46] For a discussion of this passage in Tusculanae Disputationes in relation to Stoic philosophy and as the intertext of Orlando's madness in canto 23, 134, see Carroll, 155-156. See also Andrea di Tommaso, "Insania and Furor. A diagnostic Note on Orlando's Madness," in Romance Notes 14 (1973): 583-88.

[47] For a discussion of this passage in Tusculanae Disputationes in relation to Stoic philosophy and as the intertext of Orlando's madness in canto 23, 134, see Carroll, 155-156. See also Andrea di Tommaso, "Insania and Furor. A diagnostic Note on Orlando's Madness," in Romance Notes 14 (1973): 583-88.

[48] In sonnet CCXXXII of the Canzoniere Petrarch expresses a similar concept when he describes ira as "breve furore, e chi no 'l frena, / è furor lungo, che 'l suo possessore / spesso a vergogna, e talor mena a morte." ("short fury, and for those who do not restrain it, it becomes long fury, which leads its possessor to shameful acts and sometimes to death.")

[49] "In Ariosto's poetic microcosm furor becomes the extreme manifestation of insania, and the Ciceronian definition of furor as that affliction to which even the wise man is susceptible has the function of underscoring the universality of madness" (Di Tommaso, 585).

[50] The term furor/furore is affiliated with the Latin furens and with the adjective furioso, but also with the word furia/furiae, which, both in Latin and the vernacular, is a synonym of furor.

[51] For the history of the reception of Orlando Furioso as a modern epic written in imitation of the Aeneid, see Javitch, Proclaiming a Classic.

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[52] Virgil uses the term furia/furiis to define Dido's state after Aeneas' departure (4, 474), the madness of the Latin women stimulated by the goddess Aletto (7, 392), Cassandra's madness (10, 68), Turnus ready to turn his rage into the battle (12, 101) and, finally, Aeneas' feelings when he is to kill Turnus, "furiis accensus et ira" (12, 946). Furor and ira qualify Aeneas' emotions when he finds out that the Greeks have attacked Ilium and that the city is in flames (2, 316), while furor alone determines the martial fury that possesses the Trojan warriors after Aeneas incites them to fight in a desperate attempt to save Troy (2, 355) and Turnus' "insana cupido" to kill more Trojans (9, 760).

[53] See cantos XIV-XVII, passim. In octave 17 of canto XVII Ariosto departs from the topic of Paris' siege by saying that he has enough of "talking of wrath and singing of death," a clear allusion to the epic dimension of this episode and its characters.

[54] Il grande dizionario della lingua italiana defines furioso as a "state of uncontrollable mental alteration, caused by anger or a violent passion." Boccaccio in the Decameron and Boiardo in the Orlando innamorato use the term with this connotation. "Buffalmacco e Bruno, queste cose udendo, facevan vista di meravigliarsi forte e spesso affermavano quello che Calandrino diceva, e avevano sì gran voglia di ridere che quasi scoppiavano; ma vedendolo furioso levare per battere un'altra volta la moglie, levatiglisi allo 'ncontro il ritennero [...]." (Decameron, VIII, 3) ("As they listened to Calandrino's tale, Bruno and Buffalmacco feigned great astonishment, and nodded at regular intervals to confirm what he was saying, though it was all they could do to prevent from bursting out laughing. But when they saw him rising furiously to his feet to beat his wife a second time, they rushed forward to restrains him [...]." McWilliam, 604). In the introductory remarks of another story of the Decameron centered on jealousy, betrayal and death, the narrator of the day, Pampinea, states that ira "niuna altra cosa è che un movimento subito e inconsiderato, da sentita tristizia sospinto, il quale, ogni ragion cacciata e gli occhi della mente avendo di tenebre offuscati, in ferventissimo furore accende l'anima nostra" (IV, 3) ("For anger is nothing more than a sudden, thoughtless impulse, which, set in motion by a feeling of resentment, expels all reason, plunges the mind's eye into darkness, and sets our hearts ablaze" McWilliam, 354). In Orlando innamorato, the narrator says: "Così dicendo il principe animoso / stringe Fusberta, il suo tagliente brando, / e vien contra a Marfisa forioso" (I, 18, 25) ("While saying thus, the fiery prince holds Fusberta, his sharp sword, and goes toward Marfisa in fury") . Dante uses the term furioso to define Capaneo's eternal rage (Inferno, XIV, 66).

[55] See also Norandino's "amorosa rabbia" for Lucina, XVII, 38, 3.

[56] For a further investigation of the influence of the medical tradition and of the Neo-Platonism on the representation of love madness in Orlando Furioso, see sections I.2.ii and I.3 of this chapter and chapter III.

[57] Devoto-Oli.

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[58] One of the etymologies of the word matto is *mad(i)dus or madefactus, a term which was probably used to define a drunk person.

[59] The etymology of the terms pazzo and pazzia is uncertain: it seems that pazzo derives from the Classical Latin word patiens, and probably alluded to a person who is the object of pain.

[60] Alfredo Bonadeo argues that "l' origine e lo sviluppo della passione di Orlando [...] ha essenzialmente tutte le caratteristiche di quella trobadorica, stilnovistica e neoplatonica" (44) ("the origin and development of Orlando's passion [...] has all the characteristics of the trobadoric, stilnovistic and neo-platonic [tradition]"). See A. Bonadeo, "Note sulla pazzia d' Orlando," Forum Italicum 4 (1970): 39-57. For the relation between Ariosto and Neo-Platonism see Gennaro Savarese, Il *Furioso* e la cultura del Rinascimento (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984) 14-36; Emilio Bigi, "Vita e letteratura nella poesia giovanile dell' Ariosto," Giornale storico della letteratura italiana LXXXV (1968): 1-37; Peter V. Marinelli, 103-119; Musacchio, 160-169.

[61] John Arrizabalaga writes that "Ariosto ordered Platonist books from Aldo Manuzio," probably after having listened to one of Dall' Aquila's lectures. See John Arrizabalaga, John Henderson, and Roger French, The Great Pox. The French Disease in Renaissance Europe (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997), 66. See also Marinelli, 7-8; 110, and Bigi, 10-11, on the same subject. Cosimo De' Medici commissioned Marsilio Ficino to translate Plato in Latin. The Latin edition of Plato's work was published in 1484. Cosimo also asked Ficino to translate the corpus Hermeticum, which the philosopher completed in 1469. In 1469 Ficino wrote a commentary of Plato's Symposium and between 1469 and 1474 he composed Theologia Platonica, on the immortality of the soul. In 1489 he wrote De triplice vita, on magic, astrology and medicine. In 1492, two years before retiring to the country following the expulsion of the De' Medici family, Ficino translated and commented the work of Plotinus. See Charles Schmitt and Quentin Skinner, eds., A Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988). See also the introduction of Raymond Marcel to Marsilio Ficino, Commentaire sur le *Banquet* de Platon, ed. and tr. R. Marcel, (Paris: Budé, 1956) 12-131, and Paul Oskar Kristeller, Renaissance Thought. The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains (New York: Harper & Row, 1961) 48-69.

[62] See Marinelli, 8; 112-119. Pietro Bembo (1470-1529) wrote the dialogue Gli Asolani at the end of the fifteenth century and dedicated it to Lucrezia Borgia in 1505. Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529) composed Il libro del Cortegiano between 1514 and 1518 and published it only in 1528. For a list of treatises on the subject of love written between 1496 and 1591 see R. Marcel's introduction to Marsilio Ficino's Commentaire sur le *Banquet* de Platon, 121-122. Celio Calcagnini (1479-1541), a very famous polymath and close friend of Ariosto, wrote a dialogue entitled Equitatio, in which Ariosto and Mario Equicola are the two interlocutors. Born in Ferrara, Calcagnini studied

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under Niccolò Leoniceno and Battista Guarini. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi was one of Calcagnini's companions of studies. With the help of the cardinal Ippolito d' Este Calcagnini became the official historian of the D'Este court. He entered into contact with Erasmus, after he wrote De libero animi motu. For further information, see Dizionario biografico degli Italiani. Equicola (1470?-1525) composed the Libro de natura d' Amore in Latin in 1495, which his nephew translated in vernacular and which was published in Venice in 1525. Equicola dedicated his work to Isabella d' Este, at whose service he worked as secretary. For more information on Equicola's treatise, see Enrico Musacchio, "The Role of the Senses in Mario Equicola's Philosophy of Love," Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, eds., Eros and Anteros: The Medical Tradition of Love in the Renaissance (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto, 1992) 87-101. Gennaro Savarese, who provides the information about Calacagnini's dialogue, argues also for the influence of Marsilio Ficino's translation of Giamblicus' De mysteriis on Calcagnini's text. For information about the relationship between Ariosto and Calcagnini see Marinelli, 100-101. For an analysis of Calacagnini's dialogue see Savarese, 18-28.

[63] See Marcel, 119-121. For the idea of the love dialogue as catalogue, see Beer, 83.

[64] For the use of medical language in Ficino's commentary to the Symposium, see "Oratio sexta. Caput IX", passim. Ficino also develops the links between astrology and medicine in De triplice vita. For Ficino's eclectic use of astrology and medicine see Siraisi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990) 152.

[65] The passage that follows describes the effects of love madness produced by burned blood and black bile: "Qui sanguine adusto laborant, effusos nimium in risus prorumpunt, preter omnium consuetudinem se iactant, mirabilia de se pollicentur, cantu gestiunt exultantque tripudio. Qui bili premuntur atra merent perpetuo, ipsi sibi somnia fingunt, que vel presentia expavescant vel futura formident" (Oratio septima. Caput III, 245) ("Those who suffer of burned blood burst in unrestrained laughter too often, boast beyond the customary usage, promise wonders, gesticulate and jump exultingly when they sing. Those who are oppressed by black bile, lament all the time, forge for themselves dreams that make them dread the present or fear the future").

[66] Ciavolella argues that Plutarch has the merit of having invented the word "erotomania". See M. Ciavolella, "Eros and the Phantasms of Hereos," in Bleecher & Ciavolella, Eros and Anteros, 75.

[67] See Marina Beer, 99-102. Massimo Ciavolella was the first to point out the medical nature of the metaphors that describe Orlando's madness. See Massimo Ciavolella, "La licantropia d' Orlando", 311-323.

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[68] Beer argues that Orlando's madness is a "parodia della letteratura cortigiana, condotta sovrapponendo agli stereotipi di questa i modelli ricevuti dalla medicina medievale" (102) ("parody of courtly literature, which is achieved by adding to its stereotypes the models received by medieval medicine"). Beer states that Ariosto creates an "authentic parody" of obsolete models fixed in the chivalric tradition by putting in contact medical tradition and the literary models of the epic and the chivalric romance. However, Ariosto does not transform them completely in burlesque models (103).

[69] Javitch, Proclaiming a Classic, 44. Some of Ariosto's sixteenth-century defenders pushed further the innovative nature of Orlando Furioso by comparing the poem's effects on contemporary poetry and on Aristotelian poetics to the effects that Protestant Reformation had on the unity of the Catholic Church. Javitch reports that in Malatesta's Della nuova poesia, o vero della difesa del Furioso (1589), one of the interlocutors of the dialogue, Sperone Speroni, asserts that "l' Ariosto fusse dell' Ordine de' Riformatori: perché il Romanzo, col quale egli scrisse, non è altro in vero, che una riforma degli abusi dell' epico" (152) ("Ariosto belonged to the order of the reformers, because the romance which he wrote is nothing else, in truth, than a reform of the abuses of the epic genre").

[70] "[Ariosto] aveva fatto un apparato di descrittioni di bellezze, di lamenti, di narrationi, di varii successi, et di cose tali per ordine di Alfabeto, imitando questo e quel buon Poeta, che non ha lasciato Poeta, il quale letto non habbia; e cosí poi, secondo le occasioni, se ne ha servito et fatto onore" (Toscanella, Canto XXXVIII, stanza 42) ("[Ariosto] created an apparatus of descriptions of beauties, laments, stories, various occurrences and other things of this kind in alphabetical order, imitating this and that good poet, since he did not leave out anyone whom he did not read and then, according to the circumstances, used and paid homage to [this material]").

[71] Mario Santoro brings attention to canto XLVI of Orlando Furioso, where Ariosto, having safely reached the end of an arduous trip, namely the composition of the poem, imagines many patrons and friends welcoming him at the shore. Ariosto includes the names of Niccolò Leoniceno and Giovanni Manardi, two eminent representatives of Ferrara's flourishing school of medicine at the end of the fifteenth century (XLVI, 14, 7). Nicolò Leoniceno, 1428-1524) started teaching in Ferrara in 1464, where he remained until his death. He taught mathematics, Greek philosophy and medicine. He was one of the first scholars who made an effort in recovering, editing and translating into Latin eleven treatises by Galen. He counted among his students Giovanni Manardi and Antonio Musa Brasavola. He was also influential in the formation of Giovanni Battista da Monte. In 1497 he published the first scholarly treatise on syphilis. Giovanni Manardi or Manardo (1462-1536) studied at the university of Ferrara where he received his doctorate in arts and medicine in 1482. From 1493 to 1502 Manardi was the tutor of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola. Manardo succeeded Leoniceno as a professor of medicine in 1524 and became the personal physician of Alfonso I d' Este. Manardo's

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major medical work is Epistolae medicinales, which contains 103 letters based on case histories, professional discussions and personal observations. For further information on Leoniceno and Manardi, see Dictionary of Scientific Biography (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1974). See Mario Santoro, "L' Erbolato e la mercificazione della cultura," Bulzoni ed., Ricerche letterarie e bibliografiche in onore di Renzo Frattarolo (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986) 87-102, and particularly 88-89. For an overview of the figures listed in the first nineteen stanzas of canto XLVI as the ideal audience and addressee that Ariosto sought for his poem, see Marinelli, 99-102.

[72] Hippocrates was born in the island of Coos, son of the physician Heraclides, around 460 BCE, and was active during the Pelopennesian war. Very little else is known of his life, besides the fact that he is mentioned in Plato's Phaedrus, 270c and in Aristotle's Politica, 7, 4. 1326a14. The Corpus Hippocraticum is made of one hundred thirty texts, many of which written by other authors and after Hippocrates' death. Hippocrates gave importance to experience as well as to speculation and general principles. Galen was born in Pergamum around 130 CE. He traveled to Asia Minor, Greece and Alexandria and in 157 he became the physician who treated the gladiators in his hometown. He then spent a few years in Rome from which he returned to Pergamum in 166, probably to avoid an epidemic of plague that infested Italy during that period. Highly esteemed by the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wanted to bring the physician with him in his military expeditions, Galen preferred to become the personal physician of the prince Commodus, and later of Marcus Aurelius himself. He died around 200 CE. Galen edited his own work, listing one hundred fifty-three titles in five hundred and four volumes. Galen's extant work consists in one hundred fifty texts, plus a few Latin or Arabic translations of other works. Galen desired to be considered a physician and a philosopher at the same time. See Albin Lesky, Storia della letteratura greca, tr. F. Codino, 10th ed., 3 vols. (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1986) 624-631; 1086-1087 and Vivian Nutton, "Medicine in the Greek World, 800-50 BC," The Western Medical Tradition 800 BC to AD 1800, ed. I. Conrad et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 11-38. Ibn Sina, Abu 'Ali Al-Husayn Ibn 'Abdallah, also known as Avicenna, lived between 980 and 1037 in Persia. His bibliography includes almost 270 titles. He wrote about philosophy and science and medicine. Avicenna was one of the physicians who had the honor of the title "Galen of Islam." Al-Qanun (The Canon) had an enormous influence on Western medicine. It was translated in Latin at the end of the fifteenth century by Gerard of Cremona. For further biographic reference see Dictionary of Scientific Biography. See Nancy Siraisi, Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The *Canon* and medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987) for an analysis of the reception of Avicenna's work in the early modern period. Celio Rodigini, whose real name was Luigi Ricchieri, was born in Rovigo around 1450. He studied under Niccolò Leoniceno and traveled to France. He went back to Italy in 1481, where he stayed in different cities—Rovigo, Vicence, Reggio Emilia, Milan, where he taught Greek and Latin at the university of Milan. He also wrote Lectionum antiquorum libri xxx which was published

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for the first time in 1542. He died in 1525. For further information see Giuseppe Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura italiana.

[73] B. Gordonii Lilium medicinae Parisiis. Apud Vivantium Gualtherot, in vico D. Iacobi, Mense Aprili, Anno1542.

[74] For this information, see Ciavolella, Eros and Anteros, 75.

[75] For an overview of the notion of imagination since Aristotle to Marsilio Ficino and Giordano Bruno, see Robert Klein, "L' imagination comme vetement de l' âme chez Marsile Ficin et Giordano Bruno," A. Chastel ed., La forme et l' intelligible. Ecrits sur la Renaissance et l' art moderne. Articles et essais réunis et presentés par A. Chastel (Paris: Gallimard, 1970) 65-88. See also Giorgio Agamben, Stanze. La parola e il fantasma nella cultura occidentale (Turin: Einaudi, 1977) 131-145.

[76] Agamben observes that, according to the medieval medical tradition, "l' amore, che compare col nome amor hereos o amor heroycus, e la malinconia sono catalogati fra le malattie della mente in rubriche contigue e talora, come nello Speculum doctrinale di Vincenzo di Beuvais, figurano addirittura nella stessa rubrica" (21) ("love, which appears under the title of amor hereos or amor heroycus, and melancholy are catalogued in subsequent entries among the mental illnesses. Sometimes they are in the same entry, like in Vincenzo di Beuvais' Speculum doctrinale").

[77] Ciavollela quotes this passage from Plutarch's Amatorius in Beecher & Ciavolella, Eros and Anteros, 76.

[78] For an interpretation of Orlando's dream in relation to the mantic tradition, see Beer, Romanzi di cavalleria and Silvia Longhi, Orlando insonniato. Il sogno e la poesia cavalleresca (Milan: Angeli, 1990). Dreams are also a common feature in lyric poetry, as it results evident from reading Petrarch's Canzoniere.

[79] Carne-Ross was the first to point to the analogies between the two characters. See D.S. Carne-Ross, "The One and the Many: A Reading of the Orlando Furioso, Cantos 1 and 8." Arion 5 (Summer 1966): 195-234.

[80] See Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII, ll. 540-44; Dante, Inferno, 30, 16-21. See also the comment of Toscanella to this passage (96).

[81] Ciavolella, Eros and Anteros, 81.

[82] "Per più rispetti il paladino molto / si dimostrò di questo amor contento: / ch' oltre che 'l re non lasciarebbe asciolto / Bireno andar di tanto tradimento, / sarebbe anch' esso per tal mezzo tolto / di grave e di noioso impedimento, / quivi non per Olimpia, ma venuto / per dar, se v' era, alla sua donna aiuto" (XI, 76) ("The paladin had many reasons

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for showing his approval of the king's new love; for one thing, Hubert would not let Bireno escape punishment for his dastardly betrayal; for another, he himself would be relieved of a considerable embarrassment, for it was not to aid Olimpia that he had come, but to bring help to his own lady, if she were here" tr. G. Waldman, [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1974] 115).

[83] See Zatti, Il *Furioso*, 11-52 and Bologna, 112-113, where he likens Orlando's madness to the movement of writing.

[84] Antonio Benivieni can be quoted as a fifteenth-century example of this medical practice, which Girolamo Cardano, Leonardo Fioravanti and Giovanni Marinelli continue in the sixteenth century. For further information about Benivieni, Cardano, Fioravanti and Marinelli, see chapter II. See also Chiara Crisciani, "L'individuale nella medicina tra Medioevo e Umanesimo: i 'consilia,'" Umanesimo e medicina. Il problema dell' individuale, ed. Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996) 1-32.

[85] For a recent discussion of the use of multiple literary models in the episode of Orlando's madness, with a particular interest to the Petrarchan corpus, see Cabani, Fra omaggio e parodia. Cabani states that Orlando's madness "è lo snodo sul quale convergono numerose filiere tematiche e narrative, parallelamente su di lui fanno centro tradizioni variamente connotate. Tutto ciò provoca un accumulo di sensi e sovrasensi che, non a caso, fa del brano uno dei passi più rivisitati e riletti del Furioso" (166) ("is the pivot towards which various thematic and narrative threads converge and the center on which variously connotated traditions rest. All this produces an accumulation of meanings which makes the passage, not by chance, one of the most revisited and reread episodes of Furioso"). See also Millicent Marcus, "Angelica's Loveknots: The Poetics of Requited Desire in Orlando Furioso 19 and 23," Philological Quarterly 72 (1993): 33-48.

[86] Orlando utters only one complete speech throughout his madness. This occurs in canto XXX, 5-7, when he asks a shepherd for his horse in exchange of a dead mare. For an analysis of this passage, see Paolo Valesio, "The Language of Madness in the Renaissance," Yearbook of Italian Studies 1 (1971): 233-34. Orlando regains his wisdom—and speech—in canto XXXIX, thanks to Astolfo's trip to the moon where he finds the vase with Orlando's wits.

[87] Rajina, Le fonti, 402.

[88] Looney rightly observes that the verb "turbare" creates an effective image for the intratextual and intertextual dimension of the text: "Catching a glimpse of the rock Orlando shattered as it sinks into the muck suggests two ways of interpreting the Furioso and its literary sources: the poem generates meaning both horizontally and vertically...On the one hand, words, phrases, themes, characters, even entire episodes, accrue meaning as the narrative unfolds from its beginning toward its end in a

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horizontal—one might say, intratextual—movement. [...] On the other hand, the rock fragments also suggest an interpretive possibility that we may associate with a vertical movement: the reader fathoms the text for its literary precedents, its sources" (Looney, 22). Earlier in the book, Looney argues that Ariosto has borrowed the expression " da sommo ad imo" from Horace and that can be interpreted as a "gloss on intertextuality" (21).

[89] See Valesio, 233-34. Giulio Cesare Croce (1550-1609) was an author of popular literature who composed Le sottilissime astuzie di Bertoldo [...] (Milan, 1606) (The very sly shrewdness of Bertoldo [...]) derived from a dialogue circulating during the Middle Ages entitled Dialogus Salomonis and Marcolphi. For further information see Dizionario biografico degli italiani. For the relationship between the image of the savage man and the condition of the peasant in the Middle Ages, Marina Beer states that "esiste tutta una tradizione medievale in cui il selvaggio estremizza la condizione precaria del contadino, la sua dipendenza dall' andamento della pioggia e della siccità" (123) ("according to a medieval tradition the savage man radicalizes the precarious condition of the peasant and his dependence on the rain and drought").

[90] On the moon, St. John explains to Astolfo that Orlando's madness is a divine punishment for having deviated from the paladin's true task, which is to fight the pagans: " [...] Sappi che 'l vostro Orlando, perché torse / dal camin dritto le commesse insegne, / è punito da Dio, che più s'accende / contra chi egli ama più, quando s' offende" (XXXIV, 62, 5-8) ("Your Orlando has misappropriated the standards committed to him, and God is punishing him –for He is harshest against those He most loves, when they offend Him" [Waldman, 418]). St. John compares Orlando to the blasphemous Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babilonia, and condemns the paladin "incestuous" love for Angelica, a pagan woman.

[91] Carroll links Orlando's statement to the words of the Silenus in Virgil's Eclogue VI (l. 24), to the Chorus' statement after Hercules recovers from his madness in Seneca's Hercules Furens ("Solvite tantis animum mostris..." 1063) and to Jesus' words to Lazarus ("solvite eum") in John: 11:44 (Carroll, 210-211). See also Longhi, 37.

[92] See Ciavolella, Eros and Anteros, 81.

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Chapter II

Medicine and rhetoric: the popularization of medical language in Garzoni's L'hospedale de' pazzi incurabili.

II.1. L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili: from contaminatory dialogue to juxtaposition.

With Orlando Furioso Ariosto creates a text that is at the edge of several genres and cultural traditions. Epic, tragedy and lyric are in constant friction with the popular genre of the chivalric romance, the medical tradition on erotomania and the vulgarization of the Neo-Platonic notion of love madness. Such "contamination" of genres and traditions produces a hybrid text that does not belong to any of them but oscillates between "high" and "low" genres and languages through the use of the rhetorical strategy of parody.[1] Through parody, the medical discourse is inserted, along with others, in the texture of the narrative, enriching the dimension of plurality that is pervasively active in Ariosto's text at several levels.

Garzoni's L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili is built on a complex relationship between the commonplace tradition and the medical tradition on the one hand, and the official medical discourse on madness and the pseudo-medical, vulgarized talk about it on the other. Several genres are connected to the medical tradition and the commonplace rhetorical tradition. These genres include the medical treatise, which in the sixteenth century presented itself often in the form of a commentary upon classical texts in both Greek and Latin, and the encyclopedia. The figure of the commonplace is employed in both genres. If in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso I argue for a contaminatory combination among different genres, in Garzoni's L' hospedale I see juxtapositions. One juxtaposition

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is between the genre of the medical treatise and the tradition of commonplace; the other juxtaposition is within the medical tradition: between the "high" style of the medical treatise with its official language and the "low" style of the pseudo-medical oral discourse about medicine. While the official medical discourse is primarily in Latin, the pseudo-medical vulgarized talk is written in vernacular.[2]

In Garzoni's text the medical treatise, the encyclopedia and the commonplace interact with one another, while maintaining many of their pristine characteristics. The medical treatise and the encyclopedia adopt the same narrative or structural element, but for different functions and with different results. Such narrative sections are used in both the medical treatise and the encyclopedic tradition. These narrative sections are also a feature of the oral popular tradition. In the medical tradition the narrative section serves a double purpose. It emphasizes the doctor's activity by narrating eventful episodes related to his research and treatment of patients, while it links the contemporary treatise to the ancient texts, where the same "case-history" has been told, though in a different context.[3] Within the commonplace tradition the short narrative section is identified with the anecdote. It narrates an event that has a famous historical character as protagonist and helps the narrator strengthen his narration by referring to the tradition. However, unlike the short narrative section in the medical treatise, which has a somewhat temporal dimension, the anecdote is taken out of its historical context and becomes one of the forms in which the auctoritas of the Classics is expressed in later texts. Indeed, the short narrative section in the medical treatise has the ambiguous status of belonging at the same time to the historical dimension, represented by the autobiographical element, and the

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anecdotal one, since the narrator uses events already narrated by other doctors to support his own argument.[4]

The particular feature of juxtaposing several genres and of exploiting an element that is common to all of them but for different and autonomous purposes is probably related to the way Garzoni constructed his text. He gathered several portions from other texts with, or more often without, acknowledging the source, and he did not appear particularly interested in completely erasing the differences. Garzoni created a text that appeared at the threshold of different genres and languages, from which he was able to gather what was useful and interesting for his potential reader, but he did not create a dialogue among the different sources. Garzoni was not an isolated example of this type of appropriation through multiple forms of citation. Rather, he can be seen as part of a group of writers active in the second half of the sixteenth century, and an example of their relationship with the tradition.[5] In L' hospedale Garzoni juxtaposed the orthodox medical explanation of several kinds of madness with the popularized account of their causes. He exemplified the traditional categories of madness through a faithful quotation of the medical authority and with a long list of short stories or anecdotes, which belong to both the "high" genre of the commonplace and to the "low" genre of the popular stories transmitted orally. For instance, the "facezie" ("jests") of the Tuscan country priest Arlotto Mainardi (1396-1484) were first transmitted orally, then collected by an anonymous compiler and printed for the first time in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. They are short stories which all have as protagonist the "piovano" Arlotto and his earthy witticism.[6] Garzoni quotes Arlotto several times in L' hospedale and puts him among the "pazzi allegri, sollazzevoli, faceti ed amorevoli" (328) ("joyful, entertaining

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jesting and loving madmen"). Garzoni's text presents a juxtaposition between the "high" language that was exemplified in the official medical tradition of the treatises adopted in the Italian universities and the "low" vulgarized talk about medicine circulating among the "volgo" (262).

Garzoni's L' hospedale needs to be contextualized in relation to the various notions of madness contemporary to the one that Garzoni has developed in his text. I use the term "madness" rather than "mental illness" or "insanity" to stress the ambiguous dimension of this phenomenon in the early modern period. Sixteenth-century madness included disturbances that would now be termed with the name of mental illness, but would also reach the dimensions of social and moral aberration, of transgression and of any form of behavior that the collectivity would decree abnormal.[7] The various genres and discourses that Garzoni juxtaposes in L' hospedale need to be defined by comparing the models to which the text alludes with Garzoni's elaboration. An important part of this discussion consists in establishing the relationship between the narrator and the reader in the genres taken into consideration and in Garzoni's hybrid text. It is important to investigate the reasons why Garzoni juxtaposes rather than contaminates the different genres and discourses that he gathers in his text. Finally, it is also necessary to define Garzoni's notion of masculine gender in relation to the rationalistic nature of discourses and genres involved in the construction of masculine madness in L' hospedale.

II.2. The hospital and l' hospedale. Social and fictional institutions, definitions and cataloguing.

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In L' histoire de la folie à l' âge classique Foucault states that Garzoni's L'hospedale reflects the movement toward the seclusion of the deviant subject by representing madness as confined, literally and metaphorically, in a hospital. Alluding to Garzoni's text, Foucault argues that "[d]éjà, dans cet "Hôpital", l' *internement* fait suite à l'*embarquement*" (53).[8] According to Foucault, confinement characterized the practice of treating madness in the seventeenth century in many European countries. Foucault contends that Garzoni's fictional hospital appears to describe on a symbolic level what will happen in reality a century later in the rest of Europe. Madness was organized, catalogued and confined, away from the social and moral normality of the people outside.

In L' histoire de la folie Foucault conceives of the early modern period as a preparatory stage for the more drastic events that occur at the end of the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century, on a political but also and especially on an ideological level. Furthermore, Foucault focuses his attention almost exclusively on Northern Europe and particularly on France, and shows only a cursory interest in Southern Europe.[9] An analysis of the organization of early modern hospitals and religious and lay institutions and of the relationship existing between doctor and patient in Southern Europe may offer interesting information about these institutions and these categories of individuals that do not necessarily correspond with Foucault's vision. This analysis can also shed light on the way individuals perceived and constructed the notion of madness on the basis of moral and medical discourses. Several categories of individuals contributed to the shaping of the notion of madness in sixteenth-century Italy: the representatives of the medical tradition—the physicians, the university professors, but also the lower levels of the medical ladder, such as the surgeons, the barbers and the

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pharmacists—the patients, the members of religious orders and of confraternities who contributed to the foundation of the hospitals and, finally, the governmental institutions that presided over their functioning. This analysis also focuses on the relationship between the fictional hospital described in Garzoni's pseudo-medical treatise and the methods of treatment and seclusion of mad patients in Italian hospitals. By examining this relationship I do not intend to accept a binary opposition between literary text and socio-historical context. Rather, I would like to conceive of literature as one among several ways in which society represents reality to itself, along with the medical and religious discourses and that established by gender.[10] L' hospedale interacts with several aspects of the social and cultural organization of Italian hospitals, thus making this fictional institution and its narrative a further method to investigate how madness was constructed in sixteenth-century Italian society.

Many critics have focussed their attention on the connections between L' hospedale and the encyclopedic genre of the theatrum, while downplaying the elements that connect Garzoni's hospedale to the medical experience and discourse.[11] Foucault's mentioning of Garzoni's text is subordinated to the critic's rather Manichean vision of madness before and after the end of the seventeenth century, before and after the seclusion. Those who saw Garzoni's text as an ancestor of modern psychiatry have simplistically reduced Garzoni's text to a document for the history of psychiatry.[12] L' hospedale is much more and much less than a historical document for modern psychiatry. Although I do not exclude a priori the possibility of a relationship between pre-modern texts and psychoanalytic theory, this relationship must avoid at all costs a simple superimposition of the theoretical method onto the text. Instead, it needs to create a

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dialogue between the two systems of representation, keeping in mind that the dialogue can become also a friction and a dissonance and that each of the two systems is susceptible to be deeply changed in the process by the other.

During the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance the term "hospital" meant much more and, at the same time, much less than it means today. It was a refuge for the poor, the elderly people and travelers. John Henderson, who has conducted extensive research on Italian hospitals in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, concludes that

> the role of late-medieval hospitals should be set squarely within the context of other charitable institutions, including the soup kitchens of monasteries and convents, the social assurance schemes of religious fraternities (either independent or associated with a professional guild), and the more informal systems of parish, neighbourhood and family.[13]

Henderson argues that the "medicalization" of the Italian hospitals, or at least those located in Florence, was in part related to the city's early attempt to treat acute illnesses like the black plague (70). In sixteenth-century Italy, many hospitals were founded to cure specific illnesses such as the "morbus Gallicus," or to assist orphans, widows and the sick.[14] The specialization of some of the hospitals in Italy did not mean that these institutions no longer cured other diseases, but that patients were increasingly accepted in certain hospitals only if they fitted certain criteria, such as the ascertained "incurability" of their disease: "Patients admitted to those hospitals [...] had to fulfill four basic conditions: 1) they had to have an 'incurable' disease; 2) they had to be poor; 3) they had to provide written proof that they were spiritually in grace; 4) they had to show that they had been rejected and abandoned by all other types of hospitals."[15]

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Institutions dedicated exclusively to mad people were first established in Spain at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Before this date, in some cities like Paris, Lyon, London and Munich sections for mad people were to be found in larger institutions dedicated to the cure of the poor and the invalid.[16] In 1409, Father Juan Galiberto Jofré, of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, opened a hospital for mad people in Valencia.[17] In Italy there is evidence of the existence of shelters for mad patients since the second half of the fourteenth century in Bergamo (1352) and in Florence (1387). Later, in the sixteenth century, institutions were opened in Reggio Emilia (1536) and in Rome.[18] One should add that if the hospital was a common feature in sixteenth-century Italy, most disturbances and illnesses were still diagnosed and cured outside the institution. The patients accepted in the hospitals were very poor and could not afford to be diagnosed and cured at home. On the other hand, the figure of the "doctor" was still fluctuating between the image of the healer and that of the man of knowledge and experience who controlled the body of the patients, by taking care of it.[19] The dynamic relationship between patient and doctor was more similar to a contract stipulated between a client and a seller of a product, which implied equality more than hierarchy between the two parties.[20]

Often, religious orders and fraternities, whose members belonged to aristocratic families involved in the city government, created and financed the hospitals.[21] In thirteenth-century Bologna, religious fraternities of lay people founded several hospitals, which they ruled until the end of the eighteenth century. Two major hospitals which were run in this way were the Hospital of S. Maria della Vita and the Hospital of S. Maria della Morte.[22] The Catholic Church also worked in collaboration with independent lay

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initiatives.[23] The creation of magistrates who were involved in decisions concerning the treatment of the patients in the hospitals and who were connected to the central government of the city was a typical phenomenon of the sixteenth century.[24] The establishment of Italian hospitals was the combined effort of religious orders affiliated to or under the direct control of the Catholic Church, and of independent charitable lay institutions and local governments.[25] In some cases, local governments began to unify the smaller hospitals into a larger and centralized system by the end of the fifteenth century. Members of the local aristocracy who performed charitable acts emphasized their paternalistic attitude towards the lower strata of society, and considered their philanthropy towards the poor an implicit form of self-promotion.[26] Probably as an act of charity, some Spanish gentlemen, linked by friendship to Ignacio of Loyola, created the Roman hospital of S. Maria della Pietà in 1548.[27] In the same year the Confraternity of Santa Maria Della Pietà de' Pazzerelli was established, with the intent of taking care of "tutti quelli che sono poveri di cervello, e pazzi di qualsivoglia sesso, o natione" (235) ("all those who lack brain and who are mad, of any sex and country").[28] In 1561, Pope Pius IV issued the bull "Illius qui pro dominici" in which he recognized the Hospital of S. Maria della Pietà as an institution where "tutti li Matti derellitti et abandonati d' ogni altro aiuto, et sussidio, siano accettati, [...] per loro albergo deputato, nel quale Hospitale siano governati et alimentati di tutto quello gli sarà necessario, et medicati quando sarà bisogno."[29] ("all the mad individuals abandoned and deprived of nay other help and subsidy may be accepted, [...] as their assigned shelter: in this Hospital they may be governed and fed with everything necessary to them, and treated when need be.")

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As for the internal structure and organization of the hospitals, those in Florence had separate wards for men and women, who were looked after by female nurses, a magistra and a woman "skilled in surgery."[30] In the hospital of S. Maria della Pietà separate quarters for men and for women were created by renting a house for the female patients since 1561.[31] However, patients of the same sex were kept together.[32] In the hospital, the doctor lived within the building, along with his family.[33]

In the Hospedale de' Pazzi in Rome, a peculiar relationship between the patients and the guardians made the patient a source of economic gain and support for the institution and its organization. The members of the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Pietà de' Pazzerelli were responsible for the treatment of the patients and the maintenance of the hospital. To raise money, they offered the mad patients of the hospital as an entertaining spectacle to the Roman people in exchange for a monetary contribution. From 1575 on, mad patients were brought for a "passeggiata" ("stroll") along the streets of Rome, accompanied by two members of the fraternity and a guardian.[34] The exhibition of the mad patients was meant to create among the bystanders the spiritual incentive to meditate on the condition of madness and to perform a charitable activity. It also made the confraternity and its activity visible to the community.[35] One would speculate that it was an embryonic form of treatment not only for the patients, but also for the public. The public would perceive the sight of mad people as a moral spur to act within the "regola" and therefore to be socially acceptable, while contemplating what could happen to individuals who had lost themselves in an excess of passion and had also dangerously deviated towards the abnormal.

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Garzoni's description of a "hospital" for mad people might have reminded the contemporary reader of two categories of hospitals. The institutions established in Europe since the early fifteenth century constitute the first category. In some Italian cities, like Genoa, Bologna and Naples some of these institutions were called "ospedali degli incurabili" ("hospitals of the incurables").[36] In Naples, Maria Lorenza Longo established a "hospital of the incurables" around 1519. A manuscript document relative to this hospital lists various diseases that were perceived incurables and that were probably treated in the institution: "Li morbi per li quali si rendono cronici seu longhi et incurabili sono li sottoscritti: Convulsioni, Etisia, Hydropesia, Morbo gallico, Siatica, Arteride, Asma, Vicere cancrenose, Formicanti, Emicrania, Deliris, Melangonie; dalli quali portano non solo detrimento di vita ma anche spesa a chi li governa" (27) ("The illnesses which are called chronic or long and incurable are the following: convulsions, phtisis, dropsy, French disease, sciatica, arthritis, asthma, gangrenous and swarming intestines, migraine, delirium, melancholy. These ailments endanger one's life and also produce expenses for those who treat them"). The hospitals for individuals afflicted by the "French disease" were also called "hospitals of the incurables" and constitute the second category. These hospitals were founded throughout the Italian peninsula since the beginning of the sixteenth century. "Incurability" was a quality peculiar to the "French pox," a very well known disease in Italy, which was transmitted often through sexual intercourse, and therefore viewed as a sin sent by God. The "French disease" would mangle the body of the individual affected by it and was often said to kill the victim after a very painful period of illness. Since the disease was highly contagious, the patients needed to be secluded from the rest of the population.

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In the title of Garzoni's text the word incurabile appears to emphasize the impossibility of treatment for the patients secluded in the hospital.[37] One can suggest that Garzoni used the adjective incurabile to allude to the double meaning that the expression "ospedale degli incurabili" had in sixteenth-century Italy. Garzoni must have been at least aware of the connection between the term and the nature of the illnesses that it qualified. Garzoni's "hospital of the incurable fools" has in common with the many "hospitals of the incurables" the seclusion of its patients and the difficulty of their treatment. Secluding the "incurables" implied the idea that the normal people, the "sane," were protected from the threatening contagion by confining the ill, the "incurables." The hospital for those affected by "French pox" was still a place for charitable action, but it was also an institution for confinement. It is worth mentioning that both categories of "ospedali degli incurabili" received a much wider range of patients besides the mentally ill and those affected by "French pox."[38] One can conclude that in this period political and religious institutions were eager to establish in principle the notion of confinement for certain types of hospitals, in order to organize and limit social and moral disorder. However, the confinement was not always reinforced.

There are other elements in the organization of Garzoni's hospedale that might have reminded the reader of actual hospitals in Italy at that time. As I mentioned before, some doctors were allowed to live within the hospital along with their families. In fact, in the Hospital of S. Maria della Pietà the doctor was not an important figure: his interventions were limited to assigning purgatives and giving blood-lettings to the patients.[39] A "maestro della casa" ("master of the house") and a "guardiana di le mate" ("guard of the mad women") were assigned to keep the sections under control.[40] In

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Garzoni's fictional hospital a "Messer dell'ospedale" (358) controls the ward where the mad women are secluded. This figure appears to absolve the role of the guardian and lives in the hospital with his family and some servants (362-363). Even though Garzoni never explicitly mentions the figure of a professional physician, the narrative voice on the one hand and the "Messere" on the other play a role that is between that of the doctor and of the custodian. It can be inferred that the narrator is curing the audience—the sani—from becoming mad by showing them the ridiculous spectacle of the mad men and women. The "Messere," who appears only in the section dedicated to female patients, categorizes each mad woman through he help of an impresa that he has created—how appropriate such categorization is will become apparent at a further stage of this discussion.[41] In Garzoni's hospital the mad patients are not cured but have become involuntary actors of a performance that the narrator, in collaboration with the "Messere," has organized for a paying public: "Però chi vuole entrare a questi spassi pagherà almeno una da vinti per sua parte, perché questa non è comedia da due gazette, né la squarquerata triviale di Gradella, che si dona per le piazze per antipasto delle balle di Macaleppo" (253) ("Therefore, those who want to get in to have some fun will pay at least a coin of twenty centesimi, since this is not a comedy worth two pennies nor is Gradella's vulgar laughter that is offered throughout the squares as an introduction to the bowls of macaleppo's [of soap]").[42] Critics have already argued that the habit of the Hospedale de' Pazzi in Rome to walk its mad patients for the streets of Rome in exchange for an offer from the bystanders might have inspired Garzoni to consider the spectacle of mad patients as a paid performance.[43]

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To contain madness, Garzoni uses the hospital as a rhetorical device analogous to the encyclopedic notion of the theatrum mundi. Yet, Garzoni also uses the hospital as a performative space, a "theatre" where madness is offered as a spectacle to a paying audience, with the purpose of stressing "sanity" against the pervasive effects of alienation and transgression.

Paolo Cherchi has associated several of Garzoni's texts—L' hospedale, Il teatro de' vari e diversi cervelli mondani (1583), La Piazza universale di tutti i mestieri del mondo (1585) and La sinagoga degli ignoranti (1589)—to the genre of the theatrum which was very popular in sixteenth-century Europe.[44] Ann Blair observes two metaphorical meanings that the term theatrum assumed in the sixteenth century. Natural philosophers considered nature as a theatrum where humankind is viewed as the spectator who watches the world as on a stage "[w]here God displays his skill and providence as author and producer" (153).[45] Many intellectuals wrote encyclopedic works on various topics of vast breath, with the ambition of organizing their material in a systematic way. In their writings, theatrum stood for a vast work of encyclopedic nature (153). The second metaphor associates these forms of writing with the genre of the selva.[46] Actually, the theatrum is the opposite of the selva: while the latter shows the reader a chaotic world, completely disorganized and deprived of logical development,[47] the theatrum tries to organize the materia into a harmonic universe. The metaphor of the theater was also used to define the so-called theatri della memoria. They were memory treatises, which, relying on ancient rhetoric and Neo-Platonic and Hermetic doctrines, organized knowledge and therefore memory in spatial terms and imagery. Giulio Camillo's "theatre" is the most famous example of this genre.[48] From the inner theater of memory,

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created with the help of mnemonic and rhetorical devices, to the bookish theater of the encyclopedic knowledge and rhetoric, to the reflected vision of God's performance on the stage of the world, the metaphor of the theater implies a public that is able to transform words in images and to visualize and consequently see the concept as performed before its eyes.[49] Within this context, the structure of L' hospidale is an alternative space to that of the theater to organize knowledge and memory. In this space the narrator organizes the rhetorical space where he catalogues and selects his material.

Cherchi also argues that Garzoni's choice of madness as the main subject of the L' hospedale constitutes a "rewriting" of a theme very fashionable in that period. Cherchi mentions the names of Erasmus and Tomaso Campanella as examples of writers who cultivated a philosophical and spiritual interest in the subject of madness.[50] Within the operation of "rewriting," Garzoni re-oriented the paradoxical positive effects on humankind that other authors had attributed to madness in a direction hostile to the original message. In L' hospedale madness is always negative and is the opposite of reason.[51]

Garzoni was aware of the rhetorical tradition of the theatri, but he probably also knew the organization of the hospitals in Italy, the relationship between patient and illness and between patient and doctor. Here I argue that the medical discourse in L' hospedale is present in the language and the rhetoric of the text as well as in the few borrowings, filtered through the rhetorical tradition, taken from the social dimension of hospitals in sixteenth-century Italy. Garzoni's perception of the hospital and madness through his fictional construction affected his response to disease and more in general to aberration. Garzoni the priest did not consider madness explicitly from a religious point

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of view, since in L' hospedale there are not cases of madness caused by demonic possession.[52] Garzoni seemed more interested in exploring the medical and naturalistic dimension of madness, while still perceiving it from an exquisitely moralistic point of view.

II.3. Madness: excess of passion, wise foolishness, lack of reason or aberration?

Ariosto and Garzoni elaborated the notion of madness in very different ways. In Orlando Furioso, composed and printed for the first time at the beginning of the sixteenth century, all the characters are prone to madness; even the narrator is mad, since he compares himself to Orlando.[53] The characters wander, spatially and metaphorically, within the selva of madness. The entire text is structured around a dialectical notion of insanity that fluctuates between excess of passion and lack of reason.[54] In L' hospedale, printed at the end of the century, madness is represented as a monstrous or subhuman entity by which the narrator of the text is completely unaffected, while it transforms the subject affected into an animal. While in Ariosto's text madness and folly are usually comic and include the narrator, in Garzoni's L' hospedale madness often produces a satirical and moralistic laughter that distances the narrator and the public even further from the mad person. In the introductory discorso of Garzoni's text, entitled "della pazzia in universale" ("on universal madness"), the narrator defines madness as a monstrous entity, worse than the three-headed Geryon. The narrator tries to domesticate and dissect madness in order to distance himself and his audience from the perversion of reason exemplified by the patients in the hospital. However, what begins as a quasi medical definition of madness becomes a colorful list of similes in which the head of a mad

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person is compared to a "watermelon"—a fruit--and his behavior to that of a "mill hack"—an animal:

> [...] [la pazzia], la qual—d'aspetto più difforme che il serpente di Cadmo, più brutta che la Chimera, più velenosa che 'l dragone dell' Esperidi, più nociva che 'l mostro di Corebo, più terribile che 'l Minotauro di Teseo, più orribile di presenza che Gerione da tre teste—è discesa nel mondo per vomitare le fiamme del suo veleno, a guisa della belva alcida, a danno di questo e quell'altro, senza riguardo d'alcuno in particolare, è ben dovere ch'io la descriva in modo che col suo guardo solo metta spavento e terrore a qualunque persona [...] La quale, entrando dentro alla casa del cervello, offusca l' immaginativa, pervertisce la cogitazione, aliena la mente, corrompe la ragione, impedisce, che l'uomo non discerne, non elegge, non parla, non opera cosa che sia a proposito, ma co' fantasmi turbati, co' spiriti vacillanti, col senno infermo, col cervello agonizzante, con la testa vuota come un cucumero secco, s' aggira vanamente, a guisa d' un cavallaccio da pistrino, intorno a mille scempietà non meno compassionevoli che ridicolose. (255)
>
> [...] [madness], which, more misshapen in look than the serpent of Cadmus, uglier than the Chimera, more poisonous than the dragon of the Esperides, more harmful than the monster of Corebus, more terrible than the Minotaur of Theseus, ghastlier in her appearance than Geryon with three heads, has come down to the world to vomit the flames of its poison, like the beast killed by Hercules, to harm now this one now that one,

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> without any particular consideration for anyone, so that she would scare and terrify anyone only by looking at her [...] Entering into the house of the brain, [madness] clouds the imaginative faculty, perverts the thought, alienates the mind, corrupts the reason, does not allow the individual to discern, to choose, to say, to do anything right, [but] he wanders aimlessly, like a mill hack, around numberless stupidities, both worth pity and laughable, with the figments of his imagination troubled, his spirits wavering, his wits unstable, his brain in agony, his head empty like a dry watermelon.

The monsters to which the narrator compares madness make it a conflation of mythological images, and produce a hellish vision of its effects. For a short while the reader may think that this infernal succession of horrible beasts represents what madness can do inside one's mind. Indeed, some of these monstrous figures populate Dante's Inferno—Cadmus transformed into a serpent, the Minotaur, Geryon—which express sins that will be punished for eternity. However, the image of madness as produced from inside the individual and associated to moral sin is soon put in question by another statement of the narrator regarding madness' provenance. Madness comes from outside, like the mythological figure of Lyssa, who was sent by the gods to ravish people's minds. A few lines later, though, the narrator uses medical language to describe the effects of madness on the brain, the site where Galen thought reason was located. The comparison of the individual's head to a "dry watermelon" may allude to the effects that melancholy and love madness have on the individual.[55] The language is popular, for the "volgo." In the end, the mad person's condition is reduced to that of a mule, and that is where the

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narrative voice seems to introduce a word of pity for those affected by madness, even though it is immediately balanced with an expression of contempt—"mille scempietà non meno compassionevoli che ridicolose."

From the first pages of the text the reader is aware of a strong didactic component that is exemplified in the narrator's moralistic notion of madness as an aberration to be punished. The narrator also introduces medical language in his general definition of madness, which he locates in the brain. While in Ariosto the medical discourse is woven together with several other discourses to be one of the many voices within a plurality, Garzoni used the medical tradition as one of the primary ways to legitimize his definition. He conceived of madness not only as a pathological dimension of the individual or a sickness of the body and of the mind, but also a moral sin. Garzoni elaborated on the notion of madness as an excess of passion—one which marks many of the forms that madness takes in Orlando Furioso—so as to assimilate excess to moral aberration and sin.

Why was Garzoni interested in the subject of madness? He was not a doctor, nor did he intend to write a medical treatise, even though he dedicated his work to Bernardino Paterno, a friend of his and a physician and university professor.[56] He was a priest of the Lateran order, which was affiliated with the larger group of the Augustinians and was very active during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Northern Italy.[57] During his short life—he was born in 1549 and died in 1589—Garzoni produced eleven texts. All of them, except the commentary on the work of Hugh of St. Victor, who had belonged to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, were written in vernacular.[58] The main subject of several of these texts was the representation of deviance from the canons of "normality" that characterized the Catholic Reformation discourse—including rules of conduct,

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censorship, and ideological surveillance in sixteenth-century Italy.[59] Il Teatro dei vari e diversi cervelli mondani (1583) (The Theater of the various and disparate brains of the world), L' hospedale and La sinagoga degli ignoranti (1589) (The Synagogue of the ignorant people) dwell on the aberrant to define the normal. In these texts one can clearly detect the moral bias of the author toward what he considers aberrant and therefore punishable. In Il Theatro brain—"cervello"—is equated both to temperament, "temperamento" and "ingegno."[60] Garzoni creates several categories of cervelli—"cervellazzi," "cervelloni," "cervelluzzi," "cervellini"—which he judges and subdivides according to moral standards:

> ...io m'ho preso questo carico alle spalle di confondere i miseri e inavveduti cervelli, massimamente dell'età nostra, e porre uno specchio dinanzi agli occhi a questi particolarmente che presumono tanto, in cui mirando possano vedere la bruttezza ch' hanno in se stessi ed appresso agli altri, mentre si reputano i più belli e miracolosi cervelli del mondo, come sovente fanno. (48)
>
> I have taken this load on my shoulders of confounding the wretched and careless brains, especially those of our own age, in particular by putting a mirror before the eyes of those individuals who think too highly of themselves. In this way, they could look into [the mirror] and see the ugliness that they have in themselves and others, while they believe to be the most wonderful and miraculous brains of the world, as they often do.

According to Garzoni's categorization, cervelli and cervelloni are good, while cervellini, but especially cervellazzi are very bad and therefore to be censured. Ignorance in the

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Sinagoga and madness in L' hospedale are two other categories that Garzoni uses to lambaste what is deemed different. In the Sinagoga Garzoni establishes a congregazione of "cucchi, allocchi e grilli," ("simpletons, fouls and bird-brained") a place from where "la sapienza è esclusa, l'intelligenza sbandita, la verità è ripulsa, la virtù è relegata; e dove il vizio, che devrebbe stare in sentina, siede in poppa e regge e comanda con assoluto impero a tutte le potenze dell'anima" (382) ("wisdom is excluded, intelligence banished, truth is rejected, virtue is confined, and where vice, which should stay in the den, sits at the stern and reigns and orders with absolute authority over all the powers of the soul"). For Garzoni, ignorance is not only an intellectual lack but also and especially a moral sin, a vice that needs to be extirpated through erudition and scientia.[61] It is worth observing that the Catholic Church considered Jews, whose place of worship was the synagogue, ignorant, for not recognizing Jesus as the Messiah, thus attributing a moral and ideological meaning to the term "ignoranza." In L'hospedale madness is condemned and enclosed within the walls of an imaginary hospital, where the patients are shown to a titillated public, so that the latter will become "wiser" by observing in the former a complete lack of reason (254).

The texts mentioned above possess a performative dimension that is immediately evident in the titles—teatro, sinagoga. This dimension is further emphasized by the fact that in both L'hospedale and La Sinagoga the subject of the text is exemplified in front of a public who is the object of instruction and education. The space of L' hospedale is structured as a hospital and a theater at the same time. A hospital, it is divided in two sections according to gender, one for madmen and the other for madwomen. Masculine madness is subdivided into twenty-nine discorsi, each portraying a different type of

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mental alienation, to which corresponds a much shorter ragionamento for feminine madness, organized in twenty-nine descriptive vignettes. Many examples crowd each category of masculine madness, while women are secluded in the remotest part of the imaginary building, along an endless corridor which opens on twenty-nine cells. In each of them only one woman is confined. A prayer to a pagan divinity at the end of each discorso[62] alludes to the possibility of a recovery for the mad men, while mad women are not offered such an option.

Unlike Erasmus, Garzoni did not seek to praise madness as a positive dimension of the human condition, but wanted to define it as a deviation and an aberration to be secluded and condemned.[63] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, following Paul's interpretation of the figure of Christ as "fool," Erasmus of Rotterdam had investigated the image of "wise" madness or "foolish" wisdom and praised Christ's followers as "fools" in the Encomium moriae (1511). His text did not find a huge following in Italy, although the anonymous author of a text entitled La pazzia, commonly attributed to Vianesio Albergati, and Giuseppe Orologi, author of L' inganno, must have been influenced by Erasmus' text in the composition of their works.[64] In his works Garzoni did not integrate the combination of Neo-Platonism and Christian religion that was fundamental in the thought of Erasmus and Marsilio Ficino. Garzoni belonged to a more orthodox religious current, directly influenced by the decisions of the post-Tridentine Church and more willing to exalt wisdom, erudition and common sense than the notion of docta ignorantia and "good" madness launched by the more unorthodox elements of the Catholic world during the sixteenth century. Cherchi argues that Garzoni deviated from Erasmus' madness by relying on the medical tradition, which conformed more to the official

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doctrine of the Catholic Church.[65] Beatrice Collina sees L' hospedale and other works by Garzoni as a way to reply to the deviance of some subjects from within, by appropriating the "materia e [...] argomenti del nemico per ricondurli alla retta via cattolica." ("material and subjects of the enemy in order to bring them back to the right catholic path.") [66] The only time Garzoni seemed to accept a sort of Erasmian notion of madness is in the capitolo that he wrote in praise of madness, in reply to the capitolo composed by the doctor and friend Teodoro Angelucci.[67] Cherchi argues that Garzoni's capitolo is an exercise of style that imitates a very fashionable genre in the sixteenth century, namely, the paradoxical praise of objects and activities. Garzoni used the paradoxical praise again in a later work, Il mirabile cornucopia consolatorio.[68] While agreeing with Cherchi's argument, I tend to see the text of L' hospedale and the "paratext" of Garzoni's capitolo in praise of madness as a dialogue between two ways of looking at madness, one moralistic and analytical, the other metaphorical. There are connections and points of frictions between Garzoni's perception of madness within L' hospedale and between his text and other works that treat madness from a different perspective.

II.4. "But because I meane not to intreat of Folly, so much according to Physitians, as to the vulgar opinion [...]."[69] The "high" and the "low" of the medical tradition In Garzoni's L' hospedale.

Greek and Latin medical tradition stated that madness was a physical disease. It was caused either by external agencies, such as a blow to the head or a high fever, or internal causes, namely an imbalance of the four humors, which affected a specific part of the body—mostly the brain, but also the abdomen. The four humors or temperaments on

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which humoral theory is based are blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile.[70] A pathological imbalance of the four humors in the body would produce the disease. Humoral theory was still the basis for Renaissance medicine in general, and specifically for the diagnosis and treatment of mad people.[71] The physiological explanation of madness ran parallel to and sometimes was connected with its dimension as a passion, or better as an excess of passion as described by Galen and by his Renaissance followers.[72] Passions as excess and therefore madness arise from a temporary lack of reason, which is the quality that, located in the human brain, makes mankind superior to animals.

If the doctors conceived of madness mostly in material terms, the vulgus, to whom Garzoni appears to address his discourses in L' hospedale, seemed to consider mad any individual who would not behave in complete accordance with the codes of conduct established for the collectivity. Unfortunately, there are not many descriptions of mad people and mad behavior written by lay people, except for those filtered through the screen of a doctor's or a lawyer's narration.[73] For instance, the legal attitude towards mad individuals was to consider them incapable of exercising their reasoning faculties, so that both the legal institutions and the families could declare them incompetent.[74]

In L' hospedale Garzoni extensively employed contemporary medical authorities to define several types of madness—such as melancholy, frenzy, the Classical furor and the so called "wolf's madness"—all of them concentrated in the first part of the work and in the section concerned with masculine madness.[75] This may explain why such a hybrid text as L'hospedale can be usually found in medical libraries, next to Fernel's Pathologia[76] and Altomare's De medendis humani corporis,[77] both of which Garzoni used as medical sources in his text.

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Sixteenth-century medical technical literature was at the threshold between the textual tradition of the ancient models and the individual observation of contemporary medical practice. How did the medical literature manage to harmonize the new findings and observations with the tradition of commentary of the old texts? What function did the medical literature have within the medical community? Was it possible to detect the voice of the narrator beyond the limits imposed by the genres that composed sixteenth-century medical technical literature, and how?

Sixteenth-century medicine was looking forward and backward at the same time. By looking backward to ancient sources, Renaissance medicine recovered texts that were either believed to be lost or had been manipulated during the Middle Ages, and revived them within the new trend of discoveries in science and in medicine. Humanist discoveries of ancient medical texts, and the possibility of reading some of them in the original Greek allowed the medical community to 'rediscover' Hippocrates and Galen and to put in dialogue their system with the modern doctrine, which claimed to be based on observation and experientia, as in Vesalius' De fabrica.[78]

The authors of medical treatises inserted historiae or exempla in their texts and claimed that these narratives were drawn from experientia. Although it did not exclude completely the idea of experience, the Renaissance notion of experientia also included bookish information or just simple hearsay.[79] In Benivieni's, Cardano's, and Fioravanti's writings, the exempla refer in fact to personal experience. These writers introduce the exempla in their text partly to emphasize their validity as men of medicine to the eyes of their audience, or to underline the novelty of the event that they witnessed, and consequently of the cure that they devised.[80] Other writers, however, used exempla that

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their predecessors narrated in their treatises to support their theoretical statements concerning a specific illness.

In De locis affectis Galen narrated several stories about melancholic individuals seized by fear, which he probably witnessed and cured. Galen considered these short stories as part of his professional autobiography.[81] In later texts, these stories were transformed into a sententia to be cited as part of the textual tradition and no longer as a sample of direct observation. In this way the text cited partially transforms its original meaning in the new context. For instance, Galen narrates the case of a man who "is afraid that Atlas who supports the world will become tired and throw it away and he and all of us will be crushed and pushed together" (III, 9). In the section of his book dedicated to melancholy, Donato Altomare quotes Galen and several of his stories, among which that of Atlas: "Fuit alter timens ne Atlas, qui mundum sustinere dicitur, gravatus sub tanto onere, ipsum a se excuteret, atque ipse cum illo collideretur, ac nos quoque cum ipso periremus" (Caput VII) ("Another man feared that Atlas, who is said to sustain the universe, oppressed by such a burden, would shake off the universe from him, that the universe would be dashed into pieces with him and that we too would perish with it"). Garzoni refers the same story as if it belonged to Altomare, even though a few lines earlier in L' hospedale he correctly attributed another of his exempla to Galen, which could be also found in Altomare's text:

> Galeno, fra gli altri, nel terzo De locis affectis, testifica di uno, il quale, avendo pensiero d' esser diventato tutto testa, cedeva a qualunque persona l' incontrava, per non urtare in essa e farsi male. [...] E l' Altomare, nel trattato De medendis humani corporis malis, fa menzione di due altri, [...]

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> l'altro, temendo che Atlante, il quale è detto dai poeti sostenere il monte Olimpo, da così grave peso affaticato e lasso non lo gettasse lungi da sé, e cosí restasse egli sotto quel monte appresso, non poteva stare in piedi, e sempre s' andava a dietro rinculando, quasi che quella mole ognor li fosse sopra il capo (Discorso III, "De' pazzi maninconici e salvatici," 267). Among others, Galen in book III of De locis affectis tells of a man who, thinking that he had become all head, would make way to anyone who would run into him, for fear of hitting him and hurting himself. [...] Altomare, in the treatise De medendis humani corporis malis, mentions two other individuals. [...] the other, fearing that Atlas, who the poets say sustains mount Olympus, tired and exhausted by such a burden, would throw it far away from him and he would then remain underneath that mountain, could not stand up, and would always draw back, almost as if that mass were always above his head (Discourse III, "On the melancholic and svage madmen").

Garzoni adds a few colorful particulars to the original story of Galen, such as the fact that the patient, out of the fear caused by melancholy, could not stand up and would always walk backward, as if under the effect of the enormous weight of mount Olympus. Garzoni's additions can be considered as the intrusion of popular elements, probably morsels of oral tradition, into the "high," official language of medical tradition. Galen's historia is subject to multiple transformations. First, Altomare reduces it to a segment of the medical tradition by making it a citation from an ancient text. Then, Garzoni

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transforms it into a short narrative that sounds more like a popular story than the example of ancient medical experientia.

Narrative sections constituted a feature of the encyclopedic genre as well. The use of short narrative sections in both the medical and the encyclopedic genres appears to be related to the large presence of commonplaces and exempla in these texts. In Altomare's treatise and in Garzoni's text, as well as in the encyclopedias, the narrative section lost its temporal dimension, that is, its link with the context and its place in the linear succession of events, and became rough material for the elaboration of anecdotes. According to the definition given by the dictionary, the word "anecdote" means a "peculiar and new detail, gathered more for moralistic or recreational than historiographical purposes, to be added in margin to a famous figure or event."[82] Like the exemplum and the commonplace, the anecdote helps remember particulars related to a specific argument, that is a person or an event. Like the commonplace and the exemplum, the anecdote deprives the story of links to the original context, and emphasizes moral qualities, such as virtues and vices. In I marmi, (1552), Doni created a "concordance of historical facts" according to which the events are gathered together on the basis of their moral qualities, and not of their historical context.[83]

Garzoni put to practice Doni's method. He created anecdotes related to the subject of madness, by taking his material from Tixier's Officina, a repository of knowledge organized by subject. Jean Tixier de Ravisy, known also under the Latin name of Ravisius Textor, was born around 1470. He studied at the Collège de Navarre in Paris and became a professor of rhetoric. All his works, including the Officina, which was published for the first time around 1520, belonged to the commonplace and encyclopedic

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traditions and were largely adopted in schools in France, Germany and England. Tixier's texts had a great success, and were frequently reprinted until the end of the XVII century. The subjects treated in the Officina were gathered according to major topics, such as "the gods and their veneration," "the world," "time and its parts" and "man." Tixier claimed to "write the history" of the Ancients. In a dedicatory letter to his former teacher Jean de Bulvac, Tixier claimed that the disposition and organization of the material was his, while the content of the Officina derived totally from other sources, so much that it resembled to the "corneille d' Horace, toute revetue des plumes d' autrui."[84]

Even though Garzoni's use of anecdotes associates L' hospedale to the 'high" tradition of the medical treatises and of the encyclopedic and commonplace genres, many of the peculiar details present in each of the categories of madness derived from the popular tradition.[85] The following vignette, which is part of the discourse dedicated to the "melancholic and wild madmen," is an example of what can be called "popular anecdote": "[...] Bertazzuolo da Nuvolara, [...] essendo annuvolato nel cervello da senno, s' imaginò un dì d'esser fatto una pepona da Chioggia, e con la testa andava urtando nel naso di questo e nel naso di quell'altro, gridando che nessuno lo comprasse perché non era ancora il mese di agosto" (268) ("[...] Bertazzuolo da Nuvolara, [...] since his brain was clouded, imagined that he had become a watermelon from Chioggia, and he kept hitting now the nose of this person, now the nose of that other with his head, screaming that nobody could buy him since it was not yet the month of August"). Garzoni's comic vein is evident in the word game that he plays between the name of the protagonist of the anecdote, Nuvolara, and the "cloudiness" in his brain, which produces melancholy. The name, and not a physiological disturbance, seems to be the cause of this

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man's disturbance. The metaphorical meaning of Bertazzuolo's last name produces literal effects upon the man's brain.

The narrator of L' hospedale divides the stories derived from the medical and commonplace tradition from those that circulate "fra il volgo." This separation is repeated in each discorso. Even though the popular anecdotes were neither produced by medical notions nor derived from a collection of commonplaces, they were listed and catalogued in the same way. One can argue that in L' hospedale the encyclopedic, pseudo-scientific frame includes and organizes all the material, both the "high" and the "low." The division between "ancient" and "modern" stories is a common feature of Renaissance encyclopedias like Tixier's Officina. However, in Garzoni the separation between "ancient" stories, which are usually unacknowledged citations from other sources, and "modern" stories, which constitute the inheritance of the popular tradition, confirms the author's intent of juxtaposing, rather than blending, the several traditions and discourses that he manipulates in L' hospedale. If the difference between the short narrative sections present in the medical treatises and the encyclopedia is somehow blurred in Garzoni's elaboration of the two genres, the division between "high" stories and "low" stories remains sharp. In fact, sometimes Garzoni seems to degrade some of the ancient stories to the level of the volgo.

III.4.i. Topos, locus, and sententia: a definition of the commonplace tradition.

Medical treatises were only one element among several others within Renaissance medicine: popularized medicine, influence of literary and historical narratives and a hybrid language produced by the influx of the new discoveries in the scientific and

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medical fields contributed to create a multifaceted environment for the development of medicine.[86] Yet, medical treatises constituted a privileged way for the professional community to divulge individual interpretations of the medical tradition and publicize individual works among its members. Doctors and university professors adopted and produced medical treatises for an academic scene and had the function of commenting upon the ancient texts—Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna. The authors of the medical treatises used Latin to write their texts to address a professional audience of trained physicians, while individuals like Leonardo Fioravanti and Giovanni Marinelli wrote in vernacular for reasons mostly linked to their choice of audience, respectively the patients themselves and the women. Marinelli chose to write in Italian because he wanted to reach a female audience who would not be able to read his work in Latin: "[...] solo a coloro che avendone bisogno la leggeranno le dedico e dono. E queste il più so che saranno donne, e alcuni uomini amici" (Prologo, 47) ("[...] I dedicate and give [this text] only to those who will need it and thus read it. And these are mostly women and some male friends").[87]

Renaissance medical treatises, commonplaces books and encyclopedias employed topoi and loci, which were linked respectively to the Greek and Latin traditions, and the medieval sententiae.[88] An analysis of the interaction between medicine and rhetoric is necessary in order to understand the need that the medical tradition had to justify itself and its theories through the use of rhetorical devices in the medical treatise, such as the medieval quaestiones, and the debates among physicians.[89] The form of the quaestio was frequently used in philosophical writings, while the debate was a common feature of medieval and especially Renaissance commentaries.

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In the specific case of Garzoni's L' hospedale, the connection between the medical discourse and the rhetorical strategies used in the encyclopedic and commonplace traditions emphasizes the link that L' hospedale appears to have to both traditions. Such close association of genres and traditions also shows that Garzoni's method of cataloguing and classifying madness is similar to that used by the authors of medical texts, encyclopedias and commonplace books.

I use the term juxtaposition to define Garzoni's use of different discourses, genres and rhetorical devices.[90] With the choice of the word "juxtaposition" I intend to emphasize the composite and still separate nature of the multiple elements that make L' hospedale a hybrid in terms of language, genre, and rhetoric. The effect of this juxtaposition is not an amalgam of the various elements Garzoni takes from the medical treatise, the encyclopedia and the common place book, the written and the oral tradition. The text emphasizes the differences by distorting or accentuating some qualities pertaining to each element, while omitting others.

The terms exemplum, historia, topos, sententia and locus, which I have used to characterize specific elements that the medical and the encyclopedic tradition had in common, appear, although modified, in Garzoni's text as well. The study of these terms helps us understand how early modern Western culture conceived of the transmission of tradition, both written and oral, and how it stored such tradition in its memory. Aristotle adopted the words topos to define a dialectical "place," or rather a "heading," which he conceived in spatial rather than conceptual terms, where one could find arguments on any given subject.[91] Cicero transformed the topos, which he translated with the Latin term locus, into a casus to be declined according to the exigencies of the speaker in court. If

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for Aristotle the "topic" and its functioning belonged to the inventio. for Cicero the locus became a rhetorical device. Cicero deprived the loci of any link that they might have had with dialectics. as they had in Aristotle. and made them a purely mnemonic device. Quintilian pushed the transformation of the loci even further. by subordinating to the literary sphere what had become a rhetorical device and by erasing its links with the jurisdictional sphere.[92] In the Middle Ages. collections of sententiae. florilegia and exempla served the purpose of giving the student a store of information easily retrievable. Indeed. in the Etymologiae Isidore of Seville defined "topica" as the "disciplina inveniendorum argumentorum" (II. XXX).[93] During the Renaissance. schoolteachers were in the habit of giving morsels of the ancient texts to their students to be memorized.[94] Authors like Tixier de Ravisy and Erasmus. who compiled respectively the Officina and the Adages. presented the ancients "sources" in the form of citations or proverbs. Tixier organized his text according to a list of headings. an "index locorum." Also. the title chosen for Tixier's work reminds the reader of a storehouse. from which one could "take" the tools that he needed by using the list of headings posited at the beginning—or at the end—of the text.

In Garzoni's L' hospedale and in other texts written during this period. like Tixier's Officina and Zwiger's Theatrum humanae vitae.[95] the use of the commonplace implied a specific relation with tradition and with imitation. These texts. which were written during the sixteenth century. conveyed the knowledge transmitted to them by their predecessors. which served as a model for imitation through citation and classification. The debt that these writers had to their models did not necessarily imply either the acknowledgement of the author or of the text. In other words. the notion of

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authorship was still very fluctuating during the entire sixteenth century, and the citation was a method for appropriating what appeared not to belong any longer to the original model but to the new text.[96] Garzoni was not particularly interested in erasing completely the hiatus between his text and the quotations from other texts. However, he omitted to specify in L' hospedale that much of his encyclopedic erudition was a citation of Tixier's Officina.

II.4.ii. The commonplace tradition and the medical tradition.

Many representatives of the medical tradition were only partially interested in disseminating their texts with data deriving from direct, systematic observation.[97] In fact, they conceived of their texts as a way to justify their positions and to discuss their own take on the subject from a textual point of view. Such a bookish approach implied the use, for instance, of rhetorical devices like the aphorism.[98] The first meaning of aphorism is "delimitation," but it was also used to define a "pithy sentence [...] (like those of Hippocrates)."[99] In the introduction to the Adages, Erasmus connected proverbs with aphorisms, even though he was careful in drawing a distinction between the two forms of speech, as well between the proverb and other "near neighbours."[100]

Antonio Musa Brasavola, a famous doctor from Ferrara and disciple of the Galenist Leoniceno, wrote a treatise entitled Aphorismorum Hippocratis et Galeni commentaria et annotationes.[101] Brasavola's text can be taken as a good example of how many sixteenth-century medical treatises were structured. Divided in eight volumes, Brasavola' text commented upon each aphorism by Hippocrates by comparing them with what Galen wrote on the same subject in his works.[102] Brasavola did not limit himself to

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the simple comment, but gave an interpretation of both texts in relation and sometimes in opposition to the point of view of other colleagues.[103] What follows is Brasavola's comment to one of the aphorisms by Hippocrates, which Garzoni also quoted in L' hospedale:

> Aphorismus VI. Quicunque dolentes parte aliqua corporis, omnino dolorem non sentiunt, his mens aegrotat.
>
> Hippocrates igitur hoc theorema proposuit: quicunque in aliqua corporis parte dolorem habent, quem penitus non sentiunt, his mentem aegrotare certum est. [...] Galenus Hippocratem ita intelligit. Qui doloris causam in aliqua corporis parte habent, et dolorem, id est, eius causam non sentiunt, his mens aegrotat. [...] quia hic dolorem non sentit, propterea indicium est, huius mentem aegrotare. Unde nos secundum Galenum, Hippocratem hoc modo intelligimus. Quicunque dolentes aliqua parte corporis, id est, qui praesentem doloris causam in aliqua corporis parte habent, et dolorem non sentiunt qui ab illa causa proficisci solet [...] hi mentem aegram et occupatam habent.[104]
>
> Aphorism VI. The mind of those who suffer a pain in some part of their body and do not feel the pain at all is sick.
>
> Therefore, Hippocrates proposed this subject for investigation: it is certain that the mind of those who have a pain in some parts of their body and do not feel it is sick. [...] Galen interprets Hippocrates in the following way. The mind of those who have a cause of pain in some part of their bodies and do not feel the pain, that is its cause, is sick. [...] since the individual

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> does not feel pain, therefore it is sign that hid mind is sick. Thus, we interpret Hippocrates in this way, according Galen. Those who suffer in some parts of their bodies, that is, those who have an existing cause of pain in some part of their bodies and do not feel the pain that usually originates from such a cause [...] have their mind sick and darkened.

First, Brasavola quotes Hippocrates' aphorism ("if someone feels pain in some parts of the body and does not feel the pain at all, his mind is sick.") The aphorism was the form through which Hippocrates' teachings had been bequeathed to his successors. Consequently, his body of knowledge was more prone than that of Galen to be parceled and cited. By its structure, Hippocrates' text could be easily used as a pedagogical instrument and inserted in a medical treatise as a model to be imitated or commented upon. After having cited Hippocrates' aphorism, Brasavola introduces Galen's thought on the notion of pain—dolor—and further elaborates on Hippocrates' aphorism. Brasavola compares the two pillars of ancient medicine within his text and organizes the material so that the two ancient sources comment upon each other and show their differences to the reader. Brasavola addresses an audience of "experts" who know the works of both Hippocrates and Galen. He is not simply reporting what Hippocrates or Galen wrote about pain, but he gives his interpretation and through it expresses his own view on the subject. Brasavola's text is constituted as a series of commentaries, which the use of the citation structurally holds together. The text can be said to belong to the commonplace tradition not only because it is based on the use of citation, but also because it emphasizes the notion of medical tradition to which this text claims to belong and consequently stresses the importance of imitation and memory.

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Garzoni mentions Hippocrates' aphorism in the introductory discorso dedicated to universal madness ("Della pazzia in universale"), but with significant variations:[105]

> Ma il peggio che da lei nasca è questo: che fomentando tuttavia il dolore del cerebro, fa restare così stupido ed insensato l'uomo, che si tien più savio quando è più matto; e allora si stima un Mercurio, quando egli è un Coridone e un Menalca proprio fra la gente. E questo avviene perché, come dice Ippocrate ne' suoi Aforismi: "Quibus ita mens aegrotat ii dolorem non sentiunt." La pazzia adunque è quella che, disseminata e sparsa per tutte le province e paesi del mondo, travaglia i mortali di mala maniera e tien soggette al suo impero tirannico una infinità di popoli e di persone, essendo più che vero il detto dell' Ecclesiaste che "Stultorum infinitus est numerus" (255-256).
>
> But the worst that can derive from [madness] is this: by constantly inciting the pain in the brain, she makes men so stupid and senseless, that they believe they are wiser when they are more mad and then they consider themselves Mercury when they are Coridon and Menalca among people. This happens because, as Hippocrates says in his Aphorisms: "Those whose mind is so sick do not feel pain." Thus, madness, scattered and spread throughout all the provinces and countries of the world, badly torments human beings and holds innumerable populations and individuals subject to her tyrannical empire, since it is more than true what the Ecclesiaste says: "Infinite is the number of fools."

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Unlike Brasavola, Garzoni does not emphasize the notion of pain but that of madness. Therefore, he quotes Hippocrates' aphorism by slightly changing the order of the words, so that the accent is no longer on dolor and its correlated consequences within the body, but on aegra mens. Furthermore, in the passage that immediately precedes Hippocrates' quotation, Garzoni makes pain a consequence of the power of madness, so those individuals who believe themselves to be wise are in fact "matti." One cannot help but think that the Platonic notion of universal folly might have influenced Garzoni's introductory remarks about universal madness. According to this notion, madness affects everybody without distinction and without the individual's knowledge.[106]

In a highly unorthodox interpretation of the way pazzia affects the brain, Garzoni makes madness an abstract entity, a mythological monstrous creature that enters into the brain of the individual and makes him think that he is wise when he is not. As I have already observed in a previous section of this chapter, at the beginning of Garzoni's hospedale madness is represented as a monstrous or subhuman entity, which reduces the mad subject to an animal. Madness is first represented as horrific, and its effects on the individual terrifying. A few lines later, Garzoni conforms to the medical tradition of Galen and his followers by having madness located in the brain and affecting the "imaginative" and "cogitative" faculties, which traditionally were considered functions of the animal or rational soul.[107] However, Garzoni imperceptibly slides into a list of risible images in which the mad individual is assimilated to a fruit and an animal. He describes madness again in the following paragraph as an external entity, which provokes pain in the brain and deludes people into thinking that they are wise while they are out of their minds. Then, he quotes in a significantly modified way Hippocrates' aphorism, only to

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make a Biblical allusion a few words later. Garzoni concludes his presentation of universal madness by defining it as a phenomenon that puts everybody on the same level, regardless of social distinctions:

> Questa non perdona a regi, non porta rispetto a imperatori e non istima capitani, non tien conto di dotti, non fa stima di ricchi, non ha timor di nobili, non ha un risguardo alcuno che l'affreni, dando mazzate da orbo per dritto e per rovescio a tutto il seme de' mortali. (256)
>
> This [madness] does not spare kings, does not respect emperors and does not esteem captains, does not take in high consideration learned and wealthy men, does not fear the aristocrats and does not have any regard that could restrain her, since she gives hails of blows right and left to the entire seed of humankind.

From the very first pages of L' hospedale the narrator presents the reader with an interesting mixture of languages, genres and traditions. Medical terms and medical quotations are juxtaposed with mythological definitions, biblical allusions and popular definitions of madness and mad individuals. The idea of a universal madness is not original to Garzoni, but is related to Erasmus' vision of madness in Encomium moriae and used by other authors, such as Vianesio Albergati and Leonardo Fioravanti.[108]

However, an important difference exists between these authors and Garzoni, regarding their perception of madness and the values that they attach to it. Fioravanti, Albergati and especially Erasmus consider madness a positive element and exalt it as a form of connection among human beings. Erasmus integrates this notion of madness within a philosophical argument, while the author of La pazzia considers it as part of a

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literary convention dictated by the genre of the paradoxical praise.[109] Garzoni conceives of madness as the opposite of wisdom and a synonym of ignorance.[110] Garzoni warns that the effects of madness were to be feared and not welcomed, and that it could not be cured but only avoided, while those who were not affected by it had a chance to observe it and learn how to become "wiser."

By locating official medical language and popular language about madness one next to the other, while elaborating the genre and style of the paradoxical praise, Garzoni creates a text where the medical tradition is used as a foil against the more vulgarized language about it.

II.4.iii. Garzoni and the "official" medical tradition: Jean Fernel and Donato Antonio Altomare.

Garzoni uses and elaborates two major medical sources in his text, Fernel's Pathologia (Paris, 1554) and Altomare's De medendis humani corporis (Naples, 1560). The textual comparison of the two medical treatises with Garzoni's L' hospedale will serve as a commentary and interpretation of the connection between the medical tradition and the commonplace and encyclopedic tradition.

At the beginning of L'hospedale (discorsi I-VI) Garzoni extensively uses the medical authority of Jean Fernel and Donato Antonio Altomare in relation to the rhetorical tradition of commonplace and the medical tradition, which sees madness in materialistic terms. In the second book of his treatise Donato Antonio Altomare treats a variety of illnesses related to the brain and to other parts of the body, including frenzy ("de phrenetide"), melancholy ("de melancholia"), raging madness ("de furore, seu

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insania"), and the so called 'wolf's madness' ("de lupina insania").[111] Jean Fernel treated melancholy, frenzy and delirium under the entry "Principis facultatis symptomata. Caput II." In the second discorso, dedicated to the " pazzi frenetici e deliranti" ("frenzied and delirious madmen"), Garzoni uses Fernel's distinction between frenzy and delirium. However, immediately after this passage he states that he does not want to talk about madness "secondo i medici, quanto secondo il favellare del volgo" (262) ("according to the doctors' opinion, but rather in the way ordinary people talk"):

> Fanno però qualche differenza I medici tra frenesia e delirio, se ben tutta due sono con febre, perché il delirio, (come scrive Giovanni Fernelio Ambiano nel quinto libro delle sue opere medicinali) è cagionato qualche volta dalla bile, e qualche volta da un sangue sottile effuso per cerebro, o da altra causa; ma la frenesia sempre è causata da quella infiammazione del cerebro, che di sopra detta abbiamo. Oltra che il delirio, il più delle volte, è simptoma della febre o qualche male più grave; ma della frenesia non è simptoma, ma causa la febre, ed il delirio spesse volte avviene, ma la frenesia molto di raro, essendo anco più potente il male della frenesia che quello del delirio (261-262).
>
> However, the doctors differentiate between frenzy and delirium, even though both come with fever, because delirium (as J. Fernel writes in Book V of his medical work) is produced sometimes by the bile, some other times by thin blood spreading through the brain, or by another cause, but frenzy is always produced by the inflammation of the brain that we mentioned previously. Furthermore, many times delirium is the symptom

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for fever or for some more serious illness, while fever is not the symptom, but the cause of frenzy; delirium occurs oftentimes, while frenzy does happen very seldom, given also the fact that the illness of frenzy is more powerful than that of delirium.

Garzoni translates this passage almost literally from Fernel:

[Desipientia] cum febre, aut phrenitis est aut delirium. Distant autem quod simplex delirium fiat ex bile, aut ex tenui sanguine per cerebrum effuso, aut ex ventriculi, praecordiorum totiusve corporis calida expiratione, qualis in ardentissimarum febrium vigore suscitatur. Phrenitis semper ex proprio atque primario cerebri affectu, ut ex inflamatione, ex erysipelate. Distant etiam quod delirium plerumque febris aut morbi gravioris symptoma sit: phrenitis vero non symptoma, sed causa sit febris. Adhaec frequens admodum est delirium, phrenitis vero rarissima. (127)

[Madness] with fever is either frenzy or delirium. However, they are different since delirium alone is produced by the bile or by thin blood spreading through the brain, or by the warm exhalation of the stomach, the diaphragm or the entire body, such as it is aroused in the vigor of very strong fevers. Frenzy is always produced primarily by an affection of the brain, from inflammation, from erysipelas [type of illness that affects the cute]. They also differ in that delirium is most of the time the symptom of fever or a more serious illness, while frenzy is not the symptom, but the cause of the fever. Furthermore, delirium is extremely frequent, while frenzy is very rare.

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Garzoni substitutes the popularized version of frenzy for the orthodox medical explanation that Fernel provides in his treatise:

> Ma perché della pazzia non intendo io di parlare tanto secondo i medici quanto secondo il favellare del volgo, per questo ho posto I pazzi frenetici e deliranti in una specie, perché comunemente si suol dire, quando uno da in bus ed in bas in qualche cosa, che quel tale frenetica e delira, accadendo a quel tale quel che avviene a coloro che dal delirio o dalla frenesia propriamente oppressi sono (262).
>
> However, since I do not desire to talk about madness according to the doctors' opinion, but rather in the way ordinary people talk. For this reason I located frantic and delirious madmen in one type, because in general it is said that when a man flies off the handle on something, that individual is frantic and delirious, occurring to him what occurs to those who are specifically oppressed by delirium or frenzy.

The principle that informs the official medical discourse on madness in Fernel's treatise and the ordinary, vulgarized talk about it in Garzoni's text is the same. The rationalized and discursive quality of madness, which is present in both texts, requires explanation and analysis, either through medical quotations, the tradition of the commonplace or a list of anecdotes.

A few pages later, in the discourse dedicated to the "pazzi maninconici e salvatici" ("melancholic and savage madmen"), Garzoni quotes quite literally Fernel's definition of melancholy and explicitly attributes the citation to the author:[112]

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> ...Giovanni Fernelio Ambiano, nel trattato De partium morbis et symptomatibus [..] dice queste parole espresse: "Melacholia est mentis alienatio, qua laborantes, vel cogitant vel loquuntur vel efficiunt absurda, longeque a ratione et consilio abhorrentia, eaque omnia cum metu, ac maestitia"; i quali due segni ultimi sono posti da Ippocrate per segni sicuri ed indubitati d' umore maninconico. (266)
>
> In his treatise De partium morbis et symptomatibus Johannes Fernelius Ambianus explicitly says these words: "Melancholy is an alienation of one's mind, and those who suffer from it think, speak or do absurd things radically opposed to reason and prudence and [they perform] all this with fear and sorrow." Hippocrates considers the last two signs as sure and indubitable marks of melancholic mood.

While Garzoni seems to pay tribute to Fernel by quoting the doctor's text in the original Latin, he apparently overlooks the fact that the phrase immediately following the citation in the original language actually still belongs to Fernel's text, and had been translated in the vernacular.

The sections that precede and follow the citation from Fernel's treatise derive from the other major medical source of Garzoni, Altomare's De medendis humani corporis malis.[113] Garzoni starts the discourse in what might seem a very specialized and scientific tone, by claiming that many doctors, both ancient and modern, agree on the definition of melancholy and its symptoms.[114] Indeed, members of the medical and intellectual discipline discussed at length the subject of melancholy, and dedicated large sections or even entire works to such a topic.[115] According to Galenic theory, melancholy

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is among the "classical" diseases that affected the brain, along with the others that I have mentioned at the beginning of this section. It seems obvious, then, that the text strives to belong to this illustrious tradition, although, only a few pages before, the emphasis was on the popular tradition rather than the medical tradition as a way to understand the illnesses of the brain (262). The list of experts that Garzoni produces in support of his definition of melancholy, which he has attributed to Altomare, is in fact a slightly elaborated translation of Altomare's text:

> [...] la malinconia si [deve] nominare per una specie di delirio senza febbre, la qual non nasca altronde che dall'abbondanza dell'umore malinconico il quale abbia occupato la sede della mente, essendo cosa commune a tutti i maninconici l'avere il cervello male affetto, o per essenza o per consenso, come dice l'Altomare nella sua Arte medicinale, al capitolo settimo. E questa è sentenza di Galeno (nel terzo De' luoghi affetti) d' Ippocrate (nel sesto De' morbi vulgari) di Paulo medico (nel terzo libro al capitolo quartodecimo) [...] (266).
>
> [...] melancholy must be considered a sort of delirium without fever, which arises only from the abundance of the melancholic humor, which had occupied the site of the mind, since all the melancholic individuals share a badly affected brain, either in substance or by agreement, as Altomare says in chapter seven of his Medical Art. And this is [also] the opinion of Galen (in book three of On the affected parts) of Hippocrates (in book six of On the common illnesses) of Paulus the physician (in book three at chapter fourteen [...].

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In chapter VII of his treatise, Altomare wrote:

> Melancholia delirium quoddam est sine febre, ex melancholico humore maxime nascens, qui mentis sedem occupaverit [...] cunctis tamen melancholicis commune est, quod cerebrum eis afficiatur, sive per essentiam, sive per consensus: quod inspiciens Paulus in eius descriptione innuit cerebrum in ea affici. Hoc idem Galenus ante ipsum tertio de locis affectis, decretum reliquerat (74).
>
> Melancholy is a certain type of delirium without fever, deriving prevalently from the melancholic humor, which has occupied the site of the site of the mind [...] however, it is common to all melancholic individuals that their brain is affected either in substance or by agreement. In his investigation [of melancholy] Paulus observed that the brain is affected in a state of melancholy. Galenus has bequeathed this same doctrine before him [i.e. Paulus] in book three of De locis affectis.

After having expounded in more detail the effects of melancholic humors in the brain, Altomare mentions Hippocrates to support his statement (75). Garzoni translates Altomare's definition of melancholy, which derives from Galen, and quotes the names of the physicians who have agreed on this definition. They are Altomare himself, Galen, Paulus Aeginetas and Hippocrates, who, in the original, is mentioned much later and in reference to a specific aspect of the melancholic disease, the abundance of the "succus melancholicus" in the brain. Within the macro-quotation from Altomare, which starts at the beginning of the discourse, Garzoni introduces the quotation from Fernel. After this insertion from Fernel, Garzoni again uses Altomare's text in order to describe how

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melancholy affects the imagination but not the cogitatio or the memory in the human brain. Garzoni even promises to explore more attentively the different kinds of melancholy in the rest of his work: "[...] varie e diverse [sono] le specie di questa insania melancolica. Il che nel processo di quest'opera si potrà conoscere" (267) ("various and different are the kinds of this melancholic madness, which will be known in the development of this work"). In doing so, he makes the reader believe for a while that what was unfolding before his/her eyes is really a medical treatise. The historiae that follow, which exemplify the description and explanation of signs such as fear and sadness in melancholic people, were part of the medical tradition. However, in an apparently seamless combination of traditions, languages and discourses, Garzoni juxtaposes to the historiae derived from Galen's and Altomare's medical treatises another exemplum that he has collected from Jean Tixier de Ravisy's Officina.

After having reported the story of the man afraid of being buried under the weight of mount Olympus, Garzoni narrated another anecdote, the story of Pysandrus, which he has collected from Tixier's Officina:

> E Celio, nel capitolo vigesimosesto del nono libro, fra questi matti enumera un certo Pisandro, il quale, stimando d' esser morto, aveva timor grandissimo di non ricever lo scontro della sua anima, la quale teneva per nemica mortale del suo corpo, e di non bisognar far questione con quella, avendolo trattato sì malamente e diportandosi con lui sì infidamente nel lasciarlo (267-268).
>
> In chapter twenty six of book nine, Celius lists among these madmen a certain Pisander, who, believing he was dead, greatly feared to run into his

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> soul, which he considered the mortal enemy of his body, and that he should not discuss with it, since it treated him so badly and behaved towards him in such a treacherous way when it left him.

In fact, Tixier has provided only the rough material for Garzoni's longer elaboration: "Pisander eo vesaniae lapsus est, ut timeret nec ubi animae suae ocurreret, a qua visus est destitutus. Caelius cap. 26 lib. 9 (507)" ("Pisander fell in such a state of madness that he feared to run into his soul everywhere, because he thought that it had abandoned him"). The passage from Tixier's Officina belongs to the section dedicated to the "furious and insane people" ("de furiosis ac maniacis") and is itself a quotation. As usual, Garzoni does not declare the Officina as the source of his borrowing, but states exactly the "place" from which Tixier collected the story, as if he were quoting directly from the source. It is not the first time—he has already done it with the medical exempla—and it is not certainly the last time that Garzoni erases the middle source from which he plucked his material, as to give the impression that he knew firsthand the original source. In fact, Garzoni uses texts that were already collections of commonplaces and quotations in the medical and encyclopedic traditions. Tixier's Officina is a vast storehouse of information on the most disparate subjects. On the same level, even though in a very different field, Altomare's De medendis and Brasavola's Aphorismorum Hippocratis et Galeni commentaria et annotationes provide the reader with a collection of traditional arguments on a specific topic, such as melancholy or frenzy. Garzoni equates the medical and the commonplace tradition by emphasizing their citational and anecdotical dimension.

Next to the citation from Tixier's text, Garzoni assembles another type of story or anecdote: "Ma che cosa diremo di Nicoletto da Gattia il quale, patendo questa

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indisposizione del cerebro, s' imaginò un giorno d'esser diventato un stoppino da lucerna, e perciò voleva che ognuno gli soffiasse dinanzi e di dietro e dalle bande, temendo di non arder tanto che tutto si dileguasse?" (268) ("But what shall we say of Nicoletto da Gattia who, suffering this disposition of the brain, imagined that he had become a wick in an oil lamp and, for this reason, wanted everybody to blow on him before, behind and on the sides, fearing that if he burned too much he would vanish completely?") This story belongs to the popular tradition, like that of Bertazzuolo da Nuvolara. In the turn of a few lines three quoted texts succeeded one after the other, without showing any substantial difference among them.

The common feature of the historia or exemplum makes possible the matching of various genres and traditions in L' hospedale. However, far from being a sample of the individual's medical experience, as it originally was in Galen, the exemplum has become a commonplace to quote whenever it fits the topic and a risible anecdote. The moral emphasis put on the exemplarity of vices or virtues in the anecdote, typical of the commonplace tradition, does not disappear completely from the narration of L' hospedale. Rather, it becomes a judgement concerning the nature of the madmen that focuses essentially on the anomalous and therefore condemnable nature of their actions, and it is meant to produce laughter among the public. Garzoni also slightly elaborates the material that has been transmitted to him in a written form by vulgarizing it and adding a touch of local flavor.

The different traditions used in L'hospedale never mix together to create a whole out of separate elements. In fact, it is evident that these traditions remain distinct one from the other. However, in this particular section of L' hospedale the distinction is much

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more blurred than when the text itself stresses the contrast between the "high," written tradition and the popular oral tradition, as it happens in the discourse dedicated to the "frantic and delirious madmen" analyzed above. One can speculate that Garzoni desired to experiment with the form of the historia, which is a feature of the medical and encyclopedic traditions, but susceptible to bear different meanings in different genres that are structured in a similar way.

When Garzoni describes λυκανθροπία or insania lupina (268-269), he explains that, "as Altomare says," the wolf's madness is a specific type of melancholy. Garzoni follows Altomare's text rather faithfully when he defines lycanthropy and when he describes the effects that this illness has on the physical appearance of the sick subject and on his faculties.[116] However, Garzoni elaborates in an extravagant way a story of insania lupina that Altomare has narrated in his treatise. For Altomare, this story is meant to explain and exemplify to the reader how this type of madness modified the functioning of certain mental faculties:

> [...] Ille namque cum prius me novisset, quadam die cum detentus hoc malo esset per iter obviam mihi factus, ipse vero timens secessi, at ille modicum me aspiciens abiit, erat autem cum eo multitudo quaedam hominum, ipse quidem ferebat humeris crus integrum, ac tibiam defuncti cuiusdam; hic demum curatus liber evasit. Qui cum iterum mihi occurreret, nunquid timuissem interrogavit, cum in tali loco, dum insanus erat, eum offendissem: ex quibus constat memoriam in eo non fuisse oblaesam (97).

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> [...] Indeed, one day when this man possessed by such affliction and before having met me, had come towards me, I moved away in fear, while he, looking at me a little, went away. With him there was a crowd of people and he was carrying on his shoulders a whole leg and the shin of a dead man. This man, cured at last, became free [of the illness]. When he ran into me again, he asked me why I was afraid, since I had come upon him in that place, while he was mad: from these [signs] it is clear that his memory had not been damaged.

Garzoni transforms Altomare's "clinical" story into a macabre vignette:

> [...] la voce andò per le case degli ebrei, che costui aveva dissotterrato messer Simone (ché tale era il nome del giudeo morto); dove che si fece una sinagoga di risaia stupenda alla presenza loro, vedendo che il matto adoperava uno stinco d' una gamba per braciale, e quel corpaccio pien di basoffia per ballone, uscendo fuori per ogni botta la minestra, la qual diede da far due settimane a quella communità a cavarne il puzzo solamente, volendo anco molti ostinati più presto pagare un carlino per la pena che v'era a non nettar la piazza, che lambir quel profumo di messer Simone d'altro che di ciance. (269)
>
> [...] the rumor spread out throughout the neighborhood that this man had unburied Sir Simone (this was the name of the dead Jew). A chorus of wonderful laughter came up in their presence, when they saw that the mad man was using the shin-bone of a leg as a bracer and that fat body filled with disgusting liquid as a ball. Through every hit, the liquid poured out.

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> This liquid kept that community busy for two weeks in getting rid of its stench alone, and even many obstinate [Jews in their avarice] preferred to pay a "carlino" as penalty for not cleaning the square rather than to bathe the smell of Sir Simone in nothing else but chatter.

The stench of the liquid pouring from the corpse and the eccentric game that the mad man plays with parts of the mutilated body in the square of a small town are the most peculiar and original elements of Garzoni's narration. While in his story Altomare leaves the mad man unidentified, Garzoni calls him Fornaretto da Lugo. Fornaretto unearths the body of an octogenarian Jewish man affected by dropsy, and begins playing ball with it, spreading the stench of the liquid that was within the corpse all around the Jewish community. By the time the reader has paused for a second to free himself from the repulsion that he may feel from reading this macabre scene, he almost forgets that the story reported is supposed to be an exemplum of insania lupina. The reader's attention is seized by the image of a mangled, stinky corpse and by the emphasis given to the identity of the dead man and of the people who assisted to the odd scene. At the end of the story, Garzoni alludes to the infamous stereotype of Jewish greed. He also lets the reader infer the uncleanness of the Jews by pointing to the fact that it was only because the stench has been so unbearable that every Jew in the community decided to pay the penalty for cleaning the area from such a revolting smell. What started as an orthodox explanation of lupinositas progressed into an implicit attack of the Jewish community, made to look as odd as the madman.

It is worth noting that Garzoni, as representative of the Catholic Reformation, tended to condemn intellectual heresy, but also and especially religious unorthodoxy. The

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vision of the mad man and the reaction of the Jewish community to this event are the factors that produce the reader's cachinnus ("loud laughter").[117] Indeed, some of the categories that Garzoni invents are made of groups of individuals who are dangerous to a society where moderation and restriction must be respected. In the category of the "madmen stubborn like a mule" Garzoni locates individuals who have shown excessive obstinacy and went against the precepts of their superiors. Among the "ancient" examples Garzoni includes the name of Julian the Apostate, persecutor of the Christians, and of some tyrants famous for their cruelty. In the category of the "peeled madmen" Garzoni lists individuals or groups of people who betrayed their friends or superiors and were severely punished for their actions. The Huguenots appear in this category: they wanted to exterminate the royal house, but they were slaughtered instead during the night of St. Bartholomew in 1572. The version of the events occurred during the St. Bartholomew's massacre given in L' hospedale is clearly pro-Catholic, as it tries to portray the Huguenots as dangerous betrayers, thus justifying the massacre.

The discorso VI dedicated to the "forgetful or demented madmen" ("pazzi smemorati o dementi") is the last section that bears any visible connections with the official medical tradition. After, Garzoni's main source becomes Tixier's encyclopedic work. This discorso repeats the structure of the previous discourses. First, the narrator gives a "specialized" definition of what the reader can recognize as a "classical" illness—melancholy, frenzy, wolf's madness and dementia. The narrator can deceive the reader for a moment by making him believe that the text is a medical treatise. However, the quick juxtaposition by contiguity of the encyclopedic genre and of local, popular stories makes the reader realize that L' hospedale is a sort of encyclopedia of several genres,

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languages and traditions organized by the topic of madness and subdivided in twenty-nine different categories.[118]

At the beginning of the discorso Garzoni quotes Fernel's definition of amentia word for word. The anecdotes concerning the ancient times are all taken from the section of Tixier's Officina that reports cases of memory loss. Suddenly, the reader is asked to consider all the anecdotes as medical case histories:

> E di tutto questo è causa (come dicono i medici) l' intemperie del cerebro, che rende tutte le parti officiose piene di torpore, e per la segnizie (a ragionare co' vocaboli loro) inutili a tener a mente cosa alcuna (279-280).
>
> And, as the doctors say, the imbalance of the brain is the cause of all this, which makes all the parts that contribute in playing a specific function full of sluggishness and, because of segnitia (to use their terms), unable to keep anything in mind.

The passage is in fact a quotation from Fernel,[119] whom Garzoni decides not to acknowledge directly as the author of the sentence. Instead, he addresses the general category of "dottori" and emphasizes the difference between their language and the vulgarized language of the popular anecdotes, which he narrates just after this insertion, as the modern examples of dementia.

II.5. The encyclopedic and commonplace tradition. Tixier and Giraldi.

Garzoni's astonishing erudition was in fact the product of the consultation of a few works. Among them, the Officina was Garzoni's most important source, even though he rarely acknowledged it. He also extensively used the works of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi

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on pagan gods and on the life of Hercules to compose the prayers at the end of each discourse on masculine madness,[120] and several adagia of Erasmus. Minor borrowings derived from Gellius' Noctes Atticae and Atheneus' Deipnosophistai.

To give the reader an example of the relationship between Garzoni's L' hospedale and Tixier's Officina,[121] I will quote an extended passage from the discorso dedicated to the "pazzi smemorati e dementi" ("madmen without memory and demented") in L' hospedale:

> Celio fra gli altri, parlando di quelli che per accidente sono smemorati, dice che Messalla Corvino, oratore egregio del suo tempo, due anni avanti che morisse perse talmente la memoria che non era bastante di congiongere insieme quattro parole che stessero a proposito. Il medesimo scrive Bibaculo esser successo a Orbilio Beneventano, quello che da Marco Tullio è chiamato precettore plagoso verso i suoi scolari. Fra quelli che naturalmente furono infecondi di memoria, pon Cicerone l'esempio di Curione il maggiore, il quale n'ebbe talmente poca che qualche volta in giudicio si scordò di tutta la causa intera. E Seneca scrive di Calvisio Sabino, che dalla natura fu di sì fragile memoria dotato che ora si scordava il nome di Ulisse, ora quello di Priamo, ora quello di Achille, se ben gli aveva innanzi molto a mente. Di Corebo, figliuolo di Migdone frigio, è celebrata la stultizia memorabile intorno alla memoria da Luciano ed Eustazio, perché si sforzava di numerare le spessissime onde del mare benché per sua natura oltra il quinario numero annoverando non potesse passare. E Plinio, per ultimo esempio, recita che i Traci sono di così ottuso

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ingegno e di memoria sì labile che non possono enumerando eccedere il numero del quattro. E d'Attico, figliuolo di Erode sofista, narra per cosa verissima che fu di memoria così rozza che mai puoté tenere a mente manco i primi caratteri della lingua. (279)

Among others, Celius, talking of those who are forgetful by accident, says that Messalla Corvinus, excellent orator of his time, two years before his death lost so much of his memory that he was unable to put together four words that would fit and make perfect sense to the soul and the mind of the audience. Bibaculus writes that the same thing happened to Orbilio Beneventano, whom Marcus Tullius [Cicero] calls a sore preceptor towards his pupils. Among those who were naturally lacking memory, Cicero brings the example of Curio the Senior, who possessed so little of it that sometimes during a trial he forgot the entire case. And Seneca writes of Calvisius Sabinus, who had been gifted by nature of such a fragile memory that now he would forget the name of Ulysses, now that of Priamus, now that of Achilles, even though he had them before well in his mind. Lucian and Eustatius celebrate the memorable stupidity of Corebus, son of the Prhigian Migdon, concerning memory. [Corebus] tried to count the many waves of the sea, even though by nature he could not go over the number five. Finally, Plinius says that the Thracians' intelligence is so obtuse and their memory so unstable that they cannot count beyond the number four. And he narrates as a true fact that Atticus, son of the sophist

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> Herod, had such an uncouth memory that he could not even keep in mind the first elements or the first characters of the language.

Garzoni's extensive borrowing from the Officina is enclosed between two medical definitions, as if these anecdotes were meant to exemplify what the medical definition has stated before.

Garzoni creates a long list of vignettes out of two sections of Tixier's Officina. One is entitled "De oblivione et iis qui memoria exciderunt" ("On forgetfulness and those who where deprived of memory"), the other "De stultitia ac iis qui parum sapientes iudicati sunt" ("On folly and those who are judged insufficiently wise"). Since the two entries belong to two separate chapters,[122] it is probable that Garzoni consulted the index first and then decided that elements from both entries could fit the discorso he composed on dementia:

> Messala Corvinus morbi diritate sui nominis oblitus est. Autore Plinio. [...] Orbilius Beneventanus in extrema senectute excidit memoria. Unde Bibaculus. Orbilii ubinam est literarum oblivio? [...] Curio Pater tam nulla fuit memoria ut olim totam causam in iudicio sit oblitus. Teste Cicerone. [...] Seneca scribit Calvisium Sabinum tam fragili, aut nulla potius extitisse memoria, ut illi modo Ulyssis, modo Achillis, modo Priami nomen excideret, quos tamen noverat optime. [...] Atticus Herodis Sophistae filius, tanta fuit ingenii hebetudine, ut ne elementorum quidem nomina perdiscere, aut retinere unquam potuerit. [...] Thraces tam obtuso sunt ingenio, et adeo infoecunda memoria, ut quaternarium

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> numerando nequeant transcendere [...] Coroebi filii Mygdonis Phrygii stultitia vulgi fabulis celebrata est, qui maris undas numerare conabatur, quum non posset ultra quinque numerare. Autores Eustathius et Lucianus apud Erasmum. (734-35; 1182)
>
> Because of the cruelty of his illness, Messala Corvinus forgot his name. (Plinio). [...] Orbilius Beneventanus lost his memory in his old age. From Bibaculus. Where in the world, Orbilius, is the lost memory of literature? [...] Curio Pater's memorry was so scarce that once he forgot a whole lawasuit. Says Cicero. [...] Seneca writes that Calvisius Sabinus' memory was so unstable or, rather, inexistent, that one time he forgot the name of Ulysses, one time that of Achillis, one time that of Priamus, which he used to remember perfectly. [...] The intelligence of Atticus, son of the sophist Herod, was so weak that he could never learn or retain the names of the elements. [...] The Thracians' intelligence is so obtuse and their memory so unfruitful that they could not go over the number four while counting. [...] The foolishness of Coroebus, son of the Phrigian Mygdon has been celebrated in stories among the common people. He tried to count the waves of the sea, even though he could not count beyond five. (Eustathius and Lucianus, reported by Erasmus).

Garzoni uses Tixier's Officina just as an encyclopedia, which provides him with the instruments with which he constructs his own writing. By choosing the title Officina

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Tixier underlined the dimension of "laboratory" that the text meant to have for his readers, young students of grammar and rhetoric. All the short anecdotes of the Officina are structured more or less in the same way. The name of a historical figure is associated with a quality—a virtue or a flaw, a vice—and it is followed by the name of the author from whom the information has been taken. The style is dry and the narration is a gigantic sum of quotations the authority of which is attributed not to the text from which they are taken but to their author. The constant succession of quotations has the effect of engendering other quotations through aggregation. The brevity of the anecdotes allows also for the possibility of memorization.

Garzoni has a complex approach towards the sections that he borrows from Tixier. In many cases, he faithfully translates the entire passage from the Officina, as in the case of the story about the Thraces, Coroebus and Calvisius Sabinus. In other cases, Garzoni enriches the story with particulars that are absent from the original, as he does with the exempla taken from the medical treatises. The anecdote about Messalla Corvinus is an example of this type of elaboration.

A detailed comparative analysis of Garzoni's borrowings from Tixier's Officina goes beyond the scope of the present study. It needs to be pointed out, however, that almost every discorso contains a section taken from Tixier's text.[123] Garzoni extensively uses the index of Tixier's work and consults the headings or "places" that he thought were connected to a certain category of madness. Sometimes, Garzoni employs the same headings for more than one discorso. One heading "De furiosis ac maniacis" (titulus IIII, 504 ff.) is used for the discorso on the "melancholic and savage men" and for that on the "mischievous madmen" ("pazzi dispettosi o da tarocco"). Another heading, entitled "de

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gula, voracitate ac vinolentia" (titulus VII, 1260) is adopted for the discorso on the drunk madmen. Finally, the heading "De iis qui sibi variis modis mortem consciverunt aut se aliis occidendos commiserunt" (titulus IIII, 561) was adopted for the discorso on the desperate madmen and for that on the eccentric and extreme madmen.

Garzoni's method of consulting and elaborating Tixier's work emphasizes the encyclopedic nature of the Officina and the endless possibilities for elaborating the materia offered by such a text.[124] Garzoni transforms Tixier's arid list of names and qualities, which have been already detached from their historical and cultural context, into an explanatory catalogue of madness in its various forms and manifestations. It does not matter that many of the headings from Tixier's work do not bear any relation whatsoever to descriptions of insanity, folly or madness. The many portions of Tixier's encyclopedia waved in Garzoni's text serve multiple purposes: in the first six discorsi they are used with the function of medical anecdotes, in contiguity with the ones taken from the medical treatises of Galen, Altomare and Fernel. In the remaining discorsi, Tixier's short stories constituted an archaic classificatory organization of madness in ancient times, according to Garzoni's perspective.

Like Renaissance medical treatises and commentaries written on Hippocrates' and Galen's work, Renaissance encyclopedias had the task of organizing the knowledge that had been transmitted by the Ancients.[125] One could argue that the main difference between the two genres consisted in their readership. While the medical treatise served an elitist group of specialized people whose language remained for the longest time Latin, hybrid texts like Garzoni's L' hospedale, La Piazza universale di tutti i mestieri del mondo and Il Teatro dei vari e diversi cervelli mondani, but also collections of anecdotes

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like Tixier's Officina addressed a differentiated group of readers. Tixier's privileged readers were young students who were learning rhetoric. Garzoni's readers covered various categories, including women.[126] His texts, which he composed mostly in vernacular, made available material previously limited only to those who could read Latin to a much larger public, and so did other intellectuals of the period, in the wake and rise of a florid market of printed books in Italian.

If Tixier's Officina stores knowledge concerning gods, the animal world, the organization of time and its divisions, and finally humankind,[127] Giraldi's Historia de deis gentium is centered on the names which the ancients gave to their divinities. Giraldi's work is an example of Renaissance onomastics, and it is divided in headings dedicated to one god/goddess or groups of lesser divinities. The De vita Herculi is a short work dedicated to Hercules' life and his deeds.[128] Garzoni relies heavily on these two works to compose prayers to more or less known divinities at the end of each discorso. Each prayer to the god works like an ex-voto, which the narrator offered on behalf of the patients for their healing. If the narrator of L'hospedale concludes the treatment of each type of (masculine) madness by expounding the method of cure, as it would happen in any medical treatise,[129] his choice of therapy appears highly unorthodox. In general, medical treatises offered interventions that affected the body, such as a specific diet—the ingestion or drinking of substances considered capable of changing the balance among the humors—a purge, bloodletting or the application of unguents on sections of the body. In Garzoni's hospedale, instead, the cure is metaphorical and depends on the action of an external agency, namely a pagan divinity. Several medical treatises contain invocations to God as the artifex of the human body—and soul—and as creator of the universe within

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which medicine found a place as a science and an art to be developed by humankind. In Garzoni's text, the divinity is pagan or it is invented, and the narrator selected it to fit the category of madness that has been discussed in the discorso. Sometimes the connection is plainly evident, as in the case of the god Abstemio for the drunk madmen or of the god Riso for the ridiculous madmen. Other times, Garzoni needs to explain the association in the prayer, and specifically through the gift that is offered to the divinity if the patients were cured from their madness. It is worth noticing that Garzoni locates the image of the god at the entrance of each cell, above the door, but he does not describe it, as he does with the imprese in the section dedicated to the mad women.

What follows is the prayer in honor of Mars, patron of the "furious, bestial madmen to be put in shackles":

> A te maggior figliuolo di Giove e di Giunone, ora Marte ora Mamerte ora Mavorte detto, perché volgi sossopra le cose magne; ora Marte Ultore ora iddio Gradevo; germano caro della dea Bellona, vengo per farti una raccomandazione per questi pazzi furibondi e bestiali...acciò, retraendo i tuoi feroci influssi del capo di quelli, si lascino legar come agneletti, a quella guisa che fosti legato tu insieme con Venere da la rete di Vulcano. Se, adunque, oltra il canto delli sacerdoti salii brammi d'udire una piva sordina dentro al tuo tempio, ed oltra il lupo ed il pico che anticamente ti furo sacrati desideri di vedere sacrata a te la zampa della gran bestia, rendi qualche speranza di salute a quei miseri che non mancheranno d' offerir quel tanto che piamente fin' ora ti viene votato. (337-338)

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> To you, the most important son of Jupiter and Juno, called now Mars, now Mamers or Mavortis, because you turn upside-down the great things; now Mars Ultor now Gradevus god. Dear brother of the goddess Bellona, I come to recommend to you these furious and bestial madmen, whose foolish moods are constantly growing, so that by diverting your ferocious influxes from their heads, they will allow themselves to be tied up like lambs, the way you were tied up with Venus in Vulcanus' net. Then, if besides the song of the Salian priests you desire to listen to the soft sound of a zampogna in your temple, and if, besides the wolf and the woodpecker that were dedicated to you, you desire to see the leg of the great best consecrated to you, give, please, some hope of salvation to those wretched men, who will certainly offer that which has been piously dedicated to you.

In this prayer the narrator had become a sort of priest, a thaumaturge who claims the position of mediator between patient and divinity. The tone is overall ironic, and the patients are more and more assimilated to the animals that are proclaimed the gift for the god's benevolence. As with Tixier, Garzoni uses Giraldi's text as a sort of dictionary. In Giraldi's work Garzoni does not value the author or even the text, but its content, the textual fragment that holds old and new elements together.

Conclusion.

Walter Ong speculates that the commonplace constituted a residue of the oral tradition. Writers used loci to store information in their memory, as the poets and the

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bards of a predominantly oral/aural culture had a "stock of material to keep [them] going."[130] Ong claims that in the Renaissance the introduction of print constituted a drastic change in the way individuals and entire collectivities conceived of and kept their knowledge and consequently the way they perceived memory and its function. According to Ong, the possibilities of reproducing the printed book in the same identical format as many times as one wanted, shifted the emphasis from the oral to the visual dimension. As it usually happens in any epoch of transition, however, one dimension did not completely replace the other. This is the reason why the printed book maintained for a while traces of aural fruition. The front page of some texts, for instance, offered a division of the words that would look awkward to a reader used to the printed book, but would sound very natural to those who used the voice, rather than the eyes, to read the text. Also, in the sixteenth century the tables of headings followed the alphabetical order based not on a visual acquisition of the alphabet, but on the sound of the letter pronounced aloud.[131] One could see the coexistence of the oral and the visual dimension also in Garzoni's L' hospedale. A juxtaposition exists between an apparently orderly catalogue of several kinds of madness according to medical and rhetorical coordinates and the metaphorical, performative use of the impresa in the section dedicated to feminine madness. I consider it necessary to point out that in Garzoni's text the allusion to and description of the images in the imprese creates a friction between the identification of word and concept that the printed text implies and its performative and visual dimension. This friction causes a slowing down in the reception of the text and the interruption of the immediate identification of notion and word.[132]

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In Compagnon's words, the citation in the encyclopedic and the medical tradition could be seen as having an emblematic function within the new text in which the writer re-inscribes it. Indeed, the citation is an alien element, within a coherent texture, with temporal and spatial coordinates that are different from the rest of the text. However, the surrounding text will soon transform the original coordinates.[133]

The various traditions brought to play in Garzoni's text do not create a chemical fusion in which they lose their separate entity and become something new. Rather, they are like substances that are mixed together, but keep their separate entities, like water with oil. The analysis of the sections in which Garzoni makes a massive use of the official medical tradition and their interaction with the commonplace and the popular tradition shows that the intent to categorize, make lists, cite and exemplify is a feature of Garzoni's text and of various genres and discourses. L' hospedale as well as the sources that Garzoni manipulates in this text offer the reader a view of the way knowledge was stored and transmitted in both the "high" and the "low" layers of sixteenth-century culture. In Garzoni, knowledge needs to be discrete in order to be manageable.

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Notes

[1] See chapter I for a discussion of the terms parody and contamination in relation to Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.

[2] See William Eamon, Science and the Secrets of Nature (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994) for a study that emphasizes the importance of popular medical culture in the development of the figures of the "empirici" in the early modern period, among whom Leonardo Fioravanti is one of the dominant figures. Eamon argues that the the fascination for the "secrets of nature" had its origins in the Middle Ages and then developed with the rising of an empirical attitude in the scientific and medical world.

[3] For Cardano's treatment of narrative in his texts see Nancy Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997). In a lecture given at the Graduate School, CUNY on May 7, 1999, entitled "Ritual and Renewal in the Renaissance Medical Lecture," Nancy Siraisi talked about the dialogue between tradition and innovation within the context of the medical lectures in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Italian universities, and in relation also to Galen's writings.

[4] For a discussion of the use of the anecdote in Garzoni's work see Paolo Cherchi's introduction to La Piazza di tutte le professioni del mondo, by Tomaso Garzoni, ed. P. Cherchi and B. Collina, (Turin: Einaudi, 1996) XLI-XLIII. For a further discussion of the anecdote within the commonplace tradition see section II.4.i of the present chapter. See also Ann Blair, "Bibliothèques portables: les recueils des lieux communs dans la Renaissance tardive," Le pouvoir des biliothèques: la mémoire des livres en Occident, ed. Marc Baratin and Christian Jacob (Paris: A Michel, 1996) 84-106.

Marc Baratin and Christian Jacob, eds., (Paris: Centre Alexandre Koyré, Écoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1996) 21-42. For an analysis of the narrative and anecdotal dimension in medical literature, see Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi, eds., Umanesimo e medicina: il problema dell' individuale (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996). Joel Agrim and Chiara Crisciani wrote a study on the genre of the consilia medica, which originated in the Middle Ages and implied the individual consultation between a physician and a patient and the collective consultation among professional colleagues. See J. Agrim and Chiara Crisciani, Les *consilia* médicaux, tr. Caroline Viola (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994) 13-15.

[5] See Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, especially 1 and 139-40, on the notion of riscrittura. More recently, Cherchi has edited a collection of essays on the same subject, entitled Sondaggi sulla riscrittura del Cinquecento (Ravenna: Longo, 1998). See Lina Bulzoni, La stanza della memoria, for an analysis of the association between "riscrittura," imitation and memory. See also Giancarlo Mazzacurati and Michel Plaisance, eds., Scritture di riscritture. Testi, generi, modelli nel Rinascimento (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987)

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and Luciana Borsetto, Il furto di Prometeo. Imitazione, scrittura, riscrittura nel Rinascimento (Alessandria: Ed. dell' Orso, 1990).

[6] See Gianfranco Folena, ed., Motti e facezie del Piovano Arlotto (Milan: Ricciardi, 1995 [1st ed. 1953]).

[7] See Michael Macdonald, Mystical Bedlam, H. C. Erik Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe." Ibid., Mad Princes of Renaissance Germany (Charlottesville & London: 1994), Ibid., A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany.

[8] Michel Foucault, Histoire de la folie.

[9] For a critical approach to Foucault's thought see introduction.

[10] See J. E. Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies," English Literary Renaissance 16 (1986): 13-43. See also Frederic Jameson, "On Interpretation: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Act," in The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981) 17-102.

[11] See Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, and his introduction to Garzoni's Opere (Ravenna: Longo Ed., 1993) 7-22.

[12] Giorgio Padovani, " 'L' hospidale de' pazzi incurabili' di Tomaso Garzoni. (Una descrizione cinquecentesca delle principali forme di alienazione mentale)," in Rassegna di Studi Psichiatrici 38 (1943): 217-229; M. Laignel-La Vastine and J. Vincnon, "Les représentations symboliques des diverses formes de la folie. L' Hopital des Fols Incurables. Thomas Garzoni 1590," in Les malades de l' esprit et leurs medicines du XVI au XIX siècle (Paris: Moliane, 1931) 87-100; more recently, Francois Baruchello, "Tomaso Garzoni precursore della psichiatria moderna," in Tomaso Garzoni uno zingaro in convento. Celebrazioni garzoniane, IV centenario (1589-1989) Ravenna-Bagnacavallo 1989-1990 (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1990) 179-204.

[13] See John Henderson, "The Hospitals of Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence: a Preliminary Survey," in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds., The Hospital in History (London and New York: Routledge, 1989) 63. The situation in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy was not uniform and changed considerably from city to city. See the collection of essays edited by Allen J. Grieco and Lucia Sandri, Ospedali e città. L'Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio tenuto dall'Istituto degli Innocenti e Villa I Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) Firenze 27-28 aprile 1995 (Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 1997).

[14] See John Arrizabalaga, John Henderson and Roger French, The Great Pox. The French Disease in Renaissance Europe (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997) 47; Henderson, 71

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and D. Gentilcore, Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998) 7 and note 19.

[15] Arrizabalaga, 203.

[16] See Erwin H. Ackerknecht, Short History of Psychiatry, tr. S. Wolff (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1968) 18, and George Rosen, Madness in Society. Chapters in the Historical Sociology of Mental Illness (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1968) 139.

[17] George Mora, "Italy," in John G. Howells ed., World History of Psychiatry (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1975) 97. Mora writes that the Arabs established hospitals for insane people as early as the twelfth century (97). According to Ackerknecht the first special institution for the "insane" was build in Damask in 800.

[18] Mora, 57.

[19] Gianna Pomata, La promessa della guarigione. Malati e curatori in antico Regime (Bari: Laterza, 1994) 257, 275.

[20] Pomata, 65-66; 73-87.

[21] Arrizabalaga, 169; Mora, 40.

[22] Mario Fanti, "Il 'Fondo Ospedali' nella Biblioteca Comunale dell' Archiginnasio", in L' Archiginnasio. Bollettino della Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna LVIII (1963), 1.

[23] Arrizabalaga, 171.

[24] In Public Health and the Medical Profession in the Renaissance, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976), Carlo Cipolla writes that "by the second half of the sixteenth century all major Italian cities had permanent Health Boards", which "were in the hands of administrators." (17; 21) See also Gian Maria Varanini, "Per la storia delle istituzioni ospedaliere nelle città della Terraferma veneta del Quattrocento," in Allen J Grieco, Lucia Sandri, eds., Ospedali e città. L'Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI secolo, 108-109 and Pomata, 15-40.

[25] "Catholic historians have linked the origins of the Catholic movement to the evolution of the Companies of Divine Love...Conversely, the Divine Love companies would not have flourished had it not been for their connection with the leading members of what became the Catholic reform movement" (Arrizabalaga, 162). See also Henderson, 84.

[26] Pomata, 214-216.

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[27] For historical information regarding the establishment and the development of this institution, see the accurate and thorough studies edited by Anna Lia Bonella in L' ospedale dei pazzi di Roma dai papi al '900. Fonti per la storia della follia. Santa Maria della Pietà e il suo archivio storico sec. XVI-XX, 2 vols. (Rome Ed. Dedalo, 1994). See also Cristopher Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) for a discussion of the hospital of Santa Maria della Pietà within the context of the activity of religious confraternities in sixteenth-century Italy.

[28] In Trattato di tutte l' opere pie dell' alma città di Orme composta dal signor Camillo Fanucci senese, (Rome, 1607) 270 (Treatise of all the charitable deeds of the fair city of Orme written by Sir Camillo Fanucci, from Siena), as quoted by Valeria Pompejano Natoli in her article "La follia 'ospitalizzata': dal trattato di Tommaso Garzoni al teatro di Beys," in Studi di Letteratura francese XIX (1992): 229-247.

[29] In Ordini, Statuti et Constitutioni della Compagnia della Madonna della Pietà della Casa, over Hospitale delli Poveri forestieri, et Pazzi, dell'alma città di Orme, (Rome, 1563), quoted by Pompejano Natoli (236).

[30] Henderson, 82.

[31] Alessandra Bonfigli, Franca Fedeli Bernardini, " 'Quella carità che si sol fare alli pazzi acciò venghi a recuperare la sanità'. Gli esordi dell' ospedale di S. Maria della Pietà e la cura dei dementi," in Bonella, vol. 2, 43.

[32] Bonfigli-Bernardini, vol. 2, 49.

[33] Varanini, 140.

[34] Pompejano Natoli, 236-237.

[35] Filippo Maria Ferro, "Il gran teatro della Romana pietà," in Bonella, vol. 2, 32 and Bonfigli-Bernardini, 49.

[36] In Genova, Bologna and Naples there were "ospedali degli incurabili," which were established between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the sixteenth century. See Ferdinando Ugolotti, L' assistenza agli infermi di mente in Italia. Studi storici, (Pesaro, 1967) 43-45 for the information relative to the institutions in Genova and Bologna; Vittorio Donato Catapano, Le Reali Case de' Matti nel Regno di Napoli (Naples: Liguori, 1986) 25 for the information regarding the hospitals in Naples.

[37] In Garzoni's hospedale mad men are in fact offered the possibility of healing through a prayer that the narrator addresses to a pagan divinity at the end of each discorso. See for instance the prayer dedicated to the goddess Minerva at the end of the discorso dedicated to the "pazzi frenetici e deliranti" ("frenzied and delirious madmen") (265). In the historical hospital of S. Maria della Pietà the patients had the chance to leave

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the hospital if their conditions improved, at least in the early years since the foundation of the hospital (Bonella, vol. 1, 19; Ferro, vol.2, 32).

[38] See Catapano, 25, and Arrizabalaga, 204.

[39] Antonino Iaria, Carmela Tulelli, "Lineamenti storico-psichiatrici dell' ospedale di S. Maria della Pietà," in Bonella, vol.2, 15; Bonfigli-Bernardini, vol. 2, 49.

[40] Bonfigli-Bernardini, vol. 2, 48.

[41] See chapter V.

[42] For the meaning of the expression "balle di Macaleppo," see Garzoni, Opere, 254 note 17.

[43] Pompejano Natoli, 234-235.

[44] In Enciclopedismo Cherchi analyzed Garzoni's works in the context of the genre of the theatrum. Relying on Bodin's definition of the term, Cherchi characterizes this genre as "mirror of nature and an encyclopedia that seeks to represent by reflection the divine majesty" (31).

[45] Ann Blair, The Theater of Nature, where she studies Jean Bodin's Universae naturae theatrum (1596).

[46] "Like its Greek ὑλη the Latin silva (woods, brush, forest) has as a secondary meaning an abundance or congeries or quantity, as in Cicero, Suetonius, and Quintilian, or in Ramus, who writes of the silva of Christian teaching which he feels needs putting in order. The Greek term extends further to mean also felled trees or timber, and finally material in general as the stuff out of which something is made, a notion ordinarily conveyed in Latin by materia" (Walter Ong, Ramus, 118).

[47] Cherchi lists a few ancient texts that belong to the genre of the silva, Aulus Gellius' Noctes Atticae, Atheneus Deipnosophistai, Macrobius' Saturnalia and "the technique of the 'excerpta' adopted by the humanists" (1980, 32). Garzoni used both Gellius' and Atheneus' works in L' hospedale.

[48] Camillo built a wooden structure that reproduced his theatro della memoria. Frances Yates was the first scholar who dedicated an extended study to Camillo's theatro in her book The Art of Memory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984 [1st ed. 1966]). See also Bolzoni's recent work on memory and imitation, La stanza della memoria.

[49] Valerio Marchetti, "Tassonomie, citazioni, esempi e luoghi comuni," in Italo Michele Battafarano ed., Tomaso Garzoni. Polyhistorismus und Interkulturalitat in der fruhen Neuzeit (Bern: Peter Lang, 1991) 22-23.

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[50] Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 85-86 and 138-140.

[51] Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 87.

[52] In fact, Garzoni classifies the last category of madness, apparently the worst, as "de' pazzi da mille forche ovvero del diavolo" ("madmen worthy to be hanged or the devil"): "Né pochi sono gli esempi di costoro, imperoché il diavolo per ogni luogo gli va seminando come la gramigna, e da se stessi vanno pullulando a guisa dell'idra, e con le fiamme della loro iniquità mettono in combustione tutto il cielo nonché la terra" (354) ("There are not a few examples of these [madmen], since the devil is sowing them everywhere like weed; they multiply on their own like the hydra and with the flames of their iniquity they burn the entire sky and the earth"). Garzoni's description of madness is only generically connected to the existence of demonic powers, since it does not specify the extent to which demons are believed to possess human beings and make them act according to their will. Garzoni writes about the power of the devil in relation to melancholy in L' huomo astratto, a discourse with which the author was supposed to introduce himself as a new member to the Accademia degli Informi. However, Garzoni died before performing the discourse in front of the Accademia. In this text Garzoni describes various degrees of "astrattione," that is, of detachment of the soul from the body and the senses. He argues that the devil can insinuate within the second degree of "alienation" by imitating the heavenly powers. He affects those individuals who suffer from "black bile" and "melancholic humor" and produces in them "visions and revelations of marvelous new things never heard before." (15) Garzoni implies that even though the devil does not produce madness, he uses it to his advantage. See Gli due Garzoni, cioè l' huomo astratto del molto rever. P.D. Tomaso Garzoni da Bagnacavallo; & la stella de' magi del molto rever. P.D. Bartolomeo Garzoni da Bagnacavallo, amendue fratelli per natura, per studio, per religione, per titolo di predicatore o teologo, et per nominatione d' academici, in varie città d'Italia. Con privilegio, in Venetia, 1604 (The two Garzonis, that is, the abstract man by the most reverend P.D Tomaso Garzoni from Bagnacavallo and the star of the Wise men by the most reverend P.D. Bartolomeo Garzoni from Bagnacavallo, both brothers by nature, study, religion, title of preacher or theologian and by affiliation to accademie in various Italian cities, With privilege, Venice 1604). Garzoni broaches the subject of the devil and of witchcraft several times in Il Serraglio de gli stupori del mondo, di Tomaso Garzoni da Bagnacavallo. Diviso in diece appartamenti, secondo i vari, et ammirabili oggetti. [...] In Venetia, MDCXIII (The zoo of the wonders of the world, by Tomaso Garzoni from Bagnacavallo. Divided in ten apartments, according to the various and admirable objects. [...] In Venice, 1613). For a thorough study on the notion of witchcraft as caused by demonic possession see Stuart Clarck, Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (New York: Oxford UP, 1997). Clarck organizes his analysis of the notion of witchcraft around five major topics, which also form the social and cultural dimension of the period: language, science, history, religion and politics.

[53] At the beginning of Canto XXIV the narrator directly addresses the reader and warns that everybody can be affected by folly—pazzia—which he defines as lack of

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reason caused by love. Then, he includes himself in the number of those made insane by love, and states that he is able to reason at the moment only because "di mente [ha] lucido intervallo" (XXIV, 3, 4).

[54] For a discussion of the notions of "madness" and "folly" in Orlando Furioso in relation to other literary texts, including Garzoni's, and the cultural context of that period, see Carlo Ossola, "Métaphore et inventaire de la folie dans la littérature italienne du XVIe siècle," in Folie et déraison à la Renaissance. Colloque international tenu en novembre 1973 sous les auspices de la Fédération Internationale des Instituts et Sociétés pour l'etude de la Renaissance (Ed. de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1976) 129-147. For a philosophical approach to the same subject and to the more general topic of "folly", see E. Grassi and Maristella Lorch, Folly and Insanity in Renaissance Literature (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies1986). For a discussion of madness in relation to the Stoic evaluation of passions, see Carroll, 133-161.

[55] See chapter I for an analysis of the effects of love madness and melancholy as described by the medical tradition.

[56] For the friendship between Garzoni and Paterno see Paolo Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 10. Bernardino Paterno (15?-1592) was born in Salò, (Italy). He taught in Pisa, Pavia and Padua, where he spent most of his life and taught medical theory from 1563 to 1592, the year he died. Paterno argued for a complete separation of medicine from philosophy, even though he did not always maintain such distinction in his own writings. See Siraisi, Avicenna, 141 note 37 and passim for further biographical references and for an analysis of Paterno's position within the medical milieu of the period. His works include Explanationes in primam seu primi Canonis Avicennae (Venice, 1596) and De humorum purgatione circa morborum initia tentanda (Rome, 1547). See also Dictionnaire des sciences médicales. Biographie médicale VI (Paris: Panckoucke, 1824), 371.

[57] Il laconismo vitale circa l' autore (Tomaso Garzoni) is a sort of biography that Bartolomeo Garzoni, brother of Tomaso and himself a priest of the Lateran Canons, wrote after Tomaso's death. Bartolomeo Garzoni stated that Garzoni took the religious vows in 1566, at age seventeen, and became part of the "santissima Congregatione Lateranense" ("very holy Lateran Congregation"). According to his brother, Tomaso Garzoni also composed "hymns, psalms and spiritual canticles" (b). For information about the Lateran Canons and its origins see La Piazza, discorso III, "De' religiosi in genere, e in particolare de' prelati e subditi, de' cerimonieri, de' superstiziosi, de' canonici, monaci e frati, de' cavalieri, e finalmente de' predicatori" (123-125) ("On religious individuals in general, and in particular the prelates and subordinates, masters of ceremonies, superstitious, men who give their vows to a religious rule, monks and friars, knights, and finally preachers"); Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. 3 (1949) under the entry "canonici regolari di Sant'Agostino", 554-568; Ivan Simonini, "Tomaso Garzoni, uno zingaro in convento," Tomaso Garzoni. Uno zingaro in convento, 10 and D. Luigi Lo Schiavo, "Tomaso Garzoni C.R.L. e la sua congregazione (1549-1589)," Tomaso

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Garzoni, 29. The Lateran congregation was an offshoot of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, which followed the so called Augustinian rule and which was first instituted in 1059. (Simonini, 10) In 1339 pope Benedict XII promulgated a code of observances for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine in the bull Ad decorem. See New Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. III, 1967. The "canonici regolari" constituted a "section of the clergy that, under the archbishop's supervision, led a communal life nearby a church and followed a form of religious life" (Enciclopedia Cattolica, 554). For information about Garzoni's life, see Il laconismo vitale.

[58] Hugonis de Sancto Victore, Canonici Regularis Lateranensis, tum pietate, tum doctrina insignis, Opera tribus tomis digesta. Nunc a Donno Thoma Garzonio de Bagnacavallo postillis, annotiunculis, scholiis, ac vita auctoris exposita, Venice, 1588. Hugh of St. Victor (1096?-1141) joined the community of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Hamersleven. He then went to Paris, where he entered the abbey of St. Victor around 1115. The abbey was closely connected with the rise of the University of Paris. Hugh of St. Victor became the abbey's prior from 1133 to 1141, the year he died. He elaborated Neo-Platonic and Augustinian thought and believed that historical events and the Scriptures contain a divine element, which can be reached through intuitive meditation. He was part of the theological school of Paris. See Enciclopedia Cattolica, 559; Marc Jordan, "Hugh of St. Victor," Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, ed. Edward Craig, vol. 4 (London; New York: Routledge, 1998) 518-520; New Catholic Encyclopedia vol. VII.

[59] For a further investigation of the relationship between Garzoni's treatment of madness and the censorship enacted by the Catholic Reformation in Italy, see chapter V.

[60] The Latin term ingenium derives from the root *gen- which is related to the meaning "to beget." Consequently, the first definition of ingenium is that of innate quality or temperament. See "ingegno," Dizionario Enciclopedico Italiano Treccani, 1957. The term becomes a synonym of mind and intelligence, and is used to describe the ability to invent. Ernst Robert Curtius offers a historical overview on the use of the word ingenium, which for Quintilian is one among the main qualities an orator should possess, along with inventio, vis and facilitas. However, ingenium, the kernel of inventio, needs to be coupled with iudicium, lest it degenerate into a flaw. In the Middle Ages, Martianus Cappella ignores the link between ingenium and iudicium, between inventio and dispositio, and exalts ingenium as synonym of profound conception or thought. See E. R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, tr. W. R. Task (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967) 294-297. In the "Discorso proemiale" Garzoni defines the term cervello by excluding the definition that doctors and philosophers have given of it, that is, "membro primo e principale della vita umana, casa de l'anima razionale ed istrumento e principio di tutte le virtù animali" (49) ("first and main organ of human life, house of the rational soul and instrument and principle of all the animal virtues"). He also rejects the equation of the term with "ingegno," while he intends to qualify it "per un certo umore o giudizio o pensiero o proprietà di cervello" (49) ("as a specific temperament, judgment, thought or characteristic of the brain").

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[61] Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 108.

[62] Garzoni invented some of the divinities, like the god Sentino. Garzoni found the many epithets that he attributes to each divinity from Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's Historia de deis gentium. For information about Giraldi, see note 43 of chapter I.

[63] About Erasmus' notion of madness, see M. A. Screech, "Good Madness in Christendom," in W. F. Bynum, Roy Porter, M. Shepherd eds., The Anatomy of Madness. Essays in the History of Psychiatry. Vol. I. People and Ideas (London & New York: Tavistock Publications, 1985) 25-39.

[64] In his article "Erasmo e i letterati Romagnoli del Cinquecento," (Studi Romagnoli XVIII (1967): 369-390) Angelo Scarpellini writes that shortly before 1523 Faustino Perisauli, known also by the name of Pier Saulo Faustino di Tredozio, wrote De triumpho stultitiae, a text influenced by Erasmus' Encomium Moriae. The author of the short book La pazzia, printed in 1543, claims that the text belongs to the genre of the paradoxical praise, which was very common in the sixteenth century. Orologi's L'inganno (Venice, 1562) defines the world "un monte di pazzia" (3) ("amount of madness"), and assimilates wisdom to madness and vice versa. See also Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 84.

[65] Cherchi, introduction, Opere, by Tomaso Garzoni, 11.

[66] Collina, introduction, La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, by Tomaso Garzoni (Turin: Einaudi, 1996) LXXXVIII.

[67] The "capitolo di Theodoro Angelucci a Thomaso Garzoni sopra la Pazzia" and the "capitolo dell' autore all'Angelucci in lode della pazzia" were included in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions of L'hospedale, along with other poetic compositions in honor of Garzoni and on the subject of madness. See the 1601 edition of L'hospedale published in Venice. Angelucci's and Garzoni's compositions were later included in a collection of capitoli in the tradition of the paradoxical praise of objects and actiities. See Rime Piacevoli di sei begl' Ingegni (Vicenza, 1603).

[68] Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 122.

[69] From the English translation of Garzoni's text, published in 1600 by Edm. Bollifant for Edward Blount, under the title The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: Erected in English, as neer the first Italian modell and platforme, as the unskilfull hand of an ignorant Architect could devise (London, 1600).

[70] Galen believed that the brain was the site of passions and that it could be affected indirectly—by consensus—through other areas of the body. For biographical information about Galen, see chapter I, note 75. Aretaeus (1st century AC) also thought that when the abdomen is affected by madness, the brain is affected, even if only indirectly. As for the materialist attitude toward madness in the Renaissance, Nancy

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Siraisi writes that "[t]he materialist psychology associated with the concept of complexion and humoral qualities ensured that [...] mental complaints (frenzy, melancholy) were interspersed among other affections of the head. Thus, too, physicians included passionate love (amor hereos) among the physical diseases and enumerated the languishing lover's physical symptoms" (131). See Nancy Siraisi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990). The four humors on which humoral theory is based are characterized by the combination of four main qualities, hot and cold, wet and dry. According to this theory, each individual presents within his/her body a prevalence of one of the four humors, which coexists with the notion of "normal" balance among the different temperaments. On the basis of this division, individuals were defined as phlegmatic, sanguine, melancholic and choleric.

[71] Texts by Hippocrates and Galen already known during the Middle Ages were translated again in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Europe to reach the standard established by humanist scholarship. The renewed interest in the ancient medical tradition was coupled with the "new" practice of observation and experience. In The Clock and the Mirror. Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), Nancy Siraisi writes that " [...] learned tradition and ancient texts continued to provide context and sources for ideas and knowledge in all branches of medicine and its associated sciences. Moreover, new moves toward a medical science and pedagogy based on shared observation were intimately connected with enthusiasm for the intensified study of ancient texts" (15). See also Owsei Temkin, Galenism: Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1973).

[72] "In my opinion, excessive vehemence in loving or hating anything is also a passion; I think the saying 'moderation is best' is correct since no immoderate action is good." (31) Galen, On the Passions and Errors of the Soul, tr. P. W. Harkins (Ohio: Ohio State UP, 1963). Antonio Musa Brasavola participated to the edition the complete work of Galen in 1556. See Omnia quae extant in Latinum sermonem conversa [...] Ex tertia Iuntarum editione cum indice Antonii Musae Brasavoli (Venice, 1556). See also Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur, in Opera Omnia, ed. D.C.G. Kuehn, vol 4 (Cnobloch, Leipzig 1821-1833). Garzoni's friend, the Venetian doctor Teodoro Angelucci, lists a series of animi perturbationes that he thinks can be cured through the power of reason, which exerts a moderating effect on the affecti, the passions: "Tanta est affectuum vis miras in humano corpore motiones excitandi; ut illorum quilibet [...] vehementer auctus ad interitum deducere solus hominem possit. [...] Ton tamen humanae saluti sic infensi sunt affectus, ut ex rationis praescripto ad mediocritatem quandam revocati conservandae valetudini [g??] non plurimum conducant" (Ars Medica, "De animi perturbationis. Cap. X" 109V) ("So great is the power of passions in arousing motions in the human body, that a vehement increase of those [passions] could by itself bring a man to destruction. [...] However, the passions are not so hostile to human well being: indeed, following the orders of reason they are brought back to a certain moderation and serve to keep good health"). In this chapter Angelucci quotes, among other texts, Galen's De symptomatum causis, De tuenda sanitate, Cicero's Tusculanae

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Disputationes, Hippocrates' De morbis popularibus commentarium and Epidemiorum commentarium. See chapter I, 40 note 4 for biographical information about Angelucci and the complete title of Ars Medica. For further information on Teodoro Angelucci, see Frederick Purnell, "Francesco Patrizi and the Critics of Hermes Trismegistus," Medieval and Renaissance Studies 6 (1976): 155-78.

[73] See Macdonald, passim.

[74] Mora writes that traditionally "the mentally ill [sic] were deprived of freedom of action and were declared legally incompetent." (45) See also Macdonald, 5; 44 ff.

[75] For a discussion of gendered madness in L' hospedale, see chapter IV and V.

[76] Jean Fernel (1497-1558) was a well renowned French physician. Vesalius was one of his pupils, Catherine de' Medici one of his patients. His Medicina, (Paris, 1554) included several of his earlier works—De naturali parte medicinae (1542), re-titled Physiologia, and Therapeutica—and a new text, Pathologia. After Fernel's death, Guillaume Plancy, his associate for ten years, added to Fernel's work four books of Therapeutica from unpublished manuscripts and De abditis rerum causis, published in 1548. The edited work was published under the title of Universa Medicina in Paris in 1567. In the present chapter I will refer to the 1554 edition of Fernel's Medicina published in Paris by A. Wechel. For a brief discussion of Fernel's theory of spiritus and of the relationship between the French physician and Girolamo Cardano, see Nancy Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 158-161. For further biographical information on Fernel see Jacques Roger, Jean Fernel et les problèmes de la médicine de la Renaissance (Paris: Palais de la découverte, 1960).

[77] The Neapolitan Donato Antonio Altomare (beginning of the XVI century-1562 ca.) taught at Naples and followed the school of Hippocrates and Galen, whom he constantly commented upon in his work. The works Trium quaesitorum nondum in Galeni doctrina delucidatorum and Quod functiones principes iuxta Galeni decreta anima non cerebri in finibus sed in ipsius corporis exerceat constitute a commentary to Galen's doctrine. Altomare was opposed to Paracelsus and to the "nuovi studi che si andavano svolgendo nel campo dell' anatomia e fisiologia." (" new studies that were developing in the fields of anatomy and physiology"). See Dizionario Biografico degli italiani (Rome: Treccani, 1960). Altomare published De medendis humani corporis ars medica in 1553 in Naples, after having been accused of heresy by the Inquisition. He was then released with the help of the cardinals Seripando and Carafa. In the present chapter I will refer to the edition of De medendis humani corporis ars medica published in 1560 in Lyons.

[78] In her article "Vesalius and the Reading of Galen's Teleology," Renaissance Quarterly 1 (Spring 1997): 1-37, Nancy Siraisi describes and analyzes the complex relationship that Vesalius entertained with Galen's anatomical views of the body. She also emphasizes the importance of Vesalius' Fabrica as an "anatomical narration" (33), in dialogue with the earlier studies on the subject.

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[79] Blair, 96.

[80] Antonio Benivieni was active in the second part of the fifteenth century in Florence. He was the first doctor to perform an autopsy in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century. Benivieni's brother published the treatise in question in 1507, five years after Benivieni's death. The finding of the first-century B.C Latin author Aulus Cornelius Celsus's treatise De medicina appeared to have influenced Benivieni in the composition of his treatise, especially Celsus' attempt to balance the opposite tendencies in medicine in that period of "rationalism" and "empiricism." By following the first tendency the doctors emphasized the desire to investigate the "hidden" causes of the illness through the use of anatomy and vivisection, while with the second tendency they followed their experience and were more interested in curing than understanding the disease. See A. Benivieni, De abditis nonnullis ac mirandis..., ed. G. Weber (Florence: Olschki, 1994). Benivieni narrates the case of a young woman, the daughter of Lorenzo il Magnifico, whom he saw during an attack of madness. He cured her of what he diagnosed to be an imbalance between cold and warm humors produced by the ascending of hot matter to the cold brain, which finally led to furor. Benivieni asserts that he cured her "diligentius" and that the young woman was able to recover from her madness "nostris auxiliis." However, a month after she died because she decided to disregard his suggestions and cures. (220-221). See also Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 153-158 for a discussion of Benivieni' narrative style. Cardano's exempla are more autobiographical than those of Benivieni, and describe in an indirect way a relationship between doctor and patient where the former becomes a sort of confidant of the latter. In his work Contradicentium Medicorum Libri duodecimi Cardano narrates the story of a man who confessed to him that he tried to poison his wife. The way Cardano begins to narrate the story is significant: "Scio enim quendam gammarium, qui mihi fassus est [...]." (Liber II, Tract. Quintus. Contradict. IX in Opera, Tomus VI (Paris, 1564-65) 562 (" I know a certain [gammarium?] who has confessed to me [...]." See also Nancy Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 57-69. Leonardo Fioravanti was a famous sixteenth-century empiric, who was originally from Bologna. In 1548 Fioravanti went to Palermo where he practiced the art of healing for two years, then he went to Africa. In 1555 he returned to Italy, living in Naples, then Rome and Venice. Back in Bologna, he received the title of doctor. In I capricci medicinali (Venice, 1561) Fioravanti asserts that practice is more important than theoretical knowledge: " [...] uno medico impari prima ad esser buon speciale, che medico, se egli vuol saper ben medicare [...]" (27R) ("a doctor should learn first to be a good chemist [pharmacist] rather than to be a doctor, if he wants to know how to treat [...]"). Fioravanti emphasized the personal dimension of the relationship between patient and doctor by stating that a doctor should always question the patient about his/her illness, examine his/her urine—and ascertain that it's not that of animal—examine the patient thoroughly, order purgatives and look cheerful in front of the patient (33-35V). Fioravanti wanted to distance himself from and criticize the "mal prattichi medici" who would steal from Galen and Avicenna. See Piero Camporesi, Camminare il mondo. Vita e avventure di Leonardo Fioravanti, medico del Cinquecento (Milan: Garzanti, 1997) 74, but also 65-73. See also Eamon, passim for a discussion of Fioravanti's life and work as an example of "empirical" doctor.

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[81] Renaissance physicians adopted Galen as their model. This process was facilitated by Galen himself, who would disseminate his writings with autobiographical anecdotes, with the intent of "exemplify[ing] the qualities that physicians ought to emulate." See Jerome Bylebyl, "Medicine, Philosophy, Humanism in Renaissance Italy," in John W. Shirley and David Hoeniger eds., Science and the Arts in the Renaissance (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985) 39. See also Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 207.

[82] "Aneddoto," in Devoto-Oli. The word "anecdote" derives from the Greek "ανεκδοτα", which means "things unpublished." See Liddell, H.G. and Scott, R., A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990). See also the definition that Paolo Cherchi gives of the word in his introduction to the edition of Garzoni's La Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (XLII).

[83] Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 23.

[84] Cherchi uses the term "translation" to define the way Garzoni took material from the "officine umanistiche," like Tixier's work (L' enciclopedismo, 26-27). In L' hospedale Garzoni mentioned Tixier de Ravisy only once: "Giovan Ravisio Testore mette fra' pazzi ridicoli ancor' esso un certo Zenofanto [...]" (300) ("Giovan Ravisio Testore puts among the ridiculous madmen also a certain Zenofanto [...]"). Garzoni had already mentioned the name of Tixier in Il Teatro de' vari e diversi cervelli mondani (118). For further biographical information on Tixier de Ravisy, see M. Mignon, Études sur le théatre francais et italien de la Renaissance (Paris: Librairie ancienne H. Champion, 1923) 32-61; J. Vodoz, Le théatre latin de Ravisius Textor (1470-1524) (Wintherthur: Imprimerie G. Ziegler, 1898); Walter Ong, "Commonplace Rhapsody," 91-126. For a more recent discussion of Textor's work, and particularly of the Officina, see P. Cherchi, "L' officina del Testore e alcune opere di Ortensio Lando," MLN 1980 (95): 210-219. Tixier also produced a few dramas in verses, which the critics consider as a crossing between the dialogus and the genre of satirical comedy. See Paul Van Tieghem, La Littérature Latine de la Renaissance (Geneva: Slatkine, 1966) 158 and W. Leonard Crant, Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965) 24.

[85] In his introduction of Garzoni's Opere Cherchi defines Garzoni a "scrittore comico-popolareggiante", and lists the anecdote as one of the characteristics of Garzoni's popular vein (23). See also Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 82.

[86] Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 15.

[87] M.L. Altieri Biagi ed., Medicina per le donne nel Cinquecento. Testi di Giovanni Marinello e Giorgio Mercurio, (Turin: UTET, 1992).Giovanni Marinelli, or Marinello, was a doctor from Modena who wrote Le medicine partenenti alle infermità delle donne (1574). For more biographical information on Marinelli, see the introduction to the edition of Marinelli's work by M.L. Altieri Biagi.

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[88] For the connection among topos, locus and sententia see Blair, 67 and notes. See also Walter J. Ong, The Presence of the Word, 82.

[89] In his book Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue Walter Ong states that medicine and particularly Galen's "'orderly teaching procedures'—analysis, synthesis [...] and the dismemberment of definitions" were Ramus's models for the creation of his method. Ong also states that "Galen's synthesis is interpreted by Ramus as referring to a movement from the singular to the most general, and thus as coinciding with the induction or ascent by which Ramus insists the arts are found" (257). Indeed, even before Ramus espoused the Galenic method as his own, medicine "was faced with real logical problems, and was shot through with rhetoric, partly because it was not sure of itself and spent much time justifying its own positions [...] Furthermore, medicine was deeply committed to the use and interpretation of memory (itself considered a part of traditional rhetoric)" (226).

[90] Valerio Marchetti adopts the chemical metaphor of "precipitation" to describe how different disciplines seem to coalesce in L' hospedale without maintaining any distinction among them, so that they seem to acquire the form of loci or exempla. See Valerio Marchetti, "Tassonomie," 10.

[91] In Rhetoric, I, ii.21-1358a, Aristotle distinguishes between "common" places, which provide material for any kind of subject and "special" places that furnish arguments for specific subjects such as law or physics. The distinction was soon blurred. Walter Ong defines the commonplace tradition "the practice, more or less reflective, of exploiting both analytic and cumulative places or commonplaces." See Ong, "Commonplace Rhapsody," 93-94. In Topics, 163b 24-30, Aristotle makes explicit the connection between topics and mnemonic techniques by stressing the interchangeability between 'topic' as subject matter for dialectical argumentation and "topics" as the "places" where these subjects were stored. See Frances Yates, The Art of Memory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966) 31, for a discussion of this passage from Aristotle's Topics in terms of memory and spaces of memory. On the relationship between the space of memory and rhetoric see Lina Bulzoni, La stanza della memoria. For a general overview of the history of the "commonplace" see Alfredo Serrai, Dai "loci communes" alla bibliometria (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984).

[92] Serrai, 17-64. For a discussion of the difference between Quintilian's and Aristotle's notion of citation see Antoin Compagnon, La seconde main-ou le travail de la citation (Paris: Seuil, 1979), 134-146.

[93] See Serrai, 67.

[94] For a study dedicated to the Italian educational system as it developed between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, see Paul Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989). Lisa Jardine wrote several articles on the subject, focusing her analysis on England. See Lisa

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Jardine, "The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth-Century Cambridge," Renaissance Society of America, Studies in the Renaissance (New York: RSA, 1974) 31-62, and more recently, in collaboration with Anthony Grafton, From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe (London: Duckworth, 1986).

[95] For information concerning Theodor Zwinger (1533-1588), see Ong, "Commonplace Rhapsody," 11-119. Zwinger wrote the Theatrum humanae vitae (1565), which Ong defines "perhaps the world's largest collection of commonplaces excerpts" (111). See also Blair, passim.

[96] See Compagnon.

[97] Ong argues that in the early sixteenth century there "was no word in ordinary usage which clearly expressed what we mean today by "method," a series of ordered steps gone through to produce with certain efficacy a desired effect—a routine of efficiency. This notion is not entirely missing in early sixteenth-century consciousness, but it has as yet no independent existence" (Ramus, 118). For a critical analysis of the notion of "methodus" in Renaissance medical language and tradition see the section dedicated to Renaissance medicine in Lawrence L. Conrad et alii eds., The Western Medical Tradition: 800 BC to AD 1800 (New York: Cambridge UP, 1995).

[98] See Ong, Ramus, 226.

[99] See "αφορίζω," Lidell and Scott. In the middle voice the verb, from which the substantive "αφορισμός" derives, means "to determine, define, separate."

[100] "There are however some near neighbours to the proverb, for instance gnomai, which are called by us sententiae or aphorisms, and ainoi, which among us are called fables; with the addition of apophtegmata, which may be translated as quick witty sayings, as well as skommata or facetious remarks and in a word anything which shelters behind a kind of mask of allegory or any other figure of speech associated with proverbs. [...] In the first place, the relationship between the aphorism and the proverb is of such a nature that each can be joined to the other or again each can be separated from the other [...] it not infrequently happens that an aphorism includes a proverb, but a proverb need not automatically become an aphorism or vice versa." Erasmus, Collected Works. Adages. Vol I, tr. Margaret Mann Philips (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982) 7.

[101] Antonio Brasavola (Ferrara 1500-1555) worked at the court of Ercole II d' Este, and offered his services to several popes—Paul III, Leo X, Clement VII and Julius III—emperors and kings—Charles V, Henry VIII and Frances I. See Dictionnaire de Sciences Médicales, T.II, (Paris, 1820).

[102] "The recovery, editing, and translation into Latin of most of [Galen's] remaining commentaries in the 1530s and 1540s was an important part of the endeavor of

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Renaissance Galenism—and Hippocratism. [...] The authors of new commentaries on Hippocratic books took it for granted that their task included attention to Galen's commentaries, where available" (Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 138-139).

[103] Many sixteenth-century doctors wrote commentaries on Galen's works. I was able to consult two commentaries on Galen's De locis affectis: the Commentarii in Claudii Galeni libros sex de locis affectis by Thomas Rodericus A Veiga, printed in 1566, and Galeni Pergameni Medici de locis affectis libri sex. Ioanne Francisco Duratio, medico neapolitano expositore. Cum indice rerum praecipuarum locupletissimo by Fancesco Duratio, printed in 1587.

[104] Antonii Musae Brasavoli medici ferrariensis in octo libros aphorismorum Hippocratis et Galeni commentaria et annotationes (Basel, 1541).

[105] In the critical apparatus of L' hospedale Cherchi lists the primary sources that Garzoni used to compose his text. See Garzoni, Opere.

[106] In the Phaedrus, Plato accurately describes his conception of madness, which he subdivides in four categories. Among them, madness caused by the "desire" for knowledge is the most powerful because it alters the life of the individual who has been affected, even though he may not be aware of it. In L' inganno, which is structured as a dialogue between the two intellectuals Ruscelli e Dolci, Orologi writes that "la vera saggezza è divenire pazzi." (171) ("true wisdom is to become mad"). See L'inganno. Dialogo di M. Gioseppe Horologgi. Con privilegio. In Vinegia appresso Gabriele Giolito de' Fearrari. 1562. In La pazzia, the author, who is sometimes identified with Vianesio Albergati, lists and describes several groups of people who are unaware of their madness, among which the large category of women, and those who possess "amor proprio" ("love of oneself"). The author includes himself in the latter category, and writes: "[l'] amar se medesmo et haver in maraviglia le cose proprie, chi potrà negar che non sia la maggior Pazzia del mondo? Pur gli huomini contenti, e quasi li fa felici, e quanto sia grande questo piacere, io medesimo scrivendo questa mia Pazzia il provo, parendomi alle volte haver ritrovato invenzioni assai ingegnose, e belle, et ancora haverle non molto goffamente scritte, e quanto eccessivamente in questo mi inganni, se mai alcuni leggeranno queste mie goffezze, facilmente il potran giudicare, essendo indotte, insulse, e senza sapore, o succo" (Bij, V) ("To love oneself and to wonder at one's own properties—who will deny that this is the greatest madness in the world? And yet, she makes men satisfied and almost happy. I myself experience how great this pleasure is, by writing about this madness of mine, since sometimes I believe I have found very ingenious and beautiful inventions and that I have written them not too clumsily. Those who will ever read these awkward things of mine will be easily able to judge it how much I deceive myself in this [opinion], since [my compositions] are raw, silly, and without any taste or juice"). The edition of La pazzia that I have consulted does not give any information concerning the author, the printer or the date of publication on the front page. However, on the last page of this copy one finds the name of the printers, Giovanni

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Andrea Vavassore called Guadagnino and his brother Florio, and the date of printing, 1543.

[107] According to Galen, the five functions of the rational or animal soul were imagination, judgment, memory, apperception, and movement. The sixteenth century French physician André du Laurens reduced these functions to three "excellent powers of the soule: Imagination, Reason and Memorie." See M. Andreas Laurentius, A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight, tr. R. Surphlet (Oxford UP, 1938 [1st ed. 1599]) 73.

[108] In La pazzia the author writes that madness "sola ci governa, sola le aspre cure, e gravi cordogli da noi scaccia, sola gli huomini, et le donne (che altramente sarebeno sempre miseri) contenta, et fa felici" (AiJV) ("alone governs us, alone casts away from us the harsh anxieties and the heavy afflictions, she alone makes men and women satisfied and happy, who otherwise would be always miserable"). In the introduction to the Capricci medicinali Leonardo Fioravanti states that in order to be happy, a person needs to be "giovane, sano, ricco, et matto [...] la pazzia [...] non quella [...] che induce gli huomini a tirare pietre, ma di quella sorte de pazzi che non si curano di cose, che sia, et si pigliano spasso, et solazzo di tutto quello che vogliono [...]" (1-2) ("young, healthy, wealthy and mad [...] not the madness [...] that leads men to throw stones, but that by which men do not care about anything and experience fun and amusement of everything they want [...]").

[109] In the introductory pages of the text, the author of La pazzia reminds the reader that the ancients wrote praises of "flies, fevers, old age and death" while his contemporaries honored "the game of the'primiera', chess, artichokes, and many other things unworthy a praise" (AijR).

[110] In the opening discourse of Il Teatro de' vari e diversi cervelli mondani Garzoni described individuals who think of themselves and their intelligence in the most flattering terms, while they "vengono dal parere comune abbassati nel centro della maggiore temerità e sciocchezza che al mondo si ritrovi" (47) ("the common opinion humbles them down to the center of the greatest rashness and foolishness that can be found in the world"). See also the introductory pages addressed to the "curiosi spettatori" ("curious spectators") of La Sinagoga degl' ignoranti.

[111] See "περι φρενίτιδος De phrenitide. Caput VI" (34 ff.); "περι μελαγχολίας De melancholia. Caput VII" (42 ff.); "περι μανίας De furore, seu insania. Caput VIII" (51 ff.); "περι λυκανθροπίας De insania lupina. Caput IX" (96 ff.).

[112] While in Cherchi's edition the citations are delimited by quotation marks, in the 1586 edition of L' hospedale the citation is marked at the end by a colon. The printer used the same method a while later, in the discourse dedicated to the "pazzi ubriachi" ("drunk madmen"). Compare Garzoni, Opere, 275; Garzoni, L' hospedale,1586, 16.

[113] Garzoni, Opere, 266, n.1.

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[114] "Convengono tutti i più famosi medici, così antichi come moderni, in questa conclusione principale [...]" (266) ("All the most famous physicians, ancient and modern alike, agree on the following conclusion [...]").

[115] Besides the names that Altomare mentions in the section of his work on melancholy, most of which are repeated in Garzoni's text, it is worth mentioning later treatises, such as Du Laurens's A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight, of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age translated into English in 1599, Bright's A treatise of melancholie, (1586) and Burton's Anatomie of Melancholie (1621), where melancholy becomes the disease par excellence. Still, the definition of the disease and its symptoms was that which Galen had stated in his work and that later authors had appropriated and elaborated. See also the classical study on melancholy in the Renaissance by Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panowsky and Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy (New York: Nelson, 1964).

[116] Altomare described the signa that mark an individual affected by the "wolf's madness" with the following words: "[...] facies eorum pallida est: oculi sicci ad videndum imbecilli, et non lachrymantur, ipsorumque oculos cavos videbis: linguam siccam, et salivam omnino non profundunt. Sitis ipsis adest immodica [...]" (97) ("[...] their face is pale: they have dry eyes and weak sighted, which do not shed a tear. You will observe that their eyes are hollow, that their tongue is dry, since they do not produce saliva at all"). Altomare's account strikingly reminds the reader of the description of Orlando in canto XXIX of the Orlando Furioso, at the moment of his fortuitous meeting with Angelica: "Quasi ascosi avea gli occhi ne la testa,/la faccia macra, e come un osso asciutta,/la chioma rabuffata, orrida e mesta, la barba folta, spaventosa e brutta" (60, 1-4) ("[Orlando's] eyes were almost hidden in his head, his face was emaciated and dry like a bone, his hair was ruffled, bristly and melancholy; his beard was bushy, hideous and ugly").

[117] See Anna Foa, Ebrei in Europa. Dalla peste all' emancipazione, (Bari: Laterza, 1997) for a study of the position of Jews in Europe from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. See also Robert Bonfil, English Jewish life in Renaissance Italy, tr. Anthony Oldcorn, (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1994), Michele Luzzati, Michele Olivari and Alessandra Veronese, eds., Ebrei e cristiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: conversioni, scambi, contrasti: atti del VI congresso internazionale dell'AISG, S. Miniato, 4-6 novembre 1986 (Rome: Carucci, 1988), Adriano Prosperi, "La Chiesa e gli ebrei nell'Italia del '500," Ebraismo e antiebraismo: immagine e pregiudizio (Firenze: Giuntina, 1989) 171-83, John G. Gager, The origins of anti-semitism : attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian antiquity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983).

[118] The literary production of Giulio Cesare Croce, a contemporary of Garzoni, is a perfect example of popular literature based on anecdotes, riddles and oral stories. For further information, see ch. I note 94. See also the stories of the "piovano" Arlotto, mentioned in L' hospedale.

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[119] "Omnium autem causa frigida est cerebri intemperies, quae functiones omnes torpidas segnesque reddit[...]" (129) ("Indeed, the cause of all this is an excess of cold in the brain, which makes torpid and sluggish all functions [...]").

[120] For biographical information regarding Lilio Gregorio Giraldi see chapter I, note 43. The two texts that Garzoni consulted for L' hospedale are the Historia de deis gentium and Vita Herculis. See Garzoni, La piazza, 16 for the selected range of sources that Garzoni used in his works.

[121] Ioannis Ravisii Textoris Nivernensis Officina, nunc demum post tot editiones diligenter emendata, aucta et in longe commodiorem ordinem redacta per Conradum Lycosthenem Rubeaquensem, Basil, 1552.

[122] The first heading is under chapter VI, entitled "De artibus liberalibus ac manuariis, item de variis etiam artificibus." The second is part of chapter VII, entitled "De variis virtutibus ac viciis."

[123] In discorso XVII ("De' lunatici o pazzi a tempo") ("on the lunatics or periodic mad men"), XXII ("De' pazzi allegri, solazzevoli, faceti ed amorevoli"), XXVI ("De' pazzi ostinati come un mulo") ("on the madmen obstinate like donkies,"), XXVII ("De' pazzi pelati") Garzoni does not use Tixier's Officina.

[124] Ortensio Lando translated large sections of Tixier's Officina, under the title of Sette libri di cathaloghi a varie cose appartenenti, non solo antiche, ma anche moderne: opera utile molto alla historia, e da cui prender si può materia per favellar d' ogni proposito che ci occorra (Ferrara, 1552). Like Garzoni, Lando did not acknowledge his original source, but listed as one among several others that he used in his work. For further analysis on the relationship between Lando and Tixier, see Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 143-163, and also, by the same author, "L' officina del Testore e alcune opere di Ortensio Lando," MLN 95 (1980): 210-219. In relation to Garzoni's elaboration of Tixier's material, Cherchi states that the author of L' hospedale transformed "[la] materia prima, ricavata dalle officine umanistiche [...] in una calorosa predica" (Enciclopedismo, 27) ("the raw material, gathered from the humanistic "officinae"[...] into one warm sermon").

[125] "Le enciclopedie rinascimentali hanno la funzione eminentemente pratica di organizzare tutto lo scibile che alle soglie del '500 è estremamente vario, tumultuoso, contraddittorio e instabile per le scoperte umanistiche della letteratura classica e per le scoperte scientifiche e geografiche" (Cherchi, Enciclopedismo, 35) ("Renaissance encyclopedias have the very practical function of organizing the whole knowledge, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century is various, tumultuous, contradictory and unstable because of the humanistic discoveries of Classical literature and because of the scientific and geographical discoveries").

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[126] Garzoni published Le vite delle donne illustri della scrittura sacra in 1586 and dedicated it to Margherita d'Este Gonzaga, wife of Alfonso II. A female audience is also the addressee of many emphatic expressions with which Garzoni intersperses his text. For a detailed analysis of Le Vite see the introduction to the most recent edition of this work by Beatrice Collina (Ravenna: Longo, 1994, 7-71), and particularly pp. 64-67 for a description of the text's readers within the context of the genre of women's biographies and of female readership in sixteenth century Italy and Europe.

[127] The titles of the seven chapters in which Tixier's Officina is divided are: "De deis eorumque cultu"; "De mundo"; "De tempore et eius partibus"; "De homine"; "De magistratu"; "De artibus liberalibus ac manuariis, item de variis etiam artificibus" and "De variis virtutibus ac viciis."

[128] In the 1563 edition of the Historia, Giraldi made an allusion to the duke Ercole I d' Este at the beginning of the vox "Herculis", thus associating the mythical character to the historical figure, as Ariosto did before him.

[129] To give an example, Altomare dedicated the final portion of each chapter of his treatise to the cure of the disease that he had previously defined and the signs of which he had exemplified with the historiae.

[130] Ong, The Presence of the Word, 82.

[131] See Walter Ong, Orality and Literacy, 124-126.

[132] "[...] l' importanza dei volumi del Garzoni, e degli altri testi che si presentano come libri-spettacolo, sta nel fatto che—malgrado l' adozione del programma tipografico centrato sulla traducibilità immediata di scrittura e concetto, scrittura e sentimento, scrittura e azione—essi dispongono sulla pagina degli elementi che resistono con una certa forza a quell' interiorizzazione o mentalizzazione integrale che tende a provocare la scrittura. Questi elementi allotropi, impongono con il richiamo delle figure, degli odori, dei suoni, dei sapori, dei contatti, un ritmo ancora estremamente lento di lettura, una serie di sospensioni cosali, un andirivieni di oggetti" (" [...] the importance of Garzoni's works and of other performative books is that—notwithstanding the adoption of the typographic program that focused on the immediate translatability of writing and concept, writing and feeling, writing and action—they put on the page elements that offer a certain resistance to the complete interiorization or intellectualization which writing in general provokes. These allotrope elements impose a rhythm of reading that is still slow, a series of material suspensions, a coming and going of objects, with the call of figures, odors, sounds, tastes and contacts") (Marchetti, 23).

[133] See Compagnon's description of the relationship between emblem and citation, 258-280.

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Chapter III

Gender and Madness in Orlando Furioso

"As long as we have them, it justifies us."

III. 1. Gender and madness: or, a discussion of what it means to be "the other" in Ariosto and Garzoni.

I. What does being mad mean in sixteenth-century Italy? What does being a mad woman mean in sixteenth-century Italy? To define someone as mad then meant something quite different from describing an insane person today.[1] Also, being a woman then entailed a different set of expectations, roles, cultural projections and perceptions that differs from the contemporary notion of feminine gender.[2] While the categories of "sanity" or "normality" and those of masculine and feminine gender have existed consistently throughout different periods, the meaning of these categories changed considerably over time, based on the social, cultural, and religious coordinates through which individuals and groups perceived what they called "reality."

We are forced to translate and reconstruct reality through a textual dimension.[3] We need to be aware, though, and avoid creating a facile relationship of homology between the text and what we believe really happened back then. We are unable to thoroughly determine what "reality" was in the early modern period. What we have is history in a textual dimension.

II. Through their appearance, gestures, social behavior and even clothing mad individuals were easily categorized as different from the rest of the collectivity.[4] The notion of feminine gender had been considered essential for the definition of masculine

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gender in the early modern period as it is now. What has changed, though, are the social and cultural coordinates through which women were perceived and perceived themselves in that period.[5] During the early modern period the social structures in which women and men lived and the political and ideological issues involved in the construction of these structures influenced the notion of gender as much as the medical tradition did, which supported the "natural" inferiority of the female sex.[6] In the early modern period the medical discourse differentiated masculine and feminine gender through a complex net of physiological oppositions based on the four elements of the humoral theory. According to this system, what men had in abundance—heat and dryness—women lacked, and, for this reason, they were deemed inferior.[7] In the dialogue I segni de la natura ne l' huomo (The Signs of Nature in Mankind, 1569) Antonio Pellegrini states that "[...] i maschi [...] sono caldi per lo calore proprio di tutta la specie, et di più, per quello che è proprio et naturale al sesso loro; conciosiacosa che tutti i maschi siano generalmente più calidi et più secchi che non sono le femine; vengono per questo doppio calore ad abbruciarsi di soverchio" (66V) ("[...] males [...] are warm because of the heat characteristic of the entire species, and also, because of what is characteristic and natural to their sex; thus, all males are usually warmer and drier than females are. Because of this double source of heat, [males] burn themselves excessively").[8]

III. By analyzing Ariosto's and Garzoni's representations of gendered madness one can understand the way the two authors perceived both gender and madness, and what function they attributed to these notions in their works. Ariosto sees gender and the subjects embodied in it as fluctuating and dynamic. Ariosto intersperses Orlando Furioso with praises of and attacks against the gentil sesso.[9] Several male characters narrate

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stories about women who are unfaithful to their husbands or irrationally lustful. In response to these accusations, the author usually writes an apology at the beginning of the following canto addressed to the feminine gender in general. He also pays tribute to the female ancestors of the D' Este family and to the women patrons of the arts who have befriended him, like Vittoria Colonna and Isabella d' Este.

Ariosto treats the characters of his poem as fluid entities that can assume the characteristics of the other gender, as in the story of Fiordispina, Bradamante and Ricciardetto (XXV). Bradamante, along with Marfisa, is also a woman warrior, an Amazon. Their presence, which is not cut short by a premature death as it usually happens in ancient epic, creates tension within the male chivalric dimension of the poem.[10]

In Orlando Furioso Ariosto views madness as the final consequence of an excess of passion, that is love, which he describes in its manifold aspects, and as a mental illness. Since Galen's time, love had been considered and diagnosed as a malady of the soul, but was also considered the physical consequence of a humoral imbalance. The twofold explanation for the origin of love shows the inextricable connection between body and soul that existed in the early modern period. It also underlines the double nature of passions, which could be originated in an immaterial soul, but manifest themselves in the flesh and blood of a human body.[11]

In Orlando Furioso Ariosto espouses the medical notion of love madness, but does not make it the main explanatory device for the pervasive dimension of "pazzia" in the poem. Ariosto considers the medical tradition one of the many metaphors through which he represents madness. Together with it, he seems to filter the philosophical

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language of Neo-Platonism on love, but also on reason and wisdom as alternatives to the excess of passion that is madness. In the pluralistic and highly "democratic" world that Ariosto has created within the hybrid genre of his romance epic, the medical metaphors with which he describes Orlando's madness are in parodic commixture with those that the Neo-Platonic language on love has created. Through its vulgarization, Neo-Platonism found its way in dialogues and treatises on the subject of love which were written in great number throughout the sixteenth century.[12] Neo-Platonism was also refracted in some of the favorite images used by lyric love poetry, such as the transmission of the lover's passion to the beloved's body and soul through the organ of sight.[13] The mixture of medical, philosophical and literary metaphors in a single text is nothing new, since the medical tradition, the philosophical speculation and the literary elaboration had influenced one another in relation to the subjects of love and love madness.[14] However, the parodic nature of this mixture seems to me unique to Ariosto's elaboration of these subjects. Moreover, since the medical language has a "prosaic" dimension that makes it different from the highly structured languages of the literary and philosophical traditions, the contact of such language with the polymorphous nature of Ariosto's text effects the whole system of genres, styles, languages and genders.

In determining the nature of madness, Ariosto uses the rhetorical strategy of parody to blur distinctions among styles, languages and genres. Is madness the Pauline alternative to "foolish" wisdom? Is it the flip coin of reason, ragione and the essential instrument with which to investigate human passions?[15] Is it the physical and philosophical result, at once, of an excess of passion? Without denying the considerable importance that the Erasmian and the humanistic tradition on the notion of foolishness

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and folly might have on the shaping of the notion of madness, the medical discourse on amor hereos helps explain the notion of gendered madness in Orlando Furioso. Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, love madness was considered an illness that altered primarily the brains of aristocratic young men with plenty of time and little to do, even though the medical tradition believed that women could also be affected by it to a lesser extent. In the early modern period, on the other hand, women seemed to become the privileged subject of love madness.[16]

In Ariosto, madness is mostly love madness and is linked at least in one case—Gabrina—to melancholy and erotic obsession. Love madness seems to affect indistinctly both male and female characters. Orlando and Olimpia have a similar way of showing their obsession for their loved ones; Bradamante is jealously insane because of her unfulfilled desire for Ruggiero. Many of the characters of Orlando Furioso show signs of madness similar to those of Orlando's, even though they manifest them to a lesser degree. Issues connected to love madness—sexual and erotic desire, insane jealousy and perversion—run throughout the poem and affect characters of all classes and genders. The character of Orlando "infects" the other characters with his madness, while the other characters contribute to a sharper definition of Orlando's identity. Orlando's madness irradiates to the other characters, while the characters' elaboration of love madness helps shape Orlando's identity. Thus, one can argue that love madness works on the level of character the same way parody works on the level of structure and genre. Love madness infects, and through the infection it changes the nature of the individuals who are touched by it. In Orlando Furioso gender and madness work as metaphors for the rhetorical strategy of parody, which does not create boundaries, but, on the contrary, blurs them.

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With this last statement I do not intend to say that in Ariosto's text gender is amorphous as madness is pervasive. If madness affects both genders without distinction, the way individual characters react to this phenomenon may be gendered. For example, if Orlando is cured of his madness through his brain, by inhaling his wits, Fiordispina is healed form her ailment by fulfilling her sexual desire.

Ariosto was well aware of the importance that both the medical discussion and the philosophical movement of Neo-Platonism had in Ferrara between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both traditions had love as one of the main subjects of their discussion and for both the nature and symptoms of love madness were connected with issues of gender. Women—and their madness—constitute an important part of Ariosto's poem. Their nature depends in part on the structure of the genre in which Ariosto writes his text, that is, the hybrid form of romance epic, but also on the many Neo-Platonic debates on love that writers composed in great number during that period. In some of them, women figure as rhetorical devices through which the male characters of the dialogue can exercise their oratorical skills.[17] In other words, in these treatises women do not count as subjects in themselves, but as foils against which masculine speakers construct their identity. Women function in this way in the sections of Orlando Furioso where Ariosto places praise and condemnation for the female sex one next to the other. In fact, it seems that Ariosto conceives of a fluid and unstable identity for both men and women, and that madness on the one hand and parody on the other help keep the boundaries between genders unfocused.

The notions of gender and madness in Orlando Furioso might have been circulating within the cultural elite which formed Ariosto's audience and whose members

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he lists in the last canto of the poem. At the end of the fifteenth century the Neo-Platonic Pico della Mirandola, who lived in Ferrara, explains the instability of the (masculine) identity by having God say to humankind that

> Nec te coelestem, neque terrenum, neque mortalem, neque immortalem fecimus, ut tui ipsius quasi arbitrarius honorariusque plastes & fictor, in quam malueris tute formam effingas. Poteris in inferiora quae sunt bruta degenerare. Poteris in superiora quae sunt divina ex tui animi sententia regenerari. [...]
>
> I created you neither celestial nor earthly, neither mortal nor immortal, so that, just like a modeler and a sculptor who has been informally appointed to work at his discretion, you would mould the form that you prefer of yourself. You will have a chance to degenerate towards the lower levels of humanity, which are inert [dull, insensible]. You will have a chance to be created from the judgement of your mind to a superior level, which is divine. (314)[18]

Within a much more mundane dimension, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Neo-Platonic Baldassare Castiglione adapts Mirandola's statement into his notion of sprezzatura, which is one of the courtier's main features and can be assimilated to the art of simulation. In order to survive, the courtier has to simulate, reinvent himself according to the situation and the people with whom he deals. His identity is by necessity unstable and metamorphic. In Orlando Furioso, Ariosto represents the instability of the subject through love madness. By "subject" in Orlando Furioso I mean a network of characters as they reflect Orlando's instability and madness. Love madness exalts the

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characters to the heights of the purest devotion, as in the case of Isabella and Zerbino or Brandimarte and Fiordiligi, plunges them into a bestial dimension, as in the case of Orlando, or reduces them to sexual obsession, as in the case of Gabrina and Fiordispina. In Castiglione, the presence of women does not guarantee that they have a voice with which they can speak. Their presence is necessary, but not their voice or their discourse.[19] In Ariosto, on the other hand, love madness and parody create an atmosphere of plurality in terms of gender. Even though the female characters in the poem do not assume a three dimensional stature, they contribute nonetheless to the construction of a parodic, multiform identity.

III.2. Love madness: a noble disease or a disease of the lower body?

As early as Galen, love sickness became part of the medical tradition, a specific illness with its causes, symptoms and remedies.[20] Love and love sickness brought the mind and the body to pathological states and, ultimately, could drive an individual insane. Early in the tradition of love madness the language and images which were elaborated by medical discourse, philosophical reflection and literary production interacted one with another. Such mixture remained vital throughout the Renaissance, in Italy and in the rest of Europe. Examples of this "contamination" are Ficino's commentary to the Symposium,[21] Ariosto's Orlando Furioso and Aubery's L' Antidote d' amour, just to cite a few texts.

In the Middle Ages, the topics of love and love madness engendered a vital if ambiguous net of questions about the nature, origin, social value and consequences of what specialists believed was a pathological state of the mind and of the body.

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Constantine the African called this illness "eros," probably in order to emphasize its bodily and erotic nature.[22] Later, apparently because of a misreading of the word "eros," commentators of Constantine's Viaticum started adopting the word heros, which they linked to the term "heroic:" "...heroes dicuntur viri nobiles qui propter divicias et mollitiem vite tali pocius laborant passione" (Gerard of Berry, Notule super Viaticum, 57-59) ("...heroes are said to be noble men who, on account of riches and the softness of their lives, are more likely to suffer this disease" Wack, 203).

Since doctors believed that love affected both the mind and the body, they also thought that it could be produced by the sight of a beautiful woman and also by the body's necessity of expelling an excess of humors. Bernard of Gordon, active between the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, defined love sickness as an illness of the brain, which affects the individual's judgement, but also of the testicles, which he considered an alternative site for love sickness. " [...] amor, qui hereos dicitur [...] propria passio cerebri est, propter corruptionem imaginativae, testiculi autem possunt esse subiectus quo ad causam coniunctam" (111V) (" [...] love, which is called "hereos" [...] is a particular illness of the brain, caused by the corruption of the imaginative faculty; however, the testicles can be exposed as far as a connected cause is concerned").[23] Whether "amor hereos" was an illness affecting the noblest site of the body, that is the mind, or the genitalia, the medical tradition thought that the disease concerned men more than women. According to the gendered opposition heat/cold, men were more prone to love sickness because they were hotter than women:

> ...ista passio, frequentius advenit viris quam mulieribus, pro tanto, quia viri sunt calidiores, et universaliter femine frigidiores, & hoc patet in

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> masculis brutorum, qui cum furia & impetu moventur ad coitum implendum. Nunc quia viri calidiores, ideo in coitu intensius delectantur, mulieres autem extensive plus, quia in semine viri et in semine proprio. (Lilium medicinae, 111V)
>
> ...[T]his disease occurs more often in men than in women for the reason that men are warmer and in general women are colder. This is evident in the males of the beasts, who move to satisfy a sexual union with fury and impetuosity. Now, since men are warmer, they enjoy sexual intercourse more intensely, while women enjoy it more frequently [extensively], because they delight in the man's seed and in their own.

In trying to explain why men are more affected by "amor hereos" than women, Bernard of Gordon outlines the physiological differences between genders and casts aside the brain as the privileged locus of the disease. He defines the difference between genders on the basis of their sexual performance rather than on how much "amor hereos" affects their judgement. Peter of Spain argues that the disease affects women more frequently than men, "propter debilitatem spei in eis et quia frequencius stimulantur ad coitum" ("on account of their weak hope and because they are more frequently stimulated to intercourse" Wack, 223). However, a few lines later Peter of Spain argues that the illness is more difficult to cure in men because the image of the beloved leaves a much stronger mark in a man's brain, which is dry, than in that of a woman, because it is moist[24]. Thus, even when medieval doctors used the privileged site of the brain to compare the effect that love sickness had on men and women, the gendered opposition dry/moist decreed that women were unable by physiological inferiority to retain the image of their beloved

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in their brain. Sexual desire and its fulfillment were the elements on the basis of which doctors measured the effect of love sickness in women.

In the early modern period, love madness was still attributed to both genders, but women were considered its privileged subject. At the end of the sixteenth century Aubery states that "l' amour se peut engendrer en toutes natures, ages, habitudes, seize saisons & regions, la seule difference gardée de plus ou moins" (29V) ("love can be found among all kinds of nature, age, habit, in all sixteen [??] seasons and regions, the only difference being in its greater or lesser quantity"). However, earlier in the treatise Aubery has stated that women are more prone to love ("plustost amoureuse") than men are. The reason is twofold, physical and moral at the same time:

> Pour les sexes, la femme est toujours plustost amoureuse que l' homme, à raison que la chaleur (bien qu'elle soit moindre) faict plus tost paroistre ses effects de trois ou quatre ans que celle de l' homme. [...] d'avantage, elles sont plus amoureuses que les hommes, ne puvant par un masle & courageux iugement refrener leurs cupidites, pour leur infirmité naturelle. (26V-27)
>
> As for the sexes, women are always more prone to love than men are, because the heat in women (even though it is lesser) shows its effects three or four years earlier than the heat in men. [...] Furthermore, they [i.e. women] are more prone to love than men are, because, due to their natural weakness, they are unable to rein their impulses through a manly and courageous judgment.

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In this passage Aubery reverses the traditional belief, held since Galen, that men are hotter than women are, and therefore more prone to love insanity. In fact, he affirms that heat, which is usually coupled with love passion and its pathological states, appears earlier in women than in men. Thus, it seems that the abundance of heat attributed to women is not absolute but relative to their earlier bodily development. Along with this physiological explanation, Aubery argues that women are more prone to love insanity because they possess a weaker judgment, which is a faculty of the brain. Therefore, women have a weaker mind. A few decades later, Jacques Ferrand confirmed Aubery's view, arguing that

> ...the woman does not have the rational powers for resisting such strong passions, as Galen says, and which the beautiful Hero confesses to her dear Leander:
>
> > I love with an equal fire, but I am not your equal in strength.
> > Th natural constitution of men is stronger, I imagine.
> > While women's bodies are more tender, their minds more slight.
>
> This opinion is confirmed by daily experience which reveals to us a greater number of women witless, maniacal, and frantic from love than men—for men are far less often reduced to such extremities, unless thy are effeminate courtiers, nourished on a life of riot and excess and on the breast of courtesans. (311)[25]

According to Ferrand, women are prone to love madness because they cannot control their passions with their reason. Their mind is weaker, and therefore more susceptible to extreme passions. Ferrand supports his argument with literary and "factual" evidence. He

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quotes a few lines from Ovid's Heroides (XIX, 5-7), which he finds verified in his personal observation of "daily experience." In Ferrand's treatise, love madness seems clearly a woman's disease, and the men who are affected by it are assimilated to the categories of effeminate men, courtiers, and courtesans, that is, to groups the society considers parasitic and deprived of reason and judgment, like women. Ferrand furthers his point by quoting Aristotle and his observations on animals. In Ferrand's view daily experience, literature and natural philosophy all contribute to support the evidence that women are now the privileged subjects and objects of love madness.

Medieval treatises describe aristocratic men falling in love as losing control of their brains and their bodies, so much that they are assimilated to women, who are deemed as irrational. Mary Wack argues that the medieval notion of "amor hereos" is built on a series of contradictions. The aristocratic male subject falls in love with a woman whom he idealizes and in whom he mirrors his own qualities. At the same time, his mental and physical faculties are beyond control, so much that he becomes like a helpless woman. Thus, the noble man who falls in love is at the top of the social hierarchy but also at the bottom of the gender hierarchy, since love madness effeminizes him.[26] In the early modern period, on the other hand, men become less vulnerable than women exactly because their judgement is superior to that of women and this makes them less prone to love insanity. The contradiction that existed in the medieval elaboration of the aristocratic masculine subject has been resolved in the early modern gendered opposition between men who have control over their brains and passions and women who are unrestrained in their sexual appetites.

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III.2.1. Chronicles of love, madness and love madness in Orlando Furioso.

In Orlando Furioso, the representation of gendered madness is defined on the basis of the two notions of love madness that I discussed in the previous section. An idealized and narcissistic form of love madness strikes the paladin Orlando. He is portrayed as an aristocratic young man who abandons his duty as a Christian paladin fighting the attacks of the Pagans to pursue his exclusive object of love, Angelica. His madness is located in the brain and reduces him to a beast.

Orlando embodies quite well the notion of love madness that both medical and literary tradition contributed to create during the Middle Ages. In the text his altered state is modulated and refracted in other characters, and several of them are women. Indeed, if it is true that men are the privileged subject of medieval medical treatises, "in literary accounts of love, the torments of lovesickness spare neither sex".[27] Ariosto describes Olimpia as an alter ego of Orlando[28], as he does with Bradamante. However, Ariosto endows Olimpia with the possibility of curing her desperate love with a remedy that was usually suggested to men and never to women, that is, to forget one love by sleeping with another. Ariosto describes Bradamante's love sickness with the same signa that affected Orlando during his desperate search for Angelica: lack of sleep, avoidance of other human beings and sudden change of mood and long monologues expressing despair and frustration. Like Orlando, Bradamante is a warrior, but, unlike him, at the end of the poem she is able to fulfill her desire by being reunited with Ruggiero with whom she produces the ancestors of the D'Este family. Thus, if Olimpia and Bradamante can be considered the feminine counterparts of Orlando's love sickness, they are also different because they are able to cure their illness by using the remedy that many doctors

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prescribed to men in love, that is intercourse. The other notion of love madness in Orlando Furioso is linked to the representation of love as an unrestrained sexual desire, which affects women more than men. The stories of Fiordispina, Gabrina and Dalinda exemplify how in women the passion of love overwhelms their reason and how it is assimilated to an irresistible sexual desire.

I. Bradamante.

At the beginning of the poem Bradamante is introduced as a "cavaliere [...] / il cui sembiante è d' uom gagliardo e fiero" (I, 60, 1-2) (" knight [...] / whose look is vigorous and fierce"). Her sexual identity is not revealed until a few octaves later, after she unsaddles the pagan knight Sacripante (I, 69, 7-8; 70, 1-4).[29] In canto III, Merlin's prophecy foretells that Bradamante will marry Ruggiero and give birth to the ancestors of the D'Este family, "il seme fecondo/che onorar deve Italia e tutto il mondo" (III, 16, 5-8;19) ("the fertile seed that Italy and the entire world must honour"). Bradamante assumes an Amazonian behavior at the beginning of the poem when she runs after her beloved Ruggiero as a knight would do with his damsel.[30] In the Apologia (1586) Torquato Tasso denounced Bradamante's behavior as contrary to her gender.[31] Later in the poem, instead of pursuing Ruggiero, Bradamante keeps waiting for him in her family castle in Montalbano, thus apparently returning to a passive and feminine role, as some critics have argued.[32] However, Bradamante's signs of lovesickness for Ruggiero are strikingly similar to those that Ariosto uses to describe Orlando's altered status. Both characters, then, are made more effeminate by the effects of lovesickness on body and mind.

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In canto XXX Bradamante receives a missive from Ruggiero who announces that he is being delayed and that he will not be able to come to Montalbano. Bradamante "lesse la carta quattro volte e sei," (XXX, 80,1) ("read the letter four and six times") after which her tears "vietar, che su vi sparse,/che con sospiri ardenti ella non l' arse." (XXX, 79, 7-8) ("[the tears], which she poured on it, kept her from burning it with her sighs"). When he sees the poem that Medoro composed to celebrate the (consummated) love between him and Angelica, Orlando, like Bradamante, repeatedly reads the writing ("Tre volte e quattro e sei lesse lo scritto" XXIII, 111, 1). Like Bradamante, Orlando pours a great amount of tears, which he thinks constitute the "vital humor" that is abandoning his body, and his deep sighs are the consequence of Love drying up his blood and sending its fumes to his brain.[33] At the end of canto XXX Ariosto describes Bradamante as "inferma" ("sick"), "ma non per febbre o corporal dolore:/era il disio che l' alma dentro inferma, e le fa alterazion patir d' amore." (XXX, 95, 2-4) ("but not because of fever or bodily pain:/it was the desire that the soul keeps inside, and makes her suffer perturbations of love.") Like Orlando, Bradamante tries to hide her pain from other people. She is aware of the pathological state of her love for Ruggiero, and she considers her distress an infirmity.

Among the physical signs that describe love madness Bernard of Gordon lists "mournful sighs," lack of sleep and tears. (Lilium, 111)[34] Jealousy is another sign of lovesickness, which is visible in the subject's behavior. Jacques Ferrand recognizes it as such[35] and Ariosto, referring to Bradamante, describes it as a "piaga crudel che sopra ogni dolore/conduce l'uom, che disperato muore" (XXXI, 5, 7-8) ("cruel wound, which leads men beyond any form of pain, and they desperate die").[36] Indeed, Bradamante is

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jealous of Marfisa, with whom she thinks Ruggiero is in love. Inactive in her castle in Montalbano, Bradamante is still waiting in vain for Ruggiero's coming. She is sleepless ("Di qua di là va le noiose piume/tutte premendo, e mai non si riposa." (XXXII, 13, 1-2) ("Here and there, she is turning in her bed pressing without repose the annoying feathers, and she never rests") like Orlando, when he hears the news of Angelica's and Medoro's love (" [...] sospira e geme, e va con spesse ruote/di qua di là tutto cercando il letto" XXIII, 122, 5-6) (" [...] he sighs and moans, and turns here and there oftentimes in his bed"). Then, when Bradamante realizes that Ruggiero will not come, she launches into a sorrowful and desperate monologue against Love and her gullible nature (XXXII, 18-25). She defines her love "desire irrazionale" ("irrational desire"), which casts aside reason from her mind and has absolute power over her (XXXII, 21-22). Orlando also utters a monologue, just before he goes completely mad, but the similarity between him and Bradamante stops here.

While Orlando becomes the perfect example of an individual gone insane because of an incurable case of lovesickness, Bradamante acknowledges the irrationality of her absolute desire. A few stanzas later, Bradamante is about to commit suicide, but "il miglior spirto" ("the better spirit"), in a sudden turn of events that recalls the medieval "psychomachiae," intervenes and suggests that she find a honorable death in battle and seek vengeance over Marfisa.

In Orlando's monologue Ariosto uses medical language to describe a large gamut of symptoms linked to love madness. In the description of Bradamante's love sickness Ariosto does not rely on medical metaphors as much as he does in the description of Orlando's madness. However, he draws several analogies between the two characters in

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their reaction to the love sickness. As a result, Orlando's extreme case of madness is constantly in the background during the development of Bradamante's story of passion and jealousy. Why? One reason is because Bradamante, like Orlando, is a knight, even though she is a woman. Thus, in her acting out her passions she behaves like the best of the male warriors. However, Bradamante's madness also functions as a minor variant of Orlando's absolute madness, as if to show the reader another, less dangerous and devastating version of lovesickness. Indeed, Bradamante ultimately cures her love sickness by marrying Ruggiero and fulfilling her passion, while Orlando's absolute fury is the consequence of a bottomless desire that will never be quenched and that can be cured only through divine intervention.

II. Dalinda and Alcina.

With the characters of Dalinda and Alcina Ariosto explores another aspect of love sickness. In the story of Dalinda,[37] a man obsessed by the desire of possessing a woman who is unattainable to him, substitutes her with another woman with whom he pretends to be in love. According to the medical tradition on the subject, men were advised to have intercourse with other women in case their desire for their beloved could not be fulfilled. Also, Polinesso's courtship of Dalinda exemplifies how a deceitful lover can "perform" his love to seduce a gullible woman in order to fulfill his desire. In this story, Ariosto uses the medical and courtly language as metaphors meant to contain the triangle of desire that he creates among Polinesso, Dalinda and Ginevra, the unattainable woman.

At the end of the story that chronicles Alcina's and Ruggiero's love, Ruggiero sees for the first time Alcina's true features with the help of a magic ring. She is an ugly old woman from whom Ruggiero escapes disgusted. In this case also, medical tradition

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might have provided Ariosto with a metaphor to explain Alcina's altered aspect. One of the alternative cures that doctors prescribed for the young man in love is to gaze at an ugly looking woman, so that his desire will be soon overwhelmed by disgust. In both stories, Ariosto uses images derived from the medical tradition of love madness and the lyric tradition of love poetry. Ariosto deploys this connection in stories located at the beginning of the poem, to provide the reader with a traditional view of the woman in relation to love madness. In both stories women are not completely agents of their love; the masculine desire or gaze acts upon them. Later in the poem, with the stories of Fiordispina and Gabrina Ariosto offers a more nuanced description of the feminine gender in relation to love and its pathological states. Finally, Ariosto's use of medical metaphors in relation to cases of excessive passion and "desire irrazionale" at the beginning of the poem seem to prepare the reader for the climax of Orlando's madness and Ariosto's exploitation of the medical vocabulary.

During his wanderings throughout Scotland, the paladin Rinaldo meets Dalinda, who narrates to him her sorrowful story of love, jealousy and betrayal. Dalinda was once the damsel at the service of the princess Ginevra, who had been wrongly accused of having betrayed the faith of her future husband Ariodante. In fact, Dalinda had fallen victim of Polinesso, duke of Albany, who manipulated her in order to make Ariodante believe that he had a secret affair with the princess. To please Polinesso, Dalinda dressed like Ginevra while welcoming him with warm embraces and kisses, and without knowing that Ariodante was watching the entire performance. Afterwards, Polinesso wanted to get rid of Dalinda, because she knew too much, and that is when Rinaldo rescued Dalinda from sure death. Dalinda is the narrator of this story of pretended love and loyalty; she is

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both the victim and the examiner of this multiple case of love sickness as she is skillful in dissecting the entangled mechanisms of this triangular relationship. Ariodante does not play an active role in the story; he is the audience in front of whom the performance is unveiled.

When Dalinda acknowledges for the first time her exclusive passion for Polinesso, she also underlines how love brings the lover to idealize out of proportions their beloved:

> Crudele Amore, al mio stato invidendo,
> Fe' che seguace, ahi lassa! Gli divenni:
> Fe' d' ogni cavallier, d' ogni donzello
> Parermi il duca d' Albania più bello. (V, 7, 5-8)
> Cruel Love, envying my state, made me become, alas, his follower. He made me believe that among all the knights, all the youths, the duke of Albany was the handsomest.

According to the medieval medical tradition, the lover believes that the beloved object of desire, which is usually conceived of as feminine, is "meliorem, pulchriorem & magis venerabilem, magis speciosam, & melius dotatam in naturalibus & moralibus, quam aliquam aliquarum, & ideo ardenter concupiscit eam, & sine modo & mensura [...]" (Lilium medicinae, 110) ("better, more beautiful and worthier of respect, better endowed of physical and moral qualities than any other woman, and he desires her so vehemently, without measure and limits [...]").[38] However, Dalinda is not an aristocratic young man who falls in love with a woman of his status, but a woman, in love with a man above her social condition. Literary renditions of love madness always included women as subjects

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of desire, while medical treatises implied a masculine subject.[39] Ariosto seems to merge in the figure of Dalinda the medieval tradition of love madness, where the aristocratic youth ennobles himself through his narcissistic passion for a woman whom he considers his extension, and the Renaissance tradition, where the woman is described as losing her reason and giving in to her lustful passions.

In Dalinda's declaration of love for Polinesso the key word is "parermi," "it looked to me," with which she acknowledges the subjective dimension of her passion. If Dalinda's behavior exemplifies the lover's idealizing tendency toward the object of her/his desire, Polinesso's attitude toward Dalinda exemplifies love as a set of stereotypical actions and words with which the knight/courtier is able to charm and seduce the woman to fulfill his sexual desire:

> Perché egli mostrò amarmi più che molto,
> Io ad amar lui con tutto il cor mi mossi.
> Ben s'ode il ragionar, si vede il volto,
> ma dentro il petto mal giudicar possi.
> [...]
> [...] ...e si m'accesi,
> che tutta dentro io mi sentia di foco:
> e cieca ne fui si, ch'io non compresi
> ch'egli fingeva molto, e amava poco. (V, 8, 1-4; 11, 4-6)
> Since he made a show of loving me greatly, I started to love him with all my heart. You hear the words, you see the face, but you cannot see inside one's heart. [...] and I burned so that I felt fire inside of me: and I was so

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> blind, that I did not realize that he pretended a great deal, and he loved very little.

Polinesso fakes his passion for Dalinda, by performing certain gestures and pronouncing certain words that have become part of the stereotypical behavior of a lover. The author of the thirteenth-century treatise Art d' amours observes that "one who wants to begin his love affair well must pretend that he is prepared to do every service, every wish and every private duty that he can for his lady." A century later, Christine de Pisan cautioned women not to believe the words of love pronounced by a courtier.[40] In his description of Dalinda's irrational passion for Polinesso and his pretended love for her, Ariosto seems to merge the medical symptoms of lovesickness and the stereotypical gestures of a courtier in love. Ariosto also underlines the performative nature of lovesickness and, more in general, of all passions, by highlighting the face and the voice as the elements on which one judges the truthfulness of the lover's statements.

In fact, Polinesso is obsessed by the idea of possessing the princess Ginevra who is unattainable to him. He then substitutes Ginevra with another woman, Dalinda, whom he asks to dress with the clothes belonging to the unreachable object of his desire. Polinesso justifies his bizarre request by stating that he will be able to extinguish his desire by possessing Ginevra in his imagination through Dalinda (" [...] s' io lo fo imaginando, anco mi giuova. / [...] e così spero, me stesso ingannando,/venir in breve il mio desir scemando" (V, 24, 4; 25, 7-8) (" [...] if I do it through my imagination, it will help me nonetheless./[...] and thus I hope that my desire will be shortly quenched through this self-deception of mine"). Medieval and Renaissance treatises on lovesickness prescribed as a remedy for men suffering from lovesickness the sight of and

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intercourse with beautiful women.[41] Even if Polinesso's behavior may seem to follow this medical remedy, it also reveals a great amount of anger and hatred toward Ginevra. Rejected by Ginevra, Polinesso channels his anger in his desire to demean and humiliate the object of his obsession through Dalinda, who has become the princess' surrogate. The words with which Dalinda describes her reaction to Polinesso's request remind the reader how deprived of reason she was when she agreed to impersonate her mistress, and also foreshadow the radical splitting that occurs to Orlando when he loses his wits:

> [...] Io che divisa e sevra
> e lungi era da me, non posi mente
> che questo in che pregando egli persevra,
> era una fraude pur troppo evidente. (V, 26, 1-4)
>
> [...] I, who was divided and separate and far away from myself, did not realize that what he kept praying, was a deception even too evident.

In the story of Dalinda, the medical tradition of lovesickness works as a metaphor to contain several other issues related to the visualization of emotions and passions through the body—the face—and the soul, whose intentions the words try to capture or to hide. Polinesso is the agent of the story: he is the object of love pain and the performing subject of seduction. Ginevra and Dalinda, on the other hand, are mere functions upon which Polinesso's desire acts. By falling in love with a man above her social condition, Dalinda transgresses the social codes that regulate love courting. She is punished for this transgression when Polinesso decides to have her killed, from which she barely escapes only thanks to Rinaldo's intervention. Ultimately, she punishes herself when she decides

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to go into a convent, "per voto, e perché molto sazia/era del mondo" (V, 16, 3-4) ("because of her vows, and because she was fed up with the world").

If doctors considered sleeping with beautiful young women a cure against love madness, they also believed that the sight of an ugly old woman would keep the individual from seeking the company of the feminine gender. Based on the principles of similarity and opposition, these remedies exemplified the conciliatory attitude that the medical tradition had toward the body and the soul of the individual affected by pain. Doctors believed that by curing the body they could also cure the soul, and vice versa, since they did not think that the two elements were separate, but rather intermingled. Ruggiero's adventure with Alcina reaches a conclusion when the sorceress Melissa affects the paladin's body and mind. When Melissa finds Ruggiero, he appears to have been emasculated by his love for Alcina. She then gives Ruggiero a ring that allows him to see things as they are and to regain his lost reason. Shame is the first emotion that Ruggiero feels after having worn the magic ring. Therefore, reason brings back to the knight decorum and decency. The doctor Jean Aubery uses this passage from the Orlando Furioso to explain to his readers that love sickness can be cured: "Que nous signifie ce Roger donné au pouvoir de la fière Alcine, & puis delivré par la vertu de l' anneau, qui luy fut mis au doigt par Melisse, sinon que pour nous tirer de l' amoureuse servitude & du vice impudique, auquel nous sommes trebuchéz: nous pouvons nous affranchir et desgager par la raison [...]" (Aubery, 113V-114) ("What is the meaning of this character, Ruggiero, enslaved by the fierce Alcina, and then freed by virtue of the ring, which Melissa gave to him, if not to drag you away from love enslavement and from shameless

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vice, over which we have stumbled: we can free and extricate ourselves thanks to reason [...]").

Reason, the signpost of morality and the opposite of degenerate passion, allows Ruggiero to see Alcina in all her ugliness and decrepit age. To put it in another way, in this episode reason, embodied in the magic ring, is brought to the fore to defeat Ruggiero's passions, and specifically his sexual attraction for Alcina's bodily beauty, which in fact is the result of magic:

> Pallido, crespo e macilento avea
> Alcina il viso, il crin raro e canuto,
> Sua statura a sei palmi non giungea:
> Ogni dente di bocca era caduto;
> Che più d'Ecuba e più de la Cumea,
> Ed avea più d' ogn' altra mai vivuto.
> Ma sì l' arti usa al nostro tempo ignote
> Che bella e giovanetta parer puote. (VII, 73)
>
> Pale, wrinkled and emaciated was Alcina's face, her hair was thin and white, and her stature did not reach six palms. All teeth had fallen out of her mouth, and this because older she was than Ecuba, than the Sybil Cumaea, and than any other woman. But she uses magical arts unknown to us now so that she can appear beautiful and young.

For Ruggiero, the victory of reason over passion comes along with physical disgust for a body that still has desire but is repulsive to look at. Ariosto's description of Alcina's face verges toward the comic tone—she is toothless, almost bald and ridiculously short—and

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reminds the reader of the physical aspect of Gabrina, the only other female character whom the author describes as old in the poem and who is affected by melancholia.[42]

According to the medieval medical treatises on love sickness the sight of old women would cure a man affected by the ailment through the principle of the contraries. Peter of Spain states: " [...] queritur utrum alicui pacienti competat videre formas turpes et ostenditur quod sic. Curatio per contrarium. Ergo cum aliquis diligit pulcram formam debet ei representari forma turpis." (290-293) (" [...] it is inquired whether it helps any patient suffering from love to see ugly forms, and it is shown that it does. Curing is by contraries. Therefore when someone loves a beautiful form, an ugly form ought to be shown to him" Wack, 251). Bernard of Gordon states that old women should be chosen to dishonor and malign the beloved object to the lover. They should also be very ugly, "turpissima[e] in aspectu" and bring with them a piece of cloth imbued with menstrual blood to show to the lover, if he is not convinced by anything else.[43] For Bernard of Gordon old women should represent to the lover what his beloved object of desire will become later in her life. Bernard of Gordon's misogynous view of women and of their bodies comes to the foreground with his use of menstrual blood as the decisive element that decrees the feminine body as corrupted and degenerated, both to one's eyes and nose.[44] Giorgio Agamben observes that the stilnovist poet Guido Cavalcanti refers to Bernard of Gordon's cure in one of his sonnets, Guata, Manetto, quella scrignituzza (Look, Manetto, at that wrinkled old woman). In this poem, the lyric voice advises Manetto to juxtapose an old hag to a young and beautiful woman, in the hope that this vision will free him from any kind of love sickness or melancholia: "tu non avresti niquità si forte/né saresti angoscioso sì d'amore/né si involto di malinconia [...]) ("you

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would not be in such a dreadful situation/nor would be so anguished for love/nor so filled with melancholy...").[45] Ruggiero's distancing from Alcina, the personification of deceitfulness but especially of sexual pleasure, occurs through the filter of the medical tradition, which uses the unappealing image of old women as one of the ways to abate the lover's desire.

In the stories of Dalinda and Alcina the author uses the characters, their bodies and their passions as a screen to express the man's desire. Their independence in choosing their object of desire is subsequently subordinated to their reduction to instruments in curing the aristocratic young male and his amor hereos. In the stories of Dalinda and Alcina, Ariosto adopts features of the medieval medical tradition to establish a situational hierarchy between the two genders in the manifestation of love madness. In the stories of Gabrina and Fiordiligi, Ariosto provides the two characters with passions and desires of their own, which they act throughout the narrative action. However, Ariosto is not ready or willing to create these feminine versions of love madness without creating a problematic relationship with the male characters.

III. Gabrina and Fiordispina.

By all accounts, Gabrina is one of the most treacherous and vicious characters of Orlando Furioso. Gabrina is an old woman, who first appears in canto XIII as the guard of Isabella whom a band of brigands have kidnapped and whom Orlando saves after having slaughtered all the bandits. Gabrina, the only survivor, flees the scene "piangendo e con le mani ai crini,/per selve e boscherecci labirinti." (XIII, 42, 3-4) ("crying and pulling her hair from her head/[running] through woods and thick labyrinths"). Several cantos later, Ariosto reintroduces Gabrina in the story where he left her, that is at the

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moment of her encounter with the virgin warrior Marfisa, who sees her coming along a stream:

> Quivi lungo un torrente, in negra gonna
> Vide venire una femina antica,
> Che stanca e lassa era di lunga via,
> ma via più afflitta di malenconia. (XX, 106, 5-8)
> There, along a stream, [Marfisa] saw an old woman approaching, dressed in black, who was tired and exhausted for the long way she walked, but even more afflicted with melancholy.

Gabrina's skirt is black, like the composition of her humoral temper, which is dominated by melancholy. In medieval and early modern medical accounts melancholy is connected to love madness.[46] In Bernard of Gordon's Lilium Medicinae the chapter on amor hereos is sandwiched between one on melancholy and another on drunkenness.[47] Indeed, Bernard of Gordon begins the chapter by explaining love sickness as a "melancholic anxiety caused by the love for a woman" (110). Gerard of Berry, Peter of Spain and Bona Fortuna, who all composed treatises on amor heros between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, gave similar explanations.[48]

Also, melancholic individuals were considered to be lustful and more prone to love passion than other categories of individuals. Aristotle was the first who stated this connection in the thirtieth book of his Problematic, and it appears clear from his writing that the subjects he describes in his treatment of melancholy are all men.[49] In the fifteenth century Ficino mentions the "melancolica" poetess Sappho, along with Socrates and the choleric Virgil as "ad Veneris illecebras proniores" ("more prone to the seductions of

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Love").[50] Sappho is an exception whom Ficino might have chosen primarily because of her extraordinary intellectual and poetic qualities, rather than because of her gender. In other words, to Ficino's eyes Sappho is a great poet and a melancholic individual, and only secondarily a woman.

The link between melancholia and love madness eroticizes the former and assimilates the latter to the notion of heightened artistic creativity and genius that characterizes the melancholic man. In Ficino as well as in Jean Aubery more than a century later, the split of Neo-Platonic origins between a bodily form of love and a spiritual one still exists. Melancholy affects those individuals who are seized by the desire of possessing the body of their beloved rather than their mind and their soul. However, these same individuals are endowed with a contemplative and reflexive nature that makes them different from the rest. Still, this category does not include women. On the other hand, in the early modern period women who are affected by love madness find their fulfillment and their satisfaction only in the sexual act. Women's love melancholy is polarized in the body, in the lower part of their body; their mind does not play any role, since it is overwhelmed by irrational passion.

Gabrina is an example of this polarized type of melancholy, which is centered on the desire to possess sexually the object of one's desire, in this case Filandro, with the consequent obliteration of any other emotional dimension. Indeed, Gabrina is much more than the exemplification of a medical category. She is the product of several models,[51] and also the embodiment of physical decrepitude, which is usually accompanied by moral depravation.

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In the early modern period old women were considered useless, because they could no longer reproduce, and dangerous, because their body, instead of being impregnated with the semen of a new life, was filled with toxic humors that cannot be released through sexual intercourse or the expulsion of menstrual blood. More than young women, they were also suspected of practicing witchcraft.[52] In general, if unmarried or widows without children, old women were considered alien to the social group. Their aspect, namely their bodies and their internal humoral composition, was ugly, and would provoke either revulsion or laughter. Laughter is the reaction that Gabrina's aspect and attire provoke in Zerbino when he first meets the old woman. Gabrina is with the virgin warrior Marfisa, who has already punished the scornful laughter of Pinabello's female companion by unsaddling the knight and by requesting the young woman to give her dress and ornaments to Gabrina (XX, 113-116). As in the description of Alcina, Ariosto brings the reader's attention to Gabrina's face:

> Avea la donna (se la crespa buccia
> Può darne indicio) più della Sibilla,
> E parea, così ornata, una bertuccia,
> Quando per muover riso alcun vestilla;
> Ed or più brutta par, che si corruccia,
> E che dagli occhi l' ira le sfavilla:
> Ch' a donna non si fa maggior dispetto,
> Che quando o vecchia o brutta le vien detto. (XX, 120)
>
> She was older than the Sybil Cumaea (if one had to judge by her wrinkled hide) and dressed so, she looked like a monkey who is dressed up to incite

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> laughter; now she looks even uglier, since she is grieved, and her eyes are shining with anger. One cannot annoy a woman more than by telling her that she is old or ugly.

Ugliness and decrepit age dehumanize Gabrina. Femininity corresponds to beauty and youth, and Gabrina by nature is deprived of both. She is reduced to the animal level. Anger, ira, is the only passion that is expressed in Gabrina's face, and it makes her even less human and uglier. In L' hospedale Garzoni considers Gabrina an example of "pazzia dispettosa" ("spiteful madness"), and spite is what motivates her to hurt Zerbino by concealing the truth about Isabella's fate. Gabrina is full of poisonous spite towards everybody, as she used to be possessed by insatiable desire for Filandro when she was younger. Gabrina marries Argeo, but immediately after the marriage she falls in love with Filandro. Gabrina's temper is cold and volatile, as the simile that explains her sudden change of heart implies (XXI, 15, 1-4). Indeed, repeating the pattern that many other characters have already shown in the poem, she seems to be struck by love madness, since both her thoughts and desires are fixated on Filandro. However, what makes Gabrina different from the other subjects affected by the illness is her desire for vengeance, and her anger, which makes her an irrational and lustful creature. Thus, she accuses Filandro of what she desired the most, that is, of being possessed by him. Filandro is put in prison, but even then Gabrina does not desist from her desire, which Ariosto calls "cieco appetito irrazionale" ("blind irrational appetite").

In the medical and philosophical debates about love sickness, starting with Cicero's definition of love and concluding with that of Aubery (17), there is a type of love that Aubery locates in the liver and that is considered a bodily appetite that can be

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quenched only through the sexual act. Truly masculine in her pursuit, Gabrina's persistence and conniving methods recall those of Polinesso, the prototype of the disingenuous courtly lover; at the same time, the blind and irrational nature of her desire reminds the reader of the inordinate passion of Dalinda. After she lures Filandro into killing her husband and his best friend, Gabrina asks him to finally fulfill her desire, as price for her silence on the murder. He finally gives in. The words with which Ariosto describes Filandro's implicit surrender to Gabrina's desire ("Pur finalmente ne l' afflitto core/più de l' ostinazion poté il timore" XXI, 54, 7-8) ("Yet, finally in his distressed heart fear was stronger than stubbornness") echo Ugolino's final words in canto XXXIII of Dante's Inferno ("Poscia, più che' l dolor poté il digiuno") ("Then, hunger won over pain"). Ariosto equates the two actions that hide unspoken in the implicit nature of the two statements. One is to literally eat one's own flesh and blood and the other is to give in to the sexual demands of a horrendous, Fury-like woman. Ariosto emphasizes the passive and irrevocable nature of Filandro's choice. After "per forza colse l'empia il frutto/del suo desire..." (XXII, 55, 5-6) ("by force the wicked woman plucked the fruit of her desire..."), Gabrina turns her love obsession into hatred and anger against Filandro (XXII, 58, 3-4).

Gabrina is affected by melancholy, but while many other patients pine away after the object of their desire, she actively pursues it in order to destroy it. Gabrina may be blinded by desire, but she appears to behave like an agent of her passions. However, the price that Gabrina has to pay for her agency is the ugliness, decrepitude and moral depravity with which Ariosto provides this character. Twice outcast, as an old woman and as a savagely cruel creature whose behavior shows the effects of the "irrational blind

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desire" provoked by love melancholy, Gabrina's actions are at the threshold between the masculine and the feminine gender. Ultimately, she trespasses the boundaries of species and is compared to a donkey.

The story of Fiordispina, narrated by Ricciardetto to Ruggiero (XXV, 22-70), represents a different aspect of love madness, which none of the medical treatises has ever treated. It involves a same-sex relationship between two women. The episode deals with the fluctuating and unstable construction of early modern gender. The switching of identities between Bradamante and her twin brother Ricciardetto reminds the reader of the many plots in Italian comedies, such as Gl'Ingannati, Ariosto's I Suppositi and Bernardino Pino's Gli affetti,[53] where the action is focused on mistaken identities that are usually revealed at the end of the play. Also, Ricciardetto's explanation to Fiordispina of Bradamante's sudden metamorphosis into a man is modeled after the Ovidian tale of Iphis and Ianthe (Metamorphoses, IX, 669-797) and of Actaeon and Diana (Metamorphoses, III, 128-258). His tale also alludes to case histories of women whose bodies were suddenly provided with a penis, through exceptional physical exertion.[54]

However, the impossible nature of Fiordispina's desire may also allude to the issue of same-sex relationships between two women, which has not received attention until recently in the scholarly world.[55] While male homoerotic desire was the center of contemporary debates and attempts were made to regulate illicit desire even through legal sanctions, a woman's desire for another woman was not discussed.[56] This does not mean that same-sex relationships between women did not happen but that official documents provide very little evidence in this regard. In Ariosto's text, Fiordispina's desire for Bradamante, whom she first takes for a man, is physical and its symptoms correspond to

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those of a woman affected by love sickness, as Ferrand describes it in his treatise (OF, XXV, 29). However, Fiordispina maintains her desire for Bradamante even when the warrior tells her that she is a woman. In Fiordispina's monologue, which alludes to another Ovidian tale of illicit desire, that of Byblis for her father Caunus (IX, 445-65), even the mere existence of a love between two female specimens, whether it be in the human or animal kingdom, is considered impossible, and, as a consequence, Fiordispina's desire is "senza fine" ("endless") because insatiable, always according to a masculine perspective. Indeed, the entire story is based on the presupposition that to quench someone's desire, the relationship must be heterosexual. In Classical and medieval medical treatises the exclusive holder of sexual desire is the masculine subject, even if this implies that he is effeminized. In the early modern period, doctors started considering women as subject of love madness, though emphasizing the complete lack of reason that the illness provoked in them, since they argued that women were by nature less constrained and controlled by reason than men. Women are described as lustful, prey to erotomania or filandria. However, this desire was never addressed toward another woman.

Fiordispina's desire is fulfilled when "Bradamante's" fantastical metamorphosis into a man occurs, which is considered less impossible than the love between two women.[57] Fiordispina defines her love as more monstrous than that of Pasiphae for an animal (XXV, 36-37). At the end, Fiordispina's desire is reabsorbed in the heterosexual frame of Ricciardetto's love. However, the discomfort and unnaturalness of the desire of a woman for another woman lingers implicitly in the story, thus making this example of

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love malady more problematic in terms of gender and identity.

Conclusion.

Several scholars have already analyzed the heavy concentration of medical metaphors that crowd the description of Orlando's insanity in canto XXIII.[58] In this canto semantic tensions also accompany the vocabulary that defines the notion of madness,[59] and they express the simultaneous presence of several generic codes: the literary and the vulgarized, the high-brow genres of tragedy, epic and lyric and the low-brow genres of medical prose and of the Italian *cantari*. One can find these characteristics throughout the entire poem, to a lesser or greater extent and before or after canto XXIII.

The shaping of Orlando's madness, located as it is at the threshold of several traditions and languages, helps the reader to understand better the lesser madness of the other characters. Ariosto's characters do not possess psychological depth. They are flat and bi-dimensional in a way that recalls the human figures painted before the introduction of perspective in the fifteenth century.[60] However, even though Ariosto's characters lack perspective and tri-dimensional roundness, they convey a complex notion of the subject. Through the medical metaphor of love madness and its symptoms Ariosto elaborates some of the characteristics of Orlando's madness in the words and actions of Olimpia, Bradamante, Rodomonte, Fiordispina and Gabrina. Like the motionless earth around which all the other planets rotate and which is located at the center of a finite universe, Orlando radiates his madness to the other characters. If it is true that Orlando's madness affects the other characters of both genders, it is also true that the other characters' elaboration of madness helps us understand better the notion of subject built

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around Orlando's character. Their lesser madness establishes different degrees of love madness.

In the universe of Orlando Furioso both genders are the subjects of love madness, even though how they react to the illness and the way the illness affects each of them depends on the gender of the characters and also on their social status. As provisional conclusion, one can say that while the Renaissance medical tradition located love madness in the men's brain and in the women's genitalia, Ariosto blurred this distinction in several cases, such as his treatment of Olimpia's and Bradamante's stories. One can also say that in Orlando Furioso the definition of gender is situational and that it is connected to the shaping of the notion of subject in the text. In its turn, the notion of subject is related to the representation of madness. How do gender, subject and madness work together?

What appears at first as a motionless subject—Orlando—at the center of an ever-moving system of characters is in fact a porous subject, participant of the feminine and the masculine elements, and itself in constant movement. The entire system of characters forwards the shaping of Orlando's madness and his instability. No character is a shaped, full-blown subject, but each of them contributes in different ways to the formation of the subject in the text. The rhetorical strategy of parody consists in the pluralistic and "democratic" dialogue of different discourses and genres within the text. Similarly, the representation of the subject, embodied in the figure of Orlando, is the result of the network that the system of characters produces in relation to the Christian paladin.

The composite subject that I described above recalls the porous, humoral body of the medical tradition. Renaissance medical treatises described the masculine or feminine

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body as filled with fluids, some of which needed to be expelled in order to make space for the ingestion of others. There were significant differences between the two genders, so that there was a hierarchy concerning the positioning of the body—and of the subject—within the world. However, they depended more on the strong ideological and moralizing underpinning on which the medical tradition was established than on statements proving real humoral differences between genders. Thus, Ariosto's subject is porous, participant of both the masculine and the feminine elements, and definitively not stable. In fact, it is the instability of the subject that allows a representation of the notion of gender which is inclusive, even though a hierarchy between the genders still exists in positioning the subject. In Ariosto, the representation of madness and its shaping through the rhetorical strategy of parody allows for a definition of the notions of subject and gender that is dialogic, pluralistic and multiform as the image of madness. Unlike Garzoni, Ariosto does not use madness to separate the sane from the insane and does not express it through discourses and genres typed by the gender of the individuals affected by madness.

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Notes

[1] See Midelfort, History of Madness.

[2] See Juliana Schiesari, The Gendering of Melancholia. Feminism, Psychoanalysis and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1992). For a collection of essays of contemporary feminist scholarship on the Renaissance, see Lorna Hudson, ed., Feminism and Renaissance Studies (Oxford; New York: Oxford UP, 1999). See also Constance Jordan, Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990).

[3] "We would therefore propose the following revised formulation: that history is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious." Frederic Jameson, " On Interpretation: Literature as a Socially Symbolic Act," The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981) 35.

[4] Sander Gilman, Seeing the Insane.

[5] See Schiesari, The Gendering of Melancholia, 26 and note 21 of the introduction to the present work for a quotation of the passage.

[6] See D. Jacquart, C. Thomasset, Sexualité et Savoir Médical au Moyen Age (Presses Universitaires de France, 1985); J. Brown and R. Brown, eds., Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy (London: Longman, 1998), and particularly pp. 4-5 of the introduction, where Brown discusses the concept of "gender" in relation to the notion of "sex" and in relation to Kuehn's alternative concept of "social personhood.": "...it has become possible to examine gender as a process in which women and men situate themselves and are situated by others along a shifting continuum that varies according to several characteristics, among them age, class, region, and even, but by no means only, sex" (5).

[7] Gail Kern Paster notes that "As gender implies temperament, so temperament implies heat, and heat implies perfection." Taking a critical stance towards Laqueur's emphasis on the genitalia as the locus of the "one-sex" body in the early modern period, Paster convincingly argues that "...the circular argument from heat offers...a theory of sexual difference in which femaleness is not a matter of genital difference alone but a form of difference thoroughly saturating female flesh and the subject within it" (430). See Gail Kern Paster, "The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfection and the Humoral Economy," in ELR 28 (Autumn 1998): 416-440. See also Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge, 1990).

[8] Antonio Pellegrini, I segni de la natura ne l' huomo (Venice, 1569). See also Castiglione's Il Cortegiano, where the Aristotelian opposition between form and matter is

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coupled with the opposition between hot and cold, and whose terms are gendered respectively masculine and feminine. See Baldassare Castiglione, Il Cortegiano, ed. C. Cordié (Milan: Mondadori, 1991) 195, 216, 219 221. Gaspare Pallavicino and Ottaviano Fregoso are the two characters who are considered the "enemies" of women and who pronounce these hostile remarks against them.

[9] In canto XXVII, 117-124, the Saracen Rodomonte attacks women for their unfaithfulness and the narrator weakly defends them. At the end of the same canto the innkeeper attacks women for their lust (135-139) and promises to narrate a story that will convince his audience of his argument. The story that the innkeeper tells at the beginning of canto XXVIII is that of Astolfo and Iocondo (4-74), which the narrator exhorts women and those who esteem them to skip all together. After the story of Astolfo and Iocondo an old man comes to the defense of women by saying that men are unfaithful as much as women (XXVIII, 76-83). At the beginning of canto XXIX the narrator asks his female audience forgiveness for the violent attacks against women of Rodomonte and the innkeeper and promises to punish the Saracen with his "pen and ink" (2, 5). However, at the end of the same canto, the narrator laments Orlando's missed opportunity to kill Angelica in an excess of madness, since all women are "ungrateful, and it is impossible to find among them one ounce of goodness"(74, 3-4). The narrator begins canto XXX by apologizing again to the gentil sesso for his invective at the end of the previous canto, which his own love passion for an ungrateful woman led him to utter (1-3). The narrator dedicates the exordium of canto XXXVII to a praise of women in general and specifically of Vittoria Colonna, poetess herself and wife of the marquis of Pescara, Francesco d' Avalos (1-23). In this section the narrator laments the fact that gifted and virtuous women have been ignored by envious writers and hopes that soon women themselves will raise their own praises (23). In canto XLII the narrator describes a beautiful fountain adorned with eight female figures whose praises are written in capacious scrolls held by male figures sustaining the eight statues. The women portrayed and praised in these octaves all belong to the D'Este family. Among them there is Lucretia Borgia, wife of Alfonso I d'Este and Isabella d'Este, wife of the marquis of Mantua, Francesco II Gonzaga. In the first 19 octaves of canto XLVI the narrator imagines an ideal audience who welcomes him at the end of his long journey, and many of the historical characters he sees in the harbor are women. See Pamela Joseph Benson, The Invention of the Renaissance Woman (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992) 91-122 for an analysis of the debate about the condition of woman in Orlando Furioso.

[10] For a psychoanalytic analysis of the episode of Fiordispina, Bradamante and Ricciardetto and of the characters of Marfisa and Bradamante, see Valeria Finucci, The Lady Vanishes. Subjectivity and Representation in Castiglione and Ariosto (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992). Finucci argues that "Ariosto portrays iconoclastic female characters and experiments with gender reversals, transvestism, and cross-dressing. Nonetheless, he too recontains disorder by reaffirming the need for alignment through normalization or elimination of the different female characters" (16). While I agree that Ariosto experiments with several devices related to gender issues, I believe that what Finucci

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explains as "normalization" with the transgressive female characters can be also seen as the effect of the rhetorical strategy of parody on the level of gender.

[11] See Mary Frances Wack, Lovesickness in the Middle Ages. The *Viaticum* and Its Commentaries (Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), for an analysis of the subject of love sickness in the Middle Ages. See Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes and Angelucci, Ars Medica on a list of the passions of the soul. For bibliographical reference to these texts, see chapter I.

[12] See chapter I, note 64 for a brief overview of the influence of Neo-Platonism on the courtly life of Ferrara at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and particularly on the figures of Mario Equicola, Pietro Bembo and Baldassare Castiglione.

[13] See Plato, Phaedrus, 253e6-255e4. For an analysis of the section of Ficino's De amore dedicated to the importance of sight in the transmission of love see chapter I, pp. 25-26. In L' Antidote d' amour, written at the end of the sixteenth century (1599), Jean D' Aubery, doctor and counselor of king Henry IV, merges the medical and the Platonic traditions in the treatment of love madness. Aubery argues that "l' amour est une espece de manie ou de melancholie" (115) ("love is a type of mania or melancholy") and that moral philosophy cures the reason, while medicine cures the body. See Jean Aubery, L' antidote d' amour. Avec un ample discours, contenant la nature et les causes d' iceluy, ensemble les remedes les plus singuliers pour se preserver & guerir des passions amoureuses. Par Iean Aubery Docteur en Medicine (Paris, 1599).

[14] See Frances Wack's Lovesickness in the Middle Ages for an analysis of this connection.

[15] In Folly and Insanity in Renaissance Literature (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1986) Ernesto Grassi and Maristella Lorch argue that folly, as separate from and opposite to insanity, is an instrument that helps the individual find a way to reason through the exploration of human passions: "It is *follia* that allows Ariosto a vision of human passions. Thus folly becomes an all-pervading element in the poem, injecting a true *new content* into the old Orlando. [...] For Ariosto [...] *selva* implies wandering through the meanders of life, and hence the endless moving on of life. It takes folly to conceive of *selva* in a way so antithetical to Dante's folly positively understood, not, as in Dante, merely falling prey to the finite world of sensual satisfaction" (92-94).

[16] See Mary Frances Wack, Lovesickness in the Middle Ages for a detailed discussion of the subject. See also section III.2 of this chapter.

[17] In Castiglione's Il libro del Cortegiano the characters of the dialogue practice their rhetorical skills in praising or condemning the feminine gender.

[18] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, De hominis dignitate, Ioannis Pici Mirandulae concordiae Comitis Oratio in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola & Gian Francesco Pico della

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Mirandola, Opera Omnia, ed. Cesare Vasoli, (Hildesheim: George Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969) 312-331.

[19] See Marina Zancan on this subject ("La donna e il cerchio nel "Cortegiano" di B. Castiglione. Le funzioni del femminile nell' immaginazione di corte," in Ibid. ed., Nel cerchio della luna. Figure di donna in alcuni testi del XVI secolo (Venice: Marsilio, 1983) 13-56. See also Benson, 73-90.

[20] See Mary Frances Wack, Lovesickness in the Middle Ages. For an overview of the function of love sickness up until the Renaissance see the introduction of Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella to Jacques Ferrand's A Treatise on Lovesickness, ed. D. Beecher and M. Ciavolella (Syracuse: Siracuse UP, 1990) 3-165. See also D. Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, eds., Eros and Anteros: The Medical Tradition of Love in the Renaissance, (Univ. of Toronto, 1992).

[21] See chapter I for a detailed discussion of Ficino's commentary of the Symposium and his elaboration of medical and philosophical language in his definition of love. It is worthwhile mentioning that Ficino also uses the lyric tradition of the dolce stil novo when he mentions Guido Cavalcanti's canzone Donna me prega. See Ficino, De Amore, "Oratio septima," where the speaker is Giovanni Cavalcanti, descendant of Guido Cavalcanti, whom Ficino calls "philosopher." See Guido Cavalcanti, Rime, ed. Domenico de Robertis (Turin: Einaudi, 1986).

[22] "Amor qui et eros dicitur morbus est cerebro contiguus. Est autem magnum desiderium cum nimia concupiscentia et afflictione cogitationum" (Viaticum, 1-3) ("The love that is also called "eros" is a disease touching the brain. For it is a great longing with intense sexual desire and affliction of the thoughts" Wack, 187).

[23] B. Gordonii aegritudinem a vertice ad calcem, opus praeclariis. Quod Lilium medicinae appellatur, nunc denuo ab omnibus mendis, quibus scatebat, repurgatum, & septem particulis distributum, ut quarta indicabit pagina (Paris, 1542). Born around 1258 (?) in Provence, Bernard of Gordon started teaching at Montpellier in 1283. He published the Lilium medicinae in 1303, and died around 1318-1320. For further information, see Luke E. Demaitre, Doctor Bernard de Gordon: Professor and Practitioner (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980).

[24] "Sed in viris est difficilioris cure, o quod impressio alicuius forme dilcte in cerebro mulieris, eo quod vir habet cerebrum siccius quam mulier et inpressio facta in sicco est difficilioris eradationis quam facta in humido" (Questiones super Viaticum, 154-159) ("But in men it is more difficult to cure, because the impression of any desired form in the brain of a man is stronger and harder to erase than the impression of a form in the brain of a woman, because a man has a drier brain than a woman, and an impression mad in the dry is harder to erase than that made in the moist" Wack, 223).

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[25] Jacques Ferrand, A Treatise on Lovesickness, ed. and tr. D. Beecher and M. Ciavolella (Syracuse: Siracuse UP, 1990).

[26] Wack, 152.

[27] Wack, 110.

[28] See chapter I for a discussion of the character of Olimpia in relation to Orlando.

[29] "The misidentification of [...] Bradamante as [man] in Orlando Furioso establish[es] that male identity, though clearly a site of power, can be appropriated by anybody with a strong arm, a sword and a suit of armor." Margaret Adams Grosbeak, " 'Tra noi non restò più di differenza': Men Transvestites, and Power in Orlando Furioso," Annali d'italianistica 16 (1998): 71.

[30] For an alternative reading of Bradamante's character see Benson, 124-155, where she argues that Bradamante's Amazonic qualities are subordinated to her role of wife and mother, which she envisioned for herself since the beginning of the poem and which she consistently pursues in her search and final reunification with her beloved Ruggiero.

[31] In The Lady Vanishes (234) Valeria Finucci reports Tasso's observation regarding the character of Bradamante. See Torquato Tasso, Apologia del Ser Toquato Tasso in difesa della sua Gerusalemme liberata a gli Accademici della Crusca (Ferrara, 1586). The work has been reprinted in Opere, ed. Bruno Maier, 5 vols. (Milan: Rizzoli, 1965).

[32] "Bradamante shows her female nature when taking off her helmet and then proceeds to embody her femininity by crying and assuming a melancholic, passive attitude in the aftermath of the Rocca di Tristano episode" (Finucci, 252).

[33] See chapter I for a more detailed analysis of this passage.

[34] At the end of the sixteenth century, Aubery observes that lovers' tears are produced by vapors that have reached the head, which is colder than other parts of the body and that transforms these vapors into water (33V).

[35] Beecher-Ciavolella, 301-302.

[36] In his commentary to the Orlando Furioso Orazio Toscanella, after having discussed the reunification among Bradamante, Ruggiero and Marfisa that occurs at the end of canto XXXVI, makes a general remark about jealousy: "Et debole è quella ragione, che alcuni sogliono a favore de' gelosi addurre, cioè che la instabilità delle donne, et le sue libidine partorisca nello amante questo monstro di gelosia; perché le donne sono constanti, quanto gli huomini [...]" (Bellezze del Furioso, 268) ("The following argument, which some usually produce in favor of jealous men, is very weak,

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namely, that women's instability and their lust create such monster of jealousy in the lover, because women are as constant as men..."). According to Toscanella, jealousy is a characteristic of both men and women, regardless of the nature and gender of their object of desire.

[37] For a psychoanalytic reading of the character of Dalinda see Valeria Finucci's essay "The Female Masquerade. Ariosto and the Game of Desire," in Valeria Finucci, Regina Schwartz, eds., Desire in the Renaissance. Psychoanalysis and Literature (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994), 61-88.

[38] See also Gerard of Berry's commentary to the Viaticum on the same subject: "Unde credit aliquam essem meliorem et nobiliorem et magis appetendam omnibus aliis." (Notulae super Viaticum, 10-11) ("thus it [i.e. the estimative faculty] believes some woman to be better and more noble and more desirable than all others" Wack, 199).

[39] Wack, 110-122. Wack argues that the literary representation of feminine lovesickness might have in part influenced the introduction of a feminine subject in medical treatises.

[40] Wack, 146.

[41] See Beecher and Ciavolella, 561-562 and 565, for a list of medical treatises that recommend intercourse as a remedy for lovesickness, beginning with Galen.

[42] See canto XX, 120.

[43] Bernard of Gordon, Lilium medicinae, 111V.

[44] In his commentary to the Symposium Ficino states that corrupt blood infects the observer through the eyes and that is the reason why women who are having their period cover the mirror with stains of blood ("Oratio septima," 247). Following this line of reasoning, old women who are unable to expel the excess of blood through their monthly period become venomous, both in their body and in their soul. See Ottavia Niccoli, '"Menstruum quasi monstruum": monstrous births and menstrual taboo in the sixteenth century', trans. Mary M. Gallucci, in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., Sex and Gender in Historical Perspective (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1990), 1-25.

[45] See Giorgio Agamben, Stanze. La parola e il fantasma nella cultura occidentale (Turin: Einaudi, 1977) 135.

[46] See chapter I for the link between madness and melancholy.

[47] Caput XIX. De melancholica mirachia; Caput XX. De amore qui ereos dicitur; Caput XXI. De ebrietate. Agamben observes that within the medical tradition established by the translation that Constantine the African made of the Viaticum of the Arab doctor

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Haly Abbas "love, which appears with the name of amor hereos o amor heroycus, and melancholy are catalogued among the illnesses of the brain in adjacent chapters and sometimes, as in the Speculum doctrinale by Vincent of Beauvais, even appear in the same chapter: 'de melancolia nigra et canina et de amore qui ereos dicitur'" (21). For the relationship between Constanine the African and his Arabic sources see Charles Burnett and Danielle Jacquart, eds., Constantine the African and `Al¯i ibn al-`Abb¯as al-Mag¯us¯i : the Pantegni and related texts, (Leiden ; New York : E.J. Brill, 1994).

[48] Wack's book Lovesickness in the Middle Ages includes the texts in Latin and the respective translations of Gerard of Berry, Peter of Spain and Bona Fortuna.

[49] See Agamben, 20 and Schiesari, 106-107

[50] "Et Socrates, quem Aristoteles melancolicum indicavit, ad amandi artem ut ipsemet profitebatur erat omnium propensissimum. Idemque de Sapho melancolica, ut ipsa testatur, possumus iudicare. Nec non et Maro noster, quem colericum fuisse eius effigies indicat, quamvis pudicus, fuit tamen proclivior ad amandum." Marsilio Ficino Commentaire sur le *Banquet* de Platon, ed. and tr. Raymond Marcel, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1965) Oratio VI, caput IX [215-216] ("And Socrates, whom Aristotle defined melancholic, was very inclined to the art of love, as he himself declared publicly. We can determine the same of the melancholic Sappho, as she declares herself. Even our Virgil, whom his portrayal shows as choleric, was rather inclined to love, even though [he was] chaste").

[51] See Apuleius, The Metamorphoses, in relation to the character of the old woman guarding Psyche in book V and that of the evil stepmother in book X, 1-12. See also Rajna's list of sources.

[52] See Midelfort, History of Madness, 69. For a discussion of old age and ugliness related to the character of Gabrina, see Valeria Finucci, "The Female Masquerade. Ariosto and the Game of Desire," 73-78, and particularly 73 and notes.

[53] For information about I Suppositi, see chapter I.

[54] See Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750 (New York : Zone Books ; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1998) 203.

[55] See Judith C Brown, Immodest Acts. The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy, (New York: 1986).

[56] In Aretino's Capricciosi ragionamenti (1536) an old woman, Nanna, who tells her young friend Antonia about her experience as a nun, a wife and a courtesan, narrates sexual encounters and games between individuals of the same sex.

[57] For a discussion of this episode in terms of gender and potential homoeroticism, see also the article by Margaret Adams Groesbeck, 78-80 and Giulio Ferroni, "Da

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Bradamante a Ricciardetto: interferenze testuali e scambi di sesso," C. Di Girolamo and I. Paccagnella eds., La parola ritrovata: fonti e analisi letteraria (Palermo: Sellerio, 1982), 137-159.

[58] See Marina Beer and Massimo Ciavolella, "La licantropia d' Orlando." See also chapter I for a discussion of the medical tradition in the episode of Orlando's madness.

[59] See chapter I of this work for an analysis of the topic.

[60] For a reading that focuses on the interconnections between the psychological and the allegorical dimension of Ariosto's characters see Peter deSa Wiggins, Figures in Ariosto's Tapestry. Character and Design in the *Orlando Furioso* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). For an analysis of the theoretical and practical meaning of perspective in Renaissance painting see E. Panofsky, La perspective comme forme symbolique, (Paris: Éditions d Minuit, 1967), J. White, The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1987 [1st ed. 1957]). It is worth noting that for many painters the value of perspective resided less in the attempt to represent reality naturalistically than in giving order and harmony to it through the use of geometrical and mathematical formulas.

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Chapter IV

Patients in and out of L' hospedale: between reality and fiction.

IV.I. Gendered madness in Ariosto and Garzoni. A comparison.

Ariosto appears to perceive the notion of gendered madness as a phenomenon in which genders are constructed and represented in a relational way. Feminine gender is shaped in relation to masculine gender and vice versa. In his treatment of madness, Garzoni separates genders not only physically by locating mad men and mad women in two different parts of the hospital, but also by using two different rhetorical strategies. He employs the rhetorical strategies offered by the medical and commonplace traditions to define masculine madness, while he relies on the rhetorical strategy of the impresa to define feminine madness. In both cases, though, Garzoni catalogues and classifies madness, which ceases to be a metaphor meant to express something else[1] and becomes a synonym for alienation, deviance and transgression.

In his text Garzoni cites as examples of feminine and masculine madness several characters of Orlando Furioso, such as Gabrina, Orlando, Rodomonte, Bradamante, Bireno, Alcina, Doralice, Marganorre and Marfisa. However, he deprives these characters of their original context and treats them as cases histories of madness among the many others that he narrates in L' hospedale: "Non vi dico niente di quell'altra matta dispettosa detta Flavia Drusilla che vedete là [...] che per picciola cosa s'accende di tanto dispetto che Gabrina maledetta o la moglie di Pinabello certamente la perderebbono con essa" (363) ("I will not tell you anything about that other spiteful madwoman whose name is Flavia Drusilla and whom you see there [...] who is stirred up by such spite over nothing,

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that wretched Gabrina or Pinabello's wife pale in comparison"). Garzoni isolates characters from Orlando Furioso—in this passage, Gabrina and Pinabello's wife—as examples of moral deviation and madness and compares them to the mad men and the madwomen of his "hospital."

In Garzoni's text men are perceived and represented as different from the public who watches them because they are melancholic, furious or demented, but also because they are drunkards, question the authority of the established power and show "heretical" tendencies.[2]Women are perceived and represented twice removed from the saggi ("wise") spectators who gaze at them, not only because they are mad but also because they are women. Not only does Garzoni confine them in individual cells separate one from the other, but he also alludes to the fact that they are completely naked.[3] Garzoni portrays each mad woman as a passive object to be gazed at, a sample of the madness that has to be eradicated from the life of the "sane people." In Garzoni's fictional hospital women are described performing menial work related to the house. None of the women is involved in any public activity, while many of the men are described as speaking in front of an audience—like Santino della Tripalda, example of frenzied and delirious madness, who decided to go to the studio of Padua to lecture about Orlando Furioso (263-264). At the end of the sixteenth century the Italian urban space became increasingly gendered.[4] While the squares and even the streets were the dominion of men, the house was left to women.

Garzoni seems to replicate this division in his text, and he makes it even more pronounced by assimilating this separation by gender to that created by madness. Garzoni, a priest who was born and lived during the period of the Catholic Reformation,

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was also part of a society that needed to define boundaries and limits outside and within itself. If religious heresy, in the form of Lutheranism, Calvinism and other minor religious groups, constituted the greatest danger outside Catholic Italy, heresy in the broadest sense of the term was the inside threat. Heresy as dissent from the dominant rule and opinion[5]was present in various forms in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century.[6] Religious and intellectual dissent on the one hand and madness on the other are based on a notion of difference that renders the two categories analogous. In both cases, difference leads to exclusion from the dominant rule. In Garzoni's treatise, mad people were not only those whom medical treatises defined as such, but also those whom a very structured society decreed different because of their behavior, their words and their actions.[7]

At the beginning of L' hospedale, Garzoni presents himself as a member of the medical community and uses a method of classification characteristic of the medical tradition—that is, he describes the symptoms and the signs that accompany the illness, and accompanies them with a short story that exemplifies them. Even when, later in the text, Garzoni abandons the explicit medical language for a more moralistic one, he keeps the classificatory structure, a trademark of the medical treatise and of other texts that were written during the sixteenth century and that belonged to the encyclopedic tradition. Furthermore, in Garzoni's text medical tradition is also gendered, since it is used to define several cases of masculine madness, while it is peculiarly absent in the discussion of feminine madness.

While in Garzoni's text the reader witnesses a clear-cut separation between genders at several levels—narrative, structural, rhetorical—in the social reality of the period the distinction probably was not so radical. In medical practice, for instance, both

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women and men were affected in a similar way by the same illness.[8] Garzoni's text did not reflect the social practices of sixteenth-century Italy in terms of madness and gender. Rather, it represented the perceptions that the author had of these notions, which he filtered through the medical theory and the encyclopedic tradition of the period or through the use of the emblematic images of the impresa.

IV.2. Medical and legal treatises, private chronicles of madness and Garzoni's L' hospedale: reasons for a juxtaposition.

Ariosto shapes madness through a plurality of discourses, genres and styles. The medical tradition is one of the several devices through which Ariosto investigates gender, the representation of madness and the notion of subject. Garzoni appears to consider the medical tradition and its taxonomic qualities as the privileged way through which he perceives madness, deviance and difference. However, L' hospedale is not a medical treatise and explicit allusions to the medical tradition are only in the first six discorsi of the text. Nor is Garzoni's text an accurate description of the condition in which patients were treated in the hospitals in sixteenth-century Italy. When he describes his fictional patients, however, Garzoni shows a moral and ideological bias that is similar to the structure of some medical treatises and to the organization of some hospitals that were centers of social control and also spaces where madness was treated and cured.[9]

Some medical treatises listed among the causes of melancholy an excess of cold and dry air but also demonic possession, excessive sexual activity and excessive fear of divine punishment, which was connected to priests, nuns and individuals with an immoderate religious devotion.[10] Many hospitals, which were founded before and after

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the sixteenth century, were established and organized on the basis of religious norms. Thus, medical institutions treated individuals not only for their physical illness, but also for what was seen as their spiritual illness, expressed by a behavior that deviated from social norms. By using the medical language and the medical taxonomy of the period, Garzoni exploited the rhetoric and the style of the medical textual tradition and practice; by doing so, he also adopted the ideological and moral bias implicit in the medical discourse.

Doctors, lawyers, members of religious and lay confraternities and of local political institutions and private individuals have left documents referring to the origins, symptoms, signs, treatment and care of madness. Some of these documents aspired to faithfully chronicle current events, while others tried to correct or to reinforce certain rules that society might have broken or disregarded repeatedly. Throughout the sixteenth century, doctors established in a more or less harmonious way a dialogue between the classical textual tradition of Greek and Latin medicine and the recent development of a practice based on experience. At the same time, they tightened the professional organization and made it more hierarchical. Early modern physicians also continued to emphasize a strongly ideological and moralizing dimension of medical theory, which interpreted the individual's reaction to illness according to a pre-conceived system of hierarchies that perceived the feminine gender as weaker—physically and morally—than the masculine. Domenico Leone's general work on practical medicine Ars medendi humanos (1583) offers a typical example of how some illnesses such as melancholy and love madness[11] would affect each gender in a different way, according to a tradition that went back to Galen. In his treatise on women's diseases De Morbis Muliebribus (1587),

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the renowned doctor Girolamo Mercuriale described in great detail the "madness of the womb" or "furor uterinus," a form of madness that affected mainly women.[12] Other medical treatises were more moderate in defining mental illnesses that assailed women. Antonio Benivieni, who composed a collection of case histories at the end of the fifteenth century, and Giovanni Da Monte, who wrote a book of consilia and was active in the first half of the sixteenth century, narrated their own experiences as practitioners of medicine who applied their medical knowledge to the most disparate illnesses. Both described in detail cases of mad women and their behavior which could be compared to that of mad men.[13]

In the documents that state and religious institutions wrote to establish and organize hospitals or sections of hospitals for mad people, use of medical language in diagnosing and treating patients was not a common feature. Gender was an issue in the organization and cure of patients in the hospitals, but it raised different problems from those related to gender in the textual medical tradition. In some cities like Florence, mad people were located in hospitals or sometimes in prison, like that of Le Stinche, depending on the social and economical status of the person. In general, women's insanity had to do with a more or less explicit deviance from accepted moral behavior, and it had often a sexual connotation.[14]

Some texts defined the legal status of individuals considered insane by establishing a connection between medicine and law. In the treatise Quaestiones medico-legales[15] the doctor and jurist Paolo Zacchia likened mad individuals to children, old people and women, because all of them showed reduced reasoning abilities. According to the Roman juridical system on which Zacchia based his legal statements and which

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European countries were still using in the sixteenth century, only people who showed intent in committing a crime could be put to trial. Intent was linked to the ability to reason and in mad people, women, children and old people the ratio was much below the standard established by the "perfectus vir" ("ideal man").[16]

There are also documents such as private letters and diaries in which individuals chronicled the insurgence and the visible signs of madness as they perceived it. Giuliano de' Ricci, a merchant with the aspiration of becoming a historian, chronicled what he thought were the most notable events of the city of Florence from 1573 to 1606, the year he died.[17] Among the many stories he narrated, there were also episodes of madness, which de' Ricci attributed to traumatic events that had happened in the lives of both men and women. Suor Maria Celeste Galilei, daughter of Galileo Galilei, wrote regularly to her father from the convent of S. Matteo in Arcetri where she spent her life. Galileo Galilei kept the letters that Suor Celeste wrote to him from 1623 to 1633.[18] In one of the letters she described an episode of violent madness that affected another nun in the convent. In several others, she recorded the chronic melancholy that affected her sister, Suor Arcangela, who lived with her in the convent and was two years her junior. Suor Celeste was not a doctor, but she knew the curative power of many herbs and of phlebotomy. She also lived all her life in an environment closed to the general public and in particular to men, somehow like the mad women in Garzoni's text.

Medical and legal treatises and private chronicles of madness show several viewpoints from which individuals in the sixteenth century interpreted the notions of madness and gender and also of difference and deviation. The goal of juxtaposing these texts to Garzoni's L' hospedale is to find differences and similarities between these

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historical artifacts and the literary text, through the language and the rhetoric that both use to describe women's madness. This comparative analysis helps establishing a set of images, words and ideological and moral structures with which the authors of these texts diagnosed the symptoms of madness, the way they perceived it. Official medical treatises perceived and represented madness in a more conservative way than medical treatises that relied on some degree of observation and experience. Consequently, the rigid distinction between genders that physicians like Domenico Leone and Girolamo Mercuriale described in relation to specific categories of madness leaves way in Antonio Benivieni and Giambattista Da Monte to an analysis in which sharp differences in term of genders are more blurred and fluctuating. In the documents of Giuliano de' Ricci and Suor Celeste Galilei, the representation of madness depends on the gender of the subjects affected by it as well as on the social status and environment in which they lived. Even though it is indebted to the medical tradition, Tomaso Garzoni's representation of madness offers a much more conservative view than the official medical treatises'. His clear-cut division between masculine and feminine madness does not reflect the way doctors and lay people conceived of and perceived madness in the early modern period. In a way, Garzoni's hospedale constitutes a form of regression, which the author charges with ideological meanings spurring from his own perception of madness, from the perception and representation of madness of the period.

IV.2.i. The medical treatise and the classic tradition: Domenico Leone and Girolamo Mercuriale.

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Domenico Leone, a doctor active in Bologna in the second half of the sixteenth century,[19] wrote the medical treatise entitled Ars medendi humanos, which is divided in three sections. The first section is dedicated to the illnesses of the head, including those that are traditionally considered forms of insanity, such as frenzy ("de phrenitide"), melancholy, mania and love madness or "erotomania." Leone genders melancholia when he states that men are more predisposed to it ("ad melancholiam magis dispositi sunt viri quam mulieres"). However, Leone argues that the type of melancholy that affects women is more dangerous and difficult to cure, "vel quia calore sunt debiliores: & habent humores magis pituitosos, & tenaciores: vel quia malis consiliis sunt deditae. (malo enim consilio foeminae vincunt viros: inquit Seneca)" ("either because they are less warm, and their humors are more phlegmatic and persistent; or because they are engaged in evil plans (indeed, as Seneca says, women outsmart men in evil plans)"). Thus, Leone endows women with a type of melancholy that depends on physiological conditions—their bodies are colder and more phlegmatic— and on moral behavior—they are more predisposed than men to machinations. One should also recall that even the apparently neutral allusions to women's bodily temperature and humoral complexion are in fact ideologically charged. According to the humoral theory warmth was the principle for life and procreation, while a woman's body was cold and dry. Both women's bodies and their moral behavior were perceived as inherently deficient and "bad," thus confirming the argument that Renaissance medical tradition perceived the corporeal and the moral dimensions connected and influencing each other.[20] Furthermore, in Leone's statement the physiological and the moral condition are permanent and peculiar to the feminine gender.

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Leone locates the chapter on mania immediately after that on melancholy. Leone also defines mania a subcategory of melancholy, together with love madness. He follows the medical tradition when he states that mania is an illness that can affect the brain or, by "consensum" ("agreement") other parts of the body, such as the stomach or the "matrix," that is, woman's uterus. The retention of menstrual blood or of "spermatic" fluid, which implies lack of sexual activity in women, produces poisonous fumes that reach the brain and affect women's imaginative and intellectual faculties. As a consequence, women affected by this type of mania can predict the future and speak Latin, Greek, and other unknown languages. The subjects most at risk are "moniales, et viduae, et virgines" (105) ("nuns, widows and virgins"), that is, women who either by choice or by imposition of social rules cannot have sexual intercourse with a man.

After having described the symptoms of this type of mania in general terms and listed the categories of the individuals who could be affected by it, Leone decides to narrate the case of a woman "maniaca" that he witnessed in his home town:

> In oppido Zaccani, in agro Lunensi, quae mihi patria est, vidi mulierem temperaturae biliosae, ob spermatis retentionem, & coeundi desiderium (erat enim iuvenis vigintiquinque annorum, & nondum nupta fuerat, neque virum cognoverat) maniacam, et furiosam factam: it ut, per agros, & per silvas erraret, & unumquemque obviam factum, ut secum coiret, provocabat, & renuentes lapidibus, & conviciis insectabatur. Denique huiusmodi furorem coitus sedavit: nupsit enim cuidam rustico, unde convenientem adepta medicinam, pristinae sanitati fuit restituita. (105)

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> In the town of Zaccani, which is in the territory of Luna and is my native place, I saw a woman of choleric temperament who had become prey of mania and frenzy because of the retention of spermatic liquid and of the urge to have intercourse (indeed, she was a young woman of twenty-five, she had not married yet, neither had she carnally known a man). She was in such a state of raging madness that she would wander through lands and woods and invite any man whom she would encounter to sleep with her, and pursue those who refused with stones and insults. Finally, sexual intercourse appeased this kind of madness, since she married a peasant, so that, having obtained the right medicine, she was restored to her pristine health.

The dramatic nature of this case history is emphasized by the fact that this is the only chronicled experience that Leone narrates in the section dedicated to mania and to the other illnesses of the head traditionally connected to insanity. The story focuses on the irrational and extremely violent behavior of a young, unmarried woman who lacks sexual activity. However, it does not exemplify the characteristics that Leone lists at the end of his description of the symptoms of the disease. In fact, in that section Leone states that some of the women affected by mania become prodigiously intelligent—they can speak ancient and foreign languages—and are able to predict the future, like the Sibyls whose prophetic μανία Plato describes in the Phaedrus.[21] Instead, the protagonist of the story, who is already quite old for marriage, is likened to a beast in heat, who lives in the wild and whose desire can be satisfied by any man with whom she is able to have sex. If a potential mate rejects her, she becomes verbally and physically abusive. She is

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completely cured after she has married a poor man from the country, a "rusticus," who is able to free his wife permanently from any sign of mania. In Leone's description of the type of mania that affects women, the shift from sibyl to lustful being could not be more dramatic.

In his treatise De Morbis Muliebribus Girolamo Mercuriale[22] describes at length the so called "furor uterinus," which is very similar to the mania "per consensum" that Leone illustrates in his treatise. Mercuriale, who bases this statement on the authority of the Arab medical tradition, defines this type of disease as "appetitus quidam Venereus immoderatus, cum Uteri ardore et delirio" (153) ("a kind of excessive sexual desire, accompanied by heat and convulsion in the uterus"). Women who are affected by the "madness of the womb" are verbally abusive, breathe with difficulty and talk and think constantly only about sex ("solum circa Venerem"). Some of them are so insane that they commit suicide by hanging themselves or by throwing their bodies in wells and rivers. An imbalance of heat in the uterus and in the entire body is the main reason for this type of insanity. Women in their prime and those who have devoted their life to chastity, but especially virgins, are the subjects most at risk. Like Leone's mania "per consensum," the "furor uterinus" starts in the lower part of the woman's body but then ascends to her heart and finally to her brain, creating havoc in her mind and driving her ultimately to death. In order to explain how it is possible that women who never had sex before could desire the sexual act, Mercurial likens virgins' sexual behavior to that of animals. Like Galen, Mercuriale argues that virgins need to expel the semen that produces heat and itching in their body[23]:

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> Scribit enim Galenus, bruta appetere coitum, non ob voluptatem, sed duntaxat, ut fugiant molestias ex Semine retento. Sic dicendum est de Virginibus, quae cum graventur semine pruriente, exoptant hanc molestiam deponere: & quoniam hoc sit frictione, propterea amant frictionem hanc, ut vitent molestias seminis. (155)
>
> Indeed, Galen writes that animals long for the sexual act not because of the pleasure, but so far as to avoid the distress caused by the retention of the semen. One has to say the same thing about virgins, who greatly desire to get rid of this annoyance when they are aggravated by the itching of the semen. And since [relief from this annoyance] comes through rubbing, virgins love this type of rubbing for this reason, in order to avoid the annoyances produced by the semen.

Mercuriale adds that women who like to "rub" themselves, that is, to give themselves pleasure, are in a category apart and are called "tribades," thus making an allusion and implicit condemnation by marginalization of contemporary lesbianism. Obviously, the best cure for this type of "furor uterinus" is intercourse.

The "furor" that Mercuriale describes is exquisitely bodily. Itching, rubbing, expulsion are actions connected to the woman's body, specifically to her genitals. Only later does the disease move to the head and provoke an insanity that is similar to that which affects the masculine gender, but only in appearance. Women's madness affects the faculties contained in the brain through their body, that is, through their organ of reproduction. Furthermore, women share their reactions to the retention of semen—the hitching and the desire to expel the semen—with the kingdom of the "bruta," the

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irrational and senseless animals. While women become mad because their sexual desire is excessive, men can incur the same disturbance because their desire is defective: "...[dico] in Mulieribus, non dari morbum in defectu desideri coitus, sed solum in viris.." (155) ("[I say that] not among women but only among men the disease is attributed because of a deficiency of the sexual desire...") The quantity of desire in the two genders varies according to the role that each of them plays in the sexual act. A woman' sexual organ is always receptive, while a man's member can either perform in excess or in defect, thus revealing impotence in the man.

In Leone's and Mercuriale's treatises madness is inextricably connected not only to the gender of the individual but also to the body as sexual entity. Even though Mercuriale admits that men can be subjects to the "furor uterinus," thus blurring boundaries between genders, both authors define women's madness on the basis on their sexual urge, which is excessive, beast-like and compulsive. However, this sexual drive is separated from the possibility of getting pleasure out of it. Thus, even when women possess something in a much larger amount than men, they are reduced to animal irrationality, madness or death. Finally, Leone and Mercuriale elaborate their arguments concerning the effects of madness on women on the basis of the existing medical tradition—Hippocrates, Galen and Soranus.[24] Only once in his treatment of mania Leone narrates a case history of a woman who is affected by such illness.

While it is common practice that writers of medical treatises composed texts that were an elaboration and a commentary of earlier texts on the same subject,[25] it is important to notice the ideological implications in those apparently neutral statements on the physiology and the functioning of the woman's body. The case history of the maniac

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woman living in Leone's hometown appears to fit perfectly the doctor's statement about the causes, symptoms and effects of mania on female subjects. The fact that Leone does not narrate other case histories for this or for any other category of madness suggests that he included the chronicle of the maniac woman for rhetorical purposes, that is, to persuade the readers and colleagues of the validity of his statement.

As a provisional conclusion, one can say that in the treatises of Leone and Mercuriale feminine madness is represented as a given, which is based on the presumed weakness of both her mind and body. It fits the hierarchy between the genders and doubles the alienation of the woman affected by madness. Indeed, the maniac woman is marginalized because she is mad and probably also because she is still unmarried at twenty-six and her body is "naturally" predisposed to such type of insanity. Finally, in the two texts sex and madness seem to have a very important interaction in the definition of feminine insanity and in the differentiation between genders.

IV.2.ii. Benivieni and Da Monte. Tradition, experience and "Galenic observation."[26]

Almost half a century separated Antonio Benivieni's collection of case histories De Abditis Nonnullis ac Mirandis Morborum et Sanationum Causis and Giovanni Battista Da Monte's book of consilia entitled Consultationes medicae.[27] Both doctors used case histories and anecdotes to present and exemplify their medical knowledge. The doctors described many of the patients' symptoms in detail and often called the patients by first name. Unlike Mercuriale and Leone, Benivieni and Da Monte seem to base their statements on direct observation of individuals whom they knew, because they lived in the same city or in the same neighborhood. However, the emphasis on experience does

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not mean that they excluded tout-court the textual medical tradition on which many of their colleagues based their diagnoses and observations.

Benivieni narrates several stories that focus on the affection of the faculties of the brain. A man affected by madness fell and hit the front of his head, with the result that the wound reabsorbed the "malus humor" that had damaged his imaginative faculty and he regained his reason. Another man, by the name of Antonio Senese, lost and regained his memory. Finally, Benivieni performed an autopsy on the body of the famous thief Jacopo, which revealed serious anomalies in his stomach, heart and head. Benivieni argues that these were the physiological reasons for the criminal behavior of this heartless monster, who would not remember any of his crimes because the site of his memory was too small.[28]

Benivieni also narrates two stories in which he identifies madness as the central symptom. Significantly, both patients are women. In the first story, a fifteen-year old woman is prey to horrible convulsions that made the doctors think that she was affected by the "wandering womb" and which produced poisonous vapors that ascend to the heart and the brain: "Nos vero eiusmodi morbi causas disquirentes arbitrati sumus hoc malum ex vulvae ascensu et vaporibus malis sursum elatis ac subinde cor et cerebrum impetentibus provenire" (67) ("In truth, we investigated the causes of this disease, and we thought that this disease derived from the ascent of the womb and from poisonous vapors that moved upward and then assaulted her heart and brain"). However, what seemed at first a case of insanity caused by physiological reasons, turned out to be an episode of demonic possession. Indeed, Benivieni witnessed ("me vidente") the woman vomiting nails, needles, wax and a mass of hair. For this reason, the woman was given to the cures

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of "spiritales medici," ("spiritual doctors") who confirmed the hypothesis of demonic possession. One of the signs that revealed the woman's unnatural state was that she was able to prophesy. Leone attributed the same symptom to the women who were affected by mania, although he did not mention the possibility that these women could be possessed by the devil. On the other hand, Benivieni's narration transforms a case of physiological madness into a case of demonic possession. It is also true that in the sixteenth century both phenomena were defined and analyzed under the category of madness. This was made possible by the fact that physiological mania and demonic possession shared many of the symptoms that would affect the woman's body and mind, such as convulsions, attacks of furious rage and power to prophesize. Critics have argued that "Benivieni repeatedly undercut the notion of specifically male or female diseases" since "his one apparent case of 'suffocation of the uterus' turned out to be demonic possession."[29] It is also true that in this particular case Benivieni seems to give a double explanation of the same illness. If considered from a merely physiological point of view, the madness that afflicted the young woman was a physical illness, while, from a religious point of view, the disease had to be treated as spiritual and moral deviance.[30]

However, in the end Benivieni considers the spiritual dimension of the young woman's disease more important than the physical, since he seeks the spiritual help of a religious figure to heal his patient.

The second story that Benivieni narrates is an example of the most pernicious type of madness that can affect an individual, according to the categorization that the doctor provides at the beginning of this section:

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XCIX. Ex calidiori materia caput inpetente furit ac moritur puella. Insaniae tria sunt genera, et acutum quodlibet: unum, cum in accessione febris aut in suo vigore desipit aeger, et aliena loquitur; sed tamen levata febre statim resipit. Alterum, quod Graeci phrenesim vocant: cui semper dementia comes est. Nam licet inter morbi initia resipere interdum videatur aeger: eius tamen mens quibusdam semper imaginibus agitatur. Tertium vero genus est loetale magis ac pestiferum: cum scilicet aeger ipse non solum perpetuo desipit, sed et quaecumque agit: impetu quodam et violento motu operatur." (155-158)

A young woman becomes mad and dies from a warm substance invading her head. There are three kinds of madness, and each of them is acute. One is when during a period of increasing or vigorous fever the sick person acts foolishly and speaks strangely: however, when the fever has been mitigated, the individual immediately recovers. The second type, which the Greeks call frenzy, is always accompanied by dementia. Indeed, even though sometimes at the beginning of the illness the sick individual seems to recover, however, his mind is always stimulated by some images. The third type is, in truth, more lethal and dangerous, [and occurs] when clearly the sick individual not only acts foolishly but also performs anything he does with a certain fury and violence.

The third type of madness is "magis loetale et pestiferum" than the other two because of the violence that it causes one to show towards oneself and others. It is worthwhile noticing that in listing the three categories of madness Benivieni uses the masculine

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gender to define the sick individual ("aeger"). However, he chooses the madness of a young woman as an example for his argument.

One of the daughters of Lorenzo de' Medici, whose identity is kept secret in the printed edition of the text but is made known in the manuscript, has an attack of violent madness. The doctors are called in the middle of the night to find the woman in a state of such raging fury ("adeo furentem puellam invenimus") that she would bite anything that was close to her, lacerating her own body and that of others. After a few hours, she falls in a deep sleep, from which the doctors are barely able to snatch her out, and she is apparently healed. Benivieni explains the sudden succession of rage and deep slumber as a physiological reaction to warm and cold substances affecting the woman's brain:

> Siquis autem huius morbi causam quaerat, nos, quantum coniectare licuit, materia credimus fuisse calidiorem: sed paucam tamen: quae cum caput peteret, suo et incendio et mobilitate puellam furentem redderet. Et quoaniam caput ipsum frigidiori materia oppletum fuerat, hanc quoque [...] exagitata fuisset, priori illa materia extincta ac resoluta ipsum denique profundiorem somnum puellae fecisse putamus. (157-59)
>
> However, if somebody asked the reason of this illness, we thought, as far as it was possible to guess, that it was a rather warm substance, but in small quantity, which made the young woman furious, by going to the head, with its vehemence and movement. And since her own head had been filled with cold substance, we thought that this substance too, [...] having been stimulated, and the warm substance having been extinguished and released, had given the young woman that very deep slumber.

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According to this explanation, the warm substance caused the raging madness, while the cold matter produced the comatose sleep. The explanation fits the traditional symptomatology for cases of violent madness, according to which warm vapors reach the head and dry up the liquid in it, thus causing madness.

Nowhere in Benivieni's narration is the young woman's madness even indirectly connected to her gender. Furor and furens are the terms that Benivieni uses to define her madness. They belong to the "high" tradition of Latin literature and philosophy, which has been consequently filtered and elaborated through Roman law. In Tusculanae Disputationes Cicero at first distinguishes the word furor from insania but in the course of the dialogue blurs again the boundaries between the two terms. Among the supplementary meanings that Cicero attributes to furor there is also that of divine inspiration. Roman law made conclusive the assimilation of furor to insania, but could not completely eliminate the religious dimension that the word originally had.[31] Benivieni does not use any of the technical terms such as phrenetis, melancholia, erotomania, mania and dementia known to the medical tradition since Galen's and Hippocrates' time to define the madness of Lorenzo de' Medici's daughter, but the generic and evocative furor. In this chronicle, Benivieni gives a medical definition of the young woman's madness, but by using the term furor to define the patient's behavior, he also implies the prophetic and legal dimensions of the word. The gender of the patient does not seem to have great importance in relation to the causes and symptoms of this type of insanity. Warm and cold vapors, substances and liquids circulated in the body of both men and women.

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However, Benivieni does insert a negative judgment of the feminine gender through a comment that he makes on the girl's behavior after the doctors treated her, which, according to Benivieni, caused her death. Indeed, after the young woman is restored to health,

> ut est ingenium mulierum, praesertim nobilium, cum sanitate adepta nihil eorum quae pro tuenda firmandaque valitudine iniuncta fuerant, observasset, et sua viveret libertade, post integrum mensem, quo pristina usa est valitudine, in eundem incidit morbum: a quo nullis unquam auxiliis potuerit, a medicis liberari, unius tantum diei spatio et medio sublata est. (157)
>
> As it is women's nature, especially that of the aristocratic, having disregarded everything [the doctors] imposed her to protect and strengthen her health, once she got it back, and living without restraint, after a whole month she had recovered her previous condition, she contracted the same disease. The doctors and their assistance were unable to free her from it and in the space of only one day she died.

Benivieni emphasizes that the disregard for the doctor's suggestions is typical of women, specifically of those who come from an aristocratic family. Thus, Benivieni's criticism is directed to the feminine gender and to aristocratic life that makes women more careless than the women from lower social strata. Unlike Leone and Mercuriale, Benivieni does not interweave his negative comment upon the feminine gender in the body of the woman, but in her moral and intellectual transgression, which caused her patient to die. Benivieni's story, then, implies that women's bodies and men's bodies are not different.

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Yet, what makes women different and therefore inferior is their lack of common sense and "ratio."[32]

Gianbattista Da Monte was a renowned doctor in Padua in the first half of the sixteenth century. He taught in Padua from 1540 to 1551, where he gave his lectures in the hospital, to show his students actual cases of the diseases that he was describing.[33] This biographical information suggests that Da Monte gave great importance to contemporary case histories rather than relying only on the textual descriptions of Hippocrates and Galen, although this does not mean that he was completely independent from the textual medical tradition.

Da Monte's Consultationes medicae belonged to the genre of the consilia.[34] A consilium was generally a paid consultation that doctors provided under patients' request. The doctor described the patient's past and present conditions, the possible causes of his or her illness and gave his prognosis and cure. In his work Da Monte records several consilia that he has given to individuals who were affected by melancholy. Some of the titles of these case histories reveal the identity, age and social status of the patient who was treated for melancholic disease: "De Iudaeo delirante," ("The crazy Jew") "Pro quandam magnifica matrona in affectione melancholica,"("For a noble married woman affected by melancholia") "De sene septuagenario, in quo periculum ne incidat in melancholiam," ("An old seventy-year-old man, who is in danger of contracting melancholy") "Melancholico sacerdoti praescriptum," ("Regulation for a melancholic priest") "Pro puero fatuo et delirante," ("For a foolish and raging boy"). According to Da Monte's account, melancholy could affect everybody, regardless of the individual's gender, age, religious profession and social status.

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Da Monte also narrates the story of a woman who, he believes, suffers from post-partum melancholy:

> Consilium XVII. De dolore capitis post partum, cum symptomatibus melancholicis, pro matrona Germana, uxore N. Kleidinst. Mulier quaedam 14 diebus post aeditum partum coepit laborare ex dolore capitis, adeo ut existimaverit caput sibi inane et vacuum esse, ceu olla vacua: nec dormire potuit, unde timuit, ne privaretur sensibus et ratione aut ipsa sibi inferret vilentas manus, aut aliquid mali faceret. Interdum etiam sibi ab hominibus discedendum esse putabat. Quod quidem perduravit a puerperio tribus mensibus. Hoc quidem etiam illi contigerat ante in duplici partu, sed non ita diu perduraverat. Cum vero iterum gestabat, dolebat quidem ex capite, sed magis quieta fuit. Curanda erit haec nobilissima mulier ab affectionibus suis, quas melancholicas arbitror, habita ratione aetatis, temperaturae, & generis morbi, temporis anni, & reliquis non repugnantibus: primo, recta ratione victus: secundo, missione sanguinis: tertio, alteratione et purgatione humorum: quarto, conformatione membrorum.
>
> Consultation XVII. For a German woman, wife of N. Kleidinst, regarding a pain in her head that occurred after she gave birth. Fourteen days after she had given birth, a woman started to be afflicted by such a great pain in her head that she thought her head was an empty space, or an empty jar. She could not sleep, from which she feared that she would be deprived of her emotions and her faculty of reasoning, or that she could inflict

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> violence to herself, or that she could do something evil. Sometimes she also thought that she could get away from humankind. This state lasted for three months after she had given birth. Indeed, this condition had occurred even before when she had had twins, but it had not lasted that long. In fact, when she got pregnant again, she had pain in her head, but she was calmer. This very noble woman needs to be cured of her condition, which I believe derives from melancholy, after having taken into consideration her age and complexion, the kind of disease, the time of the year and a few other things worthy of attention: first, the right amount of food, second, her emission of blood, third, her alteration and cleansing of the humors and fourth, the harmony of the parts of her body.

Da Monte's narration focuses on the symptoms of the disease that affects the "nobilissima mulier": after each time she has given birth, she seems to suffer from the same disturbance—a pain in her head so strong that she cannot sleep. In this miserable condition, which lasts for whole months, the woman does not feel the need to see anyone. Da Monte gives a short but detailed description of the woman's condition, probably basing his account on the questions he might have asked her to establish the nature of the illness. Da Monte does not quote the authority of the medical tradition to declare that the woman suffers from melancholy. Perhaps it is her desire to be alone, or maybe the occurrence of the disease, which affects her every time she has a baby, that make Da Monte lean towards melancholy as an explanation for the woman's disease. Da Monte's cure is based on the observation of factors relative mostly to the woman's body and its functioning. Inserted among the other stories of melancholic cases, the chronicle of the

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"matrona Germana" exemplifies one particular type of melancholy. This melancholy may affect women after deliverance and may derive from the woman's physiology but also from her psychological behavior. The physiological and psychological dimensions intersect constantly one with another in the medical practice and theory of the period.

One final comment should be made on the manner in which Da Monte describes the symptoms that affect the woman. Through the doctor's diligent and careful recording of his patient's answers, the reader can still get a glimpse of the way the patient describes her illness with her own words. Her head is so much in pain that she thinks it is empty like an "olla vacua." Her inability to sleep leads her to think that she could harm herself or commit some crime, that is, become insane. This chronicle is not yet the autobiographical account of the way an individual—a woman—perceives her disease, but it is no longer the "scientific" description of the different kinds of madness that Leone and Mercuriale give in their treatises.

One can conclude that in their writings Benivieni and Da Monte used case histories to emphasize the experiential dimension of their practice. Both were well integrated and trained in sixteenth-century medical tradition. However, their constant use of stories narrating the life, disease and sometimes deaths of their patients creates an impression of immediacy, even though artificially and self-consciously constructed. In this context, gendered bodies lose their importance. Women and men can suffer from the same illness, such as melancholy. The focus of Da Monte's description of feminine melancholy is on the woman's body. This case could be defined as a post-partum depression in today's terms. However, the woman's desire for solitude seems to suggest a latent psychological condition that appears magnified after each pregnancy. A similar

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blending of physical and psychological factors occurs in cases of masculine melancholy. When the focus of the doctor's analysis is less on medical theory than on medical practice, the boundaries between physiology and religion, as it happens in Benivieni, and between genders, as it occurs in Da Monte, are blurred.

IV.2.iii. Medicine and law: Paolo Zacchia's Quaestiones medico-legales.

In Paolo Zacchia's Quaestiones medico-legales medical and legal tradition share the common goal of defining, describing and interpreting the different typologies of madness. In fact, Zacchia, well versed in both disciplines as well as in theology and literature, seemed to suggest that medical analysis was necessary, if not indispensable, to define madness and mad individuals from a legal point of view. The nature of the relationship between medicine and law is immediately evident even in the title that Zacchia chose to give to his treatise: "Questions pertaining to medicine and law, in which [the author] proposes, studies and resolves all the medical subjects that seem to concern the legal resources."[35]

At the beginning of the section entitled "De signis non sanae mentis" ("Regarding the signs of mind which is not sane"),[36] Zacchia argues for the relativistic nature of the signs that accompany madness:

> Signa non sanae mentis varia in variis affectionibus, atque diversis aegrotis existunt, neque eadem in iisdem eodem morbo laborantibus reperiri contingit; non solum enim varii morbi sunt inter se, sed etiam idem morbus a se ipso varius est, ob subjectorum varietatem, aegrotantium nimirum temperaturam; humorum peccantium naturam, miscelam, ac

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> qualitatem, unde, & pene in infinitum variari signa non sanae mentis contingit. (11)
>
> The signs of an unsound mind are differerent in different illnesses and in different sick individuals. The same signs do not occur in the same individualas who contract the same disease, but the same disease varies from itself, because of the variety of the subjects and certainly of the temperature of the sick individuals, the nature, mixture and quality of the humors of those who commit a crime. Therefore, it happens that the signs of an unsound mind vary indefinitely.

Zacchia argues that each type of insanity can be detected through certain signs. He also states that each individual, with his/her physiology and humoral balance, reacts differently to the same type of disease. From this passage it may seem that Zacchia is going to approach each case of insanity in an individual way, looking for the peculiar signs that reveal the disease. However, this approach is too relativistic and would lead the author to write a book of memoirs rather than a technical treatise. Just after having claimed the infinite variety of the signs that may reveal the insanity of an individual, Zacchia quotes the mythical characters of Ajax and Bellerophon as examples of the different ways individuals react to the same type of insanity. Ajax and Bellerophon represent categories of humanity that are perceived as valid because universal. In this context, as in many other medical treatises, these characters are also perceived as real individuals, whose medical dimension is substituted for their mythical nature.

Zacchia defines two categories of signs through which one can detect madness, that is, "facta," "actions," and "verba," "words" (12). A doctor can distinguish a

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"demens" from a "furiosus" or a "fatuus" because of the "quality of [his/her] words, their order and [his/her] way of speaking" (14). A few pages later, Zacchia introduces the description of the patient's body and face as another category of signs through which one can detect madness (19). In his approach to madness Zacchia seems to blend traditional tools such the physiognomic characteristics of individuals affected by different types of madness with more innovative tools, like the description of the insane individual's way of speaking.

Zacchia shows a conservative attitude toward madness when he starts to describe the innate mental deficiency of women, whom he likens to old men and young children and whom he sets against the standard of a man in his prime. Women, children and elderly people are more prone to insanity because their "ratio" is deficient: "Quaestio V. De rationis diminutione ex defectu aetatis, & sexus. Ratio non modo ex morborum culpa non integra reperitur, ut in perfecto viro requiritur, sed etiam ex aetatis defectu, quia nimis tenera, vel nimis iam praecipitata, & ex defectu sexus, quia foemineus [...]" (39) ("Regarding the lessening of the reasoning faculty because of a flaw of age and of sex. One finds a diminished reasoning faculty not only by fault of the diseases, as it is considered necessary in a mature man, but also for a defect of age, that is too young or too declining, and a defect of sex, that is the feminine [...]"). For Zacchia, women's faculty of reasoning is not complete, "integra," and this will always make them inferior to men. Only mature men can claim to have an accomplished and perfect "ratio." Excessive immaturity or maturity in age reduces men to imperfect and incomplete beings, that is, to the condition in which women are since their birth. Young boys will reach this condition

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of wholeness and old men have already experienced it. Only women will never reason with a "whole" mind.

When Zacchia analyzes the different types of insanity, he lists the traditional categories that are well known to the medical treatises. He describes melancholy and love madness, which he considers a subcategory of melancholy. Zacchia affirms that melancholy affects women and men without distinction and that, in fact, women's reaction is much worse than men's: "Sit tamen quomodocunque illud certum est, mulieres ex melancholiae morbo insanientes, multo pejus habere, quam viros, intensius enim, & magis irremediabiliter insaniunt" (186) ("Anyway, this is certain, that the women who go mad because of the melancholic disease are far worse than men, since their madness is more intense and irrecoverable"). For Zacchia, women are subject to the same diseases as men. Zacchia states that certain types of madness, like melancholy and dementia, affect both women and men, even though the degree of the illness and its consequences over one's body and mind can vary.

There are two diseases, however, that Zacchia defines as peculiar to women, because connected to their body and specifically their genital apparatus, and they are "uteri suffocatio," the "suffocation of the womb," and "furor uterinus," the "madness of the womb":

> Sed praeter dementias, quae ipsis cum viris communes existunt, duobus morbis obnoxiae sunt, ex quibus per consensum cerebri cum utero delirio tentantur [...] furor uterinus [...] est uteri ipsius superexcalefactio cum delirio circa Venerem, & ad eam pertinentia; in eam enim adeo acutis stimulis exagitantur, ut in furorem agantur; garrulae enim evadunt, & circa

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> Venerem quamplurima effutiunt [...] Caeterum ratio in his non minus quam in maniacis, & furentibus oblaesa est: immo & hic morbus nihil alius est, ut ipsum nomen innuit, nisi furor, seu mania, ex vitio excitata (186-87).
>
> But besides the cases of dementia, which exist in common with men, [women] are subject to two diseases, which attack them through consent of the brain along with the madness affecting the uterus [...] The madness of the womb [...] is an excessive heating of the uterus, accompanied by a delirious behavior regarding sensual love and things related to it. Indeed, [women] are stimulated toward sensual pleasure by such powerful stimuli, that they are driven mad. They go out and talk constantly, and chatter in excess about sensual love [...] Moreover, in these [women] the reasoning faculty is not less damaged than in individuals suffering from mania and raging fury. Indeed, as even its name suggests, this disease is nothing else than raging fury and mania, stimulated by vice.

Zacchia uses the traditional definition and description of the "furor uterinus" that one could find in medical treatises of the period. The cause of this typically feminine madness is located in the uterus. As uterus and brain are connected together by sympathy, so are mouth and vagina, the "lower" mouth. A woman's mouth is in constant movement, as it chatters about sex constantly and everywhere. Yet, as peculiar to women as this type of madness can be, its effects on the brain are likened to those of mania and furor. Zacchia seems to erase the distinction between genders, by making the "furor uterinus" a variant of more common diseases of the brain. However, Zacchia's final allusion to "vitium"

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appears to establish a new type of distinction, based no longer on the body, but on the moral behavior of the woman affected by "furor uterinus."

Zacchia has a complex vision of what madness is, which he has acquired through his thorough knowledge of both medical and legal traditions. His view of insanity oscillates between two poles. On the one hand, there is a greater emphasis of the individual reaction to a certain category of madness and on the way the patient/criminal verbalizes the symptoms of his/her madness. On the other hand, there is still the traditional approach of detecting madness, which is based on the marks that the disease leaves on the patient's body. Zacchia shows a similar indecision in his discussion of gendered madness. While he affirms that madness affects men and women alike, he also states that the degree with which each gender is affected varies greatly, as in the case of melancholy. Also, even if Zacchia appears to dissolve boundaries between typically feminine types of madness and the more general ones, he counteracts this by reasserting the innate mental and moral weakness that plagues women since their birth.

IV.2.iv. Giuliano de' Ricci and Suor Maria Celeste Galilei: a merchant's and a nun's account of melancholy and madness in Italy.

Giuliano de' Ricci was a merchant in the city of Florence. He was born in 1543 from Giovanni de' Ricci and one of the daughters of Machiavelli, Bartolomea. Giuliano wrote a chronicle of Florence, which spanned from 1532, with the narration of events that occurred before his birth, to 1606, the year he died. Even though Florence is the focus of most of the events that Giuliano narrates, other places figure as well in his chronicles: many Tuscan cities, Perugia, where he lived for seven years before he got married and

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Rome, the pope's residence. Giuliano intended to elaborate this chronicle into a historical text, but the project never saw the light of day.[37] Suor Maria Celeste, one of the natural daughters of Galileo Galilei, maintained an epistolary correspondence with her father for a long period of time. Galileo Galilei kept the letters that his daughter wrote to him from 1623 to 1633, the year before Celeste died, at the age of thirty-two.[38] Suor Celeste and Giuliano de' Ricci chronicled events that had happened in their microcosms—the convent of St. Matteo in Arcetri and the city of Florence. The events that Suor Celeste reports describe a cloistered environment, where apparently insignificant actions assume a great resonance, because they affect each member of the religious community. The stories that Giuliano de' Ricci recounts embrace the political and economical situation in Europe as well as the killing of a man in the streets of Florence to avenge his wounded sense of honor. Suor Celeste and Giuliano de' Ricci also tell stories centered on the subject of madness. In his stories, Giuliano de' Ricci usually shows a perception of madness as a consequence of some traumatic event that occurred in the subject's life. He does not use any medical term to describe the subjects' madness, besides defining some of them "maninconici." Suor Celeste, on the other hand, perceives the madness that affects one of the nuns in the convent as a disturbance of the body and describes medical remedies, such as purge and bloodletting as appropriate remedies for this type of illness. In the other case of insanity that she recounts, madness is instead a sign of social and moral transgression.

I. Giuliano de' Ricci's Cronaca.

Between 1573 and 1606 Giuliano de' Ricci narrates several stories of madness. He reports more cases of mad men than of mad women, and he attributes the cause of

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men's madness to a greater range of reasons than that for women's madness. However, in both accounts Giuliano de' Ricci uses a very generic vocabulary to define madness: "matto/a," "pazzo/a" "impazzire" and the expression "humori maninconici," common to both men and women. After the young Luigi Stufa kills a man, he runs into the woods completely naked and thinks that an entire army is following him. Luigi's life is plagued by episodes of mental imbalance, which ultimately lead him to his death.[39] In Perugia, a man proclaims to the authorities that he has killed his mother with a pocketknife and requests to be put in jail to wait for his capital punishment. A few weeks later, the same man claims to be "pazzo" and that he desires to be treated like a "matto," since it is proven that "humori maninconici" ("melancholic humors") affect him periodically; he is then allowed to leave the prison.[40] In another case, a 30 year-old man comes to Florence, dressing and acting like a holy hermit and attracting a great number of devotees. However, apparently exhausted by his devotees' constant attention, he breaks a crucifix on a woman's head, an action that reveals him as "pazzo" and leads him to the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, where he is kept "under good custody" (354).[41] Finally, Sixtus V appears to have "become almost mad" for the overwhelming joy he felt when he was elected pope in 1585. His unstable moods keep him from talking with anybody for days and he is gluttonous and cruel. De' Ricci is not clear in attributing the pope's madness to the traumatic event of his election or to a chronic condition.[42]

In de' Ricci's accounts women go mad because of the pain provoked by a sudden loss—a woman loses her husband, another loses her son.[43] In 1574, the same day the grand duke of Tuscany Cosimo de' Medici dies, his wife, Camilla de' Martelli, a young woman of 25 years of age, decides to retire to monastic life in the convent of the Murate

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(47). After only a few days Camilla falls severely ill.[44] De' Ricci describes Camilla as a melancholic subject with fits of raging madness who is overwhelmed by bizarre humors that circulate in her "capo." The author of the chronicle does not explicitly emphasize the connection between Camilla's altered status and the death of her husband. However, he narrates that the grand duke had had a three-year relationship with Camilla when she was only sixteen and still a virgin, and she became pregnant by him. Apparently, the grand duke had no desire of marrying the young woman, and it was only through the intervention of Pope Pius V that he did so. From de' Ricci's dry report of Camilla's madness, the reader learns that during the sixteenth century widows would choose to spend the rest of their lives in a convent, yet still maintaining their social status.[45] One can also speculate that the quasi obsessive nature of the couple's religious devotion led the wife Camilla to choose the monastic life after her husband's death, even though her fit of madness suggests a much more complex relationship with the religious dimension of her new life. It is also interesting to notice that when a person was affected by a severe case of madness, she or he was usually tied up until the crisis was over.

The other case of feminine madness in de' Ricci's chronicle is that of a mother who involuntarily kills her son by setting fire to the bed where he is sleeping. "...et la madre accortasi poche hore doppo del disordine, ne hebbe quel dispiacere che ciascuno si può immaginare et fu tale che ella impazzò" (146) ("...and his mother, having noticed the commotion a few hours later, experienced the grief that everybody can imagine and it was so great that she became mad"). In this chronicle there is no allusion to the way madness affects the woman's behavior, but only that she probably started acting in a way that people around her considered "mad" and "insane."

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In his Cronaca Giuliano de' Ricci, a merchant by profession and a historian by vocation, reports episodes of madness as one of the many categories of events that occurred in his lifetime and in his city, along with murders, beatings and political feuds. There is no apparent trace of medical language in his accounts, except for the expression "melancholic humors," which the author uses in a very generic way. De' Ricci does not relate madness to a physiological imbalance in the subject's body or brain but to an aberrant behavior from a social point of view. De' Ricci's voice embodies a large segment of the Florentine public opinion of that period, which appears to be afraid of any disruption of what it considers to be the normal behavior expected from a citizen of Florence.[46] Rather than perceiving it as an illness, De' Ricci perceives madness as having a social dimension and a strong effect on the community.

II. Suor Maria Celeste Galilei's Lettere al padre.

Polissena and Virginia Galilei were the natural daughters of the famous scientist Galileo Galilei. He had the two girls and a boy from a woman whom he never married called Maria Gamba, while he lived and worked in Padua. When Galileo decided to go back to Florence, he sent his two daughters, still very young, to the convent of S. Matteo in Arcetri. Celeste was between eleven and thirteen and Arcangela between ten and twelve.[47] The two girls took their monastic vows respectively in 1616 and in 1617, with the name of Suor Maria Celeste and Suor Arcangela. Suor Celeste died in 1634, while her sister, who appears frequently in Suor Celeste's letters, died much later, in 1659. Since the late Middle Ages, fathers sent some of their daughters, still girls, to the convent, so that the patrimony of the family would not be scattered among too many children, and the fathers would not be obliged to provide their daughters with dowries correspondent to

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their family's social status. Some of the girls were forced to become nuns and as soon as they had a chance they tried to escape the monastic life.[48] This state of things still existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Galileo decided to relieve himself of the responsibility to raise his two daughters by sending them to live for the rest of their life in a monastery. According to the letters that Suor Celeste sent to his father, the monastery's finances were far from florid. In a letter dated July 8, 1629, Suor Celeste complains to her father about the narrowness of the cell that she had to share with her sister, the use of which she paid to the convent. She asks him to give her more money, so that she can rent another cell, just for herself.[49]

The nuns of the convent of St. Matteo were Poor Clares, who voted themselves to a life of poverty and seclusion. They were cloistered nuns who shared with their fellow sisters everything they would receive from the outside world, and they had to live according to rules established for the community by the convent. Every nun had to work in the convent, and the abbess could send the products manufactured in the convent to the outside world to be sold.[50] Suor Celeste repeatedly asks her father to send her fruit to be pickled, shirts and collars to be fixed in exchange for money or for some other items that she and the community needed at the moment. Indeed, the thirty nuns who lived in the convent during Suor Celeste's permanence greatly depended on alms from the outside world.[51]

The nuns took care of each other's health as well, even though they received regular visits from a doctor. Suor Celeste reports to her father that several times the doctor visited her sister, whose health was unstable and who had a melancholic temperament. In a letter that she writes in October of 1623 Suor Celeste mentions for the

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first time her sister's "noiosa infermità" ("annoying ailment"), which gives her "infinito travaglio" ("endless worry") and for which she sought the help of a doctor. Suor Celeste describes Suor Arcangela lying in bed, needing a purge or bloodletting.[52] Even though Suor Celeste is not a doctor, she was appointed the convent's apothecary.[53] She seems to know when her sister needs one of the two remedies to free her body from the melancholic fluids. Indeed, in other letters to her father Suor Celeste demonstrates a good knowledge of the curative property of some of the herbs that the nuns grew in the convent's garden.

When Suor Celeste asks her father to finance her in renting a cell of her own in her convent she explains that sharing the same room with her sister has become quite problematic in the last years:

> [...] una piccola celletta [...] mi è convenuto, per necessità, cederla totalmente a suor Arcangela, acciò, per quanto è possibile, ella stia separata dalla detta maestra, che travagliata fuor di modo dai soliti umori, dubito che con la continua conversazione fosse per apportarle non poco detrimento; oltre che per essere suor Arcangela di qualità molto diversa dalla mia, e piuttosto stravagante, mi torna meglio di cedergli in molte cose per poter vivere in quella pace e unione che ricerca l' intenso amore che scambievolmente ci portiamo. (53-54)
>
> [...] out of necessity [...] I had to give up completely the small cell to Suor Arcangela, so that she would be far away as much as possible from the novice mistress mentioned above. I fear that [the novice mistress], excessively afflicted by her usual humors, could inflict [Suor Arcangela] a

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> not insignificant harm because of her constant conversation [or also closeness]. Furthermore, since Suor Arcangela is by nature very different from me, and very bizarre, it is convenient for me to give in to her in many things so that I can live in that atmosphere of peace and union that the great love that we have for each other requires.

Suor Celeste admits that Suor Arcangela's nature, which she previously defined as "melancholic," is so "bizarre" that even she cannot tolerate living with her sister in the confined space of a cell. Suor Celeste also acknowledges that the behavior of another nun, called the "maestra," ("mistress") made her decide that neither her sister, a melancholic and "bizarre" subject, nor she should be close to this fellow sister. The abbess of the convent appointed the novice mistress to "form [her fellow sisters] in holy living and becoming behavior."[54] However, the novice mistress who appears in Suor Celeste's letter is an emotionally disturbed woman, unusually beset by her "humors," and capable, in Suor Celeste's mind, of harming Suor Arcangela with her words and with her presence. In a letter written a few moths later, Suor Celeste describes to her father the shocking spectacle of the novice mistress' fit of madness and her attempted suicides. Suor Celeste and all the other fellow sisters were the unwilling and terrorized audience of the madness of the novice mistress who " [...] sopraffatta da que' suoi umori o furori due volte ne' giorni passati ha cercato di uccidersi" (57) (" [...] overwhelmed by her humors or furious rages [she] attempted twice to commit suicide in the last days"). Suor Celeste vividly describes the two attempted suicides. The first time, the woman hit "her head and her face so hard on the ground that she had become disfigured and monstrous." The second time she inflicted twelve wounds with a pocketknife on herself: " [...] two on her

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throat, two on her stomach and all the others on her abdomen." Suor Celeste is puzzled by the nun's contradictory behavior. At the same time that she is maiming her body, she also tries to catch the attention of the other sisters and calls the father confessor to whom she gives the pocketknife, "so that nobody would see it." Suor Celeste concludes her chronicle by commenting that the woman "apparisce pazza e savia nel medesimo tempo," ("appears mad and sane at the same time") and that she is still alive because this was God's design. After this violent episode of raging madness, Suor Celeste and all the other nuns carefully guard the sick sister, who is tied to her bed, "ma con le medesime frenesie" (58) ("but with the same frenzies") that led her to attempt suicide. Shortly after, Suor Celeste announces to her father that the sick sister is going to die, so that Celeste needs to give money to the abbess to pay for the sister's funeral. (60)

In her letters to her father Suor Celeste chronicles two types of madness. Her sister, Suor Arcangela, represents a chronic type of madness. She appears to have been for all her life a melancholic subject, and her body needs to be purged to alleviate the negative influence of the melancholic humors. Suor Celeste admits that it is difficult for her to live with Suor Arcangela, whose bizarre behavior leads to isolation. One can speculate that Suor Arcangela resented having become a nun more than her sister did, but there is no evidence to support this consideration. Suor Celeste seems to share the doctor's opinion that her sister's illness needs to be cured through a treatment of her body, but she is also aware that Suor Arcangela's behavior can influence and is influenced by those living with her. In a social microcosm where communality and sharing are implemented at every level, any type of behavior that disturbs this norm can be considered "stravagante." The novice mistress represents a violent type of madness,

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which proves to be deadly to the subject affected by these "furori" and very unsettling for the rest of the community, which is ultimately transformed in a sort of collective jailer that guards the dangerous mad woman tied up in her cell. Suor Celeste has already noticed that the novice mistress shows signs of unusual behavior.[55] Therefore, the nun's attempted suicide does not come as a total surprise to the community, which is nonetheless stunned by the gruesome violence that the woman inflicts on her body.

In her description of this tragic event, Suor Celeste points out, probably without knowing it, the terrible dilemma that her fellow sister was facing. Even in her deranged state of mind, the novice sister somehow realizes that her attempted suicides constitute a very serious transgression against the Catholic religion. One can suggest that the woman summons the confessor to her cell for two reasons. The priest is the only person who can absolve her for having tried to take her own life; on the other hand, she is trying to use him as an accomplice, by asking him to hide the instrument with which she attempted self-murder. This is probably also why Suor Celeste defines the novice mistress as "mad and sane at the same time." Suor Celeste attributes the woman's survival, and implicitly her severe madness, to God's design, even though she never suggests that this "furore" could be demonic possession.

In Suor Celeste's account the physiological and religious spheres enter in contact when a severe case of mental and emotional disturbance which upsets the entire community, especially because it affects the woman who was chosen to be a model of behavior for the other nuns. It is also puzzling to notice that in such a small convent at least two nuns suffered of disturbances that could be easily defined within the categories

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of madness. One can only speculate on how many other nuns suffered from similar disturbances and how the collectivity perceived these disturbances.

IV.2.v. Conclusion.

In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy there were many ways to perceive and define feminine madness. The medical tradition viewed madness as an illness that affected the body and the mind but was also a manifestation of women's inborn moral and mental weakness. Medical treatises ideologically colored observations that were supposed to be "referential" and "objective."

The moralization of feminine madness, which was part of the encompassing moralization of medicine, occurred more often in medical treatises that established their authority on their dialogue with or dependence on the textual medical tradition. In these texts feminine madness had a strong sexual connotation. Unlike other types of madness that could affect both genders and that were usually located in the brain, feminine madness was located in the lower part of the woman's body, often in her genitalia or uterus, from which poisonous fumes ascended to the brain. There were also some forms of melancholy that affected the man's body in the same way. However, it is worthwhile noticing that in the two categories of madness that were frequently related to feminine gender, that is, the "movement of the womb" and the "madness of the uterus," insanity was connected to issues of sexual excess—and also excessive verbalization about sex.

Medical treatises that based their observations on case histories tended to show a much more blurred distinction between feminine and masculine madness and a less ideological bias, even though these texts did not dismiss the textual medical tradition. In

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fact, the authors of these texts worked within the frame of the textual medical tradition, which still had a great impact on how they observed and narrated their case histories and anecdotes. The collections of case histories and consilia also offered a view, even if somehow skewed, of the social reality in which the doctors perceived madness.

Zacchia's Quaestiones medico-legales can be considered the summa of the positions that the Italian juridical system had toward insanity in the early modern period. In this text, medical language still shaped the legal attitude towards madness. Even though Zacchia seemed to accept a more individualized perception of madness and attributed melancholy to both men and women, he was still convinced that by nature women were more irrational than men and therefore more prone to madness. Together with old men and young children, women embodied the category of the "other" against the adult masculine subject, who represented normality. While the perception of elderly men and boys as lacking in reasoning faculty was temporary, that is, changed with age, the perception of women's mental deficiency was permanent and included all ages.

The chronicles of Giuliano de' Ricci and Suor Celeste Galilei are the least influenced by the medical tradition. In Giuliano de' Ricci's narration, the difference between masculine and feminine madness was in the reasons why the individuals became mad—more mundane for men, essentially linked to a major loss for women. In Suor Celeste's letters to her father the microcosm in which she lived forced her to experience and to observe events from a one-sided point of view. Suor Maria Celeste was a woman among only women, but she was also a nun among other religious women, who chose or were forced to a monastic life for a range of reasons, the most important of which was financial. In both chronicles, the social aspect of madness comes dramatically to the

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foreground, while the perception of gendered madness, so very important in the medical discourse, somehow loses its boundaries.

IV.3. Garzoni's mad women: their stories, their actions.

The relationship between Garzoni's fictional institution and the organization of specific hospitals for "mad" individuals in sixteenth-century Italy has been already examined in a section of chapter II.[56] This section led to the provisional conclusion that in Garzoni's text the medical tradition is present not only at the linguistic and rhetorical level but also at the level of images and architectural structures, since Garzoni's fictional hospital recalls the social dimension of sixteenth-century Italian hospitals. Now, the analysis of the link between fictional and social institution is centered on Garzoni's representation of mad women within the confined walls of the hospital, on their stories and on their action. The scanty information available on the condition of female patients in the so called "hospedali degli incurabili" ("hospitals of the incurables") will be set against the way Garzoni organizes the spaces and the actions of the mad women in his hospital. The results of this comparative investigation will add another dimension to the relationship that Garzoni had with the medical tradition and with the representation of gendered madness.

IV.3.i. Mad women outside and inside L' hospedale.

Even though the language of the sixteenth century medical tradition contributed to gender certain types of madness, such as melancholy, amor hereos and furor uterinus, the definition and the cure of madness in medical practice and within the hospitals tended to

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blur the distinctions between genders. For instance, both men and women were subject to melancholy and the cure for both was based on the principle of expulsion and purgation of the organism. In several Italian hospitals the most important thing was not curing the patients, but their internment and control within the space of the hospital.[57] Usually, social and moral deviance was the reason for internment, while the medical categorization was secondary. In Florence, one was mad if he or she spoke irrationally, walked naked on the street, was dangerous to himself/herself or to others and destroyed or squandered property. Specifically, ordinary people considered women mad because they perceived their moral behavior within the domestic environment as questionable.[58] A provisional distinction between genders is already visible. According to medical practice the same categories of madness could affect both men and women. However, masculine madness seemed to be linked to transgressions occurring in public space, such as streets, the church and the fields, whereas feminine madness was perceived as a deviance confined to the walls of the house or the monastery. One can also notice this distinction in the chronicles of Giuliano de' Ricci and Suor Celeste.[59]

The individual admission to hospitals that treated patients perceived as mad depended also on the financial situation of the person and on the lesser or greater involvement of family members in his or her internment. The hospitals that were funded and financed by religious confraternities and groups accepted indigent people of both genders who were not considered dangerous to themselves or the others, in order to take them out of the street and feed them. Other hospitals required a fee from their patients. At the hospital of Santa Maria Della Pietà, people were admitted on a charitable basis when the institution first opened in 1548. However, a few decades later the patients had to pay

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to be admitted and their treatment varied according to the amount of money they could donate to the institution.[60] In Florence, a request from members of the family or from the community to the grand duke of Tuscany, rather than a medical examination, led individuals of both genders to the incarceration in the prison of the Stinche.[61]

Once in the hospital, the patients were divided according to their gender but also to their social status. At the hospital of Santa Maria della Pietà, members of the confraternity and paid employees took care of the more affluent patients. The less fortunate patients were located in separate wards according to gender, but they were treated regardless of the illness that affected them. These patients did not have individual cells, but lived together in communal spaces, except for the raging mad, who were located in a separate section of the hospital, probably in order not to create havoc among the other patients. Like the hospital in Rome, many other institutions in Italy had separate wards for men and for women, which were located in different parts of the building.[62]

Women and men were enclosed in their respective sections, even though occasionally they were allowed to take a stroll outside, as in Rome.[63] However, most of the female patients—young women, raging maniacs—were progressively excluded from going outside. Like the nuns whom Suor Celeste describes in her letters to her father, mad women were usually forced within the walls of the hospital for the rest of their lives.[64] Unlike men, women worked—at the hospital in Rome, while men at least for a certain period were kept inactive, women spun tow. For mad women, the cure was work rather than medical treatment.[65] Women were considered inherently deficient; their intellect and their will were weaker, while their passions were stronger. The sexual connotation attributed to feminine madness made women very dangerous for the well

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being of the society. Whereas mad women's sexual appetite likened them to prostitutes, their forced enclosure and work conditions likened them to nuns. Indeed, one should not forget that religious confraternities and the Catholic Church itself established many of these hospitals. They also structured the spaces and organized the activities of the institutions by borrowing elements from the structure of the convent and its life.

To conclude, one can suggest that, unlike the complex vocabulary that university physicians adopted to define different categories of madness, the language used to define patients of both genders within the hospitals was very generic: they were "pazzi," "matti," "matti furiosi" or "melanconici." Medical knowledge was not as important as the community's perception in deciding the internment of mad individuals, regardless of their gender. In the "hospedale degli incurabili" madness was assimilated to deviance and the cure aimed at reestablishing order in the individual's behavior by enclosing the mad patient within the hospital and by enforcing social, religious and moral conformity outside the hospital.

Within the hospital, the division of space is the major difference established between genders. The division of space enclosed two different forms of deviance, related to the public space for men, identified with the private sphere of the family for women. The hospital is also a place of work for women, of prolonged inactivity for men. Men could leave this space, while women would spend their lives in it. The space of the hospital and the space of the convent have similar functions. They are places of enclosure, where many women are forced to stay and work, whether it be as nuns who had taken their vows because their families could not provide them with a decent dowry, or as mad women whom families or entire communities perceived as threatening to the

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social order. Social control, from both the lay and religious authority contributed to the creation and the structure of the hospital and to the treatment of mad men and women. For mad women, as well as for many nuns, the space of confinement is permanent; for men, it could be temporary.[66]

Keeping this last remark in mind, I shift the focus of my investigation to the fictional walls of L' hospedale, in order to see if and how Garzoni elaborated elements from the social dimension of the hospital into his text. If so, Garzoni had inserted them in his text through the different rhetorical strategies that he devised to distinguish between masculine and feminine madness.

In L' hospedale, Garzoni genders madness in two ways. He uses medical and encyclopedic language to define masculine madness and the metaphorical language of impresa to define feminine madness. He also creates a specific space for each gender from which he narrates the actions that mad men and mad women perform within it. At the end of the "Prologo dell' autore a' spettatori" ("Prologue of the author to the spectators") Garzoni describes for the first time a space that is meant to enclose the "universal madness," which he has decided to catalogue in twenty-nine specific categories:

> E poi, di mano in mano, si farà vedere il palazzo della fata Alcina a camera per camera, pieno di gente incantata nel cervello e trasmutata con bestiale metamorfosi in gente stupida ed irrazionale; dove che [...] [l'] autore [...] con nuova magia vi rappresentarà il castello d' Atlante pieno di balordi, e cercarà di condurvi a salvamento da Logistilla, dandovi in

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> mano l' anello d' Angelica, per lo cui mezzo, scoprendo le pazzie degli altri, tanto più saggi vi dimostriate. (254)
>
> Then, you will see little by little the palace of the sorceress Alcina, room by room, filled with people bewitched in their brain and transformed by beastly metamorphosis into irrational and stupid people, where [...] [the] author [...] will represent for you with new magic the castle of Atlas full of foolish people, and will try to lead you to safety with Logistilla by handing you Angelica's ring. Thanks to it, by revealing someone else's madness, you will show yourselves even wiser.

Garzoni evokes two literary spaces, which he borrows from Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, that is, the palace of the sorceress Alcina, where she transforms her old lovers into animals, and the castle of the wizard Atlas, where knights and damsels seek in vain the object of their desire. By alluding to these spaces Garzoni seems to forecast a magical dimension for his investigation of madness. However, by alluding to Alcina's palace and Atlante's castle, both of which Ariosto has described in detail in his poem, Garzoni also positions his text within the rhetorical tradition of the theatra mundi, the mnemonic and rhetorical devices structured as architectural places that helped individuals to store their knowledge.[67]

At the end of the first discorso dedicated to the "pazzia in universale," ("universal madness") Garzoni announces to the reader that, in order to understand the general notion of madness he needs to describe the "pazzi particolari" ("mad people one by one") little by little: "Ma perché meglio si conosce l' universale quando si discorre sopra le specie, veniamo pian piano a' pazzi particolari, ché così della pazzia s' avrà quella compita e

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perfetta cognizione che si ricerca" (260) ("But since one knows better the universals when one discusses the species, let's slowly approach the mad people one by one, so that one will have the entire and perfect knowledge of madness that one searches for"). The end of the first discorso recalls Aristotle's method of dividing a general notion into its "specie," thus emphasizing the rhetorical nature of the space in which the author encloses and catalogues masculine madness.

If in L' hospedale the author describes a space where the men live in separate cells away from the women, the spatial dimension in which Garzoni locates the mad men tends to be easily forgotten. Only at the end of the second discorso, dedicated to the "pazzi frenetici e deliranti," ("frenzied and delirious mad men") does Garzoni describe the limits of the space where he secludes this category of patients, that is the entrance of the cell and the image of the divinity who is supposed to protect them: "E la loro cella nell' ospidale ha una Minerva fuori per insegna, perché questa è la dea c' ha da proteggere questa specie di matti. Onde prostrati in terra, con la seguente orazione imploriamo il suo aiuto per impetrar la sanità di questi poveri dicervellati e consonti d' ingegno" (265) ("And in the hospital, their cell has the image of Minerva outside as device, because this is the goddess who has to protect this kind of mad men. Thus, having knelt on the ground, we implore her help with the following prayer to obtain the sanity of these poor hare-brains and wasted minds"). The nature of the space where the mad men are secluded is brought to the reader's attention only at the end of each discorso, when the narrator/guide addresses a prayer to the divinity who protects each category and whose "insegna" ("image" or "device") overlooks the entrance.

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In fact, the space of masculine madness remains vague and abstract, and can be easily assimilated to the rhetorical locus of the "teatri della memoria." The part that somehow maintains a material, concrete dimension is the outside of the cell, the entrance, and the image of the protecting divinity, that is, the frame of the space, but not the space itself where the mad men are located. When the reader/audience "enters" into the cell, a polymorphous space welcomes them: it is, indeed, a space of quotations, borrowings and allusions from the medical and the commonplace tradition.[68] A myriad of fictional and historical characters from the past and from the present occupies each cell. Hercules, whom Garzoni locates in the cell of the "furious and beastly mad men to be tied or chained," (discorso XXIV) shares the space with the mythical characters of Ajax, Atamas and Penteus, with Ariosto's Orlando and with figures that probably belong to the local lore—a soldier from Brisighella, Santin da Villafranca, Marchione da Buffalora and Domenicone da Guastalla. None of the characters possesses any individuality; they are exempla of a certain category of madness and are located in a rather abstract space. This is the space of rhetoric, where words describe other words and not objects. Conversely, through this process words become concrete like the rooms and the palaces that serve as architectonic devices to store an individual's memory and knowledge. Words become objects because they are likened to images, which transform the mnemonic process into a visual parade.

This process of mnemonic visualization becomes particularly clear in the final prayer to the protecting divinity at the end of each discorso. The "device" overlooking the entrance of the cell helps the author remember the identity of the god or goddess that he is invoking. The device is the visual element that triggers the etymological anamnesis of

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the plethora of names with which the author gives identity to the god or the goddess. What follows is a short section of the prayer to the goddess Juno, patron of the "boastful mad men" (discorso XV):

> Io ti prego di nuovo per gli epitetti gloriosi—di Saturnia, perché sei figlia di Saturno; d' Aeria, perché sei preposta all' aria: di dea Curetis, perché vai col carro e con l' asta in mano; di Lucina e di Lucezia, perché rechi luce a chi sta per nascere; di Socigena, perché congiungi in matrimonio le femine co' maschi; di Iuga, di Populonia, di Domiduca, d' Interduca e di Unxia—che ti siano raccomandati costoro, e sotto l' ombra delle tue ali difesi e conservati. (307)
>
> I pray to you for your glorious epithets—of Saturnia, because you are Saturn's daughter; of Aeria, because you are in charge of the air; of goddess Curetis, because you travel by chariot and with a staff in your hand; of Lucina and Lucezia, because you bring light to those who are to be born; of Socigena, because you join in matrimony women with men; of Iuga, of Populonia, of Domiduca, of Interduca and of Unxia—may [these people] be recommended to you, and protected and kept safe underneath the shade of your wings.

Like most of the discorsi, Garzoni's prayers too are made of borrowings from another text, namely, Giraldi's Historia de deis gentium.[69] Giraldi, or his publisher, provides the text, which is a collage of information gathered from various works on mythology, with visual portrayals of the most important divinities and mythological figures of the Greek-Roman Olympus. Their "imagines" are in the style of the

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numismatic portrayals on coins and medals, which were fashionable in ancient times and which the early modern period revamped. On the margins of the medal, the name of the divinity and the page of reference to the text are given. The images of the divinities perform the function of an index where verbal and visual elements contribute to the organization and cataloguing of the material in the book. One can speculate that Garzoni alluded to this visual catalogue of divinities in Giraldi's text when he locates the "insegna" of the patron divinity above the entrance of each cell.[70]

Even the space of the prayer, through which Garzoni tries to heal masculine madness, is a rhetorical one. In conclusion, the objects that the author offers to the divinity as gifts appear to be the only concrete elements in the prayer: a tower for Juno, a hangman's rope with a broken support for the goddess Venilia, patron of the "desperate mad men," (discorso XIX) and a jug of Romania wine for the god Bacchus patron of the "joyful, amusing, jesting and loving mad men," (discorso XXII).

At the very beginning of the section that he dedicates to mad women,[71] Garzoni emphasizes the physical isolation in which every woman lives, alone, secluded in a cell, in contrast to the way he describes the space where mad men live:

> [...] parmi che non sia fuori di proposito mostrarvi quest'altra parte dell' ospidale dove dimorano le donne [...] State di grazia con gli occhi impiegati verso quella parte ch' io v' accenno, e drizzate lo sguardo qua da man sinistra, dove si vede quella tirata lunga di camere c' hanno tanti bollettini o titoli ed arme di sopra ché quelle sono le celle appropriate alle femine pazze. Le quali non è poco favore a potere con bell' agio rimirare,

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> essendo il solito che a rari e di raro si mostrano, per la vergogna del sesso, la più parte ignudo, come vedete. (357-358)
>
> [...] I believe it is not beside the point to show you this other part of the hospital where the women live [...] Please, turn your eyes toward that part that I am pointing out to you and direct your gaze here, on your left, where you see that long line of rooms, which have small pieces of paper with information to give to the public, or titles and arms on the top, since those are the cells suitable to mad women. It is no small privilege that you can watch them at your pleasure, since in general they appear to very few people and very seldom, because they are ashamed of their sex, mostly naked, as you can see.

Like mad men, mad women are divided in twenty-nine categories, one for each cell. In the Italian hospitals of that period genders were separate, but individuals were not isolated one from the other, unless they were considered dangerous to themselves or to others. Garzoni's division of feminine madness may seem at first to reiterate the method that he used to organize masculine madness. However, in the female section of Garzoni's hospital, instead of the anachronistic multitude of characters from mythical and historical periods that populates the cells of mad men, there is only one woman in each cell, and many of them are described as naked. Garzoni describes each of the women as living in the contemporary period. The only concession that Garzoni makes to a more distant past is shown in the names, which are reminiscent of the Roman period: Marina de' Volsci, the "matrona" Claudia Marcella, Marzia Cornelia, Flavia Drusilla or Tarquinia Venerea, just to quote a few.

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While it is true that Garzoni has already explicitly likened the readers of L' hospedale to spectators who curiously gaze in the cells of the mad men under his careful supervision, he further emphasizes the visual nature of the spectacle in the section dedicated to feminine madness. The author "mostra" and "accenna" to the audience the cells where the mad women live. He invites his spectators to turn their gaze ("occhi, sguardo") toward the space that he is going to describe and in which they are located. He keeps pointing to the space of the cell and to the accomplice gaze of the audience each time he starts to describe a new category of madness. Usually, Garzoni begins each section by pointing to the cell and to the subject in it: "Ma di grazia affacciatevi un poco più oltra e mirate quella cella c' ha la porta aperta, ove colei [...]" (359) ("But, please, go over a little further and look at that cell that has its door open, where she [...]"), "Deh! Non vi rincresca di parlare con colei vestita di griso [...]" (360) ("Hey, go ahead and talk with that woman dressed in gray [...]"), "Più di sotto notate ben colei che sta così pensosa in vista e guarda verso le muraglie [...]" (368) ("Further down watch carefully that woman who is so very pensive and looks toward the walls [...]") and so on. Other critics have already proposed, and it has been previously argued in the present work, that the public parades of the patients of the hospital of Santa Maria Della Pietà in Rome might have inspired to Garzoni to emphasize the theatrical dimension of L' hospedale.[72] In the section dedicated to feminine madness, Garzoni appears to accentuate even further the performative aspect of the text by stressing the importance of the gaze and by making each room a stage, which the door frames and the impresa above the cell makes permanent.

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In the introductory passage to the section dedicated to mad women, Garzoni brings the reader's/audience's attention to two very important elements that further define the difference between mad men and mad women. The "imprese" that overlook the entrance of each cell and that attempt to describe with an image and a motto each woman's madness constitute the first element, while the nakedness of most of them constitutes the second element. Both elements define women as controlled and contained: the impresa freezes their identity by assimilating each woman to a fixed, permanent image, while the baring of their bodies makes them prey of the public's inquisitive gaze. Garzoni describes the women as being ashamed of their nakedness, as if they still possessed a shred of conscience that makes them aware of their own physical exposure. Even though Garzoni never brings the reader's attention to the naked body of the patients again, he makes it an implicit feature of the women's aspect and a device through which he and the reader/audience contain feminine madness. However, in the course of this analysis it will become clearer that the naked body of a mad woman does not always imply a submissive position, but at times active transgression.[73] For the time being it is sufficient to argue that Garzoni's introductory description of feminine madness brings the reader's attention to the concrete dimension of the space where mad women live. It also suggests the women's seemingly passive submission to the gaze of the public who observes their naked body and their reduction to a static image in the impresa above the cell.[74]

Another element through which Garzoni further distinguishes feminine madness from masculine madness is his portrayal of the daily activities that several female patients perform within the walls of the hospital. The author usually describes the actions that

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mad men have performed before their internment and that he seems to consider as the causes or the symptoms of the men's madness. The structure and the succession of these stories reflect the commonplace tradition from which Garzoni draws his material, whereas it appears that the stories that Garzoni narrates to describe the cases of feminine madness belong exclusively to a popular tradition contemporary to the time during which he lived.

Garzoni portrays three women performing domestic activities within their own cell. He also describes three women performing other menial activities around the hospital. Marina de' Volsci, example of feeble-minded madness, has all the tools to sew, even though she prefers to nail flies and spiders with her needle. (359) Orbilia Beneventana and Tadia da Pozzuolo, examples respectively of demented madness and foolish madness, are supposed to spin, even though their lack of memory or wit keeps them from accomplishing the task. (360; 361) Orsolina Capoana, example of dumb madness, is ordered to sweep the floor or to wash the laundry in lye, even though her silly mind makes her do quite different things—cut her nails or blow air in the tub where the laundry is. (361) Flavia Drusilla, example of mischievous madness, is also described as washing the laundry at a nearby river. However, a servant of the "casa"[75] surprises Drusilla in an excess of rage, during which she throws into the river all the clothes that she had previously washed. (363) Andronica Rodiana is an example of feigned madness:[76] she goes sometimes into the barnyard and pretends to be a hen while she lays an egg, but when somebody approaches her to get the egg, she brandishes a club to keep him from getting closer. (365)

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It may be suggested that the compulsory work to which women were subjected in some Italian hospitals, like that in Rome, influenced Garzoni's description of the activities that mad women perform in his hospital. However, it appears clear from the examples mentioned above that in Garzoni's fictional hospital work is supposed to be the cure for madness, but becomes instead a device through which the author represents and narrates different categories of madness to the reader/audience. The oddity with which the women perform simple activities such as washing the laundry, sewing, spinning and sweeping the floor stress the characters' inability to live in a domestic environment, which was the place where women were supposed to spend most of their life. Garzoni's women appear to transgress the equation work/cure more than they submit to it. Women's madness is still the most powerful dimension of their character, and colors everything they do. Ultimately, it seems that in Garzoni's hospital there is no cure for the female patients. Unlike the prayer at the end of each discorso in which the narrator wishes for a recovery of the male patients, not even work seems to discipline and heal mad women.

Garzoni represents three of the patients having contacts with persons who are not mad and who apparently work for the institution. Lucilla da Camerino, example of depraved madness, paints her naked body in black, and scares the women who belong to the "Messere's"—the guard's—family out of the kitchen where they are having their meal. (362-363) Terenzia Sannite, example of clownish madness, convoked the entire family of "Messere" in her cell, only to have them listen to a "grandissimo rutto da porcella" (367) ("very big belch, like a young sow"), which she thought had to be honored by a crowd of people. Finally, Giacoma di Panzipane, example of beastly

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madness, broke the chamber pot so hard on the head of a helper who had come to her cell to empty it that he was sick for a few days (368). Giacoma is the only patient whom Garzoni describes as chained near her bed, probably because of her violent behavior towards other people. Chaining or tying up was considered a normal procedure in this period. The patient was perceived as raging mad and therefore dangerous towards herself /himself and to others so that she/he was kept isolated from the rest of the community.

In the women's ward of his hospital, Garzoni introduces figures who were absent from the masculine section, namely the "Messere," who appears to be the guardian of the building, his family and some servants.[77] If it they interact with the mad women, they usually do it in a hostile way. The "Messere" exercises an explicit form of control and hostile containment in creating all of the twenty-nine "imprese" that he locates over the entrance of each cell.

In four instances Garzoni represents mad women interacting with people coming from outside the hospital or with other inmates. Quinzia Emilia, who exemplifies joyful and jesting madness, has three men in her room with whom she converses about the fact that women are more mad than men and that nature had given a weaker brain to women because she herself is a woman. (367) Lavinia Etolia, who exemplifies the category of extravagant madness, writes a grandiose letter in which she invites a woman of high rank and her servants to stay with her. (368-69) Erminia Boemia, a case of bizarre and whimsical madness, fights over chestnuts and dried apples with her inmates for hours, and then she abandons the matter, as she had never been interested in it. (368) Calidonia da Eppi represents the category of women who scorn and make fun of their inmates, only to become the object of their anger and blows: indeed, she insults this and that woman,

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but when she comes back from the meal, her face is scratched and her hair is disheveled. (369) Cecilia Venusia, example of excessively clownish madness, is described as being always surrounded by a circle of other inmates, because she "ha introdutto una cuccagna qua dentro da passar via tutti gli umori maninconici e selvaggi" (369) ("has introduced a climate of easy living here[in the hospital], which makes all the melancholic and wild moods go away"). In Garzoni's hospital, with the exception of Giacoma da Pianzipane, several mad women are described going in and out of their cell and are allowed the visit of outsiders.

Not all the mad women work and have contacts with "sane" people. Garzoni portrays some of the female patients in a more iconic manner, in order to exemplify the disturbance that affects them. I use the term "iconic" with the meaning that C.S. Peirce gives to the word [78] and which Sander L. Gilman applies to the representation of illness and of the sick patient in his study Disease and Representation: Images of Illness from Madness to AIDS. [79] In the triangular relationship that Peirce establishes between sign, object and meaning, the sign is iconic when it resembles the object in certain aspects. Peirce underlines that the elements that constitute the resemblance are not dependent on the existence of the specific object, but on the sign. Gilman states that, according to Peirce, " [...] icons cannot represent particular individuals but only general classes of things (3:434)" (2). On the basis of Peirce's observation, Gilman argues that "the very representation of the patient suffering from a disease, even if the patient and disease are "real," i.e., existing separate from the icon in time and space, has iconic character [...]." If one applies Gilman's argument to Garzoni's representation of mad women, one can suggest that the author's iconic portrayal of some categories of madness glosses over the

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specific nature of each character's illness. Instead, Garzoni's description focuses on qualities that are generically applied to large classes of individuals suffering from disturbances like melancholy, mania and raging fury. The author seems to perceive the traditional categories of madness that Hippocratic and Galenic medicine have established and that Renaissance physicians have elaborated in their treatises as having iconic qualities, that is, as being characterized by elements that immediately recall a certain disease, independently from the individual who carries them.

Garzoni locates most of the traditional categories at the beginning of the section dedicated to feminine madness, as he did in the section dedicated to masculine madness. The first category is frenzied and delirious madness, the second melancholic madness and the fourth is drunken madness. However, there are also other types of madness in Garzoni's hospital that allude to traditional classifications of insanity, such as natural dementia, love madness and suicidal madness, which do not present any iconic element. In the section dedicated to masculine madness Garzoni has made use of the medical tradition to define frenzy, melancholy and loss of memory, or amentia, by quoting passages from various medical treatises.[80] In the ragionamento dedicated to feminine madness, he represents these categories through the description of the woman's behavior and sometimes through her physical aspect. Claudia Marcella, example of frenzied and delirious madness, has hit her forehead against a stone, which caused her madness. Physicians as well as uneducated people thought that hitting one's head could produce instant insanity or, at least, partial damage to one of the faculties contained in the brain.[81] Claudia Marcella lost "il sentimento e la memoria" (358) (" her understanding and her memory") and started to "farneticare e delirare" ("to rave and to be delirious"): she thinks

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that she is the Sibyl and she mirrors herself in her chamber pot. Garzoni describes Marzia Cornelia, example of melancholic madness, as "colei che taciturna e mesta con gli occhi bassi e tutta scapigliata guarda la terra [...]" (359) ("she who stares at the ground, silent and melancholy, with her eyes lowered and all disheveled [...]"). Marzia exemplifies the qualities that are usually connected to melancholy: fear of human society, desire for solitude, and an untidy aspect. Even though drunken madness does not fit any specific category, physicians consider drunkenness a cause, a symptom or even a cure for madness.[82] However, in the description of Teronia Elvezia, Garzoni emphasizes the Bacchic dimension of her inebriated state. In Greek literature the Maenads or Bacchantes were the followers of Dionysus, the god of madness, theater and wine. When the maenads were possessed by the power of Dionysus they became mad and were endowed with supernatural powers. In Garzoni's description the mystical dimension of the Maenads and of Dionysus is reduced to the mere condition of being drunk. Dionysus becomes Bacchus, a gluttonous and constantly inebriated divinity, and the Bacchantes are reduced to women overcome by alcohol. Garzoni might have been also influenced by the emblematic tradition, in which Bacchus exemplifies the damaging consequences of intemperance.[83] Garzoni's representation of drunken madness possesses an overtly moralistic dimension, which he combines with a mocking tone directed towards the woman.[84]

Renaissance physicians considered conditions such as cretinism, dwarfism and idiocy categories of madness.[85] Menega da Vattolina, example of demented or stupid madness, has a goiter so big that she can throw it "behind her shoulders" (360). Her physical handicap has an effect on her mental abilities (361). Erotomania and suicidal

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madness are two other categories that are generally included in medical treatises but that Garzoni decides to treat as social and moral deviance. Her brothers and her parents confined Marzia Sempronia, example of love madness, within the walls of the hospital, when they found out that she extracted a pound of her blood to send as a gift to Quinzio Rutilio, the object of her desire. Her family considered Marzia's behavior unacceptable and decided that the best remedy against this type of deviant behavior was to seclude the young woman in a hospital for mad people: "onde, tra le rampogne e tra l' ingiurie si ridusse a un disperato grado di pazzia amorosa, al quale essendo giunta, è stata con poca carità da' parenti confinata in quel luogo che vedete" (365-66) ("thus, among rebukes and injuries she reduced herself to a desperate state of love madness, and when she reached it, her family, showing little charity, confined her to the place that you see"). In the cell immediately after Marzia Sempronia's the author locates Mansueta Britannia, who, through the paradoxical nature of her name—mansueta in Italian means "gentle, mild"—represents desperate and suicidal madness. Suicidal madness was the final stage of several disturbances, such as melancholy and even love malady. However, Garzoni explains Mansueta's repeated attempts to commit suicide as the result of an overwhelming passion, which physicians could not cure and which the most insignificant elements can trigger. The example that Garzoni narrates—Mansueta's attempted suicide because she had to give away a needle and could not fix her pillow the way she wanted—underlines in an overly emphatic way the excessive nature of the woman's passion, which makes her a completely irrational being. Mansueta's passions are too strong, especially for such petty motives. Also, one should take into consideration that as a priest Garzoni had to condemn suicide as a sin against God.

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Conclusion.

Analyzing how Garzoni perceives and represents some of the mad women engaged in daily activities and exemplifying in a more or less iconic way their form of madness does not imply that Garzoni is trying to portray a "real" hospital. It does not mean either that in his text Garzoni mirrors the social reality of sixteenth-century Italian hospitals. Garzoni creates a space where rhetoric and the author's perception of madness as a social phenomenon meet and influence each other. While Garzoni privileges the rhetorical dimension of space in the section that he dedicates to masculine madness, he emphasizes its concrete dimension in the section dedicated to feminine madness, thus establishing a stronger connection between this part of his fictional hospital and the social reality of Italian hospitals. However, this does not mean that Garzoni's mad women are historical individuals who can shed light on the way female patients were treated in hospitals for mad people in that period.

Garzoni constructs each example of feminine madness as if in relation with and in contrast to the corresponding discorso illustrating masculine madness. While the male patients live in the rhetorical and abstract space of the medical and commonplace tradition, the female patients are located in the concrete space of the cell, where they live separate one from the other. Garzoni describes the mad men as performing no action within the walls of the hospital. On the other hand, Garzoni portrays the mad women while performing domestic activities within and outside their cell and interacting with people considered "normal." However, the women's reaction to work as a cure for their madness and their contact with the sane "world"—including the audience who watches them throughout the text—emphasizes their deviant status and their unpredictable

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behavior, rather than their growing adjustment to "normality." Garzoni implies a recovery for the mad men, through the prayer to a divinity at the end of each discorso. He offers no remedy for the women's madness and no hope that they leave the hospital. In the section dedicated to masculine madness Garzoni privileges a narrative and analytical style, coupled with the exhortative mood of the final prayers. In the section dedicated to feminine madness he favors a style that is more visual and iconic, in the sense I suggested before. He does so through the constant use of deictic adjectives that point out the space around each mad woman and the woman herself and through an entire range of words that constantly bring to mind the visual dimension of which the woman is the object. He also describes some of the mad women by attributing to them certain qualities that render them the exemplum of their category of madness, regardless of the individual nature of their disease. In the discorsi dedicated to masculine madness the author invites the reader to perceive madness through the medical and the commonplace tradition. In the ragionamento on feminine madness he displays a range of various viewpoints from which the reader perceives the patients' abnormality and his/her own sanity. Garzoni puts aside the medical and the commonplace tradition and emphasizes popular anecdotes regarding the daily life of the female patients, which may allude to local contemporary lore.

Garzoni focuses his attention on vision, which is a means of control and containment, and which he expresses through the rhetorical device of the impresa created specifically for each woman. On the basis of Garzoni's stress of the visual dimension as a privileged expression of feminine madness, one can suggest that the author is more interested in containing and secluding feminine madness than masculine madness. The ultimate consequences of this choice will become evident in the course of the analysis of

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the meaning and the function of the impresa in relation to each category of madness. Then, the controlling gaze over the mad women will no longer appear total and unquestioned, but will create an ambiguous space where feminine madness will be offered a limited space for agency.

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Notes

[1] Carlo Ossola, "Métaphore et inventaire de la folie dans la littérature italienne du XVI siècle," Folie et déraison à la Renaissance. Colloque international tenu en novembre 1973 sous les auspices de la Fédération Internationale des Instituts et Sociétés pour l'etude de la Renaissance (Ed. de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1976) 129-147.

[2] See chapter II, pp. 45-46 for a discussion of some of Garzoni's categories that include individuals who have transgressed moral and religious rules.

[3] See Garzoni, Opere, 358. Garzoni's allusion to the madwomen's nakedness recalls the beginning of the episode of Marganorre, when Bradamante and Marfisa encounter three women whose skirts have been shortened "fin all' ombilico" ("up to the navel") by the women-hater Marganorre. The three women are so ashamed of their nakedness that they do not dare stand up. See Orlando Furioso, XXXVII, 26-27. I thank Prof. Lawrence Rhu for making this connection and sharing it with me.

[4] See Robert Davis, "The Geography of Gender in the Renaissance," in Judith Brown and Robert C. Davis, 19-38.

[5] The Vocabolario della Accademia della Crusca (Florence: Le Monnier, 1884) defines "eresia" a "[d]ottrina contraria ad alcuno dei dogmi della Chiesa Cattolica e palesamente sostenuta" ("doctrine contrary to any of the dogmas of the Catholic Church and openly supported"). The word appeared in the vernacular around the XIII-XIV century See Tasso, Rinaldo, 8,4 "Potranno all'eresia fiaccar le corna" ("They will be able to break down the horns of heresy"); Galileo, Opera astronomica, 2, 16: "Questi buoni frati, solo per un sinistro affetto contro di me, sapendo ch'io stimo quest'autore (il Copernico), si vantano di dargli il premio delle sue fatiche con farlo dichiarare eretico." ("These good friars, only because of an adverse affection against me, knowing that I respect this author (that is, Copernicus), boast about giving him the award of his toils by declaring him a heretic.")

[6] See Delio Cantimori, "Gli eretici del movimento riformatore italiano," in Delio Cantimori, Umanesimo e religione nel Rinascimento (Turin: Einaudi, 1975) 204-214.

[7] The Jews constituted another category of individuals that the Catholic Church considered threateningly different. The creation in Italy of "ghetti" since the beginning of the sixteenth century was sanctioned by the Church with Paul IV's papal bull Cum nimis absurdum in 1555. According to Anna Foa, the post-tridentine Church used the "ghetto" as an instrument of conversion, "an artificial space where the Jews could be secluded until their conversion, where [the Church] could use coercive and punitive means meant to push [the Jews] into the Church's arms. Thus, the enclosure of the 'ghetto' turned out to be not very different from the enclosure of a correctional institution, broadened to contain all the Jews" (188).

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[8] See MacDonald and his research in seventeenth-century England. In her introduction to Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy Judith Brown writes that "...in every day practice, views of the human body were less gendered than the theoretical literature suggests [...]" (10)

[9] On this subject see the collection of essays edited by Lia Bonella, passim, and J. Henderson, " 'Splendide case di cura.' Spedali, medicina ed assistenza a Firenze nel Trecento," in Allen J. Grieco and Lucia Sandri eds., Ospedali e città. L' Italia del Centro-Nord, XIII-XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio tenuto dall' Istituto degli innocenti e Villa i Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) Firenze 27-28 aprile 1995 (Florence: Le Lettere Ed., 1997) 15-50 and particularly 47-49.

[10] See Domenico Leone, Ars medendi humanos, particularesque, morbo a vertice usque ad pedes[...] (Mantova, 1583), under the entry "De melancholia. Caput VIII," 94.

[11] "περι ερωτομανίας. De amore insano. Cap. XI." 110-114.

[12] De morbis muliebribus praelectiones ex ore Hieronymi Mercurialis iam dudum a Gaspare Bauhino exceptae, ac paulo antea inscio autore editae: Nunc vero per Michaelem Columbum ex collatione plurium exemplarium consensu auctoris locupletiores, et emendiatores factae (Venice, 1587). The section on "furor uterinus" is located in chapter X of Book IV, 153-157.

[13] Antonio Benivieni, De abditis nonnullis mirandis morborum et sanationum causis, ed. G. Weber, (Florence: Olschki Ed. 1994); Giovanni Da Monte, Consultationes medicae Ioannis Baptistae Montani Veronensis olim quidem Ioannis Cratonis Uratislaviensis medici Caesarei opera atque studio correctae, ampliataeque: nunc vero post secundae editionis appendicem et additiones, insigni novorum consiliorum Allobrogum Archiatri, codicibus exornatae (Basle, 1583).

[14] See Vittorio Biotti, "Il folle nella società fiorentina e toscana del XVI e XVII secolo," 170-210.

[15] Pauli Zacchiae medici romani Quaestiones medico-legales, in quibus omnes ex materiae medicae, quae ad legales facultates videntur pertinere, proponuntur, pertractantur, resolvuntur. Opus ipsis Jurisperitis apprime necessarium, medicis perutile, caeteris non iniucundum. Omnia Jurisperitorum more discutiuntur, in quorum praecipue gratiam haec in lucem prodeunt, (Lipsia: 1630). Paolo Zacchia (1584-1659) published the Quaestiones between 1624 and 1650. Zacchia was a very famous doctor in Rome and in the Papal State; he became doctor of the Pontifical Palace under Alexander VII. See M. Laiguel-Lavastine and Jean Vinchon, Les maladies de l' esprit et leur médicins du XVI au XIX siècle. Les étapes des connaissances psychiatriques de la Renaissance à Pinel, (Paris: Éd. Medicales N. Maloine, 1931).

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[16] Zacchia, "Liber II. Titulus I. Quaestio V. De rationis diminutione ex defectu Aetatis, & sexus" (39) ("Regarding the reduction of reasoning deriving from a flaw in age and in sex"). For an overview of Zacchia's contribution to the notion of madness in the early modern period see Carlo Colombero, "Un contributo alla formazione della nozione di malattia mentale: le 'questioni medico-legali' di Paolo Zacchia," in Alberto De Bernardis, ed., 317-329. For a discussion of the legal dimension of madness in sixteenth-century Germany, see H.C. Erik Midelfort, A History of Madness, 182-227.

[17] Giuliano de' Ricci, Cronaca (1532-1606), ed. Giuliana Sapori (Milan; Naples: Ricciardi, 1972).

[18] For editions of Suor Maria Celeste Galilei's letters to her father published in the twentieth century, see Giovanni Ansaldo's edition published for the first time in 1927 and reprinted in 1992 (Celeste Galilei, Lettere al padre [Genoa: ECIG]); also, Galileo Galilei nelle lettere della figlia Suor Maria Celeste edited by Francesco Saverio and Maria Rossi (Lanciano: Rocco Carabban Ed., 1984). For an analysis in English of the life of the famous scientist seen through his daughter's letters, see Dava Sobel, Galileo's Daughter: A Historical Memoir of Science, Faith, and Love (New York: Walker & Company, 1999).

[19] Leone taught "practica medicina" at the University of Bologna from 1561 to 1591. See I rotuli dei lettori legisti ed artisti dello Studio Bolognese dal 1348 al 1799, pubblicati dal Dottor Umberto Dallari, vol. 2 (Bologna: Regia Tipografia dei fratelli Merlani, 1888-91).

[20] On the representation of woman in Renaissance medicine, see Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman. A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980) 28-46. For an interesting interpretation of women's humoral temperament see also Gail Kern Paster, "The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being." For a discussion of gender and sex difference in the Middle Ages, see Joan Cadden, Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science, and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993).

[21] Plato, Phaedrus, 244a9-244d5.

[22] Girolamo Mercuriale (1530-1606) was a famous doctor and anatomist and taught at the universities of Pisa, Bologna and Padua.

[23] According to Galenic theory, both women and men produced semen during sexual intercourse, against the Aristotelian argument that viewed women only as an empty vessel, ready to receive men's fertile and life-giving seed.

[24] For biographical information on Hippocrates and Galen, see chapter I, note 74. Soranus of Ephesus studied in Alexandria and was active both in Alexandria and in Rome, under the emperors Traianus and Adrianus (first half of second century CE). Soranus is known for a treatise on gynecology which was considered the best text on the

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subject in ancient times, and a work on the chronic illnesses (Περι οξεων και χρονιων παθων) translated in Latin by Caelius Aurelianus. See Lesky, 1085.

[25] See ch. II for a more detailed analysis of this topic.

[26] I borrow the last expression from H. C. Eric Midelfort's book A History of Madness in Sixteenth-Century Germany: "Doctors were trying to use their consultations to diagnose and to distinguish cases, but we should not think that their contact with the "real world" of disease would necessarily reduce their dependence upon ancient authority. Indeed, it seems appropriate to call their medical research 'Galenic observation'" (168).

[27] For biographical information about Antonio Benivieni, see chapter II, note 79. Giorgio Weber has recently edited Benivieni's text (Florence: Olschki, 1994) and Nancy Siraisi has dedicated a section to Benivieni in her book The Clock and the Mirror (153-158). Giovanni Battista Da Monte (1498-1551) was a doctor active in Padua and Verona in the first half of the sixteenth century. The work analyzed here consisted in a collection of 384 consilia, and several of them deal with madness and melancholy. See Midelfort, History of Madness, 168, for a short section on Da Monte and his work, and also Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, passim. Crato von Kraftheim published Da Monte's work in 1583. The edition that I consulted at the New York Academy of Medicine was published in 1583.

[28] 195, "De Francisci uxore," 105 (XLVII) "Amissa atque iterum recuperata memoria," 147 (LXXXIX) "Quae in inciso mortuo notatu digna inventa sunt."

[29] Katharine Park, "Medicine and Magic: The Healing Arts," in Judith Brown & Robert C. Davis, eds., Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy, 145. Park also observes that Benivieni exemplifies the harmful effect of rotten humors in both women and men, since both genders "needed to purge themselves regularly, according to early medical opinion [...]" (146)

[30] One should also point out that Benivieni was a faithful follower of Girolamo Savonarola and of his spiritual and religious reform in Florence. See Nancy Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 157-158.

[31] See section I.2.i of chapter I for an overview of the term "furor" in Cicero's Tusculanae Disputationes and in Virgil's Aeneid. For a succinct analysis of the elaboration of the term from a legal point of view see Midelfort, History of Madness, 187-188 and 221-222.

[32] See Park, "Medicine and Magic," 146.

[33] See Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 10, 99 and bibliography at page 271, note 26; Jerome Bylebyl, "Teaching *Methodus Medendi* in the Renaissance," in Galen's

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Method of Healing: Proceedings of the 1982 Galen Symposium, ed. F. Kudlien and Richard J. Durling (Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1991) 157-89.

[34] On the subject of consilia, see Siraisi, The Clock and the Mirror, 201-205 and Crisciani, 1-32.

[35] For the title in the original Latin, see note 7 of this chapter. For an analysis of the relationship between medicine and law in relation to madness, see Midelfort's discussion of the justification and interpretation of the insanity defense in Germany in Midelfort, History of Madness, 182-227.

[36] "Quaestiones medico-legales Liber II. Titulus I. Quaestio III. De signis non sanae mentis."

[37] For information about Giuliano de' Ricci's life see Giuliana Sapori's introduction to the Cronaca (1532-1606), (Milan; Naples: Ricciardi, 1972) IX-XXV.

[38] For information about Suor Celeste's life see the introduction of Giovanni Ansaldo and Francesco Saverio and Maria Rossi to their editions of the letters; see also Dava Sobel's Galileo's Daughter, passim.

[39] Giuliano de' Ricci, 219-220; 223-225.

[40] Giuliano de' Ricci, 181-182.

[41] Giuliano de' Ricci, 354. For the role of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in the treatment of individuals considered mad, see Vittorio Biotti, 178-181.

[42] Giuliano de' Ricci, 442.

[43] Giuliano de' Ricci, 118;146.

[44] "Nel qual monasterio pochi giorni doppo l' arrivo suo si ammalò e diventò poco meno che furiosa et pazza, a tale che molte volte l'hanno avuta a tenere legata. Et rivolgendoseli per il capo varii humori gli è tocco capriccio di scambiare luogo et andarsene in Santa Monaca, dove questo giorno è andata ottenutone prima licentia dal gran duca. [...] Apparisce in viso maninconica et svanita et una cosa balorda affatto affatto." ("A few days after her arrival in this convent she fell ill and became completely furious and mad, so that many times they had to keep her tied up. And turning in her mind various humors, she felt like changing place of residence and going to Santa Monaca, where she went today after having first obtained permission from the grand duke. [...] Her face looks melancholic and absent-minded; very foolish, indeed.")

[45] Camilla brought with her to the convent "four damsels, 2 servants and a noblewoman from the Pitti family." The preservation of women's social status was a norm within the convents.

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[46] See Vittorio Biotti's discussion of the general public's attitude toward madness 170-210.

[47] The Italian editors give slightly different accounts of the two sisters' dates of birth. Ansaldo states that the sisters were born respectively in 1602 and 1604, while Saverio and Rossi move both dates two years later.

[48] In sixteenth-century Florence, the number of nuns in monasteries was more than twice the number that was recorded a century earlier. See Stanley Chojnacki, "Daughters and Oligarchs: Gender and the Early Renaissance State" and Gabriella Zarri, "Gender, Religious Institutions and Social Discipline: The Reform of the Regulars," both in Judith Brown & Robert C. Davis eds., 63-86 and particularly 71 and 193-212, plus their extensive bibliography, 237-38 and 247-48. In his Cronaca Giuliano de' Ricci states that because of the rise of the dowries in Florence "not only are the convents filled with nuns, but also many girls remain at home with their fathers, who let them grow old in their houses since they do not have the means to marry [their daughters]." (47) In the seventeenth century the Venetian Benedictine nun Angela Tarabotti, who was forced to enclosure, wrote a parody of Dante's Commedia in three parts to denounce the life of young girls in Italian convents She entitled them the Paradiso monacale, the Inferno Monacale and the Purgatorio delle mal maritate. See Ginevra Conti Odorisio, Donne e società nel Seicento. Lucrezia Marinelli e Arcangela Tarabotti (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979). For studies on early modern religious women and their attitude toward enclosure, see Margaret L. King, Women of the Renaissance (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991) 81-156; Elisja Schulte von Kessel, "Virgins and Mothers: Between Heaven and Earth," in Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds., Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes, vol. 3 of A History of the Women in the West, eds. George Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1993) 132-166; Samuel Kline Cohn, Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996) 57-75.

[49] Ansaldo, 53-55.

[50] Sobel, 111.

[51] Sobel, 117; 122.

[52] See letters sent November 11, 1623 (Ansaldo, 25); November 11, 1628 (Ansaldo, 44); July, 1631 (Ansaldo, 100).

[53] Sobel, 112.

[54] Sobel, 167, quotes this statement from the rules of the order.

[55] See letter of July 8, 1629.

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[56] See section II.2. For a recent bibliography on hospitals in Southern Europe and specifically in Italy, see John Handerson, "The Hospitals of Late–Medieval and Renaissance Florence: a preliminary survey," in Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds., The Hospital in History (London; Routledge, 1989) 85, n. 1.

[57] Alessandra Bonfigli and Franca Fedeli Bernardini write that in the hospital of Santa Maria della Pietà in Rome the figure of the doctor was not very important in the admission of the patients, but it became essential at the moment of their release. Bonfigli-Fedeli Bernardini, vol. 2, 49. Vittorio Biotti argues that in Florence a more specific medical approach came to the fore only at the end of the sixteenth century. See Biotti, 184.

[58] See Biotti, 183.

[59] The distinction between public and private space according to gender is not limited to the contemporary representation of madness, but alludes to and reflects a certain tendency to keep women indoors in general.

[60] See Bonfigli and Fedeli Bernardini, vol. 2, 46-48.

[61] See Biotti, 182.

[62] For the organization structure of the hospital of Santa Maria della Pietà, see Bonfigli and Fedeli Bernardini vol. 2, 49; for specific references to the structure of other Italian hospitals, see section II.2

[63] See section II.2 for further reference.

[64] "La situazione delle donne nel manicomio non è molto differente dalla condizione femminile negli altri conservatori: progressivamente recluse, mostrata alla città con sempre maggiore cautela, lavora e finirà per non abbandonare più l' istituzione" (Bonfigli & Fedeli Bernardini, 51) ("The situation of women in the insane asylum is not very different from the condition of women in the other institutions convents [also: places of refuge for poor, women and children]: [they are] progressively enclosed, they are shown to the city with increasing caution, they work and will never leave the institution").

[65] See Francia Fedeli Bernardini, " 'Il vasto casamento della romana misericordia.' Note per una storia delle istituzioni assistenziali nella Roma post-tridentina," in Bonella, vol. 2, 273-78 and particularly 278.

[66] In the convent where Suor Celeste lived nuns are described having daily contacts with the external world through visits. Suor Celeste, in Galileo's absence, seemed to have presided over the affairs of one of her father's houses and its adjacent land that was located nearby the convent, even though it does not appear that she left the convent. It should be pointed out that widows often would join the convent voluntarily;

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also, several women chose to become nuns in order to avoid marriage or to fulfill heir religious enthusiasm. See Margaret King and Bartolomea Riccoboni, Life and Death in a Venetian Convent. The Chronicle and necrology of Corpus Domini, 1395-1436, ed. and trans. Daniel Bornstein (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[67] See chapter II for a more detailed analysis of the "teatri della memoria" in sixteenth-century Italy. Other intellectuals, before and after Garzoni, have conceived of Ariosto's poem as a mnemonic space: the already mentioned Orazio Toscanella in his Bellezze dell' Orlando Furioso (see chapter I) and the scientist Galileo Galileo, who in compares Ariosto's text to a "guardaroba, una tribuna, una galleria regia, ornata di cento statue antiche de' più celebri scultori [...]" ("a wardrobe open, a tribune, a royal gallery adorned by the most famous sculptor [...]). See Galileo, Galilei, "Considerazioni al Tasso," Scritti di critica letteraria, ed. E. Mestica (Turin: Loescher, 1906) 57.

[68] For an analysis of the notion of citation and of Garzoni's elaboration of the medical and the commonplace tradition as quotation in L' hospedale, see chapter II, passim.

[69] For further information on Giraldi and his work in relation to Garzoni's text, see section II.5.

[70] It should be noticed that not all the divinities whom Giraldi mentions in his work and whom Garzoni recycles in L' hospedale appear in the visual index that accompanies the 1563 edition of Historia de deis gentium.

[71] The full title of the section dedicated to feminine madness is "ragionamento dell'autore a' spettatori sopra quella parte dell' ospedale che contiene le femine, ove gentilmente dipinge tutte le specie di pazzia ritrovarsi in loro." ("conversation [or treatise] of the author to the spectators regarding that part of the hospital which contains the women, and where he kindly portrays that all the categories of madness can be found in them.")

[72] See Valeria Pompejano Natoli, 234-35 and section II.2.

[73] See the story of Lucilla da Camerino, example of a "deceitful mad woman," 362.

[74] For a theoretical definition of the gaze in relation to painting see Norman Bryson, Vision and Painting. For the notion of gaze in connection to gender see Teresa de Lauretis, Alice doesn't. Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema (Bloomington, Indiana UP, 1984) and especially 103-143; for an analysis of the connection between gaze, body and feminine subjectivity see Kaja Silverman, The Acoustic Mirror. The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1988).

[75] By "casa" here and in other instances Garzoni means the hospital.

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[76] In the section dedicated to masculine madness, Garzoni explains the inclusion of this category of madness by stating that "perché sono pure alcuni che talora fanno il pazzo così da scherzo con un poco di pazzia c' hanno in capo, essendo un segno di pazzia senza proposito alcuno fare il pazzo per dare trastullo agli altri, di questi solamente intendiamo quando nell' ospidale mettiamo i pazzi da burla o simulati" (308-309) ("since there are also some who sometimes play the mad as a joke with the bit of madness that is in their brain, and since it is a mark of madness pretend to be mad without any reason at all in order to entertain others, when we put in the hospital the mad men in jest or feigned, we mean only these type of individuals").

[77] See section II.2 for the existence of guards and their families in sixteenth-century Italian hospitals.

[78] Charles Sanders Peirce, Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce, ed. Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss and Arthur W. Burks, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1931-58).

[79] Sander L. Gilman, Disease and Representation, 2 and notes.

[80] See section II.4.ii and II.4.iii for a discussion of Garzoni's elaboration of medical tradition in the section dedicated to masculine madness.

[81] Antonio Benivieni narrates that a man hit with a stone in his head could not remember the alphabet; conversely, a mad man who was hit in his forehead suddenly regained his wits. (195)

[82] Medical tradition believed that drunkenness produced effects similar to those that burned melancholic humors had on one's brain. Some considered alcohol, and especially wine, a cure for melancholy and love madness but others objected to the efficacy of this cure. See Wack, passim for the position of several medieval doctors on the subject and Leone, 99.

[83] In the 1531 edition of Emblematum libri Andrea Alciati dedicates emblem XXV, "In statuam Bacchi," to the god. For the meaning of Bacchus and other pagan divinities in the emblematic tradition in Renaissance culture and art, see Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, tr. Barbara F. Session (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972 [1st ed. 1953.]).

[84] In La Sinagoga degli ignoranti (Venice, 1589) Garzoni accuses ignorant people of being gluttonous and drunkards. See in particular Garzoni, Opere, 513, where Garzoni creates a composite image of Bacchus made of the many qualities attributed to the god by the literary and emblematic tradition.

[85] See Eric Midelfort, History of Madness, 236-70.

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Chapter V

Cataloguing feminine madness in L' hospedale

V.1. Images, words and feminine madness.

After the discorsi dedicated to masculine madness Garzoni describes and catalogues twenty-nine types of feminine madness in a section that he calls ragionamento.[1] While Garzoni relies on medical and commonplace traditions to define masculine madness, he creates mostly original imprese, which he never represents pictorially in his text, as tools to catalogue feminine madness. While masculine madness in Garzoni's text is described within a highly organized and structured narration,[2] the representation of feminine madness is made ambiguous and problematic by two major factors.

The first factor is constituted by the tensions that exist between the case histories, which describe the events that led each mad woman to the hospital or the actions that characterize her behavior in the institution, and the description of the impresa as a whole.[3] In the section dedicated to Claudia Marcella, Garzoni provides the reader with a short story of her life and her sudden madness, which recall real case histories that doctors would include in their collections of consilia.[4] Garzoni narrates to the audience that the woman suddenly hit her head on a rock, which made her lose her mind and memory and ultimately brought her to perpetual and incurable madness. Before the unfortunate accident, Claudia Marcella was a perfect example of beauty, good manners and grace, indeed "the most [...] pleasant daughter one could see from one pole to the other" (358). But now, Garzoni adds, she looks miserable and sick, and her favorite

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activity is to mirror herself in the urine or the glass of her chamber pot, claiming that she is the "savia Sibilla" (358) ("wise Sybil"). In the image and in the motto of the impresa of Claudia Marcella—a bush of stinging nettle and the words "in puncto vulnus" ("the wound [occurs] in an instant")—the "Messere" chooses to visualize the moment of the woman's fall from wisdom rather than a quality or an aspect of her present madness. Instead of being the manifestation of the woman's character, the impresa portrays a specific moment of her life, which functions as a watershed between sanity and madness. Is this, then, an impresa? According to the best manuals on the subject, the answer should be no, but it will become evident that many of Garzoni's rhetorical devices do not fit the usual categorization of imprese, even though its constitutive elements do. In the impresa that represents Claudia Marcella's frenzied madness there is a correspondence between image and motto and the two parts complement each other, even though the motto seems to simply paraphrase the image. The motto " in puncto vulnus" complements the image of the stinging nettle by emphasizing one of the qualities of this plant, that is, its ability to sting. However, how does the image convey the plant's stinging quality? And how does the image express the sudden nature of this stinging? There is no indication in this section of any element that might help the reader to make the connection between the image, the motto and the case history. In the description of this impresa Garzoni asks the viewers in the text to become readers, that is, he eliminates the visual dimension to rely completely on the verbal, descriptive dimension. Indeed, everybody knows that the stinging nettle stings and that the reaction that it provokes is sudden, but this is certainly not conveyed through the description of the image in the impresa. The image is dissolved in words.

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Since there is no image to interpret, there are no multiple meanings to disentangle. Everything is explained through the words of the author.[5]

The second factor is constituted by the incongruities existing between the description of the image and the motto within the impresa. Even though Garzoni always seems to imply that a relationship of similarity exists between the image and the motto, sometimes the reader finds himself at loss in finding such a connection. To briefly exemplify this point which will be further examined in the second part of this chapter, I will quote the impresa that Garzoni creates to represent the category of "idiotic and foolish madness," embodied by Orsolina Capoana. The impresa is made of a butterfly flying around a light, with the motto in Spanish "Ni mas, ni menos" ("no more, no less"). Garzoni explains the impresa by stating that "sì come non è il più scempio animale della farfalla, che tanto s'aggira che s'abbruggia da se stessa l'ali, così non è scempietà che possa a quella di costei paragonarsi" (361) ("as there is no sillier animal than the butterfly, who wanders around [the flame] so that she herself burns her wings, so there is no foolishness that can be compared to that of this woman"). The image of the butterfly burning her wings at the flame of a candle was very popular among the writers of imprese and emblems. The usual meaning that the experts attributed to this image was of an excessive pleasure that leads to death.[6] Garzoni exploits a common image in the tradition of imprese but erases the condition on which the similarity was usually based, that is, excessive pleasure. He substitutes it with the quality of stupidity, which is nowhere to be found in the traditional interpretations of this image and which does not stem from either the motto or the figure that Garzoni creates for this category of madness.

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This chapter will tackle these issues in the context of sixteenth-century visual and verbal imagery on madness. More specifically, it will investigate the tensions between the visual and the verbal dimension outside and in the impresa, in an attempt to decipher such discrepancies in terms of Garzoni's problematic definition and containment of feminine madness in L' hospedale. If Garzoni's use of impresa does not contain feminine madness as well as the confined space of the cell contains the bodies of each mad woman, what kind of disruption do these tensions provoke in the definition of feminine madness and its subjects? Garzoni and his fictional persona, that is, the "Messere" creator of the imprese, join efforts in representing each mad woman as passive, frozen in time and space and completely controlled by the gaze of the observer, whether it be the public in the hospital or the reader of the text. However, the discrepancies between the case history of the mad woman and the impresa on the one hand and within the impresa on the other create an uncertain and ambiguous dimension for the representation of feminine madness. This ambiguity unsettles the structure of the section and suggests to the reader to hint at an actively transgressive image of feminine madness in the text.

V.2. Imagery, impresa and emblem: or, conventional ways of perceiving sixteenth-century reality.

In order to give a satisfying answer to the question of why Garzoni chose to use the rhetorical strategy of the impresa to confine feminine madness in his hospital, it is necessary to determine three points. The first point is the function of images from the pictorial and emblematic traditions in defining and representing early modern madness. Both paintings and images in emblems and imprese represent madness through highly

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conventionalized codes. While the painters obscure the conventional nature of their representation by inserting in their work unessential elements, the authors of emblems and imprese tend to emphasize the denotative quality of their productions by laying bare the iconographic codes of the representation of madness. The second point is the definition of impresa, based on sixteenth-century theoretical writings on the subject and in terms of the connection between the verbal and the visual dimension in this device. Contemporary scholars determined the impresa's nature and function in contrast with those of the emblem by privileging the individual and elitist dimension of the former over the universal and moralistic scope of the latter. The third point is the structure and function of impresa in relation to the moral and ideological values that sixteenth-century Italian society attributed to this rhetorical device. This point is necessary in order to understand the link between Garzoni's manipulation of the structure and the content of the impresa and his identity as a priest of the newly reformed Catholic Church. During the council of Trent and especially after its conclusion, the Catholic Church had a firm hold of the visual and verbal production of the period. The section dedicated to the writers of emblems and imprese in the Jesuit Antonio Possevino's Bibliotheca Selecta (1593) offers an interesting insight into how sixteenth-century religious intellectuals perceived and interpreted these rhetorical devices.[7] A few years before the printing of L' hospedale Gabriel Paleotti, cardinal of Bologna, claimed the superiority of the visual medium over the verbal one for the indoctrination of a large public.[8]

These three points illuminate some of the conventional ways with which artists, intellectuals and religious figures perceived madness in sixteenth-century Italy. They also provide helpful material to understand Garzoni's use of imprese.[9]

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VI.2.i. Images, madness and images of madness. From Albrecht Dürer to Cesare Ripa.

In the early modern period artists represented madness through a specific set of human figures and attributes. They were soon identified with madness itself. By representing madness through a rhetoric of visual stereotypes, artists aimed at containing a phenomenon that was perceived as ambiguous and boundless in relation to social class, gender and age.[10] They portrayed the body of the subjects affected by various types of madness according to specific conventions. They drew these visual conventions from the "activation of socially constructed and maintained codes of recognition," which a group of individuals established by consensus and which sixteenth-century society accepted to be a representation of what it perceived as real.[11] It is important also to underline that "those who live in the social formation," that is, the members of a society in a given period, are not aware of the conventional nature of the representation of reality.[12] In other words, the eyes of the author and of the public, which the conventions of the early modern period has trained to "see," respectively produce and gaze at highly constructed images of madness. However, both the author and the public are not aware of the conventionality of their operations, but believe that they reproduce and see "reality."

Artists chose to represent madness in its more recognizable categories. They portrayed lunatic individuals, natural fools, or people possessed by the devil or prone to an excess of choleric or melancholic humors in specific postures.[13] For instance, the throwing backward of one's arms and the rolling of one's eyes was both a medical symptom and a visual mark of hysteric disturbance as well as of demonic possession. The curling up of one's body and a disheveled appearance easily identified the subject as melancholic.[14] In their analysis of Albrecht Dürer's etching Melancholia I Raymond

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Klibansky, Erwin Panowsky and Fritz Saxl demonstrated the high level of stylization with which the artist represented the imbalance of the melancholic humor, its signs and its symptoms.[15]

In their visual renditions of madness artists showed a tendency to erase any notion of individuality in the description and treatment of madness and in other types of illness, which was also evident in the textual medical tradition.[16] In his study on the history of visual representation of madness, Gilman links "the loss of significance of individual variations, of the sense of human diversity" with the predominance of the "etiology of mental illness in the humors" during the Renaissance.[17] The etiology of mental illness that the humoral theory had established is evident in the representation of the four humors in medical treatises and in almanacs.[18] Paster points out that these images furnish an asymmetrical view of the effects that the four humors had on masculine and feminine gender, where the woman's "signifying function is to provide a neutral social background for the man's temperamental self-display" (422). The perception and the consequent organization of the four humors around gendered lines, with the male figures playing the active role and the female figures having a mostly passive role, repeats the clear-cut differentiation that the medical textual tradition established between masculine and feminine in terms of categories of madness.[19]

Several artists combined visual representations of madness with words long before emblems and imprese became part of the vocabulary of early modern visual imagery. In 1494 Sebastian Brant printed the first edition of Narrenshiffe (The Ship of Fools) in which he described a ship floating along the river carrying a group of individuals who personified various types of madness and who were secluded from the

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rest of the world. Contemporary documents reported that a few towns in fourteenth-century Germany sent away mad individuals on a boat to get rid of their uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous presence. This custom might have inspired Brant to create his fictional ship of fools.[20] In at least two editions of Narrenshiffe images accompanied Brant's text.[21] Each image is preceded by a title and followed by a short explanation. In each illustration there is at least one individual who wears the fool's hat, which the engraver must have considered as the mark of madness. Because of the tight relationship between image and word, one critic has recently called the 1498 illustrated edition of Brant's text "one of the most interesting and famous antecedents of Alciati's emblems."[22] Brant's categories of madness were mixed and oftentimes identified with traditional moral flaws, such as ignorance, drunkenness and gluttony, which were very popular in the Middle Ages.

Andrea Alciati, a successful jurisconsult who also created the first collection of Emblemata printed in 1531, represented madness respectively as lack of wisdom, temerity and martial fury.[23] In Narrenshiffe, Brant and the engraver who illustrated his text represented madness on the basis of the medieval equation of moral sin as madness and identified madness with the individual's deviation from the right path and a sign of God's punishment. Alciati's vision of madness, on the other hand, is visibly linked to the philosophical tradition of furor that Cicero expounded in the Tusculanae Disputationes. One can further support this statement by observing that in two of Alciati's emblems where madness—pazzia—appears, the mythological characters of Agamemnon and Ajax represented in the figura are mentioned in Cicero's text as examples of furor or ira.[24]

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In 1566, a few decades after the first edition of Alciati's Emblemata, a text entitled Imagines mortis conformed to the tripartite structure of the emblematic tradition[25] by providing proverbs or sentences taken from the Scriptures and matching them with an image and a few verses of commentary and explanation.[26] If the text presents structural similarities with Alciati's Emblemata, it is also close to Brant's Narrenshiffe in its conception of madness as moral sin. The text, which claimed to be a medicine for the human soul, described moral deviancies as if they were forms of madness that ultimately lead to the death of one's body and soul. The common element in all the images of the text is the traditional representation of Death as a skeleton, which the illustrator located next to the subjects who are portrayed as committing a sin. The text probably addressed an audience strongly concerned with religious values, and it constituted one of the many Protestant attacks against the corruption of moral values within the Catholic Church. The proverb or the sentence and the image below them are meant to illustrate each other, while the comment at the bottom of the page offers a general message of moral significance to all viewers. The image always represents more than the content of the epigrammatic sentence, thus leaving the viewer with an excess of visual information that he has to decipher without the help of the word.

Alciati's Emblemata and Imagines Mortis share a firm link with the medieval allegorical tradition, joined with an effort to visually illustrate the frozen pearls of wisdom contained in the proverbs, epigrams and gnomic sentences that constituted in many cases the origin and the source of inspiration for the visual devices.[27]

At the end of the sixteenth century Cesare Ripa composed the Iconologia, which the emblematic tradition influenced greatly and which was a summa of sixteenth-century

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imagery. Through this visual encyclopedia Ripa catalogued reality and provided artists, writers, public speakers and authors of imprese with visual metaphors of passions and abstract concepts such as idolatry, poverty, foolishness, fraud, greed and regret. Ripa represented madness in human forms, as an adult man carrying the attributes that a contemporary viewer would have easily recognized as metonymical expressions of pazzia. The man is dressed in black. He smiles and "sits astride a cane and in his right hand he has a paper swivel joint, which is a pleasant instrument and a children's game."[28] Gombrich argues that Ripa's images catalogued and defined the visual world in an Aristotelian fashion and that they bore similarities with the gnomic sentence and the proverb.[29] Ripa's images contain a sclerotic form of wisdom that depends on visual persuasion.

Artists like Albrecht Dürer, Jeronimus Bosch and Peter Bruegel offered an emblematic and stereotyped vision of madness This likened them to the illustrators of Brant's Narrenshiffe and to the encyclopedist Cesare Ripa. These artists needed to contain madness and its various manifestations in forms and through attributes that the trained viewers would easily recognize and would not find threatening to their identity. In other words, the absolute differences established between the "normal" viewer and the "mad" subject of visual representation relieved the former from the fear of becoming like the latter. Medical textual tradition on the one hand and epigrammatic and gnomic tradition on the other offered a monumentalized wisdom broken into small fragments of knowledge that had their visual equivalent in the tradition of the emblem and of the impresa. The main difference between the way a painter and an author of emblems or of imprese represented madness in the sixteenth century consisted in the different emphasis

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that each artist gave to the connotative and denotative elements in their images.[30] In the painter's production, the necessary elements that the viewer recognizes as part of the iconography of madness are eclipsed by the excess of information that the connotative elements of perspective, anatomy, physiognomics and atmospherics add to the painting.[31] In the works by the maker of imprese and emblems, in contrast, the denotative elements, which constitute the iconographic code of the emblematic tradition on madness, are declared right away as the essential part of the image. The "emblematic" quality of the sentences that accompany imprese and emblems emphasize the denotative nature of the images and aspire to possess an univocal meaning. However, oftentimes, even in the tradition of emblems and imprese, words and particularly images show an undeniable polysemic nature, which create ambiguity in the viewer's reception. The philosophical currents of Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism, which influenced both the theoretical elaboration and the practical composition of imprese and emblems, provided the viewers/readers with two theoretical grids with which they could perceive reality. The Aristotelian element was evident in the urge to catalogue reality, as exemplified by the work of Cesare Ripa, and in assimilating the nexus motto/figura of the impresa with the rhetorical function of the metaphor. The Neo-Platonic element manifested itself in the aspiration to reduce the world into essential ideas embodying the truth.

V.2.ii. The complex connection between images and words. The impresa.

Issues concerning language, verbal and visual communication and persuasion were at the center of many of the sixteenth-century theoretical debates that took place around the subject of the impresa. Mostly, these debates took the form of treatises or

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dialogues and were very popular among the intellectual élite during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. It is plausible to argue that in this period many intellectuals linked the making of imprese and their theoretical elaboration to the notion of the subject and its construction. One question was centered on the manner in which the subject was represented through the images and the words of the device. Which qualities of the subject were expressed in the impresa and what effect did such representation have on the audience who gazed at it?[32] These questions elicited a complex debate on the connection between the verbal and the visual dimension in the impresa, which many sixteenth-century experts embodied in the rhetorical figure of the metaphor.

I. Sixteenth-century treatises offered a vast number of definitions of the impresa and of its nature, its origins, its function and goals. One definition of the impresa emphasized what the device was *not* in relation to the emblem. In terms of structure, the most evident difference between the impresa and the emblem is that the former is bipartite—a figure and a motto—while the structure of the latter is tripartite—motto (inscriptio), image (figura) and explanation (subscriptio).[33] Indeed, both imprese and emblems share the dual function of representing and explaining. They constitute a very powerful way of connecting the verbal and the visual dimension in one single device, besides being a very fashionable method of expression in sixteenth-century Italy. Imprese were shown as a sign of recognition and distinction in paintings, on the front page of books, woven in clothing and carved in pieces of furniture and on the walls of the Italian accademie. Alciati's emblems were translated in several languages with great success, while other collections of emblems influenced literary productions in various countries.[34]

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Many sixteenth-century experts who wrote about the differences between the impresa and the emblem thought that the impresa was superior to the emblem. They agreed that the two main differences between imprese and emblems were the function of their message and the audience to which the devices were addressed. The message of a good impresa aimed at individuals and their virtues and resolutions, while that of the emblem was addressed to a general public and had moral undertones.[35] In his Ragionamento sopra le proprietà delle imprese (1572), Luca Contile states that the emblems are "figures with moral meaning," (2) while the impresa is a "composition of figure and motto, representing a virtuous and noble-minded proposition" (31). Francesco Caburacci argues that the impresa "manifests only the specific proposition that the subject intends to accomplish, and that he is firmly resolved in his soul to perform" (23).[36] Caburacci, whose definition of impresa Garzoni quotes in La Piazza,[37] states that "la Impresa [è] una compositione di pinto corpo, e di motto insieme per accennando [?] un particolare proponimento" (29) ("The Impresa [is] a composition of painted figure and motto together, meant to indicate a specific resolution"). In La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo, Garzoni dedicates a discorso to the experts of imprese and emblems, in which he writes: "E, insomma, l' emblema da un particolare cava un precetto universale, ma l' impresa argumenta sempre ad un particolare, e più presto accenna che compitamente esprime" (225) ("And, in conclusion, the emblem obtains a universal principle from a particular [notion?], while the impresa always argues in relation to a particular [notion] and hints at [it] rather than thoroughly expressing it"). At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Emanuele Tesauro still held valid the difference between the emblem and the impresa. Tesauro states that the emblem "[...] è un segno

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significante qualche universale documento, politico o morale, persuadendo qualche vertù o biasimando alcun vizio, o con semplice figura, o con motto aggionto alla figura, [...] avendo lisenza uguale a' rovesci circa le figure, per essere anch' egli popolare e intelligibile dal volgo stesso"(41) ("[...] is a sign signifying any universal document of either political or moral nature which advocates a virtue or condemns a vice, or with a simple image, or with a motto added to the image [...] having the same freedom as the reverse [of the coins] in matters concerning the figure, given the fact that the emblem too is popular and understandable to the common people"). The impresa, by contrast, "...è un segno che con figura e motto significa alcuna privata deliberazione o nobile impresa da farsi o vero anche fatta, accennandola però come fosse ancora da farsi, con gravità e con più sollevata e men vulgare maniera" (41) ("...is a sign that signifies a private resolution or a noble enterprise to be accomplished or already accomplished, but referring to it as if still to be done with gravity and in a more elevated and less popular way").

The makers of imprese matched the device's structural simplicity and nobility of message with a moderately obscure content. In the first treatise written completely on the subject of imprese, Giovio lists five necessary condizioni (conditions) that create a good impresa. According to one of these conditions, the impresa should not be either too obscure, so that one needs the help of the Sybil to decipher it, nor so self-explanatory that any common person could understand it. Another condition suggested that the motto be written in another language from that spoken by the author of the impresa.[38] Many critics have already noticed that Giovio did not elaborate any further on the nature, reason and function of the five conditions that he listed as necessary to make a good impresa. Nevertheless, by the end of the sixteenth century Giovio's conditions became rules that

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every respected writer of imprese was obliged to accept or refute, or at least to discuss in his text.

The fact that the words of the motto should be expressed in a foreign language requires a certain degree of obscurity in the verbal dimension of the impresa. Tasso condemns the mottoes that are excessively self-explanatory, while he praises words and images that are mysterious and secret (1059). Authors of imprese were supposed to obtain their mottoes from famous literary texts in a foreign language—French, Spanish but, most of all, Latin.[39]

By using small sections from well-known texts, the author implied an audience that could recognize the passage and the context from which it was taken, as if it were a sort of gnomic sentence in the style of Erasmus' Adagia. Indeed, writers of emblems, like Alciati, considered Erasmus' Adagia a source from which to take inspiration for the creation of their images.[40] Mario Praz defines the relationship between emblem and the epigrammatic tradition in terms of reversal. According to Praz, the emblem "is exactly the reverse of the epigram," since the former is a figure that illustrates a conceit, while the latter is a conceit that illustrates objects (22). Adagia, emblems and imprese use medieval bestiaries, epigrams, moral fables, myths and Egyptian hieroglyphs as material from which to draw their sentences and images. The images of imprese and emblems derive from a textual tradition as much as their mottoes and the sentences of the adagia. Adagia on the one hand and emblems and imprese on the other favor a concise form of expression. It is therefore natural that imprese and emblems borrowed from the adagia. However, if it is true that the emblem is the reverse of the epigram, as Praz says, it is also true that the multiple meanings attributed to the image complicate the correspondence

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between the impresa and the tradition of the adagia. The words that compose the motto contain a certain level of obscurity which produces meraviglia in the viewer; at the same time, since they allude to texts that belong to the audience's cultural background, they convey a sense of familiarity which the single viewer shares with the collectivity. In the author's choice of the words for the motto, the sense of collectivity intrudes in the private dimension of the impresa.

The mixture of individual and public qualities that affects the linguistic sphere of the impresa can also be observed in its formal organization, where the construction of the individual subject depends and is based on the public gaze of the viewing public. In the mottoes of the imprese in L' hospedale, Garzoni uses syntactical and rhythmic structures that imitate those of the mottoes that other authors of imprese have created for their devices; however, he rejects their semantic dimension, and uses instead popular language and sentences.

Torquato Tasso is among the many writers on imprese who explains the individualistic nature of the device by resorting to the etymology of the term: " 'Imprendere' o 'intraprendere' [...] significa il pigliare sopra di sé il cominciare con fermo proponimento alcuna cosa che malagevolmente possa farsi" (1039-1040) [41] (" 'start doing [something]' or 'to undertake'[...] means to take under oneself the enterprise of anything that can be achieved in a arduous way with firm resolution"). For Tasso, the word intraprendere embodies the most important element of the impresa's nature, that is, to undertake a noble and difficult action or thought. As the hero "undertakes" ("intraprende") a difficult task that will bring him honor, so does the carrier of the

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impresa manifest his noble soul by aspiring to achieve something arduous but rewarding that the impresa embodies.

By underlining the noble nature of the message in the impresa, sixteenth-century experts also determine its specific audience and potential carrier. Because everybody can accept and understand the moral tenor of its message, the emblem addresses the "volgo," an undifferentiated and universal public. The impresa, instead, addresses a single individual, of noble birth and soul. The impresa represents the carrier's worthy resolution, it is identified with the individual and embodies his qualities and his truest nature. In order to understand the individualistic nature of the impresa, it is important to study not only its meaning, but also its carrier, that is, its owner, who, at times, does not correspond with the creator of the device.[42] By the late sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century, the public and the carriers of imprese considerably widened. Members of the lower classes came to possess imprese that would ennoble their qualities, aspirations, and social status.[43] The members of the Italian accademie became the privileged audience and the creators of imprese. The members of the Italian accademie saw themselves as a "collective subject,"[44] and, as such, the message contained in their imprese maintained a private and individualistic dimension. In Discorso delle Imprese (1601), Andrea Chiocco states that the impresa is "an instrument of our intellect, made of figures and words that represent in a metaphorical manner the inner concept of the academician."[45] Yet, for both groups the private nature of the impresa remained an indispensable feature able to convey a noble and uplifting message.

Modern scholars have established a connection between the individual dimension of the impresa with the construction of the early-modern subject. Alan R. Young defines

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the impresa a "self-portrait, a projection of the self in terms of personal terms and goals, private principles, feelings, and state of mind" (23). Karen Pinkus and Armando Maggi have establish a dialogue between the sixteenth-century notion of selfhood expressed in the impresa and some principles of contemporary philosophy—as elaborated by Levinas and Merlau-Ponty—and psychoanalysis, mainly Lacanian. Both Pinkus and Maggi emphasize the notions of the gaze and of the other as essential ways for the (male) subject to define himself under the inquisitive and censoring eyes of the viewer.[46] The subject who carries the impresa, who is often also its creator, exhibits himself to a public audience. The individual nature of the impresa is connected to the public sphere of a gazing public. The subject in the impresa cannot come to light unless somebody else looks at it. The performative nature of the impresa implies a public that perceives the images and words of the device as metonymies for the subject's noblest part. The carrier of the impresa chooses the qualities that would make him appear noble and unique and then organizes them—or has somebody organize them for him—in a highly structured dimension. By gazing at a specific impresa, the other—either a group of people or simply another person, distinct from the subject of the device—interprets the impresa and modifies the subject's individuality, but does not reduce him to a mere object of contemplation. The tension existing between the two dimensions—the public and the individual—keeps either one of them to erase the other. However, when the carrier of the impresa is condemned and exposed for the negative qualities that he or she embodies, as in Garzoni's L' hospedale, the gaze of the public is meant to reduce the subject represented in the impresa to a passive object to be looked at and judged. The public, not the carrier of the impresa, asserts its own identity by defining itself against what the

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device represents and signifies. Yet, the polysemantic nature of the image, which expresses more than it signifies, leaves open a space that the author of imprese cannot control completely and that sheds some doubts about the passive dimension of the subject immortalized in the device.

Since the impresa is assimilated to the construction of the subject, which is validated or censored by a judging audience, contemporary writers easily identified the device with the subject's mental activities. Many pointed out that the impresa was not meant to stimulate one's eyes and ears, but to challenge the human intellect. Therefore, imprese must by necessity possess qualities that are peculiar to men (not necessarily to women), such as intellectual activity and the formation of concepts or ideas. Giulio Cesare Capaccio, the author of the treatise Delle imprese printed in 1592, argues that emblems address only the viewers' sight and therefore they tend to be more ornate and composite, but also more superficial than imprese. Imprese, instead, require that the viewers use their intellect. In fact, the impresa's apparent simplicity required from the viewer a deeper level of understanding and a subtler mind.[47] The impresa's assimilation to intellectual activity brought Alessandro Farra, whose work Garzoni mentions in La Piazza, to defined the impresa as a "homo ideale" ("ideal man"). Through the likeness that the impresa has with its own maker, this rhetorical device is a "vera e propria operatione, et impresa dell' intelletto humano" (268) ("real operation and enterprise of the human intellect").[48] Farra's definition stresses the nobility of the impresa by arguing that this rhetorical device is the perfect example of the way the human intellect works, that is, through the elaboration of a concetto, expressed in the harmonic proportion of words and images. According to Farra, the goal of a good impresa and its parts is to

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manifest a virtuous concetto, as all the parts of the human being serve to manifest a virtuous mind (271).

Even though imprese emphasized the representation of the individual, not all of them expressed noble propositions and positive characteristics about the subject who carried them. Some imprese used undignified figures and mottoes and addressed an audience that reacted with laughter and with smiling superiority at the sight of such images and words. In their treatises, writers attempted to justify the existence of such a category of impresa, which is exemplified in Garzoni's text, by emphasizing the relationship between image and word, the word or the image alone, or the "comedic" aspect of the device. Tesauro argues that the perfect impresa must be appropriate to the subject it represents. Most of all, it must possess decorum. By using the term decoro, Tesauro alludes to Aristotle's notion of πρεπον as expounded in his Rhetoric. Decorum requires that the style of a certain sentence fit the speaker, the audience, the subject, and the occasion.[49] Tesauro states that decorum can be applied to blameworthy and ugly subjects, on conditions that there be a correspondence in style between motto and image on the one hand and between the impresa as a whole and the concept it expresses on the other (108). By implying the idea of decorum in the construction and reception of the impresa, Tesauro emphasizes the rhetorical nature of the device and its affiliation to verbal persuasion.

Tesauro, like several other experts before him, claims that in order to create a good impresa one should obey the same rules that need to be followed to make a good speech. In the theoretical reflections on the impresa writers tended to blur the boundaries between the verbal and the visual dimension, even though they never erased them

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completely. They exploited verbal tools to determine the value and the persuasive degree of an image; conversely, they emphasized the visual nature of the intellectual operations geared to grasp the true and ultimate meaning of the device. Both operations stem from Aristotelian philosophy. Indeed, Aristotle gave great importance to verbal rhetoric as a formidable tool to control reality. He also conceived of images as playing a transitional role between physical sensation and abstract concept.[50]

Focussing exclusively on the words of the impresa, Palazzi argues that if a motto makes the viewer laugh, it is ugly, but not to be censored (148). Bargagli states that it is not blameworthy to compose imprese representing negative qualities of condemnable persons, as long as they serve to edify the souls of those who watch them.[51] He also argues that the visual representation of ugly and dangerous animals, like the buffalo or the fox, or of base profession, such as the shoemaker, can be used as long as they refer to a distasteful subject (155). Finally, in Il Rota, ovvero delle imprese (1562), Scipione Ammirato states that the impresa is similar to the dramatic genre of comedy. He argues that since comedy " nourishes the ears of the common people and of those who make [them], it should be necessarily made of understandable, common and ordinary things" (20). Likewise, the matching of words that are clear enough to be understood by a large portion of individuals and images produces the impresa. Together, the two parts of the impresa constitute a third element, which is no longer only image or word, but a hybrid, and creates "wonder" in those who view it and expresses passions and affects known to every human being.[52] Ammirato's comparison of the impresa with a dramatic genre emphasizes the performative quality of the impresa, which shows its nature to the public as if on a theater stage. By identifying comedy as the dramatic genre closest to the

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impresa, Ammirato deprives the device of its aristocratic aura and makes it available to a large public, opening it to laughter and sometimes to ridicule.

In the observations of Tesauro, Palazzi and Bargagli the validity of the notion of decorum is based more on the viewer's perception than on the meaning that the creator attributes to the impresa. It is the viewer's gaze, rather than the author's or even the carrier's intention, which establishes the connection between misshapen images and words and misshapen subjects, and recognizes their validity. Also, the "comedic" nature of the impresa is directed to an universal audience, which is supposed to experience meraviglia at the passions that the device produces. The passions that imprese represent embody the human being in his totality: therefore, they can range from nobility, sacrifice and love to amusement, laughter or even derision. A few years after the printing of Ammirato's treatise, Giovanni Andrea Palazzi introduces passions in the definition of the nature of the impresa. He states that the best imprese are those which express an affetto ("affection") and move the viewer's soul (200). Palazzi emphasizes the importance of the image as the expression of the "affettuoso concetto," with which the figure should engage a relation of "convenienza," that is, of conventional correspondence. The motto should fit and complement the image (101).[53]

In Garzoni's L' hospedale, the impresa expresses madness, which by early modern standards was considered an excess of passion, and shows derision toward their carriers, who are mad women. Each impresa portrays the twenty-eight categories of feminine madness in a mocking or disparaging way. The gazing public is explicitly asked not to identify with either the woman or her impresa, but to perceive themselves as different from the deviant women. Garzoni lets the viewer become the censor and the

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mocking judge of the various metaphors of madness demonstrated in each impresa. Even if authors like Ammirato liken the device to the genre of comedy, the dramatic dimension of imprese is, in fact, frozen in time and space.[54] The importance of this characteristic will become evident in the analysis of Garzoni's imprese, since the theatricality of the setting is counterbalanced by the sclerotic nature of the images represented.

II. Sixteenth-century experts conceived the connection between the verbal and the visual dimension in the impresa as one of the most important tools with which they dignified the device. Paolo Giovio introduced the words corpo (body) and anima (soul) to define the image and the motto of the impresa.[55] During the early modern period, the dichotomy soul/body absorbed the functions and the qualities of the opposition between materia and anima that ancient philosophy and medicine first and Christian thought later established within the human—male and adult—body. The woman's body was all materia. According to Aristotle, in the procreative system women provided only the matter, which men endowed with their vital spirit. Plato considered the physical love between a man and a woman inferior to the spiritual relationship between two men and condemned the sexual act as something that made human beings like beasts. Galen ascribed to the feminine gender an active role in the procreating process: he provided women with semen. However, he did not consider the woman's role equal to that of man, thus establishing a hierarchy that confirmed, rather than erased, the inferiority of the feminine gender. Philosophical and medical traditions gendered the opposition body/soul and charged it with ideological concerns, which were still present and active in sixteenth-century Italy. Early modern medicine, literature, philosophy and art accepted the

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opposition soul/body as a way to order the world in hierarchical categories according to gender.

The impresa presented such a dichotomy, where the image, deprived of voice, and naked in its corporeality, submitted itself to the words of the motto.[56] In the impresa, the oppositions body/soul and matter/form appeared to favor words over the corporeality of images. In Il Conte, overo delle imprese (1594), Torquato Tasso confirms the superiority of the motto over the image by stating that

> si come al corpo nostro, già vivo ed animato, sopraggiunge di fuori la mente immortale a guisa di peregrino, cosí a l'impresa, già viva per artificio del pittore, è dato dal poeta quasi da celeste iddio, nuovo intelletto, con le parole, che fa immortale la vita della pittura, la quale per se stessa avrebbe fine come l'anima de' bruti e delle piante (1060).
> as the immortal mind comes, like a pilgrim, to our body, [which is] already alive and full of life, so through words the poet, almost as a heavenly divinity, gives the impresa, already alive thanks to the painter's device, a new mind that makes immortal the painting's life, which in itself would die like the soul of animals and plants.

Tasso exalts the role of the poet, who in his simile becomes a creator of new life through the miraculous power of words. For Tasso, any impresa can come to life if it is endowed with a "mind" that manifests itself in the motto. Without it, the impresa is just a mute painting, destined to die, since it has been deprived of its soul. In Tasso's simile the writer of the motto, that is, the poet, assumes divine proportions, while the maker of the image, the painter, is reduced to the role of craftsman. Tasso links the verbal dimension

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and the poet who uses words to the soul, which is immortal, while he relegates the visual dimension and the painter who devises them to the decaying body. Relying on Derrida's interpretation of Plato's Phaedrus and on his elaboration of the concept of φάρμακον, Pinkus observes that if the image is mute in its corporeality, so is the motto, which is silent and cannot keep the viewer/reader from misreading it (8).[57] This interpretation blurs the hierarchy between genders and creates ambiguity within the message conveyed by the impresa as a whole.

Also, in some contemporary interpretations of the impresa the traditional hierarchy between image and word was not as clear-cut as it seemed at first sight. In his treatise Le imprese illustri, Girolamo Ruscelli states that the anima of the impresa is the "[...] intentione [...] cioè il sentimento, la significatione, o quello, che essa con le figure e con le parole vuol dimostrare, et non le parole, le quali non vi fanno altro ufficio, che di pigliarsi ancor esse la parte loro per far servigio al loro padrone, cioè all'Autore dell'Impresa" (5-6) ("[...] intention [...] that is the sentiment, the signification or that which [the impresa] wants to demonstrate with figures and words, and not the words [only], which do not have any other duty but to take their share in serving their master, namely, the Author of the Impresa"). The combined effort of words and images is the anima of the impresa, because it expresses the author's articulated thoughts and emotions.[58] For Ruscelli, images possess a universal dimension, evocative of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, while words are reduced to ministrae of the author's intention. In Ruscelli's definition of anima, the dichotomy between soul and body is erased—although not completely—and in its place the fusion between the two elements creates the meaning of the impresa. Indeed, words without image do not have full meaning (24).[59] A

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few pages later, Ruscelli corrects the definition quoted above by stating that "estrinsecamente," that is, viewed from the point of view of the external viewer, the impresa appears as a living body. In this organism, the motto assumes the role of the soul and the image that of the body; the intention is the combined result of the two parts together (7-8).

Ruscelli's contrasting definitions of anima in the impresa depend on the point of view from which one perceives the device. If seen from within, that is from the point of view of its maker, the soul of the impresa is made of the author's emotional and intellectual spheres. If seen from the external gaze, the soul is made of the words that give voice to the mute body of the painted figure, and ultimately to the living organism of the impresa. From the analysis of Ruscelli's passage the viewer's gaze plays a very important role in the definition of the impresa and its parts. As it has become clear in this investigation, the viewer's gaze is an essential element in the construction of the subject in the impresa.

In the opposition between body and soul that is embodied in the structure of the impresa, the image sometimes assumed the function of symbol or idea, in the Neo-Platonic acceptation of the term. In his analysis of the tradition of emblems and imprese, Gombrich gives great importance to the Neo-Platonic "equation between seeing and understanding" (167).[60] The emphasis on the image and its mystical meaning derives mainly from the hieroglyphic tradition, which was very popular in Italy since the fifteenth century, with the discovery of Horus Apollo's Hieroglyphica in 1419.[61] Horus Apollo believed that Egyptian hieroglyphs were symbolic figures that expressed the wisdom of the ancients and their view of reality in a synthetic way, and relegated the analytical

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method, which was conveyed through words, to a subordinate place. Even though Horus Apollo's interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs was wrong, it offered a convincing view to sixteenth-century intellectuals of the power of images and of the relationship between the visual and the verbal dimensions. It also confirmed what the Neo-Platonic Plotinus had observed in the third century CE about the relationship between the image and word and between image and knowledge. For Plotinus, each manifestation of wisdom is contained in a self-sufficient image, which does not need any discursive explanation. Later, a copy of this original wisdom is produced, which offers a discursive explanation of the image and the wisdom contained in it. Plotinus seems to condemn the analytical and composite nature of words in favor of the immediate effect that images have on the viewer's gaze and mind. Indeed, Plotinus addresses both the viewer's eyes and intellect.[62]

Italian humanists and Marsilio Ficino's Neo-Platonic school embraced wholeheartedly Horus Apollo's misconceived notion of Egyptian hieroglyphs.[63] They combined it with the medieval tradition of the moral bestiary, which they had inherited from the classical tradition of Plinius' Naturalis Historia and the Hellenistic tradition of the Physiologus, a text that was probably produced at the same time as Horus Apollo's Hieroglyphica. A sixteenth-century result of such a combination was Pierio Valeriano's Hieroglyphica, printed for the first time in 1556.[64] In the address to the reader, Valeriano explains what speaking in hieroglyphic terms means: "[...] for speaking in hieroglyphic terms is nothing else but opening the nature of divine and human things."[65] In Valeriano's detailed analysis, the images, which represent a single hieroglyph, express a multiplicity of meanings. Sometimes the same image can have contrasting or even opposite meanings, as in the case of the figure of the Medusa, who can convey terror,

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amazement and wonder, but also prudence (121V), or the owl, which signifies wisdom, but also application to useless wisdom, victory, hypocrisy, death and even Christ's humility (146V). Several writers of imprese had repeatedly pointed out the polysemantic nature of the image, which they saw as a limitation, rather than an enhancement of the impresa. The task of the motto, then, is to express one single specific meaning that the author of the impresa has chosen among the many that the image possesses.

Many experts considered the motto indispensable for the creation of a good impresa because the words helped avoid the difficulty implicit in attributing contrasting qualities to the same image. Scipione Bargagli describes the motto as the "interpreter [...] who extracts and discovers the quality and property that lies hidden in the figure"(225). The motto functions as a chemical solvent that polishes away the meanings of the impresa considered superfluous, and shows only the concetto that the impresa is supposed to explain. In the several treatises where the relationship between visual and verbal dimension is based on these premises, the mystical, neo- Platonic acceptation of the image in the impresa fades away and a more rhetorical, verbal-oriented dimension takes over.

Garzoni's treatment of the hieroglyphic tradition in La Piazza is an example of a mixture of these two attitudes toward the image in the impresa. Garzoni first translates Valeriano's definition of hieroglyphs as mysterious and symbolic tools that explain the nature of divine and human things. Later, he conflates this interpretation with one that is more focussed on the individual nature of the impresa: "Il fine de' ieroglifici era di rappresentare con la natura della cosa dipinta il concetto dello scrittore" (421) ("The goal of hieroglyphs was to represent the author's concetto with the nature of the painted

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thing"). In this statement, Garzoni uses the term concetto, which is very common in many definitions of the impresa and emphasizes a more rhetorical dimension of the device. Caburacci, whose authority on imprese Garzoni quotes in La Piazza, emphasizes the link between the visual and the verbal element of the impresa by pointing to their combined rhetorical effort in persuading the viewer of the goodness of the bearer's intent. Caburacci stresses the persuasive nature of the impresa and likens the device and its parts to an "orazione rethorica" (7) ("rhetorical oration").[66]

According to several sixteenth-century experts, the link between words and images in the impresa is based on a metaphorical relationship.[67] Bargagli states that the "life" of imprese is a "similitude, or comparison" but also "metaphor or translation" of their author or carrier (18-20), as does Tesauro, who equates the notion of metaphor with that of proportion. (55) Capaccio states that the impresa results from a comparison between image and word (53). The two parts of the impresa must be related on the principle of similitude. If there is no comparison between words and images, the impresa is not successful(75).

Terms like comparison, similitude, metaphor, proportion, convenience and decorum, which experts on imprese constantly use to define the nature of this device, imply, at least in theory, a relationship of mutual influence existing between image and word. In practice, however, the balance between the two dimensions tends to privilege either the polysemic image or the enlightening motto. Each image possesses multiple and contrasting meanings, many of which have been inherited from the hieroglyphic tradition. The motto helps to find the right meaning among the many that remain unused but that are still part of the signifying system of the visual dimension of the impresa. Bargagli

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compares the polysemic image to a palace left in the dark, made of many rooms and many apartments. Only in one of these rooms one can find the "signore" of the building (76). Bargagli's simile recalls the visual devices that early modern intellectuals used to store and organize one's memory and knowledge. In both the mnemonic devices and the imprese, words are the element that keeps us from getting lost among a confused congeries of meanings and images. Words also crystallize the fluctuating dimension of the image into something that is permanent.

More than other authors, Caburacci and Tesauro used the term metaphor in a conscious effort to assert the influence of verbal rhetoric and Aristotelian thought on the world of impresa. For Caburacci and Tesauro, the word metaphor emphasizes the activity of translation that image and word perform, even though in different ways. Images translate from nature to image, mottoes from image to word. There was also a deep-grounded expectation that the makers of imprese would be able to go backward and reach nature—whether it be the nature of the outside world or the individual dimension of the subject. If the motto is the soul, the interpreter and the giver of light in relation to the image, the word is what determines the nature of the image, its qualities and its functions. However, even if tamed, the image is not completely under the control of the motto, since it still contains many mysterious "dark rooms," that is, other meanings that the viewer perceives and understands besides the one that the motto underlines. To use Bryson's terminology, the composer of the device may try to define the image of the impresa in a denotative way, but the viewer interprets the image through different codes of recognition that emphasize the polysemic and ambiguous nature of the image.

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The partial or complete elimination of the visual image from the actual text is one way of resolving the tension between the motto and the image. As bizarre as it seems, the absence of the visual representation of imprese was a less than rare feature in contemporary treatises on the subject. Many authors simply described the image of the impresa and reported the motto; then, they gave a detailed explanation of the link between the two parts of the device and of the correspondence—or lack of it—between the image, the motto and the carrier of the impresa. In the treatises of Giovio, Bargagli, Tasso, Palazzi and Tesauro only a number of the imprese that these authors discussed were visually represented in the text.[68] Words surround the imprese that visually appear in the treatise, as there is no clear typographic distinction between the written word and the image. The decision of not including all the imprese in the treatise might have derived from the fact that both author and reader knew the images that were being examined. The main goal of these texts was to investigate and theorize about the relationship between the verbal and the visual dimension of the impresa. Also, a good part of the texts consisted in weighing the suitability of each image to the subject for whom it had been made. It is peculiar that these treatises reduced the visual dimension to a verbal description, in fact making the text and its subject an example of "rhetorical oration."

By describing the image of the impresa with words, the authors emphasize the denotative quality of a certain image and leave little space for the reader to look at and perceive the image differently. This is what occurs in Garzoni's L' hospedale. No impresa that the author describes is visually represented. The author has a greater power over the reader as he is trying to eliminate any sort of alternative meaning that the figures included in each impresa may have. By providing only a verbal paraphrases of the

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impresa and by creating images and mottoes that are meant to produce blame and laughter in the public the author controls the representation of the mad women. However, it will be demonstrated soon that the author's control over the mad patient and over the reader is only partial, thus leaving space for alternative and contradictory interpretations.

The impresa offered sixteenth-century intellectuals a chance to control the way specific social groups, such as the aristocrats, the members of the accademie and later those who desired to ennoble their low origins, perceived their identity in relation and sometimes in opposition to the larger society. The authors of the treatises on imprese invoked the intellect of the viewer, rather than simply his eyes, to decipher the sometimes-obscure meanings attached to the device. At times, they even eliminated the visual representation of the image and relied entirely on their rhetorical skills to convey to the reader the concreteness of the impresa. However, the metaphorical nature of the impresa, which allowed for a large range of contradictory and simultaneous interpretations of the same image, could not entirely fit in the tight structure that the makers of imprese had created. Also, the relationship between the motto, meant to shed light and life on the mute body of the impresa, and the image was in fact less univocal than the authors of imprese wished it to be. The control over the way one was perceived through the impresa by the outside world was not as absolute as it appeared. These flaws did not keep the intelligentsia of the newly reformed Catholic Church from adopting the tradition of imprese and emblems. They turned out to be a powerful visual means through which the church influenced the believers' interpretation of the new cultural and religious codes that had been established in sixteenth-century Catholic Europe.

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III. During and after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), The Catholic Church showed great determination in monitoring, censoring and directing the way the production of culture, broadly speaking, affected the mind and the habits of various social groups, from the volgo to the aristocratic classes. The leaders of the Catholic Church immediately realized how extremely important the printed books and their diffusion were, and made sure they saturated the market with a widespread distribution of texts that conformed to the ideological values of the Church.[69] Very soon, the Church also realized the power of images, and developed a series of attitudes meant to address a different portion of consumers and different types of visual representations. The Church took a strong stance against the "obscene" nudity with which Renaissance painters and sculptors provided their artworks and remedied by censoring the "scandalous" parts of the body exposed to the eye of the viewer. This censorship occurred especially in public spaces, such as churches, where a large number of people periodically gathered.[70] However, if used correctly, images had the potential of becoming a powerful educational tool for the illiterate people who were affected by the immediacy of the visual representation. It is necessary to investigate briefly the Church's attitude towards images in general and, in particular, towards imprese and emblems, because of the indirect effect this stance might have had on Garzoni's elaboration of the impresa in L' hospedale. Indeed, Garzoni was a priest of the Lateranense order and an active member of this congregation during the sixteenth century in Italy.[71] The way in which Garzoni conceived of the notion of the impresa and created his own original version was probably influenced, even if only in an indirect manner, by the Church's perspective on the subject. Garzoni was also a preacher, even though none of his sermons survived, and he must have known very well how to

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attract the attention of an audience and to persuade it of the goodness and the validity of the Catholic creed.[72] It is true that L' hospedale is not a text of religious propaganda. However, one can certainly recognize in it the same principles of uniformity, control and censorship that also inform the canonical texts of Catholic propaganda of Possevino's Bibliotheca Selecta or Paleotti's reflections on art in his Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane.

Gabriele Paleotti, archbishop of Bologna and cardinal, states: "[...] le pitture servono come libro aperto alla capacità d'ognuno, pere essere composte di linguaggio comune a tutte le sorti di persone, huomini, donne, piccioli, grandi, dotti, ignoranti" (72r) ("[...] paintings are like an open book for everyone's [intellectual] ability, because they are made of a language common to all sorts of people: men, women, kids, adults, learned and ignorant persons").[73] Paleotti is convinced that people use their minds less when they try to capture the meaning of an image than when they read a book. Also, images are of immediate consumption and are a very useful instrument for fast and massive indoctrination. However, if Paleotti praises the use of images in churches and in other public spaces as a pervasive tool that touches as many people as possible, he condemns the use of imprese because they exalt the subject's individuality. The cardinal considers the imprese objectionable and dangerous to the notion of cultural and religious conformity reinforced by the Catholic Church. In their unabashed praise of individual qualities, the imprese convey a "pagan" message. Symbols, instead, are useful to everybody and they are actually created for the common good:

> [...] si come i simboli ci rappresentano quella maestà e liberalità regia, che ad altro non è intenta che al servizio comune et al far bene ad altri, così

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> nelle imprese, per il contrario, pare che si scuopra quasi che un certo tirannico istinto di dirizzare ogni cosa a commodo proprio e a valersi dell'altrui per interesse particolare. (Garefi-Savarese, 450)
>
> [...] symbols represent for us that royal majesty and generosity the purpose of which is to be of common service and common good to others, while it seems that in the imprese, on the contrary, one discovers almost a tyrannical instinct to direct everything for one's advantage and to use others for private interest.

Paleotti does not condemn the entire genre of imprese, but the abuse that people have made of such devices for selfish purposes. The imprese that show decorum and dignity, like those that "great men and of great worth" carry, are not to be condemned.[74] The danger derives not from the nature of the image itself but from the function associated with it in the impresa. Paleotti was willing to accept only the imprese that belonged to members of the aristocracy or of the upper classes, while he rejected all the others as examples of arrogance.

Emblems, on the other hand, became one of the favorite instruments to diffuse the knowledge of the Sacred Scripture. Many collections of religious emblems centered on the representation of divine love, using the models established by the Neo-Platonic tradition and transforming them in messages of spiritual love rather than of earthly passion. The seventeenth-century collection of emblems Amoris Divini et Humani Effectus Varii Sacrae Scripturae Sanctorum... is an example of the spiritual conversion that the device had gone through since the end of the sixteenth century. In this text the images, some of which are very sensual, represent most of the time a boyish Jesus, other

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times a winged Cupid or an adult Christ, always accompanied by a female figure symbolizing the believer. The motto is made of sentences in Latin taken from the Scripture, and is followed by two verses in French that paraphrase the content of the motto.[75] In Paleotti's theoretical definition of emblems and imprese and in the religious representation of spiritual love, the emblem appears a convincing instrument of religious propaganda and conversion. It is able to adapt to the exigencies of the Catholic dogma because it appeals to universal and moral values, unlike the impresa. It is also interesting to notice that human figures, which Giovio banned from the impresa, are the main subject of these emblems

The Jesuit Antonio Possevino wrote on imprese, emblems, and hieroglyphs in his encyclopedic work entitled Biliotheca Selecta, which was printed in 1593.[76] Possevino wrote the Biliotheca—in Latin—for the Catholic aristocracy. He catalogued the culture of his period according to the ideological principles that the Catholic Church established after the Council of Trent. Possevino was convinced that the world could be informed by the knowledge expressed and inspired by the Catholic religion.[77] Possevino imposed an orthodox view on every aspect of culture, including the tradition of imprese and emblems.

Possevino cautions the reader who consults the collections of hieroglyphs by Horus Apollo and Pierio Valeriani, to see "ecquid inde commodi ad Dei honorem percipi queat"(t. II, lib. XVII, cap. XXXVIII, 480) ("whether any advantage could be gathered from there to honor God"). Throughout this section, Possevino does not seem to make distinctions between emblems and imprese. The only difference he can find is the fact

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that sometimes emblems can exist without motto (inscriptio), while the impresa must have it at all times.

Possevino mentions many authors who have written on emblems and imprese: Alciati, Ruscelli, Rota, Tasso, Contile, Giovio, Bocchi, Taegio and Ammirato. He is aware of the debate among the experts on the relationship between the visual and the verbal dimension and he offers the viewer a two-sided perspective on this subject, following closely Ruscelli but elaborating an argument of his own. Indeed, Possevino agrees with Girolamo Ruscelli in establishing that the anima of an emblem—or the impresa—is the combined result of "picturam & poesim, ut altera sit alterius interpretes" (ibid.) ("painting and poetry, so that one interprets the other"). For Possevino, the two sections of the impresa are no longer image and motto, but become metaphors for painting and poetry, which interpret and influence each other. However, when Possevino writes about the rule of proportion between the visual and the verbal dimension, he reverts to the traditional distinction body/soul (481). He then lists a series of restrictions that apply exclusively to the image, the symbolum, thus showing that he believed the image much more dangerous than the motto, which he calls inscriptio:

> Neque vero symbola sint ambigua, veluti herbarum dubiarum, aut animalium, vel avium maxime inter sese similium. Caeterum, absit ab iis quidquid indignationem, odium, maledicta, turpitudinem, assentationem sapiat, adsit autem quod ad pietatem, ad virtutes, ad honestatem animos possit accendere[...](481)
>
> And indeed the images should not be ambiguous, [as the images] of undetermined plants, or of animals and birds greatly similar one to the

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> other. Now, anything that tastes of disdain, hatred, abusive words, infamy and flattery should be absent from them, while that which could excite the souls to devotion, virtues, and honor should be present[...].

Possevino wants to banish ambiguity from the image, thus recommending the makers of the imprese to avoid figures that are not immediately recognizable and that can mislead the mind of the viewer towards unwanted connections. Possevino is also determined to uproot from the image negative passions that can taint the carrier and corrupt the mind of the viewer. The imprese should express only uplifting feelings for the soul.

Possevino is not original in his evaluation of the nature, the function and the goal of the impresa. He elaborates these traditional arguments within his own evaluation of visual art and as part of the ideological structure of his monumental categorization of human knowledge. For Possevino, images have a didactic goal and as such should teach individuals to conform to high moral standards. Anything that is even slightly ambiguous has to be rejected. Images and even imprese and emblems are a decisive method to propagate orthodoxy to the common people. If many of these devices are made for and addressed to a selected public, many others serve as propagandistic tools for a Church eager to direct and even to control the cultural behaviors of its believers.[78] Scholars like Praz have attributed the elitist tendency to the impresa and the propagandistic attitude to the emblem. It is also true that the Jesuit Possevino alludes mostly to authors of treatises on imprese when he writes his set of rules for the ideal image. Because of its more indefinite features, the impresa is more subject to manipulations of its original structure and content. This seems why Tomaso Garzoni chooses the impresa in his text.

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Garzoni, Possevino and Paleotti represent three different ways in which the Catholic Church diffused specific ideological and social values after the Council of Trent. They were concerned with the visual representation of faith and religious dogmas, the connection between words and images and the censorship of the ambiguous and the deviant, whether it be an image, a mad woman, or an impresa exemplifying a certain type of madness.

V.3. Femine madness and the impresa: an analysis of Garzoni's ragionamento.

I. Garzoni was well aware of the theoretical debate on the nature and function of the impresa that had been going on in Italy during the past fifty years, as is obvious in one of the discorsi of La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo. In La Sinagoga degli ignoranti, which he printed a few years later in 1589, Garzoni adopted the hieroglyphic tradition, which scholars believed to be the ancestor of the much improved and perfected impresa, as an erudite tool to define ignorance. However, the function that the impresa assumes in L' hospedale sets this device apart from Garzoni's theoretical definition of the impresa in La Piazza and his erudite description in La Sinagoga. In the discorso of La Piazza dedicated to the "professors of imprese and emblems,"[79] Garzoni summarizes the main ideas that sixteenth-century experts elaborated on the origin, the difference and the function of the two devices. Garzoni faithfully quotes Caburacci's definition of the impresa, "a composition of a painted body together with a motto, meant to allude to a specific individual resolution," which stresses the composite nature of the device and the individual nature of its goal. Garzoni expands his reflections on the purpose of the impresa by using well-known arguments developed by other authors. For

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Garzoni, the main goal of the impresa is to express a resolution that is virtuous and honorable and deals with deeds that the individual aspires to accomplish or has already accomplished. The secondary goal of the impresa is to become a monumentum to "virtuous and honest actions," a sort of visual mnemonic device that reminds oneself and others of the noble deeds performed in the past (226). Garzoni insists on a correspondence between the resolution of the impresa and its image, which must be "noble and virtuous" and arouse admiration rather than "contempt and laughter" for the carrier (227). In fact, "dispregio [e] riso" are exactly the emotions that the imprese in L' hospedale provoke in the viewer gazing at the devices hanging over the cell of the mad women. Garzoni asserts that the impresa should express only one concept or idea and that this unity should be reflected in the words and the images of the device. He also argues that no human figure should be included in the image, because the human body is already perfect on its own.

Among the several authors of treatises on imprese whom he mentions in this discorso—Farra, Caburacci, Alciati, Ruscelli, Giovio, Bargagli—Garzoni appears to favor Farra and Caburacci, although he ignores the mystical and Neo-Platonic elements of Farra's Settenario.[80] Garzoni quotes Farra when he describes the three categories of figures that can be represented in the impresa—fabulous, historical and natural—but the tripartite division is common to several other treatises on imprese. Garzoni adopts Caburacci's definition of the impresa and of its purpose, and lists some of the rhetorical figures—comparison, proportion, allusion, and metaphor—that Caburacci and Farra suggest should be used for the composition of the motto. Garzoni's contribution to the debate on the impresa is minimal, since he repeats what others have argued more

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persuasively before. Garzoni's discorso is a rather exhaustive catalogue of the basic notions on the impresa that the author has gathered from various contemporary treatises, and that could satisfy the curiosity of the readers of the encyclopedic La Piazza. In La Sinagoga degli ignoranti, Garzoni uses many hieroglyphs from Pierio Valeriani's Hieroglyphica to describe ignorance, which he defines as a willful and therefore perverted resistance against knowledge. In La Piazza, Garzoni defines the hieroglyphs as images that represent "with the nature of the painted thing the concept of the writer" (421).[81] Unlike the emblems and the imprese, the hieroglyphs do not have mottoes. In La Sinagoga, Garzoni does not discuss the hieroglyphic tradition from a theoretical point of view. Instead, he intersperses the text with hieroglyphic images, which he never visually represented. The authority of the hieroglyphs is based on their ancient origin. Garzoni agrees with the Jesuit Possevino that the Hebrews, beginning with Moses, are the inventors of the hieroglyphs.[82] Garzoni uses hieroglyphs to validate his condemnation of ignorance. Egyptians expressed rudeness, which is one of the characteristics of the ignorant individual, through the hieroglyph of the swine.[83] In La Sinagoga, Garzoni exploits the hieroglyphic tradition to give further dignity to his subject. As in the imprese in L' hospedale, Garzoni uses hieroglyphs to condemn rather than to praise. Within the multiple meanings associated with each hieroglyph Garzoni isolates that which he needs, thus reducing the polysemic nature of each image to a univocal, denotative figure. However, unlike the impresa in L' hospedale, the hieroglyph in La Sinagoga qualifies an abstract notion of ignorance and is not related in any way to an individual person.

II. In describing the imprese of L' hospedale, Garzoni uses elements that are well known to an audience acquainted with the tradition of emblems, imprese and hieroglyphs, but he

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changes their original meaning. Some of the imprese avoid an easy correspondence between image and motto. I am aware that a contemporary reader of Garzoni's text might have perfectly understood the connections between motto and image that appear rather obscure to a modern reader. The reasons why the modern reader is unable to see the link between motto and image where there might have been one, are various and certainly depend on the different set of cultural and ideological codes and constraints we use to interpret the images produced in a certain period.[84] Another possible reason for our inability to fully understand the meaning of Garzoni's imprese is our ignorance of a popular lore that seemed to have composed Garzoni's cultural humus and that is unfortunately unknown to us because it was mostly transmitted in an oral manner.[85] Also, rebuses, which were fashionable in the popular tradition, might have affected Garzoni's composition of his imprese. Rebuses are "riddles of words or syllables depicted by symbols or pictures that suggest the sound of the words or syllables they represent."[86] Usually rebuses did not refer to a specific person and his or her potential qualities; they were anonymous and had a very negative or even obscene meaning.[87] Finally, Garzoni might have taken as model for his devices the imprese that individuals created on the spur of the moment to play games that were performed in the Italian courts. Like Garzoni's imprese, these devices were not represented pictorially but "riferit[e] dalle parole dell'autore [...]" (Ruscelli, 1572, 154) ("related through the words of the author[...]").[88] It is true that the incongruities between image and motto can depend on factors that the modern reader cannot fully appreciate because they are not well documented. Yet, the disconnection between the two sections remains, and produces a sense of ambiguity in

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the reader that I argue depends also on the nature of madness and on the gender represented in the section where the impresa appears.

The discrepancies in Garzoni's imprese go beyond the generic characteristics of the device. In Garzoni's imprese ambiguity appears to be the by-product of the author's intent to control the nature of the patients' madness and their bodies. Garzoni's goal is to reduce the lives and the stories of each mad woman to something that is immutable, fixed in time and space. Garzoni intends to lead the viewer's attention away from the concrete dimension of the woman's history and body, towards the abstract nature of the impresa. From sixteenth-century treatises on imprese, Garzoni has learned that the highly structured nature of this device allows him to control the polysemic dimension of the image through the words of the motto. The post-tridentine production of religious propaganda and systematization of the knowledge shares with Garzoni the belief that the image is an effective tool for diffusing a message to the masses but also for cataloguing reality. Garzoni uses the impresa to catalogue and control feminine madness. However, the polysemic nature of the impresa seems to resist Garzoni's attempt to censor feminine madness and to reduce the mad women to passive objects of exhibition.

III. In the first pages of the ragionamento dedicated to feminine madness, Garzoni alludes to the presence of "bollettini o titoli ed arme" (358) ("small pieces of paper with information to give to the public, or titles and arms") above the entrance of the cell of each mad woman.[89] A few lines later, Garzoni describes the first category of feminine madness by narrating the origins of Claudia Marcella's "delirious and frenzied madness" and her actions. Then, Garzoni elaborates further on the function, the authorship and the meaning of the image overlooking the woman's cell:

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Quella prima camera che voi vedete con quell'arma di sopra alla porta, ch'è un cespuglio d'ortica selvatica, col titolo che dice "in punctus vulnus," è la camera di una matrona romana detta Claudia Marcella [...] il Messer dell'ospidale, ch'è è persona d'ingegno e di sapere, sopra la causa della sua [i.e. della donna] infirmità ha formato quell'arma overo impresa con quel titolo, volendo manifestare destramente a' gentil' uomini forastieri, che vengono a vedere questa parte dell'ospidale, per quel cespuglio d'ortica pungente e per quel motto " in puncto vulnus," ché si come l'ortica, tantino che tocchi, subito punge e tormenta, così quella matrona subito che sdrucciolando cadde sul sasso, fu da ferita crudele nel cerebro tocca in guisa che ora là dentro pena e travaglia di quella brutta maniera che si vede (358).

That first room that you see with that arma above the door, which is a bush of stinging nettle and the title that says "in punctus vulnus," is the room of a Roman matron whose name is Claudia Marcella [...] the Master of the hospital, who is an intelligent and knowledgeable person, made that arma or impresa concerning the cause of her [i.e. woman's] sickness with that title, which he adroitly wanted to demonstrate through that bush of stinging nettle and through that motto "the wound [appears] in an instant" to the noble guests who come to visit this part of the hospital; for the nettle, as soon as you touch it, instantly stings and torments [you] as that matron suddenly fell by slipping on the rock and was affected by a

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> merciless wound in her brain, so that she goes through a lot and suffers inside there in that awful way that you can see.

Garzoni first defines the image above the cell of Claudia Marcella as an arma. According to Giovanni Andrea Palazzi, the arma was a common device among noble people and originated around the time of Frederick I "Barbarossa" (74). The choice of the image in the arma depended exclusively on the personal whim of the bearer (79).[90] A few lines later Garzoni defines the same image and its motto an impresa. For the rest of the ragionamento the author uses the two terms interchangeably, even though the function and the qualities he attributes to the image and the words above each cell are closer to those of the impresa than to those of the arma.

As discussed previously in this chapter, sixteenth-century experts described the impresa as the manifestation of an intrinsic part of the nature of the individual who bore it. Image and motto aimed at expressing an "impresa," that is, a deed to be achieved by the carrier so that he or she would gain honor and embody the virtue represented in the impresa.[91] Experts also agreed in requiring that the verbal and the visual components of the impresa be complementary to each other by forming a harmonic unity. Garzoni uses the impresa to define an essential part of the nature of each woman, that is her madness, but with the purpose of censoring it before the eyes of the gazing public. He seems also to accept the complementary nature of image and motto in the impresa, but at times he twists both elements beyond recognition, so that ambiguity overcomes complementariness.

Garzoni states that the "Messere" of the hospital, who appears to be the director of the institution, is the creator of the twenty-eight imprese: each of them represents a

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specific category of madness, embodied by the woman secluded in the cell and by her case history. Of the twenty-nine women secluded in the hospital, Ostilia Mutinense, who exemplifies the last and worst category, that of "devilish madness," does not have an impresa. Garzoni defines the "Messere" a man of "ingegno," that is, gifted with a quality that makers of imprese assimilated to absolute creative freedom. In La Piazza Garzoni states that the makers of imprese should be intelligent and have wit—"spirito" (228). Paolo Giovio talks about capriccio (whim, fancy), while Torquato Tasso and Emanuele Tesauro write about the notions of meraviglia (wonder) and arguzia (sharpness). With his instinctive ingegno the "Messere" creates imprese that are representations, frozen in time and space, of each woman and her madness. With each impresa the "Messere" devises a series of frozen theatrical stages in which witty metaphors of madness are played out for the enjoyment of a curious public of "gentil'uomini forastieri." Since the beginning of the ragionamento, Garzoni provides the "Messere" with absolute power over the mad women: he gives him the possibility of molding the intrinsic nature of each woman through the impresa. Garzoni also provides the "Messere" with an audience that seems to reinforce his opinion with its silent agreement and its acquiescent gaze. However, this is not always true.

Experts suggest that the motto be very short and preferably taken from a well-known classical author. In fact, all the mottoes that Garzoni composes appear to be his original invention, even though their syntactical structure mirrors in most of the cases that of the mottoes in the major collections and treatises on imprese. To give an example, the impresa that exemplifies Lavinia Etolia's "extreme and unconventional madness " is the image of a monstrous Medusa with the motto "Extrema peto," which means "I desire

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extreme things" (369). It recalls the words of another motto, "summa petit" ("it aspires to [or it strives after] the highest things"), which accompanies the image of a fire going upward. Bargagli writes that the words of this motto are of Titus Livius describing Envy (187). Both mottoes use the verb petere, which they accompany with two adjectives in the neutral plural form—extrema and summa. In Bargagli's impresa the verb merely describes the fire's action and appears to identify with the creator of the impresa, not necessarily with its carrier or its figure. In Garzoni's impresa the verb in first singular person emphasizes the identification of the motto with the image of the Medusa. It is as if the Medusa were speaking to the public, asserting her desire for extreme things. The "Messere's" derogatory intention toward Lavinia Etolia's madness does not appear in the motto, in the image of the impresa or in the combined result of the two parts, but in the contrast between the impresa as a whole and Lavinia's case history

In the impresa of Claudia Marcella the relationship between the image and the motto exists, even though the link between image and motto appears to be explanatory rather than complementary. Another example of this type of correspondence is the impresa exemplifying Lucietta da Sultri's "demented madness."[92] Lucietta is afraid of everything, and "with thousands of experiments various doctors have tried to treat her." Her impresa represents a rabbit that digs the ground, with the motto "Huic fuga salus," which signifies "for this (animal) escape is salvation" (360). In the tradition of imprese the rabbit and the hare represent cowardice and guilt. Torquato Tasso states that the hare erases its own footsteps because of its fear (1079). In Le Théâtre des bons engins Guillaume de la Perrière determines that the image of a hare or a rabbit followed by dogs represents a guilty man.[93] In this impresa Garzoni does not change the traditional

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meaning of the image; rather, he adapts it to Lucietta da Sultri's fearful character rather than to the type of madness she represents.

In many imprese Garzoni manipulates the meaning of well-known images to fit a specific category of madness. Garzoni's habit of attributing new significance to traditional images is not an idiosyncratic characteristic among the authors of imprese. Bargagli states that he admires the author "c'havrà saputo intorno ad una medesima materia doppo le considerazioni statevi già mosse da altri, trovar nuove qualità, da poter distendervi nuovi concetti, che non fa colui, che mette accampo un corpo nuovo, non istato più da altri tocco ne veduto, a produrre un tale effetto [...]" (195) ("who will know how to find new qualities about the same subject, after others have already made their comments, so that he can unfold new concepts rather than [the author] who produces a new body, which nobody has touched or seen, in order to create such an effect").[94] Bargagli is aware of the metaphorical nature of the impresa and seems willing to exploit the multiple meanings that stem from a single device as an enhancement, not a limitation, of the expressive value of each image. Garzoni seeks the complicity of the reader who knows the tradition of the imprese and is able to recognize the new meaning that he attributes to the known image.

The "Messere" and the audience encounter Flavia Drusilla, example of "mischievous madness." The passage is quoted at length to show Garzoni's combined treatment of the mad woman's case history and of her impresa:

> Non vi dico niente di quell'altra matta dispettosa detta Flavia Drusilla che vedete là, attorno a quel cagnolo, e lo pettina e lo frega sì carezzevolmente come appare, che quindi a poco chiamandolo per Fiorino e non venendo a

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lei, saltarà in tanta furia che per dispetto vorrà impiccarlo o farlo a un tratto in geladina. E questo è il costume di lei che per picciola cosa s'accende di tanto dispetto che Gabrina maledetta o la moglie di Pinabello certamente la perderebbono con essa [...] l'altro giorno [...] mentre faceva il bugato, li saltò un poco di liscia in un occhio per disgrazia, come avviene; dove che la matta dispettosa prese il mastello dal bugato e lo gettò in un muro, sfasciandolo tutto, e portò tutti i panni (ch'aveva lavati e allora posti in liscia) verso un fiume che corre qua appresso, egli lasciò andare tutti a seconda [...] Però d'allora in qua Messer fece da un pittore suo amico metter là quell'arma su la cella di lei, che è un castorre che si strappa i genitali da se stesso col motto: "Ulcisci haud melius," che chiaramente dimostrano la dispettosa pazzia di questa bestia (363).

I won't say anything about that other mischievous madwoman called Flavia Drusilla whom you see over there around that puppy dog. She combs his hair and rubs him as though she were caressing him, but in a short while, when she calls him Fiorino and he doesn't go to her, she will jump out of spite in such fury that she will want to hang him or transform him all of the sudden into jelly. Such is the habit of this woman who is stirred up by such spite over nothing that wretched Gabrina or Pinabello's wife pale in comparison to her. [...] the other day [...] while doing the washing, a little bit of soap unfortunately reached one of her eyes, as it may happen; then, the mischievous woman grabbed the laundry tub and threw it against a wall, smashing it all, and brought all the clothes which

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> she had washed and just put in the softener toward the river that runs close by, and let them all go with the stream [...] Thus, since then the director had a painter friend of his put that impresa above the cell, which is a beaver that tears away his own genitals, with the motto "it is impossible to have a better vengeance," which clearly shows the mischievous madness of that beast.

Garzoni portrays Flavia performing a daily activity, which leads the reader to imagine an environment in which the madwomen are allowed to move and leave the confined limits of their cell.[95] The violent image of the beaver's self-castration frames and interpret the sudden rush of anger that characterizes Flavia's behavior, which the Latin motto verbally translates into an action of extreme vengeance that falls upon oneself.

However, what seems a seamless translation from personal story to image and finally to a commentary and interpretation of the image, contains in fact an excess of signification that is knowingly cast aside by the controlling action of the narrator's gaze. Authors of imprese were very familiar with the image of the beaver's self-castration. Plinius mentions it in Naturalis Historia, and Aesop makes it into a fable. Aesop's fable is the direct source of Alciati's emblem of the beaver that castrates himself when followed by hunters, accompanied by the motto "Aere quandoque salutem redimendam." ("Sometimes one can recover salvation with money").[96] Aesop attributes to the image of the beaver's self-castration a moral overtone: wise men know when to give up their possessions when their life is in danger. In the medieval bestiary entitled Physiologus, the beaver was defined "an animal extremely inoffensive and quiet." People considered the beaver's genitals useful in medicine, and the hunters, who pursue him for this reason,

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abandon the chase when they get what they want.[97] According to this medieval interpretation, the beaver's self-castration represented the condition of the human soul who tries to detach itself from sins.[98] In his motto Alciati interpreted the image as an invitation to give up money to save one's life. He likened the beaver's sexual identity to monetary possession, thus neglecting both the spiritual and moral dimensions.[99]. Valeriani interprets the beaver's self-mutilation as "petulantiae supplicium," the punishment of wantonness and impudence.[100] Giovio accompanies the image of the beaver with the Greek word "ανάγκη" ("necessity") to describe the aftermath of an ill-starred love affair of his youth that he was forced to break up.[101] Like Garzoni, Giovio appears to consider the beaver's self-castration in its strong sexual dimension. Unlike Flavia, Giovio can easily identify with the beaver and his action on the basis of gender. The beaver gives up his sexual power, his masculinity out of necessity, for survival. However, if in Alciati the self-castration is justified by the presence of a hostile agency, in Giovio the dimension of self-punishment and self-mutilation largely exceeds the dimension of necessity, since the presence of the hunters is not explicitly stated.[102] The vast use of this image throughout the centuries justifies Russell's statement that the beaver's self-castration "can serve as matri[x] for the expression of a wide range of ideas and information" (112). Garzoni's narration of Flavia's case history and his elaboration of the image of the beaver's self-castration contaminate two elements that can be found separately in Valeriani's interpretation of this image and in Giovio's impresa, namely wantonness and sexual potency/impotency. However, in Garzoni a discrepancy is immediately evident between the gender of the subject affected by madness and that of

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the animal in the impresa, which creates a disturbance of significance between the device and the narrative.

Flavia's relation with the dog Fiorino contains sexual undertones—she rubs the dog, which is gendered male, in a caressing way—and he becomes her sexual object. The dog Fiorino reminds the reader of the magic dog in canto XLIII of the Orlando Furioso, which has strong sexual connotations as well (106-116). In Ariosto's story the dog serves as the merchandise of exchange in a sexual transaction between a man and a woman, Adonio and Argia, while Flavia's dog Fiorino and her relationship with him can be interpreted as a manifestation of displaced auto-eroticism. Flavia is also compared to two minor female characters of the Orlando Furioso, Gabrina and Pinabello's wife.[103] The narrator considers them inferior to Flavia in terms of cruelty and nastiness. However, both characters of the Orlando Furioso show a cunning ability to direct their own anger sadistically against other people, while Flavia directs her anger upon herself. The violence with which Flavia turns upon the dog if she is not fulfilled in her desire to have him with her and the anger that she directs toward her own work and by metonymy toward herself creates an interesting equation between her case history and the beaver's self-mutilation. Both address their anger toward themselves and seem to be locked into a self-referential dimension. The viewer's gaze seems to be contained between the action of self-destruction in the narrative and that within the impresa. However, in the case of mischievous madness the boundaries between gender and species seem to be erased—Flavia, a woman, is equated to a male beaver—while the disjunction between the narrative and the emblem is remarkably reduced. It is evident that instead of having a univocal correspondence among category of madness, case history and impresa, and in

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the impresa between image and motto, Garzoni's text presents a discontinuous and meandering relationship that likens the interpretation of each category of feminine madness to a conundrum to be solved.

In the impresa dedicated to Orbilia Beneventana's "scatter-brained madness," Garzoni uses the image of the blind mole accompanied by the motto "Haec oculis haec mente" ("This [mole is blind] in her eyes, this [woman is blind] in her mind"). Valeriani emphasizes the mole's blindness but interprets it as a metaphor for ignorance and heresy (98V/99). Indeed, both meanings imply an irrecoverable lack of vision, respectively intellectual and moral. Garzoni uses the mole's blindness to express the mental blindness that has overcome the mad woman, but he also implies the original meanings that Valeriani has attributed, thus charging the madness of Orbilia Beneventana with intellectual and moral connotations. Garzoni describes Orbilia as a woman who wants to lighten a lantern in her cell in plain daylight. He seems to imply that Orbilia cannot see either with her eyes or with her mind. Yet, is not mental blindness a characteristic common to all mad women in the hospital?

Tadia da Pozzuolo is an example of "slow-witted madness," and her impresa is that of a goose on the top of a hedge with the motto "Frustra nitor" ("I strive in vain to rise") (361-62). Tadia's case history stresses her dumbness—she was asked to bring potable water to the table and instead she brings the water in which cabbage has just been cooked. Garzoni explains that Tadia, who cannot perform any of the actions she is asked to accomplish, is as dumb as the goose that cannot go over the hedge. Valeriani attributes a wide range of meanings to the goose, from protection to damage; he also identifies it with an individual who cares only about his own friends. Palazzi and Bargagli describe

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imprese that have a goose in their image, but in neither case do they interpret the animal as symbol of dumbness.[104]

A few pages later, Garzoni's treatment of Domicilia Feronia's "ridiculous madness" presents a similar structure to that of Tadia da Pozzuolo's. Garzoni immediately deprives Domicilia of her humanity by comparing her to a giraffe: "Mirate quell'altra giraffa su la porta, che non fa altro che ridere e sgrignare, e per ogni picciola cosa che vede o sente spalanca quella bocca che par quella d'un forno" (363) ("Look at that other giraffe on the door, who does nothing but laugh and sneer, and opens wide that mouth, which looks like that of an oven, for each little thing that she sees or hears"). Since Domicilia's madness corresponds to her uncontrollable laughter, the "Messere" has decided to create an impresa representing an owl, a "ridiculous animal," with the motto "Haec aliis et mihi alii" ("This [owl is a laughing matter] to others and the others [are a laughing matter] to me.") The owl, usually the animal representative of Athena, the goddess of wisdom, is not a laughing matter to either Alciati or Valeriani. Alciati considers the owl the symbol of silent prudence, while Valeriani lists an impressive number of meanings, going from wisdom to victory, and from hypocrisy to Christ's humility.[105] Garzoni's manipulation of the image of the owl is at odds with the traditional interpretation of this figure and with the woman's case history. Furthermore, the motto is extremely enigmatic and appears disconnected from the image. Domicilia Feronia and her madness seem to escape the interpretive cage that Garzoni gives both of them through the impresa.

If Domicilia's madness has already reduced her to a laughing animal—the giraffe—it does not, however, completely imprison her in the frame of Garzoni's

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impresa. Immediately after Domicilia Feronia's cell, Garzoni introduces the reader to Tarquinia Venerea, example of "glorious madness." She sits on a high chair and she is convinced of being a descendent of the queen of Sheba. Tarquinia Venerea seems to be more affluent than the other patients in the hospital. She possesses a pearl and a diamond, and in the past she received the visit of some ladies, whom she wanted to convince of the authenticity of a pair of breeches in her house as belonging to the husband of the queen of Sheba:

> Talché Messere, notata la pazzia di questa scempia, accomodando l'arma al genio di quella, gli ha posto per arma sopra la cella l'immagine del Tempo in quella foggia che lo descrivono i poeti, ch'è un dragone che si devora la coda, e così sopra un motto proporzionato che dice "Sola aeternitate victa" (364).
>
> Therefore the Messere, having observed the madness of that idiot and fitting the arma to the her nature, above the cell has put as arma the image of Time the way poets describe it, that is a dragon that devours its own tail, and above a suitable motto, which says "[I can be] won only by eternity."

The dragon—or snake—that feeds on its own tail is a classical image that many Renaissance authors have used before Garzoni: it symbolizes the notion of time or of the world.[106] Modern scholars point out that the difficulty of representing abstract notions such as time or the universe through elements derived from the sensible world—whether they be animals, plants or manufactured objects—leads the viewer to embrace the image on the intuitive level.[107] In fact, Garzoni reduces the mystical nature of this image to the

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dimensions of a visual and verbal joke, since he uses the figure to underline Tarquinia's pathological grandiosity, which, according to the motto, only eternity can overcome. In this impresa, Garzoni does not completely reject the original meaning of the figure. In fact, he wants the readers/viewers to connect this impresa with its models, so that they will realize the great incongruity that exists between the tradition of this image and the petty nature of Tarquinia's case history, and will ultimately deem it laughable. The mystical dimension of the impresa does not ennoble Tarquinia's madness; the link between the outside world and the metaphorical categorization of the device is so tenuous, that the written comment of the author becomes indispensable.

In the impresa of Livia Veletri, example of "moody madness" ("pazzia lunatica") Garzoni includes two elements that appear several times in other imprese and emblems, namely, a crab that looks upward toward the moon with the motto "Nunc in pleno, nunc in vacuo" (365) ("Now full, now empty"). Authors have often used the image of the moon, alone or together with the crab. It is worth mentioning that in Orlando Furioso the moon is the place where Astolfo recovers Orlando's wits and where wisdom takes refuge from earth (canto XXXIV). The main meaning of the moon is inconstancy, but it can also allude to a project that has not yet been accomplished or to a quality that will fade away with time.[108] Most important, the moon signifies folly and as such can be also seen in Bosch's painting "The Ship of Fools." According to Valeriani, the crab also expresses inconstancy (201V). Together, they represent the relationship of dependence that the carrier of the impresa, symbolized by the crab, has toward the object of his desire, identified with the moon.[109] Garzoni might not have known the impresa that contained both the moon and the crab but was certainly aware of the significance that they had

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separately. This is the only impresa in L' hospedale that contains iconographic elements linked to the subject of madness. It is also one of the few imprese in which a correspondence exists between the device as a whole and the category of madness that the woman exemplifies.

For Marzia Sempronia and Mansueta Britannia, who represent categories of madness—love madness and suicidal madness—that were so diagnosed and were medically treated, Garzoni resorts to images that ignore the medical aspect of the women's illness and stresses the abstract, a-temporal dimension of madness. Marzia Sempronia's impresa has a winged Cupid with a torch in his hands and the motto "desperata salus" ("hopeless salvation") (365), while the impresa of Mansueta Britannia has a trunk of cypress with the motto "Semel mortua quiescam" (366) ("once dead, I will rest"). Cupid is the focus of many amatory emblems, which were very popular during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.[110] In this tradition, Cupid is the agent of love while individuals, both men and women, are the passive recipients of this passion. If the image of the impresa portrays only the agent of Marzia's madness but not its subject, the case history seems in fact to depict a character who plays an active role in pursuit of her loved one. Marzia risks her life for the heartless and unapproachable Quinzio Rutilio, thus reversing the roles that Petrarchan love poetry has established between the male and hopeless pursuer and his cruel lady, object of idolatry. The motto expresses both the passive role of Marzia's madness, whose presence can be sensed only in the words but not in the image, and her active role as described in the case history. Opposite images of the same character stem from the case history and the impresa, with the result that one

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erases the other. The motto is the mediator and the interpreter between the inner and the outer dimension of the impresa.

Alciati, De La Perrière, Valeriani and Tomaso Porcacchi use and variously interpret the figure of the cypress.[111] Porcacchi comments on stanza 47 of canto XXXII of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, where Bradamante, affected by love madness and in search of Ruggiero, wears an overgarment with a cut cypress interwoven on it, to signify her love pain and jealousy.[112] Garzoni, who elaborates many characters of Orlando Furioso in L' hospedale, alludes to Ariosto's description and interpretation of the image of the cypress but charges it with a less personal meaning. The motto "once dead, I will rest" seems to project the correspondence outside of the impresa, to the suicidal conditions of Mansueta. However, the term mortua can refer to the carrier of the impresa and to the plant, since both are of feminine gender.

Immediately after Mansueta Britannia, the impresa dedicated to Ortensia Qunitilia's "queer madness" represents an unripe pear tree stricken by a thunder bolt with the motto "Actum est" ("It is over"). In this section Garzoni gives a very careful explanation of the reason why Ortensia finds herself in the hospital. Her behavior is "eteroclito," that is, unpredictable and violent: this is the reason why Ortensia is considered mad. The image and the motto of the impresa repeat well-known models, but the content is Garzoni's original invention. However, the authorial control exercised over the mad woman and her madness through the impresa—its internal correspondence between "body" and "soul," and its metaphorical link with the carrier of the device—seems to lose its power against the concrete nature of the mad woman's behavior.

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In the imprese where Garzoni manipulates visual material from the tradition, he attempts to establish his authoritative interpretation, justified and validated by the model, over the audience's perception. The women are immediately trapped into recognizable structures, images and sentences that the audience perceives as part of detecting madness. Multiple layers of meanings are still attached to the images that Garzoni uses to determine and catalogue feminine madness, and, in fact, the subject of madness becomes domesticated by the presence of traditional elements. However, even if sometimes the body and the soul of the impresa reach a sort of metaphorical correspondence, other times the "body" remains enigmatically silent, because the words are disconnected from the image and from the concrete nature of feminine madness. Through this series of incongruities, the author appears ultimately to lose control over the madness that he has so carefully catalogued.

In several other imprese the modern reader may find it problematic to decipher the complementary nature of motto and image, let alone any sort of loose connection between the two parts of the impresa. Marzia Cornelia exemplifies the category of "melancholic madness."[113] The author explains that Marzia Cornelia's imagination has been affected by melancholic humors since she was a child. In the hospital she thinks that she is a silkworm and chews mulberry leaves, which she is convinced will keep her alive. The "Messere" creates an impresa that represents a cocoon containing a knight and a branch of mulberry on one side, with the motto "Et mihi vitam et aliis decus." (359) ("And life for me, and honor for others.") While the image of the mulberry tree appears in Alciati's collection of emblems symbolizing an aspect of ignorance, the cocoon containing the knight is Garzoni's invention.[114] The figures in the image do not coalesce

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together to give an unified meaning but stand isolated as if they were fragments of a portrait never completed. Does the knight in the cocoon represent Marzia Cornelia? Or is she the branch of mulberry tree? What do these figures put together mean in relation to the woman's madness? The motto does not seem to favor one meaning over the other but creates further ambiguity. It is as if the image, the motto, and the case history of Marzia Cornelia conveyed slightly skewed portraits of the same object which do not match. To use the contemporary theoretical language of imprese, there is no metaphorical dimension, no translation from image to motto and vice versa that holds the two parts of the device together. One can speculate that the body of Marzia Cornelia is reduced to words and images that ultimately are not able to provide the reader with a whole image of the subject represented in it.

Garzoni manipulates many traditional elements into his imprese, with the result that the new conception either coalesces or clashes with the meanings established by the tradition. Garzoni also resorts to images that no author has adopted before.[115] For Terenzia Sannite's "clownish madness" Garzoni uses the masque of Zani, a character of the Commedia dell'Arte, with a pair of breeches hanging from its nose and the motto, in a language that Garzoni calls "tedesco italianato" (367) ("italianized German"), which says "Chesta stare bona compagne." ("This one feels good, friends"). Masques were indeed found in emblems; however, the choice of the clownish Zani—or Zanni—underlines Garzoni's intention to expose Terenzia as a laughable object to the public, and to strip her of her individuality and corporeality by reducing her to a masque, that is an empty head. As it happens in many other imprese, the gender of the mad woman is erased.

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Earlier in this section, Garzoni narrates Terenzia's resourceful way of attracting the attention of the Messere's family by exploding into a big belch that makes everybody laugh. In Garzoni's narration of her life in the hospital, Terenzia appears actively pursuing what she likes the most, that is, making people laugh. In the impresa, however, Terenzia is likened to a masque that everybody can wear. It is unclear if Garzoni intended the motto to be uttered through Terenzia's voice, or through the voice of one of her inmates. The motto is unusual, since it is written in a language that does not exist, and it is completely original. One can speculate that the reference to the German country present in the breeches and in the language of this impresa can be a veiled allusion to the unbridled behavior of the German people in a climate of staunch opposition to Protestant Reform.

The impresa for Cecilia Venusia's "excessive madness" has a garland "da bettola" ("from a low tavern") hanging from a staff, with the motto "Undique risus" (369) ("everywhere laughter"). Like Terenzia, Cecilia attracts people because she makes them laugh and tells them entertaining stories. As in the case of Terenzia, Garzoni deems such qualities ludicrous and therefore assimilates them to the equivocal level of pleasure that one can receive at a disreputable tavern. Women who make people laugh are dangerous, Garzoni seems to say; the impresa helps the author distance himself and the audience from the madness of the patients. Garzoni substitutes the laughter that the mad women produce with a scornful grin of superiority over their ridiculous and deviant nature, which is the perception he intends to convey to the fictional audience visiting the hospital and to the reader.

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One of the most evident effects of framing the women's madness within the impresa is their loss of bodily dimension, which Garzoni has emphatically underlined at the beginning of the ragionamento by stating that most of the women in the hospital are naked. If outside of the impresa the bodies of the mad women are exposed to the audience's prurient observation, inside of the impresa the images avoid the crude depiction of naked bodies and transform the fleshy "corpo" of the mad women into the abstract "corpo" of the device. In the impresa the "Messere" of the hospital avoids as much as possible the representation of human bodies and of physical attributes that could remind the reader of the nakedness of the mad women.[116]

In the tradition of imprese feminine figures were sometimes used as decorative frames. In several imprese by Ruscelli these figures played the function of caryatids, their bodies constricted in the most deformed and unnatural positions, mutilated and forced to fit the shape of hollow columns or decorative motifs. This is the only example that I have found so far of feminine naked bodies in an impresa. In fact, they are not *in* the impresa, they are at its margins and excluded from the figure, delimiting the space created for the image with their twisted bodies. The images of the emblem tradition, on the other hand, include a fairly large number of feminine bodies, clothed and unclothed.[117] However, once these bodies are inside the frame of the image, they become cultural objects to be gazed at. Lynda Nead argues that art and medicine have the power to regulate the feminine body according to specific norms and to make it into an image that contains sexuality and gender (11).[118] Nakedness is different from nudity: while the former defines bodies stripped of their clothes, the latter determines bodies "clothed" in art (14). A naked body is obscene, because it emphasizes excess and lack of limits; in order to

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become an object of culture, it needs to have its individuality eliminated (20-22). The audience shares with the artist a specific set of rules, which delimit the feminine nude body within the artistic frame. When the bodies compose the frame, as it happens in Ruscelli's imprese, they become external decoration. However, they still maintain a certain degree of gendered identity, so that the viewer perceives the manipulation to which their bodies are subjected as physical violation and not simply as artistic elaboration.

Garzoni manipulates the "body" of the impresa to fit his notion of madness, but his control is not always smooth. While he never introduces a nude body in his devices, he represents whole human figures six times. The first human figure is the knight in the cocoon of Marzia Cornelia's impresa. The second is an old man trying to catch butterflies, which exemplifies Marina de' Volsci's "slothful and careless madness." The third is the allegorical figure of Fraud with a broken scale in her hands, which represents Andronica Rodiana's "simulated madness." The fourth is the mythological figure of Jupiter sitting on a golden chair exemplifying Quinzia Emilia's "joyful madness." The fifth is the mythological figure of the Megaera, one of the furies, to represent Giacoma da Pianzipane's "bestial madness." The last figure is a "monstrous Medusa," which exemplifies Lavinia Etolia's "extreme and extravagant madness." Many authors of treatises on imprese forbid the representation of whole human bodies in the device, unless they portray mythological, allegorical or historical figures but accept the portrayal of parts of the body, such as hands, stretched out or in fists, arms or eyes.[119] Bargagli claims that the human figure is perfect and that the motto, which is coupled with the figure to enhance the perfection of the impresa, would be superfluous if authors used human

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bodies in their devices.[120] As already mentioned, Farra likens the impresa to the "ideal man," therefore implying that the addition of a human body in the image would be redundant (268).

Garzoni appears to obey the rules in the imprese of Andronica Rodiana and Quinzia Emilia. In the case of Marina de' Volsci, however, the figure of the old man creates a certain degree of ambiguity. Marina de' Volsci is supposed to loom; instead, she chases insects with a needle, the tool with which she should industriously perform her work and progress towards redemption:

> Quella si dimanda Marina de' Volsci, tanto svaporata e trascurata che tutto il giorno invece delle gravi faccende attende a bagatelle e frascherie: però Messere gli ha assegnato per arma quel vecchio attempato che dà la fuga a' parpaglioni col motto che a proposito dice: "Quo gravior, eo segnior" (359).
>
> That woman's name is Marina de' Volsci, (who is) so absent-minded and shabby that she looks after trifles and whims all day instead of serious matters. Thus Messere has assigned her as arma that old man who chases butterflies with the motto that says "The more serious [or the more venerable?] the lazier."

As Marina, instead of sewing, goes after flies and spiders with a needle, so the old man, instead of performing actions suitable to his age, chases butterflies. The correspondence between the carrier of the impresa, Marina de' Volsci, and the image represented in it, the old man pursuing butterflies, is superficial and conceals complex discrepancies. In the section of the Hieroglyphica that discusses the parts of the human body and its symbolic

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meanings, Pierio Valeriani connects the image of a white-haired head with old age but does not link it to any form of foolishness (231).[121] Garzoni does not depict Marina as an old woman—in fact, he carefully avoids attributing any particular age to the women in the hospital. Also, the seriousness expected form an elderly man is hardly justifiable if applied to Marina's madness. In other words, why should Marina be serious and composed if she is mad? There is no indication that Marina was a somber person before madness had occurred. This impresa does not illustrate Marina de' Volsci, but a particular moment of her daily life frozen into an impresa. The woman's identity is erased, and is substituted with that of an old man, probably signifying venerable old age gone awry. The motto reinforces the distance between the woman's case history and the impresa because it fits the image—the old man—but not the carrier—a mad woman.

In the imprese of Giacoma da Pianzipane and Lavinia Etolia, Garzoni uses the mythological figure of Megaera, who is one the Furies, the goddesses of vengeance who preside over murders committed within the family, and Medusa, one of the Gorgons, who is able to petrify anybody who meets her gaze. Giacoma hits one of the employees of the hospital with her chamber pot, while Lavinia shows her extravagant behavior by daring to write a letter to a princess—this is what Garzoni finds monstrous and laughable at the same time. The ludicrous banality of the mad women's case histories is juxtaposed to the monstrosity of the two mythological figures and the menacing tone of their mottoes—"Accensa nil dirius" ("Once [she is] enraged, there is nothing worse") and "Extrema peto" ("I desire extreme things"). Garzoni uses the mythological figures to frame the categories of madness that they represent as dangerous: Giacoma's "bestial madness" and Lavinia's "extravagant madness" are laughable but also disruptive.

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In the section dedicated to "vicious madness" Garzoni represents the body of one of the mad women, Lucilla da Camerino:

> [...] mirate quel vaso ch'ha in mano. Quel vaso è pieno d'acqua di noce che fa nera la pelle come un carbone. Ora costei da mezzo dì si tinge tutta la persona, e nuda si va accostando preso alle donne della famiglia del custode, quando sono da mezzogiorno a far colazione, tanto che tutte, di sì brutta cosa ispaventate, fuggono via e lasciano la mensa in preda a quella lupa che senza discrezione alcuna fa questi tratti quasi per ordinario. Quindi porta sopra la cella quell'arma in tutto a lei conforme, che è una coda di volpe che scova una camera col motto francese: "Par ma foy que liet tant bien" (362-63).
>
> [...] look at that pot that she holds in her hands. That pot is full of walnut water, which makes the skin black like charcoal. Now, she paints all her body since midday, and naked approaches the women of the family of the guardian when they have their meal at noon, so that all of them scared by such an ugly thing, escape and leave the table prey to that she-wolf, who shamelessly plays this kind of game almost every day for the girls and the maidservants and the whole family. Therefore, she has above the cell that device that perfectly suits her, which is the tail of a fox that sweeps a room with the French motto "Par ma foy que niet tan bien." ("On my word, that it cleans as well.")

As in the case of several of her inmates, madness degrades Lucilla to the animal stage—she is compared to a she-wolf. Unlike other madwomen, Lucilla uses her naked body to

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attack the "normal" people. Her mute body is no longer a passive object contained by the narrator's and viewer's gaze but a potentially threatening and excessive dimension of her madness. Using the distinction found in Lynda Nead's discussion between the nude and the naked body, one can argue that the mad body of Lucilla seems to consciously conceive of itself as an active element of the woman's agency, an entity autonomous from the controlling gaze. There is an apparent deconstruction of the links of signification between the narration of the case history and the impresa, and within the impresa between the image and the motto. Lucilla's painted body dominates the narration of the case history. The black painting is perhaps a reminder of the color that artists used to portray the devil and melancholic people. Lucilla camouflages her naked body the way it pleases her. She has the power to identify her gender and her sexuality.

Lucilla is a sixteenth-century version of the mythological figures of the Harpies. The Harpies would cover food with filthy dirt and eat it, thus making everybody escape in disgust and horror. Lucilla displays her dirty body in order to get food from a group of women who reject her body and her bestial nature as impossible to watch. The physicality of Lucilla's body contrasts with the abstract nature of the image in the impresa, the tail of a fox that sweeps a room. In Aesop and Alciati the fox represents the power of intelligence over empty ignorance.[122] Valeriani links the fox to cunning shrewdness and reasoning power (97-98). In the 1572 edition of Brant's The Ship of Fools, the section dedicated to adultery is represented by an image where a woman, sitting next to a man who covers his face with a hand, waves what looks like a fox's tail over his head (67). Both the fox and its tail are linked to the intellectual sphere, ranging from intelligence to cunning shrewdness and lying. As Lucilla cleans a room of people

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and food, so the fox's tail cleans the room of dirt. The motto, "on my word, that it cleans as well" seems to imply a further link between Lucilla's qualities and those of the tail. In fact, if it is true that Lucilla cleans as well as the fox's tail, she does it by using her excessive and threatening body. In the impresa, on the other hand, Lucilla's body is reduced to a part of the fox's body; perhaps an attempt to de-emphasize the power of the mad body to the eyes of the audience or to make it comic and diminutive through the metonymy of the animal's tail.

The last section is dedicated to Ostilia Mutinense's "devilish madness":

> Questa pazza diavolosa è tanto strana e maligna che non è arma al mondo che possa sufficientemente significare la sua perversa, iniqua ed abominevole natura. Però sola fra tutte è stata lasciata senza impresa ed immagine alcuna, imperò che né Gabrina per dispetto, né Circe, per diaboliche malie, né qualunque altro mostro dagli antichi celebrato potrebbe degnamente rappresentare le strane ed enormi proprietà di quella (370).
>
> This devilish madwoman is so strange and malicious that no arma in the world could properly represent her perverse, horrible and abominable nature. Thus, she doesn't have impresa and image, since neither Gabrina, out of spite, nor Circe, with her devilish charms, nor any other monster celebrated by the ancients could deservedly represent her strange and tremendous properties.

No impresa can contain Ostilia. The narrator omits the narration of any episode linked to her devilish madness and warns the audience to turn away from her, lest she transform

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some of them in animals or plants ("[...] fate conto che a guisa d'un'Alcina vi mutarà tutti in bestie o in sterpi o sassi [...]") ("[...] consider that she will transform you in animals, underbrush or stones [...]"). Ostilia plays the role of Medusa, the mortal woman with the power of petrifying with her sight. Thus, one can say that at the end of the ragionamento a reversal of roles occurs between the audience and the mad subject: it is now the woman's gaze that controls the audience's response, rather than the viewer's gaze controlling and censoring the woman's madness.

The precarious equilibrium that the narrator has established between case history and metaphor and between the narrative and the impresa of each section is overthrown by the silence that surrounds the last madwoman. The reader has to imagine the perverse actions that Ostilia performed outside the hospital and that led to her internment. Ostilia's body and her powerful silence are the only things that "speak" to the audience, while the control of the narrator and the creator of the impresa are remarkably reduced.

Conclusion.

In the section concerned with masculine madness Garzoni uses medical language to contain, catalogue and reduce madness to mere pathology. Within this frame Garzoni labels as mad any example of behavior that he judges condemnable because transgressive and aberrant. In the section dedicated to feminine madness Garzoni uses the rhetorical device of the impresa to create a frozen narration in time and space for each madwoman secluded in the cell. However, the deconstruction of the links of significance within the impresa and the discontinuity between the narration and the impresa within each category emphasize the presence of an excess of meaning that neither the narrator nor the viewer

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can completely contain with their gaze. In other words, the gaze not only reflects the object of representation as it is, but refracts what could be called a sort of agency coming from the madwomen and mad bodies in the text. Furthermore, the metaphorical nature of the impresa, a juxtaposition that demands an interpretation, erases original boundaries between genders and species and creates others. The madwomen's mute corporeality seems to possess at times a potentially subversive quality, as it does in the cases mentioned above of Lucilla da Camerino and Ostilia Mutinense. In Garzoni's text silence and nakedness can be seen not only as ways for the narrator to control the threatening alterity of madness, but also as spaces filled with potential violence that threatens the viewer's ostensible superiority and detachment from the spectacle of madness.

In Garzoni's L' hospedale the imprese are meant to produce derisive laughter among the viewers, certainly not admiration or respect for the mad women. The "Messere," the inventor of the twenty-eight imprese, has created a way to determine the deviant nature of each mad woman in absolute and definitive terms. The visiting public gazes at a contained, frozen and rather abstract image, rather than focussing on the physicality of each woman. By having the viewer's attention shifting from the woman to the impresa, the audience forgets that at the beginning of the ragionamento he described most of the women in the hospital as naked. Garzoni adopts the impresa as a way to control and frame madness within the structure of image and of words. He uses well-known images in the tradition of imprese that transform madness into a phenomenon that the audience can recognize and therefore no longer fear. L'hospedale is not intended to be a pamphlet of Catholic orthodox propaganda against madness conceived of as deviance. Garzoni wrote it to entertain a social group not too learned to be able to read in

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Latin but enough informed to be able to understand Garzoni's reference to the medical tradition and that of the impresa. However, the joking tone with which Garzoni treats the subject of madness and those affected by it does not keep the reader from realizing that the author is trying to propose a visual categorization of the notion of alterity in its various aspects, half laughing and half serious. Garzoni was aware of the debate around the power of images and the effect of imprese and emblems on the mind of the believers that took place during the sixteenth century. He filters these topics into the joking atmosphere of L' hospedale and adapts them to madness, but no one should be fooled into thinking that Garzoni wrote this text without an ideological agenda. The cataloguing nature of his works echoes the desire of Paleotti and Possevino to offer the Catholic reader an orthodox encyclopedia of knowledge, where the dangerous is considered unacceptable or, as in Garzoni, laughable.

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Notes

[1] Garzoni uses the term discorso as a synonym of chapter in L' hospedale and in other texts—Il teatro dei vari e diversi cervelli mondani, La Piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo and La Sinagoga degli ignoranti. He uses the word ragionamento only in L' hospedale. In contemporary Italian usage, both discorso and ragionamento meant conversation or dialogue, but they also defined full-fledged treatises. Both terms appeared in the titles of several sixteenth-century treatises of imprese. For contemporary examples of the use of the terms discorso and ragionamento in the sense of "treatise" see Niccolò Machiavelli's Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio (1517) (Treatise on the first ten books of Titus Livius' *Historia*), Giovanni Andrea Palazzi's I discorsi sopra l'imprese (Bologna, 1575) (The treatise on imprese), Ludovico Domenichi's Ragionamento sulle imprese (1559) (Treatise on imprese) and Luca Contile's Ragionamento sopra le proprietà delle imprese (1574) (Treatise on the properties of imprese). For the meaning of these terms in sixteenth-century Italian language see Vocabolario della lingua italiana, (Treccani, 1991) and Dizionario Etimologico Italiano Battisti-Alessio

[2] See chapter II for an analysis of Garzoni's treatment of masculine madness in L' hospedale.

[3] See chapter IV for an analysis of several case histories that Garzoni narrates in the section dedicated to feminine madness.

[4] See section IV.4.i, for a discussion of Claudia Marcella's case history in relation to the medical tradition of the consilia.

[5] The bush of stinging nettle in Claudia Marcella's impresa does not appear in any of the treatises on imprese and hieroglyphs that I have consulted. However, it seems to obey Farra's rule, which Garzoni quotes verbatim in La Piazza, according to which the objects of an impresa should be taken either from the natural dimension—animals, plants and atmospheric agents—or from the world of art and artifacts. Yet, a bush of stinging nettle is hardly a plant that will produce honorable thoughts about Claudia Marcella and her nature in the viewer's mind. The motto "in puncto vulnus" that accompanies the image obeys Giovio's fifth condition for composing a good impresa, namely that the words should be always in another language from that which the author of the impresa speaks. See section V.3.III for an analysis of the section dedicated to Claudia Marcella's "delirious and frenzied madness."

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[6] Adrien Junius, a Dutch doctor born in 1512 who studied medicine in Bologna, illustrated an emblem with a butterfly flying around a candle. See Hadrianus Iunius, Aenigmatum Libellus, (Antwerp, 1565) emblem 49. See also François D' Amboise, who had the same image with the motto "Mucho placer causa la muerte." ("great pleasure provokes death.") Discours ou traicté des devises...(Paris, 1620, 147). Praz, 93 mentions Gabriel Simeoni in relation to the same figure and the same motto in Italian ("così vivo piacer conduce a morte."). See also Girolamo Ruscelli, 495 and Bargagli, 127.

[7] Antonii Possevini Mantuani Societatis Iesu Bibliotheca Selecta de ratione studiorum, ad disciplinas & ad salutem omniū gentium procurandam. Recognita novissime, ab eodem, et aucta, & in duos tomos distributa. Triplex additus index. Alter librorum, alter capitum, tertius verborum, et rerum. Quid autem in quolibet tomo contineatur, vide post epistolā dedicatoriā. Permissu auctoris nunc primum in Germania edita. Coloniae Agrippinae apud Ioannes Gymnicum [...] MDCVII [...] (Selected Library of Antonio Possevino of the Society of Jesus from Mantua, concerning the propriety of learning, in order to provide everyone with discipline and health. Recently reviewed and increased by the author, and divided in two volumes. Three indexes have been added, one of the texts, one of the chapters, and the third of the verbs and things. See what is contained in each volume after the dedicatory epistle. [The work] has been printed first in Germany with the author's permission in Cologne by Ioannes Gymnicus [...] 1607 [...]). See also Gennaro Savarese, Andrea Gareffi, eds., La letteratura delle immagini nel Cinquecento (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980) 22-23 and 49, where the authors state that Possevino's Bibliotheca was considered "the more or less official model of the culture of the Counter Reformation."

[8] Gabriele Paleotti, Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane diviso in cinque libri, dove si scuoprono varii abusi loro e si dichiara il vero modo che christianamente si doveria osservara le porle nelle chiese, nelle case et in ogni altro luogo. Raccolto e posto insieme ad utile delle anime per commissione di Monsignore Illustrissimo e Reverendissimo Card. Paleotti Vescovo di Bologna al popolo della città e diocese sua (Discourse regarding sacred and profane images divided in five books, where various types of abuses are found and where it is declared the true way that one should observe in locating [the images] in a Christian fashion in churches, homes, and anywhere else. Gathered and put together for the good of the souls by the very noble and holy Monsignor Cardinal Paleotti bishop of Bologna. Dedicated to the people of the city of Bologna) in Paola Barocchi ed., Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma (Bari, 1961) cc. 71v-72r. The text is mentioned and discussed in Savarese and Gareffi, 1980, 36-37 and in Adriano Prosperi, "Intellettuali e Chiesa all'inizio dell'età moderna," Corrado Vivanti ed., Storia d'Italia. Annali 4. Intellettuali e potere (Turin: Einaudi, 1981) 239-241. For a general introduction to the art and architecture sanctioned by the Post-Tridentine Catholic Church, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal. 1540-1770 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) 152-164.

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[9] In Vision and Painting Norman Bryson argues for the conventional nature of the "realist image [...] which hides its status as a site of production," (55-56) and for the correspondent lack of awareness that "those who live in the social formation" have towards the conventional nature of the representation of reality through realist images and of what is perceived as reality (69).

[10] "The physical position, gesture, and trappings of the insane serve to present a concrete manner of comprehending madness. As madness is never a clearly defined and limited concept, the icons for treatment and representation tend to evolve and interrelate, reappearing more and more as the image of an undifferentiated sense of deviancy" (Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 43).

[11] Bryson, Vision and Painting, 43-53.

[12] Bryson, Vision and Painting, 69.

[13] For an early sixteenth century representation of lunatics, see Daniel Hopfer's engraving entitled The Dance of the Lunatics (in F. Henschen, The History of Diseases [1966] 279). For an example of feminine hysteria see the print "St. Catherine of Siena treating an Insane Woman" reproduced by Dock and Stewart in Short History of Nursing (1939) 75. For the similarity between the representation of hysteria and demonic possession see Domenico Zampieri Domenichino's painting of St. Nilus and St. Bartholomew's healing of a boy possessed by a devil (1609-1610).

[14] See Sander Gilman, Seeing the Insane for a collection and an analysis of the visual stereotypes in the representation of madness from ancient times to the present.

[15] Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panowsky and Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy Religion and Art (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1964) 284-373. For other representations of madness in visual art, see the paintings of Hieronimus Bosch and Peter Bruegel.

[16] See section IV.3.iii, where the analysis of Zacchia's Quaestiones medico-legales is an example of the author's oscillation between the notion of madness as detected through the individual responses to certain symptoms and that of madness contained within and defined by the broad categories of early modern humoral theory.

[17] Gilman, Seeing the Insane, 6.

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[18] See, for instance, the representation of the four temperaments in the Zurich manuscript C54/719, from the fifteenth century reproduced by H.E. Sigerist in his book Civilization and Disease, (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1943). See also the medieval woodcuts from German calendars representing the four temperaments and reproduced by Gail Kern Paster, 426-27.

[19] Paster notes that only the phlegmatic woman plays a fully active role, because normatively women's humoral complexion is cold and humid(423). However, I believe that even in the vignette representing the melancholic humor the woman plays an active role, by spinning, a domestic activity exclusively performed by women.

[20] In Histoire de la folie Foucault claims that boats like that which Brant describes in his text really existed (19-24). For a refutation of Foucault's statement on the basis of historical evidence and for a reappraisal of Foucault's general argument on madness, see H.C. Erik Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe," 247-265. See also the introduction to the present work for an evaluation Foucault's notion of madness.

[21] I was able to consult two editions of Brant's text enriched with visual representations that describe the categories of madness illustrated in the text. Both are Latin translations by Jacob Locher and were printed in 1498 by Jacobus Zachonis and in 1572 by Sebastianus Henricpetri.

[22] Daniel Russell, Emblematic Structures in Renaissance French Culture (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 97.

[23] See emblem "Furore e rabbia," ("Fury and anger") (58) "Pazzia ne i temerarij," ("Madness in the temerarious") (59) "La spada in mano del pazzo" ("The sword in the hand of a mad man") (163), in the Italian edition of Alciati's text, entitled Diverse imprese. What follows is a selected bibliography on Alciati and the importance of his work within the emblematic tradition: Andreas Alciati, The Latin Emblems. Index and Lists, ed. Peter M. Daly, Virginia W. Callahan and Simon Cuttler (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) ixi-xxii; Maria Antonietta de Angelis, Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciati nella edizione Steyner del 1531. Fonti e simbologie (Salerno: CNR, 1984); Hessel Miedema, "The term emblema in Alciati," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXXI (1968): 234-250; Bernard Scholz, "The 1532 Augsburg Edition of Alciati's Emblemata: A Survey of Research," Emblematica Winter 5 (1991): 213-254; Peter M. Daly, ed., Andrea Alciati and the Emblem Tradition. Essays in honor of Virginia Woods Callahan (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1989); Daniel Russell, "Looking at the Emblem in an European Context," Révue de Littérature Comparée 4 (1990): 625-644.

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[24] See chapter I for a full quotation of the passages from Cicero's Tusculanae Disputationes.

[25] Scholars call the three parts of the emblem inscriptio, which corresponds to the motto or the proverb located above the image; res picta, that is, the image, and subscriptio, the explanatory part, which usually appears below the image. For an analysis of the tripartite structure of the emblem—inscriptio, pictura, subscriptio—which corresponds to a dual function of representation and interpretation, see Peter M. Daly, Literature in the Light of the Emblem. Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 1979) 38.

[26] Imagines mortis. His accesserunt Epigrammata, e Gallico idiomate a Georgio Aemilyo in Latinum translata. Ad haec Medicina animae, tam iis, qui firma, quam qui adversa corporis valetudine praediti sunt, maxime necessaria. Quae his addita sunt, sequens pagina demonstrabit. Coloniae apud haredes Arnoldi Birckmanni. Anno 1566 (Images of death. To these [images] Georgius Aemilyus added epigrams from the French language translated into Latin. Therefore [or, in addition to this] medicine of the soul, extremely necessary both to those who have good physical health and to those who do not. The following page will show the epigrams that have been added. Cologne, printed by the successors of Arnold Birkman, 1566). It is said that Holbein the Younger created the woodcuts for this text.

[27] It is worthwhile noticing that Alciati's figures were not initially included in the text This fact emphasized the epigrammatic nature of Alciati's sentences. See Miedema's article on the 1531 edition of Alciati's Emblemata, and Praz's argument that Alciati's model was the Greek epigram in Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964) 22-26.

[28] Cesare Ripa Iconologia, ed. P. Buscaroli, vol. 2 (Turin: Fogola Ed., 1987) 103-104.

[29] Cesare Ripa's Iconologia was first printed in Rome in 1593 and then again, greatly revised and increased, in 1603. Ripa's work had an enormous success in Italy—the text was reprinted nine times between 1593 and 1767—and in the rest of Europe. For an analysis of Ripa's text in the context of Renaissance and Baroque culture of images see E. H. Gombrich, "*Icones Symbolicae*: Philosophies of Symbolism and their Bearing on Art," On the Renaissance: Vol. II: Symbolic Images (1972; London: Phaidon, 1993) 142-145.

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[30] See Bryson, Vision and Painting, 61-65, where he discusses the difference between denotation and connotation in painting. He attributes a predominance of the denotative register to Byzantine art, while he defines Renaissance art as highly connotative. To summarize Bryson's argument, the denotative elements "result from those procedures of recognition which are governed by the iconographic codes" (61), while the connotative elements constitute the "excess of information" (62) in a painting.

[31] Bryson, Vision and Painting, 65.

[32] In Picturing Silence Karen Pinkus writes about the construction of the subject in relation to the gaze in her analysis of Andrea Bocchi's emblems. In Identità e impresa rinascimentale, Armando Maggi analyzes in depth little known treatises on imprese written in Italy during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries to support his argument that the impresa is a synthesis of one's identity.

[33] For an analysis of the tripartite nature of the emblem, see Peter M. Daly, Literature in the Light of the Emblem, 21-31.

[34] For the places where one could find imprese see, for instance, Giovanni Andrea Palazzi, I discorsi di M. Gio. Andrea Palazzi sopra l'imprese: recitati nell'Accademia d'Urbino: con la tavola delle cose più notabili, che in loro si contengono in Bologna, per Alessandro Benacci 1575 anno santo. Con licenza dei superiori (Bologna, 1575) (The treatise by Sir Gio. Andrea Palazzi concerning the imprese delivered in the Academy of Urbino, with the table of the most remarkable things contained in it, printed by Alessandro Benacci, the holy year 1575, with the permission of the superiors.), 203. See also Praz, 50, 117. For the diffusion of the emblem outside Italy see, for instance, Mauda Bregoli-Russo, L'impresa come ritratto del Rinascimento (Naples: Loffredo, 1990) 107-108. Peter M. Daly argues that "[t]he emblem-books provide an important cross-reference for the meaning of motifs in poetry. The compilers of emblem-books were frequently poets themselves, and when that was not the case, they shared the same kind of education and world-picture. The emblem-books indicate what educated readers knew about nature, history, and mythology, and furthermore how they interpreted this knowledge" (Literature in the Light of the Emblem,186).

[35] The bibliography on imprese and emblems is vast. Here I will mention only the works of general interest, while I refer the reader to following notes for critical studies on more specific subjects. See the studies of Peter M. Daly on the emblematic tradition, Literature in the Light of the Emblem, Emblem Theory. Recent German Contributions to the Characterization of the Emblem Genre (Liechtenstein: KTO Press, 1979), Ibid. ed., The Index of Emblem Symposium (New York: AMS Press, 1990). For impresa, see

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Robert Klein, "La théorie de l' expression figurée dans les traités italiens sur les Imprese, 155-1612," Bibliothèque d' Humanisme et Renaissance XIX (1957): 339; Mario Praz, passim; Maria Luisa Doglio's introductions of two treatises on imprese, Paolo Giovio's Dialogo dell'imprese militari e amorose, ed. M. L. Doglio (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), and Emanuele Tesauro's Idea delle perfette imprese, ed. M. L. Doglio (Florence: Oschki, 1975): M.T. Jones-Davies ed., Emblèmes et devises au temps de la Renaissance (Paris: Touzot, 1981).

[36] Francesco Caburacci, Trattato di M. Francesco Caburacci da Imola. Dove si dimostra il vero. Et novo modo di fare le Imprese, con un breve discorso in difesa dell'*Orlando Furioso* di M. Ludovico Ariosto. In Bologna, per Gio. Rossi MDLXXX. Con licenza de' superiori (Treatise by Francesco Caburacci from Imola, where it is demonstrated the true, and new manner of making Imprese, with a brief discourse in defense of the *Orlando Furioso* by Ludovico Ariosto. In Bologna, [printed by] Gio. Rossi, MDLXXX. With permission of the Superiors).

[37] Tomaso Garzoni, La Piazza, discorso IX, 225.

[38] Paolo Giovio, 37. The other three conditions are 1) right proportion of motto—anima—and image—corpo; 2) pleasing aspect, which the creator of imprese can enhance by using bizarre and imaginary animals and instruments and 3) avoidance of any human form. More or less seventy years later, Emanuele Tesauro still held Giovio's conditions as valid, stating that the impresa should possess "oscurità chiara" (115) ("clear obscurity").

[39] See, for instance, Bargagli, Dell'imprese di Scipion Bargagli gentil'huomo sanese alla prima parte, la seconda e la terza nuovamente aggiunte [...] In Venetia, appresso Francesco de' Franceschi senese. MDXCIIII (On the imprese by Scipione Bargagli, gentleman from Siena, with addtion to the first, the second and the third part [...] In Venice, printer Francesco de' Franceschini from Siena, 1594), 275, and Tesauro, 89. Tesauro adds that the writers of imprese who choose mottoes derived from classical texts should use them in a context different from the original, so that they would provoke wonder and surprise in the viewer.

[40] See Virginia W. Callahan, "The Erasmus-Hercules Equation in the Emblems of Alciati," Karl-Ludwig Selig and Elizabeth Sears, eds., The Verbal and the Visual (New York: Italica Press, 1989) 41-58.

[41] Tasso, "Il Conte overo de l'imprese," Dialoghi, ed. Ezio Raimondi, 2 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1958) 1027-1124. See also Palazzi, 15.

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[42] Alan R. Young, "The Place of Imprese in an Index of Emblem Art," Peter M. Daly, The Index of Emblem Symposium, 23.

[43] Praz, passim.

[44] I borrow this expression from Amedeo Quondam's "L Accademia," in A. Asor Rosa ed., Letteratura Italiana, vol. I, (Turin: Einaudi, 1982) 287. In Le imprese illustri con espositioni, et discorsi del S^{or} Ieronimo Ruscelli. Al Serenissimo et sempre Felicissimo Re Catolico, Filippo d'Austria. Con gratia et privilegio in Venetia, l'anno MDLXVI (The illustrious imprese with explanations and discourses by Sir Ieronimus Ruscelli, dedicated to the most Serene and always very fortunate Catholic King, Philip of Austria. With permission printed in Venice, 1566), Girolamo Ruscelli includes many imprese of intellectuals who belonged to various accademie in Italy. In his treatise Scipione Bargagli lists the places where women should locate their imprese (306-307), and the third section of his text is an oration in praise of the accademie. Karen Pinkus analyzes Andrea Bocchi's emblems as examples of the use that Italian accademie made of this device. Armando Maggi analyzes the imprese produced by several Italian accademie (79-131).

[45] Quoted by Robert Klein, 322.

[46] Pinkus introduces the notion of the Lacanian gaze to define the relationship between the viewer's gaze at the impresa or emblem and "the formation of a subject whose subjectivity remains primarily grounded in language" (37). For Pinkus, the Lacanian gaze "shames or surveys the subject represented" and the space where it takes place, or what Pinkus calls its "morphology," resides in the relation "between the inside space of the painting with the outside scene of viewing [...] " (38). Armando Maggi refers to Merleau-Ponty, Lacan and Lévinas, because, although "with very different emphasis" one from the other, they all state that "the subject is prey of the Other, because it is from the Other that he obtains the meaning of his own being as a body" (12).

[47] "L'Emblema havrà solamente da pascer la vista, e l'Impresa l'Intelletto; Quello alla sola moralità attende; e questa al concetto delle cose rimira: quello tanto è più vago, quanto è più ornato di figure, et ancor che dell'essenza dell'emblema non siano, bisogna che altre imagini o grandi, o picciole, o Grottesche, o Arabesche, o altri simili l'adornino, e questa tal'hor semplice e nuda, a cui principale ornamento faccia un Cartoccio, all'occhio con più leggiadria aggradisce" (2v-3r) ("The Emblem will have only to nourish the sight, while the Impresa [will nourish] the intellect. The Emblem only cares about morality, while the impresa gazes at the concept [concetto] of things. The more graceful is the Emblem, the more adorned of figures it is, and although they are not essential to the

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Emblem, other images, big or small, grotesques, arabesques or other similar things ought to adorn it. The impresa, sometimes simple and bare, pleases the eye with more loveliness by just having a scroll as main ornament.") Giulio Cesare Capaccio, Delle imprese in tre libri diviso [...] Ex officina Horatii Salviani, in Napoli, appresso Gio. Giacomo Carlino, & Antonio Pace, 1592 (On the imprese, divided in three books [...] From the workshop of Horatius Salviani, in Naples, by Gio. Giacomo Carlino and Antonio Pace, 1592). Capaccio was born in Salerno in 1552. Educated by the Dominicans, he studied law in Naples and Bologna. In 1611 Capaccio founded the literary accademia degli Oziosi. He died in 1634. See Dizionario biografico degli Italiani.

[48] Alessandro Farra, Settenario dell'humana riduttione, d'Alessandro Farra, Giureconsulto alessandrino dal Castellaccio. Andrea Rondadinus Vicarius, vidit, et permisit imprimi. In Venegia appresso Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571 (Septenarius of human adaptation by Alessandro Farra, Jurisconsult from the city of Alessandria. Vicar Andrea Rondaninus read [the work] and allowed its printing. In Venice, [printed by] Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571). In the discorso dedicated to the experts of "imprese and emblems" in La Piazza (discorso IX, 225-228), Garzoni mentions Farra, along with Francesco Caburacci, Paolo Giovio, Girolamo Ruscelli and Scipione Bargagli as authors of treatises on imprese. For a brief and insightful discussion of Farra's definition of impresa, see the seminal article by Robert Klein, 339.

[49] See Richard A. Lanham, A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991) for a concise definition of the term decorum. Tesauro, 101-108.

[50] The visual nature of the written word was further emphasized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In The Origin of the German Tragic Drama (tr. J. Osborne, London: NLB, 1977) Walter Benjamin argues that in the Baroque period "both externally and stylistically—in the extreme character of the typographical arrangement and in the use of highly charged metaphors—the written words tends toward the visual" (175-176).

[51] "[...] in prima vi torno a dire [...] che non sia giamai disdicevole il formar Imprese significanti concetto non buono, di persona rea; quando però non sia da uscirne scandolo; anzi edificazione buona d'animo [...]" 30 ("[...] first of all I tell you again [...] that it is never inappropriate to make imprese that convey a bad concept, of a guilty person, as long as it does not produce a scandal, but a good edification of the soul [...]").

[52] Scipione Ammirato (1531-1601) wrote in 1556 Argomenti in rima dell'*Orlando Furioso*, which was printed by Girolamo Ruscelli. In 1558 he founded in Lecce the

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Acccademia dei Trasformati. For further biographical information see Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, vol. I.

[53] "L'impresa [è] un modo di esprimere qualche nostro concetto, principalmente affettuoso, con d'imagine di cosa, c'habbia con quello, per se stessa, convenienza: necessariamente accompagnata da un breve motto di parole a questo atte." (" The impresa [is] a way of expressing some of our concepts, mainly related to passions, through the image of a thing that assumes a relationship of conventional correspondence with [the passion]. A motto should by necessity accompany [the impresa], made of words fitting [the passion described in the image.]")

[54] On the subject of time and space in the impresa see Karen Pinkus, 168-169 and 172-174; see also Walter Benjamin, 194, on the simultaneous nature of multiple actions in Baroque drama, which the author likens to the nature of images in the emblematic tradition. He also writes about the fragmentation and allegorization of the body in the emblem (216-218). The fragmentation and allegorization that Benjamin describes in relation to bodies occurs also in relation to actions that human beings, animals or objects perform.

[55]. See Paolo Giovio, 37.

[56] Karen Pinkus stresses the influence of Neo-Platonism on the Renaissance elaboration of imprese and emblems, and argues that the linguistic elaboration of the dichotomy masculine/feminine in these devices resulted in the attribution of the qualities of multiplicity, mutability and contingency to the image(81).

[57] In defining both the image and the motto as possessing "majestic silence"(8) Pinkus uses Derrida's interpretation of Plato's Phaedrus in relation to writing, painting and sculpture as activities akin one to the other. They are all based on the mimetic principle. Mimesis repeats and reproduces itself, but does not produce reality. It is "ambivalent, playing with itself by hollowing itself out..." (139) Like painting, writing "conceal[s] the dead under the appearance of the living." (142) See Jacques Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy" in Dissemination, tr. B. Johnson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981) 63-171.

[58] Ruscelli's statement fits the definition of some modern scholars who argue that the "soul" of the impresa or emblem is that which exceeds image and words. They call the surplus of meaning the "idea" of the emblem or impresa, which is translated in the motto and in the epigram and embodied in the image.

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[59]"[...] mancando o il soggetto all'anima o l'anima al soggetto, l'impresa non riesce perfetta" (Giovio, 38) ("[...] if the soul lacks the subject [i.e. the image] or the subject lacks the soul, the impresa is not perfect").

[60] See Robert Klein for a convincing analysis of the role that Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic tendencies played in the theoretical elaboration of the Italian imprese. See also Mario Praz, 58, for a critical comment of the reductive use of Aristotelianism in the creation of devices. See Peter M. Daly Emblem Theory, 31.

[61] The author of the text lived during the Hellenistic period, probably in the IV century CE. The Florentine priest Cristoforo de' Buondelmonti bought the manuscript in the island of Andros and brought it back to Italy. Aldus Manutius printed the text in the original Greek in 1505 and Filippo Fasanini translated it in Latin in 1517. Fasanini's edition did not have images to accompany the description of the hieroglyphs. See Miedema, 249 and Russell, The Emblematic Tradition, 116-117. See also Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art, tr. B.F. Sessions (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972) 99-100. The edition of Horus Apollo that I consulted, which was printed in Paris in 1574, is provided with illustrations and with a text in French.

[62] Plotinus, Enneads V, book VIII, as quoted by D. Russell, Emblematic Tradition, 18-119.

[63] See Praz, 23-24 and Russell, Emblematic Tradition, 119.

[64] Giovanni Pietro Dalle Fosse, known also as Pierio Valeriano Bolzano, was born in 1477 in Belluno. He became a protégé of Giuliano de' Medici, who was elected pope Clemens VII in 1523. When the sack of Rome occurred, Valeriano was in Florence. In 1527 he was in Bologna, guest of Achille Bocchi, and in Ferrara, guest of Celio Calcagnini. In 1537 he was ordained priest. In 1556 Valeriano completed and printed the Hieroglyphica, which he dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici. He died in Padua two years later. The edition that I consulted was printed in Basil in 1556. For a very recent introduction to Valeriano's life and work see Julia Haig Gaisser, Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: a Renaissance Humanist and his World (Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 1999).

[65] "[...] quippe cum hieroglyphice loqui nihil aliud sit, quam divinarum humanarumque rerum naturam aperire." Tomaso Garzoni, who mentions both Valeriano and Horus Apollo in La Piazza, literally translates Valeriano's definition in discorso

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XXVII of La Piazza (421), which he dedicates to "the writers or scribes, and makers of paper [...] and professors of hieroglyphs."

[66] "Insomma così vuol persuadere l'impresa, come l'oratione rhetorica" (7) ("In conclusion, the impresa wants to persuade like the rhetorical oration")

[67] Paraphrasing the many statements declaring the impresa a metaphor, Klein writes that the link between the verbal and the visual dimension is not based on the assimilation of one element to the other but on the notion of metaphor, of implicit comparison between the two terms: "Il est tout à fait remarquable que l' impresa soit assimilée à la peinture, non à cause du dessin réel qui constitue son corps, mais à cause de la 'comparaison' ou métaphore qui constitue son âme" (339) ("It is extremely remarkable that the impresa is likened to painting, not because of the figure that constitutes its body, but because of the 'comparison' or metaphor that constitutes its soul").

[68] It is also true that in some treatises authors paid great attention to each impresa that they examined. In Le imprese illustri (1566) Girolamo Ruscelli dedicates the second book of his treatise to expound a series of elegantly printed imprese and their relationship to the carrier, usually an aristocratic or a royal figure. Each impresa occupies an entire page and is included in frames elegantly composed; Ruscelli's explanation and judgment occupies the opposite page.

[69] The following bibliography on the Council of Trent and on the ideological renewal that characterized the Catholic Church during the sixteenth century merely reflects my specific approach towards the subject. I attempt to define the relationship between the general action of censorship that the Catholic Church performed over the life, education and beliefs of Italian society and the culture of emblems and devises that pervaded several social strata in the country. For a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the antecedents that brought to the convening of the Council of Trent and of the first two years of this council until its temporary transfer to Bologna in 1547, see Hubert Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent, 2 vols., tr. Dom Ernest Graf (London; Edinburg; Paris; Melbourne; Toronto; New York: 1957). In the original German the work covers the council in its entirety, but only the first two volumes have been translated in English. For a very recent appraisal of the period following the Council of Trent, see R. Po-Chia Hsia, The World of Catholic Renewal and John O'Malley, Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000). For an analysis of the effects that the Council of Trent had on the law, the religious life of both male and female orders and on the structure of the family, see the collection of essays edited by Paolo Prodi and Wolfang Reinhard, Il concilio di Trento ed il moderno (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996). For an investigation of the relationship between intellectuals and the Church, see Adriano Prosperi, "Intellettuali e Chiesa all'inizio dell'età moderna," in

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Corrado Vivanti ed., Storia d'Italia. Annali 4. Intellettuali e potere (Turin: Einaudi, 1981) 159-252. For an analysis of Italian Catholic culture after the Council of Trent, see Albano Biondi, "Aspetti della cultura cattolica post-tridentina. Religione e controllo sociale," in Vivanti, ed., Storia d'Italia, 253-302. Finally, for a study of the use that post-tridentine religion made of Italian humanism, see Delio Cantimori, "Umanesimo e religione nel Rinascimento," in a collection of his essay by the same title (Turin: Einaudi, 1975) 259-298.

[70] See Adriano Prosperi, 240-241 and Po-Chia Hsia, 152.

[71] The Lateranense order followed the rule of S. Augustin and embraced the principles of the "devotio moderna." For information about the history of the Lateranense order see Garzoni, La Piazza, discorso III, "De' religiosi in genere [...]."

123-125; Enciclopedia Cattolica, vol. 3 (1949) under the entry "canonici regolari di Sant'Agostino," 554-568. For a short introduction to the notion of "devotio moderna" see Jedine, vol 1, 145.

[72] See introduction by Beatrice Collina of Garzoni's Le vite delle donne illustri della sacra scrittura. Con l'aggionta delle vite delle donne oscure e laide dell'uno e dell'altro Testamento. E un Discorso in fine sopra la nobiltà delle donne, edited by B. Collina (Longo: Ravenna, 1994) 18-19.

[73] Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane... (Bologna 1582). See Prosperi, 240 and Gareffi-Savarese, 444-454. The missionaries also realized the importance and the power of images: The Franciscan friar Diego Valdés wrote the treatise Rhetorica christiana (1579), in which he suggested that the priests bound to the Spanish Indies use images to communicate with the indigenous population, See Prosperi. 239.

[74] Garefi-Savarese, 454.

[75] Amoris Divini et Humani Effectus Varii Sacrae Scripturae Sanctorumque PP. Sententiis ac Gallicis versibus illustrati, (Antwerp: 1626) (Various Effects of Divine and Human Love explained with Sentences from the Sacred Scripture and the Saint Fathers and with verses in French). For an overview of the religious use of emblems, see Praz, 142-169.

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[76] For biographical information about Antonio Possevino, see Biondi, 296. Possevino was a very influential member of the Company of Jesus, and worked on the monumental text of the Bibliotheca for more than twenty years.

[77] See Biondi, 297-300 and Prosperi, 166.

[78] See Praz, 169, for a brief discussion on this subject.

[79] Discorso IX, 225-228.

[80] See Garzoni, La Piazza, 227.

[81] La Piazza, discorso XXVIII, pp. 410-423. Pages 417-422 are dedicated to the subject of hieroglyphs, their origin, their nature and their function.

[82] Garzoni, 417; Possevino, 479.

[83] "Fu questa inezia e sgarbatezza significata presso agli Egizi per il porco [...]" (427) ("The Egyptians expressed this laziness and rudeness with the swine [...]")

[84] In relation to the notion of reception of visual art Bryson and Mieke Bal write that "possession of codes of viewing is a process, not a given, and that members of groups acquire their familiarity with codes of viewing, and their ability to operate those codes, to varying degrees" (186). See Mieke Bal & Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 175-209.

[85] See the tradition of the country priest—piovano—Arlotto, which I discuss in chapter II of this work. For an analysis of Italian popular culture in the early modern period, see Piero Camporesi, "Cultura popolare e cultura d'élite fra medioevo ed età moderna," Corrado Vivanti, ed., Storia d'Italia. Annali 4. Intellettuali e potere (Turin: Einaudi, 1981) 79-157.

[86] "Rebus," The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1979.

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[87] For an analysis of rebuses in French popular culture, see Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin, Rébus de la Renaissance. Des images qui parlent, 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986).

[88] For a an exhaustive treatment of a variety of games played in the court of Isabella de' Medici in sixteenth-century Siena see Girolamo Ruscelli's Dialogo de' giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usano fare del Materiale Intronato all'Illustrissima , et eccelent.ma Signora Donna Isabella de' Medici Orsina Duchessa di Bracciano in Siena 1572 per Luca Bonetti, con licenza de' Superiori, et privilegio di Sua Altezza Serenissima (Dialogue of the games that are usually played during the parties in Siena (written) by the Materiale Intronato and (dedicated) to the Illustrious and most Excellent Lady Donna Isabella de' Medici Orsina Duchess of Bracciano in Siena 1571, (printed) by Luca Bonetti, with permission of the Superiors and the privilege of His Serene Highness).

[89] See section IV.4.i, for the translation and the analysis of the entire passage in question.

[90] Palazzi, discorso II, 74-84. Luca Contile states that the armi "[...] dinotano nobiltà di famiglia, e distinzione fra esse" (2) ("[...] are a sign of the family's noble lineage and of distinction among them.").

[91] For a general overview of the major sixteenth-century Italian authors of treatises on imprese, see Savarese-Gareffi, 127-261.

[92] See section IV.4.i for a discussion of Lucietta da Sutri's case history.

[93] Le Théâtre des bons engins, auquel sont contenuz cent emblems moraulx. Composé par Guillaume de La Perrière Tolosain: et nouvellement par ice-luy limé, reveu, et corrigé, 1539, emblem LXI.

[94] Garzoni mentions Bargagli in La Piazza as one of the experts on imprese. When Garzoni prints La Piazza, in 1585, Bargagli has published only the first part of Dell' imprese seven years earlier. In 1594 Bargagli prints a new edition of this text, with two additional books. The passage quoted in the text is from book II of the 1594 edition. See the comment on this passage of Cherchi-Collina, in Garzoni, La Piazza, 228, n. 12.

[95] For an analysis of the space the hospital as gendered, see chapter IV.

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[96] See Alciati, emblem 152 and Antonietta de Angelis, Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciati nella edizione Steyner del 1531. Fonti e simbologie (CNR, 1984) 277-78 where she quotes Aesop, n. 153 (Chambry) and Plinius Naturalis Historia XXXII, 26; VIII, 109 as direct sources of Alciati's emblem.

[97] Garzoni alludes to the rarity and preciousness of the beaver's genitals in the section dedicated to Lavinia Etolia. See Opere, 369.

[98] See Physiologus, ed. and tr. Michael J. Curley (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1979) 52.

[99] This is Konrad Hoffmann's argument in "Alciati and the Historical Situation," Peter M. Daly, ed., Andrea Alciati and the Emblem Tradition. Essays in honor of Virginia Woods Callahan (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1989) 11-12. See also Daniel Russell, "The Needs of the Literary Historian," in Peter M. Daly, ed., The Index of Emblem Symposium (New York: AMS Press, 1990) 112.

[100] Pierio Valeriano Bolzano, Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii, Ioannis Pierii Valeriani Bolzanii Bellunensis, (Basel, 1556) 122-23. For a very recent introduction to Valeriano's life and work see Julia Haig Gaisser, Pierio Valeriano on the Ill Fortune of Learned Men: a Renaissance Humanist and his World (Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press, 1999).

[101] "È ben vero che in mia gioventù, essend'io preso d'amore in Pavia, fui necessitato per non far peggio a prendere un partito dannoso per salvar la vita e volendo mostrare la necessità che mi sforzò, feci quell'animale che in Latino si chiama *Fiber Pontificus* e castoro in volgare [...]" (137) ("It is true that in my youth, having fallen in love in the city of Pavia, in order to avoid the worst I had to make a detrimental decision to save my life. Desiring to show the necessity that forced me to do so, I represented that animal that in Latin is called *Fiber Pontificus* and beaver in vernacular [...]").

[102] Capaccio reports Giovio's impresa and mentions Aesop and the Physiologus as the sources of the image. See also D'Amboise, 136, who adopts a new motto, "servat neglecta voluptas" ("disregarded pleasure brings salvation"). Russell mentions other authors who have used the image of the beaver's self-mutilation before and after Garzoni: Juvenal in Saturae, XII, 34-36, Agrippa D' Aubigné in Les Tragiques, ll. 570-580 and J.B. Chassignet, Les Mespris de la vie et consolation contre la mort.

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[103] For a detailed analysis of Gabrina's character see chapter III. Ariosto mentions Pinabello's wife several times but never gives her a name.

[104] See Palazzi, discorso III, 130 and Bargagli, 270.

[105] In the 1546 Latin edition of Alciati's Emblemata the owl is accompanied by the motto "prudens sed infancundus," which becomes in the 1558 edition in Italian "ch'al prudente non convengono molte parole." The other meanings that Valeriani attributes to the image of the owl are inclination (or desire) for fruitless wisdom, money, death, enemies' mutual defeat, moderation in drinking and protection invoked in vain.

[106] Cherchi In Garzoni, Opere, 364, n. 46 observes that the fourth-century poet Claudianus was the first who envisioned Time as a snake that eats its tail in In primo consulatu Stilichonis 2:248-30. Marsilio Ficino used this image and Alciati made it an emblem with the motto "ex litterarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri" (emblem 133) ("to acquire immortality from the study of literature"). Valeriani interprets the figure as the symbol of the universe ("mundum universum" 102V).

[107] Gombrich argues that "the serpent biting its own tail is not a 'representation' of time, for time is not a part of the sensible world and so it cannot appear to our bodily senses. The essence of time is accessible only to intuition and it is this intutition which is symbolized in our response to the image which both demands contemplation and spurs us to transcend it." (160)

[108] Pierio Valeriani interprets the moon as a symbol of human nature (328) and for folly (329V). See also Giovio, 51, Tasso 1065 and Bargagli, 182.

[109] Bargagli mentions Girolamo Corti as the carrier of the impresa at a joust (185).

[110] See for instance Georgius Camerarius' Emblemata amatoria (1627).

[111] Valeriani interprets the cypress either as a symbol of a place polluted by death or of eternity (379V). De La Perrière considers it a metaphor for sterility (LXV). See also Alciati's emblem CXCVIII, "De cupressu."

[112] Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto. Nuovamente ristampato e ricorretto. Con nuovi argomenti di M. Ludovico Dolce. Con la vita dell'autore di M. Simone

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Fornari: Il Vocabolario delle voci più oscure: le imitationi cavate dal Dolce: le nuove Allegorie et Annot. Di M. Tomaso Porcacchi. In Venetia MDCXIX Appresso Pietro Farri (Orlando Furioso of Sir Ludovico Ariosto. Newly reprinted and corrected. With new subjects by Sir Ludovico Dolce. With the author's life by Sir Simone Fornari, the dictionary of the most obscure words, the imitations created by Dolce and the new allegories and observations by Sir Tomaso Porcacchi. In Venice, 1619, printed by Pietro Farri). Porcacchi was a friend of the famous printer Gabriele Giolito; he translated into Italian many Greek and Latin texts. Among other texts, he edited Guicciardini's Storia d'Italia and Bembo's Asolani. He died in Venice in 1585.

[113] See section IV.4.i for a discussion of Marzia Cornelia's case history.

[114] Alciati, emblem 210: "Serior at Morus nunquam nisi frigore lapso germinat: et sapiens nomina falsa gerit" ("The tardy mulberry never sprouts leaves until the cold fails: and the wise man carries false words").

[115] See the monumental work of Henkel and Schone (Emblemata. Hanbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI und XVII Jahrunderts, Stuttgart, 1967), in which the editors have gathered the images and mottoes of sixteenth and seventeenth-century emblems books from all over Europe.

[116] Paolo Giovio was the first in a long list of the experts and makers of imprese who objected to the use of human figures within the image, unless they represent mythological or historical characters. However, Torquato Tasso defends the presence of human figures in the composition of the impresa (1121).

[117] In Alciati's collection printed in Italian in 1558 under the title of Diverse imprese, the emblem signifying lust portrays Circe surrounded by the lovers whom she transformed into animals; the figures of Fortune and chastity are usually represented by female naked figures.

[118] Lynda Nead, Art, Obscenity and Sexuality.

[119] Alessandro Farra states that mythological and historical images can include human figures, "like images of gods, or of some ancient heroes" (273). Pierio Valeriani dedicates a section of his Hieroglyphica to discuss the symbolic meaning of bodily parts.

[120] "La figura umana è in se perfetta. Il motto si dà alle figure per raggiungere maggiore perfezione nell'impresa. Con la figura umana, ciò non è necessario" (52) ("The

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human figure is perfect in itself. The motto is given to the figures in order to reach more perfection in the impresa. This is not necessary with the human figure").

[121] As a commentary to the hieroglyph of the white-haired head, Valeriani writes that the sudden passage from youth to old age and vice versa should be interpreted as a bad sign.

[122] See Antonietta de Angelis, Gli emblemi di Andrea Alciati nella edizione Steyner del 1531. Fonti e simbologie (CNR, 1984) 196-197.

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Conclusion

In an article dedicated to the notion of madness in sixteenth-century Italy, Carlo Ossola analyzes how Ariosto, Erasmus, Tasso and Garzoni represented madness in their texts.[1] Basing his approach on Foucault's interpretation of madness, Ossola states that Ariosto considers madness a metaphor that always expresses something else about humankind and reason, while Garzoni considers madness dangerously chaotic, so much so that he needs to order it by cataloguing it. My research has focused on Ariosto's and Garzoni's treatment of madness in Orlando Furioso and L' hospedale de' pazzi incurabili as the two authors who open and close the sixteenth century. In my study, I analyzed the social and cultural dimensions of the period in which the two texts were composed and I related the representation of madness to the notions of selfhood and gender as they were shaped by economical, political and cultural factors in the early modern period. I established a connection between the literary representation of madness in the two texts and the way individuals—men of letters, doctors, philosophers, artists, religious officials and lay people—perceived and treated madness. Indeed, the way individuals perceive madness affects the way they see it, treat it and describes it to others.

Orlando Furioso and L' hospedale have in common three important elements. Besides the language in which they were written, both were produced in the sixteenth century during and both dealt with madness. Ariosto published the first edition of Orlando Furioso in1516. Garzoni published L' hospedale in1586. The intervening period was shaped by three events: the Protestant Reformation, the sack of Rome and the Council of Trent. Ariosto's and Garzoni's texts were composed within a time period during which the ruling classes and the Catholic Church established norms to control and

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monitor the social and cultural activity of individuals within the community, norms which contributed to formulate what and whom was considered "normal," acceptable and appropriate. In sixteenth-century Italy the power tended to become centralized, giving more power to the governmental institutions and to the aristocratic families that controlled them. This process is evident in the reorganization of the Italian hospitals, as I demonstrated in chapter II. The Church became a privileged partner and sometimes the sole owner of hospitals, as in the case of l' Ospedale de' Pazzi in Rome.

During and especially after the council of Trent, the Church started to monitor the organizational structure of existing religious orders and of those which had been newly created as a response to the climate of religious and spiritual reform that pervaded Italy since the end of the fifteenth century. The Church's goal was to create conformity within the religious institutions and within the community of believers. The pervasive diffusion of the printed text throughout Europe led the Church to exert a strict control on the material that individuals read and saw and those which religious officials had to popularize among the masses.

My analysis focused on the multiple aspects of the connection between the atmosphere of increasing normalization imposed by the cultural ideology of the period and the different treatment of madness in Ariosto's and Garzoni's texts. Ariosto's representation of madness is firmly rooted in the medieval medical tradition of love madness and expresses a pluralistic vision of reality in which the distinction between genders becomes blurred, even though a hierarchy between the genders still exists in positioning the subject. Ariosto does not use madness to separate the sane from the insane and does not express it through discourses and genres typed by the gender of the

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individuals affected by madness. Garzoni's representation of madness reflects specific changes that have occurred since the publication of Orlando Furioso, such as the pervasive nature of the printed book as a propagandistic tool in the hands of the Catholic Church and the growing interest in direct medical observation and in new genres—the encyclopedia, the commonplace and the impresa. Garzoni uses madness to catalogue reality and to separate genders. Garzoni's perception of gendered madness is much more conservative than the contemporary medical description and exposes in a much more radical way than the medical tradition the complex connection between the moral and the physiological dimension of gendered madness.

Through an extensive research of the early medical discourse regarding the etiology, diagnosis and treatment of madness I demonstrated the extent to which Ariosto and Garzoni elaborated the medical tradition to fit their notion of madness and how more rigid or more flexible the medical notion of gendered madness was compared to the way Ariosto and Garzoni treated madness.

In my analysis I proposed a comparative reading of Ariosto's and Garzoni's texts which takes into consideration three levels of interpretation: the literary, linked to an examination of the hybrid genre in which the texts were written; the cultural, associated to the notion of selfhood; and the social, which locates the self within the limits of gender and social status. These three interpretive levels are not isolated one from the other but intersect, sometimes working together, other times displaying friction. One of the most important contributions of my research consists in the way I was able to establish a link between the literary and the social dimension of the representation of madness through

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the individuation of specific rhetorical strategies that characterize the authors' perception and treatment of madness.

Ariosto's representation of madness is rooted in the conviction that reason and madness explain each other. My analysis offers an original perspective of the representation of madness in Ariosto's text, which other scholars have only marginally touched. It emphasizes the widespread presence of the medical and the philosophical discourse in Orlando Furioso. From the conflation of the medieval medical tradition of erotomania and the Neo-Platonic reflection on love madness Ariosto creates a subject whose gender boundaries are blurred and whose consistency derives from the entire system of characters, of both genders, which contributes in shaping the central madness of Orlando.

Contamination and parody are the rhetorical figures that Ariosto uses on the level of language, genres, discourses and gender. The "democracy" of voices, discourses and genres corresponds to a multiform notion of the subject and gender. Ariosto does not use the medical tradition as an expedient to separate genders, but as a foil against which he creates his own notion of madness. In Ariosto's text, specific attributes that medieval physicians attributed to one gender are found to characterize the madness of the other gender, and vice versa. The hierarchical distinctions between feminine and masculine genders still exist, and Ariosto does not seem willing to give it away. The definition of gender, however, becomes situational. In the social and cultural milieu of the D'Este court in Ferrara, where progressive development and innovation found a balance with a desire for stability and conservatism, Ariosto found a suitable environment for the composition of a poem in which parody can celebrate what it mocks.

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Garzoni produces a radical separation between sanity, which he equates with the notion of normality, and madness, which he assimilates to transgression and deviance. Garzoni's hospedale seems to fit Foucault's notion of confinement, with the exception that Garzoni writes about a fictional institution at the end of the sixteenth century, while Foucault overemphasizes the situation of historical institutions that were established in the middle of the seventeenth century. Indeed, it is evident that Garzoni's treatment of madness and of mad individuals is more rigid and conservative than that which was used in contemporary hospitals in Italy. What is the purpose of Garzoni's rigid separation between sane and mad individuals? Why is madness catalogued? My analysis proves that Garzoni's compartmentalization of madness depends on two main factors. The first is the generalized tendency to categorize and reduce reality to discrete fragments of knowledge. Consequently, if the mad individual, perceived as the "other" and the different, is reduced to an example to be catalogued, she or he is no longer dangerous. In fact, the phenomenon of compartmentalization is not limited to the subject of madness or to Garzoni's text but constitutes the prevalent attitude toward knowledge during this period. It is also connected in part to Church censorship, and the Church's desire to include knowledge and reality in a sort of encyclopedic, orderly universe. The second factor is constituted by Garzoni's treatment of gender, which consists in a radical separation between masculine and feminine madness, even though the classification in twenty-nine categories of insanity is identical. If Garzoni's intent is to contain madness, it seems that such a tendency is more marked in the section dedicated to feminine madness. Madwomen are "other" twice over: they are mad and they are women.

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The rhetorical strategy of the citation, common to the medical and the encyclopedic tradition, characterizes masculine madness, while narrative sections typical of the genre of the medical consilia and the tradition of imprese characterize feminine madness. However, even such a strict containment of madness is unable to check the potential agency of the mad women in the hospital. In Garzoni the notion of subject is inextricably connected to the gaze of the audience and of the author, which shape the subject as much as the subject shapes itself. However, in the section dedicated to feminine madness the gaze seems unable to exert total control, thus leaving space for potential agency.

Through my research on early modern madness I discovered few constant elements: that the line between "us" and "them" has always been very thin; that one's perception of reality and of individuals is always and only what one sees as true; that the body, our body, has been constantly the theater of fierce ideological debates on who has the power and the authority of words and action over the notions of normality and diversity.

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Notes

[1] Carlo Ossola, "Métaphore et inventaire de la folie dans la littérature italienne du XVI siècle" I thank Prof. Clare Carroll for bringing to my attention Ossola's article.

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