

**A STUDY IN THE COMMEDIA
DELL'ARTE 1560-1620
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE VISUAL RECORDS**

Two volumes:

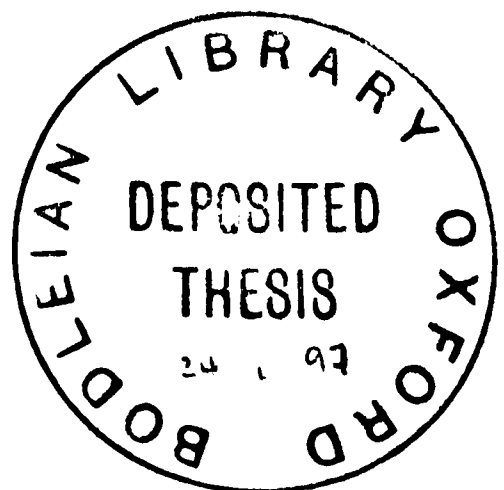
I Text

II Plates

Thesis submitted for the Degree of DPhil.
in the Faculty of Modern History, 1994-95

M.A. Katritzky
St. Catherine's College
University of Oxford

Supervisors:
Professor R.J.W. Evans, Brasenose College
Dr. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Exeter College



A study in the commedia dell'arte 1560-1620, with special reference to the visual records

M. A. Katritzky, St. Catherine's College

Faculty of History, University of Oxford

95,000 word thesis submitted for the Degree of DPhil, 1994-95

300 word abstract

The research field addressed by this thesis is the commedia dell'arte and its iconography in the period preceding Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* engravings of c.1621. Its main aim is to provide a broad overview of the surviving early pictures in order to contribute towards a more detailed understanding of the history of the commedia dell'arte in the opening decades of its existence, 1560-1620, by using late renaissance pictures as a documentary source.

My research method has three main steps. These are firstly, the identification of relevant pictures, on the basis of a detailed understanding of the early history of the commedia dell'arte, and taking a deliberately inclusive approach; secondly, the classification of such pictures according to art-historical methods, in order to associate them with specific named artists so that they can be placed in the context of an *oeuvre* and place of production; thirdly, interpretation of their theatrical content. Integral to the thesis are the 340 plates. Many feature pictures which were anonymous or implausibly attributed, and unknown to theatre historians, before they appeared here or in my publications. My inclusive approach has contributed towards the marked rehabilitation of carnival pictures which is evident in the most recent scholarship in this area. My new discoveries, and attributions and re-attributions of some of the 340 plates, summarized in the plate list, have enabled me to identify significant bodies of commedia-related pictures by a number of named late renaissance artists not previously associated with theatre iconography, and provide a broad overview of the early stock types, their costumes and settings; contributions which are stimulating further research in this area.

Section I summarises the rise and spread of professional acting in sixteenth century Italy, some forerunners of the commedia dell'arte, and its early stock types. It also presents new documentary material, discovered in the course of my archival researches, which is relevant to the earliest commedia performance for which a comprehensive description survives, staged in Munich in 1568. Section II presents art-historical analyses of three groups of prints in Stockholm, and six paintings which are the subject of an article published in 1943. It also presents an overview of a large group of Flemish pictures whose relation to two Italian prints demonstrates the progressive stereotyping of commedia-related motifs which was already occurring around 1600. Section III offers theatrical interpretations of the pictures, concentrating on scenery, set and stages; actresses; a selection of stock characters, including Harlequin, Zanni and Pantalone, and also some less wellknown figures such as *tedescos* and *matachins*; and multiple and serial images. The renaissance Italian comedians' multiple roots in amateur humanist comedy, professional entertainment and popular carnival ritual gave them their early creativity and wide appeal, and left their mark on the iconography which, by the seventeenth century, like the commedia dell'arte itself, was, for the most part, settling into a predictable routine based on precedents and conventions.

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M. A. Katritzky, St. Catherine's College

Faculty of History, University of Oxford

95,000 word thesis submitted for the Degree of DPhil, 1994-95

2,500 word abstract

The research field addressed by this thesis is the commedia dell'arte and its pictures in the period preceding 1621. Its main aim is to provide a broad overview of the surviving early iconography in order to contribute towards a more detailed understanding of the history of the commedia dell'arte in the opening decades of its existence, 1560-1620, by widening the narrow range of late renaissance pictures presently available as a potential documentary source to theatre historians and the limited amount of information currently known concerning their dating and attribution. 1621 marks a watershed in commedia dell'arte iconography, because it is the approximate date of two works of art of central importance to the commedia dell'arte. They are the earliest painted portrait of a professional actor away from the context of a performance, Fetti's portrait of an actor holding a mask (variously identified as Tristano Martinelli or Giambattista Andreini); and Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* suite of engravings, the most artistically influential set of images ever inspired by this theatre form.

The transitory nature of the early commedia dell'arte, with its reliance on improvisation, its high percentage of non-verbal entertainment content and handwritten scenarios rather than fully written out scripts, and its limited written documentation, makes visual records particularly important. As late as 1988, in the first comprehensive bibliography of the commedia, Heck could write that 'the systematic codifying, dating and interpretation of the prints, drawings, paintings and frescos relating to the CdA has barely begun' [293]. Documentation of the early visual records is still random and fragmented, and my own researches have revealed hundreds of relevant pictures not known to theatre historians. Some of these are included in the 106 reproductions of my eight publications [1987-92], and the 340 plates of this thesis. No pictures pre-dating the 1560s which relate directly to the commedia dell'arte are known, and none have been uncovered in the course of my research.

The aims of my research are to identify pictures whose documentary value for theatre history may previously have been unrecognized or dismissed, and to interpret the performance events depicted in them. Such pictures are largely undated,

anonymous and unpublished, and art-historical analysis has a direct bearing on their theatrical interpretation. The by now⁴ traditional explanations for the origins, spread and early history of the *commedia dell'arte*'s stock types, costumes and performance practice are not entirely convincing, and the narrow approach taken by theatre historians to the early iconography has meant that much relevant material has remained unresearched. From the wide creative repertoire of the late renaissance, the professional players gradually settled into a predictable routine, and modern perceptions of the early *commedia dell'arte* have suffered through being coloured by the interpretations of historians and writers from the seventeenth century onwards. Only recently has the popular perception of the *commedia dell'arte* begun to shift from a narrow focus on its fixed types to an understanding of it as a diverse professional theatre whose rôles were essentially the creation of individual actors and actresses.

The general approach to the visual material half a century ago was to exclude all pictures which did not depict the *commedia dell'arte* stock types in recognizable performance situations, generally on stage. Then a French art historian, Charles Sterling, published the first art-historical analysis of early *commedia dell'arte* pictures [1943]. Although it focused exclusively on this type of picture, it is still the most significant scholarly publication concerned with an interpretation of sixteenth century *commedia dell'arte* images using art historical methods. Although it focused exclusively on this type of picture, it introduced a new awareness among theatre historians that the artists of such pictures are influenced not only by what they see on stage, but by commissioning pressures, artistic conventions and iconographic precedents. Only in the last few years, very gradually, is a more inclusive approach to the pictures being introduced, and one aim of my research and publications has been to extend Sterling's research methods to pictures which have previously been excluded from such analysis because of either their peripheral subject matter or their inaccessibility.

My research method has three main steps. These are, firstly, the identification of relevant pictures and acquisition of legible reproductions; secondly, the classification of such pictures according to art-historical methods; thirdly, interpretation of their theatrical content. I deliberately take a very generously inclusive approach to the iconography. Rather than dealing only with pictures which have definite and obvious connections with the *commedia dell'arte*, my research takes into consideration any

pictures of possible relevance to the theme, and also any iconographical variants, not all directly related to the theme of the *commedia dell'arte*.

My academic background in art history, and professional experience as a fine art publishers' picture researcher, have enabled me to develop an approach to the identification of relevant pictorial material which is innovative in being based on a sustained long term programme of systematic archival research, using three main sources to search for the relevant iconography. I work directly with original material, in museums, printrooms and private collections; and with unpublished secondary documentation, such as that in academic, private and commercial photographic libraries and sale-room archives; as well as using published resources. Here, I use not only illustrated publications relating directly to *commedia dell'arte* and drama, where many spectacular discoveries in theatre iconography have been reproduced, but also less obvious published sources, such as historical and art-historical books, articles and catalogues in which the theatrical relevance of reproductions often remains unrecognized, or at least unacknowledged. A major element of this preliminary research stage, and indeed of my research as a whole has been the personal acquisition of legible images of the iconographic material I have been able to identify.

One point has emerged very strongly as not receiving due recognition, despite its apparent obviousness. This is that the value of a picture as documentary material for the history of performance and spectacle is not purely related to what it actually shows, but also to the extent to which the historian is able to interpret the visual information, for example through external information concerning its place and date of production, its artist, artistic influences and variants, patron, and the performers and performance it depicts. My work on aspects such as the identification of previously unrecognized monograms, signatures or dates on pictures, and the attribution of pictures to named artists and schools, is undertaken in this context, and not as an exercise in art-historical connoisseurship for its own sake.

Association of undated pictures with firmly dated ones in order to establish chronological directions of pictorial influence offers a more reliable approach to dating undocumented pictures than the rather speculative attempts to relate them to recorded performances which theatre historians have sometimes made, and association with specific named artists enables pictures to be placed in the context of an *oeuvre* and place of production. Discussions relating to the minutiae of attribution and dating for all 340 plates are not relevant to the main body of the text, but my views on this subject, even where tentative, are generally indicated in the plate list.

Section I summarises the rise and spread of professional acting in sixteenth century Italy, some forerunners of the *commedia dell'arte*, and its early stock types. It also presents a new assessment of the mechanisms by which the *commedia dell'arte* reached Bavaria, where the earliest comprehensively-documented *commedia* performance took place, in Munich in February 1568, and where the earliest and most comprehensive series of *commedia* paintings, the two Landshut fresco cycles of the 1570s, are located. Although I have relied mainly on secondary sources for the early written documentation, this in-depth consideration of the circumstances surrounding the *commedia dell'arte*'s unprecedentedly early introduction into Bavaria is based on original archival research in Munich and Florence. My research uncovered a number of relevant documents, notably a diary which documents the visit of a Bavarian prince to Italy in 1565-66. The diary describes a Florentine play of the *commedia dell'arte* type which predates the Munich performance of 1568 by over two years. It also provides new evidence regarding the rise of the *commedia dell'arte* and its central comic master-servant duo Zanni and Magnifico, both on stage and at the carnival, and links a range of Italian *commedia dell'arte* related entertainments of the mid 1560s to those in Munich in 1568. Other documents uncovered in the course of my research provide new information on the two Bavarian fresco cycles, for the first time conclusively identifying the date and artist of the ceiling frieze, and undermining the widely accepted view that either cycle is directly connected with the performance of 1568, and providing new information on the circumstances of the *commedia dell'arte* in Bavaria at that time. It is clear from this documentation that the Landshut frescoes have to be assessed not as they have been up until now, as simple celebrations of the Bavarian court's love of Italian comedy, but in the light of current attitudes to religion and art, Prince Wilhelm's piety, repression of carnival Zannis and sponsorship of Jesuit theatre, and most especially in the context of the complete programme of frescoes of which they form a small part.

Section II presents art-historical analyses of three sets of prints in Stockholm's *Recueil Fossard* album, and the six paintings which are the subject of the article of 1943 by Sterling noted above. I also present an overview of a large group of Flemish pictures whose borrowings of motifs and settings from the prints of the Italian engraver Tempesta, here recognized for the first time, demonstrate the progressive stereotyping of *commedia*-related motifs which was already occurring around 1600. My discovery of five prints in the Bodleian Library led to the refinements which are here offered to an arrangement of eighteen of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts into

visual highlights from a coherent commedia dell'arte plot. The original arrangement of nine further *Recueil Fossard* prints as one print is demonstrated. Their artist, Ambrogio Brambilla, and some of his further work is identified for the first time, yielding the nucleus of what may prove to be a significant iconography of precisely-dated sixteenth century commedia-related images by a named Italian engraver. Several further pictures, some relating to a third set of *Recueil Fossard* prints, are attributed to Ambrose I Francken.

The value of Sterling's contribution lies less in its results than in its method. Despite his unprecedentedly careful art-historical analysis, he was unable to attribute any of the six anonymous paintings which form the main subject of his article [1943], and denied the existence of any sixteenth century Italian commedia-related paintings. I identify several late sixteenth century paintings of commedia dell'arte street performances by the Veneto artist Leandro Bassano, make tentative attributions for three of Sterling's pictures and associate them with a large body of related pictures, many not previously known to theatre historians. The other three I associate with Marten de Vos, an artist not previously noted in connection with the commedia dell'arte, and discuss the importance of this Antwerp artist for early commedia-related iconography. In no other currently identified artist's work are the sources and early manifestations of the commedia dell'arte, or its artistic conventions and potential, laid bare as clearly as in his pictures. They record the commedia's influences, as well as fully-fledged acting troupes, their stage performances, court appearances and the use of comic types and motifs as vehicles for moralistic, allegorical and religious messages which, in transcending the dramatic content of the comedians' comic entertainments, blur the interpretation of these pictures as theatre-historical records.

The third and final section offers theatrical interpretations of these pictures, concentrating on the three aspects of scenery, set and stages; a selection of stock characters; and multiple and serial images. It has become increasingly clear during the course of this research that it is, given the present state of knowledge concerning these pictures, only rarely possible to retrieve, or even assess the extent of, any specific theatre-historical information they potentially offer, such as the exact identity of the troupes depicted or the dates and locations of the depicted performances. However, most of these pictures offer a great deal of general theatre-historical information, concerning, for example, scenery, settings and staging, and the historical development, costumes, gestures, poses, props and accessories of the stock characters. Given the easily-accessible nature of such general information, the fact

that this thesis represents the first large scale attempt at its systematic retrieval with respect to the *commedia dell'arte* in the period under consideration may perhaps be explained because many of these pictures are quite simply unknown to theatre historians.

Depictions of curtained platform stages have received a disproportionate share of critical attention in *commedia dell'arte* studies. Many pictures previously dismissed as showing nothing more than carnival revellers in *commedia* costume actually depict professional actors, and the early iconography depicts *commedia* actors on the whole range of staging, from cleared spaces and natural stages to elaborate perspective stages. The iconography is particularly valuable regarding the costumes, gestures and accessories of the stock characters. I have concentrated on early stock characters such as the *tedesco*, which have received less emphasis. The iconography confirms that the early captain was as often depicted as a *tedesco* as a Spaniard or Italian, and that the two most frequently depicted other types of foreign *commedia* males are the Frenchman and the Turk. My analysis of the depiction of the costume of actresses is found to include a much wider use of the face mask than accepted by theatre historians, and four basic types of dress, those of the maid, the respectable *innamorata*, the courtesan, and Orientally inspired costume, which I analyse in detail.

Zanni costume has been associated with the dress of contemporary Venetian peasants, porters and servants. Incidental depictions and costume book plates of these types show unsatisfactory discrepancies, and archival evidence newly presented here, and strongly supported by the iconographic evidence, offers an explanation not previously recognized by theatre historians, namely a composite source whose most important elements, the carnival mask and the sailor suit, are not rustic. Iconographic links between depictions of northern carnival processions and processions including stock *commedia* characters are also investigated. The widespread depiction of characters in *buffone* and *matachin* (armed *moresca* dance or dancer) costume in conjunction with professional actors, by a broad range of early artists of many European nationalities, is an indication that this is not simply an artistic convention, but (in direct contradiction to authorities such as Posner, writing on Callot's *Balli* engravings), reflects genuine performance practice. It is yet another confirmation of the versatility of the early Italian comedians, and indicates that further researches into the iconographic connections between the *moresca* dance and the *commedia dell'arte* could prove very fruitful. An analysis of the relatively few surviving early depictions

of Harlequin suggests that, in contrast to matachin depictions, many of them are artistic stereotypes based on a very limited number of iconographic precedents.

Section III concludes with a brief consideration of the significance of multiple and serial images, and applies this method to several examples, to indicate its potential for further research. These include an analysis of a previously unknown games-board of 1589, on which I have been able to identify the earliest depictions of some of the rôles then associated with the actors of the most famous early commedia troupe, the Gelosi company, which give valuable indications concerning their costumes and appearance. It is because, not in spite of, the fact that the artist of this games-board is less talented and imaginative than Callot, that the documentary importance of his depictions of professional performers is so much greater.

This thesis presents by far the largest body of pre-1621 commedia-related iconography ever gathered together, of which a significant proportion is unpublished in this connection prior to my own publications. Many of the pictures first reproduced in my publications have already entered the mainstream of theatre history, and I have been able to benefit from the valuable comments of theatre historians on these pictures during the course of my research. My research identifies numerous named artists, German, Flemish, and Italian, the majority not previously associated with the commedia dell'arte, who have played a rôle in developing its pre-1621 iconography. Stylistic and compositional connections between the pictures are investigated, as an aid to more accurate dating, in order to relate them to particular artists, and to gain an idea of the influence of iconographic precedents, notably a number of very influential and widely circulated prints, not all themselves depicting commedia-related motifs.

My generously inclusive approach to the iconography has had the beneficial effect of identifying a large number of relevant new pictures. On the negative side, the very quantity of material under consideration means that individual pictures, including some of very great theatre-historical significance, are often treated only very superficially. With many of these pictures, every effort to establish reliable indications concerning dating and attribution has so far failed to yield firm data, or resulted in admittedly only very minor contributions to our knowledge of the commedia dell'arte. This thesis is primarily intended as a broad base for future studies, and there is considerable potential for further research in this area.

On the positive side, significant advances are here offered in our understanding of at least some of the most important early pictures of the commedia dell'arte, of

their artist, date and place of production, the contribution which they can make to interpretations of the early Italian comedians, and of the pitfalls of extracting documentary evidence from visual records of the early commedia dell'arte. The theatre-historical analyses in Section III, and particularly those of the costumes and props of selected stock types, has benefitted from an incomparably more comprehensive selection of iconographic material than any previous similar studies, and firmer evidence concerning its dating and provenance. My research has also proved fruitful in instances where I have been able to bring together new visual and written evidence, for example with respect to Zanni costume, as described above, and to carnival street revels, where iconographic links between depictions of northern carnival processions and processions including stock commedia characters confirm those suggested in written documentation. My inclusive approach has contributed towards the marked rehabilitation of carnival pictures which is evident in the most recent scholarship in this area, and the broad overview provided by my work suggests new avenues of enquiry, such as links between commedia costumes and carnival mumming.

My systematic collation of previous research, my own new discoveries, and attributions and reattributions of some of these pictures, have enabled me to identify significant bodies of commedia-related pictures by a number of named late renaissance artists not previously associated with theatre iconography, a contribution which is both showing me where to look for further material, and also stimulating research by other scholars in this area. Analysis of the iconography strongly supports the view that the renaissance Italian comedians had multiple roots: both in the theatre and in traditional folk customs; or more specifically in amateur humanist comedy, professional entertainment and carnival ritual. The 'hybrid vigour' achieved by combining the most positive elements of these disparate sources gave them their fertile creativity and wide appeal, and they have left their mark in the early iconography. The written documentation and iconography presented here support the view that all year round professional theatre originated in a fusion between the skills of professional *buffoni*, musicians and dancers, carnival street improvisers and the amateur humanist stage, which first successfully came together in mid-sixteenth century Italy, in the antics of Zanni and Pantalone. Analysis of these pictures has also confirmed that, by the early seventeenth century, the iconography, like the commedia dell'arte itself, was, for the most part, settling into a predictable routine based on precedents and conventions.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The scattered and undocumented occurrence of many commedia dell'arte related pictures, and the seemingly entrenched view that the iconography predating Callot's engravings, and especially his *Balli di Sfessania* suite of 1621, is sporadic, anonymous and largely ephemeral, were the impetus for this investigation. That this thesis owes a very great deal to the published work of my predecessors is verified by its bibliography and references. My personal indebtedness to the friends, colleagues, scholars and institutions who have shared, sometimes with quite exceptional generosity, their ideas, advice and facilities, is more difficult to express.

Without the constant generous and positive encouragement of Professor R. J. W. Evans and Dr. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, this thesis would not have seen completion. I am also very aware of my debt to my previous supervisors: Dr. Jill Lloyd, Professor John White and Professor Laura Lepschy (UCL, University of London, 1983-4), and Professor Francis Haskell, Dr. Nicholas Penny, Dr. Carol Clark and Dr. David Ekserdjian (University of Oxford, 1987-90); to my editors: Dr. Gordon Campbell (*Renaissance Studies*), Dr. David Landau (*Print Quarterly*), Dr. Ulf Cederlöf (*Nationalmuseum Bulletin*), Helena Kajander (*Astra*), George Speaight (*Theatre Notebook*), Professor Christopher Cairns, Professor Ronald Mulryne and Dr. Margaret Shewring (Mellen Press: *The Italian Origins of European Theatre*) and Claude Schumacher (*Theatre Research International*); to Professor Robert Erenstein and Professor Thomas Heck for inviting me to join them as a 1994-95 Research Fellow at NIAS (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies); to Kathleen Lea and Professor Sir Ernst Gombrich, for their warm encouragement in the early stages of this research; and to my first art history teacher, Miss Irene K. Ogden.

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Lastly I would say that of the patience of my friends I am better aware than at times they may have supposed.

St. Catherine's College, 21 June 1994

M.A.K.

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FOR MY GRANDPARENTS AND FOR MARTIN'S GRANDPARENTS

Frederick Charles Katritzky, FRHS
Emily Catherine (Lane) Katritzky

Dr. Friedrich Johann Kilian
Renate (Hofmann) Kilian

Alfred Vervil Michette
Gladys Alice (Harnden) Michette

Dr. Alan Roy Katritzky, FRS
Dr. Agnes Juliane Dietlinde (Kilian) Katritzky

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

MI, MII, NMB, PQ, RS, TRI

Where these occur in composite supplementary plate numbers (marked with an *), they refer to plates in my previously-published papers (see bibliography), as follows:

MI = Katritzky, 1989 (Mellen Press: *Italian Origins of European Theatre*, VI)

II = Katritzky, 1992 (Mellen Press: *Italian Origins of European Theatre*, VIII)

NMB = Katritzky, 1988a (*Nationalmuseum Bulletin*)

PQ = Katritzky, 1987b (*Print Quarterly*)

RS = Katritzky, 1987a (*Renaissance Studies*)

TRI = Katritzky, 1991 (*Theatre Research International*)

Other abbreviations, in alphabetical order:

DBI *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* see bibliog.

OED *Oxford English Dictionary* see bibliog.

PWU present whereabouts unknown

RKD Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie; see *index of locations*: Hague

Rubensianum see *index of locations*: Antwerp

Thieme-Becker see bibliog.

Witt see *index of locations*: London, Courtauld

PLATE LIST

See also: *index of locations* and *index of artists*

The attributions given may be published or otherwise accepted ones, or given by the art market, or given by or via photographic libraries or museum files (in which case they are often in the form of correspondence or handwritten notes), and I do not necessarily agree with them. Where I suggest a new attribution, it is designated by capitals. Rejected attributions and titles are placed in curly brackets.

1 Domenico Fetti, *Portrait of a commedia dell'arte actor*, c.1621, oil on canvas, 105x81 cm. Hermitage, Leningrad (inv.no.153)

2-5 Jacques Callot, scenes from the *Balli di Sfessania*, c.1621, engravings

*6 [=NMB/1] Composite prepared from reproductions of eighteen woodcuts, arranged in a 3x6 format to reflect a three act commedia dell'arte performance, each act represented by six pictures. Woodcuts, individual dimensions, 24x28 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*)

*7 [=MI/11] *Harlequin*, woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.47r, NM 2272/1904)

*8 [=MI/I] *Harlequin disguised*, handcoloured woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.23r, 2224/1904)

*9 [=NMB/5] *The comic duel*, woodcut, 35.5x33 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.17, NM 2218/1904)

- 10 *Harlequin with Agnan's troupe*, woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.4, NM 2193/1904)
- 11 *Harlequin with French actors*, woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (reconstruction from three *Recueil Fossard* prints, taken from Hallar 1977, fig.25)
- 12 {Frans I Pourbus}, *Commedia dell'arte performance*, oil on panel, 80x85 cm. Municipal Museum, Bayeux
- 13 *Facétie. Scène de comédie*, c.1599?, watercolour. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Hennin G151510)
- 14-15 *Harlequin with Children, Captain*, woodcuts (from a book published by Martinelli c.1601). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- *16 [=TRI/IV] Hieronymus I Francken, *Venetian Carnival*, signed and dated 1565, oil on panel, 42x65 cm. Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, Aachen
- 17 STYLE OF BRAMBILLA {ANON}, *Comic masks*, oil, Scala Theatre Museum, Milan
- *18 [=MII/30-1] *Archduke Ferdinand of Austria's triumphal waggon*, 1568, fold-out woodcut from Wirre's festival book of 1568. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar.1023, ff.37-8)
- *19 [=MII/32] Nikolas Solis, *Archduke Ferdinand's waggon at the tournament parade of 24 February 1568*, coloured engraving from Wagner's festival book of 1568. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar.633, directly following f.40)
- *20-1 [=MII/33] Paduano, *Commedia dell'arte scenes*, c.1578, lifesize fresco. Narrentreppe, Burg Trausnitz, Landshut
- 22-3 CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ & PUPILS {Paduano and Sustris}, *Commedia dell'arte scenes*, 16-scene ceiling frieze: overall view and details, signed and dated 1576 (as noted in a previously-unknown manuscript in the Munich archives), fresco. Destroyed by fire in 1962, formerly Ehrenlohnzimmer, Burg Trausnitz, Landshut
- *24 [=TRI/II] Giovanni Battista Scolari (?), *Magnifico and Zanni serenading two lovers in a gondola*, enamelled gold and jewelled pendant, 6.5x5.5 cm. Museo degli Argenti, Pitti Palace, Florence (similar jewels: Wien Hofmuseum, reproduced, Schlosser 1908, fig.59; Paris Musée de Cluny, noted, Hackenbroch 1965, 205)
- *25 [=MII/24] Family tree showing the relationship between the Dukes of Bavaria, the Habsburgs and the ruling houses of Ferrara, Florence and Mantua in the mid-sixteenth century

- *26 [=MII/35] Ferdinand of Bavaria's route from Munich to Florence, 1565-6
- *27 [=TRI/V] Joachim van Schwoll, *Costumed carnival revellers*, ink, leaf from a sketchbook. British Museum, London.
- 28 Joos van Winghe, *Night festival*, ink with white body colour, 36x46cm, Staatliches Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden
- *29 [=MII/29] Raphael Sadeler after Stradanus (=Jan van der Straet), *Death at the feast*, signed, engraving, 22x28.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- *30 [=MI/37] Jan I Sadeler after Joos van Winghe, *Night Festival*, engraving, 37x45 cm. signed and dated 1588 in the plate. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- *31 [=MII/39] Joachim van Schwoll, *Six dancing masks and a dying Pantalone*, ink, 30x20 cm. British Museum, London
- 32 Joachim van Schwoll, *Masked revellers*, ink, 19x31 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam, 1939)
- 33 *Four masks*, dated 1579. Album amicorum of Wolfgang Harmsdorffer, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Bibl.HS32900, f.37r), Nürnberg
- 34 *Ein köstlich bewerte "Præseruatiua"*, engraving (detail, top right hand corner), dated 1619, 41x28cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg
- 35 *Five comic masks and two dogs*, ivory inlay panel on ebony chest (4th drawer down on RHS), Uvrustkammaren, Hallwylska Museet, Skoklosters Slott, nr. Stockholm
- 36 *Carnival scenes*, ink and colour. Album amicorum, Yale University Library, Rare Books (Loebel), Harvard, New Haven
- *37 [=TRI/III] CIRCLE OF HANS MIELICH AND CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ {anon.} *Itinerant entertainers at an Alpine Germanic court festival*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- *38 [=PQ/173] Ambrogio Brambilla, *Gamesboard*, signed and dated 1589, print, 40.5x52.5 cm. British Museum, London
- *39 [=MI/1] Title page, pen and ink. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.2)
- **40-1 [=PQ/174-5] *Recueil Fossard*, folios 34r and 35r, showing ten prints, nine of them cut-outs from an etching by Ambrogio Brambilla {anon}. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

- *42 [=MI/10] *Pantolon chez sa Dame*, engraving. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*, f.16r, top print, NM 2216/1904)
- *43 [=NMB/6-10] Five variants of *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, prints, each 11x8cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 44 {Follower of Lodewyk Toeput}, *Harlequin greeting Lilia, with Leandro and Lucia in attendance*, oil on panel, 28.5x46cm. PWU (art market, London, 1986)
- 45 Sebastian Vrancx, *The comic duel*, oil on panel, 21.5x46cm. PWU (art market, London, 1973)
- 46 Vrancx, *Harlequin and his children*, dated 1619, oil, 27x37cm. PWU (art market, London, 1978)
- 47 Louis de Caulery, *Pantalone at the gate*, oil on panel, 24x36.5cm. PWU (art market, Monaco, 1991)
- *48 [=NMB/2] *The comic serenade*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- *49 [=NMB/3] *Harlequin disguised*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- *50 [=NMB/4] *The comic duel*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- 51 STUDIO OF MARTEN DE VOS {anon. French}, *Harlequin disguised*, oil on panel, 20.5x26". Private collection, UK
- *52 [=PQ/171] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon.}, *Cucina per il pasto de Zan Trippu*, signed and dated 1583, print. Biblioteca Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome
- *53 [=PQ/172] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon.}, *Il bellissimo ballo di Zan Trippu*, dated 1583, print. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- *54 [=PQ/176] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon.}, *Che diavolo e' questo*, signed in monogram, print, 39x48 cm. British Museum, London
- *55 [=MI/5] AFTER AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {H. Liefrinck}, *Comedie ou farce de six parsonnaiges*, engravings. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*, f.45r, NM 2267-2268/1904)
- *56 [=RS/4] AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {French school, c.1600}, *A scene from a play: an old man cuckolded*, panel, 25x34 cm. PWU (art market, London 1980)

****57-8** [=RS/1-2] AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {Lodewyk Toeput}, *The delivery of the love letter, The beating of the presumptuous lover*, tempera on card mounted on panel, each 24.5x37 cm. PWU (art market, London 1970)

***59** [=RS/3] Ambrose I Francken, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, signed, pen and ink, 23x35.5 cm. Fodor Collection, Historisch Museum, Amsterdam

60 AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {Pieter Pourbus, F. Pourbus the younger}, *Italian comedians*, oil on panel, 54x73 cm. PWU (art market, Antwerp 1928-33)

61 CIRCLE OF AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {anon. French}, *Italian comedians on stage*, oil on canvas, 95x147 cm. Carnavalet Museum, Paris

***62** [=TRI/VI] After Stradanus {Flemish sixteenth century}, *Death at the feast*, oil on panel, 94x132 cm. Private collection, photo courtesy National Galleries of Scotland

63 After Stradanus {Pourbus}, *Allegory of riches*, oil on panel. PWU (art market, Antwerp 1934)

***64** [=PQ/160] Antonio Tempesta, *Febraro*, from *The Months I*, 1599, engraving, 20x27.5 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

65 Antonio Tempesta, *Febrarius*, from *The Months II*, engraving, 12.5 x18 cm. (Taken from Bartsch)

66 Iust. Sadler after Tempesta, *Febraro*, signed, engraving, 20x27.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

67 Marco Sadeler after Tempesta, *Februarius*, signed, engraving, 13x18 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

68 Jan I Bruegel, *Roman carnival*, oil on copper, diameter 12 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich

69 Jan I Bruegel and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of worldly vanities*, oil on canvas, 62x102 cm. Private collection, Spain

70 CIRCLE OF SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Carnival revellers at a tourney*, oil on panel, 55x73 cm. PWU (art market, London 1985)

71 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Village and Party*, oil on panel, 50x70 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1979, 1982)

72 STUDIO OF SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Carnival revellers at a tourney*, oil on panel. Private collection, France

- *73 [=RS/12] Louis de Caulery, *The Carnival*, signed, oil on panel, 55x90 cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburg
- 74 Antonio Tempesta, *Fountain in a palace courtyard*, engraving, 12.5x17.5 cm. (Taken from Bartsch)
- 75 L. Caulery, *Strolling players*, 1598, coloured drawing. Bibliothèque Municipale, Cambrai
- 76 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival scene*, oil on panel, 53x74.5 cm. Private collection, Spain
- 77 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival on the ice*, 59x98 cm. Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp
- 78 Louis de Caulery (workshop), *Carnival in a town square*, oil on panel, 100x134 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
- 79 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival celebrations*, oil on panel, 36.5x60 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1955, 1972)
- 80 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival in Flanders*, dated 1.1.1604, oil on panel, 54x71 cm. University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence
- 81 Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne, *Carnival scene*, oil on panel, 77x105cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1908)
- 82 Dennis van Alsloot, *Carnival*, oil on panel, 77x108 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1926)
- 83 LOUIS DE CAULERY {Anon. Flemish}, *Carnival*, dated 1605, oil on panel, 125x186 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1930)
- *84 [=RS/9] LOUIS DE CAULERY {H.Bol; Momper; Toeput}, *January/Carnival*, pen, ink and wash, 22x35 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- 85 Louis de Caulery, *Winter landscape with Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 62x87 cm. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (no.190)
- 86 PIETER BALTEN {Louis de Caulery}, *A contest between the fishermen's guild and the butchers' guild*, oil, 70x105 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978)
- 87 Pieter Balten {Flemish school, early seventeenth century}, *Fight between Carnival and Lent*, 30x24 cm, signed in monogram. PWU (art market, Geneva 1935, Basle 1937)

- 88 PIETER BALTEN {Flemish school, Frans Francken}, *Fight between Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 98x125 cm. PWU (art market, Bern 1935, Geneva 1935)
- 89-91 Antonio Tempesta, *Gennaro, Aprile, Maggio*, from *The Months I*, 1599, engravings, each 18.9x27.4 cm. (Taken from Bartsch)
- 92 Sebastian Vrancx, *Outdoor pleasures*. PWU (art market, London 1946)
- 93 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Frans II Francken}, *Outdoor diversions*, oil on panel, 48x64.5 cm. PWU (art market, Munich 1911)
- 94 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {David Vinckeboons}, *The fête*, 41.5x52.5". PWU (art market, New York 1931)
- 95 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {David Vinckeboons}, *Fête champêtre*, oil on copper, 20x26". PWU (art market, London 1925)
- 96 VRANCX & BALEN {Hendrik van Balen}, *Summer fête*, signed in monogram, oil on copper, 45x66 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1966)
- 97 Sebastian Vrancx, *Dives and Lazarus*, signed in monogram, oil on copper, 49x67 cm. PWU (art market, Stockholm 1975, Brussels 1976)
- *98 [=RS/27] Jacob Matham after Sebastian Vrancx, *Dives and Lazarus*, signed and dated 1606, engraving, 40x53 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- *99 [=RS/24] Sebastian Vrancx, *Outdoor banquet*, signed in monogram, oil on panel, 91x126 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest
- 100 Sebastian Vrancx, *Banquet in an artificial grotto*, signed in monogram, oil on canvas, 37x48". PWU (art market, New York 1947)
- 101 STUDIO OF VRANCX {Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne}, *Carnival*, oil on panel, 55x83 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1955)
- 102 Circle of Sebastian Vrancx, Louis de Caulery, *The Piazza della Signoria, Florence*, oil on panel, 50x72 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983, 1984)
- 103 Louis de Caulery, *The Italian comedians*, oil on panel, 48x70 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1954)
- *104 [=RS/23] CIRCLE OF VRANCX {Lodewyk Toeput}, *A banquet in an ornamental setting*, oil, 96.5x125 cm. PWU (art market, London 1973)
- *105 [=RS/25] Sebastian Vrancx, *Revellers in a park*, oil, 45.5x88 cm. PWU (art market, London 1972)

- *106** [=RS/26] Sebastian Vrancx, *A festival in a palace garden*, oil on panel, 72x106.5 cm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen
- 107** STUDIO OF VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Court of a Venetian palace*, oil on panel, 47.5x70 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 108** Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {anon. Flemish}, *Venetian jugglers*, dated 1613, oil. Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen
- 109** Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery}, *Comedians in a Venetian palace garden*, oil, 48.5x70.5 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1956)
- 110** Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter*, signed with monogram, oil on panel, 51x65 cm. Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp (inv.no.613)
- 111** Sebastian Vrancx, *The seasons: Winter*, pen and wash, 12.75x8.75". PWU (art market, London 1951)
- 112** Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter*, signed in monogram and dated 16[?]⁸, oil on panel, 52x66 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983)
- 113** Sebastian Vrancx {Dennis van Alsloot}, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 74x126 cm. PWU (art market, London 1947 & 1964; Brussels, 1965)
- 114** Sebastian Vrancx, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 100.5x160.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1995)
- 115** Dennis van Alsloot and/or Sebastian Vrancx, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 50x90 cm. Private collection, Holland
- 116** Peter Snayers and/or Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter scene*, oil, 100.5x161.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1971)
- 117** Dennis van Alsloot ? {Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne; circle of H. I Francken} *A view of a square in Antwerp*, signed with a monogram and dated 1631, oil on panel, 40.5x60.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1964)
- 118** Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter, Spring, Summer, Autumn* {Autumn}, oil on panel, 84x143 cm. PWU (art market, London 1976)
- 119** Sebastian Vrancx, *Harbour scene*, signed, oil on canvas, 76x117 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1927)
- 120** Pieter de Jode after Sebastian Vrancx, *Roman couple*, engraving. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

- 121 Louis de Caulery, *The Piazzetta, Venice*, 52x75 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1967)
- 122 Louis de Caulery, *Venice: The Piazza di San Marco*, oil on panel, 41x54 cm. PWU (art market, London 1990)
- 123 Louis de Caulery, *The Piazza di San Marco*, oil on panel, 43x72 cm. PWU (art market, London 1984)
- 124 CIRCLE OF TOEPUT {Louis de Caulery}, *The Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 46.5x77.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978, 1982)
- 125 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *A carnival in the Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 48x74 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979)
- 126 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival revellers in the Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 50x70cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1990)
- *127 [=RS/7] Lodewyk Toeput, *Allegory of January*, pen, ink and wash over pencil, 27.5x41.5 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
- *128-9 [=RS/10-11] Joos de Momper, *January and February*, ink and wash, 20x26.5 & 18x26 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- *130 [=RS/18] Pieter de Jode after Toeput, *Masquerade*, signed in the plate, engraving. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek (*Recueil Fossard*)
- 131 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery, Sebastian Vrancx}, *A view in Rome at carnival time*, oil on panel, 50x76 cm cm. PWU (art market, London 1967, 1973)
- 132 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery}, *A festival in Rome*, oil on panel, 57x91 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978)
- 133 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {circle of Louis de Caulery}, *A square in an imaginary Italian town*, oil on panel, 73x105 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983)
- 134 Louis de Caulery/ Sebastian Vrancx, *A joust in a town square*, oil on panel, 47x62 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979, 1980)
- 135 Follower of Denis van Alsloot, *Carnival in a town square*, oil on canvas, 103.5x145.5cm. PWU (art market, New York, 1990; formerly: Graphisches Kabinett, Munich)
- 136 Sebastian Vrancx, *Flemish carnival*, oil on panel, 72x106 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1952)

- 137 M. v. Cleef {Flemish master c.1580}, *Flemish carnival*, oil on panel, 74x112 cm. PWU (art market, Cologne 1929)
- 138 {S.Vrancx}, *Comedians entering a domestic interior*, oil, 34x47 cm. Private Collection, Germany
- 139 Sebastian Vrancx, *The surprised lovers*, oil. PWU (art market, Berlin pre-1964)
- 140 Dirk Hals/ Sebastian Vrancx, *The masque*, oil. PWU (art market, New York 1929)
- 141 Simon de Vos, *Carnival gathering*, oil on panel, 48x89 cm. PWU (reproduced: *Die Weltkunst*, 15.8.62)
- 142 Frans II Francken/ Anon. Flemish/ Abraham Wouwer/ Wouter Abts/ Willem Anthonissone, *Interior*, signed with a monogram and dated 1628, oil on panel, 48x93 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1904; London 1995)
- 143-4 Circle of Frans II Francken/ Louis de Caulery, *Two festivals with Italian comedians*, oil on panel, 48x92 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence
- 145 Frans III Francken, *The feast*, oil on panel, 19x37". PWU (art market, New York 1950)
- 146 Sebastian Vrancx, *Busy market scene*, ink, 27.5x38 cm. PWU (art market, London 1977)
- 147 Sebastian Vrancx, *Masquerade at Antwerp Cathedral*, ink and wash, 11x15 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979)
- *148 [=RS/29] SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Lodewyk Toeput}, *Commedia dell'arte figures outside a palace*, chalk, ink and wash, 12x19 cm. PWU (art market, London 1984)
- 149 Sebastian Vrancx, *February and March*, chalk, ink and wash, 17x25 cm. Private collection, USA
- 150 Sebastian Vrancx, *An interior with masked figures and backgammon players*, ink, 13x17 cm. PWU (art market, London 1975)
- 151 CRISPIN DE PASSE AFTER SEBASTIAN VRANCX {anon.}, *Personas gerimus fictas*, engraving, 9.5x13.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 152 CRISPIN DE PASSE AFTER SEBASTIAN VRANCX {anon.}, *Arreptus fidibus, noctu grassantur*, engraving, 25x35 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

- 153 Crispin de Passe, *Venetian couple*, engraving. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- 154 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {François Bunel the Younger?}, *A troupe of Italian comedians*, oil on canvas, 119x170 cm. Musée Fabrégeat, Béziers
- 155 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {French school; anon.; François Bunel the Younger?}, *The woman between two ages*, oil on canvas, 117x170 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes
- 156 *A commedia dell'arte company in performance*, oil. Private collection, France
- 157 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Hieronymus I or Frans I Francken}, *Italian comedians entering a château*, oil on panel, 73x205 cm. PWU (art market, Milan 1928)
- 158 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Marcus Gheraerts the Elder}, *"Queen Elizabeth and her court at Kenilworth Castle"*, oil on panel, 109x254 cm. PWU (art market, London, 1991)
- *159 [=RS/28] CIRCLE OF LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Lodewyk Toeput}, *An elegant company disporting in a loggia and garden*, oil on canvas, 85x125.5 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1982)
- 160 F. van Valckenborch {C. P. van Ryck/ Flegel}, *Market scene with carnival procession*, oil. PWU (art market, Vienna, 1985)
- 161 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Fantastic procession of fools*, ink, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (inv.nr.1400), photo courtesy Rheinisches Bildarchiv
- 162 FRANS BOELS {Lucas van Valckenborch}, *Winter carnival*, gouache and watercolour, 157x223 cm. PWU (art market, London 1980)
- 163 Tobias ver Haecht, *Celebrating figures in procession*, ink and wash over chalk, 16.5x21 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1975; see also plate 331)
- *164-5 [=MII/34] Circle of Joos de Momper {Friedrich Sustis}, *Pantalone, Four Italian comedians*, sketches after Landshut staircase frescos (see plates 20-1, above), ink over chalk, each 32.5x20.5 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich
- 166 {Adriaen Pietersz van der Venne}, *Female Carnival with Twelve dancing Zannis*, pen and wash over pencil, 25.5x41.5 cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburg (no.21564)
- 167 Hans Bol, *Drummer and Tabor-player in a village street*, signed and dated 1573, ink and wash, 17.5x22.5 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (nr. C881)

- 168 A. Collaert after Hans Bol, *January* (whole and detail), engraving. (Photo: Witt Library)
- 169 Abel Grimmer after Hans Bol, *January: a wedding procession*, signed and dated 1599, oil, diameter 5". PWU (art market, London 1969)
- 170 *Ianuari*, print, 20x24 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 171 Frans Boels, *Winter*, signed and dated 1594, gouache on parchment, 15x22 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- 172 Marten van Valckenborch, *Kirmess*, oil on panel, 85x120 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1904)
- 173 Marten van Valckenborch, *Winter: village scene*, oil. PWU (art market, London 1936, Amsterdam 1979)
- 174 {Marten van Valckenborch}, *Venetian masquerade*. oil on panel, 31x46 cm. PWU (art market, Munich 1931)
- 175 Dennis van Alsloot / Flemish school XVII century, *Fête populaire*, oil on canvas, 115x210 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1932, 1933; Amsterdam 1949; Antwerp 1979)
- 176 Gillis van Valckenborch, *The Queen of Sheba's entry into Jerusalem*, oil on canvas, 47x74 cm. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne
- 177 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival festival*, oil on canvas, 52x88 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (nr.7118)
- 178 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival*, oil on canvas. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (nr.5763)
- 179 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival*, oil on canvas, 131x255 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1973, 1974)
- 180 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Nocturnal carnival*, signed in monogram, dated 1597[?], oil on canvas, 48x83.5cm. Private collection, Netherlands
- 181 FREDERICK VAN VALCKENBORCH {Giovanni Donducci/ Mastellan}, *Banquet with masked musicians*, oil, 112x160 cm. PWU (art market, London 1961, 1962)
- 182 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Group in front of ruins*, oil on canvas, 95x116 cm. PWU (art market, Köln 1939)

- 183 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Winter*, detail of painted virginals lid, dated 1619, oil on wood. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg
- 184 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {anon sixteenth century Netherlandish}, *Dance in a palace garden*, oil on panel, 135x193 cm. Gasbeek Castle Museum (no.573), near Brussels
- 185 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Jan I Bruegel/ Art des H. I Francken}, *Elegant company*, oil on panel, 22x32 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1949)
- 186 Hieronymus II Francken, *Fancy dress ball*, oil on panel, 49.5x72cm. PWU (art market, Dublin 1986)
- 187 Lucas van Valckenborch {Frans II Francken}, *Pastoral pleasures*, signed and dated 1590, oil on canvas, 107x147 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1904; New York, 1927)
- 188 CIRCLE OF FRANS I FRANCKEN? {Anon}, *Five actors on stage*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- 189-90 HIERONYMUS I FRANCKEN {Anon}, *Two comic scenes*, oil. Comédie Française, Paris
- 191 {Jacob de Gheyn}, *Zanni with pestle and mortar*, ink and chalk on paper, 20x14 cm. Private collection, Germany
- 192 HIERONYMUS I FRANCKEN {Venetian school c.1700}, *Comic masks*, oil on panel. PWU (Yates Thompson collection)
- 193 Max and Gabriel Francken/ Hieronymus I Francken, *Masked ball*, oil on panel, 51.5x68 cm. Gemäldegalerie (no.169), Karlsruhe
- 194 Frans I or II Francken, *The fête*, oil on panel, 52x79 cm, signed. PWU (art market, London 1925; Brussels 1958, 1961)
- 195 Frans II Francken, *Interior with elegant company*, oil on panel, 54x77 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1974)
- 196 Hieronymus II Francken, *Ballroom with dancing couples*, oil on panel, 58.5x86 cm. PWU (art market, Copenhagen 1979; London 1979)
- 197 {Louis de Caulery}, *Society gathering in a palace*, oil on panel, 54x82 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1962)
- 198 Hieronymus or Frans Francken, *Parable of the prodigal son*, oil on copper, 53.5x76 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1965)

199 Frans II Francken, *A court ball*, signed, 19.5x26.75". Collection of Lord Talbot of Malahide, Malahide Castle

200 Frans II Francken, *Interior*, oil on panel, 13x14 cm. PWU (art market, London 1969)

201 Frans II Francken, *A court ball*, oil, 45x35 cm. PWU (formerly, private collection, USSR)

202 Hieronymus I Francken, *Carnival banquet*, oil. PWU (art market, London 1950)

203 Frans II Francken /circle of Hieronymus I Francken {Hendrik van Balen}, *Palatial interior with dancing*, oil on copper, 49x66 cm. PWU (art market, London 1932, 1974; Brussels 1974)

204 Frans II Francken, *A costume ball*, indistinctly dated 1608, oil on panel, 47x70cm. PWU (art market, New York 1989)

205 Frans I Francken {Hieronymus I Francken/ Frans II Francken/ anon. Dutch/ anon. Flemish}, *Wedding party*, oil on panel, 49x66 cm. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

206 Studio of Frans II Francken, *Sight*, oil. PWU (photo: RKD)

207 Flemish artist c. 1600 from the circle of Ambrose I Francken, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 43x72 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1938)

208 CIRCLE OF AMBROSE I FRANCKEN AND MARTEN DE VOS {Flemish school c. 1580 / M. van Cleef}, *Carnival diversions*, ink, 22.5x29.5 cm. Private collection, Germany

***209** [=RS/21] MARTEN DE VOS {Second School of Fontainebleau}, *A feast*, oil on canvas, 105.5x148 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1939, New York 1940, London 1971, 1974, 1986)

***210** [=RS/22] Johannes Sadeler I after M. de Vos, *Crapula et Lascivia*, engraving, 21x27 cm, signed in the plate. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***211** [RS/20] Lodewyk Toeput, *Outdoor feast*, oil on panel, 39.5x54.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1968)

212 Raphael I Sadeler after M. de Vos, *Melancholicus*, engraving after a drawing signed and dated 1583 (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts), 19x24 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

- 213 Galle and Mallery after M. de Vos, *Pax*, engraving. Witt Print Collection, Courtauld Institute, London
- 214 Marten de Vos, *Mercurius*, engraving, 24x24 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 215 After M. de Vos, *Mercury* (detail), engraving. PWU (photo: Witt Library)
- 216 Jean Galle after Marten de Vos, *Eggdance outside a tavern*, engraving, 23x30cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 217 Crispin de Passe after M. de Vos, *Time with Virtues and Vices: III Negligentie et Socordie Typ.*, engraving. Witt Print Collection, Courtauld Institute, London
- 218 Crispin de Passe after M. de Vos, *Februarius*, engraving, diameter 12 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- 219 MARTEN DE VOS {Sebastian Vrancx}, *Eggdance outside a tavern*, ink and wash over chalk, 7.75x11.375". Private collection, U. S.
- *220 [=PQ/170] *Il Triomfo del Carneval*, woodcut published by Ziletti (Venice), 28x37.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 221 *Comedians on a Venetian terrace*, oil. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm
- 222 Frans II Francken, *Assorted sketches*, ink, 17.5x26 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1930)
- 223 Adam Eck, *Three masked men with grill and bellows*, Egerer Kabinettschrank, relief scene. Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk (inv.no.7109)
- 224 *Commedia dell-arte scene*, inlay work on inside door of wooden cabinet, c.1640s. Löfstads Castle Museum, near Linköping (Sweden)
- 225 MARTEN DE VOS {Marten van Cleef}, *Lent surprising revellers at their meal*, ink and wash, 18x27.5 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1929, 1971)
- *226 [=RS/15] Leandro Bassano, *Carnival scene (February)*, oil on canvas, 140.5x166 cm. Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci
- 227 Collaert after M. de Vos, *Hiems*, engraving. Witt Print Collection, Courtauld Institute, London
- *228 [=RS/5] Lodewyk Toeput, *Allegory of Winter*, oil on panel, diameter 52cm. Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art, Providence

***229** [=RS/8] LODEWYK TOEPUT {Frans de Momper}, *Winter*, oil on panel, oval 44x58.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1972)

***230** [=MII/26] MARTEN DE VOS {anon. sixteenth century Netherlandish}, *A music-making couple between two commedia dell'arte servants*, oil on panel. PWU (photo: Rubenianum)

231 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {now attributed by the museum to anon. Franco-Flemish, although the curatorial files also reveal the following attributions: Jacques Bellange; Circle of Primaticcio; Genoese, possibly Paggi; Floris the younger; School of Fontainebleau; School of Lorraine; anon. Italian, French, or Flemish}, *Players of the commedia dell'arte*, oil on canvas, 144x147 cm. Ringling Museum, Sarasota

232 MARTEN DE VOS {School of Fontainebleau}, *A scene from the commedia dell'arte*, 65x81 cm. PWU (art market, London 1974)

233-7 [=PQ/161-5] Nicolò Nelli, the five plates of Alessandro Caravia's *Naspo Bizaro*, Venice 1565, engravings, 17x13, 15.5x13, 16x13, 20.5x14.5, 15x13 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***238** [=MI/V] *Comic serenade*, dated on verso 1573, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Jacob Heckelsberger, f.84r. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

***239** [=MII/25] *Pantalone and Zanni serenade a courtesan*, monogrammed A.B. and dated 1593, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (Cg.57 f.74r) of Arnoldus Buchellius (1565-1644) of Utrecht. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

240 Julius Goltzius, *Magnificus, Scoztum, Zani*, hand-coloured engraving, signed and dated 1581 in the plate

241 Evert Wyntges, *Pisces, a feast scene*, ink and wash, 15x19.5 cm., from a series dated ?1614. PWU (art market, London 1973, 1974)

***242** [=RS/13] Leandro Bassano and/or Dirck de Vries {Lodewyk Toeput/ Giovanni Schiavone il Medolla/ Sebastian Vrancx}, *Carnival banquet*, oil on canvas, 128x160 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1930, Budapest 1937)

243 PAUL BRIL {anon.}, *La gran pazzia di Orlando*, illustration to the first Corsini scenario, ink and wash. *Corsini Album*, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome

244-7 WORKSHOP OF PAUL BRIL, POSSIBLY WITH INVOLVEMENT OF VRANCX, *La Zengara, Li Carcerati, L'Adrasto, La Commedia in Commedia*, four title-page illustrations (to scenarios 21, 19, 34, 37), watercolour. *Corsini Album*, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome (see also plate 276)

248 *Three masks*, dated and located Bologna 1575, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Onophrius Berbinger (Bibl. HS461, f.49v). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

249 *Zanni and Pantalone serenade two courtesans*, c.1577, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Johann Adolph von Glauburg (Db.3, f.78r), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

250-1 *Pantalone and Zanni*, c.1582/3; *Masked woman*, c.1580, coloured drawings. Album amicorum (1577-92) of Julius Bayr (Db.4, ff.42, 18r), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

252 *Carnival mask*, c.1587, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (1587-1616) of Michael Löcher of Nürnberg (Db.8, f.45v), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

253 *Carnival mummer*, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (1610-30) of Heinrich Frölich (Germ.3272, f.36r), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

254 *Ceretani o cantimbanchi*, coloured drawing. From a sketchbook of Italian costumes, c.1580-1609, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

255 *Zarlatani montano in Banchi*, coloured drawing, from a sketchbook of Italian costumes (Hs.3659 f.222r). Bibliothek, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

256 *Pantalone and a masked woman*, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (Thott 1283 f.18r), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

257 *Mascharata Venetiana*, 1652, ink and colour. Album amicorum (1652-6) of Niclaus von Artzat und der Wiesen of Breslau (Ja.5 f.108r), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

***258-9** [=MII/46, 43] *Charlatans on a raised stage, Two matachins*, both dated 1583, ink, wash and body colour. Album amicorum (1581-8) of Johann Wolfgang Schwarzdorfer (Germ.3291 ff.115r, 94r), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

260 Crispin de Passe after Jacques Bellange, engravings from a set of five relating to the Italian comedy. Private collection; and album amicorum (Thott.403), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

261 After Bellange and de Passe, *Francisquine*, ink and colour. Album amicorum (Thott.1283, f.30r), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

***262** [=RS/6] Lodewyk Toeput, *Winter scene*, fresco. Villa Chiericati-Mugna, Longa di Schiavone, near Vicenza

263 ?Friedrich Brentel after an unidentified drawing in the style of Bril, Toeput or Momper, *Townscape with comedians*, ink and wash sketch. Klebeband Brentel (c.1596-1621) II f.88r, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle

264 Anon. Netherlands School/ Circle of Lodewyk Toeput, *A village at carnival time*, oil on copper, 21.5x31 cm. PWU (art market, Monaco 1987)

***265** [=RS/14] STUDIO OF LODEWYK TOEPUT ? {School of Bassano}, *The month of January*, oil on canvas. Cathedral, Lima

***266** [=RS/19] STUDIO OF LODEWYK TOEPUT ? {école française (?)}, *The concert*, oil on panel, 49x55 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1903)

***267** [=RS/16] Leandro Bassano, *The month of February (Carnival)*, oil on canvas, 145x211 cm, signed. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

***268** [=RS/17] Leandro Bassano, *The twelve months: February*, signed, chalk and watercolour on paper, c.300x430 cm. Private collection, Germany

269 Adrian Collaert and Phillip Galle after Joos de Momper, *January*, engraving, 19.5x26.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

270 Jan Collaert and Phillip Galle after Joos de Momper, *February*, engraving, 19x26.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

271-2 Jacques Callot after Joos de Momper, *January* and *February*, engravings, 20.5x26 and 20x26 cm. British Museum, London

273 Frans de Momper, *February*, oil, 63x87 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1953)

274 Jacob Matham after Jan Wildens, *The twelve months: February, Pleasures of the Carnival* (from a series of *the months* of which *January* is dated 1614), engraving, 27x43 cm. (Photo: Netherlands Art Institute)

275 PIETER STEVENS {Hendrick van Avercamp/ Dennis van Alsloot/ anon. Flemish}, *Winter carnival*, oil on panel, 45x78.5 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1929)

276 Paul Bril and studio assistants, perhaps Sebastian Vrancx and/or Willem van Nieulandt (see also plates 244-7) {Paolo Fiamingho/ A. Grimmer/ Pieter Stevens/ Sebastian Vrancx after Bril}, *January and February*, oil on poplar panel, 30.5x40.5" (recorded as being shipped from Rome to England in 1615, and thus predating Aegidius Sadeler's dated engraving of 1615 after Bril of this composition). PWU (art market, London 1938, 1948, Edinburgh 1943, New York 1951)

- 277 Pieter Stevens, *Festival with comedians*, ink, water- and body colour, 22x31.5 cm. Private collection, Holland
- 278 Pieter Stevens, *The month of February*, ink and brown wash on paper, 20.5x28.5 cm. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento (no.1871.141)
- 279 Egidius Sadeler after Pieter Stevens, *The twelve months: February*, engraving, dated 1607. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- 280 Hendrik Aerts, *Imaginary renaissance palace*, signed and dated 1602, oil on canvas, 93x127.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (A.2528)
- 281 Louis de Caulery, *Courtyard of a palace*, oil on copper, 48x65 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1974)
- 282 C. Vischer after Hans von Aachen, *Italia*, dated 1616, engraving, 22.5x26 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (see also plate 288, below)
- *283 [=PQ/167] *L'arboro della pazzia*, dated 1568, etching, 37x53 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm
- *284 [=PQ/166] Hieronymus Porro, *Le bararie del mondo*, engraving, 38.5x50 cm., signed in the plate. Royal Library, Windsor
- 285 *Comedians on an open-air stage*, watercolour. Staatliche Bibliothek, Bamberg (I.Qc.75)
- 286 Giacomo Franco, *Ciarlatani in Piazza*, engraving, 1610. British Museum (1868-8-22-8573), London
- 287 Abraham Bosse, *Théâtre de Tabarin*, engraving, c.1620. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Hennin, vol.XXI)
- 288 C. Vischer after Hans von Aachen, *Francia*, 1616, engraving, 22.5x26 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (see also plate 282, above)
- 289 Isack van Swanenburgh, *A Flemish kermess*, oil, 106x214 cm, signed and dated 1608. PWU (art market, London 1971)
- 290 David Vinckeboons, *A kermess*, ink and watercolour, 45x71 cm, dated 1602 ?. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen
- 291 Monogrammist "REM", *Flemish kermess*, oil on wood, 51x81 cm, signed in monogram and dated 1602. PWU

- 292 *Deceitful people*, engraving (from A. van Bourgoigne, *Ghebreken der Tonghe*, Antwerp 1631, 112), 7x5 cm. Doucé Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
- 293-4 Dionisio Minaggio, *Schapin and Spineta, Cietrulo and Bagatino*, colour and cut feathers glued to a paper foundation, c.13x19", title page signed, dated and located Milan 1618. Folios 110 and 113 of a dismembered volume of 156 feather pictures, including fourteen depicting actors, Wood Library of Ornithology, McGill University, Montreal
- 295 Frans Floris, *Allegory of Rhetoric*, oil on canvas. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (no.3659), Munich
- 296-8 Sebastiano Serlio, *Comic, Tragic and Satyric (or Pastoral) stage settings*, (from Serlio's *Architettura*, Venice, 1545)
- 299 *Théâtre et Boutique de l'Orviétan*, print. Cabinet des Éstampes (Tb+1, I, B.344), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- 300 Aniello Soldano as *Spacca Strummolo Napoletano*, title page woodcut, 1610. (Taken from *The Mask*, 1911)
- 301 *Scapino takes centre stage*, engraving. Archiginnasio, Bologna (Taken from Nicoll 1963, 75)
- 302-4 Jacques Callot, *Three Italian comedians: Zanni/ Scapin, Captain/ Innamorato, Pantalone*, c.1618-20, etchings with engraving, each 22x15 cm. Private collection
- 305 CIRCLE OF CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ {? French School c.1575-1600}, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, ink and wash, 26x36 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no.2259)
- 306 CIRCLE OF CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ {Anon French}, late sixteenth century, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, ink. Cabinet des Éstampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- 307 Venetian school seventeenth century, *Masquerade scene*, ink and wash, 27x41 cm. PWU (art market, London 1920)
- *308 [=PQ/169] *Il trionfo de Carnavale nel paese de Cvcagna*, engraving, 38.5x47.5 cm. British Museum, London
- *309 [=MII/28] Lambert Sustris, *Commedia dell'arte characters on a painted organ lid* (detail from *Venus with the organ-player*), oil on canvas, dated 1578. PWU
- 310 *Doctour Pantaloun and Zanie his Pupill*, woodcut (from *The Divels Legend*, London 1595). Bodleian Library, Oxford

311 Workshop of Ulrich Baumgärtner, *Chessboard with comic scenes, including a Zanni* (7th row down, 3rd scene from left), incised inlay work, dated 1616. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (no.Moe 85), Braunschweig

312 Andreas Bretschneider, *A mask at the Dresden carnival*, body colour, dated 1610. University Library, Leipzig

313 Gabriel Weyer, *Zanni with jug*, signed in monogram and dated 1615, ink. PWU (Böhm 14/33, photo: Berlin Kunstbibliothek)

314 Guercino, *Satirical subject from the commedia dell'arte*, pre-1621, ink and wash, 18x27 cm. Devonshire collection, Chatsworth (no.513)

***315** [=PQ/177] *Bvrlette et Schersi di Commedie*, engraving, 37.5x49 cm. Royal Library, Windsor

***316** [=MII/45] Abraham de Bruyn, *European sailors*, engraving (from *Habitus Variarum Gentium*, Cologne, 1577), 12x27 cm. Bodleian Library (1.Δ.643, plate 15), Oxford

317 Niclausz Keppel, *Three masks*, c.1588, coloured drawing. Walters Art Gallery (ms.477, f.16), Baltimore

318 *Il novo et dilettevole gioco della campana*, dated 1604, woodcut, 35.5x50 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

319 After Jacob de Gheyn, two plates from the *Mascarades* series, engravings, c.1600. Leopoldskron, Salzburg & Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

320 FREDERICK VAN VALCKENBORCH {Étienne Delaune}, *Masked procession*, ink. Kupferstichkabinett (no.4557), Berlin

***321** [=MII/40] Enea Vico, *Le laboureur*, woodcut (from Richard Breton, *Recueil de la diversité des habits*. Paris, 1562). Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.5), Berlin

***322** [=MII/41] Cesare Vecellio, *Venetian docker*, woodcut (*De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo*, Venice, 1590, no.138). Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.33), Berlin

***323** [=MII/44] *A chimney sweep*, coloured drawing from a manuscript volume of costume studies. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.4, f.10r), Berlin

324 *Sailor*, woodcut from costume book. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.14), Berlin

325 *Letiga di Neapolli*, ink and colour. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Ja.2), Berlin

326 Callot/ Pieter I Bruegel/ Netherlandish master c.1600, *Zanni {masked man}*, ink, 25x9.5 cm. Kupferstich Kabinett (KdZ 4637), Berlin

***327** [=PQ/168] Nicolò Nelli, *Cucagna*, engraving, 40x54 cm, signed and dated 1564 in the plate. Royal Library, Windsor

328 Raphael Sadeler, *Isabella Andreini*, signed and dated 1602, title page engraving. (Taken from Erenstein 1985, 27)

329-30 Cesare Vecellio, *Peasant woman from outskirts of Venice as seen in town on Ascension Day, The favourite of the Sultan (wearing a kashbahti)*, woodcuts 140 and 365 from *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, Venice 1598 (see also plates 322, 332)

331 Egbert van Paenderen after Haecht, *Nox*, 22x19 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (see also plate 163)

332 Cesare Vecellio, *Asian Gypsy woman*, woodcut 466 from *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, Venice 1598

333-4 *February: two carnival scenes with sleighs*, Netherlandish, early 16th century, details from two embroideries (T1663; T1665: tablecloth with beheading of St. John the Baptist and the twelve months), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

335 Bernardino Poccetti, *Figural group apparently including Francesco Andreini in his rôle of Captain* (extreme left), 1604, fresco. SS. Annunziata, Florence

336 *Couple and three jesters in an interior*, ink and watercolour, page from a sketch-book of Italian costume c.1580-1600. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

337 Girolamo Romanino, *Masked dance*, ink, 20x32cm. Private collection, Belgium

338 *Larvis ac tragicis*, engraving, 12x7 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***339** [=TRI/I] *Duelling Magnifico and zanni watched by il Dottore*, painted glass goblet, 19 cm. high. British Museum, London

340 after Callot, *Mountebanks on a stage*, ink and wash. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum (inv.nr.FP4539)

INTRODUCTION

i) General Introduction

The research field addressed by my work over the last decade, introduced in my publications and presented in this thesis, is the *commedia dell'arte* and its iconography in the period preceding 1621. This date has been chosen as it marks a watershed in *commedia dell'arte* iconography, because it is the approximate date of two works of art of central importance to the *commedia dell'arte*. One of these, by Fetti [PLATE 1], long thought to have portrayed the creator of the Harlequin rôle, Tristano Martinelli [Askew 1978], but now identified as depicting the actor, troupe leader and playwright Francesco Andreini [Ferrone 1993, plate 38], is the earliest painted portrait of an actor out of the context of performance. The other, Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* suite of engravings [PLATES 2-5], is the most artistically influential set of images relating to this theatre form ever produced [III.iii.c-d].

One aim of my research is to identify and interpret performance events in pictures whose documentary value for theatre history may previously have been unrecognized or dismissed. During the course of this research, one point has emerged very strongly as not receiving due recognition, despite its apparent obviousness. This is that the value of a picture as documentary material for the history of performance and spectacle is not purely related to what it actually shows. Its documentary value is also strongly affected by the extent to which the historian is able to interpret the visual information, for example through facts concerning its place and date of production, its artist, artistic influences, patron, and the performers and performance it depicts. Several aspects of this are explored in detail in section II of this thesis.

There is a vast literature concerning the *commedia dell'arte*, but explanations of the origins and early history of its stock types, costumes and performance practice are not entirely convincing. Neither is the highly selective approach taken by theatre historians to the early iconography, which traditionally excludes pictures which do not depict the *commedia dell'arte* stock types in recognizable performance situations, and concentrates largely on pictures of actors on stage.

The art historian Charles Sterling published the first art-historical analysis of early *commedia dell'arte* pictures [II.iii]. Although Sterling's article [1943] focused

narrowly on pictures of stock types on stage, it introduced a new awareness among theatre historians that the artists of such pictures are influenced not only by what they see on stage, but by what their patron wishes them to depict, and by artistic conventions and precedents. Only gradually is a more inclusive approach to the pictures being introduced, and one aim of my research and publications has been to extend Sterling's research methods to pictures which have previously been excluded from such analysis because of either their peripheral subject matter or their inaccessibility. My research deliberately takes a generously inclusive approach to the iconography. By this I mean that rather than dealing only with pictures which have definite and obvious connections with the *commedia dell'arte*, it takes into consideration any picture which is of possible relevance to the theme.¹ Carnival scenes depicting stock comic types in non-stage settings, for example, can convey a great deal of information about late renaissance entertainers and their costumes, as can the sets and stages used by actors who are not necessarily Italians or professionals.

My research method has three main steps. These are firstly, the identification of all pictures of possible relevance, on the basis of a detailed understanding of the early history of the *commedia dell'arte* [section I]; secondly, the classification of such pictures according to art-historical methods [section II]; thirdly, interpretation of their theatrical content [section III]. The three stages of this approach all group the material differently. Identification of the material hitherto has been largely random, and, even when relevant pictures have been identified, those which form coherent groups for art-historical analysis are only exceptionally identical to the groups of pictures which lend themselves to coherent theatrical interpretation. This and the lack of any kind of overall framework are the main reasons why small-scale work in this field has not proved more successful in integrating art and theatre history to date. The main aim of this thesis is the provision of such a framework, in order to contribute towards a more detailed understanding of the history of the *commedia dell'arte* in the opening decades of its existence, 1560-1620, by using late renaissance pictures as a documentary source.

ii) The term *commedia dell'arte*

The findings of current research increasingly support the view that the defining feature of the *commedia dell'arte* is its commercialism, and that the origins and early history of the *commedia dell'arte* are inseparable from the rise of professional Italian acting troupes and their repertoires as a whole. Heck's bibliography of 1988 marks a watershed in attitude to the *commedia dell'arte*. It is itself a product of the deep-seated view, already firmly established by eighteenth century theatre historians, that the *commedia dell'arte*, from its earliest beginnings, was a discrete theatre form. But the comprehensive overview of the literature offered by Heck's volume is a major contribution towards the new, wider understanding of the early *commedia dell'arte*, namely that it is inseparable from the beginnings of organized professional theatre.

Professional entertainment has an unbroken history back to classical times, but medieval European drama was almost exclusively 'festival-based', and firmly controlled by church, guild and school. In the renaissance, amateur groups of humanists and young noblemen also got together to perform, but there are no records of full-time professional acting troupes prior to the sixteenth century. By the 1520s, there are clear records of collaborations between amateur troupes and individual professional entertainers, and legal documents give conclusive proof that independent professional troupes existed by the mid-1540s [I.i.b-c]. But their early existence has left only fleeting traces, and informative records concerning the stage activities of such troupes are not found before the second half of the sixteenth century [I.i.c-d].

The term *commedia dell'arte* is first recorded in the mid-eighteenth century, and found its way onto playbills only towards the very end of the century. Molinari [1985, 67] cites a playbill of 1796 as the earliest. The theatre critic and traveller Baretti, who uses the term as early as the 1760s, defines it as 'a cant name for those burlesque plays substituted to the *commedie antiche*' [1764 (2nd ed. 1799), 316; 1768, I, 172]. Goldoni's play *Il Teatro Comico* of 1751 contains rehearsals of a play within a play, presented by actors who, like the Medebach troupe which first acted the play under Goldoni's guidance, prefer to improvise independently of playwrights. This gives many of the lines a self-mocking resonance which was not lost on eighteenth century Venetian audiences. Goldoni (1707-93) was so critical of self-indulgent improvisation that some theatre historians regard his plays as a 'death blow' to the *commedia dell'arte*. The prima donna of *Il Teatro Comico* is given the

line 'Se facciamo le commedie dell'arte [...] vogliamo star bene!' [Baretti 1764 (2nd ed. 1799), 316]. In Goldoni's *Mémoires* [1787, II, 24], published in French, he refers to 'sujets en canevas de pièces italiennes, que l'on appelle comédies de l'art'. By this term, Goldoni is thought to have meant nothing more complicated than the performances of professional actors, who earned their living by acting. Some scholars trace a precedent for this in the use of the term *l'arte* in the early seventeenth century writings of professional actors such as Cecchini and Barbieri [Tessari 1978, 410; Taviani and Schino 1984, n.95]. Garzoni, writing in 1585 [753-4], uses the expression *dell'arte* in a similar way in his description of the actress Vittoria: 'divina Vittoria [...] merita d'esser posta come un compendio dell'arte [...] una perfetta comediante'.

For Goldoni and his contemporaries, by whose time the *commedia dell'arte* had become a standardized and clearly recognizable performance type, its most important characteristic is evidently that it was presented by professionals in formally organized troupes. Despite the reservations of Taviani [1976, 16-17, 34-7], Croce's suggestion that it was *commedia dell'arte* actors who founded the modern acting profession has received general acceptance [Croce 1931/1952, 508-9]. Barbieri [1634/1971, 120-121], whose own career as an actor started in the sixteenth century, wrote of the professional actors: 'noi recitiamo per guadagnarsi il vivere, non avendo altr'oggetto che ne inviti che la sola necessita'. Testimonies such as this make it clear that their performances were primarily determined by economic, rather than seasonal factors. Because they had to secure a year-round living, professional actors, whether from the *buffone* tradition or with an educated background, broke through the 'festival-based' pattern of amateur troupes, tolerated by the church. Other elements central to this form of entertainment include the fact that it made increasing use of characteristic stock characters, face-masks and improvisation, and actresses. These typical aspects, innovations on the sixteenth century stage, were, to a greater or lesser extent, all taken very much for granted by the eighteenth century.

The term *commedia dell'arte* has acquired a certain shapelessness in common usage by being applied to any performance type, regardless of date, which features *commedia* stock types, including pantomime, puppet shows, ballet, opera and even some circus routines. Much misunderstanding is caused by the uneasy coexistence of two overlapping but by no means identical senses which can be identified even in

its more precise use. These are, firstly, a very specific formularized type of late seventeenth and eighteenth century professional improvised performance practised by actors of many nationalities, and secondly, the wide range of drama, spectacle and entertainment offered by sixteenth and some early seventeenth century Italian professional troupes in general, which led to that particular performance type. The first of these definitions is the strictly formulaic one described by early theatre historians, the second is the view of the early *commedia dell'arte* increasingly accepted by modern scholars, who are however, notably reluctant to provide a definition for the concept.

Heck 'assumes an inclusive definition of the CdA', but does not actually give it, noting only that 'it may be easier to state what is excluded here rather than what is included' [1988, xii]. Richards and Richards put the problem more directly still:

so various were its manifestations, and so historically elusive is it, that notwithstanding the considerable attention it has received from theatre historians it remains something of an enigma [1990, 2].

The two-century gap between the origins and naming of the *commedia dell'arte* means that there are difficulties and ambiguities inherent in the term itself. These may, perhaps, best be dealt with by accepting that the term embraces a number of quite distinct and valid meanings, and that there is no simple way of reconciling these varied uses or of retracing the origins of the *commedia dell'arte* as a distinct entity.

iii) Documentary sources for the *commedia dell'arte*

More than six decades after its publication, Lea's [1934] pioneering study of the *commedia dell'arte* still offers the most rigorous and convincing account of its early history. But her conclusions, though broadly valid, are in urgent need of refinement in the light of relevant documentary sources unrecognized in 1934. Detailed identification, analysis and interpretation of such material is potentially capable of giving a more accurate and comprehensive history of the sources, spread and origins of the *commedia dell'arte*.

There are two types of documentary sources for the *commedia dell'arte*, written and iconographic. The iconographic sources, which have received relatively little systematic attention, are discussed in the last section of this introduction. Among the most important of the written sources are the scenarios, or plot-outlines. Pandolfi [1957-61, II(vii), V(xiv)] gives cast lists and plot summaries for most of the important

early scenarios; Heck [1988, 14-45, 332-56] summarizes the main scenario collections, gives an overview of the secondary literature and an alphabetical title index to 820 scenarios. The fact that commedia dell'arte players improvised their performances from such scenarios, rather than memorizing the fully written-out scripts of regular plays, is generally accepted as being one of their most characteristic features, although some modern scholars, notably Zorzi [1980, 432], now believe that many of the surviving 'scenarios' are plot summaries written down after performances, often by or for amateur imitators of the professional troupes.

Altogether about 600 scenarios survive from the start of the eighteenth century or earlier, mainly in still unpublished manuscript form. None of these can be conclusively dated to before 1600, although the earlier of them, including the first published collection, Scala's fifty scenarios of 1611, include material originating from the sixteenth century. Most scenarios are comic, and Lea [1934, I, 167] suggests that these can be subdivided into three categories: classical comedies, Italian comedies and farces. But the earlier scenarios also include pastoral, magical, allegorical and tragi-comic plots, and reflect the whole spectrum of late renaissance theatrical activity, from tragedy to broad farce.

Other written sources include *zibaldoni*, or actors' handbooks, of which the earliest and most influential are Andreini's of 1607 and 1612. Some intended for publication, others only for private use by a particular player, these collections of useful material by individual actors are another fruitful source of information on performance practice. *Zibaldoni* often contain set prologues, speeches, *usciti* or pre-arranged exit-cues, and *lazzi*, which are particularly successful carefully pre-rehearsed acrobatic or verbal comic set-pieces and improvised routines designed for re-use in different plots, and capable of being lengthened or cut according to the response received from a particular audience.

Prose, poetry and complete dramatic texts written by actors themselves also contain information of interest. Their plays often draw heavily on material developed in improvised performances, and their prologues, as well as those of regular dramatists of the time, both Italian and foreign, contain much comment on contemporary performance practice. As well as the publications of regular dramatists, those of contemporary poets, writers, literary and art critics, both Italian and foreign, such as Vasari, Sansovino, Brantôme, Rabelais, du Bellay and Grazzini,

comment on the Italian players [I.i.b, I.ii.e]. Churchmen such as Paleotti, Borromeo, and Gori also published tracts, in which information concerning the performers they are condemning may sometimes be found [I.i.d].

Forerunners of certain elements and stock types adopted by the professional players are found in the dialect verse dialogues between Italian peasants and another character (such as a well-to-do Venetian or a fortune-telling Gypsy), as well as in popular ditties and in ephemeral fly sheets. Some early sixteenth century published examples of dialogues, ditties and fly sheets survive, albeit many only as 'ghost titles'. Extensive records also relate to stock characters common to, or derived from, the *commedia dell'arte* which survived after the *commedia dell'arte* as such was no longer current, notably in pantomime and the puppet theatre.

Much valuable documentary material is preserved in libraries and in royal, ducal, civic, ecclesiastical, legal and private archives, such as those at some towns and courts in northern Italy, France, Bavaria and elsewhere [I.ii.b-c]. Official records concern such matters as the licensing, number and type of performances, the passage and control of foreign performers, censorship, legal disputes and contracts between actors, and diplomatic dispatches. Eyewitness references to, and occasionally descriptions of, the Italian actors and their performances by the actors themselves, or by spectators, particularly foreigners, are also to be found in diaries, letters and *alba amicorum* (the friendship albums of travelling nobility and students [II.iii.g; III.i.g; III.iii.a; III.iv.a]). These sources are very unevenly identified, researched, published and evaluated. Fundamental contributions are still being made by the archival researches of contemporary scholars such as Ughi [1972; 1974], who published sixteenth century documents which reveal that the Franceschina and *innamorato* (or male lover) of the Gelosi troupe married each other, and give much new information concerning their circumstances; Schrickx [1966; 1972; 1976a,b], who discovered that *commedia dell'arte* troupes had already visited Antwerp as early as 1576; and Fitzpatrick [(1990)], who has within the last decade located a collection of seven previously unknown early eighteenth century scenarios. Even after such material has been identified, and its connection with the *commedia dell'arte* established, the information it contains does not always receive due recognition, or assimilation into scholarship. A striking example of this is a Bavarian diary [Munich BHStA.GHA, Korr.Akt.924 = *Diary* in references; I.ii.c].

iv) Pictures and the Commedia dell'Arte

Perhaps as a result of regular requests from distinguished theatre historians, such as Kindermann [1957, 291], Nicoll [1963, 225], Heck [1988, 293], Aliverti [1989] and Erenstein [(1991)], the rich visual evidence of the early commedia dell'arte and its types which survives in many pictures is receiving increasing recognition as a source for the late renaissance theatre. Heck [1988, 293] noted that 'the systematic codifying, dating and interpretation of the prints, drawings, paintings and frescos relating to the CdA has barely begun'. A year later, Aliverti [1989, 72-3] noted that some contemporary scholars were responding to requests for a comprehensive iconography of the commedia dell'arte, both by identifying and publishing the available material, and also by addressing the methodological problems posed in its interpretation. The publications she discusses in most detail are by Taviani [1986] and Katritzky [1987a; 1987b].

A detailed examination of the visual material is essential if an accurate record of the early commedia is to be compiled. Systematic analysis would aid the attempt to trace the historical development of commedia stock types by their costume, gestures and context; their association into troupes, and the circumstances and range of their performances. But the pictures are largely undated, anonymous, and unpublished, and, as such, have to be interpreted with extreme caution. Even after their connection with the commedia dell'arte has been demonstrated, it would be naive to accept such images as factually accurate 'snapshots', or even compendia, of exactly what a particular artist saw on a specific occasion. Every pictorial record is - to a greater or lesser extent - affected by artistic precedents and traditions and commissioning pressures as well as direct visual input. Its individual components may be taken from one source, or conversely, they may be based on a selection combined from all or any of a wide variety of visual and literary sources. These influences may include real-life events or theatrical performances which the artist has seen, in the recent or more distant past, earlier sketches or pictures by the artist or by other artists, allegorical and popular sources, and the artist's own imagination. This is highlighted by the researches of authorities such as Hummelen. His recent publications on *rederijker* stages [1989, 1994] illuminate an illustrative tradition in which the depiction of comic, as opposed to serious, plays on fairground booth stages is statistically far higher than that revealed by more direct documentary evidence.

Aliverti [1989, 73-5] identifies two independent traditions in the use of pictorial material relating to the *commedia dell'arte*. In the dominant one, such pictures are used to demonstrate the general characteristics, evolution and duration of specific stock types. The second, and less usual approach analyses such pictures in iconographically related groups in order to date and attribute them, and to trace their artistic borrowings. The first technique is favoured by theatre historians, the second by art historians. Aliverti indicates that, independently and in their separate ways, the most recent work in each undermines the relative emphasis given to the three cornerstones of the *commedia dell'arte* as it is traditionally understood, that is, professionalism, the stock types and the traditional repertoire, and supports the presence of a far greater diversity of performance type and style than is allowed in long-accepted models. In order for further progress to be made in analyzing the iconography, she feels that the two approaches should merge their insights, problems and aims into a single interdisciplinary line of enquiry.

Iconographic studies need to take into account pictorial influences, and to differentiate between the history of the individual *commedia dell'arte* stock types and that of professional troupe performances. The history of, for example, Harlequin, Brighella or Pulcinella cannot be equated with that of the *commedia* as a whole, neither can the occurrence of isolated stock types - or even of the Zanni-Magnifico pair - be taken for proof of the existence of true *commedia dell'arte*, for which no convincing primary sources have yet been identified previous to the 1560s.

As well as the origins and development of its stock types, their costumes, gestures, and performance practice, other areas relating to the *commedia dell'arte* are in need of further investigation. Some, such as improvisation, or the effects of censorship, do not lend themselves to useful investigation via the iconography. Those which, to varying degrees, do, include the emergence and use of actresses and face masks [III.iii.a]; scenery, sets and stages [III.i]; mime, acrobatics, music, singing, dancing and *intermedi* [III.iii.a&c]; commercial collaboration (for example with quacks [III.ii.e], dentists and print-sellers); performance circumstances and audience range [III.i]. Certain aspects of the relationship between the oldest comic partnership of the *commedia dell'arte*, that of Zanni and Pantalone, can be usefully traced in the iconography [III.ii], as can not only the costumes and gestures, but also the props, accessories and appearance of later stock types [III.iii], while multiple and serial

images enable a whole range of aspects of this performance art to be investigated [III.iv].

A significant new awareness of the importance of pictures as primary documentary material for the *commedia dell'arte* has been shown by some recent studies. Povoledo [1975] has discussed the costumes, Hallar [1977] the gestures, Noë [(1985)] the posture and Taviani [1986] the physical repertoire of the early comedians, in the light of detailed iconographic analyses. But most such publications concentrate on the well-known pictures, and accept their traditional attributions and dates, however insecure. The iconographic material supporting discussions of Harlequin, for example, has largely been restricted to the woodcuts of the *Recueil Fossard*, whose accepted provenance and dates derive from the information given by an 'unreliable title page; a painting in Bayeux, the authenticity of whose inscription was discredited by Sanesi in 1938 [56-69] although acceptance of it still persists; and prints accompanying an undated publication of c.1600: *Compositions de rhétorique de M. Don Arlequin* [PLATES 6-15; II.i.b; III.iii.b; III.iii.d].

The surviving pictorial material related to the *commedia dell'arte* and early professional players falls into two broad categories. The first consists of pictures of one or more actors without any further background or setting than the stage itself. The evidence offered by such pictures relates to the nature of stock characters, costumes and face-masks, and their historical development (and occasionally, as with some prints, the actual names of the corresponding rôles and/or actors); gestures, posture, and interaction between the players; the inclusion and relative number of actresses; props, and, where the stage is shown, stage scenery. The second category, pictures of actors in settings, yields the same type of evidence (although often in less detailed fashion), as well as indications concerning performance circumstances and the number and type of actor, and audience, which might be expected at a wide range of events. These include restricted events such as indoor and outdoor banquets, elegant gatherings, and rustic entertainments; as well as public events such as masquerades, carnivals, street parades and outdoor stage performances by comedians, with and without charlatans. A sub-group, whose pictures fall into both these categories, can also be identified. These are multiple and serial images: firstly, series of stock types; secondly, series which relate directly to specific scenarios, performance descriptions in travel diaries, or other such written documentation; and

thirdly, sequences of performance 'stills'. These visual series are valuable because no scenarios of definite sixteenth century provenance, and only very few detailed written descriptions of the Italian comedians' performances and acting methods survive. Their study might add to, complement, or even undermine research based on the written sources. Several of the pre-1620 series which appear to represent actors in performance, and which might represent excerpts from one specific performance, lend themselves to such theatre-historical analysis [III.iv.a].

Among the most valuable of such records is the *Recueil Fossard*, a bound volume of prints in Stockholm whose history is discussed in section II.i.a. Although they cannot yet be usefully associated with one particular troupe or venue, the serial nature of these woodcuts, and the combination of image and text they offer, raise the status of the performance they depict to that of the earliest commedia dell'arte play for which comprehensive documentation exists in both visual and verbal form. In section II.i.b, I suggest a new sequence of the prints, using art-historical principles [PLATE 6]. This offers a more solid foundation from which to reconstruct the plot of this performance, and its relationship to the *lazzi* and the cast list; the relationships between the characters, and their division into the respective households of the *dottore* and Pantalone. Such a reconstruction might contribute to a better understanding of the internal structure and balance of what may well be a typical sixteenth century commedia dell'arte play. Further investigation might usefully be directed towards dating the verses and images, and perhaps even identifying their originators and place of origin.

A number of features, notably the cast-list and costumes, clearly place this three-act play within the performance type now known as the commedia dell'arte. An investigation of the relationship between what these series depict and what is known of such performances and their circumstances from other documentary sources would involve detailed pictorial analysis, comparison with written documentation and a wide range of related pictorial material, and, in the case of some series, consideration in the context of the didactic aims of the much larger decorative scheme of which they form part.

I The commedia dell'arte

I.i The rise and spread of professional acting and commedia dell'arte troupes in sixteenth century Italy

I.i.a Introduction

The diversity of the commedia dell'arte has contributed to the controversy surrounding its origins. Its dominant defining feature has been variously identified as its commercialism, improvisation, professionalism, the use of face masks and characteristic stock types, the introduction of actresses, and the formation of troupes. One factor that does not seem to have received due emphasis is the fact that commedia troupes, like medieval and renaissance minstrels and *buffoni*, but in contrast to the amateur actors of guilds and academies, were itinerant.

Once fully-developed, the commedia dell'arte was the product of teamwork by professional actors and actresses associated in travelling troupes who themselves provided the dialogues for performances improvised around scenarios (plot-outlines) involving certain stock characters, situations and *lazzi*. They favoured impressive stock costumes but minimal settings, scenery and props, and grafted popular elements such as masks, dialect, mime, acrobatics, and musical entertainment onto plots taken from erudite drama (fully scripted plays in the vernacular), while rejecting its five act structure, Aristotelian unities and didactic message in favour of audience entertainment and participation. In this way, 'flexible group-developed performances' [Fitzpatrick 1989, 195] with an unprecedentedly wide audience appeal were achieved.

The prologue to Grazzini (Il Lasca)'s play *La Strega*, first published only in 1582, but written in mid-century, features a dialogue which sums up the changing audience expectations which increasingly favoured commedia dell'arte over erudite drama:

Prologo. - [...] non sai tu che le commedie sono immagini di virtù, esempio di costumi e specchio di vita.

Argomento. - Tu sei alla antica e tieni del Baroncio sconciamente: oggidì non si va più a veder recitar le commedie per impa / rare a vivere, ma per piacere, per spasso, per diletto, per passare malinconia e per rallegrarsi.

Prologo. - Si potrebbe anche mandare a chiamare i Zanni. *Argomento.*

- Piacerebbe anche forse più lui e le sue commedie giocose, piacevoli, che queste nostre dotte, savie e severe.

Prologo. - Il poeta vuole introdurre buon costumi, e pigliare la gravità e lo insegnare per suo oggetto principale, che così richiede l'arte.

Argomento. - Che arte o non arte? che ci avete stracco con questa vostra arte ! l'arte vera è il piacere e 'l dilettere. [Grazzini (ed. Plaisance) 1976, 55-6]

Few scholars would suggest that the origins of the *commedia dell'arte* are limited solely to one source. But the relative importance of influences upon it is a matter of considerable debate, and even such seemingly central ingredients as masks, stock types and improvisation have raised controversy. Every one of the features associated with the *commedia dell'arte* occurs also in previous types of entertainment, some European and some non-European, and the various histories of their amalgamation into the *commedia dell'arte*, and precise rôle within it, are not agreed by scholars.

For many decades, the main debate concerning the origins of the *commedia* was between scholars who believed that it and many of its stock types are descended by direct uninterrupted tradition from the antique *mimus*, and those who saw its origins in a sixteenth century reaction against, or even continuation of erudite comedy, and limited the influence of the antique to at most renaissance revival. Heck's bibliography of the *commedia dell'arte* [1988, 425], notes numerous key texts under the headings *Commedia dell'arte and: - Atellan roots? Affirmative: and negative:*.

Those in favour of a classical origin accepted the etymological derivation of the word Zanni from the *sannio* of the Atellan farces, and rejected its explanation as an abbreviation of the name Giovanni. They put forward antique iconographic precedents, such as statuettes found in Pompei, as proof of the continuous existence of certain stock types, and not just of their renaissance revival [Duchartre 1929/1966, 29]. The missing medieval link was most usually identified by them as the Turkish Karagöz puppet shows or the Byzantine players who came to Venice after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 [Reich 1903, 679]. The successive publications of several distinguished scholars, notably Appollonio [1930; 1981] and Nicoll [1931; 1963], register an increasing rejection of initial support for an antique origin for the *commedia*. Such rejection, accepted by modern scholars, is not contradicted by the surviving iconography. There is no continuous tradition of depictions of masked comic secular drama from classical to modern times. Instead, the subject disappears

for many centuries before reappearing quite suddenly as a new iconographic motif in the mid-sixteenth century.

More recently, scholars have emphasised the importance of archaic traditional folkloric and seasonal rites such as carnival [Ridder (1971); Lazzerini 1977; Mango 1978; Sordi 1983]. Many pictures combine motifs from the comic stage and carnival ritual [II.ii.f; III.ii.d]. Recent scholarship has also begun to investigate the ethnographical, as well as political and socio-economic influences on the commedia and its origins. Thus, the origins of the commedia have been attributed by some to diffuse fifteenth century Oriental influences, and in particular to Turkish, Iranian and Indian improvised comedy traditions, or wandering Jews or Gypsies [Mascara 1961; Fulchignoni 1983]. Others have emphasised the part played by Italian, and even English, renaissance amateur members of learned academies, claiming that they first introduced improvisation, and were then imitated by the professionals [Marschall 1928; Wolff 1933]. These are areas not easily investigated in the iconography, although the use of Oriental costume by comic actors may be of relevance [III.iv.a-b].

The important rôle of secular professional entertainers is also receiving increasing attention [Apollonio 1981; Decroisette 1985]. They had a continuous tradition with medieval wandering minstrels and *buffoni*, and took much of their material from popular sources such as mystery plays (whose devil almost certainly played a part in inspiring Tristano Martinelli's creation of the Harlequin rôle), quack doctors, and other street entertainment. One type of entertainer who has not received serious consideration in relation to the commedia dell'arte is the *moresca* dancer. There is a wealth of pictorial evidence which suggests a close relationship between comic troupes and matachins. The iconography suggests that matachins (properly defined as 'a kind of sword dancer in a fantastic costume' [OED]), were acrobatic armed *moresca* dancers who earned their living by performing dances and choreographed bullfights with sword, hammer or lance, as well as offering a range of gymnastic spectacles and feats, including some known as the *antics* or *labours of Hercules*, of which the most spectacular was the human tower, as well as stilt and hand walking, and juggling, sometimes singly or in pairs, sometimes in larger troupes [III.iii.c]. Some have identified the origins of the commedia dell'arte in the comic routines of mountebanks and charlatans, who needed to attract audiences to sell their wares, or

more generally in the rise of a capitalist culture [Smith 1912; Dshiwelegov 1958; Richards and Richards 1990, 39-40; III.ii.e].

As early as 1910, Wolff warned that:

es ist ferner irrig, daß die Commedia dell'arte nur aus bestimmten Typen bestanden, daß sie sich gar aus diesen feststehenden Masken entwickelt habe. Das Umgekehrte ist der Fall [1910, 8].

Richards and Richards [1990, 115] emphasise what is still a relatively recent shift in the popular perception of the *commedia dell'arte*, heralded by the work of Italian theatre-historians such as Taviani, Ferrone and Molinari, from 'a single entity, and a "popular" theatrical art form rooted in the presentation of "type" figures' to a diverse professional theatre whose rôles were essentially the creation of individual actors and actresses. For them:

what comes across very strongly in [...] documents, is the identification of the roles with the actors who played them [...] What, in short, the early written documentation tends to foreground is not the four 'masks' of the *commedia dell'arte*, so familiar from the iconographic materials, but the actors. In modern histories of the *commedia dell'arte* the 'masks' have displaced the actors; but it was probably the actors who preceded the 'masks', not the other way about. [Richards and Richards 1990, 116-17]

The relative extent to which stock rôles and costumes preceded the *commedia dell'arte* or were wholly created by its actors is an area in which investigation of the iconography is of direct relevance [III.ii-iv].

I.i.b Venetian amateurs and *buffoni*

The theory that amateurs such as Cherea, Cimador, Menato, and especially Ruzante (Angelo Beolco) and Andrea Calmo may be regarded as important antecedents of the *comici*, or professional actors, denied by some scholars, nevertheless has many adherents, notably Lea. In her view, 'almost all the material of the *Commedia dell'arte* might be reviewed in terms of its debt to the *Commedia erudita*' [Lea 1934, I, 182] and her closely argued theory that the *commedia dell'arte* arose out of Italian renaissance professional imitation of amateurs has attracted much support [Amico 1950; Sanesi 1938; Apollonio 1981].

Lea postulates that the first stable troupes of professional actors, who appeared from the mid-sixteenth century, motivated both by financial gain and by a sense of

the theatrical, travestied the erudite comedy and carnival entertainments of learned amateur renaissance playwrights, which in turn imitated Plautus and Terence and plundered such sources as Boccaccio. The professionals rejected the amateurs' rigid adherence to the Aristotelian unities and five-act structure, didactic and political undertones, and their often 'clumsy and prolix' dialogues [Herrick 1966, 61]. Professionals placed more emphasis on fast-moving action, crowd-pleasing presentation and popular entertainment than on improving their audience or flattering particular rulers or regimes. They favoured improvisation from three-act scenarios put together by the troupe leaders themselves from any material that came to hand, including classical comedy, court festivals, folklore and carnival, the set-pieces of charlatans and travelling entertainers, contemporary Italian comedy and pastoral, *novelle* and romantic poems, and (especially after 1620) Spanish drama. They incorporated the same stock situations, *lazzi*, collapsible speeches, acrobatic routines and dances into different plots, and were instrumental in creating a professional theatrical tradition, from a unification of classical tradition and popular culture.

Commedia dell'arte elements developed, and gained ascendance in the repertoires of the professionals, only gradually, and borrowed from a wide variety of sources over several decades. During the course of the sixteenth century, as the standards expected from professionals became higher, there was increasing specialization. By the seventeenth century the most talented dancers, singers and actors diverged into ballet, opera and theatre. But dancing, singing and other performance elements, such as acrobatics, introduced from the *buffone* tradition, were strongly represented in many early commedia performances. This is confirmed by the early iconography, for example by pictures linking comic actors and *moresca* dancers [III.iii.c], as well as by the acrobatic *lazzi* represented in the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6; II.i.b] and certain composite prints [III.iv.c].

The terminology of this period records the constant struggle of the early *comici* to dissociate themselves from the stigma attached to the crude and uneducated professional entertainers, or *buffoni*, of the early renaissance. This was both a matter of pride, and also a tactic against ecclesiastical criticism and censorship, which severely restricted all entertainments, especially those outside the carnival period, except for the amateur plays of the Jesuits and academies. Fifteenth and early sixteenth century Italy knew three main kinds of drama, the *rappresentazioni sacre*,

vernacular and neo-classical Latin *comédie* of the humanists, and peasant entertainments such as dialogues and farces. Already around 1570, Leone de' Sommi identified religious drama as the earliest publicly performed dramatic entertainment [Sommi (ed. Marotti) 1968, 14] and later it received recognition as the origin of Latin and vernacular plays, and ultimately of comedy itself [Crescimbeni 1702, 191, 202].

All renaissance drama was initially composed, organized and performed solely by amateurs, who united for the purpose in guilds, academies, or, especially in Venice, in Compagnie della Calza, societies distinguished by the fact that their members, chiefly young noblemen, wore stockings of matching colour. Performances were linked with annual religious and secular festivals, or special celebrations, such as weddings, baptisms or royal entries. Professional entertainers of this time, whose skills provided their only form of income, generally offered not plays, but short set-piece entertainments often involving only one performer, or loosely associated small groups, such as clowning, acrobatics, singing, dancing and story-telling, linked with begging or the commercial sale of trumpery such as quack medicines, fortunes or popular prints. These entertainments depended on their novelty for their success, and the professional performers toured fairs and festivals. The more talented also appeared before the nobility, recommended from one court to the next.

From around 1500, some professionals gradually began to offer rustic and Gypsy (*zingaresche*) dialogues, while others were paid by amateurs to provide specialist skills for more ambitious productions. Perhaps it was out of the more successful of these collaborations that the 'fraternal troupes' of the mid-sixteenth century grew, from which the *commedia dell'arte* originated [Povoledo 1975, 256]. The voluminous diaries of the Venetian Marin Sanudo, which span the period c.1499-1533, have many entries relating to drama. Translations of some fifty-five of these, describing performances of Ruzante, Cherea, Zan Polo, Taiacalze, and Cimador, and other Venetian *buffoni* of the period, witnessed and recorded by Sanudo, have been published by Lea [1934, II, 474-8]. Although these are mostly brief, they give a lively indication of the range and circumstances of entertainments, both professional and amateur, available in Venice at that time.

Sanudo's diary stops short of the period in which the *commedia dell'arte* came to the fore by several decades. But by its very comprehensiveness, it gives valuable

indications of the early interactions between professional and amateur performers, and of mechanisms by which the amateur stage advanced towards professionalism in the early sixteenth century, which have been much discussed by some historians of the *commedia dell'arte*. Its descriptions of *buffoni* are of direct relevance to an understanding of the rôle of the *matachin*, or armed *moresca* dancer, in the *commedia dell'arte* [III.iii.c]. Sanudo records processions, masquerades, recitations, pastorals, tragedies, and above all comedies. These were organized by amateur companies, particularly the *Eterni*, *Ortolani*, *Triumphanti*, and those of Cherea and Ruzante, both during the carnival season and at private functions such as weddings and banquets. He also notes singing, dancing, acrobatics and clowning by *buffoni*, or professionals, notably Zan Polo and Domenego Tajacalze.

By the second decade of the sixteenth century, Sanudo is recording definite interaction between amateur entertainers and professional players. He notes that in April 1513 the *Eterni* engaged Zan Polo to enliven their procession. Sanudo, who elsewhere indicates that Zan Polo Liompardi is skilled at jumping, dancing and singing, defines him as a '*buffon*' or professional *buffone*. From the fact that Sanudo first records him, in 1504, as performing *in piazza* it seems likely that, rather than being a successful amateur who decided to make a living out of his talent, Zan Polo was an itinerant *buffone* who enjoyed a prolonged run of success in Venice, where he pioneered a new relationship between professional and amateur players. Several entries in Sanudo's diary point to the success of this collaboration. In February 1515, Sanudo enjoyed a performance of the Plautus play *Miles Gloriosus* with *intermedi* by Zan Polo which involved singing and dancing. In 1522, he played the *buffone* at a festival organized by the *compagni Triumphanti*, and, with other *buffoni*, provided the *intermedi* for Machiavelli's *Mandragora*, performed by Cherea's company.

Sanudo often enjoyed Zan Polo's entertainments at banquets, for example one given by the Doge in 1523, where 'Zan Polo buffon stravestito vene con do altri, et cantò una canzon in laude dil Doxe' [Lea 1934, II, 476]. In February 1524, Zan Polo was one of several *prima buffoni* for a masquerade organized by the *Ortolani*, but he also acted at entertainments organized by the academies, such as the feast of the *Triumphanti*, one of two occasions in February 1525 when Sanudo saw him provide *intermedi*. His description is as follows:

Zuan Polo si portò benissimo, et li intermedii fonno molto belli, de tutte le virtù de soni e canti che'è possibil haver, vestiti in vari habiti

da mori, da todeschi, da griegi, da hongari, da pelegrini et altri assà
habiti senza però volti [Lea 1934, II, 476-7]

This was in contrast to Ruzante and Menato, who on the same occasion shocked Sanudo with ‘una comedia vilanesca et tutta lascivia, et parole molto sporche’ [Lea 1934, II, 476]. Zan Polo’s costume changes for this performance are significant. Male national types were a fertile source of inspiration for commedia stock types, and appear frequently in the iconography [I.iii.e; III.iv.b].

Sanudo follows the convention of the time in differentiating between the ‘spectaculo [...] in piazza’, *bufonarie* and *mumaria* of the professionals, and the *tragedia*, ‘egloga pastoral’ and *comédie* of the amateurs. But Sanudo also describes one of Zan Polo’s *intermedi* as a ‘comedia nova’, and by June 1529 he records that after a feast the company returned for the recitation of a certain *comedia* by Zan Polo, while in May 1532 he performed at two banquets in Treviso with his company of at least four other *buffoni*, and by 1533 he had been joined by his son. This points to the possibility that by 1532, and perhaps even earlier, Zan Polo had formed a professional troupe of his own. In 1525 he played under the stage name of Nicoletto Cantinella, and Lea has suggested that he may be identical with the *buffone* Benedetto Cantinella, whose professional troupe played with much success in Rome in the 1540s [Lea 1934, I, 249-251], although Benini [1978, 41] identifies him with Giovanni Paulovicchio.

Sanudo qualifies some of the *comédie* he saw as ‘di Plauto’, ‘di pastori’, ‘di padoani a la villana’, ‘in prosa’, ‘a la vilanescha’, ‘nova in versi’. On 3 February 1530, he records seeing a ‘comedia a la Bergamasca’. He gives the authors as Andrea Razer and Zuan Maria, and among the players are a woman (‘la Michiela’), and a vulgar bravo. Perhaps this Bergamasque comedy was similar to the ‘*buffoni alla Venetiana et alla Bergomascha et contadine alla pavana*’ [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 121] given at a Ferrarese court banquet, and noted by Cristoforo di Messisbugo in 1529, and it is possible that both are direct forerunners of the commedia dell’arte.

Until more evidence is available concerning these entertainments, the precise nature of their relationship to the commedia dell’arte must remain a matter of dispute among theatre historians [Nicoll 1931, 298-9; Decroisette 1985, 75]. But Sanudo’s diaries point to increasingly successful collaboration between amateur and professional players, a collaboration which must have done much to stimulate the rise of the first

itinerant professional acting troupes. The earliest known dated iconographic record of the Italian comedians is a signed painting by Hieronymus I Francken dated 1565, which places stock types of the *commedia dell'arte* and *buffone*-like *matachins* together in an unmistakably Venetian setting [PLATE 16; II.iii.d; III.iii.c].

I.i.c The early troupes

As noted, the activities of the professional *buffone* Zan Polo have been linked, or even equated, with those of the actor Benedetto Cantinella of Venice. Cantinella's troupe played in Rome and Florence from at least the mid-1540s, and could be a direct link between the activities of early sixteenth century Venetian *buffoni* and the professional acting troupes of the mid-sixteenth century onwards [Re 1914; Bonanni 1980/1982; I.ii.e].

Various pre-1540 records have been interpreted by some scholars as references to professional itinerant troupes of players. In 1538, the troupe of 'Mutio, italiano de la Comedia' visited Spain [Falconieri 1957b, 10-12], a troupe of six players performed farces and moralities at the French court [Baschet 1882, 3-4] and Lea [1934, I, 249] quotes a letter of 30 April 1538 which implies that Cantinella may already have been with a troupe at that time. By the 1540s the records are quite clear. Amateur groups continued to be set up and flourish. (As for example the *Compagnia dei Sempiterni della Calza*, which presented Aretino's erudite comedy *La Talanta*, with sets designed by Giorgio Vasari, at the Venice carnival of 1542 [(ed. Frey) 1923, 111-119]. Despite inspired directing by Christopher Cairns, and some entertaining episodes, the English language world première, in March 1993, gave a vivid impression of the tediously repetitious plots of such amateur comedies). But some players were signing contracts to form professional troupes and tour with their plays.

Lebègue [1950, 11] quotes a passage from one of a number of legal contracts of 1544, which records that in that year Giovanni-Antonio Romano led a troupe of six Italian 'joueurs d'anticques, moralitez, farces, et autres jeux rommains et françois' to Paris, where they were joined by three French players [III.iii.b]. In 1545, identified by Molinari [1985, 66, 70] as a date of almost mythical proportions for the history of the *commedia dell'arte*, 'Maphio ditto Zanini' and seven other men contracted to form a fraternal company at the end of Lent for the purpose of touring

until the following carnival season with their *commedie* for financial gain. In 1546 and 1549, Maphio reformed his company, again for the purpose of offering *comediis* [Cocco 1915, 60-61] and in 1546 Benedetto Cantinella received payment for performing a comedy with his company [Re 1914, 293]. In this year also, anonymous troupes of Italian players are recorded in Geneva, where they applied for a licence to perform the *Forze d'Ercole*, and Norwich, where 'certen Spanyards & Ytalyans [...] dawnsyd antycks & played dyverse other feets' [Chambers 1923, I, 246; Urban 1985, 159; Lea 1934, II, 352; III.iii.c]. Bourgeville de Bras records the visit to Caen, in 1549, of 'jongleurs dicts batteleurs, Italiens' [Lebègue 1950, 11-12].

In his *Sciomachie*, Rabelais [1549, 26] leaves no doubt over his displeasure and boredom at the 'longueur & mines Bergamasques assez fades, [...] l'invention bien froide, & argument trivial' of a comedy he saw in 1549 at a banquet given by Cardinal d'Armignac in Rome, to which the demented fooling of a company of 'matachins nouveaux' was infinitely preferable. Rabelais does not say whether the players were amateurs or professionals. But the mention of Bergamasques indicates a possible connection with the professional routines of *commedia dell'arte* stock characters, and Taviani [1976, 40-8] defines the *Sciomachie* as a theatre-historical *documento-frontiera* in which the transition of the professional players from independent *buffoni* to united troupes of *comici*, and the change-over in the repertoire of the professionals, from isolated entertainments and spectacle to genuine theatre, is pin-pointed. Taviani identifies the matachins of Rabelais's account as a very early type of professional *comici*, still dressed as *buffoni*, and does not include any illustrative material in his argument. As already noted, examination of the iconography has enabled me to identify, for the first time, a comprehensive selection of pictures in which professional entertainers in the type of costume associated with the matachin are depicted in conjunction with comic stock figures. Their analysis allows a more accurate assessment of the matachin's costume, range of skills and relationship to the early professional troupes [III.iii.c]. In 1549 too, five Venetian *spilleuten*, and their interpreter from Bolzano, performed in Nördlingen, and in Nürnberg, where the archival records note that they showed scenes from an old Roman history of Hercules [Trautmann 1887a, 225; III.iii.c].

Although constant itinerancy is a feature of professional troupes, foreign tours were not their sole preserve, for amateurs are known to have ventured abroad on

occasion. De Estrella records that in 1548 Italian academicians were invited to perform a comedy by Ariosto at Valladolid [Falconieri 1957b, 11-12], and on 27 September that year, Italian actors and actresses, thought to have been amateurs, performed Bibbiena's *La Calandra* at Lyon, before Henry II and his wife Catherine de' Medici [Baschet 1882, 6-10]. This gesture by the Florentine nation made a great impression. For example, Brantôme records that before this time the entertainment available to French audiences consisted largely of buffooneries and farces:

car paradvant on ne parloit que des farceurs, des connardz de Rouan, des joueurs de la Basoche, et autres sortes de badins et jouers de badinages, farces mommeries et sotteries [Scherillo 1911, 116].

In 1554, Firenzuola's *Lucidi* was played before the French king by Italian amateurs [Lebègue 1950, 11]. Perhaps the Italian actors who, according to a letter of 1495 or 1496 from Ercole d'Este to Francesco Gonzaga, took their performances across the Alps, had also been amateurs [Rasi 1905, 448].

Discussion of the repertoire and performance technique of troupes such as Maphio's is largely based on speculation, as the only substantial surviving documents concerning these early troupes are legal contracts which, although of great interest for theatre history, are primarily concerned with financial and organisational aspects. Most of the players were qualified in professions unrelated to entertainment and acting, for example the contracts record that Stephanus was a stonemason, Maestro Zuanne and Girolamo Bragati of Padua ropemakers, Simon a soldier and Checo, who played the women's parts, a smith [Cocco 1915], although Francesco, perhaps Checo's brother, is described as a *lira* player. Much later, in a contract of 1567 three players agree to form a 'societatem insimul recitandi comedias [...] sonandi, cantandi, balandi' [Bragaglia 1958, 48] while an even later contract, of 1581, records that Ganassa's troupe added two local musicians to their numbers while in Spain, to 'servir de tañer con nuestras guitarras y cantar las tonadas á nuestro uso castellano' [Falconieri 1957b, 26]. Such specialist skills were no doubt also represented in early troupes other than Maphio's, although their surviving contracts do not comment specifically on them.

The actors attached to each individual company fluctuated, but some companies were consistently able to attract and keep the most talented actors and *capocomici* (troupe leaders), and strived for a balance between the stock rôles and a relatively

peaceful mix of personalities among the actors. These developed into the great companies of the later sixteenth century, some of whose earliest records go back to the 1560s. Alberto Naselli's troupe was almost certainly active from the early 1560s, the Gelosi are first recorded in 1568, the Confidenti and Uniti in the 1570s, the Desiosi in the 1580s, and the Accesi in the 1590s.

The little available written evidence suggests that the more successful early troupes built up wide repertoires, and does not contradict the possibility that the same troupes which performed standard full-length scripted comedies, pastorals and melodramas by playwrights, as well as improvised plays and *intermedi*, were also able to offer less sophisticated and non-Italian speaking audiences *bufonarie* and *momarie* based on music and mime, and long-standing international favourites such as the 'labours of Hercules' [III.iii.c] and the play of the bear and the wild man. This wide-ranging appeal is also confirmed by investigation of the surviving pictorial material relating to the commedia dell'arte, which depicts the Italian comedians in a rich diversity both of performance types (aspects of which are addressed in many sections of the present thesis), and of performance places [III.i].

I.i.d Professionalism and improvisation

From around 1570, the *comici*, as the professional actors now preferred to be called, enjoyed enormous success. In an undated poem of about this time Grazzini describes how the amateur performers began to be ousted by the professionals:

Tutti i comici nostri Fiorentini
son per questa cagione addolorati [...]
ma il popol poi veggendo manifesto
l'onor de' Zanni in fino al cielo alzato,
senza più altro intendere o sapere,
altre commedie non vuol più vedere. [...]
onde assai più di lor sieno I Gelosi
nei secoli avvenir sempre famosi [Pandolfi 1957-61, I, 169-70]

The carnival season continued to be their most profitable playing period, and the nobility often had difficulty in persuading their favourite troupes to serve them, rather than the Venetian public, at carnival time. This happened, for example, with the Gelosi in 1576 and the Confidenti in 1580. Solerti and Lanza [1891, 165, 168] quote a letter from Canigiani which relates the difficulties experienced by the Duke of Ferrara in luring the best Gelosi players back from the Venice carnival season to

provide entertainment at two family weddings, and letters of apology from Pedrolino and Vittoria for playing in Venice⁴ instead of playing at the Duke's wedding to Margherita Farnese. The increasing popularity of the Italian comedians meant that the professionals were performing comedies and farces all year round, at court, and in private houses, the *stanze* which they rented for semi-public performances, and the theatres which were being built for them, and thus blatantly breaking the strictly-defined chronological limits of the carnival season, during which the church had been prepared to tolerate performances. The early pictorial records give interesting indications concerning venues and audiences [III.i].

The *comici* had indulgent and powerful protectors. Sometimes they went too far even for their admirers, as in 1579, when the Gelosi were banished from Mantua by a decree of 5 May, for interpreting the Duke of Mantua's permission to play as a licence to act publicly in the city [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 464], or in 1582, when the same Duke subjected the Zanni, Magnifico and Gratiano of the Gelosi to a painful mock hanging, followed by real torture and imprisonment, after all three, motivated by the desire for a rich reward, claimed sole authorship of a particularly amusing comedy [Rasi 1905, 228].

Many churchmen were appalled by the actors' success, and actively tried to stamp out their performances. These included Pope Gregory XIII, who succeeded Pius V in 1572. In January 1574, during the Roman carnival, Cardinal Carniglia wrote to Cardinal (later San Carlo) Borromeo that:

con l'occasione di una comedia fattasi in Roma, assai disonesta, nel quale fu detto, erano alcuni dei cardinali, Sua Santità ha proibito non se ne faccia più e proibito li comedianti, etiam nelle case private, ne' collegi e seminari [Bragaglia 1958, 64].

Also in 1574, the London preacher Thomas Norton attacks 'plaies [...] shoves [...] and especiallie [...] the unchaste, shamelesse and unnaturall tomblings of the Italian Woemen' [Lea 1934, II, 354].

In 1565 Borromeo decreed the banishment of 'histriones et mimos, coeterosque circulatores' from his territory [Taviani 1969, 11]. In July 1578, Borromeo wrote to Cardinal Paleotti of his disappointment that practical difficulties were frustrating his ambition to drive actors out of his territories, and notes that their comedies are:

piu perniciose ai costumi ed alle anime, che non sono quelli seminarii di tanti mali, i balli, le feste e simili spettacoli, perché le parole, atti

e gesti disonesti e lascivi che intervengono in simili commedie come sono più latenti [Taviani 1969, 23].

Whetstone confirms this in July 1578, in the dedicatory letter of his *Promos and Cassandra*: 'For at this daye, the Italian is so lascivious in his comedies that honest hearers are greeved at his actions' [Lea 1934, II, 379-80]. In 1578, Cardinal Paleotti of Bologna condemns 'queste commedie, da pochi anni in qua introdotte'. He gives seven reasons why such *spettacoli teatrali* should be prohibited, of which the essence of the third is that they 'danno occasione a' giovane e putti di rubare alli loro padri per pagare alla commedia', and the seventh concerns the devastating effect of 'queste donne commedianti' upon the family life of his flock [Taviani 1969, 39].

In a tract of 1592, the theologian Guglielmo Baldesano attributes the origins of the 'infame professione' of the *comici* to the heathen 'colto de gl'idoli', and compares them to vagrant Gypsies [Taviani 1969, 96-106], while Juan de Pineda, in 1599, calls the theatre a 'bottega del diavolo' [Taviani 1969, 122]. By the start of the seventeenth century, churchmen are quite explicit concerning 'gl'antichi tanto osceni' of the contemporary professional stage. The Dominican monk Domenico Gori, author of this phrase, in a tract of c.1604 classifies the *comici* as outcasts of society, with the excommunicated, heretics, pagans and Jews, and details fifteen reasons why the *commedie di Zanni* should no longer be tolerated by the church [Taviani 1969, 136-143]. The most typical characteristics of the *commedia dell'arte*: the introduction of women onto the stage, acting for financial gain, and the use of improvisation, are singled out for particular condemnation by theologians.

The illiteracy of some actors, and the need to communicate the same plot-lines effectively to audiences of different social levels and nationalities, were certainly factors in the professionals' growing reliance on improvisation. But the rôle played by the increasingly repressive ecclesiastical censorship of the 1560s and 70s cannot be discounted. For, as Paleotti wrote in 1578, the *comici*:

sempre vi aggiungono parole o motti che non sono scritti, anzi non mettono essi in iscritto se non il sommario o l'argomento, e il resto fanno tutto all'improvviso, e il volerli poi condannare per quelli ha del difficile. Di poi fanno atti e movimenti lascivissimi e inonestissimi che non si scrivono, introducono femmine pubbliche e piene di ogni inverecondia, fanno nascere all'improvviso. [Taviani 1969, 39-40]

Although censorship played its part, the development and use of improvisation by the early *comici* are not yet fully understood. Numerous diaries, letters, archival entries, contracts and other records are informative about the movements, financial arrangements, interactions and disputes of the well-known *comici* throughout the 1570s and 80s. But there is a continuing lack of detailed description of their performances and acting methods. Such evidence as does exist often remains unpublished or only partially transcribed,^o and is variously interpreted by scholars. A comedy at the Ferrarese court, described by Canigiani in a letter of 11 March 1577, has been interpreted by Wolff [1933, 315] as an improvisation by amateurs, by Solerti [1895, I, 256-7] as true *commedia dell'arte*, and by Taviani and Schino [1984, 74] as a semi-improvised *commedia burlesca*. Even the surviving written scenarios are not universally accepted as clear evidence of the use of improvisation. Zorzi [1980, 432], one of the few scholars with extensive first-hand knowledge of the manuscript originals, suggests that most or all of these scenarios are not the work of professionals, prepared before performances, but records of performances by 'mediocri letterati'.

The early 1540s saw the first tentative evidence of the introduction of improvisational techniques into full-length drama, with some speeches planned on what Lea [1934, I, 23] calls the 'collapsible principle', and the protractile autonomous set-pieces Andrews [1989, 146; 1993, 175-185] identifies as the 'elastic gag', but no proof of improvisational performances by professional players. In Calmo's play *Saltuzza*, the nurse Carina has the line 'Che vi par spettatori delle nostre cose cosi all'improvviso?' [Magni 1926/27, 129].

In the 1550s, Piccolomini, a member of the Intronati academy, planned to compose about 500 stock scenes and speeches which could be used in more than one play, but abandoned this work when his notebook, containing rough drafts of three hundred, was stolen. Lea's [1934, I, 162-3] description of this project as soliloquies and dialogues is more accurate than the 'quasi una raccolta di "scenari"' which other scholars have recognised in it [Seragnoli 1974, 78]. But despite her summary evaluation of it as a 'ghost collection [...] mentioned by way of dismissal', its connection with the *commedia dell'arte* is more than casual. The project, which Piccolomini hopes may 'riuscendomi arebbe recato qualche aiuto ai comici de' nostri tempi', and describes in some detail in 1560 and again in 1564, in two prefaces to

another work [Seragnoli 1973, 54-7] may perhaps most usefully be regarded as a universal *zibaldone*, or actor's commonplace book. He plans to classify the basic comic types, and provide soliloquies and dialogues suitable for adoption in a large number of different comedies. Seragnoli [1973, 59; 1974, 101-2], who has analyzed the project, concludes that the 1550s, the years in which it was planned, must be the very period when the *commedia dell'arte* came to the fore, and that it demonstrates a closeness and continuation both between the theatre and philosophy of its time, and between erudite comedy and the *commedia dell'arte*.

Troiano [1569/1980, f.146v] describes the performance of 1568 as 'una Comedia all'improviso alla Italiana'. The expression is extremely rare before the 1620s. It occurs in a Florentine document of 1624 [Evangelista 1979, 79], and the prologue of Verrucci's play *Li diversi linguaggi* of 1627 also refers to 'commedie all'improviso' [Cope 1987, 178]. Adriano Valerini's oration in honour of Vicenza Armani, murdered in 1569, suggests that among the many skills of this talented actress was improvisation not only on the comic stage, but in the spheres of music, tragedy and pastoral:

Nella Musica poi fece profitto tale, che non pure cantaua sicuramente la parte sua con i primi Cantori d'Europa, ma componeua in questa professione miracolosamente [...] sonaua de varie sorti de stromenti Musicali [...] recitaua questa Signora come forse udito hauete in tre stili differenti in Comedia, in Tragedia, et in Pastorale [...] questa Donna riusciua meglio assai parlando improviso, che i più consummati Autori scriuendo pensatamente [...] accompagnaua le parole con gesti si appropriati al soggetto [...] se nella Comedia facea ueder quanto ornamento abbi un dir familiare, dimostraua poi differentemente nella Tragedia la grauità dell'heroico stile, usando parole scelte, graui concetti, sentenze morali [...] dirò delle Pastorali da lei prima introdotte in Scena [...] tantoa forza hauean le parole con che ella descriueua hor questo hor quell'affetto. [Pandolfi 1957-61, II 143-9]

Only in the 1580s does the evidence concerning improvisation become explicit. In 1581, the author of *A true report of the death and martyrdom of M. Campion Jesuit & prieste*, referring to the acting technique of Anthony Munday, deliberately chose to 'omit to declare how this scholler, new come out of Italy, did play extempore' [Lea 1934, II, 383]. In 1582, Whetstone remarked on:

certayne comedians of Ravenna [...] who are not tide to a written device, as our English Players are, but having a certayne groundes or principles of their owne, will, Extempore, make a pleasaunt showe of

other men's fantasies [... and ...] patched a Comedy together [Lea 1934, II, 346].

That the development of improvisation was a long and far from spontaneous process is shown by a passage in a letter of 12 August 1615 (or, according to Richards and Richards [1990, 125], 6 January, 1627) from Francesco Gabrielli (the *comico* Scappino) to Giovanni de' Medici, where he notes that Celia is the best actress both in learnt scripts and improvised speech, and quickly mastered new material, while Lavinia and the other actresses took at least a month to become proficient at a particular new *soggetto*:

Celia al premeditato et improvviso è la prima donna che reciti, poiché se la Compagnia od altri mettono fuori opere o comedie nove lei subito le recita, che la Lavinia né altra donna non lo farà, se prima di un messe non si hanno premeditato quello che nel soggetto si contiene. [Ferrone 1983, 62]

Even so, Celia's skills seem to have deserted her in December 1618. On 12 December she asked the head of the Confidenti, Flaminio Scala, if she could be excused from playing, and on 25 December she suffered 'una gran fischiata dal popolo e si credeva non avesse a poter più recitare' [Evangelista 1979, 85-6].

Burdick summarizes the main commedia stock types and concludes that:

with such a collection of characters confronting one another, commedia plays simply happened [...] It was up to the company manager to choose the situations, and it was he who posted the scenario minutes before the actors went on [1974, 50].

Some modern Italian scholars allow improvisation only a very limited rôle [Zorzi 1980, 436]. But for others, the concept of improvisation is more complex. Recent research by Fitzpatrick suggests that Scala's:

scenarios as published do reflect substantially the original manuscripts used by the actors, thus constituting invaluable evidence of a particular performance practice [1989, 177].

Fitzpatrick's detailed technical analyses [1989, 194] suggest that early scenarios were structured to favour performance situations in which improvisation, based on much individual preparation but only brief rehearsals, could flourish, namely the active presence, on stage, of only one or at most two characters or cohesive sub-groups of

the commedia troupe at any one time, so that interpersonal transactions remain simple.

The sets favoured by the *comici*, typically a public square onto which face houses, facilitate audience acceptance of this situation and of the large number of unmotivated exits which are a required strategy in order to minimise the on-stage population [Fitzpatrick 1989, 180-1]. Fitzpatrick's [1989, 186] analysis also confirms that, at least in the early scenarios, *lazzi* are also used to support the improvisational skill of the actor, and as an element of the dramatic action, not, as has sometimes been suggested, as a temporary deviation from the action. Improvisation, as he notes elsewhere, 'era molto diverso dall'improvvisazione moderna. Era una tecnica fortemente strutturata che presupponeva molta preparazione da parte degli attori' [Fitzpatrick (1990), {6}], and he suggests that a more accurate term than improvisation for the acting method of the professional *comici* might be 'flexible group-developed performance' [Fitzpatrick 1989, 195]. A similar point is made by Richards and Richards, who emphasise the rôle of the *capocomico*, whose task was 'to give structure and coherence to a play that was "composed" by the players' [1990, 191].

Professionalism, with its increasing reliance on stock types, actresses and improvisation, the main ingredients of the commedia dell'arte, was making its presence felt on the stage by the 1580s, but the *comici* maintained a wide repertoire, ranging from standard comedies to *bufonarie* such as one with which Pedrolino and Pantalone, two highly talented *comici* from an internationally renowned troupe, entertained the guests at a 'German' banquet given by the Duke of Ferrara for Sig. Gaspare di Monte in 1582. G. B. Rossetti, in *Dello Scalco* of 1584 relates how on this occasion Pedrolino was concealed underneath a pie crust placed over a man-sized hole cut into the central table, and surprised the guests by raising his head out of the pie to speak to Pantalone [Lea 1934, I, 251].

In a letter of 1585, Ludovico de Bianchi, the Gelosi company's Dotor Gracian (as he signed himself) informs the Duke of Mantua that Silvia is as necessary to the company in *intermedi* as in other matters [Ughi 1974, 184]. Records such as Valerini's oration to Vicenza Armani, partially quoted above, confirm that improvised comic plays were just one aspect of sixteenth century commedia dell'arte companies' varied repertoire. Diary descriptions of various comedies seen by Prince Ferdinand

of Bavaria during a visit to Italy in 1579 imply that Italian comedies, including several he saw performed by the Gelosi (both publicly and in his private lodgings), routinely included Pantalone and Zanni:

[18.1.1579, Venice] Zu nacht gessen. Und nach dem die best gesellschaftt, so in gantz Italia von Co- /f.8v/ *medianten*, so man die *Gelosj* nennt, alldo gewest, haben sy nach dem nachtmal in der gossen, so man *St. Joan & Paolo* nent, in ainem hauß agirt. dahin wir auch gefahrn welche biß in drey stondt gewärt hatt [...] Den 19 [...] ist nach dem Nachtmal in unserm Losament, durch vorgemelte *Comedianten*, ein *Comedi* agiert worden, nach solcher hatt sich ieder schlafen gemacht [...] 26.1.1579, Ferrara ...] Alßbaldt das nachtmal eingenomben, hernach zu ainer *Comedi*, welche im Allten Schloß gehalten worden gangen. Seyen erst umb zwölf uhr schlaffen khomen [...] 5.2.1579, Mantua ...] Nach eßens uf den saal ... gangen. Alldo ein *Comedj* von Juden *agirt* worden, hatt schier funf Stondt gewärt. Ist /f.28v/ nichz anders gewest, alls sonst bey welschen *Comedj*, allein das khein *Magnifico* und *Zanj* dabey gewest. das Ort ist mit Portalln und heußern gar hübsch zugericht. [Munich, BHStA.GHA, Akt.925, ff.8r-v, 10v, 19v, 28r-v]

Even so, there are many records of the early *comici* giving performances which appear to have involved neither improvisation nor the stock characters associated with the comic professional stage.

The Gelosi played Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* in 1573, and Piccolomini's *L'Amor costante* in 1586, and it is possible that *La Zingara*, in which the Gelosi's actress Vittoria played the title rôle during the wedding festivities of Ferdinand de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine in 1589, is related to Giancarli's comedy of 1550, *La cingana*, which was enormously influential on both the amateur and professional stages [Lea 1934, I, 262; Apollonio et. al. 1956, col.1198; III.iii.a]. In a diary entry of 4 January 1604 Octavien Genetay notes that 'j'ay veu representer a l'hostel de Bourgogne par la compagnie d'Isabelle et Pedrolin, la tragedie du Calyfe d'Egypte' [Lebègue 1933, 77]. In 1608, the actress Virginia was in Mantua to sing the title rôle in Ottavio Rinucci's *Arianna*. Bevilacqua [1894, 119-121], who quotes from the relevant document, suggests that the *intermedi* may have been provided by her company, the Fedeli.

That improvisation and the stock types gained an increasing share of the professional stage towards the end of the sixteenth century is clear from scathing

complaints such as Niccolo Rossi's, in his *Discorsi sulla commedia* of 1589 concerning typical stock types:

Ne commedie io numero giammai quelle che da gente sordida et mercenaria vengono qua e la portate, introducendovi Gianni Bergomasco, Francatrippa, Pantalone e simili buffoni [Magni 1926/27, 113].

Or Castelletti's, in a prologue of 1591, that audiences prefer the improvised foolings of an old Venetian and his Bergamasque servant to a serious play which took three years to write, and six months to rehearse:

una chiacchierata all'improvviso [...] d'un vecchio Vinitiano, & d'un servitor Bergamasco, accompagnata da quattro attioni disoneste [...] che una Comedia Grave, che vi si serà stentato tre anni a comporla, e sei mesi a recitarla [Clubb 1967, 243].

For the period after 1600, much more comprehensive and descriptive records survive, such as the actors' notebooks, the scenarios, and an increasing number of publications, including fully-scripted plays, by the actors themselves, such as Giovan Battista Andreini, Flaminio Scala and P.M. Cecchini. They indicate the renewed efforts of some *comici*, particularly those with an educated background, to disassociate themselves from street players and charlatans. Basilio Locatelli, himself an amateur, prefaces his manuscript scenario collection of about 1618-22 with an attempt to persuade the reader that *il comico* is no mercenary player or *histrione infame*, but 'l'Academico virtuoso' [Lea 1934, I, 135]. The actor Flaminia Scala turns the prologue to his fully-scripted comedy *Il finto marito*, of 1619, into a dialogue between a *comico* and a *forestiero* [Jannaco 1960, 195-207]. Through their discussion of the forthcoming play, Scala conveys much information about contemporary stage practice, improvisation, and the dispute between those who dismissed the performances of the professionals as *Zanata*, and their defenders, who would elevate them to the status of *commedie*. Niccolo Barbieri, the *comico* Beltrame, is even more explicit. In the *Supplica*, published in 1634, his intention is to gain respect for the acting profession, and to raise public estimation of the plays of the *comici* so that they are seen to equal the comedies of the amateurs rather than the crude *zannata* of the street *buffoni*. He writes:

il buffone è realmente buffone, ina il comico che rappresenta la parte ridicola, finge il buffone, e perciò porta la maschera al viso, o barba

rimessa, o tintura alla faccia, per mostrar d'esser un'altra persona
[Barbieri 1634/1971, 24].

The records also indicate that by the start of the seventeenth century the plays of the *comici*, now often referred to as Zanni comedies, were very much settling into the format now understood by the term *commedia dell'arte*. Writings such as Cecchini's *Frutti delle moderne comedie* of 1628, Barbieri's *Supplica* of 1634 and Perrucci's *Dell'arte rappresentativa* of 1699 increasingly confine the range of the professional stage within neat and manageable formulae. From the genuine improvisation, exciting experiments and wide creative repertoire of their earliest decades, the professional players gradually settle into unity, systematization and predictable routine. Within a century, custom and expectation had channelled the previously diverse dramatic offerings of the Italian professionals into the narrow and predictable range of masked and unmasked stock rôles, plots and *lazzi* which for many theatre historians still exemplify the *commedia dell'arte* in its purest form.

I.ii A case study in early patronage and geographic spread:

The Munich wedding performance of 1568

I.ii.a Introduction

The way in which the *commedia dell'arte* first reached much of Europe is uncomplicated. From the 1570s onwards, it was introduced to foreign courts by travelling troupes of professional Italian actors, whose members, activities and travels are, at least in part, documented. Such troupes reached Spain by 1574, the Netherlands by 1576, England by 1578, and France already as early as 1571 [Baschet 1882, 14; Shergold 1956, 359; Schrickx 1972; Lea 1934, II, 356]. In 1571, when prestigious named troupes first visited France [Baschet 1882, 14, 26-], they, and particularly their actresses, enjoyed great success. Paris became the most popular foreign venue for many Italian troupes, and France has been identified by some theatre historians as 'the true home of the *commedia dell'arte* outside of Italy' [Nicoll 1963, 175].

In France in March 1571, Lord Buckhurst enjoyed 'a Comedie of Italians that for the good mirth and handling thereof deserved singular comendacion', and in May Charles Henry de Clermont saw the Gelosi troupe perform for the French king at

Nogent-le-Roi [Baschet 1882, 16, 18]. In October, Ganassa's troupe petitioned to perform 'tragedies et comedies' in Paris, and in December 'des Italiens joueurs de comedie' performed at Lyon [Baschet 1882, 24-5]. On 2 March 1572, the French King rewarded Soldino and his troupe of eleven players for 'comédies e plaisants jeux', and later in the month for 'comedies et saults' and 'Anthoine Marie, commedien italien' and 'neuf autres ses compaignons aussi commediens' for 'plusieurs comedies devant Sa Majesté', adding that the troupe 'jouent encore ordinairement', in other words they gave public as well as private performances [Baschet 1882, 35-7].

In June the Earl of Lincoln, at the French court, saw 'an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, wearie exelent', and a 'pastyme showed him by Italians players', and the French court paid 'Albert Ganasse, joueur de comedies' and his troupe for 'plusieurs comedies quilz ont representées par diverses fois devant sa dicte Majesté' [Baschet 1882, 41-2]. Some idea of the size of their foreign and domestic audiences is given by the fact that, on their return to Italy, the Gelosi company complained that the *stanze* in Genoa could only seat about 150 gentlemen [Ancona 1891/1971, 499; III.i]. Schrickx [1966; 1972; 1976a&b] has identified and published a number of documents which record the visits of Italian troupes to the Netherlands. The earliest of these was a thirteen month visit to Antwerp in 1576 of the *capocomico* Drusiano Martinelli, with a troupe of eight men and three women, notable for being the earliest record of Drusiano's brother Tristano, who later created the rôle of Harlequin [I.iii.d; II.iii.e; III.iii.d].

The *commedia dell'arte*'s introduction to Bavaria is both earlier and less straightforward than the way in which it reached the rest of Europe. Festival books suggest that already by 1568, less than a decade after the first definite records of professional *commedia dell'arte* performances in Italy itself, it was an established and popular feature at the Bavarian court. When Crown Prince Wilhelm of Bavaria (1548-1626) married Princess Renée of Lorraine in Munich in 1568, it contributed to the festivities in three contexts. Costumes based on those of stock *commedia* characters, notably the Venetian Magnifico, or merchant, and his servant Zanni, were used in masquerades, Magnifico and Zanni entertained together on several occasions as masked clowns, and on 8 March 1568 there was a full-length play.

The description of this play in Massimo Troiano's festival book, which came out in editions of 1568 (Italian language only) and 1569 (Italian versos and Catalan rectos) is generally acknowledged to be the earliest known comprehensive account of a complete commedia dell'arte performance [Troiano 1568, 183-8; 1569/1980, ff.146v-153r]. Heck, for example, defines it as 'an early (so far the earliest known) description of an improvised Italian comedy, or CdA-style entertainment' [1988, 37]. However, the precedence of the Munich performance is challenged by the 1565-66 travel diary of a Bavarian Prince. One version [Munich BHStA, FüSa T.XXVI, ff.1-84], partially published by Freyberg [1834, IV, 277-362] but officially missing since 1959, is cited by a number of nineteenth century authorities [Trautmann 1887a, 234-5; Ancona 1891/1971, 470; Sandberger 1894-5, III.i, 349-54]. I have located a longer version [Munich BHStA.GHA, Korr.Akt.924 = *Diary*] which is, as far as I know, cited only by the editor of a diary recording a journey of 1579 by the same Prince [Diemer 1984, 262].

The diary's description of a Florentine play of the commedia dell'arte type predates Troiano's by over two years and provides new evidence regarding the rise of the commedia dell'arte and its central character, the comic manservant Zanni, in Italy [III.ii]. It also links a range of Italian commedia dell'arte related entertainments of the mid 1560s, at the 1565-66 wedding festival of Florence and Ferrara, and elsewhere, to those at the Munich wedding festival of 1568 [Katritzky 1991; 1992; forthcoming].

I.ii.b The Munich wedding of 1568

The Munich wedding festival of 1568 was the occasion of several Zanni entertainments, including perhaps the best-known and much discussed of all such performances, which, as noted above, is generally defined as the earliest identifiable commedia dell'arte performance [Heck 1988, 37]. This wedding rivalled those of the great Italian courts in the lavishness of its cost (125,604 florins [Munich BHStA, HZA.13(1568)]), the splendour of its festivities, and the fullness of its documentation. The published festival books reflect the contrasting interests of their authors and patrons [Watanabe O'Kelly 1988, 196]. The Munich courtier Hans Wagner, who wrote the official account, concentrated on chivalrous preoccupations, notably tournaments and heraldry. The Munich court singer Massimo Troiano, concerned

with personal advancement, wrote an extensive Italian language description of the festivities, in which descriptions biased in favour of his professional involvement in the entertainment of the senses, through music, theatre and banquet, were supplemented with lengthy and flattering genealogical discourses. Heinrich Wirre's account emphasizes the contribution to the festivities of his patron, Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol. Archival material includes manuscript versions of some of this published material, as well as informal accounts and official documentation, including several items not noted in Leuchtmann's extensive footnotes and bibliography [Troiano 1569/1980] which I list and describe elsewhere [Katritzky 1992, 166].

The richly-illustrated festival books of Wagner and Wirre both depict Archduke Ferdinand of Austria's triumphal wagon, which, on 24 February 1568, opened a tournament parade [PLATES 18-19]. It was led by four riders. In Troiano's festival book they are merely:

quattro giudici mascarati, uestiti tutti da uecchi, con giubbe longhe, di scarlato, a due a due, con quattro lanze in mano, a cauallo a quattro bianchissimi caualli; in torno al carro erano quattro palafrenieri, uestiti di rosso [Troiano 1569/1980, f.85v].

Wagner and Wirre's prints show how close the costumes of these riders and footmen are to those of the commedia dell'arte servant-master pair. This is supported by Wagner's text, which describes them as:

vier auff weissen Hispanischen Pferden
in langen roten Scharlachen Röcken
in langen haaren und grawen Bärte
mit Venetianischen roten Huetlen
wie die *Magnifici* [...]
Neben dem Wagen sein vier in rot Atlasen Röcklein und Huetlein
und Morischen Schönparten gängen [Wagner 1568, f.40v].

Wagner also notes that the parade ends with:

etliche in langen roten Röcken
wie die *Magnifici* zugehn pflegen
hetten braite blawe Paret auff
neben inen loffen vier *Zani* auff Bergamatisch geklaidet [1568, f.41v].

Wirre describes these as:

Nit anderst wurdend Sy gndt do
wie ich wol hort Magnifico.
Blawe paret gar groß und brait

Ain yeder auff seim haupt hat trait [1568, f.40v].

He goes on to suggest that they included Archduke Ferdinand and his lieutenant Julio de Rivo, rather surprisingly, as Troiano here notes that:

poi sopraggiunsero sei zanni uestiti alla bergamasca, & uno magnifico, alla Venetiana: e tante cose ridicolose fecero, che per mirarle non posi piu cura alle altre sontuose mascarate, che dapoi giunsero [1569/1980, f.88v].

An eyewitness account in private correspondence [Katritzky 1992, 167], goes into considerable detail where it is describing familiar ground. Its failure to identify the costumes of the initial group as stock commedia dell'arte types, and complete omission of the concluding group, support the possibility that the characters Magnifico and Zanni were still very much a novelty in Munich in 1568.

The occurrences of Zanni and Magnifico costume discussed above have not previously been cited in connection with the commedia dell'arte, although Wagner and Wirre's prints of them are the only depictions of commedia-related costumes directly and exclusively of the Munich wedding. Any direct connection between the festivities of 1568 and the stair and ceiling frescoes of Trausnitz Castle, undoubtedly the earliest extensive painted iconographic records of the commedia dell'arte and frequently linked with Troiano's account, can be ruled out [PLATES 20-23; III.iv.d]. There has been much speculation as to the authorship and exact dating of these pictures by both theatre and art historians [III.iv.d]. A previously uncited manuscript document dating to 1761 precisely attributes and dates the now-destroyed sixteen scenes of the ceiling frieze, to the year 1576, and the local artist Christoph Schwarz, and establishes that they postdate the 1568 performance by some eight years [Munich BHStA, HR I Fasz.279/17a]. The thirty walls of almost life-size stock commedia dell'arte characters on a winding staircase were painted in the castle's Italian wing, whose construction was undertaken 1575-76. In all likelihood, the staircase was painted before the death of Duke Albrecht in 1579, when Wilhelm moved back to Munich to succeed him. The frescoes were certainly completed by 1584, by which time the staircase is referred to in court accounts as the *Narrnstieg* [Munich BHStA, HZA.30(1584) f.374v].

Wilhelm suffered from a religious melancholia which evidenced itself in such extreme piety that he became known as *der Fromme*, and he abdicated in 1597, when

his son Maximilian was mature enough to rule, retiring to nearly three decades of reclusive religious contemplation. Already in 1582, he notes:

ich nitt wie ettwan andre meines gleich zu Jägen, geselschafft, Spilen, Turniern, Dantzen, und was dgleich Khurzweil, lust hab [...] nach glegenhait Meiner Malincolisch nattu [Munich BHStA, FÜSa.418/II f.260v].

The two cycles of Landshut *commedia dell'arte* frescoes have to be judged not, as they have been up until now, as simple celebrations of Prince Wilhelm's love of Italian comedy, but in the light of his attitudes to religion and art, his repression of carnival Zannis [I.ii.c] and sponsorship of Jesuit theatre, and certainly in the context of the complete programme of frescoes commissioned for Landshut in the 1570s.

Several jewelled pendants [PLATE 24] by the Bavarian court goldsmith and entertainer Giovanni Battista Scolari have also been associated with the performance of the 1568, in which Scolari played the part of Zanni [Hackenbroch 1965]. But there is no reason to assume that Scolari drew exclusively on this event for his jewelled depictions of Zannis and Magnificos in Venetian gondolas [Katritzky 1991, 204-5 & plate II]. Clowning Zannis and Magnificos are noted on several further occasions apart from in the full-length play. During a banquet on the wedding day itself, 22 February 1568, 'ui nenne un Magnifico & un Zanne, che per bona pezza intertennero in gran risa li sublimi personaggi' [Troiano 1569/1980, f.68v]. The antics of six Zannis in Bergamasque clothes, accompanied by a Venetian Magnifico, stole the show at a masquerade [Troiano 1569/1980, f.88v, quoted above], and a Jesuit drama on Friday 27 February was followed by a banquet at which the ridiculous behaviour of three *commedia dell'arte* masks made the whole audience laugh:

Alla fine uenne un magnifico alla Venetiana, con due Zanni, che non solo cui l'intendeua smascellare dalle risa faceuano, ma anco quelli che parola non intendeuano, a ueder gli atti e gratia, accompagnate, con le uaghe, e ridicolose parole [Troiano 1569/1980, f.122v].

The full-length *commedia* play of 8 March is not noted by Wirre [1568]. Wagner allows it three lines:

Welsche Comedj. Nach welchem ain lustige und kurtzweilige Comedj in Italianischer sprach gehalten worden ist Und darnach hat sich jederman zu rhue gethon [1568, f.65r].

With the leader of the Munich court orchestra, the outstanding Flemish musician Orlandus Lassus (also known as Orlando di Lasso), Troiano 'trouato il soggetto, e tra ambidue composero le parole', and acted several of the main parts of what he calls this 'Comedia all'improuiso alla Italiana' [Troiano 1569/1980, ff.146v, 147v]. Following the prologue, given by Troiano in the guise of a Neapolitan peasant, a madrigal, composed by Lassus, was sung. In the first act Troiano, now as the nobleman Polidoro, takes leave of his mistress Camilla. She is joined by another admirer, the Venetian merchant Pantalone, played by Orlandus Lassus. His former servant, Zanni, finds him and volunteers to help him win Camilla, but she falls for Zanni instead. The second act, in which Camilla is wooed by both Pantalone, disguised as Zanni, and by a Spanish captain, Troiano's third character, is preceded and followed by musical interludes. In the third act, Polidoro returns, and after much interchange with Pantalone, Zanni and the Spaniard, including a comic battle, a favourite *commedia dell'arte lazzi*, rejects Camilla in Zanni's favour. The comedy, distinguished by an abundance of music and acrobatic horseplay, in both of which Lassus played a central part, concludes with Italian dancing to celebrate Zanni's wedding. Depictions of Zanni and Pantalone are discussed in section III.ii, and of many of the other typical *commedia* stock types in the Munich play in section III.iii.

Troiano's account shows that masks, costumes, props, scenery and experienced actors were all on hand to satisfy, at a day's notice, Prince Wilhelm's whim for an impromptu *commedia dell'arte* performance at his wedding. It thus shows that this type of entertainment must have had, by the beginning of 1568, an established tradition at the Bavarian court. Yet there is a continuing lack of evidence concerning this tradition, and its origins. This Italian comedy of 1568 took place outside Italy, and involved an all-male cast of courtiers, rather than one of the mixed itinerant troupes of professional actors commonly associated with *commedia dell'arte* performances. But Troiano offers unprecedented detail for such an early date.

For Paule Guioimar, the presence of *commedia* characters in 1568 'apparaît comme le simple choix d'un élément comique emprunté au théâtre vénitien, plutôt qu'au théâtre comique allemand, inexistant à cette époque' [Guoimar 1985, 147]. She sees nothing more unusual in *commedia* masks appearing at a German festival as early as the 1560s, than in the 1580s, by which time they are common all over Europe, and

interprets the influence of the Italian comedy, and the Italian stage in general, on early German festivals, as being purely literary:

Avant la Guerre de Trente Ans [...] la fête allemande [...] demeure cependant traditionnelle et ne semble pas suivre l'Italie dans ses développements scéniques [...] l'influence italienne n'est pas véritable; nous y reconnaissons surtout une succession d'emprunts ponctuels, conscients, intentionnels, choisis et non reçus; ils son littéraires. [Guojmar 1985, 153, 157]

Despite the reservations of scholars such as Guiomar, quantifiable Italian influences on the appearance of the commedia dell'arte masks at the Munich festival can be identified from documents such as the 1565-66 travel diary of Ferdinand of Bavaria.

I.ii.c Ferdinand's journey of 1565-66

On 20 November 1565, over two years before Wilhelm's wedding, his younger brother Ferdinand (1550-1608, [Lossen 1887]) led a party from Munich to Florence, where he arrived in December 1565 to represent his parents Albrecht and Anna of Bavaria at the wedding of Anna's sister Johanna of Austria to Duke Francesco de'Medici. Travelling by horse, sledge, boat and carriage, the party re-entered Munich on the afternoon of 2 February 1566 [*Diary*, f.120v; PLATES 25-6]. The diary and associated papers relating to this journey provide previously unrecognized sources for several key events associated with Italian renaissance festivals. These include Johanna's royal entry into Florence, two performances of *La Cofanaria* and its *intermedi*, a Ferrarese running at the quintain, and a Mantuan comedy with *intermedi* in honour of Eleanor, Barbara and Johanna, the three Habsburg sisters of Ferdinand's mother who married Italian dukes [Katritzky 1991; 1992; forthcoming].

Diemer [1984, 263] suggests that the diary is the work of Ferdinand himself. It seems to me, from indications given by a number of archival documents, that the diary was more likely to have been wholly or largely dictated by Hans Jacob Fugger (1516-1575), a high official at the Bavarian court. Documents relating to the diary confirm that he and his son Friedrich officiated as Ferdinand's steward and cupbearer on the Italian journey, and that they took with them a scribe [*Diary*, ff.iv-2r, 6r], and the Munich court accounts record a payment to 'des Fuggers schraibers von Beschreibung der Florentinischen Raiß' [Munich BHStA, HZA.11(1566) f.294r].

The diary substantiates the evidence of contemporary iconographic records, which indicate that commedia-related costumes were a popular feature of both private and public Italian carnival celebrations [PLATES 16, 27-9]. It describes a performance of the commedia dell'arte type which predates the Munich wedding performance of 1568 by over two years, and offers new information concerning the origins of Zanni, both in terms of costume and characteristics, and as a stage rôle. But at least as valuable for an understanding of the influence of Italian entertainment, both at festivals and elsewhere, on the commedia dell'arte-related entertainments at the Munich wedding festival, is the diary's comprehensive overview of north Italian princely and popular diversions, and particularly entertainments involving the appearance of acrobats and comic master-servant pairs, previously experienced by members of the Bavarian court. The diary's descriptions of such diversions are proof that the Bavarian court was already familiar with the performances of entertainers related to the commedia dell'arte, notably professional acrobats and the two characters at the heart of the Italian comedy: Zanni and Magnifico. These two are described in just the same three contexts in which they were to feature at Prince Wilhelm's wedding: those of a complete performance, the otherwise unaccompanied comic servant-master duo, and separate masquerade costumes.

The diary's references to acrobats are relevant to the early commedia dell'arte for two reasons. Acrobatic skills feature strongly in some of the earliest troupes of professional touring entertainers [III.iii.c]. Additionally, the term *Springer* sometimes indicated multi-talented performers who could offer dancing, acrobatic and musical skills as well as comic acting, a not uncommon combination among late renaissance entertainers. For example, the Bavarian court *Springer* are generally just recorded by name in documents, as in a list of sacked personnel of 20 February 1575: 'Spring. Venturin, Johan Mario, Alexand., Silvester' [Munich BHStA, FüSa.364/II f.106v]. But the chance survival of a handwritten note of 29 September 1573, from Prince Wilhelm to his steward, Christoff von Rainsdorff, reveals that their performances depended on typical commedia dell'arte props, namely Zanni costumes, masks and musical instruments [Munich BHStA, FüSa 772n; I.iii.b]. Ferdinand's diary records acrobats in Trent, Bologna and Florence, each time before a private audience. On 29 November, while Ferdinand and his retinue were resting in Trent, several acrobats, evidently representing a troupe of travelling performers, requested

permission to demonstrate their skills [*Diary*, ff.42v-43r; Katritzky 1992, 152]. The chronicler gives no details of this performance, but the acrobats belonged to a professional troupe, and may have been *buffoni* whose repertoire included improvised plays.

On 11 December, after a morning banquet in a private house in Bologna, the host, Camillo Fantuzzi, 'hat [...] lassen etlich khomen, die gar hurtig auff's Roß gesprungen, und gedantz haben' [*Diary*,^o f.69r]. Acrobats also followed a commedia-related play and banquet in the house of Paulo Giordano Orsini (husband of Isabella de'Medici [*Diary*, f.83v]), on 30 December: 'Nach dem Nachtmal hat gedachter S. *Paul* sein springer der seer guet ist, lassen sehen, der hatt schone spring than. Nach welchem man hat anfahren zue tantzen' [*Diary*, f.94r].

The diarist also reveals previous familiarity with the repertoire of *gaugkler*, or acrobatic street performers, perhaps gained from visits to Bavaria of touring Italian troupes, in his description of the *matachin*, or armed acrobatic *moresca* dance, with which, according to Grazzini [1566, 11], exotically-costumed furies ended the fourth *intermedio* of *La Cofanaria*:

Zum 3. Act sein etlich Kriegsleuth mit ainem fenderich auch under dem Erdreich herauff khomen, dan die *scena* ist ettwas erhocht gewest, unnd die fallen darnach gmacht, das sie sich fein auff, und glatt wider zuegethan. Dise Kriegsleuth haben erstens auch ain *Music* gehalten /f.90v / mit singen, Pusaunen, Zinkh, unnd grossen fleüthen. Nachmaln sein Ire 4 mit plossen wehrn zuesamen treten, und ain gefecht gmacht, wie die gaugkler pflegen zuethuen, das sie hin und wider gesprungen, und hinden und vornen ain ander an die wehrn gschlag. Inn welchem Ir ainer ain Trumbl geriert, unnd Lerman geschlagen. Seind sie zue baiden seitten wider darvon geloffen. Und sich hin weckh gethan. [*Diary*, ff.90r-v]

It is not clear whether the Trent acrobats also presented improvised plays or whether Paulo Giordano Orsini's acrobat had also taken part in the commedia dell'arte performance. But the diary does indicate that some acrobats, such as the one in Florence, were single performers attached to a particular nobleman, while others, such as those at Trent, travelled, like professional players, in large independent troupes with ambitious itineraries and repertoires, and relied, at least for part of their income, on the patronage of visiting dignitaries such as Ferdinand and his party.

Zanni and Magnifico are the two stock rôles who joined forces to become the central masked servant-master pair of the commedia dell'arte [III.ii]. Ferdinand's

diary records them in Florence, Verona and Ferrara. Magnificos feature without Zannis in a Florentine *mascara* on the evening of 26 December [*Diary*, f.92r]. The possibility that Italian masquerade costumes seen by Ferdinand in 1565-66 influenced those of his brother's wedding is one explanation for the comparable use of the Magnifico costume during the Munich wedding festivities discussed in the previous section. A dated print of 1588 may illustrate a later use of commedia-related costumes in a Munich court masquerade [PLATE 30]. The diarist observed Magnifico and Zanni form an unaccompanied performing duo on the evening of 4 December. At the White Horse Inn, Verona, where Ferdinand and his party lodged as common paying guests:

sein auch allerlay Musicj khomen, gleichwol nix sonders furtreffenlichs, allain ist under andern auff 4 diß zu Abents ain Venediger mit sein Knecht /f.50r/ Zane khomen, dabej der Zima und all and schlaffen gen. Dan wer sie gehort, vermaint, man khindts nit Pesser noch werckhlich gedenkh. [*Diary*, ff.49v-50r]

Evidently professionals, the diarist's emphasis suggests that their main appeal was not physical but verbal, and thus that their presentation was not just acrobatic but some form of rudimentary acting. As discussed in the previous section, Zanni and Pantalone join forces to entertain the guests in similar fashion at the Bavarian wedding: at the end of a tournament parade, during the wedding banquet and after a Jesuit play [Troiano 1569/1980, ff.68v, 88v, 122v; Wagner 1568, f.41v; Wirre 1568, f.40v]. No doubt surprised by the lack of recognition accorded to his status in Verona, then under Venetian jurisdiction, on his journey to Florence, the Prince and his party avoided the city on the way back, even though the local officials had, for the purpose of welcoming him, already 'ain grosse Preparation gemacht Ir g. stattlich entgegen zue ziehen, dieselb auch zu vereren, und Ir ain *Comedj* zuehalten' [Munich BHStA.GHA, Korr.Akt.924 f.111v].

In Ferrara, Ferdinand stayed at the Castello Estense, as the guest of his mother's sister Barbara of Habsburg, and her new husband Duke Alfonso II d'Este, still celebrating their wedding, just before that of Johanna in Florence. On the evening of his arrival, 12 January 1566, and on several subsequent occasions, Duke Alfonso took Ferdinand and members of his party into Ferrara to join the Zanni street revels:

damit aber unnser gn. herr sech /f.105v/ was alhie der brauch wer, so hett er Inn der Statt außgeschickht und erfarn, das man an ain Ortt ain fesst hielt, und dantzet. Also het er klaider verordnet, wie hie

gebruechig wer und die *Zane* giengen. Wollt er und der *Don Alfonso* mit Ir g. geen. Und sie mocht auch ain od. zwen darzue nemen. Wolten sie sich Inn ainer Camer aunthuen. Und auff ain Gotschj an dasselb Ort farn, und sehen wie man dantzet, und was fur Maskaren hinein khomen. Also hat unnser gn.er herr den Hofmaister und sein Son den Schenckhen mit gnomen. Und haben sie fünf Sacktrager klaidler anglegt. Und schonpart furgethan, und hindten durch ain gehaime Thür hinaußgangen und zum fesst gefarn. Allda bis Inn zwo stundt zue gesehen wie allerlay Momereyen von Weib und Man hineinkhomen, und gedantzt haben. Und ist wol zue sehen gewest 3 klaine und 2 grosse Sacktrager Inn Schiffer hosen und leinralge [?illegible] Päckhl, sampt Mäntln von grobem tuech und kemetfeger huetlen daruber mit ainander daher ziehen. Alls sie nun wider anhaimbs khomen, so vast umb 9 Uhr Inn die nacht gewest. [*Diary*, ff.105r-v]

Many pictures appear to illustrate comparable late sixteenth century Zanni street revels, such as several drawings by Schwoll [PLATES 27, 31-2]. As appeared to the chronicler to be the custom in these parts, all five participants were masked and disguised in Zanni outfits provided by the Duke, and the diary's description of this costume is of great significance [III.ii.c]. The evening was evidently a success. Despite rain and snow, and other attractions including a showy running at the quintain with a joust and sword-dancing, the party paid further visits, each time disguised, to the *Mascarn da Zane*, or carnival celebrations, on 13, 14, 15 and 16 January [*Diary*, ff.106r-7v; Katritzky 1992, 154-5].

The Bavarian account implies that the use of the Zanni outfit as a carnival disguise was a time-honoured Ferrarese custom. But the earliest previously-known documentary mention of Zannis in Ferrara is in a letter of 1566 from Bernardo Canigiani to the Medici which is actually referring to Prince Ferdinand's visit, and to the same events as those described in the diary entries of mid-January 1566 quoted above. Solerti and Lanza suggest that this letter notes a specific professional troupe who played at the Ferrarese court:

in una lettera del 18 gennaio 1565 cominciano ad apparire gli "Zanni", ma non sappiamo quali e quanti comici fossero [...] questi Zanni pare abbiano fatto lunga dimora a Ferrara [...] soltanto il 28 luglio 1567 si congedò la compagnia [1891, 155-6].

Re-examination of the original document raises doubts concerning this interpretation:

[dated 18.1.1565=1566] Sabato ci arrivo il Principe di Baviera per il ritorno di cortj, a mezo giorno et ci s'è trattenuto à forza di Zannj et

di pallate di neve pur di mano di facchinj et nó di getildonne [...] Duc bav sono arrivò la di v. e. t. d. 15 et subito trovaj il S.or Dó Franc.o stracco ancora comé mè della vegli di hiersera, pur era già in Zanatosi, il quale con u.a Hylarita grandiss.a. [Florence ASF, MdP 2889 f.169v]

Earlier letters of Bernardo Canigiani in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, not noted by Solerti and Lanza, confirm these doubts. They establish that the Ferrarese carnival was a period of licensed revelry and masquerade which lasted from St. Stephen's Day (26 December) to the beginning of Lent, and that typical disguise in all strata of society during this period was the wearing of heavy cloaks, or the costume of porters or Zannis [Florence ASF, MdP 2888]. Canigiani appears to confirm the impression given by Ferdinand's diary, that these Ferrarese Zannis were not professional actors but locals and members of the court in Zanni costume who took to the streets to join in with traditional carnival festivities. Although nothing comparable is recorded at the Munich wedding of 1568, public Zanni-dancing was to become such a well-established Munich carnival custom that by the 1580s Duke Wilhelm made repeated strenuous efforts to restrict the more exuberant excesses of this practice. A decree of 29 January 1583 encountered swift and powerful opposition, as recorded in a further handwritten decree, also unpublished, dated 30 January 1583, which offers a uniquely detailed insight into late renaissance carnival practice, and the extent to which Munich carnival customs had become Italianized [Munich BHStA, FüSa 772n, ff.8-9].

Of particular relevance to the commedia dell'arte are Wilhelm's observations concerning the excesses of the Zannis, and his consequent restrictions of Zanni clothing to the nobility, the ban on cross-dressing and ecclesiastical costume, and the restrictions on the wearing of masks in private houses [Section III]. Late renaissance carnival iconography has many examples of mummers bearing torches or lanterns, as outlined in this decree, and also of mummers behaving in the sort of uproarious and socially unacceptable ways it tried to limit [PLATES 32-6]. Rarely, as in plate 36, they are depicted in church costume. Updated versions of Duke Wilhelm's decree exist for 1584, 1586 and 1588, when a further attempt was made to ban such carnival practice altogether in Munich.

Duke Guglielmo of Mantua, as well as supporting amateur actors, was one of the great early patrons of the professional companies. Nicoll [1931, 301] cites a letter

of 1568 which notes his patronage of the companies of Pantalone, probably Giulio Pasquati of Padua, and Ganassa, the famous Zanni-player and *capocomico* Giovanni Alberto Naseli. But, despite Trautmann's [1887a, 234] indications to the contrary, Ferdinand had to be content with music and dancing during his visit to Mantua, unlike the Habsburg Princesses Johanna and Barbara, who during their stay at the Gonzaga court from 26 to 29 November of the same year had, in addition to music and dances, been entertained with a hunt and a comedy [*Diary*, f.56r]. The reception of Francesco de'Medici's bride, the Habsburg Princess Johanna, at Mantua, some days before the visit of Ferdinand, is described on what are now paginated as folios 59-62, a fold which appears not to have been part of Ferdinand's original diary. The comedy the Princess saw seems, from the fact that it was embellished with elaborate *intermedi*, more likely to have been performed by Leone de'Sommi's Jewish troupe, in permanent residence at the court of Mantua, than by visiting professionals.

The diary notes four occasions in Florence on which Ferdinand accompanied members of the Medici family to comedies. Those of 21 and 27 December, held at unspecified locations in the town, are not described, perhaps because the diarist was not invited [*Diary*, ff.82v, 92v]. The entry for 26 December, concerning an impressive and showy five-act *comedi* sponsored by the Medici, and held in a palace, with a prologue, and an *intermedio* between each act, was evidently the performance of Francesco D'Ambra's *La Cofanaria* in the Palazzo Vecchio, known to scholars through extensive contemporary Italian sources [*Diary*, ff.88r-92r; Katritzky, forthcoming]. The fourth performance, a *comedi* held at twenty-three hours Italian time (=one hour before the Italian twenty-four hour clock started, generally at or around sunset [Talbot 1985]), on 30 December in the private house of Paolo Giordano Orsini, is described thus:

Nach sollichem ist man wider Inn der Statt spaciern zogen, und umb 23 das ist auff Tuetsch zwischen 3 und 4 Uhr zum *Paul Jordan* Inn sein hauß khomen /f.94r/ alda man ain kurzweilige *Comedj* gehalten. Nach wellicher man das nachtmal daselbs eingnomen. Unnd obwol dise *Comedj* an der kostlichait oder den *Intermedys* der andern gar nit gleich ist gewest, Wie dan an der Zuerichtung auch nit, so ist sie dannoch vil kurzweiliger und lächerlich gewest, weder die Im palatz. Dan die materi ist gewest von zwen Jung gsellen, so gebuelt haben, und von zwaiien Venedigern mit Irn *Zane* so auch der metzen Knecht haben sein wolln, unnd gar guet bossen gerissen haben, bis es zue letzt mit baiden Jungen heurat abgeben, und die alten zwen auff der

hochzeit auff Venedigisch gedantzt haben. Nach volendung der *Comedj* ist man zum nachtmal gangen. [*Diary*, ff.93v-94r]

The diary's synopsis is that of a typical commedia dell'arte scenario. Two bachelors succeed in marrying girls of dubious virtue, but only after the usual complications, involving two Venetians with their Zannis, who show off their tricks by playing off their ageing Venetian masters against the two girls. It is possible that some fully-scripted comedy written by a playwright was 'improved' with song and dance routines, either amateur or professional. But the thinness of the plot, and the fact that the Zannis played 'excellent tricks', and the two old men danced in the Venetian manner at the wedding seems to indicate improvisation, the hallmark of the professional actor. Trautmann [1887a, 234-5] quotes from the diary's accounts of these two performances but, despite its obvious importance, the diary has not been cited by modern theatre historians.

Although the diary's description of the Florentine 'scenario' is short, some comparison with the Munich performance of 1568 is possible. Both plays are of the commedia dell'arte type, and both end with a wedding dance. The Florentine play is based around eight parts: two Zanni-Magnifico pairs and two pairs of *innamorati*. The Munich play has only one of each of these pairs, but introduces six further characters: a prologue, a servant for the *innamorato*, and the French servant of his absent brother, a maid for the *innamorata*, and a Spanish captain and his servant. In Florence, the *innamorati* are paired off with each other, in Munich, Camilla is left to marry Zanni.

No other documentation concerning the Florentine performance is known, although it has proved possible to identify a depiction of a similar occasion of around this time which also features entertainers in commedia costume. It is a print after Stradanus, a Medici-employed Flemish artist who was a prominent member of Giorgio Vasari's artistic team for the 1565-66 Florentine wedding [PLATE 29]. Here the seated diners are entertained by three masked players in the right background, a *dottore* and fan-bearing courtesan flanking a Zanni. The diary's description of this Florentine play offers the clearest proof yet of the existence of full-length commedia dell'arte plays before 1568. Clearly, it is not itself the source of the Munich plot. But it may not be coincidental that two years after Ferdinand witnessed an impromptu Italian comedy at a Medici wedding festival, his brother Wilhelm made a last-minute request

for a similar entertainment at his wedding. Ferdinand's evident enjoyment of Zanni comedies may well have stimulated⁴ the Bavarian court's interest, the adoption of Zanni costumes as a popular Bavarian carnival disguise, and perhaps even his brother's desire to enjoy the Italian comedy at his own wedding.

I.ii.d Other influences on Bavaria

Valuable as the evidence in Ferdinand's diary is, it is only one of a complex group of relevant influences. Previously suggested reasons for the appearance of the *commedia dell'arte* at the court of Munich in 1568 focus on three possibilities. First, unspecified influences from the Italian and especially Venetian or Neapolitan stage have been suggested [Guiomar 1985]. The second hypothesis is that it was introduced in the same way as it was to be in France, England, and Spain in the following decade, namely by visiting actors. The third area which has received attention is the two 'directors' of the full length Munich play of 1568, the Munich court musicians Massimo Troiano and Orlandus Lassus. Until specific influences are identified and analyzed, as I have done with Ferdinand's diary, the first of these possibilities is too vague to be helpful. The second, that Wilhelm's father invited a Venetian troupe to perform at his son's wedding, and that it was only as a result of the death of one of their number in a duel that Munich courtiers took over some of the rôles [Hackenbroch 1965, 204], is unsupported by documentary evidence. Furthermore, the account in Troiano's festival book records that the performance took place at only a day's notice, in response to a sudden whim of Wilhelm's [1569/1980, f.147v]. Concerning the third possibility, Troiano's name features in the court accounts from the beginning of 1568, only weeks before Wilhelm's wedding, and it seems unlikely that he had been in Munich long enough to have played any significant rôle in establishing the *commedia dell'arte* tradition there [Eitner 1900-04, IX, 459-60; Troiano 1569/1980, 428-64]. Troiano's promising career was cut short in 1569 when he disappeared after being implicated in the murder of a fellow court musician [Eitner 1891]. The most widely-held view is that it was Orlandus Lassus, familiar with the Italian comedy from Naples, where he was from 1549 to 1551, who brought it to Munich [Pirrota 1954, 291; Schöne 1964, 175; Ridder (1971), 56-7; Katritzky 1992 & forthcoming].

There are two problems with this. There are no definite records concerning the *commedia dell'arte* in Naples, or indeed anywhere at all, which go back as far as 1551. Lassus' involvement is of unquestionable importance, but Troiano's account shows that Lassus must have kept closely in touch with the enormous strides made by the comic Italian stage between mid-century and 1568. As well as the part of Pantalone, in which he received great acclaim in 1568, Lassus could play that of the servant Zanni 'tanto agratiato, e saputo, che par che sia stato allo studio cinquanta anni alla ualle di Bergamo' [Troiano 1569/1980, f.147v]. It is unthinkable that, without any influences postdating those received in Naples nearly two decades previously, Lassus could have developed key *commedia dell'arte* routines in independent parallel with the professional troupes beginning to make their mark in Italy from around 1567 onwards. Direct influences on Lassus himself since leaving Naples in 1551, and almost certainly also since his arrival in Munich in 1556, surely shaped the acting skills he was able to call on in 1568. Two factors need to be evaluated if a balanced picture is to be built up of the influences which may have played a part in establishing the *commedia dell'arte* in Munich by the late 1560s. These are the rôle of cultural exchanges between Italy and Bavaria in the years immediately preceding the 1568 wedding, and that of the participants of the 1568 play.

Massimo Troiano's account of the play of 1568 notes the participation of seven actors, whom he names, and a number of unnamed singers and instrumentalists, including five string players [Troiano 1569/1980, ff.147v-150v; I.iii.a]. Carlo Livizzano was, like Troiano, a tenor in the Munich court choir, led by Orlandus Lassus. Judging from archival records, he too joined around the beginning of 1568, and so is, for the same reason as Troiano, an unlikely source for the *commedia dell'arte* at the Munich court. Troiano also names the Marchese di Malaspina, probably one of the page boys frequently referred to but almost never individually named in the Munich court records. A kinsman, Marchese Octavio di Malaspina, had been present at Prince Ferdinand's entry into Mantua in January 1566, and later hunted with him [*Diary*, ff.109v-110r, 111r]. As a young page boy, Malaspina too is unlikely to have been a major factor in introducing the *commedia dell'arte* to Bavaria.

Also named by Troiano are two Italians from Trent. Concerning one of them, Giorgio d'Ori, nothing is known. The other, Giovanni Battista Scolari, was a Bavarian court goldsmith from 1567 onwards. He is mentioned in a number of documents in Munich archives and his activity as a Bavarian court jeweller has been researched by Hackenbroch [1965]. Like Troiano and Livizzano, Scolari moved with Prince Wilhelm to the court he set up in Landshut after his marriage. In March 1568, he played the part of Zanni to Lassus's *Pantalone*, and his court duties at Landshut in the 1570s certainly included comic acting as well as the production of a number of jewels depicting *commedia dell'arte* characters in Venetian gondolas [PLATE 24]. But none of the surviving documents linking him to the Italian comedy predate 1568, and his rôle, if any, in introducing this type of theatre to Munich, is unknown.

The seventh actor, Ercole Terzio, was the son of Lucio Terzio, the oldest of six surviving members of a group of violinists from Bergamo, employed as chamber musicians at the Munich court since around 1560 [Eitner 1900-04, IX, 382; Lea 1934, I, 7n.2]. This group of violinists almost certainly provided the five string players involved in the performance of 1568. In 1568, Ercole seems to have been a teenager who had been in Munich since early childhood, and thus could hardly have learnt to act in Italy. His Bergamo relations are the most obvious source for his acting skills, in which case they could also have provided a focus for *commedia dell'arte* activities in Munich, and a means by which Orlandus Lassus kept in touch with the latest developments on the Italian comic stage.

Surviving archival records, notably the Munich court accounts, but also letters such as an undated one from Cerbonio Besutio, who died in 1579, detailing his expenses for a journey to visit his family in Bergamo [Munich BHStA.GHA, Korr.Akt.1712 D5], document this group of musicians. They build up a picture of the Bergamo violinists as a stable, identifiable, closely-interrelated group of secular Italian performers who settled in Munich permanently around 1560, but maintained lifelong contacts with Italy. They dominated a fluctuating, semi-autonomous group of court chamber musicians, around eight in 1568, for several decades. The possibility that the regular professional duties of the Munich court chamber musicians included acting as well as music-making receives support from their close kinship with Ercole Terzio. The Bergamo violinists offer a previously-unrecognized factor

in the search to identify the performers who contributed towards establishing the *commedia dell'arte* in Munich.

Other cultural exchanges between Italy and Bavaria in the years immediately preceding the Munich wedding include a visit to Bavaria by the renowned musician Alessandro Striggio, who came from the Florentine court in 1567 [Sandberger 1895, 73; Butchart 1982]. Both a *divertimento* he composed in that year, and the Munich wedding comedy of 1568 have recently again been associated with the earliest phase of the madrigal comedy [Detenbeck 1989, 59-68], and some degree of cross-influence between Striggio and Lassus in 1567 is surely possible. During this period, Wilhelm did not go to Italy, and Lassus only once, to Venice and Ferrara in 1567, but Italian troupes are known to have visited a number of Bavarian cities before 1568. Little is known about their repertoires, and there are no records of definite performances in Munich, although many players of unspecified nationality receive payment, such as *ettlichen Gaugglern, spilleuten* and *springer* [Munich BHStA, HZA 6(1561) f.360r; 7(1562) f.376r; 10(1565) f.326r], and Bavarian courtiers could have seen them when they toured neighbouring towns and courts, as recorded in archival records of cities such as Nördlingen, where Anthonien of Bolzano and five Venetian players performed in 1549, Bartholome of Venice and his five men in 1559 and Johan of Mantua and four companions in 1560 [Trautmann 1885, 67]. A number of contemporary pictures, possibly including plate 37, may depict such performances.

I.ii.e Rome

Related to the *commedia* performance of 30 December 1565 described in Ferdinand's diary is a poem by the Florentine poet Grazzini. His only early dated poem referring to *commedia* masks is his well-known *Canto di Zanni e di Magnificchi* of 1559 [Grazzini 1559, 461-3]. But Grazzini wrote at least one further early poem in praise of the Zanni actors. Included in a list he made of his own writings, in September 1566, is the title *In lode di Zanni, e del Magnifico Commediat*, almost certainly his poem *A.M. Giovambatista Altoviti in lode di zanni* [Grazzini (ed. Verzone) 1882, 521-4]. It is likely that the pope referred to towards its end is the anti-theatrical Pius V, who promoted the Florentine churchman Altoviti to high office weeks after his election in January 1566, news of which reached Ferdinand on 9 January 1566, in Bologna [Diary, f.103r]. If so, then its reference to 'questo verno' dates this long

capitolo quite precisely to early 1566. This dating is supported by a mention of Varchi (1502-65) which suggests that he had recently died: 'Varchi, che ne dica male'. Unless there was more than one Zanni company in Florence during the carnival season 1565-66, then the one featured in this poem is almost certainly that which acted before Prince Ferdinand on 30 December 1565.

Grazzini's indication that this troupe prefers to remain in Florence, and will return to Rome only when the Pope's attitude towards them softens, suggests that the regular base of these players was Rome. Paolo Giordano Orsini, at whose house the comedy of 30 December was presented, was a Roman nobleman. A kinsman, Troilo Orsini, was the only ambassador sent by the Bavarian ruling family's Italian relatives to Wilhelm's wedding [Troiano 1569/1980, f.10v]. As Duke of Bracciano and Marchese dell'Anguillara, Paolo Giordano Orsini may have been related to another Roman whom contemporary documents reveal to have been closely linked to the very beginning of the professional Zanni comedies. He was the poet Giovan'Andrea Anguillara (1517-72), known to have been at the Medici court in the early 1560s [Mutini 1961], and mentioned in Giorgio Vasari's 1568 account of the life of Battista Franco. This includes a description of Anguillara's acting troupe. While clearly still amateur, it was financially dependent not on a rich patron or its own private funds, but on takings from the paying public:

Mentre adunque che attendeva Battista a disegnare in Roma, Messer Giovann'Andrea dall'Anguillara, uomo in alcuna sorte di poesie veramente raro, avea fatto una compagnia di diversi begl'ingegni e facea fare nella maggior sala di Santo Apostolo una ricchissima scena et apparato per recitare comedie di diversi autori a gentiluomini, signori e gran personaggi, et avea fatti fare gradi per [II, 591] diverse sorti di spettatori, e p<er> i cardinali et altri gran prelati, accomodate alcune stanze donde p<er> gelosie potevano senza esser veduti, vedere et udire. E p<er> ch  nella detta compagnia erano pittori, architetti, scultori et uomini che avevano a recitare e fare altri ufficii, a Battista et all'Amannato fu dato cura, essendo fatti di quella brigata, di far la scena et alcune storie et ornamenti di pitture, le quali condusse Battista, con alcune statue che fece l'Amannato, tanto bene, che ne fu sommamente lodato. Ma p<er> ch  la molta spesa in q<ue>l luogo sup<er>ava l'entrata, furono forzati M<esser> Giovann'Andrea e gl'altri levare la p<ro>spettiva e gl'altri ornamenti di Santo Apostolo e condurgli in strada Giulia nel tempio nuovo di S. Biagio, dove avendo Battista di nuovo accomodato ogni cosa, si recitarono molte comedie con incredibile sodisfazione del popolo e

cortigiani di Roma, e di qui poi ebbono origine i comedianti che vanno attorno chiamati i Zanni. [Vasari 1568/1967, 427-8]

Both Orsini and Anguillara played an important rôle in the early development of the Italian comedy. Ferdinand's diary does not clarify the exact relationship between them, let alone a possible connection between the commedia performance of 1565 and Anguillara's players of around mid-century. But it is perhaps significant that *Lachrimoso Lamento [...] in [...] Morte di Zan Panza di pegora, alias Simon Comico Geloso* (Venice, 1585), which laments the death of Simone da Bologna, the great Gelosi company's Zanni, mentions Anguillara, while in 1587, two years after Paolo Giordano Orsini's death, the Gelosi's Dottor Gratiano dedicated *Le cento e quindici conclusioni in ottaua Rima del plusquamperfetto Dottr Gratiano Partesana da Francolin Comico Geloso* to Orsini's teenage son Virginio [Pandolfi 1957-61, I, 220; II, 13]. In identifying the Roman nobleman Paolo Giordano Orsini as an early patron of the *comici*, the diary also adds to the growing body of evidence which suggests that Rome could have played a more important part in Zanni's assimilation onto the professional stage than has previously been recognized.

Magni [1926/27, 111-118] and Povoledo [1975] have amply demonstrated that Zanni as a type, his personality, costume and earliest players, originate in Venice. This work is taken one step further by scholars such as Decroisette, who has:

ne [...] plus aucun doute, à présent, que l'apparition de la commedia all'improvviso est étroitement liée à l'activité des 'bouffons' vénitiens [1985, 75].

Yet emphasis on Venice and Naples by scholars such as Schöne [1964, 175] and Ridder [(1971), 56-7] has undoubtedly obscured the rôle of Rome in the development of the commedia dell'arte as a stage form, and specifically the adoption of the Zanni-Magnifico partnership as the comic 1-length plays. This is particularly significant for the Munich wedding performance of 1568. Its most talented and illustrious player, Orlandus Lassus, visited Venice only once before 1568, in May 1567. But in 1551, aged about twenty-one, Lassus moved from Naples to Rome. He stayed there for three years around the very time that players in Rome, described by Vasari, Grazzini and Du Bellay, and mentioned in documents published by Re [1914] and Bonanni [1980/1982], were developing the earliest recorded entertainments relating to the commedia dell'arte. Indeed, Lassus' first Roman patron

was Bishop Altoviti, the Florentine to whom Grazzini dedicated his poem in praise of the Zanni actors.

I.ii.f Summary

Ferdinand's diary does not entirely settle the question of whether or not the *commedia dell'arte* existed in its complete form before 1568. But it is rich in evidence regarding the spread of Zannis, and the Zanni-Magnifico partnership, in northern Italy in the mid-1560s. This evidence supports the view that all year round professional theatre originated in a fusion between the skills of the professional *buffone*, carnival street improvisers and the amateur stage, which first successfully came together in Italy, in the tricks of the *commedia dell'arte* Zanni. It confirms that, less than a decade after Grazzini and du Bellay admired Rome-based Magnificos and Zannis, these central masks of the Italian comedy were commonplace at the comic stages, public carnival festivities and private masked balls of Italy.

The diary also confirms that the real-life inspiration for Zanni's personality and costume was mid-sixteenth century Bergamasque peasants adjusting to the lifestyle of Venetian servants and porters. A further source for Zanni costume is identified, in the loose trouser-suit of the late renaissance sailor [III.ii.c]. New perspectives are opened up on accepted views concerning the origins of Zanni as a stage character [III.ii], and the spread of the *commedia dell'arte* across the Alps in the 1560s, and a clear link is provided between Italian Zanni entertainments of the mid-1560s and the so-called 'first' *commedia dell'arte* performance.

The skills acquired by Lassus, both during and after his time in Naples, the other actors involved in the 1568 performance and Bergamo chamber instrumentalists, and cultural exchanges between Bavaria and Italy in the years immediately preceding the Munich wedding, notably those recorded in Ferdinand's travel diary of 1565-66, are all of relevance in assessing how the *commedia dell'arte* diffused across the Alps to Bavaria. This is a question which cannot be answered by invocation of some vague unquantifiable osmosis from the comic Venetian or Neapolitan stage, or even by the discovery of any one definitive factor, however compelling, in isolation, but only in the context of an accurate picture of the actual performers and events of the *commedia dell'arte*'s earliest years as an independent stage form, pieced together from the surviving written and iconographic documents.

I.iii Stock types and players of the *commedia dell'arte*I.iii.a Introduction

Many professional players became known by their own individual stage name. By the late 1560s the more popular of these stage personae, largely based on material borrowed from fully-scripted comedies written by playwrights, and from the popular comic tradition, formed the basis for the stock characters of the *commedia dell'arte*. According to Lea [1934, I, 17] 'the personages of the *Commedia dell'arte* group themselves as parents, servants, lovers and minor local types'. Garzoni, writing in 1585, gives an early summary of the typical rôles in a travelling troupe, as being those of the old masters Magnifico and Graziano, their menservants Zanni and Burattino, a *ruffiana* (or bawd), an *innamorato*, a Spaniard, Pedant and Signora. Nicoll [1963, 112-14] summarizes the ten or twelve members of a typical early *commedia dell'arte* troupe as generally being made up of between six and eight men, and half that number of women, who between them usually played two comic master-manservant pairs, a captain, a maid, two or three pairs of *innamorati*, and the odd minor character. This is confirmed by later theatre historians, such as Richards and Richards [1990, 109-10].

To a large extent, the professional players took their characters from the pool of characters classified as comic by Minturno in 1564, namely:

cavalieri, dottori, medici, mercatanti, lavoratori, servi, parassiti,
meretrici, ruffiani, uecchi, giovani, madri di famiglia, fanciulle, &
altre simili persone [1564/1971, 117].

They varied the mix to appeal to their audiences, and were also influenced by the popular characters of the peasant stage, the routines of the professional *buffoni* and the use of face-masks, perhaps inspired by carnival disguise and classical comedy. Minturno's characters are very much the favourites of the fully-scripted comedies of his time, inspired by the rediscovered comedies of the ancients. We recognize them in the early cast lists, such as that Massimo Troiano provides for the Munich performance of 1568:

L'eccellente Orlando Lasso, fece il Magnifico sotto il nome di messer Pantalone di bisognosi, messer Giouan Battista Scolari, di Trento, fu il Zanne, Massimo Troiano fece tre personaggi, l'uno fu il prologo uestito da goffo uillano, l'altro l'innamorato sotto il nome di Polidoro, e l'altro lo Spagnuolo disperato chiamato Don /f.148v/ Diego de Mendoza, il seruitore di Polidoro fu Don Carlo Liuizzano, il seruitor

del Spagnuolo fu Giorgio d'Ori da Trento, la Cortegiana innamorata di Polidoro chiamata Camillà fu il Marchese di Malaspina e la sua serua Ercule terzo, & un seruo franzese. [Troiano 1569/1980, ff.147v, 148v]

In 1589, Pavoni notes that the Gelosi have a Capitan Cardone, and that the cast also includes Vittoria, Isabella Andreini, Pantalone, Dr. Graziano, Zanni, Pedrolino, Francatrippa, Burattino and Franceschina [Pandolfi 1957-61, I, 375].

Because no surviving scenarios have as yet been conclusively dated to the sixteenth century [II.iii.g], such cast lists are a particularly valuable source of information concerning the early development of the commedia dell'arte characters, although there are few as complete, or as reliable, as that of Troiano. Pellicer's much-discussed mention of Harlequin, Pantalone and *dottore* in Spain, apparently in 1574, appears, on close examination, to be nothing more than a misleading generalization that such rôles were introduced to Spain by Italian comedians, rather than a specific cast list for the troupe of 1574, let alone proof of the existence of the Harlequin rôle by the year 1574 [Driesen 1904, 228-9; Lea 1934, I, 82]. Similar 'loose translations' abound. Ancona [1891/1971, II, 468], for example, describes Simone da Bologna as a second Zanni or Harlequin, and Nicoll [1931, 305], with reference to Porcacchi's Gelosi cast list of 1574, writes that 'the part of Arlecchino was enacted by Simone da Bologna'. Baschet [1882, 59, 83] twice erroneously identifies actors as Harlequins in Gelosi cast lists: Simone de Bologna in Venice in 1574, and Ludovico de Bologna in Florence in 1578.

An undated poem by Grazzini, perhaps of the mid 1570s, mentions 'la Nespola, il Magnifico e'l Graziano e Francatrippe' [Scherillo 1911, 119]. Although it is not known whether they pre or post date the appearance of these characters among the professional comedians, a *tedesco* (German mercenary) is included in a list of *buffoni* and actors which may date to as early as 1515 [Lea 1934, I, 247; Povoledo 1975, 255]. Here his companions are Luchetta, Perino, Zane Cimador, Berto della Biava, Marco da lo Specchio, Zardino who parodies old men, and Zampiero Verza, a talented singer. An account of a second vision adds the names of Batista, Livio and Zuam Antonio Verzo. They are observed by Domenego Tajacalze and Zuan Polo on a visit to Hell, which sets an interesting precedent for further such trips by comedians, such as one described at the end of Act I and beginning of Act II of Rossi's *Fiammella Pastorale* of 1584. Here two of Rossi's characters, the *dottore*

Gratiano and his servant Bergamino, reminisce about ‘una frotta de Comedianti’ they observed on a visit to Hell, which⁴ includes Barba Pariana, Signor Lvti, Signora Vincenza, la Polonia, Battaia, Lidia, Ravanel, Carotta, Lessandro, Pantalon, Signor Fabio, Saio, Burattin and Zerla [Pandolfi 1957-61, II, 113]. In both cases, it is unlikely that the members of one particular cast list, or even troupe, are indicated.

In a letter of 11 March 1577, Canigiani describes a comedy at the Ferrarese court [Taviani and Schino 1984, 74]. His description does not specify whether it was a professional or amateur production, but the cast list he provides gives a good idea of the characters who took part in such entertainments at that time. It features Oronzio, Lucilla, a *tedesco*, an Oste, a *ruffiana* called Franceschina, an old Venetian called Pantalone, a Zanni, Maestro Gratiano delle cotighe, his servant Francatruppe, a servant and bravo called Il Mosca, Madonna Prudenzia (the mother of Lucilla), and her servant Madonna Orsetta.

It became usual for professionals to create an individual stage persona by whose name they often became known. It would be their most popular rôle, and, depending on audience reception, one which they might play regularly over a period of years, decades, or even their whole working life. Francesco Andreini (1548-1624), for example, played the part of an *innamorato* before creating the rôle of Capitano Spavento dal Vall’Inferno, but his wife Isabella (1562-1604) stayed with the rôle of the *innamorata* Isabella throughout her acting career. Their son Giovan Battista (c.1576-1654) made his name as the *innamorato* Lelio, but also played the part of the Magnifico in later life. His great rival Pier Maria Cecchini, who created the Zanni type Fritellino, also played the parts of the *dottore*, Magnifico, and Pipe, an elderly Florentine.

Section III uses the early iconography to analyze the development of particular rôles and, in some cases specific actors: their costumes, associated props and gestures and other factors, such as the use of masks. This is discussed further with regard to Zanni, for whom, as with all the early comic servants and masters of the *commedia dell’arte*, the wearing of a mask was routine [III.ii.c], and with regard to the female rôles, where it is optional [III.iii.a]. Section III.ii discusses the early servant-master duo, section III.iii focuses in turn on female rôles [III.iii.b], foreign male rôles, notably the Captain [III.iii.b], matachins [III.iii.c] and the most long-lived and popular of the comic servant derivations, both on stage and in the iconography,

Harlequin [III.iii.d]. Section III.iv uses multiple and serial images to analyze, among other factors, the make-up of the early troupes as reflected in the iconography.

I.iii.b The *innamorata*

If we try to isolate from the repertoires of the early troupes and *buffoni* the elements which can specifically be associated with the *commedia dell'arte*, two parts, those of the Zanni and the *innamorata*, or romantic heroine, stand out. The servants and peasants who inspired the Zanni rôle feature large in Minturno's list of comic characters [1564/ 1971, 117]. But if there is one other characteristic rôle of the *commedia dell'arte*, it is that of the *innamorata* or stage heroine, a part that Minturno omits. The *commedia dell'arte* is credited with introducing women to acting. This move paved the way for the modern professional stage, and actresses, absent from late renaissance English, Dutch and French troupes, were a trademark and great attraction of Italian professional performances.

Actresses joined the professional players rather later than the Zannis. Cecchini's observation of 1614: 'non sono 50 anni che si costumano donne in scena' [Falconieri 1954, 41], agrees with modern scholarship in dating the general introduction of actresses into Italian troupes to the early 1560s. A number of early women entertainers are documented, such as the Luchetta seen in Hell by Zuan Polo in around 1515 [Povoledo 1975, 255] and Maphio del Re's daughter Angela 'a comediis', born around 1540, and perhaps to be identified with the Angela who acted with Pantalone and Flaminia in the late 1560s [Cocco 1915, 64]. But the earliest document to record a woman joining a professional troupe is a Roman contract of 10 October 1564, in which Lucretia of Siena and six men 'omnes ut vulgo dicitur Commedianti' agree to form a company to perform comedies [Re 1914, appendix; Richards and Richards 1990, 120, 186]. Actresses proved enormously popular. A letter of 4 July 1580 in which Lanfranco Turino writes that the Comici Nuovi are looking for a good Pantalone and *innamorata* confirms how indispensable these characters had become [Neri 1906, IV, 98]. Within a few years of their introduction onto the stage, by the late 1560s, they were a star attraction of the Italian professionals, and contributed significantly to the tremendous impact made by the *commedia dell'arte* on its early audiences.

Because commedia performances were based not on fully written-out scripts, but on scenarios, many of which have⁴ not survived, it is difficult to gain an exact impression of the part women, and female rôles, played in commedia performances, although contemporary notices give a vivid picture of their initial impact. In May 1567, Luigi Rogna repeatedly notes in his diaries 'le Comedie del Gratiano', and on 1 July: 'hoggi si sono fatte due comedie a concorrenza' [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 445, 449]. Flaminia, Pantalone and Angela, who presented 'la tragedia di Didone mutata in Tragicommedia' [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 449], were more successful than Flaminia's great rival, Vicenza. On 26 April 1568, Baldassare de Preti wrote to the Castellano of Mantua that 'S.Ecc. a ha fatto far comedia da due compagnie; l'una de Pantalone, l'altra del Ganaza' [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 455-456]. The first company apparently included a Flaminia, the second a Vicenza, almost certainly the 'divina Signora Vicenza Armani' who was poisoned to death in 1569.

But while Zannis and actresses rapidly established themselves in the well-known companies, small professional troupes of Italians, variously described as *comedianten* [Trautmann 1887a, 222], *Spilleuten* [Trautmann 1887a, 211] and 'certen strange players' [Lea 1934, II, 357], continued to visit Austria, Bavaria and even England, throughout the 1560s and 70s, offering a wide range of entertainments for which insufficient documentation is available to establish conclusively whether they involved the participation of stock commedia dell'arte characters. In 1570, Emperor Maximilian II saw Horatio Florentino and three other male *comoedianten* perform several *Comoedias* [Trautmann 1887a, 230]. In 1572 the troupe of Johannes Romanus and Julius Parmensis entertained the citizens of Strasbourg with dancing, acrobatics, fencing and the *labours of Hercules* [Trautmann 1887a, 290; III.iii.c] while Soldini and his troupe were in Paris entertaining the king with their 'comedies et saults' [Baschet 1882, 36]. In 1573 the citizens of Nottingham paid 'Italyans [...] for serteyne pastymes' [Lea 1934, II, 352-3]. Even in the better known troupes, it remained usual for some women's rôles to be played by men, thus, in 1584, a collection of *canzone* is published by 'Battista Amorevoli da Treviso, Comico Confidente detto la Franceschina' [Pandolfi 1957-61, II, 246].

A command of 29 September 1573 from Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria to his steward gives an insight into the arrangement of comedies at his court before the time when actresses were introduced. In this, the Duke sent for his servant Alexander

Visconnten, two of his court *Springer* or acrobats, elsewhere identified as Venturin and 'Zani springer', his leopard keeper and Babtista the goldsmith (the Zanni of the wedding performance of 1568). He instructs the Hofmeister to make sure that they bring:

[*nit allain Ire sachen sondern auch die/deleted*] Zanj Claider, schönpärt, jre [*pfeiffen/deleted*] geigen unnd annders, so sy zum sprinngen unnd sonnst zu jrem thuen gebrauchen [Munich BHStA, FÜSa.772n f.1r].

In 1574, Duke Wilhelm's *buffone* Venturino, evidently quite capable of playing women's parts, composed and performed a one-man playlet involving three characters, Magnifico, Zanni and Franceschina. The episode, described in a letter of 16 February 1574 from Orlandus Lassus to Duke Wilhelm V [Sandberger 1895, 253-4], is reminiscent of Aretino's description of 1584, in *I ragionamenti*, of a one-man playlet in which Cimador in turn played the parts of a Zanni-type porter, an old man, and several women [Richards and Richards 1990, 24-5]. But by the mid 1570s, even provincial courts had become dissatisfied with all-male casts. Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, for example, sent a group of courtiers, including Orlandus Lassus, to Italy in 1573 to find and engage new players, both male and female [Trautmann 1888b].

Thomaso Porcacchi, in a pamphlet published in 1574, thinks the Gelosi 'esser rara nel recitar trayedie, comedie ed altri componimenti scenici', and praises the cast, including Simon Bolognese as a *facchino Bergamasco*, Giulio Vinitiano as a Magnifico, Rinaldo and above all their famous prima donna Vittoria as 'donna che è unica' [Baschet 1882, 60-1]. In 1574, when Henri III of France journeyed through Venice, he expressed the wish to see a performance by the Gelosi troupe, and particularly 'la femme appelée Vittoria' [Baschet 1882, 57-8], and Garzoni, writing in 1585, reserves his highest praise for 'la graziosa Isabella' and 'divine Vittoria [...] merita d'esser posta come un compendio dell'arte [...] una perfetta comediante' [Garzoni 1585, 753-4]. The reconstruction of women's rôles through written documentation is not straightforward. Examination of the surviving visual material can extend our understanding of the actresses and female rôles of the early commedia dell'arte, and of the extent to which the female rôles depicted, their frequency and emphasis actually correspond to the reality of the late renaissance stage, and its documentation by theatre historians [III.iii.a; III.iv.d].

I.iii.c Zanni and Pantalone

The rôle of the Bergamasque servant Zanni, increasingly involved in one particular type of routine, evolved before that of the romantic heroine, perhaps out of early sixteenth century rustic dialogues [Magni 1926/27, 116]. During the 1550s this routine proved so popular with both Italian and foreign spectators that by the 1560s it was often expected and singled out for comment. It featured Zanni with his master, a Venetian Magnifico, the two characters who were to become the central masks of the *commedia dell'arte* [III.ii]. By the 1570s it is occasionally used to qualify their performances, still generally described as *comédie*, as in a letter of 3 December 1575 from Ercole Cortile to the Duke of Ferrara, which notes 'una comedia di Zani della Compagnia della Vittoria' [Lea 1934, I, 114].

References to Zannis go back at least to 1513, when Machiavelli, perhaps referring to a genuine Bergamasque servant, notes in a letter to Francesco Vettori that a message was sent by a 'Zanni' [Lea 1934, I, 55]. Furthermore, a Venetian and Bergamasque element, perhaps referring to the Venetian Magnifico and his Bergamasque servant Zanni, is alluded to in the titles of comedies from the time of Sanudo's early sixteenth century diaries [I.i.b]. An indication of the date by which Zanni became an established stage character is found in a passage in Vasari's *Vita de Battista Franco* [1568/1967, VI, 427-8], where he records that Anguillara recruited artists and others to form a company of actors concludes that to this company, which must have been active in the 1540s, may be traced the origins of 'the comedians who became known as the Zannis' [I.ii.e]. Although amateur, the company's entrance fee was an important factor: it changed venues from the great room of Santo Apostolo in the Palazzo Colonna to the less expensive church of S. Biagio in the strada Giulia in order to ensure commercial success for its venture. No doubt the popularity of such amateur companies on occasion gave one or another of their more talented members the confidence to strike out as a professional.

By 1553, the Zannis were so numerous that Girolamo Rofia could refer in correspondence to the Bergamasque 'Zanni che havete ogni sera costi in piazza' in Florence [Nicoll 1931, 263]. Records from 1550 onwards indicate that 'Marcantonio buffone' and his troupe enjoyed great success in Rome with their *comédie* [Re 1914, 296-7]. The double act of the two performers, the comic Bergamasque peasant Zanni and his Venetian master Magnifico, is first specifically documented in the 1550s.

Joachim Du Bellay, in his *Regrets* (Sonnet CXII) of the late 1550s, indicates that Marcantonio played the part of a Zanni in a Zanni-Magnifico partnership which was one of the chief attractions of the Roman carnival:

Voici le Carnaval [...]
Allons baller en masque, allons nous pourmener,
Allons voir Marc Antoine, ou Zanny bouffoner,
Avec son Magnifique à la Venitienne [Driesen 1904, 195]

In an undated poem published in 1559, Grazzini, who died in 1583, refers to the performing pair of the Bergamasque servant Zanni and his Venetian master, in writing of the professional players who:

faccendo il Bergamasco e 'l Veneziano
n'andiamo in ogni parte
e 'l recitar commedie è la nostr'arte [Grazzini 1559, 461-3]

Grazzini specifically mentions 'messer Benedetti e Zanni' near the beginning and 'il Cantinella e Zanni' towards the end of this *Canto de Zanni e di Magnifici*.

By about 1560, the duo has been identified as the central element in a particular type of comedy, referred to by Grazzini as Zanni comedies, for example in the prologue to his play *La Strega* [I.i.a], and by Brantôme, referring to the preferred entertainment of Catherine de' Medici, the French queen, at about the same time, as the 'comédies [...] des Zanni et Panthalons' [Driesen 1904, 204]. But the enormous success of the new entertainment was not greeted with unqualified approval. In 1570, Varchi wrote:

credo che i nostri Zanni facciano piu ridere che i loro Mimi non facevano, e che le comedie del Ruzante di Padova cose contadine avanzino quelle che dalla citta d'Atella si chiamavano Atellane [Lea 1934, I, 225].

Nicola Rossi, writing in 1589, agreed:

ne commedie io numero giammai quelle che da gente sordida et mercenaria vengono qua e la portate, introducendovi Gianni Bergamasco, Francatrippa, Pantalone e simili buffoni, se non volessimo assomigliare ai Mimi, alle Atellane ed ai planipedi degli antichi [Magni 1926/27, 113].

Many playwrights were extremely hostile. In the prologue of Negri's *La Pace* of 1561, the ghost of Giancarli congratulates various other deceased playwrights on not having to suffer the decadent modern *goffarie* which pass for comic plays:

perche le comedie hoggidi sono venute in tal conditione che ogni vil scioccarello ardisse d'imbrattare carte, et alle sue goffarie dare titolo di comedie [Lea 1934, I, 240].

- Stage routines involving Zanni and Magnifico combined elements from a number of sources: the parasite-master relationship of erudite comedy, the dialect dialogues of the peasant stage, and the crowd-pleasing skills of the professionals: acrobatics, music, song and dance. But the earliest informative descriptions of these *goffarie* occur only in the 1560s, in Massimo Troiano's account of the wedding festivities of Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria during the carnival period of 1568 [I.ii.b]. 'Pantaleone Comediante', the character who became the most usual variant of the Venetian Magnifico, is recorded in a document of 1565, now lost [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 449], and *Pantalone* and *Gratian* in Luigi Rogna's diary entries for 11 May and 1 July 1567 [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 445, 449]. Section III.ii examines early depictions of servant-master pairs [III.ii.b], Zanni costume [III.ii.c], and two typical settings in which Zanni and Pantalone are depicted in the years when these rôles first came to the fore, namely carnival recreations of the *land of Cockayne* [III.ii.d] and the early mountebank stages [III.ii.e].

I.iii.d Harlequin

As the *lazzi* and dialect routines of Zanni and Magnifico gained in popularity, the Zanni type branched out from his original rôle as a Venetian porter of peasant origin, willing to run errands or carry loads for whoever would pay him, into a personal servant, identified by the livery of his master. This led to the gradual creation of a whole family of comic servants and masters, many confined to one actor, and only distinguishable by their names. The listing of Zanni types, part of standard Zanni patter, is reflected in numerous late sixteenth century documents. Although such lists appear to include many fantasy or caprice names, they also name genuine stage servants, and others known from iconographic and other documentary evidence, which may refer to real actors.

Concerning the established servant types played by a succession of actors, much has been written. The name 'Lucio Pulcinella' has been identified in a document of 1572 [Dieterich 1897, 251-2]. But its connection, if any, with the enormously popular professional stage servant of the same name who appeared around 1610,

wearing a loose white suit not dissimilar to that of the early Zanni, (and later gave rise to the English Punch and French Policinelle), has not been demonstrated. Pedrolino is certainly recorded in documents of 1580, when the Duke of Mantua had such success with his plans to amalgamate Pedrolino's company with the Confidenti, that Pedrolino married their leading lady, Vittoria [Ancona 1891/1971, II, 478-9]. The rôle is thought to have been created by the actor Giovanni Pellesini, and may be the prototype of the French Pierrot. An Italian print first noted in 1987 establishes Pedrolino's earliest known costume, in 1589, as a variant of the loose Zanni outfit [Katritzky 1987b, plate 173; PLATE 38; II.ii.c, III.iv.a].

Of all the *commedia dell'arte* servants, Harlequin is the most popular, universally recognized and thoroughly researched. Theories for the origin of Harlequin as a stage character are varied but fall into two opposing groups. The idea of Harlequin as a mythic character, conjured out of the mists of tradition, has proved exceptionally persistent [Niklaus 1956, 24]. Much thorough etymological investigation has been done on the ultimate origins of the word Harlequin. Some have traced the term right back to medieval or even classical times, with derivations suggested from hundreds of different sources, ranging from *ellekins* to Hercules, although the connection with the *labours of Hercules* has not been made [Rühlemann 1912; III.iii.c]. Some academics have emphasised the influence of the Anglo-Saxon *Helle-cinn*, German *Erlen-König* or French *Hellequin*, leaders of wild bands of medieval demons or ghosts. The Italians have tended to concentrate on the rôle of the *sannio* or servant figure of Atellan plays. Comic medieval stage devils or carnival fools have been cited as other possible sources for the rôle.

The second theory, that Harlequin was the creation of one historically-identifiable individual, goes back to at least as early as 1750, when Gilles Ménage's *Dictionnaire étymologique ou origines de la langue françoise* records Harlequin as:

nom de Comédien. Sous le règne de Henri III il vint à Paris une Troupe de Comédiens Italiens, parmi lesquels il y avoit un jeune home fort dispost, qui hantoit chez Mr de Harlay de Chanvalon, d'ou il fut appelé par ses Compagnons *Harlequino*: à la mode des Italiens qui donnent souvent le nome des Maitres aux Valets, et celui des Patrons aux clients. [Florescu 1986, 22]

Driesen [1904, 268-73] agreed with Ménage that the stage character Harlequin was the creation of one individual actor, and originated in Paris during the reign of Henri

III (1574-89). He demonstrates that the name Harlequin had its etymological roots not in Italy but in medieval France, and that the comic stage character was created by an Italian commedia dell'arte actor, inspired by the local comic stage devils popular in religious plays since medieval times, on the Parisian stage, in or just before the year 1584, the date of the earliest known documentary references to Harlequin as a stage character. Supporting evidence for Driesen's theory includes a mention in *Fiammella Pastorale*, a fully-scripted play published in Paris in 1584 and written by Bartolomeo Rossi, an actor with the Confidenti company. In the prologue, Rossi mentions 'Pedrolino, [...] Buratino, [...] Arlechino [...] personaggi ridiculosi' and compares their use of dialect with that of 'M. Simone, Zanne de' Signori Confidenti' [Pandolfi 1957-61, II, 98].

Around 1585 there is a sudden explosion of references to Harlequin in publications, including several scurrilous pamphlets published in Paris, some of which are published and transcribed by Driesen [1904, 248-60]. The earliest reference to specific performances by an actor with the stage name Harlequin also date from 1585. That December, a Dutch visitor to Paris wrote that there was much appreciation of the daily performances of an Italian troupe called the Racolti, and particularly their principal actor Harlequin [Gambelli 1972, 46; 1993, 154-5n]. Lea, acknowledging the contribution of Driesen in pinpointing Paris in or just before 1585 as the date and place of Harlequin's first appearance on the stage, makes a clear case for Tristano Martinelli as the first Harlequin, and concludes that 'there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that all the references to Arlecchino in the sixteenth century belong to [...] Martinelli' [Lea 1934, I, 83]. Lea's conclusion is of immense significance, not previously noted, for sixteenth century depictions of Harlequin [II.iii.d; III.iii.d].

Schrickx's [1966; 1972; 1976a&b] archival researches establish the early travels of a troupe of Italian comedians including Tristano Martinelli, then hardly out of his teens. This troupe, led by Tristano's older brother Drusiano, was in Antwerp for nine months, from about January or February 1576 to October 1577, possibly using Antwerp as a base from which to visit neighbouring cities, such as Ghent. From Antwerp, they travelled on to Paris, probably in late autumn 1577, and are recorded in London in 1578. Nowhere in these documents of the late 1570s cited by Schrickx is Tristano referred to as Harlequin, but this is of limited significance, as none of the eight actors is identified by rôle.

Italian theatre historians, notably Gambelli [1972; 1993] and Florescu [1986], are making valuable contributions to researches into Harlequin, although apparently without the benefit of familiarity with the relevant work of Lea or Schrickx. In 1986, Florescu discovered several more Parisian pamphlets of the 1580s naming Harlequin, and cited evidence from them to suggest that Harlequin collaborated with the French acting troupe led by Agnan Sarat, and with Henri III's court buffoons Chicot and Sibilot. She concludes that they are an exchange between Robert Guerin dit la Fleur (1554-1634, who, as Gros Guillaume, led the Comédiens du Roy, at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in Paris), and a troupe of Italians in Paris whose chief attraction was the first Harlequin, Tristano Martinelli. Florescu suggests that Harlequin and the French players may have acted together, and that their apparent polemic may mask a publicity stunt engineered between friendly collaborators, rather than hostile rivals. Furthermore, because she also identifies mentions of Harlequin in two Italian documents of 1585 [Pandolfi 1957-61, I, 219-226], she concludes that the Harlequin type was already well-established by this time [Florescu 1986, 38, 41, 48]. She shows that by 1588 Tristano Martinelli was already well-known by the stage-name Arlecchino, and identifies the Italian troupe with whom Harlequin played in Paris in 1585 as the Confidenti [Florescu 1986, 29, 31].

Harlequin is conclusively identified as the persona of Tristano Martinelli in the 1590s; he signs a letter of 1597 as 'Tristano Martinelli, detto Arlecchino' [Jarro 1895, 15]. His later career, when he visited France several times, and became the favourite of royalty and nobility, is well-documented, as is the adoption of the rôle of Harlequin by a succession of later actors, after his death. By putting the Italian and northern discoveries together, it is possible to build up a much more detailed picture of the early career of the first Harlequin than presently available. Tristano performed with a comic troupe led by his older brother Drusiano which was based in Antwerp for fourteen months for the purpose of staging comedies and farces, from about January 1576 to March 1577, before leaving for Paris, and then continuing on to England, probably at the beginning of 1578 [Schrickx 1976a]. It seems unlikely that Tristano, then aged about twenty, had already developed the Harlequin rôle by the time he visited Paris in 1577. However, it is possible that he established contact with the local comedians at this time, and Florescu's research convincingly confirms his collaboration with the French comedians when he returned to Paris around 1584-85.

The rich iconographic records which scholars relate to this visit include the woodcuts of the *Recueil Fossard* [PLATES 6-11; II.i.b; III.iii.f].

I.iii.e Some other rôles

The popularity of the masked characters was such that the typical *commedia dell'arte* plot came to be built up around the antics of one or more young peasant servant-rich old master pairs, typically Pantalone, the *dottore* and their two servants. Most of the characters of the *commedia dell'arte* were directly adopted from erudite comedy. The regional types which form the backbone of the *commedia dell'arte* were complemented by a number of stock national types. These afforded the opportunity to mock foreigners and their habits, and to tailor performances to foreign audiences by including material in a familiar language [III.iii.b].

The comic possibilities of foreigners were recognized on the Italian stage well before the *commedia dell'arte* became established. Sanudo's diary (1 February 1525) notes that Zuan Polo performed 'vestiti in vari habiti da mori, da todeschi, da griegi, da hongari, da pelegrini et altri assa habiti' [Lea 1934, II, 476-7; I.i.b] and in 1533 in the character of one Rado Stizoso [Lea 1934, II, 478], a Slav mercenary whom Benini [1978, 41] identifies as a forerunner of the *commedia* military captain. National types often featured in simple comic dialogues, such as the Spaniard and German who converse with a Zanni in 'dialoghi e sonetti in lingua bergamasca' of 1587 [Magni 1926/27, 183], and the foreign captains in some fully-scripted Italian renaissance plays, such as Piccolomini's *Alessandro*, of 1562.

The main male national types of the *commedia* are military, and, of these, the most well-known is the Spanish captain. But early Captains were also often played as regional types. Some, such as Girolamo Garavini of Ferrara, who played Captain Rinoceronte to great acclaim until his death in 1624, spoke no Spanish, as is revealed by a letter of 28 August 1620 from Cecchini to the Duke of Mantua [Lea I, 288]. Others, such as the actor who played the Spanish Captain Don Lopez with the Confidenti in 1615, were naturally versatile. A letter of 11 November 1615 notes that *il Capitano*, whom Saviotto is unable to identify, but whom Lea [1934, I, 295-6] takes to be Don Lopez, 'fa molte volte il *Capitano italiano* e così tutti fanno all'occasione parti doppie' [Saviotto 1903, 64-6]. In any case, 'when it was injudicious to hint at the Spaniard, the Captain might have a Calabrian salutation, a

Venetian a Neapolitan or a Sicilian dialogue' [Lea 1934, I, 51], and the early commedia featured military types of several other nationalities. It was publications such as Cecchini's highly influential *Frutte delle moderne comedie* of 1628, with its firm recommendation that the commedia captain should be Spanish, which halted the unselfconsciously creative diversification of the early professional Italian actors and, in the very act of defining it, imposed an increasing stylization onto the commedia dell'arte.

The Spanish captain already features in 1568, as Massimo Troiano's Don Diego de Mendoza in the Munich wedding performance [I.ii.b]. By 1584, Silvio Fiorillo, later the creator of Pulcinella, was leading a troupe as Capitano Matamoros, [Lea 1934, II, 486] and Fabrizio de Fornaris had made a name for himself in Paris as the Capitan Cocodrillo of the Confidenti. The most famous Captain was Capitano Spavento del Vall'Inferno. Francesco Andreini, who may have adapted this stage persona from the Captain Spavento of Parabosco's 1552 erudite comedy *Il Pellegrino*, published books in 1607 and 1612 in which he reminisces over the Gelosi of the late sixteenth century and mentions his own exploits, as the Capitan Spavento of the famous troupe.

Another popular sixteenth century commedia dell'arte military type was the *tedesco* or German mercenary, recognizable in pictures from his costume, similar to that of the Vatican Swiss guards. The *tedesco* is less well-documented than the Spanish Captain, and no named actors are associated with the rôle. However, he was represented at the Venice carnival of 1572:

cinque Todeschi con fiaschi de Maluasia, & bicchieri in mano, cantando à questo modo, "Vina vina Bacco Bacco [...]" [...] Vno Todesco, & uno Francatrippe uestiti honorata mente con fiasche [...] pieni de buoni uini [...] mangiando, & beuendo attorno il Trionfo [ANON, 1572, 12, 14].

The *tedesco* is also noted, for example, in a Ferrarese comedy, recorded in a letter of 11 March 1577 by Bernardo Canigiani [Solerti 1895, I, 256-7], and in the cast-lists of two of the Corsini collection of scenarios (which may date to as early as the 1590s): *Le Burle di Fidele* and *La cieca* [III.i.g; III.iii.b].

Two other male national types, the Turk and the Frenchman, on occasion also had military connotations. While the commedia Spaniard was almost exclusively a military captain, Turkish costume seems to have been used more for disguise or advertising

purposes than for the creation of stock rôles, and the Frenchman had no fixed rôle or social standing on the early commedia stage. He seems to have appeared primarily not as a military or courting man, but as a minor servant, as with the Munich wedding performance of 1568 [I.ii.b], and, most probably, the Italianate Frenchman Claudione who acted with the *Confidenti* in 1615 [Nicoll 1931, 317], and the servant Philipin of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6; II.i.b]. Iconographic representations of these four national types, the Spaniard, German, Turk and Frenchman, are discussed in section III.iii.c.

By the early seventeenth century the types, their costumes, and their combination in any one troupe were settling into stereotypes. There was a last crop of original new servant types in the opening decades of the seventeenth century, including Silvio Fiorillo's Pulcinella, Francesco Gabrielli's Scappino, and Niccolo Barbieri's Beltrame [III.iv.b], but by 1620 the significant rôles of the commedia dell'arte had been defined, and later generations of actors took over already created personae. Originality became increasingly difficult, and despite their different names, most of the *dottore*, Pantalones and captains became as indistinguishable as the *innamorati* had already been in the sixteenth century, lifted out of uniformity only by the most exceptional actors.

II Art-historical analysis: some case-studies

II.i The *Recueil Fossard*

II.i.a General Introduction

The best known and most reproduced renaissance commedia dell'arte images are in Stockholm's Nationalmuseum, in an album known as the *Recueil Fossard*, although this is a rather misleading name for it. They are Nationalmuseum Printroom catalogue numbers NM 2189/1904 to NM 2272/1904; including two prints, on consecutive folios, numbered 2250. The complicated provenance of the Nationalmuseum prints has some bearing on their interpretation. The so-called *Recueil Fossard* album was discovered in the early 1920s, in the uncatalogued reserves of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, by Dr. Agne Beijer, director of the Drottningholm Theatre Museum. The title page on folio 2r [PLATE 39] bears the name of Sieur Fossard, a musician at the court of Louis XIV, whose personal collection of theatrical and festival prints and drawings was dispersed after his death in 1702 and is now largely lost. Beijer recognized that the album also contained prints added to those collected by Fossard. In an attempted reconstruction of Fossard's original collection, Beijer published forty-six of the eighty-five *Recueil Fossard* prints, renumbering them I-XLIV [Beijer and Duchartre 1928].

From the Swedish royal collections, the Stockholm album entered the Nationalmuseum Printroom in 1904, with at least a dozen further similar leather-bound volumes, but it is the only one of these known to have survived the dismemberment into single leaves which was officially ordered in 1905, and thus the only one whose prints escaped being filed individually into the Nationalmuseum's general print collection. Some of these dismembered leaves, for example NM 324-341/1904, two sheets of eighteen engravings from Francesco Bertelli's *Il Carnevalo Italiano Mascherato*, are still identifiable from the distinctive hand-inked borders given to them by Fossard.

Two complete sections of the Fossard collections are in the Royal Library at Copenhagen. They are bound together as one volume containing 163 mostly seventeenth century prints and drawings, on 124 numbered folios with two title pages [Katritzky 1989b, figs.2, 3]. This album is comprehensively analyzed by Holm

[1991a&b]. Two further *Fossard* title pages are in the British Museum, in an album containing prints not of direct theatrical interest [Katritzky 1989b, figs.4a, 4b]. Although the Copenhagen prints are also of great theatrical interest, most are later than the Stockholm prints, and better known from impressions in other collections, in contrast to the Stockholm prints, many of which apparently survive as unique impressions. Unlike the Copenhagen *Fossard* collections, the title page and prints of the Stockholm *Fossard* album are no longer as *Fossard* mounted them, but have been rearranged and remounted - in scrap book fashion - and with additional material which was not part of the original *Fossard* collections, onto the recto pages of a forty-eight-folio bound volume which was still empty-paged in 1738, thirty-six years after *Fossard*'s death. Some of the Stockholm prints are still clearly identified as *Fossard*'s by the distinctive inked borders noted above. But others have been trimmed [PLATES 40-1], and some variant impressions of the woodcuts have been cut out, re-arranged and hand coloured [PLATES 8-9; Katritzky 1989b, figs.I-IV].

The person responsible for these mutilations, and for their remounting into another album, has not been conclusively identified. *Fossard* could have acquired the engraving now distributed over folios 34-5 of the album [PLATES 40-1] as a cut-out or mutilated it himself. But, in view of the absence of inked borders on folios 34-5, these fragments were probably cut out, perhaps even acquired, by a later collector. Perhaps it was even Carl Gustav Tessin, who as shown by his signature on the remounted title page [PLATE 39], acquired this section of the *Fossard* collection.

It has been suggested that certain of these prints represent highlights from particular *commedia dell'arte* performances, and can be arranged to form a coherent plot. This would make these prints uniquely complete early visual records. However, there has been no agreement concerning the exact number of prints involved, their sequence, or even their initial selection from the eighty-five Stockholm prints. This section outlines the previously published arrangements of the woodcuts and summarises revisions suggested by my own work [II.i.b], identifies an uncut version of the prints on folios 34-5 of the album, their artist, and a further body of related work [II.i.c], and places the engravings on folio 45 of the album in the context of a newly-identified series of pictures and their artist [II.i.d].

The prints in each of the three groups have been analyzed in such a way as to clarify the type of performance on which they are based. In two cases, the artist of

the prints has been identified and linked with the *commedia dell'arte* for the first time. Significant bodies of theatre-related pictures by these artists, Ambrogio Brambilla and Ambrose I Francken, are discussed [II.i.c-d], and Ambrose I Francken receives further consideration [II.iii.c-d].

II.i.b Some *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts

Beijer considered but rejected the possibility that certain of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts represent 'une suite complète de pièces, dont l'artiste a reproduit chacune des scènes' [Beijer and Duchartre 1928, 20]. The numbers j to vj, each in the extreme right-hand lower corner of three of the eighteen woodcuts, whose sequence is faithfully honoured in Tessin's album, are dismissed by Beijer as typographical conventions. He concludes that, rather than reflecting any sort of representative selection from the comedians' repertoire, these woodcuts are part of an incomplete series heavily biased towards burlesque episodes, clowning and *lazzi*. In 1945 Beijer conceded that 'most of them depict isolated situations in some play', but qualified this by adding that 'in only a few instances is there a thematic connection between the pictures' [Beijer 1945, 221].

It was John McDowell who, in 1942, first favoured the theory that 'in the "Recueil Fossard" there is a selected group of engravings, which, when considered in a certain order, suggest a probable story' [McDowell 1942, 59]. The inadequacies of his sequence may be judged by the fact that it includes, as the third picture in the first act of his reconstruction, a print (cat. no. NM2216/1904) which is iconographically and typographically unrelated to the woodcuts, and indeed not even a woodcut but an engraving [PLATE 42].

In 1970, independently of McDowell, Mastropasqua suggested the theory again. His case was supported in detail by a sequence of eighteen of the woodcuts (NM2198-2213, 220, 222), which he himself selected and arranged into three groups of six (each group representing one act of a three act play), according to principles discussed in his paper [Mastropasqua 1970]. His sequence takes into account both the order in which they are mounted in the Stockholm album, and the number in the lower left-hand corner of each print, but ultimately seems to be based on intuition rather than logic. Mastropasqua soon became disillusioned with the deluge of comments his sequence attracted. One problem is that a sequence of only eighteen

pictures does not necessarily account for all the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts suitable for possible inclusion, for example a fragment discovered in 1926 [PLATE 7]. At a conference in 1976, Mastropasqua declared that 'con tutta probabilità la serie è incompleta e l'ordinamento che allora proposi [...] è solo una delle possibilità', but that he was convinced of the futility of further debate on this issue, and that his arrangement of 1970 was as good a basis as any from which to proceed to a more fruitful investigation of the prints [Mastropasqua 1980, 97].

Reconstructions published since 1970 mark, if anything, a regression in our understanding of the series. Esrig [1985, 11-13] reproduces the fourteen prints Beijer labels IX-XXIV in exactly the same sequence, thus perpetuating Beijer's unfortunate reversal of XXI and XXII. This leads to a visually jarring juxtaposition, rather than the pleasing integral image which the artist originally intended for the opening two woodcuts of the first act. Esrig's futile attempt to impose a coherent dramatic plot on this faulty sequence graphically exposes its shortcomings. There is general agreement that even if these woodcuts are not merely a miscellany of highlights from different troupes [Povoledo 1975, 257], reconstruction of the series is no longer possible [Metz (1970), 28; Hallar 1977, 43]. Although Mastropasqua's selection of the eighteen woodcuts cannot be faulted, the order in which he places them can be questioned on both art-historical and philological grounds. Examination of the images and their related texts, both within each print, and in relation to the other scenes in the series, has suggested a number of areas in which Mastropasqua's argument seems in need of refinement. The reasoning behind my proposed amendment to his sequence, given in plate 6, is offered here, without lingering over the ground covered in his paper of 1970. For the first act, Mastropasqua suggests a battle scene (NM2220) as the fifth picture. However, if the love scene (NM2202) is substituted, as shown here, the dagger on the floor and Pantalone's reference in line two to being eaten out of house and home refer directly back to the third picture of that act. The second line of the fourth picture (NM2213), in which the grotesque race between Harlequin and Zany is revealed as a contest for the favours of Francisquina, looks forward directly to this love scene as its sequel, and also ties in better with Pantalone's comments on his servant's debaucheries in the following scene.

In the second picture of the second act (NM2199), Pantalone's rallying call against 'ce gallant, /Ce mignō Harlequin q tranche ainßi du braue', must surely be in response not to Harlequin as prone and suffering suitor (NM2198), as suggested by Mastropasqua, but to Harlequin as comic fighter (NM2204), determined to win over his sweetheart Francisquina, who in the second picture of this act (NM2199) recognises his 'tournoy /Où il veut ma beauté ßoutenir & deffendre'. This act is also visually more coherent if all the battle scenes are placed together here, that is if the fourth, fifth and sixth pictures are NM2201, 2208 and 2203; rather than Mastropasqua's NM2201, 2202, 2222. The new sequence depicted here is reached by process of elimination, as Mastropasqua's selection of the eighteen woodcuts from which the play is built up is the only viable one, and the number in the lower corner of each print has to be taken into account. The play ends as it starts, with music, and the wedding dance allows the spectators to take an active part in the celebrations with which the performance concludes. But are the modifications proposed here a genuine advance, or was Mastropasqua justified in implying that further debate on this issue is a waste of time?

The sequence of Fossard's woodcuts in the Nationalmuseum album itself, as given by the catalogue numbers, the arrangements suggested by Beijer, McDowell, Mastropasqua, and the modifications to Mastropasqua's sequence proposed in plate 6 can be compared in tabulated form [Katritzky 1988a, 51], and it occurred to me that examination of other pictures might offer a way of testing the validity of these various reconstructions. I discovered five unsigned and undated engravings in which each image is sandwiched between two sets of quatrains, three French ones above, and their German equivalents below, and includes between two and four main characters, all identified by name [PLATE 43; Katritzky 1988a, figs.6-10]. Each verse is printed under the character whose dialogue it represents. But despite close integration of verbal and visual content there is no internal logic, either compositional or dramatic. In every print, the order of the dialogue in these verses contradicts the logical chronological order of the depicted dramatic action.

Thus, in the first scene Francatipa introduces Harlequin to the audience only after both Licetta and Harlequin himself have spoken. In the second scene, Francisquina agrees to take Harlequin in marriage before Pantalone has had a chance to make the suggestion. In the third scene, Pantalone bids Harlequin farewell before Harlequin

has explained why he is returning the children to him. In the fourth scene, Harlequin gets into a jealous rage before Pantal^one and Francisquina have made their flirtatious exchange, and similarly in the fifth scene, Zany and Harlequin plot to attack Leandro only after he has been warned by Francisquina. The very crudeness and illogicality of these engravings offers a vital clue in establishing the definitive sequence of the original woodcuts. For the fact that they are the wrong way round establishes beyond doubt that they are copies, of the sort which would result if the originals had been freely copied onto new plates from an existing series by a print-shop artisan, in a virtually mechanical way, without taking the trouble to correct for the mirror-imaging produced by direct copying. This would also explain the reversal of the images, and its curious effect on their relationship to the wording. Their slavishly derivative nature, and the only new input, the German translations of the French verses, are indications that their origin may be sought in some commercial German print-shop geared to the rapid production of popular series of engravings for general sale and quick profits, rather than, as is surely the case with some of the painted variants to the *Recueil Fossard* [PLATES 44-51], by individual commissions from private patrons.

In fact these five prints copy the same composition, and the same French verses, as five of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts included in all the reconstructions (NM2198, 2205-7, 2220). Regardless of whether their source is the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts themselves, or another common or intermediate source, only minimal independent artistic intelligence appears to have intervened in making the translation from the originals to the engravings. Their indifferent workmanship and crude lack of artistic merit have a positive side. They indicate that these five engravings are, unlike more artistically ambitious variants, a relatively faithful reflection of their prototypes, and that, if they do not represent the complete series of the original images on which they are based, there is a high degree of probability that all or part of a coherent sub-series is reflected in them. So it is worth considering the distribution of the five woodcuts which share the same composition as the engravings, within each of the proposed sequences of the commedia dell'arte performance.

In fact, there are considerable differences in distribution, and it would be interesting to establish whether these can be shown to support one particular reconstruction. As mounted in the *Recueil Fossard* itself, and reflected in Beijer's

publication, three of the woodcuts (NM2205-7) are consecutive, with the other two (NM2198, 2220) singly distributed some way before and after this group of three. In McDowell's proposed reconstruction, the five scenes appear as two widely separated pairs of adjacent pictures (NM2205-6; 2207 & 2198), with the fifth (NM2220) again on its own, this time between them. Mastropasqua scatters the five over all three acts of his reconstruction: placing NM2220 in Act I, 2198 in Act II, and 2205-7 consecutively in Act III. Only the new sequence here proposed features all five woodcuts consecutively, in one continuous block, as the first five pictures of Act III.

The possibility that these five engravings are just arbitrary survivors of some larger series is virtually ruled out by a series of five almost identical engravings at Yale [Katritzky 1988a, 49]. This series was known to, but not reproduced, by McDowell [1942, n52/116/118/121/127-8], who describes them as 'duplicating in reverse scenes from the *Recueil Fossard*' [1942, 53]. At least one of these Yale prints is from a later impression. In the Oxford impression [Katritzky 1988a, fig.8] the backcloth cuts across the level of the stage; in the Yale version, the right-hand border has been cropped and reframed in the plate, much closer to the end of the verses, so that the backcloth now ends above the stage. Successive impressions indicate the popularity of the series. It is beyond coincidence that two subsets of the same five compositions could have survived from a series of eighteen. So it seems reasonable to conclude that the particular five scenes represented in both the Oxford and Yale series form the majority, if not the whole, of the original series of derivative engravings.

The re-grouping of the woodcuts outlined here [PLATE 6] is strongly suggested by the internal coherence of the verses and the images. It assumes that the number in the bottom right-hand corner of each print indicates the position held by that print within an act, although it does not, of course, specify which of the three acts this is. Independent support is given to this new sequence by the five Oxford engravings. According to the new reconstruction, the first five pictures of the third act are the woodcuts of which these derivative engravings are variants. In other words, they fall into the same - final - act of the play, rather than being scattered over all three acts, as they are in Mastropasqua's sequence.

However, these amendments are offered as a refinement to Mastropasqua's sequence, and not necessarily as the definitive sequence of the original series. The misgivings of Mastropasqua, the extremely high number of possible combinations of these eighteen prints, and the chance of as yet undiscovered variants which may have bearing on this sequence, all indicate that the reconstruction proposed here can be no more than tentative. Nevertheless, the establishment of a coherent sequence for these woodcuts is useful in providing the basis for a better understanding of what may well be a typical commedia dell'arte play, from a period, the later 1580s, which predates any of the surviving dated scenarios.

II.i.c Ambrogio Brambilla

Two prints which have frequently been reproduced in connection with the commedia dell'arte bear the titles *Cucina per il pasto de Zan Trippu quando prese moglie* [PLATE 52] and *Il bellissimo ballo di Zan trippu fatto nelle sue nozze quando prese p[er] moglie Ma. fra[n]ceschina essendoui pantalone di bisogniossi co[n] la sua uenturina* [PLATE 53]. Although plate 52 is a woodcut, and plate 53 an engraving, stylistic and compositional similarities make it safe to assume that these two prints are by the same artist, and depict two episodes from the same narrative. The date of one of these prints, 1583, extends the activity of their printmaker, Antonio Carenzano, from 1591-1614, as known to Bellini [1975], by a further eight years. Their inscriptions 'Ant. Carenzano formis Roma 1583' and 'Roma Ant carenzano Formis' have misled theatre historians into the assumption that Carenzano is the artist, rather than publisher, of these engravings [Duchartre 1929/1966, 68; Kutscher 1955, fig.22; Oreglia 1976, fig.1; Jockel 1983, 16]. However, reliable attribution is possible, since close examination of plate 52 reveals a signature in the bottom left-hand corner. It is that of Ambrogio Brambilla, an artist of Milanese origin active in Rome c.1579-99 [DBI; G.K. Nagler 1877-9, I, nos.942, 946; Arrigoni and Bertarelli 1939, 8, 15, 79, 134, 160ff., 220, 353; Mortimer 1974; Katritzky 1988a].

Brambilla is known chiefly for his topographical prints, and particularly for the architectural views and plans of Rome which he engraved for the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. These postdate the death of its first publisher, Antonio Lafrery, in 1577, and were produced for his successors Claude Duchet (active 1577-86) and Nicolas van Aelst (active 1582-1613). As such, many of them found their way into

the holdings of the De’Rossi family of Roman printers and publishers in the seventeenth century, so that for example Gio. Giacomo De’Rossi’s name is found on a reissued impression of Brambilla’s *Theatrum Sive Coliseum Romanum* of 1581. Portraits, religious engravings, and numerous popular prints, including *I gridi di Roma* of 1582 (the earliest known broadsheet of hawkers) and allegorical heads of *Carnevale* and *Quaresima*, are listed in the standard reference works, but no commedia dell’arte-related pictures. Books such as *Dei veri ritratti degl’habiti di tutte le parti del mondo*, published by Bartolomeo Grassi in Rome in 1585, with its forty-nine engraved costume plates by Brambilla, testify to his highly successful career as an illustrator.

Brambilla’s activities as a sculptor, poet, painter and architect are also recorded. Although according to the DBI only a few dialect verses are extant, it is perhaps worth noting that plate 17 is an anonymous painting which bears striking stylistic parallels to Brambilla’s signed engravings. Brambilla’s verses apparently satirize the poetry of contemporary academicians, and may well be of importance to an understanding of his popular prints, and his relationship to the commedia dell’arte. Brambilla was a member of the Academia della Valle di Blenio. An anthology of Milanese dialect verse by members of this academy was published in the 1580s by *Compra Zavargna*, the pseudonym and stage persona of its founder, the artist, critic and writer Giovan Paolo Lomazzo. Pierce [1986, 30] calls these academicians ‘local poets of little renown’, but recognizes their importance in providing a bridge between the comic peasant as portrayed by the troubadour tradition and by the commedia dell’arte, in Lomazzo’s *Compra Zavargna*, whom he identifies as the first Milanese quasi-Zanni type. However, Lomazzo was certainly of more than just ‘local renown’. His serious writings, such as the *Trattato dell’Arte della Pittura, Scultura et Architettura* of 1584, display a penetrating interest in comedy, as for example in a description of Besozzo’s painting of laughing peasants, quoted by Wind [1974, 28]. For many academies, the writing and performance of amateur dramatic comedies was a central activity, and, as Smith reminds us [1911, 1-10], these, particularly those of artisan academies such as the Sienese Rozzi, often have close links with the commedie dell’arte of the professional players.

Plates 52 and 53 depict stock characters from the commedia dell’arte, firstly in the kitchen preparing for Zan Trippu’s wedding feast, and secondly celebrating the

wedding with an open air dance. Each of the characters is named. In the kitchen are: Burati, M. Gratian, Ma. nespola,⁴ Zan Zaccagni, Ma. balzerina; for the dancing, the first three of these have been joined by: Ma. franceschina, Zan Trippu, Ma. filomena, pantalone and Venturina, accompanied by Mo. Rigo on pipe and tabor. The third *donativo* of Adriano Banchieri's *Il donativo di quattro asinissimi personaggi [...] nella nobilissima Compagnia delli Briganti della Bastina [...]* published in Vicenza in 1597, that of Messer Durindel Bastellant dalla Vallada Bergamina, includes a sonnet featuring numerous comic characters, among them Zachagna, Trippu, Burati and Franceschina [Pandolfi 1957-61, II, 302]. It is possible that Brambilla's characters are from a common source, perhaps even the same identifiable troupe.

A third, previously unpublished, engraving by Brambilla featuring comedians is monogrammed, and inscribed 'Romæ Baptiste Parmensis formis 1589' [PLATE 38]. Bellini [1975, 33], lists this Roman publisher, born in Parma in 1541, and active until 1592, as Battista Panzera. A later variant to plate 38 is reproduced but not documented by Beall [1975, 319]. It is a woodcut, much cruder and broader than Brambilla's engraving, with the outer, but not the inner, ring of characters in reverse. Brambilla's engraving is a games board for *Il piacevole e nuovo giuoco novamente trovato detto pela il chiu* [PLATE 38]. Five concentric flattened rings alternately feature triads of dice faces and popular and mythological characters, of which the comedians, in the third ring, include Pantalone, Trastulo, Franceschina, [Dottore] Gratiano, Francatripe, [Captain] Cardone and a Pedrolino who predates the earliest generally accepted image of this mask by over three decades. Section III.iv.b suggests that Brambilla is depicting actual actors, associated in 1589 with the Gelosi troupe.

The importance of plates 38, 52 and 53 in the study of the commedia dell'arte lies in their being inscribed with dates and a place of execution; moreover they establish the interest of Ambrogio Brambilla, an identified sixteenth century Italian artist, in the commedia dell'arte as subject-matter for his work. Sterling states that 'the makers of most of the sixteenth century engravings of Italian comedians are Netherlanders' [1943, 31]. In *L'Art de Jacques Callot*, still regarded, at least by art-historians, as the standard iconography of the commedia dell'arte, Ternois [1962, 233-4] lists as Italian works only a drawing by Guercino and set of engravings by Bracelli which appear, on inspection, to be unrelated to the commedia, the anonymous Corsini

watercolours [III.i.g; III.iii.b], and engravings of costumed figures by Jacopo Franco and Pietro Bertelli.

There are strong stylistic similarities between Brambilla's prints and nine of the ten prints mounted on folios 34 and 35 [PLATES 40-1] of the *Recueil Fossard* [II.i.a]. Beijer and Duchartre [1928, 10] comment that while the nine etchings of folios 34 and 35 under discussion here are not necessarily the oldest pictures of the commedia dell'arte, they show it in its most primitive form. From the name of the printer, Beijer suggests a dating of c.1560-80. Each of these nine *Recueil Fossard* etchings is a cut-out featuring two or three stock characters of the commedia dell'arte engaged in comic antics. Clearly legible at the base of the left-hand middle scene mounted on folio 34 [PLATE 40] is the inscription 'Roma apud Laurentius Vaccarium'. Lorenzo Vaccari, or Della Vaccheria, was a printer-publisher of French or perhaps Bolognese origin who ran a workshop at S. Giuliano in Rome from the mid 1570s to 1600 [Bellini 1975, 34; Ashby 1920, 123-9]. The identity of the artist of these *Recueil Fossard* prints has so far remained unrecognised, while Lorenzo Vaccari has been taken for their etcher by some theatre historians, including McDowell [1942, 50]. Beijer and Duchartre [1928, 18] note a 'presque indéchiffrable' monogram on print NM 2241/1904. Close examination reveals it to be that of Ambrogio Brambilla, in the lower right-hand corner of the top left-hand etching on folio 34 [PLATE 40], confirming the close parallels between these nine scenes and plates 38, 52 and 53, in subject-matter, artistic style, and handwriting.

My successful attribution of these *Recueil Fossard* etchings has enabled me to locate and identify an unmutated impression [PLATE 54]. In this, the scenes are joined in one continuous block three scenes deep by three scenes wide, revealing them to be not the separate *taille-douces* depicting a jumble of unrelated *lazzi*, which Beijer saw in them [1928, 18], but a coherent series of scenes, each accompanied by inscriptions which further enhance their theatrical interest [Katritzky 1987b, 250; III.iv.c]. As well as solving the riddle of the authorship of the nine *Recueil Fossard* cut-outs, enough real art-historical evidence has been presented here to assemble, for the first time, the nucleus of what may prove to be a significant iconography of precisely-dated sixteenth century commedia dell'arte-related images by a named Italian engraver. The provision of reliable attributions and locations for four commedia-related prints by Ambrogio Brambilla, of which three are dated, paves the

way towards their theatrical interpretation [III.iv.b-c]. This, in turn, may contribute towards the clarification of how the Zanni-Pantalone partnership relates to the renaissance comic stage [III.ii].

II.i.d Ambrose I Francken

Commedia dell'arte plots revolve around comic exploitation of human conflicts: particularly those between servant and master, man and woman, and maturing children and their not always mature fathers. These themes are united in the shared composition of the two engravings on folio 45 of the Stockholm *Recueil Fossard* [PLATE 55], and one on f.3 of the *Fossard* album in Copenhagen. They show a fashionable young suitor and a *ruffiana* at one side of the stage, and an elderly couple at the other. In the centre are a manservant and maid. Although this girl is identified as an *innamorata* by some authorities [Molinari 1985, 135], her simple dress and the bag and knife hanging from her waist indicate servant status. This pair mock a greybeard and crown him with the cuckold's horns, a central theme of sixteenth century Italian comedy, and still a potent symbol of mirth in some Latin countries. Beijer and Duchartre [1928, 30] note that the costumes of the old man and pointing servant are those of the commedia dell'arte Pantalone and his servant Zanni. Five of the characters are identified by name in the lower print on plate 55, and these theatrical names, as well as the costumes and hairstyles, particularly of the central girl, are of later origin than those of the upper print.

My search for compositionally and stylistically related pictures which might throw light on the date and artist of the original composition led to a painting on wood featuring this same composition [PLATE 56], and also to two further paintings in similar style and format [PLATES 57-8]. The three paintings can be arranged consecutively to reflect a story-line which shares many characteristics of a typical commedia dell'arte scenario, although the players are, for example, not masked. In the first picture [PLATE 57] Pantalone, supported on the shoulders of his servant Zanni, delivers a love letter via the maid. A second Zanni serenades on his lute. A third Zanni, servant to the elegant *innamorato* appearing from behind the backdrop, surprises the group and threatens Pantalone with his dagger. This foreshadows the events shown in the second painting [PLATE 58]. Here, the *innamorato* -

Pantalone's rival - and his Zanni attack Pantalone, watched by the girl, her maid, her parents and Pantalone's cowardly servant.

The third picture may be regarded as the concluding tableau of this action. Here, Pantalone is crowned with the cuckold's horns and exposed to the mockery of the *innamorato*, his Zanni and the woman [PLATE 56]. The extreme similarity of the actors, particularly the three males, in pose, costume and features to those in the other two paintings strengthens the likelihood that this painting features the same troupe, and that the three compositions show consecutive scenes of the same or comparable series painted by the same artist.

The signature on the upper engraving of plate 55, that of H. Liefvrick, records the publisher of this print, and a print's publisher was by no means always identical with its engraver, let alone its artist. Hans Liefvrick the Elder was an engraver and print publisher active in Antwerp until his death in 1573. Although the calling of his namesake Hans the Younger, a map-designer in Leiden from 1567, makes him a less likely candidate, it is his death which establishes a firm *ante quem* of 1599 for these pictures. One of the paintings [PLATE 57], shares its composition and format with a signed drawing which is probably its preparatory drawing [PLATE 59]. The signature on the drawing 'M. Ambrosius Vrancx', is that of Ambrose I Francken (1544-1618), who is thus almost certainly the artist of all three paintings, and probably of the original design on which these *Recueil Fossard* engravings [PLATE 55] are based.

The drawing [PLATE 59] was reproduced by Legrand, for whom it was 'cet unique sujet de genre qui nous soit connu le [=Ambrose Francken] rattache étroitement à son frère Jérôme' [1963, 75]. Mielke [1975a, 52], unaware of the related paintings and drawing, concluded on stylistic grounds that the design for the *Recueil Fossard* engraving is the work of Ambrose I Francken. The connection between the drawing and the *Recueil Fossard* engraving was made by Schapellhouman [1979, 47]. Tatenhove [1982, 193-6] notes the relationship between two of the paintings [PLATES 57-8], the *Recueil Fossard* engraving [PLATE 55], and the drawing [PLATE 59], but does not acknowledge the existence of plate 56.

The related pictures enable the *Recueil Fossard* engraving to be attributed to a named artist and set in the context of a performance, and offer valuable insights into the action out of which it developed (although modification may be required if further

versions, or additional scenes, are discovered). Their artist Ambrose I Francken [Thieme Becker 1907-50; Mielke 1975a, 43-52; Gibson 1981, 426-46], was a member of the Francken family of artists [II.iii.c-e]. A pupil of the Antwerp artist Frans Floris, he may have visited Italy, is thought to have visited Fontainebleau in the 1560s, by which time his oldest brother, Hieronymus I Francken (1540-1610), may already have settled in Paris, and settled in Antwerp soon after his return from Fontainebleau in 1570, entering the *Violieren Rederijderskamer*, or Chamber of Rhetoricians, the oldest and most distinguished of Antwerp's amateur debating and dramatic groups, in 1588. Between 1573 when he entered the Antwerp artists' guild and his death in 1618, there are continual archival records attesting to his presence in Antwerp. The strongest stylistic influence on his *oeuvre* comes from Marten de Vos [II.iii.d], with whom he collaborated extensively. The subject matter of plate 59 is unique in Francken's known work, but his thin unbroken contours and delicate washes are strongly in evidence, and the drawing is in almost identical format, composition and style to plate 57, so there is no reason for doubting that the correct attribution of all three of these paintings is to Ambrose I Francken.

Three further paintings which may be associated with this group are almost identical group portraits of comic stock types in Paris [PLATE 60; II.iii.c] and Stockholm private collections, and an on-stage depiction of the comedians in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris [PLATE 61; II.iii.d] which share stylistic and compositional parallels with plates 56-9. The facial types of the young woman in the left background and older woman at the extreme right of plate 60 resemble those of the two maids in the left background of plate 56. The elegant man to the right foreground of plate 60 resembles the man to the right of plates 57 and 59, and to the left of plates 56 and 58, both in facial type and costume. Although the Zanni and Pantalone of plate 60 are masked, and those of plates 56-9 are not, there are marked similarities in physical type and costume. Section II.iii.d considers the possibility that plate 61 is based on a variant which excludes the two actors peering from behind the left-hand curtain, a characteristic compositional element of the theatrical pictures of Ambrose I Francken, present in plates 56-9. Although plate 61 is not incompatible with the style of Ambrose I Francken, it is much larger than the other paintings under discussion here, and further evidence would be required for firm attribution. But the

similarities noted above do suggest the possibility that these three theatrical paintings could also be by the hand of Ambrose I Francken.

What bearing does identification of their artist have on the theatrical interpretation of plates 56-9? It does nothing for J. R. Bailey's suggestion (in a letter of 30.3.1932, in the Witt Library of the Courtauld Institute, London, to Sir Robert Witt), that two of the players in the painted version of the *Recueil Fossard* composition bear a striking resemblance to Ben Jonson and Shakespeare. But what about Beijer's suggestion [Beijer and Duchartre 1928, 30] that the *Fossard* engraving could show a troupe of French *farceurs* inspired by one of the early visits of the Italian comedians to Paris?

The artist and probable publisher indicated, Ambrose I Francken and the older Liefrinck, were both based in Antwerp. French, the language of the accompanying verses, was current in Antwerp as well as Paris in the late sixteenth century. It was, for example, the language of the archival records noting the presence of Martinelli's troupe of Italian comedians in Antwerp in 1576 for thirteen months [Schrickx 1972, 798-9; 1976a, 79-80; III.iii.d]. But evidence in favour of Antwerp must be balanced against the fact that the older Liefrinck is thought to have died in 1573, before the earliest documented visit of commedia dell'arte troupes to Antwerp, and that Francken is known to have been in France in 1570, where visits of the Italian comedians are well-documented from 1571 [Baschet 1882], and in Italy, home of the comedians, before that.

II.ii Inspiration and imitation.

The progressive stereotyping of shared artistic motifs:

Antonio Tempesta and some Flemish carnival paintings

II.ii.a Introduction

The numerous, and as yet largely uninvestigated iconographic connections between late renaissance pictures of comic performers form dense nets of interdependent images. Many such pictures are anonymous and undated, and the complexity of their interrelationships seriously deters attempts to retrace them, or even to establish the chronological development of particular motifs. Association with dated pictures, in order to establish chronological directions of pictorial influence, offers a more reliable

approach to dating undocumented ones than the rather speculative attempts to relate them to recorded performances which theatre historians have sometimes made. The transitory nature of the *commedia dell'arte* makes visual records of particular importance. Unlike plays which survive as texts, the improvised performances of the Italian comedians can only be reconstructed from fragmentary documentation, of which surviving contemporary pictures are a vital part. Krengel-Strudthoff recognizes the 'geradezu unschätzbar' [1969, 58] documentary value of pictures of comic players. But she expresses serious reservations shared by many theatre historians:

Tatsächlich gibt es [...] auch sehr viele Bilder zum Thema *Commedia dell'arte*, aber tatsächlich nur "zum Thema". Selten sind es echte Wiedergaben von Aufführungen, meist dagegen nachempfundene Bilder, oft nur Darstellungen einzelner Figuren oder überhaupt Karnevalbilder: der Quellenwert ist also häufig gering. [Krengel-Strudthoff 1969, 58]

The fact that most of the images of the *Recueil Fossard* depict the comedians on stage is one of the reasons this collection is so highly valued. The pictures which are the concern of the present section show the comedians in a wide variety of settings, both on and off stage, and include many carnival scenes. Since the mid-sixteenth century, favourite European carnival disguises have been the costumes associated with the more popular *commedia dell'arte* characters, as for example noted in connection with Ferrara and Munich [I.ii.c]. But close examination of some carnival pictures reveals the presence of organized troupes of actors amongst the costumed revellers, parading to publicize their skills, or playing in the street, on or off stage. Such pictures cannot simply be dismissed as being of minimal documentary value. On the contrary, they are essential for a full assessment of the rise of the acting profession during the late renaissance.

The exact starting date for pre-Lenten carnival celebrations varies regionally from as early as December, until after 6 January, the festival of the Three Kings, although the main day of celebration is typically Shrove Tuesday and the end-date always Ash Wednesday. The length of Lent is fixed at forty days, so depending on when Easter falls, between its earliest and latest possible dates of 23 March and 24 April, Ash Wednesday falls between 3 February and 10 March, and the carnival period is correspondingly shorter or longer. By the sixteenth century, depictions of carnival activities had become predominantly associated with *Winter* in series of the seasons,

and with *January*, and even more typically *February*, in series of the months, both in the fine arts, as demonstrated by many plates in this thesis, and in the applied arts [PLATES 333-4]. This tradition has medieval roots. As early as around 1400, the *February* of a fresco cycle of the twelve months, in the Torre dell'Aquila of the Castello del Buon Consiglio in Trent, shows a carnival tournament.

The Florentine engraver Antonio Tempesta is associated with pictures of Italian comedians both through his teachers and pupils. He trained under the Flemish artist Stradanus (Jan van Straet, 1523-1605), who was active in Florence from about 1550 onwards and depicted three Italian comedians in a composition known through an engraving after it [PLATE 29], and several painted versions [PLATES 62-3]. Jacques Callot (1592-1635), artist of the widely distributed and influential *Balli di Sfessania* cycle [PLATES 2-5; Introduction i); III.iii.c], trained in Tempesta's workshop during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Isolated instances of figures perhaps inspired by the Italian comedy do occur in Tempesta's own work, for example in a *Winter* of 1592, where the figure at the extreme left may possibly be a Zanni [Bartsch 1978-, vol.36, 807(152)]. But the only clearly recognizable groups of Italian comedians in Tempesta's prints are in the *Februaries* for his two series of the months [PLATES 64-5].

II.ii.b Direct copies after Tempesta's *Februaries*

Febraro [PLATE 64] is one of a series of the months engraved by Tempesta which is dated 1599 on the title page. In this print, the tournament contest of running at the ring is watched in the background by a crowd, some in carriages, some on raised covered seating, most standing in the street. In the middle distance, the circle of spectators is held back by two mounted riders, between whom performers entertain the crowds with lute-playing and acrobatics. The foreground is framed on either side by raised structures holding spectators, and has three centrally placed costumed horsemen. To the left foreground, a pointing Pantalone is mounted on a donkey, and to the right his servant, Zanni, carries a basket of carnival eggs over his arm. Both Pantalone and Zanni are masked, and dressed in anachronistic, theatrical costume, based on the outfits of the typical mid-sixteenth century Venetian merchant and docker [III.ii.c]. The houses which form the architectural backdrop to this scene are representative of late renaissance Florentine architecture. *Febrarius* [PLATE 65] also

appears to be set in Tempesta's native Florence, the façade of the church in the left background resembling that of S. Maria Novella. In the foreground, five performers in a city square entertain two women on a balcony. The group consists of two women on horseback, in Oriental or medieval costume, a Zanni with a basket of eggs who is similar to the one in the foreground of *Febraro*, and, underneath the balcony, a serenading pair, one of whom is a masked lute-playing Zanni. The cymbals, chin-strapped headgear and flowing cloak of the other indicate a Gypsy [III.iii.a].

Direct copies after Tempesta's *Februaries* are known. The compositions of plates 66 and 67 hardly deviate from them. Plate 66 is inscribed 'A.s temp. Inven.' and the engravers, two members of the prolific Sadeler or Sadler dynasty of Flemish print-makers, both sign *excudit*. It is clear that they are virtually mirror image copies after the Tempesta *Februaries*. Minor changes include clarification, in plate 67, of the objects held by the foreground Zanni and Pantalone. They are rings, and perhaps Sadeler felt that Tempesta's subtle linking of the tournament theme with an indication that February was the month for cuckolds and for marital infidelity required emphasis, although, as we are graphically reminded by the first chapter of Brantôme's *Recueil des Dames* [1981], cuckoldry was a topic of such importance in late sixteenth century court life that such emphasis was hardly necessary. Sadeler has also put more detail into some of the faces in the middle background, especially the two who can be seen between the foreground riders' spears.

Two drawings after *Febraro* probably datable to the 1610s, one very detailed, the other more freely sketched, in albums (Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, VIII 2676 & 1965-10, ff.26r, 455) of material pre-dating 1622 from the Strasbourg workshop of Friedrich Brentel (1580-1651) [Wegner 1966, 108-10, 134], further demonstrate the influence of this composition.

II.ii.c Jan I Bruegel

My research has revealed a large number of pictures less directly influenced by Tempesta's *Februaries*. A depiction of costumed revellers by the Flemish artist Jan I Bruegel (1568-1625) is, because of its subject matter, known as *Roman Carnival* [PLATE 68]. Ertz [1979, 115] is convinced that 'es kann nicht den geringsten Zweifel geben, dass Jan dieses Täfelchen malte', but points out certain difficulties with its dating. The view to the right leads into the Piazza del Popolo, and Jan I

Bruegel is known to have been in Rome in the early 1590s. But Ertz cites the high craftsmanship of the painting, the inclusion of some motifs which he feels are 'typisch flämisch', and the 'allzu manieristisch' treatment of space in favour of a later dating, to around 1600, half a decade after Jan I's return to Antwerp in 1595. The inspiration for the carnival crowd and Roman buildings are, according to Ertz [1979, 115], 'sicherlich in Rom selbst angefertigte Zeichnungen, von denen sich leider bisher keine Spur auffinden ließ'.

All three motifs which Ertz lists as being typically Flemish in this painting are also found in engravings by Antonio Tempesta. Egg sellers appear in both *Februaries*, a rider mounted on a galloping horse in a number of his prints [Bartsch 1978-, vol.35, 581], and a village scene with pig herd in *December: Village scene with inn* [Bartsch 1978-, vol.37, 1345]. More significantly, even though both Tempesta's *Februaries* have Florentine settings, there appears to be a definite relationship between *Febrarius* [PLATE 65] and the lay-out and even some of the individual buildings and figures in *Roman carnival* [PLATE 68]. In both pictures, costumed characters are framed by a stage-like setting, with 'wings' and 'backdrop' provided by architectural elements including high buildings to right and left, and views leading into the background from either side of a central building. Tempesta's church has its counterpart in Jan I's painting, albeit with its tower on the other side; Tempesta's lute-playing Zanni is in similar pose and costume to the lute-player on Jan I's stage, and both pictures have two horses in the foreground, those in the painting both in similar pose to the central horse in the print. To the right of the print, two women overlooking the performers wield eggs, as was the custom at carnival time, and carnival eggs are being sold from baskets at the left of the print, and at the right of the painting, where, as in the print, women overlook the performers.

Unlikely though it is that Tempesta could have seen Jan I's tiny panel, the possibility of an as yet unknown common source for these compositional parallels cannot be entirely ruled out, and there is insufficient evidence here to prove conclusively that Jan I was influenced by *Febrarius* [PLATE 65], or even that there is a direct link between the two pictures. But it seems worth considering that Jan I's panel was influenced by, and thus postdates, Tempesta's print of 1599. A further implication is that Jan I, an artist who undoubtedly visited Rome, and probably witnessed and sketched the Roman carnival at first hand, based his painting of this

event, its masked performers and revellers, and even its architectural setting, at least in part, not on his own memory or eyewitness sketches, but on pictures by other artists, of earlier events in other cities. This implication has bearing on Jan I Bruegel's other depictions of comic entertainers, notably his magnificent collaboration with Rubens, *Allegory of worldly vanities* [PLATE 69], known in several versions, where the high arched windows of an interior look out onto a market square featuring lively carnival characters evidently influenced by those of Callot's *Balli* prints of c.1620 [PLATES 2-5].

II.ii.d Tempesta's *Februaries* and Flemish revellers

The relationship between the compositions of Tempesta's prints and those of three further paintings [PLATES 70-2] is so close that coincidence can be ruled out. They share virtually identical settings and are all attributed to Louis de Caulery, because of their compositional and stylistic similarities to his signed painting *The carnival* [PLATE 73]. Two were sold under the titles *Village and party* [PLATE 71] and *Carnival revellers at a tourney in an Italianate renaissance town* [PLATE 70]. Despite these titles, the comic masks in the foregrounds of all three of these charming compendia of late renaissance carnival diversions are neither party goers nor revellers, but actors performing comic scenes.

No doubt such compendia carried wider symbolic and religious meanings, and, judging by the frequency with which they were painted, perhaps also provided nostalgic consolation to many an affluent February reveller in the lean days of Lent. In the background of each picture, a tournament takes place before a crowd. In the foreground, to the right in plates 71-2 and to the left in plate 70, a man with a basket sells eggs, traditionally tossed into the crowd by the more boisterous carnival participants.

In plate 70, there are four comic actors next to the egg-seller in the street. Pantalone, in traditional black cloak over red suit, rides a 'pantomime donkey', a rare iconographic motif, which also features in plate 48 [II.i.b; II.ii.f]. This 'donkey' consists of an older player led by a Zanni in a buff coloured suit, and wearing Pantalone's slippers as 'donkey's ears'. They face right, and a second Zanni behind, in a pale yellow top and grey trunk hose, wields a dagger. This group serenades an elegant gathering on a temporary raised dais at the right. The picture is delicately

painted in thin, free washes through which the ruled under-drawing of the architecture shows. In plates 71-2, Pantalone rides a conventional horse, and has only two servants, one beside him, and a Harlequin in front.

Plates 71-2 feature a group of three acrobats [III.iii.c] directly below the dais, like the comedians playing to the crowd above them, and perhaps directly associated with the comic troupe. This is one of many compositional elements in these paintings which bear a significant resemblance to those in Tempesta's *Febraro* [PLATE 64]. Also common to all four pictures are the carnival tournament in progress in the middle distance, the mounted Pantalone in the foreground who gestures towards a richly-dressed group on a raised temporary structure, the costumed pair of mounted horsemen, basket of carnival eggs, carriages and distant crowd of spectators. The compositions cannot have been reached independently or without some common source or intermediary.

By their nature, most prints achieved an immeasurably greater audience than paintings in the late renaissance, and the wide circulation of Tempesta's composition, through his original print [PLATE 64] and through Sadeler's copy [PLATE 66], increases the probability that northern artists would be familiar with it. Additionally, Tempesta would have had the opportunity to witness at first hand the festival portrayed in *Febraro*, and it is placed in a convincing Florentine street setting. Plates 70-2 have *capriccio* settings, suggesting that Tempesta's print precedes them. Various iconographic elements support this indication, for example the pleasing and logical circular route taken by the carnival eggs at the right-hand side of the print: from egg-seller up to the ladies, and then down to the hapless gentlemen, is degraded meaninglessly in the paintings, suggesting that it portrays a custom familiar to the engraver, but not to the painters.

In plate 70, Pantalone's servants are still in their earliest theatrical costume, that of the Zanni. The Harlequin and his companion in Brighella type costume of plates 71-2 are comic servant types who developed only in the late sixteenth century [I.iii.c-d]. However, plates 71-2 are closer to Tempesta's print than plate 70. They share, for example, the motif of the tower of acrobats, absent in plate 70, and the pointing Pantalones and their donkeys are similar, although the other animals in plate 70 are closer to Tempesta's animals than those in plates 71-2. This is clear if, for

example the dog in plate 70 and the horses in the paintings are compared to those in prints by Tempesta [Bartsch 1978-, vol.35, 581; vol.36, 900].

One hypothesis which explains these iconographic relationships is that plate 71 is the earlier painting, based (either directly or indirectly) on Tempesta's *Februaries*, and plate 70 a later version, based on the earlier painting itself or on an intermediary. (Plate 72 is so close to plate 71 that it could be a direct variant). Evidence in favour of this hypothesis, and also that the artist of plate 71 may have drawn on direct observation of Tempesta's prints for this picture, comes from Tempesta's *Februarius* [PLATE 65]. The theatrical lay-outs of the two pictures, with foreground figures and backdrop cityscape framed by architectural 'wings', are close. The central part of *Februarius*'s Florentine cityscape also occurs in the *capriccio* backdrop of the painting, from the far view of the square, with church and tower at the left, to the distinctive central building with its deep wings. Many of the architectural details are different, for example the arrangement of the windows in the front-facing façade of the central building, but even these changes could in some cases be explained by the influence of other Tempesta prints. The left-hand 'wing' of plate 71, for example, closely resembles the palace in a Tempesta print of 1598 [PLATE 74].

The possibility that Tempesta plundered this Flemish painting for both his *Februaries* can be virtually dismissed. An as yet undiscovered common source which pre-dates both the paintings and the prints would explain their compositional parallels, but also seems unlikely. The most plausible explanation for these similarities is that the earlier of the paintings is based on knowledge of Tempesta's prints themselves, or on a later intermediate source. Regardless of the number of variants involved, certain compositional elements of Tempesta's prints appear to give a clear artistic precedent for the theatrical element of these two carnival paintings, in which case the date of *Febraro*, 1599, gives a reliable *terminus post quem* for all three paintings. Despite their similar subject matter, the stylistic differences between plates 70 and 71 indicate two artists. The background of plate 70 is less like that of *Februarius* than that of plate 71. Plate 70 is not dissimilar to Caulery's signed paintings, and notably the Hamburg *Carnival* [PLATE 73] but, despite the art market attribution, the heavily painted background architecture and less artificially contorted types of plate 71 rule out serious association with Caulery.

II.ii.e Louis de Caulery

Louis de Caulery (active c.1594-c.1627) is an artist thought to have come originally from Cambrai, who worked in Antwerp. He is now thought to have been born not long before 1582, to have been based in Antwerp throughout his artistic career and to have died in 1627. Velde [1966] quotes documentary records in the *Liggeren* of the Antwerp St. Lucas Guild that indicate that in 1594-5 'Loys Solleri' - whom Van de Velde takes to be Louis de Caulery - became an apprentice of Joos de Momper, at that time a member of the artists' guild of Antwerp, and Caulery was himself accepted into the guild as a master in 1602-3, taking an apprentice in 1608-9. The date 1627 apparently appears on one of the four dated as well as signed pictures by Caulery known to me. These are a *Crucifixion* of 1617, which appeared on the New York art market in 1986, an *Allegory of the five senses* in the former Czechoslovakia, signed in monogram and dated 1618, the Louvre's *Five senses* of 1620, and a similar indoor society scene which appeared on the art market in 1965, dated, according to its owners, to 1627, although I have neither been able to examine this picture in the original nor to verify, from a reproduction, whether the date is genuine.

In another signed picture, the Hamburg Kunsthalle's undated *The Carnival* [PLATE 73], Caulery depicts an old man mounted on a donkey in the centre foreground. He is surrounded by a crowd of comic characters, some with musical instruments, who direct their comic efforts in the direction of the group on the balcony at the right of the picture, while being watched by the elegant company in the doorway below. Apart from this old man, perhaps a Pantalone, there are no recognizable commedia characters. Even the xylophone player [Montagu 1976, pl.81] in the right foreground, who somewhat resembles a Harlequin, is unmasked and wearing a neutrally coloured garment patched with monochrome greys, rather than Harlequin's brightly coloured motley.

In the light of the newly-discovered *Five Senses*, whose date of 1620 made it clear that Caulery had not, as then thought, died in 1598, Michel [1933, 227; 1936, 54], who considers Caulery's carnival scenes earlier than indoor society scenes such as *Five senses*, revised his previous dating of the Hamburg painting from the mid-1590s to around 1605. A number of inferior drawings, including one of *Strolling players* [PLATE 75] exist in Cambrai itself, dated 1598 and apparently signed by Caulery. These point to the possible existence of a relative, whose identity and biographical

details, if confused with those of his more talented namesake, could explain the inconsistencies concerning Caulery's dates.

The similarity of a *Carnival scene* [PLATE 76], and further close variants, such as one which appeared on the Paris art market in 1984] in style, atmosphere and foreground figures to those of plate 73 support their sale-room attributions to Caulery. Plate 76 too features a carnival tournament in the middle distance, with comic carnival masks in the foreground, in an Italianate *capriccio* setting built up in the same theatrical way, with high, cut off buildings forming the 'wings' on either side and an architectural backdrop. The three spectators looking down from a balcony and the richly-dressed young man playing the lute in the right foreground of both paintings are close, as are the foreground group of children dressed as soldiers, in the middle of the Hamburg painting, to the left in the Madrid picture.

A substantial group of pictures relate to the Hamburg and Madrid panels, which are themselves compositionally close to the previous pictures discussed in connection with Tempesta's *Februaries*. Certain of these related paintings can be arranged in sequences in which their backgrounds form gradually changing series. Most striking is the connection between plate 71 and the Madrid picture [PLATE 76], and my suggestion is that, in the case of at least two groups of related pictures, these sequential compositional changes are the result of the decreasing pictorial influence of the Madrid picture [PLATE 76], and, through it, ultimately of *Village and Party* [PLATE 71] and Tempesta's *Februaries* [PLATES 64-5].

In one of these two groups the background architecture takes on an increasingly northern flavour, while in the other it remains Italianate. The two, or possibly three, further panels associated with Caulery which relate most closely to plate 76 fall into both groups. They are plate 77, first attributed to Caulery by Michel [1933, 225] and plate 78, first associated with Caulery by Legrand in 1965 [museum catalogue 1978, no.23, note 1], although this picture or a near identical replica [Berlin art market (Lepke: Klarwill Sale), 17 April 1928, lot 57] had already been attributed to Caulery by Frimmel [1907, 195]. They share with plate 76 the motif of a leafless tree which acts as a central focus and indication of the time of year, and the general atmosphere of its theme and setting. The Italianate architecture of the Antwerp picture places it close to plate 73, and even closer is yet another carnival painting [PLATE 79]. But

without further information it is not possible to determine for certain which was painted first, or whether they were painted in tandem.

The Flemish setting of plate 78 is shared by several further carnival paintings which may be associated with this group. Closest to plate 78 is plate 80. According to handwritten notes on a photograph of the picture at the RKD [Hague], it was ascribed to Caulery by Gerson, and Gudlaugsson read its date as 1.1.1604. Plate 81, attributed to Adrien van der Venne, deviates from plate 76 in the same way as plate 80, in that the central building has a much less formal façade, a sloping roof, leafless trees on both sides, and a tower to the left rather than to the right, and these deviations, and the northern characteristics of the architecture, are more emphatic in plate 81. Additional differences from plate 76 shared by plates 80-1 are the steeper slope of the bridge to the right, with the carriage on it, and the greater shift of the central building to the left of the picture, with a correspondingly lesser emphasis of other left-hand architectural details. Unlike plate 76, the right-hand wings of plates 80-1 do not have balconies. The door of this wing, arched in plates 76 and 80, has pilasters and a classical pediment in plate 81.

Two variants of plate 81 are known to me. Plate 82 is attributed to Dennis van Alsloot, plate 83, a minimally narrower close replica, simply to *maître flamand*. They too relate more directly to plate 81 than to plate 80. Michel [1936, 54], who used its closeness to the Hamburg panel to reinforce his dating of this to around 1605, attributes plate 83 to Caulery. This is accepted by Chudzikowski [1967, 27 n.13], while Mirimonde [1964, 284 n.53] draws attention to the closeness of the figures in plate 82 to those in Caulery's known works. The left-hand shift of the equivalent central architectural block in plate 76 is even more marked in plates 82-3, and the wings, too, are close to those of plate 81.

More than one writer has emphasised the *capriccio*, imaginary settings of many of the paintings attributed to Caulery. Thus Michel notes of plates 73 and 76-7, that:

les villes représentées par Louis de Caulery semblent plus ou moins imaginaires. En effet les rues et les palais sont bien de disposition italienne, mais les détails de leur architecture se rapportent à des bâtiments du Nord [...] même si certaines parties sont inspirées de quelques monuments de Venise, le rôle de la création et de la déformation propres à l'artiste reste prépondérant, et il sera difficile, craignons-nous, de tirer quelque indication du milieu représenté dans les quatre tableaux actuellement connus [Michel 1933, 227-8].

But comparison of plate 76 with Tempesta's *Februarius* [PLATE 65] and with plate 71 indicates a relationship between the Florentine background of the print, and those of the paintings. In the backgrounds of these paintings can be traced a progressive transformation from the Italian engraver's reasonably authentic Florentine setting, through Italianate *capriccio*, to northern town square. Interestingly, recognizable characters from the Italian comedy feature again in some of the northern settings, with the group of three to the left foreground of plates 80-1 identifiable as Pantalone and Harlequin, with a tambourine-playing courtesan between.

If the hypothesis that Tempesta's prints influenced, and thus precede, plate 71 is correct, then whatever undiscovered variants there may be, the sequence of influence can only continue to lead in the same chronological direction: on from plates 71-2 to plate 70, and to the Madrid *Carnival* [PLATE 76], from which it diffuses into Caulery's *oeuvre*, as demonstrated by the Hamburg painting [PLATE 73] and its variant [PLATE 79], and those in Antwerp [PLATE 77] and Wadsworth [PLATE 78]; and is developed from the Wadsworth painting by plates 80-3. This hypothesis receives support from the two dated panels in this sequence, the dated painting of 1604 [PLATE 80] preceding that of 1605 [PLATE 83]. These 'sequences of influence' are put forward as a working hypothesis to explain the relationships between a small selection of pictures, and as a technique for refining their dating. But they can in no way be regarded as a complete explanation for their iconographic interrelationships. They intermesh with other sequences of comparable complexity, as is highlighted by an ink drawing *January/Carnival* [PLATE 84] in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where it is attributed to Joos de Momper, although it seems to me closer to the style of Caulery.

Figures in plate 84 which relate to some of those in plate 73 include Father Time on his stilts accompanied by a drummer and a tambourine player, and Carnival himself, mounted on his barrel [III.iii.b&c]. These figures appear again in plates 81-3, where they are closer to those of the Cambridge drawing than plate 73, although the background of the Cambridge drawing bears no relation to these paintings; and also in another painting [PLATE 85] attributed to Caulery. A further painting attributed to Caulery [PLATE 86] is more distantly compositionally related. Its real artist is perhaps given by the signature on one [PLATE 87] of two further variants

[PLATES 87-8], that of Pieter Balten. Plates 86-8 additionally depict masked entertainers in commedia dell'arte type costume [III.iii.a].

Some of the pictures may have been painted concurrently, and compositional parallels may sometimes be due to coincidence. But even taking into consideration these areas of uncertainty, the suggestion is that the date of plate 83, 1605, gives an *ante quem* for the 'northern' sequence, whose *terminus post quem* is given by Tempesta's *Febraro* of 1599 [PLATE 64], that plates 71 and 76 were probably painted between the years 1599 and 1603, and that plate 76, the later of the two pictures, thus dates from the very start of Caulery's independent professional career, when he was accepted into the Antwerp Guild as a master-painter in 1602-3.

Examination of these interrelated compositions also indicates that while the artist of plate 71 almost certainly had detailed first hand knowledge of Tempesta's prints, this is not necessarily the case with Caulery. It seems clear that Caulery was influenced by prints by other artists. For example, Schneede [1967, 150-151] discusses the influence of plate 10 of the Flemish artist Hans Vredeman de Vries' *Scenographiae sive perspectiva*, a publication of 1560 which was reprinted in Antwerp in 1601, on some of his interiors. But all of Caulery's shared compositional elements with Tempesta can be found in the intermediate pictures here discussed.

II.ii.f Tempesta and Sebastian Vrancx

There is at least one Antwerp painter of comic performers and carnival scenes who, in contrast to Caulery, was directly influenced by Tempesta's prints. This is Sebastian Vrancx, born in Antwerp in 1573. He visited Italy in the 1590s, where he may have worked in the Veneto under Lodewyk Toeput, and, judging by a book of Roman sketches dated 1597-1602 at Chatsworth, spent that period in Rome. There is strong evidence that he worked as an assistant in the Roman studio of Paul Bril, where he may possibly have been involved with the production of the *Corsini Album* drawings [PLATES 243-7, 276; II.iii.g].

In or soon after 1602 Vrancx returned to Antwerp, where he displayed his predisposition towards genre, and knowledge of classical antiquities and mythology, in an extensive *oeuvre* which includes paintings, poetry, and at least fourteen lost plays. His very successful workshop collaborated with many local artists, including Jan I Bruegel, Henri van Balen and Caulery's teacher, Joos de Momper [Velde 1966,

213], and, by the time of his death in 1647, had generated a prolific output. Like Ambrose I Francken [II.i.d], Vrancx was an active member of Antwerp's *Violieren Rederijkerskamer*, and he held high office in the St. Lucas Guild (Artists' Guild) and the Company of St. Peter and St. Paul (or Guild of the Romanists) [Keersmaekers 1982].

A favourite setting for Italian comedians in paintings associated with Vrancx and his studio is a palace garden, often with a central focus provided by a leafy bower. This setting is reminiscent of Tempesta's *Aprile* [PLATE 89], from *The Months I*, the same series as *Febraro* [PLATE 64]. Motifs in this series recur in a number of pictures by Vrancx and his circle featuring Italian comedians, which can be sub-divided into several groups. The first consists of pictures which appear to be directly influenced by Tempesta's *Months I* cycle, particularly *Gennaro*, *Aprile* and *Maggio* [PLATES 89-91]. It includes *Earthly pleasures* and its variants [PLATES 92-6]; painted and engraved versions of *Dives and Lazarus* [PLATES 97-8]; two monogrammed panels, one in Budapest [PLATE 99] which shares motifs not found in Tempesta's engravings with *Dives and Lazarus*, and is thus probably close in date to the engraving of 1606 [PLATE 98], and a second [PLATE 100] whose more integrated design indicates a slightly later date, and a *Carnival* [PLATE 101].

Similarities between plate 92 and *Aprile* [PLATE 89] include their lay-out, the foreground pair of the fortune-telling Gypsy and her customer, and Neptune's fountain and peacocks in the background. The central mounted falconer of plate 92 closely resembles those in *Maggio* [PLATE 91]. The fountains, formal flowerbeds, peacocks, deer, carriage and pair and central folly of *Aprile* [PLATE 89] all have their counterpart in *Dives and Lazarus* [PLATES 97-8], whose bending foreground servant, display of plates and jugs, pointing man and rich foods are reminiscent of those in *Gennaro* [PLATE 90]. In plate 99 the shared motifs with *Aprile* [PLATE 89] include the peacock, dog, young servant with cloth over arm, formally laid-out flower beds and clipped arched hedges, central bower, garden house and grotto with a Pegasus fountain. Takács [1961, 54] cites a tradition that Vrancx used Bembo's written description of an Italian park as the model for such settings in his paintings, and that the villa in the left background of plate 99 may have been based at least partly on the Villa Colorno near Parma; but to my knowledge the connection with Tempesta's prints has not previously been made.

In plate 100, the lay-out of the formal flower beds and clipped hedges punctuated with a duplicated repetition of Pegasus' fountain in the grotto, the peacocks and dogs, distant carriage, and the young servant with cloth over arm are all shared with *Aprile* [PLATE 89], and a display of plates and jugs similar to that in plates 97-9 and *Gennaro* [PLATE 90] also recurs, and the foreground figures seem to be set in a grotto reminiscent of the construction of the central folly of *Aprile* [PLATE 89]. Plate 101 includes arcades, clipped hedges, formal gardens and a Neptune's fountain similar to those of *Aprile*; while the background tournament and carriages are reminiscent of *Febraro*, and the comic types, especially the strutting Harlequin, link it to plate 71.

In plate 102 much fainter echoes of Tempesta's *Months* are evidence of possible direct influence. Reminiscent of Tempesta's *Aprile* are such motifs as the central couple, the market women to the right, the Neptune fountain at the left, the arcaded building in the central background, and the horse-drawn carriage. The picture is attributed to 'circle of Vrancx', although the Rubenianum [Antwerp] prefers 'Caulery?'. Pictures with similar backgrounds are variously attributed to Caulery and Vrancx [PLATE 103]. In plate 102, a lute-playing Zanni shares a trestle-stage in the right-hand middle distance with a mountebank, in plate 103, the stage is in the central foreground, and two masked actors perform on it.

Legrand notes that engravings after Vrancx were a fertile source of inspiration for other artists [1963, 191], and the second category of paintings by Vrancx and his circle which I have identified consists of compositions closer to Matham's print of 1606 after Vrancx [PLATE 98] than to any by Tempesta. These include two paintings, one of which is virtually a simplification of the print [PLATE 104], in which, for example, the palm trees are omitted, while in the other the background and right-hand wing are even more similar to those of the print, but the foreground figures are different [PLATE 105].

A third group is formed by pictures which reflect the composition of one or another of the pictures in the first group less directly, perhaps at third or fourth hand. These include *A festival in a palace garden* [PLATE 106], which features a commedia troupe. Although probably from Vrancx's own studio, it appears not to relate directly to Tempesta's prints, but to be a free and imaginative restatement of the 1606 composition. This group also includes plate 107, which relates loosely to Matham's

engraving. The background is an almost schematically painted variant of that in the print, and the figures too seem to be painted with a less delicate touch than in the signed works of Vrancx, suggesting that it could be a workshop production. The pavilions in plate 107 may be associated with those to the right and left of plate 108, of particular interest in that it is dated, to 1613. The close iconographic links between plate 108 and the accepted works of Vrancx strengthen the hypothesis [Wadum 1987, 24-6], that it is a product of Vrancx's workshop. Kauffmann [1975, cat.63] associates plate 107 with Caulery: 'Both style and subject have affinities with paintings by Caulery [...] appears to be weaker in execution than Caulery's signed works'. The figures are close enough to the style of Vrancx to indicate an alternative attribution, to the studio of Vrancx. This attribution can only be tentative, because although it is now universally accepted that Vrancx collaborated on individual panels with various other artists [Legrand 1963, 200; Ertz 1979; Auwera 1981], as Auwera cautions, 'in het grootste deel van Sebastiaens oeuvre is zijn hand niet alleen te vinden in de figuratie, maar ook in het landschap' [1981, 146], and the background of plate 107 is schematic, with crudely painted foliage.

Also in this third group is plate 109, which relates most closely to plate 101. It lacks the right-hand architectural feature evident in plate 101, and there is corresponding emphasis on the lagoon at the left, and on the central building, whose façade bears a curious resemblance to the church façade in plate 71, which is based on S. Maria Novella in Tempesta's *Februarius* [PLATE 65]. This interrelationship again demonstrates that the compositional similarities noted in these pictures are complex, and cannot be fully explained by simple sequences of influence from one picture to another. Without firsthand knowledge of plate 71, whose present whereabouts is unknown, reliable attribution is impossible. But its style is not incompatible with that of Vrancx, and it is by an artist who, in common with Vrancx, is familiar with and takes motifs both from the commedia dell'arte and from the prints of Tempesta, notably his first series of *The Months*, published in 1599. So the possibilities that it postdates 1599 and is by Sebastian Vrancx deserve serious consideration.

II.ii.g Vrancx and his circle

Theatrical and carnival motifs also occur in pictures by Sebastian Vrancx and his circle which do not reflect the direct influence of Tempesta's prints. The paintings include a monogrammed *Winter* [PLATE 110] which features two masked characters in a sleigh: a seated female in ornate Oriental costume, and a male in Brighella type costume standing directly behind her (its composition is reversed in a signed drawing [PLATE 111]). Two further monogrammed winter scenes, with the titles *Winter* [PLATE 112] and *Carnival diversions* [PLATE 113], include masqueraders. Several variants of plate 113 are known, attributed to a range of artists [PLATES 114-6]. The costumed characters, a group of four in the right-hand foreground, are a masked man in a black suit with a white ruff and red undershirt, with a fox-tail, carrying a giant grill-pan and wearing a string of sausages slung over one shoulder and leading a woman, also with sausages around her neck, followed by a masked boy playing a *rommelpot*, or friction drum, and preceded by a drum-playing boy in a brightly patchworked white suit reminiscent of the type worn by early Harlequins.

Stylistically similar are the comic types in a dated picture of 1631 [plate 117] of great theatrical interest, signed with a monogram interpreted by the art market as that of Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, although the RKD [Hague] prefer 'omgeving van Hier. Francken?', an artist who died in 1610. In plate 112, the couple are followed by a shrouded female and a boy, and there is no Harlequin. The picture is dated 16[?]8, with a probable reading, on stylistic and costume grounds, of 1618 or 1628. The typical attributes of winter in a painting of the four seasons [PLATE 118] include a theatrical or carnival mask. Connections between the commedia dell'arte and carnival are discussed in section III.ii.d.

A *Harbour scene* [PLATE 119] also signed in monogram is possibly identical with the version now in the Dresden State collections, another version is in the Museum at Tarbes. In each, actors perform in the open air, on a busy dockside, on a raised trestle stage with a backdrop supported on poles, surrounded by a crowd of spectators. Plate 120 is an engraving probably after a drawing Vrancx made while still in Italy, in the 1590s. It is signed in the plate 'Sebastian Vrancx invent. Pet. de Iode Sculp. et excud.', bears the title *Romanorum Viri et Feminae Habitus* and features a Roman couple. In the left background, on a stage raised to just above head height, a mountebank promotes his wares, aided by a string-playing male in Zanni

costume, and a female. In the right and central background, six masked and costumed actors or carnival revellers burst onto the scene, the female in Orientally inspired costume, the males in matachin-like clothes, one armed with a hammer and one wielding a stick, another playing the violin, a fourth somersaulting, the fifth partnering the woman in a dance.

Of the many paintings depicting comedians which show views looking towards St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice, at least six are attributed to Louis de Caulery [PLATES 121-6]. Further paintings of similar subject for which I have not, as yet, been able to obtain any form of reproduction, include a *Carnival at Venice* (Christie's, 30 July 1943, lot 150, as by Alsloot), and a *Bullbaiting in the Piazza of St. Mark's* (Sotheby's, 23 February 1955, as by Vrancx, but reattributed by P. de Boer to Caulery [Antwerp, Rubenianum]) noted by Legrand as being in the Delwart collection, Brussels [1963, 82]. The backgrounds of plates 123-6 show similar views, looking eastward across the Piazza to the Campanile and the Cathedral; those of plates 121-2 show the view from the sea front looking northwards up the Piazzetta towards the Campanile, Cathedral and clock-tower. Plate 123 is the most topographically accurate; in plate 124 the Doges Palace, for example, is very freely rendered, while in plate 125 it has been replaced by an invented building which bears little relation to reality. The view of the Piazzetta also introduces a number of topographical inaccuracies. The foreground groupings of plates 123-6 are also comparable, with an elegant gathering on a raised platform in the left foreground, watching bullfighting in the middle of the square, while crowds of carnival revellers mill around the various amusements and mountebanks perform on raised outdoor stages in the middle right-hand distance of plates 121-3 and 125-6.

In plates 121-3, crowds of small, hardly differentiated plump figures swirl around the square. Plates 124 and 126 have an even less structured atmosphere. But in plate 125, distinct groups of figures, each with individual features and gestures and minutely described costume details, are combined into one large and carefully-planned composition which features a representative selection of typical carnival diversions: wealthy and merchant onlookers at the left, the bullfight in the middle, the mountebank's stage underneath the Campanile, the comic troupe in the foreground and masked participants to the right. The incompetence in handling such an ambitious and complicated composition betrayed by a number of lapses, including

some awkward changes in scale, for example between the figures in the group in the left and middle foreground, and the rather coarse and stilted treatment of the background, could indicate an inexperienced artist.

Despite their similar settings, and comparable figure groups, the styles of these paintings are sufficiently different to rule out the possibility that they are by the same artist. Of the group, plates 121-3 accord best with their saleroom attributions to Caulery. Plate 123 features running children with outstretched arms in similar pose to those in Caulery's signed *Carnival* [PLATE 73], and both the figures and architectural backgrounds of these paintings belong to similar artistic conventions. The comic troupes of plates 123, 124 and 125 are very different to each other. That of plate 123 appears to be composed of a string-playing male, a woman and manservant in a tight red matachin suit similar to those worn by the bullfighters at the front right-hand side of the picture. They are followed by another couple and two males in less brightly coloured outfits, but it is difficult to make out more than the most general costume details in the tiny, centrally placed figures. The troupe depicted in plate 124 is a close variant of the one in Lodewyk Toeput's drawing *Allegory of January* [PLATE 127]. In both, a string-playing Zanni precedes a Pantalone accompanied by a man holding a bird, who are followed by two masked couples, and the painting is broadly compatible with the style of Toeput [II.iii.f], who died c.1603/4, although the topographical inaccuracies of, for example, the Doge's Palace, raise misgivings about attribution to a local, Veneto artist.

The comic troupe of plate 125 is made up of a main group of three actors and one actress, namely Pantalone, two menservants, and a courtesan, together with a further masked couple at the extreme right of the picture, another pair consisting of a Harlequin and a *tedesco*, and several matachins [III.iii.c]. There are strong compositional parallels with the Italian comedians depicted in two drawings by Momper [PLATES 128-9], which themselves ultimately go back to those of an engraving [PLATE 130] after Toeput [II.iii.g]. None of these comic figure types or compositional groups is to be found in the accepted paintings of Louis de Caulery. However, every one of them occurs in Vrancx's accepted *oeuvre*. For example, similar string-players, in costume of the type associated with the comic servant Brighella, feature in plates 97, 99 and 106, somersaulting acrobats, some also with a hoops around their waists, appear in plates 97, 99-100, 106 and 120, and a masked

woman in Oriental dress appears accompanied by a comic servant in plate 120 (in similar pose and costume to the couple to the extreme right of plate 125) and by Pantalone in plates 97, 99-100 and 106. The hammer-wielding Zanni leading the troupes in plates 106 and 120 is in almost identical pose to the spear-carrying masked servant of plate 125. The comic troupes of plates 97, 99 and 100 contain the same characters as the right-hand component of the troupe of plate 125, namely the Pantalone-Courtesan pair with two servants, Zanni and a Brighella type, and one or two acrobats. In plate 106 they are accompanied by a second couple.

Many of the masked figures in plate 125 also appear in modified form in plates 105 and 107-8, unsigned works associated with Vrancx, possibly workshop productions. In plate 105, the Zanni has acquired a striped suit of the type later associated with the servant Mezzetin, and moved from the right of the Pantalone and Lady pair to that of the Harlequin and drunken *tedesco* pair. In plate 108, which shares the Venetian setting of plate 125, the masked performers include the Pantalone-courtesan pair, the somersaulting acrobat and his companion, and a string-playing servant type. In plate 107, Pantalone and his courtesan, and a second couple both in Oriental costume are preceded by a string-playing Zanni, and followed by a Harlequin. Plate 125 is particularly close to plate 97 because not only do the comic troupes in the two paintings share a close resemblance, but the costume details, poses and facial types of the wealthy spectators are close. Plate 97 is signed in monogram, and can be dated with some degree of confidence to 1606, as it is reproduced by an engraving by Matham after Vrancx, signed and dated 1606 in the plate [PLATE 98]. The costume details, style, figures and composition of plate 125 all point to an early work of Sebastian Vrancx, perhaps dating to around 1600.

Another painting attributed to Vrancx shows a troupe of Italian comedians in a Roman setting [PLATE 131]. Two close variants [PLATES 132-3] are attributed to Caulery, and plate 131 is reattributed to 'Caulery(?)' by the Rubenianum [Antwerp]. Nevertheless, the comedians depicted in all three works seem more closely related to those in Vrancx's accepted pictures than to those in Caulery's, and the possibility that they are workshop productions cannot be excluded without further evidence. A painting variously attributed to Caulery and Vrancx is probably an inferior workshop production [PLATE 134]. Plate 135 is one of many pictures featuring comic types

and carnival diversions in town square settings which may perhaps be more loosely associated with this group.

Further works associated with Vrancx which depict comic performers include several of those discussed in section II.iii.f, one which shows a troupe of masked comedians disembarking from a gondola at a Venetian quayside (my thanks to Jørgen Wadum for sending me a photocopy of this interesting painting, which appeared on the London art market in 1965), and plate 136, which appears to have more in common with similar carnival pictures associated with Pieter Balten [PLATES 86-8] and Martin van Cleef [PLATE 137]. Neither does plate 138, in which several masked comedians enter an interior with individuals seated in front of a fire or playing backgammon, appear to be in his style. It is distantly related to a whole series of horizontal format winter interiors, many with Italian comedians entering or performing, attributed to Vrancx [PLATES 139-40], Simon de Vos [PLATE 141] and other artists, although they all appear to be from one studio. One apparently bears the monogram of Frans II Francken (1581-1642) and the date 1628 [PLATE 142], an approximate dating and attribution which would appear to fit in well with the whole series. Another of the series, which does not depict comic types, is dated 1632. However, the curators of the Palazzo Pitti, which owns two of the series [PLATES 143-4], feel that their pictures may date to as early as around 1620, and are by Caulery. A close variant of plate 143 is attributed to Frans III Francken [PLATE 145], and a variant of plate 144 is attributed to Dirk Hals, but reassigned by the RKD [Hague] to Vrancx [PLATE 140].

Graphic work depicting comic types which may be associated with Vrancx includes plates 146-50. At the extreme left-hand side of plate 146, comedians on a raised stage aid a mountebank. Numerous inferior variants of plate 147, both painted and engraved, are known, but the drawing itself is of superb quality, and surely the original of this striking composition, which features seven masqueraders in a city street setting. Plate 148 may be related to Vrancx's paintings of comedians in palace garden settings. The left-hand figure in plate 149 is a masked carnival reveller of the type featured in a number of paintings by Vrancx. Plate 150 again shows carnival masqueraders, this time in an indoor setting, and is particularly interesting because a print after it [PLATE 151] appears to be one of a series, of which at least two

others [PLATES 152-3], perhaps also after drawings by Vrancx, feature comic performers.

II.ii.h Summary

Antwerp is known to have been one of the many European cities outside their homeland visited by troupes of Italian comedians in the late renaissance. Schrickx, for example, cites documents which record their visits in the 1570s [1972, 798-9; 1976a, 79-80]. But no pictures have ever been linked to these visits by theatre historians. It is clear that the Antwerp artists of the group of paintings discussed in the present section drew heavily on detailed knowledge of previous pictures, to the extent that the settings for their depictions of the Italian comedians are primarily variations on a limited range of themes. Their Italian comedians too, are adapted from previous pictures, and included as colourful and appealing elements of particular types of pictures, notably street carnivals and palace garden scenes, often associated with the month of February.

The comic characters are not uniformly represented. Sometimes, the comic masks are nothing more than carnival revellers, as appears to be the case in plates 73, 76, 78-80, 84, 110, 112-16, 149, 153. In other pictures, troupes of performers with more or less identifiable commedia dell'arte characters are shown, on stage [PLATES 68, 77, 102-3, 117, 119-21, 123, 125-6, 146], in street performances [PLATES 70-2, 125], entertaining outdoors in palace gardens or courtyards, usually at banquets and picnics [PLATES 92-101, 104-9, 148], indoors [PLATES 138-45, 150-1], or engaged in less easily definable pursuits which might be a parade to publicize professional skills, or amount to nothing more than carnival revelry [PLATES 81-3, 117, 120, 123-4, 126-7, 131, 134-5, 147, 152]. The extent to which eye-witness experience of visiting troupes, at home or abroad, played a rôle in modifying the depiction of the costume details, postures, gestures and props in the borrowings which have been noted is not clear. At least one of the artists concerned, Sebastian Vrancx, played a leading rôle among the Antwerp *rederijkers*. For their performances, costumes and sets, it is possible that these amateur actors drew on Italian prints, the travelling troupes they saw, or even pictures by members of their group.

The Sadeler engravings [PLATES 66-7] confirm the interest of Flemish artists in Tempesta's prints, but are too close to the originals to offer much new information

to the theatre historian. My hypothesis that Tempesta's *Februarius* [PLATE 65] influenced Jan I Bruegel's *Roman Carnival* [PLATE 68] is tentative, and a common source cannot be ruled out. But the compositional similarities suggest that Jan I's painting postdates his visit to Rome in the 1590s and was not based solely on the artist's own sketches. There is more substantial evidence for the sequence of influence I trace from no less than three of Tempesta's prints [PLATES 64-5, 74] to plate 71, and in turn from this painting to plates 70, 72 and 76, and then on from plate 76 to two groups of carnival paintings by Caulery and others, one with Italianate backgrounds, the other, ending with paintings dated to 1604 and 1605, with northern backgrounds. Here several prints are involved, and an as yet undiscovered common source for the similarities between the prints and the painting, or influence from the painting to Tempesta, is correspondingly unlikely. The possibility of as yet unknown variants which may form further links of influence or modifications to my groupings cannot be ruled out, and any assumptions based on these pictures can only be tentative. However, they do indicate that plates 71, 76 and 78 date to the period 1600-1603, and that plate 81 dates to 1604-5.

Michel [1933, 226] deduced from Caulery's paintings that he had 'voyagé en Italie ou beaucoup regardé les gravures de ce pays'. On the evidence presented here, his case must rest as unproven. But I have identified one named artist who definitely used Tempesta's prints as a source for motifs in pictures containing Italian comedians. He is Sebastian Vrancx, whose *Dives and Lazarus* [PLATE 97] of c.1606 and other paintings including Italian comedians drew on motifs in Tempesta's *The Months I* of 1599 [PLATES 64, 89-91], and in turn influenced a large group of further pictures containing comic players, investigated in this section. Vrancx is here suggested as the probable artist of plate 71, an unpublished and unknown painting of commedia dell'arte street performers of exceptional theatrical interest. In drawing on compositional elements in at least three prints by the Italian engraver Tempesta, plate 71 serves both to demonstrate Tempesta's influence on the development of this genre and some of the problems encountered in trying to identify the performers in such pictures.

Although Antonio Tempesta only depicts groups of Italian comedians twice, I have identified motifs and settings from his prints in many Flemish pictures of comic types, and shown that the Florentine cityscapes which form the backgrounds of some

of his prints, and the poses, props and costumes of his figures were repeatedly plundered for garden palace scenes and carnival pictures in Italianate *capriccio* settings, by Flemish artists, which in turn were modified to provide 'Flemish' backgrounds.

II.iii Sterling's *Early paintings of the commedia dell'arte in France* reconsidered

II.iii.a Introduction

Charles Sterling's twelve-page article of 1943, *Early paintings of the commedia dell'arte in France*, is still the most significant scholarly publication concerned with an interpretation of sixteenth century commedia dell'arte images based on art-historical methods, and plays a pioneering rôle in reinforcing a point central to the present thesis. This is that the visual appearance of the comic types, their gestures, costumes, props, postures, facial characteristics, expressions and body types, and even the settings in which they are depicted, have as much to do with the identity of the artist who depicted them, and the pictures that artist is familiar with, as with the actual appearance, performances and settings of the entertainers he is depicting.

In his article, Sterling reviews paintings which he believes to be of Italian actors in France during the years 1570 to 1585. He summarizes the introduction of commedia dell'arte troupes to France from 1571 onwards, and reproduces and discusses six early commedia-related paintings in the context of associated works, four of which are also reproduced. The three previously published paintings reproduced by Sterling are in the Bayeux Museum [PLATE 12, Sterling's no.1], the Carnavalet Museum [PLATE 61, Sterling's no.2] and a Paris private collection [PLATE 60, Sterling's no.3]. Sterling adds three further pictures, in museums in Béziers [PLATE 154, Sterling's no.4] and Rennes [PLATE 155, Sterling's no.5], and a *Harlequin Disguised* [PLATE 49, Sterling's no.6] at that time on the art market, but now in the Drottningholm Theatre Museum. The first two and last of these paintings show actors on stage, the remaining three are three-quarter view groups.

The value of Sterling's contribution lies less in its results than in its method, an unprecedentedly careful art-historical analysis of the then available visual material relating to the early commedia dell'arte. He was unable to attribute any of the six

anonymous paintings which form the main subject of his article, and denied the possible existence of Italian paintings on the same subject [II.iii.g]. The attempts at attribution in the present section are necessarily inconclusive, in view of the scanty and fragmented nature of the research and iconography that has been published in the field since Sterling's time.

Section II.iii.b analyzes the reception and interpretations of the Bayeux painting [PLATE 12], and section II.iii.c discusses it in the context of a group of pictures which I here associate with the artist Lucas van Valckenborch. Section II.iii.d analyzes the Carnavalet painting in the context of two compositional variants, neither known to Sterling. One of these, together with its partner painting, both previously anonymous, is here attributed to Hieronymus I Francken, and a large number of other commedia-related pictures by this artist and his relatives, notably his brothers Ambrose I and Frans I, and his nephew Frans II, are discussed, in order to reach the conclusion that although plate 61 is not by Hieronymus I, it could well be by, or from the workshop of, another member of his family, most probably his younger brother Ambrose I.

Section II.iii.e associates the third painting discussed by Sterling, a troupe portrait of Italian comedians [PLATE 60], with Ambrose I Francken, and associates the fourth and fifth, the Béziers [PLATE 154] and Rennes [PLATE 155] pictures, to Marten de Vos, and discusses them in the context of further commedia-related pictures here also associated with this artist. Section II.iii.f discusses Sterling's sixth painting [PLATE 49] in the context of several companion panels and painted variants, none of which were known to Sterling. One of the variants is tentatively attributed to Marten de Vos, while plate 49 and its companion panels are discussed in the context of a number of artists, notably Sebastian Vrancx and Frans II Francken [II.ii]. Section II.iii.g addresses Sterling's assertion that there are no sixteenth century Italian paintings of Italian comedians. A painting which Sterling believed to be by Toeput is shown to be closely associated with several of Italian comedians by the Italian artist Leandro Bassano, and Toeput's extensive commedia-related *oeuvre*, and pictures of this type wrongly attributed to Toeput, are also discussed.

II.iii.b The Bayeux painting

The first of the six paintings which are the subject of Sterling's article [1943] is a panel in the Museum at Bayeux [PLATE 12]. Some of the twenty depicted characters have small numbers beside them, some of which are barely legible, others touched up well after the date of the original painting. Before this painting was associated with the *commedia dell'arte* by Maurice Sand [1860, I, 43], who neither reproduced it nor gave clear indications concerning its location, it had been interpreted as depicting an altercation between Charles IX and his sister Marguerite de Valois, in 1570, over her frustrated marriage plans. Sand's description of it as a court ballet of 1572, with the Duke de Guise as Scaramouche, the Duke d'Anjou as Harlequin, the Cardinal of Lorraine as Pantalone, Catherine de'Medici as Columbine and King Charles IX himself as Brighella, raised much speculation among early theatre historians [Rasi 1905, 910; Driesen 1904, 231-2]. But the painting itself was only identified in the 1920s, when Duchartre triumphantly sprung it upon his readers as no less than 'the oldest and most important document in the iconography of the *commedia dell'arte* now extant' [1929/1966, 86]. Citing as evidence an inscription under the painting, which he paraphrases, Duchartre identifies the artist as Pourbus, the location at which the performance is taking place as the French court, and concludes that:

the troupe was certainly one of the oldest, and there is good reason to believe that it was Ganassa's company [...] the scene portrayed could not possibly have taken place later than 1574 [Duchartre 1929/1966, 86].

The inscription, painted on a piece of wood added to the original panel, identifies eleven numbered characters, as King Charles IX and ten named members of the French court, as follows:

- 1) *PORBUS peintre auteur du tableau*. [In the black hat and dark cloak standing in the extreme left background.]
- 2) *LE ROI charle Neuf* [(1550-74). Duchartre identifies him as the man with outstretched arms directly behind the woman standing in the foreground, in a green hat, hose and garters, a cream coloured doublet and shoes and a black cloak.]
- 3) *HENRY duc de Guise*. [To the right of Charles; with sword, black hat, shoes and hose, a pale cloak and stockings, and white neck ruff.]
- 4) *CATHERINE de Medicis Reine mere* [(1519-89). Was known to have worn widows' weeds from 1559 onwards. The woman standing behind Pantalone is youngish and in a fashionable, cream coloured

dress with decorative black under sleeves, a pale lilac under dress, and the same type of pretty head wear as her female companions.]

5) *LE DUC D'ANJOU depuis henry 3 frere du Roi* [(1551-89). Charles's younger brother Henri. Now identified by number as the young man standing between Charles and Catherine, in green doublet, stockings, hose and hat, the last with a spoon in it [II.iii.e], black doublet and pink cloak, although Duchartre identifies him as the older man to the left of the doorway in the light coloured head wear.]

6) *LE DUC D'ALENCON frere du Roi* [(b.1554). Charles' younger brother Hercule (Francis), a frail hunchback. The number 6 is painted above the head of the woman in the background standing immediately to the right of the archway, indicating an error in repainting the numbers. Duchartre identifies no.6 as the man described in no.5, above.]

7) *ELISABETH mariee a philippe 2 Roi d'espagne soeur du roi* [(1545-68). Duchartre identifies her as the seated figure in the green dress at the extreme right stroking a lapdog, now identified as number 9. Catherine's oldest daughter left France in 1559 to marry Phillip II of Spain.]

8) *CLAUDE mariée a charles 2 duc de Lorraine Soeur du roi* [(1547-75). Older sister of Charles. The number is no longer visible, and it is not possible to tell which figure is meant.]

9) *MARGUERITE mariee a henry 4 Roi de Navare soeur du Roi* [(b.1553). Younger sister of Charles. The date of the marriage was 17 August 1572, a week before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (24.8.1572). Now identified as the extreme right-hand seated figure.]

10) *CHARLES CARDINAL de Lorraine*. [Seated second from the right.]

11) *MARIE TOUCHEE maîtresse de charles 9*. [The dark clad woman in the extreme right-hand background is identified by a faintly painted number as this mistress of Charles IX, who married Elisabeth of Habsburg, sister of the future Holy Roman Emperors Rudolf and Matthias, in 1570.]

Four of the remaining figures, a Pantalone and three male servants, are masked. The standing figures at the extreme left and right are a female servant and a *dottore*. Pantalone, in the central right foreground, wears his traditional black and bright red, with a prominent codpiece, flesh coloured full face mask with large circular eye holes, and white hair and beard. Next to him stands a servant in a black three-quarter mask, with a pale, feathered cap. His suit is pale grey, and of the loose Zanni type, but with numerous irregular patches on it, most neutrally coloured, but including several bright ones on his sleeve and upper body. Two further masked servants stand at the left of the picture. The one behind is in a black three-quarter mask, buff suit and bright red feathered hat. The one in front wears the loose suit,

cut like pyjamas, typical for the *commedia dell'arte* Zanni. The suit, like his hat and full mask, are buff, his shoes and purse black, and his stockings bright red. The figures stand on the terracotta tiled floor of a stone-walled interior of monumental proportions which leads to an open archway framing a summer view into formal gardens. To the top right, a heavy black curtain has been drawn back.

Duchartre's acceptance of the inscription, despite recognizing it as a later addition, was criticized by Mic [1927, 230] and Sanesi, who exposed the inscription as '*un cumulo di difficoltà, di incongruenze, di assurdi*' [1938, 66]. But, possibly in order to protect his own researches, which had established a verse of 1618 as the earliest known documentary record of the mask Brighella, Sanesi [1938, 66-9] dismisses the Bayeux painting as being totally historically worthless. His attack is so extreme that it has made less impact than the serious misgivings he raises concerning its inscription deserve.

Sterling's approach is more balanced. He analyzes the picture in scholarly detail and suggests the possibility that it, and a drawing [PLATE 13] which repeats part of its central composition, may both be independently based on an earlier lost engraving of the central group [1943, 29]. He too rejects the validity of the Bayeux painting's inscription, attributing to it 'no documentary value whatever' [1943, 17], roundly dismisses the inscription's attribution of the picture to the Pourbus family, whose solid sober style is far removed from its busy gesticulating figures, and debunks its identifications of the depicted people: 'nothing could be more suspect than this roster of players so obviously well chosen for their roles; it proclaims naïve wishful thinking' [1943, 17]. Surprisingly, Sterling nevertheless accepts Duchartre's interpretation of the subject of the picture, as being Italian comedians performing at a French court in or around the year 1572, and its status as 'the oldest painting known (or at least published) of a scene from the *commedia dell'arte*' [1943, 19]. While Sterling feels that exact identification of the troupe is not possible, in his view:

the costumes, besides the traditional ones of the principal characters of the *commedia*, are French of the last years of the reign of Charles IX (1570-1574). So nothing prevents us from identifying these players as one of the troupes that came to France in 1571 or 1572. [Sterling 1943, 19]

Despite widespread concern over the reliability of the inscription, and debate regarding identification of the characters depicted, Duchartre's evaluation, and precise

dating to c.1571-2, are generally accepted [Nicoll 1931, 270-1; Gilder 1931, 62-3; McDowell 1942, 55 & 1946, 89; Lebègue 1950, 19; Apollonio 1954, 600; Pandolfi 1957-61, II, 333; Hallar 1977, 27; Decroisette 1982, 64, 78; Erenstein 1985a, 90; Gambelli 1993, 142]. However, once the inscription is discarded as worthless, the case for necessarily identifying the actors depicted as a pre-1574 troupe performing at a French court collapses, and this identification can be regarded as just one of many more or less likely hypotheses in a completely fresh attempt to attribute and date the painting, on more reliable grounds.

So far, the voices of dissent have been too shrill, like those of Sanesi [1938, 66] and Mic [1927, 230], or too faint, to register an impact. Driesen's [1904, 231-2] serious misgivings about Sand's description of the Bayeux picture and attribution to the Pourbus family, were formulated without the opportunity to see the picture or a reproduction. So his evaluation lacked any kind of authority. H. Adhémar writes of the Bayeux picture that 'c'est sans doute l'enseigne d'un théâtre' [1954, 109]. J. Adhémar takes it to depict 'a play in the entrance-hall of a country-house, before several spectators' [1945, 192]. His article links it with three others, the second [PLATE 61] and third [PLATE 60] paintings discussed in Sterling's paper [1943, 20-21; II.iii.d-e], and a further picture evidently not known to Sterling [PLATE 156], and suggests that all four pictures came from the same sixteenth century workshop.

Sterling also links plates 12 and 61. Of plate 61, he notes that 'the style and technique are rather close to those of the Bayeux painting. But the artist is more subtle' [Sterling 1943, 21]. While Sterling does not name an artist for either this picture or the Bayeux panel, he suggests that the latter is by a Flemish pupil of Frans Floris [1943, 19], and the former either by the same, or a Frenchman under Flemish influence. In section II.iii.d, I consider the Carnavalet painting and its stylistic similarities to the Bayeux painting, and also the implications for the authorship of the Bayeux painting of my association of the Carnavalet picture with the circle of Hieronymus I and Ambrose I Francken. Section II.iii.c focuses on a group of pictures which came to light as a result of following up J. Adhémar's suggestion [1945, 192] that the Bayeux picture is stylistically linked with two further pictures [PLATES 157-8].

II.iii.c Lucas van Valckenborch

In a private communication of 1986, Ulrike Noë indicated to me that Prof. Dr. Hans Ost, while accepting the traditional dating to 1571 or 72, thought that the Bayeux painting [PLATE 12] originated in the Veneto, and was reminded of the style of the Flemish expatriate artist Lodewyk Toeput. I recognized certain similarities between this painting and one [PLATE 159] featuring masked comedians attributed to Toeput. Despite this, and despite Professor Ost's inclination in favour of Toeput, the Bayeux painting seems to be yet another of the many depictions of masked actors whose association with Toeput does not withstand detailed consideration [II.iii.f-g; Katritzky 1987a, 80]. Stylistic comparison led me to the conclusion that plate 159 has less in common with the *oeuvre* of Toeput than with that of certain Flemish artists in the employment of the Habsburgs, notably Hans von Aachen and Lucas van Valckenborch (c.1535-1597), a court painter to Archduke Matthias from about 1582 to 1593, and that it is possible that plate 12 too could be associated with Valckenborch.

Matthias' father, Emperor Maximilian II, was one of the earliest foreign patrons of Italian comedians, and invited them almost annually to Linz and to Vienna throughout his reign as King and then Emperor from 1564 to 1576 [Trautmann 1887a, 228-30, n.149]. Archival records such as a description of 1589 demonstrate that his very limited financial resources during the period when Valckenborch was his court painter did not prevent Archduke Matthias from enjoying lively entertainments. The description of 1589 documents the visit to Innsbruck, at the invitation of the Archdukes Matthias and Carl, of members of the Bavarian court during the carnival period (4 to 15 February), and their enjoyment of typical carnival entertainments such as music, dancing, sledge rides, masquerades at court and in the town, and an otherwise unspecified comedy [Munich BHStA, KÄA.4292 ff.485r-489r]. But it was only after 1612, when Matthias succeeded his older brother Rudolf to the imperial throne, that he had the financial means to fully indulge his enthusiasm for the Italian comedians. For example, at the Reichstag of 1614 he raised the comic actor Cecchini to the nobility [Trautmann 1887a, 230-232] during what Nicoll [1963, 175] identifies as 'the earliest important "season" of improvised comedy at the Bavarian and Imperial courts'.

However, Matthias' uncle (and later father-in-law) Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, whose seat was Castle Ambras just outside Innsbruck, is also known to have taken an active interest in the Italian comedians. Ferdinand's collections include three figures which are among the oldest sculptural representations of Italian comedians, masked *mora* players modelled in Murano glass, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna [Schlosser 1908, 60-1 & fig.48; Krogh 1955, 148, fig.35], a play he wrote in 1584 features Zannis [Trautmann 1887a, 297 n.168], and visits by the Italian comedians to his court include a five week season of 1589-90 by an Italian troupe of thirteen actors and two actresses, who received an honorarium of 300 crowns [Trautmann 1887a, 232-3], from Mantua, the birthplace of Ferdinand's second, Gonzaga, wife.

Lucas van Valckenborch [Thieme Becker 1907-50; Franz 1969 & 1970; Valkenburg 1971; Wied 1971 & 1990] was born in Leuven near Brussels, in or shortly after the year 1535. Although he was a well-established artist in Malines by the mid-1560s, he was forced to flee to Liège in 1566 because of his sympathies for the Reformation. In 1570, he joined his older brother Marten, also an artist, in Aachen, and by 1575 he was back in Antwerp. Archduke Matthias was appointed nominal Regent of the Netherlands, a post based in Brussels, in 1577, shortly after the death of his father Emperor Maximilian II. Association between Valckenborch and Matthias dates back to this time, when the artist designed costumes for Matthias' guard in Brussels [Hummelberger 1965, figs.138-145], and painted a number of portraits of Matthias, three of which are signed in monogram and dated 1579 and 1580 [Wied 1971, 140-1, 199].

Valckenborch formally entered Matthias' service towards the end of the 1570s, accompanying him in 1582 to Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, where he was the only painter of any significance at Matthias' court, although Matthias stayed in touch with developments in Flemish art through his envoy in Brussels, Karl Larchier. Matthias' younger brother Archduke Ernst provided the documents for Lucas to join his brother Marten in Frankfurt, in 1593, where he became a citizen in 1594, and died in 1597. Lucas's considerable Frankfurt production included many depictions of Archduke Matthias, for example *Archduke Matthias of Austria at the vintage*, a signed and dated work of 1597 [London art market, 10.12.1980] not known to Wied [1971; 1990].

It may seem to go against association of the Bayeux painting with Valckenborch that not one of the articles or books dedicated to the artist, including Wied's catalogue raisonnée [1990], has even a single depiction of comic actors amongst his *oeuvre*. The RKD [Hague] has informally reattributed an urban carnival scene [PLATE 160] to Lucas which includes masked types wearing costume perhaps inspired by the *commedia dell'arte*, but seems to me to be closer to the style of his nephew Frederick van Valckenborch [PLATE 161]. The only other such attributions I know of are by the art market. Notable among these is a small, exquisite, colour drawing whose deep blues and browns depict a *Winter carnival* [PLATE 162], one of a set of four drawings depicting the seasons. The highlight of the festivities is a troupe of Italian comedians, whose crowd of nondescriptly beige Zannis jostle around a glowing red Pantalone with a deep blue waist sash and elaborate, uncharacteristic headgear. In principle the panoramic view and crowds of plumply Bruegelesque figures do not conflict with the sale-room attribution to Valckenborch, and it has been accepted without question [Royalton-Kisch 1988, 76, 126] even though the atmosphere of the picture is uncharacteristically Flemish for his work, and the medium, gouache on parchment, is not one he favoured.

Plate 162 relates compositionally to plate 163, a drawing by Verhaecht. Stylistic and compositional similarities between plate 162 and the Antwerp artist Joos de Momper's drawings *January* and *February* [PLATES 128-9] include the distinctive string instruments, baggy jackets and short trousers of the Zannis, the pop-eyed, round-faced women, with their high, slim waists, the proportions, poses and gestures of the figures in general, the high viewpoint and the dogs, characteristics found again in three anonymous drawings which may, perhaps, be by Momper himself [PLATES 164-6]. But the strongest stylistic links are with the *oeuvres* of Hans Bol (1534-93) [Franz 1965 & 1979/80; Hand, Judson et al. 1986, 73-4], and Bol's stepson, the miniaturist Frans Boels, probably, like Valckenborch, born in Malines, who generally painted on parchment or copper [Franz 1970; Cavalli-Björkman 1986a, 42]. Northern carnival masqueraders, of a type depicted in prints such as plate 170, feature in several of their pictures. These include Bol's signed and dated drawing of 1573 [PLATE 167], a roundel [PLATE 168] known through several later variants including one by Grimmer dated 1599 [PLATE 169], and Bol's signed and dated *The four seasons: Winter* of 1586, in the Miniaturenkabinett of the Munich Residenz, copied

by Boels in a dated picture of 1594 [PLATE 171]. These last-two demonstrate how closely the style of Boels followed that of his stepfather. Comparison of plate 162 and its three companion pictures of the seasons with the later *oeuvre* of Boels, notably several signed and dated works of 1616 [Munich Residenz, Miniaturenkabinett] establishes such close parallels, for example in the schematic representation of the foliage, that in my view there can be little question that plate 162 is not by his hand.

Marten (1535-1612), the brother of Lucas, was also an artist, as were two of his sons, Gillis (c.1570-1622) and Frederick (c.1570-1623). Gillis and Frederick are thought to have visited Italy in the mid 1590s, the probable source for their interest in the Italian actors. Because of the connection with Lucas, it is worth briefly reviewing the paintings containing depictions of comic types which can be associated with his brother and nephews. Several pictures of comic types on stage [PLATE 172] or engaged in outdoor [PLATE 173] or indoor [PLATE 174] carnival revels have been attributed to Marten. The outdoor pictures contain no characters of specifically *commedia dell'arte* type. A close variant of plate 172 [PLATE 175] has, more plausibly, been attributed to Dennis van Alsloot, and plate 174 is nearer in style to Frederick, to whom it has been tentatively reassigned by the RKD [Hague], than to Marten. Pictures by Marten's sons including comic types are generally associated with Frederick. He and his brother Gillis painted in very similar style, for the most part an Italian-inspired mannerism, although right through their careers they also signed works in a much more sober traditional Flemish style. The mannerist pictures include a number of night scenes depicting large crowds of carnival inasqueraders, including recognizable *commedia dell'arte* types, some with performers on stage in the background. Plates 176-9 were tentatively dated to the period 1596-1607 when they were exhibited in Brussels in 1963 [*Le siècle de Bruegel*, cat. no.220]; plate 180 is dated, probably 1597. Also to be associated with these are plate 160; a painting attributed to Frederick showing actors in mythological costume on a raised covered stage and a tournament [Benedikterabtei, Ottobeuren], and another featuring what could be a troupe of actors at the centre of an outdoor festival [PLATE 182]; several drawings, including one currently attributed to Étienne Delaune (in which the unusual motif of a matachin with a parasol may indicate the influence of plate 130), which share a number of striking compositional similarities with plate 177 [PLATES 161, 320], and an indoor banqueting scene attributed variously to Donducci or Mastellan

[PLATE 181] in whose left foreground six masked performers, a woman, four men and a lute-playing boy, entertain a hall of banqueters. The men appear to wear a cross between Zanni suits and Netherlandish carnival masquerade costumes, the woman is clad in contemporary dress of around 1600. Two pictures in more traditionally Flemish style show carnival masqueraders, to the left of *Winter*, a drawing in Vienna (Albertina, no.316), and at the right background of the main scene on a late signed and dated virginals lid of 1619 in Nürnberg [PLATE 183].

I have identified five paintings depicting Italian comedians which bear sufficiently strong stylistic similarities to some of Lucas van Valckenborch's known works for the possibility that he is their artist to deserve serious consideration. They are plates 157-8, stylistically linked with the Bayeux painting by J. Adhémar [1945, 192], and plates 159 and 184-5. Plate 157, *Reception of a Turkish Ambassador*, attributed to Frans I Francken, but reassigned by Legrand [1963, 72] and the Rubenianum [Antwerp] to his brother Hieronymus I, was soon recognized by theatre historians as depicting *Italian comedians arriving at a palace* [J.Adhémar 1945, 43; Pandolfi 1957-61, II, opp.280]. Although this has not received recognition, there is no doubt that the comedians it depicts are derivative of earlier prints. The Harlequin and Pantalone resemble those in the opening two scenes of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6]. The lute-playing Zanni and Oriental couple appear to have been lifted from a print by de Jode after Toeput [PLATE 130], which in turn appears to have plundered a painting of 1565 [PLATE 16] for its Zanni [II.iii.g].

Similar distinctive mannerist architecture appears in a painting of a courtly dance on a palace terrace, authenticated by Wied [1990, 160, cat. no.53] as being by Valckenborch, and dated by him to the 1590s. Wied hails this type of architecture as unique to this picture in the artist's *oeuvre*, and draws a connection with pictures by Hendrik Steenwijk the Elder, since 1573 a son-in-law of Lucas' brother Marten. Several of the figures in this painting, for example, the woman in white in the centre of the picture, are almost identical to figures in plate 157. A further painting, not known to Wied, may be associated with this group of works depicting courtly pleasures [PLATE 187]. It appeared on the art market in 1904, as a depiction of a festival at the court of King Henry II of France (d.1559) by the Flemish artist Frans II Francken (b.1581), and again in 1927, when Valckenborch's monogram and the date 1590 were identified on it, giving it particular documentary importance. Both the

architecture and the figures of *Dance on a palace terrace* [Wied 1990, cat.no.53] are sufficiently similar to those of plate 187 and the Milan painting [PLATE 157] to encourage the possibility that plate 157 stems not only from the same hand, but also from the same period as the paintings by Lucas, whose broadly approximate date is given by the date, 1590, of plate 187.

A further painting depicting masked comedians may also be associated with these pictures of courtly pleasures [PLATE 158]. In the middle foreground, a troupe of Italian comedians, including Pantalone, Zanni, Harlequin and a masked couple, entertain a noble gathering in a palace setting. Sewter, who first published the painting in 1940, assigned it to the artist Marcus Gheraerts senior, rejected the traditional title *Queen Elizabeth and her court at Hunsdon House* in favour of *Queen Elizabeth and her court at Kenilworth Castle*, dates it to in or around the year 1575, and identifies the figures it depicts as follows:

two of the actors can with fair probability be identified; the Pantaloon on the left appears to be the actor Giulio Pasquati [...] the Zany who brandishes a violin appears to be Gabriele Panzanini [...] Almost certainly, therefore, it is the Gelosi company which is represented [...] to come at last to the figures of the members of the court, it has been found unfortunately impossible to identify with certainty more than three of them [...] namely Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the host who provided these festivities, wearing a scarlet doublet and hat, and walking on the Queen's right; the Queen herself, a dainty, wide-eyed figure dressed in white, with pale golden-red hair and wearing a crown; and on her left, with his arm interlinked in hers, Leicester's nephew the young Philip Sidney, in white doublet and scarlet trunk hose, who [...] was still only in his twenty-first year. [Sewter 1940, 75-6]

These actors may be based on a genuine troupe, as Sewter supposes, or simply be compiled from earlier pictorial material. But because they include a Harlequin, a character not represented in the famous Gelosi troupe, they are unlikely to be members of the Gelosi troupe [III.iii.d].

The older man of the interlinked group of man, woman and boy standing to the right wears a fashionable bonnet and high ruff. His small neat moustache and pointed beard do not conform to the longer, corkscrew moustache and spade-shaped beard depicted in portraits showing Dudley in the mid to late 1570s (for example, two in the National Portrait Gallery, London), but to the triangular, pickdevant style which was more fashionable in the 1580s. The female figure does not in any way reflect

the dazzling imperial majesty and symbolism of Queen Elizabeth's official portraits, and the boy at her side seems hardly into his teens. Although Sewter's identification of the court concerned as that of Queen Elizabeth was soon discredited [Adhémar 1945, 192], an argument accepted in some quarters [Katritzky 1987a, 74-5; Gambelli 1993, 142-3], the picture is still referred to as serious and conclusive proof that the Gelosi performed in England in 1575 [Mander and Mitchenson 1973, 3; Waymark 1985, 29].

I have traced the iconographic motif of the woman and the boy of plate 158 to another depiction of Italian comic types in a palace garden setting, in the context of a similar group of court figures, in a picture [PLATE 184] attributed to an anonymous sixteenth century Italian artist, and thought to depict a *Gemaskerd Bal op het Kasteel en in de Hovingen te Vinzaglio (Italië)* [Renson and Casteels 1979, 50-1], although Legrand [1963, 254-5 n110] associates it with the Netherlandish artist Herman van der Mast. The comic types are less dominating, a riding Pantalone led by a Harlequin and followed by a servant leading a horse and a *dottore*-type, in the right-hand middle distance, and four masked musicians to the left. Yet another link between this picture and plates 157 and 184 is their intricate mannerist fountains. Each of these three paintings also features mannerist arcaded architecture, formal clipped hedges, crowds of busy little gesticulating figures and a similar high viewpoint, all features found in the accepted *oeuvre* of Lucas van Valckenborch.

Yet another picture in similar style of a court gathering being entertained by masked performers in a palace garden is attributed to Lodewyk Toeput [PLATE 159]. This canvas is painted in strikingly rich autumnal colours, with fresh green background foliage, and foreground characters clad in bright reds and yellows and deep greens and blues, picked out with gold trim. It features three dancing masked entertainers, a Pantalone in traditional bright scarlet undergarments and long black fur lined cloak, black cap, mask and slippers, flanked to the left by a lute-playing Zanni-type in buff with a short black cloak, and to the right by another comic servant in a buff suit, black hat with a spoon threaded through it, and short red cloak, 'playing' the popular carnival burlesque instrument of grill and fire-tongs. A similar group of three comic types features in a painting attributed to Jan I Bruegel, but reattributed by the RKD [Hague] to 'Art des H.I Francken' [PLATE 185]. It is known to me only through a poor monochrome reproduction, which does, however,

confirm that the three entertainers are in similar pose and costume. The right-hand servant appears to be playing a guitar, extremely awkwardly held, as he is in identical pose to his grill and tongs playing counterpart in plate 159. Comparison of these paintings with signed pictures by Lucas van Valckenborch, such as a *Spring* and *Autumn* of about 1585 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, reveals certain stylistic and compositional similarities. The artist favours a high viewpoint, distant background views, clean brushwork and clear bright, unbroken colours, and busy scenes peopled with a relatively narrow range of distinctively dressed, gesticulating and built types, features also apparent, to a greater or lesser extent, in the Bayeux picture [PLATE 12].

As the Bayeux painting shares certain features with a group of paintings which may be associated with the output of Lucas van Valckenborch, there is the possibility that it depicts not actors performing at the French court in or around 1572, as has been traditionally thought, but actors visiting one or another of the central European Habsburg courts, perhaps that of Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, at Castle Ambras near Innsbruck, in the late 1580s. The connection with the Carnavalet canvas, noted by both Sterling [1943, 21] and J.Adhémar [1945, 192], cannot be denied. One explanation is that this painting too is by Valckenborch. Other possibilities receive consideration in the following section.

II.iii.d The Carnavalet painting

The second painting discussed in the article by Sterling [1943] which is the focus of section II.iii is a canvas now in the Carnavalet Museum [PLATE 61]. Sterling [1943, 20] notes the existence of a replica, thought to have been sold to Milan's Scala Theatre Museum from a Paris private collection. No such painting is now catalogued as being in the Scala collections, but he may be referring to either of two anonymous and undated variants not otherwise noted in his article, one of which is in the Drottningholm Theatre Museum [PLATE 188], while the other [PLATE 189] is one of a pair of pictures by an unknown artist, in identical format, in the possession of the Comédie Française, its partner [PLATE 190] also featuring actors on stage. Although the three variants, plates 61, 188 and 189, are similar in style as well as composition, they appear to be by three different artists.

Sterling identifies the artist of the Carnavalet painting as either Flemish or French, notes that his 'style and technique are rather close to those of the Bayeux picture. But the artist is more subtle, a surer and more graceful draughtsman' and Sterling [1943, 21] praises his 'lively and delicate' treatment of the figures. He dates the picture, by the costumes, to the 1570s, which is generally accepted [Lebègue 1950, 19; Metz (1970), 25; Povoledo 1975, 262, 265; Hallar 1977, 162; Noë (1985), 30], although McDowell suggests 1550-1600 [1942, 59 n.102; 1946, 88 n.28] and Hartnoll c.1580 [1968, 66-7, 273]. Although the Carnavalet canvas has been associated with a painting in a Paris private collection [PLATE 156] by a number of authorities, including J.Adhémar, who ascribes it to the same workshop [1945, 192], they would appear to be by a different hand. It seems likely that plate 156 dates not to the seventeenth century, as Apollonio [et.al. 1956, III, pl.CXLIX] and Molinari [1975, 162] suggest, but to not much later than the probable time of the Carnavalet painting, that is, around the 1580s.

The background cityscape is probably elaborately painted perspective scenery [III.i.g]. A wooden dagger of the type carried by the Zannis appears also in an ink drawing whose attribution to Jacques de Gheyn II is undermined by the fact that it seem to have been executed by an artist with great, perhaps native, familiarity with Italian [PLATE 191], whose Zanni also wears a rope belt and heavy purse similar to those of plate 156, and sticks his tongue out in similar lewd fashion to the painting's central Zanni. The nearest stylistic parallel to the painting would appear to be a painted variant of an engraving after Stradanus [PLATES 29, 62-3], which shares with it the exaggerated hands, some of the costume details, and other features. It is perhaps also worth pointing out that plate 156 shares a number of striking compositional parallels with the Trausnitz staircase frescoes [PLATES 20-3; I.ii.b]. These include minor details such as the distinctive way of painting bows, as well as much more important features, such as the female types, the particularly distinctive baggy Zanni costumes, with their rope belts, beards and bi-feathered hats, and virtually identical Pantalone costumes, right down to the two-tone sword. It is possible that plate 156 was painted in Italy, perhaps even in Florence, in the circle surrounding Vasari and Stradanus which may have produced the artist of the Trausnitz frescoes.

The Carnavalet painting is on a monumental scale - the foreground figures are not far short of half life-size - and this is reflected in the smooth and relatively mechanical treatment of its draperies. Their vast expanses do not lend themselves so naturally to the more spontaneous handling of the smaller variants, a particularly brilliant feature of the Comédie Française panel [PLATE 189]. The remarkably fresh colours and exquisite handling of the drapery in this picture and its partner [PLATE 190] are exceptional. Although clearly by a Flemish artist, they seem to show an almost Venetian bravura, perhaps one reason why Molinari [1975, 162] and Esrig [1985, 77] date plate 189 to the seventeenth century.

According to Sterling, 'the costume of the Innamorata [was] usually in the height of fashion' [1943, 28]. The *innamorata* of the Comédie Française variant [PLATE 189] wears a type of gown not dissimilar to the street dress of the typical well-to-do young Venetian matron of the 1580s, as depicted by Vecellio [1598/1977, pl.95]. However, the gown worn by the *innamorata* of the partner panel [PLATE 190] features sleeves divided by bands into a series of narrow slashed strips, a fashion inspired by Emperor Maximilian I's Swiss mercenaries and adopted by high society in the 1530s, as recorded by Vecellio's costume compendium, where it is described as 'old costume worn in Venice and other parts of Italy' [1598/1977, pl.71]. Isolated examples of the style do occur as late as around 1580, for example in an anonymous painting in the Louvre depicting a *Ball given at the court of Henri III in honour of the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse*, where the dress of the lady seated next to Catherine de'Medici has such sleeves.

The nearest equivalent to the handling, facial types, actors and costumes of plates 189-90 is to be found in *Venetian Carnival* [PLATE 16], by Hieronymus I Francken (1540-1610). This artist trained under Frans Floris in Antwerp, is recorded in Fontainebleau in 1566 and apart from several years in Antwerp during the mid-1570s, spent his working life in Paris, obtaining French nationality in 1572 and becoming *peintre du roi* under Henri III in 1594 [II.i.d; Legrand 1963, 74]. His *Venetian Carnival* [PLATE 16], signed and dated 1565, featuring matachins and a troupe of Italian comedians, including Pantalone and Zanni, entertaining a noble audience, is the oldest known dated painting of stock commedia dell'arte types, and shares many stylistic features of plates 189-90, such as their virtuoso colour effects, including the shot draperies of some of the dresses, as well as the sweet faces and expressions of

the women, their prominent dark button eyes, round girlish features, plump cheeks and arms, double chins, neat ears and waists and small, sketchily depicted hands. An attribution of both the Comédie Française panels to his hand, with a dating near to his dated painting, seems reasonable.

A further picture of Italian comedians in similar style is catalogued as an eighteenth century *cassone* panel by an unknown Venetian artist [PLATE 192]. Nineteen singing, dancing and lute-playing comedians frolic across a stage-like platform behind which a cityscape, real or stage backdrop, recedes sharply into the background. The panel may show an outdoor performance with a view of some actual city behind, or the outdoor celebrations of costumed carnival revellers. But it is possible that the city view is a painted backdrop, or even perspective scenery, to an indoor stage performance [III.i.g]. It is difficult to judge from a small and poor reproduction, but the figure style appears close to that of *Venetian Carnival* [PLATE 16], and similar comic characters appear in both pictures. As well as the more usual Pantalone, both pictures include matachins, four in the right-hand background of *Venetian Carnival*, and six in the left foreground of plate 192, as well as the distinctive plump man in the crenellated beret, possibly a *dottore*, who leaps with outstretched arms behind the Pantalone and Zanni of *Venetian Carnival*, and reappears in similar pose just right of centre of plate 192. The costumes of the women, and even some of their props, such as the feather fan, are also comparable.

Venetian Carnival is important for art history in being the earliest of Hieronymus I's few securely accepted works, and in playing a key rôle in the development of northern genre painting. 'Il introduit en effet aux Pays-Bas le tableau de société, et plus particulièrement, les scènes de bal' [Legrand 1963, 69]. Although it is also remarkable for being the earliest dated painted portrayal of Italian comedians, the fact that they are shown in the context of a private festivity in this picture, and in many others depicting Italian comedians associated with the Francken clan, rather than on stage, may be one reason why *Venetian Carnival*, and paintings by the Franckens in general, have not received greater attention from theatre historians.

The Francken family produced several generations of painters, notably Hieronymus I (1540-1610) and his younger brothers Frans I (1542-1616) and Ambrose I (1544-1618 [II.i.d]), who were the most successful, Frans I's sons Hieronymus II (1578-1623), Frans II (1581-1642) and Ambrose II, and Frans II's

sons Hieronymus III, Frans III (1607-67) and Ambrose III. The recurrence of the same first names complicates the interpretation of signatures, as even where present, the qualifications *younger* and *elder* changed during the lifetime of each individual. Many of them trained and collaborated with other family members, and borrowed each others' stylistic idiosyncrasies, themes and compositions. Notably, Frans II and his older brother Hieronymus II are thought to have collaborated closely. The Francken clan contributed a distinctive and commercially successful group of interrelated compositions to the genre of the society dance, mostly featuring pairs of dancers leading a carnival festival. Many variants exist, with and without comic masks among the dancers or bursting in on the scene from right or left. Even though in the majority of cases these are probably local costumed masqueraders rather than visiting professional actors, these pictures are still informative concerning stage costume.

Plate 193, of around 1605 [Härting 1983, 167-8], has been variously interpreted as being by Hieronymus I Francken, a collaborative effort between Max and Gabriel Francken, or the work of Frans II Francken with the possible involvement of Frans II's brother Hieronymus II, and the definite strong influence of their uncle Hieronymus I [Härting 1983, cat.A341, pl.105]. In a close variant (authenticated as by Hieronymus II by Härting), which repeats the figure groups of plate 193 almost identically, the two masked figures to the immediate right of the group in Oriental costume at the extreme right-hand side of the picture are clearly depicted in Harlequin and Pantalone type costume [PLATE 186]. Many close variants have appeared on the art market, including one dated 1608 [PLATE 204], and one dated 1616 which is noted on page 210 of the Karlsruhe museum catalogue of 1966.

The earliest example of a society dance scene by Frans II, according to Härting [1983, cat.A343], is a signed *Interior with couples dancing*, with no masks, dated 1607, or according to Härting, 1601. Other such pictures ascribed to Francken II by Härting are two signed works. One [PLATE 194] is dated by Härting [1983, cat.A340], who feels its inferior quality points to a studio replica, to the second decade of the seventeenth century. Five or six torch-bearing masqueraders, led by a Harlequin type, burst into a room of dancers and musicians from the right background. Other variants are attributed to Frans II [PLATE 195], Frans I, then Hieronymus II [PLATE 196], and Louis de Caulery [PLATE 197]. Attributed to

Hieronimus I or Frans I, but judging by the costumes too late in date to be by either, although possibly by Frans II, is a more distant variant [PLATE 198]. The composition seems to have enjoyed great commercial success, and other variants exist. Many are doubtless pictorial derivatives, but they may record a genuine vogue for masked entertainers at early seventeenth century Antwerp carnival celebrations. In the other signed picture [PLATE 199], dating to the 1630s [Härting 1983, cat.A337, pl.104], and an almost identical variant, also signed by Frans II [Härting 1983, cat.338a], the masks lurk almost unrecognizably in the right background, in the shadow of a theatrical curtain.

Several further such works also attributed to Frans II include firstly, a tiny panel [PLATE 200] in which torch-bearing masqueraders burst from behind a curtain in the left background, into a room of dancers and feasters. Secondly, a panel [PLATE 201], attributed to Hieronimus I by Legrand [1963, 72], and to Frans II by Hartveld, in which the masqueraders entering from the left background, some in Orientally-inspired costumes, are led by a masked burlesque musician playing a grill and tongs, and dressed in costume possibly adapted from that of the commedia Zanni. Close in style is a painting attributed to Hieronimus I [PLATE 202], in which a group of costumed masqueraders, led by a Pantalone, enter at the right. Although certain compositional motifs, such as the seated women in the left foreground, are adapted directly from *Venetian Carnival* [PLATE 16], stylistically it seems much more likely to be by the same artist as plate 201, and perhaps they are both early Frans II's. Thirdly, a copper *Interior with dancing and feasting* [PLATE 203] successively attributed to Hendrik van Balen and circle of Hieronimus Francken [art market], Hieronimus I [Legrand 1963, 72], and Frans II [RKD, Hague]. Here a large crowd of masqueraders enter a room from the right-hand foreground, led by two twisting matachins. Also related are a picture of a society dance (in Graz), which shows masked mummers, led by a Harlequin type, entering through a doorway at the right, and a group of indoor society scenes of which at least some may be signed in monogram by Frans II [PLATES 138-45; II.ii.g].

Plate 205 features four masks in the centre left background. They are, from left to right, a Zanni-type in buff, a Harlequin type in a white suit and hat, the suit covered with smallish buff, green and red spots or patches, a Pantalone in traditional red, with black cloak, cap and slippers, and another Zanni type bearing a torch, in

a dark greyish-buff outfit. Since Legrand's [1963, 71] association of the picture with Hieronymus I, the museum has revised its attribution from 'Dutch School' to Frans I, and dated it to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The style is clearly close to that of Hieronymus I's accepted works, although the technique is slightly more impressionistic than that of *Venetian Carnival*, the facial types appear more Flemish, and the figures less gracefully posed. Mirimonde [1964, 283 n.44] prefers an attribution to Frans II, with whom most such pictures are associated. The question of attribution is relevant because the picture seems stylistically close enough to the Stockholm variant [PLATE 188] of the Carnavalet painting [PLATE 61] to raise the possibility that they are from the same workshop. Similarities include the facial types and hands, comparable loose passages of paint in the draperies, some fairly precise overpainting of decorative details, the distinctive thin-waisted, flat-chested build of the two central women, and specific details such as Pantalone's sword. But all that can be concluded without further evidence is that the Stockholm variant seems likely to be by a member of the Francken clan, almost certainly not, like the Comédie Française variant [PLATE 189], Hieronymus I, and probably not, by comparison with signed works, Frans II, but quite possibly Frans I.

Many other pictures of theatrical interest have been attributed to one or another of the Francken clan and their workshop, with varying degrees of justification [PLATES 88, 93, 206]. A panel [PLATE 207] attributed to 'Vlämischer Künstler um 1600 aus dem Kreise des Ambrosius Francken' features two costumed characters in the left foreground, a man in a vertically striped suit and a burlesque musician playing grill and tongs. The painting is close in composition to a drawing [PLATE 208] attributed to 'Flemish school c.1580', although the art dealer Hartveld has apparently suggested verbally that it could be the work of Martin van Cleef. The drawing features the costumed pair of the painting, but wearing different clothes, not associated with the Italian comedy. The two pictures seem not incompatible with the accepted *oeuvre* of Ambrose I Francken, and a dating to around the 1580s.

An exception to the general trend according to which pictures associated with the Francken clan only show comic types off-stage is a series of three pictures depicting actors on stage whose artist I have been able to identify as Ambrose I Francken [PLATES 56-8; II.i.d]. In section II.iii.e the third painting discussed in Sterling's article [1943, 21-2], a three-quarter troupe portrait of masked actors [PLATE 60], is

also associated with this artist, who had close connections with Marten de Vos, an artist responsible for many depictions of Italian comedians. The pictures of Ambrose I have a less busy, intimate and colourful feel than those of Hieronymus I, and a more monumental, studied approach to composition. Unlike his older brother Hieronymus I, who settled in Paris, Ambrose I returned to Flanders and established his workshop in Antwerp. His work reflects cosmopolitan influences, but retains a solidly Flemish feel. The Carnavalet museum classifies its picture as anonymous, although documentation notes that Jacques Foucart suggested that it could be by Hieronymus I, a possibility also raised by Noë [(1985), 31]. However, although it is similar in composition and style, the Carnavalet picture [PLATE 61] does not appear to be by the same artist as the Comédie Française paintings [PLATES 189-90], and is less close to the style of Hieronymus I. If the Carnavalet painting is by a member of the Francken clan, then Ambrose I seems to be the most likely candidate.

II.iii.e Marten de Vos

Sterling recognizes and salutes the superlative quality of two paintings in French provincial museums which are discussed, and reproduced for the first time, in his article of 1943 [13, 23]. He dates the troupe portrait, in Béziers [PLATE 154] to around 1580-85, the Rennes *Woman between two ages* [PLATE 155] to the 1570s, and interprets both paintings as depicting Italian comedians in France, painted by French artists of some distinction. Sterling is inclined to attribute both paintings to a certain François Bunel the Younger, a French artist who survives solely in written documentary records, so that stylistic comparison is ruled out, an attribution which has received general acceptance. My feeling is that there are strong stylistic grounds for attributing both pictures to the same studio as that responsible for the painting *The feast* [PLATE 209], which I attributed to the artist Marten de Vos on stylistic grounds and by association with a print with the same composition [PLATE 210] signed in the plate [Katritzky 1987, 89-91], although it could be derived from his print by an artist not associated with his studio.

Marten de Vos (1532-1603) was an Antwerp mannerist who took an active part in the affairs of the Antwerp *rederijker* players [Gibson 1981, 431]. He is traditionally supposed to have accompanied Pieter Bruegel on his journey to Italy, and he had strong connections with the second school of Fontainebleau, as well as being

a pupil of Tintoretto and the probable master of Lodewyk Toeput. While an apprentice of Frans Floris, he exerted a strong influence on his younger fellow pupil Ambrose I Francken [II.i.d], and Vos and Francken subsequently collaborated on a number of commissions. In 1594, they jointly oversaw the decoration of Antwerp to welcome the entry of Archduke Ernst of Austria, into whose service, in Frankfurt, Lucas van Valckenborch [II.iii.c] had entered one year previously.

In plate 211, a small panel attributed to Toeput, a Flemish hand is evident, despite marked Venetian influence. The handling is broad but compositionally hesitant, and the style indicates a minor Flemish hand heavily influenced by late sixteenth century Venetian mannerism. Seven opulently dressed couples are spread behind and to the right of a banquet table in a leafy glade, with an Italianate landscape featuring a small town set in hills behind. They are plied with food and wine by servants and entertained by a diminutive musician at the extreme right, and three masked players at the left, who wear the costumes of Pantalone, *innamorata* and Zanni. Pantalone is in his standard outfit of skin-tight suit with codpiece, flat cap and flowing dark cloak, slippers and mask. The *innamorata* wears a black half mask and elegant gown of the highest fashion, and the violin-playing Zanni is in his standard loose trouser suit and feathered cap. All three seem caught in the steps of a stately dance, and although they are quite unmistakably stock commedia dell'arte characters, the entertainment they are offering seems more akin to an informal song and dance interlude than to a sequentially narrative play.

Plate 209 is compositionally close, but much larger, and more formal in style. It is a polished northern mannerist work featuring six of the same couples, the three players and servants; but not the musician or couple at the extreme right of the sketch. The banquet is now set indoors, with views out to a building of perhaps northern architecture. Although this work has been exhibited and published [Terrasse 1955, 9], any attribution has been to the second school of Fontainebleau rather than to a particular artist, and with its firm unbroken contours, confident composition, autumnal tints and elegant sophistication, it is far from the style of Toeput. However, it is virtually identical in composition to the first of five engravings which, with their frontispiece, make up a series entitled *Christus Adventus*, and which is signed in the plate 'M. de Vos inventor, Joannes Sadler sculps. Sadlers excud.', numbered 1 and

entitled *Crapula et Lascivia* [PLATE 210]. Each engraving in the series is accompanied by verses from the Old and New Testaments.

There are compositional parallels between the engraving [PLATE 210] and the sketch [PLATE 211] which are not shared by the painting [PLATE 209]. These include the type of ewer and dog in front of the table, the table leg itself, the female mask's dress skirt, the sandals of the lute-playing woman and the shoulder costume detail of the woman seated behind the table. However, the engraving is much closer to the painting than to the sketch, both in individual detail and in mood, the sketch showing a light-hearted picnic in the open, while the painting and engraving are set indoors and share a much more artificial and self-conscious atmosphere. Even if other versions have yet to come to light, it is unlikely that the engraver would have introduced major innovations to the composition, or radically altered the mood of the work, and impossible that the similarities between the engraving and painting, and the common variations in detail of engraving and sketch from the painting, could have been arrived at independently. Thus the only possible chronological sequences of the three works seem to be either that Sadeler's engraving is preceded by the painting, and followed by the sketch, or that the painting and the sketch are independently based on the engraving.

The costumes of the servant-master pair in the masked trio of plate 209 differ in some respects from the standard late sixteenth century apparel of Zanni and Pantalone. The old man does not wear Pantalone's red and black, but a yellow cloak over a dark grey suit with gold trim. His shoes are buff coloured, and his cap red with brown feathers. Only the hat and shoes of his servant are the neutral buffs and beiges associated with the typical Zanni, while his jacket is an earthy dark greenish, again trimmed with gold, and his trousers and hat feathers are brown. The courtesan, whose hair is a striking blonde, wears a white underdress and short-sleeved rich red over-dress which, judging by the clothes of the female feasters, is of the latest fashion. Her lower arms, neck and breasts are bare, with the skin tones enhanced by a string of pearls, but her face is covered by a fine white veil. Among the costumes of the feasters, reds, yellows, orange, buff and brownish-greens predominate. The possibility that the sketch [PLATE 211] is a later reworking by Vos himself must be taken into consideration, but it is more likely to be by a pupil or follower. Toeput is known to have made a number of reinterpretations after engravings, and the work

is both compositionally and stylistically more compatible with an attribution to his hand than to that of Vos. Association of *A feast* with Vos, supported by a print signed in the plate, and the painting's stylistic similarity to the two paintings associated by Sterling with the French artist Bunel [PLATES 154-5], prompted a search for further commedia dell'arte-related works which could be associated with Vos. This search was initiated by an examination of those prints of Vos and their preparatory drawings which show stage performers, or traditional carnival rituals and costumes which relate to the commedia dell'arte.

Stage performers are depicted in *Melancholia* [PLATE 212], a signed and dated preparatory drawing of 1583 which shows a quack doctor and snake charmer on a primitive trestle stage. *Pax* [PLATE 213] depicts three actors, not necessarily commedia dell'arte actors, on a curtained booth stage. Types in the audience familiar from the professional stage, notably a *tedesco* [III.iii.b], and a spectator in Zanni, or possibly authentic sailor costume, could be revellers dressed up for carnival; with whose celebrations the troupe of five tumblers or matachins performing acrobatics in the middle ground of the print [III.iii.c], may perhaps also be associated. The two performers on the trestle stage at the extreme left of the print *Mercurius* [PLATE 214] have a more direct relation to the commedia dell'arte. This servant-master pair appears to be a Pantalone dancing to a violin-playing Zanni. A second harbour scene associated with Vos [PLATE 215] also shows three comedians on a simple wooden stage. Further engravings after Vos of this subject in the British Museum include one depicting three comedians on a stage, a Pantalone dancing to two Zannis, playing lute and violin, and another in which the dancing Pantalone is accompanied by only one Zanni.

The prints of Vos also depict commedia-related motifs in a non-stage context, generally in association with carnival ritual. The renaissance carnival was a rare opportunity for unbridled peasant celebration of sloth, lust and gluttony, the very elements which underlie much of the interaction between the commedia dell'arte's master-servant pairs. (Anger and avarice, and, to a lesser extent, the remaining two of the seven 'deadly' sins, namely pride and envy, also play their part in the commedia dell'arte, but the surviving scenarios suggest that it is sloth, lust and gluttony which are the dominant motivating forces of its plots and the most common ingredients of its *lazzi* and other comic business). Moralizing prints such as

Negligentie et Socordie [PLATE 217], with its group of masked carnival masqueraders in the left background, underline the close connection between carnival excesses and sinful vices.

Februarius [PLATE 218] includes amongst its masked carnival masqueraders a Zanni type. His burlesque musical instrument, composed of grill and fire-tongs, and cooking pot hat, feature in another carnival-associated print after Vos, *The Egg Dance* [PLATE 216]. An exceptionally fine mirror-image drawing [PLATE 219] of identical composition and dimensions is undoubtedly the preparatory drawing for this print, and as such by Vos, and not by Sebastian Vrancx, to whom it is attributed. The egg-dance was a pre-Christian fertility ritual to mark the start of Spring, and in Vos' depiction, the sign of the cod-piece presides over yet another peasant celebration of the sin of lust. A plump peasant performs the dance of the print's title, accompanied by two burlesque musicians. Perhaps in allusion to the sin of gluttony, one wears a hat pierced by a spoon, the other a cooking-pot helmet. Both forms of headgear feature in late renaissance depictions of commedia stock types, as do the burlesque instruments of grill and fire-tongs [PLATES 6, 28, 30-1, 73, 84, 87-8, 137, 159, 162, 201, 203, 207, 218, 220-4, 319]. All three motifs are present in Pieter Bruegel's painting of 1559, *Carnival and Lent* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, which is a veritable compendium of iconographic elements relating to this subject, and itself draws heavily on earlier pictures, such as a *Fight between Carnival and Lent* in the Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp, after Hieronymus Bosch [III.ii].

Depictions of fat and lean kitchens summarize typical iconographic elements of late sixteenth century European carnival. Like the drawing of *The Egg Dance*, that of the *Fat Kitchen* [PLATE 225], despite being ascribed to the artist Maerten van Cleve, has attribution to Vos on stylistic grounds supported by association with a mirror-image signed print of identical composition and dimensions, identified in the plate as 'M. de Vos invent. Martinus vanden Enden excud.' [Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; reproduced: Grinberg 1984, 93]. In the *Fat Kitchen*, sausages, meats, roast fowl and alcoholic beverages are evident in abundance, in a celebration of the sin of gluttony already threatened by the appearance of the allegorical and gaunt figure of Lent at top left, and the Shrove Tuesday waffles at bottom right. This composition was inspired by Cock's engraving of 1563 after Pieter Bruegel [Oxford,

Douce Collection E.2.6/192]. Carnival meats are much in evidence in many commedia-associated pictures [PLATES 52, 86-8, 220, 226, 267-8], and there is a strong association between carnival and the *land of Cockayne* [III.ii.d]. *Winter* was another subject which lent itself to the depiction of carnival motifs, as for example in a print after Vos by Collaert [PLATE 227]. This print, although it does not itself contain any directly commedia dell'arte-related motifs, is of particular iconographic importance for this subject, as it provided the compositional impetus for a group of depictions of the Italian comedians by Lodewyk Toeput [PLATES 127, 228-9] which in turn generated further depictions of the comedians by other artists [II.iii.g].

Plate 230, closely related to *A feast* [PLATE 209], shows an elegant couple, the woman playing a lute and the man holding a music book, flanked by two masked servants. The one to the left wears a black full-face mask and hat, and a tight-fitting jerkin with a distinctive hole at the shoulder, and patches, some rhomboid, in reds, browns, dark colours and black [III.iii.d]. The servant to the right is a grey-hatted Zanni in ruddy half-mask and a characteristic loose grey suit, who holds a wine-glass filled with a bright red liquid and with his other hand points at the woman's music. Stylistic and compositional similarities to *A feast* include the hands of the female lute player, characteristic of Vos, as are the facial types and gestures. Unfortunately, detailed comparison is hampered by the fact that both paintings are in unlocated private collections, and plate 230 is known to me only through a poor copy-photograph. Also closely stylistically related to *A feast* are the two paintings, in Béziers [PLATE 154] and Rennes [PLATE 155], which Sterling associates with Bunel the Younger. In the Béziers picture, eight half-length figures fill the canvas. To the left are two commedia dell'arte servants, the one behind in a red hat, the one in front in typical Zanni outfit of black three-quarter mask and hip purse, dark brown hat, loose yellowish-buff suit and buff cloak. Next to him is a Pantalone in tight red suit, long white shirt, black belt, cap and scabbard, and loose grey cloak. To the right of the painting stand a pair of *innamorati*. The woman has bare breasts and a double strand of pearls around her neck, wears a yellow dress with dark green slashes in the sleeves and lace trim around the top and sleeve-ends, and a bejewelled tiara with a sheer gauze veil worn off the face. The young man wears a bright red velvet cap with white feathers, white ruff and undershirt and crimson outer wear. In the background are three female figures, one to the left in dark modest clothing, and

either in a sheer dark veil or with her face in shadow, the one to the right barefaced and scantily clad in a low cut buff dress, with a fine double chain around her neck. The three right-hand women are blonde and wear drop pearls in their ears, the young man a dark coloured drop earring. The picture encapsulates a typical *commedia dell'arte* closing scene. Zanni's obscene sign indicates that Pantalone's mistress has cuckolded him with the young man at the extreme right.

Two, or possibly three troupe portraits of similar date and format to the Béziers painting [PLATE 154] are known. They are that reproduced by Sterling [1943, 22], which appears, judging from reproductions, to be identical with one that was advertised by the Amsterdam art dealer Hartveld in 1928 and 1933 [PLATE 60], and a near identical variant mentioned by Sterling [1943, 21] and reproduced by Nicoll [1931, fig.224]. Plate 60 depicts seven comedians, rather than the eight of the Béziers picture: a Zanni, Pantalone and pair of *innamorati*, who like those in the Béziers picture, occupy the foreground, and are in similar pose, but different background figures. The left-hand Zanni is entirely absent, instead there is an older woman in the right background. The elegant courtesan behind the foreground Zanni-Pantalone pair has been replaced by a maid, and two further courtesans in the centre background make way for a pointing male figure. As Sterling notes, the style of plate 60 is 'entirely different' to that of the Béziers picture. Sterling associates this style with a painter of:

Netherlandish descent [...] He was one of those little masters skilled in scenes of genre in the tradition of the Monogrammist of Brunswick, of Jan van Hemessen, and of Martin van Cleve [1943, 21].

In section II.i.d brief attention was drawn to some stylistic and compositional parallels with plates 56-9, and the conclusion was reached that although further evidence would be required for firm attribution, these similarities do suggest the possibility that plate 60 could also be by the hand of Ambrose I Francken.

From the costumes, Sterling dates plate 60 and its variant(s) to 'about 1580', and the Béziers picture [PLATE 154] to 'roughly between 1580 and 1585'. He acknowledges the much higher quality of the Béziers picture, but does not comment directly on the problem of precedence beyond suggesting that a now unknown or lost engraving may have established the type of the troupe portrait exemplified by these paintings [Sterling, 1943, 29]. In summary, it seems likely that plate 60 and its variants are by an artist working independently of Marten de Vos, but not likely that

they were arrived at independently, although there may be an as yet unknown intermediary involved, and the most likely candidate for their authorship is Ambrose I Francken.

Sterling associates three variants with the painting in Rennes [PLATE 155]. They are a *Young Lovers* which is a painting after a print which in turn could be an anonymous copy of a print by Perret after the Rennes painting itself. Sterling [1943, 24] suggests that the date of Perret's print, 1579, could indicate an approximate dating for this group of pictures, and a *post quem* for the Rennes picture, although he notes the possibility that all the pictures could ultimately be based on an earlier, lost, engraving. Notable among further close painted variants, not noted by Sterling, are those in the private collections of Lord Bruce of Fife, reproduced as no.111 in the Manchester exhibition catalogue of 1965, and "M.S." of Paris [Paris, Grand Palais, exhibition, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, 1972-3, cat.247], and that in the Musée d'Aix-en-Provence. Misgivings about the origins of this composition in sixteenth century stage practice, by critics who cannot accept that the nudity it records would have been possible at that time, are robustly dismissed by Sterling [1943, 25]. But he believes that although the composition:

was inspired by a scene in a comedy, our subject has become in the Rennes painting [...] a satiric picture of a general kind. From Donna Lucia choosing between Orazio and Il Vecchio it has become La Femme entre les Deux Ages [1943, 25-6].

Of the style of these two paintings, Sterling writes:

the quality of the Rennes painting is quite remarkable [...] Monumental broadness and sureness of form are combined with exquisite fineness of detail. A close connection can be observed with the Troupe of Comedians in the Béziers Museum [1943, 26].

He also notes that plates 154 and 155 share virtually identical dimensions [Sterling, 1943, 27]. The 'feeling of monumentality and strong plastic quality' [Sterling, 1943, 23] evident in the Béziers picture is shared by *A feast* [PLATE 209]. As with *The Concert* [PLATE 230], the hands, facial types and gestures of the Rennes and Béziers pictures are remarkably similar to those of *The feast*. The courtesans of the Béziers picture and *The feast* share the same smooth features, although in the former painting the tight veil with which they have been achieved is dark, in the latter it is white. The three old men wear variations of Magnifico

costume, and those of *A feast* and the Béziers picture share similar lank curly hair, straggly beards and foxy-featured, realistically moulded, full-face masks. The central woman in each painting has exposed breasts, of the same full, separated type, and each wears pearls around her neck and uses the fingers of one hand to grasp an object. In the case of *The feast* it is Zanni's jerkin, in the Béziers painting an admirer's note, and in the Rennes painting's Magnifico's eye-glasses. The female types in all three pictures are similar, and the young man to the extreme left of the Béziers picture shares the facial features of the one to the extreme left of the Rennes picture, while similar types are evident in *The feast*, and many of these stylistic details are reminiscent of Vos. For example the handling of the paint in the young man of the Rennes painting may be compared with the way in which the drapery of the seated muse in the right foreground of the signed Antwerp *Apollo and the Muses* is painted.

A major canvas which can be stylistically and compositionally associated with this group is a three-quarter length group of Gypsies and masked Zannis in Sarasota [PLATE 231; III.iii.a]. Six life-size three-quarter length figures are tightly compressed in the foreground, boldly projecting across the picture plane. The hands, and particularly the digits, seem more emphasised than is normal with Vos, but this may be due to the large size of the painting. They appear crudely painted, but inspection of the original confirms that although the palms are gross, and the fingers coarsely digitalized, the backs of the hands and the fingertips are delicately painted and highlighted. The centrally-placed man, who is masked, has his right arm around a woman, and holds out his left hand, palm up. Her fumbling at his waist, and her companion's caress, give an erotic alibi to an attempt to steal money concealed in the scabbard attached to his belt. He is dressed in the typical loose trouser suit of a Zanni, yellowish-beige in colour, with buff coloured cloak, hat and bearded full-face mask, metal sword and black scabbard. The suit and cloak are similar to those worn by the Béziers Zanni, in style, proportions and colouring, and even in minor stylistic details such as the way the fabric folds around the neck opening (a detail seen also in the outfit of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts' Philipin [PLATE 6]), and the fall of the cloak, although the masks of the two Zannis are rather different. Another man at the extreme right, unmasked and in a bright red cap, peers over the shoulder of a second woman who, with her large, separate breasts, generous proportions and

emphasised belly-button, is of a physical type often featured in paintings by Vos, as well as in the Rennes painting. At the extreme left, a third, forward turning figure, apparently a much older woman, holds a child. The costume of the three women is discussed in section III.iii.a, but it is perhaps worth drawing attention here to the delicate superimposed patterning of the central and left-hand women's garments, a decorative device also encountered in *The feast*. The hands of the central characters set up a distinctive anti-clockwise circular swirl which animates the picture.

So little can be seen of the male figure on the extreme right of the painting that identification is difficult. This cropping is almost certainly not a deliberate compositional device on the part of the artist, but the effect of the canvas having been trimmed. A half-height variant [PLATE 232] is possibly a copy by a pupil or close follower which gives the original composition. In it, the figure on the right is more complete, and is seen to wear a fool's cap and affect a posture which suggest him to be in the mould of the comic servant at the extreme left of the Béziers picture. This smaller version is more freely painted, and extends the composition slightly on all four sides. As well as completing the extreme right and left-hand figures, it reveals more detail in the background, which indicates a draped backdrop, possibly the fringed opening to a large tent. There must be reservations as to the authorship of plate 231, particularly in view of the startling number of conflicting attributions it has attracted, as recorded in the museum files [see plate list]. However, it bears undeniable stylistic and compositional similarities to the theatrical paintings of Vos, an artist whose name has not previously been suggested in this connection. Section II.iii.f discusses a variant [PLATE 51], apparently monogrammed and semi-legibly dated by Vos, of the sixth painting considered by Sterling [PLATE 49].

Nowhere else are the sources and early manifestations of the *commedia dell'arte*, or its artistic conventions and potential, laid bare as clearly as in the pictures associated with Marten de Vos. It was the renaissance Italian comedians' dual roots in theatre and folk customs, and more specifically in humanist comedy and carnival ritual, which gave them their fertile creativity and wide appeal, and both sources have left their mark in the works which can be associated with his output. They record the *commedia's* influences, as well as fully-fledged acting troupes, their stage performances, court appearances and the use of comic types and motifs as vehicles for moralistic, allegorical and religious messages which, in transcending the dramatic

content of the comedians' comic entertainments, blur the interpretation of these pictures as theatre-historical records.

II.iii.f *Harlequin Disguised*

The sixth painting discussed by Sterling [1943, 27-30] is a *Harlequin disguised* [PLATE 49] which, with two other small panels not known to Sterling in the same style and format [PLATES 48, 50], evidently three of a series, is now part of the permanent collections of Stockholm's Drottningholm Theatre Museum. Sterling recognized plate 49 as a compositional variant of a *Recueil Fossard* woodcut [PLATE 6; II.i.b]. The painting has the same three verses below a depiction of Italian comedians, and the poses, but not the costumes of the three characters in the woodcut also appear in the painting, where they are flanked by two further characters, to the left a Zanni peeping out from behind the backdrop, and to the right an older maid.

The composition of one of its companion pictures, *The Comic Serenade* [PLATE 48] relates to that of another of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6], but more loosely than plate 49 to its corresponding woodcut. It too bears the same verses as the corresponding woodcut. Pantalone is accompanied by a similar Zanni, and relates to Lucia in much the same way as in the woodcut. However, he is not standing, but mounted on a 'pantomime donkey' made of an older player led by a Harlequin type wearing Pantalone's slippers as 'donkey's ears'. The third of the three panels, *The comic duel* [PLATE 50], bears a shorter verse below the main picture than its companion pictures. It cannot be linked with any of the woodcuts in this series, although the print to which it relates is also represented in the Stockholm *Recueil Fossard* album. It is a woodcut showing the two central characters of the painting reversed, and unaccompanied by the maid and Pantalone with whom they are depicted in the painting [PLATE 9]. Its outdoor setting and only two accompanying verses, unlike those in plates 48-9 with decorative surrounds, clearly demonstrate that the woodcut is from a different series to those with which the other two paintings can be linked. Other pictures which have appeared on the art market in recent years which can be related to *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts include another which may be from this same series [PLATE 47], variants of plates 49 and 50 [PLATES 44-5, 51], and a dated picture of 1623 [PLATE 46].

Plates 47-50 show Harlequin, Zanni and Pantalone wearing the same costumes and - apparently - played by the same actors, in different situations, and the three Swedish panels have long been accepted as belonging to the same series, although even the most cursory comparison with the woodcuts shows that they cannot be dismissed as simple copies. Even so, they are generally classified as virtually mechanical derivatives of these woodcuts, hardly worthy of further study in themselves. Fletcher describes plate 49 as 'a copy of the woodcut with the costumes brought up to date' [1964, 51]. Metz is so convinced of the purely derivative nature of the three Swedish paintings that he postulates that plate 50, the least close to any of the known prints, is actually based on fragments of two lost woodcuts from the same series [(1970), 27], a theory which is undermined by Mastropasqua's subsequent reconstruction of the woodcut series [1970]. Undeniably, the artist of these paintings has closely studied artistic precedents, perhaps these woodcuts themselves, perhaps another, as yet unknown common iconographic source or intermediary, and taken compositional elements from them. But he has made significant alterations and additions of his own to each of the four scenes, and drawn on a variety of iconographic sources. Because *Harlequin disguised* is compositionally so close to earlier known versions, it is perhaps the least revealing of the series in offering clues as to the identity of their artist. The compositional deviations of plates 48 and 50 from the earlier woodcuts with which they can be linked offer vital clues to the identity of their artist.

For Sterling, the costumes of plate 49 'suggest a date around 1600 or 1605' [1943, 28]. His opinion is accepted by some theatre historians [Nicoll 1963, xi, figs.17, 18, 21; Fletcher 1964, 51; Molinari 1985, 216-17]. Other authorities, including the curators of their owners, the Drottningholm Theatre Museum, date them to around the 1580s [Hartnoll 1968, 58-9, 273; Erenstein 1985a, figs.9, 18]. The dated plate 46 of 1623, unknown to theatre historians, is too different in style from plates 47-50 to be of relevance in dating them. The figures of the actors in plate 70 [II.ii.d] are both stylistically and compositionally close to those of plates 47-50, although the latter are more thickly-painted and pedestrian in style than the delicately painted carnival scene. The costume and pose of the Zanni in the buff coloured suit is similar to that of the Zanni of plate 50. Both wield a short dagger in their right hand, and carry a piece of the same sort of cloth that their suits are made out of draped

over their left forearm. But the most marked iconographic connection is Pantalone's unusual 'pantomime donkey'.

Plates 70-2 almost certainly postdate a print of 1599 by Antonio Tempesta [II.ii.d], and the close iconographic links with plate 70 suggest that plates 47-50 could have been painted at around the same time, and that a dating to opening years of the seventeenth century, as Sterling suggests, is thus more likely than the earlier dating preferred by some authorities. However, the earlier dating cannot be ruled out on art-historical grounds, although there are strong historical grounds for rejecting a dating earlier than around 1584 for named depictions of Harlequin [III.iii.d]. All three carnival scenes [PLATES 70-2] are attributed to Louis de Caulery, and plates 44-50 are variously attributed to Vrancx, Caulery and Lodewyk Toeput. Although Sterling associates plate 49 with Caulery, he is characteristically cautious:

The author of the painting of *Harlequin Disguised* is undoubtedly Flemish. He has much in common with little masters like Francken and Louis de Caulery. One might even believe this picture to be the work of Caulery, who is known to have been established in France from about 1595 to 1620. But in spite of his similar color and his lively and fluid brushwork, he cannot have been the painter of our picture. He never escaped from his elongated canon of the body and his roundish modeling, from a certain cold and facile mannerism. The figures of our little master are more frankly drawn and more abruptly modeled; they are more vital and robust. [Sterling 1943, 29-30]

At the time Sterling was writing it was thought that Caulery had been principally a French artist. The emphasis now is on his work in Flanders, and many paintings featuring Italian comedians can be associated with the artists Louis de Caulery, Sebastian Vrancx and their circles, including a substantial group which I have been able to date quite precisely to 1600-05 [II.ii.d-f].

I know of no paintings by Toeput [II.iii.g] and only one by Caulery featuring a Harlequin type: the signed *Carnival* in Hamburg [PLATE 73]. Although this Harlequin type is very different to that of *Harlequin Disguised*, similar Harlequins are to be found in other paintings in the group of pictures which I associate with Vrancx and his studio, notably plates 71, 107 and 125 [II.ii.d-f]. The Harlequin costume of plate 125, with its random, brightly coloured patches on a close fitting white suit, black hip pouch and ornately-handled sword, is similar to that of plates 47-50, as are those of plates 62 and 221. Other comic types in this series are also close enough to

those in Vrancx's *oeuvre* to encourage the possibility that these pictures may originate from his studio. The Zannis of plates 48 and 50 are similar to those of plates 70 and 125 in costume, mask and spear-shaped dagger. Even the pose of the Zannis of plates 70 and 125 is repeated in plate 50, albeit rotated through ninety degrees. The Pantalone of plates 47-50, with his distinctive three-buttoned doublet, showy sword, contoured flesh coloured three-quarter face mask, white under shirt, black slippers and long white beard is similar, but not identical to that of two further paintings by Vrancx, plates 99 and 100, although unlike them, he wears a cap rather than a fez, and his cloak is of a fuller cut and falls straight from the shoulders, rather than having a slight collar. Lucia's split sleeve in plate 49, and her distinctive, slightly concave stomach, peaked hairstyle and the parallel stripes around the bottom of her dress are characteristic of females depicted in Vrancx's *oeuvre* as a whole.

Harlequin Disguised [PLATE 49] and its companion panels also share compositional and stylistic features with pictures by other artists. The facial features of the females in plates 189-90, which I associate with Hieronymus I Francken [II.iii.d], are close to those of the Swedish panels, and particularly to that of the woman looking out of the window in plate 48, and the Pantalones of the two series are also similar. But the brushwork of plates 47-50 is less brilliant, it appears to have less Italian influence than plates 189-90, which have virtuoso passages, for example in the shot colours of the woman's drapery in plate 190. The Harlequin of the Drottningholm panels has a clear precedent in the Harlequin of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6]. His closest painted equivalent seems to be in another painting in the Drottningholm collections [PLATE 221]. Coarser in handling than plates 47-50, it shows four masked comedians in a Venetian loggia: an actress accompanied by a Harlequin, Zanni and Pantalone in similar costume. The painting is anonymous and undated, but relates in turn to a group of winter interiors which date to the 1620s and early 1630s, and are associated with many different artists, of whom Vrancx or Frans II Francken seem the most plausible [PLATES 138-45; II.ii.g]. The four comedians are close to those in plate 145, and it is possible that plate 221 is a studio product of Vrancx or Frans II. Comic serenades were a popular late renaissance genre subject [PLATES 6, 24, 233-41]. Too many earlier pictures share with the Stockholm *serenade* [PLATE 48] the feature of a woman gazing out of a high window to pinpoint a source for this motif.

Concerning the place of origin of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, and, by implication, the Drottningholm paintings, Sterling writes 'as the French legend shows [it] was made in France' [1943, 28], and his assumption has been accepted by theatre historians [Molinari 1985, 213-17; Erenstein 1985a, 37, 91-3]. Noë, referring specifically to the Swedish version of *Harlequin Disguised* [PLATE 49], writes of such pictures:

die Tatsache, daß die erhaltenen Werke gehäuft in die Jahre zu datieren sind, in denen sich italienische Komödianten in Frankreich aufhielten, läßt darauf schließen, daß sie jeweils aus Anlaß von Aufführungen entstanden (zwischen 1585 und 1597 klafft eine bürgerkriegsbedingte Lücke) [(1985), 42].

The stylistic factors discussed above indicate the possibility that *Harlequin disguised* and its companion panels originated not in Paris but in Antwerp, and that some degree of association with Vrancx cannot be ruled out. But all that is clear at present is that Vrancx's paintings of Italian comedians have either had a significant influence on them, or been influenced by the Swedish panels, or there has been mutual influence from as yet unidentified shared sources.

Although the Stockholm painting is the only variant of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcut of *Harlequin disguised* known to Sterling, further variants of the composition have since surfaced on the art market [PLATES 44, 51], at least one of which has the same three quatrains of French verse below. It is a monogrammed and semi-legibly dated painting [PLATE 51] of higher artistic quality than the Drottningholm painting [Fletcher 1962, 93; 1964, 50-1]. The date could be either 157[?] or 159[?], and the monogram, *D.f*, noted, but not interpreted by Fletcher, is listed by G.K. Nagler [1877-9] as one used by Marten de Vos. The elegant female has similar facial features to the left-hand standing muse of Vos' signed Antwerp painting *Apollo and the Muses*, while the surprisingly free handling of her skirt draperies is reminiscent of the paintwork of the right-hand seated muse. The gold trim of the draperies of plate 51, and the delicate treatment of Lilia's gauze veil and ruff, and Harlequin's hat feathers are also reminiscent of Vos. But the awkward stance of the men and an uncharacteristic coarseness in the depiction of the hands and backdrop draperies indicate workshop involvement.

Comparison of the variants of *Harlequin Disguised* [PLATES 6, 44, 49, 51] reveals iconographic parallels between the four versions which make it impossible to

put the woodcut and the three paintings into chronological order without assuming further, as yet unknown, iconographically related pictures. These pictorial elements include Harlequin's boots and armband, where the paintings differ from the woodcut. But Harlequin wears Horatio's high-crowned, feathered hat in the woodcut and art-market paintings, while he is bare-headed in the Swedish painting. The Captain Cocodrillo in the Swedish painting is close in pose, if not costume, to the Captain Cocodrillo of the woodcut. In the art market paintings, by contrast, his right arm points out of the picture, and in plate 51 he is identified as Leandro, while Lucia, the elegant young woman of the other two pictures, is here Lilia, the name Lucia being taken by her companion. The costumes of the art-market paintings and woodcut confirm that they are earlier than the Swedish painting.

The woodcuts share a number of striking, and in some cases quite rare, iconographic elements with pictures associated with Marten de Vos. The cooking pot helmet has already been remarked on, and others include Pantalone's unusually long flowing cloak and button-down waistcoat, and Zanni's wide-brimmed, feathered hat. But of particular significance is that both the woodcuts [PLATE 6] and plate 51 share with, for example plate 209, the small neat ears, expressive hands and distinctive female facial types so characteristic of pictures by Vos. Even so, the certain existence of further as yet unknown variants of *Harlequin disguised*, demonstrated above, means that it is not yet possible to do more than speculate on whether Vos is the originator of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcut designs, or on the identity of the engraver who collaborated on their production.

II.iii.g Lodewyk Toeput

Towards the end of his article [1943, 30], Sterling identifies, as possibly the only painting of performing commedia dell'arte actors from sixteenth century Italy, a picture [PLATE 242] attributed to Lodewyk Toeput (c.1550-c.1603/5). Although he also briefly footnotes 'several drawings in the *Corsini Album*' [1943, 19], he does not note their Italian origins. Before turning to a general consideration of the work and influence of Toeput, this section considers the *Corsini Album*, and particularly plate 243, which exhibits strong similarities with Toeput's style: its wilful perspective, lumpy nudes and striated buildings are typical characteristics of Toeput's accepted drawings [Menegazzi 1957, figs.50-67]. The *Corsini Album* contains 100 manuscript

commedia dell'arte scenarios, numbered one to 102, of which two, numbers 45 and 50, are missing. Each of the remaining 100 scenarios is illustrated with an anonymous, undated drawing [PLATES 243-7]. The binding of the collection bears the arms of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy (1593-1642), indicating that it was bound together at some time between 1608, when he became a cardinal, and 1642. But the exact dates of these drawings are unknown. Nagler [1969, 7] ignores Lea's [1934, I, 144] warnings against necessarily taking the date (c.1618-22) of the related Locatelli collection of scenarios as a reliable *post quem*, and puts them in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Amico [1950, 68] ventures a dating of 1621-42. A previously unnoted *post quem* is given by a sole mention of Arlecchino, a character first named in the mid-1580s [I.iii.d], in *Il Gratiano Innamorato* (scenario no.90).

One drawing [PLATE 243], that for *La gran pazzia di Orlando* (scenario 1), uniquely in the *Corsini album*, is an uncoloured full-page frontispiece separate from its title page. Its artist, of considerably greater talent than those of the remaining 99 drawings, has never been identified, indeed there appears to be no speculation concerning his identity, or comment concerning the high quality and exceptional theatrical significance of this drawing. Its style, close to Toeput (as noted above), but closer to another Flemish artist working in Italy, the Rome-based Paul Bril (1554-1626), encourages attribution to Bril or his circle, a possibility supported by the 'sign of the glasses' in the top right-hand corner, perhaps an example of Bril's own characteristic punning monogram.

Because the remaining ninety-nine drawings are of such extremely pedestrian quality, dating on stylistic grounds is difficult, and there is no way of telling stylistically whether or not plate 243 pre-dates them. So Bril's artistic development and the date of his death cannot be used as guide-lines in dating the whole collection. Even so, in my estimation the other artists concerned are unlikely to have been amateurs, as has previously been assumed. These naive, colourful pictures are very much of the calibre of many of those to be found in the friendship albums which the late renaissance nobility compiled as souvenirs of their European tours, often illustrated with coats of arms and typical scenes commissioned from local artists of very varying degrees of talent and experience [PLATES 33, 36, 238-9, 248-59]. Although some such pictures are clearly inspired by popular prints [PLATES 260-1], and could be the work of amateurs, the similarity of, for example, plates 33 and 248

and other similar pictures [Hallar 1977, fig.7], appears to indicate that some artists were able to support workshops from such commissions, and that these three pictures, for example, are from the same workshop.

Because the watermark in the flyleaf of the album is one first appearing in Rome in around 1638, Aasted [1991, 95] deduces that the Corsini scenarios were bound together at around that time. She demonstrates that the most frequently occurring watermark in the paper used for the scenarios themselves is a Roman one dating to around 1589, and that others date to around 1570 and 1591. Aasted [1991, 95-7] argues that the collection itself not only considerably predates its binding, but also the Locatelli collection of c.1618-22. Unfortunately, Aasted does not give separate data for the watermarks of the paper on which the drawings themselves are painted. However, taken in conjunction with other internal evidence, such as the mention of Harlequin and dates of Bril, discussed above, and the costume types of the *innamorati*, which pre-date the major fashion changes introduced all over Europe in the years around 1630, her data would appear to support a much more precise dating of these drawing than that she herself ventures, which is to the second half of the sixteenth century [Aasted 1991, 108], namely specifically to the 1590s. At that time, Bril ran a large and thriving workshop in Rome, which employed among its assistants many young Flemish artists passing through the city in their student years. There is evidence to suggest that Sebastian Vrancx, known to have been in Rome at least between the years 1597 and 1602, worked in Bril's studio [II.ii.f; plate 276]. The possibility that Vrancx was, in his student years, directly involved with the production of the Corsini drawings, is one which seems worth considering. Despite their theatrical importance, and the fact that they are often reproduced (Pandolfi [1957-61, V, 256-7] reproduces all 100 in monochrome in an unnumbered twenty-six page supplement), little seems to have been published on the Corsini drawings beyond Lea's comments in passing and Nagler [1969] and Aasted's [1991] short articles [III.i.g; III.iv.a].

Toeput [Thieme Becker 1907-50; Menegazzi 1957 & 1961; Wegner 1961], a Fleming who settled in the Veneto, where he was known as *Pozzoserrato*, is one of the few named artists to whom sixteenth century commedia dell'arte-related pictures are regularly attributed by the art market. Because Toeput forms a connecting link between many artists interested in the commedia dell'arte, and absorbed and reflected

elements of their very diverse styles into his own *oeuvre*, his name acts as a focus for works in this genre. Toeput may have been a pupil of Marten de Vos in Antwerp. By the early 1570s he was established in Venice. Soon after 1581, when he visited various Italian cities including Rome and Florence, he moved permanently to Treviso. In Venice, he worked in the studio of Tintoretto, where Vos had been twenty years previously, and Menegazzi [1957, 169, 178, 183] notes the close stylistic links with both these artists, and with the Bassani, particularly Leandro, who worked in his father's studio in Bassano until the late 1580s, when he moved to nearby Venice. Joos de Momper may have studied under Toeput in the 1580s ('"Een lantschap van Mompers Meester Lodewyck van Treni [read 'Trevi']" was listed in the inventory of Herman de Neyt, Oct.1642' [Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, no.507 n8]), and there is also some evidence that Sebastian Vrancx visited Toeput in the 1590s [Takács 1961, 61]. Toeput's *oeuvre* includes land-, garden- and cityscapes. His religious scenes were often a pretext to depict contemporary Venetian courtly diversions such as banquets and concerts, and he also painted series of the months and the seasons, and allegorical works.

Many works of central importance to theatre history have been attributed to Lodewyk Toeput by art historians, museum curators and sale room experts. Twelve are reproduced in my paper on Toeput [1987a, figs.1-2, 5-7, 9, 13, 18, 20, 23, 28-9: PLATES 57-8, 84, 104, 127, 130, 148, 159, 211, 228, 242, 262 of this thesis]. Of the several more which are footnoted [1987a, 80], one is a *Winter* published by Crosato [1985, fig.4], and I am unable to identify for certain the *Masked fête* [Berlin art market, 1933] and *Banquet with Italian comedians* [New York, Julius Weitzner, 1956] noted, but not reproduced, by Legrand [1963, 73], or the variants to plate 84 known to the late Wolfgang Wegner [David Scrase, private communication, 1986]; but here reproduce the Bayeux picture [PLATE 12]. In the course of this research, I have come across further works of theatre-historical interest associated with Toeput [PLATES 44, 264], as well as adding another picture of comic performers not previously attributed to Toeput, which may, perhaps be associated with his *oeuvre* [PLATE 124], to the three I reproduced in 1987 [PLATES 229, 265-6].

At the time my article on Toeput [Katritzky 1987a] was published, many of the twenty-nine *commedia dell'arte*-related pictures it reproduces were completely unpublished, or unreproduced outside museum or saleroom catalogues, and despite

Toeput's regular association with the *commedia dell'arte* by the art market, most were totally unknown to theatre historians. Not one is listed in Ternois' iconography of the *commedia dell'arte* [1962, 233-5], or discussed or reproduced in the standard theatre histories of the *commedia dell'arte*, such as those by Pandolfi [1957-61], Duchartre [1929/1966], Lea [1934] and Nicoll [1931; 1963]. Interpretation of even the few works which had been reproduced in the context of theatre history was in most cases seriously devalued by incorrect attribution or dating. Seven of these twenty-nine pictures are reproduced by Richards and Richards [1990, figs.8, 9, 12, 31, 35, 46, 47], and more by other theatre historians, not always with acknowledgment. Without exception, the many:

art works which feature *commedia dell'arte* figures [...which] have hitherto gone unnoticed by theatre historians of the *commedia* including authorities such as Allardyce Nicoll, Cesare Molinari, and Ludovico Zorzi [Castagno 1992, 45]

which Castagno reproduces because they 'have come to light' as a 'result of recent fluctuations in the international art market' [1992, 45], both in his article of 1992 and in his publications of 1994, are previously reproduced in my publications.

In order to aid more reliable attribution and dating of these pictures, a systematic search has been made for other pictures compositionally and stylistically related to each of those attributed to Toeput. This research has resulted in the successful reattribution of a number of pictures, and the identification of artists other than Toeput as being responsible for the original compositions of several more. Plates 57-8 have been reattributed to Ambrose I Francken [II.i.d]. Plate 84 is discussed in the context of the *oeuvre* of Louis de Caulery [II.ii.e]; plates 104, 124 and 148 in that of the *oeuvre* of Sebastian Vrancx [II.ii.f-g], and plate 44 in the context of several related pictures [II.iii.f]. Plate 12 is associated with a number of pictures, including plate 159, which are here attributed to Lucas van Valckenborch [II.iii.c]; compositional similarities between plates 130 and 157 are noted in section II.iii.c. Plate 211 is discussed in the section on Marten de Vos [II.iii.e].

The works attributed to Toeput feature three distinct contexts in which the Italian comedians are found, namely, formal staged theatre performances, folk festivals and courtly celebrations, in both indoor and outdoor settings. Toeput kept in touch with the work of his compatriots, and copies by him after contemporary Flemish engravers, as well as engravings after his own works by other artists, are known.

Interpretation of his pictures of courtly celebrations is complicated by the fact that although they may well record specific events, even if these could be identified, compositional elements may be largely borrowed from previous works.

Depictions of the comedians in the context of courtly celebrations which have been associated with Toeput include the iconographically influential engraving of a *Masquerade* by de Jode after Toeput, [PLATE 130] published by Poensgen [1925/26, 328], the *Carnival banquet* [PLATE 242] noted by Sterling [1943, 30] published as a Toeput by Peltzer [1933, fig.7], who drew attention to its similarities with *Masquerade*, and three outdoor banquet scenes [PLATES 104, 159, 211]. Plate 242 shows a company grouped around a laden banqueting table in a covered area open to the outside all round. Some play lutes, others drink wine or converse, and they include commedia dell'arte stock types as well as elegantly clad couples. There are stylistic parallels with a carnival scene which, from the water carrier at the middle top, is clearly *January* from a series of the months [PLATE 265]. It is attributed to 'School of Bassano', and shows four masked comedians flanked by Bassanesque soldier types, in front of an extensive landscape with a hill town. The bare trees framing the composition to either side, flocks of birds and hesitant handling are reminiscent of Toeput's work. The Bassani's names, or indeed those of any Italian painters of the sixteenth century, do not occur in any of the commedia dell'arte iconographies. Indeed, Sterling writes of plate 242:

When one goes through the numerous works on the history of the commedia dell'arte, it comes as a surprise that there are no paintings of this kind of theater from sixteenth-century Italy: at least none have been published [...] there is perhaps one [...] which may be a real scene of the commedia dell'arte played during Carnival and before masked and banqueting spectators. If so, it is the only example known of such a subject in Italian painting before 1600. [1943, 30]

However, extensive searching has revealed the existence of at least two commedia-related paintings by the Italian artist Leandro Bassano (1557-1622), carnival scenes representing *February* from series of the months [PLATES 226, 267]. Both paintings show the masks in the context of folk festivals, but some of the motifs they contain strongly echo elements in plate 242 and, to a lesser extent, aspects of plate 265. Plate 267 is signed 'Leander Bassanensis F.', and so predates his knighthood, which he received in 1595 or 1596, and recorded on signed works thereafter; plate 226 is so close in style and content that it must surely date from the

same period, probably the late 1580s. In both, the view is down a wide city street whose buildings flank either side of the picture, framing the foreground like a stage set, to converge just left of the centre in a triumphal arch. In both streets, bullbaiting is in progress and an open stall in the right foreground sells plucked chickens and other carnival delicacies, while a troupe of comedians, all masked, is gathered at the left. Thus these pictures display together typical carnival amusements. In plate 226, Pantalone faces a couple, the woman gazing diffidently at him, the male serenading her with a lute. In front of them is a blindfolded Cupid leading a dog towards Pantalone. This group is flanked to the left by two servant figures and to the right by a matachin [III.iii.c].

In plate 267 the same group of Pantalone, blindfold boy (unlike the boy in plate 226 not further characterized by wings and quiver) and couple is without the two servant figures to the extreme left. A matachin here kneels behind, rather than beside, the main group of comedians, apparently to a similar figure squatting on a raised pedestal, and only half visible at the extreme left of the canvas. The possibility that this canvas has been cut is strengthened by the composition of a large-scale watercolour [PLATE 268], published by Schleier [1981, 17, fig.2] as a workshop study for the painting, which is virtually identical except that it shows slightly more on three sides, and significantly extends the composition on the left-hand side. Here are to be seen not only two masked figures standing to the left of Pantalone which are similar to those in the Potsdam canvas, but several figures in a doorway behind them, and two matachins seated above the doorway, with whom the kneeling matachin is now seen to be in animated communication.

Costumed figures feature in the backgrounds of both works; in plate 226 another Pantalone accompanied by two servants, a Zanni and another matachin, are recognizable to the right. The distinctive and unusual *buffone*-type costume of these matachins [III.iii.c], with its green and gold vertically striped doublet with padded rims at the shoulder and false sleeves, tight buff coloured leggings held in by belled leather belts and straps around the waist and calves, moulded full-face mask, squashy red stocking cap, white undershirt and no neck scarf, but billowing white cloth around the waist and between the legs, also occurs in plate 242, and seems to be unique to these three works, although the costume of the right-hand mask in plate 265 has certain similarities.

Other common compositional elements strengthen the connections between the canvases by Bassano [PLATES 226, 267] and *Carnival banquet* [PLATE 242]. The wine-drinking bravo who fills the bottom left-hand corner of *Carnival banquet* is closely paralleled in the cavalier drinking at the road stall in plate 226, the troupes in both plates 226 and 242 include a monkey, costumed in plate 242, and the three Pantalones are almost identical in both costume and pose, while the Pantalone of plate 265 is rather less elaborately attired. The horizontally striped costume of the mask to the extreme left of *Carnival banquet* is of particular interest as this very early depiction of a type of costume associated with the servant Brighella has precedents in a distinctive green and gold horizontally striped jacket which appears more than once in the work of Leandro's father Jacopo Bassano. (It is, for instance, worn by one of the magi in the National Gallery of Scotland's *Adoration of the Magi*). Sanesi [1938, 56-69], uses the unreliability of the Bayeux painting [PLATE 12] to try and reinforce his view that the earliest documentation of the mask Brighella occurs in a verse of 1618 [II.iii.b]. The existence of Bassano's painting further undermines his standpoint.

Carnival banquet [PLATE 242] featured in the Dantsek-Dayka de Pozsony collection as by Giovanni Schiavone (il Meldolla). It was sold in 1930 (from the Karácsonyi Collection) as by Toeput, who is accepted by Sterling as its artist [1943, 30], and in 1937 as by Leandro Bassano, while Takács [1961, 58] inclines towards Sebastian Vrancx, and Meijer [1988, 118] makes a strong case for Dirck de Vries. The high quality of *Carnival banquet* and its stylistic closeness to Bassano's carnival pictures make it seem likely to me that all three are from the same workshop: identified by Leandro Bassano's signature on the Vienna canvas. *Carnival banquet* is far closer to Leandro Bassano than to the hesitant style of the Lima canvas [PLATE 265], which could be a workshop production, or possibly even a Toeput, perhaps dating from the time of his collaboration with the Bassano family's studio.

Bassaneque elements are also evident in the de Jode engraving after Toeput [PLATE 130], but its resemblance to *Carnival banquet* is probably explained by the fact that Toeput was influenced by Leandro Bassano rather than because they originate from the same hand, as Peltzer suggests [1933, 278]. A small panel, *The concert* [PLATE 266] with an art market attribution to 'école française(?)' reflects the composition of the engraving so closely that it could be based on Toeput's original

picture for the engraving. The foreground of de Jode's engraving is occupied by a line of masqueraders led by a turbaned mask and his exotically dressed female companion following a lute-playing Zanni at the extreme left. To the left, the background is filled by a pavilion on which a concert is taking place, to the right it is open to a wide terrace with views down a broad canal lined with Venetian buildings. *The concert* [PLATE 266] shows only the pavilion and the left-hand three masks, but the similarities to *Carnival banquet* [PLATE 242] are even more marked than with the engraving. In *The concert*, the equivalent to the Zanni accompanying Pantalone at the extreme left of the engraving is a later stock servant type, a Brighella type who closely parallels that to the extreme left of *Carnival banquet*, and the lute player seated at the left is even more like the lute player similarly positioned in the banquet painting.

The group is also reflected in *Venetian Carnival* [PLATE 124]. It may simply be that *The concert* and *Venetian Carnival* are two of the many derivative works inspired by the de Jode engraving. One such is plate 157 [II.iii.c], a closely compositionally related panel noted by Legrand [1963, 72], Adhémar [1945, 192] and Pandolfi [1957-61, II, opp.280], none of whom draw attention to its parallels with plate 130, whose masks are faithfully reversed in the 'ambassadorial' group of the panel, where they are placed in a very different setting. This group of masked comedians has compositional links with those in drawings of *January* and *February* [PLATES 128-9], two of a series of the months in the Rijksmuseum, recorded as by Joos de Momper on the engravings after them by Adriaen and Hans Collaert [III.iii.d; PLATES 269-70; Hollstein 1949-, IV, 207, nos.559-70, 213, nos.125-8; a *February* after Momper by Hans is unrecorded in Hollstein (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum)]. Also related to this group is plate 263.

It is possible that the similarities are due to direct influence, in which case, because they share the same orientation, it is more likely to be from the print to the drawings. The foreground group in *February* and plate 159 are closely related, and the group in the extreme right-hand foreground of *January*, of a masked woman in Oriental costume attended by parasol-bearing matachins, is reminiscent of a similar group in the print [III.iii.a&c]. Indeed, the whole of the foreground figure groups of both *January* and *February* [PLATES 128-9] are built up and composed in a remarkably similar way to those of the print [PLATE 130]. In each of the three

pictures, a small group at the extreme left point into the picture, and the middle ground is taken up by a lute-playing Zanni, and each of Momper's right-hand groups mainly features comic types similar to those in the print after Toeput. The possibility that Momper was simply borrowing from previous artists, without any first hand knowledge of the Italian comedians, must be taken into consideration, although he is thought to have visited Italy in the 1580s, and significant costume differences between the comic types in his drawings and the print point against this. The strong inference is that Momper was using Toeput's print as a compositional guide to depicting troupes he himself had actually observed.

Momper's drawings were themselves engraved by Callot [PLATES 271-2], although, despite their orientation, Callot's engravings so closely follow Collaert's [PLATES 269-70] that they must be after them, and not directly after Momper's originals. Schröder [1971, II, 880-2] dates them to 1610, the year Callot completed his apprenticeship with Antonio Tempesta [II.ii]. Plates 269-70 also seem to have exerted a strong influence on the foreground groupings of Italian comedians in plate 225 [II.ii.g]. The de Jode group is more faintly echoed in a number of pictures related compositionally to Momper's drawing, and associated with Toeput, notably two winter scenes showing folk festivals [PLATES 228, 262] whose attribution to Toeput must be taken particularly seriously as, apart from plate 130, they are the only commedia-related works associated with him by Menegazzi [1961, 122, 124], who dates plate 228 to the early 1580s, and plate 262 to about 1590.

A drawing *Allegory of January* [PLATE 127] is attributed to Toeput by Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan [1970, no.507 n8], who discuss it in relation to the two paintings noted by Menegazzi, and also to three further drawings: Momper's *February* and its companion *January* [PLATES 128-9], and a drawing *January/Carnival* in the Fitzwilliam Museum [PLATE 84], whose curator David Scrase notes the existence of two variants, on the Munich art market in the 1980s [private communication, 1986], known to the late Dr. Wolfgang Wegner but for which I have not, as yet, located reproductions. Pictures which relate in varying degrees of closeness to this group of works are two which share close compositional parallels, namely, one of a pair of elliptical panels *Winter* [PLATE 229] and *Autumn*, attributed to Frans de Momper, Joos' son, of which *Winter*, despite its elliptical format, bears a striking compositional resemblance to the drawing [PLATE 127], and

yet another painting of *Winter* from a series of the four seasons first published, as major early Toeputs, by Crosato [1985, 119-30, fig.4]. Also related is plate 265, a possible Toeput, discussed above, which is based on broadly similar compositional lines to this whole group of winter carnival scenes.

The similarity of the comic types in plates 124 [II.ii.g] and 266 to those in the de Jode engraving after Toeput [PLATE 130] is noted above, but it is perhaps worth drawing attention to the fact that the comic types in plate 124 are even more similar to those in plate 127 than they are to those in plate 130, suggesting some more direct contact with Toeput's studio than simply knowledge of prints after his works. The style of the painting is not incompatible with that of Toeput himself. From the proximity of the comic types to those in an engraving of 1614 by Matham after Wildens [PLATE 274] another painting with carnival figures attributed to Frans Momper [PLATE 273] can be dated with some confidence to 1614 or later.

Lastly, many theatre-historically important early seventeenth century pictures have surfaced during the course of this research which, while they can be excluded from Toeput's *oeuvre*, depict comic types in settings exhibiting compositional relationships, however faint, to the Toeput pictures, and thus ultimately derive their compositional inspiration from a print after Vos [PLATE 227; II.iii.e]. It seems worth drawing attention to several, in order to emphasise the rôle played by Toeput in establishing the artistic conventions of the winter carnival picture, and because, despite their interest, they appear to be virtually unknown to theatre historians. They include a small oil on copper picture, *A village with Carnival revellers on the ice* [PLATE 264] attributed to 'circle of Lodewyk Toeput'; a gouache attributed to Lucas van Valckenborch by the art market in 1980, which I reattribute to Frans Boels [II.iii.c; PLATE 162]; *Winter Carnival* [PLATE 275], a painting which I have no hesitation in reattributing, on stylistic grounds, from Hendrick van Avercamp to Pieter Stevens; a drawing by Brentel in the style of Bril, Toeput or Momper, probably copied after an as yet unidentified source [PLATE 263]; and plate 276, *February, Roman Carnival*, a painting attributed to Stevens, but sharing the composition of several variants, including a dated engraving of 1615 by Paul Bril. Plate 276 shares with one of the *Corsini Album* drawings [PLATE 243, discussed above] Bril's visually punning monogram.

None of this last group, including plate 264, can be seriously associated with Toeput himself. In the right foreground are nine colourful comic types, including a stilt walking Harlequin type in white, with blue and red patches and red hat with white feathers, a white Punchinello type, and various clown types predominantly in reds, blues and yellows. It is possible that there is more than just a casual relationship between the arrangement of this background, divided into two by its almost central large, bare tree, and foreground carnival types, and those of plates 127 and 229. But the pronounced mannerist style of the background landscape, and Callot-like quality of the comic types, suggest the strong possibility that the picture postdates 1604, the date of Toeput's death, and is by an imitator or admirer of Jacques Callot, possibly even an artist in Callot's immediate circle. Plate 275 is again built up on similar compositional principles to the print after Vos [PLATE 227] which exercised such an influence on the compositions of Toeput's carnival pictures, with a large bare tree splitting the composition into a right-hand ice-scape and left-hand side more dominated by architectural elements. Although it too shares a distant family relationship with the Toeput compositions, it can be attributed to Pieter Stevens by virtue of its stylistic similarity to two drawings [PLATES 277-8] of c.1604-7 [Zwollo 1968, 166; Sacramento museum catalogue 1971, no.26], of which plate 278 shares the composition of a print after Stevens of 1607 [PLATE 279].

To return to an examination of Toeput's winter carnival scenes, in both plates 127 and 229, the picture plane is bisected by a largely leafless tree dominating the immediate foreground. To the left, there is a view of an Italianate town, almost certainly Treviso, to judge by the extreme similarity to Georg Hoefnagel's view of Treviso engraved after Toeput [Menegazzi 1957, fig.58]. It is seen through a ruined arch, in front of which a procession of commedia players makes its way out of the picture. To the right, a wide country road leads across a bridge to a landscape which stretches into the distance beyond. The players are in each case led by a lute-playing Zanni; Pantalone and a man holding up a bird are followed in the Yale drawing [PLATE 127] by two fashionably dressed couples, in *Winter* [PLATE 229] by one such couple accompanied by their comic servant. A similar comic group features in plate 124. The parallels between the comic types in plates 124, 127 and 229, and those in de Jode's engraving [PLATE 130], are unmistakable. In the backgrounds of both plates 127 and 229 there is bullbaiting on the main road into the city, in the

panel a dramatic performance is also in progress, on a raised outdoor stage. In plate 124, the bullbaiting occurs in a very different setting, that of St. Mark's Square, Venice.

The motif of the tree [PLATE 227] is again evident in plate 228 and *Winter* [Crosato 1985, fig.4]. In these pictures, it takes the whole foreground, with an allegorical personification of Winter seated in front of it, in the open in plate 228, and on a processional cart in *Winter*. This compares with the figure of January in the Yale drawing. The right-hand scene in plate 228 resembles that of plates 127 and 229: to the left is an imposing townscape behind a large bridge raised on four massive brick arches. In front of this, a procession of comedians, including tumblers, Pantalone and violin- and lute-playing Zannis, winds its way into the picture and towards the town. In *Winter* [Crosato 1985, fig.4], the background lacks the dominating architectural features of plates 127 and 228. The division of land to the left and water to the right seen in plates 127 and 229 is preserved, but the water is frozen over, and, as well as carnival revellers or a comic troupe to the left, there are carnival sleighs on the ice in the right background.

The compositional element of the country road leading via an arched bridge into a wide landscape common to the right-hand side of plates 127, 228-9, and, less emphatically, in *Winter* [Crosato 1985, fig.4], forms the whole picture in plate 262, where comedians take part in bullbaiting in the foreground and form a procession across the bridge. It is also echoed in the right-hand side of plate 84, with its wide landscape containing a rustic bridge but few buildings. Here also the arch itself, rather than a tree, is used as a central divide, as well as a frame for the left-hand background, which is compositionally almost identical to that in plate 127; although the foreground is a unified spread of carnival revellers across the bottom third of the picture plane, many of them costumed, but related only loosely to specific commedia masks. Although attributed to Toeput, there are close stylistic and compositional links with Momper's *January* [PLATE 128]. This shows the same view towards a circular Italianate town, down a broad street on which bullbaiting and a dramatic performance on a trestle stage take place. There is a group of comedians in the foreground. Momper's *February* [PLATE 129] also features comedians in the foreground, a group similar both to that in the de Jode engraving [PLATE 130], as noted above, and to those in plates 127 and 229. The compositional similarities but

weaker handling of plate 229 and its partner as compared to the Momper months may more plausibly be explained by an attribution to Toeput, than to Momper's son Frans.

The figures in plate 84 are more rounded than is characteristic for Toeput, and the use of washes in the modelling is also suggestive of Momper's style, as are the short hatches and dashes with which the landscape background is built up. However, its closest stylistic links are perhaps with the works of Caulery, and specific compositional elements shared with his Hamburg *Carnival* include the distinctive woven shields sported by some of the boys, the flask-brandishing, donkey-riding Pantalone types and the characteristically small-headed, thick-necked horses [PLATE 73; II.ii.e]. Whether the Cambridge drawing proves to be by Toeput, by Momper, or, more probably, an early work by Momper's pupil Caulery, the compositional links between the de Jode engraving and Momper's *January* and *February* [PLATES 128-9], and between plates 127, 228-9 and 262, and Momper's *January* [PLATE 128] bear witness to the influence of Toeput's little scenes on Momper's *Months*, a major series by his more talented compatriot. Definite attribution of the Cambridge drawing could elucidate the links postulated between Toeput, Momper [Haverkamp-Begemann and Logan 1970, no.507 n.8] and Caulery [Velde 1966] by art historians [II.ii.e]. It would also aid interpretation of the carnival costumes in this group of interrelated works, some of which are closely paralleled in Flemish carnival scenes, such as Hans Bol's signed and dated drawing of 1573 [II.ii.g; PLATE 167], by illuminating the extent to which the artist has made an accurate documentary record of the carnival in Toeput's adopted Treviso, or added elements borrowed from his own experiences, recent or not, of the carnival in Flanders, or from other works of art.

Reflection of the group of masked comedians in de Jode's engraving after Toeput [PLATE 130], and of the compositional setting for winter carnival pictures borrowed by Toeput from Vos, in subsequent works of art, graphically demonstrates the increasing domination of imitation over inspiration which led to a progressive stereotyping of shared artistic motifs in pictures of the Italian comedians, a process examined in detail in section II.ii.

III Theatrical interpretation: some case studies

III.i Scenery, settings and stages

III.i.a Introduction

Until the early seventeenth century, there is a great lack of detailed description of the actual performances and acting methods of the troupes of Italian professional actors who developed the *commedia dell'arte*. For information on their scenery, settings and stages, we are largely reliant on the surviving visual material. Only a relatively small proportion of renaissance pictures of *commedia dell'arte* characters show them on stages with scenery, which raises the question of exactly what sort of performances the comic actors featured in other performance situations were able to offer. Section II comments in some depth on the pitfalls of extracting documentary evidence from visual records, and the importance of interpreting works of art in the light of accurate information concerning their artist, date and place of origin, and artistic variants [Katritzky 1987a]. Even when, as with a picture of a theatrical performance, a particular renaissance artist might appear to be reproducing what he had seen on a specific occasion, the image he produced could not escape being strongly influenced by the artistic conventions of his time, and the whims and wishes of his patron.

Research such as that by Clubb [1966] on the illustrations to a 1592 edition of the play *Gli Inganni* and Hummelen [1973; 1989; 1994] on *rederijker* stages [III.i.g], demonstrates that pictorial evidence cannot be regarded as a factually accurate 'snapshot' even when it may seem to be a straightforward record of a particular performance. This is particularly important when considering pictures of the *commedia dell'arte*, whose costumed characters are depicted in 'real life' as well as performance contexts, so that an additional problem encountered in interpreting visual evidence of renaissance *commedia dell'arte* performances is in defining and identifying those performances. Nevertheless, in this section the known art-historical details of the pictures illustrated will only be provided where they are relevant to the theme under consideration: the depiction of scenery, settings and stages. Further, it will be assumed that, in general, these pictures reflect the contemporary stage practice of professional actors to a reasonable degree of accuracy, even though by no means all relate to specific performances by Italian troupes.

In a pioneering but sparsely illustrated and referenced article, McDowell [1946] discusses early *commedia dell'arte* platform stages, which he classifies into the three categories of bare platform stage, open stage with plain curtain backdrop or scenic background, and stage enclosed at sides and top. Hummelen's [1973; 1989; 1994] valuable discussions of depictions of late renaissance platform stages concentrate on those associated with *rederijker* performances. Current scholarship recognizes five categories of renaissance *commedia* stages. In order of increasing sophistication, Anderson [1989] identifies these as firstly, the cleared space, secondly, the trestle stage, with or without backdrop, thirdly, the open-air booth stage, fourthly, hired indoor rooms (often advertised in advance by a public parade), and fifthly, the specially-designated theatre. These categories simplify the wide range of staging methods depicted in the contemporary iconographic records, most of which can be found indoors as well as outdoors.

My own examination of the early pictorial evidence suggests that six overlapping categories of renaissance *commedia dell'arte* street entertainment and performances may be identified, of which the first two are cleared space staging [III.i.b] and natural stages [III.i.c]. These cover a broad spectrum from the not-so-cleared space, where entertainers jostle with their audience, through to improvisational use of architectural features as natural stages, and even occasional enhancement of a natural performance space by the addition of curtains or temporary audience boxes. The third category is definition of the performance area by means of a specially constructed unadorned raised platform, of which the trestle stage is just one category [III.i.d]. The fourth category is the stage with curtain backdrop [III.i.e], the fifth is the architecturally enhanced curtained stage, that is supplementation of a platform stage with curtain backdrop by constructed openings in the backdrop and/or architectural side features [III.i.f]. The sixth, and most sophisticated, category is the use of full perspective scenery [III.i.g]. The surviving pictures suggest that these categories coexisted in the late renaissance, rather than simply replacing each other in historical progression.

While much of this is familiar ground, depictions of curtained platform stages have received a disproportionate share of critical attention in *commedia dell'arte* studies, even though the iconography rarely clarifies whether the stage is situated in hired rooms or a specially designated theatre, and sometimes not even whether the performance is being held indoors or outdoors. The reason for the relative neglect of

depictions of cleared space and natural staging is fairly obvious. The majority of such illustrations fall into the category of the large number of images with valuable information for the renaissance theatre historian which have been unpublished or dismissed [Sterling 1943, 30-1] because, despite clearly depicting *commedia dell'arte* characters, their theatrical significance is difficult to interpret.

III.i.b Cleared space staging

A major problem with images of the cleared space performance practice is that identifying and defining the limits of theatrical performance in pictures which show no scenery, setting or stage at all is generally far from straightforward. Sometimes, it is not even easy to tell whether the background to comic masks featured in a particular picture is theatrical scenery, or a genuine setting, either for professional performers, perhaps parading around a town to advertise a forthcoming indoor performance, or for non-professionals in carnival costume, of the type of the Ferrarese or Munich street carnival participants [I.ii.c].

Genuine (as opposed to theatrical) settings can be further differentiated into those which can be related to actual locations, and those based to a lesser or greater extent on imaginary locations, often strongly influenced by previous pictures. These problems of interpretation have meant that the iconographic records have been neglected. Anderson [1989, 74], for example, is unusual in even noting cleared space staging, but limits his discussion of it to a brief mention, and does not acknowledge natural stages. There are many pictures in which it seems possible, likely or, in some cases, even certain that the masked or comic characters depicted are not stage performers at all, but costumed carnival revellers [II.ii]. The settings of pictures such as plates 27, 70-3, 107-9, 176-9 and 280-1 are clearly Italianate. But some of these settings are very idealized, and it is hard to establish exactly what relationship the contents of such pictures have with any real location and event. The boundaries between ceremony, ritual, street entertainment, song and dance routine, public parade and theatrical performance are not clear cut, and are not always manifest in the pictures. Some of the pictures under consideration may not show performers at all, but be independent illustrations to literary material, such as some of the songs and anecdotes featuring *commedia dell'arte* characters which have been collected by Pandolfi [1957-61].

My own most likely reading of plate 65 is that two Zannis, two courtesans on horseback and a Turk are performing in a city square, identified as Florentine [II.ii.d]. Other possibilities which deserve serious consideration are that plate 65 does not show performers at all, but merely costumed carnival revellers; or that it shows performers on a perspective set, not in a cleared space. Even in pictures where the activity taking place falls clearly under the definition of a theatrical entertainment, it is not uncommon for there to be no scenery, set or stage, and for the actors to define their performance area solely by clearing a space for themselves. The performance area does not seem to be defined in plates 70-2, where an area in the background has been enclosed for a joust, but again, the masks appear to be simply performing at street level, in an unenclosed area of a city square, as indeed do the masked musicians in plate 152. Their keyboard instrument [Heck 1988, 235-6] is one of several factors which make it unlikely that this group of masked entertainers is a troupe of Italian comedians. The comedians in pictures such as plates 92-8, 105, 159 and 211 perform in palace gardens or courtyards, often to audiences seated at picnics or banquets. Cleared space performances can have indoor as well as outdoor settings. Depictions of indoor or covered settings often show the entertainment as one element of festivities which could also include feasting, music-making and the playing of games such as backgammon or dice [PLATES 138-45, 150-1, 209-10, 218, 221, 241-2].

III.i.c Natural stages

There is a wealth of pictorial evidence which suggests that cleared space staging sometimes made use of existing architectural features to emphasise the performance area. Even in plates 65, 70 and 152, noted above, the actors have enhanced the cleared space performance areas by playing to defined audience areas. Terraces, large loggias and entrance lobbies, particularly if they incorporated steps, of the type to be found in Italianate palaces, or the public buildings at the centre of most renaissance towns of any size, lent themselves particularly well to use as a makeshift outdoor stage. Such architectural features were a favourite setting for dramatic entries and entertainments by masked comedians [PLATES 27, 37, 99-101, 108, 130, 157, 162, 226, 266-8, 282]. Indoor performers sometimes also took advantage of existing architectural features [PLATES 30, 181, 280].

For itinerant entertainers with limited ability to transport equipment, such ready-made stages had the advantage that they provided an instant grand setting without the need for any construction or contribution of heavy props on their part. However, such settings also had drawbacks. They might be unpredictable to visiting actors, not necessarily suited to large audiences or to the collection of entrance fees, and boringly familiar to local residents, who might favour the novelty of a custom-made stage.

III.i.d Unadorned raised stages

The third level of sophistication, after cleared space and natural stages, is the unadorned wooden platform. Hummelen [1989, 27-8] notes that for many depictions of platform stages the lack of detail, and angle of depiction of the stage, mean that the exact size of the platform stage is difficult or impossible to determine. But the pictorial evidence certainly suggests a wide range, from tiny square platforms which are hardly more than a floor mat and narrow, usually waist high trestles just big enough to raise two or three performers a metre or so above ground level [PLATES 36, 102, 128, 212, 214, 216, 254-5, 258, 269, 271, 283-4, 340], to large wooden structures raised to the shoulder or head height of the audience, or even higher, and suitable for a complete commedia troupe [PLATES 27, 103, 121, 123, 128, 206, 6275, 278-9, 285-6].

McDowell [1946, 87], suggests that the miniature stage of plates 14-15 'appears to be a small portion of an acting platform', an artistic convention rather than a representation of a genuine stage of this size, although its double thickness joined by a central hinge appears to me to be a realistic representation of two sections of an actual itinerant troupe's stage, untrestled and folded together as they would be for transportation. Sometimes stages are shown constructed against the sides of buildings, lending both added stability and a ready-made backdrop. Only rarely, as in plate 277, is an unadorned raised stage depicted in an unmistakably indoor setting.

III.i.e Stages with curtain backdrops

It is only at this level of staging that custom-made set and scenery are introduced. At their simplest, they consist of no more than a backdrop, usually a curtain supported by a metal rod or wooden poles. This backdrop may be plain, or bear some form of decoration and/or inscription, and/or have one or more openings. Such stages with

curtain backdrops are shown in plates 120, 125, 146 and 287, where music-making entertainers help mountebanks sell their wares, and plates 2-3, 77, 119 and the stage within a stage of plate 247. Sometimes, there is an enclosed area behind the backdrop, to give a booth stage [PLATES 75, 93, 213, 288-91]. The large torches to either side of the stage in plate 75 may indicate a method by which the travelling actors extended their playing time beyond the constraints of daylight hours. In plates 172 and 175, a large elaborate temporary outdoor stage has been constructed in front of a house, which appears to be utilised both as additional performance space, and as a backstage area. Occasionally, as in plate 3, the stage supports are concealed, and possibly this below-stage area was used as a storage and changing area. The stage in plate 3 is also interesting in that the curtain is painted with a perspective street scene reminiscent of Serlio's comic set [III.i.g], as is the backdrop of the stage within a stage of plate 247.

Such stages could be indoors or outdoors and many pictures of outdoor stages place them in their wider surroundings. Unusually, plate 292 clearly shows a late renaissance booth stage in an indoor setting. Often the pictorial evidence does not make it clear whether the stage is indoors or outdoors [PLATES 51, 55-6, 61, 164, 188-90, 232]. Many indoor scenes featuring comic carnival types or entertainers in cleared space settings depict them entering or in close proximity to a curtained door or opening [PLATES 16, 30, 62-3, 140, 144, 200, 205-8, 221]. Perhaps this is simply coincidental. On the other hand, these pictures may be an indication that the use of curtains was an accepted late renaissance method of defining a performance space in a domestic interior.

III.i.f Architecturally-enhanced curtain stages

It is clear from the surviving scenarios that a full-length *commedia dell'arte* performance required division of the stage into separate areas. Fitzpatrick's [1985; 1989] detailed analysis of Scala's scenarios of 1611 [1611/1967] points to two key factors required for the successful performance of full-length improvised *commedia dell'arte* plays. They require a stage which facilitates the extensive use of unmotivated exits necessary for successful improvisation, and also has at least two levels, of which the upper could most simply be provided by first floor windows.

An intermediate step between the stage with curtain backdrop and the stage with full perspective scenery is offered by the fifth level of staging which can be identified from the surviving iconography, the architecturally-enhanced stage with curtain backdrop. At its simplest, this is depicted in plate 58, which shows a raised stage with a curtain backdrop with window-shaped holes created not by cutting holes in the backdrop, but by nailing the surrounding cloth to hollow wooden window frames. Fixed scenery, albeit of the most rudimentary kind, has been created. Anderson writes of this picture that it contains: 'many unusual features and it remains unclear whether the artist was faithfully reproducing stage practice' [1989, n.21]. This is, in essence, the problem with all such pictures. Although Anderson's point should be particularly borne in mind when we assess the significance of Ambrose I Francken's backdrops, the naturalism of the detail offered by plate 58, and notably the hang of the backdrop material, and its pleating, pinning and folding around the central opening, could only have been achieved by observation from life.

Of the many pictures in and relating to the *Recueil Fossard* collection showing stages with curtain backdrops, some, such as certain of the woodcuts in plate 6 and paintings derived from them [PLATES 47-8], also feature simple solid scenery to one or both sides. This type of scenery is also featured in plate 293, one of Minaggio's fourteen pictures of c. 1618 of Italian comedians [III.iv.b]. The middle background of plate 177 appears to feature a curtained stage on which the curtains are supported by a solid pillared framework, while in plate 295 a tower has been constructed behind the backdrop. These combinations form other types of architecturally-enhanced stages with curtain backdrops.

III.i.g Perspective stages

The sixth level of staging is that involving full perspective scenery. According to Krautheimer:

the Renaissance concept of the three types of stage sets - the tragic, the comic, and the satyric - goes back to Vitruvius' brief statement: "Tragic (scenes) are designed with columns, pediments (*fastigia*), statues and other regal surroundings; the comic have the appearance of private buildings with balconies (*moeniana*), and overhangs (*profectus*) with windows made to imitate reality after the fashion of ordinary buildings. Satyric settings are painted with trees, caves, mountains, and other country features designed to imitate landscapes."

On this basis Renaissance artists elaborated their types of scenes as first fully described by Serlio⁴[...] in 1545 [1948, 329-30]

The comic, tragic and satyric stage-settings published by Serlio in 1545 [PLATES 296-8] were enormously influential, and virtually all renaissance perspective stage sets which postdate them, however rudimentary, owe a debt to them. His comic and tragic sets were street scenes, although the tragic set featured much grander and more dignified architecture. The comic set, as Krautheimer recognized, is a culmination of a tendency, during the first half of the sixteenth century, to increasingly replace renaissance and classical elements in the comic scene with 'the "ignoble" features - Gothic windows, balconies, small houses and an over-all unclassical attitude' [1948, 339]. Serlio's third set, later used extensively for pastoral drama, featured rustic cottages in a woodland glade. Krautheimer's thesis that renaissance stage settings arose from perspective construction has been generally accepted, although some of the specific points he makes continue to be controversial [Lecoq 1976, 98].

Clubb's [1966] analysis of a large group of late sixteenth century woodcuts [III.i.a], demonstrates convincingly that these twenty-nine woodcuts, each of which features a different theatrical set, were in fact an all-purpose stock series commissioned for the purpose of selecting illustrations for at least three different plays published in the early 1590s. Clubb concludes that:

it is obvious that the entire series was designed expressly to provide illustrations for any regular example of the genre. Knowledge of the full size of the series and of the range of effects it offered must wait on future discoveries [1966, 267].

It was Nagler [1969] who realized that the most valuable information on early commedia performances with full perspective scenery is provided by the 100 title page illustrations of the *Corsini Album* [PLATES 243-7; II.iii.g], each of which, with the exception of one [PLATE 243] features a staged performance scene. The central question when interpreting these pictures is whether or not they are 'stills' from the particular plays they illustrate, depicting their actual sets and actors, or even selected primary scene-units of the type into which Fitzpatrick's [1985; 1989] researches are attempting to sub-divide commedia dell'arte scenarios. Do they, in Nagler's words, give:

a rather faithful picture of what the spectators saw at certain moments of a performance [...] a rather faithful record of the use of scenery by the commedia dell'arte troupes [1969, 9-10]?

Or are they, like the woodcuts discussed by Clubb [1966], just more general all-purpose evocations of plots of the type which they illustrate, produced by artists who knew little more about the individual plays than what is available to us today in the accompanying scenarios?

Aasted [1991, 97-8] rejects the possibility that the drawings were intended as an aid for inexperienced or amateur actors, and interprets them as promotional material, from which prospective patrons could commission the scenario of their choice. A collection of 138 folios of watercolour drawings, perhaps mainly dating to the 1580s (on paper with watermarks dating from 1569 to 1591), which has been independently interpreted in a similar way, is the New York Public Library Spencer Collection's codex *Repertorio di una compagnia della commedia dell'arte*. This collection, whose importance is first recognized in a forthcoming article by Clubb [1995], research to which my attention was drawn by Professor T. F. Heck, may, however, prove to be not sketches relating to a particular theatrical company, but a collection of sample drawings of a particular studio, from which late renaissance travellers could choose plates for their friendship albums. But whatever its explanation, it seems clear that this *Repertorio* contains enough images directly relating to the professional stage to be of great significance for late renaissance theatre iconography, including several of commedia dell'arte stock types.

Despite noting that one Corsini illustration often contains several incidents from a particular scenario [1991, 106], Aasted concludes that:

analysis of the title-page illustrations in the Corsini scenarios has shown a close correspondence between picture, scenario and property list [...] the decorations on the title pages represent actual stage performances of the scenarios [1991, 108].

Whatever the actual degree of accuracy of these representations, it seems reasonably safe to assume that their artists were familiar with contemporary stage practice, and that these pictures offer a great deal of valuable documentary information of a non-specific nature concerning renaissance commedia dell'arte perspective sets. The 100 *Corsini Album* scenarios subdivide into six categories of drama, as follows:

seventy-five comedies [PLATES 244-5, 247], eleven pastorals, ten tragicomedies, two *opera turchesca*, one tragedy [PLATE 246], and one *opera reale* [PLATE 243].

The *Corsini Album* sets can be divided into three basic types, namely the city street [PLATES 245, 247], based ultimately on Serlio's comic set, pastoral scenes [PLATE 246], based loosely on Serlio's satyric set, and hybrid sets (which combine one urban with one rural wing [PLATES 243-4]). Seventy-seven percent are of the first type, city street sets, used in seventy of the seventy-five comedies [PLATES 245, 247], seven of the ten tragicomedies, and none of the fifteen plays which fall into the remaining categories (pastoral, tragedy, *opera turchesca*, *opera reale*). Much plainer and simpler in arrangement than Serlio's prototype, although clearly inspired by it, these tend to feature boxlike houses which do however provide the openings on two levels necessary for effective performance of commedia scenarios [PLATES 245, 247]. In the drawings for *L'hospite amoroso* and *La nobilta di Bertolino*, furniture has been placed in the street set, presumably to indicate an indoor setting.

Rural sets form seventeen percent of the depicted sets. They are used for all but one of the eleven pastorals, the sole tragedy [PLATE 246], both *opera turchese*, one tragicomedy (*La gelosa guerriera*, which is set on a military field) and no less than three comedies (*Li Dispetti*, in a formal garden setting; *La magica di Pantalone*, on a mountain slope; and *Il pozzo*, whose setting is a glade with a large hexagonal well in its foreground). Interestingly, although no pastorals, tragedies, *opera reale*, or *opera turchesca* are depicted with city sets, three comedies and a tragicomedy have frontispieces featuring rural sets. Productions with rural setting were considerably more expensive to stage than those featuring city scenes, involving not only pastures, but usually several of the following additional elements: woods, sea, lakes, grottoes, fountains, mountains, temples, abysses, dramatic weather effects, military camps, towers. Tragedy was only rarely performed by commedia troupes, so it would be surprising if they went to the expense of having special sets made, especially as the grand and dignified sets considered appropriate to true tragedy would be cumbersome to transport and out of keeping with their style. The frontispiece to *L'Adrasto* [PLATE 246], the sole tragedy in the *Corsini Album*, shows five actors in a rural setting, in front of what appears to be a painted backdrop depicting a coastal city with ships and mountains in the background. The remaining six percent of the drawings show hybrid sets. Of these six plays, two (*La Zengara* [PLATE 244] and *Il Veleno*)

are comedies, two (*L'innocente rivenduta* and *Le teste incantate*), tragicomedies and one each a pastoral (*Il fonte incantato*) and an *opera reale* (*La gran pazzia di Orlando* [PLATE 243]).

The actors represented in these drawings may have been one of the well-known professional touring troupes who took the *commedia dell'arte* over the Alps in the late sixteenth century. But even though the range of scenery depicted is relatively modest, the sheer bulk of the scenery and special effects indicate a high probability that, whatever their identity and itinerary, this troupe had a permanent base at which to store their effects, and possibly also from which to perform when they were not touring. The one hundred *Corsini Album* frontispieces, although uniquely important in terms of sheer quantity, are not the only depictions of late renaissance *commedia dell'arte* performances with perspective sets. A rudimentary perspective set is provided in plate 299, where wings and backdrop depict a simple architectural interior. The left wing only starts receding a quarter of the way along the stage, leaving an area at the extreme left which represents an architectural exterior, in front of which more spectators stand. More elaborate perspective sets include a number of woodcuts [PLATES 300-1], the *Three italian comedians* of c.1618-20 and other prints by Callot [PLATES 302-4], and two ink drawings [PLATES 305-6].

The woodcuts include a number of title pages [PLATE 300], illustrations of c.1617 to Briccio's play *Pantalone Imbertonao*, three of which are published by Lea and for some of which she reproduces her own sketches [Lea 1930, 28-9; 1934, I, 214], the twenty-nine woodcuts discussed by Clubb [1966], discussed above, and a series of fourteen (or according to Heck [1988, 319] fifteen), woodcuts published in the 1597 edition of Orazio Vecchi's *L'Anfiparnasso*. Each of these latter features one or more actors in front of a different perspective scenery set. Krogh [1955, 134-143] identifies Vecchi's characters, many of them taken straight from the *commedia dell'arte*, in these woodcuts, and relates them to episodes in Vecchi's play. The degree of caution necessary for such an exercise is underlined by Clubb [1966]. She too discusses woodcuts showing stock comic characters in front of different perspective scenery, published in the 1590s. Unlike all but one of Krogh's woodcuts, which shows the whole stage and the front two rows of the audience, each of the prints reproduced by Clubb features the stage and set in its entirety.

The three plates of Callot's *Three comedians* feature Zanni [PLATE 302], the Captain [PLATE 303] and Pantalone [PLATE 304], in each case taking up the whole foreground of a print whose background features the same comedian in a typical scene from an Italian comedy, on a stage with a perspective set, with a large audience in front. The three sets are similar, elaborate street scenes inspired by Serlio's comic set [PLATE 296]. Plates 305-6 are two anonymous drawings, surely by the same hand, each featuring a lively commedia scene in a city street represented by a perspective set. The artist is unknown, although the Fitzwilliam Museum have a letter of 1938 from Nicoll in which he suggests France between the years 1575 and 1600 as the likely place and date of execution. So far, no one has remarked on the interesting stylistic parallels between these drawings and Christoph Schwarz's Trausnitz ceiling frieze scenes of 1576 [PLATES 22-3; I.ii.b].

In plates 12, 17, 156, 192, 224 and 307, it is difficult to tell whether the masked comic characters are shown in real-life or theatrical settings [II.iii.b-c]. Plate 224 is an inlaid panel in a piece of furniture featuring masked comedians, plate 307 a drawing, and plates 12, 17, 156 and 192 are paintings. Do these pictures depict carnival revellers, or comedians performing in cleared spaces, in genuine, albeit often rather fanciful, streets, or do they show actors on stages, with perspective sets? All that can be ventured at present is that the balance seems, at least, to be tipped in favour of theatrical settings. Plates 17 and 307 offer, perhaps, the least evidence to define whether their figures are simply carnival masqueraders or actors and, if the latter, whether they are in urban or stage settings.

Beijer, who first identified and published plate 224 [1957, 59-60, fig.8], is in no doubt that it represents actors on a theatrical stage. Indeed, he extends his interpretation to venture that the panel could record either a scene from a performance by a visiting Italian troupe at a southern German court in the first decades of the seventeenth century, or an early depiction of French *farceurs*. Concerning the scenery, Beijer feels that it has nothing in common either with the type of curtained sets familiar from the *Recueil Fossard*, or with Italian perspective sets, although it seems to me to have faint but not insignificant correlations with Serlio's comic set. Notably, the central building, with its pointed elevation, high round window and door with steps and pediment. Beijer's verdict on the set, that 'sans doute, peut-on voir là un produit de pure imagination' [1957, 59], is tempered by his suggestion that the

artist may have been influenced by the type of sets used at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

Molinari [1985, 90-1] agrees with Apollonio [et. al. 1956, fig.CXLIX] and Hallar [1977, fig.14] that plate 156 is seventeenth century, although J. Adhèmar [1945, 192] associates it with a group of works he dates to the late sixteenth century, a dating also favoured by Aasted [1991, 108] and myself [II.iii.c]. Molinari appears to indicate by his caption to the painting: ‘una compagnia della commedia dell’arte durante una rappresentazione’ [1985, 90-1], that he believes it to show a perspective stage set, which seems likely, despite the elaborate nature of the architecture depicted.

Plate 192, which I reattribute from the eighteenth century Venetian School to the Flemish artist Hieronymus I Francken, seems to be unknown to both art and theatre historians [II.iii.c]. Although it affords insufficient clues to enable a decision as to whether its background cityscape is a painted backdrop, perspective scenery, or simply a genuine urban setting, certain features tie in with those associated with the late renaissance comic scene. These include the central round, columned building, singled out by Krautheimer [1948, 337] as ‘an essential element within the comic scene’. The background of this picture divides into three areas, namely a garden scene to the left, and two deep perspective constructions at centre and right, bounded by two large buildings centrally, a clump of tall trees to the extreme left, and an architectural wing with a woman at its window to the extreme right of the picture. More speculatively, particularly in view of the poor quality of the reproduction, these three areas may possibly have some connection with the turning machine described by Krautheimer [1948, 345], which combined the three backdrops needed for the three types of renaissance play.

I have asked whether the architectural features depicted in plates 156, 192 and 224 are supposed to represent real buildings or painted sets. The same question may be asked of a painting in Bayeux [PLATE 12], which I associate with the Flemish artist Lucas van Valckenborch [II.iii.b-c]. Here I am concerned with whether the actors are performing in a cleared space or on a perspective stage, that is, whether the architecture and formal garden depicted in this painting represent part of a real-life cleared space setting within which these actors perform, or stage scenery and a painted backdrop. One of the few theatre historians to address this latter question directly was McDowell, who includes the picture in the category of those which:

indicate a curtain with formal design [...it] has as background a central archway revealing a formal garden in perspective. While the exact

detail cannot be discerned, the treatment is suggestive of methods employed for the shutter on the Renaissance stage [...] in accordance with Renaissance practice, the back-shutter [...] was usually painted to continue the perspective lines indicated by the rows of houses at each side of the stage. By this means, an illusion of depth was established with a street, wood or garden appearing to recede into the distance [1946, 88-9].

This certainly seems to be the method used in plate 301, but the visual clues afforded by plate 12 seem too meagre to allow a firm decision as to whether its setting is a perspective stage or genuine palace interior with a view out onto an actual garden, although Professor R. L. Erenstein has informally suggested to me that the possibility that the setting is that of the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne is one that deserves serious consideration.

If plate 12 is indeed by Lucas van Valckenborch or his circle, then a dating to around the later 1580s, when Valckenborch was court painter to Archduke Matthias, and not the early 1570s, the traditionally accepted dating of the painting, is indicated on stylistic grounds. The artist responsible for the Bayeux painting may simply have been creating, from the engravings of other artists, fantasy depictions of the commedia performances which his patron was not wealthy enough to sponsor at his own court. But, if the attribution to Valckenborch proves valid, there is the possibility that the Bayeux painting is primarily based on an actual commedia dell'arte performance witnessed by Archduke Matthias and his court painter, and thus that it took place not in France in around 1571, but some two decades later at one or another of the central European Habsburg courts.

III.ii Zanni and Pantalone

III.ii.a Introduction

The Zanni-Pantalone partnership forms the heart, and oldest core, of the commedia dell'arte, and the depiction of Zanni and Pantalone in reliably documented contemporary visual material yields important evidence for the sources and development of the commedia. The servant-master partnership was adopted by renaissance erudite comedy from the classical stage. But amateur attempts to exploit its entertainment potential were hampered both by lack of skill and by the social stigma attached to the garish costumes and gross bodily contortions necessary for

successful clowning [Noë (1985), 47-51, 83]. Professional performers had the advantage of specialist training and a lack of inhibitions. By grafting crowd-pleasing elements from the tradition of acrobatics, juggling and carnival onto the servant-master duo of erudite comedy, they were able to develop them into a commercially-successful stage act which formed the major comic focus of their plays. By the time of the Munich wedding performance of 1568 [I.ii.b], Zanni is identifiable in pictures, known abroad, and becoming established as the central element in a particular type of Italian comedy recorded in a wide range of late renaissance documents.

Zanni's origins and rise are still unclear. The earliest dated pictures of Zanni and Pantalone pairs and their forerunners feature them not on the dramatic stage, but in the context of real-life settings. They date to the second half of the 1560s, and show them assisting mountebanks on market-place trestle-stages [PLATE 283], entertaining at courtly celebrations [PLATE 16], and in domestic servant-master scenes [PLATES 233-7]. Several undated prints apparently showing Zannis and Pantalones as costumed carnival revellers may also date to around this time [PLATES 220, 308]. By the time of Antonio Tempesta's *Febraro* of 1599 [PLATE 64], Zanni, standing in the right foreground with a basket over his arm, and Pantalone, mounted on a donkey in the left foreground, are masked. Their costumes are anachronistic and theatrical. Although not on stage, they play an integral dramatic rôle in the tournament spectacle, and are unmistakably based not on everyday characters, but on stage rôles. It is extremely difficult, however, to chart reliably the change-over from 'real life' to theatrical source in the available sixteenth century visual material. Differentiation between depictions of genuine Venetian master-servant duos in everyday dress, and costumed market-place mountebanks, carnival revellers, or professional actors is not always straightforward. Neither is there a simple relationship between the commedia dell'arte proper and the popular sources from which it drew its strength and inspiration, whose very essence was in turn affected by the commedia characters as they developed on stage.

III.ii.b Venetian servants and masters

A printmaker closely associated with images of Zanni and Pantalone in the 1560s was Nicolò Nelli [Bellini 1975, 33; Mortimer 1974, II, 151-3, 465]. Born around 1530,

he was active from 1563 to 1572 as an engraver and printer in Venice, where he specialized in book illustration, and particularly portraits. Nelli is also known from the *Libro de marchi de cavalli*, which he illustrated and published in 1569 [Yale, Harvard; London, British Museum], and from a number of detailed topographical engravings, and popular broadsheets such as the *Proverbii* of 1564, and engraved numerous portraits, including the signed and dated one of 1568 of Massimo Troiano on the frontispiece of Troiano's account of the Munich wedding celebrations of 1568 [I.ii.b].

Five engravings by Nelli feature the Venetian magnifico Naspo Bizaro and his servant Zan Polo [PLATES 233-7]. The wine flows freely as a bored Zan Polo keeps himself occupied in his gondola, first by eating, then by twiddling his fingers, then by picking his teeth in an increasingly gross manner. He awaits his master, an elderly, love-stricken and hyperbolic Magnifico who interminably serenades on his lute the beautiful Cate Bionda Biriota. She peeps shyly, and then more boldly, from her window, and eventually descends to be given, reluctantly, in marriage to the fortunate Magnifico, in a sumptuously festive scene dated 1565 above Nelli's monogram. In this final scene, in which Cate and Naspo are surrounded by servants and guests and attended by the lethargic Zan Polo, the dramatic suggestion generated by a complex web of crossing and interacting glances and gestures is the scaffold for a comic masterpiece [PLATE 237]. Cate's greedy relatives can ill restrain their eagerness for Naspo's riches, while his gaze, in turn, rests not on his new bride, but on her neighbour, leaning invitingly out of a window above Zan Polo, who laconically notes Naspo's inclinations and sizes up his own chances with his new mistress.

Several motifs are shared with the commedia, notably the servant with the pestle and mortar [PLATES 52, 191, 249]. However, although the costumes of Nelli's Magnifico and Zan Polo are related to those of the commedia masks Pantalone and Zanni, they are shown in unmasked, contemporary dress. Thus they appear not to be based on comic stage characters, but to be a more or less affectionate parody of contemporary Venetian types. As such, Nelli draws on the same source from which the Zanni and Pantalone of the commedia developed, and provides an insight into the attitudes towards this Venetian servant-master duo in the very years in which the commedia first came to the fore.

III.ii.c Zanni costume

The Zanni-Pantalone partnership drew elements from mid sixteenth century real-life Venetian servant and master pairs. It is generally accepted that their costume originates in nothing more complicated than ‘the kind of dress, perhaps a little exaggerated, which the types of people they caricatured would have worn in real life’ [Newton 1975, 265]. Paintings such as the Uffizi’s *Trial of Moses by Fire*, and London’s National Gallery’s *Adoration of the Magi*, both by Giorgione, confirm that this is indeed the case for Pantalone. Under his Venetian patrician’s gown, Zanni’s master continued to wear the dress of his youth, the jacket and tight-fitting hose which were the height of daring fashion for young Venetian males in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. In view of the closeness of Pantalone’s costume to real-life dress, it seems worth considering, where Pantalone-types are depicted in a theatrical context without Zanni, particularly in the company of other actors, that the type of performance being depicted is sometimes not commedia dell’arte, but erudite comedy, the fully-scripted drama from which commedia dell’arte drew much of its inspiration [PLATE 309].

I find the accepted theory less satisfactory for Zanni costume, which displays considerable deviations from the Venetian peasant and porter dress with which it is associated by theatre historians. The surviving pictures indicate that Zanni’s suit was usually of plain, coarse, light, neutrally coloured material, with an uncollared hip-length long-sleeved belted jacket, loose or baggy trousers in matching material often ending just above the ankles, and no cod-piece. But many variations are recorded. The suit may have additional details, such as the collars in Brambilla’s prints of 1583 [PLATES 52-3, 310 (1595), 311 (1616)]; ruffs [PLATES 249, 312 (1610), 34 & 253 (1619)]; codpiece [PLATES 218, 313 (1615)]; jacket buttons [PLATE 314]; or turned-up legs [PLATE 17, 98 (1606)], or rolled up sleeves [PLATE 277 (c.1607)]. Plates 54 and 315 feature Zannis with collars, rolled-up sleeves and turn-ups. In plate 162, the Zanni-type costumes are olive-green and embellished with cuffs, elaborate lace collars, decorative sashes and shoe buckles.

Occasionally, the suit is dark [PLATES 57, 209], rough-textured, as in plate 159, or layered, as in plate 224. Or it may have stripes around all or some of the bottom of the jacket sleeves and body, and the trouser legs, a form of decoration also found in some sailor suits [PLATE 316]. Such stripes are found in Zanni-type costumes of

1575 [PLATE 248] and 1581 [PLATE 240], and the trousers of plate 27. The suit or jacket may even have some sort of more elaborate patterning [PLATES 27, 57, 317 (c.1588), 318 (1604), 312 (1610), 319]. In some cases, such patterning may indicate that the character depicted is not Zanni, but a derivative comic servant, for example, as seems likely in plates 35, 105, 207, 242, 265 and 320, a Mezzetin type.

As the character of Zanni has been identified with that of the Bergamasque peasants who worked in Venice as servants and porters [Magni 1926/27, 111], so has his costume been associated with those of the north Italian peasant and porter [PLATES 321-2]. The peasant type has close associations with the Zanni, the prototype from which all later servant types, including Harlequin, are thought to have developed [Magni 1926/27, 116, 122, 130, 134]. Records confirm the popularity of peasant garb as a carnival disguise in renaissance Austria, Germany, Italy and Switzerland [Vandenbroeck 1984, 85-6]. Massimo Troiano's description of the 1568 Munich *commedia dell'arte* performance underlines this connection. Having swapped clothes with Zanni, his master Pantalone reappears 'uestito, con habiti grossi, & adimando a Camilla chi era quello, egli rispose ch'era un facchino' (in the Catalan version 'vestidos rusticos [...] un ganapan' [I.ii.b; Troiano 1569/1980, f.450v, f.451r]).

Engravings showing more-or-less authentic Venetian porters [PLATE 322] and servant-master pairs [PLATES 233-7] demonstrate discrepancies between Zanni and porter/servant dress which have been noted by some scholars. Decroisette [1985, 79], who notes that, for example 'le poignard a, comme les plumes, une origine purement dramatique', attributes these to 'une certaine stylisation des éléments de la réalité' in stage costume; Povoledo [1975, 257-8] to the influence of the skintight suit of the professional *buffone*, whom she identifies as Zanni's forerunner [I.i.b; III.iii.d]. My recognition of the significance of a short passage in the travel diary of Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria has enabled me to offer a new and different explanation [I.ii.c; Katritzky 1992, 159-60]. When the young Prince and his companions headed for the carnival festivities in Ferrara on 12 January 1566, they travelled incognito, disguised in Zanni costume. The passage in his diary identifying and describing the Zanni costume is, despite its brevity, uniquely informative for such an early date. Ferdinand's group of five:

haben sich fünf Sacktrager klaiden angelegt. Und schonpart furgethan
[...] und zum fesst gefarn [...] und ist wol zue sehen gewest 3 klaine

und 2 grosse Sacktrager Inn Schiffer hosen und leinralge [?illegible]
Päckhl, sampt Mäntln von grobem tuech und kemetfeger huetlen
daruber mit ainander daher ziehen. [*Diary*, f.105v; I.ii.c]

This combination of face-masks, sailors' trousers, porters' bundles of rolled linen, coats of coarse material and chimney sweeps' caps suggests a composite source for the Zanni costume whose most important elements are non-rustic. Zanni's cap may have been directly copied from that of the urban chimney-sweep, or perhaps it merely reminded the Bavarian chronicler of such caps [PLATE 323]. But pictorial records confirm that the most convincing explanation for Zanni's costume is indeed that it was primarily inspired by the loose rough linen trouser-suit of the renaissance sailor [PLATES 316, 324], apparently admired and adopted by genuine Venetian dockers [PLATE 322], many of peasant origin and from the Bergamasque region, on whom the Zanni character was based, and who provided the real-life inspiration both for Zanni's personality and for his costume. Despite its confirmation by contemporary pictures, the connection between the costumes of Zannis and sailors has not been previously recognized by theatre historians.

Povoledo [1975, 257] suggests that some early *commedia dell'arte* characters had a choice of two quite separate costumes, which were only fully integrated when *commedia* types became standardized in the later seventeenth century. One was based on early sixteenth century contemporary costume appropriate to their character in real-life, the other on the skintight suit, or tights, of medieval and renaissance *buffoni*, *matachins* and fools. The tight-fitting Harlequin costume was certainly being worn by the 1580s, but Povoledo gives no evidence for the exact date when performers in such costumes stopped being referred to as *matachins*, as they are, for example, by Rabelais [1549, 26; I.i.c], and became known as Zannis.

The description in Ferdinand's diary suggests that, in 1566, Zanni's accepted costume bore no traces of the *matachin's* tights, but was a loose-fitting trouser suit based on elements taken from various contemporary outfits. Povoledo does not establish, and it is not possible from the evidence in Ferdinand's diary to determine whether, already by 1566, the two types of costume had been amalgamated, before later splitting again to give the contrasting costumes of the loosely and tightly-clad servants. The more likely alternative is that Zanni wore only the loose costume from the start. In this case, the costume, and perhaps some of the stage routines, of servant

types such as Harlequin, who wore tight suits, may have been directly influenced by the *buffoni* and *moresca* dancers who performed with the early troupes [III.iii.c].

The evidence in Ferdinand's diary supports the view that not all commedia dell'arte servants are based directly on Zanni, while the iconographic records confirm that not all outfits of the type associated with Zanni are worn by Zannis. Suits of this type are worn by other variants of the stock comic servant type, such as the Zany Corneto, Philipin and Francatripa of plate 6; a Būراتي, Zan Trippu and Zan Zaccagna of 1583 [PLATES 52-3]; a Pedrolino of 1589 [PLATE 38]; and any number of carnival fools, such as two German ones of 1610 [PLATE 312] and 1619 [PLATE 253]. Some of the characters depicted wearing Zanni-type outfits in late renaissance pictures are of course genuine sailors. This may, for example, be the case with the Neapolitan porters in plate 325, and two of the audience in plate 213. A few of the hundreds of national and regional costumes in costume books of the time also depict outfits which feature loose trousers of the distinctive type worn by Zannis and sailors. These include Vecellio's *Man of Galicia, Spain* and *Alsatian Man* [1598/1977, nos.264, 318] and Hans Weigel's *Man from Middleburg in Zeeland* of 1577 [Trevor-Roper 1968, 75].

Even a cursory survey of late renaissance depictions of comic types in Zanni costume reveals a remarkable diversity within the basic constraints of the outfit, although tracing the historical development of the stage costume over the first few decades of the commedia dell'arte through the surviving dated pictures is not straightforward. The very earliest dated painting of commedia characters, Hieronymus I Francken's picture of 1565 [PLATE 16], includes a lute-playing comic servant in a costume which appears to have characteristics of both sailor [PLATES 316, 324] and docker [PLATE 322] costume. It may be that Francken's painting is recording a transitional phase of Zanni costume, before it adopted the authentic sailors' short jacket and baggy trousers, although comparable costumes do occasionally occur in later pictures, as for example, plate 157 [II.iii.b], and plate 280 of 1602, where what appears to be a comic servant is clad in similar long jacket and tight trousers or leggings.

The hat of Francken's comic servant of 1565 is also unusual, a strange sculptural shape and unfeathered, but the iconographic records confirm that some sort of hat, more often feathered and brimmed than not, is invariably sported by the true Zanni,

and that the other accessories of Francken's performer are also standard to Zanni costume. The dark three-quarter mask and beard recur in dated pictures from the late 1560s onwards [PLATES 283 (1568), 238 (1573), 248 (1575), 22-3 (1576), 33 (1579), 240 (1581), 52-3 (1583), 317 (c.1588), 310 (1595), 318 (1604), 271-2 (1610)]. In some of these, such as plate 240, and in an undated late sixteenth century drawing [PLATE 326], previously attributed to Pieter Bruegel, but more recently considered anonymous, Zanni appears to wear a false beard. Occasionally, animal masks are worn in conjunction with Zanni-type costume, as in plates 27 and 31-2. Only from the turn of the century do dated depictions of Zannis in pale rather than dark masks, or without mask and/or beard, start appearing regularly, as, for instance, Tempesta and Franco's beardless Zannis of 1599 [PLATE 64] and 1610 [PLATE 286], Vrancx' and Stevens' pale-masked Zannis of 1606 [PLATE 98] and c.1607 [PLATE 277], and several carnival Zanni-types [PLATES 312 (1610), 313 (1615), 253 (1619)].

Francken's comic servant of 1565 carries a musical instrument and, at his belt, a purse and weapon [PLATE 16]. At least one of these three accessories is clearly visible in all the earlier dated depictions of Zanni: in 1568 it is a sword [PLATE 283]; in 1573, knife, purse and violin [PLATE 238]; in 1575, short sword and lute [PLATE 248]; most of the Zanni-types in Christoph Schwarz's sixteen frescoes of 1576 have a black purse and short sword at their belts, one also carries a lute, another the bow of a cello [PLATES 22-3]; in 1579, lute and broad-sword [PLATE 33]; in c.1577, dagger and purse [PLATE 249]; in 1581, lute [PLATE 240]; in Brambilla's prints of 1583, purse and dagger [PLATES 52-3]; in a picture of 1583, purse, dagger and violin [PLATE 258]; in c.1588, *rommelpot* [PLATE 317]; in 1595, sword [PLATE 310]; in 1599, purse [PLATE 64]; in 1604, sword and bell-hammer [PLATE 318]; in 1606, purse and *rommelpot* [PLATE 98]; in c.1607, purse and sword [PLATE 277]. Other instruments carried by Zanni include the pipe [PLATES 54, 255], bent-back guitar [PLATE 208-10], grill, poker and morris bells [PLATE 218], morris bells alone [PLATE 166] or with tambourine [PLATE 35], drum [PLATE 220], hunting horn [PLATE 315] or even bag-pipes [PLATE 27].

With some elements of Zanni costume, there appears to be no discernible correlation with dated depictions. These include the enormously varied range of feathered and unfeathered hats, caps, turbans, or even cooking-pots [PLATE 218],

plumed pouring funnels [PLATE 265] or other highly imaginative headgear, one or another of which was actively sported by virtually every Zanni (a notable exception is the left-hand Zanni in plate 17, who has doffed his hat, leaving his mask ties clearly visible); the wearing of no footwear [PLATE 35], clogs [PLATE 218], plain or spotty [PLATE 249; Hallar 1977, fig.7] shoes or the more usual black slippers, not always easy to tell apart in the iconography; the short, often dark, capes which Zannis are depicting wearing over their shoulder or left arm in numerous pictures from the early 1570s onwards; the less usual longer cloak [PLATES 17, 31, 35 (1619), 130, 142, 181, 239 (1593), 285] and shoulder streamers [PLATES 27, 31], as well as any props.

The most usual prop was some sort of musical instrument, or arms and armour, as discussed above, closely followed by kitchen utensils and/or items of food, such as a bowl [PLATE 165]; basket alone [PLATES 36, 64, 312, 315] or with bottle [PLATE 165]; jug [PLATES 314, 326]; pestle and mortar [PLATES 52, 191]; spoon [PLATES 166, 315]; grater with or without cheese [PLATES 166, 315]; sausages alone [PLATE 220, 308], or with comb, syringe and bucket [PLATE 54]. In plate 166, one of the Zannis appears to be brandishing a pig's trotter. Sometimes, Zanni holds an item of apparel, such as gloves, eye-glasses, money-bag, or lengths of rope, perhaps removed from their waists, where they often served as belts, in the manner of the contemporary sailor [PLATES 27, 99, 260-1, 308]. Other props include one or more torches [PLATES 33, 142, 161, 205, 224, 320]; syringe [PLATES 54, 314] and bellows [PLATE 166].

As late as 1631, comic actors are still depicted in straightforward instantly recognizable Zanni suits [PLATE 292]. But the iconography appears to confirm that the temptation to elaborate, to stamp an individual actor's personality on both the rôle and its traditional costume, spawned more and more modifications, and fuelled the decline of Zanni, the *commedia dell'arte*'s earliest comic servant, in favour of a host of more colourfully liveried servant types, of whom Harlequin was the most popular and long-lived.

III.ii.d Zanni and Pantalone in the *land of Cockayne*

One early non-theatrical setting in which Zanni and Pantalone are found is that of the carnival, and more specifically, the representation, at carnival time, of the Cockayne

revels by, for example, the Neapolitan peasantry. Were these celebrators merely borrowing costumes already familiar from the stage, or did the central characters of the commedia originate in the carnival festivities? A signed and dated print of 1564 by Nelli [PLATE 327] elaborates on the gluttonous pleasures of the fabled *land of Cockayne*, where laziness and greed are extravagantly rewarded. A considerable literature and iconography bear witness to the fascination this secular Nirvana exercised on the medieval mind and its inheritors. Pieter Bruegel's *Land of Cockayne* of 1567, in Munich's Alte Pinakothek, one of the most artistically memorable paintings of this theme, indicates that even the holy orders were not immune to this particular weakness. An anonymous print which is a reversed version of Nelli's *Cucagna* [PLATE 327] has a companion print of identical format and by the same hand, which may thus also be derived from a print of the 1560s by Nelli [PLATE 308]. Povoledo [1975, 265] lists, but does not reproduce, a late sixteenth century impression in the Theatre Museum, Munich, which may differ from plate 308.

The Shrovetide carnival, with its opportunity to indulge, for the last time before Lent, in luxury foods such as meat and alcohol, holds the key to the understanding of the *land of Cockayne's* grossly comic *regression orale* [Delpech 1979, 44]. Fantasy spilt over into reality when members of Netherlandish fishermen's and butchers' guilds attacked each other with salt herrings and sausages in carnival pageants which symbolized the fight between an anarchic, prodigal, male King Carnival and a thrifty, practical, female Quaresima. Such fights are a favourite subject of numerous Flemish paintings, although the extent to which they reflect genuine pageant practice of the time is disputed. For Swarzenski, such pictures are not realistic representations of Flemish carnival practice, but:

part and parcel of a more or less established allegorical picture tradition of the theme and related subject matter - an iconography, partly nourished by popular imagery and continued by sketch-books [...] that was enriched and vitalized through the imagination and the observation of the artist. [1951, 2-3]

The subject, pioneered by Bosch and Pieter Bruegel, is depicted in many later Flemish paintings which also include carnival revellers in the costume of Italian comedians [II.ii.e-f; PLATES 81-3, 86-8, 136].

The boundaries between fantasy and reality were even more blurred when the poor of Naples played the turbulent carnival game of *Cuccagna*. Valsecchi [1967, 394]

provides a description of this orgiastic free-for-all, rooted in the essentially comic concept of Cockayne but spawned by the cravings of the sixteenth century peasant. A construction of stages at various levels, with a painted backdrop representing the *Garden of Delights*, was amply furnished with vast mounds of food and fountains which spouted real wine. At a given signal, the ravenous populace was let loose on this edible tableau. Often, the results were so violent that the game was temporarily suspended; indeed, *Cuccagna* was banned altogether by the authorities at the end of the sixteenth century. Plates 308 and 327 were quite possibly influenced by actual carnival pageants and celebrations, and, in their turn, almost certainly had an influence on them. For example, Gibson [1981, 438-9] discusses the influence of engravings by Frans Hogenberg and after Pieter Bruegel on floats in an Antwerp pageant of 1563.

In plate 308, the slothful *Land of Cockayne* has been transformed into a bloodthirsty battlefield: at the top an army of Zannis, led by a Pantalone with a syringe preceded by two bulls, drives out Pannigon, mounted on a boar, and his unhappy men. A band of Gypsies lies ready to ambush the fleeing Cucagnesi, still clinging pathetically to their carnival meats. In the central scene, a tournament celebrates the comedians' victory, while to the right, eight Pantalones and Stefanellos count their looted gold, and to the left their eight Zannis seize Pannigon's abandoned macaroni mountain. Below, Carnavale is crowned King of Cockayne, and condemns the unfortunate Pannigon to death. Unfeeling *tedescos* [III.iii.b] drain the sea of Greek wine while the execution is carried out by three mallet-bearing Anatolian matachins [III.iii.c], who drown Pannigon in a butt of malmsey wine. Sixteen lines of doggerel in the bottom right-hand corner summarize the action.

But why are the pleasure-loving comedians, fighting under the banner of the King of Carnival, in such a vicious campaign against the frivolous Cucagnesi, a group of like-minded temperament in whose country, surely, Carnival is a way of life? Why are the comedians and Cucagnesi not united against their common and ancient enemy, symbolized by Quaresima, the Queen of Lent? Even if it proves possible to unravel the enigmatic relationship of the comedians to the Cucagnesi it will not be a matter of simply identifying the sources from which the Italian comedians took their motifs. The figure of Pannigon was borrowed by Rabelais from popular culture, transformed by him into the King of Cockayne, and underwent further transitions during the

piecemeal re-assimilation of the Rabelaisian with the traditional Pannigon [Huon 1953, 210-225]. In the same way, as the *commedia dell'arte* developed, there was a constant give and take between it and the popular sources from which it drew its strength. This dynamic interchange not only moulded the development of the *commedia*, but affected the very essence of those far from static popular traditions.

A pair of Venetian woodcuts show *Il Triomfo del Carneval* [PLATE 220] and *Il Triomfo della Quaresima* as stately processions. In plate 220, the King of Carnival is borne aloft by a troupe of Comedians. (A different, and, from its looser and less detailed treatment, almost certainly later, version also exists. The impression in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra is hand coloured.) Zanni, Pantalone, a *dottore*, a dark-masked *innamorata* and masked matachin are recognizable in a procession which is a pointed burlesque of Petrarchan Triumphs, and in which carnival meats assume the dignity of war trophies, lending these humble woodcuts a distant affinity with Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, in the Royal Collection (Hampton Court), which is entirely absent from the unruly village bun-fight atmosphere of the Flemish pageant scenes [PLATES 81-3, 86-8, 136].

Are these masks merely costumed carnival revellers, or are they the members of an actual *commedia* troupe? Although the iconography appears to confirm the generalization that the earliest professional actors borrowed and put together elements familiar in their own times, at present it is only possible to speculate on whether the Pantalones and Zannis depicted in such carnival scenes borrowed their costumes from figures already fully established on the stage by professional actors, whether the Pantalone-Zanni duo was established before the *commedia dell'arte*, perhaps in the rough and tumble of the mid sixteenth century carnival celebrations of the market place, whether it was simply inspired by the typical Venetian Magnifico and his manservant, or whether the true account is yet to be pieced together from a combination of some or all of these and other hypotheses [Magni 1926/27, 116].

III.ii.e Zanni and Pantalone as Mountebanks' assistants

Dated 1568, but signed only by the publisher, Ferrando Bertelli, is a print bearing the title *L'Arboro della Pazzia* [PLATE 283], one of whose scenes depicts a masked Zanni aiding a violin-playing mountebank on a bench. The mountebank has a live snake coiled tightly around his neck, the Zanni holds a large bowl of wares, perhaps

antidote for poisoning or snake-bite, and security is provided by the fierce-looking dog under their trestle stage. Thomas Coryat [1611/1905, 411-12], who visited Venice in 1608, describes a Venetian charlatan whose stage 'act' included encouraging a viper to bite him in front of prospective customers. For Beijer and Duchartre [1928, 25], plate 283 is 'peut-être la plus ancienne représentation datée d'un Zanni avec son partenaire'.

A number of theatre historians have recognized commercial mountebanks as a significant early influence on the Italian comedy through their employment of professional actors [Smith 1912; Dshiwelegov 1958; I.i.a], and there are many late renaissance pictures which feature itinerant traders in conjunction with Italian comedians. Plate 36 features a similar duo to that in plate 283. Here too, it is the mountebank who plays the violin. But the basket of wares is on a stool on the trestle stage, and the Zanni addresses the audience. In a friendship album watercolour in the British Library [Richards and Richards 1990, pl.7], the division of labour also appears to be that the mountebank is responsible for attracting an audience with entertainment, and the Zanni for completing the hard sale of the wares on offer. Not all mountebanks employed Zannis as assistants. In plate 212, of 1583, a mountebank holds a snake aloft to the crowd, while the antidote is weighed out by a man in contemporary costume.

Commonly, such pictures show three people on stage. In plate 284 the violin-playing mountebank and his Zanni have been joined by a hunch-backed Pantalone, who engages the Zanni in some sort of comic dialogue. There are two lidded boxes of wares on the stage. More usually, it is the charlatan himself who appears to be giving the sales patter, while the comic types provide an entertainment to attract his audience. Often, his accomplices are a woman and a Zanni [PLATES 120, 216, 254-5, 340], but sometimes a Zanni and a boy [PLATE 258] or a second Zanni, or a masked male, as in the right background stage of plate 286, or even not including a Zanni at all, as appears to be the case in plate 125, where a couple share the mountebank's stage. With the exception of plates 216, 286 and 340, on these stages, in contrast to those of plates 36, 283-4 and the British Library picture [Richards and Richards 1990, pl.7], it is Zanni who, where present, plays an instrument. In plates 254 and 258, he plays the violin, in plate 255 he plays the pipe while the violin is played by his female companion, and in plates 120 and 146 he

plays the lute, also played by the mountebank's male assistant in plate 125, where there is no Zanni. Also in contrast to plates 36, 283-4 and the British Library picture, where the wares were presented in nondescript bowls, baskets and boxes, the mountebanks of these pictures present their patent cures in impressive domed chests, given further emphasis by ornate wooden stands. As the mountebank delivers his patter, he often gesticulates towards his wares [PLATES 120, 125, 146, 340], or holds a sample up for the inspection of the audience [PLATES 254-5, 258].

Although three seems to have been the normal number on mountebanks' stages, more performers are not uncommon, particularly in the case of highly successful mountebanks [PLATES 287, 299]. In plate 275, the sack and small chest which are the sole props on the foreground stage may indicate that the four performers on it are trying to promote wares. They appear to be a string-playing Zanni, two Pantalones and a woman. The stage in the left background of plate 286 also carries four performers, although in this case there appear to be no Zannis. In plate 285, a mountebank standing by a large chest throwing samples at the crowd is aided by a Zanni and no less than three musicians: a woman lutenist, and flute and violin-playing men. The snake-wielding mountebank on the foreground stage of plate 286 appears to have one straight and four comic assistants, the latter a female lutenist and three masked men, two of whom are a Zanni-Pantalone pair. The mountebank Tabarin [PLATE 287] is depicted in the foreground of a large curtained stage, with an assistant in Zanni costume. In the background, a boy guards the chest of wares, while three male musicians and a couple attract a crowd. In plate 299 too, masked comics are among the assistants.

Where the size of the crowd is indicated in pictures, it bears only a limited relation to the number of performers on stage. The largest crowd is attracted by the most performers, Tabarin's troupe [PLATE 287], and the smallest audience by the twosome in plate 212. But the troupes of three, four and six performers in plate 286 all attract similar-sized audiences, and at least as many people surround the stage of plate 120, with its three performers, as those of plates 275 and 299, with their four performers, while the smaller audiences of the three performers on each of plates 125 and 146 still compare not unfavourably with that of the five-man troupe of plate 283.

The mountebank's main aim was to sell his wares. In most of the pictures examined here, the packaging, where visible, is small and round [PLATES 36, 254,

283, 286, 299], but sometimes glass phials [PLATES 255, 287], or both [PLATE 258] are on offer, and in plate 285, small sacks. Zanni, the mountebank's most popular choice of assistant, was a popular and internationally-recognized entertaining servant-figure who provided an effective foil for the respectability and trustworthiness of the image the mountebank attempted to project, as well as enhancing the foolish, nonsense element of mountebank sales-patter. Additionally, it may be more than coincidental that Zanni's sailor-like costume gave credence to another common element of mountebank patter, namely its ubiquitous references to overseas travels in order to collect exotic ingredients for new potions and deliver wares to grateful foreign dignitaries.

The pictorial records indicate that most mountebanks, whether they had one assistant or half a dozen, included at least one Zanni among their number, but that Pantalone is only rarely among their entourage. They also demonstrate the central rôle of music in attracting and entertaining the crowd, and hint at the possibility that the rôles of Zanni and mountebank may not always have been clearly divided between the attraction and entertainment of an audience by Zanni, and delivery of the sales patter by the mountebank. Pictures such as plates 36, 258 and 283-4 suggest that, at least in the earlier decades of Zanni's existence, it may have been the mountebank who stood by while Zanni took centre stage to deliver the sales patter. The Zanni-Pantalone partnership is a central pivot of *commedia dell'arte* plots, and where Zanni is shown without Pantalone, as on many mountebank stages, it seems likely that the mountebank played the rôle of master to Zanni's servant.

III.iii Some further comic types

III.iii.a Some female types

There are particular problems with identifying and classifying the female stock types in depictions of the *commedia dell'arte*. These arise because there is an overlap in the incidence of both Christian names and social class among different female stock types, and in general they are less narrowly visually defined by costume, accessories and activities than the male types. Even so, the visual material offers a valuable supplement to the evidence available in the written documentation. The pictures clarify the gestures, activities and accessories of the female comedians, and convey valuable information concerning the costume of actresses in general, its historical

evolution and its relation to a wide range of specific female rôles and performance situations [I.iii.b; III.iv.d].

In erudite comedy, female parts were played by boys and men, and there was a convention that respectable wives and romantic heroines appeared as little as possible during a performance, with much of their action related at second hand by maids and servants. Pictorial records indicate that the respectable older women do not completely break free of this convention in the renaissance. They tend to hover well in the background, or appear only at a window. But on the late renaissance professional stage, although the maid often continued to be played by a man, key scenes between the *innamorati* were increasingly no longer reported at second hand by the maid, but conducted in full view of the audience, and the *innamorata* herself, played by a woman, became an essential on-stage presence. The introduction of actresses onto the professional stage, pioneered by the early troupes of the *commedia dell'arte*, was enormously popular, and a major factor in ensuring a rapid expansion of the stage rôles played by the younger women [I.iii.b].

Although many female performers are depicted masked, it has been argued that such masks are not genuinely theatrical. Duchartre, for example, writes:

the women did not wear masks [...] the tiny black velvet mask, or *loup*, which the women of the *commedia dell'arte* sometimes wore cannot be considered a true mask, for it was used outside as well as inside the theatre. The *loup* was as much a part of a woman's dress as her brocade and lace. [Duchartre 1929/1966, 266]

According to Richards and Richards [1990, 112]: 'in the iconography at least, the *vecchi* and *zanni* were invariably masked; the other stage figures did not usually use the mask'. But, only exceptionally in the many early pictures in which actresses wear face masks, do female spectators or onlookers in comparable rich clothes to those of the masked actresses they watch wear *loups*, whereas the actresses are often shown wearing masks which cover considerably more of the face than the *loup*.

At its most discreet the female mask is, like the *loup*, little more than a black eye-mask [PLATES 17, 124, 140-1, 143, 145, 211, 256]. In numerous pictures, including many associated with Sebastian Vrancx and his circle, the female's mask, unlike the *loup*, typically covers the nose as well as the eyes, as it does in some paintings by Frederick van Valckenborch, while in others by this artist it extends to cover also the cheeks and upper lip. This type of black three-quarter mask, a great

deal more substantial than the elegant *loup*, is also found in pictures by other artists [PLATES 138, 221, 242, 251, 257, 317]. In plate 251, the mask is supported by a cap-like extension. Plate 317, of c.1588, clearly indicates another way in which such masks could be attached, by tapes at the top and sides which tied at the back of the head, and is also unusual in that the mask appears to have a moustache attached to it, which provides an uneasy contrast to the elegant gown of its wearer.

In many pictures of masked actresses, they are out of doors, in performance, troupe parades or carnival celebrations, and it is just possible that their face-masks, although not always as discreet as the *loup*, may have been regarded as part of their everyday wear, although they are not worn by other women. But in some pictures they perform indoors, and are clearly wearing masks of similar type and construction to those of their male companions [PLATES 140-5, 181, 221]. Also undeniably theatrical are the full or nearly full-face black masks worn by many commedia females. Some are of cloth, others more elaborately moulded and shaped, many fastened with tapes which sit above the ears.

Much more difficult to distinguish in the iconography than black face-masks are pale or flesh coloured face-masks, and the most discreet form of mask depicted, the veil. Full-face veils are featured in plates 154, 162 and 209. The exposed breasts and explicit gestures of the veiled female in plate 209 mark her out as a courtesan, possibly also the rôle of the veiled female in plate 162, who also accompanies a Pantalone, and whose relatively sober dress could be explained by the freezing winter conditions. In the engraved version of plate 209, by Sadeler, the female's veil appears to have given way to a light coloured full-face moulded mask [PLATE 210] similar to that worn by the Venetian courtesan in plate 240. The Sadeler family was also responsible for plate 29, the engraved version of plates 62-3, which almost certainly precedes them, and in which the courtesan wears not the exceptionally full black face-masks of the painted versions, but a costume, swept-back hairstyle and moulded pale full-face mask similar to those of the courtesan in plate 210.

In some pictures it is hard to establish for certain whether the actress wears a flesh coloured moulded mask, veil, or simply thick make-up, but such masks, generally full-face, but occasionally three-quarter, certainly appear to be worn by females in commedia costume in numerous pictures. In plates 86-8, the masks are little more than rectangles of soft cloth with holes for the eyes, tied tightly back behind the ears.

In plate 130, the central female's full-face moulded mask is secured by a tape running under the nose, those in Bassano's paintings are fastened more conventionally, with tapes tied to holes in the side of the mask and then back behind the ears [PLATES 267-8]. In complete contrast to the grotesque masks of his comic men, those of Bassano's women are moulded and delicately painted with extreme realism and attention to life-like detail. Bassano's depictions are particularly significant for the presumed authenticity of the costume, as they appear to show actual professional performances, albeit in street settings, by a local artist familiar with the comedians. Light coloured three-quarter and full-face masks for both men and women also seem to have been a standard part of the costume in a number of northern carnival rituals [PLATES 147, 150-1, 218].

Although theatre historians suggest that the women of the *commedia dell'arte* were not, or only exceptionally, masked in performance, examination of the iconographic material reveals that a significant number of early female *commedia* characters are depicted with their faces wholly or partially covered by a veil or mask. With the male characters, masks are predominantly worn by the old men and their menservants. With the female characters too, their range appears to be confined largely to particular types, although unlike the males, the female masked types are by no means exclusively depicted masked, and the wearing of masks appears to be dependent on performance situation as well as rôle. It is certainly true that no masked females are depicted, for example, in the well-known series of images of early Italian comedians in performance, such as the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6] or the *Corsini Album* illustrations [PLATES 243-7], and only very few in peasant or servant dress. In general, the female types depicted with face masks wear the type of rich clothing associated with the *innamorata* or romantic heroine and in many cases, more specifically with the courtesan, and appear in outdoor or informal, private indoor settings rather than on the public dramatic stage.

The written documentation records that the more talented early actresses were able to offer a wide range of skills, among which the more common were dancing, singing and the playing of instruments. Thomas Norton's criticism in 1574 of the 'unnaturall tomblings of the Italion Woemen' [Lea 1934, II, 354; I.i.d] and the description of 29 November 1565 of a female acrobat in Trent [I.ii.c] confirm that Italian women and girls took part in acrobatics. However, I have come across no depictions of

recognizably female Italian acrobats, and, in general, it is far less usual for commedia females than males to be depicted actively displaying skills. Music, dance and acrobatics are more often provided by the males, and females are also less likely to be depicted holding or carrying props which indicate their social standing or rôle.

In several pictures women musicians dressed as *innamorati*, possibly courtesans, aid mountebanks. In contrast to the men, they are depicted playing a limited range of instruments, commonly the violin [PLATE 255; Richards and Richards 1990, pl.7], lute [PLATES 216, 285-6], *colascione* [PLATE 340], or harp [PLATE 286]. Plates 12, 192 and 230 also feature string-playing women, while a woman in plate 65 apparently in Gypsy costume may be playing some kind of cymbals, and several pictures feature a female tambourine-player in exotic costume between two dancing comic males in a northern carnival setting [PLATES 81-3, 86-8]. In a similar trio depicted in both indoor and outdoor settings, the music is provided by a string-playing Zanni, and the woman simply joins in with the dance [PLATES 209-11]. This woman's full-face veil, elaborately-dressed hair, exposed breasts, pearls, jewels and rich apparel identify her with some certainty as a courtesan, the probable identity of the women in all these trios. The dancing girl in another servant-master-female trio, depicted in the top right-hand scene of plate 54, is less richly attired, and may be a common prostitute or maid. Also in a northern carnival setting is plate 80, in which a woman in even more homely dress dances a vigorous *moresca* with a comic servant-master pair. Women also join in with the *moresca* or other dances in plates 6, 16, 17, 53, 100, 120, 123, 203 and 309.

The women of the commedia dell'arte also display a more limited range of gestures, poses and props in depiction than the men. Typically, they are with a male companion, holding hands; or with a hand or arm on his shoulder; or engaged in some other familiar gesture or embrace. In the iconography, their most common hand-held objects are an item of clothing such as the veil of their headdress, or a kerchief, fan or muff; other popular accessories include general cooking and kitchen equipment, plants, baskets, purses, letters and potions.

The written documentation emphasises two female rôles above all others, those of the maid and the *innamorata*. My examination of the visual evidence leads me to suggest that early actresses are shown as wearing no less than four main types of costume. One, that of the female servant is, as would be expected, generally

associated with the rôle of the maid in named depictions. The second and third costume types, those of affluent young women of reputable background, and of the courtesan, correspond to opposing poles in the broad spectrum of the other important female rôle, that of the *innamorata*. There is considerable overlap between each of these three costume types. The fourth major female costume type in the iconography is that of dress of Oriental inspiration. Pictures in which female performers or their rôles are named, such as the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6], or those in which female types can be identified by name from accompanying written documentation, such as the *Corsini Album* illustrations [PLATES 243-7], offer a reservoir of visual images of particular types which can be used as an aid in identifying unnamed depictions. Only few named portraits of renaissance professional actresses exist. One example is a title page illustration of 1602 portraying the actress Isabella Andreini [PLATE 328], possibly dressed for her stage rôle of the *innamorata* Isabella.

Two maids are depicted in Minaggio's pictures of c.1615-18 [Corrigan 1969, 175-6, 179]. Corrigan identifies his *Ricolina* (leaf 104) as a portrait of the actress Angela Lucchesi, whose stage rôle was that of the maid Rizzolina, and whose costume is typical of that of the stage maid. She wears a modest white blouse with blue and black patterning on the sleeves, green tunic, white apron, cheerful blue and red headscarf and white clogs, holds a brace of game birds in one hand, a bunch of flowers in the other, and has a basket of herbs or vegetables on her arm. According to Corrigan, Minaggio's *Spineta* (leaf 110) [PLATE 293] depicts the actress Spinetta Gabrieli, whose stage rôle was that of the maid Spinetta. But although her collar is modest, she wears a fine gown of rich yellow and navy with elaborate cuffs, matching cap and a fan, demonstrating the generous overlap in costume type between the female rôles. The third scene of plate 315 depicts 'un servitor molto costumato', another maid in finery.

More typical of the maid are the costumes displayed by Lucia in plate 51, Tifeta in plate 11, Licetta in plate 6 and Francischina [PLATES 6, 38, 50, 260-1]. Lucia wears a plain dark dress, apron and white head cloth, similar to the costumes of Licetta and Franceschina in plate 6. The fifth scene of plate 6, in which Franceschina is in a state of undress, affords an interesting insight into the construction of this outfit, with its laced bodice and stockings. In plate 38, Franceschina wears similar

costume and carries a spindle, in plates 260-1 she is bare-headed, wears a low-cut peasant dress with laced bodice, and teases a money-bag from Zanni in return for her favours. The Franceschina of plate 50 wears a pale blouse with lace cuffs but no collar, low-cut dark green tunic dress with gold trim and a white apron. Her hair is neatly dressed and she wears drop earrings. Tifeta [PLATE 11] has a bag at her waist, and carries a dish of food. She could be a maid, or the wife of the inn-keeper.

The Naspola and Balzarina busying themselves in the kitchen of Brambilla's print of 1583 [PLATE 52] appear to be maids. Naspola's dress is similar to that of Francisquine in plates 260-1, her sleeves are rolled up and she is making a pie. Balzarina kneels over a pot at the fireplace, and her low-cut dress and pretty collar have attracted Zanni, whom she beats off with a draining spoon. This dress resembles those of Nespola, Franceschina and Venturina in the companion print [PLATE 53], although Franceschina's exposed breasts and legs, and the close relationship between Venturina and Pantalone alluded to in the print's title also give these women some affinities with the rôle of the courtesan. Apart from their face-masks, the costumes of the central seated woman in plate 242, and the woman in plate 256, resemble that of Vecellio's costume book illustration of a peasant woman from the outskirts of Venice in her Ascension Day finery [PLATE 329]. One possible explanation is that the masked women are intended to depict actresses portraying commedia dell'arte maids or courtesans of peasant origin in their best outfits, another is that they are simply costumed carnival revellers. In either case, they are not necessarily of peasant origin themselves.

The *Corsini Album* illustration to scenario 100 shows Pantalone's maid Franceschina wearing the low-cut collarless gown with apron familiar from many of the Corsini illustrations, where, when the rôle it depicts is identifiable, it is typically worn by maids, but occasionally, as discussed below, by *innamorati* [Corsini Album scenarios 48, 59, 86]. Women in the costume typically associated with the maid are frequently depicted in performance. In plates 55 and 58, there are two, one of whom, with a head cloth, is clearly an older servant. The younger maid, identifiable as such by the purse and scissors at her waist, is bare-headed and wears a plain dress with checked sleeves and a ruff. In plates 61 and 188-90, maids with head cloths hover behind their mistresses, those of plates 188-9 in low-cut collarless dresses, the other two with neck ruffs. The maid at the extreme left of plate 12, again in head

cloth and low-cut, collarless aproned dress, is being crudely-embraced by Zanni. Plate 156 features two maids in head cloths, one with laced white bodice and skirt, and a gold double chain around her neck, the other in white scarf, blouse and stockings, red collarless low-cut dress, and dark apron. The woman in low-cut peasant dress flinging open the door at centre-stage in plate 224 also wears this type of costume, as do several women on the walls of the Trausnitz staircase, including one who wields a pitch fork and chamber pot and wears the rustic full skirt, laced bodice, white blouse, apron and head cloth typical of the late renaissance maid. It is possible that the two central dancing maids of plate 17 and their companions are an on-stage troupe in performance.

Perhaps because of its commonplace appearance, the maid's costume is only rarely identifiable in depictions of actresses in non-performance contexts. An older woman putting a finger to her lip at the extreme right of a troupe portrait [PLATE 60] is in this type of costume, as is the girl at the extreme left in the loose collared dress, a woman hand in hand with a comic servant in plate 136, and the masked aproned female in the carnival parade of plate 220. The dancers and musicians of plates 78-9 are possibly a professional troupe, in which case the older and younger maid flanking the grotesquely dancing master-servant pair may be in stage costume, rather than genuine servants.

Female disguise, a popular plot requirement for male comic types, is, like the cross-dressing of the early male maids, difficult to detect in iconographic material. A rare example of a picture in which an actor in female costume can be definitely identified, by virtue of the accompanying written documentation, is in the first scene of plate 315, where Pantalone, without abandoning his strange pudding-basin hat, wears the simple aproned dress typical of a maid's costume and carries a spindle. Another is *Corsini Album* scenario 61, whose title page depicts a stage Turk wearing *innamorata* costume as a disguise.

The *innamorata* typically wore clothes of a comparable opulent nature to those of wealthier young female members of the public or audience. Perhaps for this reason, the rôle is less evident in outdoor parades and carnival settings, and difficult to identify in informal indoor settings, where the comedians are surrounded by affluent private spectators. Of the five actresses depicted by Minaggio c.1615-18, Corrigan [1969, 171-2, 180] identifies three as *innamorati*. Minaggio's *Florinda* (leaf 106),

and possibly also the unlabelled woman on leaf 111 (whose costume is similar), are portraits of the actress Virginia Ramponi (daughter-in-law of the famous *innamorata* Isabella Andreini), whose stage rôle was the *innamorata* Florinda. On leaf 106, she is dressed in the height of court elegance, in a green underdress, black overdress with brown lining, white collar and cuffs, small plumed cap, and carries a fan in her right hand. Minaggio's *Flavia*, on leaf 105, is the stage rôle of the actress Margherita Luciani, wife of the actor Girolamo Garavini (who created the rôle of Captain Rinoceronte). *Flavia* is much more modestly dressed than *Florinda*, in a white blouse with showy collar but modest cuffs, green bodice, grey skirt with blue and white horizontal stripes around the base, white shoes with red ribbons and a small plumed cap. Interestingly, the *innamorata* *Flavia* wears both gloves and an apron, the latter white with vertical blue stripes.

Depictions in a number of the *Corsini Album* title-page illustrations can tentatively be identified as named *innamorati* [Angelica (scenario 51); Cintia (22); Claudia (55); Doralice (15: on the left, 43, 68); Elisa (53); Emilia (17, 99); Flaminia (27, 35, 47, 58, 92); Isabella (36, 55, 67, 76, 91); Lanora (67); Lavinia (56); Lidia (47, 51); Olimpia (22); Ortensia (21: on the left [PLATE 244], 87); Turchetta (98)]. If we summarize the typical costume worn by the *innamorati* of the *Corsini Album*, it hardly differs from that of Minaggio's *Florinda*. It consists of a white blouse with a stand-up collar, floor- or almost floor-length underdress, sleeved overdress often with elaborate false sleeves, and neatly presented hair.

Notable exceptions to the typical dress of the female *innamorati* of the *Corsini Album* include that worn by Doralice, on the left in scenario 15, who provides a contrast to the courtesan by virtue of her inodest aproned dress and lack of finery. This outfit is akin to that of Minaggio's *Flavia*, and appears to be that typically worn by many of the *Corsini Album* maids, as discussed above. Isabella and Claudia, at the right in scenario 55, are shown in nightshirts, simple unisex collarless white knee-length unwaisted gowns. Flaminia (scenario 35), Doralice (scenario 43) and Isabella (scenario 91) wear the standard dress of the *innamorata*, but betray their madness through their wild gestures and unkempt hair. Emilia, in scenario 17, daughter of the King of Scozia, is depicted meeting her *innamorato* Leandro in Arcadia. Rather than the fine gown appropriate to her station in life, she wears a suitably Arcadian loose tunic and scarf over a floor-length skirt. Elisa (scenario 53),

daughter of Pantalone, captured by the Turks, wears Turkish costume, a loose knee length robe gathered in at the waist, and a small turban. Turchetta's slave costume is a shorter version of this 'Turkish' tunic, gathered at the waist and dramatized with an iron neck collar (scenario 98).

Goltzius' *Venetian Courtesan* is valuable in giving a detailed impression of the type of costume associated with the courtesan at a particular given date, 1581 [PLATE 240]. Notable are the high plumed bonnet, light full-face mask, high, sheer collar, richly brocaded floor-length gown, cape, gloves, and ample range of jewellery. Related depictions of similar women, evidently also courtesans, by much less gifted friendship album artists, include dated ones ranging from the 1570s to the 1650s [PLATES 37, 267-8, 248, 257, 317]. These dates suggest that Goltzius' courtesan could be based on a still earlier joint iconographic antecedent. They also demonstrate the difficulty of dating undated images of this type, because of the longstanding popularity of this costume, originally adapted with only minor modifications for the stage, but increasingly removed from the typical outfit of real-life courtesans as it became a traditional stage costume.

Echoes of plate 240 in Momper's drawing of *January* [PLATES 128, 269, 271] are too weak to establish for certain whether or not Momper was influenced by Goltzius' print. But Momper's depiction of the immodestly dressed woman at the extreme right of *January* was certainly influenced by plate 130, in which a woman probably also intended to depict a stage courtesan is, like Momper's, accompanied by an extravagantly-hatted male and attended by parasol-bearing matachins [II.iii.f; III.iii.c]. The courtesan in plate 317 wears a black mask, black plumed bonnet over exaggerated pale blond Venetian hair peaks, black cape lined with crimson and edged with gold thread, full dress with yellow sleeves and deep blue bodice and white skirt separated by a pale green sash, white lace collar, tan gloves, earrings, necklace and neck bangles. In plate 226 the actress wears a pearl necklace, earrings, white underdress, dark green overdress trimmed with gold, and bright red gown. She is blonde and bare-headed but wears a moulded mask, and holds gloves and a kerchief. The plot summary to scenario 15 of the *Corsini Album* suggests that the female depicted on the right of the title page illustration is Cintia, a widow who became a courtesan before remarrying. Bare-headed and unmasked, she wears an elegant gown

of the type worn by many of the more richly-dressed *innamorati* of the Corsini pictures, from whom she is visually indistinguishable.

Of the depictions which may perhaps most confidently be associated with the rôle of courtesan, because of their immodest poses, dress and associations, those which are named include La Donna Lucia [PLATES 6, 49], La Dona Cornelia [PLATE 11] and Venturina [PLATE 53]. Another Cornelia, depicted in plate 6, could, from her association with Pantalone, also be a courtesan, but the Lucia depicted in plate 51 is quite definitely a servant type. Her mistress, identified as La Donna Lilla, is an iconographic variant of the courtesan Lucia in plates 6 and 49, but of such demure expression and modest dress that she is perhaps intended to depict a respectable *innamorata*. Partial nudity is not on its own a reliable indication that the depicted female is a courtesan, as it is sometimes associated with the servant rôle, as with Franceschina and Licetta's exposed breasts or Franceschina's legs [PLATES 6, 53]. But taken in conjunction with opulent clothing, partial exposure or complete nudity indicate that the women thus depicted are more likely to be courtesans than maids or *innamorati* [PLATES 27, 65, 100-1, 128, 130, 154, 269, 271]. These pictures reveal an interesting range of renaissance undergarments, including stockings, under breeches, a g-string and a body-veil [PLATES 27, 53, 155, 239], as well as unusual footwear, such as the Venetian clogs of plate 27. Other unnamed females who could depict courtesans include a number who are being serenaded by comic servant-master pairs [PLATES 24, 54, 152-3, 238], and numerous others who are depicted being wooed or squired by one of the old men of the commedia dell'arte, typically Pantalone, but occasionally the *dottore* or an incidental character such as a monk.

More often than the costumes of maids, respectable *innamorati* and courtesans, depictions of outdoor parades and carnivals feature comic female types in showy, exotic costumes, and the iconographic material suggests that Turkish or vaguely Oriental disguise, although little noted in the secondary literature, was a favourite. These pictures raise questions about the comic types they depict which are not adequately addressed by dismissing them *en masse* as carnival masks [II.ii.a], or colourful embellishments on the part of the artist. In many cases, the comic types appear to be members of a troupe, performing in the open or parading to publicize their skills. In such cases, it seems plausible to consider the possibility that these women have, as a publicity exercise, substituted exotic disguise for the costumes

appropriate to their stage rôles. Exotic costume would have been the most gorgeous and showy possessed by the troupe. By raising more interest with the public than the commonplace costumes of respectable *innamorati* and maids, while fitting in with the constraints of public decency better than courtesan costume, it would have effectively fulfilled the aims of the parade or open-air performance, which was to attract custom.

There are many depictions of women in exotic costume or headdress in paintings of commedia dell'arte troupes in outdoor settings by Vrancx and his circle [II.ii.f]. Typically, they are accompanied by Pantalone or another male comic type, such as a servant, captain or Oriental. Sometimes, an exotic female is depicted in a carnival context, or more loosely associated with Zannis or male Orientals. For the most part masked, these women often have sheer veils trailing from their hair, or raised above it by a pointed cap or headdress, which may be decorated with showy plumes. Some wear richly-decorated exotic split overskirts to knee or calf level, short fur-lined jackets, or trailing overgowns or cloaks, and many hold fans. Vrancx's style evolved over his artistic career, which covers the half-century from the 1590s to his death in 1647, and these pictures span this period. But, even if the comic types depicted are based on real troupes actually seen by the artist himself, he may have seen some of them years or even decades before he painted them [II.ii.f]. Plate 125, almost certainly an early work by Vrancx, perhaps dating to around 1600, features commedia dell'arte characters some of whom, even down to their individual groupings, gestures and costumes, appear again hardly changed in much later pictures by Vrancx, as for example in one with which it shares the Pantalone-Lady couple and the Harlequin-Captain pair [PLATE 105]. Thus, even fairly precise dating of these paintings on stylistic grounds would not enable the players themselves to be accurately dated.

In Momper's *February*, of about 1590, a troupe in a Flemish setting [PLATE 129] includes a woman wearing a similar headdress. Vrancx is known to have visited Italy in the 1590s, and may well have seen commedia dell'arte troupes performing and parading in St. Mark's Square. However, the possibility that the women in his painting wear exotic costume because he was influenced by Flemish carnival practice or previous pictures cannot be ruled out. Such visual influences are evident if Momper's drawing is compared with the nearest pictorial equivalent to the costume of these women, which, as noted above, is in an engraving which probably dates to

the 1590s, and shows nine performers, all masked, in exotic costumes with an unmistakable Oriental flavour [PLATE 130]. The foreground groups in the print, in plate 129 and in its companion drawing *January* [PLATE 128] are so closely related that direct influence or a common pictorial source are virtually certain [II.iii.f].

Many early comedians experienced the Turkish threat at first hand. Francesco Andreini, for example, spent seven years in Turkish captivity before starting his acting career [Duchartre 1929/1966, 231]. In addition to its purely visual appeal, Turkish inspired costume carried vivid military and religious connotations. The curious exotic raised headgear of these women often bears a more or less close resemblance to the Turkish *kashbasti*, as featured in some late sixteenth century costume plates [PLATE 330]. The *kashbasti* was introduced to the Turkish harem by foreign concubines, notably Roxelana, or Hurrem Sultana, as she became known in Constantinople, in the mid-sixteenth century. It was based on a type of headgear which descended from the ancient Greeks, via the Roman diadem. Women in headgear of the *kashbasti* type are featured in two prints of *February* [PLATES 64-5] by Tempesta, an artist who exercised an immense influence on early seventeenth century Flemish depictions of commedia dell'arte types [II.ii.f].

Bavarian court accounts at Landshut for the year 1573 note payment of thirty-two florins at the beginning of the carnival season to the court tailor Conrad Vleiß for sewing 'den Jungen Freülein Turckisch klaiden unnd lange Reckh zu sturmung der Schneeschloß' [Munich StA, TN Box 94, Book 4, 52]. The popularity of Turkish costume in northern carnival parades is recorded, for example in Bol's dated drawing, also of 1573 [PLATE 167], which features a 'Turk' leading a woman in a *kashbasti* and flowing gown, and exotically dressed women occur in pictures by a wide range of artists, such as Francken, Frederick van Valckenborch, Stevens, Schwoll, Toeput, ver Haecht and van Panderen [PLATES 27, 163, 183, 201, 275, 331; Crosato 1985, fig.4]. The popularity of this type of costume in a performance context is demonstrated by the many women in Turkish, Gypsy, Oriental and slave costume featured in the frontispiece illustrations of the *Corsini Album* [scenarios 2, 16, 18, 21 [PLATE 244], 23, 41, 53, 61, 94, 98], where, as already discussed, it is a favourite disguise of the *innamorati*; although sometimes real stage slave-girls, Gypsies or Turks are depicted.

A special sub-category of exotic costume is provided by Gypsy costume. Numerous sixteenth costume books and other pictures depict the late renaissance dress of the European Gypsy, a nomadic migrant of Oriental descent [PLATE 332]. The illustration to Corsini scenario 21 demonstrates that the costume featured on the commedia dell'arte stage [PLATE 244], and the woman standing next to the lute-playing Zanni in plate 65 may be a stage Gypsy, but the depiction of Gypsies in conjunction with commedia dell'arte stock types in another picture may have a less straightforward explanation [PLATE 231]. A consideration of this picture demonstrates some of the complications involved in using depictions of comic types as documentary information for late renaissance theatre history. This undated, anonymous late sixteenth century painting, which I associate with the artist Marten de Vos, depicts two Zannis, with a raggedly-dressed child and three women whose flowing fringed cloaks and loose striped robes and circular headdress with chin-cloths correspond to the traditional costume of the female Gypsy [II.iii.d].

The colourful, exotic costumes and nomadic, pagan life-style of Gypsies attracted late renaissance artists. So too did their symbolic, allegorical and moral possibilities, for as well as being renowned for their skill in entertaining, fortune-telling, cheating the gullible, begging, thieving and sloth, Gypsies were outside the Christian religion, and had according to legend refused to help the Holy Family on their flight into Egypt, which was, in the sixteenth century, thought to have been their country of origin. Perhaps the best-known non-biblical picture including a Gypsy is Caravaggio's early seventeenth century *The Gypsy Fortune-Teller* [Cuzin 1977]. It shares with plate 231 the motive of a Gypsy simultaneously telling and illicitly diminishing the fortunes of her client. Caravaggio's Gypsy uses her fortune-telling and a flirtatious gesture to cover up the fact that she is subtly teasing a young soldier's ring from his finger.

The title of plate 231, *A scene from the commedia dell'arte*, has been accepted without question as being an appropriate and adequate description of its subject by the many art and theatre historians who have written about it [II.iii.d]. For Blunt [1972, 519], it exemplifies 'a type of theatrical composition current in France in the late 16th century'. Ternois [1962, 233] includes it in his list of the seven most important early paintings of the commedia dell'arte. Wind [1974, 32], who mistakenly identifies the central Zanni as a Pantalone, cites plate 231 as direct evidence for: 'the popularity

of the fortune telling theme in the <commedia>’ and interprets it as depicting ‘the gulling of Pantaleone by a gypsy’. ‘Investigation suggests that the painting’s links with the late renaissance stage are more complex than its present title, or the comments of Blunt, Ternois, Wind and others would indicate. The possibility that the choice of this particular combination of characters, their props, costumes and gestures, reflects a documentary record of an actual stage performance cannot be discounted.

By the seventeenth century, Gypsies were popular stage characters. They appear in Jonson’s *Masque of Gypsies*, in designs for the French ballet by Daniel Rabel, in Cervantès’ *La Gitanilla*, and in plays by Molière, Middleton and others. More significantly for the interpretation of plate 231, Gypsies are already known on the sixteenth century stage. A Gypsy features in a play of 1544 by Francesco d’Ambra; Giancarli’s popular farce *La Cingana* dates to 1550, and a scheming Gypsy is central to the plot of an erudite comedy by the philosopher and playwright Giordano Bruno. Gypsies feature in several of the earliest surviving *commedia dell’arte* scenarios, notably scenario 21 of the *Corsini Album*, where, as noted above, one is illustrated on the title page [PLATE 244], and are sometimes depicted in a carnival context, as in the top left-hand corner of plate 308, where authentic-looking Gypsy costume is worn by what appear to be costumed masqueraders. They are known to have been popular in sixteenth century Italian carnival practice, where they featured in costumed Gypsy dialogues, and plate 231 may simply be a depiction of such a carnival *zingarescha* [Cuzin 1977, 22-3]. The outfits of the Gypsies in plate 231 look reasonably authentic, so the question of whether they are real, carnival or stage Gypsies is not resolved on the basis of costume.

A more coherent explanation for plate 231 than simply accepting it as an illustration of a dramatic episode is achieved by accepting that disparate elements have been deliberately combined by the artist from different sources as a suitable vehicle for the visual message he is trying to convey. The artist would appear to be trying to create a static two-dimensional tableau, rather than trying to recreate a moving performance, as the picture can be closely associated with a number of interrelated allegorical and popular messages. The painting comments on Fortuna, the goddess of fortune, and her well-known fickleness. The child holds the whipping rod to a spinning top, associated in Dutch emblem books both with sloth and with the

spinning wheel of fortune [Levie et al. 1976, 198]. This is indicated by the presence of this toy, and the central activity of the fortune-telling Gypsy women. They dupe the Zanni by their outrageous flirting, as a cover-up to rob him, thus paradoxically diminishing his fortune in the very act of telling it.

The renaissance saying 'We are seven' was commonly illustrated by some combination of animals and humans with foolish connotations, such as owls, donkeys, and indeed fools and commedia dell'arte servants. But, as in many other pictures of this type, there would be only six of them in the picture, the joke being that the seventh character, no wiser than the rest, was the spectator himself. The two outermost of the six characters of plate 231, the old woman at the extreme left and the comic servant at the extreme right of the painting, look directly, not into the spectator's eyes, but at his belt, where the renaissance spectator's purse would have been, giving the spectator a strong sense of implication in the narrative episode, and a direct reference may be intended to the saying 'We are seven'.

Although unusual, the pictorial combination of Gypsies and commedia dell'arte stock characters in plate 231 is not unique. Whether plate 231 represents a particular scene from a play or carries a more general message, other late renaissance pictures combining Gypsies and Italian comedians may hold an important key. The vignettes of symbolic objects, mythological figures, street traders and entertainers of Brambilla's games board of 1589 include, in addition to the troupe of Italian comedians, a Gypsy mother and child at the top middle [PLATE 38; II.i.c; III.iv.b]. The middle extreme right-hand vignette of plate 284, of around 1600, also shows a Gypsy mother with child. The caption roundly condemns her activities: singing, dancing and telling fortunes, as deceitful and cheating. In the top left-hand corner, mountebanks on a trestle stage, two of them in stock commedia dell'arte costume, promote their wares with a comic street show. Both plates 38 and 284 provide visual compendia of typical market day distractions. The title of plate 284, *Le Bararie del Mondo*, and the couplets below each of its vignettes, point towards Church condemnation of such worldly pleasures as deceitful trickeries.

Although plate 92 and its variants can be enjoyed as beguiling visual celebrations of earthly delights, they can also be interpreted as warnings against worldly temptations [II.ii.g]. In the bottom left-hand corner of plate 92, a begging child accompanies a Gypsy-woman in the act of telling a fortune, an activity condemned

by the church, as was professional acting. Cardinal Borromeo passed several edicts in repeated efforts to banish undesirables from his territory. One such, dated 1565, bears the title *De histrionibus, Cingaribus, Tabernis meritoriis et aleatoribus*, and specifically targets Gypsies, professional actors and itinerant street entertainers [Taviani 1969, 11; I.i.d]. *Royaume de Cieux*, an engraving by Stefano della Bella (Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford), is a Christian admonition against earthly pleasures, threatening retribution to those who tempt others into sin. It shows Heaven at the top, Hell at the bottom, with the earth in between bristling with transitory worldly temptations to lure believers away from the narrow paths of self-denial through purgatory to eternal salvation. These include both a Zanni on a mountebank stage at the right, and, at bottom left, a fortune-telling Gypsy.

In plate 231, the Gypsies are cheating the Zanni, and perhaps the visual combination of these two well-known deceitful types, Gypsies and Zannis, is intended to carry a religious or moral warning that the deceiver may be deceived, or even the common saying 'To deceive the deceiver, is no deceit'. Both Gypsy women and commedia dell'arte menservants are commonly used individually as examples of deceitful or cheating types in Dutch emblem books, and more generally in art of the time, as with their inclusion in Porro's vignettes of typical cheating types [PLATE 284]. In another print from a seventeenth century Dutch emblem book, the artist has chosen two commedia dell'arte servants to illustrate his emblem for *Deceitful People* [PLATE 292]. These possible readings of the picture: religious, allegorical, popular and dramatic are not necessarily all valid. Neither are they necessarily mutually exclusive, or incompatible with the possibility of a relationship between plate 231 and the professional stage. But plate 231 is a particularly clear example of a painting whose use as a visual source for the history of the theatre is far from straightforward, despite depicting recognizable stock types and costumes associated with the commedia dell'arte.

Only rarely does the iconography depict older female types, or actresses whose costume falls outside the four main types discussed above. The main female rôles, of *innamorata* and maid, are typically for young women. The secondary literature mentions a number of female occasional characters, said to be woven into the odd plot to add local colour. Examples of these include the innkeeper's wife, the nurse, the midwife, the courtesan's mother, often a procuress or gossip, and the *cantarina*,

who entertained the audience with her singing and dancing. Named older women include Pasquella, wife of a servant, and generally herself an elderly servant nurse, and Laura, the wife or widow of one of the old men. Nicoll [1963, 115-6] dismissed Laura rather brusquely: 'no picture of her has come down to us, and perhaps none is needed'. Plates 55, 58 and 60-1 show older women in the rôle of maid. A woman leaning out of a window to the top left of plate 59 may be a maid, or she may be an older woman or wife. The woman at the centre of plate 166 is a rare female Carnival, as proclaimed by the pig's trotter and pole of carnival meats she brandishes, which may be compared with similar poles in plates 73, 161 and 220.

The elderly characters who form the back end of the pantomime donkeys in plates 48 and 70 and help administer the enema in plate 54 may be older maids or *ruffiane*, and the rosary-counting old woman of plate 49 is possibly a devout older servant or, as two more old women holding rosaries, in the Trausnitz ceiling and staircase frescoes, seem to be, a hypocritical *ruffiana*. One of these latter hands a letter of assignation to a young woman, the other supports herself with a stick. The outer ring of plate 38 features a named depiction of a *ruffiana*. In head cloth and aproned peasant dress, she stoops over the stick in her right hand, and carries a dead fowl in her left. The *Corsini Album* illustrations depict only few characters who could be older women, generally widows, such as Cintia in scenario 15, or the wife of Pantalone, such as Lucretia in scenario 14 and Flaminia in scenario 31. It is possible that the Lucretia of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6] is also intended to depict an older wife.

Occasionally, the *innamorata* is of noble or royal birth. The illustration for *Corsini Album* scenario 33 depicts a queen. She wears a turban, but a crown is worn by one of the women depicted in plate 162, and the enchantress or female magician depicted in *Corsini Album* illustration 57 wears a Gypsy-like headscarf. The pilgrims of *Corsini Album* illustration 26 are Ortensia and her young son, the secret family of the Captain.

Although generalizations are possible, few or none of the various types of masks, activities, gestures and accessories depicted in the iconography and discussed above are exclusive to any one particular female rôle. The most reliable way of identifying female commedia types in the iconography, unless they are actually labelled by name or rôle, is by their clothes, even though, as noted above, there is a considerable

overlap in the type of costume worn by the female stock rôles. The courtesan may dress in very little, or otherwise immodestly. But often the courtesan wears the kind of rich gown generally associated with both the respectable *innamorata* and the older respectable stock types, such as the wives of Pantalone and the *dottore*. The dress of younger, less wealthy *innamorati* overlaps with that associated with the maids. In turn, maids who intrigue with their masters sometimes dress immodestly or above their station, and it is not always possible to distinguish the visual depictions of such maids from those of the courtesans or prostitutes of the comic stage. Turkish costume appears to have been more usually associated with the disguising of non-Turkish rôles than to have been a stock type in its own right.

III.iii.b Male national types

The most easily recognizable male national types in early commedia iconography are two soldier types, the Spanish captain and the *tedesco*, or Teutonic mercenary. Also featured in some commedia performances are Turks and Frenchmen, sometimes with military connotations, but more often in the case of Turks, as an excuse for displaying exotic costumes, or, for Frenchmen, in some minor rôle, such as a secondary servant or *innamorato*. These national types had antecedents on the Italian stage [I.iii.e]. Something that does not seem to have attracted previous comment is that both the *tedesco* and the Turk have parallels in Flemish carnival pictures.

The captain was often played as young, unmasked and fashionably clad, and in this respect shares many visual characteristics of the *innamorato*. One of the prints in Callot's series *Three Italian comedians* [PLATE 303] of c.1618-20 features a character in a dashing doublet and plumed hat, loose leggings, belts and sword. In strong contrast to the assorted Capitanos and other characters of Callot's *Balli* series [PLATES 2-5], his costume is realistically depicted, and the background stage features him in a typical scene. Opinion is divided as to whether he is a Captain or an *innamorato*, and this figure offers an example of the iconographic overlap between these rôles, one of the difficulties encountered in identifying depictions of the Spanish Captain. Another difficulty in identifying specifically Spanish captains is that although the captain was often Spanish, the character was sometimes Italian, and both might be played by the same actor.

Some have identified the Captain depicted in Martinelli's *Compositions de Rhetoriques* [PLATE 14] as Girolamo Garavini, who played an exclusively Italian captain, Rinoceronte. But Martinelli acted with a number of Captains, and the possibility that it shows a Spanish captain cannot be excluded. According to Dubech [1931, 183], the woodcut was first published in 1546, well before the *commedia dell'arte* was established. The captains depicted fighting with the *tedesco* in plate 36 are similarly difficult to categorize from the visual evidence alone. In plate 177, the masked figure at the front left in striped trousers, despite his swashbuckling pose and outfit, holds not a sword but a young woman's hand, and his rôle is not clear. The visual confusion is compounded in that in some *commedia* plots, the rôle of *innamorato* is actually taken by the Captain, and many established actors of the *innamorato* rôle went on to play the part of Captain. This gives depictions of *commedia* Captains which are named, and those which can be associated with named depictions, a particular importance.

Despite much speculation to the contrary, the time gap of around a decade makes any kind of direct association between the frescoes at Castle Trausnitz in Landshut and the Munich wedding performance of 1568 implausible [PLATES 20-3; I.ii.b]. Possible Captains depicted in either the ceiling frescoes of 1576 or the late 1570s stair frescoes are unlikely to be portraits of Massimo Troiano, who played the part of the Spanish Captain Don Diego da Mendoza in 1568, but disappeared from Bavaria without further trace in 1570 after being implicated in the murder of a fellow courtier. It is not possible to identify the Captain for certain in these frescoes, let alone determine whether he is Spanish or not. Even so, the Trausnitz frescoes are of particular interest since they rank amongst the earliest depictions of the Captain rôle. The ceiling frieze shows a possible Spanish captain in red stockings and doublet, high black plumed cap, slippers and long cloak, cream shirt with white ruff and cuffs, and cream doublet with dark vertical stripes. He draws a long sword and strikes a suitably threatening attitude towards two Zannis stuffing their mouths from a large plate at the left of the scene. The staircase frescoes show a possible Spanish captain in doublet and hose, with a hip-length cape.

Military captains are depicted in many of the *Corsini Album* frontispiece illustrations, typically that for scenario 11, where he and his twin Silvio, standing either side of Pantalone, are both dressed soberly in black, but also in such

illustrations as that to scenario 77, where he appears to sport full battle regalia, including breastplate, plumed helmet, sword and shield. Usually, he is listed simply as captain in the cast-lists, and there are conflicting clues to his identity and nationality. In the cast-list to scenario 37 [PLATE 246] he is named as Captain Demonatte, and scenario 34 [PLATE 247] suggests that he is Italian. But in the synopsis to scenario 39 Lelio, a Spaniard, recognizes the captain as his long-lost twin brother. In contrast to scenarios such as no.48 [PLATE 244], this is one *Corsini Album* scenario where the Spanish rôles specified in the cast-list are also illustrated in the relevant title page illustration, the Captain and his love-maddened brother being flanked by a servant-master pair. Reminiscent of the military captain of the *Corsini Album* illustrations is a black-clad masked figure who appears in several paintings by Sebastian Vrancx [PLATES 71-2, 97, 100, 105-6, 110]. His outfit is more close-fitting and dashing than that of the *Corsini Album* captain, typically with a plumed cap, short cape, sash, and sometimes gloves, and he tends to carry a stringed instrument rather than a sword.

The *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6] depict one of the earliest Spanish captains for whom the actor is known, Capitan Cocodrillo, created and played by Fabrizio de Fornaris of Naples. According to Lea [1934, II, 486], Fornaris was with the Confidenti from 1571, although other authorities record that he only died in 1637. He was certainly with the Confidenti in Paris during the period 1583-4, where he published a play, *L'Angelica*, in 1584, which features speeches in broken Spanish by Cap. don Alonso Cocodrillo. Cocodrillo is not named in the verses accompanying the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, and is depicted in only one woodcut, the third of scene two, where he is identified by name as the left figure stooping behind his cloak. Cocodrillo's cloak is approximately of hip-length, and wide, his shoes plain, and his bonnet unplumed. Under his cloak, he is probably, like Horacio in the next scene, wearing rolled down stockings and a doublet. Two near contemporary painted versions of this composition [PLATES 49, 51] emphasise the confusion possible between the rôle of *innamorato* and captain. Plate 49 shows *Il Capitan Cocodrillo* in similar pose to that of the woodcut. Costume differences include the brimmed hat, lace ruff and cuffs, shoe-buckles, cloak-collar and cudgel in his right hand, and he is definitely wearing knee breeches and stockings. In plate 51, which possibly

predates the woodcut, the equivalent character is labelled *Il Sr. Leandro*, and is clearly intended to be not a Captain but an *innamorato*.

Even where a depiction of a commedia dell'arte captain bears clear and indisputable contemporary labelling, interpretation may be far from straightforward. Callot's *Balli de Sfessania* engravings [PLATES 2-5] of c.1621 also feature a Captain Cocodrillo, a fantastical creature in skin-tight clothes with plumed hat, grotesque scarf-like cloak, and morris bells at his ankles and down his chest. He is unlikely to be more than a free interpretation of the rôle created by Fornaris, let alone a portrait of the actor himself. Another venerable Spanish captain rôle depicted both by Callot and in a much earlier picture [PLATE 38] is that of Captain Cardone. Like Cocodrillo, the rôle was celebrated and well-documented. Contemporary records indicate that Cardone was with the Uniti in Ferrara in 1584, the Gelosi in Florence in 1589, the Uniti again, in Genoa in 1593, and in Mantua with Martinelli's troupe, the Gelosi-Uniti, in 1598. A Captain Cardone features in Orazio Vecchi's *L'Anfiparnasso* of 1597, Scala's scenarios of 1611, Boccacini's *Parnasso* of 1613, Michelangelo the younger's 1618 carnival play *La fiera* [Lea 1934, I, 48, 266, 275-7 & II, 485-6; Scherillo 1911, 152], and the manuscript Locatelli scenarios of 1617, where the cast-list for *Li dui capitani* identifies his nationality as Spanish [Pandolfi 1957-61, V, 238]. Unlike Cocodrillo, the identity of the actor who created and played Captain Cardone is not known.

As far as costume is concerned, Callot's *Captain Cardoni* is no more informative than his *Cocodrillo*, or, for that matter, the other Captains of his *Balli di Sfessania* series (Captains Cerimonia, Spessa Monti, Zerbino, Mala Gamba, Bellauita, Babeo, Bonbardon, Grillo and Esgangarato [PLATES 2-5]). But Brambilla's *Cardone* of 1589 [PLATE 38], although tiny, shows him in feathered cap, cloak, doublet and hose, hand on sword, in swaggering pose. It is the earliest dated portrait of a specific actor in the rôle of a named Spanish captain and was published for the first time in 1987 [Katritzky 1987b, fig.173].

Another early named Spanish captain, Captain Matamoros, created by Silvio Fiorillo, an actor who is recorded from about 1584-1634, was depicted at least twice in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Corrigan [1969, 177] notes that Fiorillo's portrait of c.1611 adorns the title page of several of his plays. She identifies Minaggio's *Chapitan Mata-mor* of c.1615-18 as a portrait of Fiorillo in his

stage rôle 'in a plumed hat, slashed doublet, knee breeches, and a fur-edged short cloak, his gloved left hand on the hilt of a large sword' and compares it to the earlier title page print:

it is evident that though in general the costume remains the same, [... Minaggio's] portrait shows a change of fashion. The earlier hat is bell-crowned, the later a broad-brimmed felt turned up at one side. The cloak, still trimmed or lined with fur, has become shorter and less voluminous. The Spanish ruff has been replaced by the French flat collar fringed with fur [Corrigan 1969, 177].

Like the Spaniard, portrayals of the German on the *commedia dell'arte* stage are almost exclusively limited to soldiers. The military uniform of the *tedesco* is generally the colourful, distinctive type of which the Vatican Swiss guards still wear a variation, with exaggeratedly slashed hose and doublet further emphasised by strongly contrasting striped colours in the below-knee-length padded hose, and sometimes also the doublet and/or stockings. Favourite colours were yellow striped with bright green [PLATE 156] or with red, as in the Trausnitz ceiling frieze [PLATES 22-3]. Sometimes the *tedesco* wears a metal breastplate and/or sword. The hat, generally worn, is usually of the large beret or squashy brimmed type, more often unplumed. Common accessories are generously padded codpiece, flamboyant knee-garters, and copious head and facial hair, including moustache and beard. A dark three-quarter mask is sometimes worn.

In the *Corsini Album* title-page illustration to scenario 50, where the *tedesco* is disguised as a blind man, he wears a hip-length cloak over his usual outfit, and has a small dog on a lead. The lute-playing *tedesco* of plate 280 also wears a cloak, and carries a dagger, while the *tedesco* of plate 73 wears some kind of over jacket, morris bells on his ankles, a string of sausages slung around his chest and an oil-lamp for a hat, and, like the *tedesco* of plate 161, carries carnival meats spiked on a pole. The left-hand foreground figure in a fresco of 1604 by Bernardino Poccetti [PLATE 335] is thought to represent Francesco Andreini in the rôle of Captain Spavento. He appears to be in the costume of a Swiss or German mercenary. A much earlier depiction of a *tedesco* which may also be a portrait of Andreini as a German Captain is that on Brambilla's games board of 1589 [PLATE 38; III.iv.b].

Overwhelmingly, the *tedesco* is iconographically associated with one or both of two characteristics: he is either a prodigious drinker or a military musician. Only

rarely is a *tedesco* shown with attributes other than those of the drinker or musician, as for example the blunderbuss of plate 156, the swords of the *tedesco* in plate 36, and the two in Schwarz's ceiling frieze of 1579 [PLATES 22-3], small hoops of plate 281 and blind man's dog of the frontispiece illustration to Corsini scenario 50. The drinkers among them dance, lurch or slump drunkenly, brandish bottles, flasks, goblets, small, or even quite large barrels, or, very often, both. The *tedesco* of another leaf of Schwoll's British Museum sketchbook carries a largish barrel under his left arm, raises a drinking yard in his right, and bears a sword and dagger [PLATES 27, 31].

The musicians generally carry a military drum, although sometimes it is a pipe alone [PLATE 171] or with tabor [PLATE 53]; or a *rommelpot* [PLATES 76, 78], lute [PLATE 280] or even morris bells [PLATE 73]. The German military drummer appears to have an iconographic parallel in certain Flemish carnival pictures, which feature small processions in northern settings, led by two musicians, a drummer in *tedesco* costume and a tabor player, followed by one or more couples in Oriental dress [PLATES 167-8, 170-1, 217]. The earliest of them, plate 167, is dated 1573. Plate 217 depicts the vice of slothfulness, and here the procession is depicted together with typical carnival pursuits condemned by the church, such as gambling and excessive drinking.

The link with carnival seems clear, but the exact significance of the procession, whether actors' parade or small carnival procession, and the status of its participants: whether visiting or local, professional or amateur, is not clear from these pictures, although Harsnet's description of 1603 suggests the possibility that they could be *moresca* troupes: 'the Fidler comes in with his Taber and Pipe and a whole Morice after him with Motly Visards' [OED; III.iii.c]. The iconographic parallels between such depictions of northern processions, with no apparent direct link with the *commedia dell'arte*, and late renaissance depictions of processions in pictures including figures commonly associated with the *commedia dell'arte*, although it has attracted no comment in the literature, is striking. The *oeuvres* of many Flemish artists, such as Aerts, Balten, Francken, Momper, Toeput, Vrancx and Frederick van Valckenborch, as well as the Italian engraver Brambilla, include pictures in which such processions, often including one or more couples in Turkish or vaguely Oriental dress, are led by one or more musicians [PLATES 53, 87-8, 107, 113, 124, 127,

129, 130, 183, 201, 203, 228-9, 262-3, 280]. Sometimes, as in plates 53, 263 and 280, the musicians wear *tedesco* costume.

One group of such pictures, associated with the artists Vrancx and Caulery, and dating to around 1600-1605, shows two comic musicians, one beating a drum, the second playing either a tambourine or, in some pictures, a *rommelpot*, in a carnival procession also featuring a stilted Father Time and Bacchus seated on a barrel mounted on runners, pulled by a horse and rider or manually. Sometimes [PLATES 76, 78, 80], both musicians are in *tedesco*-type costume, in other pictures [PLATES 81-4] the left-hand, tambourine player is in the tight-fitting outfit of a *buffone*, and only the right-hand, drum-playing figure wears *tedesco* outfit. Associated with this group are plate 161 and Caulery's signed Hamburg *Carnival* [PLATE 73], also of c.1600-05, in which *tedesco* types carry carnival meats on poles.

The similarity of some of the costumes depicted in conjunction with Flemish processions and the commedia dell'arte may reflect genuine influences between *moresca* dancing, northern carnival practice and the professional stage, or simply an iconographic influence of the depiction of one on that of the other. In either case, the pictures of drummers leading commedia dell'arte actors appear to record the actual practice of the actors' parades. One such is described by Garzoni in 1585, who emphasises the importance of the drummer 'come entrano questi dentro a una città, subito col tamburo si fa sapere che i signori comici tali sono arrivati' [Bragaglia 1958, 161]. A similar picture is given by Scudery in 1635, when he notes that the parade is led by 'un Tambour et un Harlequin' [Driesen 1904, 214]. A Leiden license of 1598 permits a visiting troupe of Italian actors to perform on condition that they do not parade around the town with their drummer [Erenstein 1981, 97]. Collaborations between Italian professionals and local performers are well-documented. One that may be of particular relevance to the iconographic connection between northern musicians and southern actors occurred as early as 1544, when Giovanni-Antonio Romano's group of six Italian players were joined in Paris by three French players, one a 'joueur de tambourin de Suisse', whom they initiated into 'l'art et industrie de jouer d'anticques jeux rommains', almost certainly yet another reference to the *labours of Hercules* [Lebègue 1950, 11; I.i.c].

Judging by the early scenarios, Turkish costume, perhaps copied from that depicted in costume books, was a favourite for showy commedia dell'arte disguisings,

and this is reflected in the late renaissance iconography. Sometimes, Turkish and other commedia types are depicted mingling in carnival crowds or bursting in on carnival revellers, and in such cases it is not always clear whether the Turks are actors or simply carnival masks. An engraving [PLATE 308] features Anatolian matachins in tight-fitting *buffone*-like outfits [III.iii.c]. But this seems to be a special case, and Brambilla's games board of 1589 [PLATE 38] reveals the standard costume of *Il turco* to be a turban, loose calf to floor-length gown, undershirt and slippers, as do the title page illustrations to *Corsini Album* scenarios 41 and 61. In that for scenario 18, the three actors who use Turkish costume as disguise are still wearing their regular stage costumes underneath.

Often, more elaborate versions of Turkish costume are depicted, as in plate 130, whose Turk has an elaborately padded, plumed and ribboned turban, buttoned, decorated and sashed jacket, and fearsome pick-axe; the wide collared, floor-length robes and strangely tasselled turban of plate 281; the animal mask, elaborate turban and cloak with false sleeves of plate 31; or sabre of plate 107. In all of these, as in plates 109, 157 and 331, the Turk is part of a procession or outdoor performance, perhaps a publicity effort for which the actors would have tried to achieve maximum impact by wearing their most gorgeous and exotic costumes. It is not clear whether the processions depicted in plates 183 and 217, which also feature Orientals, were intended to perform a similar function.

The commedia dell'arte Frenchman crops up only sparingly as *francese* in early scenarios, for example in *giornata VIII* of the Scala scenarios [Pandolfi 1957-61, V, 214] and *Corsini Album* scenario 48 [Pandolfi 1957-61, V, 264; PLATE 244]. He is a chameleon figure, an occasional supporting actor who also figures under various specific names, and plays a wide range of minor rôles. According to Lea:

the Frenchman with his "Gallicitalian" manner was a useful variant for the stranger merchant, the second father, the inn-keeper, or the servant [1934, I, 125].

Lea [1934, I, 125-6] includes among named French rôles Scala's Claudione, and the *innamorato* Ottavio in Locatelli's *Il Volubile in Amore*. Aasted [1991, 100-1, 109n.18] identifies the Frenchman iconographically as the black-clad figure featured in twelve of the *Corsini Album* title-page illustrations, and associates him in these scenarios with the named parts of Scartoccio, Trappolino, Trastullo, Sardellino,

Pasquarello and Coviello. A fairly cursory examination of the Corsini plot summaries and small monochrome title page reproductions provided by Pandolfi [1957-61, V, 252-76] raises a number of questions concerning Aasted's interpretation.

There would appear to be no strong reason why the character she identifies as a Frenchman in the title page illustrations could not equally well, or in some cases more plausibly, be the captain in some scenarios or Lelio in others. Trappolino is depicted on the title page of scenario 80, but he appears to wear the same sort of costume as Zanni, and my interpretation of scenario 40 is that the innkeeper Trappolin is depicted centrally in Zanni-style costume, flanked by the *innamorati*, Orazio and Fabrizio, one of whom is the left-hand, black-clad character. Scenarios 83 and 92 both show Coviello in dark apparel, but it does not seem particularly distinctive, and Aasted does not cite any other reasons for thinking this character French. Her evidence that Scartoccio, in Corsini scenario 50 is French is convincing, but his title page depiction shows a somewhat different costume to that which she associates with Frenchmen in the other scenarios she cites. Scartoccio wears a dark tunic over paler, loose leggings, black hat and a dark, full-face mask. It is not possible to determine the extent to which his costume was modified by the fact that, for the purposes of the plot, he is depicted disguised as a blind man.

Minaggio's *Trapolino* has a black half-mask and is in a pale coloured adaptation of the Zanni outfit, his *Trastulo* is in black, tight-fitting black doublet, hose, cap and slippers, the doublet picked out with gold trim, a pale face mask, carrying a sword and playing a string instrument. According to Corrigan [1969, 176-9] this Trappolino, and perhaps the Sicilian Trastullo also, were youthful servants of the Spanish captain played by Giovan Battista Fiorillo, son of Silvio Fiorillo, who played the part of the Spanish Captain Mattamoros, and also created the Pulcinella mask. The *Recueil Fossard* includes some interesting material concerning Frenchmen on the commedia dell'arte stage, relating to both their portrayal by, and collaboration with, the Italians. The name of the servant Philipin in the woodcut series [PLATE 6] appears to indicate that he could be French. Lebègue [1963, 174] notes a French tragi-comedy, *La Lucelle*, of 1576, by Le Jars, which has a farcical *intermedio* featuring a Zanni-like valet called Philippin, but does not make the connection. Another series of woodcuts in the *Recueil Fossard* [PLATE 10] depicts a dramatic collaboration between the troupes of the Italian comedian Harlequin and the French actor Agnan Sarat [III.iii.d],

and a collaboration between Italian comedians and French *farceurs* is also recorded [PLATE 11].

III.iii.c *Buffoni* and *Matachins*

Numerous depictions of carnivals, Italian and northern, record the presence of both stock commedia dell'arte types, and acrobatic performers in a type of costume which can be associated with *buffoni* and *moresca* dancers. They raise the question of whether or not actual collaboration or overlap between professional actors and 'th'Antike, Morisko, and the Mattachine' [OED (Sylvester 1606)] is implied. The *moresca* embraces a range of dances, related to the English morris, generally characterized by a high dramatic narrative content, acrobatic style, and the wearing of costume and dark face-masks. Hakewill, writing of Rome in 1627 [OED], notes 'these forraine exercises of vaulting and dancing the Moriske', and the link between *moresca* dancing and acrobatics is emphasised in a document of 1605 which interestingly notes the participation of both sexes: 'divers Gypsies (as they termed them) men and women, dauncing and tumbling much after the Morisco fashion' [OED].

Only rarely do stock commedia types wear morris bells, as does one of the foreground Zannis in plate 166, a drawing related to pictures of the type of Hans Leinberger's *Dance Contest* [Vienna, Albertina]; Balten's *Den Dans des Werelts*; *La danse du monde* [Paris BN, Hennin G151583]; or a print by Daniel Hopfer, in each of which male *moresca* dancers gyrate around a central female who personifies worldly vanities. But there is one character who is often depicted with commedia troupes who commonly wears morris bells. This is the matachin, whose standard costume is a tight-fitting suit and squashy cap. Heck's comprehensive bibliography of the commedia [1988] reflects the current literature in including no trace of this character, only rarely noted by modern scholars of the commedia dell'arte [Taviani 1986b; Povoledo 1975]. Povoledo discusses a type of late renaissance professional performer whom she calls a *bouffon*, and identifies visually by his tight-fitting suit, which she feels had a direct influence on the outfits of some stock commedia types, notably Pantalone, and servants such as Harlequin, who did not wear baggy Zanni suits. To her short article is appended a list of thirty-six pictures, of which twelve are illustrated, and she concludes that each of the main stock characters of the

commedia dell'arte generated some variants whose costumes were more inspired by their real life counterparts, and others inspired by that of the *bouffon*, which in turn drew from that of the acrobatic *moresca* dancer or *matachin*.

This latter danced the *matachin*, a variant of the *moresca* dance which shared its characteristic of a high narrative content, and was a popular form of entertainment in late renaissance Europe. Rabelais, for example, wrote:

En lieu de Comedie au son des Cornetz, hautzboïs, facqueboutes, &c,
entra une compagnie de matachins nouveaux, lesquelz gran dement
delecterent toute l'assistance [1549, 26],

and Sidney in 1586:

Who ever saw a matachin dance to imitate fighting, this was a fight
that did imitate the matachin: for they being but three that fought,
every one had [two] adversaries [OED].

Brambilla's games board of 1589 [PLATE 38] confirms that the costume of the *matachin* differs in several important respects both from that of the *Matto* or fool, and the *Saltarino* or professional acrobat, who wears a buttoned doublet and hose and is unmasked, bare-headed, and free of bells or neck scarf. It has some affinities with the medieval fool or jester, still popular in the late renaissance [PLATES 284, 289]. *Matachin* costume is depicted in an anonymous sixteenth century print [PLATE 308], whose *mattcini de natolia* confirm that *matachins* are masked and fantastically-costumed armed acrobatic dance(r)s of Arabian, possibly Turkish, origin [Katritzky 1992, plate 43]. The background of plate 281 gives a rare vivid impression of the vigorously athletic nature of their dancing.

The iconography depicts many variations of *buffone* and *matachin* costume. The *matachin*'s neck scarf was generally arranged in loose folds around the throat and fastened in two points at the back, a costume detail possibly misunderstood by the engraver of Vrancx's *Dives and Lazarus* and a later copyist of the engraving [PLATES 97-8, 104]. The same costume variation is exhibited in plates 81-2, each of which features both light and dark suits, all with knee-sashes and long waist sashes, and some with circlets around their upper arms. Plate 259 also exhibits this variant of the neck scarf, and these *matachins* of 1583 wear their bells around their knees, studded leather belts instead of waist sashes, plumed hats, and wield wooden spoons. Typically *matachins* are armed; occasionally with swords, bows and arrows, knives, or lances [PLATES 101, 161], but generally with hammers, often painted in

brightly contrasting stripes. In plates 86-8, they lead the fight of the butchers against the fishmongers, wielding strings of sausages, and the carnival waggon of plate 220 is led by a sausage festooned matachin. In plate 308, their waist sashes have almost become little skirts, and they are shoeless and have buttons down their fronts.

The matachin of plate 99 wears a dark suit and pale, moulded face-mask. In plate 108, two matachins, one with a dark mask and yellow cap, are in pale yellow; a third in red with a dark half mask, and a fourth in a dark suit both have morris bells at wrists as well as ankles. Their suits are usually plain, but matachins in plates 161 and 320, although wearing the characteristic squashy cap, are in vertically striped suits, as is the lute-playing matachin in plate 35, another in plate 161 is in a spotty suit, and the two men at the extreme right of the procession in plate 130, and others in the paintings of Leandro Bassano [II.iii.g], may be wearing elaborate adaptations of the matachin outfit. Some of the Trausnitz ceiling frieze matachins wear plain buff coloured suits, which differ from that of Pantalone by being made up of tights and top, rather than jerkin and leggings; one is in striped yellow and buff with pink sleeves. Except for the hand walker, they are distinguished by their squashy padded red or yellow caps. A particularly magnificent matachin is centre stage of an anonymous early seventeenth century inlaid depiction of a commedia performance. In tight-fitting suit with morris bells at knees, waist and upper arms, pitch-black full-face mask, and a conical 'dunce's' cap, he accompanies his wild dance on the grill and tongs [PLATE 224]. Plate 35 is another example of inlay work on a piece of furniture which depicts a matachin type, also with bells at his knees, but this time playing a lute.

The costume of the right-hand character in plate 336 appears to amalgamate some characteristics of the matachin with others of the Zanni. The picture is particularly interesting in that it depicts the moulded full-face mask of one of these hybrids, casually discarded on the central bench. Their neck scarves are evidently intended to secure the full-face mask and to disguise the join between mask and skin. Generally in pictures which also include characters in stock commedia costume, the matachins or *buffoni* are depicted engaging in activities of a highly athletic nature. These include acrobatic *moresca* dancing, choreographed bullfighting, the climbing of greasy poles, juggling, the *antics* or *labours of Hercules* [I.i.a], and other more pedestrian stock in trade turns of professional acrobats, such as hand or stilt walking

and hoola-hooping, or simply, as in plates 128 and 130, dancing attendance to an *innamorata*. Such pictures may have Italian or northern carnival settings.

Several such pictures are set in St. Mark's Square, Venice. In plate 123, of around 1600-05, six *commedia dell'arte* stock types in the middle foreground, possibly a small troupe parading for publicity purposes, are led by a *buffone* in a tight-fitting red suit with a squashy cap, while a dozen or so more cavort around a bull in the right foreground. In plate 262, *buffoni* in the right foreground prance around a bull; others in the left background follow up a procession of *commedia* stock types. In plate 36, which also depicts the Venetian carnival, *buffoni* in dark brown full-face masks, white and red costumes and red caps with black feathers, and no shoes, juggle with oranges. In plate 124, again set in St. Mark's Square, a group of *buffoni* fight a bull in the middle foreground, while in the right middleground another group perform one of the most popular of the *labours of Hercules*, the human pyramid. This spectacular feat, involving as many as a dozen acrobats on five levels, was a stock in trade of late renaissance professional entertainers, and evidently generally performed in this type of costume, and often masked and in close association with *commedia dell'arte* actors [PLATES 64, 69, 72, 161, 177, 192, 213, 320]. Lea [1934, II, 406] notes a Roman document of 1549 which records a payment to 'attegiatori che fecero la moresca et le forze di Hercole'. Sir Thomas Smith, writing in 1572, explains the nature of such *antics*:

vaulting with notable supersaltes and through hoopes, and last of all the Antiques, of carrying of men one uppon an other which som men call *labores Herculis* [OED],

and a sermon of 1628, which asks 'Are they Christians, or Antics in some Carnival?' makes the connection with carnival celebrations [OED].

Plate 125 shows about a dozen *matachins* in tight suits with waist-sashes, squashy caps, neck scarves, morris bells at their ankles, and black full-face masks, again at the Venetian carnival. Most of them are attacking a bull with lances, inside a large triangular area formed by three of their number, who play drums. But in the foreground one, surrounded by *commedia* stock types, has a hoop around his middle and walks on his hands. Hand walkers in typical *matachin* costume, complete with morris bells around their ankles, full-face masks, waist-sashes, squashy caps, neck scarves, and hoop, sometime with bells attached around their waist, and often

accompanied by one or more companions in similar costume, are a feature of many depictions of *commedia dell'arte* troupes [PLATES 92-5, 97-100, 106, 108-9]. Plate 6, where Harlequin walks on his hands, reminds us that this was a favourite *lazzi* of the *commedia dell'arte*. Hand walking also occurs in the foregrounds of plate 281, and plate 131 and its variants.

Matachins are also associated with bullfighting in plate 126, while the background of plate 281 depicts a troupe of matachins performing a vigorous sword or stick dance accompanied by one of their number on a drum. In the right foreground of plate 131 and variants, which feature two separate groups of masked, morris-belled matachins in tight-fitting suits in a Roman setting, five of them perform a grotesque matachin dance. Four more in the left foreground are closely associated with a group of *commedia* stock types. One in front and two behind the stock types wield lances, and the whole group is preceded by one who walks on his hands with a hoop around his middle. In plate 96, a group of similar figures in the right middle ground includes one with a hoop and a dog.

A most spectacular northern carnival scene featuring characters in *buffone* or matachin-like costume is plate 135, in which dozens of them cavort in a town square and climb a greasy pole, a traditional carnival diversion. Others include plate 78, where they are accompanied by stilt walkers. Plate 80 features a foreground group of three men and a woman dancing a grotesque dance, possibly a *moresca* of the type featured in Callot's *Balli* prints, to the accompaniment of a string player and watched by the group at the right of the picture. In several closely related pictures, comparable grotesque dancing groups in the right or centre foreground are accompanied by a whole band of musicians, and include one or more participants in tight-fitting *buffone*-like suits, some with strings of sausages slung around their chests [PLATES 73, 76, 78-9]. Another group of northern carnival pictures with a stilt walker in the background has similar contorted male dancers in the foreground, this time accompanied by *commedia dell'arte* stock types as well as men in *buffone* costume [PLATES 81-3].

Similar contorted dancers, actually in *buffone* costume occur in plates 203, 228 and 273-4. One performs a dance with a Pantalone in plate 242, accompanied by a number of musicians, including a masked lute-playing child in similar costume. Similar dance movements occur in plate 337, and in Minaggio's depiction of *Chola*

Napolitano, of c.1615-18, identifiable as a portrait of the commedia dell'arte actor Aniello di Mauro, whose 'dancing was highly admired and imitated' [Corrigan 1969, 178; Nicoll 1963, 64]. In plates 142 and 161, characters in *buffone* or *matachin* costume accompany themselves on the tambourine as they dance, in the company of several other masks; in plates 139, 143 and 145, they accompany a Pantalone on stringed instruments. In another painting in this style and format, *matachin*-like dance movements are performed by a character in Harlequin costume [PLATE 141].

A stilt walker appears in the background of one of Callot's *Balli* prints (*Smaruolo cornuto*, *Ratsa di Boio*), and two further early seventeenth century pictures which include depictions of carnival stilt walkers illustrate the enormous influence these prints had. Plate 264 has been attributed to Toeput, but its grotesquely contorted colourful comic types, including a stilt walker in Harlequin costume, clearly postdate Callot's *Balli*, and thus the date of Toeput's death. The window of plate 69, a collaboration between Rubens and Jan I Bruegel [II.ii.c], looks out onto a northern carnival scene which is virtually a compendium of the background diversions in Callot's *Balli* prints, including stilt walkers, a man seated backwards on a donkey (as in *Cap. Babeo*, *Cucuba*), and acrobats hand walking and performing a 'crab' (as in *Fracischina*, *Gian Farina*).

Characters in *buffone* costume sometimes lead carnival processions, often bearing one or more torches [PLATES 117, 163, 177, 331, 338]. The tight-suited torch-bearer of plate 338 is practically mirrored by the extreme left-hand figure of plate 152, and another variant of the costume appears in the title page illustrations to *Corsini Album* scenarios 39 and 82. More significantly, *buffoni* and *matachins* take a prominent part in some of the earliest known paintings of commedia dell'arte performances by named artists, late sixteenth century pictures by Hieronymus I Francken, Leandro Bassano and Christoph Schwarz. In plate 16, four in the top right-hand corner wear moulded pinkish-tan coloured full-face masks with grotesque features, framed with white neck cloths, bright scarlet caps and suits, and appear to be shoeless, but in some kind of padded mittens. In plate 226, one in a moulded pinkish-tan grotesquely featured full-face mask, bright red cap, white undershirt, beige tights and dark green jacket with pale yellow stripes performs a grotesque dance accompanied by a lute-playing *innamorato*. In plates 267-8 they leap on and off ledges in the left foreground. They figure in several of the sixteen scenes of

Schwarz's Trausnitz ceiling frieze of 1576, where they play the cello, clown around, walk on their hands and perform a comic sword fight with a *tedesco* [PLATES 22-3].

These early iconographic associations between acrobatic performers and professional actors have a bearing on the twenty-four engravings of Callot's *Balli di Sfessania* [PLATES 2-5]. Although this series marks a qualitative high point in commedia dell'arte iconography, and is the most important art-historical watershed in the depiction of this dramatic form, art and theatre historians allow it only minimal documentary value as a record of the commedia dell'arte [Taviani 1986b, 83-4]. The series dates to around Callot's return to Lorraine in 1621, after over a decade in Italy, and it exercised an enormous influence on subsequent representations of the theme. According to Posner, the supposition:

that they portray a *Commedia dell'arte* company or at least personages* from such companies [...] is wrong or, at least, seriously misleading [...] it is true, of course, that music and dance had a rôle in the *Commedia*, but they were certainly* not the distinctive or central features of its productions. Callot's prints, therefore, either take a peculiar and unappreciative view of the real nature of the impromptu theater, or they are not meant to represent it at all [...] one cannot doubt that the *Balli* prints represent a fairground and that the dancers are ordinary fair performers and not *Commedia dell'arte* players [Posner 1977, 203, 204, 207, *sic].

Posner gives his own interpretation of these prints, as a depiction of a troupe of dancers specializing in the *sfessania*, a type of acrobatic *moresca* dance popular in Naples, and possibly of Turkish origin. For Posner, this interpretation virtually rules out a link with the commedia dell'arte even though, in an appendix, he quotes from a document of 1588 describing the Naples carnival which notes that it features 'tanti boffoni, Trastulli e Pantaloni' as well as a performance of the *sfessania* dances [Posner 1977, 216]. Having used the fact that the troupe is large and unrepresentational as a key factor in his rejection of any link with the commedia dell'arte, it does not seem entirely consistent of Posner [1977, 208-16] to suggest that in these engravings Callot augmented nostalgic reminiscences of the members of some small troupe of dancers he actually saw perform with around forty additional characters, many of whose names and poses were probably his own inventions. The imaginative nature of Callot's *Balli* prints is undeniable. But in the light of the iconographic material examined in this section, it seems perfectly possible that they

are based, however freely, on actual performance practice, either in the form of a *commedia dell'arte* troupe capable of offering *matachin* dances in its own repertoire, or a temporary collaboration between troupes of actors and dancers.

It would be going too far to suggest that all the characters depicted in the type of costume discussed in this section are professional performers, let alone that *commedia dell'arte* companies typically employed *matachins* or *buffoni*, could routinely offer acrobatic spectacles such as the sword dance or human tower in their repertoires, or even that professional acting actually developed from such troupes of acrobatic dancers. However, in my interpretation, the widespread nature of the depiction of characters in *buffone* and *matachin* costume in conjunction with professional actors which I have been able to identify, particularly in the early iconography, by Flemish, German and Italian artists, is an indication that this is not simply an artistic convention, but reflects genuine performance practice.

III.iii.d Harlequin

As individual actors attempted to rise above the crowd and stamp their own mark on the Zanni rôle, a host of variants were created, many of which differed in little more than name and minor costume details. But a few of these individual servant rôles were so successful that they had a career beyond that of their creators, and became common theatrical property. The most notable variant of the comic servant rôle is Harlequin. A great deal has been published on Harlequin, and conflicting theories concerning the etymologically origins of the name and rôle abound [I.iii.d]. By around 1620, the approximate date of Callot's *Balli* engravings (several of whose background players wear patched costume), and Domenico Fetti's portrait of a *commedia dell'arte* actor identified by Askew [1978] as Tristano Martinelli, creator of the Harlequin rôle (but elsewhere as Francesco Andreini [Ferrone 1993, pl.38]), the masked comedian Harlequin seems to have become a popular and much depicted stage character.

There are hundreds of late renaissance depictions of Zanni, but pictures of Harlequin from this period are far less common, and there has been no systematic attempt to identify and classify them, or to investigate the early development of Harlequin's costume, whose characteristic feature is his patches, believed by some theatre historians to be a relic of the hairy costume of medieval devils. The

iconography depicts comic costume with a wide range of patches: many or few, large or small, regularly or irregularly shaped, with round or straight edges, dull or brightly coloured, random or marshalled into regular patterns, covering all or part of the costume, which in itself may be of the loose Zanni or tighter *buffone* type. Harlequin's costume has evolved considerably in the centuries since the character was first created. The most reliable early depictions of Harlequins, those bearing contemporary identification as such, confirm that late renaissance Harlequins did not wear the familiar diamond shapes of later Harlequins, but had randomly patched costumes, while a number of early identified depictions of non-Harlequins confirm that comic patched costume was not confined to the Harlequin rôle.

It is possible to divide late renaissance depictions of Harlequins and performers with Harlequin-like elements in their costume into four categories. Rare, but of particular importance in studying Harlequin's costume, are pictures of comic types with contemporary identification as Harlequin. Most early pictures of Harlequin-type costume bear no contemporary identification at all, and may be subdivided into characters which do not appear to depict genuine Harlequins, and those which do. The final category depicts comic characters in patched suits with specific contemporary identification to a character other than Harlequin. As well as the mid to late seventeenth century Trivelins [Duchartre 1929/1966, 158; Nicoll 1931, fig.221; Hartnoll 1968, fig.100; Molinari 1985, 176], Trufaldinos [Nicoll 1931, fig.197], Mezetins [Nicoll 1931, fig.198] and Zan Muzzinas [Nicoll 1963, fig.44] and their even later cousins, these include several early types, such as a Bagatino of c.1618 [PLATE 294] and a Brigantin of c.1630 [PLATE 299].

Bearing the facts concerning the origins of Harlequin in mind [I.iii.d], it is possible to identify all early pictures with contemporary identification as Harlequin quite precisely: as depictions of the actor Tristano Martinelli dating to or after c.1584, when the rôle created by this actor first received the stage name Harlequin, and before this rôle and its distinctive costume were adopted by later actors. Ferrone [1993, pl.51] reproduces a marble tablet in the Museo del Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, which bears the date 1618 and a relief carving of *Arlechin Comic Famos*. The dedication in an undated publication with the title *Compositions de Rhetorique de Mr. Don Arlequin* enables it to be associated with a visit of Tristano Martinelli to France around the year 1600, suggesting that the four woodcuts depicting Harlequin which

it contains are portraits of Martinelli in his stage costume [PLATE 15]. The only other pictures I know of in which Harlequin receives contemporary identification are certain of the pictures in and associated with the *Recueil Fossard* [PLATES 6-11, 43-51; II.ii.b; II.iii.e]. What is not clear is whether the paintings are simply copied from the earlier prints, or whether they reflect contemporary input and earlier pictures have merely been used as compositional aids in recording a current production.

The woodcuts themselves are commonly dated to the mid 1580s. Most notable among those which depict Harlequin are a series of eighteen which feature the rôle thirteen times [PLATE 6]. But they also include two of a sequence of six featuring Sarat's troupe, showing Harlequin acting with them, as a glassware dealer [PLATE 10], one of a series of woodcuts of actors on a grassy stage [PLATE 9] and a depiction of Harlequin on stilts [PLATE 11] in a print which has been reconstructed from fragments in the *Recueil Fossard* by Hallar [1977, fig.25]. I can't agree with Lea [1934, I, 86] that the depictions of Tristano in the *Recueil Fossard* and *Compositions de Rhetorique* are 'exactly the same'. In the *Recueil Fossard*, Harlequin has no cod-piece, a one-piece suit with no visible fastenings, and a simple face-mask [PLATES 6-9]. By around 1600 he is noticeably less lean and lithe, has acquired a cod-piece, and wears a jacket with lace up front and black shoes. His patches, although still random and, for the most part, irregular, have more regular edges and shapes, and he has a feather in his hat, elaborately moulded mask and smaller beard [PLATE 15]. The Harlequin of 1618 wears a broadly similar costume, although his patches are more numerous, smaller and mostly circular in shape.

Most of the depictions of comic performers in Harlequin-like costume bear no written identification of the identity or rôle of the performer. They include a number of pictures which feature seemingly anachronistic appearances of Harlequin's post-Martinelli costume. Concerning one such character on the walls of the Trausnitz staircase, still identified as 'an Arlecchino sans mask' [Castagno 1994a, 157] by some scholars, Lea has noted that he is:

a man dressed in a tunic of large green*-and-white checks which give him the appearance of a modern Harlequin; his connexion with the Arlecchino of the sixteenth century is extremely doubtful and he probably does not belong to the Commedia dell'arte [Lea 1934, I, 14 (*now: red)].

This agrees with Driesen:

es fehlt die vom Harlekin unzertrennliche Maske, das Holzmesser, die Kopfbedeckung. Ferner ist die Gestalt plump und beleibt, und dann, die vielfarbigen Rhomben befinden sich auf einem Mantel, nicht wie bei Harlekin auf Jacke und Hose. Und das Entscheidende: in der Zeit zwischen 1576 und 1600 gab es noch gar kein reguläres Harlekinkostüm. Das Harlekinkostüm des XVI. und des beginnenden XVII. Jahrhunderts ist [...] ein Fetzenkleid. [Driesen 1904, 232]

Driesen quotes Pier Maria Cecchini who, as late as 1628, laments the fact that throughout the 1620s, Harlequin's by then traditional patched costume is still being systematically regularised:

L'abito adunque vorebb' esser moderato, il quale s'è molto allontanato et a gran passi discostato dal convenevole, posciachè, invece dei tacconi o rattoppamenti (cose proprie del pover' uomo) portano quasi un recamo di concertate pezzette, che li rappresentano morosi lascivi et non servi ignoranti. ... Sì che lo sconcerto dell' habito par che indichi quello dell' ingegno. [Driesen 1904, 276]

In plate 230 the figure on the right would appear to be a conventional Zanni, but that on the left is clad in the motley patchworked outfit we associate with Harlequin. However, the patches are not random or irregular, as in the known depictions of Tristano Martinelli, but nearer to the regular rhomboids worn by Harlequin a century later. However, this painting appears to date to the sixteenth century [II.iii.d], and the possibility must be considered that the left-hand comic servant is in fact not Harlequin at all, but one of the countless other servant-types who sprung up towards the end of the sixteenth century, for most of which we have no records regarding their costume. This possibility is enhanced by the colouring of his costume, sombre ochres and dark reds rather than the bright rainbow colours traditionally associated with Harlequin. Even more regular are the diamond-shaped patches of a lute-playing mask standing to the right centre foreground of plate 179. Like the left-hand mask of plate 230, this is another comic type which, due to its early date of around 1600, is probably unrelated to Harlequin, although it appears to predict Harlequin's later costume. Section II.ii.e notes the superficiality of any resemblance to Harlequin of the comic xylophone player in the right centre foreground of plate 73 once he is viewed in the original rather than in monochrome reproduction. He is unmasked, and his neutrally coloured garment has grey, rather than brightly coloured patches.

At first glance, plate 62 appears to present a seemingly anachronistic appearance of Harlequin's post-Martinelli costume, in a painting which, judging from the

costumes, artifacts and style, appears to be located in 1560s Florence. However, in the Stradanus print of the same composition, which almost certainly does date to the 1560s, the central servant in the group of three actors in the right background is quite clearly in Zanni costume [PLATE 29]. A number of possible explanations suggested themselves for its seeming anachronism. Firstly, that rather than being twenty years earlier than the next-earliest known documentary evidence, written or iconographic, for the existence of Harlequin, the painting could be a post-1584 copy of the Stradanus print on which it is compositionally based, and the Harlequin character an anachronistic modification of the copyist. Or, that the comic servant is not Tristano Martinelli playing Harlequin, but another actor, in a servant rôle of another name, whose costume coincidentally appears similar to post-Martinelli versions of the Harlequin costume, who may have been influenced by Martinelli, or influenced him, or have been independent of him.

Yet another possibility is that the painting could depict Tristano Martinelli before he received the name Harlequin. Tristano Martinelli almost certainly evolved considerable elements of the Harlequin costume and rôle before they received their name in France in 1584. So the existence of pictures of Harlequin-like costumes which predate 1584, and record performances of Tristano while he was evolving the Harlequin rôle, but before the rôle and actor received their name, is a possibility. In plates 189-90, which I attribute to Hieronymus I Francken [II.ii.c], the extreme right-hand figure is in each case a comic servant type in Zanni outfit, but with a cloak not of plain, but of extensively patched material. The possibility that this is a prototype of Harlequin's costume cannot, at present, be excluded. If plate 62 depicts Harlequin, then it almost certainly postdates the print on which it is based [PLATE 63] by well over a decade. Although Martinelli's costume clearly varied to a certain extent over the decades, the departures recorded in plates 73, 179 and 230 are great enough to raise serious misgivings as to whether they depict Harlequin at all. Some iconographic identifications of Harlequins are simply erroneous, as for example, another of Castagno's, of a figure in plate 265 [1992, fig.14].

The evolution of a number of iconographic motifs demonstrates that, in general, depictions of the Italian comedians borrowed from previous art, becoming progressively stereotyped as artistic conventions increasingly over-rode considerations of realism [II.ii]. An understanding of this process is essential to an interpretation

of the iconography and its theatrical significance. The relative rarity of early depictions of Harlequin provides an opportunity to examine another aspect of this process, and again throws into sharp relief the extent of the iconographic influence of certain widely-circulated commedia-related prints. The most important of these in relation to early pictures of Harlequin are certain of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATES 6, 9] and six prints which do not depict Harlequin, namely de Jode's print after Toeput [PLATE 130], Julius Goltzius' print of 1581 [PLATE 240], two engravings of *February* by Tempesta [PLATES 64-5] and Collaert's engravings after Momper's drawings of *January* and *February* [PLATES 269-70].

Section II.ii.d discusses similarities between Tempesta's *Februaries* and a number of paintings, of which plates 71-2 depict Harlequins who, although each brandishes an egg and a tambourine rather than a dagger and a hat, seem iconographically close to that featured in a *Recueil Fossard* woodcut [PLATE 9]. Other paintings in which similar Harlequins appear are plates 50, 101 and 280. Plate 50 is one of a group of paintings relating closely to *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, of which several feature Harlequin [PLATES 44-51; II.iii.f]. Another Harlequin who is close to this group, and particularly to the Harlequin depicted in plate 50, is in plate 221, which in turn relates to a large group of later paintings depicting comic types with close iconographic affinities, especially apparent in its Harlequins and matachins [PLATES 139-45], which themselves in turn also relate to the Harlequins depicted in plates 105, 107 and 125, three of a group of pictures discussed below.

The most likely explanation for similarities between Momper's drawings of *January* and *February* [PLATES 128-9] and an engraving after Toeput [PLATE 130] is direct influence from the engraving to Momper's drawings [II.iii.g]. Collaert's engravings [PLATES 269-70] are reasonably faithful direct copies of Momper's drawings, although the right-hand comedian in Collaert's *February* has lost altogether the few Harlequin-like patches his suit displays in the drawing. The influence of the prints' comic groups are marked on plate 125, although not on its Harlequin, who, as mentioned above, exhibits affinities with the Harlequin of plate 9.

Section II.ii.g associates plate 125 with Sebastian Vrancx, and relates it to a large group of other paintings, of which several also show compositional affinities with plates 269-70 as well as depicting Harlequins close to that of plate 9 [PLATES 105, 107, 221]. The comic types in plate 280, which depicts a Harlequin similar to that

of plate 9, also relate to those in plate 125, although they have little in common with those of Collaert's prints. Plate 130 also seems to have exercised an influence on two further paintings which depict Harlequin, plates 157-8. The *dottore* of plate 158 is similar to that of plate 130, although its Pantalone has strong affinities both with the *Recueil Fossard's Segnor Pantalon* [PLATE 6] and the *Magnificus* of plate 240, and its Harlequin too seems close to that of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts. The compositional parallels between the comic performers in plates 130 and 157 are striking, but here too, there are also parallels with the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts. The Harlequin, in particular, is in virtually identical pose to that of the first woodcut in the series reproduced in plate 6. In section II.iii.c, plates 157-8 and a group of related paintings are attributed to Lucas van Valckenborch, and closely associated with plate 12. Many of the comic types depicted in plate 12 also seem close to those of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, although its Harlequin is a notable exception, and is also quite unlike the Harlequins of plates 157-8. The comedians in a further painting in this group, plate 184, also include a Harlequin, but are too indistinct to allow compositional comparison of this nature.

Apart from these interrelated images, I know of only two further groups of any significance of early unlabelled depictions of characters in Harlequin-type costume. One includes several of the carnival dance scenes by the Francken clan, of which plate 205 is perhaps the earliest and finest [PLATES 194-6, 198, 205; II.iii.d]. In this, Harlequin wears a tight-fitting white suit and wide-brimmed, unfeathered white hat, the suit covered with smallish round patches of buff, green and red. In plate 198, his jacket is baggy, but all these Harlequins are distinguished by holding a musical instrument, wearing a wide-brimmed unfeathered hat and having patches in the shape of small spots. A similar costume features in plates 113-16. The other group of pictures not closely iconographically related to those discussed above includes a number of northern carnival scenes [PLATES 81-3, 86-8, 136; II.ii.g], of which all but plate 136 feature a masked tambourine-playing female between two masked males at the extreme left. In plates 81-2, the masked male at the left of this trio wears dark leggings, but his jacket is patched, Harlequin fashion. In plates 86-8, his place in the trio is taken by a Pantalone type, but there is another character to the right of the trio who wears an unusual variation of Harlequin-type costume. His white or pale suit is covered all over with bright, irregular jig-saw shaped patches,

proportionally larger in plate 86 than in the other two paintings. A similar figure features in plate 136.

In the large group of inter-related images discussed above, Harlequin typically wears the costume familiar from the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, namely a black half-mask, black purse on a belt, small unfeathered cap, and tightly-fitting pale suit with irregular patches randomly sewn on to it. Plates 48-50, for example, reveal the cap to be red, the shoes pale or buff, the suit typically white, and the patches, sewn on with rough stitches, red, green, yellow and brown. The only major deviation to the type of Harlequin costume typical for this group of pictures is worn by the Harlequin of plate 12. His greyish suit is cut more like that of a Zanni than a typical Harlequin, and is sparsely covered with smallish patches, mostly buff, but several white, red or green, and his buff pudding-basin cap sports a feather.

In the previous section, the broadness of the range of artists of different nationality and ability who depicted the rôles under consideration, those of the *buffone* and the *matachin*, supported the conclusion that depictions of these rôles tend to reflect genuine performance practice rather than artistic stereotypes. My analysis of early depictions of Harlequin reveals that, where the artists are identifiable, they are, overwhelmingly, Antwerp-based, or have strong connections with Antwerp. The troupe with which the first Harlequin performed is known to have visited the Low Countries from as early as 1576 [I.iii.d]. The extent to which early depictions of Harlequin reflect specific performances by Martinelli himself, or are general evocations of contemporary stage practice, or are merely based on iconographic precedents, are questions which require further investigation.

III.iv Composite, Multiple and Serial images

III.iv.a Introduction

Many overlapping categories of composite, multiple and serial images relating to the early *commedia dell'arte* can be identified. Of these, the clearest are iconographic variants, series of stock types, and serial or composite sequences of 'performance stills'. This leaves a large body of less easily categorized multiple images. Perhaps the most significant of these for late renaissance theatre-history are groups of images which relate directly to specific written documentation (such as scenarios, manuscript

descriptions of performances or accompanying verse). But there are also many pairs or series of related images not associated with written documentation, which do more than just portray stock types.

The importance of iconographic variants has been considered in some detail in section II, which discusses and demonstrates their use in the art-historical analysis of selected iconographic motifs of theatre-historical significance. Later series of illustrations of stock types, such as two produced by François Joullain to illustrate Riccoboni's *Histoire du théâtre italien* of 1728, form the basis for the illustrations of a great many histories of the commedia dell'arte. But early series of this nature have attracted little attention. Among those which may be loosely included in this category are the three stock types illustrated on a late sixteenth-century glass goblet [PLATE 339], and Callot's prints of *The three Italian comedians* [PLATES 302-4]. Because of lack of information concerning the date and artist of the goblet, it is of limited documentary value. Callot's *Three comedians*, unlike his *Balli* series of around the same date, c.1620 [PLATES 2-5], portrays each of the three actors in front of a stage featuring the same actor in performance. One of the prints features Pantalone. Despite the fact that there is disagreement as to whether the actors portrayed in the other two prints are the Captain or the *innamorato*, and Zanni or Scapin, these prints are of considerable theatrical importance, and informative concerning both costume and staging.

More comprehensive series of stock types are found in Brambilla's games board of 1589 and Minaggio's pictures of c.1615-18 [PLATES 38, 293-4; III.iv.b]; Callot's *Balli* engravings [PLATES 2-5; III.iii.c]; a group of five *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 9]; and certain publications such Boissard's *Mascarades* of 1597, and Martinelli's book of c.1600 [PLATES 14-15]. Apart from the *Recueil Fossard* prints and Martinelli volume, all these series also include depictions of characters other than commedia dell'arte stock types, and Callot's series is particularly controversial. Martinelli's book includes seven prints, all reproduced by Duchartre [1929/1966, 127, 226, 340-8]. One is of the Captain (f.LIX [PLATE 14]), one of Pantalone (f.LVIII) and no less than five are of Harlequin [PLATE 15]. He is shown standing with his hands at his belt on the title page (f.XLV), in virtually the same pose on f.L, kneeling in two identical prints on ff.XLIX and LIII, and accompanied by several young Harlequins, some in a basket on his back, on f.LV. The 1592 edition of *Gli inganni*

includes two woodcuts which each depict four isolated stock figures, noted by Pandolfi [1957-61, II, 336] and first reproduced by Clubb [1966, 266]. These include Zanni, Pantalone, the *dottore* and the *tedesco*, and at least one of them is masked.

As well as the main series of woodcuts [PLATE 6], the *Recueil Fossard* contains a series of five woodcuts which may be regarded as a series of stock types [PLATE 9]. Each features two named commedia stock types, each standing on its own small individual grassy hump. There are quatrains in decorative oval cartouches under three of these pairs, namely *Francatrippa/ Harlequin*, *Signor Pantalon/ Zany Corneto* and *La Donna Isabella/ Pantalon Inamorato*, but not under the other two, namely *Pantalon/ Messere Dotour*, which is hand coloured, and *Francisquina/ Il Signor Horacio*. The missing quatrain for *Messere Dotour* is given by a variant impression of this figure alone in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one of a series of three such single figures, each with its quatrain below, in this collection. The other two, *Francatrippa* and *Zani Corneto*, are also variants of those in the *Recueil Fossard* prints.

Newton [1975, 260] writes of the main series of prints for Boissard's *Mascarades* 'of the engravings by van Gheyn bound in the Boissard volume [...] none really portrays *commedia dell'arte* costume' [PLATE 319]. Thomsen, commenting on a rare complete set, disagrees:

we enter the world of Harlequin and Commedia dell'arte in Reinhardt's collection with Jaques de Gheyn II and his series *The Masks*, which consists of ten engravings from around 1600 [1983, 74].

Thomsen's evaluation, that 'the series connotes Commedia dell'arte put into a Dutch context of life' [1983, 77] perhaps goes too far in countering Newton's assessment of the prints. They may most usefully be regarded as what their title declares them to be, that is masquerade costumes, and their main relevance to the *commedia dell'arte* is simply that some of them show a heavy debt to the costumes of the *commedia* stock types of their time.

Some serial images cannot be regarded as series of stock types or sequences of 'performance stills', although they have the potential for yielding more theatre-historical information when considered not in isolation, but as groups of images. These include groups of related sketches of commedia characters, sometimes in carnival situations, in travel diaries and artists' sketchbooks; for example, the friendship albums of Onophrius Berbinger [PLATE 248], and Moyses Walens (British

Library, MS.ADD.18991, f.11r and others), the Harvard album [PLATE 36], and Zwolle's British Museum sketchbook⁴ [PLATE 27, 31].

Many series of prints and drawings include two or more commedia-related images. Examples of these are *January* and *February* from Momper's drawings of the months, and the prints derived from them [PLATES 128-9, 269-72]; *Italia* and *Francia* after Hans von Aachen [PLATES 282, 288], and three engravings of matching format and style which appear to be by de Passe after Vrancx [PLATES 151-3]. Plate 338, which seems similar in style and content, may possibly be based on a fourth print (as yet unidentified by me) in this series. Some groups of paintings, while evidently not depicting different episodes from the same performance, may perhaps show the same, or similar, players in comparable performance situations, and benefit from analysis as a group [PLATES 139-45; III.iii.d]. By far the most important of the early pictorial series which are neither of stock types nor sequential 'performance stills' are the 100 title page illustrations to the *Corsini Album* scenarios [PLATES 243-7], a manuscript collection of commedia dell'arte scenarios which possibly dates to the late 1590s [II.iii.g; III.i.g; III.iii.a-b]. These illustrations are exceptionally informative with regard to both staging and the individual stock characters depicted.

Perhaps the most promising potential for yielding information unobtainable or unclear from written documentation is offered by sequences of 'performance stills'. Sometimes, such series lend themselves to arrangement into quasi 'visual scenarios', possibly intended to have a similar mnemonic function for spectators to that which the written scenarios had for the actors. Their analysis yields information concerning troupe make-up, cast-lists and cast interrelationships, sets, props, performance practice and acting units, plots, *lazzi*, and the non-verbal spectacle and mime content of commedia dell'arte performances during the period before professional entertainers branched into increasingly rigidly separated specializations such as drama, opera, ballet and circus. A number of series of this nature are discussed individually [II.i]. A comparison of two such series is made in section III.iv.c, and an analysis of several such series, limited to the female rôles, is attempted in section III.iv.d. Several series of woodcuts, published in the 1597 edition of Orazio Vecchi's *L'Anfiparnasso*, the 1617 edition of Briccio's *Pantalone Imbertanao* [Lea 1930, 28-9], and twenty-nine discussed by Clubb [1966] are noted in section III.i.g.

Of the pre-1620 pictorial series which appear to represent actors in performance, and of which each series may represent 'stills' from one specific performance, among the earliest of those which lend themselves, to a greater or lesser extent, to such theatre-historical analysis are two at Trausnitz Castle, the sixteen ceiling frieze frescoes of 1576, and twenty-nine walls of staircase frescoes of the late 1570s [PLATES 20-3]. Series which may be definitely or tentatively dated to the 1580s include two by Ambrogio Brambilla, two engravings dated 1583 [PLATES 52-3], and an undated one showing nine scenes [PLATE 54], and three in the *Recueil Fossard*, namely the eighteen woodcuts reproduced as plate 6, and two separate series of six *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATES 9-10]. Series dating to the last two decades of the sixteenth century include three compositions by Ambrose I Francken, for which variants are known in painted, drawn and engraved versions [PLATES 55-9; II.i.d], two paintings perhaps by Hieronymus I Francken [PLATES 189-90; II.iii.c], and three *Recueil Fossard* engravings [PLATE 42] of which the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses impressions formerly attributed to the school of Titian and dated to before 1571, although H. Adhémar [1954, 113] more plausibly dates them to around 1580.

Series which possibly date to the first years of the seventeenth century include two ink drawings of stock commedia characters in perspective stage settings [PLATES 305-6; III.i.g]; three paintings [PLATES 48-50; II.iii.e]; five engravings by Crispin de Passe after Jacques Bellange [Worthen and Reed 1975, 84-5] and the sixteen scenes of an anonymous engraving at Windsor [PLATES 260-1, 315; III.iv.c]. Few, perhaps none, of the surviving written scenarios correspond exactly with working scenarios actually used by players in the preparation of specific performances. The 'visual scenarios' which can be reconstructed from such pictorial series are at an even greater remove from actual performances, and have to be interpreted in this light.

Much further information could be gained from the iconography by comprehensive identification of extant late renaissance multiple and serial images relating to the commedia dell'arte; their detailed pictorial analysis, comparison with written documentation and a wide range of related pictorial material, and, in the case of some series, perhaps most obviously the Bavarian frescoes, consideration in the context of the didactic aims of the much larger decorative scheme of which they form part. Such an investigation might illuminate such areas as the extent to which serial images are influenced by visual conventions; the extent of their influence on contemporary

actors' choice of costume, accessories and stage sets; and the relationship between what these series depict and what is known of such performances and their circumstances from other documentary sources. This section presents three brief case studies along these lines. They cover selected series of stock types, composite and serial images, chosen in order to conclude with at least some indication of the potential of this research direction.

III.iv.b Stock types: Brambilla and Minaggio

Dionisio Minaggio was a landscape gardener active in early seventeenth century Milan. His now dismembered *Feather Book* contained 156 pictures, each of which is painstakingly built up in the unusual artistic medium of feather, with small pieces of naturally coloured feather, many in bright and exotic hues, cut out and pasted down in collage fashion. The majority of these pictures, 112, including the title-page, signed by Minaggio and dated 1618, depict birds. Leaves 77-84 feature musicians, possibly professionals associated with Italian comedians. Leaves 100-11 and 113-14 depict a total of twenty commedia dell'arte actors and actresses, singly or in pairs, of which all but the pair on leaf 111 are provided with the names of their rôles. These pictures, although artistically naive, are an enormously informative source for early seventeenth century commedia dell'arte costumes and stage practice [III.i.g; III.iiia-b]. Corrigan [1969] rightly emphasises the importance of her recognition that they are accurate portraits of actual actors, in many cases depicted in rôles and costumes they have themselves created, and not, as for example, the performers in Callot's *Balli* prints appear to be, imaginative interpretations of popular stock rôles.

Corrigan [1969] identifies many of the actors and actresses depicted by Minaggio, and demonstrates that all or most of them performed in Milan in the 1610s, the decade in which these portraits were produced. Leaf 100 depicts the *innamorato* Leander, played by Benedetto Ricci (1592-1620). Leaf 101 shows the two comic servant rôles *Trapolino* and *Baltram*, the stage names of Giovan Battista Fiorillo and Niccolò Barbieri (1570-1641), professional actor and author of the well-known defense of comic acting, *La Supplica*. Leaves 102 and 108 show *Policianelo* and *Chapitan Mata.mor*, two rôles created by the actor-author Silvio Fiorillo. Leaf 103 shows *Dotor Campanaz*, an elderly lawyer, one of the stock master rôles of the commedia dell'arte, played by Bartolomio Bongiavanni.

Leaf 104 shows *Trastulo*, a part documented since the 1580s and here possibly played by G.B. Fiorillo, and *Ricolina*, the maid Rizzolina, stage name of the actress Angela Lucchesi. Leaf 105 shows *Mario* and *Flavia*, *secondi innamorati* played by the actress Margherita Luciani and an unknown partner. Leaf 106 shows *Florinda*, an *innamorata* rôle played by the actress Virginia Ramponi (b.1583). Leaf 107 shows the Florentine rustic *Pombino*, played by Girolamo Salimbeni. Leaf 109 shows *Chola Napolitano*, a comic servant rôle associated with the actor-dancer Aniello di Mauro. Leaf 110 [PLATE 293] shows *Schapin* and *Spineta*, Francesco Gabrieli, creator of the comic servant type Scappino, and his wife Spinetta Gabrieli, who played the maid Spinetta. Leaf 111 shows an unnamed actor and actress acknowledging applause, perhaps a second portrait of Florinda, with her stage partner the *innamorato* Lelio, played by her husband Giovan Battista Andreini. Leaf 113 [PLATE 294] shows the comic servant types *Cietrvlo* and *Bagatino*, and leaf 114 shows *Chocholi*. Corrigan [1969, 178, 173] feels that the rôle of Cietrulo may have been a variation of Pulcinella also played by Silvio Fiorillo, that Minaggio's *Bagatino* is the unidentified actor of this rôle associated with the Confidenti in 1627, and that *Chocholi* is a variant of Federico Ricci's Pantalone rôle.

Similar exercises have been attempted with the performers depicted in other series of commedia-related images, notably the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts [PLATE 6] where, due to the generic nature of most of the rôle names, identification with specific actors has, with few exceptions, met with only limited success. One series of images of performers identified by rôle which has not attracted previous attention is that in Brambilla's games board of 1589 [PLATE 38; II.i.c; III.iv.a]. This includes depictions of a number of stock types and rôles associated with the commedia dell'arte. The named stock types are the old masters Pantalone and Gratiano, the comic servants Trastulo, Pedrolino and Francatripe, the maid Franceschina and the foreign military captains Todesco and Cardone. Other characters depicted who have strong associations with the comic stage, but are not necessarily associated with the commedia dell'arte in this context, include the fool (*il matto*), acrobat (*il saltarino*), and performing monkey (*il babvino*); the peasant (*il Vilano*), Gypsywoman, *ruffiana* and Turk, and the mythological figures Cupid and Bacchus.

Since suggesting that the troupe might be that of the Comici Uniti [Katritzky 1987b, 248] I have been able to establish almost beyond doubt that Brambilla is here

depicting actual actors who were at the date of this engraving, namely 1589, associated with the Gelosi troupe, some only temporarily, others on a long-term basis. Pavoni, describing in his diary a performance given by the Gelosi in Florence on 13 May 1589, notes that their then *capocomico* Francesco Andreini imitated the language of his actors, 'come del Pantalone, del Gratiano, del Zanni, del Pedrolino, del Francatrippe del Burattino del Capitan Cardone, e della Franceschina' [Lea 1934, I, 48]. Of these eight, all but Burattino and Zanni are depicted by Brambilla, who adds Trastullo and the *tedesco*. Andreini's own rôle is known to have been that of the Captain, and iconographic evidence suggests that he may specifically have played the *tedesco* [III.iii.b], so there is an almost exact fit between the actors in Pavoni's cast list and those depicted in Brambilla's print, as well as the possibility that Brambilla's *Todesco* is a portrait of Francesco Andreini in his stage rôle of Captain Spavento.

The identity of Captain Cardone is not known, but the Gelosi's Pantalone at that time was Giulio Pasquati of Padua, their Dotor Graciano was Lodovico Bianchi of Bologna, and their Francatrippa Gabrielle Panzanini, also of Bologna. Their Franceschina was Silvia Roncagli of Bergamo, wife of Adriano Valerini of Verona, who, with Orazio Nobili of Florence, played the Gelosi's *innamorati*. Ughi [1974, 187] publishes documentary evidence which demonstrates that Silvia Roncagli also performed in the Gelosi's *intermedi*. The rôle of Pedrolino was created by Giovanni Pelesini of Reggio. Other actresses associated with the troupe at the time were Andreini's wife Isabella Andreini, Pelesini's wife Vittoria Piisimi of Ferrara (whose stage name was Fioretta) and Diana Ponti; their Zanni was Simone of Bologna.

Plate 38 includes the earliest known depiction of Pedrolino. It predates the oldest generally accepted image of this mask by over three decades. Krogh [1955, fig.20] reproduces a woodcut from the 1597 edition of Vecchi's *L'Anfiparnasso* in which he identifies the figure depicted on the right as Pedrolino. However, Nicoll [1931, 295; 1963, 89], deploring the absence of sixteenth century images of Pedrolino, and refers to the title page woodcut of Croce's *La gran vittoria di Pedrolino*, of 1621, as giving his 'earliest dress'. Brambilla's vignette surely shows the creator of this rôle, Giovanni Pelesini, in his mid-sixties, in the original form of Pedrolino's costume, which shares the pale baggy trouser suit of the Zanni.

Francatripe wears another variant of the Zanni outfit, with a longer than normal jacket over the characteristic baggy trousers. This costume is very much that of the

Recueil Fossard's Frncatripa [PLATE 6], and both have moustaches and a substantial pointed beard, although only Brambilla's version carries a violin. It is not known whether Gabrielle Panzanini, the actor who played the part of Francatrippa for the Gelosi troupe, created the rôle. Given the early dates of these prints, the strong possibility is that the *Francatripe* of plate 38, and perhaps the *Recueil Fossard* depiction also, are portraits of this actor. Brambilla's *Cardone* is the earliest dated portrait of a specific actor in the rôle of the commedia dell'arte Spanish captain [III.iii.b]. His Franceschina seems to show not the pert young maid of plate 53, but an older woman, with a spindle. Gratiano wears the dark broad-rimmed hat and calf-length gown of the *dottore* of law or academia, familiar from depictions such as the titlepage illustrations to *Corsini Album* scenarios 36, 67 and 90. Brambilla also depicts a *M. Gratian* in his prints of 1583 [PLATES 52-3], who wears a similar hat to the Gratian on the games board of 1589, but is ungowned, so the garments worn beneath are depicted in unusual detail.

An actor playing the rôle of the comic servant Trastulo is recorded as accompanying Alberto Naseli's troupe to Spain in 1585 [Corrigan 1969, 179], and a Trastulo also features in the Naples carnival of 1588 [Posner 1977, 216]. The rôle is depicted in both Minaggio's *Feather Book* pictures of 1618 and Callot's *Balli* engravings of c.1621, although I have not come across references to earlier depictions of this mask. The name of the actor who created and first developed this rôle, thought to have Neapolitan origins, is not known. Examination of the later movements of those actors known to have been with Naseli's troupe in Spain in the early 1580s leads me to suggest the Neapolitan actor Giulio Vigliante as a possible candidate for the originator of this rôle. He signed a contract with Naseli's troupe in Madrid in March 1581, but was with the Gelosi troupe by 1590 [Falconieri 1957b, 26, 31].

It is because, not in spite of, the fact that Minaggio and Brambilla are far less talented and imaginative artists than Callot, that their depictions of performers are of far greater documentary importance. Brambilla's games board foreshadows a genre which was to become popular in the following century, that of the series of stock type portraits, and records the appearance of members of a troupe of Italian comedians in 1589, which may be identified with some certainty as the Gelosi company. Minaggio's portraits of the comedians betray that, unlike a professional artist of any

imagination, he was totally oblivious to the fashionable artistic conventions and innovations of his time. He depicted⁴ the comedians quite literally as he saw them, and, despite his bizarre artistic medium, his portraits are enormously valuable factual records of the stage appearance of a group of identifiable Italian comedians at a quite specific time and place, Milan in the mid 1610s.

III.iv.c Two composite prints compared

This section presents a comparative analysis of two prints, both represented in albums of popular prints which found their way into royal collections. A mutilated version of Ambrogio Brambilla's *Che diavolo e questo* [PLATE 54] is in the *Recueil Fossard*, while the anonymous *Burlette e schersi di commedie* [PLATE 315] is in the Royal Library at Windsor's *Dutch Drolls*, a notable volume of early popular prints. Plate 54 is three scenes across by three scenes deep, plate 315 is four scenes across by four scenes deep, and each of the two features two or three comedians and is accompanied by dialogue, of which I have published transcriptions and translations [Katritzky 1987b, 250, 252-3].

The discovery of plate 54 and its inscriptions raises many questions. Do these nine scenes record the typical comic routines of mountebanks' assistants, the felicitous high jinks of costumed carnival revellers, or the jealously-guarded gags of some fully-fledged professional troupe of commedia dell'arte actors? Do these images and their inscriptions relate to the activities of Brambilla or his fellow members in the Academia della Valle di Blenio, in which case might Brambilla's rôle in the development of the commedia dell'arte be more than simply one of passive observer and recorder [II.i.c]?

The printer of plate 315 is recorded in the plate as Gio. Batt. de' Rossi of the Piazza Navona. Giovanni Battista Rossi was a printer active in the mid-seventeenth century, in the Roman Piazza Navona workshop of the De' Rossi family of printers and publishers [Bellini 1975, 31; Ashby 1915, 401-21]. The De' Rossi are known to have acquired and republished plates which originated in a number of sixteenth century printers' workshops, including those of van Aelst, Salamanca, and Lorenzo Vaccari. Thus, while G.B. De' Rossi's death, around 1672, provides an *ante quem* for plate 315, this image (or the original plate on which it is based) could well

predate de' Rossi's activity as a printer; its costume and style are not incompatible with a tentative dating to the years around 1600.

The twenty-five scenes of the two composites can be subdivided into a number of categories. The Windsor series (W1-W16) opens and closes with scenes in which Pantalone masquerades as a woman; in the last scene (W16), as in the fourth of the Brambilla print (B4), Zanni has apparently given multiple birth. Indeed, a strongly misogynous sentiment permeates these vignettes. The image of a man hatching eggs used in B4 is a well-known symbol for the hen-pecked husband, often used in connection with fools or besotted lovers. Real women are featured only twice in each series, in each case in the third scene. The *bella franceschina* of the music in the fifth scene of the Windsor series (W5) almost certainly refers to a popular *pavane* or dance-tune with the title *Che la bella Franceschina*, which in turn possibly refers to the commedia dell'arte maid, whose most popular stage name was Franceschina. Leuchtman notes that Massimo Troiano refers to this tune in 1568, and Bendinelli in 1614 [Troiano 1569/1980, 298, 414].

Both series are dominated by an obsession with food (B1, B6, B9; W6-7, W11), drink (B9, W15), and ablutions (B5, B7-8; W9, W13, W16). The uncompromising emphasis on defecation in B8, W13 and W16 reminds us that it features in some of the most popular gags of the early scenarios of the commedia dell'arte. While the motivating force in B1, B6, B9, W6-7 and W11 is unabashed gluttony, several of these scenes additionally reveal a marked sadistic streak in the participants. This aggressive element is present in both series, coming to the fore visually particularly in the violent horseplay of B1-2, W3, W7 and W14, and the overenthusiastic ministrations of B5, B7-8 and W9. It is also manifested verbally in the whole tone of the language, appreciably coarse in both series, and perhaps even slightly more bellicose in Brambilla's etchings than in the Windsor prints.

Brambilla's scenes focus exclusively on the basic instincts and pleasures common to even the least sophisticated members of the human race. Half of the scenes of the Windsor print, however (W2-5, W8, W10, W12, W14), form a category unrepresented by Brambilla. This is the caricaturing of courtly pastimes and customs, and particularly its nostalgic recreations of the age of chivalry's aristocratic pursuits, whose influence was still evident in the late sixteenth century, particularly in its court entertainments and festivals. W2 is a burlesque on jousting, with Pantalone, aided

by Zanni, making a childish game out of the skilful tournament contest of spearing a ring with a stick. W8 features a travesty of dismounted combat; the master-servant relationship is turned on its head by the bullying Zanni and querulous Pantalone of W3, and W4 ridicules the noble pastime of hunting, with a mule and owl standing in for the traditional horse and falcon.

W5, W10, and W12 poke fun at the courtly accomplishments of dancing and singing. In W5, Pantalone plays the lute while Zanni and the mule parody an elegant dance - B3, Brambilla's dancing scene, is only superficially comparable. Here Zanni provides the music, and the unseemly, barely contained lusts of his elderly master, rather than courtly pursuits, are the butt of the joke. W14 parodies courtly romance: far from being about to commit suicide as a result of unrequited love, the last word of the dialogue reveals, by its punning on 'tortoise' and 'lazy-bones', that Zanni's spleen is merely directed at the small reptile which can be seen lying defenceless at his feet. In B7 and W9, Pantalone's sadistic tendencies are particularly apparent. He uses some vicious-looking instruments to pull the teeth and trim the beard of a Zanni who, despite being shaken by the experience, tries to keep up his ingratiating manner in order to talk his way out of a tight corner. He turns the tables on Pantalone in W3, and really gets his revenge in B5 and B8, with implements that seem to have come straight out of the torture chamber. Zanni also has the upper hand in W11, where Pantalone is reduced to an ingratiating groveller in the hope of tasting his cake. Zanni's insults never become as openly offensive as the worst of Pantalone's. Instead, he tends to rely on wordplay and sarcasm, and his ominous 'lasse fa a mi messer' is the catch phrase of both plates 54 and 315. Thus, despite the added 'chivalrous' element in the Windsor series, unmistakable verbal and visual links are shared by the two prints.

Whether these scenes record the supporting acts of mountebanks' assistants, the comic routines of professional actors or merely uncoordinated carnival revelry is not entirely clear, and neither is the original purpose of such prints. But it seems safe to assume that they do reflect, at least in some measure, the type of gags and *lazzi* presented by the Italian comedians on the professional Roman stage at the end of the sixteenth century.

III.iv.d Female rôles in serial images

Analysis of late renaissance depictions of actresses reveals four main types of costume, namely those associated with the maid, the respectable innamorata, the courtesan and Oriental dress [III.iii.a]. The present section addresses the question of the extent to which the iconographic frequency and emphasis of the female rôles corresponds to the situation both as it really was, and as documented by modern theatre-historians. There are strong reasons why modern accounts of the *commedia dell'arte* might be biased towards the more colourful and distinctive masked comic menservants, at the expense of the female characters, even though for contemporary audiences, a very particular attraction of the *commedia dell'arte* was its actresses, whom, unlike actors, they could not have otherwise seen on the stage. For many theatre historians the *commedia dell'arte* still means, first and foremost, its masked players, and particularly the comic menservants, who deviate much further than the other male or female characters from their predecessors in the Roman comedy via renaissance erudite comedy.

In the present section, two rather broad assumptions are made. Firstly, even though it is accepted that a single image whose date and place of production is known may be more informative than a series of anonymous undated pictures, the assumption here is that the most valuable theatrical evidence comes not from single images, but from groups of related images, either in the form of pictorial series or of composites. The second assumption is that, despite unavoidable and often unassessable artistic bias, in general, such groups of pictures do reflect a reasonably fair representation and selection of what spectators actually saw.

Although the images of a pictorial series need not necessarily reflect different episodes of a particular performance, a series is potentially capable of depicting a sequential dramatic performance in a more representative way than any single image can. So, if the account which theatre historians give of the typical early *commedia dell'arte* troupe and its characters [I.i.c] is to be compared with the available visual evidence in any systematic way, the most valuable theatrical evidence will come not from isolated scenes, but from pictorial series.

This may seem self-evident, and the importance of pictorial series as documentary evidence has received wide recognition. But Molinari [1985] and other theatre-historians who illustrate such series, only rarely show a complete series, and such

illustrations are typically provided with minimal textual comment. Early pictorial series have attracted little attention concerning their correct sequence, their systematic analysis for indications regarding the make-up of commedia troupes, the characters they played on stage, and the relationships between those characters. Some of the most well-known such series can be reconstructed from the *Recueil Fossard* [II.i]. One such is a series of eighteen woodcuts which I have arranged [PLATE 6] to reflect episodes in the three acts of a particular commedia dell'arte performance [II.i.b; Katritzky 1988a]. In total, nine male and five female characters, all named, are featured in these eighteen prints.

My own reading of the plot tentatively distributes these fourteen characters between the household of the two older men, as follows: Pantalone has a wife Lucretia, a daughter Cornelia, two men servants Harlequin and Zany Cornetto, and a maid Francisquina. *Il Segnor Dotour's* menservants are Francatripa and Philipin, his maid is Licetta. His daughter Luchea is illicitly courted by Pantalone, and officially wooed by Horatio, who in turn is the friend of Captain Cocodrillo. *Il Segnor Dotour* also has a son, Leandro, who, like many of the males, dallies with Pantalone's maid, Francisquina. The performance ends, as many did, with the marriage of two *innamorati*, in this case Cornelia and Leandro. Only four of the fourteen parts feature in all three acts. Three of these are principal masks, Pantalone and his comic servants Harlequin and Zany Cornetto. the fourth is Pantalone's maid, Francisquina. This means that, of the female rôles, only Francisquina is depicted in all three acts. Lucia, who is depicted in acts I and II, and Lucretia, who is depicted in act II, could double with Cornelia and Licetta, who feature only in the last act. Pantalon, Harlequin and Zany take part in all three acts, and Leandro in the last two, but the other five male rôles could be doubled by three players.

About a third of the players in this performance, five out of fourteen, are women. More significantly, these female rôles include one of the four major parts, as the maid Francisquina's part in the plot is considerably more active than that of the *dottore*, the fourth principal mask; and women feature in well over half of the eighteen pictures which make up this series. I have been able to place another set of *Recueil Fossard* prints into a more conclusive sequence through an uncut composite print [PLATE 54] of the same nine scenes [II.i.c; III.iv.c; Katritzky 1987b]. In the nine scenes of this etching, six commedia characters engage in some comic horseplay, or

lazzi. The main participants, a Pantalone and his two Zannis, are joined in three of the nine scenes by secondary characters: a *tedesco*, a girl and an older woman. Again, a third of the rôles are female, although in this series they are clearly very subordinate to those of the principal masks.

A third much-reproduced sixteenth century pictorial series is the Trausnitz staircase fresco cycle, which dates to the late 1570s and completely covers the thirty odd walls of the *Narrentreppe* [PLATES 20-1; I.ii.b]. Access to the complex continuous frescoes of this cramped life-size three-dimensional pictorial scheme, damaged by fire, is restricted. Scholarly opinion is divided concerning them. According to Mastropasqua:

la trama dello spettacolo, rappresentato negli affreschi della Narrentreppe si può facilmente ricostruire [...] il soggetto non si differenzia da quelli soliti degli spettacoli dell'arte [1970, 101-2].

More recent scholarship rejects this approach. Corrain [1986] rejects all the available narrative reconstructions, and, less justifiably, Mastropasqua's basic theory, that these frescoes bear some relation, however distant, with an actual plot, or commedia scenario. While the artist's primary intention was not necessarily to recreate one particular commedia performance, there has surely been an attempt in this staircase to evoke a plausible sequential plot, and women clearly play a substantial part.

There appear to be thirteen or so different characters, of whom five are women, divided into three, rather than the more usual two, households. Two are those of the old men, who each have a comic manservant and a daughter. The liveried manservant and pageboy may serve the two military captains, who woo the daughters of the older men. The performance ends with the Spanish Captain united, by Zanni, with his *innamorata*, while her father, Pantalone, looks on. The cast is completed by a third, exclusively female household, consisting of the courtesan, *ruffiana* and maid, which takes a lively part in the action. Walking up and down the staircase, it is tempting to duck and weave to dodge the brimming chamber pots and missiles these life-size female effigies aim at their menfolk across the seven levels of this cramped spiral staircase. The gnarled old *ruffiana* is much in evidence, bravely challenging the cowardly Pantalone with pitchfork and pot on walls 14-16, or, stick in hand and bunch of keys at her belt, engaged in some suspect financial transaction with Zanni on wall 20, or glaring irascibly from the doorway as Zanni flirts with one

of her girls on wall 24. It is not possible to assess how accurately the artist has reflected women's presence on the early commedia stage, but, even in their present damaged state, these frescoes show that women, and not just young pretty women, could have a powerful dramatic presence.

These three series offer particularly valuable evidence because it seems clear that each of them is complete. However, it is worth also considering pictorial series from which further images may be missing, but whose extant scenes appear to depict a complete troupe of players in scenes from commedia performances. One such possibly partial series consists of two engravings of 1583 [II.i.c]. One shows five commedia characters in a kitchen, making preparations for a wedding [PLATE 52]. In the second, six newcomers join three of these characters, namely the comic servant Burati, the *dottore* M. Gratian and the maid Nespola, to celebrate the wedding with a dance [PLATE 53]. The men are three comic servants, two old masters and a *tedesco* who plays the pipe and tabor. It is harder to categorize the women, but none of them are old, and there seems to be at least one maid, Nespola, while Balzarina, Filomena and Venturina are more probably courtesans, and Franceschina could be a maid or a courtesan. In total, there are eleven different characters, and the five women play a central part in the narrative.

Another such series consists of three late sixteenth century paintings by the Flemish artist Ambrose I Francken [II.i.d]. In the first of these, involving eight players [PLATE 57], Pantalone delivers a love letter to the maid of his mistress, the second *vecchio*'s daughter, in the presence of three Zannis, an *innamorado*, a page boy and an older character. In the second painting, the *innamorado* and his Zanni beat up Pantalone, watched by no less than seven onlookers [PLATE 58]. Four of these characters are new, and they include the second *vecchio* and two of the women of his household peering out from a window in the backdrop. In the third painting [PLATE 56], Pantalone is crowned with the cuckold's horns, and mocked by his servants and young rival. Unlike the characters in Brambilla's prints, they are not conveniently labelled with their names. But appearances suggest that these three paintings feature Pantalone and his two Zannis, a second old master (possibly a *dottore*), his daughter, wife and maid, the *innamorado*, his Zanni and his page-boy, an old person of indeterminate sex, and two or three further female characters, who

may be either *ruffiane* or courtesans. So there seems to be a total of thirteen or fourteen separate characters involved⁴, of whom six or seven are women.

Of course, these five groups of pictures by no means exhaust the known sixteenth century pictorial series relating to the *commedia dell'arte*. But they include some of the most substantial series. Analysis of their characters, by percentage and position, bears out the judgement of the secondary literature that women played a less important part than men on the early professional stage [III.iii.a]. But this judgement appears to be more extreme than the pictorial evidence would suggest. These pictures indicate that the participation of women varied widely from troupe to troupe, with between a third and half being women. Although the *commedia dell'arte* did not altogether overcome the prejudices against women, and especially against respectable women, on the late renaissance stage, women played a vital and interesting part in these performances. They contributed a wide variety of both stock and occasional rôles, and were a lively, and often compelling presence in *commedia dell'arte* performances. In both the last two series discussed, almost half the characters are female, and in the prints, if not in the paintings, actresses are as much at home on centre stage as actors. In some late renaissance performances, at least, it would appear that the sexes did share the stage virtually equally.

CONCLUSION

The main aim of this thesis is to provide a broad overview of the surviving early iconography in order to contribute towards a more detailed understanding of the history of the *commedia dell'arte* in the opening decades of its existence, 1560-1620; by widening the narrow range of late renaissance pictures presently available as a potential documentary source to theatre historians and the limited amount of information currently known concerning their dating and attribution. The transitory nature of the early *commedia dell'arte*, with its reliance on improvisation, high non-verbal entertainment content and handwritten scenarios rather than fully written out scripts, and its limited written documentation, makes visual records particularly important. Yet, as late as 1988, in the first comprehensive bibliography of the *commedia*, Heck [293] could write that 'the systematic codifying, dating and interpretation of the prints, drawings, paintings and frescos relating to the CdA has barely begun'. Documentation of the early visual records is still random and fragmented, and my own researches have revealed hundreds of pictures of relevance not known to theatre historians. Some of these are included in the 106 reproductions of my eight publications [1987-92], and the 340 plates of this thesis. No pictures pre-dating the 1560s which relate directly to the *commedia dell'arte* are known, and none have been uncovered in the course of my research.

The aims of my research are to identify pictures whose documentary value for theatre history may previously have been unrecognized or dismissed, and to interpret the performance events depicted in them. Such pictures are largely undated, anonymous and unpublished, and art-historical analysis has a direct bearing on their theatrical interpretation. The by now traditional explanations for the origins, spread and early history of the *commedia dell'arte*'s stock types, costumes and performance practice are not entirely convincing, and the narrow approach taken by theatre historians to the early iconography has meant that much relevant material has remained unresearched. From the wide creative repertoire of the late renaissance, the professional players gradually settled into predictable routine, and modern perceptions of the early *commedia dell'arte* have suffered through being coloured by the interpretations of historians and writers from the seventeenth century onwards. Only recently has the popular perception of the *commedia dell'arte* begun to shift from a

narrow focus on its fixed types to an understanding of it as a diverse professional theatre whose rôles were essentially the creation of individual actors and actresses.

The general approach to the visual material half a century ago was to exclude all pictures which did not depict the *commedia dell'arte* stock types in recognizable performance situations, generally on stage. Sterling's [1943] art-historical analysis of early *commedia dell'arte* pictures is still the most significant scholarly publication concerned with an interpretation of sixteenth century *commedia dell'arte* images based on art historical methods. Although it focused exclusively on this type of picture, it introduced a new awareness among theatre historians that the artists of such pictures are influenced not only by what they see on stage, but by commissioning pressures, artistic conventions and iconographic precedents. Only in the last few years, very gradually, is a more inclusive approach to the pictures being introduced, and one aim of my research and publications has been to extend Sterling's research methods to pictures which have previously been excluded from such analysis because of either their peripheral subject matter or their inaccessibility.

My research approach has three main steps. These are, firstly, the identification of relevant pictures and acquisition of legible reproductions; secondly, the classification of such pictures according to art-historical methods; thirdly, interpretation of their theatrical content. I deliberately take a very generously inclusive approach to the iconography. Rather than dealing only with pictures which have definite and obvious connections with the *commedia dell'arte*, my research takes into consideration any pictures of possible relevance to the theme, and also a wide range of iconographical variants, not all directly related to the theme of the *commedia dell'arte*. My academic background in art history, and professional experience as a fine art publishers' picture researcher, have enabled me to develop an approach to the identification of relevant pictorial material which is innovative in being based on a sustained long term programme of systematic archival research, using three main sources to search for the relevant iconography. I work directly with original material, in museums, printrooms and private collections; and with unpublished secondary documentation, such as that in academic, private and commercial photographic libraries and sale-room archives; as well as using published resources. Here, I use not only illustrated publications relating directly to *commedia dell'arte* and drama, where many spectacular discoveries in theatre iconography have been reproduced, but also less obvious published sources, such as historical and art-historical books, articles and catalogues in which the theatrical relevance of reproductions often remains

unrecognized, or at least unacknowledged. A major element of this preliminary research stage, and indeed of my research as a whole, has been the personal acquisition of legible images of the iconographic material I have been able to identify.

One point has emerged very strongly as not receiving due recognition, despite its apparent obviousness. This is that the value of a picture as documentary material for the history of performance and spectacle is not purely related to what it actually shows, but also to the extent to which the historian is able to interpret the visual information, for example through external information concerning its place and date of production, its artist, artistic influences and variants, patron, and the performers and performance it depicts. My work on aspects such as the identification of previously unrecognized monograms, signatures or dates on pictures, and the attribution of pictures to named artists and schools, is undertaken in this context, and not as an exercise in art-historical connoisseurship for its own sake. Association of undated pictures with firmly dated ones in order to establish chronological directions of pictorial influence offers a more reliable approach to dating undocumented iconographic material than the rather speculative attempts to relate it to recorded performances which theatre historians have sometimes made, and association with specific named artists enables pictures to be placed in the context of an *oeuvre* and place of production. Discussions relating to the minutiae of attribution and dating for all 340 plates are not relevant to the main body of the text, but my views on this subject, even where tentative, are generally indicated in the plate list.

Section I summarises the rise and spread of professional acting in sixteenth century Italy, some forerunners of the *commedia dell'arte*, and its early stock types. It also presents a new assessment of the mechanisms by which the *commedia dell'arte* reached Bavaria, where the earliest comprehensively documented *commedia* performance took place, in Munich in February 1568, and where the earliest and most comprehensive series of *commedia* paintings, the two Landshut fresco cycles of the 1570s, are located. Although I have relied mainly on secondary sources for the early written documentation, this in-depth consideration of the circumstances surrounding the *commedia dell'arte*'s unprecedentedly early introduction into Bavaria is based on original archival research in Munich and Florence. My research uncovered a number of relevant documents, notably a diary which documents the visit of a Bavarian prince to Italy in 1565-66, and describes a Florentine play of the *commedia dell'arte* type which predates the Munich performance of 1568 by over two years. This diary also provides new evidence regarding the rise of the *commedia dell'arte* and its central

comic master-servant duo Zanni and Magnifico, both on stage and at the carnival, and links a range of Italian commedia dell'arte related entertainments of the mid 1560s to those in Munich in 1568.

Other documents uncovered in the course of my research provide new information on the circumstances of the commedia dell'arte in Bavaria at that time, and throw new light on the two Bavarian fresco cycles, for the first time conclusively identifying the date and artist of the ceiling frieze, and undermining the widely accepted view that either cycle is directly connected with the performance of 1568, and providing new information on the circumstances of the commedia dell'arte in Bavaria at that time. It is clear from this documentation that the Landshut frescoes have to be assessed not as they have been up until now, as simple celebrations of the Bavarian court's love of Italian comedy, but in the light of current attitudes to religion and art, Prince Wilhelm's piety, repression of carnival Zannis and sponsorship of Jesuit theatre, and most especially in the context of the complete programme of frescoes of which they form a minor part.

In Section II, I art-historically analyse three sets of prints in Stockholm's *Recueil Fossard* album, as well as the six paintings which are the subject of the article of 1943 by Sterling noted above, and a large group of Flemish pictures whose borrowings of motifs and settings from the prints of the Italian engraver Tempesta, here recognized for the first time, demonstrate the progressive stereotyping of commedia-related motifs which was already occurring around 1600. My discovery of five prints in the Bodleian Library led to the refinements which are here offered to an arrangement of eighteen of the *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts into visual highlights from a coherent commedia dell'arte plot. The original arrangement of nine further *Recueil Fossard* prints as one print is demonstrated. Their artist, Ambrogio Brambilla, and some of his further work is identified; this offers for the first time the nucleus of what may prove to be a significant iconography of precisely-dated sixteenth century commedia-related images by a named Italian engraver. Several further pictures, some relating to a third set of *Recueil Fossard* prints, are attributed to Ambrose I Francken.

The value of Sterling's contribution lies less in its results than in its method. Despite his unprecedentedly careful art-historical analysis, he was unable to attribute any of the six anonymous paintings which form the main subject of his article [1943], and denied the existence of any sixteenth century Italian commedia-related paintings. I identify several late sixteenth century paintings of commedia dell'arte street

performances by the Veneto artist Leandro Bassano, make tentative attributions for three of the six pictures in Sterling's⁴ article [1943] and associate them with a large body of related pictures, many not previously known to theatre historians. The other three I associate with Marten de Vos, an artist not previously noted in connection with the *commedia dell'arte*, and discuss the importance of this Antwerp artist for early *commedia*-related iconography. In no other currently identified artist's work are the sources and early manifestations of the *commedia dell'arte*, or its artistic conventions and potential, laid bare as clearly as in his pictures. They record the *commedia*'s influences, as well as fully-fledged acting troupes, their stage performances, court appearances and the use of comic types and motifs as vehicles for moralistic, allegorical and religious messages which, in transcending the dramatic content of the comedians' comic entertainments, blur the interpretation of these pictures as theatre-historical records.

The third and final section offers theatrical interpretation of these pictures, concentrating on three aspects: firstly, scenery, settings and stages; secondly, stock characters; and thirdly, multiple and serial images. It has become increasingly clear during the course of this research that it is, given the present state of knowledge concerning these pictures, only rarely possible to retrieve, or even assess the extent of, any specific theatre-historical information they potentially offer, such as the exact identity of the troupes depicted or the dates and locations of the depicted performances. However, most of these pictures offer a great deal of general theatre-historical information, concerning, for example, scenery, settings and staging, and the historical development, costumes, gestures, poses, props and accessories of the stock characters. Given the easily-accessible nature of such general information, the fact that this thesis represents the first large scale attempt at its systematic retrieval with respect to the *commedia dell'arte* in the period under consideration may perhaps be explained because many of these pictures are quite simply unknown to theatre historians.

Depictions of curtained platform stages have received a disproportionate share of critical attention in *commedia dell'arte* studies. Many pictures previously dismissed as showing nothing more than carnival revellers in *commedia* costume actually depict professional actors, and the early iconography depicts *commedia* actors on the whole range of staging, from cleared spaces and natural stages to elaborate perspective stages. The iconography is particularly informative concerning the costumes, gestures and accessories of the stock types. I have concentrated on early stock types, such as

the *tedesco* and *matachin*, which have received less emphasis. The pictures confirm that the early captain was as often depicted as a *tedesco* as a Spaniard or Italian, and that the two most frequently depicted other types of foreign commedia males are the Frenchman and the Turk. My analysis of the depiction of actress dress indicates a much wider use of the face mask than accepted by theatre historians, and four basic types of costume, those of the maid, the respectable *innamorata*, the courtesan, and Oriental-inspired costume, which I analyse in detail. Zanni costume has been associated with the dress of contemporary Venetian peasants, porters and servants. Incidental depictions and costume book plates of these types show unsatisfactory discrepancies, and archival evidence newly presented here, and strongly supported by the iconographic evidence, offers an explanation not previously recognized by theatre historians, namely a composite source whose most important elements, the carnival mask and sailor suit, are non-rustic.

Iconographic links between depictions of northern carnival processions and processions including stock commedia characters are also investigated. The widespread depiction of characters in *buffone* and *matachin* (armed *moresca* dance or dancer) costume in conjunction with professional actors, by a broad range of early artists of many European nationalities, is an indication that this is not simply an artistic convention, but (in direct contradiction to authorities such as Posner, writing on Callot's *Balli* engravings), reflects genuine performance practice. It is yet another confirmation of the versatility of the early Italian comedians, and indicates that further researches into the iconographic connections between the *moresca* dance and the commedia dell'arte could prove very fruitful. An analysis of the relatively few surviving early depictions of Harlequin suggests that, in contrast to *matachin* depictions, many of them are artistic stereotypes based on a very limited number of iconographic precedents.

Section III concludes with a brief consideration of the significance of multiple and serial images, and applies this method to several examples, to indicate its potential for further research. These include an analysis of a previously unknown games-board of 1589, on which I have been able to identify the earliest depictions of some of the rôles then associated with the actors of the most famous early commedia troupe, the Gelosi company; which give valuable indications concerning their costumes and appearance. It is because, not in spite of, the fact that the artist of this games-board is less talented and imaginative than Callot, that the documentary importance of his depictions of professional performers is so much greater.

This thesis presents by far the largest body of pre-1621 commedia-related iconography ever gathered together, of which a significant proportion is unpublished in this connection prior to my own publications. Many of the pictures first reproduced in my publications, as well as some of my new evidence concerning dating and attributions, have already entered the mainstream of theatre history, and I have been able to benefit from the valuable comments of theatre historians on these pictures during the course of my research. My research identifies numerous named artists, German, Flemish, and Italian, the majority not previously associated with the commedia dell'arte, who have played a rôle in developing its pre-1621 iconography. Stylistic and compositional connections between the pictures are investigated, as an aid to more accurate dating, in order to relate them to particular artists, and to gain an idea of the influence of iconographic precedents, notably a number of very influential and widely circulated prints, not all themselves depicting commedia-related motifs.

My generously inclusive approach to the iconography has had the beneficial effect of identifying a large number of relevant new pictures. On the negative side, the very quantity of material under consideration means that individual pictures, including some of very great theatre-historical significance, are often treated only very superficially. With many of these pictures, every effort to establish reliable indications concerning dating and attribution has so far failed to yield firm data, or resulted in admittedly only very minor contributions to our knowledge of the commedia dell'arte. This thesis is primarily intended as a broad base for future studies, and there is considerable potential for further research in this area.

On the positive side, significant advances are here offered in our understanding of at least some of the most important early pictures of the commedia dell'arte, of their artist, date and place of production, the contribution which they can make to interpretations of the early Italian comedians, and of the pitfalls of extracting documentary evidence from visual records of the early commedia dell'arte. The theatre-historical analyses in Section III, and particularly those of the costumes and props of selected stock types, has benefitted from an incomparably more comprehensive selection of iconographic material than any previous similar studies, and firmer evidence concerning its dating and provenance. My research has also proved fruitful in instances where I have been able to bring together new visual and written evidence, for example with respect to Zanni costume, as described above, and to carnival street revels, where iconographic links between depictions of northern

carnival processions and processions including stock commedia characters confirm those suggested in written documentation. My inclusive approach has contributed towards the marked rehabilitation of carnival pictures which is evident in the most recent scholarship in this area, and the broad overview provided by my work suggests new avenues of enquiry, such as links between commedia costumes and carnival mumming.

My systematic collation of previous research, my own new discoveries, and attributions and reattributions of some of these pictures, have enabled me to identify significant bodies of commedia-related pictures by a number of named late renaissance artists not previously associated with theatre iconography, a contribution which is both showing me where to look for further material, and also stimulating research by other scholars in this area. Analysis of the iconography strongly supports the view that the renaissance Italian comedians had multiple roots: both in the theatre and in traditional folk customs; or more specifically in amateur humanist comedy, professional entertainment and carnival ritual. The 'hybrid vigour' achieved by combining the most positive elements of these disparate sources gave them their fertile creativity and wide appeal, and they have left their mark in the early iconography. The written documentation and iconography presented here support the view that all year round professional theatre originated in a fusion between the skills of professional *buffoni*, musicians and dancers, carnival street improvisers and the amateur humanist stage, which first successfully came together in mid-sixteenth century Italy, in the antics of Zanni and Pantalone. Analysis of these pictures has also confirmed that, by the early seventeenth century, the iconography, like the commedia dell'arte itself, was, for the most part, settling into a predictable routine based on precedents and conventions.

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**A STUDY IN THE COMMEDIA
DELL'ARTE 1560-1620
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE VISUAL RECORDS**

Two volumes:

I Text

II Plates

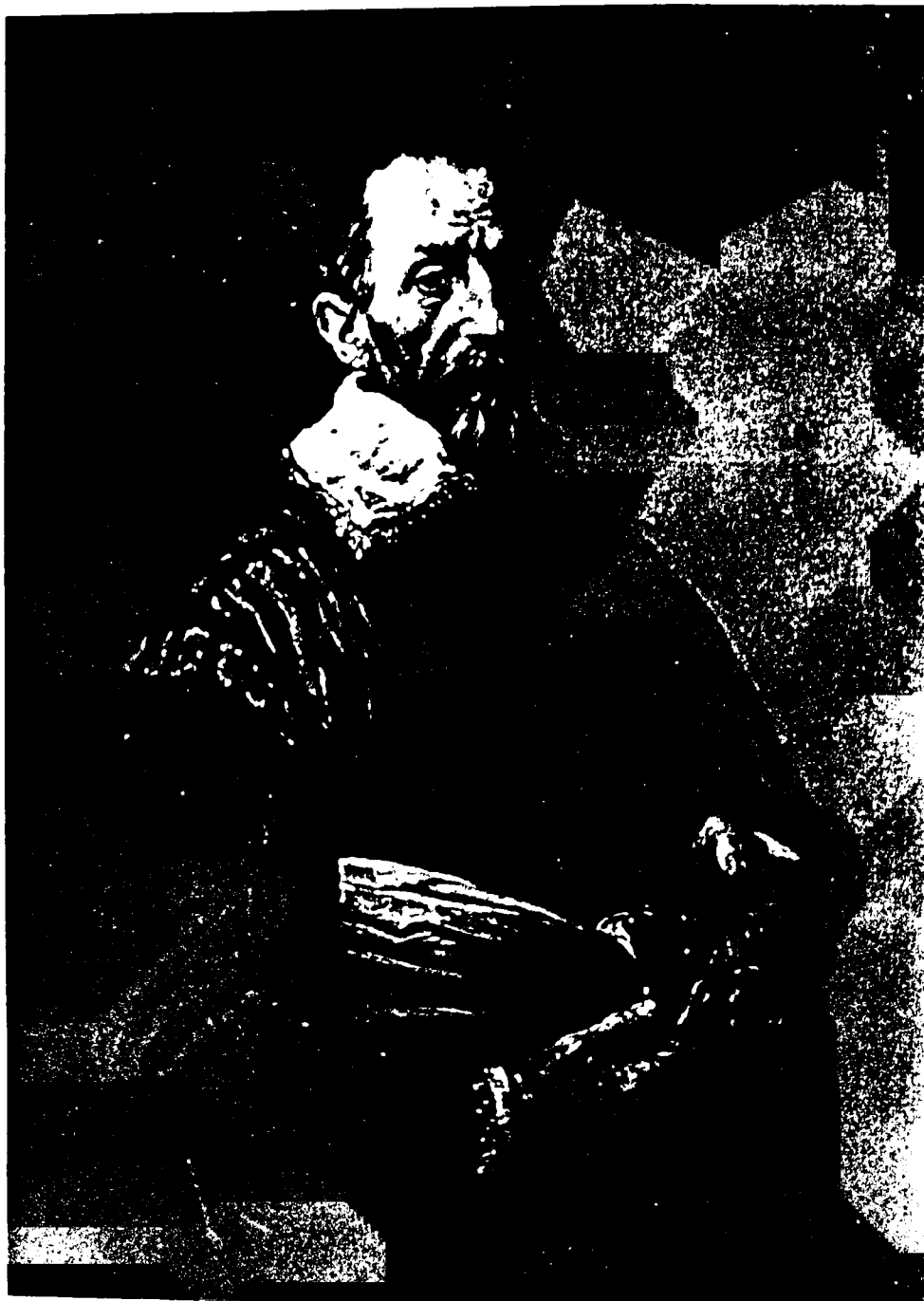
Thesis submitted for the Degree of DPhil.
in the Faculty of Modern History, 1994-95

M.A. Katritzky
St. Catherine's College
University of Oxford

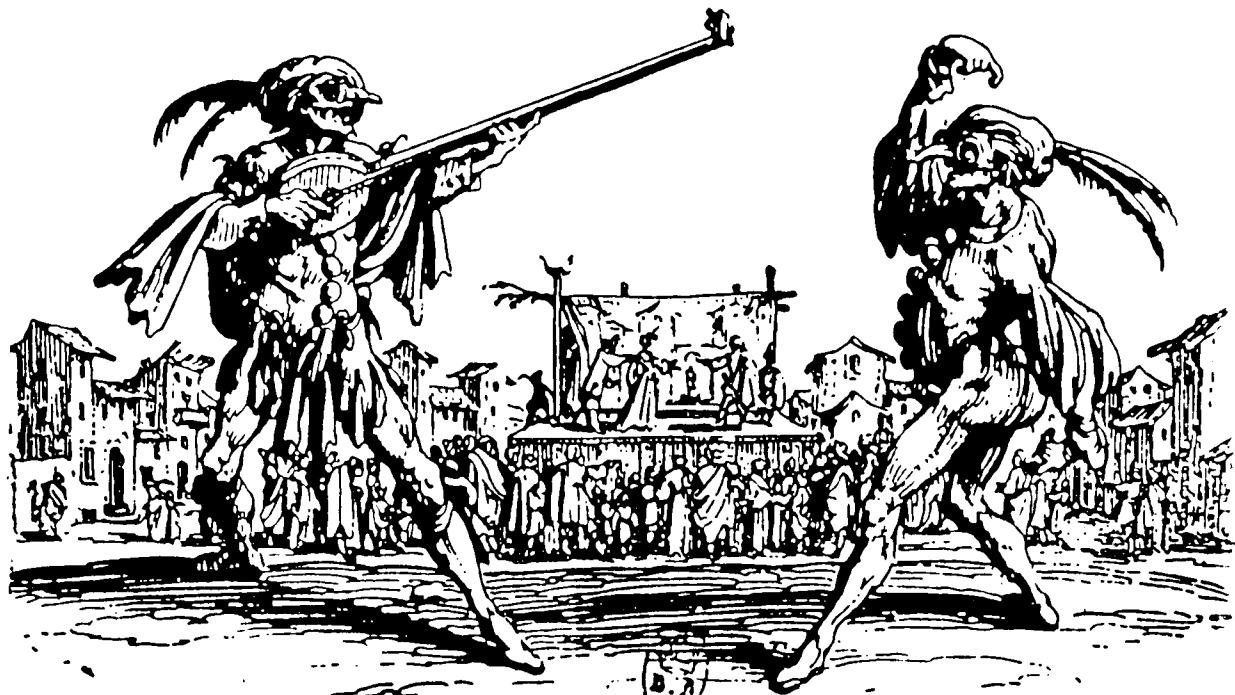
Supervisors:

Professor R.J.W. Evans, Brasenose College
Dr. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, Exeter College

1 Domenico Fetti, *Portrait of a commedia dell'arte actor*, c.1621, oil on canvas, 105x81 cm. Hermitage, Leningrad (inv.no.153)



2 Jacques Callot, scene from the *Balli di Sfessania*, c.1621, engraving



Razullo.

Cucurucu.



Fracischina.

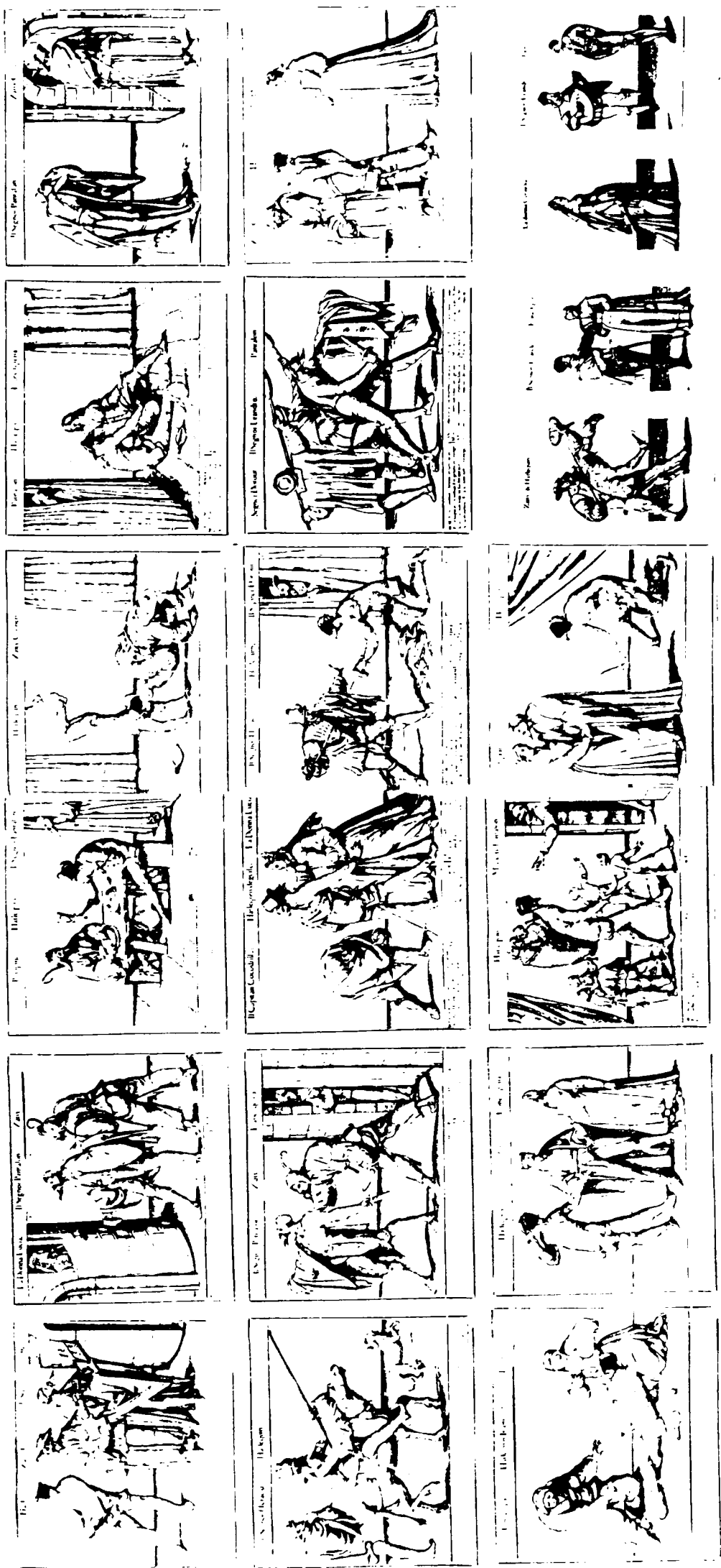
Gian Farina.



Pasquariello Truonno.

Meo Squaqua

***6 [=NMB/1]** Composite prepared from reproductions of eighteen woodcuts, arranged in a 3x6 format to reflect a three act commedia dell'arte performance, each act represented by six pictures. Woodcuts, individual dimensions, 24x28 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*)



Harlequin.



Capitan Cocodrillo.

La donna Lucia.



Caché de mon manteau, le fœuray le fecret
De ce faux Harlequin, q' fous l'habit d'Horace,
V'entz louit finement de entrer en la grace,
-cette Dame cy, qui l'estime discret.

Mais Choualleg & Seigneur estrange,
Arrivé d'outre mer pour vo' veoir ma maitresse,
Jamais ne marquerez de biens ni de richesses,
Si voulez comme ami ce so'uit me loger. . . .

Pour vo' rendre (mondeur) en ce cas l'arist-
Veu q' s'ait vous m'aimet, vo' auez louit la
De ce que defers, tout à vostre plaifance,
Pour l'or & les prefets, la fême beaucoup fa-

Francatrippa.

Harlequin.



La gaie veut gagner la Francatrippa aux ames,
-Rue Harlequin, le l'antay malgre toy,
a rôté ce q' d'ellor, côme aux d'ames,
Hate ten le gallant, la victorie d'ames.

M. y a l'oungendo pour le moins de dix p. r.
Plu de mous q' Mous M. y saillit Harlequin,
L'oungendo n' a boudant a l'empreser,
Sous qu' c'ouste a l'empreser ce coupin.

10 *Harlequin with Agnan's troupe*, woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard* f.4, NM 2193/1904)

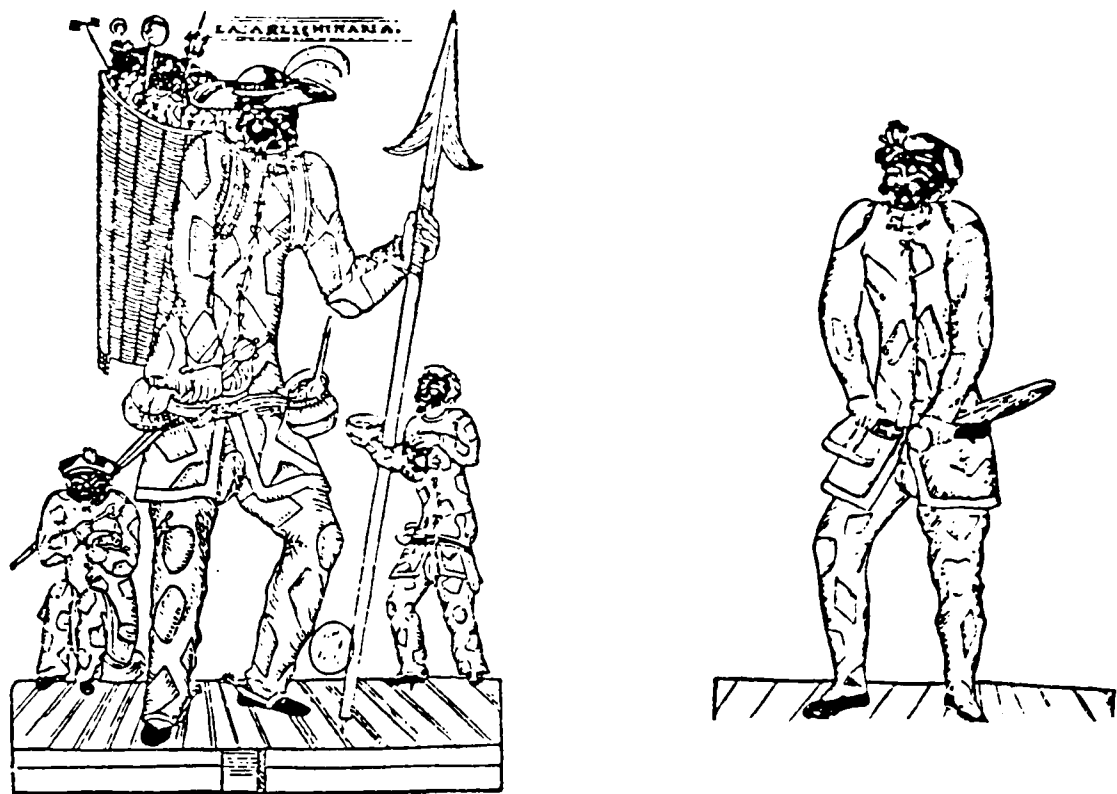


11 *Harlequin with French actors*, woodcut. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (reconstruction from three *Recueil Fossard* prints, taken from Hallar 1977, fig.25)

12 {Frans I Pourbus}, *Commedia dell'arte performance*, oil on panel, 80x85 cm. Municipal Museum, Bayeux



13 *Facétie. Scène de comédie*, c.1599?, watercolour. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Hennin G151510)



***16** [= TRI/IV] Hieronymus I Francken, *Venetian Carnival*, signed and dated 1565, oil on panel, 42x65 cm. Suermondt-Ludwig Museum, Aachen

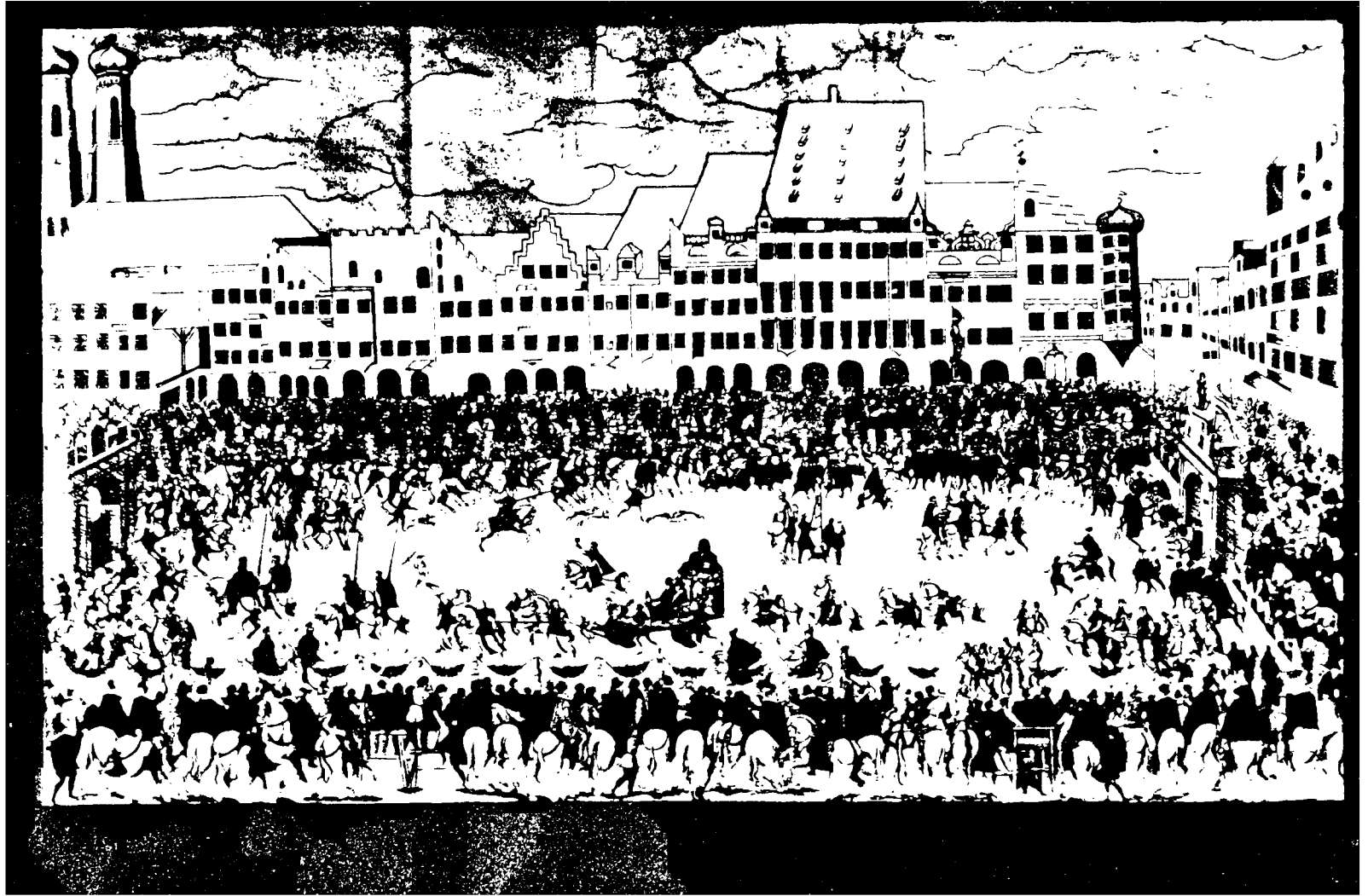


17 STYLE OF BRAMBILLA {ANON}, *Comic masks*, oil, Scala Theatre Museum, Milan

***18 [=MII/30-1] *Archduke Ferdinand of Austria's triumphal waggon*, 1568, fold-out woodcut from Wirre's festival book of 1568. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar.1023, ff.37-8)**



*19 [=MII/32] Nikolas Solis, *Archduke Ferdinand's waggon at the tournament parade of 24 February 1568*, coloured engraving from Wagner's festival book of 1568. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Rar.633, directly following f.40)



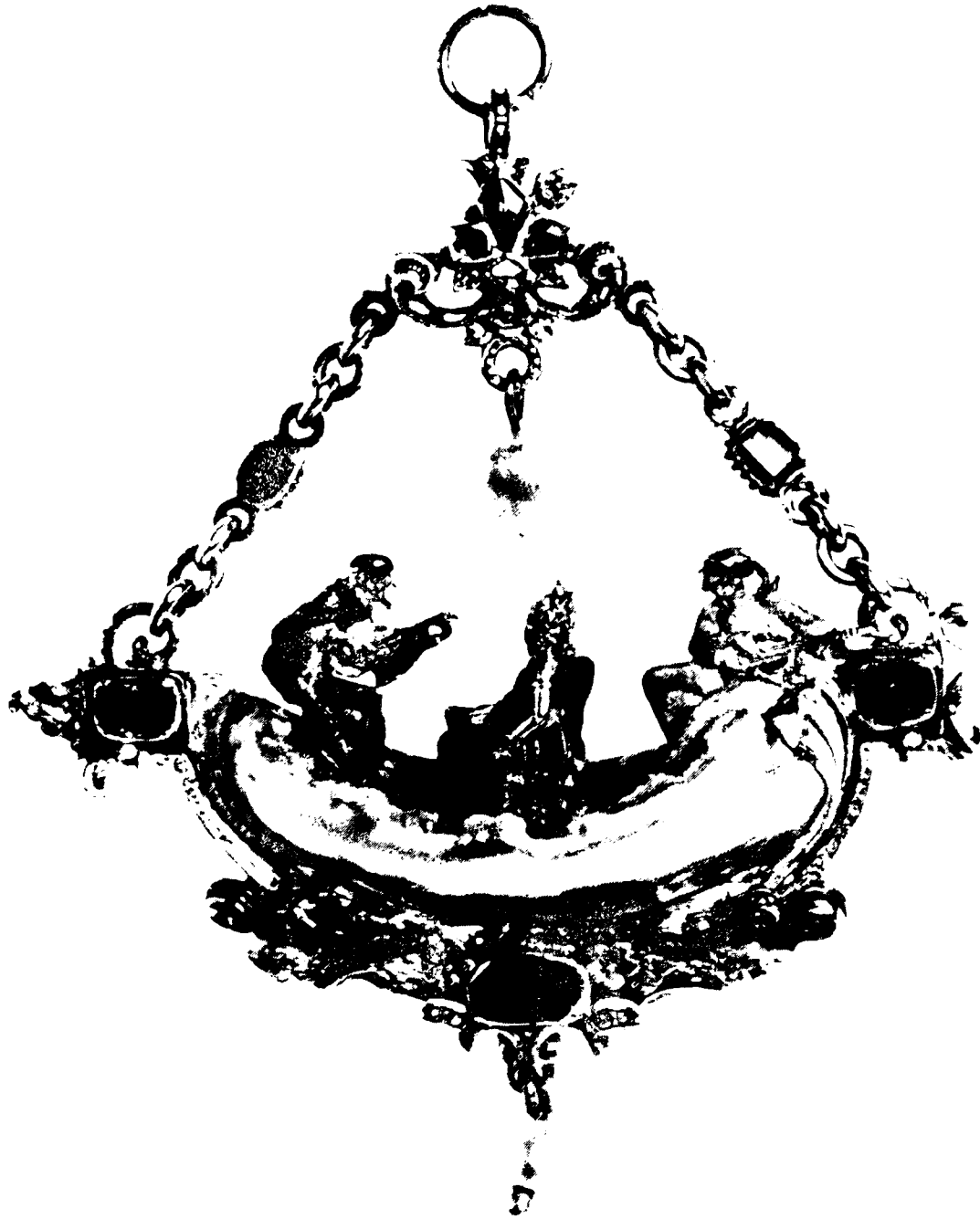
*20-1 [=MII/33] Paduano, *Commedia dell'arte* scenes, c.1578, lifesize fresco. Narrentreppe, Burg Trausnitz, Landshut



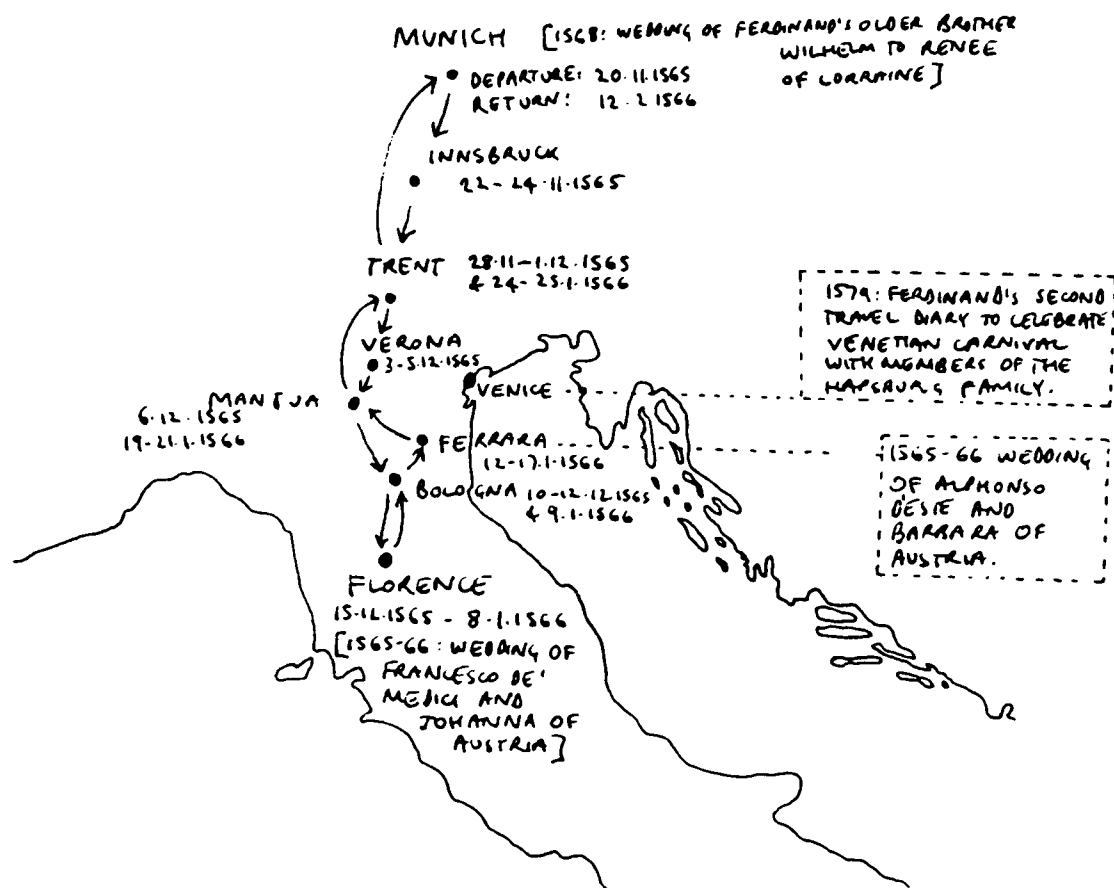
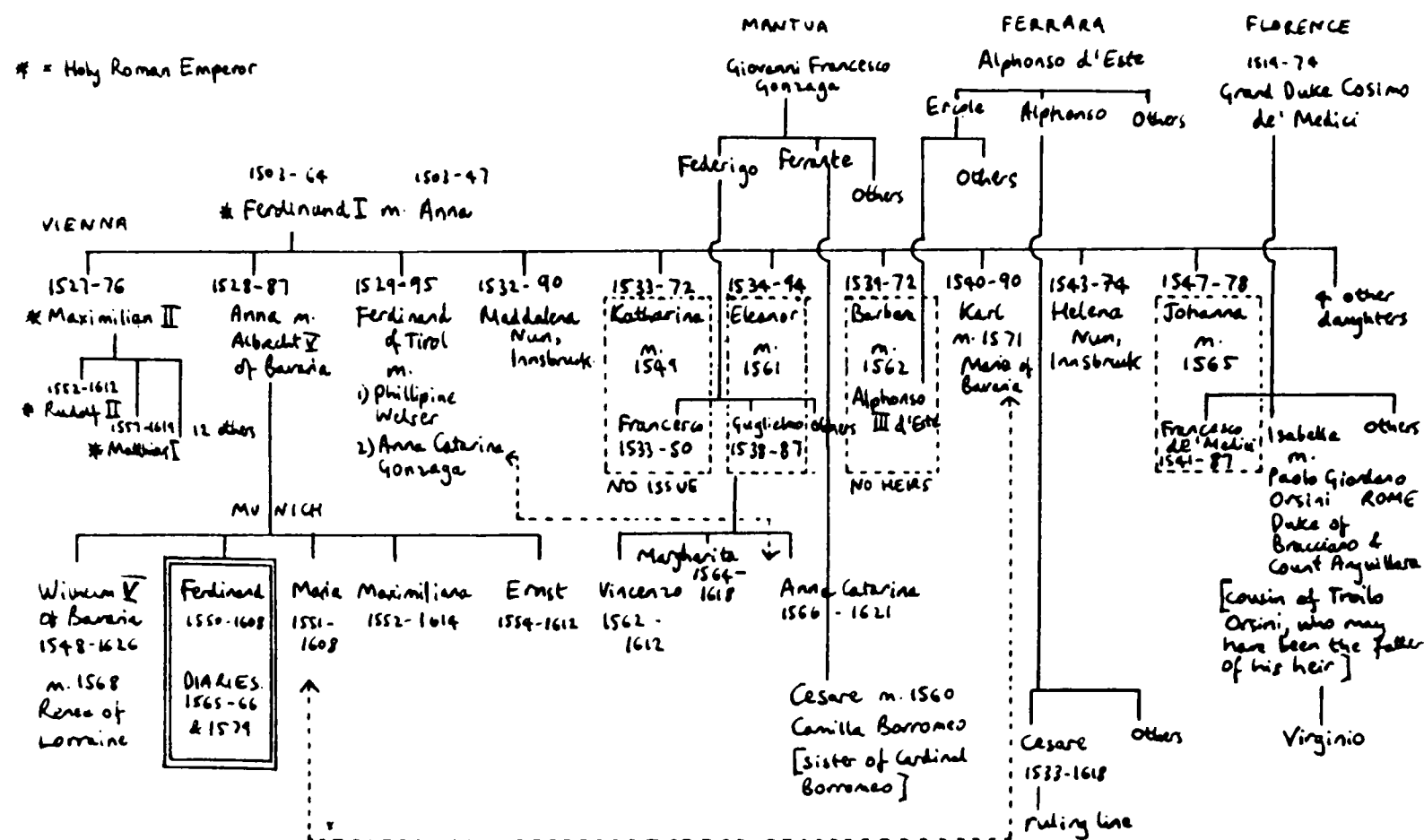
22-3 CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ & PUPILS {Paduano and Sustris}, *Commedia dell'arte* scenes, 16-scene ceiling frieze: overall view and details, signed and dated 1576 (as noted in a previously-unknown manuscript in the Munich archives), fresco. Destroyed by fire in 1962, formerly Ehrenlohnzimmer, Burg Trausnitz, Landshut



***24** [= TRI/II] Giovanni Battista Scolari (?), *Magnifico and Zanni serenading two lovers in a gondola*, enamelled gold and jewelled pendant, 6.5x5.5 cm. Museo degli Argenti, Pitti Palace, Florence (similar jewels: Wien Hofmuseum, reproduced, Schlosser 1908, fig.59; Paris Musée de Cluny, noted, Hackenbroch 1965, 205)



*25 [=MII/24] Family tree showing the relationship between the Dukes of Bavaria, the Habsburgs and the ruling houses of Ferrara, Florence and Mantua in the mid-sixteenth century



*26 [=MII/35] Ferdinand of Bavaria's route from Munich to Florence, 1565-6

***27** = [TRI/V] Joachim van Schwoll, *Costumed carnival revellers*, ink, leaf from a sketchbook. British Museum, London.



28 Joos van Winghe, *Night festival*, ink with white body colour, 36x46cm, Staatliches Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden

***29 [=MII/29]** Raphael Sadeler after Stradanus (=Jan van der Straet), *Death at the feast*, signed, engraving, 22x28.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



***30 [=MI/37]** Jan I Sadeler after Joos van Winghe, *Night Festival*, engraving, 37x45 cm. signed and dated 1588 in the plate. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***31** [=MII/39] Joachim van Schwoll, *Six dancing masks and a dying Pantalone*, ink, 30x20 cm. British Museum, London



32 Joachim van Schwoll, *Masked revellers*, ink, 19x31 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam, 1939)



die Armuth zu gebrauchen nützlich.

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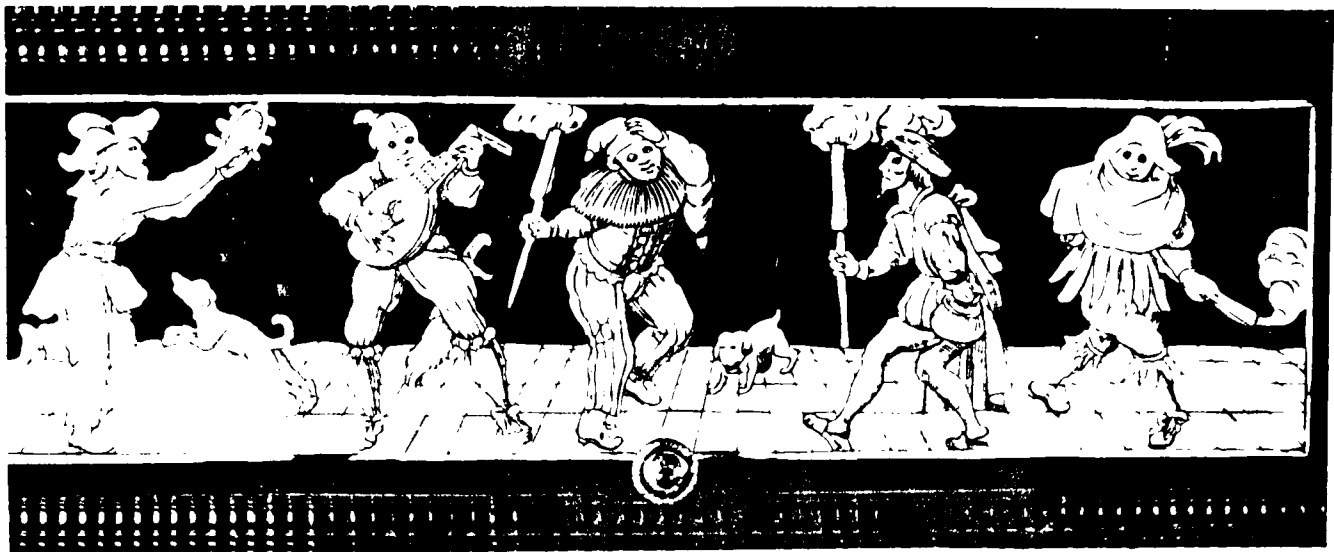


Verhalb k'lern die Jung mit Alt.
Das er mag in allen d'ingen halt.



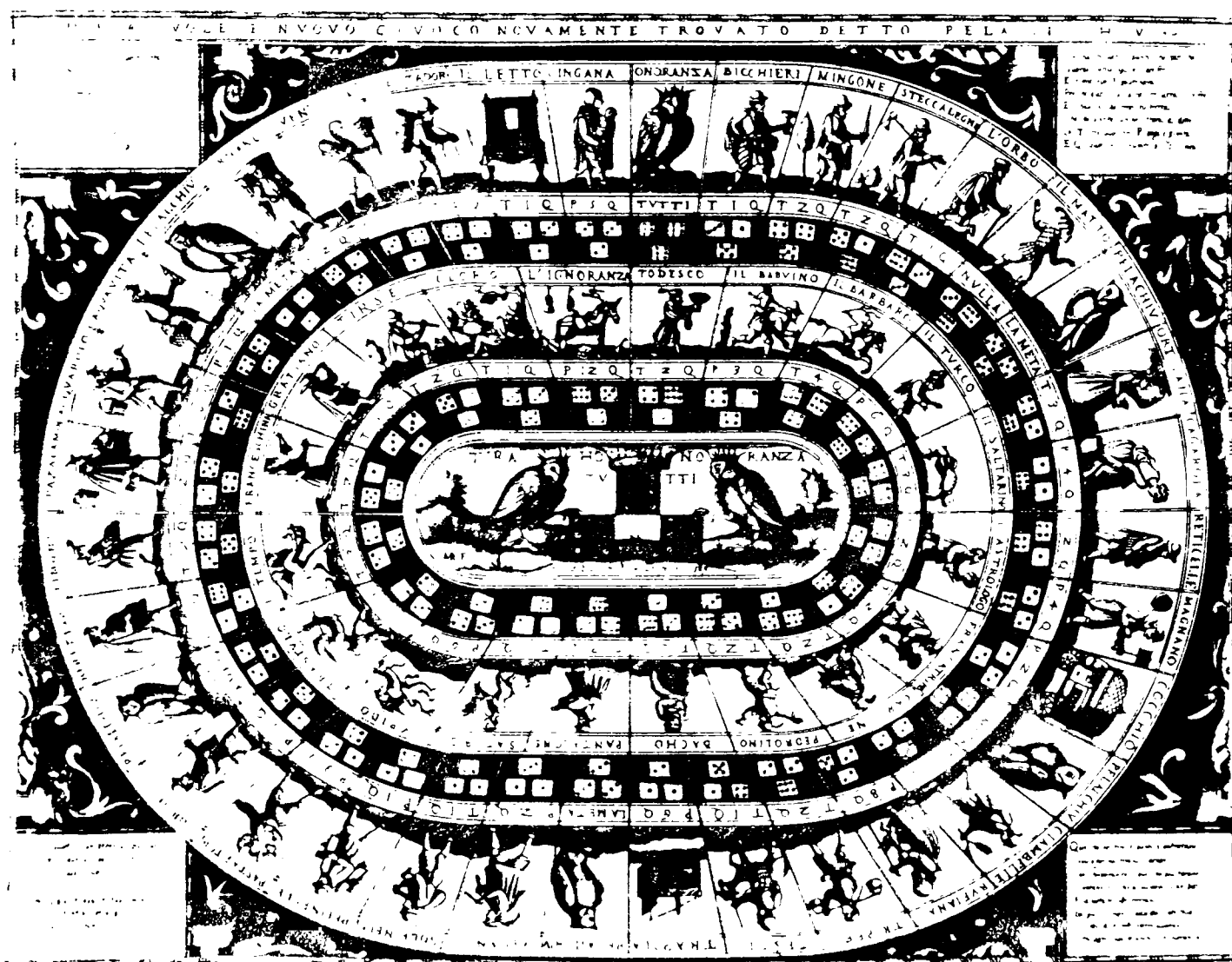
CCXX

35 *Five comic masks and two dogs*, ivory inlay panel on ebony chest (4th drawer down on RHS), Uvrustkammaren, Hallwylska Museet, Skoklosters Slott, nr. Stockholm



36 *Carnival scenes*, ink and colour. Album amicorum, Yale University Library, Rare Books (Loebel), Harvard, New Have

***37** [= TRI/III] CIRCLE OF HANS MIELICH AND CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ
 {anon.} *Itinerant entertainers at an Alpine Germanic court festival*, oil on
 panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm



***38** [=PQ/173] Ambrogio Brambilla, *Gamesboard*, signed and dated 1589, print, 40.5x52.5 cm. British Museum, London

RECUEIL.

DE.

*Plusieurs fragments des premieres comedies
Italiennes qui ont esté representees en
France sous le regne de Henry 3*

Où lon uoit les differents Caracteres qu'ils donnoient a leurs
Auteurs, et les intrigues de leurs pieces meflées de
bouffonnerie, & de beaucoup de
licences.

AVEC.

*Les habillemens de tous leurs personnages tant serieux, que comiques dont les plus
considerables estoient le seig.^r Leandre, la Dona Cornelia, Francisquine Harle-
quin, le seig.^r Dottor, Pantalon, & Zani qui ont esté les Originaux, &
les modèles des autres Comediens qui ont paru en suite sous les regnes
de Henry 4^e et Louis 13.^e*

LOUIS LE GRAND.

Letout gravé en plusieurs estampes dont il y a quelques
unes d'enluminées

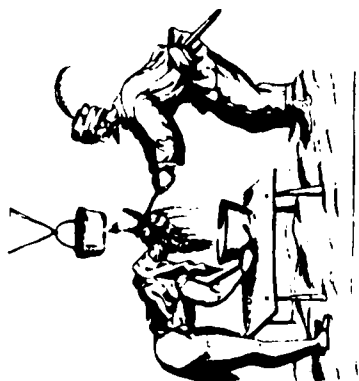
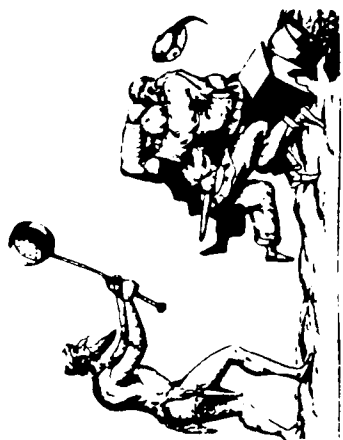
*Et mis en ordre par le Sieur Fossard .
Ordinaire de la Musique .*

DU ROY.

Car. G. Tessier.



****40-1** [=PQ/174-5] *Recueil Fossard*, folios 34r and 35r, showing ten prints, nine of them cut-outs from an etching by Ambrogio Brambilla {anon}. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



***42** [=MI/10] *Pantolon chez sa Dame*, engraving. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*, f.16r, top print, NM 2216/1904)



Pantolon chez sa Dame en mulle veut aller
neimonte desus qui le tourmente & picque
Dont Pantolon se plant mais Zam luy replique
Tais toy qui vit Jamais une mulle parler



***43a** [= NMB/6] Variant of *Recueil Fossard* woodcut, print, 11x8cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxfor

***43b-e** [=NMB/7-10] Variants of *Recueil Fossard* woodcuts, prints, each 11x8cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



44 {Follower of Lodewyk Toeput}, *Harlequin greeting Lilia, with Leandro and Lucia in attendance*, oil on panel, 28.5x46cm. PWU (art market, London, 1986)



45 Sebastian Vrancx, *The comic duel*, oil on panel, 21.5x46cm. PWU (art market, London, 1973)

46 Vrancx, *Harlequin and his children*, dated 1619, oil, 27x37cm. PWU (art market, London, 1978)



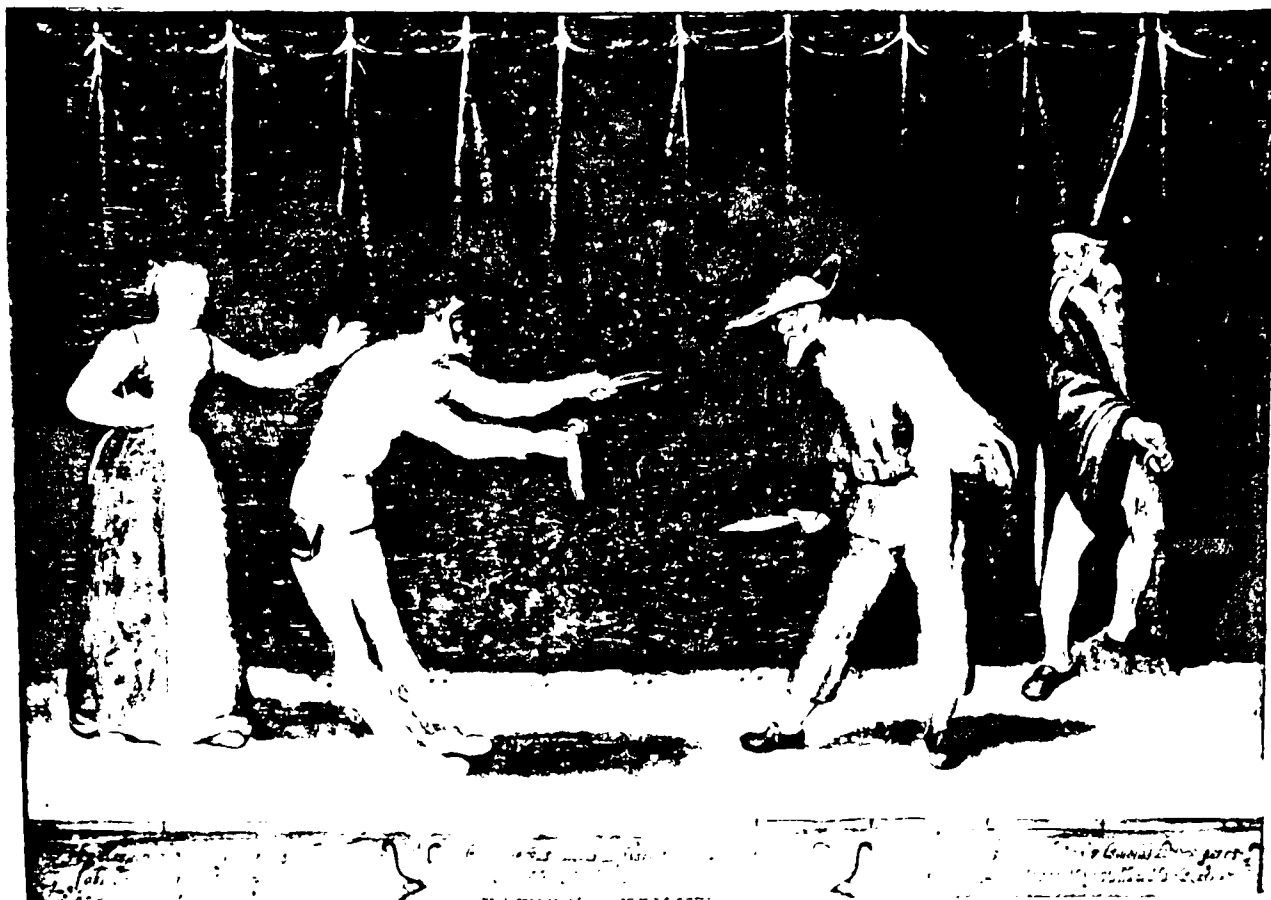
47 Louis de Caulery, *Pantalone at the gate*, oil on panel, 24x36.5cm. PWU (artmarket, Monaco, 1991)

***48** [=NMB/2] *The comic serenade*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm



***49** [=NMB/3] *Harlequin disguised*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm

***50** [=NMB/4] *The comic duel*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm



51 STUDIO OF MARTEN DE VOS {anon. French}, *Harlequin disguised*, oil on panel, 20.5x26". Private collection, UK

*52 [= PQ/171] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon.}, *Cucina per il pasto de Zan Trippu*, signed and dated 1583, print. Biblioteca Teatrale del Burcardo, Rome

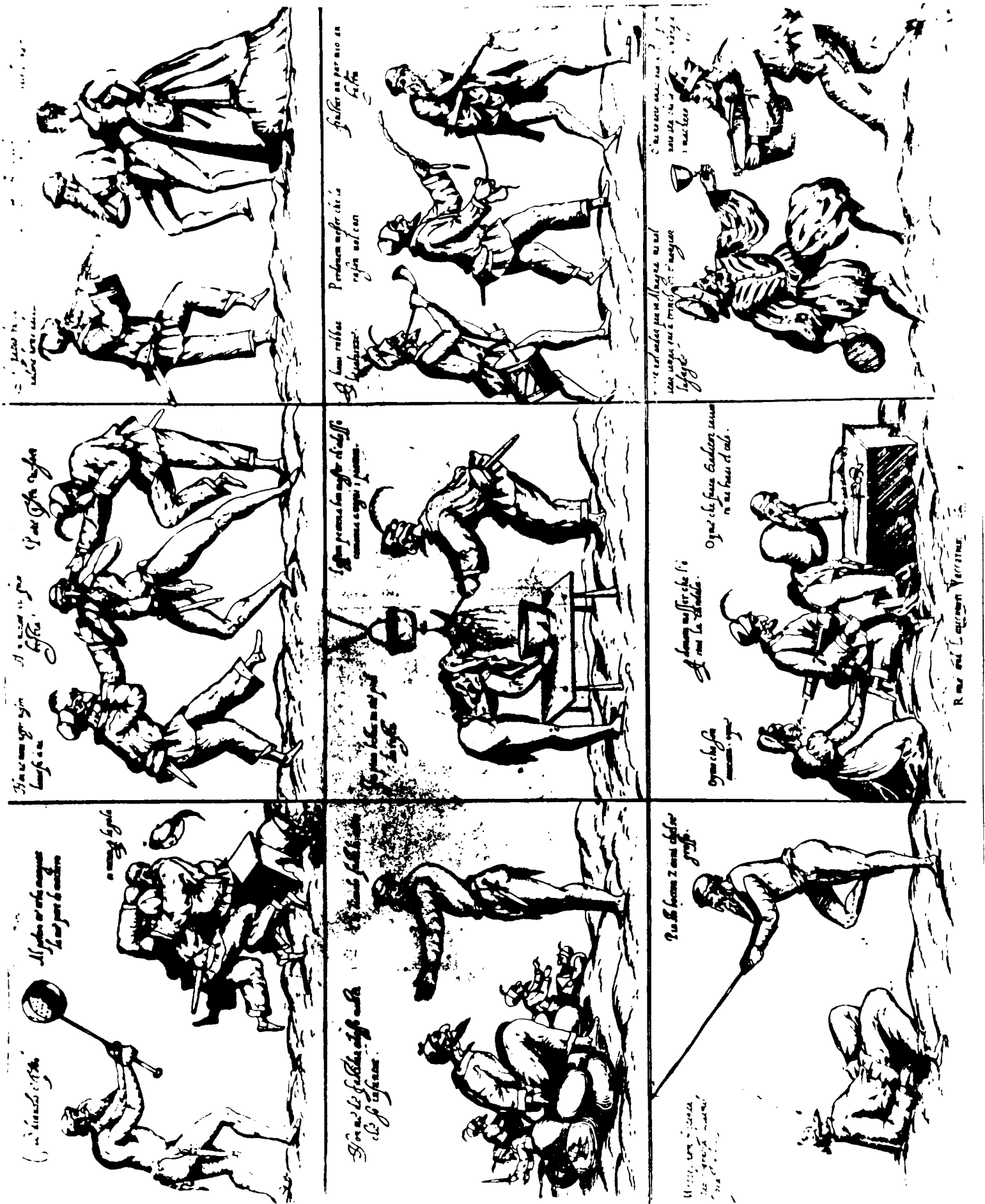


Il ballo, una ballata, in cui fanno nelle sue nozze quindici persone, e più M. Francesco e Pantalone che si muove a la sua volta.



*53 [= PQ/172] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon.}, *Il bellissimo ballo di Zan Trippu*, dated 1583, print. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

*54 [=PQ/176] AMBROGIO BRAMBILLA {anon}, *Che diavolo e' questo*, signed in monogram, print, 39x48 cm. British Museum, London



*55 [=MI/5] AFTER AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {H. Lieftrinck}, *Comedie ou farce de six parsonnaiges*, engravings. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (*Recueil Fossard*, f.45r, NM 2267-2268/1904)



Il s'agit d'un cocu.
Chenu vieillardi est grand cocu et fort infame. *A qui les cornes n'ont faicune belle haine.*



***56** [=RS/4] AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {French school, c.1600}, *A scene from a play: an old man cuckolded*, panel, 25x34 cm. PWU (art market, London 1980)



***57** [=RS/1] AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {Lodewyk Toeput}, *The delivery of the love letter*, tempera on card mounted on panel, 24.5x37 cm. PWU (art market, London 1970)

*58 [= RS/2] AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {Lodewyk Toeput}, *The beating of the presumptuous lover*, tempera on card mounted on panel, 24.5x37 cm. PWU (art market, London 1970)



*59 [= RS/3] Ambrose I Francken, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, signed, pen and ink, 23x35.5 cm. Fodor Collection, Historisch Museum, Amsterdam

60 AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {Pieter Pourbus, F. Pourbus the younger}, *Italian comedians*, oil on panel, 54x73 cm. PWU (art market, Antwerp 1928-33)



61 CIRCLE OF AMBROSE I FRANCKEN {anon. French}, *Italian comedians on stage*, oil on canvas, 95x147 cm. Carnavalet Museum, Paris

***62** [= TRI/VI] After Stradanus {Flemish sixteenth century}, *Death at the feast*, oil on panel, 94x132 cm. Private collection, photo courtesy National Galleries of Scotland



63 After Stradanus {Pourbus}, *Allegory of riches*, oil on panel. PWU (art market, Antwerp 1934)

Cinquant'anni fa, Roma confutava
A Febbrua i suoi Ludi, onde fu detto
A' Ludi in nome del tal Dio Febbrua
L'uso Sardonapal prende diletto

FEBBRAIO

Qui forte la Piazza s'è rapata
E all'uso di Febbrua il buon costume eleva

Nella Piazza s'è rapata
E all'uso di Febbrua il buon costume eleva



66 lust. Sadler after Tempesta, *Febraro*, signed, engraving, 20x27.5 cm.
Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



67 Marco Sadeler after Tempesta, *Februarius*, signed, engraving, 13x18 cm.
Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

68 Jan I Bruegel, *Roman carnival*, oil on copper, diameter 12 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich



69 Jan I Bruegel and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of worldly vanities*, oil on canvas, 62x102 cm. Private collection, Spain

70 CIRCLE OF SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Carnival revellers at a tourney*, oil on panel, 55x73 cm. PWU (art market, London 1985)



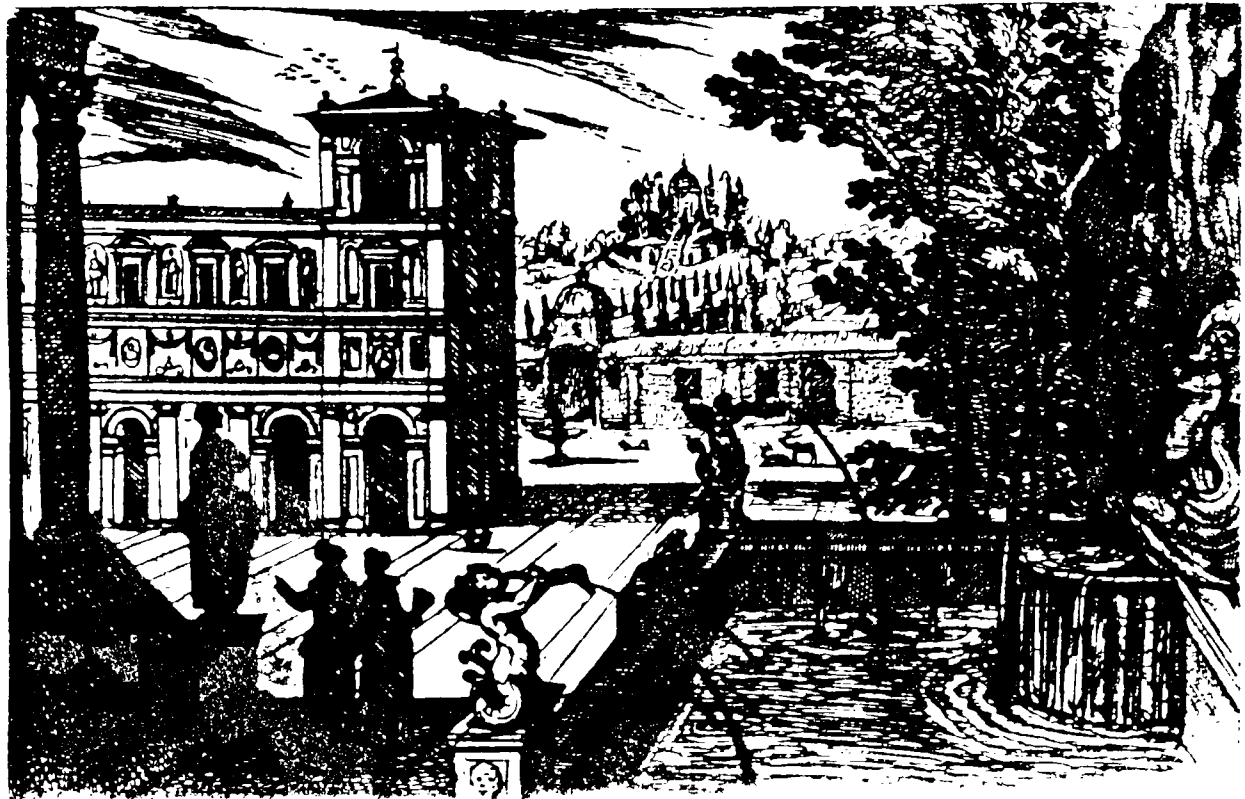
71 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Village and Party*, oil on panel, 50x70 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1979, 1982)

72 STUDIO OF SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Carnival revellers at a tourney*, oil on panel. Private collection, France



*73 [= RS/12] Louis de Caulery, *The Carnival*, signed, oil on panel, 55x90 cm. Kunsthalle, Hambur

74 Antonio Tempesta, *Fountain in a palace courtyard*, engraving, 12.5x17.5 cm. (Taken from Bartsch)



75 L. Caulery, *Strolling players*, 1598, coloured drawing. Bibliothèque Municipale, Cambrai

76 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival scene*, oil on panel, 53x74.5 cm. Private collection, Spain



77 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival on the ice*, 59x98 cm. Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp

78 Louis de Caulery (workshop), *Carnival in a town square*, oil on panel, 100x134 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford



79 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival celebrations*, oil on panel, 36.5x60 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1955, 1972)

80 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival in Flanders*, dated 1.1.1604, oil on panel, 54x71 cm. University of Kansas Museum of Art, Lawrence



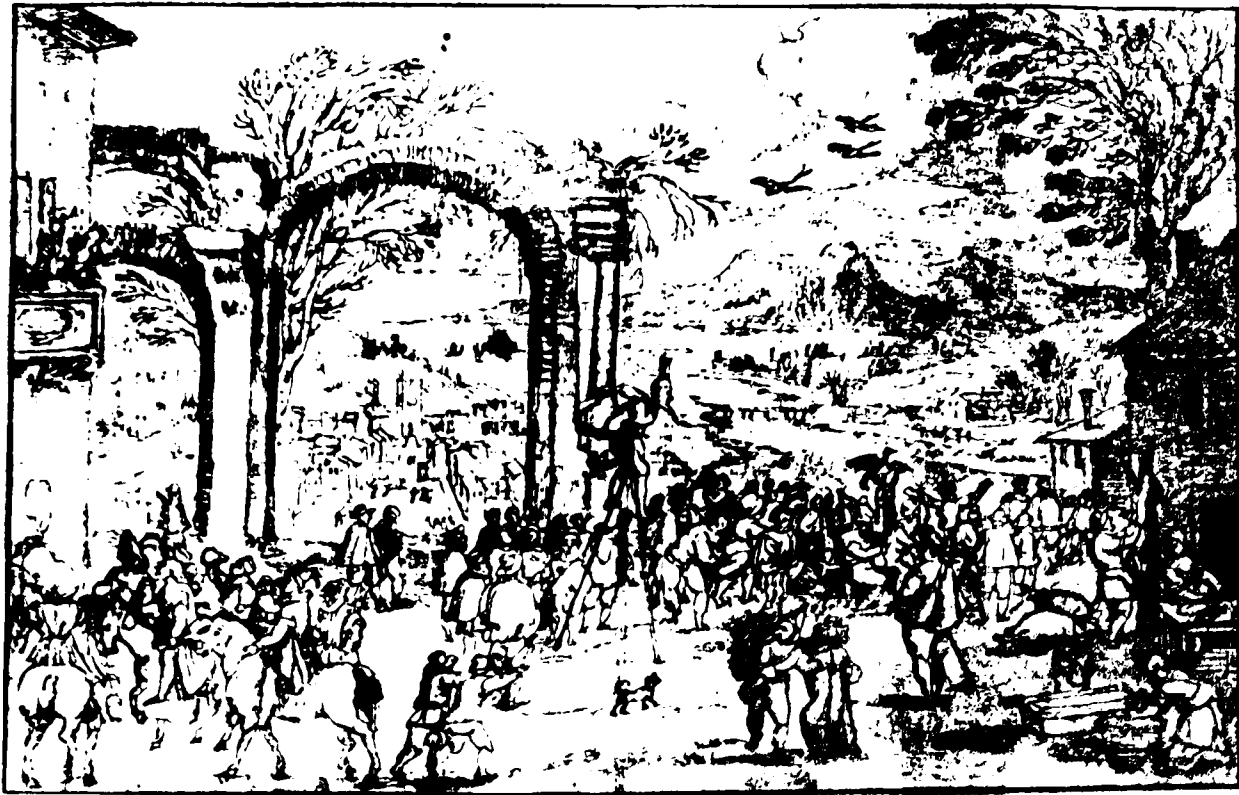
81 Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne, *Carnival scene*, oil on panel, 77x105cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1908)

82 Dennis van Alsloot, *Carnival*, oil on panel, 77x108 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1926)



83 LOUIS DE CAULERY {Anon. Flemish}, *Carnival*, dated 1605, oil on panel, 125x186 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1930)

***84** [=RS/9] LOUIS DE CAULERY {H.Bol; Momper; Toeput}, *January/Carnival*, pen, ink and wash, 22x35 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



85 Louis de Caulery, *Winter landscape with Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 62x87 cm. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (no.190)

86 PIETER BALTEN {Louis de Caulery}, *A contest between the fishermen's guild and the butchers' guild*, oil, 70x105 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978)



87 Pieter Balten {Flemish school, early seventeenth century}, *Fight between Carnival and Lent*, 30x24 cm, signed in monogram. PWU (art market, Geneva 1935, Basle 1937)

88 PIETER BALDEN {Flemish school, Frans Francken}, *Fight between Carnival and Lent*, oil on panel, 98x125 cm. PWU (art market, Bern 1935, Geneva 1935)



89 Antonio Tempesta, *Gennaro*, from *The Months I*, 1599, engraving, 18.9x27.4 cm. (Taken from Bartsc

90-91 Antonio Tempesta, *Aprile, Maggio*, from *The Months I*, 1599, engravings, each 18.9x27.4 cm. (Taken from Bartsch)





94 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {David Vinckeboons}, *The fête*, 41.5x52.5".
PWU (art market, New York 1931)



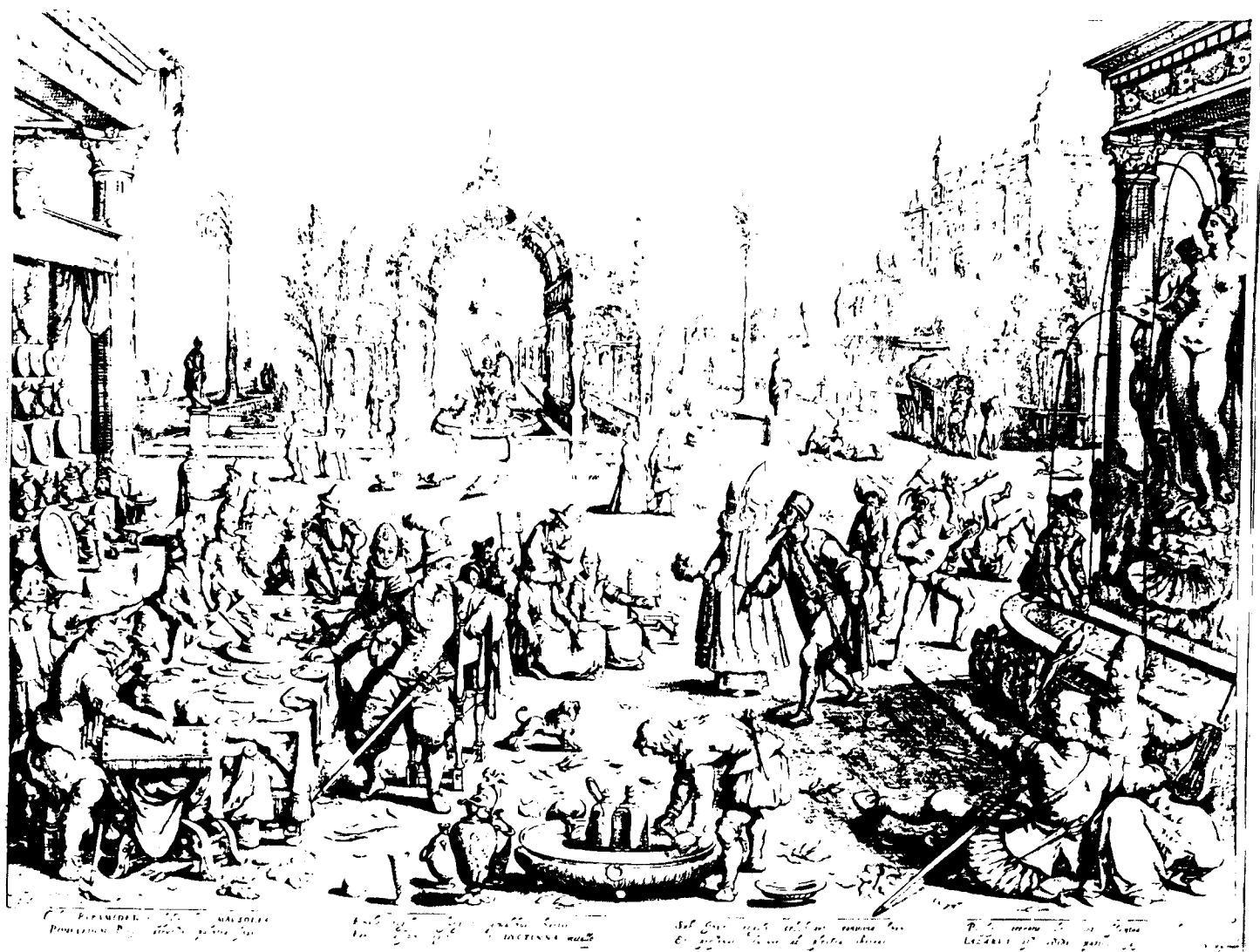
95 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {David Vinckeboons}, *Fête champêtre*, oil on
copper, 20x26". PWU (art market, London 1925)

96 VRANCX & BALEN {Hendrik van Balen}, *Summer fête*, signed in monogram, oil on copper, 45x66 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1966)



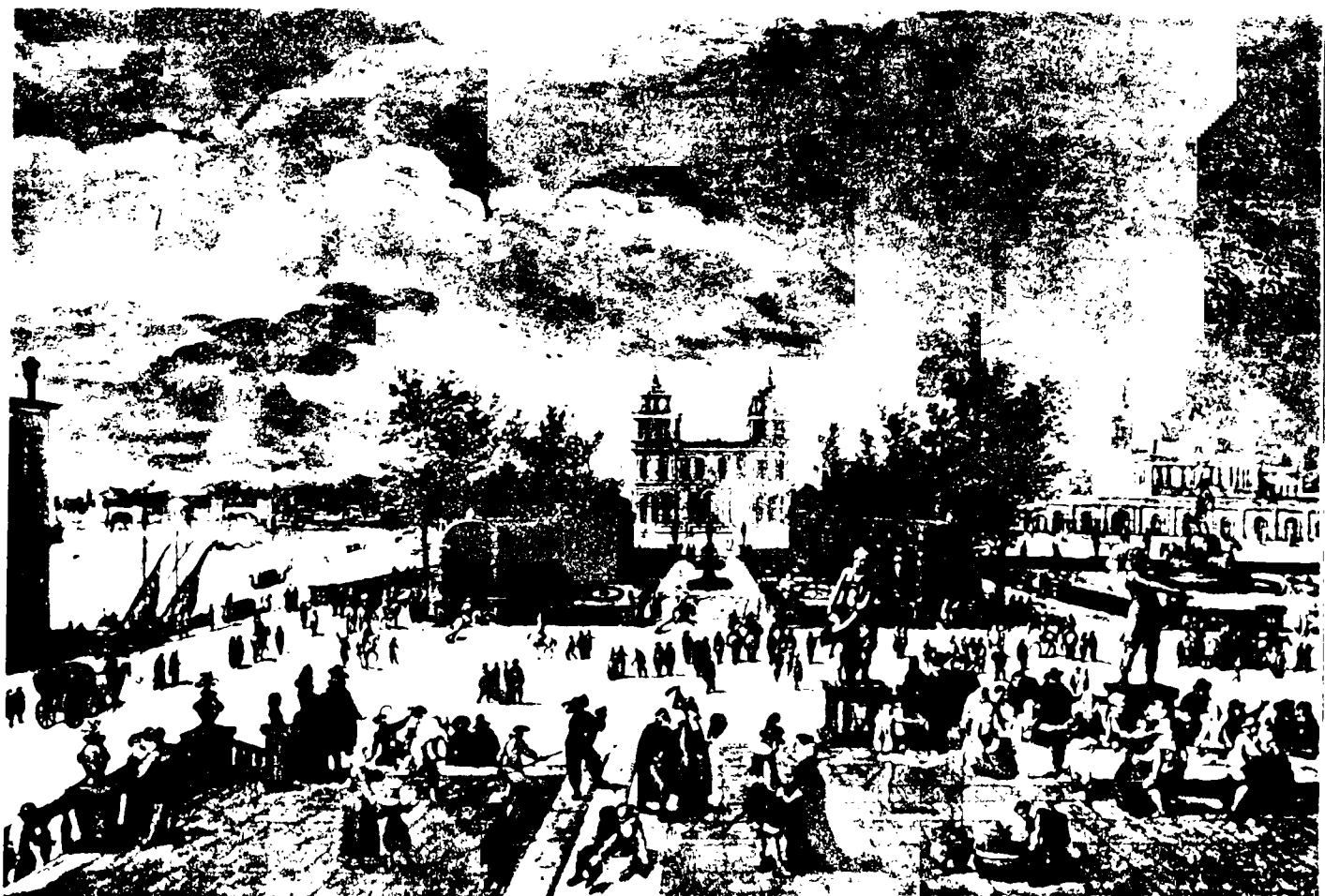
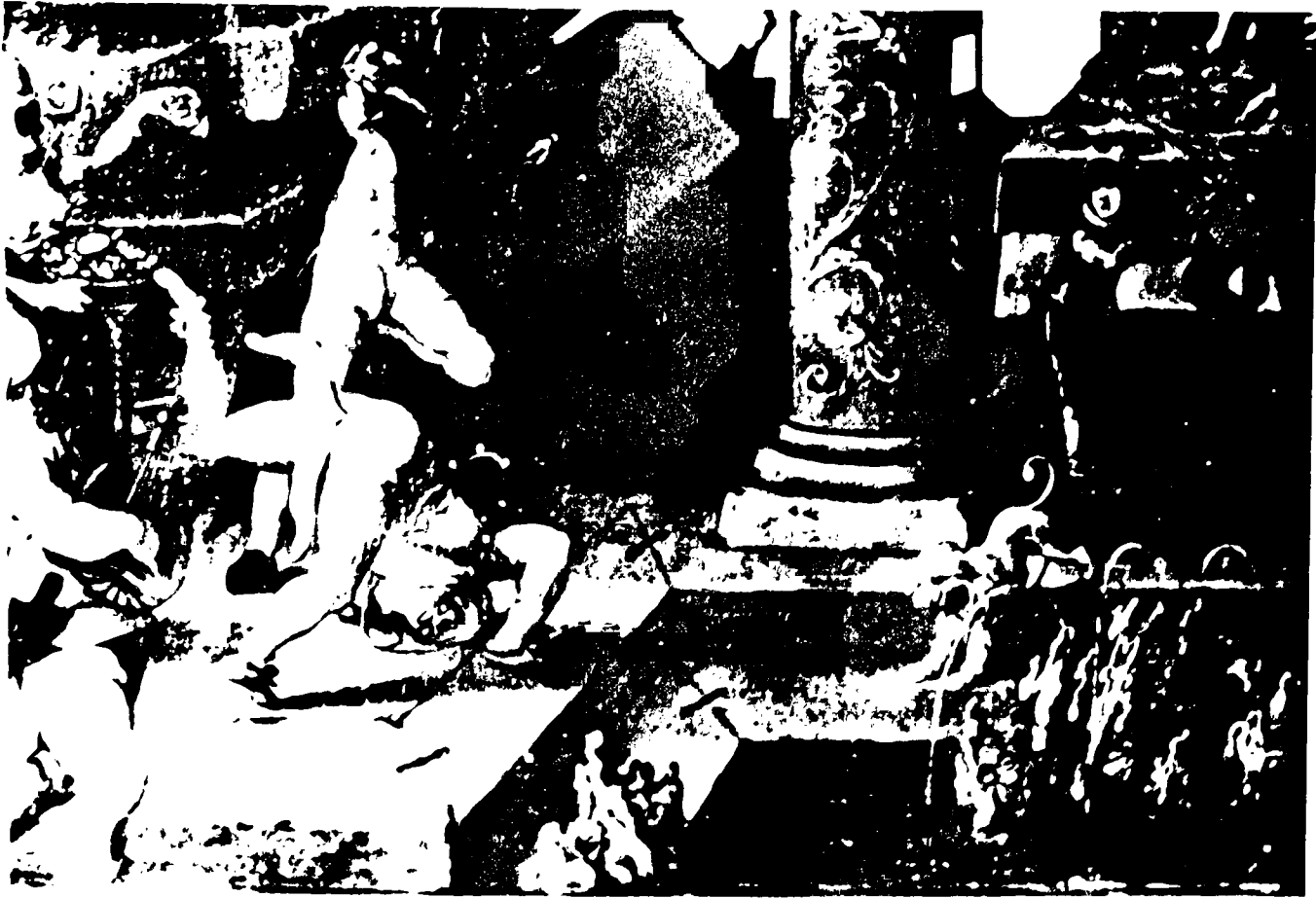
97 Sebastian Vrancx, *Dives and Lazarus*, signed in monogram, oil on copper, 49x67 cm. PWU (art market, Stockholm 1975, Brussels 1976)

***98 [= RS/27]** Jacob Matham after Sebastian Vrancx, *Dives and Lazarus*, signed and dated 1606, engraving, 40x53 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



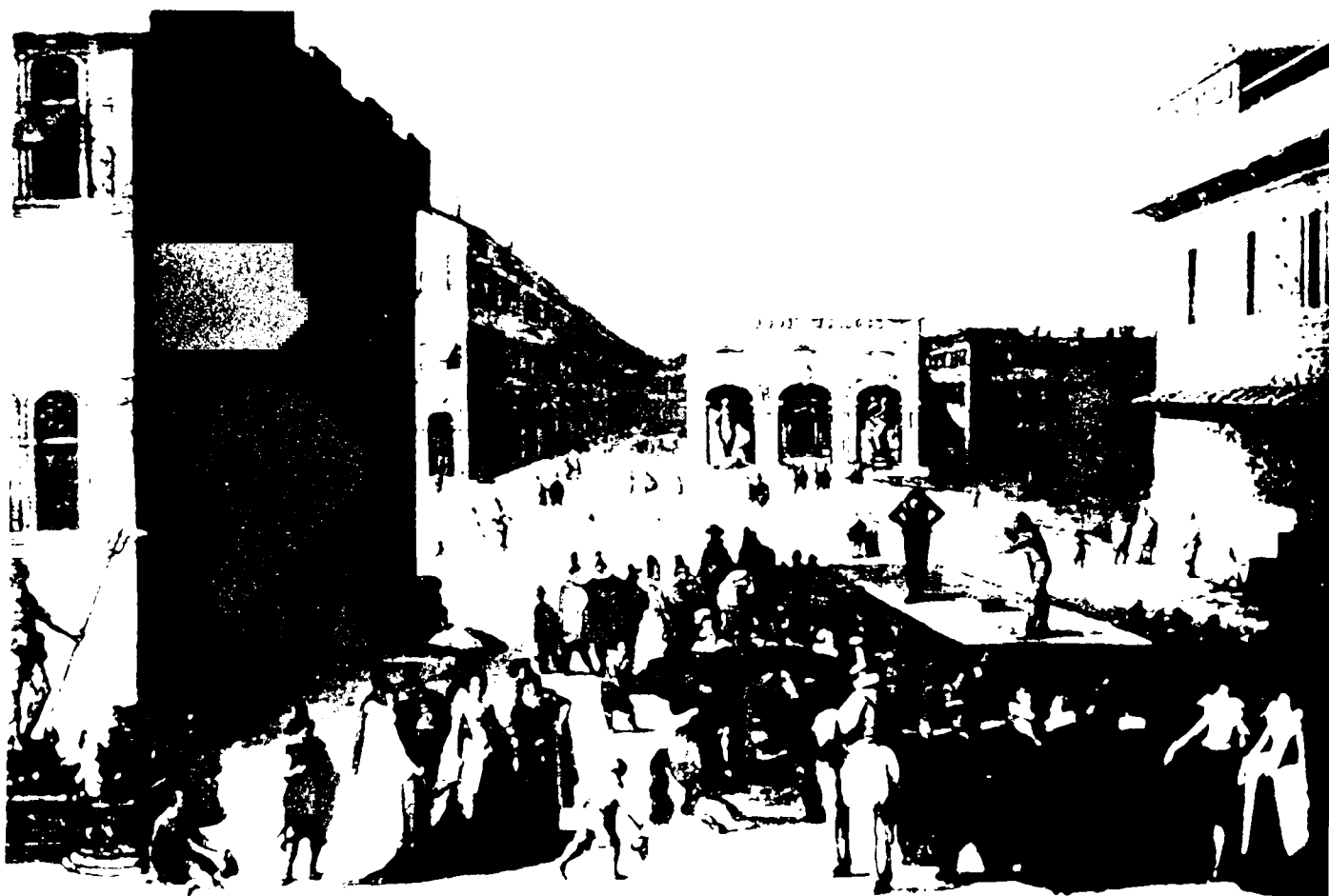
***99 [= RS/24]** Sebastian Vrancx, *Outdoor banquet*, signed in monogram, oil on panel, 91x126 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

100 Sebastian Vrancx, *Banquet in an artificial grotto*, signed in monogram, oil on canvas, 37x48". PWU (art market, New York 1947)



101 STUDIO OF VRANCX {Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne}, *Carnival*, oil on panel, 55x83 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1955)

102 Circle of Sebastian Vrancx, Louis de Caulery, *The Piazza della Signoria, Florence*, oil on panel, 50x72 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983, 1984)



103 Louis de Caulery, *The Italian comedians*, oil on panel, 48x70 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1954)

***104** [=RS/23] CIRCLE OF VRANCX {Lodewyk Toeput}, *A banquet in an ornamental setting*, oil, 96.5x125 cm. PWU (art market, London 1973)



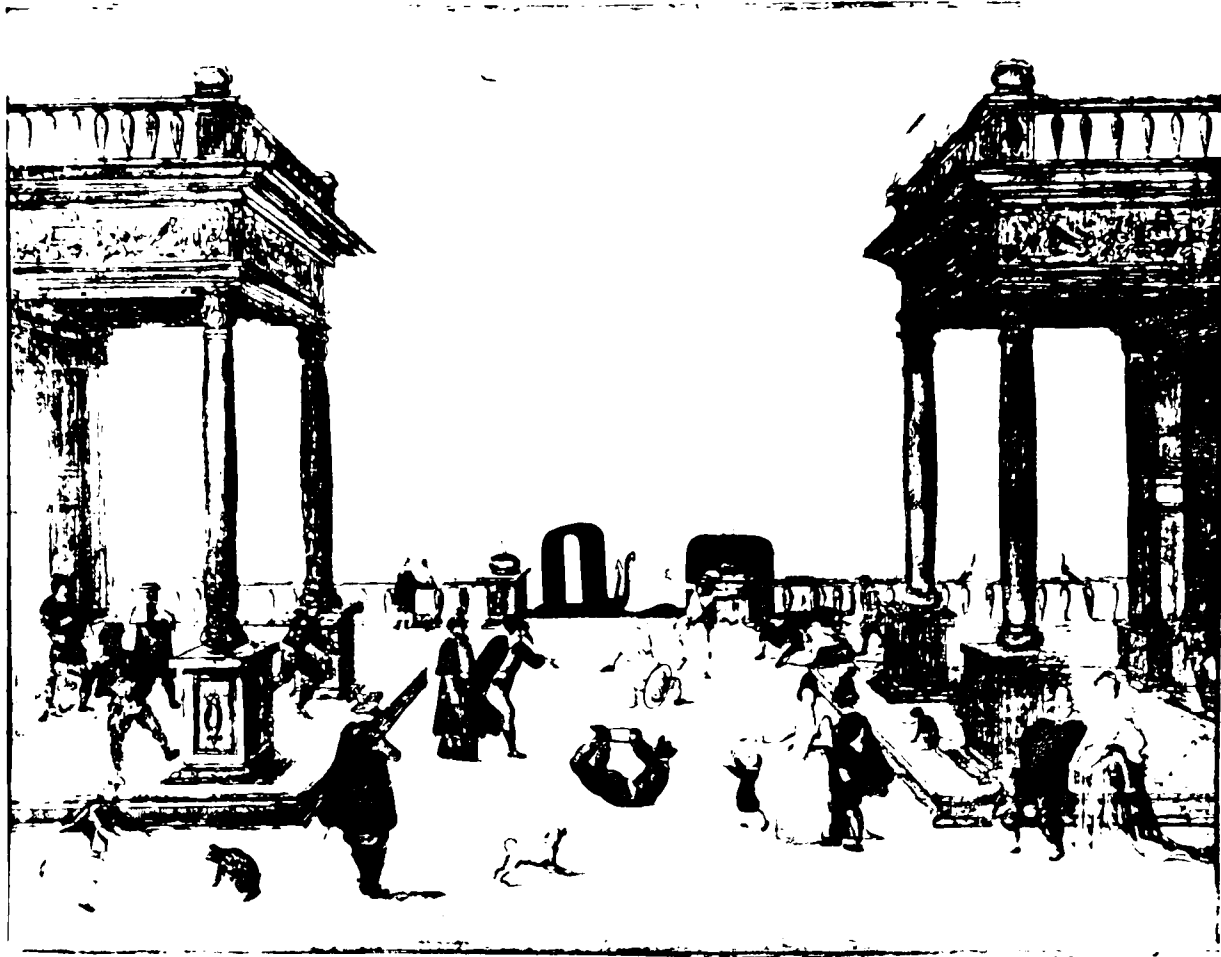
***105** [=RS/25] Sebastian Vrancx, *Revellers in a park*, oil, 45.5x88 cm. PWU (art market, London 1972)

***106** [=RS/26] Sebastian Vrancx, *A festival in a palace garden*, oil on panel, 72x106.5 cm. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen



107 STUDIO OF VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *Court of a Venetian palace*, oil on panel, 47.5x70 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

108 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {anon. Flemish}, *Venetian jugglers*, dated 1613, oil. Rosenberg Castle, Copenhagen



109 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery}, *Comedians in a Venetian palace garden*, oil, 48.5x70.5 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1956)

110 Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter*, signed with monogram, oil on panel, 51x65 cm. Koninklijk Museum, Antwerp (inv.no.613)



111 Sebastian Vrancx, *The seasons: Winter*, pen and wash, 12.75x8.75". PWU (art market, London 1951)

112 Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter*, signed in monogram and dated 16[?]8, oil on panel, 52x66 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983)



113 Sebastian Vrancx {Dennis van Alsloot}, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 74x126 cm. PWU (art market, London 1947 & 1964; Brussels, 1965)

114 Sebastian Vrancx, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 100.5x160.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1995)



115 Dennis van Alsloot and/or Sebastian Vrancx, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 50x90 cm. Private collection, Holland

116 Peter Snayers and/or Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter scene*, oil, 100.5x161.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1971)



117 Dennis van Alsloot ? {Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne; circle of H. I. Francken} *A view of a square in Antwerp*, signed with a monogram and dated 1631, oil on panel, 40.5x60.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1964)

118 Sebastian Vrancx, *Winter, Spring, Summer, Autumn {Autumn}*, oil on panel, 84x143 cm. PWU (art market, London 1976)



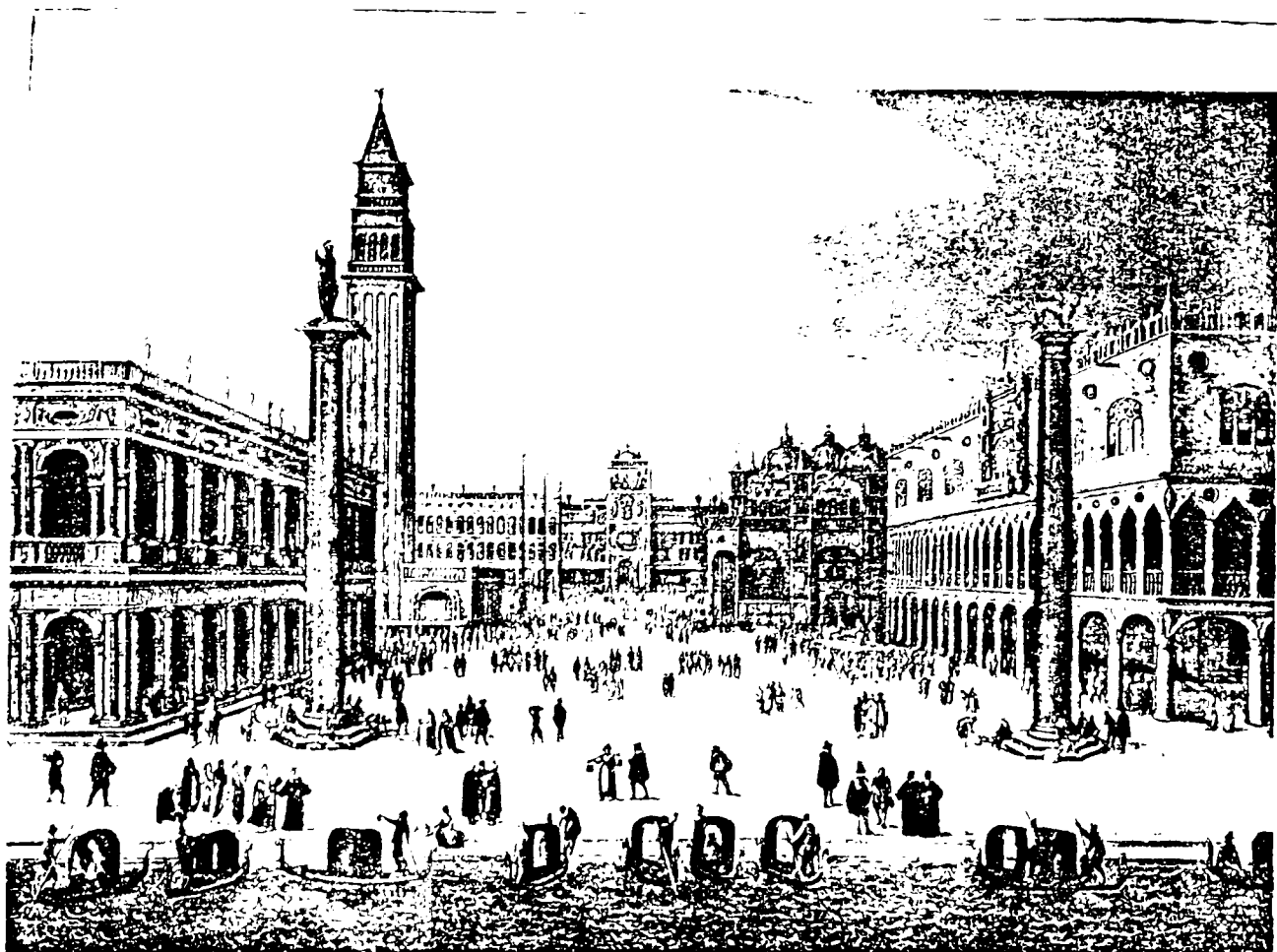
119 Sebastian Vrancx, *Harbour scene*, signed, oil on canvas, 76x117 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1927)

120 Pieter de Jode after Sebastian Vrancx, *Roman couple*, engraving. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



*Marte fatum genus Aeneadum victoribus armis
Per mare, per terras condidit imperium*

*Nunc iuuat infelix pro signis serua Quirites,
Pro clangore tulae tibia, Marte Venus.*



121 Louis de Caulery, *The Piazzetta, Venice*, 52x75 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1967)

122 Louis de Caulery, *Venice: The Piazza di San Marco*, oil on panel, 41x54 cm. PWU (art market, London 1990)



123 Louis de Caulery, *The Piazza di San Marco*, oil on panel, 43x72 cm. PWU (art market, London 1984)

124 CIRCLE OF TOEPUT {Louis de Caulery}, *The Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 46.5x77.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978, 1982)



125 SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Louis de Caulery}, *A carnival in the Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 48x74 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979)

126 Louis de Caulery, *Carnival revellers in the Piazza San Marco, Venice*, oil on panel, 50x70cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1990)



*127 [=RS/7] Lodewyk Toeput, *Allegory of January*, pen, ink and wash over pencil, 27.5x41.5 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

***128-9** [=RS/10-11] Joos de Momper, *January and February*, ink and wash, 20x26.5 & 18x26 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



***130** [=RS/18] Pieter de Jode after Toeput, *Masquerade*, signed in the plate, engraving. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek (*Recueil Fossard*)



131 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery, Sebastian Vrancx}, *A view in Rome at carnival time*, oil on panel, 50x76 cm cm. PWU (art market, London 1967, 1973)

132 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {Louis de Caulery}, *A festival in Rome*, oil on panel, 57x91 cm. PWU (art market, London 1978)



133 Circle of Vrancx and Caulery {circle of Louis de Caulery}, *A square in an imaginary Italian town*, oil on panel, 73x105 cm. PWU (art market, London 1983)

134 Louis de Caulery/ Sebastian Vrancx, *A joust in a town square*, oil on panel, 47x62 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979, 1980)



135 Follower of Denis van Alsloot, *Carnival in a town square*, oil on canvas, 103.5x145.5cm. PWU (art market, New York, 1990; formerly: Graphisches Kabinett, Munich)

136 Sebastian Vrancx, *Flemish carnival*, oil on panel, 72x106 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1952)



137 M. v. Cleef {Flemish master c.1580}, *Flemish carnival*, oil on panel, 74x112 cm. PWU (art market, Cologne 1929)

138 {S.Vrancx}, *Comedians entering a domestic interior*, oil, 34x47 cm.
Private Collection, Germany



139 Sebastian Vrancx, *The surprised lovers*, oil. PWU (art market, Berlin pre-1964)

140 Dirk Hals/ Sebastian Vrancx, *The masque*, oil. PWU (art market, New York 1929)



141 Simon de Vos, *Carnival gathering*, oil on panel, 48x89 cm. PWU (reproduced: *Die Weltkunst*, 15.8.62)

142 Frans II Francken/ Anon. Flemish/ Abraham Wouwer/ Wouter Abts/ Willem Anthonissone, *Interior*, signed with a monogram and dated 1628, oil on panel, 48x93 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1904; London 1995)



143 Circle of Frans II Francken/ Louis de Caulery, *Festival with Italian comedians* (one of a pair), oil on panel, 48x92 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence

144 Circle of Frans II Francken/ Louis de Caulery, *Festival with Italian comedians* (one of a pair), oil on panel, 48x92 cm. Palazzo Pitti, Florence



145 Frans III Francken, *The feast*, oil on panel, 19x37". PWU (art market, New York 1950)

146 Sebastian Vrancx, *Busy market scene*, ink, 27.5x38 cm. PWU (art market, London 1977)



147 Sebastian Vrancx, *Masquerade at Antwerp Cathedral*, ink and wash, 11x15 cm. PWU (art market, London 1979)

*148 [=RS/29] SEBASTIAN VRANCX {Lodewyk Toeput}, *Commedia dell'arte figures outside a palace*, chalk, ink and wash, 12x19 cm. PWU (art market, London 1984)



149 Sebastian Vrancx, *February and March*, chalk, ink and wash, 17x25 cm. Private collection, USA

150 Sebastian Vrancx, *An interior with masked figures and backgammon players*, ink, 13x17 cm. PWU (art market, London 1975)



*Personas gerimus fictas: habitus recepto
Non nostro, faciem bachica larua tegit.* *Apia vagabundis est ista licentia. Sortem
Tentamus, quid sic alea muta feret.*

151 CRISPIN DE PASSE AFTER SEBASTIAN VRANCX {anon.}, *Personas gerimus fictas*, engraving, 9.5x13.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

152 CRISPIN DE PASSE AFTER SEBASTIAN VRANCX {anon.}, *Arreptus fidibus, noctu grassantur in vrbē*, engraving, 25x35 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



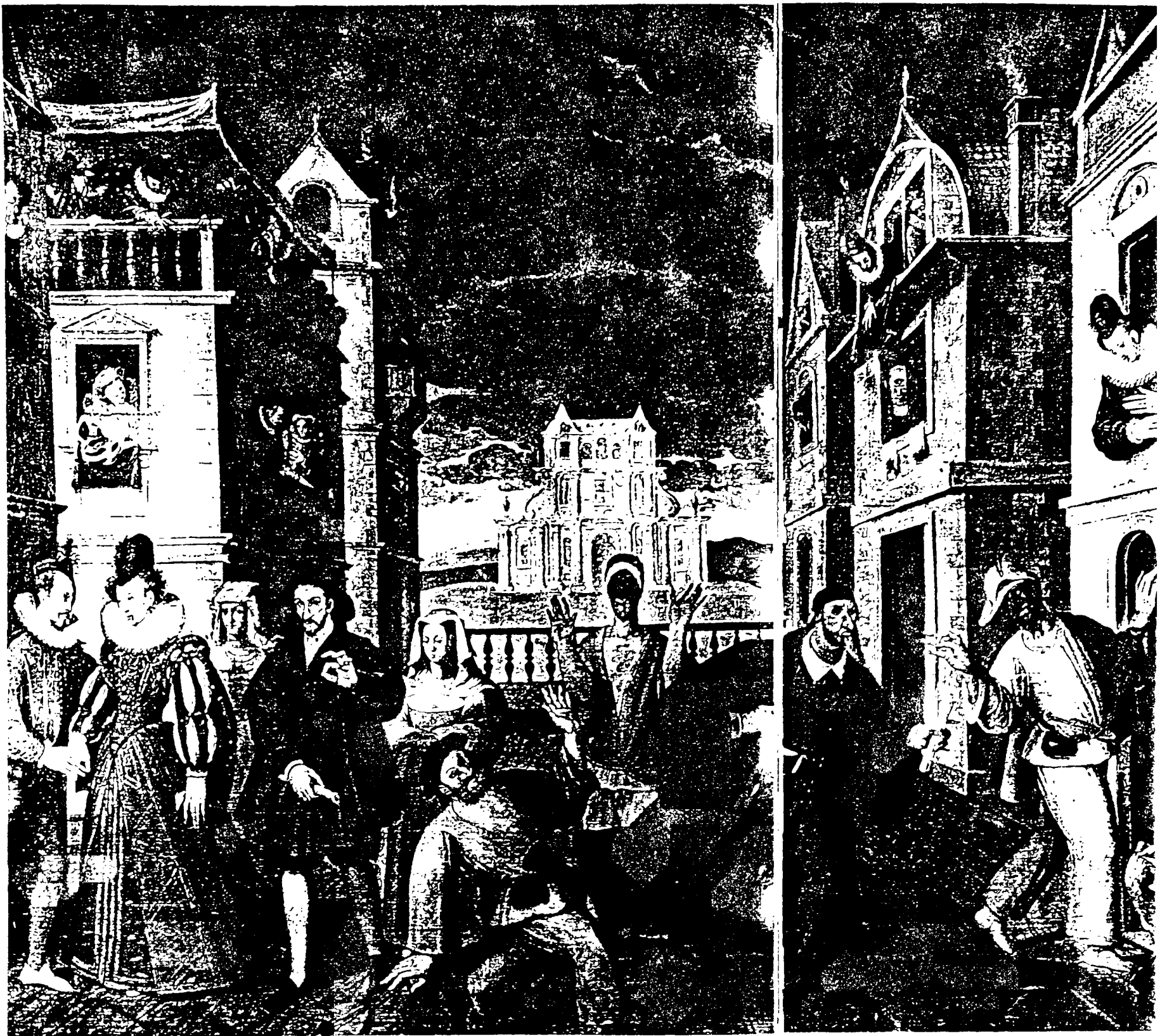
153 Crispin de Passe, *Venetian couple*, engraving. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

154 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {François Bunel the Younger?}, *A troupe of Italian comedians*, oil on canvas, 119x170 cm. Musée Fabrégat, Béziers



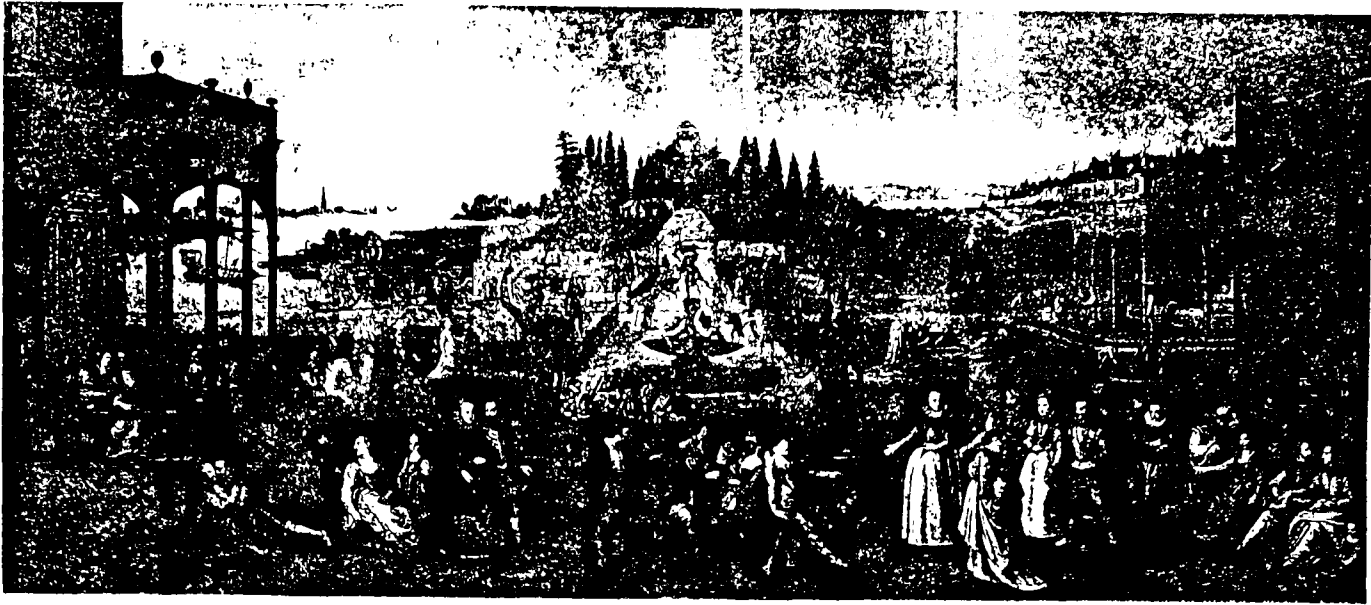
155 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {French school; anon.; François Bunel the Younger?}, *The woman between two ages*, oil on canvas, 117x170 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes

156 *A commedia dell'arte company in performance*, oil. Private collection, France



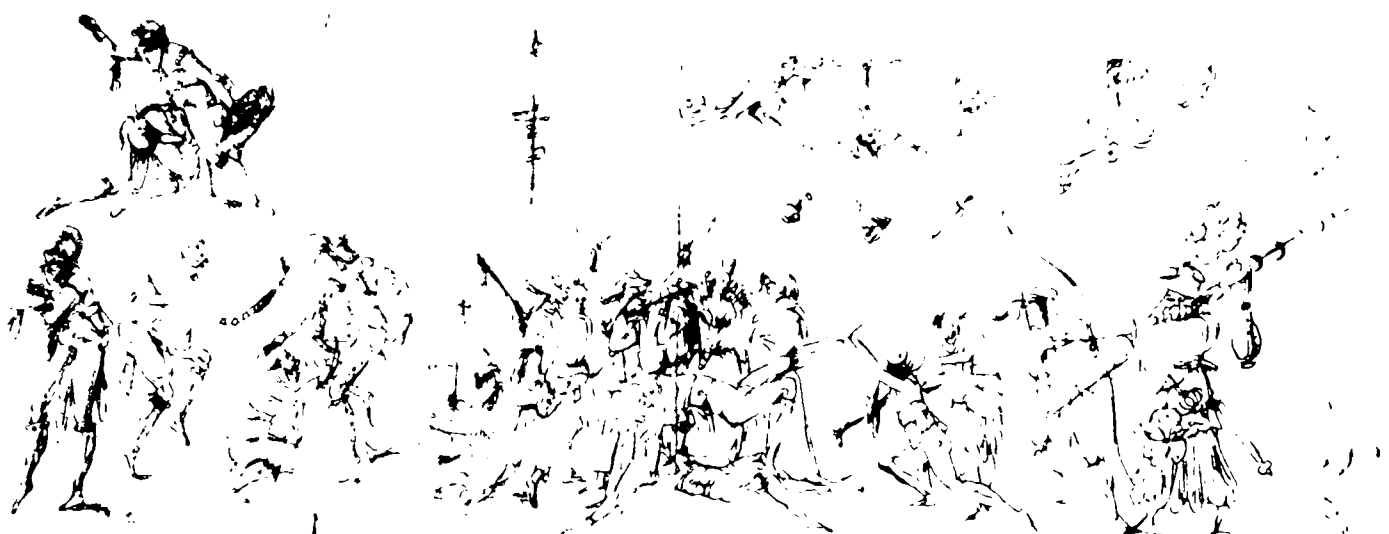
157 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Hieronimus I or Frans I Francken}, *Italian comedians entering a chateau*, oil on panel, 73x205 cm. PWU (art market, Milan 1928)

158 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Marcus Gheraerts the Elder}, *"Queen Elizabeth and her court at Kenilworth Castle"*, oil on panel, 109x254 cm. PWU (art market, London, 1991)



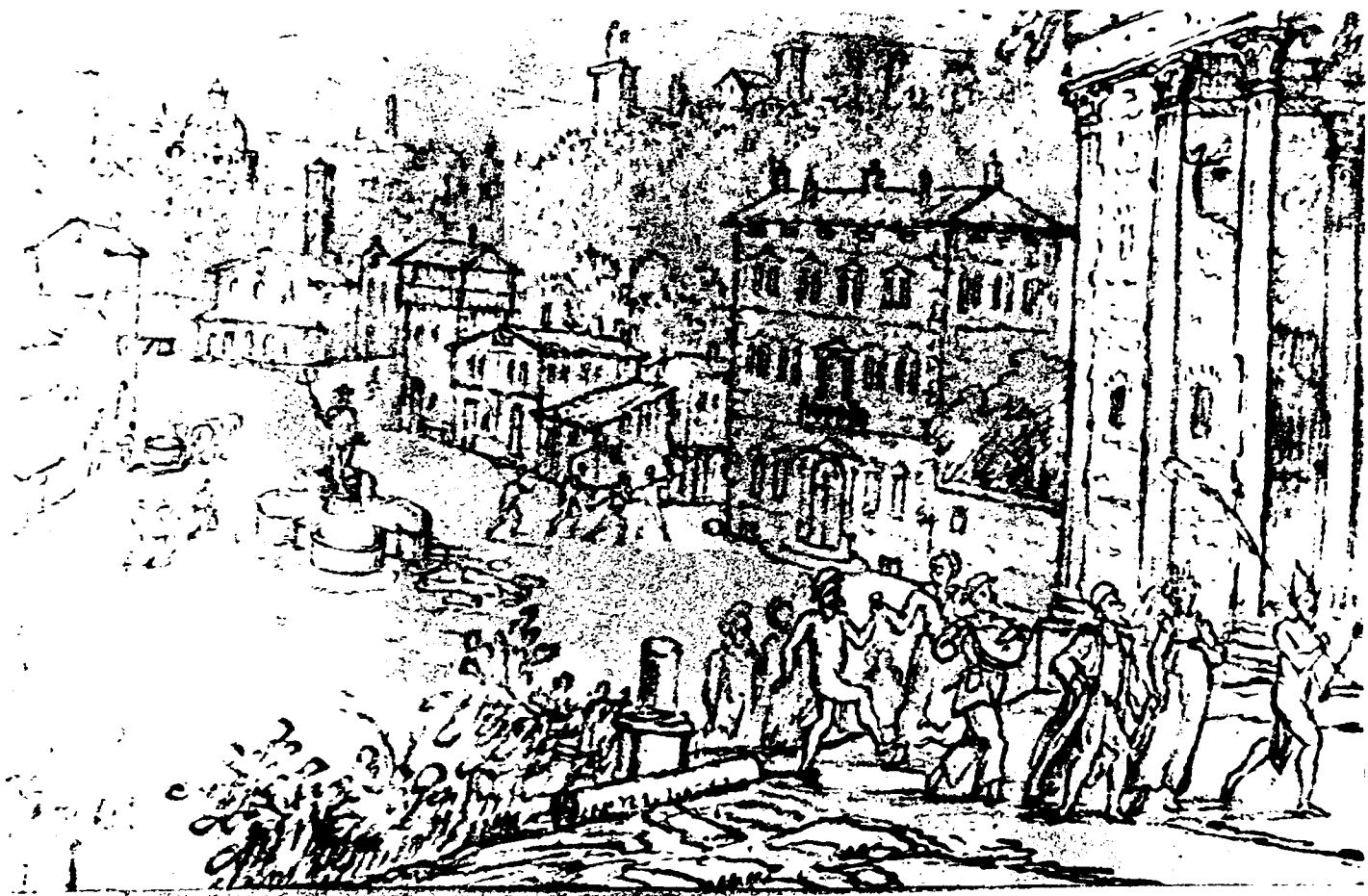
*159 [=RS/28] CIRCLE OF LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Lodewyk Toeput}, *An elegant company disporting in a loggia and garden*, oil on canvas, 85x125.5 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1982)

160 F. van Valckenborch {C. P. van Ryck/ Flegel}, *Market scene with carnival procession*, oil. PWU (art market, Vienna, 1985)



161 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Fantastic procession of fools*, ink, Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (inv.nr.1400), photo courtesy Rheinisches Bildarchiv

162 FRANS BOELS {Lucas van Valckenborch}, *Winter carnival*, gouache and watercolour, 157x223 cm. PWU (art market, London 1980)



163 Tobias ver Haecht, *Celebrating figures in procession*, ink and wash over chalk, 16.5x21 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1975; see also plate 331)

***164-5** [= MII/34] Circle of Joos de Momper {Friedrich Sustris}, *Pantalone*, *Four Italian comedians*, sketches after Landshut staircase frescos (see plates 20-1, above), ink over chalk, each 32.5x20.5 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



166 {Adriaen Pietersz van der Venne}, *Female Carnival with Twelve dancing Zannis*, pen and wash over pencil, 25.5x41.5 cm. Kunsthalle, Hamburg (no.21564)

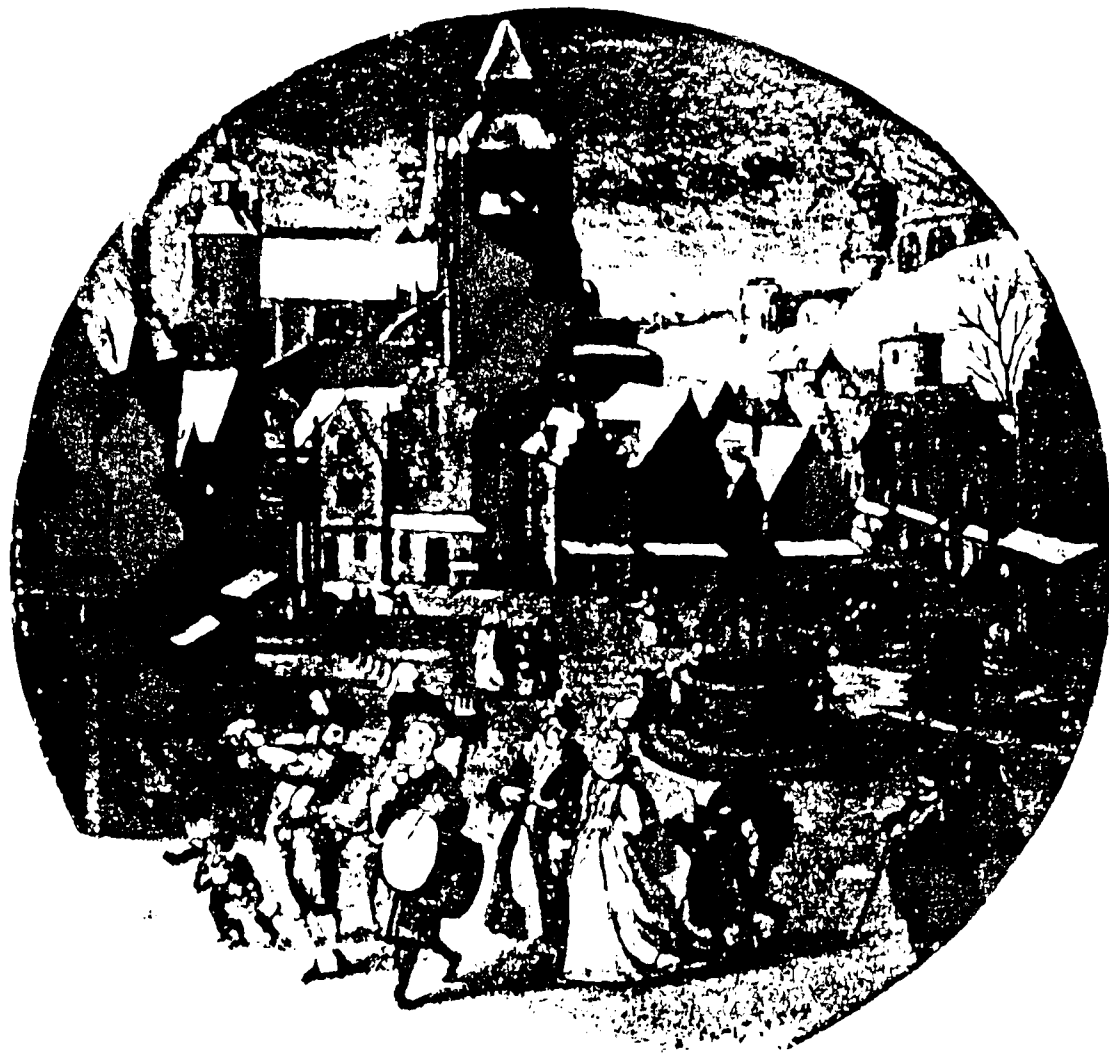


167 Hans Bol, *Drummer and Tabor-player in a village street*, signed and dated 1573, ink and wash, 17.5x22.5 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (nr. C881)

168 A. Collaert after Hans Bol, *January* (whole and detail), engraving.
(Photo: Witt Library)



169 Abel Grimmer after Hans Bol, *January: a wedding procession*, signed and dated 1599, oil, diameter 5". PWU (art market, London 1969)



170 *Ianuari*, print, 20x24 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

171 Frans Boels, *Winter*, signed and dated 1594, gouache on parchment, 15x22 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



172 Marten van Valckenborch, *Kirmess*, oil on panel, 85x120 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1904)

173 Marten van Valckenborch, *Winter: village scene*, oil. PWU (art market, London 1936, Amsterdam 1979)



174 {Marten van Valckenborch}, *Venetian masquerade*. oil on panel, 31x46 cm. PWU (art market, Munich 1931)

175 Dennis van Alsloot / Flemish school XVII century, *Fête populaire*, oil on canvas, 115x210 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1932, 1933; Amsterdam 1949; Antwerp 1979)



176 Gillis van Valckenborch, *The Queen of Sheba's entry into Jerusalem*, oil on canvas, 47x74 cm. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

177 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival festival*, oil on canvas, 52x88 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (nr.7118)



178 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival*, oil on canvas. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (nr.5763)

179 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Carnival*, oil on canvas, 131x255 cm.
PWU (art market, Paris 1973, 1974)



180 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Nocturnal carnival*, signed in monogram,
dated 1597[?], oil on canvas, 48x83.5cm. Private collection, Netherlands

181 FREDERICK VAN VALCKENBORCH {Giovanni Donducci/ Mastellan},
Banquet with masked musicians, oil, 112x160 cm. PWU (art market,
London 1961, 1962)



182 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Group in front of ruins*, oil on canvas,
95x116 cm. PWU (art market, Köln 1939)

183 Frederick van Valckenborch, *Winter*, detail of painted virginals lid, dated 1619, oil on wood. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg



184 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {anon sixteenth century Netherlandish}, *Dance in a palace garden*, oil on panel, 135x193 cm. Gasbeek Castle Museum (no.573), near Brussels

185 LUCAS VAN VALCKENBORCH {Jan I Bruegel/ Art des H. I Francken}, *Elegant company*, oil on panel, 22x32 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1949)



186 Hieronymus II Francken, *Fancy dress ball*, oil on panel, 49.5x72cm. PWU (art market, Dublin 1986)

187 Lucas van Valckenborch {Frans II Francken}, *Pastoral pleasures*, signed and dated 1590, oil on canvas, 107x147 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1904; New York, 1927)



188 CIRCLE OF FRANS I FRANCKEN? {Anon}, *Five actors on stage*, oil on panel. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm

189-90 HIERONYMUS I FRANCKEN {Anon}, *Two comic scenes*, oil.
Comédie Française, Paris

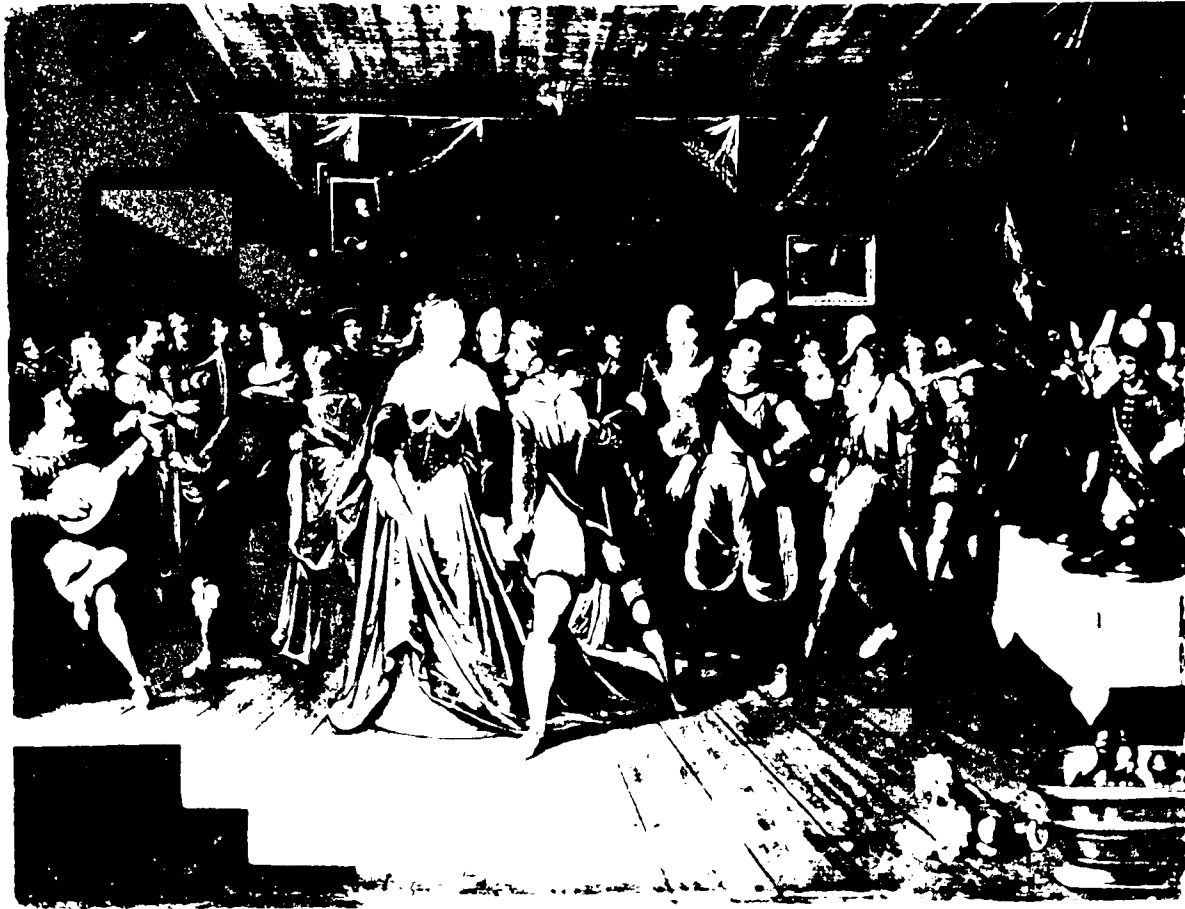


191 {Jacob de Gheyn}, *Zanni with pestle and mortar*, ink and chalk on paper, 20x14 cm. Private collection, Germany



192 HIERONYMUS I FRANCKEN {Venetian school c.1700}, *Comic masks*, oil on panel. PWU (Yates Thompson collection)

193 Max and Gabriel Francken/ Hieronymus I Francken, *Masked ball*, oil on panel, 51.5x68 cm. Gemäldegalerie (no.169), Karlsruhe



194 Frans I or II Francken, *The fête*, oil on panel, 52x79 cm, signed. PWU (art market, London 1925; Brussels 1958, 1961)

195 Frans II Francken, *Interior with elegant company*, oil on panel, 54x77 cm. PWU (art market, Brussels 1974)



196 Hieronymus II Francken, *Ballroom with dancing couples*, oil on panel, 58.5x86 cm. PWU (art market, Copenhagen 1979; London 1979)

197 {Louis de Caulery}, *Society gathering in a palace*, oil on panel, 54x82 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1962)



198 Hieronymus or Frans Francken, *Parable of the prodigal son*, oil on copper, 53.5x76 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1965)

199 Frans II Francken, *A court ball*, signed, 19.5x26.75". Collection of Lord Talbot of Malahide, Malahide Castle



200 Frans II Francken, *Interior*, oil on panel, 13x14 cm. PWU (art market, London 1969)

201 Frans II Francken, *A court ball*, oil, 45x35 cm. PWU (formerly, private collection, USSR)



202 Hieronymus I Francken, *Carnival banquet*, oil. PWU (art market, London 1950)

203 Frans II Francken /circle of Hieronymus I Francken {Hendrik van Balen}, *Palatial interior with dancing*, oil on copper, 49x66 cm. PWU (art market, London 1932, 1974; Brussels 1974)



204 Frans II Francken, *A costume ball*, indistinctly dated 1608, oil on panel, 47x70cm. PWU (art market, New York 1989)

205 Frans I Francken {Hieronymus I Francken/ Frans II Francken/ anon. Dutch/ anon. Flemish}, *Wedding party*, oil on panel, 49x66 cm. Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp



206 Studio of Frans II Francken, *Sight*, oil. PWU (photo: RKD)

207 Flemish artist c. 1600 from the circle of Ambrose I Francken, *Carnival diversions*, oil on panel, 43x72 cm. PWU (art market, Vienna 1938)



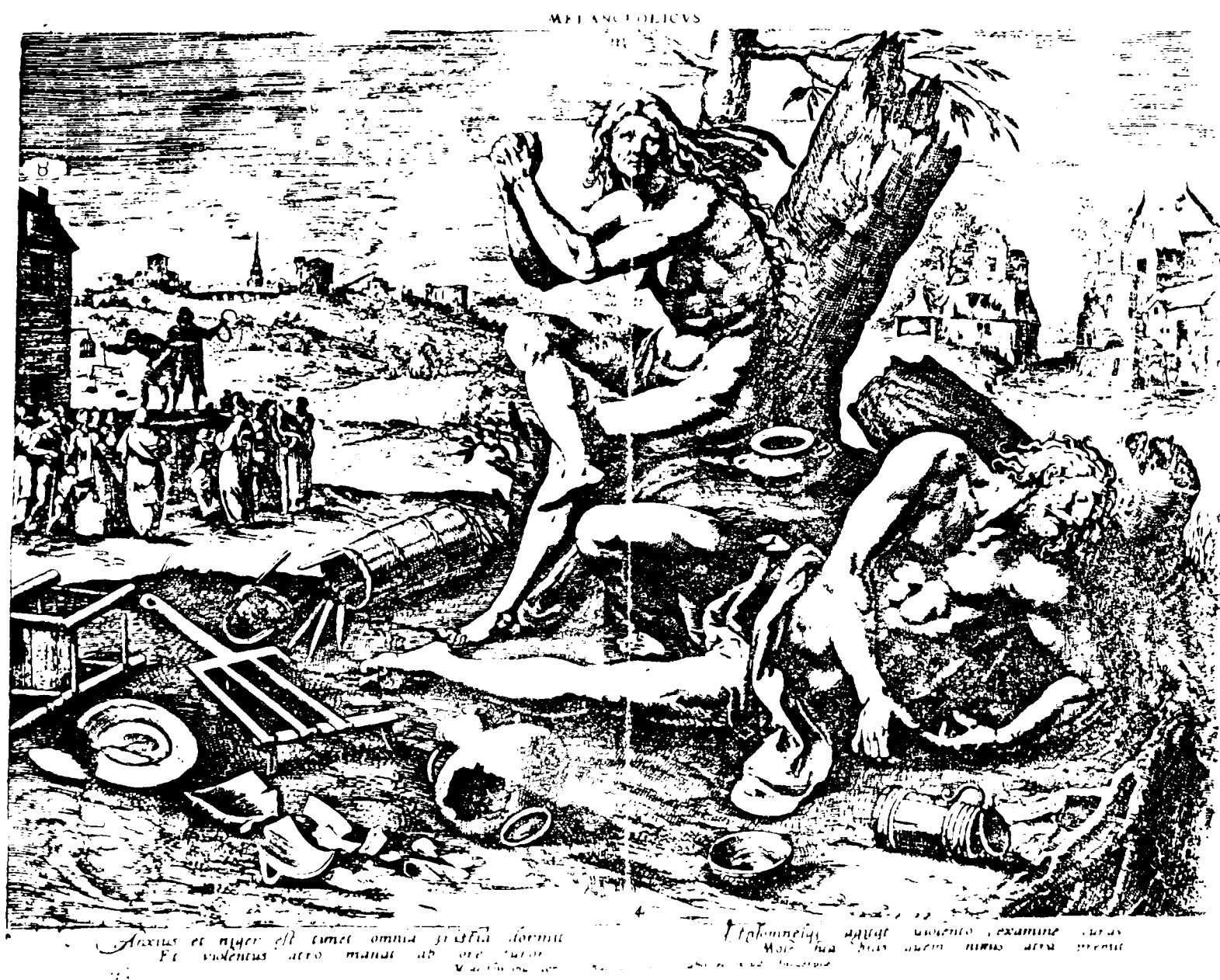
208 CIRCLE OF AMBROSE I FRANCKEN AND MARTEN DE VOS {Flemish school c. 1580 / M. van Cleef}, *Carnival diversions*, ink, 22.5x29.5 cm. Private collection, Germany

***209** [=RS/21] MARTEN DE VOS {Second School of Fontainebleau}, *A feast*, oil on canvas, 105.5x148 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1939, New York 1940, London 1971, 1974, 1986)



***210** [=RS/22] Johannes Sadeler I after M. de Vos, *Crapula et Lascivia*, engraving, 21x27 cm, signed in the plate. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***211** [RS/20] Lodewyk Toeput, *Outdoor feast*, oil on panel, 39.5x54.5 cm.
PWU (art market, London 1968)



212 Raphael I Sadeler after M. de Vos, *Melancholicus*, engraving after a drawing signed and dated 1583 (Paris, École des Beaux-Arts), 19x24 cm.
Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford





216 Jean Galle after Marten de Vos, *Eggdance outside a tavern*, engraving, 23x30cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

HAS DUCUNT CHOREAS, QVI BACCHANALIA VIVUNT.



Un malade rirait, voyant ces fous danser,
Mais quel Amant le sçait ne deviendrait malade,
Car ce n'est pas de la Beauté qu'on se vante,
C'est de la sagesse, et de la prudence.

Ghyt bollact, bouwen blaerpe, en mancken clac
Thunen storthier, Roelken drasack, en diel francken
Mienen slodderbreck, heyn drischbrave, en huyten maces.
Ick herop v allen over de v te dansen.



Voluit in multam sterto SOCORDIA lucem
Secura ac raptem TEMPVS abire sinit
Nil rhombum, nil curu colum, nil sterne, cadutuc
Cantabus, atque adeo vel domus ipsa moror

Indulgent genio et choreis, qua nostra sequuntur
Castra, patrantque aramo quabacumque lubent
I agellis nascent talos, rocasque, suborde
Infestant, sumptu deficiente, vias

Ungere a. 1681. 1682

217 Crispin de Passe after M. de Vos, *Time with Virtues and Vices: III Negligentie et Socordie Typ.*, engraving. Witt Print Collection, Courtauld Institute, London

218 Crispin de Passe after M. de Vos, *Februarius*, engraving, diameter 12 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



219 MARTEN DE VOS {Sebastian Vrancx}, *Eggdance outside a tavern*, ink and wash over chalk, 7.75x11.375". Private collection, U. S.

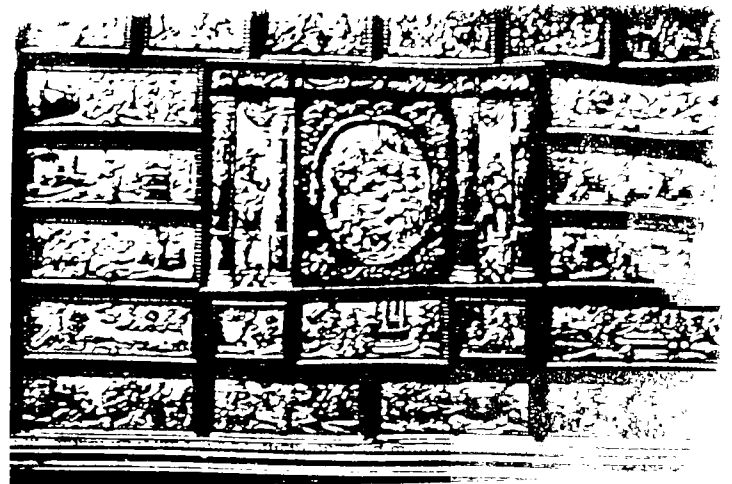
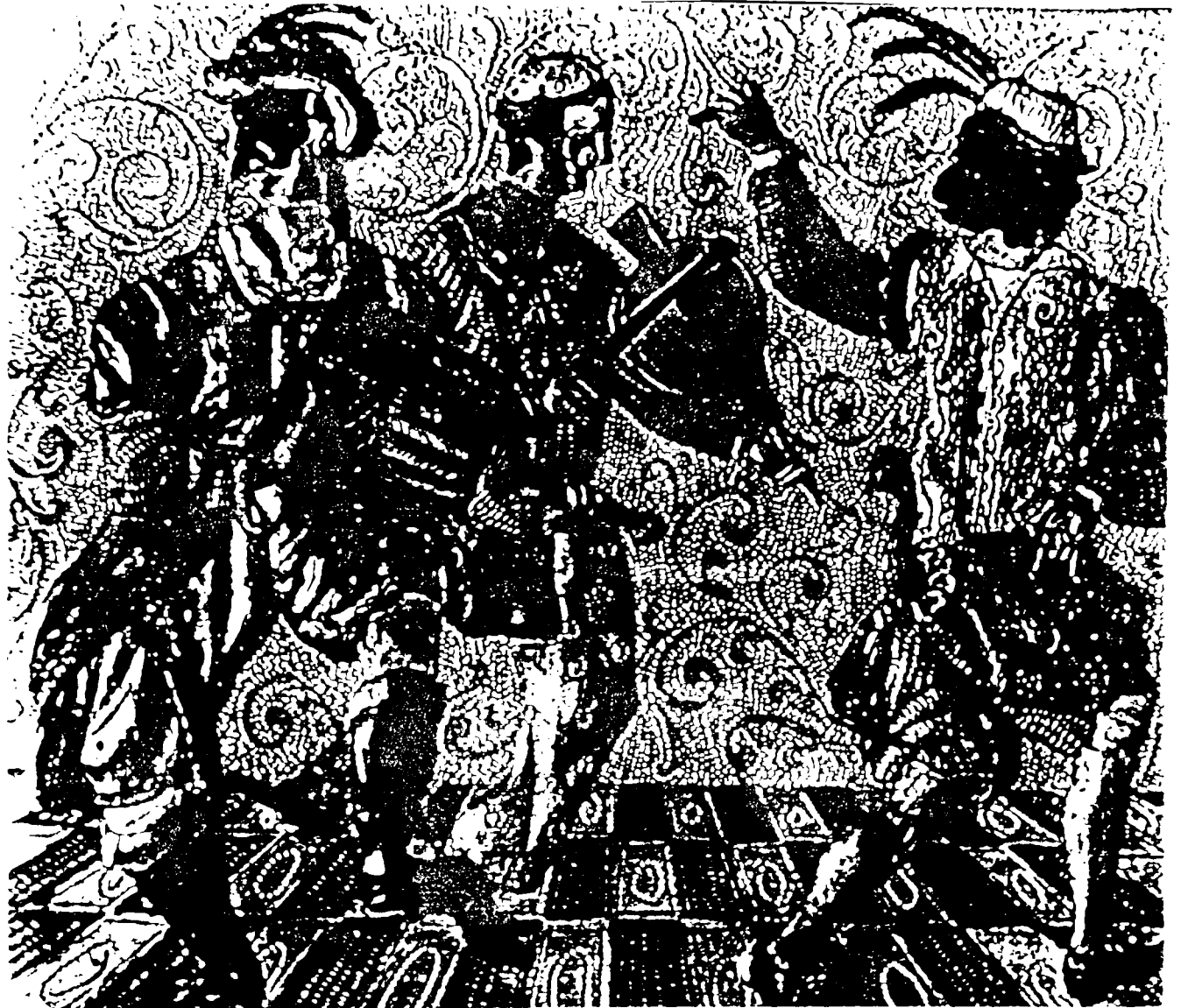


221 *Comedians on a Venetian terrace*, oil. Drottningholm Theatre Museum, Stockholm



222 Frans II Francken, *Assorted sketches*, ink, 17.5x26 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1930)

223 Adam Eck, *Three masked men with grill and bellows*, Egerer Kabinettschrank, relief scene. Frankfurt, Museum für Kunsthandwerk (inv.no.7109)



224 *Commedia dell-arte scene*, inlay work on inside door of wooden cabinet, c.1640s. Löfstads Castle Museum, near Linköping (Sweden)

225 MARTEN DE VOS {Marten van Cleef}, *Lent surprising revellers at their meal*, ink and wash, 18x27.5 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1929, 1971)



*226 [= RS/15] Leandro Bassano, *Carnival scene (February)*, oil on canvas, 140.5x166 cm. Bildergalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci



***229** [=RS/8] LODEWYK TOEPUT {Frans de Momper}, *Winter*, oil on panel, oval 44x58.5 cm. PWU (art market, London 1972)



***230** [=MII/26] MARTEN DE VOS {anon. sixteenth century Netherlandish}, *A music-making couple between two commedia dell'arte servants*, oil on panel. PWU (photo: Rubenianum)

231 CIRCLE OF MARTEN DE VOS {now attributed by the museum to anon. Franco-Flemish, although the curatorial files also reveal the following attributions: Jacques Bellange; Circle of Primaticcio; Genoese, possibly Paggi; Floris the younger; School of Fontainebleau; School of Lorraine; anon. Italian, French, or Flemish}, *Players of the commedia dell'arte*, oil on canvas, 144x147 cm. Ringling Museum, Sarasota

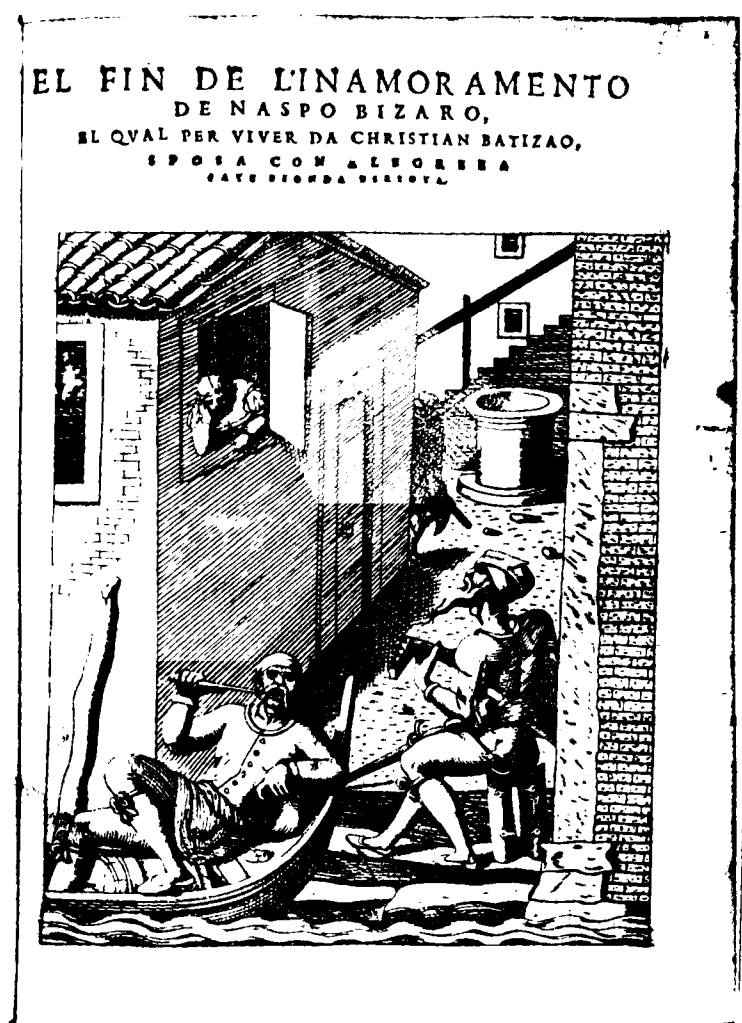


232 MARTEN DE VOS {School of Fontainebleau}, *A scene from the commedia dell'arte*, 65x81 cm. PWU (art market, London 1974)

233-6 [=PQ/161-4] Nicolò Nelli, four of the five plates of Alessandro Caravia's *Naspo Bizaro*, Venice 1565, engravings, 17x13, 15.5x13, 16x13, 20.5x14.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



237 [=PQ/165] Nicolò Nelli, the fifth plate of Alessandro Caravia's *Naspo Bizaro*, Venice 1565, engraving, 15x13 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



***238** [=MI/V] *Comic serenade*, dated on verso 1573, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Jacob Heckelsberger, f.84r. Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

*239 [= MII/25] *Pantalone and Zanni serenade a courtesan*, monogrammed A.B. and dated 1593, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (Cg.57 f.74r) of Arnoldus Buchellius (1565-1644) of Utrecht. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



240 Julius Goltzius, *Magnificus, Scoztum, Zani*, hand-coloured engraving, signed and dated 1581 in the plate

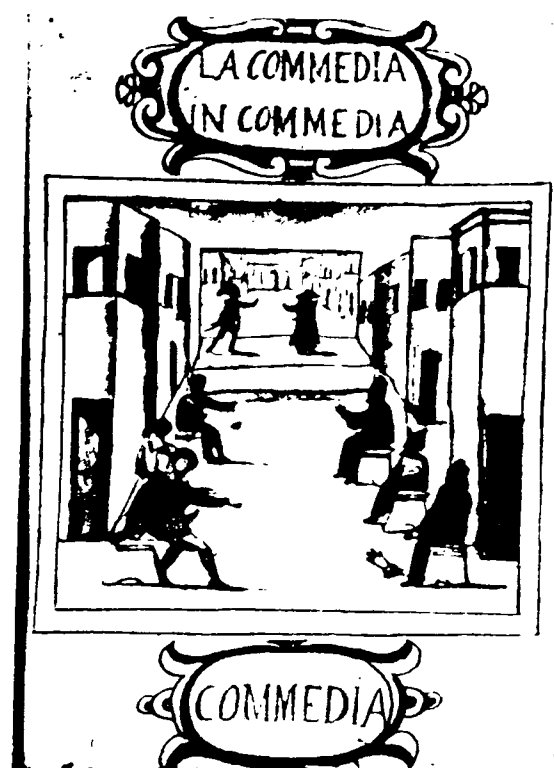
241 Evert Wyntges, *Pisces, a feast scene*, ink and wash, 15x19.5 cm., from a series dated ?1614. PWU (art market, London 1973, 1974)



*242 [= RS/13] Leandro Bassano and/or Dirck de Vries {Lodewyk Toeput/ Giovanni Schiavone il Medolla/ Sebastian Vrancx}, *Carnival banquet*, oil on canvas, 128x160 cm. PWU (art market, Berlin 1930, Budapest 1937)



244-7 WORKSHOP OF PAUL BRIL, POSSIBLY WITH INVOLVEMENT OF VRANCX, *La Zengara, Li Carcerati, L'Adrasto, La Commedia in Commedia*, four title-page illustrations (to scenarios 21, 19, 34, 37), watercolour. *Corsini Album*, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Rome (see also plate 276)



248 *Three masks*, dated and located Bologna 1575, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Onophrius Berbinger (Bibl. HS461, f.49v). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg



249 *Zanni and Pantalone serenade two courtesans*, c.1577, coloured drawing. Album amicorum of Johann Adolph von Glauburg (Db.3, f.78r). Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

250-1 *Pantalone and Zanni*, c.1582/3; *Masked woman*, c.1580, coloured drawings. Album amicorum (1577-92) of Julius Bayr (Db.4, ff.42, 18r), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



252 *Carnival mask*, c.1587, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (1587-1616) of Michael Löcher of Nürnberg (Db.8, f.45v), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



253 *Carnival mummer*, coloured drawing. Album amicorum (1610-30) of Heinrich Frölich (Germ.3272, f.36r), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

254 *Ceretani o cantimbanchi*, coloured drawing. From a sketchbook of Italian costumes, c.1580-1609, Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin



255 *Zarlatani montano in Banchi*, coloured drawing, from a sketchbook of Italian costumes (Hs.3659 f.222r). Bibliothek, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

256 *Pantalone and a masked woman*, coloured drawing. *Album amicorum* (Thott 1283 f.18r), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen



Mascharata Venetiana

257 *Mascharata Venetiana*, 1652, ink and colour. *Album amicorum* (1652-6) of Niclaus von Artzat und der Wiesen of Breslau (Ja.5 f.108r), Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

***258-9** [= MII/46, 43] *Charlatans on a raised stage, Two matachins, both dated 1583, ink, wash and body colour. Album amicorum (1581-8) of Johann Wolfgang Schwarzdorfer (Germ.3291 ff.115r, 94r), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich*



260 Crispin de Passe after Jacques Bellange, engravings from a set of five relating to the Italian comedy. Private collection; and album amicorum (Thott.403), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen

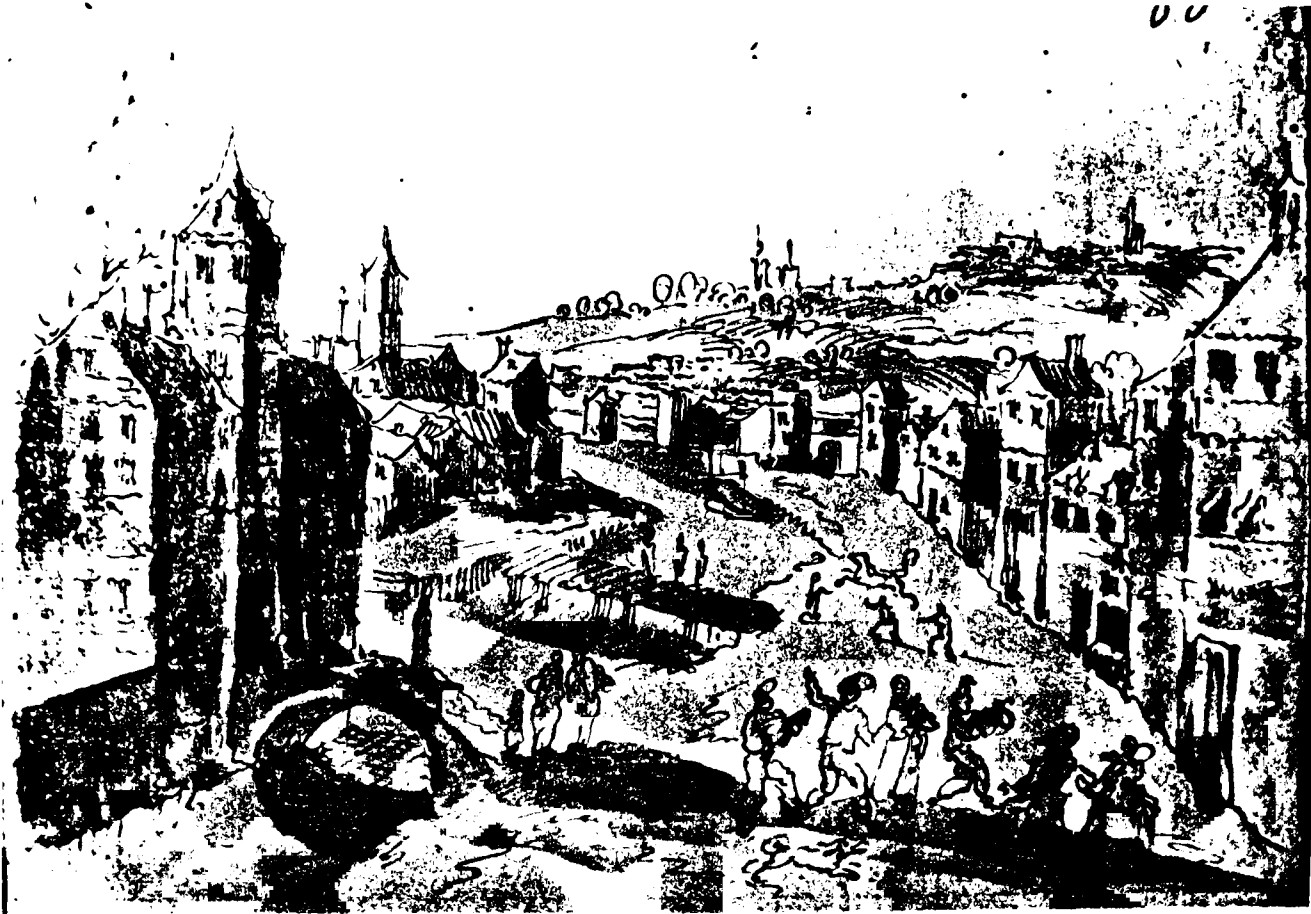


261 After Bellange and de Passe, *Francisquine*, ink and colour. Album amicorum (Thott.1283, f.30r), Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen



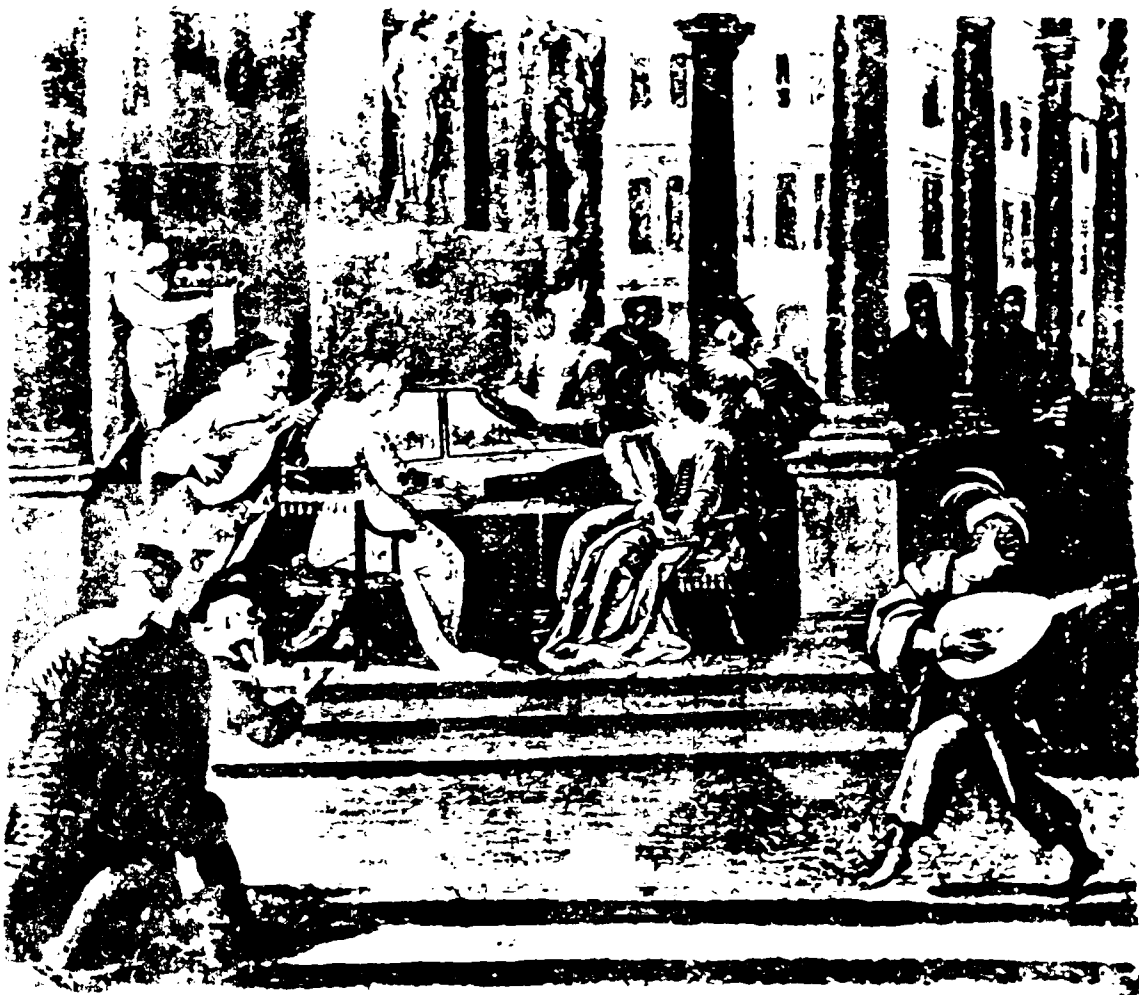
*262 [=RS/6] Lodewyk Toeput, *Winter scene*, fresco. Villa Chiericati-Mugna, Longa di Schiavone, near Vicenza

263 ?Friedrich Brentel after an unidentified drawing in the style of Bril, Toeput or Momper, *Townscape with comedians*, ink and wash sketch. Klebeband Brentel (c.1596-1621) II f.88r, Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle



264 Anon. Netherlands School/ Circle of Lodewyk Toeput, *A village at carnival time*, oil on copper, 21.5x31 cm. PWU (art market, Monaco 1987)

***265** [=RS/14] STUDIO OF LODEWYK TOEPUT ? {School of Bassano},
The month of January, oil on canvas. Cathedral, Lima



***266** [=RS/19] STUDIO OF LODEWYK TOEPUT ? {école française (?)},
The concert, oil on panel, 49x55 cm. PWU (art market, Paris 1903)

***267** [= RS/16] Leandro Bassano, *The month of February (Carnival)*, oil on canvas, 145x211 cm, signed. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



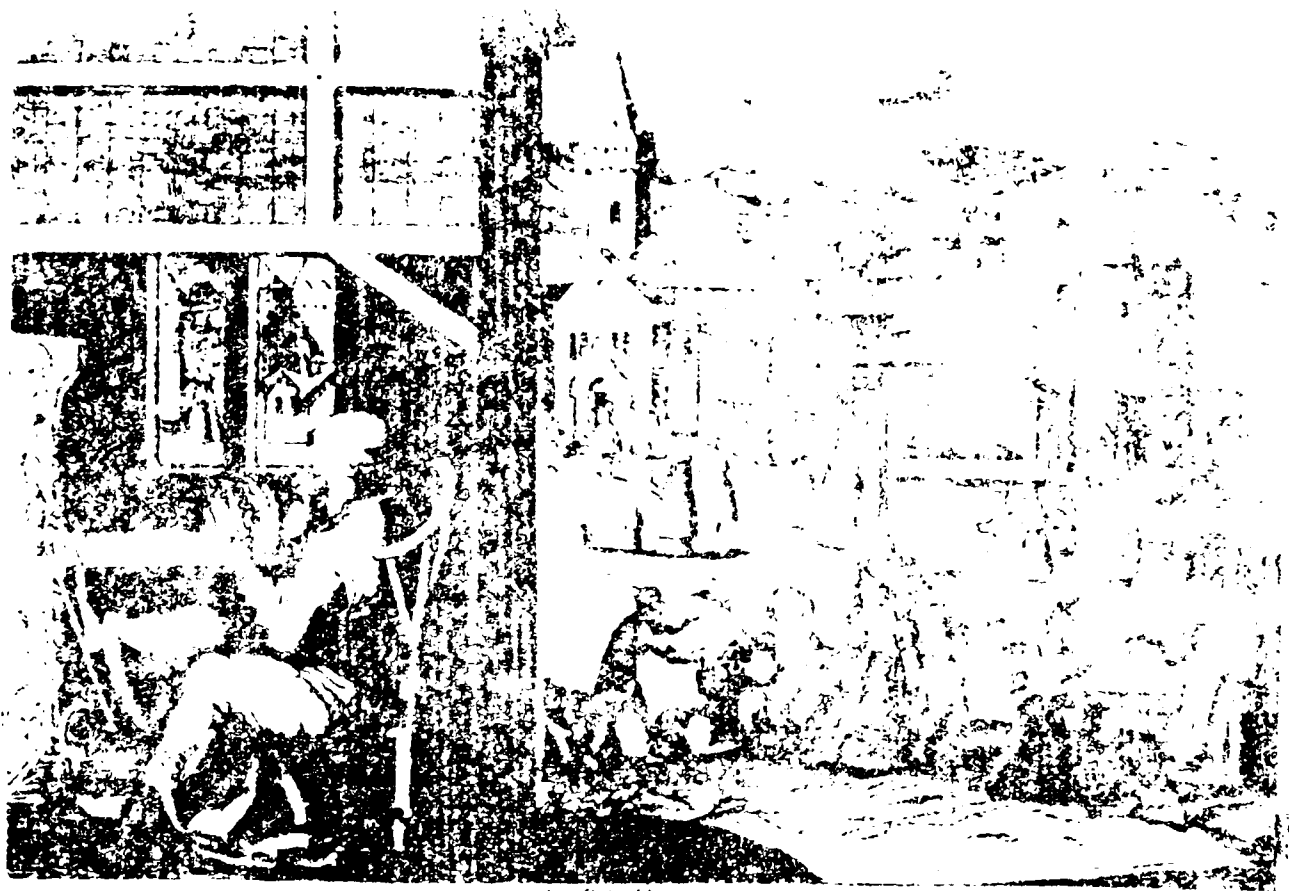
***268** [= RS/17] Leandro Bassano, *The twelve months: February*, signed, chalk and watercolour on paper, c.300x430 cm. Private collection, Germany

269 Adrian Collaert and Phillip Galle after Joos de Momper, *January*, engraving, 19.5x26.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

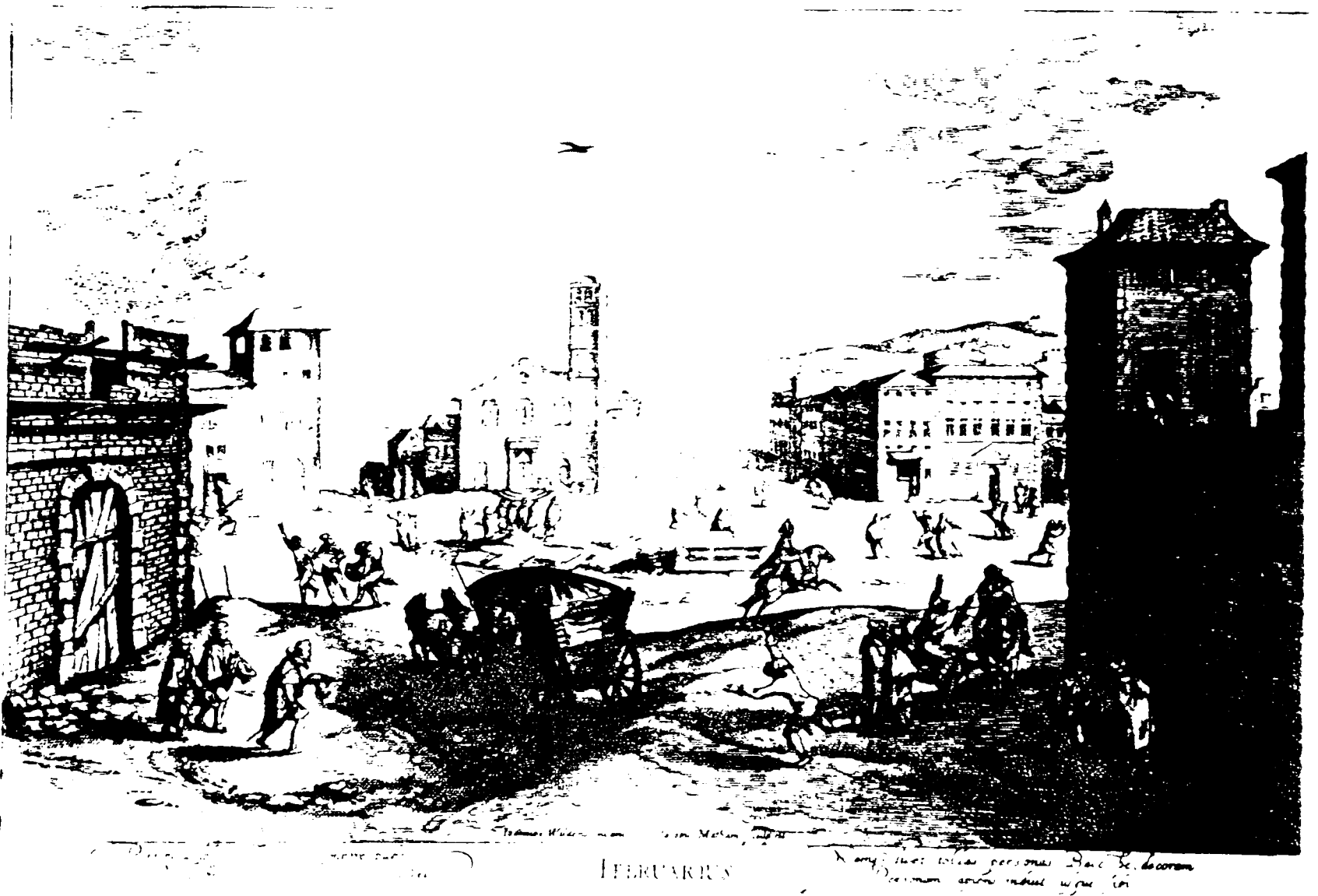


270 Jan Collaert and Phillip Galle after Joos de Momper, *February*, engraving, 19x26.5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

271-2 Jacques Callot after Joos de Momper, *January* and *February*, engravings, 20.5x26 and 20x26 cm. British Museum, London

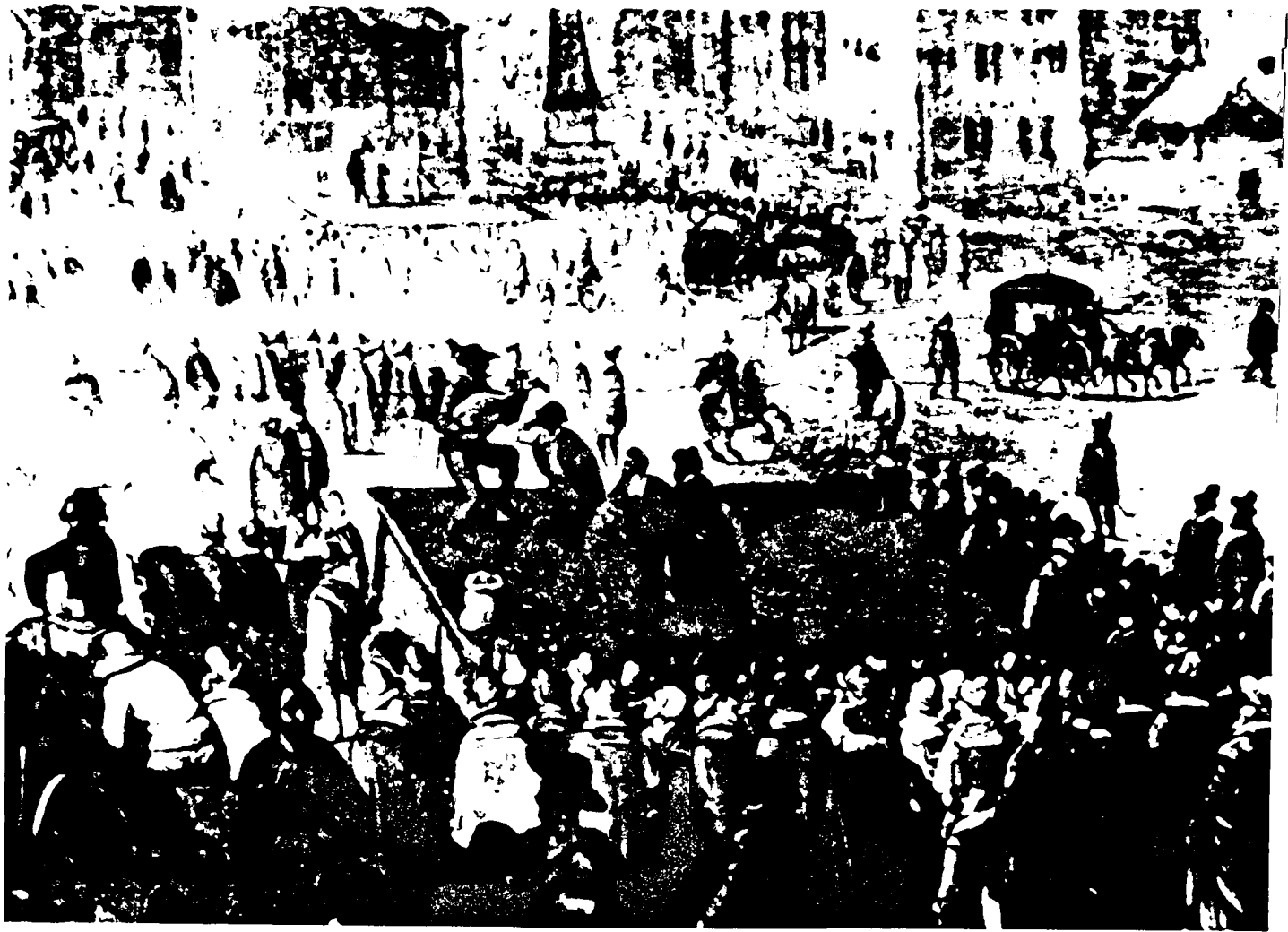


273 Frans de Momper, *February*, oil, 63x87 cm. PWU (art market, Amsterdam 1953)



274 Jacob Matham after Jan Wildens, *The twelve months: February, Pleasures of the Carnival* (from a series of *the months* of which *January* is dated 1614), engraving, 27x43 cm. (Photo: Netherlands Art Institute)

275 PIETER STEVENS {Hendrick van Avercamp/ Dennis van Alsloot/ anon. Flemish}, *Winter carnival*, oil on panel, 45x78.5 cm. PWU (art market, New York 1929)



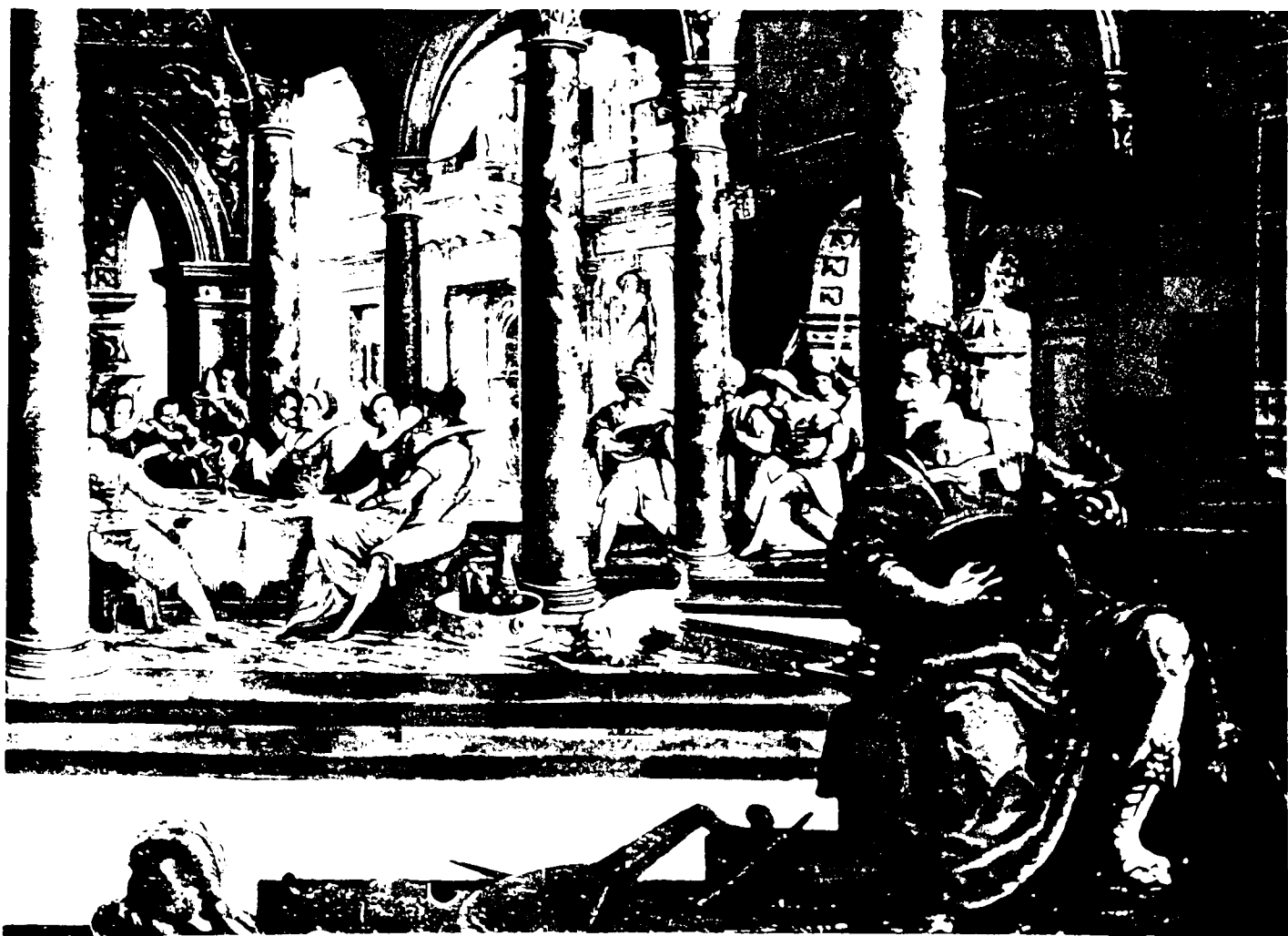
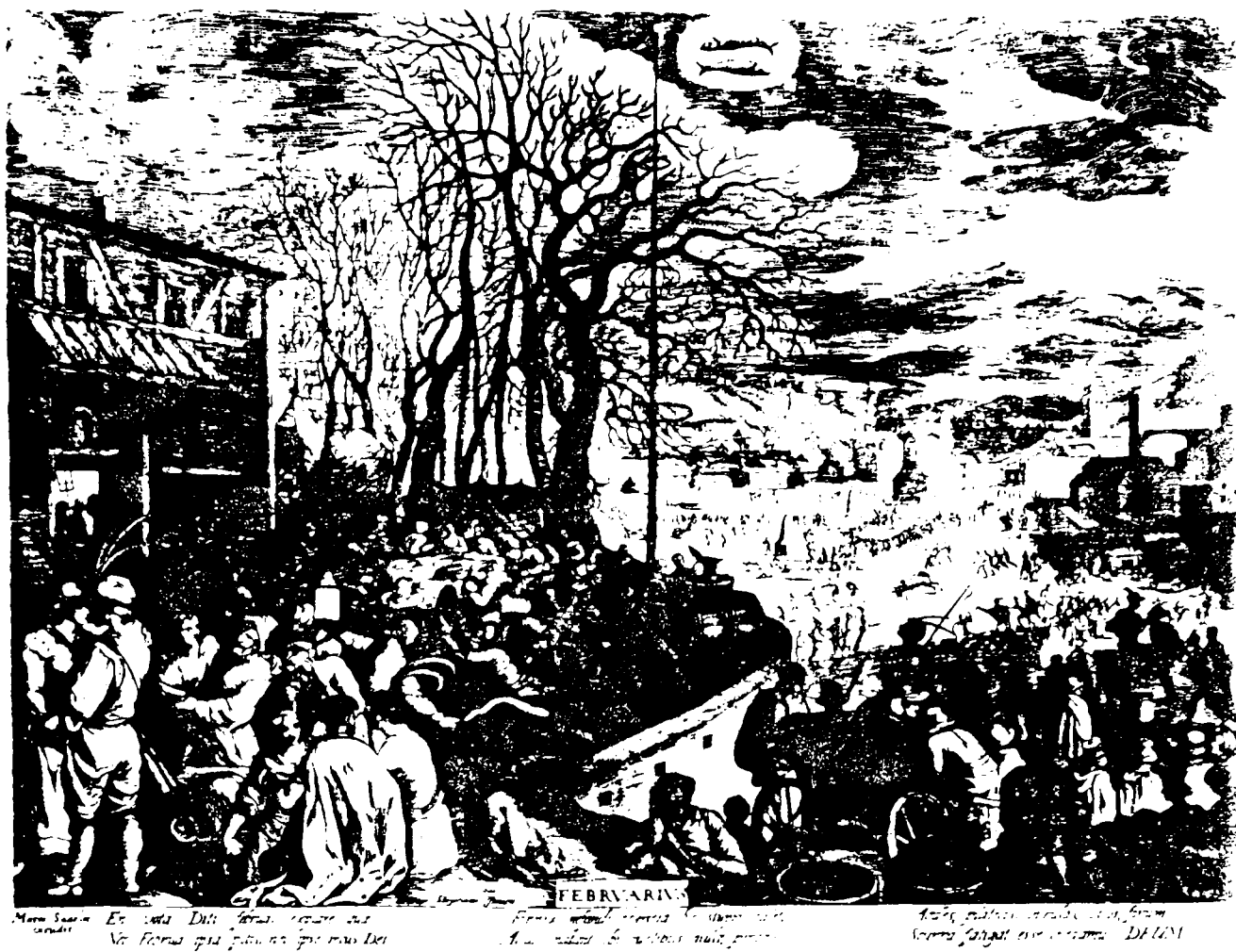
276 Paul Bril and studio assistants, perhaps Sebastian Vrancx and/or Willem van Nieulandt (see also plates 244-7) {Paolo Fiamingho/ A. Grimmer/ Pieter Stevens/ Sebasian Vrancx after Bril}, *January and February*, oil on poplar panel, 30.5x40.5" (recorded as being shipped from Rome to England in 1615, and thus predating Aegidius Sadeler's dated engraving of 1615 after Bril of this composition). PWU (art market, London 1938, 1948, Edinburgh 1943, New York 1951)

277 Pieter Stevens, *Festival with comedians*, ink, water- and body colour, 22x31.5 cm. Private collection, Holland



278 Pieter Stevens, *The month of February*, ink and brown wash on paper, 20.5x28.5 cm. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento (no.1871.141)

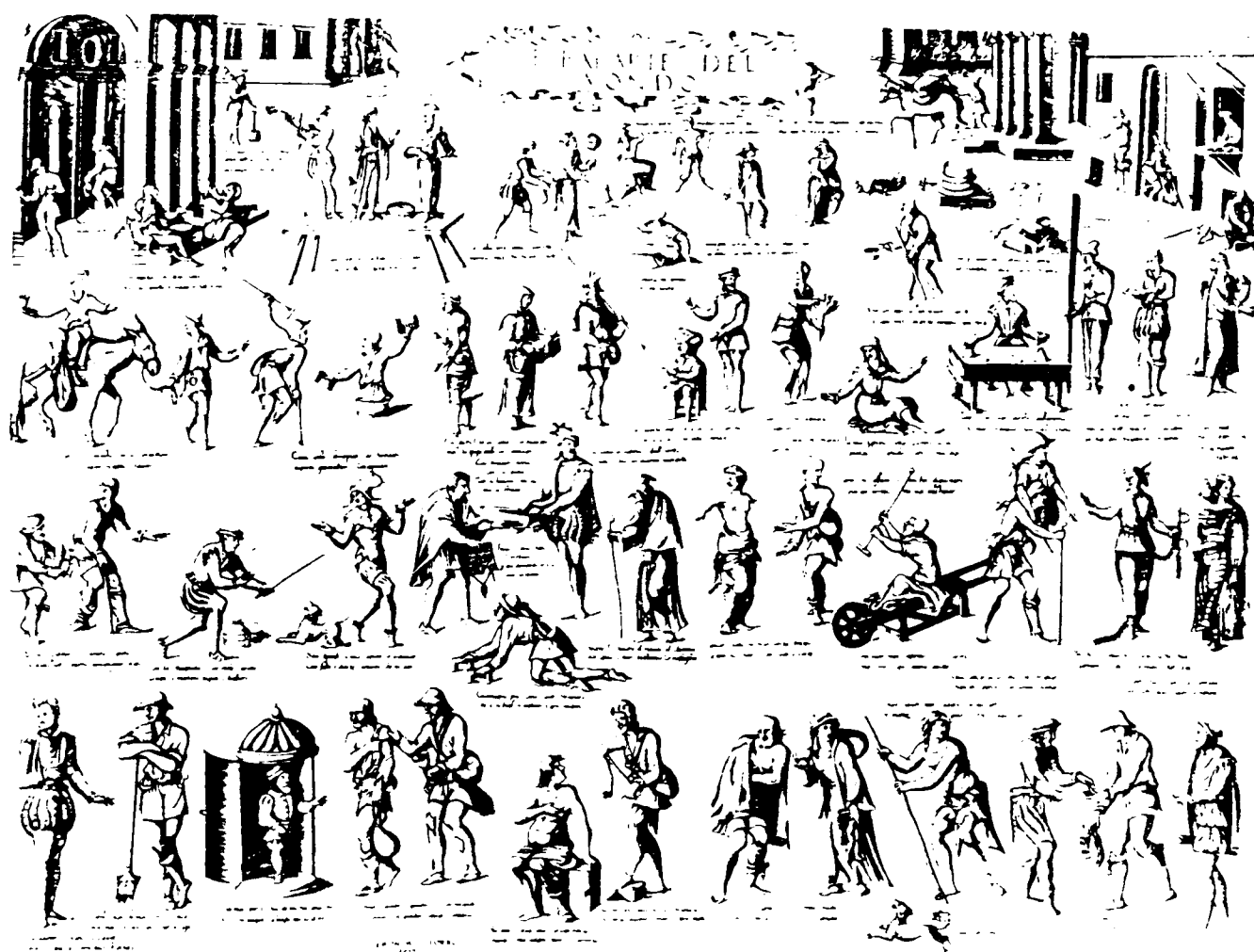
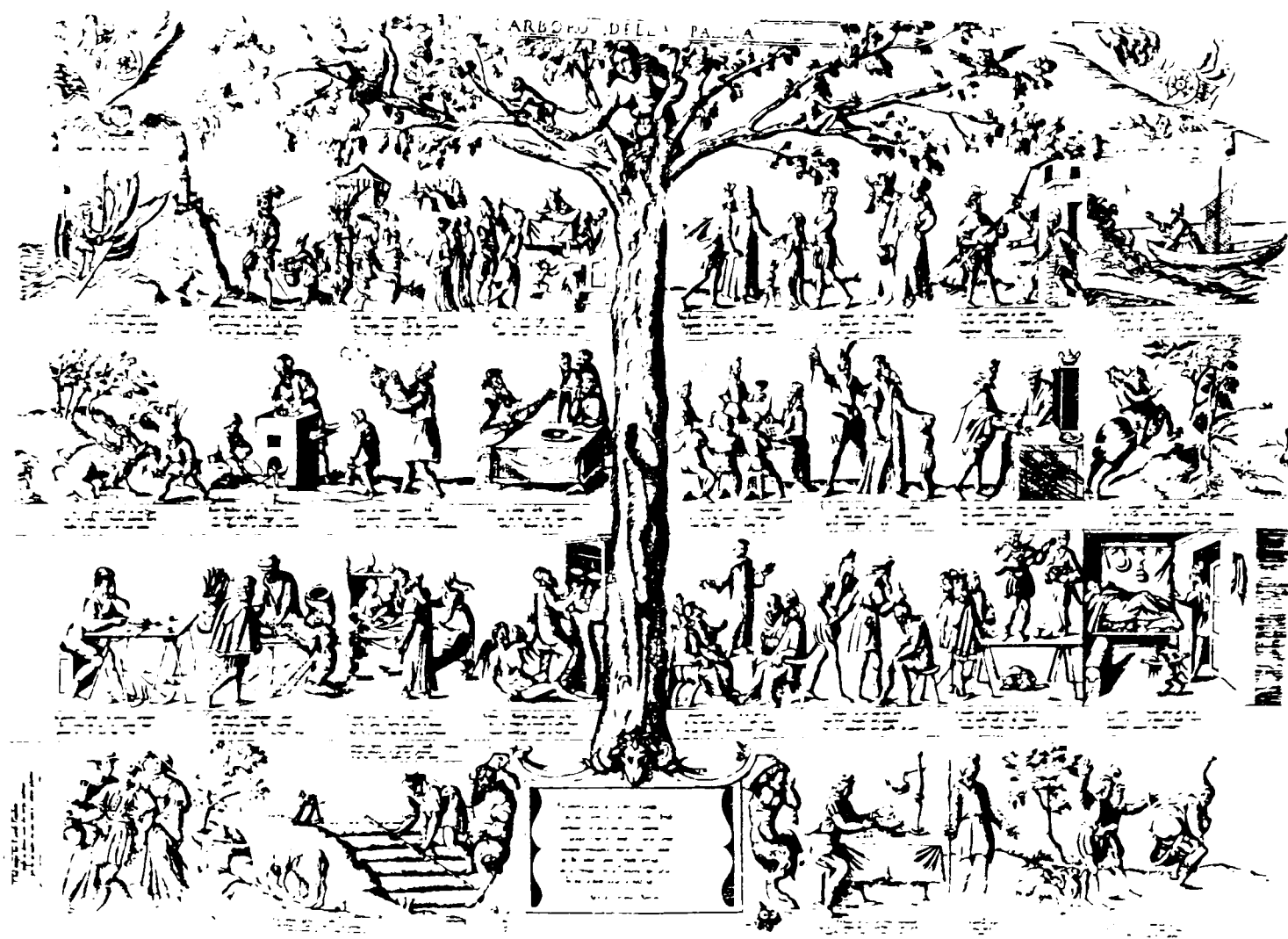
279 Egidius Sadeler after Pieter Stevens, *The twelve months: February*, engraving, dated 1607. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



280 Hendrik Aerts, *Imaginary renaissance palace*, signed and dated 1602, oil on canvas, 93x127.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (A.2528)

281 Louis de Caulery, *Courtyard of a palace*, oil on copper, 48x65 cm.
PWU (art market, Brussels 1974)

***283 [=PQ/167]** *L'arbore della pazzia*, dated 1568, etching, 37x53 cm.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm



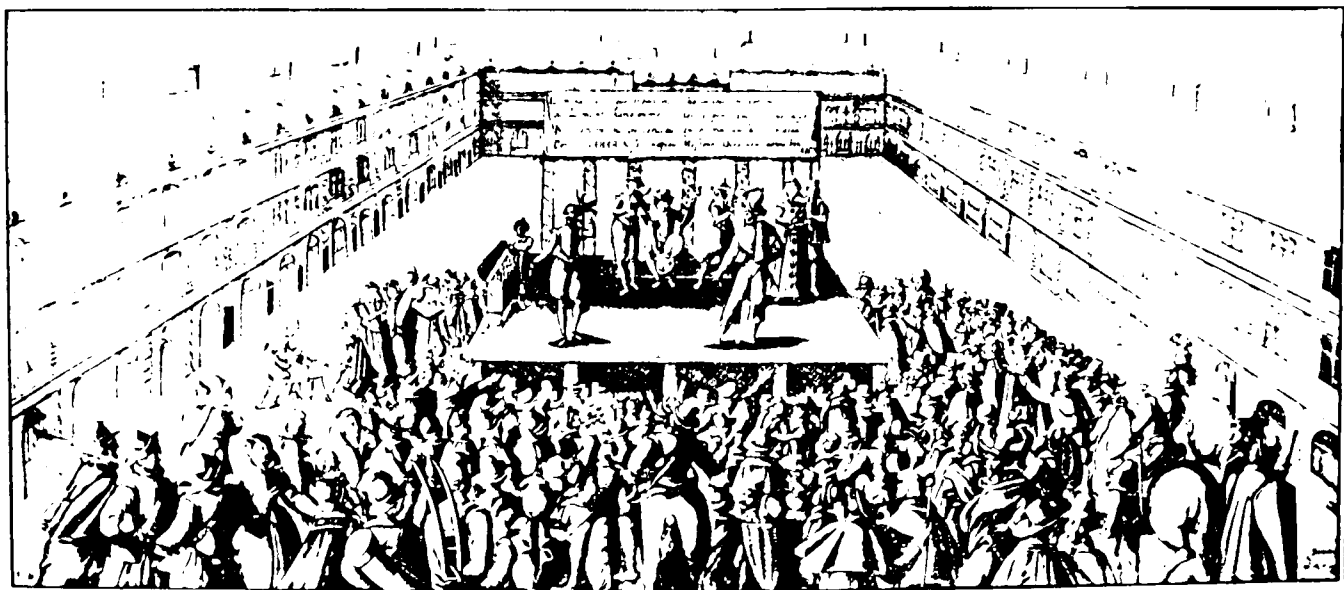
***284 [=PQ/166]** Hieronymus Porro, *Le bararie del mondo*, engraving, 38.5x50 cm., signed in the plate. Royal Library, Windsor

285 *Comedians on an open-air stage*, watercolour. Staatliche Bibliothek, Bamberg (I.Qc.75)



286 Giacomo Franco, *Ciarlatani in Piazza*, engraving, 1610. British Museum (1868-8-22-8573), London

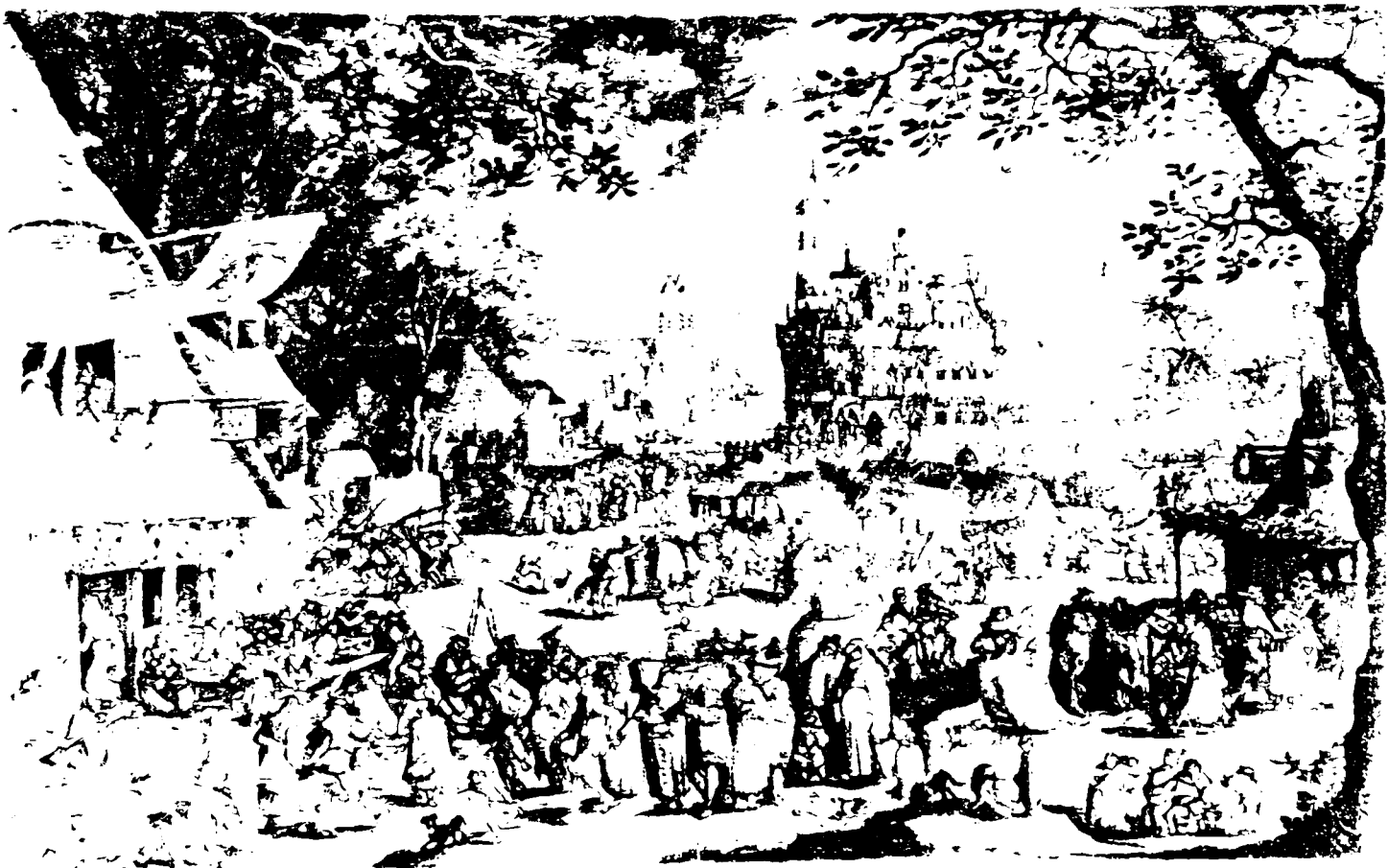
287 Abraham Bosse, *Théâtre de Tabarin*, engraving, c.1620. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Hennin, vol.XXI)



*Vnum bina mihi celebratur Pallas et Hermes, Os mihi Mercurius praebet, Tritona mellen, Pulcherram Mater Charitum, gaudetrixq; lepori
Pallas, laetae, Tritonae, Charitum, gaudetrixq; lepori
Hoc autem dicitur, et mille novae, Pueri sapere cano discere, fingo, loco*

288 C. Vischer after Hans von Aachen, *Francia*, 1616, engraving, 22.5x26 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (see also plate 282, above)

289 Isack van Swanenburgh, *A Flemish kermess*, oil, 106x214 cm, signed and dated 1608. PWU (art market, London 1971)



290 David Vinckeboons, *A kermess*, ink and watercolour, 45x71 cm, dated 1602 ?. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

291 Monogrammist "REM", *Flemish kermess*, oil on wood, 51x81 cm, signed in monogram and dated 1602. PWU

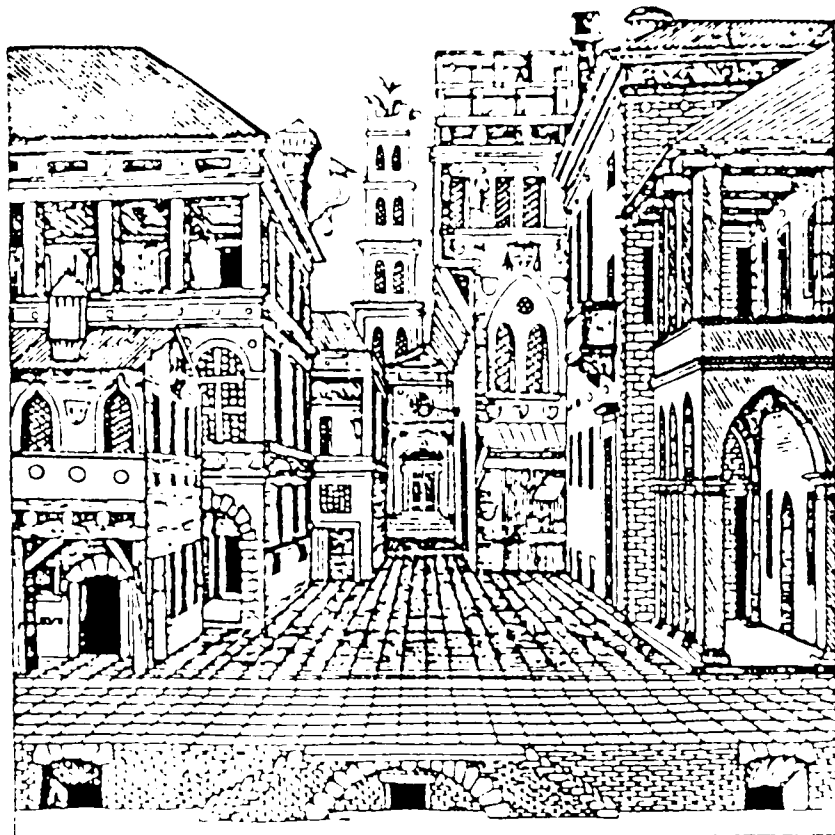
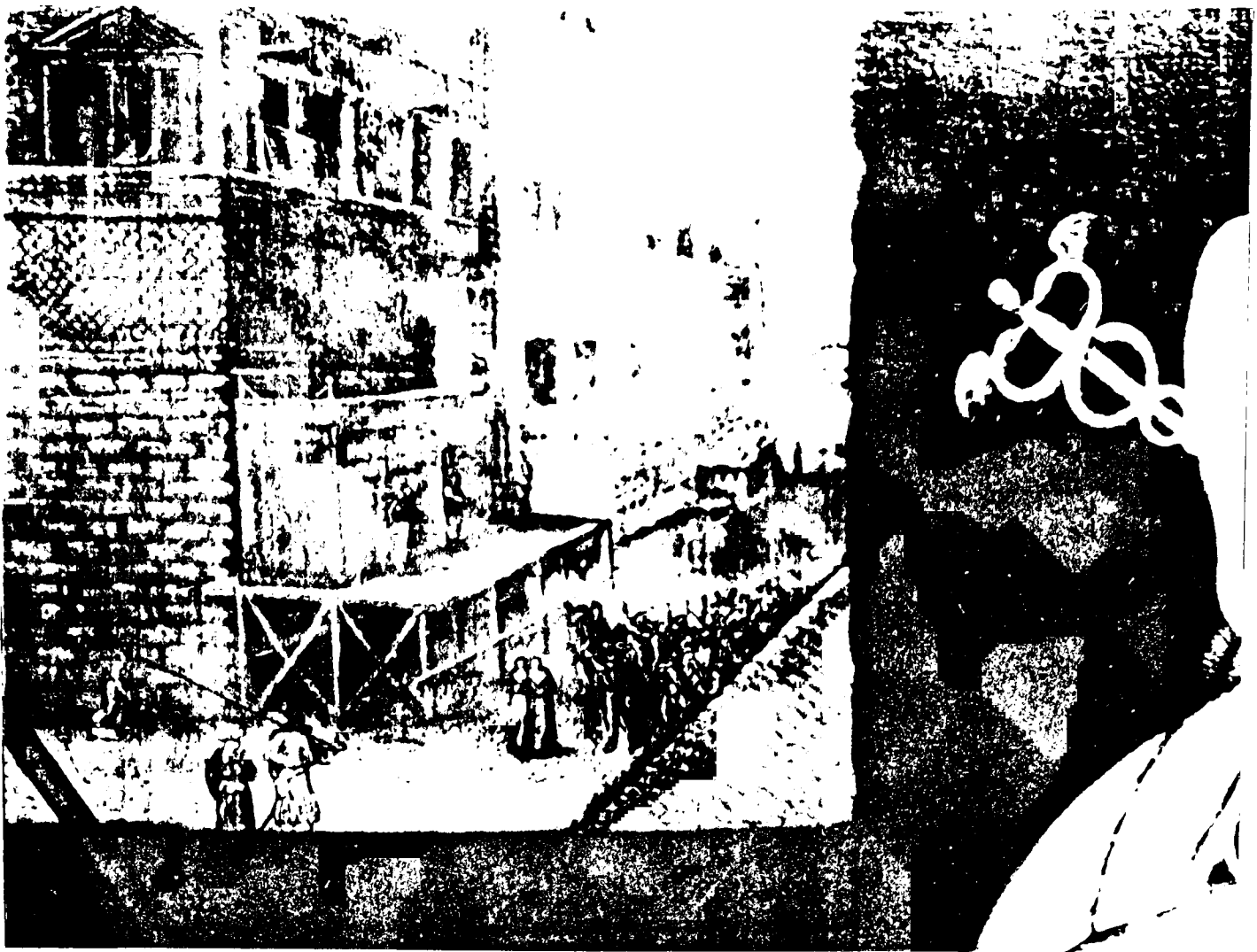


292 *Deceitful people*, engraving (from A. van Bourgoigne, *Ghebreken der Tonghe*, Antwerp 1631, 112), 7x5 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

293-4 Dionisio Minaggio, *Schapin and Spineta, Cietrulo and Bagatino*, colour and cut feathers glued to a paper foundation, c.13x19", title page signed, dated and located Milan 1618. Folios 110 and 113 of a dismembered volume of 156 feather pictures, including fourteen depicting actors, Wood Library of Ornithology, McGill University, Montreal



295 Frans Floris, *Allegory of Rhetoric*, oil on canvas. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (no.3659), Munich



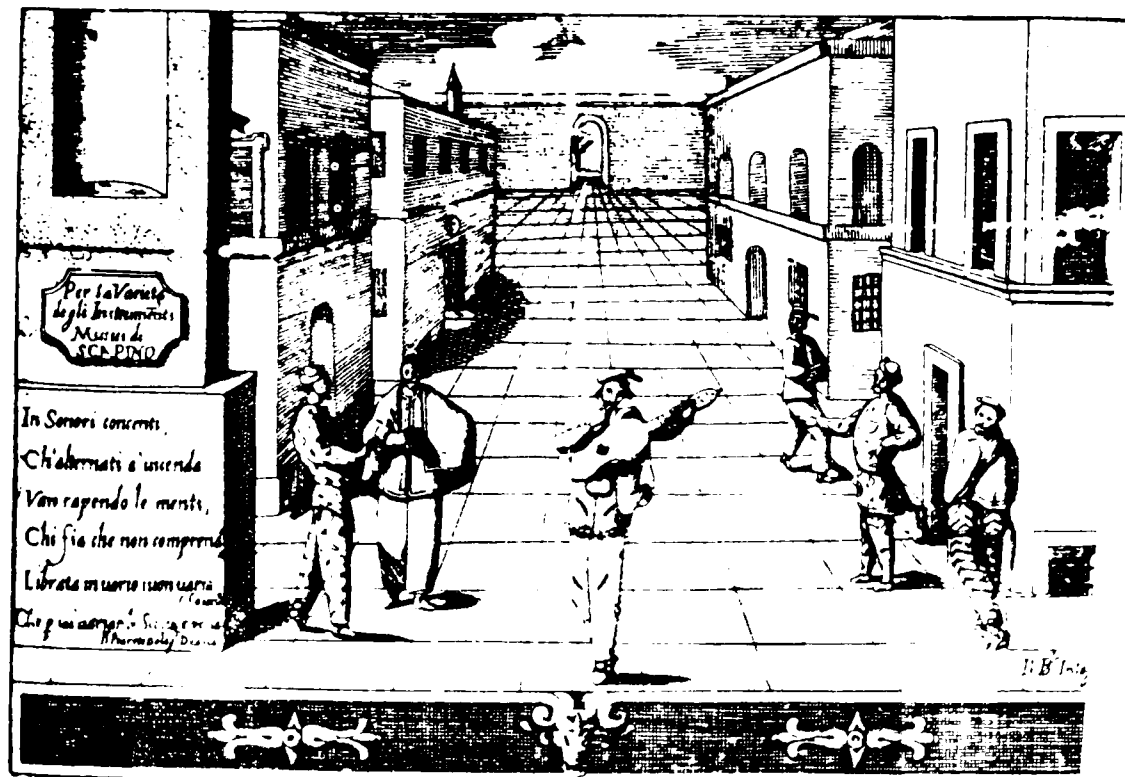
296 Sebastiano Serlio, *Comic stage setting*, (from Serlio's *Architettura*, Venice, 1545)

297-8 Sebastiano Serlio, *Tragic and Satyric (or Pastoral) stage settings*,
(from Serlio's *Architettura*, Venice, 1545)



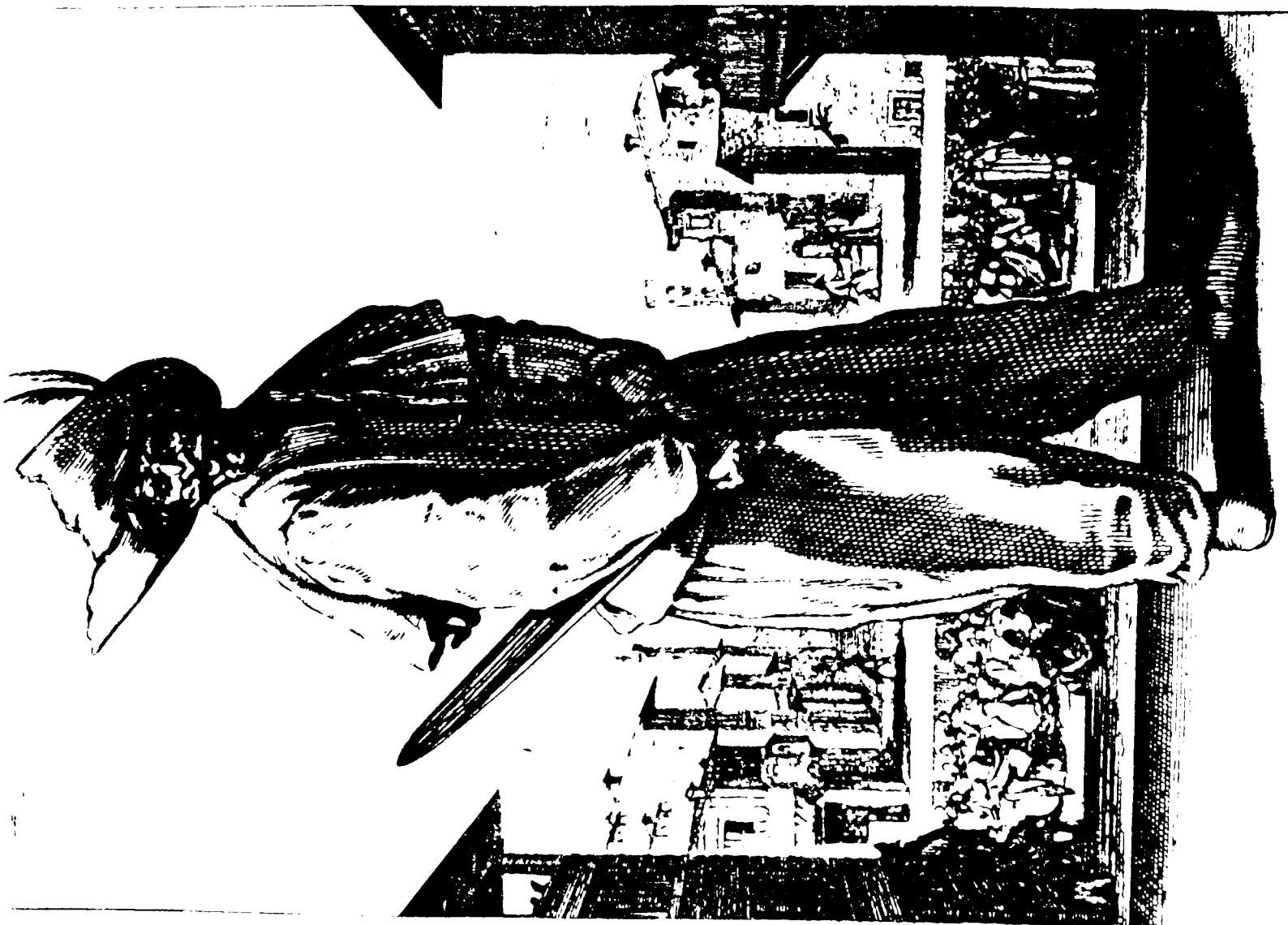
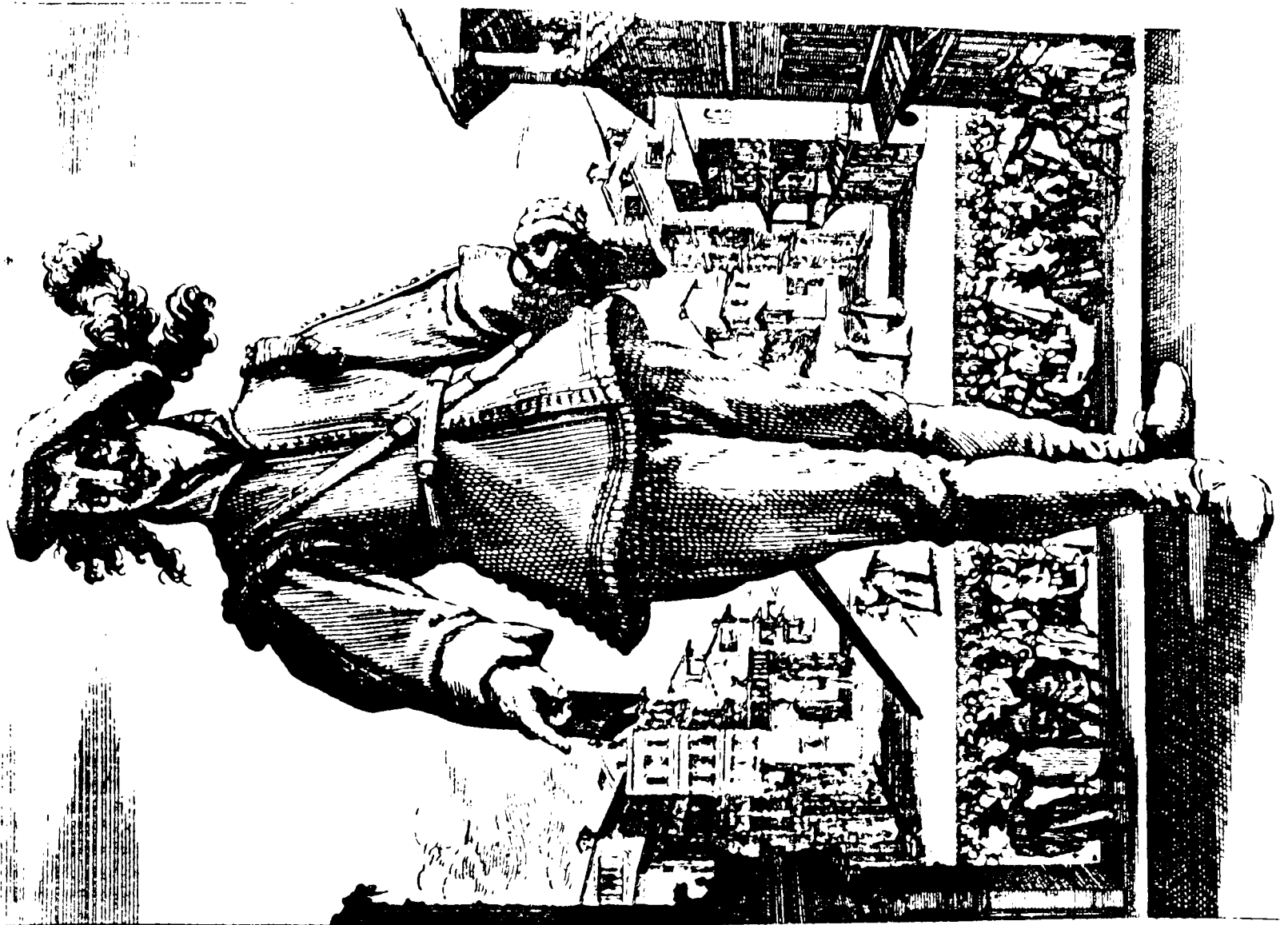


301 *Scapino takes centre stage*, engraving. Archiginnasio, Bologna (Taken from Nicoll 1963, 75)

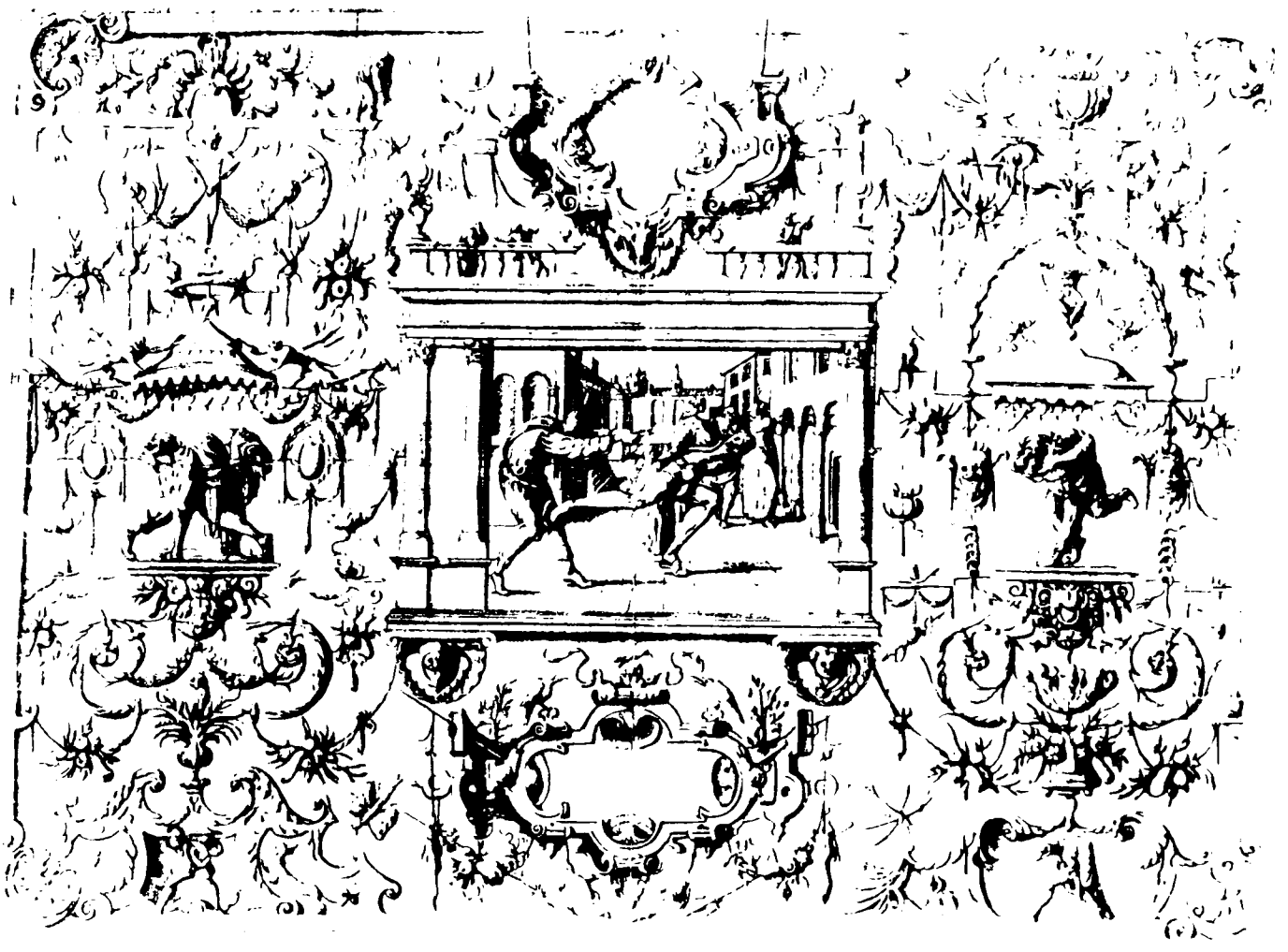
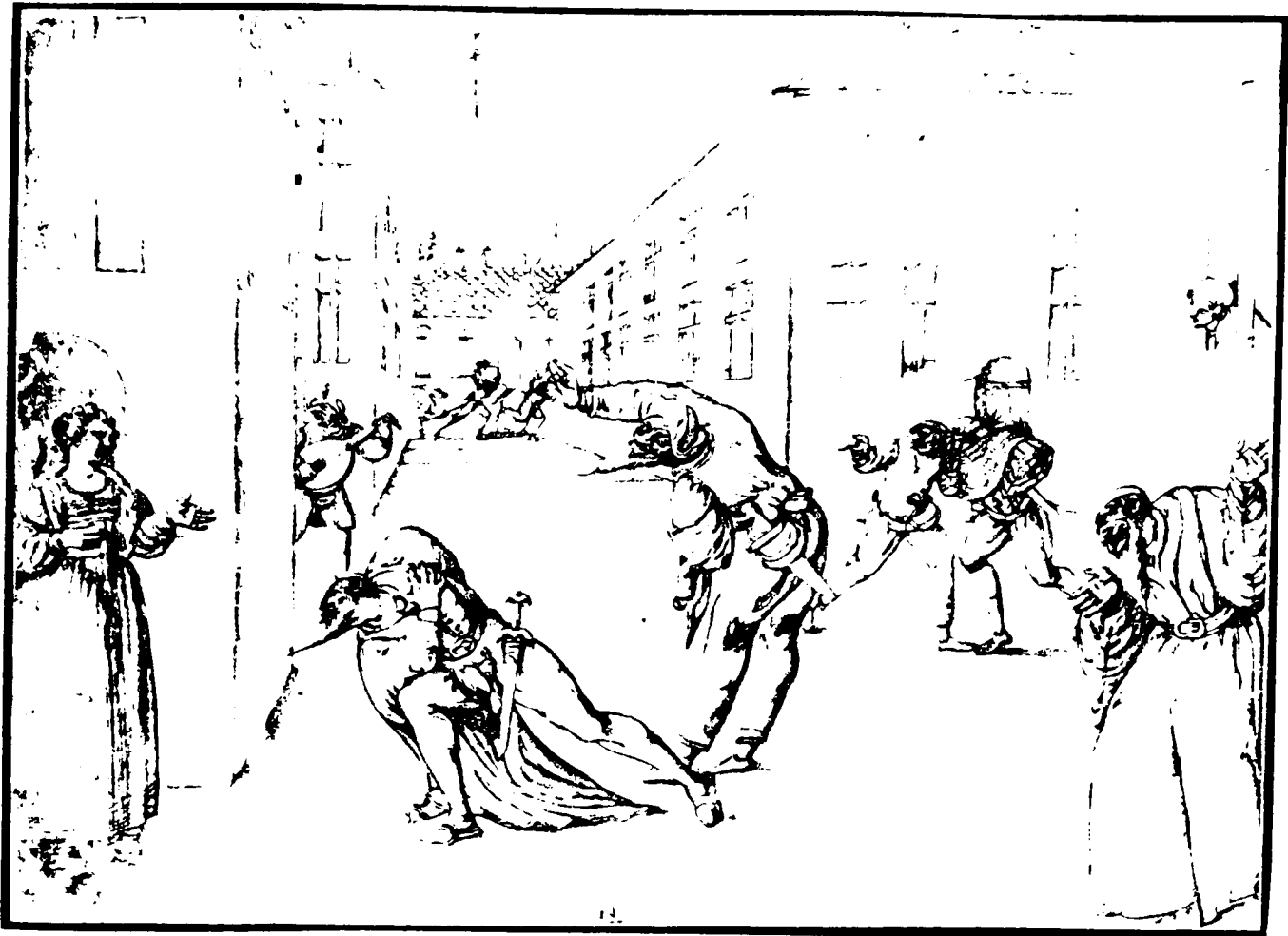


302 Jacques Callot, *Three Italian comedians: Pantalone*, c.1618-20, etching with engraving, 22x15 cm. Private collection

303-4 Jacques Callot, *Three Italian comedians: Zanni/ Scapin, Captain/ Innamorato*, c.1618-20, etchings with engraving, each 22x15 cm. Private collection



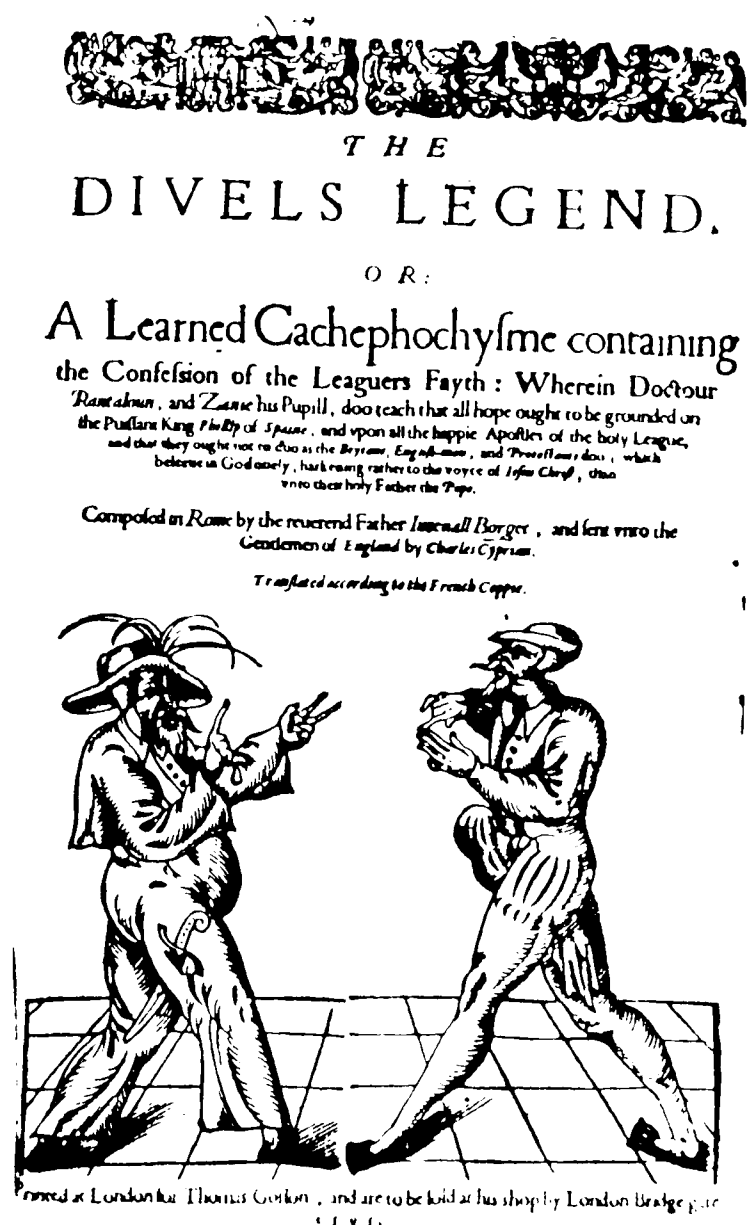
305 CIRCLE OF CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ {? French School c.1575-1600}, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, ink and wash, 26x36 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (no.2259)



306 CIRCLE OF CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ {Anon French}, late sixteenth century, *Scene from the commedia dell'arte*, ink. Cabinet des Éstamps, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

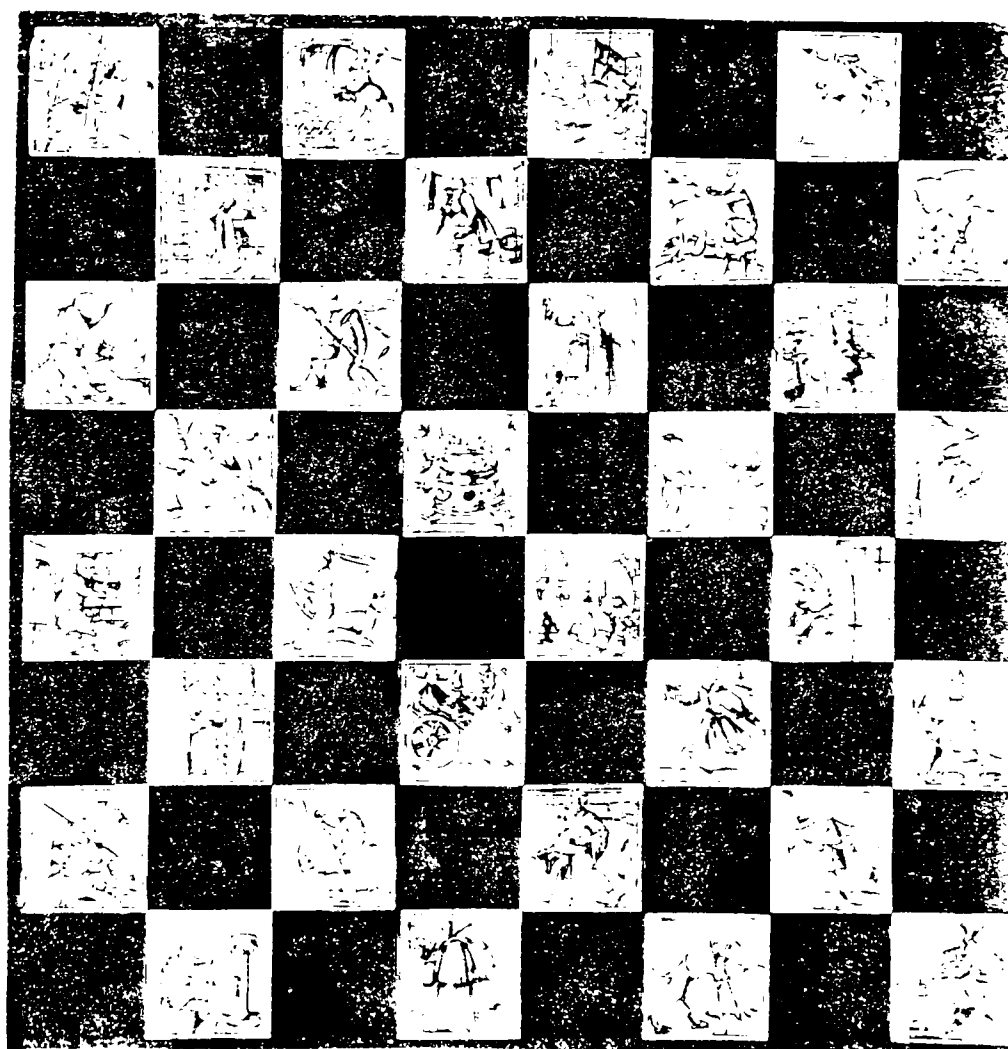
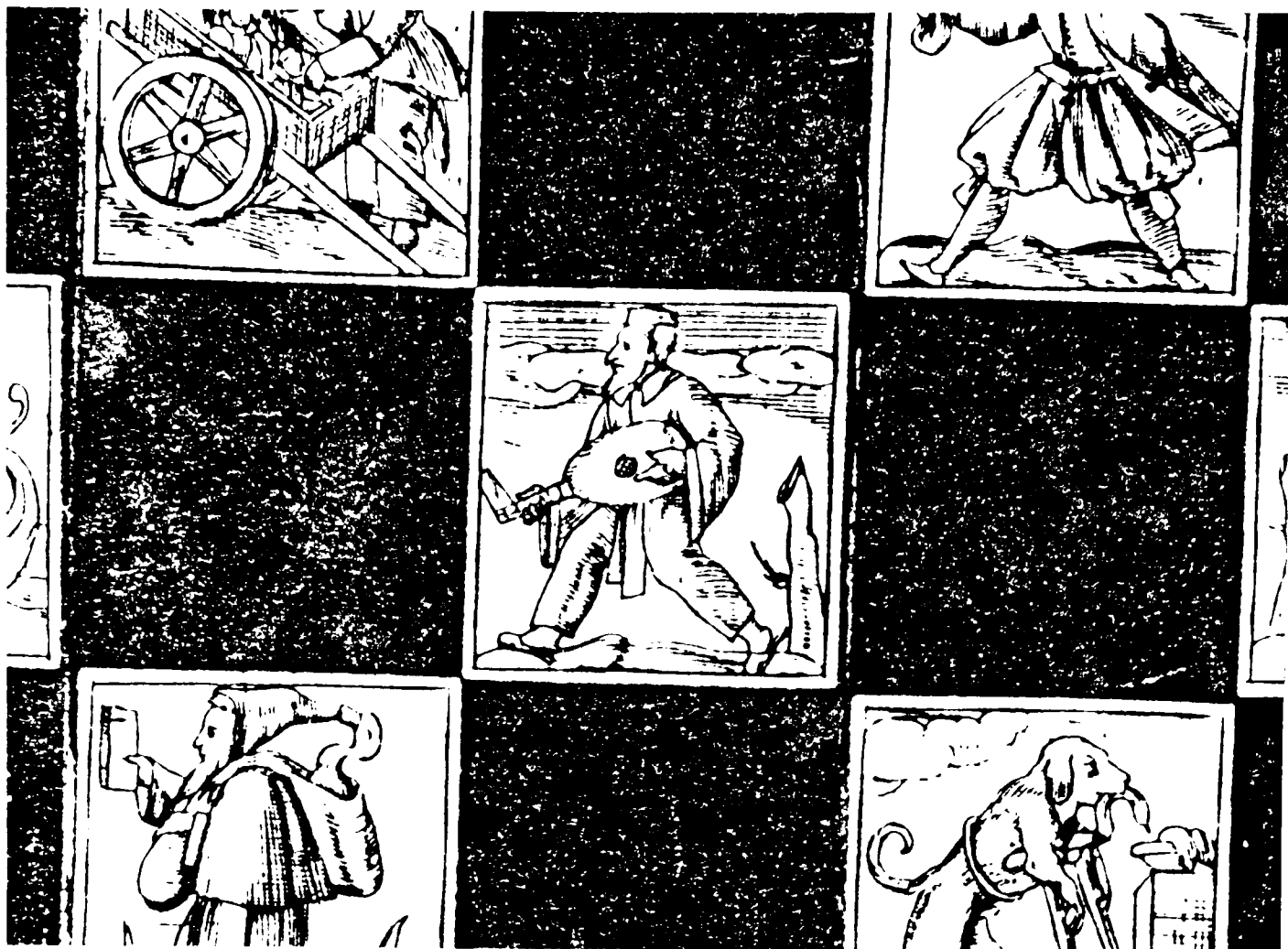


***309** [=MII/28] Lambert Sustris, *Commedia dell'arte characters on a painted organ lid* (detail from *Venus with the organ-player*), oil on canvas, dated 1578. PWU



310 *Doctour Pantalon and Zanse his Pupill*, woodcut (from *The Divels Legend*, London 1595). Bodleian Library, Oxford

311 Workshop of Ulrich Baumgärtner, *Chessboard with comic scenes*, including a Zanni (7th row down, 3rd scene from left), incised inlay work, dated 1616. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (no.Moe 85), Braunschweig



312 Andreas Bretschneider, *A mask at the Dresden carnival*, body colour, dated 1610. University Library, Leipzig



313 Gabriel Weyer, *Zanni with jug*, signed in monogram and dated 1615, ink. PWU (Böhm 14/33, photo: Berlin Kunstbibliothek)

314 Guercino, *Satirical subject from the commedia dell'arte*, pre-1621, ink and wash, 18x27 cm. Devonshire collection, Chatsworth (no.513)



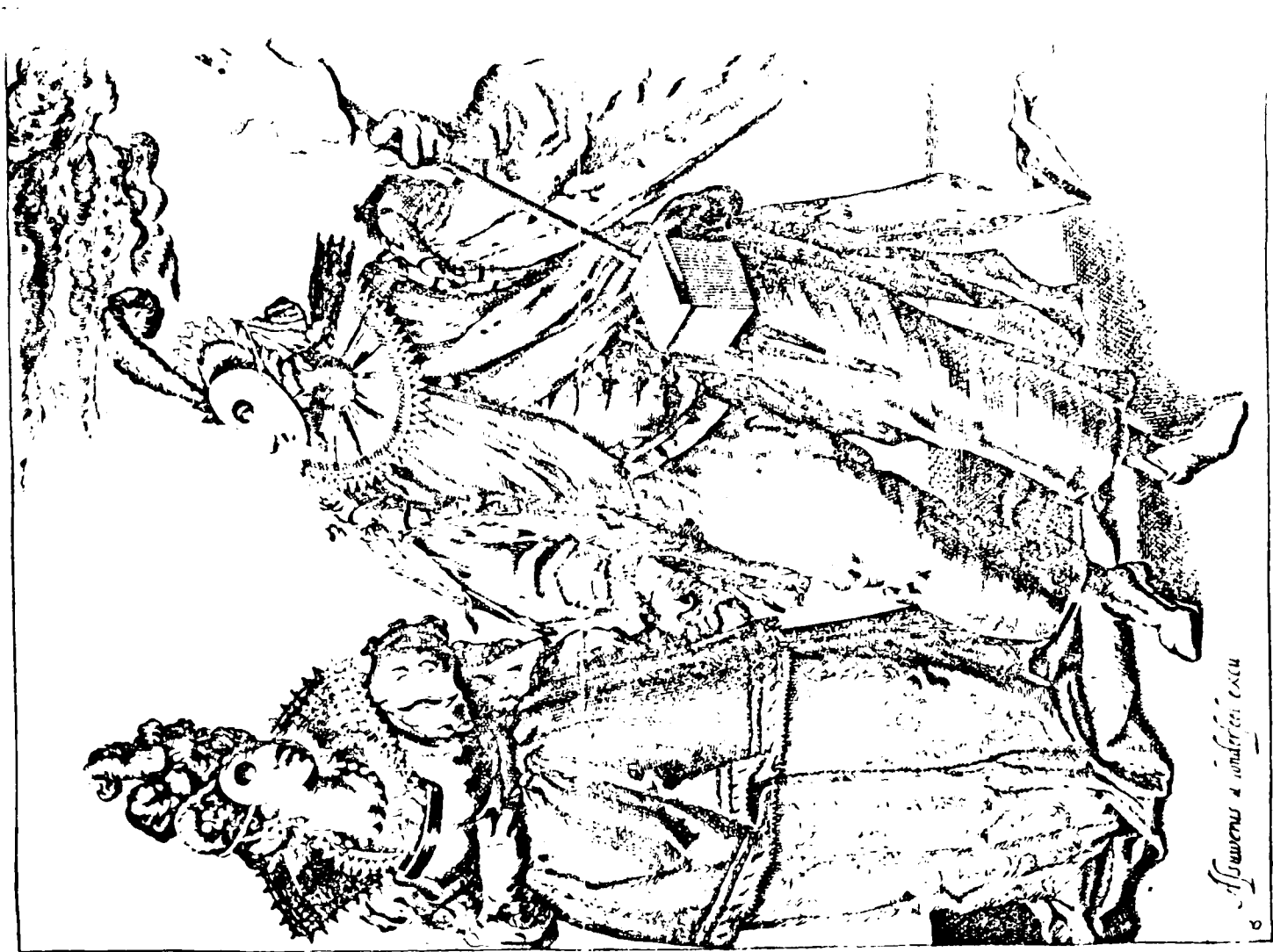
*315 [= PQ/177] *Bvrlette et Schersi di Commedie*, engraving, 37.5x49 cm. Royal Library, Windsor

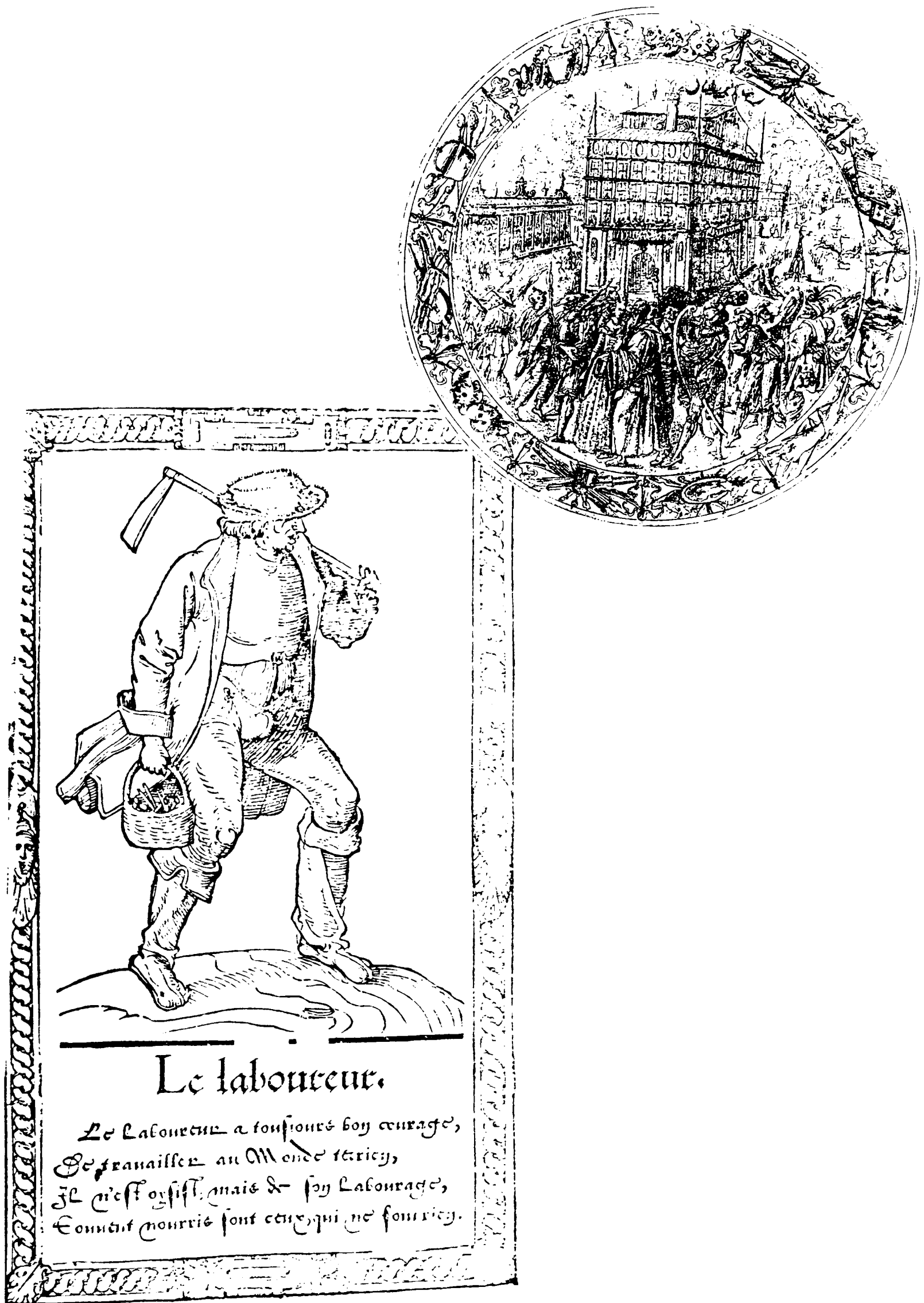
***316** [=MII/45] Abraham de Bruyn, *European sailors*, engraving (from *Habitus Variarum Gentium*, Cologne, 1577), 12x27 cm. Bodleian Library (1.Δ.643, plate 15), Oxford



317 Niclausz Keppel, *Three masks*, c. 1588, coloured drawing. Walters Art Gallery (ms.477, f.16), Baltimore

319 After Jacob de Gheyn, two plates from the *Mascarades* series, engravings, c.1600. Leopoldskron, Salzburg & Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford



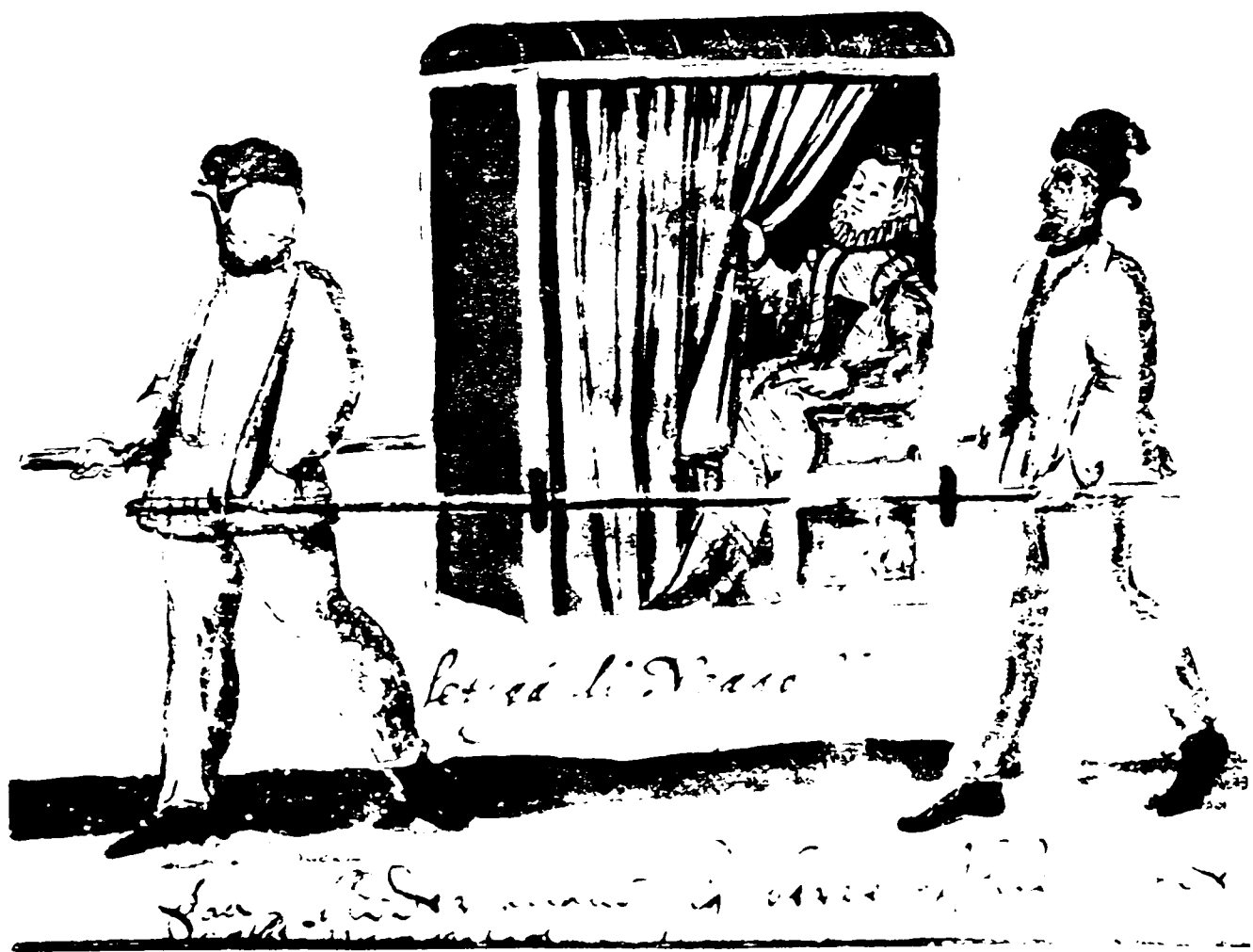


***322** [=MII/41] Cesare Vecellio, *Venetian docker*, woodcut (*De gli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diverse Parti del Mondo*, Venice, 1590, no.138).
Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.33), Berlin

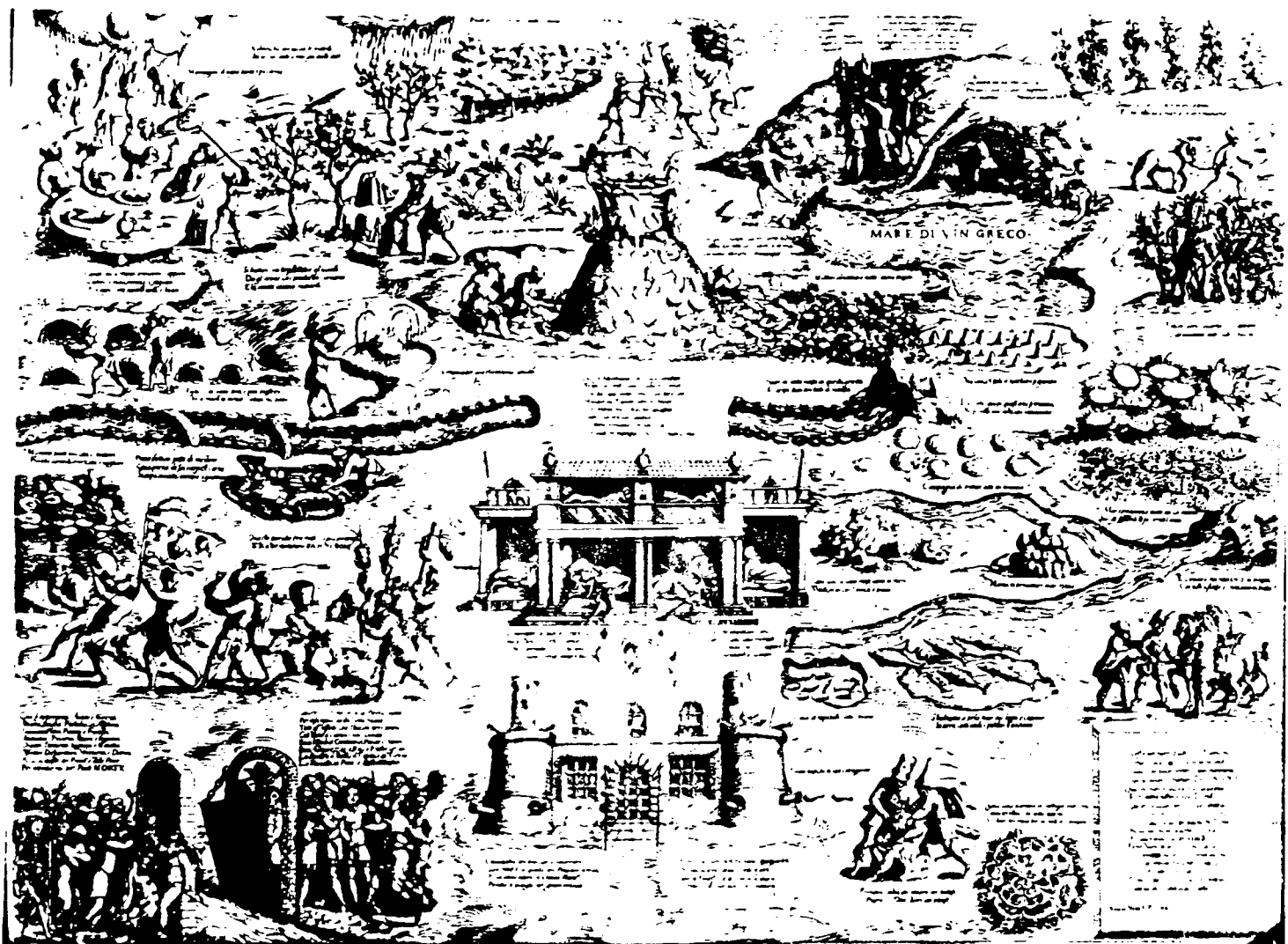
FACCHINO.



***323** [=MII/44] *A chimney sweep*, coloured drawing from a manuscript volume of costume studies. Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Aa.4, f.10r), Berlin



326 Callot/ Pieter I Bruegel/ Netherlandish master c.1600, *Zanni {masked man}*, ink, 25x9.5 cm. Kupferstich Kabinett (KdZ 4637), Berlin

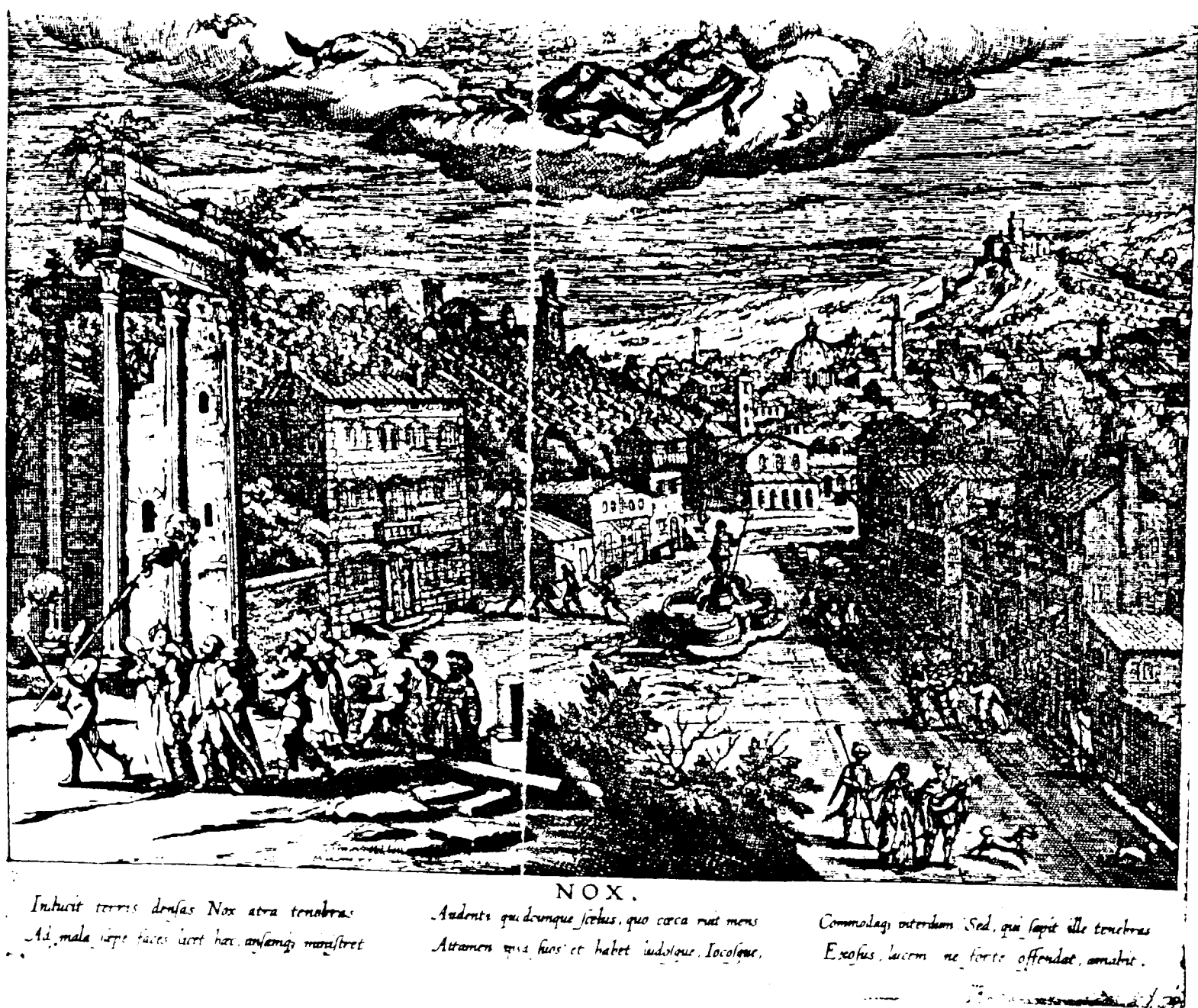


***327** [=PQ/168] Nicolò Nelli, *Cucagna*, engraving, 40x54 cm, signed and dated 1564 in the plate. Royal Library, Windsor



329-30 Cesare Vecellio, *Peasant woman from outskirts of Venice as seen in town on Ascension Day, The favourite of the Sultan* (wearing a *kashbahti*), woodcuts 140 and 365 from *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, Venice 1598 (see also plates 322, 332)

331 Egbert van Paenderen after Haecht, *Nox*, 22x19 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford (see also plate 163)



*Inducit terras densas Nox atra tenebras
Ad mala usque facies licet hoc anfractu manifestet*

*NOX.
Audemus qui dumque scilicet, quo circa nati mens
Atramentis quia fuit et habet iudicium, Ioculorum,*

*Commodat, interitum Sed, qui sapit ille tenebras
Exclus, lucem ne forte offendant, amant.*



332 Cesare Vecellio, *Asian Gypsy woman*, woodcut 466 from *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, Venice 1598

333-4 February: two carnival scenes with sleighs, Netherlandish, early 16th century, details from two embroideries (T1663; T1665: tablecloth with beheading of St. John the Baptist and the twelve months), Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich



335 Bernardino Poccetti, *Figural group apparently including Francesco Andreini in his rôle of Captain* (extreme left), 1604, fresco. SS. Annunziata, Florence



336 *Couple and three jesters in an interior*, ink and watercolour, page from a sketch-book of Italian costume c.1580-1600. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin

337 Girolamo Romanino, *Masked dance*, ink, 20x32cm. Private collection, Belgium



*Larvis ac tragicis utendum. Sape cothurnis.
Vincere qui modis vult secula multa virum.*

Ein guten rath Ich geben will,
Das merck Student gar eben,
Mitt Mummeren ergek dich Vill,
So wirstu lange leben.

338 *Larvis ac tragicis*, engraving, 12x7 cm. Douce Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford

***339** [= TRI/I] *Duelling Magnifico and zanni watched by il Dottore*, painted glass goblet, 19 cm. high. British Museum, London



340 after Callot, *Mountebanks on a stage*, ink and wash. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum (inv.nr.FP4539)