GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE
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THE OPERATIC MAD SCENE: ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT UP TO C.1700

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REGULATIONS
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BY NAOMI MATSUMOTO

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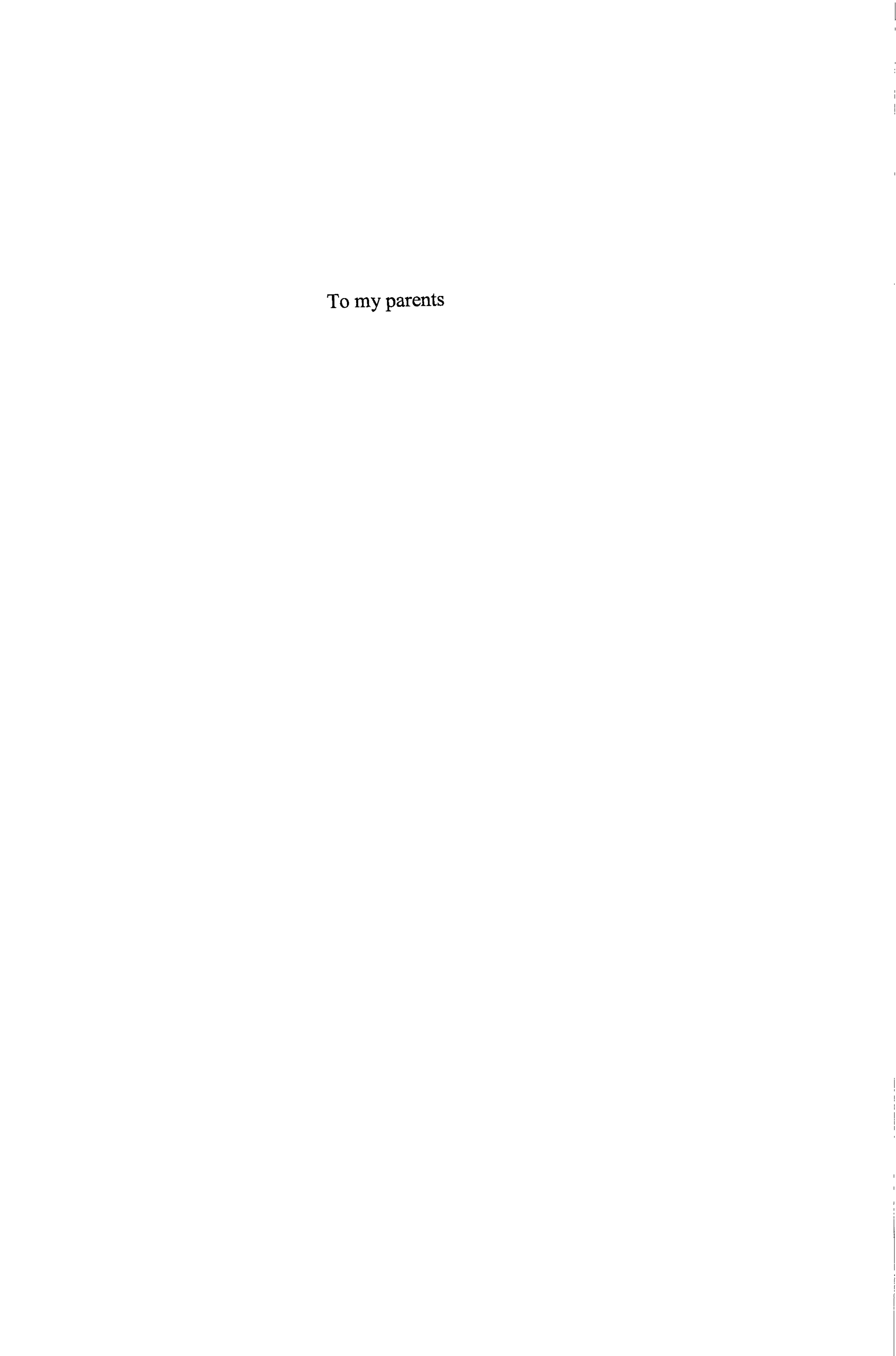
ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the origins of the operatic mad scene, its development up to c.1700, and questions of its definition and meaning. Chapters 1 and 2 trace the traditions behind musico-theatrical portrayals of insanity from ancient times through to the Renaissance, and in Chapter 3 seventeenth-century Italian examples of "mad" operas are codified and examined. Chapters 4 – 6 discuss the dissemination of the "mad" opera through France, England, Spain, Germany and Austria, and the relevant indigenous musical and theatrical conventions of each country are discussed.

Having reconstructed the surviving repertory, in Chapters 7 and 8, the textual, prosodic, behavioural and musical topoi used in association with such works are examined. The difficulties of attempting to establish purely musical signifiers for operatic insanity are demonstrated, and other means of approaching a definition are suggested. In Chapter 8, the forms and uses of aria, recitative, recitative soliloquy and arioso are analysed, and their contributions to the musical characterisation of the insane explored. In Chapter 9 the insights already gained are brought together in a case study of Iro from Monteverdi's *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria*.

The final chapter attempts to construct a typology of madness in seventeenth century opera based partly on literary criteria. It theorises the notion of fictive truth as a contract between the audience, the composer and librettist, and the protagonist on the stage. Next, the functions of mad characters within the plots are analysed in relation to the distinctive dramaturgical effects achieved by "fictive personalities", "roles" and "character-types". Finally, there is an attempt to locate our understanding of madness in opera within wider critical horizons, and to explain the cultural work that mad scenes do for us, as we listen to examples from the historically situated traditions of opera.



To my parents

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N. M.

Prologue

Investigating Madness and Music: Issues, Methods and Definitions

It is well known that the operatic mad scene flourished in the early nineteenth century, but it is less widely appreciated that its existence was conspicuous from the onset of the history of opera, and that it attracted conventions at an early stage of the genre. In fact, in the seventeenth century, the subject of madness occurred with some regularity in songs and various kinds of musico-theatrical works, where its use reflected the frequent appearance of the theme of madness in drama and literature.[1] However, these early instances of the mad scene have never been explored in full. One reason for this is that current scholars[2] have tended to concentrate on the extravagant and melodramatic early

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[1] For the lists of seventeenth-century Italian and French operas which feature madness and English mad songs, see: Appendix I, Tables 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

[2] See for example: Sieghart Döhring, "Die Wahnsinnsszene", in *Die Couleur Locale in der Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H. Becker (Regensburg: Büsse, 1976), 279 – 314; Jonas Barish, "Madness, Hallucination, and Sleep Walking", in *Verdi's Macbeth: A Source Book*, ed. David Rosen and Andrew Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 149 – 155; Scott Leslie Balthazar, "Evolving Conventions in Italian Serious Opera: Scene Structure in the Works of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi, 1810-1850" (Ph.D., diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985); Giovanni Morelli, "La scena di follia nella Lucia di Lammermoor: Sintomi, fra mitologia della paura e mitologia della liberta", in *La drammaturgia musicale* (Bologna: Mulino, 1986), 411 – 434; Catherine Clement, "Mademoiselle Le Bouc", *Avant-scène opera, France* xcvi (March 1987), 86-89; Stephen Ace Willier, "Early nineteenth-century opera and the impact of the gothic" (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1987); Stephen A. Willier, "Madness, the Gothic and Bellini's *Il Pirata*", *Opera Quarterly* VI, no. 4 (1988/ 9), 7 – 23; Charlotte Fakier Pipes, "A study of six selected coloratura soprano "mad scenes" in nineteenth-century opera" (DMA. diss., Louisiana State University, 1990); Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia", *Cambridge Opera Journal* IV, no. 2 (July, 1992), 119 – 141; Julian Budden, "Aspects of the development of Donizetti's musical dramaturgy", in *L'opera teatrale di Gaetano Donizetti: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio* [Proceedings of the international conference on the operas of Gaetano Donizetti] (Bergamo, Italy: Comune di Bergamo 1993), 121-133; Mary Ann Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita: representations of madness in nineteenth-century Italian opera" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1994); and Marta Ottlová, "Oper und Traum: Le pardon de Ploermel", in *Meyerbeer und das europäische Musiktheater* (Laaber, Germany: Laaber-Verlag 1998), 127-133. There are also just a few discussions of madness in 18th century operas. See, for example: James Parakilas, "Mozart's mad scene", *Soundings* x (Summer, 1983) 3 – 17 [Vitellia in *La Clemento di Tito*]; Bruce Alan Brown, "*Le Pazzie d'Orlando, Orlando Paladino*, and the Uses of Parody", *Italica* lxiv , no. 4 (Winter, 1987), 583 – 605; Wiley Feinstein, "Dorinda as Ariostean Narrator in Handel's Orlando", *Italica* lxiv, no. 4 (Winter, 1987), 561 – 571; Albert Gier, "Orlando geloso: Liebe und Eifersucht bei Ariosto und Grazio Bracciolis Libretto", in *Opernheld und Opernheldin im 18. Jahrhundert: Aspekte der Librettoforschung--Ein Tagungsbericht,* ed. Klaus Hortschansky (Hamburg: Wagner 1991), 57 – 70; Silke Leopold, "Wahnsinn mit Methode: Die Wahnsinnsszenen in Händels dramatischen Werken und ihre Vorbilder", in *Opernheld und Opernheldin*

nineteenth century instances: Imogen in *Il Pirata* and Elvira in *I Puritani*; (both by Bellini); Lucia in *Lucia di Lammermoor*, Linda in *Linda di Chamounix*, and Anna in *Anna Bolena* (all by Donizetti); and Ophelia in *Hamlet* (by Ambroise Thomas). These nineteenth-century heroines commonly display their insanity by "emphasising recitative; by breaking up the vocal line with alternations of feverish agitation and unearthly calm; by sudden changes of tempo . . . by unforeseen changes of key and mode; by unaccompanied singing, with the orchestra merely as intermittent punctuation; and by a good deal of fioritura, especially the running up and down of chromatic scales".[3]

In fact, the definition of the mad scene given in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* only covers these late instances, and hardly fits at all the characteristics of comparable scenes found in seventeenth-century sources. It describes the mad scene as: "an operatic scene ... which supplies a brilliant vehicle for the display of a singer's histrionic and vocal talents. It traditionally involved elaborate coloratura writing".[4] Above all, the preoccupation found in that article and elsewhere in the current literature with "the unprecedented focus on insanity on the operatic stage of the nineteenth century"[5] is quite misleading and problematic. Not only does it neglect the existence of many more examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it also ignores

im 18. Jahrhundert: Aspekte der Librettoforschung--Ein Tagungsbericht, ed. Klaus Hortschansky (Hamburg: Wagner 1991), 71 – 83; Herbert Schneider, "Händel und die französische Theatermusik in ihren dramatisch-szenischen Aspekten", *Händel-Jahrbuch* xxxvii (1991), 103 – 120; David Ross Hurely, "Dejanira and the physicians: Aspects of hysteria in Handel's Hercules", *The Musical Quarterly* lxxx, no. 3 (Fall 1996), 548 – 561. And Ellen Kohlhaas discusses the mad scenes in opera from Vivaldi to Stravinsky in her "Wenn die Seele singend entgleist. Der Wahnsinn in den Opern von Vivaldi bis Strawinsky", in *Musik und Medizin* IV/7-8 (1978) 41-45. This list does not include studies of the performance practices of the mad scenes.

[3] Jonas Barish, "Madness, Hallucination, and Sleepwalking", 151. Barish concludes that the portrayal of Lady Macbeth in Verdi's *Macbeth* is rather exceptional in these respects.

[4] Stephen A. Willier, "Mad Scene", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1991), vol. 3, 145.

[5] Willier, "Madness, the Gothic, and Bellini's *Il Pirata*", 7.

the long literary and dramatic traditions out of which the operatic mad scene emerged and continued to allude to, and draw upon, for its devices of style, situation and characterisation.

Some more recent accounts of nineteenth-century mad scenes have now begun very tentatively to imply that such scenes cannot simply be understood in their own terms. Stephen A. Willier has given an account of how eighteenth-century Gothic literature prepared a basis for the construction of early nineteenth-century "mad" operas.[6] Mary Ann Smart has pointed out that, clad in a simple white robe, with dishevelled hair, the overall visual image of the demented Lucia is reminiscent of the traditional presentation of Shakespeare's Ophelia in *King Lear.*[7] Such examples suggest to us that an understanding of the operatic mad scene (from whatever century) can only be understood by a far-reaching tradition-critique – a critique that not only goes back to the earliest operatic examples, but beyond them to the literary and dramatic traditions that the earliest opera composers and librettists saw fit to draw upon.

Another intellectual tool, which Mary Ann Smart has begun to establish for us in this arena, is feminist theory, as we can see, for example, from her interpretation of Lucia's demented state as an instance of female emancipation from, or "a feminist victory"[8] over, the oppressive male world. Perhaps by developing such perspectives, we may gain further insights into the dramatic and representational mechanisms surrounding the portrayal of seventeenth-century mad heroines. Such attempts, however, will raise the question of to what extent we can apply our modern views to historical instances, and here I might mention Michel Foucault's celebrated view of

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia", 125 – 7.

madness as a variable social construct.[9] Foucault posits that the definition of insanity is elusive, as notions of normality and deviance seem to be as much dependent on cultural/social criteria as on scientific/medical ones, and thus, the attitude towards the insane in a particular period and location is frequently a marker of the prevailing cultural/social structures. Thus, in this study, I should like to take a so-called 'historicist' approach by attempting to uncover some of the detail of seventeenth-century operatic culture, and so recover the meaning of operatic madness of that time from within its own context. This will then enable us, perhaps, to assess whether their interest in the mad scene reflected, as Foucault might have argued, a significant change in the status of the insane in society at large.

We perhaps need to begin our task by reviewing what work has already been done on the seventeenth-century mad scene – what critical, literary, and musical studies it has attracted – in order to get a clear picture of the issues that lie ahead. While mad scenes and mad characters in spoken dramas of the period around 1600 have enjoyed abundant critical attention (partly because of the importance of Shakespearean examples in the history of the theatre,[10]) the range of discussions of mad scenes in music from that time

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[8] Ibid., 120.

[9] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* [1967], trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 1971).

[10] John Charles Bucknill, *The Mad Folk of Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1867); Henry Somerville, *Madness in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: The Richards Press, n.d.); Robert Rentoul Reed, Jr., *Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952); Stanley Wells, "Tom O'Bedlam's Song and King Lear", *Shakespeare Quarterly* xii, no. 3 (Summer, 1961), 311 – 315; Vanna Gentili, *La recita della follia: funzioni dell'insania nel teatro dell'età di Shakespeare* (Turin: Einaudi, 1978); Paolo Valesio, "The Language of Madness in the Renaissance", *Year Book of Italian Studies* (1971), 199 – 234; Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney, "The Language of Madwomen in Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists", *Signs: Journal of women in Culture and Society* iii, no. 2 (Winter, 1977), 451 – 460; Elaine Showalter, "Representing Ophelia: women, madness, and the responsibilities of feminist criticism", in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, ed. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York and London: Methuen, 1985), 77 – 94; Joan Montgomery Byles, "The Problem of the Self and the Other in the language of Ophelia, Desdemona and Cordelia", *American Imago: a Psychoanalytic Journal for Culture, Science and the Arts* xlvi, no. 1 (Spring, 1989), 37 – 59; Duncan Salkeld, *Madness and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993); and Karin S. Coddon, "The Duchess of Malfi: tyranny and spectacle

is much more limited. There are, though, a few musicologists who have made important contributions to a fuller understanding of the subject and who have provided exceptions to the rule.

Paolo Fabbri's pioneering and indispensable comparative study of the plots of early seventeenth-century Italian operas, theatrical plays and other literary products has cast much new light on the origins of the mad scene.[11] He has demonstrated, in particular instances, that librettos of the early operatic repertoire incorporated elements from contemporary theatre plays as well as from literature. Ellen Rosand is another scholar who has analysed several mad scenes in some detail, as a part of her comprehensive study of seventeenth century Venetian operas.[12] She has proposed that seventeenth century composers devised a set of musico-rhetorical figures in order to depict insanity on the operatic stage. Again, Susan McClary, from her feminist viewpoint, has discussed the issue of the musical representation of mad women.[13] Her account is of particular interest when one is attempting to discover why insanity on stage gained in popularity. She has argued that it was voyeurism that guaranteed the popularity of displayed insanity – in literature, paintings and music.[14] The mad woman

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in Jacobean drama", in *Madness in Drama*, ed. James Redmond, Themes in Drama 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1 – 17. In fact, some of the literature argues about the dramaturgical functions of 'mad songs': Joseph T. McCullen, Jr., "The Functions of Songs aroused by Madness in Elizabethan Drama", in *A Tribute to G. C. Taylor* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 185 – 196; Leslie C. Dunn, "Ophelia's songs in Hamlet: music, madness and the feminine", in *Embodied Voices: representing female vocality in western culture*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50 – 64.

[11] Paolo Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos: The Mad Scene", in *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580 – 1740*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 157 – 195.

[12] See: Ellen Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria*", *The Journal of Musicology* vii (Spring, 1989), 141 – 164; *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of Genre* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), especially 346 – 60; and "Operatic Madness: a Challenge to Convention", in *Music and Text: Critical inquiries,* ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 241 – 272.

[13] Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings* (Mineapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 80 – 90.

[14] Ibid., 85.

is a compelling object of display owing to her potential for sexual titillation as reason and morality cease to control her behaviour. McClary's argument may have some force since a contemporary French spectator of an early seventeenth century play confirms that mad scenes were popular because they gave actresses an excuse for ripping off their clothes and showing off their breasts.[15]

Very recently, just as this study was nearing completion, it was announced that Andrew Hughes is about to publish a book which will explore "how the moon, madness and lunacy all fit together".[16] Apparently, Hughes will treat operatic madness as a kind of document of the changing medical and legal cultures of the past and as evidence that "the moon is closely associated with lunacy" in the minds of those who have created operas. This is a rather different approach from the present study which considers mad scenes as fictive embodiments of dramaturgical traditions and character-types, and as vehicles for musical expression and representation. The two approaches need not be seen as being in conflict, however; there is not one "correct" interpretation of the mad scene, there is only an obligation to distinguish between correctly or falsely understood evidence, and consistent or contradictory inference and argument.

Useful as these many studies might be in developing our understanding of the operatic mad scene, they still leave some important issues to be explored and understood. Part of the reason for this is because some of them tend to be relatively isolated investigations, which suffer from a lack of a comprehensive overview of the phenomenon of the musical representation of madness. Again, the typology of madness employed can tend to be rather monolithic and undifferentiated – the term "madness" frequently covers everything from slightly silly behaviour through jealous rage to

[15] Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 264.

complete loss of reality. For example, Susan McClary has used the term "madness" in her discussion of the fictive character behind Monteverdi's *Lamento della ninfa*,[17] and Ellen Rosand has reinterpreted the "parte ridicolo" of Iro in Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640), as a telling example of seventeenth-century stage madness.[18] It is, however, far from clear that the Ninfa and Iro characters are literally insane, though the former is clearly distraught and the latter is beside himself with self-pity. A detailed analysis of the character of Iro appears in Chapter 9 below.

Such confusions are also seen in the critical literature on the spoken dramas of the period. For example, when discussing the theatrical functions of mad songs in Elizabethan Drama, Joseph T. McCullen juxtaposes, without any clear explanation, two rather different cases from John Lyly's dramas: the duet by Accius and Silena (two imbeciles) in *Mother Bombie*, and the song of Pandora (who is mad with love) in *The Woman in the Moon*.[19] All this really demonstrates is that, in certain cases, the mad scene uses similar devices to, and carries similar theatrical effects to, that of the farcical scene, as we will see later.

Even in those cases where we can agree that a certain theatrical character is "mad", we soon discover that very different types of madness not only have different musical and theatrical origins, but also different dramaturgical mechanisms and consequences. Also, aside from the tendency to discuss such scenes in isolation, and to treat madness as a monolithic state, it is sometimes tempting to assume that we can easily unravel what madness meant in seventeenth-century society, or that we can link historical attitudes to the "insane" simply and directly to gender issues and other matters of

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[16] Andrew Hughes, *Bent Melodies: Representations of Madness* (forthcoming).
[17] McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 80 – 90.
[18] See: Ellen Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*", *The Journal of Musicology* vii (Spring, 1989), 141 – 164.

characterisation without complication. For these and other reasons, the present study has attempted a more systematic approach which might be summarised under the following four aims:

1. To construct a complete catalogue of instances of madness on the seventeenth century musical stage, and as far as possible, on the theatrical stage and in literature. The list arising from such investigations can be seen in Appendix I, Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8. In order to know whether particular works did have mad scenes and therefore should be included in such lists, it was necessary to read through many opera libretti and plays. The works that found their way onto the lists are given in my catalogue of primary sources – some fifty items in all.
2. To trace the exact traditions behind those portrayals. This has meant, first, uncovering literary and musical representations, and also discussions of mad scenes and character-types as far back as the Ancient Greeks. This has been necessary, since so many librettists and playwrights (whether consciously or unconsciously) built their depictions on norms established in the Ancient world, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 1 and elsewhere. Second, to explore the exact routes by which the immediate precursors of the operatic mad scene in the *commedia dell'arte* and other traditions were adapted and employed. The fruits of this research can be seen especially in Chapters 2 and 3. Third, to set the changing use of the mad scene within the wider context of the history of opera. Evidence for this interrelation is to be found throughout the study.
3. To construct a detailed account of the transmission of the operatic mad scene c.1600 – 1700. This task has been undertaken by country, and the relevant

[19] McCullen, "Songs aroused by Madness", 192.

investigations are set out in the chapters on Italy, France, and England, and in the overview of developments in Spain, Austria and Germany.

4. To establish some parameters by which we can begin to construct a typology of madness in musical theatre. This has entailed a careful analysis of the exact terminology employed to describe mad characters, the textual and behavioural topoi used to signal their presence, the musical devices used to present them, and a consideration of contemporary discussions of theatrical representation. These kinds of evidence are discussed principally in Chapters 7, 8, 9, and 10.

At the heart of these issues lies the major challenge of how to define madness on the stage. In a sense, the full complexity of this matter can only emerge as a result of the investigations and arguments presented throughout this study, but it may be wise at this point to say a few guiding words about the general approach taken to this issue in the course of this research.

The first point to make is that it quickly became clear that there were not any simple musical signals or conventions that applied absolutely exclusively to mad characters. For this reason, the study is centrally concerned with how fictive characters, already designated as mad in the libretto or by some other means, draw upon the more general musical and literary conventions of the seventeenth century, to achieve conviction and dramatic effect. Hence, there is investigation not only of musical style, but also of the kinds of function that mad characters fulfil within the plots, and what traditions (of poetic form, verbal reference, and of the display of symptoms) are invoked to make their character-type obvious and effectively functional in dramaturgical terms. Of course, there were some commonly used musical features in the presentation of mad characters (frequently overlapping with those employed for the

portrayal of other protagonists), but they formed a small part of the means by which madness as a theatrical topos was able to serve dramatic, literary, and sometimes even ethical and philosophical purposes. It is a major argument of this thesis that the musical portrayal of madness fits into, and can only be understood in the context of, these wider concerns.

From the dramaturgical point of view, it is necessary to distinguish between the function of madness within a plot, and the named character displaying or carrying that role whether briefly or constantly. In a few operas and plays a particular character is permanently, or nearly permanently, mad, and it makes sense to describe them as a mad character.[20] Moreover, in such cases it is usually safe to construe everything they sing, no matter how apparently "sane" or innocuous, as potentially carrying an insane agenda or interpretation. We are, in these instances, usually able to say that "mad music" is anything directly accompanying or expressing the activities and feelings of the "mad character" – even, be it noted, if the surface features of that music do not seem particularly "mad".

In the majority of cases, however, characters are only temporarily mad, and the questions of definition and/or recognition of this state become more problematic, since the devices used to depict the named character are not coterminous with those employed for the representation of "the mad". Here, clues are usually given within the details of the narrative, mostly in terms of sudden traumatic events (such as the tragic death of a lover, or a forced parting between lovers) and temporary but extreme behavioural symptoms (weeping, rage, and the like). The problem here is that symptoms and events alone, which may give rise to extreme musical expression, do not

[20] See, for example, Atrea in Cavalli/Minato's *Pompeo Magno* (1666).

guarantee that the character really is mad. Such extreme moments are often described as "mad scenes" in the critical literature, without taking into account the fact that there may be such a thing as healthy human grief or justifiable anger. Here the term "mad" often means little more than "annoyed" or "temporarily distracted", and in terms of this study, that is a rather unhelpful confusion – and for two main reasons.

First, it places an emphasis on behavioural symptoms rather than on character motivations, or the manifestation of role-conventions, or on any deeper intellectual and cultural notions that may be acting through the character. In most cases, extreme behaviour accompanied by some signs of musical extravagance, is not enough to confirm the madness of the singing character. Any impression of madness must be judged against an understanding of the use of conventions for the portrayal of "the mad" – for example, typical verse-types employing rhythmic and metrical disruption, (see Chapter 8) – and also against the intellectual milieu in which the work was written, which may give certain characters an allegorical, symbolic or rhetorical function. The discussion of the motivations of Iro from Monteverdi's *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria* (Chapter 9) illustrates some of these aspects. It should also be remembered that any particular character might act out two or more dramaturgical functions at the same time: King Lear, after all, was a king, a father, and a madman.

The second issue arising from a too-inclusive definition of "the mad" in opera is that it then makes it hard, if not impossible, to link reliably the portrayal of the majority of such characters on the stage to social views of madness, or to theories about what "the mad" may represent for any given society. Since it is part of the purpose of this thesis to consider what such theories might tell us about fictive meaning and representation in the seventeenth century theatre, it is important to be sure that we are discussing truly mad characters. Again, since this study is primarily an attempt to

explain how meanings are constructed in the fictive world, this is another reason why "real" medical definitions of "the mad", and contemporary attitudes to their treatment, have played only a secondary role in this study. What seemed to be important, first, was to uncover those topoi and conventions which seventeenth-century playwrights and musicians themselves thought represented madness, and then, once they were clearly established, to see if their devices and developments reflected or interacted with changes in the real world.

Given that characters in an opera tend only temporarily to take on the function of a mad person, and that extreme emotions may be sane as well as insane, it has seemed important to make a distinction between musical and dramatic features that may, in certain circumstances, be appropriate for madness, and those that are sufficient on their own to confirm its portrayal. Interestingly enough, almost nothing, taken on its own, falls into the "sufficient" category here, and that is why it has seemed important to seek corroboration not only in the general dramatic setting of the music, but also in the implied intentionalities of its theatrical conventions, and its background intellectual agendas. Indeed, it has perhaps been a weakness of some earlier discussions of operatic madness, that they have taken the "appropriate" features of a character's music to be equivalent to "sufficient" ones in relation to the confirmation of madness.

A related issue concerns the overlap of the functions of character-types within theatrical traditions. There is a small galaxy of stock figures whose attributes are shared to some degree with those of 'the mad'. They include the simpleton, the fool, the drunk, and that vast array of characters benignly deluded in love. The same problem applies here of the confusion between behaviour appropriate to madness and that which, on its own, confirms it. Moreover, in relation to these character-types, not only their behaviour but also their functions within the plot might overlap. For example, both the

madman and the fool might provide comic relief, or fearlessly speak the truth, or point up an ethical dilemma, or provide the opportunity for musical and dramatic incongruity or contrast. Once again it is the detailed corroboration of traditions and intentions that must be sought in order to make telling dramaturgical distinctions.

So far we have discussed mad music and mad characters as they are encountered within the context of a complete dramatic setting. Problematic though these cases might be, they at least provide a very tangible context through which to enrich our understanding of their behaviour and motivations. This enables us, to some extent, to transform the question: "*What* is theatrical madness?" into: "*When* is theatrical madness?" – that is, into a consideration of the conditions under which we are reasonably entitled to construe the behaviour and music of certain fictive characters as representations of "the mad". And again, it may be a flaw of earlier discussions of this topic that some accounts of when an author perceives a character or a particular piece of music to be mad, have been presented as if they amount to definitions or assertions about what theatrical and musical madness is "in essence". Examples showing this tendency include Rosand's discussion about Isifile in Cavalli's *Giasone*,[21] where she argues particularly on musical grounds that the character fits into the role of a madwoman. This issue will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

More problematic, however, are those pieces of apparently "mad music" that have become detached in some way from their original dramatic and narrative context, or which were conceived as independent works from the outset. The most acute examples of this kind, from the seventeenth century, occur in the song tradition, and particularly in England.[22] This is because, in England, operatic traditions were not fully established,

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[21] Rosand, *Opera in 17th century Venice*, 358 – 9.
[22] See: Chapter 5.

and the complex ballad and song traditions interacted with them in complex ways, and not just in one direction. For example, singer-actors, such as Mrs Bracegirdle, who had become famous for portraying mad characters on the stage, might prompt the publication of ditties entitled "mad songs" apparently for no better reason than that they could be advertised as having been "Sung by Mrs Bracegirdle". On the other hand, songs about "Tom of Bedlam" or "Bess of Bedlam" or "Mad Maudlin", which clearly portray the singing, fictive subject as mad, seemed not to have had their origins in the theatre, though snatches of their melodies might be sung in stage works as a signal that a particular character had temporarily gone mad. In such cases it is usually necessary to be able to recognize the quotation and the tradition from which its original comes.

In general, a further distinction needs to be made between those songs that simply refer to madness (usually the "folly" or "madness" of love), and those that clearly attempt to express or represent a state of madness as presently possessed by the singing, fictive subject. Even in these latter cases, however, the word "clearly" is important, since the usual theatrical rules apply about not confusing reasonable grief and justifiable rage with their mad, disproportionate or inappropriate counterparts. Such distinctions can be very difficult to make in the case of independent songs, since there is not enough contextual information to judge the motivations or conventions involved. Similarly, some songs refer to conventional "indicators" of madness such as the tearing of clothes or constant weeping, without mentioning madness or its clear signifiers (such as "Bedlam", "lunacy", and so on) at all. The temptation, as always, is to treat those songs which are simply appropriate to a mad state, or which refer in the third person to madness, as central examples of the "mad song" genre – a temptation which has not been studiously avoided in the literature, and which has sometimes confused our attempts to understand the genre and its traditions. For example, in his edition, *Thirteen*

Mad Songs by Purcell and his contemporaries,[23] Timothy Roberts includes John Weldon's "Reason, what art thou".[24] However, Weldon's song bears no sign of being a mad song, despite the promising attempt to question the nature of reason in the title. Rather, the song deals with sorrow caused by unrequited love.

Another category of characters and contexts that, in some sense, overlap with the portrayal of madness, is that concerned with "enchanted" or "spell-bound" protagonists – Ulysses on the Island of Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, or Ruggiero under the spell of Alcina in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.[25] In most of these cases, however, the characters behave quite rationally within the narrow confines of their environment – i.e. when the consequences of their actions are very limited. They are, in a sense, cocooned from a wider reality, rather than divorced from reality altogether, and therefore such cases are excluded here.[26] The subject of "enchantment" operas is discussed further in Chapter 6.

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This attempt to survey the problems of defining and recognizing "the mad" in musical representation may seem to point to merely negative conclusions. This, however, would create a false view of the current enterprise which is a positive attempt to understand the intricate conditions and mechanisms though which operatic madness acquires meaning. Moreover, it is hoped that this attempt to identify and negotiate those

[23] Timothy Roberts (ed.), *Thirteen Mad Songs by Purcell and his contemporaries* (London: Voicebox, 1999), II, 29 – 33.
[24] The sheet is contained in: GB-Lbl: G.304 (130).
[25] Seventeenth-century operas featuring the story of Ruggiero and Alcina include: F. Caccini, *La Liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* (1625), L. Rossi, *Il Palazzo incantato* (1642), Sacrati, *L'isola di Alcina* (1648), S. Martinelli, *Alcina* (1649), and Sabadini, *Il Ruggiero* (1699). There is no seventeenth-century opera as such concerning the story of Ulysses and Circe, but *Le Balet comique de la Royne* (1581) deals with the character Circe and an unnamed captive. The music was written mainly by Baltasar de Beaujoyeux.
[26] Amongst the works listed in foot note 29, *Le Balet comique de la Royne* (1581) will be discussed in Chapter 4, since the character Circe shows some signs of madness.

conditions-of-meaning will perhaps lead to a much richer understanding of past theatrical experiences than could be achieved by any one-off definition or verdict.

As the discussions above have implied, it is perhaps most important to grasp that the madness we will be concerned with here is of the fictive kind. We cannot treat such fictive madness as simply a mirror of madness in the real world, whether under past definitions or present ones. We should remember that Foucault's theories seek to explain madness as construed by real societies, and he is not providing a semiology of madness within theories of dramaturgy. Thus, if we are to assess the relevance of his theories for this study, then our task must include the issue of to what extent we should be tempted to treat musical works as socio-cultural markers.

Most of the works discussed in the course of this study would have been experienced by an audience via their presentation in the theatre. Finally, therefore, we need to take into account the exact nature of the fictive contract between the audience and the protagonist on the stage. Perhaps one way into this conundrum might be to explore the mechanisms of "masking" that take place in the artistic and musico-theatrical situation.[27] There is the "mask" that is placed between the persona that each actor/singer presents on the stage in contrast to his real nature; there is the "masking" of actual motivations behind apparent motivations (of real dramatic situations behind "pretended" dramatic situations) in the plots and characterisations of theatrical works; and there is the representational and mimetic function of the works of art as a whole, which the critical theorist, Theodor Adorno has discussed in his

[27] W. A. Sheppard has discussed some modernists' musico-theatrical works in terms of "masking" – the actual practice of wearing masks. See: Idem., *Revealing Masks: Exotic Influence and Ritualized Performances in Modernist Music Theatre* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

Aesthetic Theory.[28] In turn, as revealing as this "theory of masking" might turn out to be, it would still be only one part of a more general semiotics of portrayal on the stage, that would be needed to understand the cultural and theatrical work that mad scenes and characters do for us, as we listen to examples from the historically situated traditions of opera, and reconstrue them in modern terms. Some of these deeper issues may return to haunt us in the concluding chapter.

[28] Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory* [1970], trans. C. Lenhardt (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

Chapter 1

The Presentation of Madness in Ancient and Medieval Literary Cultures

In this first chapter we will trace those influences on the operatic mad scene that can be found in Ancient and Medieval drama and literature. Since developments in the portrayal of insanity in these early periods clearly directly influenced seventeenth century opera, especially through its librettists, this is a very necessary first step towards constructing an understanding of the dramaturgical conventions of the operatic mad scene, together with its the stock choice of mad characters, and their meaning as a theatrical re-presentation of life.

This, however, is an enormous task since "madness may be as old as mankind",[1] and poetic and dramatic themes dealing with insanity seem to be as old as literature itself. Mythological legends, and stories in the Homeric epics, ancient classical drama, and the Bible, contain many notable representations of insanity, and these often invited the participation of music in one way or another. Necessarily, we will focus here upon those aspects established in ancient times which most obviously influenced the practices of seventeenth century opera: (1) Homeric madness; (2) Madness in Classical Greek tragedy; (3) Plato's categories of madness; (4) Comic madness; (5) Roman literature and the feminisation of insanity; (6) Ovid and transformation of identity; (7) Medieval Romance and wild madmen; (8) The Feast of Fools; and (9) Biblical madness.

In this chapter, ancient medical opinions on madness (such as those, for example, of Hippocrates and Galen)[2] are not included unless it is necessary to cite them in order

[1] Roy Porter, *Madness: a Brief History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 10.
[2] For a summary of medical aspects of ancient Greek views on madness, see: Debra Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1-13.

to elucidate the meaning of a particular case. This is because such discourses, although interesting in their own terms, had little, if anything, to do with the fictive representation of the insane on the seventeenth century stage. In the surviving writings of Hippocrates, for example, there are around twenty references to madness,[3] most of which are concerned with delirium following a fever. Some of the others are more intriguing – that madness is more common in the spring,[4] or that a flow of humours to one part of the body induces melancholia,[5] or that madness comes when the heavenly bodies wander in different directions[6] – but these directly causal ideas have little to do with the complex motivations and dramatic signals that are marshalled so as to persuade us to recognize, understand, and empathise with madness on the stage. That is not to say that we could not treat diagnostic references in the operas themselves as data for an investigation into the dissemination and progress of medical ideas,[7] but such a project is not the focus of this study. On the other hand, certain ancient authors, such as Ovid in his *Remedia Amoris*, treat the "madness" brought on by love as though it were an illness requiring a cure, and the various "cures" for this metaphorical medical condition often form the bases of theatrical plots, particularly in comic opera. This kind of "illness" is certainly relevant to the present study.

1. Homer: Madness as Possession and Divine Visitation

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, both of which deal with subjects relating to the Trojan War, are usually attributed to Homer, a Greek poet of uncertain date, and perhaps, even, of

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[3] See G. E. Lloyd (ed.) and J. Chadwick and W. Mann (trans.), *Hippocratic Writings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), Index: "Insanity", "Madness", "Melancholia" and "Hysteria".
[4] Perhaps because of the association of that season with love. See *Hippocratic Writings*, 215.
[5] *Hippocratic Writings*, 231.
[6] Ibid., 255. Perhaps a tangential reference to the relationship between phases of the moon and lunacy.
[7] For example, in Beaujoyeux's *Le Balet comique de la Royne* (1581), Circe is said to have been driven mad by an excess of moisture on the brain, an explanation found as early as Hippocrates. See: *Hippocratic Writings*, 249.

existence, since the name may designate collective authorship rather than an individual. "His" two epics directly, or indirectly, inspired many early operas and other theatrical works, most especially those concerned with Ulysses, Circe, Achilles, and Helen and Paris.[8]

It is worth noting that, by the time that opera was established, the works of Homer and other Greek writers – Aristotle, Plato, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and many others – had been generally available in Italy in the original Greek for almost one hundred years, having been published by the famous Venetian printing house of Aldo Manuzio around 1500. Manuzio had studied with the philosopher Pico della Mirandola who, in turn, had learnt Greek at Ficino's Academy in Florence.[9] Florence had become the seat of the new Greek learning in Italy since the arrival of scholars from Constantinople for the ecclesiastical Council of Florence in 1438, and yet more Greek speakers (and manuscripts) flooded into Italy following the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453.[10] Indeed, the scholar who knew "as much Greek as the Greeks themselves" and was "the first Italian to do so for a thousand years" was none other than Angelo Poliziano who worked in Florence, but who, in 1480, wrote his *Fabula di Orfeo* for the Mantuan court where it was set to music – the earliest known musical setting of the tale.[11] Poliziano's inaugural lecture in Florence was on Homer.[12]

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[8] Aspects of the stories of Ulysses, Circe and Achilles also feature strongly in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which may have been a more direct source for some librettists. Seventeenth century "mad" operas treating these subjects include: Sacrati/Strozzi's *La finta pazza* (Venice, 1641), based on the episode of Achilles in Scyrus; Cirillo/Paolella's *Il ratto d'Elena* (Naples, 1655); Freschi/Aureli's *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice, 1677); and Ziani/Noris's *La finta pazzia d'Ulisse* (Venice, 1696).

[9] For the complex processes that led to the rediscovery of ancient writers in Italy see, for example: Leighton Reynolds and Nigel Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* [1968], 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Nigel Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1992); Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* [1969] (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Paul O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (New York: Torch Books, 1979); and Peter Brand and Lino Pertile, eds., *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* [1996] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[10] For a detailed account of one of these scholars, and his reception and influence see: C. M. Woodhouse, *Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

[11] See: Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars,* 136-7; and Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre from*

The availability of Greek texts did not necessarily mean that librettists, dramatists and musicians were readily able to read them in the original,[13] but the stories from Homer and other Greek classical writers became well-known, and this new sense of familiarity was celebrated. Rinuccini, for example, in his preface to Peri's *L'Euridice*, explains that "our Dante was bold enough to state that Ulysses had drowned on his voyage, even though Homer and the other poets have narrated the opposite",[14] and Giacomo Badoaro, in his introductory letter to his libretto of *Ulisse Errante*, tells us that his text for Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse*, is a "drama drawn closely from Homer".[15]

The protagonists of Homer's epics greatly influenced Greek tragedy in general, and among them we find a substantial number of characters who succumbed to irrational behaviour in one form or another. From the *Iliad* we have Achilles, Agamemnon, Andromache, Bellerophon, Diomedes, Hector, and Lycurgus; and from the *Odyssey*, Antinous and the suitors of Penelope who attack a beggar.[16] Although the narratives of these epics rarely say directly that these characters are insane,[17] they use terms designating abnormal states of mind in order to explain their otherwise

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Poliziano to Monteverdi, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 3-37.

[12] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 137.

[13] On the translations from Greek into Latin of the works of Ptolemy prepared by Nicolò Leoniceno for the music theorist Franchino Gaffurio, for example, see Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 45, 111-113, 116 and 118-20. In England, in the early seventeenth century, Henry Peacham, who had studied in Italy with Orazio Vecchi, published *The Compleat Gentleman* in 1623, and his references to the discussion of music by ancient authors are supported by marginal notes in the original Greek.

[14] [Il nostro Dante ardi affermare essersi sommerso Ulisse nella sua navigatione, tutto che Omero, e gl'altri Poeti havessero cantato il contrario.] See Tim Carter and Zygmunt Szweykowski, (eds and trans), *Composing Opera: From Dafne to Ulisse Errante*, Practica Musica II (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1994), 18-19.

[15] [Dramma cavato di punto da Homero]. See: Carter and Szweykowski, (eds. and trans.), *Composing Opera*, 184 -5.

[16] Apart from the characters listed here, the descriptions of Ares, the god of war, in both of the epics are interesting. For a discussion of Homeric madness, see: Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, chap. 3, 125 – 160.

[17] Debra Hershkowitz lists the following instances of the specific designation of "madness" from the *Iliad*: Hector, at 15. 603 ff, and 21. 5; Achilles at 21. 542 – 3; and Andromache at 22. 460. See: Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, 138.

incomprehensible actions.[18] In fact Homer used three words specifically to signal madness in his epics, and by examining them briefly we can perhaps begin to uncover their motivational and behavioural implications; they are: *atē* [άτη]; *lyssa* [λύσσα]; and *menos* [μένος].

The first, *ate*, denotes "a partial and temporary insanity" caused by the intervention of a "daemonic agency",[19] and the second, *lyssa* refers to beast-like rage, and is also associated with the concept of possession.[20] *Menos*, the third word used in the Homeric epics, generally designates vitality or a strong intervening force,[21] and has a clear connotation of manliness. Therefore, its application is restricted to masculine rage.[22] It is interesting to note that many of these early references to madness do relate to male madness. This is probably because, generally, these terms appear in the context of battle scenes.[23] For example, in the *Iliad*, Hector, the leader of the Trojans,

> ...raged like the War-god spear in hand, or like a fire on the mountains, working destruction in the deep recesses of the woods. There was foam on his mouth; his eyes flashed under lowering brows; there was menace even in the swaying of the helmet on his temples as he fought.[24]

As we will see later,[25] in seventeenth century opera, characters in the grip of madness frequently refer to war, either metaphorically or as the result of delusion, and such references may well have their roots in this very early contextualisation of insanity. It should be noted that, with one or two exceptions (the character of Medea being the most famous), the assumed strong association between the female gender and insanity, which often provides the critical starting point for many discussions of the mad scene

[18] Hershlowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, 142.
[19] E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1951), 5; and Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, 128 – 132; 141.
[20] Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, 148 – 9.
[21] Ibid., 143.
[22] Ibid., 146.
[23] Ibid., 142.
[24] E. V. Rieu (trans.), *Homer: The Iliad* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950) [Book XV, 603 – 6], 287 – 8.
[25] See: Chapter 7 of this study.

(particularly those in relation to nineteenth century opera), is largely a Roman, or even a Renaissance phenomenon, rather than a Greek one. The issues arising from this will be explored later in this study.

Another distinction between the Greek and Roman approaches which finds its way into opera (if in garbled form) is the treatment of their Gods and their attributes. In fact the indigenous Roman gods had little personality, boasted few adventures and were frequently mere abstractions such as "Victory" or "Piety". It was only through their fusion with the Greek deities (whereby Bacchus was linked to Dionysus, Jupiter to Zeus, and so on) that the virtues of the Roman gods were able to be contextualised by a rich mythology and clear personifications; and it was by this method that they gained an emotional appeal.[26]

In dramatic terms, these transformations into richly conceived beings gave the Gods the potential for appearing as characters alongside other protagonists in a narrative or drama. Here, though, we can perhaps sense a distinction between Roman heroes who tend to have a strong abstract sense of obligation, virtue or fortune, and Greek characters whose motivations are controlled by relationships of patronage with particular gods, which direct them into the more human forms of revenge, personalised rage, or competition.[27] For Greeks, the drama of love tends to form part of a wider strategy, and their Gods are frequently seen to meddle in these wider endeavours, whereas the Roman Gods tend to intervene directly in matters of love. At a simple level this can be seen, perhaps, in the differences between Monteverdi's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, a Greek story populated with five, very active, divine protoganists (Amore, Jove,

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[26] See the various articles on "Religion, Etruscan", "Religion, Greek", and "Religion, Roman", in N. G. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 912-17.

[27] On the Greek view of morality in Homeric writings and its specific relationship to the deities see: Terence Irwin, *Classical Thought*, A History of Western Philosophy, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Neptuno, Minerva and Juno), and his *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, an episode from Roman history, in which only Venus and Cupid among the deities play a marked role (Mercury and Athena also appear, but only for brief exchanges with Seneca).

Since madness on the stage is usually induced by tragic misfortune or by unhappy love, we can see that the choice between these situations, and the ways in which they are differently handled, frequently have their roots in either the Greek or Roman branches of ancient literature. It is perhaps significant that it is a Roman poet, Horace, who, in his *De Arte Poetica*, warns dramatists to "let no god intervene, unless a knot become worthy of such a deliverer",[28] a view that may also imply that dramatic effectiveness should now take precedence over adherence to the original details of the story. On the other hand, in accordance with the Greek predilection for personifications, it is perhaps not surprising that the three Greek terms used by Homer to imply madness – *ate, lyssa* and *menos* – also occur as the names of people in ancient literature. Ate appears in the *Iliad* as the daughter of Zeus, who is an "accursed spirit" famed for "flitting through men's heads, corrupting them, and bringing this one or the other down".[29] Lyssa is taken over by Euripides in his play *Hercules Furens*, where she becomes a mad character within the drama,[30] and Menos is an Egyptian who, legend has it, is supposed to have invented a prototype of the Greek alphabet and whose name apparently means "moon" – perhaps implying an obscure association with lunacy.[31]

Before continuing our investigation into other types of madness in ancient literature, the involvement of music in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* should be noted.

1989), Chapter 2.

[28] [Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit.] See: Horace, "De Arte Poetica", in H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. and trans., *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, The Loeb Classical Library [1926] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: William Heinmen, 1929), 467 [lines 191-2].

[29] Rieu (trans.), *Homer: The Iliad*, 356 [Book XIX, 126-31].

[30] See Euripides, *Medea and Other Plays*, ed. and trans. Philip Vellacott, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), 153-99.

[31] See: Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* [1955] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960), Vol. I, 183; and Pliny

Homer is usually thought to be the earliest known example of an Ancient Greek "poet-musician".[32] It seems very plausible that at least some parts of these epics must have been musically recited. Two ancient Greek terms denoting musicians – *rhapsode*, which refers to those who recite poems (probably in a singing manner), and *aoidos*, which describes those who recite to their own *kithara* accompaniment – are applied to the narrators of Homeric epics.[33] Around the fifth and sixth centuries BC, there were competitions amongst *rhapsodes* performing Homeric and other epics.[34] Also the epics occasionally refer to musical instruments. Both the *aulos* (a reed pipe) and the *syrinx* (a panpipe) seem to have been associated with armed forces in battlefields.[35] Homer's warlike madness has the potential to be represented by the sound of these instruments, though, in seventeenth century opera, this seems not to have happened.[36]

2. Madness in Classical Greek Drama

Classical Greek drama saw an early flowering in the tragedies written in Athens around the fifth century BC as part of the city's spring celebrations in honour of Dionysus.[37] Since opera was born primarily through the Renaissance attempts to restore these tragedies and, throughout the history of opera, many works were based directly upon them, it is important to examine how madness was represented in them.

In Greek mythology, Dionysus is probably the most important God associated with madness. He himself once succumbed to insanity caused by Hera, and had the power to

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the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John F. Healy (Harmonsworth: Penguin, 1991), 104 [Book VII, 193].
[32] Albert Bates Lord, *The Singer of Tales* [1960] (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 141 – 157.
[33] G. S. Kirk, *Homer and the Epic* [1965] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 28, 147 and 219.
[34] M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 19.
[35] For example, see the *Iliad* X, 13.
[36] See: f.n. 52 below.
[37] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. N. G. L. Hammon and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), s.v. "Tragedy".

inflict madness on those who disobey him.[38] Not surprisingly, mad roles were fairly common in the plays written in Athens in his honour, and famous examples can be found in *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, *Prometheus Vinctus*, and *Supplices*, all by Aeschylus (525/4 – 456 BC); *Ajax* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* by Sophocles (c. 496 – 406 BC); and *Bacchae*, *Hercules Furens*, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, *Medea*, *Orestes* and *Troades*, all by Euripides (c. 485 – c. 406 BC).[39] Since the insertion of music into dramas started at least as early as that time, it is these works that probably contained the very first examples of not only dramatic, but also, probably, the musico-dramatic portrayal of insanity.[40]

Famous examples of the victims of Dionysian frenzy include Pentheus and Lycurgus, whose stories are recorded in Euripides' *Bacchae* and Sophocles' *Antigone* respectively. The following quotation from *Antigone* vividly portrays the deterioration of Lycurgus' reason:

> The yoke tamed him too
> - young Lycurgus flaming in anger,
> King of Edonia - all for his mad taunts
> Dionysus clamped him down, encased
> in the chain-mail of rock.
> And there his rage,
> his terrible flowering rage burst.
> Sobbing, dying away...at last that madman
> Came to know his god -
> the power he mocked, the power

[38] For the origins of Dionysiac myths, see: Lillian Feder, *Madness in Literature* (Princeton, Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1980), 38 – 42.

[39] For literature in the English language on madness in Greek tragedy, see: Ainsworth O'Brien-Moore, *Madness in Ancient Literature* (Weimar: R. Wagner Sohn, 1924); Bennet Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece: The Classical Roots of Modern Psychology* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978); Lillian Feder, *Madness in Literature* (Princeton, Guilford: Princeton University Press, 1980), esp. 35 – 97; Charles Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization: An Interpretation of Sophocles* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Published for Oberlin College by Harvard University Press, 1981), esp. 35 - 38; Simon Goldhill, *Reading Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Ruth Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

[40] Among the earliest surviving Greek musical fragments are some small sections of choruses from Euripides' *Orestes* and his *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. See: West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 277-8. On Renaissance theories that Greek tragedies were sung throughout, see: Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, Chapter 14, "Theory of dramatic music".

he taunted in all his frenzy.
Trying to stamp out
the women strong with the god
(the torch, the raving sacred cries)
enraging the Muses who adore the flute.[41]

In this single extract we are given not only a vivid picture of the trauma of madness but also (in accordance with the Greek view) its wider causes – the conflict between Apollo and Dionysus, and the pernicious influence of the raving women with torches, otherwise known as the Maenads or Bacchantes. This reminds us that another important victim of Dionysus was Orpheus, the celebrated singer, who refused to worship the god. Although no literature clearly says that Orpheus goes insane, his distracted wanderings after he loses Eurydice for the second time suggest as much,[42] and it was Dionysus who ordered his Bacchantes to dismember Orpheus (as a follower of Apollo) and scatter his limbs.[43] A trace of this aspect of the myth remains on the final frenzied dance of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607).[44]

As we have seen, it was Hera who first sent Dionysius mad, and her power is most clearly exemplified by the case of Hercules, preserved in *Hercules Furens* by Euripides. The goddess persistently attempts to disrupt the life of the hero until, finally, she sends Lyssa, whose name is derived directly from the Homeric term, *lyssa*, meaning "bestial rage".[45] Now, Lyssa sets to work:

The sun's my witness that I act against my will.
But if I must indeed perform Hera's resolve –
And yours – at once, and follow in full cry, as hounds

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[41] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 956 – 965. Idem, *The Three Theban Plays: Antigone; Oedipus the King; Oedipus at Colonus*, trans. Robert Fagles, revised edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 108.
[42] This aspect of the myth is conveyed most vividly in Book IV of Virgil's *Georgics*. See: Virgil, *The Georgics*, trans. L. P. Wilkinson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982), 141-3 [Book IV, lines 491-549].
[43] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Orpheus".
[44] In the original printed libretto, *Orfeo* ends with the ensemble of the Bacchantes, who are brimming full of the "divin furore" [divine fury] of Bacchus. See: John Whenham, *Monteverdi: Orfeo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 36 – 41.
[45] Euripides, *Medea and Other Plays*, trans. Philio Vellacott (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 178. Vellacott, in this edition, translated the name of the character as "Madness". See: Ibid., 153.

> Follow the hunt, I'll go; and not the groaning sea's
> Violence, not earthquakes, nor the gasping agonies
> Of thunderbolts, shall match my fury as I strike
> Hercules to the heart, shatter his house, rage through
> His rooms, killing his children first; he who is doomed
> To be their murderer shall not know they are the sons
> Of his own body, till my frenzy leaves him. Look!
> See him – head wildly tossing – at the starting-point,
> Silent, his rolling eyeballs full of maniac fire;
> Breathing convulsively, and with a terrible
> Deep bellow, like a bull about to charge, he shrieks
> To all Hell's fiends – I'll plague you worse yet!
> You shall dance in terror to my piping![46]

After this scene, the chorus comments on her as "a Gorgon of Night, and around her/ Bristle the hissing heads of a hundred snakes".[47] Lyssa's actual costume on the original stage is not certainly known, but some Greek vases surviving from the period present Lyssa as a hybrid of the visual images of the Gorgon and the Furies.[48] The Furies, of course, feature strongly in various operas, as we will see through the following chapters.[49] Musically it is interesting to note that the aforementioned mad scenes of Hercules and Lycurgus both refer to the sound of "the flute" ("φιλαύλους [fond of the flute]"[50]) or "piping" ("καταυλήσω"[51]). Both of these terms are derived from *aulos*, which, although often erroneously translated as flute, is an Asiatic reed instrument with a sound somewhat akin to the oboe. However, in seventeenth century opera, there is no evidence of an association between madness and such a sound.[52]

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[46] Ibid, 179 – 180. [Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, l. 824 – 873].
[47] Ibid, 180.
[48] Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy*, 19.
[49] The furies are particularly important in the mad scenes in French *tragédie en musique*. See: Chapter 4.
[50] Andrew Brown (ed. and trans.), *Sophocles: Antigone* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1987), 100.
[51] Arthur S. Way (trans.), *Euripides: Bacchanals, Madness of Hercules, Children of Hercules, Phoenician Maidens and Suppliants* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), vol. III, 198.
[52] This is partly because seventeenth century operas (especially those preserved in MSs) very rarely specify the instrumentation. A close case is, however, in Act 4, Scene 2 of *Roland* by Lully and Quinault where the title role hears a sound of "chalumeaux". But this symbolizes shepherds and shepherdesses. Of course, later in the history, the highlight of the mad scene of *Lucia di Lammermoor* (by Donizetti) famously consists of a "duet" of Lucia and the solo flute. But, the composer originally wished to use the glass harmonica. See: Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia", 129, n. 22.

Through the examples above, we can discern several features of tragic madness as represented on the Greek stage. First, the ancient Greeks saw madness as a result of external intervention by the gods, and in that sense it was beyond self-help or human comfort. It was also therefore tragic and piteous, and its association with deities made it an inappropriate subject for ridicule. Moreover, since madness in Attic tragedy was caused by external agencies, it tended to be temporary and its disappearance played an important role in the evolution of the plots.

The case of Hercules is a telling example. After Lyssa ceases her possession, Hercules "wakes up", and begins to realise what evil he has wrought – in a fit of madness he has slaughtered his own children. Clearly, the actions of mad characters brought to drama events that were savagely catastrophic and horrible to behold. This, in turn, meant that it was sometimes problematic to transplant the consequences of these types of madness directly onto the stage – and not only for the Greeks but for the Romans too. Horace, in his *De Arte Poetica* has this to say about the matter:

> Either an event is acted on the stage, or the action is narrated. Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes, and what the spectator can see for himself. Yet you will not bring upon the stage what should be performed behind the scenes, and you will keep much from our eyes, which an actor's ready tongue will narrate anon in our presence; so that Medea is not to butcher her boys before the people, nor impious Atreus cook human flesh upon the stage, nor Procne be turned into a bird, Cadmus into a snake. Whatever you thus show me, I discredit and abhor.[53]

The exact reasoning behind these edicts is not made explicit, though the injunctions against Medea and Atreus may be on grounds of morality and taste, and those against the cases of Procne and Cadmus based on issues concerned with the limits of practical stagecraft, and the need to retain a fictive, suspension of disbelief in the theatre. Either

[53] Horace, "De Arte Poetica", in H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. and trans., *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, 467 [lines 179-88].

way, the narration of tragic events taking place offstage became an important device in early operas.[54] Moreover, there is some evidence that not only the consequences of madness, but the representation of tragic madness *per se* was, in the seventeenth century, treated with caution. In operas based directly upon Greco-Roman stories, such as *Médée* and *Atys* (both set by Lully to words by Quinault), the madness of the main characters is not presented as a central aspect of those plots.[55]

From the literary point of view, Ruth Padel, a scholar specialising in Greek tragedy, has suggested two reasons why instances of tragic madness in ancient literature are usually temporary. First, in this way they conform to the view that madness could be switched on and off by outside forces – i.e. by the intervention of the gods – and, conversely, they essentially deny some modern interpretations that see such states as emerging inexorably from an inherently troubled psyche: "the idea that madness could be fearsomely latent ... [is] a new development from the characteristically nineteenth-century desire to claim secret insight into long-hidden madness".[56] To this analysis one might add that temporary madness allows the dramatist to portray more than one aspect of a character, by drawing upon uncontrolled feeling as well as rational purpose as an acceptable motivation. The effect is to move fictive characterization beyond the level of the merely functional, and to open the way for fluid and rounded characterization on the stage. This enables theatrical representation to become a more convincing and empathetic simulacrum of real life.

As we shall see, baroque operatic representations of madness often modulate between the functional and the empathic depending upon the needs of the plot.

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[54] An obvious example is the death of Euridice, which is "reported" by her friend both in Caccini or Peri's *Euridice* and Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.

[55] For a further discussion, see: Chapter 4.

[56] Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy*, 30. Also see: Roy Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: a History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency* (London: Athlone, 1987), 35 – 38.

Moreover, the effects of madness on a character can sometimes only be effectively portrayed if they are contrasted with his or her "normal', sane attributes. Hence, in baroque opera, characterization in general tends to be built up from a mosaic of different attributes as the plot proceeds. In the seventeenth century, however, characters might 'express' attributes of their personalities anywhere – in recitatives, ariosi, and so on – whereas, by the early eighteenth century, and partly as a result of the natural development of operatic musical means, the principal parts of a "personality mosaic" tend to be crystallized into arias, with each aria representing a different 'Affekt'.

Ruth Padel's second suggestion about the need for temporariness in literary madness concerns not characterization, but the narrative. She asserts that the madness must be temporary so as to inject variety into the plot, and once the dramatic purpose of the mad episode is accomplished, the madness is no longer necessary. Hera maddens Hercules to make his murder his own children, but once this deed is done, he is released from his state. We should also note, however, that Padel's views on the narrative context of madness must also imply that the preamble to the onset of madness may be as important to the plot as the resolutions of its aftermath.

Just how much early opera composers and librettists knew about ancient Greek drama is not altogether clear. We do know that two early members of the Florentine "Camerata" [57] – Giovanni Bardi and Vincenzo Galilei – engaged in extensive correspondence with an expert on ancient Greek texts, Girolamo Mei.[58] Mei, in turn, had studied with the great Italian humanist Piero Vettori, and had himself discovered

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[57] On the various members of "the" Camerata, and its development see: Nino Pirrotta, "Temperaments and Tendencies in the Florentine Camerata", *The Musical Quarterly* 40 (1954), 169-89; and Claude Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989).

[58] See Claude Palisca, *Girolami Mei (1519-1594): Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vincenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 3 (Neuhausen and Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hänssler-Verlag, 1977).

the lost text of Euripides' *Electra*, as well as previously unknown sections of Aeschylus' *Agammemnon*.[59] He also, in 1579, sent to Vincenzo Galilei copies of four Greek hymns in their original notation – the only Greek music ever seen by the pioneers of opera – but neither Mei nor Galilei seems to have been capable of transcribing them.[60]

This direct engagement with ancient sources seems not to have been shared by later members of the Camerata such as Corsi, Peri and Rinuccini, though they must have been familiar with some sixteenth-century editions and translations of classical Greek tragedies. Rinuccini, for example, in his Preface to *Euridice*, tells us "I have followed the authority of Sophocles in his *Ajax* in having the scene change, since one cannot otherwise represent the prayers and laments of Orpheus".[61] He also allocated the Prologue of that same opera to a character called "La Tragedia", and he chose the term "Tragedia" to describe his libretto of *Arianna* in 1608.

Attempts to reconstruct or re-invent the "tragic" genre in its purest form in musical terms were limited in the Renaissance. They include the "tragedia" set to music (unfortunately now lost) by Claudio Merulo for a visit by Henry III of France to Venice in 1574,[62] and the famous presentation of *L'Edipo Tiranno*, a play by Sophocles (in an Italian version by Orsatto Giustiniani, and with music for the choruses by Andrea Gabrieli), at the opening of the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza in 1585.[63] Once the term "tragedia" had found its way into the field of early opera, its exact implications were often far from clear. Seventeenth century operatic works, aside from *Arianna*, that were

[59] Palisca, *Girolami Mei*, 19-20.
[60] Ibid., 59-63.
[61] See: Carter and Szweykowski, (eds. and trans.), *Composing Opera*, 18-19.
[62] The text was by "C. Frangipane". See: Rebecca Edwards, "Merulo, Claudio", The *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 2nd edn. (London: Macmillan, 2001), Vol. 16, 474; and P. de Nolhac and A Solerti, *Il viaggio di Enrico III re di Francia* (Turin: n. pub., 1890), 133.
[63] See: Leo Schrade, (ed.), *La Représentation d'Edipo Tiranno au Teatro Olimpico* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960).

described as "tragedies" include: Manelli/Vendramino's *L'Adone* (Venice, 1640); Sacrati/Testi's *L'isola di Alcina* (Bologna, 1648); and the librettist Francesco Sbarra's *La tirannide dell'Interesse* (Lucca, 1653) – which is described as a "tragedia politicomorale".[64] It is difficult to reconcile completely this diverse list with Nino Pirrotta's assertion, made in relation to *Arianna*, that "the right to be called tragedy comes, as in the tradition of the genre, from the royal birth and political motivations of its characters".[65] In any case, the tendency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was to combine traditions from the past into a new genre of "tragicomedia" which, the poet Guarini tells us, took from classical tragedy "the great persons, but not the action, the plot which is verisimilar but not true, the passions which are aroused but blunted, pleasure but not sadness, and danger but not death".[66] The characterisation of "the mad" in early opera fits well into this adapted scheme.

3. Plato's Categories of Madness

Plato did not, so far as we know, write plays, but his philosophical writings provide several interesting insights into ancient views of madness.[67] Chief among such works are: *Ion*, which deals with poetic inspiration as a kind of frenzy; the *Timaeus*, which, in passing, discusses two types of folly; and, above all, *Phaedrus* which provides an

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[64] See: Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a Stampa dalle origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990), Vol. V, 330 [nos. 23171-23173]. The composer's name is unknown. There is also the curious example of *Santa Dimna* listed under the works of Alessandro Melani for 1687 in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (Vol. 3, 318), as a "commedia per musica or tragedia per musica". However, this may be a slightly confused presentation of two separate descriptions found in different manuscript libretti. Printed libretti only refer to this text as a "Tragedia": see Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. V, 117 [items 20805-6].

[65] Nino Pirrotta, "Monteverdi and the Problems of Opera", in *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 235-53, at 247. Pirrotta's formulation is apparently based on Aristotle, *Poetics*, I, vi [sections 49b20-30; 50a15-35].

[66] From Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Il Verrato*. See Bernard Weinberg, *A History of literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* [1961] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), Vol. II, 1080. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

[67] For Platonic concepts of madness, see: Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 64 – 101; Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece*, 166 – 179; Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy*, 82 – 89.

important analysis of various types of madness. It is with this last work that we shall begin.[68]

Plato's *Phaedrus*, together with his *Symposium*, is centrally concerned with the ethical basis of the perfect fulfilment of erotic love (*eros*), and principally of that between a man and his boy 'disciple-lover" (*erastes*). In the *Phaedrus*, the references to madness arise from a discussion between Phaedrus and Socrates as to whether the boy should prefer someone who is passionately consumed with a "mad" love for him, or someone who is coldly sensual in a detached manner. Phaedrus suggests that a young boy might prefer a man who does not actually love him to one who loves him madly. But Socrates, by way of questioning whether madness is a malignant symptom that should be avoided, says:

> If it were true without qualification that madness is an evil, that would be all very well, but in fact madness, provided it comes as the gift of heaven, is the channel by which we receive the greatest blessings ... the men of old who gave such things their names saw no disgrace or reproach in madness; otherwise they would not have connected with it the name of the noblest of all arts, the art of discerning the future, and called it the *manic* art.[69]

Also in this context, Socrates mentions the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona as examples of this particular type of divine madness, characterised by a state of possession which leads to special insights. Within Greek drama, another such example of prophetic madness is provided by Cassandra who appears in *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus.

Later in the *Phaedrus*, Plato returns to the subject of madness, and, under the guise of merely recapitulating his argument, he expands and further analyses his categories:

[68] For a summary of the *Phaedrus* argument, see: Anne Carson, *Eros the Bittersweet* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 123 – 167.

[69] Plato, *Phaedrus*, sections 244 a-b. See: Plato, *Phaedrus and the Seventh and Eighth Letters*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 46 – 47.

> And there are two types of madness, one arising from human disease, the other when heaven sets us free from established convention ... And we distinguished four kinds of divine madness and ascribed them to four divinities: the inspiration of the prophet to Apollo; that of the mystic to Dionysus; that of the poet to the muses; and the fourth kind to Aphrodite and Love. And of the four we declared the last, the madness of the lover, to be the best.[70]

What is interesting about this formulation is that all of these types of "non-medical" madness are represented as being in some sense benign. Quite how this was supposed to fit with the horrific consequences of tragic madness as represented through Greek drama is not clear. It may be that Plato is implying that, although these types of madness spring from a good impulse – that is, the attempt to communicate with, and obey, the Gods – such impulses (and the actions of the God's themselves) may, on some occasions, derive from base or suspect motives, and thus lead to tragic consequences. Another possibility is that Plato doubts that the definition of a "tragedy" can be based on the mere outward appearances of the consequences of a particular state of mind: the Gods might have higher educative or moral purposes behind the apparent misfortunes of life. Yet a third possibility is that Plato saw the tragically mad figures of Greek myths and dramas as merely fictive inventions that, apart from their didactic purposes, served as demonstrations of the divinely inspired imaginations of their creators: in other words, all kinds of fictive madness – no matter how horrible or catastrophic - were, for him, subsumed under the benign category of madness bestowed on the author by the Muses. What Plato's analysis does confirm is the separation of medical madness from all other types.

It is in Plato's *Ion* that we hear the most about the madness of artistic inspiration:

[70] Plato, *Phaedrus*, sections 265 a-b. Plato, *Phaedrus and the Seventh and Eighth Letters*, 8-81. A similar categorization is presented earlier in *Phaedrus* (244 b), where curse-induced madness appears instead of mystic madness. On the discrepancies between the two passages, see: Padel, *Whom Gods Destroy*, 86 – 89

> The Muse herself makes some men inspired, from whom a chain of other men is strung out who catch their own inspiration from theirs. For all good epic poets recite all that splendid poetry not by virtue of a skill, but in a state of inspiration and possession. The same is true of good lyric poets as well: just as Corybantic worshippers dance without being in control of their senses, so too it's when they are not in control of their senses that the lyric poets compose those fine lyric poems. But once launched into their rhythm and musical mode, they catch a Bacchic frenzy: They are possessed, just like Bacchic women, who when possessed and out of their senses draw milk and honey from rivers – exactly what the souls of the lyric poets do, as they say themselves.[71]

As we can see, Plato makes a link here between the madness inspired by the muses and that aroused by Dionysian rituals, but he seems to avoid any parallels with Apollonian madness and its gift of prophecy. This may seem to suggest that, whereas Apollonian madness can lead a prophet to grasp real truths, Dionysus and the Muses cannot evoke any such truths from "mad" artists and revellers. In fact, as Plato makes clear in his *Apology*, neither prophets, nor artists, nor ritual dancers possess real truth, since 'they deliver all their sublime messages without knowing in the least what they mean"; they are, for Plato, little more than simple mouthpieces through which the wise thoughts of the gods are uttered.[72] Although there was no opera of the seventeenth century that directly embodied the idea of its protagonists being mere mouthpieces for the gods, Renaissance poets, under the influence of Neo-Platonism – particularly in the version espoused by Marsilio Ficino (1433 – 99) – were much influenced by it, as were certain performers (Isabella Andreini[73] is a notable example) when it came to explaining the origins of their skills and artistic insights.[74] We shall return to this issue later in the study.

[71] Plato, *Ion*, 533 e, 534 a. Plato, *Early Socratic Dialogues*, trans. Trevor J. Saunders (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), 55.
[72] See: Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates: Euthyphro, The Apology, Crito and Phaedo*, trans. Hugh Tredennick [1954] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), "The Apology", 51 [Section 22].
[73] See: Chapter 2 of this study.
[74] For the influence of Ficinian ideas on Renaissance music, see: Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993). For poetic furor, particularly, Chapter 6, "An Archaeology of Poetic Furor 1500 – 1650" of the same publication.

Plato's inclusion of the madness of *eros* – erotic love – under the category of divine madness may seem odd, but he justifies it with two rather separate lines of argument. The first, outlined in his *Symposium*, is that Eros (as a personification) is "neither mortal nor immortal", but a "spirit" (*daimon*),[75] and the purpose of such spirits is to convey the prayers of mortals to the gods, and the commands, revelations and gifts of the gods to mortals.[76] In that sense Eros fulfils the same communicative function as the other types of divine madness. Plato's second reason for the inclusion of eros under divine madness is that erotically induced madness (like the other varieties) adds "wings to the soul" and leads it to seek new forms of knowledge. However, as he makes clear in the *Phaedrus*, this method of gaining knowledge has its dangers:

> This then is the fourth type of madness, which befalls when a man, reminded by the sight of beauty on earth of the true beauty, grows his wings and endeavours to fly upward, but in vain, exposing himself to the reproach of insanity because, like a bird, he fixes his gaze on the heights to the neglect of things below.[77]

The metaphor employed here by Plato to explain the dangers of seeking a direct, easy path to knowledge, occurs in an expanded form in the myths of Icarus (who flew too close to the sun), and Phaëthon (who rashly attempted to drive the sun-chariot through the sky for one day, with disastrous consequences). Both of these figures can be found in seventeenth century operas with impassioned love plots: Icarus/Icaro, for example, in Castrovillari/Artale's *La Pasife* (Venice, 1661-2); and Phaëthon/Fetonte in Volpe/Aureli's "mad" opera *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (Venice, 1663). The latter will be investigated in detail later in this study.

Plato's discussions of divine madness do not exhaust his coverage of the "madness" issue, since, in the *Timaeus*, he turns his attention to madness as a disease of

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[75] Plato, *The Symposium*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1951), 82 [section 203e].
[76] See the discussion of Eros in: A. E. Taylor, *Plato: the Man and his Work* (London: Methuen, 1960), 224-31, 305-9.

the soul or mind. Under that heading we have physiologically-induced madness and stupidity, which Plato groups together under the term "folly" (ἄνοια).

> It will be granted that folly is a mental disease, and of folly there are two kinds, madness [μανία] and stupidity [ἀμαθία]. Any condition which brings on either must be called a disease; and so we must rank excessive pleasure and pain as among the worst diseases of the mind. For in states of excessive excitement, or of excessive depression caused by pain, a man is in a frenzy of eagerness to grab one thing and avoid another, and *at such times* [my italics] is incapable of normal sight or hearing and his reasoning faculty is at its lowest.[78]

Like most ancient Greek discussions of madness, what we have here is a description of actions or symptoms that might occur in almost anyone's life at some point and for some reason. These attributes would certainly enable us to identify a "mad" *action* or *moment* in a person's life, but we might hesitate to call him/her a "mad" *person* unless we had more information about the pervasiveness and intensity of the symptoms. That is why context, and a deep understanding of the implications of the theatrical conventions for representing madness, are so important for the recognition of mad characters on the stage. Taken at face value, Plato's definition might apply to Nero and Poppea, Orpheus and Eurydice, and any love-lorn couple on the stage, but this would be an insufficient reason for designating the scenes in which such attributes were displayed as "mad" scenes.

4. Comic Madness

As we shall see in later chapters of this study, it was comedy that became the prime vehicle for the representation of madness in Renaissance and Baroque theatres. Therefore, we need to know something of the history of the association between

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[77] Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Walter Hamilton (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 56 [Section 249d].
[78] Plato, *Timaeus*, 86 b. Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. Desmond Lee (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 114 – 115 [Section 86b].

comedy and madness.

The beginning of comedy is particularly difficult to pinpoint since humorous representations can be found even in pre-literate cultures. However, according to Aristotle, theatrical comedy originated among the revellers who followed the symbolic phallic objects carried in processions in honour of Dionysus.[79]

Scholars tend to divide Greek comedy into three periods which they call Old Comedy (that produced at Athens throughout the fifth century BC), Middle Comedy (c. 404 – c. 321 BC); and New Comedy (c321-300 BC).[80] We know little about the first category since few complete comedies survive by fifth century writers such as Cratinus and Eupolis. The exception is Aristophanes, for whom eleven plays survive, but none of them contains a directly mad character – though Socrates in *The Clouds* is certainly portrayed as slightly unhinged, and *The Birds* parodies those who seek cloud-cuckoo-land, and feast on "bird-milk" (which was proverbial for unreality).[81] These early attempts to turn sages and their philosophical theories into objects of ridicule, perhaps provide the seeds for, not only the foolish-old-men types of the *commedia dell'arte*, but also a more direct disregard for philosophers such as Seneca in Monteverdi's *Poppea* and Solon in Reinhard Keiser's *Croesus* (Hamburg 1711). In Rameau's *Platée* (Versailles, 1745) the figure of Folly is accompanied by "fous gais" and "fous tristes", dressed respectively as babies and Greek philosophers. Indeed, the only exception to this trend among early operas seems to be Cesti's *Orontea* (Innsbruck, 1656) where the advice of the philosopher Creonte for Queen Orontea is at least partly taken seriously.

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[79] Aristotle, *The Poetics*, 2.3. 49 a11, and 2.4. See: Richard Janko (trans.), *Aristotle: Poetics* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), 6 – 7.
[80] Michael Anderson, "The Comedy of Greece and Rome", in *Comic Drama: the European Heritage*, ed. W. D. Howarth (London: Methuen, 1978), 22 – 33.
[81] See the survey of the works of Aristophanes in: Peter Levy, *The Pelican History of Greek Literature*

In the later periods of Greek comedy there is much clearer evidence that mad characters contributed to the range of comedic devices upon the stage. Anaxandrides of Rhodes (4th century BC) and Diphilus and Diodoros of Sinope (they were brothers, born c. 360 – 50 BC) all wrote comedies under the title 'The Mad One'. Also, Alexis (c. 375 – c. 275 BC) left a fragment in which a character parodies the verses of Euripides' mad Orestes.[82]

However, it was Roman comedies written by Plautus (c. 254 – 184 BC) and Terence (186/5 – 159? BC), but on Greek models, that were later resurrected with music and thus became most influential in Renaissance theatre.[83] The works of Terence had been popular in medieval culture since at least the twelfth century, but it was only in 1429 that Nicolaus of Cues brought to Rome an eleventh-century German manuscript of Plautus (I - Rvat. Lat. 3870) which contained twelve plays by him not previously known.[84] This was the spur that eventually led to, among other things, the performances in 1486 in Ferrara of Plautus' *Menaechmi* and *Amphitrione* with music.[85] The *Menaechmi* of Plautus is of particular relevance to this study, since it contains two mad scenes. The drama features identical twins separated from their childhood and the chaos they cause. The situation is worsened by the fact that they have the same name. In one scene, Menaechmus feigns madness to get rid of his brother's wife and father in law, and in another scene, the other Menaechmus pretends to perceive the divine voice of Apollo instructing him to attack his enemies.[86]

It should be noted that several significant characteristic trends of later comedy and

(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), Chapter 10.

[82] R. L. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 128 – 9.

[83] For a discussion of Plautus and Terence in Renaissance theatre, see: Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[84] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 123.

[85] Pirrotta and Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, 38-9.

[86] Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 831 ff; 840 ff; respectively.

opera can already be found in these works. First, Plautus' characters exploit "feigned madness". They are not truly in the grip of insanity; rather they take on the characteristic features of madness for the purposes of parody or manipulation. Second, we find the ploy of mistaken identity – the subject central to the plot of the *Menaechmi*. Such situations cannot only offer comic opportunities but they also provide the chance of developing more serious aspects to a drama. In fact, Alessandro Scarlatti's first opera, *Gli equivoce nel sembiante* (on a libretto by Domenico Filippo Conte, 1679) very similarly features separated twins but in a more serious setting. Third, as we have seen, Plautus was a Roman playwright working with Greek models, and inevitably this sometimes lead to anachronisms and to disjunctions of place and custom. As Ogilvie points out in his study of Roman literature:

> A play [by Plautus] nominally set in Athens will turn on the interpretation of a fine point of Roman law; free-born Carthaginian girls will be treated as possessing the same legal rights to freedom as Athenian or Roman girls ... In all Plautus's plays the time is 'now' and the scene is 'here', and it is that dramatic allusion which is all-important.[87]

These seemingly accidental historical and geographical contradictions, and particularly their nonchalant acceptability in the plays of Plautus and his contemporary Romans, provide a crucial bedrock of expectation on which the authors of later theatrical and operatic works can draw, inviting their audiences with complete naturalness to extract contemporary lessons from ancient and exotic stories.

5. Roman Literature and the Feminisation of Madness

The most important feature of madness as portrayed in Roman literature is the significant shift towards its association with abandoned female characters. Ariadne in

[87] R. M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 29.

Carmen (LXIV) by Catullus (c. 84 – 54 BC), Dido in the *Aeneid* by Virgil (70 – 19 BC), and the protagonist of *Medea* by Seneca (4 BC? – 65 AD) are all abandoned by their lovers and, as a result, driven to insanity. Closely related to this trend, too, are those women in Ovid's *Heroides* who write forlorn, yearning or accusatory letters to their departed lovers – Penelope to Ulysses, Dido to Aeneas, Ariadne to Theseus, Medea to Jason, and so on. The significance of these characters in early opera is well known.

This marked feminisation of madness – particularly in relation to love – seems to have been a Roman invention. Of course, Greek mythology and tragedy present some female victims who succumb to insanity. However, they are most frequently depicted as recipients of divine punishment following some kind of misdemeanour (for example, Agave was punished with madness after slandering her sister, Semele). By contrast, the mad women in Roman writings had very little, if any, to do with divine powers. And very often, their insanity was invented by the (male) author as a moralistic (and chauvinistic) reflection of the perceived threatening power of the sexuality of a certain type of abandoned woman, regardless of what Greek mythology or history previously conveyed about the heroine. Two famous cases in this category are Dido and Medea, and a brief account here of their treatment in Roman literature will enable us later to see more clearly the manipulations that took place when they were portrayed in early opera.

First, it should be noted that the story of Dido's love for Aeneas is anachronistic since the two figures were not contemporary according to historical chronology.[88] Furthermore, in the historical accounts, Dido's suicide was prompted not by Aeneas, but by the role of the North African King Iarbus, who had sold the site of Carthage to

[88] Virgil's "anachronistic" treatment of Dido is discussed in: Wendy Beth Heller, "Chastity, Heroism, and Allure: Women in the opera of seventeenth century Venice" (PhD dissertation: Brandeis University, 1995), esp. 155 – 56; and idem, "O castità bugiarda: Cavalli's Didone and the Question of Chastity", in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber, 1998), 169 – 225. See also: idem., *Emblems of Eloquence* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 87 - 9.

Dido and later pursued her.[89] Even in Virgil's text it is the jealous prayers of Iarbus to Jupiter that lead to Aeneas's desertion of the queen and, indirectly, to her death.[90] Moreover, according to Virgil, Dido was morally distressed by her infatuation with Aeneas since it seemed to her to breach her vow of fidelity to her dead husband Sychaeus, and she had to be persuaded by her sister Anna to break that vow.[91] As for the encounter between Dido and Aeneas, this was not, as commonly supposed, an invention of Virgil, since it is described in the writings of both Naevius and Ennius from the third century BC.[92] Moreover, it is probably not a coincidence that these stories gained currency at the time of the first and second Punic wars between Rome and Carthage, two centuries before Virgil was born.

Whatever the antecedents of Virgil's story, it seems to have been Virgil himself who was the first to give such vivid expression to Dido's love and tragic disappointment. The madness of Dido is famously documented in Book IV of the *Aeneid* where her strong attachment to Aeneas is portrayed by using such terms as "demens" and "furiosus" – clear indicators of insanity.[93] When Dido discovers that Aeneas has left Carthage in haste, she is transformed from a wise and exemplary ruler into a figure apparently modelled on such frenzied monsters as the Furies and the Bacchantes: "thrice and four times she struck her comely breast with her hand ... tearing her golden hair".[94] It is at this point that she realises her own madness, saying "quid loquor? aut ubi

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[89] *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Dido", "Timaeus of Tauromenium". Timaeus wrote a history of Libya c260BC, and tells us that Dido leapt onto a funeral pyre in order to escape the King of Libya (Iarbus in Virgil).
[90] Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book IV, 196-236.
[91] Ibid., Book IV, 20-40.
[92] *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Naevius", "Ennius".
[93] Virgil, *Aeneid* Book IV, 69, 78, 101 and 107. For this study, I have used the following edition: Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I – VI*, trans. H. Rushton (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), Book IV, passim.
[94] "...terque quarque manu pectus percussa decorum flaventisque abscissa comas..". Virgil, *Aeneid*, IV, l. 589 – 590. The translation is from: Virgil, *Aeneid I – VI*, trans. Rushton, 463.

sum? Quae mentem insania mutat? Infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?".[95] There is a curious similarity between Dido's utterance here and those of mad characters on the operatic stage, as we will see later in this study.

But Virgil does not allow Dido's frenzy to cease at this point. She then curses the man whom she once loved dearly:

> Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis spargere? Non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis? [Could I not have seized him, torn him limb from limb, and scattered the pieces on the waves? Could I not have put his men to the sword, and Ascanius himself, and served him up as a meal at his father's table?][96]

And the scene of her suicide is presented with haunting vividness.

> At trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido, sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque tremenitis interfusa genas, et pallida morte futura, interiora domus inrumpit limina, et altos conscendit furibunda rogos, ensemque recludit Dardanium, non hos quaestitum munis in usus.
> [...Dido, trembling and frantic with her dreadful design, rolling bloodshot eyes, her quivering cheeks flecked with burning spots, and pale at he imminence of death, bursts into the inner courts of the house, climbs the high pyre in a frenzy and unsheathes the Dardan sword, a gift sought for no such purpose.][97]

Finally Virgil gives us the famous last words of Dido, her farewell "lament":

> Dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat, accipite hanc animam meque his exolvite curis. Vixi et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregri, et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
> [... Sweet relics, precious so long as fate and god allowed, now receive my spirit and set me free from these cares. For I have lived and journeyed through the course assigned by Fortune. And now my shade shall pass in state beneath the earth.][98]

These last words of Dido became famous during the medieval and renaissance periods. Indeed, the earliest known musical setting of "Dulces exuviae" seems to be a tenth

[95] [What say I? where am I? What madness turns my brain? Unhappy Dido, do only now your sinful deeds come home to you?] Virgil, *Aeneid IV*, 595 – 596. The translation is from Rushton's edition, 463.
[96] *Aeneid* IV, 600 – 603. Rushton, 463.
[97] *Aeneid*, IV, 642 – 647. Rushton, 463.
[98] *Aeneid* IV, 651-4. Rushton, 463.

century version in neums now found in Florence at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (I – Fn, Ashb. 23),[99] and during the Renaissance "Dido's Lament" was set by many composers including Josquin des Prez, Jean Mouton, Adrian Willaert, Jacob Arcadelt, Orlando di Lasso and many more.[100]

It is interesting that Virgil gave Dido such a dramatic representation. During the course of the epic, Dido's character changes to a great extent as if she were an actress developing a role. At her imminent death, she utters her final words, which are, surprisingly, not addressed to the person she most wants to impress – Aeneas – but, instead, as if to a virtual audience, or perhaps even to her inner self. It is these qualities that made Dido's situation such a compelling subject for early opera composers with their new expressive means. Settings of her story from the seventeenth century include those by Cavalli/Busenello (Venice, 1641),[101] the librettist Della Rena and an anonymous composer (Genoa, 1652),[102] Mattioli/Mascardini (Bologna, 1656),[103] Pallavicino/Franceschi (Venice, 1686),[104] Moratelli/Rapparini (Düsseldorff, 1688),[105] Purcell/Tate (London, c.1689),[106] Desmarets/Gillot (Paris, 1693)[107] and Scarlatti/Franceschi (Naples, 1696).[108] The question of whether Dido is a truly mad character in these works will be discussed later in this study.

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[99] David Fallows and Thomas B. Payne, "Sources MS, III, 2: Secular monophony, Latin", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. By Stanley Sadie, 2nd end. (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 23, 849.
[100] See Oliver Strunk, "Vergil in Music" *Musical Quarterly*, xvi (1930), 482-97; Helmuth Osthoff, "Vergils Aeneis in der Musik von Josquin des Prez bis Orlando di Lasso", *Archiv für Musikwissemschaft*, 11 (1954), 85-102; and Allen Skei, "*Dulces exuviae*: Renaissance Settings of Dido's Last Words", *Music Review*, 37 (1976), 77-91.
[101] Sartori, *I libretti italiani,* Vol. II, no. 7724
[102] Ibid., Vol. II, no. 7726
[103] Ibid., Vol. II, no. 7728
[104] Ibid., Vol. II, no. 7731
[105] Ibid., Vol. II, no. 7724
[106] See: Chapter 5 for documentary details.
[107] *Didon*, published Paris 1693.
[108] Sartori, *I libretti italiani,* Vol. II, no. 7869

Interestingly, Seneca presented his Medea in a somewhat similar manner. In Greek tragedy, unlike Cassandra, Medea is not explicitly associated with madness. Only Euripides in his own *Medea* made use of a word alluding to insanity when he described her as sailing away "with a maddened heart" [μαινομένα κραδία].[109] The term μαινομένα is etymologically connected with *menos* [μένος], the Homeric term designating male madness; though its exact meaning is not quite clear in this context.[110] It is not until Seneca's play on Medea that the matter becomes more explicit:

> As a maenad uncertainly directs her frenzied steps when now she raves at the oncoming of the god, on snowy Pindus' top or on Nysa's ridges, so she runs now here, now there, with frantic rush, marks of distracted passion in her face. Her cheeks aflame, she pants with deep sobs for breath, shouts aloud, weeps floods of tears, beams with joy; she assumes the proof of every passion. Whither the weight of her wrath inclines, where it aims its threats, hangs still in doubt; she threatens, seethes with rage, complains, groans aloud. Where will this wave break itself? Madness o'erflows its bounds [exundat furor].[111]

It should be noted that, as Seneca uses the phrase 'maenas insanit' in relation to Medea (which alludes to the "Maenads" or "Bacchae"), both his Medea and Virgil's Dido are interestingly enough portrayed as embodiments of female monsters. When those characters are sane, it is their femininity that is emphasised, but when they are possessed by rage, they show extreme violence, and their destructive power seems to be presented (rather ironically) as something masculine.

The explicit gruesomeness with which Virgil and Seneca portrayed their heroines, was perhaps the result of the fact both of the works were intended to be read rather than acted – the *Aeneid* is an epic and, nowadays, Seneca's "tragedies" are usually

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[109] Euripides, *Medea*, 431 – 432. The translation is from Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic*, 36.

[110] In fact, Philip Vellacott has translated this sections as follows: "so you, Medea, *wild with love*, set sail from your father's house" (my own italics). Philip Vellacott (trans.), *Euripides: Medea and Other Plays* (London: Penguin Books, 1963), 30.

[111] Seneca, *Medea*, 382 – 392. Frank J. Miller (trans.), *Seneca's Tragedies: Hercules Furens; Troades; Medea; Hippolytus and Oedipus* (London: William Heinemann, 1979), vol. I, 260 – 261.

considered as literary rather than theatrical works, because of the total lack of evidence for their actual performances.[112] If Seneca's tragedies were primarily literary works, then, it is not surprising that they were influenced by Roman epics (especially Virgil's) as well as Greek plays.

Through the study of such examples it may be possible to make some further distinctions between Greek and Roman views of insanity. First, for the Romans, madness indicated a loss of self-awareness and self-control, and it was associated with the "weaker," female sex. Moreover this self-awareness is, for the Romans something divine as Seneca makes clear in his *Epistle* 41, where he urges people to discover the unknown element of the Self:

> God is near you, is with you, is within you.... There resides within us a divine spirit, which guards and watches us in the evil and the good we do...In each and every good man a god dwells.[113]

This stands in sharp contrast to the Greek view (expressed most clearly in the writings of Plato) that it is the madness that overruns the self that is divinely inspired. Seneca and the Stoics warned that self-awareness might be "turned into something difficult by the madness that is universal among men,"[114] and mankind (there was little talk of women) was encouraged to exercise rational powers to tame bestial desires. It may at first seem difficult to demonstrate a connection between Seneca's tragedies and his own moralistic view.[115] However, throughout his writings, Seneca attempts to criticise the uncontrolled self, and his *Medea* provides a telling object lesson from this point of view.[116]

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[112] W. Beare, *The Roman Stage: a Short History of Latin Drama in the Time of the Republic* (London: Methuen, 1955), 225.
[113] Seneca, *Epistle* 41. The translation is cited from Denis and Elisabeth Henry, *The Mask of Power: Seneca's Tragedies and Imperial Rome* (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Philips, 1985), 98.
[114] Seneca, *Epistle*, 41.D. and E. Henry, *The Mask of Power*, 98.
[115] For a discussion, see: D. and E. Henry, *The Mask of Power,* 97 – 98.
[116] In addition to *Medea*, six tragedies are attributed to Seneca: *Hercules Furens*; *Troades*; *Phaedra* (or *Hippolytus*); *Oedipus; Agamemnon* and *Thyestes*. *Hercules Oetaeus* and *Octavia* are no longer

Another distinction between the Greek and Roman approaches to insanity is that, while madness in Greek tragedy tends to be a temporary 'event', madness in Roman literature, in most cases, has a 'continuous' motivational function: once a character goes mad, he/ she remains so, until the destructive force of his/ her insanity drives the character towards the catastrophic end.[117] Such a consistent way of developing a plot has considerable dramatic merit; but it might well have proved problematic if transplanted directly onto the operatic stage, where the *lieto fine* was the norm. In fact it was the Roman heroines – Didon, Ariadne and Medea – that had a marked impact on the history of literature, and thus, in turn, made their way on to the seventeenth century operatic stage, as we can see from works such as Monteverdi/ Rinuccini's *Arianna*, Cavalli/Busenello's *Didone* (1641), Pallavicino/A. Franceschi's *Didone delirante* (1696), Henry Purcell/Nahum Tate's *Dido and Aeneas*, and Marc-Antoine Charpentier/Thomas Corneille's *Médée* (1693). However, it is significant that, amongst these works, only *Didone delirante* makes reference to the insanity of the heroine. We will return to these issues particularly in Chapter 5 in relation to the representation of Dido by Purcell and Tate.

6. Ovid and the Transformation of Identity

Perhaps the most continuously and widely read Roman author throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods was Publius Ovidius Naso (43BC – AD17), otherwise known as Ovid. His *Ars Amatoria* became an essential foundation for the medieval preoccupation with courtly love, and his *Metamorphoses*, in fifteen books, provided a touching and convenient digest of some of the most famous myths of the Greek and

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considered as his. See: Don Share, *Seneca in English* (London: Penguin, 1998), xv – vi.

[117] As D. and E. Henry have pointed out, *Hercules furens* is the only play which "presents a definite possibility of restoration to a personality deranged by furor". However, this different ending is, of course,

Roman worlds. The first attempt to set his words in the Renaissance seems to have been by Tromboncino at Ferrara (where the local academics took a leading role in integrating humanistic studies into the curriculum of Italian universities). Tromboncino's musical version of Dido's letter to Aeneas from Ovid's *Heroides* was published in one of Petrucci's frottole prints.[118] Ovid himself makes an appearance in Gagliano's *La Dafne* as the singer of the Prologue,[119] and his *Metamorphoses* served as one of the main sources for the plots of early operas.[120]

The influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on the development of mad operas is oblique but important. First, the work seems to be the source for the frequent connection in early "mad" operas between insanity and evocations of the underworld. In Book IV Juno is conducting a feud with Ino and her husband Athamas, because they have undertaken to look after an illegitimate child (Bacchus) conceived between her husband and Semele.[121] Juno first visits the underworld to see Athamas' brother, Sisyphus, who there suffers perpetual punishment; as she descends across the River Styx, Ovid evokes terrible visions of the lifeless shadows, and the other horrors of that place – Cerberus the guard-dog, Tityus the Giant, the ever-thirsty Tantalus, and Ixion, bound to his ever-whirling wheel. When Juno returns to the upper world she then, with the aid of the three Furies (Alecto, Tisiphone and Megaera), sends Athamas mad and he drives his wife over a cliff.[122] As we shall see in Chapter 7, mad protagonists on the operatic stage frequently invoke visions of the underworld, and particularly the

based upon the Greek original story of Hercules. See: D. and E. Henry, *The Mask of Power*, 112 – 113.

[118] This work is discussed in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (London: Dent and Sons, 1954), 161.

[119] *La Dafne di Marco da Gagliano ...Rappresentata in Mantua ... Firenze. Appresso Cristofano Marescotti. MDCVIII*, 1.

[120] For a summary discussion of Ovid's influence on early opera see: F. W. Sternfeld, *The Birth of Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), Chapter 1.

[121] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, 480 – 530. Frank J. Miller, *Ovid: Metamorphorses* (London: William Heinemann, 1946), vol. I, 212 – 15.

[122] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IV, 525 – 530. Miller, *Ovid: Metamorphorses*, vol. I, 214 – 15.

aforementioned figures visited by Juno, in a form very similar to the account in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. For example, the mad Egisto in Cavalli/G. Faustini's *Egisto* from 1643 imagines he sees Charon and Tantalus (in Act III, scene 5) and the River Styx, Ixion and Sisyphus (in Act III, scene 9). Similarly, the mad Eurillo in A. Scarlatti/Contini's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* from 1679 imagines in Act III scene 6 that he sees Hell, Cerberus and Tisiphone.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is centrally concerned with transformations of identity and, not infrequently, these transformations are connected in some way with episodes of madness. For example, Juno's victims, Ino and her son, in the end, by Neptune's power, become gods of the sea, Leucothoe and Palaemon. Also, in Book IX, Byblis becomes mad as a result of her incestuous relationship with her brother, and then she changes into a fountain.[123] Such physical changes of form can be seen as a powerful metaphor for the traumatic change in identity brought about by an attack of insanity, and on the early operatic stage mad characters frequently suppose that they have become, in fact, some mythological figure. Eurillo in Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, for example, imagines that he is Alecto, one of the Furies; Caligula in Pagliardi's *Caligula Delirante* assumes first that he is Hercules, and then Endymion; and even the feigned madwoman, Deidamia, in Sacrati's *La finta pazza*, knows she must pretend to be someone else to "prove" her madness (she chooses Helen of Troy).

Pathologically, of course, such delusional transformations were frequently viewed as symptoms of madness, as estrangements from the true self as it were, and a number of such cases can be found discussed, for example, in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). [124] However, the transformations presented in Ovid's

[123] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book IX, 635 – 665. Miller, *Ovid: Metamorphoses*, vol. II, 208 – 10.
[124] For example, Burton reports the symptom of a man who believes to be a bear. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* [1621] (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1628), 122.

Metamorphoses and "mad" operas may reflect a rather different view. In these transformations the self does not slowly disintegrate or dissolve into chaos; rather the characters are first fully one thing and then suddenly fully something else, and this suits the "mosaic" presentation of personality on the Baroque stage. Interestingly enough, in this sense, the approach found in Ovid and in early opera also differs markedly from the portrayal of the many mad heroines of nineteenth century opera: for example, Lucia in *Lucia di Lammermoor* by Donizetti, does not shockingly and unexpectedly become mad in an instant; rather the signs have been there gradually developing throughout the work. There is a sense in which, when she becomes mad, Lucia acts more true to herself than when she is sane but constrained and oppressed by the mores of society.

7. Medieval Romances and Wild Madmen

The Middle Ages witnessed a change in the basic view of "the mad". Medieval literature no longer depicts the mad as spiritually blessed, nor does it treat them with awe and reverence. In the sense that the mad were unable to understand themselves or the surrounding world, they were considered to be figures that were shut off from God, and their state was often interpreted as one of damnation. The idea that their minds had been taken over by a higher power still persisted, but that power was no longer considered to be benign and a source of enlightened knowledge; rather, the Bible describes such people as "possessed by devils", and to be cured, according to the medieval religious view, mad people needed to have their devils "cast out".[125] On the other hand, with the growth of mercantile protestant materialism,[126] to the extent that the mad stood outside the rising materialism of society, they were viewed as wise and

[125] See, for example, Matthew, IV.24; Mark VI.13; and Luke IX, 38-42.
[126] See, for example, Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1922).

even "praised". Such a paradoxical view was expounded particularly in the writings of the Humanists in the sixteenth century, with the *Moriae encomium* by Desiderius Erasmus being the most famous example.[127]

This social and economic freedom which the mad seemed to enjoy was encapsulated in the prevailing image of madmen as wandering wild men. Chivalric romances of that time – for example, *La Folie Tristan de Berne* by Beroul (c. 1100),[128] and *Amadas et Ydoine* by an anonymous author (c.1220)[129] – often represent such figures as having "straw in their hair and their clothes threadbare, ripped or fantastical, or sometimes wearing barely a stitch".[130] For example, Tristan, in his madness, "went on walking night and day...he tore clothes and scratched his face. He struck any man who crossed his path".[131] Also, his distracted state seems to have found musical expression in the *Lamento di Tristano*, an anonymous instrumental dance written down in the fourteenth century, but perhaps composed earlier.[132] In the Arthurian tradition – for example in the *Vita Merlini* by Geoffrey of Monmouth (some time after 1135)[133] – the madness of Lancelot is depicted in a similar manner. In England, in Tudor and early Stuart times, pretended madmen were to be found wandering about the country in a dishevelled state begging. These impostors were known as "Abram-men' after the

[127] For the most recent English translation, see: John Wilson (trans.), *Erasmus of Rotterdam: The Praise of Folly* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus, 1994). For analysis of Erasmus's argument, see: Walter Kaiser, *Praisers of Folly: Erasmus, Rabelais and Shakespeare* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1964). Erasmus' view on the mad seems to have been very influential. In Italy a short treatise from a similar viewpoint was published: *La Pazzia* (s.l.: n. pub., 1543?) [Gb-Lbl, 8405.b.53.(1).]. The treatise is now attributed to Vianesio Albergati.
[128] See: Beroul, *The Romance of Tristan and the Tale of Tristan's Madness*, trans. Alan S. Fedrick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978); and Beroul, *The Romance of Tristan*, ed and trans. Norris J. Lacy (New York and London: Garland, 1989).
[129] Anonymous, *Amadas and Ydoine*, trans. Ross G. Arthur (New York and London: Garland, 1993).
[130] Porter, *Madness: a Brief History*, 64.
[131] Alan S. Fedrick (trans.), *Beroul: the Romance of Tristan and the Tale of Tristan's Madness* (London: Penguin, 1970), 153 – 4.
[132] See: Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), Volume 1, 63, no. 59a; and *GB-Lbl*, Add. 29987, f. 63^{r}.
[133] For a modern English translation, see: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Life of Merlin*, ed. and trans. Basil Clarke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1973). The authorship of this work is uncertain.

Abraham Ward in Bedlam which housed the least dangerously mad inmates, and clearly their activity was designed to mimic what early modern European society saw as typical "mad" behaviour. There is a vivid description of such itinerants in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Act II, scene 3), and also in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Beggar's Bush* (Act II, scene 1): "Come princes of the ragged regiment/And these, what name or title e'er they bear,/Jarkman or Pat'rico, Crank or Clapper-dudgeon/Frater or Abram-man, I speak to all/That stand in fair election for the title/Of King of Beggars".[134]

That such traditions strongly influenced Renaissance literature can be seen especially in *Orlando furioso*, a hugely influential epic written by Lodovico Ariosto (1474 – 1533) in the early years of the sixteenth century. We will examine this monumental work in detail in the next chapter, but here it will be sufficient to note that Ariosto inherited two aspects of the medieval romance tradition. First, the theme of a hero who, otherwise invincible, suffers from love-induced madness; and second, the manner of portraying the "mad" behaviour displayed by the hero Orlando, as he wanders alone and in the nude in ways very similar to Tristan, Amadas and Lancelot in the aforementioned Romances. The notion of a noble knight reduced to madness, wildness and nudity can be found in a number of seventeenth century operatic characters including Iarba in Cavalli/Busenello's *Didone* of 1641, and Publicola in Legrenzi/Noris' *Totila* of 1677. We shall return to this issue in Chapter 7.

8. The Feast of Fools

The Feast of Fools (*festa stultorum*)[135] was widely celebrated in medieval France,

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[134] Ebenezer Cobham Brewer, *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (Ware: Wordsworth, 2001), s.v. "Abraham-Man or Abraham Cove".
[135] For a general study of this festival, see: Harvey Cox, *The Feast of Fools: a Theological Essay on*

England, Flanders, and Germany. Normally it took place on January 1st (the Feast of the Circumcision), and was part of a series of "irregular" observances between Christmas and Epiphany presided over by different grades of clergy – St Stephen's Day (26 December) by deacons; St John the Evangelist's Day (27 December), by priests; Holy Innocents Day (28 December) by choirboys and an elected "Boy-Bishop"; and the Feast of Fools itself led by a "Bishop of Fools" chosen from the sub-deacons.[136] The festival was organised by the younger clergy and involved parodying parts of the Mass and Office and mocking the rituals and words of the priests.[137] In 1445, the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris wrote in protest of the festival:

> Priests and clerks may be seen wearing masks and monstrous visages at the hours of office. They dance in the choir dressed as women, panders or minstrels. They sing wanton songs. They eat black puddings at the horn of the altar while the celebrant is saying Mass. They play at dice there. They cense with stinking smoke from the soles of old shoes. They run and leap through the church, without a blush at their own shame. Finally they drive about the town and its theatres in shabby traps and carts; and rouse the laughter of their fellows and the bystanders in infamous performances, with indecent gestures and verses scurrilous and unchaste.[138]

Apparently, the whole town was involved in this "mad", jocular but provocative festival.

Festivity and Fantasy (New York, Evanston, London: Harper and Row, 1969); and Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Recent musical studies include: David G. Hughes, "Another Source for the Beauvais Feast of Fools", in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro and Phyllis Benjamin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1985), 14 – 31; Catherine Homo-Lechner, "De l'usage de la cornemuse dans les banquests: Quelques exemples du XIVe au XVIe siecle", *Imago musicae* IV (1987), 111- 19; Margot E. Fassler, "The Feast of Fools and Danielis ludus: Popular tradition in a medieval cathedral play", in *Plainsong in the age of polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65 – 99; Audrey E. Davidson, "Music in the Beauvais Ludus Danielis", in *The Play of Daniel: Critical essays* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University Medieval Institute, 1996), 77 – 86; and Arlt Wulf, "The Office for the Feast of the Circumcision from Le Puy", trans. Margot Fassler, in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: - written in honour of Professor Ruth Steiner* (New York: Oxfird University Press, 2000), 324 – 343.

[136] Cox, *The Feast of Fools: a Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy*, 3; and Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 95 – 96.

[137] For a detailed description of the customs in 12th and 13th century Paris, see: Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris: 500 – 1550* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[138] Cited in Fassler, "The Feast of Fools and *Danielis ludus*", 80, n. 58.

Clearly, the Feast of Fools shared some aspects and activities with the celebrations of Carnival, which we will examine in the next chapter, and its quasi-dramatic ceremonies included liturgical plays and other rituals. One manuscript which appears to preserve some of these items is GB-Lbl: Egerton 2615, which contains liturgical elements from early thirteenth-century Beauvais.[139] This manuscript also contains a drama with music, the *Danielis ludus*, which, written by "the youth of Beauvais" may have been intended for the Feast of Fools.[140] If so, it is more dignified than what contemporary descriptions of the Feast of Fools lead us to believe was the norm on such occasions, and such dramas may have gradually replaced the indecent liturgy of the Feast of fools, which was finally condemned by the Council of Basel in 1431. Even so, the irreverent attitudes towards authority and the sacred beliefs of society, encapsulated in its activities, found their way firmly into the secular theatrical traditions of Europe – and, in times when political and ecclesiastical oppression was severe, such thoughts might still find a place in the mouths of "mad" or "foolish" characters on the stage, who became instruments of subversion. We will return to this notion later in this study.

9. Biblical Madness

As we have seen, in the biblical view, madness was generally attributed to some other spirit or power taking over a person's mind. In the Old Testament Nebuchadnezzar and Saul provide the primary examples of madness. The former, in his pride, rejected God and so was made "as a beast" and for seven years crawled about the fields, living on

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[139] For a modern edition, see: Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung* (Cologne: Volk, 1970), 2 volumes; and for a facsimile edition, see: Mark Everist, *French 13th-century polyphony in the British Library* (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1988).
[140] See: Fassler, "The Feast of Fools and *Danielis ludus*".

grass and herbs.[141] When he repented he was cured. If this story seems to have strong parallels with the imposition of madness by deities in Greek tragedy, then that might not be an accident since the Book of Daniel may have been written relatively late (perhaps c.160 BC),[142] and, interestingly, it employs Greek names for musical instruments.[143] The case of King Saul is somewhat different, since it was his jealousy of the relationship between David and his son Jonathan that seems to have brought on a form of melancholia.[144] When Jonathan is killed in battle David sings a long lament mourning "Jonathan ... whose love to me was wonderful, surpassing the love of women".[145] In the medieval period this event found musical expression in "Dolorum solatium", a *Planctus* by Peter Abelard, in which David's grief is portrayed as extreme,[146] though we should resist any attempt to call it insane.

In the Middle Ages, some of the biblical stories of insane and jealous rage found their way into liturgical dramas. Two particularly interesting examples concern King Herod; they are the *Incipit Ordo ad Repraesentandum Herodum* [the service for representing Herod]; and *Ad Interfectionem Puerorum* [the slaughter of the innocents] from the Fleury playbook.[147] In the New Testament, the cruelty of Herod is portrayed as

[141] Daniel, IV.31-37.
[142] See Paul j. Achteimer, ed., *Harper's Bible Dictionary* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), s.v.: "Daniel, the book of" (pp. 205-6); and "Madness" (pp. 593-4).
[143] See the discussion of the terms *Kitharis, Psalterion* and *Symphonia* used in Daniel III.5, 7, 10, 15 in: Egon Wellesz, ed., Ancient and Oriental Music, New Oxford History of Music, Vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 300.
[144] 1 Samuel, XVI.14-17.
[145] 2 Samuel, I. 11-27.
[146] Here Jonathan is addressed as 'plus fratre mihi, Jonathe' (more than a brother to me). The music survives in three versions: the Vatican MS, Cod. Reg. Lat. 288, ff. 63^v – 64^v; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale n.a. lat. 3126, ff. 88^v – 90^v; and Oxford, MS Bodley 79, ff. 53^v – 56^r.
[147] France, Orléans: Bibliothèque Municipale MS 201 (the twelfth/ early thirteenth century). For the modern editions, see: E. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du Moyen-âge*, [Rennes, 1860] (New York: Broude Brothers, 1964), 143 – 177 (unmeasured modern square notation); Giampiero Tintori and Raffaello Monterosso, *Sacre Rappresentazioni: nel manoscritto 201 della Bebliothèque Municipale di Orléans* (Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1958); and Susan Kathleen Rankin, "Les drames du manuscrit 201 de la bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans", in *Les Sources en Musicologie*, (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981), 67 – 78.
The Provenance of the MS is uncertain; the traditional ascription to the monastery of St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, Fleury and Solange Corbin's ascription to St Lhomer-de-Blois, Normandy are both

of an irrational kind. His image overlaps with those of Nebuchadnezzar and Saul in the Old Testament, who also displayed an association between madness and violence. In the stage directions to the *Incipit Ordo ad Repraesentandum* Herod's furious behaviour is stipulated as follows:

> Tunc Herodes, visa prophetia, furore assensus, procial librum; at filius eius, audito tumultu, procedat pacificaturus patrem, et stans salutet eum:[148]

This scene is followed by the exchange between Herod and his son, Archelaus:

Ex.1.1.[149]

As John Stevens has pointed out, the angry King and his pacifying son sing exactly the

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inconclusive. For details of the MS, See: Susan Kathleen Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and in England* (New York and London: Garland, 1989), ii, 69 – 72. Rankin also argues that the *Ordo ad representandum Herodum* is not *an Officium Pastorum* but a Magi ceremony, usually performed at Epiphany, since only the first two scenes of the play are related to the *Officium Pastorum* tradition. See: ibid, ii, 120.

[148] [Then let Herod, having seen the prophecy, inflamed with rage, fling the book to the ground; but let his son, hearing the tumult, come forward to pacify his father, and standing, salute him.] The translation is cited from: David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 63.

[149] John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050 – 1350*

same tune; there is no attempt at individual characterisation, and no distinctive musical device designed to portray the King's mental state.[150]

In *Ad Interfectionem Puerorum*, Herod, hearing the news of the escape of the Magi, attempts to commit suicide:

> Tunc Herodes, quasi corruptus, arrepto gladio, paret seipsum occidere; sed prohibeatur tandem a suis et pacificetur, dicens;
> "Incendium meum ruina restinguam!"[151]

Ex.1.2.[152]

Then, the king commands the army to slay the innocents: "Armonger eximie, pueros fac ense perire":[153]

Ex.1.3.[154]

Even at this moment when King Herod is supposed to reveal his most deranged state, the music remains within the stylistic norms of the chant-like declamation of the text.

In fact, the representation of the furious Herod in medieval drama did vary from place to place. In thirteenth-century Padua, for example,[155] the actor playing Herod's part is required to express his rage in a much more direct way:

> After the eighth lesson he and his chaplain come from the sacristy, clad in untidy tunics, and carrying wooden spears. Before he mounts the

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 350, Ex. 154.

[150] Ibd., 351.

[151] [Then let Herod, as if demented, having seized a sword, contrive to kill himself; but let him be finally prevented and pacified by his followers, (as he is saying):"Let me quench my burning vehemence by destroying myself!"] Bevington, *Medieval Drama*, 68.

[152] Giampiero Tintori and Raffaello Monterosso (ed.), *Sacre Rappresentazioni: nel manoscritto 201 della Bebliothèque Municipale di Orléans* (Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1958), 45.

[153] [My excellent man-at-arms, cause the boys to perish by the sword] Bevington, *Medieval Drama*, 69.

[154] Tintori and Monterosso, *Sacre Rappresentazioni*, 45.

[155] The thirteenth-century *Ordinarium* in the Chapter Library of the Cathedral of Padua. Padua, Bibl. Capit., MS S Ordin. Patavinense saec. xiii, fil. 58^r – 58^v.

> platform, Herod angrily hurls his spear towards the chorus, and then proceeds, *cum tanto furore*, to read the ninth lesson. Meanwhile his attendants dash about the choir belabouring bishop, canons and choristers with an inflated bladder.[156]

Even so, it seems, at least from the surviving written sources, that churches generally preferred to stick to "the emotional neutrality"[157] of their musical materials, even when portraying the mental state of a mad king. However, this is not to say that the performers did not add musical and gestural embellishments to the written instructions which would have enhanced the theatrical impact and added to the distinctiveness of the "mad scene".

No medieval musical drama seems to have been clearly taken as a model for the formation and development of comedy or tragedy during the Renaissance. However, we should not forget developments parallel to those in early opera found in oratorios and religious presentations of all kinds. Of particular interest here is *David Musicus*, a through-sung biblical drama performed at the Collegio Germanico in Rome, 1613. This libretto includes the mad scene of King Saul (Act III, scene 4) and, had the music survived, would have been the very first seventeenth century example of the portrayal of the mad on the musical stage. However, since the work is based on a biblical episode and written in Latin, it is perhaps most appropriately defined as fully-staged oratorio.

The text of *David* is found in a unique source, MS Barb. Lat. 1819 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The later chronicles of the Seminario Romano (MS 2800, Università Gregoriana Archive, Rome) clearly state that the text was written by Alessandro Donati, a Jesuit professor of rhetoric, and the music was by Ottavio Catalani.[158] According to evidence from the *Avvisi di Roma*, the work is thought to have

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156 Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), vol. ii, 99 – 100.
157 Steven, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*, 351.
158 Margaret Murata, "Classical Tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome", *Early Music History* iv

been performed as one of the entertainments at the Collegio Germanico, when the Bishop of Bamberg and ambassador to Paul V, Johann Gottfried von Aschhausen visited the college:

> Tuesday morning [29 January] the same imperial ambassador was given a banquet by Cardinal Bellarmino together with the Father General of the Jesuits, and Wednesday morning he dined at the Collegio Germanico at Sant'Apollinare, where a very beautiful play was staged with continuous music and other compositions... Wednesday evening [13 February] for spiritual recreation, the play of David and Saul was recited again at the Collegio Germanico, the one already mentioned in Latin and in music, at which were present the lords the Prince of Sulmona and the Marquis of Mentana.[159]

The composer, Catalani, then, was "maestro di cappella" of the college; the work must have been quite a success, as the composer entered the service of the Prince Sulmona (Marc'Antonio Borghese of Sulmona) in April the same year and remained in the Prince's household until at least 1621.[160]

Margaret Murata's scrutiny of the source has revealed that the form of the Sapphic stanza (a type much favoured by Horace and Seneca), is prominent throughout the text of *David*.[161] She then locates the work within the particular cultural situation of early seventeenth-century Rome, where knowledge of classical literature was more prevalent than that of Tasso or Guarini. Thus, she views *David* as an example of Christianised Senecan Drama, which was already established as a strong tradition by the Jesuits.[162]

Murata's argument can be supported by certain details of the text of Saul's mad scene (III, 4):

Pestibus infernos actus furijsque malignis

(1984), 112.

[159] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. lat. 1081, *Avvisi di Roma*, 2 February, 1613, fol. 29^{r} – 29^{v}; 16 February, fol. 49^{r}. The translation is from Murata, "Classical tragedy in the History of Early Opera in Rome", 111 – 112.

[160] For Catalani's career, see: John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), I, 50 – 51; and 51, n. 167.

[161] Murata, "Classical Tragedy", 113 – 122.

[162] Ibid., 106.

impatiensque morae Saul adsum
Heu miser, atris subdite monstris
regibus olim documenta dabis:
etiam reges vexat Erynnis.
Umbranum video nocte volantium,
vultus igniferos, oraque tristia,
intentasque faces, duraque verbera.
Dehisce tellus infima!
Demitte coelum fulmina!
Ni docutus cithara puer
plectro pectora temperet.[163]

The haunting tone of the representation here, including the reference to the Erynnis (the Furies) is very similar to the mad scene in Seneca's tragedy, *Medea*, that we have discussed above. Thus, this work provides another tantalizing indication of the linear history of the representation of madness in European literature.

[163] [Driven by infernal plagues, evil furies and impatient of delay, here I am, Saul. Alas, wretch, beset by dark monsters, you will provide an example to kings: the Furies pursue even kings. By night I see the fiery faces of flying shades, their gloomy mouths, eager torches and harsh whips. Open, bowels of the earth! Let heaven send down its bolts! The boy skilled with his cithara cannot soothe this breast with his plectrum.] I-Rvat Barb. Lat. 1819, f. 170^{r}, Ii, 313 – 24. From Murata, "Classical tragedy", 116.

Chapter 2

The Renaissance Precursors of the Operatic Mad Scene

This section will discuss some sixteenth-century literary and cultural practices that directly influenced seventeenth century opera. Here, Italy will be focused upon, since it was the place where opera first arose and was cultivated. Some of the traditions peculiar to other European practices will be dealt with in later chapters, but here, the following elements relevant to Italy will be discussed: (1) the *commedia erudita*; (2) Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*; (3) the *commedia dell'arte*; (4) the *giuoco*; (5) "ospedale" plays; and (6) the literary, musical and cultural phenomenon of Carnival.

The *Commedia erudita*

The term *commedia erudita* refers to comedies schemed and scripted in the vernacular Italian by scholarly dramatists, as opposed to the *commedia dell' arte*, which was based upon the improvisational skills of professional actors.[1] It was through the cross-fertilisation of these two genres that the operatic mad scene became possible. Of course, surviving collections of Italian Renaissance dramas in general provide us with abundant evidence of madness on the stage (see: Appendix I, Table 4). All the three major genres of Italian drama – comedy, tragedy and pastoral – contain mad scenes one way or another, but in the field of comedy this type of scene flourished most. This is not surprising, since it was in the representation of comic madness that showed Italian Renaissance drama at its most obviously original. Italian Renaissance tragedy, on the other hand, shows its indebtedness to the classics. Most tragedies were written in the form of direct translations or adaptations of Greek and Roman precedents,

[1] Richard Andrews, "Theatre", in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. Peter Brand, Lino Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 284.

especially works by Sophocles and Seneca[2]. Thus, the tragic mad scene offered little opportunity for invention. Torquato Tasso's *Torrismondo*, which is set in medieval Scandinavian locations such as Norway and Sweden, at first seems unexceptionally unique.[3] However, the story, in which Torrismondo commits incest without knowing the fact and takes his own life after suffering from hallucination, is apparently Oedipal.[4]

We have already seen the development of Roman comedies in Chapter 1. In fact, it was with revival performances of these Roman comedies – in particular, those by Plautus and Terence – that the history of Italian vernacular comedy started. Translated into Italian, these dramas were frequently performed in Rome and Florence and some other Italian cities between the late 14th and the early 15th centuries, but the centre of the production was the court of Ferrara because of the ruling Este family's predilection for the genre. Duke Ercole I, especially, was such an enthusiastic patron that during his reign between 1471 and 1505 the Ferrarese court saw no fewer than

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[2] By way of example, I list here works derived from two classical dramas – *Medea* and *Oedipus*. MEDEA: Lodovico Dolce's adaptation of Seneca's *Medea* (Venice: Il Giolito, 1557); the same author's translation of the same work (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1557); Maffeo Galladei, *Medea* (Venice: Giovanni Griffio, 1558); Melchiorre Zoppio, *Medea esule* (Bologna: Gli Eredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1602); Ettore Nini Sanese's translation of the same work (Venice: Marco Ginammi, 1622); and Pietro Paolo Bissari, *Medea vendicativa* (Venice: Giovanni Jeklino, 1662). OEDIPUS: Lodovico Dolce, *Edipo* [a translation of Seneca's] (Venice: Giambatista e Marchio Sessa, 1560); Andrea dall' Anguillara, *Edipo* (Venice: Domenico Farri, 1565); Orsato Giustiniano, *Edipo tiranno* [a translation of Sophocles'] (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1584); Pietro Angelo di Barga, *Edipo tiranno* [a translation of Sophocles'] (Florence: Bartolommeo Sermartelli, 1589); Girolamo Giustiano, *Edipo Re* [a translation of Sophocles'] (Venice: Sebastiano Combi, 1610); idem, *Edipo il Coloneo* [a translation of Sophocles'] (Venice: Antonio Pinelli, 1611); Ettore Nini, *Edipo* [a translation of Seneca's] (Venice: Marco Ginammi, 1622); and Car. Emanuele Tesauro, *Edipo* [a translation of Seneca's] (Turin: Bartolommeo Zapatta, 1661).

[3] Regarding how to choose fictive materials for the *poema eroico*, Tasso recommends episodes which occurred in unfamiliar countries, saying, "fra popoli lontani e ne' paesi incogniti finger molte cose di leggieri, senza toglier autorità a la favola. Però di Gotia e Norvegia e di Svezia e d'Islanda or de l'Indie Orientali or di paesi di nuovo ritrovati nel vastissimo oceano oltre le Colonne d'Ercole, si dee prender la materia". See: Ettore Mazzali, ed., *Torquato Tasso, Prose* (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1959), 552 – 53. *Torrismondo* is, apparently, based on this view although it is not a poem but a tragedy.

[4] For a discussion of the relation between *Torrismondo* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, see: Louise George Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 191 – 203.

twenty-two productions of Plautus and Terence.[5] These Roman comedies had a major influence on, and provided a model for, the *commedia erudita.* Examples include its five-act structure and its preference for plots that deal with complicated family intrigue.

The actors for the comedies were aristocratic amateurs; however, the musicians, the choreographer, and also the costume/stage designers were all professional. Moreover, these early productions already foreshadowed the later practices of Italian theatre, by including an *intermezzo* (a spectacle, lavish and grandiose, but totally unrelated to the plot of the comedy, interspersed between one act and another), also, dances (usually a *moresco*[6], played at the end of the performance).[7] More interestingly, the verses of these comedies seem, at least on some occasions, to have been intoned. A chronicler Ugo Caleffini tells us that in the 1486 Ferrarese revival of the *Menaechmi*, all the verses were declaimed by masked actors " in canto", which probably means "with some degree of pitch-inflection".[8]

We will now investigate the practice of the *commedia erudita* further by focusing upon particular works. In fact, Ariosto, before he wrote his renowned epic, *Orlando furioso*, was one of the most important playwrights of this new genre. He wrote *La Cassaria* (1508) and *I Suppositi* (1509) for private performance at the Ferrarese court, and it was he who brought the genre up to date by adding Boccaccian sexual innuendoes to the plot. However, neither of the two comedies just mentioned by Ariosto contains a mad scene. In the following comedies, though, by Ariosto's

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[5] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* 32. Also see: Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, 37 – 9.
[6] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 33.
[7] It should be noted here that one of the earliest operas, Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (1607) follows this convention.
[8] "li homeni in mascara che in rima vulgariter in canto disseno tutti li versi dela dicta comedia". I-Rvat: MS Chigiani I. I.4, p. 245. See: Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara: 1400 – 1505* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 280, n. 7.

contemporaries, we find what we might call "foolish" characters: *La Mandragola* (performed in Florence, 1518?) by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469 – 1527); and *La Cortegiana* (performed in Rome, 1525) and *Il Marescalco* (performed in Mantua, 1527), both by Pietro Aretino (1492 – 1556). Interestingly, in the early *commedia erudita*, a foolish or imbecilic character is always type-cast as a victim. Such a practice is clearly demonstrated in *La Betìa* (performed in Venice, in 1523 and 1525) by Ruzante (Angelo Beolco, c. 1495 - 1542). In this work, the character Nale, who constantly mocks a cowardly, clumsy peasant, tells us that "God made suckers so that smart people can make fools of them, and it is thus our sacred duty to take the opportunity".[9] It seems that the genre was designed to emphasise this particular point of view, as can be seen from Machiavelli's axiomatic preface to his *Clizia* (performed in Florence in 1525):

> Comedies are composed to instruct and to entertain their audience. It is very instructive for anyone, especially for young people, to be shown the avarice of an old man, the frenzy of a lover, the deceits of a servant, the gluttony of a parasite, the wretchedness of a poor man, the ambition of a rich one, the flatteries of a prostitute, and the faithlessness of men at large... But in order to entertain people, one has to make them laugh, which cannot be done by keeping one's speeches solemn and decorous; because the words that make people laugh have to be either silly or insulting or amorous. It is necessary therefore to represent silly, slanderous, or love-sick characters...[10]

A rather interesting transformation of the *commedia erudita* tradition occurred when the *commedia dell'arte* emerged and deliberately addressed audiences from the lower strata of society. In this new genre, foolish characters were given a status, which

[9] Cited and translated in Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 127.
[10] [Sono trovate le commedie, per giovare e per dilettare alli spettatori. Giova veramente assai a qualunque uomo, e massimamente a' giovanetti, cognoscere la avarizia d'uno vecchio, il furore d'uno innamorato, l'inganni d'uno servo, la gola d'un parassito, la miseria d'uno povero, l'ambizione d'uno ricco, le lusinghe d'una meretrice, la poca fede di tutti gli uomini...Ma, voleno dilettare, è necessario muovere gli spettatori a riso: il che non si può fare mantenendo il parlare grave e severo, perchè le parole, che fanno ridere, sono o sciocche, o iniuriose, o amorose; è necessario, pertanto, rappresentare persone sciocche, malediche, o innamorate...] Niccolò Machiavelli, *Clizia* in: Guido Davico Bonino (ed.), *Niccolò Machiavelli, Clizia* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1977), 5. The translation is from Andrews,

upper-class dramatists never actually sought for them; such a view was encapsulated in the 'wise fool', who enjoyed a paradoxical victory over the wise.

Throughout the dramaturgical development of the *commedia erudita,* the aspect most directly related to the later use of mad scenes in operas is that dramatists started exploiting "feigned madness" as one of the tools by which a protagonist might overcome his or her complicated situation. A clear example of this occurs in *La Pellegrina*, the celebrated play written by Girolamo Bargagli and his collaborators from the Sienese academy, the Intronati.[11] For music historians, the work is most famous for having been performed for the celebration of the 1589 Medici wedding and it provided the framework for the elaborate *intermedi* which were performed between its acts.[12] The significance of this wedding is enormous in every respect. Later in this chapter, we will examine from the same occasion a *commedia dell'arte* which features madness, but first, let us examine the representation of feigned madness in *La Pellegrina.*

In this work, Lepida feigns madness in order to avoid an unwelcome wedding, foisted upon her by her father (Act II, scene 2):

Giglietta (Lepida's nurse): ...Lepida, tu intendi affrettiamo un poco il passo!	*Giglietta*: ...Lepida, you heard, we'd better hurry along!
Lepida: Questi sono molto longhi viaggi. Abbiamo noi andare longo il mare?	*Lepida*: These are very long trips. Do we have to go along the sea?
Targhetta (the father's servant): Che dite voi pardrona di longo il mare? Ecco che siamo già arrivati.	*Targhetta* (the father's servant): What do you mean, along the sea? We're already there.
Giglietta: Di grazia Targhetta, non le dar parole. Non vedi che non parla a proposito? Non la stuzzicare, chè farebbe peggio.	*Giglietta*: Please, Targhetta, don't answer her. Can't you see that she isn't making sense? Don't tease her; it'll only make her worse.
Lepida: Credo che bisognarà fare questo camino al lume della luna.	*Lepida*: I think I'll have to make this journey in the moonlight.

Scripts and Scenarios, 56.

[11] For the recent account of the authorship of *La pellegrina*, see: Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* 225.

[12] For a comprehensive musical study of this event, see: James M. Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).

[13] Nino Borsellino, *Commedie del Cinquecento* (Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 1962), 466 – 467.

Targhetta: Oh come questa luna è amica a chi esce del sentimento!	*Targhetta*: The moon's just right for lunatics!
Lepida: Oh vedi il gran branco di papere! Oh elle son belle, oh elle son belle!	*Lepida*: Look at that big flock of geese! How beautiful they are! Really beautiful.
Targhetta: Oh, dove son le papere?	*Targhetta*: Where are these geese?
Giglietta: Eh, sta cheto! Eccoci alla chiesa. Entriamo.	*Gigiletta*: Keep quiet! We've arrived at the church Let's go in.
Lepida: Oh, una stella, dieci, cento stele. Oh quanti soli! Guarda, guarda un paradiso!	*Lepida*: Oh, there's a star, ten, a hundred stars! Oh, how many suns! Look here, look: a paradise!
Targhetta: Oh oh, so ch'ella sta fresca.	*Targhetta*: Oh oh, I know how fresh you are.
Giglietta: Entra dico, Lepida. Non è da trattenerla più fuore. Santa Verdiana benedetta, aiutare questa povara figliuola.[13]	*Giglietta*: Do go in, Lepida. We mustn't keep her out here. Saint Verdiana, help this poor girl![14]

This is the only scene where Lepida acts as mad; it is rather short and unadorned, quite different from virtuosic mad scenes found in the *commedia dell'arte*. One reason for this may be because the actors lacked dramatic skills, since the play was intended to be performed by amateurs – members of the Intronati, in fact.[15]

A strong innovatory aspect of Bargagli's Sienese comedy lies in its representation of young female characters. Usually the dramatists of the *commedia erudita* were rather reluctant to present young respectable women on the stage. Apart from a very few exceptions, the comedies were usually played by an all-male cast.[16] However, the full, sympathetic description of the young attractive heroines (such as Lepida and Drusilla) in *La Pellegrina* is quite remarkable, especially when one considers that there was widespread prejudice against women on the stage. From its inception, the Accademia degli Intronati showed comparatively liberal views on women and allowed some women to participate in its cultural activities, although its official membership was restricted to men.[17]

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[14] Girolamo Bargagli, *The Female Pilgrim*, trans. Bruno Ferraro (Ottawa: Dovehouse Edition, 1988), 71.
[15] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 234.
[16] The earliest documented example of actresses in the *commedia erudita* was a performance of Bibbiena's (Bernardo Dovizi, 1470 – 1520) *Calandra* before King Henry II of France and his Queen Caterina de' Medici in Lyons, 1548. See: Andrews, *Scripts*, 154.
[17] Andrews, "Theatre" in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, 281.

La Pellegrina is now thought to have been completed in the mid 1560s,[18] and the manuscript version was offered before January 1568 to Ferdinando de' Medici when he was a cardinal.[19] The play was eventually premiered at his wedding celebrations in 1589, after he had renounced his cardinalship and became *Granduca* of Florence in 1587 following his brother's death. For this nuptial occasion, however, the play was evidently censored,[20] since, in the manuscript version, the mad Lepida is taken by her father to some monks in order to be exorcised, and the father expresses the fear that the monks may molest her. This passage, along with other lines, was removed from the version performed in 1589.

The 1589 Medici wedding provided some important links to early opera. In the first place, the event was witnessed directly by some of the foremost creators of early operas, including Giulio Caccini, Jacopo Peri, Emilio de' Cavalieri, and Alessandro Striggio Senior and Junior.[21] For example, the fourth *intermedio* for *La Pellegrina* was presented in the underworld in a scenic setting very close to that of Act IV of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*, and in the same *intermedio* scene, Striggio Jr. probably played the violino,[22] and Caccini's wife, Lucia, sang "Io che dal ciel cader",[23] which shares a rather similar bass and melody line to Monteverdi's "Possente Spirto" in *Orfeo*.[24]

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[18] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 225.

[19] Ferdinando's letter written on 18 January 1568, which acknowledges the play, survives. See: Bargagli, *The Female Pilgrim*, trans. Ferraro, 12.

[20] Nino Borsellino first discovered the discrepancies between MS and printed versions. See: idem, *Rozzi e Intronati: esperienze e forme di teatro dal 'Decameron' al 'Candelaio'* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), 107 – 119. Cited in: Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 225. For a 'full' English translated version, see: Bargagli, *The Female Pilgrim*, trans. Bruno Ferraro.

[21] See: Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Cetury Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), Vol. I, 129 – 30. The involvement of Alessandro Striggio Junior is somewhat uncertain; yet, Malvezzi's account tells us that "Alessandrino" [the way in which Striggio Sr. called his son] played the violin on that day (see: f.n. 22 below). Striggio Jr.'s possible attendance is significant not least because of his importance in opera-history as the librettist of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.

[22] Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 130.

[23] This piece by Giulio Caccini was not printed in the original edition of the music but survives in MS: I-Fn, Cod. 66 Magliab. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, 129.

[24] See: Anthony Pryer, "Monteverdi, two sonnets and a letter", *Early Music* XXV, no. 3 (August, 1997), 363 (Examples 5c and 5d).

So far, we have traced the importance of the *commedia erudita* mainly through *La Pellegrina*. However, even when opera as a genre established itself, the influence of the *commedia erudita* was still clearly discernible. This was mainly because the publication and dissemination of opera libretti paralleled those of the *commedia* play-texts. In a general sense, the "libretto" is a booklet which was sold at the theatre entrance to assist the audience with their comprehension of the texts whether spoken or sung.[25] But, there is some evidence that a libretto might be appreciated as literature in its own right, especially when the performance met with great success. To a certain extent, printed opera-libretti and comedies shared a common circle of readers. There is an interesting piece of evidence that supports this. Three examples of the *commedia erudita*, featuring insanity – Prospero Bonarelli's *La Pazzia d'Orlando*, Lodovico Riccato's *Le Pazzie amorose*, and Giovanni Donato Cucchetti's *La Pazzia di Fileno* – were, amongst other things, listed in the advertisement "Opere recitative stampate da Angelo Salvatori al S. Moisè", which was inserted at the back of the 1640 printed libretto of Rinuccini's *Arianna*.[26] Like most Venetian opera theatres, the Teatro San Moisè was converted from the building which had been used for comedy performances. Even after the opera company took over the management of the theatre, the audience's expectation of what they were to see on the stage seems to have been pretty much the same as that of what they had seen previously on the comic stage. Thus, it was quite natural that the mad character and the mad scene which formed crucial part of certain types of the *commedia* found their way into opera.

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[25] Claudio Sartori, *I Libretti Italiani a Stampata dalle Origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990), vol. I, ix.

[26] The copy consulted is: US-LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 7. Probably a revised version of

Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*

Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*[27] features a title role that is subject to several "mad" episodes, and is one of the most important literary sources throughout the history of opera.[28] Before opera began, it had already engendered among contemporary dramatists, a vogue for writing comedies based upon it, just as Greek or Roman dramatists sometimes presented the traditional tragic mad scenes of mythology in a comical light.

The importance of *Orlando furioso* in literary history is beyond question, not least because it was the most detailed, influential and accomplished version of the epic in the Italian vernacular, as well as being one of the earliest attempts to present the story in that language. The earliest version of the Orlando (Roland) story probably entered the French oral tradition as early as the ninth century during the Carolingian period.[29]At its core, it recounts episodes in Charlemagne's conquest of Spain and Italy. Its literary descendant, the celebrated *Chanson de Roland*, was probably written down by the mid eleventh century. In the following century, after being recast in the Latin language, Orlando's story was widely spread throughout Europe.

Fifteenth century Italy saw the publication of thoroughly re-shaped versions of the adventures of Orlando and his accompanying Carolingian soldiers and paladins. Examples include *Il Morgante maggiore*[30] by Luigi Pulci (1432 – 84), and *Orlando*

Monteverdi's 1608 setting for Mantua was performed on this occasion.

[27] The epic was probably completed by 1509, and was first published in 1516. The revised versions followed in 1521 and 1532.

[28] Tim Carter has presented a list of over 100 operas based on the *Orlando furioso* episodes. See: idem, "Ariosto, Ludovico", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1991), vol. 1, 191 – 192. The chronological list of the "*furioso*" dramas in Renate Döring's dissertation is pioneering but rather incomplete. See: idem, "Ariostos Orlando Furioso im italienischen Theater des Seicento und Settecento" (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 1973), 331 – 333.

[29] For an English translation of *Chanson de Roland*, see: Dorothy L. Sayers (ed.), *The Song of Roland* [1937] (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957).

[30] 23 cantos were published in 1470; another edition with 5 added cantos in 1483.

innamorato[31] by Matteo Maria Boiardo (1441 – 1494). The latter is of particular importance as a direct source of inspiration for Ariosto's *Orlando*.[32]

Ariosto, in the course of the epic's 46 cantos, presents the stories of three Carolingian soldiers, set against one another: Orlando, who succumbs to insanity after discovering the betrayal of his beloved Angelica (canto 23); Ruggiero, who eventually secures a wife and a dynasty; and Astolfo who, riding a chimerical animal – the hippogriff, flies up to the moon (the realm of lunacy) from where he enjoys looking down on Ariosto's world of desire and fury. This tripartite presentation of the varieties of love and life was a common strategy in the intellectual circles influenced by Neoplatonism, to which Ariosto belonged.[33]

Ariosto's representation of these mad characters seems not to have been particularly innovative, and, in fact, was rather conventional. Astolfo is one of the stereotypes of the 'wise-fool', a type which Michel Foucault describes as follows:

> In the traditional European theatre, . . . the fool assumed a central role, from the Middle ages to the eighteenth century. The madman made the spectators laugh, for he saw what other actors did not see, and he revealed the ending of the plot before they did.[34]

Orlando is also portrayed as representative of the "wild madman", the prevailing image of "the mad" in the medieval era. In this famous scene from Canto 30 of the epic, the mad Orlando appears "alone and nude":

Ecco un pastor sopra un cavallo incontra,	And to the water's edge a shepherd rode
Che per abeverarlo al fiume arriva.	That there his horse might drink;
Colui, ben che gli vada Orlando incontra,	and when he spied Orlando coming,
Perché egli è solo e nudo,	all alone and nude,
non lo schiva.	He had no fear and did not hide.
'Vorrei del tuo ronzin' – gli disse il matto[35]	'I want that nag of yours', the mad man said,

[31] Two books were published in 1483; and a third fragment in 1495.
[32] For the detail, see: Peter V. Marinelli, *Ariosto and Boiardo: The Origins of Orlando Furioso* (Columbia, Missouri: The University of Missouri Press, 1987).
[33] Marinelli, *Ariosto and Boiardo*, 6 – 10.
[34] *Essential Works of Michel Foucault: 1954 - 1984*, trans. Robert Hurley et al, vol. 2, *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology* (London: Penguin, 1994), 340.
[35] For an analysis of the terms that Ariosto used in order to describe the insane aspects of the various

con la giumenta mia far un baratto.
Io te la mostrerò di qui, se vuoi;
che morta là su l'altra ripa giace:
la porta far tu medicar dipoi;
altro diffetto in lei non mi dispiace.
Con qualche aggiunta il ronzin dar mi puoi:
smontane in cortesia, perché mi piace.'
Il pastor ride, e senz'altra risposta
va verso il guardo, e dal pazzo si scosta.[36]

'And in exchange I'll give you mine; she is dead
Look, you can see her easily from here.
'She's lying there upon the other bank.
I don't know why it is, but down she sank,
But you can put her right again, it's clear.
She has no other blemish, so I'll thank
You for your nag, and something else to square
The bargain; pray dismount.' With no reply
Except a laugh, the shepherd passes by.[37]

As we have seen in Chapter 1, nudity and isolation were the very elements used as signs of insanity in medieval folk tales. Later, on the operatic stage, nudity became an issue as well, although its operatic presentation was more discreet owing probably to an awareness of the censorship of the authorities. Another noteworthy episode alluded to in this passage is that of Orlando's dead horse, versions of which (usually comical) found their way onto the musico-dramatic stage.

We might also note here that Orlando's speech has strong affinities with the nonsensical utterances of the "fool"-type character on the stage, and such an overlap of the heroic and foolish to some extent prepared the ground for comical representations of the mad in early opera. In Renaissance literature in general, there was a very strong connection between the representation of madness and that of foolishness, and in many languages and traditions, the notions of 'fool' and 'folly' had a wide range of connotations, and to some extent overlapped with that of 'mad'. In late Middle English, 'fool' designated various types of people: the person deprived of reason; the stupid or ignorant; the person congenitally defective; one who was imprudent in his religious or sexual practices; and, more particularly, the professional

characters in *Orlando furioso*, see: Monica Calabritto, "The Subject of Madness: an Analysis of Ariosto's Orlando furioso and Garzoni's L'Hospedale de' Pazzi Incurabili" (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2001), 38 – 46.
[36] Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, Canto III, 5 – 6.
[37] Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso: the Frenzy of Orlando*, trans. Barbara Reynolds (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), vol. II, 200.

jester,[38] who mimicked the other types of fool.[39] Given these circumstances, it is not at all surprising that the mad scene, especially on the comic stage, was designed to function as a variety of the nonsense scene. This was particularly obvious in late sixteenth century Venice, where the audience had a preference for buffoonery, especially for mockery of the different languages and dialects, which were frequently heard in that cosmopolitan city. This trend is evidenced by, among other works, Orazio Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnasso*, which will be discussed later. Such linguistic mockery frequently appeared in the context of 'drunken' scenes or 'sleepwalking' scenes,[40] and eventually became common in mad scenes. Also, it is of some interest that even in English literature, for example Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), nonsensical manipulation of foreign languages quite often appeared as a typical symptom of dementia.[41] What this may tell us about the English sense of national identity is anyone's guess.

The popularity of *Orlando furioso* is clearly attested to not only by the more than 150 separate editions of it produced in the sixteenth century alone,[42] but also by its influence on a large number of other works in literature, music and the fine arts.[43] From the very onset of its history, *Orlando furioso* was closely associated with music,

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[38]Originally, the Medieval Latin term "follus" meant a leather sack; then, it designated court fools who ridiculed people with such an instrument. In the court, sometimes, the term "follus" or its equivalent was used as if it were an occupational surname. For example, Roger Follus who was in the service of Henry II; or Tom le Fol who served Edward I. For more information about the court fool, see Chaper 5 of this study.

[39] Robert S. Kinsman, "Folly, Melancholy, and Madness: a Study in Shifting Styles of Medical Analysis and Treatment, 1450 – 1675", in *The Darker Vision of the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Kinsman (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1974), 276 – 277.

[40] Richard Andrews points out Andrea Calmo's *La Rhodiana* (1540, pub. 1553) as an example. In this play, the Venetian merchant, Cornelio gives a bravura scene of imitating different languages and dialects (act IV, scene 14). See: Richard Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios: the Performance of Comedy in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 149.

[41] Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1951), 73.

[42] For a comprehensive list of the editions of *Orlando furioso* (until the publications of the 1930s), see: Giuseppe Agnelli and Giuseppe Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostee: con cxiv tavole fuori testo* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1933), vol. 1, 17 – 256.

[43] For Ariosto's influence on 16th-century Italian literature, see: Giuseppe Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento*,

and for example, in the sixteenth century, segments of Ariosto's text were frequently set to music as madrigals;[44] or became the basis of opera plots. The epic itself was frequently recited by professional storytellers – *cantastorie* – in public places as well as being read from the printed editions in private households, following the medieval tradition of chivalric poems such as Carolingian or Arthurian tales.[45] Such public performances must have drawn upon pre-existing stock tunes and improvised melodies, since *cantastorie* were often depicted with an instrument in hand (frequently, a *lira da braccio*).[46] Eventually, these "Orlando-tunes" achieved great popularity all over the Italian peninsula, as Michel de Montaigne noted during his Italian sojourn of 1580 – 81: "peasants with lute in hand, and the pastoral poems of Ariosto on their lips. This you may see throughout Italy".[47] During the course of this practice, particular regional melodic formulae gradually emerged: the aria di 'Genova', that of Florence, Venice, or Milan, and most importantly, the "Ruggiero". These melodic schemes, often associated with standardised bass *ostinati*, were later used not only in the repertory of madrigals but also in dances and other instrumental pieces.

Storia letteraria d'Italia, reprinted edn. (Milan: Casa Editorice Dr. Francesco Vallardi, 1973), 543 – 557.

[44] Alfred Einstein has provided with a list of nearly 400 madrigal settings of the *Orlando* stanzas. See: idem, "*Orlando furioso* and *La Gerusalemme liberata* as set to music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", *Notes* viii (1950 – 51), 624 – 628.

[45] C. Peter Brand, "Ariosto and the Oral tradition", in *Opera and Vivaldi*, ed. Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 54 – 56; and James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350 – 1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), chap. 4. A list of works based on *Orlando furioso*, including some *opuscoli* (pamphlets) by *cantastoire* can be found in: Agnelli and Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostee*, vol. 2, 177 – 227.

[46] Guillaume Morlaye's *Le Quatriesme Livre contenant plusieurs fantasies, chansons, gaillardes, paduanes, bransles…*(Paris: Robert Granlon & Michel Fezandat, 1552) contains a pavan titled "Chant d'Orlande", which is written in seven-bar phrases and might have been intended as a harmonic formula over which the epic was recited. See: James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and Its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 16.

[47] Michel de Montaigne, *The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581*, trans. E. J. Trechmen (New York: 1929), 239 – 40; cited in Dale E. Hall, "Jacquet Berchem and His Capriccio", *Studies in Music*, xii (1978), 38.

The first printed musical setting of *Orlando furioso* appeared as early as 1517, only a year after the first edition of the epic been had been published: Bartolomeo Tromboncino's "Queste non son più lagrime" (Canto xxiii, 126).[48] This stanza, where Orlando, on the verge of madness, laments his unrequited love for Angelica, later enjoyed immense popularity amongst madrigalists such as Philippe de Verdelot (1541), Orlande de Lassus (1555), Jacquet de Berchem (1561), Giulio Fiesco (1563), Marc'Antonio Pordenon (1564), Marco Antonio Mazzone (1569), and Giaches de Wert (1571).[49] James Haar has revealed the strong connection between these *Orlando* madrigals and the improvisatory tradition, which was mentioned above.[50] For example, both Verdelot's and Berchem's settings of "Queste non più lagrime" seem to have been based on one and the same melodic formula. A very similar melody is also found in Nollet's setting of "Non siate però tumide e fastose" (Canto xxvii, 121). This must have been intended as a reflection of one pre-existent tune.

Ex.2.1.[51] (a) Verdelot, "Queste non so più lacrime che fuore", *La più divina et più musica* (1541), p.13

[48] In *Canzoni Sonetti Strambotti et Frottole, Libro Quarto* (Rome: A. Antico & N. Giudici, 1517) (RISM 1517[2]); also see: B. Tromboncino, *Frottole de misser Bortolomio Tromboncino et de misser Marchetto Carra* (sic.)...(s.l., Luca Antonio, (1520?)), f. 45[r] (Vogel 2763bis).

[49] See: Emil Vogel, et al, *Bibliografia della Musica Italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 – al 1700* (Pomezia: Minkoff, 1977), 3 volumes. The sources are: *Verdelot la più divina, et più musica...* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1541) (Vogel 2890); *Primo, Secondo, et Terzo Libro del Capriccio di Iachetto Berchem con la musica da lui composta sopra le stanze del Furioso...* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1561) (Vogel, 328); De Lassus, Roland, *Le Quatoirsieme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuyct Chansons italiennes, six francoises et six motetz* (1555) (Vogel, 1387); *Madrigali di Giulio Fiesco a quattro a cinque et a sei, et quattro Dialoghi dui a 7 e dui a 8* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1563) (Vogel, 983); *Di Marc'Antonio Pordenon il primo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: A. Gardano, 1564) (Vogel, 2236); *Di Don Marco Antonio Mazzone di Miglionico, il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Quattro voci* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1569) (Vogel, 1783); and *Di Giaches de Wert, il Quinto Libro de Madrigali* ... (Venice: A. Gardano, 1571) (Vogel, 2983).

[50] James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance*, 96 – 99. Also See: Dale Hall, "The Italian Secular Vocal Works of Jacquet Berchem" (PhD. diss., The Ohio State University, 1973).

(b) Berchem, "Queste non so più lacrime che fuore", *Primo Libro di Capriccio* (1561), no. 25

Ex.2.1.cont., (c) Nolleto, "Non siate però tumide e fastote" [RISM 1540[18], p.42][52]

The practice of setting *Orlando furioso* to music reached its zenith with Berchem's *Capriccio* in 1561. This madrigal cycle had an ambitious scheme: three books of 91 stanzas from the *Furioso.*[53] The composer seems to have chosen the stanzas very carefully. He succeeded in conveying the original plot of the epic by arranging the selected verses in narrative order, focusing on the unrequited love, the madness and the recovery of Orlando. Considering contemporary practice, this was rather remarkable, as Salvatore di Cataldo and Francesco Ricciardo, who also left cyclic madrigals based on *Orlando furioso*, simply picked up the principal stanza of each canto.[54] In Berchem's *Capriccio*, "Che debbo far, poi ch'io son giunto tardi" (Canto, I, 41), subtitled 'Lamento di Sacripante per la fugga d'Angelica' is of particular interest, since the composer, in the upper voice, makes use of: (a) a descending fourth melodic figure (which, used for the bass part, became the emblem of lament in the seventeenth century);[55] (b) the Ruggiero tune; and (c) another well-

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[51] Haar, *Essays on Italisn Poetry and Music*, 198.

[52] *Compositioni de i madrigali a cinque voci da diversi perfettissimi musici fatte* (Venice: G. Scotto, 1540), p. 42.

[53] The publication includes 2 stanzas which are not from the original *Orlando*: "Ma tu gran padre" (no. 67) and "Non ti diede a portar" (no. 68). The latter, however, seems to be a paraphrase of Canto XVII, 79. See: Dale E. Hall, "Jacquet Berchem and his Capriccio", *Studies in Music*, xii (1978), 44, n. 15.

[54] *Di don Salvatore di Cataldo tutti principii de canti dell'Ariosto posti in musica* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1559) (Vogel, 2536) (a setting of the opening stanzas of all 46 cantos); *Madrigali del reverendo don Francesco Ricciardo...sopra li principij del Ariosto Libro secondo a Quattro voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600) (Vogel 2341 bis) (a setting of those of Canto 1 – 29).

[55] Ellen Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament", *Musical Quarterly* lv (1979), 346 – 59.

known tune, which is famous for its association with a celebrated poet-musician, Serafino dall'Aquila, and is found in various pieces of music of the second half of the sixteenth century.[56]

Towards the turn of the century, *Orlando furioso* began to lose its popularity among musicians owing to the rivalry with Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. However, the *Furioso* was never entirely neglected, since, as the basis of many plots, it entered the field of opera soon after the genre was established. The first example was Jacopo Peri and Marco da Gagliano's collaboration, *Lo sposalizio di Medoro et Angelica* of 1619 (on a libretto by Andrea Salvatori),[57] and this was soon followed by Francesca Caccini's *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola d'Alcina* of 1625 (on a libretto by Ferdinando Saracinelli).[58] However, Orlando does not appear in either of these operas: the former has Sacripante (one of Angelica's suitors) as the unrequited lover and the latter explores the episode of Alcina and Melissa's contest of magic over Ruggiero (Cantos VI – VIII in Ariosto's original).[59] In fact, in the following decades, tales of

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[56] Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, 99. Haar has given the following examples where the melody (c) is used: anonymous, "Se'l zapator il giorno se affatica" (Serafino dall'Aquila's verse) (Modena, Bibl. Est. MS αF.9.9, fol. 6v; Caludio Galico dates the MS shortly after 1500); Giovan Domenico da Nola, "Proverbio ama chi t'ama è fatto antico" (in *Madrigali a 4v di I. D. da Nolla* (1545), p. 27); Jacquet Berchem, "Alla dolc'ombra delle belle frondi" (Doni, *Dialogo della Musica* (1544), fol. 27); and Berchem, "Pungente dardo che'l mio cor consumi" (without ascription, in Arcadelt's *Primo Libro* (1539)).

[57] Performed at Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 25 September 1619; and revived, without music, as *Il Medoro* in January 1626. Based on this work, a comedy, *La Pazzia di Leonora* was devised and performed in Siena in 1629 (we do not know anything about its music). This performance was recorded in Mattias de' Medici's letter to his brother, Ferdinando II, dated 23 September of that year. See: Angelo Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica alla Corte Medicea dal 1600 al 1637* (Florence: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1905), 219; see also: Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1993), 612. The Sienese governor Mattias was an enthusiastic supporter of Venetian opera during the 1640s. This is attested by the frequent correcepondence between the prince and Francesco Sacrati. See: Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla Finta Pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* x (1975), 435.

[58] The score was printed and published as: *La Liberazione di Ruggiero dall'Isola d'Alcina* (Florence: n. pub, 1625). Five copies survive. For a modern edition, see: Doris Silbert (ed.), *La Liberazione di Ruggiero ...: a balletto by Francesca Caccini* (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College, 1945).

[59] For a discussion of the opera in relation to the political context of the Florentine court, see: Suzanne G. Cusick, "Of Women, Music, and Power: a Model from Seicento Florence", in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), 281 – 304.

magic from the epic (regarding the sorcerer Atlante and the sorceress Alcina) gained in popularity and opened the pathway to establishing the genre of "magic opera".[60]

Some smaller musical entertainments, however, did feature the madness of Orlando. Prospero Bonarelli wrote the words of a musical presentation entitled *La pazzia d'Orlando*,[61] and Giulio Rospigliosi presented a "ballo co' gesti" titled *La pazzia d'Orlando*.[62] The ballo was performed at the Teatro Barberini, in Rome during the 1638 Carnival. The music for both the musical presentation and the ballo is lost, and the names of the composer or composers involved are not known.

Bonarelli's *Orlando* [63] has some features in common with other dramatic adaptations of Ariosto's masterpiece. It is modelled on the original to some extent, but also includes some episodes newly invented by Bonarelli.[64] The mad Orlando, as in the original, appears carrying a dead horse on his shoulder, but the author's main intention here is to provoke laughter by presenting a bizarre exchange between Orlando and the villagers:

Orlando: Camina!
Bifolco: O bell' umore,

[60] Examples include Luigi Rossi/G. Rospigliosi's *Il palazzo incantato* (Rome, 1642); F. Sacrati and F. Testi's *L'isola di Alcina* (Bologna, 1648); S. Martinelli's *Alcina* (Trent, 1649). Interestingly, Lully/Quinault's *Roland* (1685) features the madness of Orlando and will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[61] Prospero Bonarelli (the younger brother of Guidobaldo, the author of a very famous pastoral, *Filli di Sciro*)) was very much interested in musical dramas, since he himself was a musician by training. His *La Pazzia d'Orlando* was first published in Venice (ivi: Angelo Salvatori, 1635); then, with 8 other works, contained in the author's musical drama collection (Lorenzo Bonarelli (ed), *Melodrami cioè Opere da rappresentarsi in musica del Co. Prospero Bonarelli*... (Ancona: Mario Salvioni, 1647)). For Bonarelli, see: C.E.T., "Bonarelli, Prospero", *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, ed. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: Le Maschere, 1954), Vol. II, 760.
[62] The second section of this ballo (designated as *ballo trapasso*) features the madness of Orlando. The libretto is in I-Rvat; for the printed *argomento*, see: I-Rvat, Stamp. Barb. JJJ. Vi. 16. (This collection includes other Barberini projects such as *Teodora*, *Chi soffre speri*, *Durindana* and *Innocenza difesa*). Frederick Hammond proposes that despite being a mimed ballet, this work must have included some vocal music since the record of the performance lists some singers' names. See: idem, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 234.
[63] We can assume that this work was not sung throughout considering the very lengthy monologues in it. However, the contribution of music must have been quite substantial; for example, shepherds sing a chorus and give a ballo (Bonarelli, *Melodrami* [GB-Lbl: 11715.cc.13.], I, 2, p. 212); and Astolfo, riding a hippogriff, sings an "aria", "Su le grand' ali omai" (ibid., III, 4, p. 230).
[64] The *argomento* reads, "la favola è tutta dell'Ariosto, variata però, & introdutta à senno dell'autore". Bonarelli, *Melodrami*, 207.

È sorta a caminare il caval morto.
Orlando: Camina ti dico io,
Troppo sei fatto or mai, tardo, e restio;
Ma perche essendo morto, hai forse un male;
Che non ti lascia caminar più presto.
Io per mia cortesia, e per pietà.
Voglio portarti, e far la carità.
Lucrina: O ciel, che veggio? Ò come di leggiero
Quel cavallo sù gl'omeri si reca.[65]

Then, Orlando forces the villager to replace his dead animal. Such a comical way of representing Orlando's madness can be found elsewhere in the dramatic field;[66] for example, in *L'amorose Furie d'Orlando* (1663),[67] by Giancinto Andrea Cicognini,[68] Orlando, after his descent into insanity, again argues with his servant, Parasacco about his dead horse (Act II, Scene 14).[69]

Evidently, this practice of presenting Orlando as a comic character was inherited by the early *Furioso* operas. The first opera that dealt with the mad Orlando was Cavalli's *Bradamante* (on a libretto by Pietro Paolo Bissari) performed in 1650.[70] This opera mainly features the relationship between Ruggiero and the title role; however, the creators of the opera did include the episode of Orlando's despair and consequent madness. Bissari's treatment of the mad Orlando is very interesting: after finding out

[65] [Walk!/ What a good temper,/ making a dead horse walk./ I say to you walk;/ you are too slow, late and stubborn;/ but, probably, because you are dead, you may have some bad luck/ that does not allow you to walk more quickly./ Out of courtesy and pity,/ I want to carry you and do charity./ O, heavens, what do I see? Oh, as if it were something light,/ he is carrying the horse over his shoulders.] Bonarelli, *Melodrami*, 237.
[66] Regarding the comic effects of Orlando's insanity in the Italian theatre tradition, see: Reinhard Strohm, "Comic traditions in Handel's *Orlando*", in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 249 – 67.
[67] L'AMOROSE FURIE D'ORLANDO,/ OPERA SCENICA/ DEL DOTTOR/ GIANCINTO ANDREA/ CICOGNINI./ Al Molt'Illust.e Molto Rev.Sig./ IL SIG./ D. SEBASTIANO LOCATELLI/ In Bologna, per Giacomo Monti, 1663. Although generically subtitled as "Opera scenica", the genre which Cavalli/ Persiani's *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (1639) belongs to, there is no musical association with Cicognini's *Orlando*.
[68] Cicognini is renowned as the librettist of Cavalli's *Il Giasone* (1649).
[69] See: G. A. Cicognini, *L'Amorose furie d'Orlando* (Bologna: G. Monti, 1663), 63. The copy consulted for this study is: Gb-Lbl, 638. b. 7. (1).
[70] Only the printed libretto survives: *La Bradamante del Co. Pietro Paolo Bissari, Drama per Musica nel Teatro Grimano* (Venice: Valvasense, 1650). The consulted copy for this study is: US-LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 62. Cristoforo Ivanovich attributed the music (now lost) to Cavalli, which was first questioned by Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di Minerva al tavolino", in *Venezia e il*

the inscription of the names of Angelica and Medoro, Orlando soliloquises a lengthy lament (93 lines of *versi sciolti*), "Toglimiti d'avante" (II, 9),[71] and he next appears, dragging a dead horse (III, 6).[72] The scene between Orlando and Nico Fabro, a blacksmith, (II, 8) is also interesting; while Orlando desperately asks for Angelica's whereabouts, Nico, stuttering, cannot finish his sentences.[73] This is a practice very much reminiscent of the *commedia dell'arte*, which we will examine below.

In fact, during the course of the seventeenth century, there was no opera where the mad Orlando headed the cast. Gabrelli's *Carlo il Grande* (on a libretto by Adriano Morselli)[74] although containing episodes of Orlando's madness, focuses mainly on Carlo il Grande himself (the Emperor Charlemagne). Probably this is because the emphasis on the comical side of Orlando's madness prevented him from being a real chivalric hero. Yet, in seventeenth century opera, there are also other places where the influence of *Orlando furioso* can clearly be detected. For example, in Act II Scene 3 of Domenico David's libretto, *Amor e Dover* (1696), a German soldier Gernando, in his frenzy, appears dragging a chair in imitation of Orlando's dead horse[75] – an action that is incomprehensible without knowledge of the epic.

Eventually in the eighteenth century, after the intellectual movement of the Arcadians, a revival of interest in the original *Furioso* led to the production of the "real" Orlando – operas such as *L'Orlando ovvero la gelosa pazzia* by Domenico Scarlatti (1711), *Orlando furioso* by Vivaldi (1727), and *Orlando* by Handel (1733), with which the genre reached its zenith.[76]

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melodrama nel seicento, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1976), 7 – 16.
[71] Bissari, *La Bradamante*, 42 – 45.
[72] Ibid., 65.
[73] Ibid., 40 – 41.
[74] Adriano Morselli, *Carlo il Grande, drama per musica, da rapresentarsi nel Famosissimo Teatro Grimano di S. Gio: Grisostomo l'Anno 1688* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1688). GB-Lbl, 162.b.24.
[75] Domenico David, *Amor e Dover* (Venice: Il Nicolini, 1697), 36. US-LAus, no. 436.
[76] For discussion of the development of the Orlando opera, see: Rosand, "Orlando in Seicento Venice:

The *Commedia dell'arte*

The term *commedia dell'arte* literary means the "comedy of the guild [of actors]", since, historically, one of the meanings of "arte" was guild. The term is usually understood to refer to an "essentially improvised Italian comedy, which followed a plot outline...rather than written dialogues".[77] The genre which we now call by this term was characterised by stock characters, and by the use of masks and different dialects, and was probably formed during the course of the *Cinquecento,* although the term is not found in print until a Venetian dramatist, Carlo Goldoni, used it in the eighteenth century.[78] Table 5 lists those titles of the known scenarios of the *commedie dell'arte*, which indicate mad scenes. Judging from the number, we can deduce that the mad scene was probably a standard aspect of the *commedia dell'arte.* Moreover, the connection between the *commedia dell'arte* and opera at its nascent stage was very strong. As Nino Pirrotta has indicated, they were "both, by different means, the expression of the same society and of the same way of conceiving and realizing the theatrical spectacles".[79]

Despite the improvisationary nature and unwritten tradition of the *commedia,* some important collections of their materials were compiled, and some were actually published, and survive. For example, Flaminio Scala's *Il Teatro delle favole rappresentative* (printed in 1611),[80] and Basilio Locatelli's manuscript collections of

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the Road Not Taken".

[77] Kenneth McKee, "Foreword", preface to Flaminio Scala, *Scenarios of the Commedia dell'arte*, Trans. Henry Salerno (New York: New York University Press, 1967), xiii. For a comprehensive study of the genre, see: Vito Pandolfi, *La Commedia dell'arte, storia e testo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), 6 volumes; and Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'arte* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

[78] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios,* 169.

[79] Nino Pirrotta, "Commedia dell'arte and Opera", *The Musical Quarterly* xli no.3 (July, 1955), 322.

[80] Flaminio Scala, *Il Teatro delle Fauole rappresentative, overo la ricreatione Comica, Boscareccia e Tragica: Divisa in Cinquanta Giornate; composta da Flaminio Scala detto Flavio comico* (Venice: Gio. Battista Pulciani, 1611). A modern edition: Ferruccio Marotti (ed.), *Flaminio Scala: Il teatro delle favole rappresentative* (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1976). For an English translated version, see: Henry F.

1618 and 1620,[81] both contain plot-summaries taken from the *commedia dell'arte* tradition, though these summaries may not always reflect exactly what actually went on the stage during the course of improvisation.[82] Locatelli was an academic who gathered over hundred *scenari*, and in the second part of his collection, an intriguingly interesting title is found – *La finta pazza* – ,[83] which may in some way have influenced the opera with the same title by Giulio Strozzi, though Strozzi's opera is strongly mythological in its setting. Scala was an actor of the Gelosi, and his collection is a commemorative volume of this well-known troup. Its publication, as the first comprehensive collection of *scenari* preserving the practices of *Arlecchino*, is a historic event in Italian drama. There also, we can find a very interesting title: *La pazzia dell'Isabella*. This comedy shares its title with a play performed by the *Gelosi* at the aforementioned 1589 Medici wedding, although the plots of the two differ markedly, and we should resist attempts to treat them as essentially the same work.[84] The Gelosi, as one of the most prolific companies of the *commedia dell'arte*, was honoured to offer two entertainments at the Medici wedding: the first was *La zingara*, featuring Vittoria Piissimi, performed on 6 May; the second was the aforementioned *La pazzia d'Isabella*, starring Isabella Andreini, on 13 May.[85]

According to the diary of the Bolognese envoy to the Vizani family, Giuseppe

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Salerno (trans. and ed.), *Flaminio Scala: Scenarios of the Commedia dell'arte*, (New York: New York University Press, 1967).

[81] I – Rc: MS, F. IV. 12, Cod. 1211, and 1212, *Della scena de soggetti comici et tragici di B[asilio] L[ocatelli]R.*[omano] parte prima e seconda. For other sources, see: Table 5.

[82] Louise George Clubb, "The State of the *Arte* in the Andreini's time", in *Studies in the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Arnolfo B. Ferrulo*, ed. Gian Paolo Biasin, Albert N. Mancini and Nicolas J. Perella (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1985), 270.

[83] I – Rc: MS, F. IV. 12, Cod. 1212, cc. 51 – 56.

[84] Ann Macneil has first questioned the common view that "one or both of Scala's scenarios entitled *La finta pazza* and *La pazzia d'Isabella* corresponds to Isabella Andreini's performance in 1589". See: Idem., "Music and the Life and Work of Isabella Andreini: humanistic attitudes towards music, poetry, and theatre during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries", (Ph.D.diss., The University of California, 1994). The quotation is from Idem., "The Divine madness of Isabella Andreini", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* CXX, no. 2 (1995), 159, n. 11.

[85] See: Saslow, *The Medici Wedding of 1589*, 37, n. 24.

Pavoni, both *La zingara* and *La pazzia d'Isabella* were performed on the same stage of the Uffizi Theatre as *La Pellegrina*;[86] and all three were followed by the *intermedi* by Giovanni Bardi. Of the three plays, however, "Isabella's madness" was probably the greatest hit, as Pavoni gave a detailed account of it. Isabella Andreini (1562 – 1604) was one of the most talented and renowned stars among the *comici dell'arte,* and played the graceful *innamorata* role under her own name unless the troupe gave a performance of a play in the pastoral tradition.[87] Even outside the theatrical world, she embodied the essence of 'prima donna innamorata': a sophisticated lady, witty, beautiful, eloquent in standard Tuscan, and knowledgeable about the latest cultural trends and developments in literature.[88] Her erudition and outstanding literary skills were praised highly by contemporary intellectuals such as Jacope Castelvetro, Gabriello Chiabrera, Torquato, and Ercole Tasso (Torquato's brother). Exceptionally, for a woman, she was admitted to a Paduan academy, the Intenti. I should like to discuss Isabella Andreini's practice of the mad scene in some detail, since she was not only the first singer-actress who played a significant role in the establishment and diffusion of the mad scene, but also the mother of Giovanni Battista Andreini, who had a very strong connection with Monteverdi.

The plot of *La pazzia* outlined by Pavoni is as follows: The play is set in Padua, where Isabella, only daughter of Pantalone de' Bisognosi, is in love with a gentleman, Fileno. Fileno asks Pantalone for Isabella's hand in marriage, but the old man refuses,

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[86] Disappointingly, Bastiano de' Rossi did not mention *La zingara* nor *La Pazzia d'Isabella* in his report on the event. See: Idem., *Descrizione dell'apparato e degli'intermedi, fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze. Nello nozze de' serenissimi don Ferdinando Medici e madama Christina di Loreno, gran duchi di Toscana* (Florence: Anton Padovani, 1589). The copy consulted is: GB-LbL: 605.d. 27. (4).

[87] Louise George Clubb, "The State of the *Arte* in the Andreini's time", in *Studies in the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Memory of Arnolfo B. Ferrulo*, ed. Gian Paolo Biasin, Albert N. Mancini and Nicolas J. Perella (Naples: Sonietà Editrice Napoletana, 1985), 268.

[88] Robert L. Erenstein, "Isabella Andreini: A Lady of Virtue and High Renown", in *Essays on Drama and Theatre: Liber Amicorum Benjamin Hunningher* (Amsterdam: Moussault's Uitgeverij, 1973), 39.

stating that Fileno is too young. Fileno and Isabella agree to meet in secret outside Isabella's home at an assigned hour so that they may elope and leave the city. Unknown to the lovers, Flavio, with his unrequited passion for Isabella, overhears their conversation and appears at the rendezvous a few moments ahead of time, disguised as Fileno. As soon as Isabella appears, they go off. The real Fileno then turns up, and realising that Isabella is missing, loses his senses. In the meantime, Isabella, faced with the fact she has been abducted by the impostor, also goes mad, and wanders the streets.

The meaning and typology of the mad scene in *La pazzia* has attracted various interpretations. According to M. Pieri, it recalls the hallucination scene of Tasso's *Torrismondo*, which represents a "high culture version of the various *primadonne* who go mad on stage".[89] Pieri further emphasizes Isabella Andreini's rapport with Tasso. More radically, however, an American musicologist, Anne Macneil, comparing the plot with the event in a dialogue between Socrates and Phaedrus (mentioned in the previous chapter), deduces that the play is related to the Platonic idea of "divine madness", and argues that the play should be understood with the context of a Florentine court strongly influenced by Neoplatonism.[90] But such influences can be found not only in Florence but also elsewhere. Indeed, "divine madness" is often considered to have been one of the main themes of Renaissance humanism in general and an important vehicle of Renaissance music. Gary Tomlinson, for example, has argued that Claudio Monteverdi's later works show strong manifestations of the idea.[91]

Both of the accounts are interesting, and the mad scene of Isabella Andreni might

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[89] M. Pieri, "Interpretazione teatrale del Torrismondo", 411. Cited from Louise G. Clubb, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 264.
[90] Macneil, "Music and the Life and Work of Isabella Andreini", 78 – 80.

well have had a connotation much deeper than at first it seems. However, both Pieri and Macneil have failed to indicate the unique nature of its dramaturgical function, which is different from the serious hallucination of *Torrismondo* or the furor that the philosophers described. That is, the mad scene of *La pazzia* offers a carefully contrived opportunity for Isabella Andreini, the actress, momentarily to stand aside from the machinations of the plot, and perform her "party tricks" for the benefit of the audience.

In order to investigate this particular aspect of Isabella's mad scene, let us examine Pavoni's description of her mad scene in detail:

> Isabella, (. . .) like a mad creature roamed the city scene, stopping one passerby, then another, speaking now in Spanish, now in Greek, now in Italian, and many other languages, but always wildly: and among other things she began to speak French and also to sing certain little songs in the French manner, which gave the most inexpressible pleasure to the bride, Her most Serene Highness. Then Isabella fell to imitating the manner of speech of all her fellow actors, of the (Venetian) Pantalone, (Bolognese) Gratiano, of Zanni, Pedrolino, Francatrippa, Burattino, Captain Cardone, and Franceschina, all so natural and with such hilarious absurdities that it is beyond the power of any tongue to tell the worth and the powers of this Woman. Finally, by pretended magic art Isabella was brought to her senses and here, with elegant and learned style explaining the passions and ordeals suffered by those who fall in love, she brought the comedy to its close, demonstrating by her acting of this madness the health and adornment of her own intellect; leaving in the audience such murmuring of admiration and wonder that while the world lasts, the eloquence and inestimable worth of Isabella will ever be praised.[92]

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[91] Tomlinson, *Music and Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others*, esp. 237 – 46.

[92] [L'Isabella ... come pazza se n'andava scorrendo per la Cittade, fermando hor questo, & hora quello, e parlando hora in Spagnuolo, hora in Greco, hora in Italiano, & molti altri linguaggi, ma tutti fuor di proposito: e tra le altre cose si mise a parlar Francese, & a cantar certe canzonette pure alla Francese, che diedero tanto diletto alla Sereniss. Sposa, che maggiore non si potria esprimere. Si mise poi ad imitare li linguaggi di tutti I suoi comici, come del Pantalone, del Graziano, dello Zanni, del Pedrolino, del Francatrippa, del Burattino, del Capitano Cardone e della Franceschina tanto naturalmente, e con tanti dispropositi, che non è possibile il porter con lingua narrare il valore, e la virtù di questa Donna. Finalmente per finitione d'arte Mariga, con certe acque, che le furono date a bere, ritornò nel suo primo essere, e quivi con elegante, e dotto stile esplicando le passioni d'amore, e I trabagli, che provano quelli, che si ritrovano in simil panie involti, si fece fine alla Comedia; mostrando nel recirae questa Pazzia il suo sano, e dotto intelletto; lascniando l'Isabella tal marmorio, e meraviglia ne gli ascoltatori, che mentre durerà il mondo, sempre sarà lodata la sua bella eloquenza, e valore.] Giuseppe Pavoni, *Diario descritto da Giuseppe Pavoni* .... (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi, 1589), 45 – 6. Macneil, "The Devine

Perusing this account, it hardly seems difficult to judge whether the overall effect of Isabella's mad scene was farcical or seriously pitiable since the 'hilarious absurdities' seemed to amuse Princess Christine de Lorraine. This would have been in keeping with the fact that Isabella, in a publication of her own, presented some mad scenes intended to cause laughter.[93] More importantly, Pavoni clearly reveals the aforementioned nature of Isabella's mad scene. In the scene, Isabella is oblivious of her dramaturgical role – *la primadonna innamorata* – and launches into a self-contained 'cabaret' within the play. Such a separation frees her from any restriction which the narrative of the drama might impose upon her and allows her to exhibit the best of her skills, both musical and histrionic. In other words, she is on the stage not as a protagonist but as a prominent actress, Isabella Andreini herself. It was Isabella's excellence performance as herself as an actress that was favourably received by the audience.

Pavoni's account clearly tells us about Isabella's actual practice of projecting madness: speaking in foreign languages; singing and imitating the accents of other actors of the company. Isabella's specific acts speaking French and singing *canzonette alla francese* on this occasion, were almost certainly deliberately inserted to ingratiate Isabella with Christine of Lorraine as well as to amuse her.

In spite of Pavoni's references to Isabella's music, including the term *canzonette pure alla francese*, it is by no means easy to get a real sense of what might have been involved. In the *commedia dell'arte*, although abundant pictorial documents reveal

Madness of Isabella Andreini", 198; and Fabbri, "On the Origin of an Operatic Topos", 164. This translation is from Louise G. Clubb, "The State of the Arte", 269.

[93] For example, the mad speech of Valerio. See: Isabella Andreini, *Fragmenti di alcune scritture della signora Isabella Andreini comica gelosa ed academia intenta...* (Venice: Giovanni Battista Combi, 1620); and Vito Pandolfi, *La Commedia dell'arte, storia e testo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), ii, 58 – 9.

that music must have been widely used,[94] its improvisatory nature makes the exact details of that use always difficult to reconstruct. Almost none of the associated musical documents survive. However, in his *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpicordo*,[95] a Venetian composer, Marco Facoli, presented keyboard arrangements based on *commedia dell'arte* tunes with titles such as "Aria della comedia" and "Aria della comedia nova".

Ex.2.2. M. Facoli, "Aria della Comedia" [the melody only][96]

Also some works by Orazio Vecchi and Adriano Banchieri, which are generally known as madrigal comedies, incorporate scenes and characters from the *commedia dell'arte* tradition and thus provide us with a key to approach the possible practice of music in the play. Both Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso* and Banchieri's *La pazzia senile*, although they do not deal with madness but with foolishness, seem to offer several

[94] See: Thomas F. Heck, "The Musical Iconography of the Commedia dell'arte", in *The Commedia dell'arte from the Renaissance to Dario Fo*, ed. Christopher Cairns (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 227 – 261.
[95] Marco Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura, di balli d'arpicordo, pass'e mezzi, saltarelli, padovane et alcuni aeri* (Venice: Gardano, 1588); RISM F57; a copy survives at Biblioteca Musicale governativa del Conservatorio di Santa Cecilia, Rome, Italy. For a modern edition of this collection, see: Marco Facoli, *Collected Works*, ed. Will Apel, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, vol. ii (s.l): American Institute of Musicology, 1963). Another transcription of "Aria della Commedia" can be found in: Marco Facoli, Venetiano, *Balli d'Arpicordo (1588), für ein Tasteninstrument*, transcribed by Friedrich Cerha (Vienna and Munich: Verlag Doblinger, 1973), 12.
[96] Facoli, *Balli d'Arpicordo (1588), für ein Tasteninstrument*, trans. Friedrich Cerha, 12.

suggestive points of reference. In the case of Vecchi's *L'Amfiparnaso,*[97] for example, we note the following elements of the *Commedia dell'arte*: the use of stock figures such as those of the two old men (Pantalone and Doctor Gratiano); two young couples (Lelio and Nisa; and Lucio and Isabella); a captain (Captain Cardone); and the traditional so-called *zanni* for servants (Pedrolino, Zane, Frulla and Francatrippa).[98] *L'Amfiparnasso* also employs onomatopoeic word-play (e.g. Pedrolino imitates the sound of birds, "pi pi ri pi, cu cu ru cu" in Act I, scene 1); mockery of different languages and dialects (e.g. Cardone and Zane make fun of the Spanish language and the Bergamascan dialect respectively in Act II, Scene 2; parodic references to widely-known literature (e.g. Pantalone refers to Gratiano as "Orlando's horse" in Act I, scene 3, which is clearly based on the episode in *Orlando furioso* discussed above). Finally, from the musical point of view, there are not only nonsense songs but also parodies of Hebrew chant (Act III, scene 3) and even of established classical madrigals: Luca Marenzio's "Ben mi credetti già" (Act II, scene 1); and Cipriano de Rore's "Ancor che col partire" (Act III, scene 2).[99]

By drawing a relationship between Isabella's *canzonette alla francese* and Monteverdi's *canto alla francese* in the *Scherzi musicali* (1607), Macneil brings up a new account of both. As opposed to the suggestion that the *canto alla francese* refers to a style derived from the *musique mesurée*, she proposes that the *canto alla francese* is a compositional technique which aims to "mix" musical genres of two different national styles: Italian and French. And inferring from the analogy with Monteverdi's

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[97] For a modern edition, see: Orazio Vecchi, *L'Amfiparnaso: a New edition of the Music with Historical and Analytical Essays*, ed. Cecil Adkins (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977).
[98] *L'Amfiparnaso* only slightly varies from the standard performance of the *Commedia dell'arte*. The *Commedia* play usually requires two *zanni*, but Vecchi's work makes use of four of them. Also, the work requires an actress for the role of a courtesan, Hortensia, instead of the standard maidservant. See: Cecil Adkins, "The Commedia dell'arte and L'Amfiparnaso", the preface to Adkins (ed.), *Vecchi: L'Amfiparnaso,* 6 – 8.
[99] Adkins, "Analysis and Criticism", the notes to *Vecchi: L'Amfiparnaso,* 95 and 97.

Scherzi, she concludes that Isabella's *canzonette pure alla francese* was, within an Italian improvised comedy, a combination of Italian-style composed vocal melodies and instrumental sections in French dance style.[100]

The influence of the *commedia dell'arte* practice on contemporary musicians seems to have been quite strong. As Paolo Fabbri has already pointed out,[101] Monteverdi must have been fully aware of the function of the mad scene in the *commedia dell'arte*. In one of his letters, the composer referred to Francesco Gabrielli[102], an actor and musicain known as "Scappino", celebrated for his *La pazzia di Scappino* (1618).[103] Furthermore, there was a strong connection between Monteverdi and the Andreini's. During the course of the company's nearly forty-year career, the Mantuan court occasionally enjoyed the *Gelosi*'s performances. However, the relationship between the court and the company was sometimes turbulent as is revealed by the fact that Duke Vincenzo I banished them from his city in 1579 and arrested three members due to their farcical performance in 1582.[104] Isabella's son, Giovanni Battista, also an important *comico dell'arte*, later served the Mantuan court and wrote the text of the *sacra rappresentazione, La Maddalena* (1617), for which Monteverdi set the prologue.[105] His first wife, Vittoria sang the title role in the premiere of *Arianna* at short notice and also sang in the *Ballo delle ingrate*.

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[100] Macneil, "Music and the Life and Work of Isabella Andreini" 90.

[101] Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi* (1985), trans. Tim Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 201.

[102] See: Anne MacNeil, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 24 – 31.

[103] Monteverdi's letter 125, 2 February 1634, to Giovanni Battista Doni in Rome. Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 424. See futher, Chapter 9 of this study.

[104] Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'arte* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1990) 62.

[105] For recent accounts of Giovanni Battista Andreini in the English language, see: Judith Cohen, "Giovanni Battista Andreini's Dramas and the Beginnings of Opera", *in La Musique et le rite sacre et profane: Proceedings of the 13th Congress of the International Society of Musicology,* ed. M. Honegger and P. Prevost (Strasbourg: University of Strasbourg, 1982), 423 – 432; Don Harrán, "Salamone Rossi as a composer of theatre music", *Studi Musicali* xvi, no. 1 (1987), 96 – 131; Colin Timms and Tim

One can say that it was the *commedia dell'arte* that determined the nature of the mad scene long before the rise of opera. Although some experiments may have been needed in order to transform the comic mad scenes into those for the purely musical stage, the tradition must have already created many conditions necessary for the public acceptance of operatic madness. Mad scenes of the *commedia dell'arte*, as we have seen in Isabella Andreini's case, were usually presented as *bravura* pieces, where an actor/actress reveals his/her outstanding performing skills, while the plot temporarily comes to a halt. During the course of its development, by pursuing theatrical effects and satisfying actors' as well as spectators' needs, the mad scene in the *commedia dell'arte* was becoming rather removed from that of serious models such as classical tragedy.

The *giuoco* and the Sienese Academy

We have already seen the contribution of the Accademia degli Intronati to the development of the *commedia erudita* in their sponsorship of *La Pellegrina*. However, the importance of academies in the history of the operatic mad scene is even more apparent when one examines one of their favourite activities, the *giuoco*.[106] The *giuoco* or "parlour game" was ubiquitous in sixteenth-century Italy as a diversion for noble gatherings, and some of the "games" seem to have been very ancient. For example, the "Game of the Riddle" probably goes back to the Sphinx.[107]

Carter, "Andreini, Giovanni", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1991), vol. 1, 126 – 127; Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 179 – 180; Colin Timms and Anne MacNeil, "Andreini, Giovanni Battista", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2000), vol. 1, 625 – 626.

[106] Of course, the term "giuoco", referring to a game, was widely used. For example, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi's ballo, "Il giuoco della cieca" from *Il pastor fido* (III, 2).

[107] For a detailed discussion of the practice of the *giuoco*, see: Thomas Frederick Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 263 – 322.

It seems that the notion of madness also played an important role in the sixteenth-century *giuoco.* A typical example can be found in Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del cortegiano* of 1528.[108] The narrative of this celebrated "courtesy book" begins with proposing a parlour game that will entertain the Urbino court for an evening. Cesare Gonzaga (a cousin of the author) suggests the following game:

> .... Each one of us should answer the question: "if I had to be openly mad, what kind of folly would I be thought likely to display, and in what connexion, going by the sparks of folly which I give out every day?".[109]

The assembled courtiers appreciated this suggestion, and one of them pointed out that he would be foolish "nel pensare" [when it came to thinking], while the other said, "io già impazzito in amare" [I'm already a fool in love].[110]

A very similar game is recorded in *Cento Giuochi liberali, et d'ingegno*,[111] by Innocentio Ringhieri, a member of the Academy of the Ritrovati in Bologna. Also, in Ascanio de Mori's novel, *Giuoco Piacevole*, the character Leonora required each member of the group to describe the symptoms of madness if he/she should go mad.[112] These games were not only regarded as ludic but they were also played for the purpose of serious self-cultivation. As we have seen Gonzaga in the *Cortegiano* clearly stated that the 'mad' game was intended to make each player seek his own

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[108] For the subject of the games described in the *Book of Courtier*, see: Thomas M. Greene, "Il Cortegiano and the Choice of a Game", in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 1 – 15.

[109] [...ciascun dicesse: "Avendo io ad impazzir publicamente, di che sorte di pazzia si crede ch;io impazzissi e sopra che cosa, giudicando questo esito per le scintilla di pazzia che ogni dì si veggono di me uscire"...] Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, ed. Carlo Cordié (Milan: Riccardo Riccardi, 1960) [Book I, viii], 25. The translation is from: Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 47.

[110] Ibid., 48.

[111] First published by Giaccarelli, in Bologna, 1551.

[112] Ascanio de Mori, *Giuoco Piacevole d'Ascanio de Mori de Cano* (Mantua: Presso Giacomo Ruffinello, 1574).

"hidden strain of folly" in order to gain deeper self-knowledge, because usually "everyone all too easily perceives his neighbour's error and not his own".[113]

Although the *giuoco* was widely enjoyed, it was the Sienese academies that took credit for developing a refined form of the parlour game.[114] Girolamo Bargagli, the author of *La Pellegrina*, wrote a comprehensive treatise on the subject, entitled *Dialogo de' Giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usono di fare* (Siena, 1572), in which he defined the term as follows:

> a festive activity of a light-hearted, amorous company, in which, upon a playful or clever proposal made by one person acting as author or guide of the game, the others all do or say something each different from the other; and this is done for the purpose of pleasure and entertainment.[115]

Although this definition seems to emphasise the game's comical nature, Bargagli, later in the same treatise, discussed the didactic nature of the game and distinguished the two functions of the *giuoco* by using the terms, *piacevole* [agreeable] and *ingegnoso* or *grave* [ingenious or serious].[116] Amongst its 130 examples, Bargagli's treatise contains a game, called the *Spedale de' pazzi*, very similar to that in the *Cortegiano* although in this case, the subject was limited only to 'love-induced' madness.[117] Significantly, the name of this game is reminiscent of Tomasso Garzoni's

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[113] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 47.

[114] In Girolamo Bargagli, *Dialogo de'Giuochi che nelle vegghie sansei si usono di fare*, which we are about to discuss, the main interlocutor, Il Sodo, claimed that the Accademia degli Intronati in fact invented the genre, but in the same treatise, this claim was questioned by another interlocutor, Il Frastagliato, who quoted Canto vii, 21 of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, "Tolte che fur le mense e le vivande,/ Facean, sedendo in cerchio, un gioco lieto:/ Che nell'orecchio l'un l'altro domande,/ Come più piace lor, qualche secreto./ Il che agli amanti fu comodo grande/ Di scoprir l'amor lor senza divieto". See: Girolamo Bargagli, *Dialogo de'Giuochi che nelle vegghie sansei si usono di fare* (Siena: Luca Bonetti, 1572), 21 – 22.

[115] Bargagli, *Dialogo de'Giuochi che nelle vegghie sansei si usono di fare*, p. 34. The translation is from James Haar, "On Musical Games in the 16th Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xv – 1 (Spring, 1962), 22.

[116] Haar, "On Musical Games", 23.

[117] Bargagli, *Dialogo*, 86.

work, *L'Hospedale de' Pazzi incurabili* (Ferrara, 1586),[118] which I will discuss in the next section.

Although some literature on the *giuoco* describes the genre's connection with music,[119] no music directly used for the occasion survives. However, Orazio Vecchi's *Le Veglie*[120] *di Siena*[121] is of particular significance owing to its strong association with Bargagli's treatise.[122] Also, Vecchi must have been quite well aware of the Sienese games of madness and their relation to Garzoni, since he tells us in his epistle printed with *Le veglie*:

> Le seconda parte chiamo grave ove sono quattordici humori tutti di diuersa natura, per quanto m'è stato con lungo studio possible al verisimile fabricati, ma non sono già humori, come quegli dell hospital de pazzi del Garzoni, ma di quei savij c'hanno anche alle tavole de Prencipi.[123]

In addition, the 'mad' text of the *Bisticcio* (= *scioglilingua*: a tongue-twister) in the second part of *Le veglie* is a direct adaptation of a phrase from Bargagli's *Dialogo*.

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[118] Tomaso Garzoni, *L'Ospedale de' Pazzi incurabili...nuovamente formato e posto in luce...con tre Capitoli in fine sopra la pazzia* (Ferrara: n.pub., 1586) [Gb-Lbl, 1079.d.3./ 245.d.11]. James Haar argues that Garzoni's work might have been known before its (supposed) earliest publication in 1586, and the game might have been named after the work. However, it seems to me more plausible that the name of the game was also derived from real hospitals. See: Haar, "On Musical Games in the 16th century", 32, n. 40.

[119] For example, *I Trattenimenti di Scipion Bargagli; Dove da vaghe donne, e da giovani huomini rappresentati sono honesti, e dilettevol giuocchi: narrate novelle; e cantate alcune amorose canzonette* (Venice: Apresso Bernardo Giunti, 1587), by Scipione Bargagli (Girolamo's brother)

[120] The term "veglia", designating "a vigil" in a ritual or "an evening party" in a more secularised sense, was widely used. Tim Carter has discussed Monteverdi's *Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* by putting the work in the context of a salon entertainment "per passatempo di veglia" during Carnival. See: idem, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 193.

[121] Orazio Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena overo i varii humori della musica moderna* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1604); for the modern edition of the work, see: Orazio Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena*, ed. Bonaventura Somma, Capolavori Polifonici del secolo XVI, vol. II (Rome: De Santis, 1940). Vecchi's connection with Siena is evident; following his teacher, Salvadore Essanga da Modena's appointment as *maestro di cappella*, Vecchi was hired as a tenor in Siena Cathedral in February 1571 and stayed in the city until Apil 1574. See: Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 357 – 358.

[122] See: James Haar, "On Musical Games in the 16th Century", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xv – 1 (Spring, 1962), 21 – 34.

[123] [I call the second part of [this work] "serious" because there are fourteen humours all of diverse nature, which I have been studying long in order to construct them in a true manner, but I have not yet encapsulated the humour found in the "Hospital of Fools" by Garzoni, nor his wisdom which is worthy

> Al pozzo de messer Pazzin de Pazzi v'era una Pazza che per gran pezza Mangiava Pizza[124] lavando pezze, ma sopragiunse Pazzin de Pazzi Presse la pazza la pizz'e la pezze e le gittò nel pozzo... [125]

> Al pozzo di messer Pazzino de Pazzi, v'era una pazza, che levava le pezze, venne messer Pazzino de Pazzi, prese la pazza, & le pezze, e gittole nel pozzo".[126]

The *giuoco* was popular in sixteenth century Italian culture because it was one of the means by which academicians could present their aesthetic ideal – the combination of "gravità" and "piacevolezza" in art. Castiglione, Bargagli, and Vecchi all seem to have aimed to embody this rather contradictory principle in their works. In fact, the challenge that contemporary (especially Sienese) dramatists pursued following this axiom resulted in blurring the boundary between tragedy and comedy,[127] and it became perfectly natural for Renaissance audiences to see rather serious subjects – such as death and madness – on the comic stage. Such an atmosphere must have paved the way for the popularity of madness (and particularly the effect of comic relief that a mad character gives in the rather serious plot) on the operatic stage of the following century. The dramatic subject of madness appealed to not only the taste of the lower classes who were very much accustomed to

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to be ranked among that of princes.] Reprinted in B. Somma's edition.

[124] Probably, what the word "pizza" denotes here is different from what we now know as such. Although the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612) does not give an entry of this word, John Florio's dictionary tells us that pizza is "a kind of rugged cake, simenell-bread or wafer; a so a kind of suger tart". See: John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words or a Dictionary of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Edw. Bleunt & William Barret, 1611), 385.

[125] [By the well of Mr. Pazzin de Pazzi (little mad one of the mad), was a madwoman who for a long time was eating a pizza and washing rags, but when Pazzin de Pazzi suddenly appeared, he snatched the pizza and the rags and threw her into the well.] Orazio Vecchi, *Le veglie di Siena*, ed. Somma, 71 – 77.

[126] Bargagli, *Dialogo*, 38.

[127] The title page of the 1604 publication of Vecchi's *Le veglie* reads "composte e divise in due parti Piacevole e Grave. Nel piacevole s'havranno gli humori faceti". A facsimile reprinted in B. Somma's edition. For the subject of *gravità* and *piacevolezza* in art, see: Louise George Clubb, "Castiglione's Humanistic Art and Renaissance Drama", in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), esp. 201 – 204.

mountebankery shows in the street, but also to that of the upper class who found an academic dictum in such scenes.

The *Ospedali* and Tomaso Garzoni

One of the major insightful comparions that Michel Foucault draws our attention to in his celebrated *Madness and Civilization*[128] is the striking parallel between the isolation of lepers in the medieval period and the isolation of the mad in the early modern era. According to Foucault, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, with the growing importance of science and technology, the development of bureaucracy, and the spread of literacy and education, the distinction between 'reason' and 'unreason' came to be more important than ever. As abnormality provoked social anxiety, wandering mad men were caught and confined. For example, in Paris, under the edict of Louis XIV, the Hôpital Général was first established in 1656. Actually, the practice of confinement had been already anticipated by some local organisations (e.g. in Lyons, 1612), but the establishment of the aforementioned hospital was historic and symbolic, as similar general hospitals were soon built all over France. Accommodating an assortment of criminals, aged, orphans, prostitutes, the poor and the mad, the Hôpital Général was not a medical establishment but a moral institution responsible for punishment.[129] Such a large-scale confinement was not found only in France but all across Europe. The phenomenon was noticed also in England with the shift of Bethlehem Hospital (Bedlam) to new quarters in 1676.[130] This "Great

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[128] Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la Folie* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961); the English translation, see: Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 1971).

[129] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1961), trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 1971), 38 – 64. H. C. Eric Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault", in *After the Reformation: Essays in honor of J. H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 250 – 1.

[130] See: Chapter 5 of this study.

Confinement" completed a total change of the basic image in the mad from "outward wanderer" into "inward prisoner". During and after the seventeenth century, the deviant was removed from society; yet, by a strange paradox, it was the institutionalized public display of the mad that became commonplace at this time. By the second half of the seventeenth century, the lunatic asylums themselves turned out to be places of popular entertainment, as both Pepys and Evelyn make clear in the accounts of Bedlam found in their diaries.[131]

Renaissance Italy was no exception to this trend. Some Italian cities such as Genoa, Bologna, Naples and Venice saw the foundation of large-scale asylums called "ospedale degli incurabili".[132] As we have seen in their French or English counterparts, these institutions were not only designed for the mad, but for the people suffering from "convulsions, phthisis, dropsy, French disease, sciatica, arthritis, asthma, gangrenous and swarming intestines, migraines, delirium, [and] melancholy".[133] In Venice, the Ospedale degl'Incurabili was originally established as an infirmary for syphilitic patients in the early sixteenth century.[134] But, as one of Venice's *ospedali grandi*, the institute accommodated various outcasts and later became famous for its musical education for girl residents.[135]

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[131] Samuel Pepys wrote, "...all the afternoon I at the office while the young people (Roger Pepys' children) went to see Bedlam;" (19 February, 1669) (Robert Latham and William Matthews, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: Bell & Hyman, 1976), vol. 9, 454); and John Evelyn, "I step'd into *Bedlame* (sic.), where I saw nothing extraordinaire, besides some miserable poore Creatures in chaines, one was mad with making Verses;" (21 April, 1657) (E. S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), vol. 3, 191 – 2.

[132] Calabritto, "The Subject of Madness", 91.

[133] From a manuscript document related to the hospital of Naples. Cited in: Vittorio Donato Catapano, *Le Reali Case de' Matti nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Liguori, 1986), 27. The translation is from Calabritto, "The Subject of Madness", 91.

[134] Probably in 1517?. For a history of the Venetian institution, see: Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 197 – 238; and Jane L. Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians of Venice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. 51 – 58.

[135] See: Baldauf-Berdes, *Women Musicians*, 100 – 172.

Tomaso Garzoni's[136] work, *L'Hospedale de' Pazzi incurabili* seems to have been named in imitation of the existing institutions. It is essentially a contemporary treatise on madness, combining medical perceptions of, and common views on, the nature of the disease. Uniquely, Garzoni presented his discourse in the form of fiction. The narrative is set in a fictional "hospital" which accommodates male and female insane patients in two separate wards, around which the reader is given a virtual guided tour: "... since one knows better the universals when one discusses the species, let's slowly approach the mad people one by one, so that one will have the entire and perfect knowledge of madness that one searches for".[137] First, the work discusses "follie in general", then it examines in detail twenty-nine types of male madness. In so doing, Garzoni combines popular definitions of the mad with mythological or biblical ones, and all this is done using comparatively few contemporary medical terms. Interestingly, mythology plays an important role in *L'Hospedale*, and the explanation of each type of male madness ends with a "supplication" unto its specially assigned god.[138]

The final section of *L'Hospedale* deals with "a discourse of the author to the beholders concerning that part of the Hospital which appertaineth to women, wherein he wittily setteth down all the former kindes of folly to be likewise resident in

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[136] Garzoni is quite an interesting figure. He published a treatise on contemporary theatre and praised some *commedia dell'arte* actresses such as Vincenza Armani and Vittoria Piissimi (both enjoyed their status as the *prima donna inamorata* of the Gelosi prior to Isabella Andreini). See: Tomaso Garzoni, *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (Venice, 1685). For a modern edition, see: idem, *La piazza universale*, ed. Giovanni Battista Bronzini (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1996).

[137] [... perché meglio si conosce l'universale quando si discorre sopra le spicie, veniamo pian piano a' pazzi particolari, ché cosi della pazzia s'avrà quella compita e perfetta congnizione che si ricerca]. Tomaso Garzoni, *Opere. Il teatro dei vari e diversi cervelli mondani; Il mirabile cornucopia consolatorio; L'ospedale dei pazzi incurabili; La sinagoga degli ignoranti e una scelta di brani da La piazza universale*, ed. Paolo Cherchi (Ravenna: Longo, 1993), 260. The translation is from Calabritto, "The subject of madness", 259.

[138] For example, Minerva for "doting and frantick fooles"; Jove for "melancholike and savage fooles"; Apollo for "idle and careless fooles"; Abstemius for "drunken fooles"; Charon for "harebrained and forgetfull fooles" etc. The translation is taken from Tomaso Garzoni, *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: Erected in English, as neer the first Italian modell and platforme, as the unskilfull hand of an*

them".[139] Those twenty-nine mad women are confined in cells and many of them are described as naked. It seems that Garzoni's novel was intended to emphasise the incurable nature of insanity and also to justify the seclusion of mad patients by implying that madness is as contagious as some other diseases.

Interestingly, Garzoni's hospital functions not only as an institution for confinement but also as a "theatre". In order to support the management of the hospital, the warden of the hospital (Messer dell'ospedale), organises a paid exhibition of the patients: "...chi vuole entrare a questi spassi pagherà almeno una da venti per sua parte, perchè questa non è comedia da due gazette, nè la squarquerata triviale di Gradella, che si dona per le piazze per antipasto delle balle di Macaleppo [sic]".[140] This offered the same kind of spectacle as that described by Pepys and Evelyn, and such practices were ubiquitous in Italy; for example, the Hospedale de' Pazzi in Rome sometimes took their patients for a "passeggiata" (stroll) in order that the public could enjoy the spectacle and offer money.[141]

However, the main purpose of Garzoni's *L'Hospedale* was not to provide readers with voyeuristic pleasure but to point to a moral. He dedicated the preface of this novel to "pazzia in universale" and comments there:

> ... the worst that can derive from (madness) is this: by constantly inciting the pain in the brain, she makes men so stupid and senseless, that they believe they are wiser when they are more mad and then they

ignorant Architect could device (London: Edward Blount, 1600). Gb-Lbl, 12316 d. 12.

[139] Garzoni, *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: Erected in English.*

[140] [...those who wish to enter [the hospital] to take pleasure will pay at least 20 [centisimas] from his side because this is not a comedy worth 2 gazettas nor Gradella's vulgar farce of a knockabout kind which is given in piazzas as a prologue to a bag of Macaleppo's [soaps.]] Tomaso Garzoni, *Opere. Il teatro dei vari e diversi cervelli mondani; Il mirabile cornucopia consolatorio; L'ospedale dei pazzi incurabili; La sinagoga degli ignoranti e una scelta di brani da La piazza universale*, ed. Paolo Cherchi (Ravenna: Longo, 1993), 253. "Gradella" is a "wicker enclosures in a swampy ground for enclosing fish" [see: Barbara Reynolds (ed.), *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 349] but here probably it is used to refer to a certain performer.

[141] Calabritto, "The subject of madness", 89 – 90.

> consider themselves Mercury when they are Coridon and Menalca among people.[142]

This satirical message proves that the original intention of this novel was very much similar to that of Castiglione's *Courtier*: an attempt to engender self-knowledge through a consideration of the socially deprived (in this case, the insane). To this extent, it seems that Castiglione, Bargagli and Garzoni all had similar intellectual and didactic aims.

L'Hospedale represents the beginnings of the tradition of the so-called 'Bedlam' play – a genre which entailed the exhibition of the insane on the stage. In seventeenth-century Italy, two works in particular reveal the 'ospedale' tradition in an interesting light. The first is a one-act musical presentation entitled *Lo spedale* whose manuscript score[143] belongs to the Contarini Collection now in the possession of the Marciana library in Venice.[144] Here, four patients – the Innamorato mal d'Amore, Matto mal di Cervello, Cortegiano mal di Petto, and Povero mal di Borsa – seek the help of a bogus doctor. Although the manuscript gives us very little information,[145] the poet of this work has been already identified as Antonio Abati,[146] and the printed libretto can be found among his posthumous collections.[147] This drama has received very little

[142] [...il peggio che da lei nasca è questo: che fomentando tuttavia il dolore del cerebro, fa restare cosi stupido ed insensate l'uomo, che si tien più savio quando è più matto; e allora si stima un Mercurio, quando egli è un Coridone e un Menalca proporio fra la gente.] Garzoni, *opere*, 255. The translation is cited from Calabritto, "The Subject of Madness", 117.

[143] I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV, 446 (=9970).

[144] Those scores were originally collected by Marco Contarini, and remained in the possession of Girolamo Contarini until 1843 when the collection was bequeathed to the Marciana library. For more information about the Contarini collection, see: Jane Glover, *Cavalli* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), 65 – 69.

[145] Taddeo Wiel, in his catalogue of the Contarini collection, failed to idenitify the poet and composer, and stipulated *Lo spedale* only as a "scherzo" by an anonymous author. See: idem, *Codici Musicali Contariniani del secolo XVII nella R. Biblioteca di San Marco in Venezia* (1888) (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), 88.

[146] The order-form for the MS score at the Biblioteca Marciana contains the following information: "questa partitura corrisponde alla poesia *Lo Spedale* di Antonio Abati (compositore, luogo e data di rappresentazione ignoti), pubblicata nelle sue *Poesie Postume*" (the commentary is dated 11 March, 1968). I am very grateful to Giuseppina Mazzella for this information.

[147] Antonio Abati, "Lo Spedale: Drama Burlesco" in *Poesie postume di Antonio Abati* (Bologna: Gio.

attention in the literature; however, since Abati was connected to the Habsburg rulers, [148] this work may have been the one referred to as *Das Narrenspital* (*L'Hospitale de' Pazzi*) and performed at the Hoftheater in Vienna in 1667 as part of the celebrations of the wedding of Leopold I.[149]

Another interesting "ospedale" work is Giovanni Cosimo Villifranchi's *Il finto chimico*, set to music by an unknown composer, which was presented at the Villa de Pratolino in Florence in 1686.[150] The plot is set in a Roman asylum for the mad (Spedale de' Pazzerelli), and a little aria sung by the warden of the asylum, Graticcio, seems to caricature the nature of the contemporary practice:

> Se ben' io son Guardian de' Pazzarelli,
> Vorrei dar la riforma
> A dodici milioni di cervelli.
> Contanti, contanti,
> Che il resto è pazzia;
> Chi è povero e matto,
> Ignobile e brutto,
> Al ricco gli è fatto
> O ore per tutto

Recaldini, 1671) (Gb-Lbl: 11429.a.a.8) 351 – 372; also see: idem, *Poesie postume* (Venice: Zaccaria Conzatti, 1676) (GB-Lbl: 11429.a.7.), 398 – 422.

[148] We do not know much about Abati; however, in his early days, he was in the circle of the Chigi's in Rome and wrote some cantata texts for Roman composers. His Roman connection is seen in his poems dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin. He also dedicated to Mazarin his opera libretto, *Il Consiglio de gli Dei*, which was to commemorate the marriage of Louis XIII and Mary Theresa of Spain. The libretto was eventually published: idem, *Il Consiglio de gli Dei* (Bologna: Gio. Recaldini, 1671). In the 1640s, he was in the service of Archduke Leopold of Austria for four years, and his *drama musicale* (the detail is unknown) was produced in Vienna some time before 1647 as the prelude to a tournament held by the crown prince, Ferdinand. Subsequently, he wrote poems dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III.

[149] Nine ballets (the music by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer) for this title survive in A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 16583/ 1. StB: CS-Kra XIV/ 12. For these balltes, see: Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1985), 178 and 459, but Seifert has not indicated the possible connection between these nine balltes and Abati's play. However, there still is a possibility that Abati's *Ospedale* may have been performed in Rome, since Luigi Ficieno, another Roman poet in the circle of the Barberini's, wrote the *Prologo* and *Licenza* (both a sung by a character, Sanità) for the drama.

[150] (Gio. Cosimo Villifranchi), *Il finto chimico, drama per la musica rappresentato nella Villa di Pratolino* (Florence: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1686). The Biblioteca Nationale Firenze claims to possess a copy of this work dated 1680; however, the Weavers judge this to be a simple error. See: Robert Lamar and Norma Wright Weaver, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theatre*, 1590 – 1750 (Detroit: Detroit Studies in Music, 1978), 158. Sartori, on the other hand, following the catalogue of the I-Fn, dates this work back to 1680. See: Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800* (Milan: Bertono & Locatelli, 1992), vol. III – 199. Two revival performances of *Il finto chimico* were recorded: in 1720 in Florence and in 1723 in Modena. In 1732, in Florence, Damiano Marchi altered the libretto and his work was performed under the title *La finta pazza* (the composer unknown). This version (Florence: Giuseppe Pagani, 1732) is now in the possession of I – Bc, Fn and Rn.

Nè guardan chi sia.[151]

The opera features Delia, who has been interned in the asylum after her unsuccessful attempt to elope with Florante. Since, at the very beginning of the opera, it is made clear that Delia is feigning madness, ironically, it is Graticcio, not knowing the truth and, thus, reacting peculiarly to some events, who plays a comic role. The penultimate scene of the opera (Act III, scene 17), where Graticcio chains up Delia and tries to whip her, must have been designed to excite the curious audience.

The theme of asylum inmates attracted not only creators of music theatre but also madrigalists. Pietro Antonio Giramo[152] published a collection titled *Il Pazzo con la pazza ristampata, et uno Hospedale per gli'infermi d'amore.*[153] The entire collection is presented as if it were a spectacle on the stage, exhibiting a variety of love-mad symptoms sung by patients one by one (e.g. "amante ferito", "amante pazzo", "amante vecchio", "amante geloso" etc) and including some "chori de pazzi" (e.g. "Viva, viva la pazzia"). This collection must have achieved a certain popularity, especially in Naples, because some decades later, another Neapolitan composer, Simone Coya, published a similar collection called *L'Amante impazzito.*[154] In fact, this is taken from one of the pieces in the collection which also includes some solo

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[151] [Even though I am the guardian of the mad,/ I would like to give reform/ to twelve millions of brains./ In cash, in cash,/ the rest is mad;/ The one who is poor and mad,/ ignoble and ugly,/ is perfect for the rich./ Oh, all the time,/ yet, supervise who you are.] Villifranchi, *il finto chimico*, 10.

[152] Regarding the composer, very little is known. Ghisi discusses some features of the second volume of Giramo's *Arie a più voci* (Naples?: n. pub., n.d.), which contains variations on the bass patterns such as "Romanesca", "Fedele", "Ruggiero" and "Ciaccona". However, Ghisi seems to have confused this collection with the first collection (1630) since he states that the second one was published in 1630. See: Federico Ghisi, *Alle Fonti della Monodia* (Milan: F.lli Bocca, 1940), 75; and John Whenham, "Giramo, Pietro Antonio", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2000), vol. 7, 405.

[153] Pietro Antonio Giramo, *Il Pazzo con la pazza, et uno Hospedale per gl'infermi d'amore* (Naples: n. pub., n.d.) (Vogel, 1259). Dinko Fabris suggests that the publication was after 1630. See: idem., "Music in Seventeenth-century Naples: the Case of Francesco Provenzale" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2001), 39 – n. 54. He also indicates that, despite the dedication of this publication to Anna De Medici, Giramo was defined as 'napoletano". The only surviving copy of *Il Pazzo con la pazza* is now: I-Fn.

[154] Simone Coya, *L'Amante impazzito con altre Cantate, e Serenate* (Milan: Camagni, 1679). The collection was published in Milan where the composer was living at that time.

"mad" arias and songs based on various dances such as "la siciliana", "la tarantella", "la pugliese", and "la carrese".

Garzoni's *L'ospedale* was received very well not only in Italy but also in other European countries, and its popularity is attested to by the fact that the first English translation appeared as early as 1600.[155] In the seventeenth century, the exhibition of asylum inmates on the dramatic stage began to occur fairly frequently all over Europe. Thomas Dekker, in his *The Honest Whore*, presented the theme as early as in 1604, and the French theatre saw an example of its own in Charles Beys's *L'Hospital des fous* in 1636 (later revised as *Les Illustres Fous*, 1653). Raymond Poisson's comedy, *Les fous divertissants* of 1680 is of particular interest owing to Marc-Antoine Charpentier's incidental music for it.[156]

The genre of 'Bedlam' opera did not vanish during the eighteenth century. The Italian public enjoyed Baldassare Galuppi's *L'Arcifanfano, re dei matti* (1760),[157] and F. T. Gazman's *Un pazzo ne fa cento* in 1762.[158] These operas to some extent reflected the popularity of their dramatic counterparts and models such as Carlo Goldoni's *L'Arcifanfano, re dei matti* (1760)[159] and Alessandro Pepoli's *I pazzarelli,*

[155] Tomaso Garzoni, *The Hospitall of Incurable Fooles: Erected in English, as neer the first Italian modell and platforme, as the unskilfull hand of an ignorant Architect could device* (London: Edward Blount, 1600). Gb-Lbl, 12316 d. 12. Also, the British Library possesses the following translations of *L'hospedale*: Tommaso Garzoni, *L'Hospital des Fols Incurables*, trans. François de Clarier (Paris, 1620) (Gb-Lbl, 12315.bb.30); and *Spital unheylsamer Narren und Närrinnen*, trans. Georg Friederich Messerschmid (Strasbourg: n. pub., 1618) (Gb-Lbl, 12330.aaa.34.).
[156] See Chapter 4 of this study.
[157] The libretto was written by Polisseno Fegejo, after Carlo Goldoni's play.
[158] The libretto is thought to have been written by Giuseppe Foppa. The opera contains a ballo, "nella quale si rappresenta l'Ospitale de'Pazzi, che si mostra a' Forastieri, con I diversi generi delle loro pazzie".
[159] This play by Goldoni was set as an opera by Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf in 1776; however, the music is lost. Dittersdorf's setting was parodied in Egidio Duni's *L'Isle des foux* (on a libretto by Luois Anséaume and P.-A. Lefebvre de Marcouville) (1760). Dittersdorf wrote another "asylum" opera titled *Die Liebe im Narrenhaus* (on a libretto by Stephanie the younger) (1787). See: Mary Ann Smart, "Bedlam Romanticized: Donizetti's *I pazzi per progetto* and the tradition of comic madness", in *L'Opera Teatrale di Gaetano Donizetti: Atti den Convegno Internazionale di Studio* (Proceedings of the International Conference on the Operas of Gaetano Donizetti), ed. Francesco Bellotto (Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1993), 200, n.7.

ossia il cervello per amore (1788).[160] Similar plots are found on the English musico-dramatic stage too; for example, James Miller's *An Hospital for Fools* (1739).[161] In this work, a father asks for a doctor's advice as his daughter "minds nothing but piping and fiddling; she lives upon B-fa-bemi".[162] Then, the daughter, who was first played by a famous singer-actress, Mrs. Clive, appears, saying "come, signor doctor, you must love Musick; you know *Alexander's Feast* to be sure, I'll sing you a Song out of it" and then she begins to sing an aria "The prince, unable to conceal his pain" from the oratorio.[163] Later in the play, Mercury introduces a "Grand Dance of Fools" as "we have had a song of Fools, let us have a Dance of Fools too, that we may see 'em in all their Attitudes, and then we shall be able to give a Compleat Account of 'em".[164]

Although the vogue for asyum operas seems to have faded a little towards the end of the eighteenth century, nineteenth century opera composers surely inherited this tradition, as we can see from examples such as Gaetano Donizetti's *I pazzi per progetto* (on a libretto by Domenico Gilardoni) from 1830,[165] Vincenzo Fioravanti's *Il ritorno di Pulcinella dagli studi di Padova* (on a libretto by Andrea Passaro) from 1837, and Achille Peri's *Una visita a Bedlam* (an operetta; the librettist is unknown) from 1839.

Such a long-lived vogue was something quite remarkable in the history of opera and may reflect our particular fascination with the subject as Foucault has indicated.

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[160] See: Mary Ann Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita: Representation of madness in nineteenth –century Italian opera" (PhD dissertation: Cornell Univerity , 1994), chapter 4, "Bedlam Romanticized".

[161] James Miller, *An Hospital for Fools: a dramatic Fable as it is acted at the Theatre-Royal, by His Majesty's Servants* (London: J. Watts, 1739). The music was set by Arne.

[162] Ibid., 14. Here, the term "B-fa-be-mi" seems to be referring to the gamut (hexachordal system), and may be being used as a metaphor for music itself.

[163] Ibid., 15.

[164] Ibid., 28.

[165] For a discussion of this work, see: Smart, "Bedlam Romanticized: Donizetti's *I pazzi per progetto* and the tradition of comic madness", 197 – 218.

However, applying Foucault's theories directly to musico-theatrical works entails certain difficulties, as we will see in the final chapter of this study.

Carnival and the Celebration of Madness

Popular culture had long celebrated "madness" during Carnival, and it is the Carnival that must provide a particularly important element in out understanding of the true nature of operatic insanity.

Carnival was celebrated as the most important occasion of the year all over southern Europe.[166] The term Carnival is probably derived from a Medieval Latin phrase meaning "the taking leave (*levare*) of flesh (*carne*)". Since Lent required strict abstinence from meat and sexual intercourse for forty days, Carnival became the final period of self-indulgence. People indulged in gluttony and sex, and these topics provided a symbolic and actual framework for the festival.

Such indulgence exemplified the main theme of Carnival, which found "il mondo alla rovescia" [the world upside-down], and where the normal rules of social order were inverted just as they were in the Feast of Fools. Through farcical representations of the inversion – "peasants imitating kings, artisans masquerading as bishops, servants giving orders to their masters, poor men offering alms to the rich, boys beating their fathers, and women parading about in armor",[167] Carnival provided a direct challenge to the values of everyday life, and, among these challenges, insanity became a main motif for this particular festive season.

The Carnival offered many public entertainments, including races, balls, masquerades, music and drama, and quite a few dramatic works performed during the

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[166] For a discussion of the Renaissance Carnival, see: Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 85 – 116.
[167] Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 89 - 90.

Carnival featured the subject of madness. For example, in the 1563 carnival season of Siena, the Accademia degli Insipidi[168] presented an entertainment titled *Il Trionfo*[169] *della Pazzia*,[170] written by Domenico Tregiani.[171] After a madrigal sung by Prudentia, Fortezza, Temperanza and Tempo, and a stanza by Pazzia (all personified characters), two villagers exchange a dialogue, revealing the madness of each other and that of some spectators, and they come to the following conclusion:

> Son pazzi e' Finosomi [sic.], e chiromanti,
> Son pazzi e' giocatori, e tavernieri,
> e Musichi; son pazzi e Geomanti,
> e c'è de pazzi fin de cavalieri,
> son poi pazzi gl'artisti tutti quanti,
> fatri [sic.], merciari, tintori, e barbieri,
> C'è solamente savi i gran Signori
> Papi, Re, Duchi, Conti, e Imperadori.[172]

At the end, they appear to praise the wisdom of the people in power, however, we should not take this comment at face value. It is very likely that this was intended as ironic, since the prevailing mood of the Carnival time was socially provocative.

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[168] In fact, at that time, the "Degli Insipici" was a "Congrega", more casual and informal than the Accademia. For a brief history of this group, see: Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli, 1929), vol. III, 313 – 316, "Accademia degli Insipidi".

[169] The "trionfo" is one of the genres of allegorical spectacles, and is thought to have originated in the Roman era. (See: E. P., "TRIONFI", in *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, ed. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: Le Maschere, 1954), Vol. IX, 1128 - 1129. Probably, Petrarch's *Trionfi* (dell'Amore, della Pudicizia, della Morte, della Fama, del Tempo and dell'Eternità) are the most celebrated examples. Tregiani's ironic choice of the subject itself is typical of Carnival.

[170] Together with another "trionfo" by the same author, the work was printed as: Desioso (Domenico di Gismondo Tregiani), *Trionfi della pazzia e della disperatione*...(Siena: n. pub. 1572). Page 5 reads "Trionfo della pazzia, recitato in Siena l'anno 1563 à di 6 di febbraio". Two copies in the possession of the British Library (Gb-Lbl, 162.a.52. and 1071.a.16; both with no indication of the year of the publication), which lack the page that I have just quoted, seem to be another edition of this publication. It is clear that the British library edition was associated with the 1581 revival performance of the work for the occasion of the "honorate feste" held by the Contrada del Drago, since the copy numbered as 162.a.52. contains a short stanze written by Tregiani and recited by the author himself on this particular occasion. The British Library dates this edition to c. 1585.

[171] He was known as Desioso of the Insipidi, and left 8 pastoral comedies; 1 dialogue; 12 mascheratas; and 3 traditional *sacre rappresentazioni*. See: Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie*, vol. III, 315. His publications include: *Il ladro cacco, favola pastorale* (Venice: Bartholomeo, 1597); and *Mascherate piacevoli rusticali* (Siena: (Bonetti), 1588).

[172] [Mad are being physiognomists ["finosomi" is probably a misspelling of "fisionomi"] palmists,/ mad are being gamblers, and restaurateurs,/ and musicians; mad are geomancers,/ And there is madness amongst cavaliers,/ Then, mad are artists of all kinds,/ Farmers ["fatri" is probably meant for "fattori"], haberdashers, dyers, barbers,/ Sages are found only amongst grand men/ such as Popes, Kings, Dukes, Counts, and Emperors.] Tregiani, *Trionfi della pazzia e della disperatione*...(Siena: n. pub., n. a.) (GB-

In Venice, commercial opera emerged from the Carnival traditions of the Republic. Venice was much associated with the Carnival, and such an association gave the city not only a touristic attraction but also something of a magical power.[173] In Venice the carnival season lasted from the feast of Saint Stephen (December 26) until the first day of Lent, and the central event of Venetian Carnival was the ritualised chase and slaughter of twelve pigs and a bull in a small square adjacent to the Palace of the Doge. Prior to the execution, the animals were sentenced to death in a caricatured way. Along with this absurd event, numerous popular entertainments had been performed before opera settled in public opera houses in the 1630s. For example, in the sixteenth century, a certain organization of aristocratic young men – called the Compagnie della Calza [Companies of the Hose] – attempted to reconstruct the comedies of Plautus and Terence,[174] and during the 1520s, the Venetian audience enjoyed socially provocative plays by Beolco (usually known as Ruzante).[175] The second half of the sixteenth century saw the flourishing of the *commedia dell'arte*. Even ordinary people joined in the "theatricality"; they gathered at Piazza San Marco, wearing masks,[176] and sometimes fancy dress, and even transvestism was frequently seen. Along with the increasing popularity of the theatre, choosing masks from the *commedia dell'arte* became fashionable from the late sixteenth century onwards – popular types of masks included those for kings, beggars, Turks, Jews, and,

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Lbl, 1071.a.16.), 13.

[173] For studies of Venetian carnival, see: Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978); 178 – 204; Idem, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 183 – 190; Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 156 – 181; and idem, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 85 – 116.

[174] Maria Teresa Muraro, "La festa a Venezia e le sue manifestazioni rappresentative: le compagnie della Calza e le momorie", in *Dal primo quattrocento al concilio di Trento*, Storia della cultura veneta 3, ed. Gianfranco Folena (Venice: Pozza, 1980), 315 – 42. Also see: Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 88; and Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* [*I due Orfei*], 331.

[175] See Chapter 9 below.

[176] According to Peter Burke, this custom was recorded as early as 1268. See: Burke, *The Historical*

importantly, madmen. In front of such a masked audience, opera was performed. A French traveler, Limojon de St. Didier who attended a performance in the 1670s reported:

> The greatest part of the Audience commonly choose the conveniency of being in Masquerade both at the Comedy and Opera. Their Dress is usually a Champain-Coat or riding Cloak, a sort of a Bonnet of a black Taffeta upon their Heads, which only permits the sight of their Nose and Eyes; over this some add a half Vizour neatly made, and cover'd with fine glaz'd Linnen: Those that wear the Venetian Vest with this Disguise are look'd upon for real Nobles, yet the Nobility are rarely in Masques, either at the Opera or Comedy, unless they are those that dare not approach their Mistresses...[177]

Under such circumstances, when one examines Venetian operas, the term Carnival has more than a contextual connotation. Sometimes, even a direct reference to the festival is found in the text. For example, in one of Venetian "mad" operas, *Le Fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657), Rodope appears wearing a mask, saying: "Sai, che l'ultimo giorno di Carnevale questo".[178] Moreover, the notion of Carnival sometimes influenced the content of operas in a more subtle and complicated way, as we shall see in our discussion of Monteverdi/Badoaro's *Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria* in Chapter 9.

Anthropology, 185.

[177] Alexandre Toussaint Limojon de St. Didier, *The City and Republick of Venice* [*La ville et la Republique de Venise*] (London: Charles Brome, 1699), part III, 66. Cited in A. M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History* (New York: Dover, 1952), 266.

[178] [You know, today is the last day of the Carnival.] Aurelio Aureli, *La Fortune di Rodope e Damira* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1657) [US-LAus, no. 94], (III, 13), 83. Earlier in the opera, Bato says that "hoggi termina in Menfi il Carnevale" [today, in Menfi, the Carnival finishes] (I, 18); however the section including this line did not find its way in the surviving music. Such a direct reference is, of course, often subject to editing when the work is revived. Thus, neither the Palermo version of this opera (1669), [I am indebted to Dr. Anna Tedesco for this information] nor Acciauoli's revised version for Venice (titled *Damira placata* (1680)) containes references to Carnival. Presumably, these later performances did not take place during the Carnival season.

CHAPTER 3

Early Operatic Mad Scenes in Italy

The inauguration of the operatic mad scene

By common agreement, Monteverdi's *La finta pazza Licori innamorata d'Aminta* (1627) is usually given the accolade of being the earliest known opera that portrays madness. However, there were several earlier attempts to represent insanity on the musico-dramatic stage. Among these, we have Silvestro Branchi's *Mascherata di Pazzi* of 1614,[1] and *I pazzi amanti*, a "favola pastorale" by Enea Piccolomini, presented in Venice in 1596.[2] In the latter drama, which seems never to have been discussed before, the "Choro di Apollo" is repeatedly sung whenever the scene changes, and two protagonists sing "in leuto" [with lute], although there is no clear evidence that this drama was sung throughout. The main protagonist, Silvio suffers from a peculiar symptom of love-induced madness: when he is away from his beloved Cinthia, he loses his reason as if he were hypnotised; but once Cinthia is nearby, he can do nothing but attempt to escape. In one scene, Silvio, in a trance, sings:

> O placida di morte ombra fugace
> O de la notte, e del silentio figlio;
> Deh premi questo core, e questo ciglio;
> E mentre in dolce oblio l'anima tace:
> Prestami la mia Cinthia, e la mia pace.[3]

[1] Silvestro Branchi, *Mascherata di Pazzi, Incanto d'Unbria maga, per l'uccisione d'Arione suo amante* (Bologna: Bartolomeo Branchi, 1614). The copy is now at: US-LAus.
[2] In his *Drammaturgia*, Lione Allacci has labelled this work as "rappresentata in musica" [Allacci, *Drammaturgia di Lione Allacci* (Venice: Giambattista Pasquali, 1755), 610]. However, the title page of the surviving copies (I-Vmc and Gb-Lbl) only reads as follows: "I PAZZI AMANTI/ Favola Pastorale, Rappresentata al Serenissimo Principe di Venetia/ MARINO GRIMANI,/ Alli 25 di. Aprile 1596. The copy consulted is: Gb-Lbl, 11429. (4). No associated music is known to survive.
[3] [O, placid and flighty shadow of the death/ O the son of the night and silence/ Oh, reward this heart, and this lash/ and while in sweet oblivion the soul is reticent/ give me back my Cinthia and my peace.] Enea Piccolomini, *I Pazzi Amanti*, 6.

This is a conventional hendecasyllabic lament, and it seems to leave little room for exhibiting the character's extraordinary emotional state. The story line of the drama itself is straightforward; in the end, Silvio's temporary insanity is cured by Cinthia's kisses. But during the course of the drama, the love of the couple is constantly hampered by three satyrs – named Impeto [the impetuous], Salace [the salacious] and Ruvido [the rough and coarse one].

Piccolomini's *I pazzi amanti* must have enjoyed a certain measure of popularity, since another, similar project was prepared for Prince Marino Grimani: *La pazza saggia*, a "favola pastorale" by an anonymous author published in 1605.[4] However, owing to the sudden death of the Doge, the performance was cancelled.[5]

As the first "mad" opera proper, Monteverdi's *La finta pazza Licori*,[6] planned for the Mantuan court in 1627, seems to have had a plot more sophisticated than *I pazzi amanti*. In a letter of 1 May 1627, Monteverdi first mentions the work which he calls an *operina* [a little work]. The text is by Signor Giulio Strozzi; it is "very beautiful and unusual" [assai bella e curiosa], and it "runs to some 400 lines". Moreover, "after a thousand comical situations" [doppo fatto mille invenzioncine (sic.) ridiculose], it "ends up with a wedding, by a nice touch of stratagem".[7] In a later letter, Monteverdi expresses further enthusiasm for the composition, although this might have been exaggerated for reasons of flattery:

> I have also received Your Lordship's opinion and instructions regarding *La finta pazza*, and I truly agree with Your Lordship's

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[4] Published as: [Anonymous], *La Pazzia Saggia* (Venice: Il Rampazzetto, 1605).
[5] Allacci, *Drammaturgia*, 610.
[6] For the most recent discussion about this work, see: Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 200 – 2. Also see: Gary Tomlinson, "Twice Bitten, Thrice Shy: Monteverdi's "finta" *Finta Pazza*", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXVI (Summer 1983), 303 – 11.
[7] The translation from Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 316. The original Italian text is in: Éva Lax (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi Lettere* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), 92.

> verdict that a supposedly crazy girl like that will – on stage – turn out to be even more novel, versatile, and amusing.[8]

It may be significant here, as evidence of how close *La finta pazza Licori* stands to the operatic origins of the mad scene, that Monteverdi is moved to refer to it as both unusual (*curiosa*) and novel (*nova*).[9]

Unfortunately, neither the libretto nor the music of this interesting *operina* survives, but, upon reading Monteverdi's letters further, we learn of various details of the work. After some revisions, the opera consisted of five acts[10] (the third of which featured an episode of feigned madness),[11] and Margherita Basile, a sister of the famous Adriana Basile, on the composer's recommendation, was to sing the title role.[12] More importantly, in his letters, the composer gave an account of his intended approach to the operatic mad scene, the purpose of which was, according to the composer, to display "the variety of moods".[13] He suggested that "the crazy girl [should] not be seen so frequently in action", because,

> In this way, each time she comes on stage she can always produce new moods and fresh changes of music, as indeed of gestures [novi gusti e nove differenze di armonie come parimente de gesti]...[14]

His message was repeated in another letter written only two days after the one quoted above: "whenever she [Licori] is about to come on stage, she has to introduce fresh delights and new inventions".[15] Consequently, the librettist agreed to revise the

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[8] [Ho riceùto parimente il gusto e il comando di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima cerca *La finta pazza* e verament tendo, con il gusto di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, che tal Finta pazza riuscirà in sena e più nova e più varia e più dilettevole.] The letter dated 22 May 1627; Lax (ed.), *Lettere,* 155. The translation is from Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, 323.
[9] Lax (ed.), *Lettere*, 151 and 155.
[10] Monteverdi's letter dated 20 June 1627. Stevens, *The Letters*, 336.
[11] The composer's letter dated 10 July 1627. Stevens, *The Letters*, 340.
[12] The letter dated 7 May 1627, Stevens, *The Letters*, 320.
[13] The words are taken from Monteverdi's letter dated 7 May 1627. Stevens, *The Letters,* 319.
[14] The letter dated 22 May 1627. The translation from Stevens, *The Letters*, 323. The Italian text is from Lax, *Lettere*, 94.
[15] The letter dated 24 May 1627. Stevens, *The Letters*, 326; Lax, *Monteverdi, Lettere*, 95.

work.[16] In practice, Licori's "variety" was shown mainly by her emotional change in short period of time. Monteverdi stated that "the imitation of this feigned madness must take into consideration only the present, not the past or the future, and consequently must emphasize the word not the sense of the phrase".[17] Such a method was absolutely standard for a certain type of madness in spoken drama, and apparently was about to become so in the field of opera as well. And this, of course, offered valuable opportunities for a composer to display his skills of writing various kinds of music. But regrettably, and for unknown reasons, this opera with the earliest known operatic mad scene, was never performed; or perhaps never completed, as Gary Tomlinson argues.[18]

Many music historians have discussed the opening of the first public opera house in Venice in 1637, as an innovation in the history of the genre. Venetian practices, however, were much influenced by the large-scale operatic productions in Rome between 1620 and 1640,[19] and, probably, it was Rome that actually saw the first "mad" opera on the stage: this was *La Sincerità trionfante* (1638), with music (now lost) by Angelo Cecchini and a text by Ottaviano Castelli.[20] This five-act work was originally commissioned by the French ambassador to the Papal city, the Maréchal

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[16] Monteverdi's letter dated 5 June, 1627. Stevens, *The Letters*, 328.

[17] Stevens, *The letters*, 319. [...la immitazione di tal finta pazzia dovendo aver la considerazione solo che presente non nel passato e nel futuro, per consequenza la immitazione dovendo aver il suo appogiamento sopra alla parola e non sopra al senso della clausola.] Lax, *Monteverdi Lettere*, 93.

[18] Tomlinson, "Twice Bitten, Thrice Shy: Monteverdi's "finta" *Finta Pazza*", 303 – 11.

[19] Simon Towneley Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth century* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1984), 4 – 5; and Patrick J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse: a Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1971), 11 – 12.

[20] The libretto was first published as: *La sincerità trionfante overo l'Erculeo ardire*, favola boscareccia, dedicata all'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Sig. Cardinale de Risciglìù, e rappresentata nel palazzo dell'Illustrissimo & Eccellentissimo Sig. Marchese di Courè Marescial di Francia, &c. et ambasciatore straordinario di Sua Maestà Christianissima alla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Urbano VIII. Nelle publiche allegrezze celebrate in Roma per la nascita del Delfino. Composta dal Sig. Ottaviano Castelli da Spoleti e posta in musica dal Sig. Angelo Cecchini, compositore del sig. Duca di Bracciano. In Rociglione, 1639, per Francesco Mercurij [the copies are now at: I-Rc and –Vgc]. The British Library possesses a copy of the second edition which contains an engraved portrait of Ottavio Castelli as well as Francesco Buti's homage to the librettist: *La sincerità trionfante* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1640) [GB-Lbl, 639. k. 6]. There are some discrepancies between the two editions. For example, the second edition does not contain Satira's parody lament scene where "she uncovers her udders like cows" (III, 14). This scene may have been censored. Also, since there were two performances of the work in the winter of 1638-9, the second edition may reflect the second performance.

d'Estrée, in honour of the Dauphin's birth.[21] The opera was intended to be an allegory of the glory of the French court, and the plot focuses mainly on the love between Ercole and La Sincerità, who, according to the "Chiave de' Personaggi",[22] represent "la Maestà Christianissima" [Louis XIII] and "La Francia" respectively. The minor characters are introduced only "per ornamento del Drama".[23] Olindo is one such role, but he is central to this study, since, despairing at his unrequited love for La Sincerità, it is he who unfolds "mille stravaganze di pazzie".[24] In Act III, Scene 10, Olindo sings a lengthy lament "Oh dispietata, oh cruda", and in Act Iv, Scene 2, when he believes himself to be dead, he sings about the underworld while the comic characters, Satiro and Trascurato, ridicule him:

Olindo:	Ohime, son morto Già son ne l'altro mondo hor ve' Caronte: Oh quanta nobilità, che passa io porto. Mirate le sorelle di Fetonte; Ohime quanti orecchiuti S'attuffano ne l'onda da l'oblio Sol per i benfitij ricevuti. Guardate un cortegiano, Che temerariamente Preso hà il sasso di Sisifo ale [sic] mano. Deh mirate, mirate Fra le cose più vaghe, e più leggiadre Quel famoso ladron di vostro padre.
Trascurato:	Oh, che felicità Veder tutte le cose
Satiro:	Dunque la nostra l'è una cecità
Trascurato:	Ma se giunge fin la, dov'è Plutone?
Satiro:	Ci dara nova di molte persone.
Olindo:	Dunque con lieti, e placidi intervalli. Il leggiadretto piè movente a i balli. La la, li la, li la, la la, li la etc.[25]

[21] Margaret Murata, "Why the first opera given in Paris wasn't Roman", *Cambridge Opera Journal* vii – no, 2 (1995), 90. The printed editions of *La Sincerità* contain epigrams (written in many different languages, including not only European languages but also Arabic and Far Eastern) to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin.

[22] Castelli, *La sincerità trionfante* (Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1640), 55.

[23] Ibid., 55.

[24] Ibid., 121.

[25] [Oh, I am dead/ I am already in the other world, see, here is Caronte/ oh with what nobility he passes when I go/ look, the sisters of Phaethon/ Oh, what big ears/ they sink in the wave of oblivion/ only for received benefit/ look at a courtier/ who imprudently/ has pressed the stone of Sisyphus with hands/ Oh,

The three characters, then, end this scene by singing and dancing "una corrente alla francese col fà là là"[26].

It should be noted that some aspects of the representation of Olindo's madness later became normative conventions in this field. For example, in the scene just discussed, Olindo has a delusional vision of the underworld and runs through a manic list of the mythological figures he encounters there – Caronte, Fentone and Sisifo. As we will see in Chapter 7, referring to such figures in this way became one of the conventions of the mad scene. Again, at the end of that scene, Olindo invites the other characters to participate in a bizarre, dancing extravaganza. As we have seen, Monteverdi, in his plan for *La finta pazza Licori*, remarked that "there will be a ballet in every act; each different from the others, and in a bizarre style".[27] It was very likely that at least one of the ballets Monteverdi had in mind was to be a "ballo di pazzi". We will return to this point later in this chapter.

La Sincerità trionfante was such a great success that, for his contribution, the librettist Castelli received from the French court a gold medallion and was promoted to noble rank.[28] It seems likely that Castelli's work offered a model for later Roman comic operas. When Luigi Rossi and Franceso Buti, who were both Roman, wrote *Orfeo* for the French court in 1647, they inserted a substantial mad scene for the unrequited suitor, Aristeo with his buffoonish followers. As Aristeo sings about his illusionary war, "All'armi, mio core, E contro il rigore, D'avara Beltà, Tue forze prepara!", Momus and Satyr join in, imitating a trumpet and a drum respectively (Act

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look, look/ amongst more beautiful and graceful things/ that famous gangster of your father / Oh how happy/ to see all these things/ then, our thing is ignorant / But if he reaches there, where is Pluto?/ He gives us new things about most people/ now, with jolly and placid intervals, let us make our foot-movement into a ballo./ La la, etc.] Castelli, *La sincerità trionfante*, 125 – 6.

[26] Ibid., 121.

[27] Stevens (ed.), *The Letters*, 340. [Ci sarà un ballo per ogni atto e tutti diversi l'un dal' altro e bizzarri.] Lax (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Lettere*, 165.

III, Scene 4; see: Appendix 2, Musical Example 7).[29] The effect is very similar to that of the bizarre musical extravaganza just discussed from Act IV, Scene 2 of Castelli's work.

La Sincerità trionfante by Cecchini/Castelli and *Orfeo* by Rossi/Buti, also provided early demonstrations of the practice of juxtaposing two contrasting elements within an opera: seriousness and jocularity. In the second edition of *La Sincerità*, Castelli appended a *Dialogo sopra la poesia dramatica* which extensively discusses and defends what he calls "hilarotragico o tragicomico",[30] since they offer the "heroes of tragedy and the laughter of comedy".[31] Examining the treatment of mythological characters in contemporary musical dramas such as Rinuccini's *Euridice* and *Arianna*, and Chiabrera's *Il rapimento di Cefalo*,[32] Castelli first justified the "inaccuracy" of these stories by citing Virgil's anachronistic introduction of Dido into the *Aeneid*.[33] He also defended the practice of mixing genres, since Aristotle "never discussed the future of *drammi hilarotragici*".[34]

As Castelli himself noted,[35] "tragicomedia" was first developed in the field of *favola pastorale*, through such works as *L' Aminta* by Tasso and *Il pastor fido* by Guarini.[36] Already in the late sixteenth century, this newly developed genre caused a stir amongst literati and Guarini published two treatises: the first and second editions

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[28] Murata, "Why the first opera given in Paris wasn't Roman", 92.
[29] The sole MS score and MS libretto are now at: I – Rvat. For a modern edition, see: Clifford Bartlett (ed.), *Luigi Rossi: L'Orfeo* (Huntingdon: King's Music, 1997).
[30] Castelli, *La Sincerità trionfante*, 2.
[31] [...pigliando gli eroi della tragedia et il riso della comedia]. Ibid, 32.
[32] Ibid., 11 – 12. There, Castelli also included "nelle feste ultime di Parma tralasciando le antiche cioè nel Mercurio e Marte, Drama dell'Achillini" [a drama performed for the recent festivals in Parma, devised by Achillini based upon ancient stories about Mercury and Mars]. This work is Claudio Achillini's tournament *Mercurio e Marte* performed for the occasion of the wedding of Duke Odoardo, Parma and Margherita de' Medici in 1628. For Achillini's *Mercurio e Marte*, See: Stuart Reiner, "Preparations in Parma – 1618, 1627 – 28", *The Music Review* XXV (1964), 273 – 301.
[33] Castelli, *La Sincerità trionfante*, 19.
[34] Ibid., 20.
[35] Ibid., 21.
[36] Also see: Paolo Fabbri, *Il Secolo Cantante: per una storia del libretto d'opera nel Seicento* (Bologna:

of his *Il Verrato*,[37] mainly refuting the criticisms of Giason Denores.[38] In these publications, Guarini defined tragicomedia as a "terzo [third]" species[39] rather than an unsuccessful combination of tragedy and comedy. In practice,

> [Tragicomedia] prende dall una le persone grandi, non l'azione; la favola verisimile ma non vera; gli affetti mossi, ma rintuzzati; il diletto non la mestizia; il pericolo non la morte. Dall'altra il riso non è dissoluto, le piacevolezze modeste il nodo finto, il rivolgimento felice, & sopra tutto l'ordine Comico.[40]

Guarini suggests here that tragicomedy arises from a process of eliminating the extremes from its two parent genres. Superficially, seventeenth century librettists – including Castelli – mostly echoed Guarini, and they seem to have been in agreement on the point that tragicomedy was the best means to please the whole strata of the audience. However, seventeenth century practice on the musico-dramatic stage diverted from Guarini's theories which fundamentally emphasized balanced decorum. In fact, it often juxtaposed the extreme elements of both tragedy and comedy in a way which helped to provoke the use of the term "baroque" for this period. And it was precisely in pursuit of this practice that the use of mad scenes and characters played a significant role.

Il Mulino, 1990), 55 – 56.

[37] Battista Guarini, *Il Verrato ovvero difesa di Quanto ha scritto M. Giason Denores*...(Ferrara: Vincenzo Galdura, 1588) and *Il Verato Secondo Ovvero Replica dell'Attizzato Accademico Ferrarese* (Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1593).

[38] Giason Denores, *Discorso intorno à ove'principii cause, et accrescimenti*...(Padova: Paulo Meieto, 1596) and *Apologia contra L'Auttor del Verato*...(Padova: Paolo Meietti, 1590).

[39] Guarini, *Il Verrato*, 16.

[40] [Tragicomedia takes from the one [= tragedy] the great persons, but not the action, the plot which is verisimilar but not true, the passions which are aroused but blunted, pleasure but not sadness, danger but not death. From the other [= comedy], laughter which is not dissolute, moderate pleasures, a fictional plot, a happy reversal, and above all the comic order.] Guarini, *Il Verrato*, 19ᵛ. The translation is from: Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance* [1961] (Chicago:

The development of the mad scene in Venice

Later in the seventeenth century, the practice of large-scale Roman musical dramas was inherited and adapted by Venice. In fact, Roman singers almost monopolised the stage in early Venetian opera and greatly influenced the actual presentation. For example, in the 1637 performance of *Andromeda* which inaugurated the Teatro San Cassiano, four of the singers out of seven were from Rome, and the composer, Francesco Manelli was himself Roman as well.[41] The opening of public theatres gradually transformed the nature of later opera into a plebeian entertainment, and this was probably a strong factor in the development of the mad scene in Venice.

To be specific, it was in 1641 that mad characters first won the applause of the general Venetian public. Sacrati's *La finta pazza* (on a libretto by Giulio Strozzi), Cavalli's *Didone* (on a libretto by Busenello), and Ferrari's *La ninfa avara* (on his own libretto) all date from that year and all feature mad characters. However, the question of whether these three operas by coincidence dealt with similar subjects, or whether the success of one particular work prompted the others to follow suit is not clear. Ellen Rosand has suggested that the mad scenes in *Didone* and *La ninfa avara* may have been added later after the success of *La finta pazza*,[42] but the issue bears closer examination.

Without doubt, *La finta pazza* was received well, since it was performed twelve times in a period of seventeen days.[43] The first edition of its libretto,[44] containing the

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the University of Chicago Press, 1974), vol. II, 1080.

[41] *L'Andromeda del Signor Benedetto Ferrari, Rappresentata in Musica in Venetia l'Anno 1637*... (Venice: Antonio Bariletti, 1637), 5 – 12. US-LAu, no. 2.

[42] Ellen Rosand, "The Opera Scenario, 1638 – 1655: A preliminary Survey", in *In cantu et in sermone: For Nino Pirrotta on His 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio della Seta and Franco Piperno (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1989), 341 – 42; and idem, *Opera in Seventeenth-century Venice,* 122 – 123.

[43] Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla Finta Pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, X (1975), 414.

[44] Giulio Strozzi, *La finta pazza, drama* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641). US-LAus, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 15.

heroine's mad scenes, was published probably alongside the premiere. The second edition was published within the year 1641,[45] and, the third edition followed in 1644, probably associated with a Venetian revival performance in that year.[46]

In the case of *Didone*, Iarba's insanity was clearly a later addition, since his mad scenes were not included in its scenario published in the year of its première, and its sole surviving score[47] suggests this to be true since the music for those mad scenes was copied by a hand different from the main copyist's.[48] However, we do not know for certain at what stage this addition was made.

The case of *La ninfa avara* is even more ambiguous. The main subject of this opera – a beautiful nymph, impervious to love – was a popular and recurrent one in the field of the pastoral,[49] and madness was not a dramaturgical device essential to the theme.

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[45] Giulio Strozzi, *La Finta Pazza*, seconda impressione (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641). The consulted copy is US-LAu, no. 19.

[46] Giulio Strozzi, *La Finta Pazza,* terza impressione (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1644). The consulted copy is US-LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 20. Barbara Strozzi, the librettist's allegedly illegitimate daughter, has left an aria associated with *La finta pazza*: "Godere e lasciare" (published in her *Cantate, ariette e duetti...opera seconda* (Venice: Gardano, 1651) [GB-Lbl: k.7.g.4.(2)]. Despite the prevailing belief that this is an excerpt of the *La finta pazza* text which Barbara set to music outside of its operatic context [see, for example, Ellen Rosand, "Barbara Strozzi: virtuosissima cantatrice: the composer's voice", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXI, no. 2 (Summer, 1978), 258; and idem, "The voice of Barbara Strozzi", in *Women Making Music: the Western Art Tradition 1150 – 1950*, eds. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (London: Macmillan, 1986), 174], the lyric is not to be found in the Venetian libretti of *La finta pazza* nor in its sole manuscript score. In fact, in the 1651 collection, "Godere e lasciare" is indicated as "Parole gia poste in musica *l'occasione* della *Finta pazza* dello Strozzi" [the words previously set to music for the occasion of *La finta pazza* by Strozzi]. This implies that the lyric was probably sung at one of the aforementioned opera performances (probably as a kind of *Licenza*), and that the author of the lyric may not necessarily be Giulio Strozzi. However, the lyric of another song by Barbara Strozzi, "La vendetta è un dolce affetto" in the same 1651 collection was taken directly from G. Strozzi's opera, *Romolo e Remo* (III, 11), as Rosand has identified (See: Idem., "Barbara Strozzi,", 258, n. 65.)

[47] I-Vnm, It. IV, 355 [9879].

[48] Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980), 125.

[49] Regarding this, of interest are the textual similarities between Lilla's first aria of *La ninfa avara* and a strophic aria, "Son ancor pargoletta", the latter of which is included in *Arie de diversi raccolta da Alessandro Vincenti commode da cantarisi nel clavicembalo chitarrone, et altro simile stromento, con le Lettere dell'alfabetto per la Chitarra Spagnola* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1634), ff. 24 – 25 [RISM 1634[7]]. The music on an anonymous poem was written by F. Bruni [= Francesco Cavalli]. The copy is now at: I-Rsc.

Examining the printed libretti of both *Didone* (published in 1656)[50] and *La ninfa avara* (published first as part of Ferrari's collection in 1659)[51] reveals an interesting fact: the heroine of *La ninfa avara*, Lilla utters some lines suspiciously similar to those of Iarba in *Didone*. In Act II of *Didone*, Iarba sings about the beauty of a woman, which deserves to be expressed in a song, while the insane Lilla, in Act II of *La ninfa avara*, mistakes Ghiandone for Orpheus and consequently asks him to sing:

Iarba: Meritevole sei,
Che in suon d'f, fà, ut.
Ti canti in un L'Arcadia, e'l Calicut.[52]

Lilla: O ben venuto Orfeo?
Cantami un poco in tuono, d'effaut, [= ef fa ut]
S'è più bella l'Arcadia, ò Calicut[53]

It seems unlikely that these two characters were, by chance, given similar actions expressed with exactly the same references to Arcadia, Calicut and singing fà and ut. Considering the respective publication dates of the libretti – *Didone* in 1656 and *La ninfa avara* in 1659 – the latter may have imitated the former. We should note, however, that a libretto printed much later than the date of the première of the work, may or may not coincide with its original staged version.

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[50] Francesco Busenello, *La Didone...opera rappresentata in musica nel Teatro di San Casciano nell'Anno 1641* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1656).

[51] Benedetto Ferrari, *Poesie Drammatiche* (Milan: Gio. Pietro Cardi e Gioseffo Marelli, 1659). There was a separate publication of this drama: idem, *La ninfa avara* (Venice: Heredi di Gio. Salis, 1662). University of California, Los Angeles claims to have a copy of this later version; however, their copy is a "mosaic", consisting of a MS copy of the title and dedication pages of the 1662 edition and a printed copy of the 1659 version (thus the pages are numbered as 177 – 205, derived directly from the collection.)

[52] [You deserve / That the note C makes the sound of F./ Let him sing to you in Arcadia and Calicut.] Francesco Busenello, *La Didone...opera rappresentata in musica nel Teatro di San Casciano nell'Anno 1641* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1656) [II, 13], 53. The consulted copies are: US -LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 11 and 15.

[53] [Oh, welcome, Orpheus,/ Sing to me a little in a thundery voice of the F-makes-C/ Which is more beautiful, Arcadia or Calicut.] Benedetto Ferrari, *La Ninfa Avara, Favola Boschereccia...rapresentata in Musica in Venetia nell'Anno 1641*...(Venice: Heredi di Gio. Salis, 1662) [II, 3], 195. The consulted copy is: US -LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 16.

These three early operas – *La finta pazza, Didone* and *La ninfa avara* – established approaches to the mad scene which were to persist for years to come. Fundamentally, such scenes were a display of farcical nonsense. In these operas, although each displays a different feature and cause of madness – the feigned insanity of Deidamia (*La finta pazza*); the morbid depression of Lilla (*La ninfa avara*); and the mental breakdown of Iarba induced by his unrequited love (*Didone*) – the mad scenes as such consist mainly of comical exchanges between the insane character and his or her followers; that is, in much the same way that Olindo in *La Sincerità trionfante* had also displayed his derangement.

La finta pazza also provides an interesting example of the "ballo di pazzi". Opera incorporated ballet from the very outset,[54] and by the 1640s, the type of *ballo cantato*[55] was dispensed with in favour of its instrumental counterpart. These usually occurred at the end Act I or Act II although, in some cases, the ballet was not simply an 'ornament' but was integrated into the opera plot.[56] The ballets provided at the end of acts on the operatic stage that time, usually functioned as an entr'acte entertainment and represented the last, direct vestige of the courtly *intermedi*. Even so, the ballet and

[54] For the relation between opera and ballet, see: Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Theatrical Ballet and Italian Opera", in *Opera on Stage*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press), esp, 178 – 191. [Originally published as: *Storia dell'Opera Italiana*, Part II – 1, Sistemi, vol. 5, *La Spettacolarità*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Turin: Edt Musica, 1988).] For ballets on seventeenth century operatic stage, see: Irene Alm, "Theatrical dance in seventeenth-century Venetian opera" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1993); and idem, "Pantomime in Seventeenth-century Venetian Theatrical Dance", in *Creature di Prometeo: il ballo teatrale, dal divertimento al drama, Studi offerti a Aurel M. Milloss*, ed. Giovanni Morelli (Florence: Olschki, 1996), 87 – 102.

[55] This type is thought have been related directly to the fully staged "ballo", a genre popular earlier in the century (the most famous example of this is found in Monteverdi's *Ballo delle ingrate* [1608]). For this genre, see: Iain Fenlon, "The Origins of the Seventeenth century Staged Ballo", in *Con che soavità*, eds. Iain Fenlon and Tim Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 13 – 40; Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), especially Chapter 6 "The Balli", 138 – 166. For records of *balli* performed in Florence, see: Angelo Solerti, *Musica, Ballo e Drammatica* (Florence: R. Bemporad & Figlio, 1905), and Warren Kirkendale, *L'Aria di Fiorenza id est Il Ballo del Gran Duca* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1972).

[56] For example, the opening of *Pompeo Magno* (1666) contains "un Ballo di Cavalli vivi con Cavalieri sopra al suono di Trombe, e d'altri Stromenti". Thus, the five-part instrumental section (3/4 – 12/8 in C

the main plot of the opera tended to be dramatically connected, although sometimes rather loosely. In *La Finta Pazza*, the second act functions as an important "epitasis", as it is called in the printed libretto – that is, the main spur to the final "catastrophe".[57] In second act, after Deidamia unfolds her mad scene (Scene 10), the nurse tries to tie up the heroine. However, along come "buffoni di corte scemi di cervello", who sing a chorus as they push the nurse aside and rescue Deidamia. The scene ends with "allegrezza dell'ottenuta Gloria" which is celebrated in the form of a *ballo*.[58]

Such a presentation of a crowd of mad people is similar to the practice in so-called "asylum" dramas. This practice must have gained in popularity among Venetian audiences, since such spectacles continued in use until the following century (see Appendix I, Table 6). Usually, these "mad" ballets were led by a mad character, and they became so accepted and conventionalised, that sometimes they were added to operas which lacked mad scenes or characters of their own. For example, in the 1668 revived version of *Seleuco*,[59] although the plot contains no mad character as such, the first act ends with the "ballo di 2 saggi, 2 pazzi, 2 buffoni and 2 bravi". This is inserted after Rubia (an old nurse) and Eurindo (a pageboy) ridicule the love-

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major) in the MS (I-Vnm, CCCLXXVII [= 9901], f. 3^r) must have included trumpets although the score gives no indication of its instrumentation.

[57] The three acts of *La finta pazza* are labeled as: "protesi" (Act I); "Epitasi" (Act II); and "Catastrofe" (Act III). This practice corresponds to the theory on comedy introduced by late-Classical grammarians such as Evanthius (in his *De fabula*) and Aelius Donatus (*De Comedia*).

[58] *La Finta Pazza, Drama di Giulio Strozzi*...(Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), "Argomento e Scenario: Epitasi, overo Azzione Seconda, Scena Decima", 57. The surviving MS score of *La finta pazza* (now in I-B Borromeo) contains a short, incomplete instrumental section after the sinfonia with which Act II ends (L. Bianconi and L. Sgrirri, "Francesco Sacrati, La Finta Pazza", 176bis). This may be the music for the *Ballo di Pazzi*. I am very grateful to Professor Lorenzo Bianconi, who provided me with a copy of the modern edition by him and Mr. L. Sgrirri.

[59] It was quite common that, when an opera was revived, a different composer provided new ballet music since this was an economical way to modify the opera into something more attractive to the new audience. The famous case of this is the Parisian performance of *La Finta Pazza* (1645), which, in order to amuse the then seven-year-old Louis XIV, contained the new ballet entrées of Turkish eunuchs with monkeys and bears and of Indians with parrots. See: Giovanbattista Balbi, *Balletti d'invenzione nella finta pazza* (s.l.: n.pub., n.d.), F-Pn, Est., Qb1645. Valerio Spada's engraving of these scenes are reproduced in: Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de Cour au XVIIe Siècle* (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1987), 144 and 150.

sickness of Silo by exclaiming "o maledetto Amor!".[60] Regrettably, however, not many scores for *balli di pazzi* survive. This is probably because these balli tended to be written, not by the main composer of opera but by an assistant composer appointed only to write ballet music.[61] Moreover, ballet music was usually circulated in the form of parts, and not in scores.[62] The *ballo di pazzi* of *Pompeo Magno* (1666) is a very rare case of the designated music surviving in its entirety.[63] The music of the *ballo di pazzi* there consists of four binary-form sections with which four pairs of madmen – "8 impazziti, due per la Musica, due per la Pittura, due per Alchimia, e due per la Poesia"[64] – unfold their choreography.[65] (See: Appendix II, Musical Example 1).

The 1643 season in Venice saw another important "mad" opera: Francesco Cavalli's *Egisto* on a libretto by Giovanni Faustini. The most innovative aspect of this opera is that a male principal protagonist, who is otherwise heroic, succumbs to derangement on the stage. Up to this point, on the operatic stage, the mad scene was allocated only to female characters (Lilla and Deidamia) or to a male but secondary protagonist (Iarba), probably because the comically oriented nature of the scene might end up "degrading" a male "heroic" character. In view of this, Faustini, the librettist of *Egisto*, had to present an apologia in the 1643 libretto:

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[60] [Nicolo Minato], *Seleuco, Drama per Musica, nel Teatro à San Salvatore, per l'Anno 1668...*(Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1668) [US-LAu, no. 157], 31. The first act of the original version (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1666) [US-LAu, no. 138] ends with a "ballo di Babuini e Paggi". Only the music of the 1666 version (by Antonio Sartorio) survives: I-Vnm, CCCCLIV [9978].
[61] Carl B. Schmidt indicates that such a custom was conspicuous mainly at the Habsburg court of Leopold I [reigned 1657 – 1705] (see: Idem, "Dance", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1990), I – 1059). However, the practice seems to have started already in Venice.
[62] Hansell, "Theatrical Ballets and Italian Opera", 181 – 2.
[63] I-Vnm: MS, CCCLXXVII (9901), ff. 56^{r} – 57^{v}. In this MS, the Ballo di Fantasme (= "Ballo di Ombre" in the libretto, at the end of Act II) is also preserved. Ibid., ff. 105^{v} – 106^{r}.
[64] Nicolò Minato, *Pompeo Magno* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1666) [US- LAus, no. 141], 35.
[65] For the ballets of Cavalli's *Le nozze di Teti e Peleo*, *Giasone* and *Pompeo Magno*, see: Irene Alm, "Theatrical dance in the Venetian operas of Cavalli", in *The Marriage of Music and Dance: papers from a conference held at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama* (Cambridge: National Early Music, 1992), [Alm 1 – 15].

> Se tù sei Critico non detestare la pazzia del mio Egisto, come imitatione d'un'attentione da te venduta altre volte calcare le Scene, trasportata dal Comico nel Dramatico Musicale, perchè le preghiere autorevoli di personaggio grande mi hanno violentato a inserirla nell' opera, per sodisfare al Genio di chi l'hà da rappresentare.[66]

We do not know exactly who was the "comico" who had brought the mad scene into musical drama,[67] nor the "personaggio grande" who forced the librettist to incorporate mad elements into *Egisto*. Yet, *Egisto* was a success, which is attested to by its wide dissemination,[68] and the fact that the work foreshadowed a change in the nature of the mad scene. In later works such as Giovanni Maria Pagliardi's *Caligura delirante*, on a libretto by an anonymous author (1672),[69] for example, the male principal protagonists' derangement is used to express something more serious and sinister than simple nonsense.

The popularity of the mad scene as a genre owed much to the success of the relatively early examples. For instance, the direct influence of Cavalli's *Didone* of

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[66] [Even if you are a critic, please do not dislike the hero's madness, which is presented in imitation of an action already seen in other times on the stage, and was brought by a certain comic actor into the operatic field. This is because an important person's wish forced me to insert the scene in order to satisfy the Genius who is to act this role]. Giovanni Faustini, *L'Egisto* (Venice: Pietro Miloco, 1643) [US-LAus, no. 34], 3.

[67] It is tempting to assume that this may be the *commedia dell'arte* actor, Francesco Gabrielli, famous for his *La pazzia di Scappino* (1618).

[68] After the first (Venice: Pietro Miloco, 1643) and second (Venice: per il Surian, 1644) editions, the libretto was printed in Genova in 1645; in Florence, in 1646; in Bologna, in 1647; Ferrara, in 1648; Piacenza, in 1651; in Venice-Naples (by Erigio Longo) in 1651; Bergamo, in 1659; again in Bologna in 1659; again in Florence in 1667; and Modena in 1667. Also, Benedetto Boselli's *Croniche o Diario* (MS, in Piacenza Biblioteca Comunale, Pallastrelli 126) records that Benedetto Ferrari's *Egisto* (on an altered version of Faustini's libretto) was performed on "il 22 gennaio del [16]51" at "Teatro in Piazza". The music is lost. However, this may have been a simple alteration with some additional arias to Cavalli's 1643 setting. See: Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla *Finta Pazza* Alla *Veremonda*", 433, n. 220.

[69] Confusing this opera with Domenico Gisberti's *La Pazzia in Trono, Caligola delirante*, some scholars have wrongly attributed this libretto to the same author: for example, John Walter Hill, "Pagliardi, Giovanni Maria", *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. III, 822 (where the librettist is "Gioberti"); and Rosand, *Opera in 17th-century Venice*, 358, n. 70. However, there is no similarity between the two works. Gisberti's work – although misleadingly labelled as *opera in stile recitativo*, was in fact a spoken drama intended for the private performance of the Accademia degl' Imperturbabili at the Teatro Apollinare in 1660. Antonio Gruppo's indication that Cavalli was the composer of the incidental music for this play is not credible [see: idem, *Catalogo di tutti i Drammi per Musica* (Venice: Antonio Gruppo, 1745), 32.] since the composer was then in France. See: Glover, "The Teatro Sant'Apollinare", 38, n. 21 and 23.

1641 is shown by the fact that the motto theme of Iarba's mad scene, "Son gemelle le donne e le bugie [women and lies are twins]" (Act II, Scene 12)[70] was repeated in Volpe[71]/Aureli's *Gli Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663), when Orillo[72] scoffs at the mad Eritreo's strong attachment to Leucotoe: "con le bugie le femine gemelle la natura ha formato" (II, 18).[73] Moreover, later still, the insanity of Iarba became a central factor in the plot of *Iarba impazzito*,[74] composed for the occasion of a *fiera* in Bergamo in 1690, almost half a century after the première of *Didone*, in which the character of Iarba had first appeared.

Another factor that gave impetus to the constant creation of the mad scene was the performer's wishes, which were already powerful in the politics of opera production. Faustini's apologia quoted above clearly indicates this. *Egisto* may have been an extreme case, but it seems most likely that, once a certain singer made a sensational success in a particular role, producers would wish to create something similar for him/her in order to meet the audience's demand.

We have already seen in Chapter 2 the renown of Isabella Andreini in the field of the *commedia dell'arte*. In opera, it seems to have been Anna Renzi who early established a reputation as a charismatic female performer.[75] She was born in Rome in

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[70] Busenello, *La Didone*, 54.
[71] Giovanni Battista Volpe was a nephew of Giovanni Rovetta, and is sometimes called "G. B. Rovettino". This study uses his proper family name following the practice of *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. See: Eleanor Selfriedge-Field, "Volpe, Giovanni Battista", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992), Vol. IV, 1040.
[72] This comical servant may have been named after the magician in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*.
[73] [Nature has made women twins with lies.] Aurelio Aureli, *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1663), 54.
[74] *Iarba Impazzito, drama musicale* (Bergamo: Fratelli Rossi, 1690). The attribution of the text to Giacomo Cipriotti is dubious.
[75] For Anna Renzi, see: Caludio Sartori, "La prima diva della lirica italiana: Anna Renzi", *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* ii (1968), 430 – 52; Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla 'Finta Pazza'", 417 – 18; Sergio Durante, "Il cantante: Aspetti e problemi della professione", in *Storia dell'Opera Italiana*, eds., Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Turin: Edt Musica, 1987), vol. iv, 361 – 64 [the English translation: idem, "The Opera Singer", in *Opera Production and its Resources*, eds. Bianconi and Pestelli, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 356 – 61]; Rosand, *Opera in 17th century Venice*, 227 – 235; and Beth L. Glixon, "Private Lives of Public

c. 1620 and after studying with Filiberto Laurenzi, she began her singing career at the residence of the French ambassador in Rome, where she might well have been involved in the production of *La Sincerità trionfante*. In 1640, she moved to Venice at the invitation of Sacrati, who hired her to play the original Deidamia of *La finta pazza* in the following year. Her excellent rendition of this role was praised highly in various contemporary documents. The librettist Giulio Strozzi mentioned her musical and histrionic skills in the preface to the first edition of his *La finta pazza* in 1641,[76] and the second impression of this libretto (issued in the same year) contained two sonnets by Francesco Melosi dedicated to the singer.[77] 1644 saw two further publications extolling her talents: Maiolino Misaccioli's *Il Cannochiale per La Finta Pazza*,[78] and Giulio Strozzi's *Le Glorie della Signora Anna Renzi Romana*.[79] The last is actually an anthology of tributes written by various authors, and some poems there applaud another important role she played in Venice: Ottavia in *L'incoronatione di Poppea*. Her last recorded role, Damira in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657), must have been created in commemoration of her glorious career, since Damira is an exact mixture of Deidamia and Ottavia. Damira is abandoned and almost killed by her husband, who falls in love with another woman, and she feigns madness in order to tackle the difficult situation. This perfect vehicle for Renzi illustrates how singers might coerce the talents of the composers and librettists into supporting (or even enhancing) a particular vogue in the field of "commercial" opera.

Women: Prima donnas in Mid-Seventeenth-century Venice", *Music and Letters* lxxv, no. 4 (November, 1995), 509 – 31.

[76] Giulio Strozzi, *La Finta Pazza* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), 6.

[77] Giulio Strozzi, *La Finta Pazza...Seconda Impressione* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), 7 – 9.

[78] *Il Cannocchiale per la finta pazza, dilineato da M[aiolino] B[isaccioni] C[onte] di G[enova]* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1644). For Anna Renzi, see: p. 8.

[79] *Le Glorie della Signora Anna Renzi Romana* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1644).

During the course of the development of opera, the nature of operatic madness within the genre was gradually changing. After the success of Iarba in Cavalli's *Didone* of 1641, there were several protagonists who went mad because of unrequited love – especially amongst secondary characters. The examples include Theramene in Cavalli/Faustini's *Eritrea* (1652),[80] and the aforementioned Eritreo in *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663). Usually, these characters are not only secondary but, in their madness, unfold comical scenes with their minor followers.

In the mid-century when heroic opera (usually based on historical, as opposed to mythical, events) began to be favoured, other types of insane figures appeared. Some operas that featured tyrants treated insanity as a political tool. Examples of this kind include *Tiranno humiliato d'Amore* (1667),[81] and *Saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto* (1698),[82] where a character feigns madness in order to protect himself from a cruel dictator. The way of representing such madness is not very different from those we have seen above: the general character of the mad scene is still comical. Thus, apart from his main role within the plot, the mad character acts to give comic relief to the otherwise very serious narrative as well as to add a different perspective to the dynamics of the plot. In extreme cases, apparently for the sake of contrast, a mad subsidiary character is sometimes assigned scenes throughout the plot. A telling example of this is Atrea in Cavalli/Minato's *Pompeo Magno* (1666).[83] She is a mad old woman;[84] and her exchanges with a buffoonish servant, Delfo, are totally extraneous to the development of the central narrative, but at the same time they

[80] Giovanni Faustini, *L'Eritrea* (Venice: Il Giuliani, 1652). US-LAus, no. 75.
[81] Based on Giovanni Faustini's imcomplete work, the text was revised by Nicolo Beragano and others. The music (now lost) was set by Carlo Pallavicino.
[82] The libretto was written by Lotto Lotti, the music by Giovanni Maria Ruggieri (now lost).
[83] Nicolò Minato, *Pompeo Magno* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1666), US- LAus, no. 141.
[84] Jane Glover interprets the role of Atrea as a variant of the old nurse. See: idem, *Cavalli* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), 103. In fact, however, Harpalia of the same opera, who views the fidelity of her

create an alternative fictive world in parallel with the serious drama.[85] Another such example occurs in Carlo Fedeli detto Sajon's *Don Chissiot della Mancia* (on a libretto by Marco Morosini), premiered at Teatro di Cannaregio of Venice in 1680. [86] In this opera, Don Chissiot [Don Quixote], despite being the title role, is extraneous to the main story of the drama, which features the tangled love affairs of three couples.[87] Yet, his dramaturgical function is not only to disturb the order of the court of Barcelona, where the opera is set, but also, in so doing, to add to the opera an allegorical meaning. The librettist, Morosini was conscious of the effect of such a peculiar character, and stated that he wished to present Don Chissiot who does nothing but *la pretesa bravura* because such a character "makes the opera suited to *il tempo delle maschere* [the time of the mask = Carnival]".[88]

The aforementioned way of presenting absurd characters is typical of the late seventeenth century Venetian theatre, but it was not altogether accepted by Venetian critics of opera. Cristoforo Ivanovich famously criticized the contemporary state of opera especially after theatres opened their doors to the "Volgo ignorante".[89] The fact that comparatively small theatres such as San Moisè and Sant' Angelo started offering

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mistress with disfavour, is more typical of the old nurse, although her rather malicious trick brings her a violent end (being murdered by Mithridates), atypical of seventeenth century opera.

[85] In the opera, Atrea appears four times: Act I – 4, where she tries to fish stars; I – 20, where she leads the ballo di Pazzi; II – 12, where she, disguised as a gypsy, tells Delfo's fortune; and III – 5, where she carries a huge stone, trying to help Sisyphus. Interestingly, Atrea is presented as a "wise fool" since Delfo is occasionally surprised by her insightful comments.

[86] Carlo Fedeli detto Sajon (Venice, c. 1622 – 1685) was a violinist active at the San Marco Cathedral and the Conservatoire of the Mendicanti, and wrote some operas and instrumental pieces. See: Biancamaria Brumana, "Figure di Don Chisciotte nell'Opera Italiana tra Seicento e Settecento", in *Europäische Mythen der Neuzeit: Faust und Don Juan, Gesammelte Vorträge des Salzburger Symposions* (Anif: Muller-Speiser, 1992), 702. The music of *Don Chissiot* is now lost.

[87] Don Quixote's squire, Sancio Panza entered the operatic world prior to his master: *Il Sancio* was performed for the occasion of the wedding of Prince Alfonso of Modana [the libretto published as: *Il Sancio, drama per la musica* (Modana: Bartlomeo Soliani, 1656)]; and Camillo Roma's opera with the same title was dedicated to Marquessate Pellina Crimalda [*Il Sancio, drama per la musica* (Genoa: non. Pub, 1671)]. In either case, no associated music survives.

[88] Marco Morosini, *Il Don Chissiot della Mancia, drama per musica, da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Canal Regio*...(Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1680), 7. The consulted copies are: GB-Lbl, 638.c.28 (8); and US-LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 255.

cheaper tickets than the more grand theatres may have invited the vulgarisation of opera.[90] However, the question of the relation between opera's popularity and its decorum needs to be discussed with the full, complex theatrical context of seventeenth century Venice in mind. The commercialisation of opera in Venice created heated rivalry among theatres and, as a result, some theatres closed fairly quickly,[91] or temporarily had to suspend their operatic performances.[92] The Theatro di Cannareggio, after presenting the aforementioned *Don Chissiot,* faced severe financial difficulties and decided to employ drastic means to stay solvent – that is, by displaying nudity to the audience.[93] But even this desperate measure did not save the theatre from closure.

Amongst Venetian theatres, only il Teatro dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo enjoyed constant commercial success, and mad scenes flourished there.[94] The prestige of the Grimani family enabled the theatre to employ some of the foremost names in opera such as Aurelio Aureli and Matteo Noris (librettists), and Carlo Pallavicino, Giovanni Legrenzi and Antonio Cesti (composers), who nurtured the genre into maturity. It was hardly a coincidence that it was this theatre that presented a mad opera which showed the first signs of an attitudinal change towards the insane on the stage – Carlo Pallavicino/ Antonio Franceschi's *Didone Delirante.*[95] In this opera, Didone,

[89] Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino* (Venice: Pezzana, 1681), chapter 15, 411.
[90] San Moisè employed this policy in 1674 and Sant' Angelo was inaugurated in 1677. See: Nicola Mangini, *I Teatri di Venezia* (Milan: Mursia, 1974), 45 and 74.
[91] Il Teatro Novissimo was open only between 1641 and 1646, and the operatic activity of Il Teatro di S. Apollinare ended in 1657, although it had started only in 1651. See: Mangini, *I Teatri di Venezia*, 62 – 69.
[92] Even the Teatro di San Cassiano during the 1660s presented only spoken comedies. See: Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia*, 41.
[93] Mangini, *I Teatri di Venezia*, 86.
[94] Cavalli?/ Bissari, *Bradamante* (1650); Volpe/ Aureli, *Gli amore d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663); Pallavicino/ G. Faustini, *Tiranno humiliato d'amore* (1667); Pagliardi/ an anonymous author, *Caligula delirante* (1672); Legrenzi/ Noris, *Totila* (1677); Pallavicino/ Franceschi, *Didone delirante* (1686); Albinoni/ Marchi, *Zenobia* (1694); and Ruggieri/ Lotti, *La saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto* (1698).
[95] Antonio Franceschi, *La Didone Delirante* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1686), US-LAus, no. 319. The music does not survive.

abandoned by Enea, unfolds a lengthy lament (Act III, Scene 12),[96] and succumbs to insanity (III, 13)[97]. This is more faithful to Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* than Cavalli/ Busenello's *Didone* (1641), where, instead of the queen, her suitor, Iarba goes mad.[98] In this new Didone opera, the scene, where the queen speaks to her own reflection in the mirror without recognising herself (III, 17),[99] was surely designed to move the audience to tears. And although a female servant Dirce mocks the madness of her mistress in a conventional fashion, the overall theatrical effect of Didone's insanity is pathetic and poignant. Through changes of this kind, this opera foreshadowed the popularity of tragic madness which prevailed in the following century.

However, that opera as a genre had reached a crisis point around the mid-century seems to be an undeniable fact. Aurelio Aureli noted that "...the taste of people in Venice has reached such a point that one no longer knows what he wants to see nor composers know how to content the bizarre capriciousness of this city."[100] In the 1680s, some initial steps towards the restoration of decorum were taken. Giovanni Carlo and Vincenzo Grimani now inaugurated a new theatre, the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo (1678). This theatre was in every sense the embodiment of the supremacy of the Grimani family. They attempted to restore the prestige of opera by setting a ticket price much higher than other theatres. Thus, despite the fundamentally commercial system of the theatre, the production here was intended for the chosen, noble audience. Their repertoire was, at the first glance, not drastically different from that of other theatres – the preference for "distorted" stories derived from history or

[96] Franceschi, *La Didone delirante*, 60 – 62.
[97] Ibid., 62 – 63.
[98] For a comparative study of these two operas, see: Wendy Beth Heller, "'O Castità Bugiarda': Cavalli's Didone and the Queen of Chastity", in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber, 1998), 169 – 225.
[99] Franceschi, *La Didone delirante*, 66.
[100] [...il gusto del Popolo di Venetia è arrivato a tal segno, che non sa più che bramar di vedere, nè i

myths and for exotic settings was still apparent. Yet, as is shown by two "mad" operas performed at this theatre – *Carlo il Grande* (1688) and *Amor e Dover* (1696) – their operas usually had pedantic and serious traits, and they often required a certain knowledge if the audience was going to appreciate their parodies.[101] The Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo and its repertoire established a division among theatres that was to be seen more clearly in the following century – serious tragedies at the Teatri San Giovanni Grisostomo and San Cassiano, and satirical or comical works at the Teatri San Samuele and San Moisè.[102]

Travelling Companies: the Febiarmonici

Having observed the evolution of the mad scene in the Venetian republic, we need now to examine its dissemination elsewhere in Italy. The first question that arises concerns how opera as a genre was transmitted from one city to another. In the very early years of the seventeenth century, this was achieved through aristocratic networks but following the advent of commercial opera, the foremost force behind the dissemination was an itinerant group of musicians and actors – collectively known as the Febi Armonici [the harmonious Phoebuses].[103] They brought *opere alla veneziana*

Compositori sanno più che inventare per sodisfar al capriccio bizzarre di questa Città.] Aurelio Aureli, *Perseo* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1665), 5.

[101] For a detailed study of the repertoire of this theatre, see: Harris Sheridan Saunders, "The repertoire of a Venetian opera house (1678 – 1714): the Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985).

[102] This division is somewhat less than strict since the Teatri Sant' Angelo produced both types and San Moisè did a tragedy in 1724. The information is taken from: Eleanor Selfridge-Field, "Dramaturgical Hours: how lunar and solar cycles influenced the length and character of Venetian operas" (paper presented at the 11th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, 14 – 18 July, 2004).

[103] Dinko Fabris has noted the sinister implication of the troupe's nomenclature – "satanic choirs". See: idem, "Music in Seventeenth-century Naples: the case of Francesco Provenzale" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 2001), 208. For a detailed study of the identity of the Febiarmonici, see: Bianconi and Walker, "Dalla Finta Pazza alla Veremonda: Storie di Febiarmonici", 379 – 454. See also: Franco Piperno, "Opera Production to 1780", in *Opera Production and Its Resources*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 14 – 16.

to each city, greatly influenced the later development of opera in the cities they visited.[104]

It is by examining the title pages of printed libretti that we can obtain a picture of how Venetian operas were exported to other cities throughout Italy and even beyond the Italian peninsula. In this way, for example, we can deduce that *La Finta Pazza* was performed in Piacenza in 1644;[105] in Bologna in 1647;[106] in Genoa in 1647;[107] in Reggio Emilia;[108] and Turin both in 1648;[109] in Naples in 1652;[110] in Milan in 1662,[111] and, finally, in Reggio Emilia again in 1679.[112] (The well documented Parisian performance of this opera in 1645 will be discussed later in this study.)

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[104] For the case of Naples, see: Bianconi and Walker, "Della Finta Pazza alla Veremonda", esp. 379 – 387; and Dinko Fabris, "Music in Seventeenth century Naples", 208- 222.

[105] *La Finta Pazza, rappresentata in musica da signori Academici Febiarmonici in Piacenza nell'anno* 1644. This libretto is well known since the title page contains the earliest known reference to the Febiarmonici. Also, in the prologue there, Fama makes an allusion to the troupe: "Ma d'Armonici febi, quale stuolo/ M'innamora l'orecchio?...". See: Bianconi and Walker, "Della Finta Pazza alla Veremonda", 397.

[106] *La Finta Pazza, Dramma del sig. Giulio Strozzi rappresentato in Bologna da signori Accademici Discordati l'anno* 1647. The text is almost identical to that of the 1644 Piacenza version although the Bolognese version contains a different prologue. It should be noted that this performance was organized by a group called the Accademici Discordati. Francesco Sacrati himself may have belonged to this group and been involved in the performance. For the Discordati, see: Bianconi and Walker, "Della Finta Pazza...", 398 – 405.

[107] *La Finta Pazza, Rappresentata in musica da signori Academici Febiarmonici in Genova l'anno 1647*. A copy of the second edition is in: I-Rvat. This version is identical to the Piacenza version.

[108] No associated libretto seems to have been printed; but the printed scenario survives: *L'Argomento Della Finta Pazza, Dramma musicale Rappresentato nel Teatro della Città di Reggio l'Anno 1648*. I-Rem, raccolta Curti 142.5.

[109] *La Finta Pazza, Rappresentata in musica da signori Febi Armonici in Torino l'anno* 1648 (Turin: Gio. Battista Zavatta, 1648). A copy of the second edition is in: I-R, Alessandria.

[110] *La Finta Pazza, Drama musicale, Poesia del sig. Giulio Strozzi Presentata nel Real Palazzo di Napoli l'anno 1652* (Naples: Roberto Mollo, 1652). This version is identical to the 1644 Piacenza edition.

[111] *La Finta Pazza, Rappresentata in musica da I SS. Academici Febiarmonici in Milano, nuovamente ristampata et da gli errori scorsi nella prima impressione diligentemente purgata. Dedicata all'illustriss. ... Contessa Isabella Alfieri Castigliona* (Milan: Stampa Archiep., 1662). Ellen Rosand gives the date of the Milanese performance as 1652, which seems to be in error (see: idem, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, 111). There was another Milan performance of this opera although the exact date is not known. See: *La Finta Pazza, Rappresentata in musica da SS. Academici Febiarmonici in Milano, nuovamente ristampata, et da gli errori scorisi nella prima impressione diligentemente purgata* (Milan: Gio. Pietro Eustorgio Ramellati, n.d.). Bianconi and Walker deduce that this libretto may have been associated with the stay of the Brocchi's group in Milan around the 1647 – 48 winter. See: Bianconi and Walker, "Della Finta Pazza...", 404 – 405.

[112] This last performance was seen under a different title: *Gli Amori sagaci, Drama per Musica al merito infinito dell'ill.mo signor Gio. Francesco Bergami* (Reggio: Prospero Vedrotti, 1679). Although some original lines remained intact, some comic scenes were altered (the alteration by Pietro Manni).

Again, in the case of *Caligula Delirante*, we know that it was performed in Naples in 1673;[113] Bologna,[114] and Rome[115] both in 1674; in Ferrara,[116] Milan,[117] Palermo,[118] Pesaro,[119] and Vicenza[120] all in 1675; again in Palermo in 1678;[121] (and after Venice saw a revival performance in 1680[122]) in Verona in 1680;[123] Florence in 1685;[124] Genoa in 1688;[125] Crema in 1689;[126] Lucca in 1696;[127] and finally in Naples in 1714.[128]

The above is only the record of performances in so far as we can retrieve them from printed libretti. Of course, we should be aware that the real situation was probably more complicated. First we need to take into account how performances were signalled in these prints. Usually, when a libretto describes a work as "rappresentato" [represented], the publication occurred after the performance, while

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[113] *Caligula delirante, Drama per musica rappresentata nel famoso Teatro di S. Bartolomeo di Napoli*...(Naples: Roncagliolo, 1673).
[114] *Il Caligula Delirante, rappresentato in musica nel Teatro de' signori Formagliari in Bologna l'anno 1674*...(Bologna: herede del Benacci, 1674).
[115] [Under the title] *Il Caligula, Dramma per musica rappresentato in Rome nel Nuovo Teatro di Tor di Nona*...(Rome: Stamparia della rev. C. A., 1674).
[116] *Caligula Delirante, Melodrama da rappresentarsi in Ferrara nel Teatro da S. Stefano*...(Bologna: Giocomo Monti, 1675).
[117] *Caligula Delirnnte [sic.], Melodrama, Opera in musica dedicata e cantata all' ecc.mo...Claudio Lamoraldo...nel Regio Teatro di Milano*...(Milan: Marc'Antonio Pandolfo Malatesta, 1675).
[118] *Caligula Delirante, Drama per musica rappresentata nel famoso Theatro [sic.] di Palermo*...(Palermo: Domenico d'Anselmo, 1675).
[119] *Caligula Delirante, Melodramma da rappresentarsi in Pesaro nel Teatro del Sole l'anno 1675*...(Pesaro: per il Gotti, 1675).
[120] *Caligula Delirante, Melodramma rappresentatosi in musica in Venetia nel famosissimo Teatro Grimano di SS. Giovanni e Paolo l'anno 1672. Hora da rappresentarsi con alcune aggiunte in Vicenza nel Teatro di Piazza*...(Vicenza: heredi di Giacomo Amadio 1675).
[121] *Caligola Delirante, Drama da rappresentarsi nel famoso Theatro della fedelissima città di Palermo*...(Palermo: per L'Anselmo, 1678).
[122] *Caligola Delirante, Melodramma da rappresentarsi in musica nel Teatro Grimano di SS. Giovanni e Paolo l'anno 1680*...(Venice: n.pub., 1680).
[123] *Caligula Delirante, Melodramma da rappresentarsi in musica nel Teatro de Temperati l'anno 1680*...(Verona: Dominico Rossi, 1680).
[124] *Caligula Delirante, Melodramma per musica* (Florence: Vincenzio Vangelisti, 1685).
[125] *Caligula Delirante, Melodramma musicale da recitarsi nel Teatro del Falcone l'anno 1688*...(Genoa: Gio. Battista Celle e Benedetto Semino, 1688).
[126] *Caligula Delirante, Melodrama musicale da recitarsi nel Teatro di Crema*...(Milan: Francesco Vigone, 1689).
[127] *Caligula Delirante, Drama musicale da rappresentarsi nel Teatro di Lucca l'anno 1696* (Lucca: G. Paci and D. Ciuffetti, 1696).
[128] *Caligula Delirante, Drama per musica da rappresentarsi nel nuovo Teatro de' Fioentini in questo*

"da rappresentarsi" [to be represented] obviously indicates that the libretto was printed before the performance.[129] In these latter cases, there is always a possibility that the work could have withdrawn before it actually reached performance. On the other hand, we know that some performances are documented only through manuscript copies of the libretto, which tend to exist in far fewer numbers, and which were presumably more likely to wear out or be destroyed in the course of time.

Operas were, through their many revivals, adapted and altered in terms of both drama and music mainly because most Italian cities had developed their own rather individual musico-dramatic tastes over the centuries, and because local performance conditions might vary considerably. It was highly possible that the later, "dispersed" versions were radically different from the originals. The manuscript score of *La Finta Pazza*,[130] which was discovered by Lorenzo Bianconi in 1984, does not seem to be associated with the early Venetian libretti but with the later performances – in particular, the 1644 Piacenza version and its subsequent manifestations.[131] We may never know how much of the original music by Sacrati is preserved in the copy discovered by Bianconi.[132]

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corrente carnevale dell'anno 1714...(Naples: Michele-Luigi Muzio, 1714).

[129] Ellen Rosand, "In defense of the Venetian Libretto", *Studi musicali* IX, no. 2 (1981), 273; also see: Nino Pirrotta, "Early Venetian Libretti at Los Angeles", *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1984), 318 – 9.

[130] Now in I-Bborromeo. I am very grateful for Professor Lorenzo Bianconi, who provided me with a copy of this score edited by him and Mr. L. Sgrirri.

[131] Considering the fact that the score was discovered at the archive of the Borromei, it is most plausible to assume that the existent music is associated with the earlier Milanese performance (c. 1647-8?), which may have been presented at the family's private theatre.

[132] By indicating the similarities between "Pur ti miro" in Monteverdi's *L'incoronatione di Poppea* and the music from the *La Finta Pazza* score, Alan Curtis has proposed that Sacrati may have had a hand in the music of *L'Incoronatione* (see: idem, "La Poppea Impasticciata or Who Wrote the Music to *L'Incoronazione*?", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xixx (Spring, 1988), 23 – 54.) However, considering the situation of the *La Finta Pazza* score, and the fact that "Pur ti miro" seems to have been sung at the premiere (for this see: Paolo Fabbri, "New Sources for *Poppea*", *Music and Letters* lxxiv (February, 1993), 16 – 23), it seems much more plausible to conclude that the music of *La Finta Pazza*, which we see now, was a result of revision after *L'incoronatione* was performed. See: Anthony Pryer, "Authentic performance, Authentic Experience and 'Pur ti miro' from Poppea", in *Performance Practice in Monteverdi's Music*, ed. Raffaello Monterosso (Cremona: Fondazione Claudio

The encounter with Venetian opera as presented by the Febiarmonici brought an important change to many local musico-dramatic traditions. We shall now trace those changes, particularly in relation to mad operas in Florence and Rome in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Florence

After enjoying the splendour of courtly entertainments created by the enthusiastic academicians (most notably the two *Camerate*[133]), Florence seems to have lagged behind Venice in its commercial production of opera owing mainly to the fact that it was a principality.[134] However, the Febiarmonici brought *La Finta Pazza* to the city, and the opera was performed twice after Ash Wednesday of 1645. An undated notice reports that Giov. Paolo (*sic*, a mistake for Gio. Battista?) Balbi, the head of the troupe, obtained permission for the performance.[135] The troupe again visited the city in the following year and performed Faustini/Cavalli's *Egisto*.

From 1646 onwards, newly founded academies began to operate public theatres in the city, and, by 1731, the Florentine audience saw some 226 operas performed in fourteen academic theatres, three palaces, and other unnamed venues. [136] The Florentine academic theatres were built mainly for the use of the Academicians but were rented frequently by itinerant troupes of *comici*. In these circumstances, the

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Monteverdi, 1995), 191 – 213. See also: Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 233, n. 43.

[133] The importance of the two *camerate* was first indicated by: Angelo Solerti, *Gli albori del Melodramma* (Milan: Sandron, 1904), I, 48 and 50.

[134] Robert Lamar and Norma Wright Weaver's exhaustive catalogue of the musico-theatrical works in Florence gives us a picture of the practice. Idem, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theatre 1590 – 1750* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978). See also: Robert L. Weaver, "Opera in Florence: 1646- 1731", in *Studies in Musicology: Essays in the History, Style and Bibliography of Music in Memory of Glen Hayden*, ed. James W Pruett (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 60 – 71; and Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence* during the Principate of the Medici (Florence: S. Olschki, 1993).

[135] I-Fas, Arch. Med. Fil. 5439, c. 325. Cited in the Weavers, *A Chronology*, 116.

[136] For a history of the Florentine opera theatre, see: the Weavers, *A Chronology*, 19 – 59 and Weaver,

Florentines imported many Venetian operas, among which were: Aureli/P. A. Ziani's *Le Fortune di Rodope e Damira* (at the Teatro Cocomero in 1662),[137] and Pagliardi's *Caligula Delirante* in 1685.[138] But, of course, the academicians were also anxious to produce their own works. The Accademici Immobili produced a new "mad" opera, *Il Pazzo per Forza,* at their own theatre, the Teatro dell Pergola, in 1658.[139] Some decades later, the librettist, Giovanni Andrea Moniglia edited this work, and the new, shortened version was set by Giovanni Maria Pagliardi,[140] and performed at the Teatro Pratolino in 1687. This reduced version appears in Moniglia's *Delle Poesie Dramatiche,*[141] and in its preface the librettist explains why he needed to revise the work:

> ...because the drama had too many protagonists and, consequently, was too prolix and at the same time too tedious in that hot season[142] so that it needed to be shortened and reduced with the most carefulness in order to meet the modern fashion.[143]

The plot of *Il Pazzo per Forza* is quite simple and very typical of Italian Renaissance comedy; Flavio, who is in love with Isabella, pretends to be mad in order to spoil his father's plan to marry him off to another woman. In his mad scene (Act I, scene 27), Flavio unfolds a nonsensical speech very akin to that of those characters in the

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"Opera in Florence: 1646 – 1731", 60 – 71.

[137] Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence*, 396.

[138] Prior to the performance of this opera, G. M. Pagliardi was in the service of the Medici between 1668 and 1670. Ibid., 417 – 424.

[139] G. A. Moniglia, *Il Pazzo per forza, drama civile rusticale fatto rappresentarsi in musica da gl'illustriss. Sig. Accademici Immobili nel loro Teatro sotto la protezione del Sereniss. E Reverendiss. Principe Cardinale Gio: Carlo di Toscana essendo nel presente Semestre Principe dell' Accademia l'Illustrissimo Signore Lionardo Martellini* (Florence: Bonardi, s.a.), I-Fn, Pac and Rca. The music by Jacopo Melani is now lost. See: Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence*, 413.

[140] This music is also lost. See Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence*, 426.

[141] Giovanni Andrea Moniglia, *Delle poesie dramatiche di Gio: Andrea Moniglia, accademico della crusca parte terza al sereniss. Principe di Toscana in Firenze* (Florence: S. A. S. alla Condotta, 1689), vol. III, 95 – 170. The consulted copy is: Gb-Lbl, 11715. 1. 25. (3).

[142] This version was performed between the 26th of August and the 16th of September of the year.

[143] [...perche il Drama era troppo numeroso d'Interlocutori, e per consequenza troppo prolisso in quella Stagione calda, e per se stessa noiosa, volle con soma avvedutezza farlo scortare, e ridurre insieme alla foggia moderna.] Moniglia, *Delle poesie dramatiche*, vol. III, 99.

Venetian products. First, Flavio pretends to see an illusory war between Giove and giants ("Non vede ch'a Giove/ Porton Guerra i Giganti?"[144]), and talks about Giasone and the golden fleece, which then leads to a lot of nonsense about cooked mutton, Rome, the Furies, Pegasus and the Muses.[145]

In comparison with the Venetian counterpart, Florentine opera shows its indebtedness to the *commedia erudita* much more obviously. The names of the main characters in *Il Pazzo per Forza* – Flavio, Leonora, Isabella – were taken directly from the tradition of comedy. Moreover, the main subject of this opera is not in fact madness, but a state of confusion caused by linguistic misunderstanding: a theme ubiquitous in the tradition of the learned comedy. While Isabella, Flavio and his family use the Florentine plebeian language,[146] Flavio's rival, the Neapolitan Leandro and his servant speak, naturally, in the Neapolitan dialect. But the Neapolitans do not seem to understand fully the implications of what the Florentines say to them. The situation gets even more chaotic when the disguised Leandro starts speaking a peculiar form of Spanish.

Another example of typical Florentine opera is *Il Finto Chimico* (1686). We have already discussed this "asylum" opera,[147] but in this work, Delia, although she is described as a feigned mad girl, never displays her derangement on the stage. Her image is reminiscent of Lepida in *La Pellegrina*, whose insanity was exhibited only in her short exchange with the servants.

While Venice exploited the mad scene as a great musical and dramatic spectacular, the Florentine theatre remained rather conservative in this respect.

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[144] [Does he not see the giants make war against Giove?]
[145] Moniglia, *Delle poesie dramatiche*, III, 122.
[146] Thus, at the end of the drama, he provides us with a certain "Dichiarazione", which explains the meanings of "proverbi, e vocaboli propri della Plebe Fiorentina". Moniglia, *Delle poesie*, III, 162 – 170.
[147] See Chapter 2 of this study.

Probably this was a result of the uneasy alliance between public owners of the Florentine theatres and the rather fluctuating influence of the Medicean ruling family. Run by the academicians, the Florentine theatre at the time was a semi-public organization. Except for the cases of productions by travelling troupes, the main purpose of the theatre was to present works written and performed by the Academicians. Therefore, the level of "populist" acting or musical skills was not as high as that required in the Venetian theatre. The production was not commercially operated, since the profit from the sale of tickets and the financial support of the Medici, were used to keep the activities of the members solvent. This kind of aristocratic influence can be seen in the person of Cardinal Giovanni Carlo de' Medici (1611-63), who was such a generous and important patron of the Accademia Immobili that he contributed greatly to the establishment of the Teatro alla Pergola, where the first version of *Pazzo per Forza* was performed. However, on his death in 1663, his heirs made a claim to the estate of the theatre, and the Immobili was obliged to close the venue down. Another Florentine patron of importance was Prince Ferdinando (1663 – 1713), who himself was a talented musician and constructed a theatre in his own villa at Pratolino. In this theatre, *Finto Chimico* and the second version of *Pazzo per Forza* were performed.[148]

Rome

In Rome, the young Alessandro Scarlatti began his career as an opera composer with a "mad" opera, *Gli Equivoci nel Sembiante*, which was premiered at the private theatre of the librettist, Domenico Filippo Contini (1679).[149] Immediately after the

[148] The Weavers, *A Chorology of Music in Florence Theatre*, 21 – 38.
[149] Frank D'Accone has presented a comprehensive monograph on this particular opera. Idem, *The History of a Baroque Opera: Alessandro Scarlatti's Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (New York: Pendragon

premiere, the work won wide public acclaim and the production was transferred to a larger venue, the theatre at the Clementine College. This was the first of many subsequent performances of the work. Its success later resulted in the composer's promotion to the post of the *maestro di cappella* at the court of Christina of Sweden. Eleven printed libretti and two manuscript libretti of *Gli equivoci* survive.[150] Although most of them designate this work as *dramma per musica,* the Viennese version, published under the title of *Amor non vuol inganni*, labels the work as *favola pastorale*.[151] This seems to be a more appropriate appellation since the opera features the love between nymphs and shepherds and the narrative is akin to that of a typical Renaissance *pastorale*.[152] The plot is simple and straightforward unlike contemporary heroic operas popular in the Venetian theatre. Although the derangement of a shepherd, Eurillo is treated as the centre of the plot, his mad scene is free of burlesque characters. The mood of the scene is, thus, more solemn and pathetic than its Venetian counterpart. Overall, the purity and consistency of the plot, which the librettist succeeded in presenting, foreshadowed the practice soon to be developed by the Accademia di Arcadia.

Founded in Rome by a group of aristocrats and intellectuals in 1690, the Accademia di Arcadia attempted to purify the opera libretto which had, in its eyes, been previously corrupted by the commercially oriented practices of Venice. Prior to the official foundation of the association, however, their ideals were being formed in

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Press, 1985).

[150] The eight versions were printed under the title of *Gl'equivoci nel sembiante* in Rome, in 1679; in Rome and Macerata, in 1680; in Siena in 1680; in Naples, in 1681; in Ravenna in 1685; in Mazzarino, in 1688; in Bologna, in 1705; in Padua, in 1716; and, one under *L'errore innocente, overo gl'equivoci nel sembiante* in Bologna, in 1679; under *Amor non vuol inganni* in Vienna in 1681; and under *Gl'amori fortunate negl'equivoci* in Venice, in 1690. The MS versions are at: I –PLn and I – Fn.

[151] D.F. Contini, *Amor non vuol inganni, favola pastorale* (Vienna: Giovanni Cristoforo Cosmerovio, 1681). Now, at A-Wgm

[152] Ellen Harris views this opera as "one of the earliest examples" of the last cluster of the pastoral tradition. Ellen Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1981), 38.

the many active literary and musical debates taking place in Rome during the 1680s.[153] At that time, as is in the case of *Gli Equivoci*, operas in Rome were performed exclusively in the private palaces of aristocrats. Naturally, the audiences' tastes differed from that of Venetian plebeians. Probably this is illustrated best by Scarlatti's version of *Pompeo Magno*, premiered on January 25, 1683, at the Palazzo Colonna (the residence of Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna).[154] Although based mainly on Minato's libretto, which was set to music originally by Cavalli (1666), this version was devised by an anonymous author in a "Musaico [mosaic]" fashion:[155] Numerous arias derived from other libretti by Minato were added to the original *Pompeo* text. Also, "considering the current situation and general preference", the reviser found it necessary to omit some scenes, and characters from the original.[156] Thus, the mad woman Atrea and her companion Desbo, did not find a place in this version. As a result, the predominant tone of this new version is sombre, and this makes the famous murder scene no longer incongruous.

Yet, among these Roman "aristocratic" operas, we find another work featuring insanity, probably the most interesting of them all: *Amore fra gl' impossibile,* written by an Arcadian, Girolamo Gigli under the pseudonym of Amaranto Sciaditico.[157]

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[153] Michele Maylender, *Storia della Accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: Licinio Cappelli, 1926), I, 245 – 7.
[154] The text may have been chosen because the original 1666 version was dedicated to Maria Mancini Colonna, the wife of Lorenzo Onofrio and a niece of Cardinal Mazarin. This opera itself was dedicated to Lorenza de la Cerda Colonna, Lorenzo Onofrio's daughter in law. The only score is now in the possession of the Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, Brussels, MS II 3962 (Fétis 2519). For a facsimile edition, see: John H. Roberts, ed., *Alessandro Scarlatti, Il Pompeo,* Handel Sources: Materials for the Study of Handel's Borrowing, vol. vi (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986). This edition also contains a facsimile of the printed libretto (Rome: Carlo Giannini, 1683).
[155] [Anonymous], "Al benigno Lettore", in *Il Pompeo, Dramma per Musica del Sig. Nicolo Minato* (Rome: Giannini Libro, 1683), 6.
[156] Ibid., 6.
[157] The Sienese born Gigli claimed membership in numerous Italian academies such as the Accademia degl'Intronati (Siena); dei Rozzi (Siena); della Crusca (Florence) and the Arcadia (Rome). His pseudonym above was used in the circle of the Crusca. Eventually, however, his strong criticism against the elitism of the academies led to his expulsion from the Crusca and the Arcadia. See: B. B., Ri. Al. e, "Gigli, Girolamo", *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, ed. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: Casa Editrice le Maschere, 1954), vol. V, 1282 – 84. In the early eighteenth century, Gigli was one of the most

Regrettably, however, the music by Carlo Campelli[158] is now lost. This opera was premiered at the Duchess of Zagarolo's private theatre in 1693.[159] This piece, like Morosini's *Don Chissiot della Mancia*, stars Don Quixote (here, Don Chisciotte).[160] However, these two "Don Quixote" operas differ from each other in certain interesting dramaturgical respects.

In Gigli's *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, the bizarreness of the burlesque tradition and the dramatic consistency which the Arcadians aimed for co-exist in a balanced way. Here, Don Chisciotte is essential to the main plot, even though his odd behaviour causes an unwelcome result. His madness is an important factor, since it is enhanced and complemented by that of his female counterpart, Lucrine, a girl in love with a stone statue of Adonis. While Lucrine's mind dwells in an imaginary, mythological

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successful librettists, and this is attested by that he was chosen as Caesarean Poet by the Emperor Karl IV, although he declined the offer and the post was taken by Apostolo Zeno and, later, by Pietro Metastasio. For a detailed study of Gigli, see: Chiara Frenquellucci, "A Passion to Amuse: Girolamo Gigli's Theater and Prose" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1998). Although Gigli wrote numerous operas, *La Dirindina* (1715) seems to be the only one whose music survives (by Domenico Scarlatti, the MS score is in the possession of the Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi Biblioteca, Venice.)

[158] We know very little about the composer. His activities as singer were recorded in: Donato Cupeda, *L'Amar per virtù* (Venice: Nicolini, 1699) [the music by Antonio Draghi], which labelled Campelli as "Milanese"; and in anonymous, *La Leucippe* (Urbino: Ang. Ant. Monticelli, 1709) [the music by Canonico Pietro Porfirii], where Campelli was introduced as "di Piacenza, mastro di capella d'Urbino". Campelli seems to have been a composer of some competence since the printed libretto of the 1707/08 Paduan version of *Amore fragl'impossibili* described that Campelli was "delettante di contrapunto"; also he wrote another opera titled *Teseo in Atene*, which was performed in Piacenza during the 1717 Carnival time. For Campelli, see also: Nino Pirotta, "Campelli, Carlo", in *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, ed. Silvio D'Amico (Rome: Casa Editrice le Maschere, 1954), vol. II, 1594.

[159] Amaranto Sciaditico (=Girolamo Gigli), *Amor fra gl'impossibili, Dramma per musica...Dedicato all'illustriss. [...] duchessa di Zagarolo e da lei fatto rappresentare nel suo Teatro* (Rome: Gio. Giacomo Komarek, 1693); Gigli's dedication is dated 2 January of that year. In the same year, the opera was performed in Gigli's hometown, Siena. See: the editions (Rome and Siena: Stamperia del Pubblico, 1693), and (Rome and Siena: per il Bonetti, 1693). This opera, also, seems to have gained in popularity and its revival performances were seen in: Modena, in 1697; in Piacenza, in 1700; in Naples, in 1707; Padova, in 1707 and in 1708; in Perugia in 1726; and in Ancona in 1727. Frequellucci gives the location and the date of the premiere of this opera as "in Siena, in 1689"; however, she seems to have confused this work with the same author's *La fede ne' Tradimenti*.

[160] It seems that Gigli was much interested in the Don Quixote character. Prior to *Amor..*, Don Quixote appeared in Gigli's *Lodovico Pio* (premiered by the Collegio Tolomei of Siena during the 1686 carnival season), and, after these works, the character returned in the same author's another opera, *L'Atalipa* (before 1698? the printed libretto has no date) and finally in his comedy, *Don Chisciotte, ovvero un pazzo guarisce l'altro* (Siena: Stamperia del Pubblico, 1698). Brumana's article, "Figure di Don Chisciotte" failed to mention *Lodovico Pio* and *L'Atalipa*.

world, Don Chisciotte wishes only to pursue his duties as an itinerant cavalier even at the expense of rationality.

Gigli's efforts were largely influenced by two masters of Renaissance poetry: Ariosto and Tasso. For example, in *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, Don Chisciotte enters the stage reading a copy of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, and comments, "for *seicento* poetry, Orlando starves himself'.[161] Gigli himself felt the need to apologise for quoting these famous poets in such a ridiculous context. In the preface to *Lodovico Pio* (another Don Quixote opera by Gigli), he stated that he did not intend to ridicule these two highly regarded authors but to add "una grande autorità" [grand authority] to "una gran follia" [grand folly].[162]

In *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, Don Chisciotte always experiences difficulty achieving his chivalric aims owing to constant hunger. In this sense, Gigli's Don Chisciotte is presented as a hybrid of the original Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, (the latter is absent in this opera). As the ever ravenous Don Chisciotte looks back nostalgically on the good old days of Orlando, Gigli succeeded in criticizing and parodying chivalric romances of the previous generation. In this respect, Don Chisciotte functions as if he were the mouthpiece of the librettist. However, the critical role of Don Chisciotte in relation to literature is somewhat obscured by the fact that, in this opera, there is a character who bears the pseudonym of the librettist himself: Amaranto.[163] This character does nothing but lament his unrequited love for Lucrine's sister, Albarosa; but once, his morbid emotional state leads him to

[161] "E per seicento ottava ei sta digiuno". Amaranto Sciaditico (=Girolamo Gigli), *Amor fra gl'impossibili* [Act I – Scene 5], p. 10.
[162] Girolamo Gigli, *Lodovico Pio, Dramma per Musica...Cantato per le Vacanze del Carnevale nel 1687 nel Nob. Collegio Tolomei di Siena da quei Signori Convittori* (Siena: Stamperia del Pubblico, 1687), "Lettore", [8]. The consulted copy is: Gb-Lbl, 905. e. 1. (2.).
[163] Amaranto appears also in *I litiganti*, which is included in Gigli's collection, *opere nuove del Signor Girolamo Gigli...*(Venice: Marino Rossetti, 1704). Using himself as a character on the stage seems to

something more sinister: he attempts to commit suicide after vandalizing the statue of Adonis.[164] Throughout the drama, Amaranto expresses his sympathy for the two mad characters. For example, he compares his own situation to that of Lucrine, saying:

> Chi è più folle di noi, Lucrine o io?
> Un scoglio ama il suo cuore;
> Un scoglio adora il mio
> Lei di vano timore
> Pel suo sasso s'affanna,
> E me, pel mio vana speranza inganna.[165]

Perhaps, Amaranto's speech is intended as a general vindication of irrational behaviour caused by "impossible love", because the experience of such a difficult love serves an edifying and transforming purpose.

While Roman librettists of the early seventeenth century (such as Castelli) kept separate the contrasting elements within a work, Gigli, in this opera, infused his comedy with touching pathos. In so doing, Gigli deliberately blurred the generic status of the work, and, thus, *Amor fra gl'impossibili* is a *tragicomedia* of a more advanced kind. Also, by presenting a caricature of himself on the stage, Gigli succeeded in transgressing the line between dramatic fiction and reality; thus, he was able to provide an extra-dimension of delight for those "in the know", without destroying the verisimilitude of the plot in dramatic terms.

As the century drew to a close, Rome saw the opening of public theatres,[166] where Arcadians such as Cardinal Ottobone and Silvio Stampiglia displayed the works which were intended to embody their aesthetic ideals. Venetian opera became

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have been Gigli's favourite dramaturgical gimmick. See: Frenquellucci, "A Passion to Amuse", 55, n. 12.

[164] Sciaditico, *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, Act II – Scene 1, 31.

[165] [Who is more insane, Lucrine or I?/ A rock her heart loves/ mine adores a rock./ She in vain fears/ for her stone, and suffers/ And I fear for my hope in vain.] Sciaditico, *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, Act II, Scene 4, p.37.

[166] The Teatro Tordinona was opened in 1690; the Capranica in 1692; and the Pace in 1694.

out of favour, and, the young Arcadian librettist Stampiglia started his career by revising Venetian models by simplifying their plots, structure and language. Opera was changing into something didactic and the genre was entering a new era.

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We have examined briefly the early development of the operatic mad scene in Italy. First, we should note that the social and economic situations surrounding the theatre life of that time had a large influence on the course of the development of the genre – particularly in relation to commercial competition among theatres in the Venetian republic, when compared with the more aristocratic traditions in Florence and the conservative, intellectual milieu to be found in Rome.

Second, there was a change of attitude towards the mad character – from a subject of ridicule to that of pity – which was not unconnected with a new, philanthropic perception of mental illness in Italy, which emerged at the turn of the century. The insane were no longer a spectacle but subject to charity. This more morally-oriented view of the insane, more generally across Europe, shifted the direction of artistic output and, in due course, produced a new dramatic genre, the *comédies larmoyantes* in the late eighteenth century. Among examples of this new genre, the most important is a series of works centred upon the character of the mad girl, Nina: Benoit-Joseph Marcollier des Vivetières' drama, *Nina, ou la Folle pour Amour*, which formed the basis of Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac's "opéra comique" under the same title (1786) and Paisiello's opera, *Nina, ossia la Pazza per Amore* (1789).[167] The sentimental, and in a sense, idealised portrayal of Nina in these works differs greatly from that of seventeenth century mad protagonists.

[167] The most recent publication of the libretto is: Giuseppe Carpani and Giambattista Lorenzi, "Nina o sia La Pazza per Amore" in *Libretti d'opera italiani dal Seicento al Novecento*, ed. Giovanna Gronda and Paolo Fabbri (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1997), 843 – 84.

Thirdly, we should note that, notwithstanding certain recent scholarly discussions, seventeenth-century opera did not show any obvious evidence of female bias in the creation of insane characters.[168] Although, from the late eighteenth century onwards, the vast majority of the mad characters became, for all kinds of interesting reasons, women, on the seventeenth-century stage, male protagonists were as common as women in such roles. Superficially, for librettists, the social status of the mad protagonist was of more concern, as is shown by the case of Giovanni Faustini's *Egisto*. Until the very last decade of the seventeenth century, clear portrayals of the madness of abandoned women – such as Medea, Arianna, and Didone – which had been established and emphasised previously in Roman literature, were absent from the stage.

[168] The primary examples include Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita" and McClary, *Feminine Endings*.

CHAPTER 4

The Dissemination of the Mad Scene and the Formation of National Styles

Having explored the origins of the mad scene in the musical theatre, we must now examine the precise lines of communication that allowed the genre to be developed and transmitted around Europe in the seventeenth century. Various kinds of evidence can be of assistance here, and the following types have proved particularly useful: (1) documented cultural or personal contacts; (2) similarities between plots and characters, and/or the text organization of librettos; (3) shared musical conventions for the setting of particular kinds of words or situations; (4) documentary evidence for the compositional study of a particular technique; and (5) evidence for shared dramaturgical traditions in relation to the depiction of theatrical 'character types'. As the transmission of opera as a whole can be traced using these kinds of evidence, so too can the mad scene. In turn, of course, the form of an opera, and that of a mad scene, could be modified by particular local traditions to meet different audiences' needs and performing conditions. In the next three chapters, we will explore the transmission of, and the developments in, the mad scene in France, England, and Spain and the German-speaking lands. First, though, we begin with France.

France

Towards French National Opera

The association between madness and music can be found documented in various ways in Renaissance France. An early example occurs in *Pantagruel*, a satiric novel by François Rabelais (1494 – c. 1553), where the royal jester Triboulet is portrayed as a "Fol de haulte gamme, Fol de nature, Fol de b quarre et de b mol, Fol modal, Fol

bartonant, Fol en diapason" (chapter 38, the *tiers livre*).[1] This reference to a musical fool does not quite allow us to distinguish *Fol* as mad and *Fol* as foolish, and we have seen a similar ambiguity in some Italian sources. Although these two countries shared similar views of the mad, France – through its separate theatrical and musical traditions, and its special kind of assimilation of Italian music – was soon to establish its own ways of presenting mad scenes and characters on the musico-dramatic stage.

However, before opera as a genre reached France, there were several traditions which prepared the way for the acceptance of the new art form. Particularly important in this regard were the *ballet de cour* and the incidental theatrical song, and we shall begin our discussion with these forms since both were employed to portray "mad" elements during the course of their histories.

The tradition of the *ballet de cour* played a prominent role in French musical life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The genre consisted of *récits*, *vers*, *entrées* and a closing *grand ballet*, and the popularity of its dramatic spectacles contributed greatly to the formation of French national opera. In her study of the *ballet de cour*, Marie-Françoise Christout listed 392 court ballets performed between 1572 and 1671,[2] and among those works, there are several items relevant to this study. On 15 October 1581, the French court saw *Circé, ou le Balet comique de la Royne*, performed at the Petit Bourbon palace. The music was composed mainly by Baltasar de Beaujoyeux. This work, with its single consistent plot, already contains ingredients that would come to serve for presenting "the mad" on the stage. At the beginning of the ballet, Circé, an evil enchantress, upon hearing that her captive has escaped, unfolds her lament:

[1] [Fool on the highest scale, a fool by nature, a fool on B natural and B flat, a modal fool, a baritoning fool, an octave fool.] Frank Dobbins, *Music in Renaissance Lyons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 36.
[2] Marie-Françoise Christout, "Ballet de cour", *Dictionaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, ed. M. Benoît (Paris:, 1992), 45 – 49.

Je le poursuis en vain: il fuit sans esperance
De le revoir jamais reduit en ma puissance.
Las! Circe, qu'as-tu fait? Jamais tu ne devois
En homme reformer celuy que tu avois
Privé de la raison....
Folle & folle trios fois, Circe, folle & legre,...
Sus sus, despoville toy de si foible courage,
Et arme toy le cœur de serpens & derage;...[3]

Although the exact nature of Circe's distress is not fully explained, and therefore we cannot confidently describe her as mad, the prominent use of the word "folle" in the text and her mythological and theatrical status as an abandoned woman place her close to certain kinds of madness we have already encountered in Chapter 1. Unfortunately, Circe's lamentation was not set to music.

In addition to *Circe*, the following ballets are of particular interest as seeming to fall within the same tradition:[4]

Year	Titles
1596	*Mascarade des Foux vêtus en docteurs, médecins, astrologues, peintres et autres...*
1598	*Ballet des Folles*
15, Jan, 1602	*Mascarade des Six fols*
15 Jan, 1602	*Ballet de Sept fols et de sept sages*
1607	*Ballet des Filles folles*
1609	*Ballet des Fous armés dansé par douze gallants de cour*
1611	*Ballet des Insensés*
1611	*Ballet des Follets qui dansent les matassins*
1613	*Ballets des Follets qui dansent les matassins*
3 Feb, 1614	*Ballet des Don Quichotte*
9 Jan, 1618	*Ballet de La Furie de Roland*
27 Feb, 1618	*Ballet de la Folie*
2 Mar, 1620	*Ballet des Fols*
c. 1623	*Ballet des Foux*[5]
9 Feb, 1625	*Ballet des Feés de la Forêt de Saint-Germain*

[3] [In vain I pursue him! He has escaped and I have no hope of ever renewing my power over him. Alas! Circe, what have you done? You should never remake into a man a person you have deprived of his reason...[mad], three times [mad] Circe, [mad] and frivolous...Circe! Divert yourself of this cowardice. Arm your heart with serpents and rage.] Giacomo Alessandro Caula (ed.), *Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx: Balet Comique de la Royne* [1582] (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1965), 9^{v} – 10. The translation is mainly from: Carol and Lander MacClintock (trans.), *Le Balet Comique de la Royne* (s.l.: American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 43. Although the MacClintocks used "silly" for "folle", I have used "mad".
[4] Unless stated, the items listed here are taken from Marie-Françoise Christout, "Ballet de cour", 45 – 49.
[5] This production was devised by a well-known dramatist, Charles de l'Espine. The information is taken from John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France 1600 – 1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000),

In addition, the following two works include the entrée "des Folles": *Premier ballet de la Reine, femme d'Henri IV* (1601) and *Ballet des Nations* (1638).[6]

Owing to the limits of documentary evidence, it is rather difficult to reconstruct the actual presentation of these mad ballets and choreographed follies.[7] However, we can deduce that the comic effects of mad figures must have been of an exaggerated nature. For example, the *Ballet des Fées de la Forêt de Saint-Germain* (1625), a comparatively well-documented work, was produced in the following manner.[8] Five farcical fairies led five groups of dancers. The third fairy, called Jacqueline L'Entendue, sang that she would be able to cure people of "les estropiez de cervelle" [crippled brains]. However, her hope was ruined by the entry of the *demi-fous* [the half-crazed] and that of the "esperlucattes" (a derivative term from "éberlué [dumbfounded]). The former were dressed in yellow and green and carried baubles – a symbol of the court fool.[9] The latter were empty-headed dreamers distracted by love, and were somewhat androgynous.[10] The music was provided mainly by Antoine Boësset, the *Surintendant de la musique de la chambre du Roy* [Loius XIII] since 1620.

However, the vogue of presenting the mad in this genre proved short-lived. This was probably because the subject matter of the genre was decided directly by the royal authorities; and therefore was always influenced by their taste. In fact, Cardinal de Richelieu, who came to power in 1624, attempted to mould the ballet de court into a

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77, n.1.

[6] David J. Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour 1575 – 1651* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon, 1994), 22.

[7] The music for approximately 170 ballets survives, though most of the pieces are either fragmentary or survive in late manuscript copies. The largest contemporary source of the genre is the so-called "Philidor" collection, copied for the library of Louis XIV by Andrè Danican Philidor probably around 1690. The source is now in F-Pn. David J. Buch has published a modern edition of several pieces from the Philidor collection. See: idem, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour 1575 – 1651.*

[8] *Les Fées des forests de Saint Germain* (Paris: René Giffart, 1625). For a modern edition of the second act of this ballet, see: John H. Baron (ed.), *Les fées des forêts de Saint-Germain* (New York: Dance perspective foundation, 1975).

[9] Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Éditions Minkoff, 1987), 95.

direct tribute to royal power.[11] From that point on, masquerades of the demented were supplanted by other subjects such as mythology, allegory and the exotic. Under the circumstances, the *ballet de Folles* lost its original charm and became an innocuous convention. In fact, *Ballet des Nations* (1638) presents, amongst other groups (such as the Turkish, the Basque, the Italian, the French, and the Portuguese), "Les Folles" as if they were a particular ethnic group.

The tradition of French secular drama –represented by moralities, farces, sotties and monologues – was established circa 1400 and music began to be involved in the genre around the same time.[12] The predilection for the burlesque – including the insane and fools – was already apparent in some of the farcical plays in the sixteenth century, and music contributed to characterisations of those figures one way or another. For example, "Gaudeamus omnes" [let us rejoice],[13] originally a plainsong for the Introit for the Feast of St. Thomas à Becket (29 December; thus, possibly connected with the Feast of fools), occurrs in an illustration by Albrecht Dürer for *Das Narrenschiff* (1494) [the ship of fools], a book by the satirist, Sebastian Brant that was almost immediately translated and adapted throughout Europe. Thereafter, the word "gaudeamus" was frequently used in paintings and plays, including French theatrical works, to signal foolishness.[14]

In the seventeenth century, mad plays achieved a certain popularity in France. Below is a list of major examples:[15]

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[10] Ibid., 117. This is probably because a majority of dancers of that time were usually men.
[11] Ibid., 16.
[12] For a discussion of this repertoire, see: Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400 – 1550* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963).
[13] The Benedictines of Solesmes (ed.), *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai: Desclee, 1961), 437 – 8.
[14] Brown, *Music in the French Secular theater*, 179.
[15] The information is taken mainly from Powell, *Music and Theatre in France 1600 – 1680*, 134 – 147. This list does not include plays featuring the power of music to heal the depressed such as *L'Amour mèdecin* (1666), *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* (1669), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670), and *Le Malade*

Title	Playwright	Date
L'Hypocondriaque	Jean Rotrou	1628 (published in 1631)
Les Bocages	Pierre de Cotignon,	1632
L'Hospital des fous	Charles de Beys	1636
Les Visionnaires	Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin	1637
Dom Quichot de la Manche	Guèrin de Bouscal	1639/ 40
La cueva de Salamanca	Antoine Le Metel	1643
Le Berger extravagant	Thomas Corneille	1652
Les Illustres Fous	Beys	1653
La Folle Gageure	François Le Métel Boisrobert	1653
Le Fou raisonnable	Raymond Poisson	1664
Les Opèra	Charles de Marguetel de Saint-Evremond	c. 1676
Les Fous divertissants	Poisson	1680

Amongst the dramas listed above, *Dom Quichot de la Manche* and *La cueva de Salamanca* are of interest, since they are taken directly from Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, the most celebrated "mad" work of literature from Spain.[16] In fact the novel was so influential that many other French "mad" plays were also indebted to Cervantes' characterisations of the insane in one way or another. As we will see, the Baroque fascination with the mad was a pan-European phenomenon.

Up to the 1670s, secular French plays involved an abundance of incidental music together with sung lyrics and dance, and this tradition culminated in the *comédies-ballets*, created through a close collaboration between Lully and Molière. However, after breaking with Molière, Lully gained the operatic privilege in 1672, and imposed, on the French theatre, restrictions as to the amount of music that could be included in their productions. Around this time Raymond Poisson wrote his play *Le Foux divertissans* for La Comédie Française, and challenged Lully by planning a good deal of music for the production, a trend that was also to be found in other stage works of the time.[17] The abundant music for Poisson's play was provided by Marc-Antoine

imaginaire (1673), all by Molière.

[16] Volume one of *Don Quixote* was published first in 1605. For a more detailed discussion, see: Chapter 5 of this study.

[17] Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 58 – 9; and 65 – 6.

Charpentier. The work was an "asylum" play,[18] in which Angélique, upon her forced engagement to Grognard (the warden of an asylum) asks her beloved, Léandre to pretend to be mad – a condition he would claim was brought on by his enthusiasm for recent operas by Lully. The couple in Act II, Scene 9, sings "airs de l'opera de *Proserpine* et de *Bellerophon* [by Lully]"[19] in a parodic manner. In the same way that we have seen in Italian asylum dramas,[20] Grognard publically displays his inmates who suffer from various kinds of madness. The first *intermède* is in fact a short parody opera presented by the mentally afflicted,[21] and the second *intermède* also features the inmates who unfold a comic extravaganza in the absence of Grognard.[22] Amongst the music for the play, the most obviously "irrational" is an ensemble "Ah, ah, ah...que la sotte canaille" sung by the three mad musicians. Each singer's solo section is interspersed with the recurring hysterical laughter represented by short semiquavers over an ostinato bass (See: Appendix II, Musical Example 3).

As we might gather from the details of the asylum play just discussed, although a number of mad dramas originated in France, Italian literary influence cannot be ignored. Ariosto's epic, *Orlando furioso* was noticeably popular amongst the French, and inspired several theatre plays,[23] as well as two early *ballets dramatiques*: the *Ballet*

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[18] Raymond Poisson, *Les Foux divertissants, comedie* (Paris: Jean Ribou, 1681).
[19] F-Pn: Rés. Vm[1] 259 [Charpentier's authograph], 4[v]. A facsimile edition of this has been published as: Minkoff France Éditeur (ed.), *Marc-Antonie Charpentier: Œuvres Complètes I*, Meslanges Autographes vol. 18 (Paris: Musica Gallica, 2000).
[20] See: Chapter 3 of this study.
[21] This consists of prelude, a *dialogue en musique*, "Hèlas, nous plaignons tous deux", *entrée* "Les villageois", and a duet "Que ces jeunes cœurs", and *a bourée pour le triomphe de Cupidon*. F-Pn: Rés. Vm[1] 259, 2[r] - 4[v].
[22] This consists of a march (during which four dancing lunatics and three singing lunatics enter), "Ce nest quentre deux amants", instrumental airs "Les fous dechainez" and "Les geloliers" and three musicians' ensemble "ha, ha, ha". F-Pn: Rés. Vm[1] 259, 5[r] - 7[v].
[23] Powell listed the following plays: Charles Bauter, *Rodomontade*; *La Mort de Roger* (1605); the anonymous, *Les Amours d'Angélique et de Médor* (1614); the anonymous, *Tragédie des amours de Zerbin et d'Isabelle* (1621); Du Rocher, *Indienne amoureuse* (1631), and *La Calprenède, Bradamante* (1637); Jean de Mairet, *Roland furieux* (1637); Pierre Du Ryer, *Alcionée* (1637); Guillaume Le Riche and Sieur des Roches, *Les Amours d'Angélique et de Médor* (1638). See: *idem*, *Music and Theatre in France*,

d'Alcine, ou de Monsieur de Vendôme (1610) and the *Ballet de la furie de Roland* (1618). The latter ballet features the madness of the hero.

In addition to such literary connections, the French audience always welcomed the *commedia dell'arte* troups, and the influence of that genre on French drama was strong,[24] as we can see from the works of Molière and many other sources. Exactly when the first *Commedia* company toured France is unknown, but the Gelosi visited Paris as early as 1571.[25] After Isabella Andreini entered the company on her marriage to Francesco in 1578, the Gelosi performed in France several times: in 1599 (details are unknown); in Paris at the Royal Court in early 1601; in Fontainebleau and Paris at the court of Henry IV in the summer of 1603; in Paris, in August, 1603; in Paris in December, 1603; then, Lyons in June 1604, where Isabella died, miscarrying her eighth child.[26] Isabella's son, Giovanni Battista Andreini formed another major troup called the Fedeli, and the company made its first visit to France from September 1613 to July 1614, first at Lyons, then in Paris (at the Louvre and the Hotel de Bourgogne, regularly visiting the royal family at Fontainebleau and Saint-Germain).[27] When they paid another visit to Paris in January 1621, they extended their stay until King Louis XIII left after the Carnival of 1622 to join his army. Just before his departure, G. B. Andreini published five of his plays in the city of Paris: *Li duo Leli simili*; *Amor nello specchio*;

75, n.5.

[24] For an account of the early influence of the *Commedia dell'arte* on French drama, see: R. C. D. Perman, "The influence of the Commedia dell'arte on the French theatre before 1640", *French Studies* ix, no. 4 (October, 1955), 293 – 303. For an account of the later influence, see: Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris 1644 – 1697* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990).

[25] K. and L. Richards, *The Commedia dell'arte*, 258. Anne Macneil has recorded that in 1571, the Gelosi performed at the house of the Duke of Nevers in the presence of King Charles IX; then visited Nogent-le-Roi, the castle of the De Brezé family before the king and queen (Margherita Valois) and Caterine de'Medini. Then, again, in 1577, the troup performed in Blois in the company of Henry III, and in gave another performance in Paris protected by the king from acts of Parliament. See: idem, "Music and the life and work of Isabella Andreini", 396 – 398.

[26] Macneil, "Music and the life and work of Isabella Andreini", 401 – 402.

[27] K. and L. Richards, *The Commedia dell'arte*, 67 – 68.

La Sultana; La Ferinda; and *La Centaura.*[28]

La Centaura contains mad scenes for the main protagonists, Lelio and Filena,[29] and *La Ferinda* and *La Centaura* are most important for our purposes since they achieved an integration of music, dance and spoken drama, producing a genre somewhere between spoken drama and opera. In a highly interesting and singular manner, the preface of *La Ferinda* states its indebtedness to the 'opere recitative, e musicale',[30] and the playwright G. B. Andreini, in the same preface, actually lists those operas he had seen in Florence and Mantua in his younger days, which were: *L'Orfeo*; *L'Arianna*; *La Silla*; *La Dafne*; *La Cerere* and *La Psiche.*[31]

A more formal and institutional attempt to influence Parisian opera, however, was

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[28] *Li duo Leli simili, Commedia di Giovan Battista Andreini, Fiorentino, All'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissiomo Sr. Ducca di Nemours, dedicati* (Paris: [n.pub.], 1622); *Amor nello Specchio, Commedia, Di Gio. Battista Andreini Fiorentino, All'Illustrissimo Signiore Basampiere dedicata* (Paris: Nicolas Della Vigna, 1622); *La Sultana commedia, Di Gio. Battista Andreini Fiorentino, All'Illustrissimo, & Eccelentissi Monsieur le Grand dedicata* (Paris: Nicolas Della Vigna, 1622); *La Ferinda commedia, Di Giovan Battosta Andreini Fioremtino, All'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Sre. Duca d'Alvi Pari di Francia* (Paris: [n.pub.], 1622); and *La Centaura, suggetto diviso in commedia, Pastorale , e Tragia, Di gio. Battista Andreini Fiorentino, servitore del Serenissimo D. Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duca di Mantova, di Monferrato, & c. Alla Christianissima Regina Madre Medici dedicata* (Paris: Nicolas Della Vigna, 1622). The prefaces are dated as follows: *Amor nello specchio*, 18 March, 1622; *La Sultana*, 20 March, 1622; *La Ferinda*, 7 March, 1622; and *La Centaura*, January, 1622. No specific date is given in *Il duo Leli simili.*

[29] See Chapter 7 of this study.

[30] Idem, *La Ferinda* (Paris: [n.pub.], 1622), [v]. "Alhor, che per mia felice fortuna in Fiorenza, & Mantova fui spettator d'Opere recitative, e musicale, vidi l'Orfeo, l'Arianna, la Silla, la Dafne, la Cerere e la Psiche, cose in vero maravigliosissime; non solo per l'eccellenza de' fortunate Cigni che le cantarono gloriose, come per la rarità de' Musici canori che armoniose, & angeliche le refero". The British Library possesses two copies: G.[Thomas Grenville collection] 10385 (3) and 162.a.10.

[31] Since previous literature [including: Judith Cohen, "Giovan-Battista Andreini's Dramas and the Beginnings of Opera", in *La Musique et le Rite Sacre et Profane*, ed. Marc Honegger and Paul Prevost (Strasbourg: University of Strasbourg, 1986), 428; and Anne ManNeil, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 163] has not identified those six works but simply listed them, I have attempted to identify all of them, which, regrettably, has not been fully possible. So far, the identifiable works are: (1) *L'Orfeo* by Monteverdi and A. Striggio in Mantua, 1607 (Andreini was in the audience of this opera). (2) *L'Arianna* by Monteverdi and Ottavio Rinuiccini in Mantua, 1608 (Andreini's wife, Virginia was the first title role). (3) Not yet identified; Probably this is a musical drama either based upon Plutarch's account of the life of Lucius Cornelius Sulla or upon a fable about Scilla [Scylla] or about Flora (because Silla is often one of the companions of the goddess); (4) *La Dafne* by Marco da Gagliano and Ottavio Rinuccini in Mantua, 1608, or *La Dafne* by Peri and Rinuccini in Florence, 1597/8; (5) Cerere (Ceres) is the mother of Proserpina; therefore there are two possible works: *Il ratto di Proserpina* by Salamone Rossi and Gabriello Chiabrera (Mantua, 1608) [this is one of the intermedi for Guarini's *L'Idropica* presented by Andreini's company]; or Ercole Marliani and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi's *Il rapimento di Proserpina* (Casale, 1611). [Virginia

Cardinal Mazarin's campaign, particularly between 1641 – 7, and between 1653 until his death in 1661, to import Italian music, performers, composers, designers and poets into France. In Rome, while serving Cardinal Antonio Barberini, he had seen many costly productions at the Barberini Palace and probably saw other musical entertainments performed in the city, including *La Sincerità trionfante.*[32] This opera, with music by Angelo Cecchini (now lost), was commissioned by the French Ambassador in Rome, in 1638, and Mazarin's predecessor, Cardinal de Richelieu, once considered reviving the work in Paris.[33] Mazarin himself possessed an artistic impression by Joannes Andreas Potestas of a scene from the opera.[34]

Probably, the actual purpose of Mazarin's attempt to import these Roman operas was not a purely cultural one. Since, as James Anthony has suggested, touring opera singers frequently acted as political spies, the ambitious Mazarin viewed Italian opera "as a potential source of secret agents and as a smokescreen for political manoeuvres".[35] By 1641, Mazarin started his musical campaign by importing the scores of Italian songs and cantatas, and then negotiated for a composer from Rome (Marco Marazzoli) and for a celebrated diva (Leonora Baroni) to visit the French court.[36] The composer arrived in the city in the middle of December 1643 and the singer at the beginning of April 1644. The enthusiastic Mazarin also recruited some Florentine singers: a young castrato, Atto Melani, who was trained by Luigi Rossi in Rome; his brother Jacopo; and Anna Francesca Costa, who was in the service of Prince Gian Carlo

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sang for this production]; (6) not yet identified; a work based on the myth of Cupid and Psyche?

[32] See: Chapter 3.

[33] Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: Édition Minkoff, 1987), 16.

[34] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Arsenal Rés. 2255, pl. 8. A copy can be seen in Christout, *Le ballet de cour*, 102, as Plate 86.

[35] James R. Anthony, "Mazarin, Cardinal Jules", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2000), vol. xvi, 186.

[36] Neal Zaslaw, "The first opera in Paris: a study in the politics of art", in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge:

Medici. They arrived at the French court in November 1644.[37]

However, there soon followed something of a blow for Mazarin's political and cultural ambitions; the Barberini Pope, Urban VIII died in the summer of 1644 and Innocent X succeeded him. The downfall of the Barberinis forced Mazarin to give up his plan to import a Roman opera into Paris. Instead, he drew on the work of Francesco Cavalli and Giulio Strozzi who worked in the Venetian theatre, and it was their *La finta pazza*, originally written for Venice in 1641 that was the first opera produced in Paris.[38] Later, Mazarin was able to secure works by Rossi and Caproli, two composers associated with Rome. He succeeded in producing the following Italian operas in Paris between 1645 and 1662.[39]

Title	Composer	Librettist	Performance	Ballet
La finta pazza	F. Sacrati	G. Strozzi	14 December, 1645 (Advent) Petit Bourbon	G. B. Balbi
L'Egisto, rè di Cipro	F. Cavalli	G. Faustini	13 Feb., 1646 (Carnival) Palais Royal	?
L'Orfeo	L. Rossi	F. Buti	2 March, 1647 (Carnival)	G. B. Balbi
Le nozze di Peleo di Teti	C. Caproli	F. Buti	14 April, 1654 Petit Bourbon	Lully/ Benserade 3 entrées
Xerse	F. Cavalli	N. Minato	22 November, 1660 (Louis XIV's wedding) Louvre	Lully 6 entrées
Ercole amante	F. Cavalli	F. Buti	7 February, 1662 (Carnival) Tuileries	Lully/ Benserade 18 entrées

Among the operas listed in the table above, *La finta pazza*, *L'Egisto*, and *L'Orfeo* contain substantial mad scenes.

The Parisian performance of Sacrati's *La finta pazza* in 1645 was presented mainly

Cambridge University Press, 1989), 12 – 15.

[37] The question of whether these four virtuosic singers and the composer provided any musical drama in early 1645 remains uncertain. Neal Zaslaw has suggested that Marazzoli/ Buti's *Il Giuditio della Regione* on the 28th February 1645 as a possibility; which is not conclusive. See: idem, "The first opera in Paris: a study in the politics of art", 16 – 23.

[38] Murata, "Why the first opera given in Paris wasn't Roman", 87 – 8.

by a troupe of the *Commedia dell'arte*. Interestingly, however, a more opera-oriented group, the Febiarmonici, had been invited to France by the French queen earlier in the same year, after they had performed *La finta pazza* in Piacenza in1644. The question of whether the Febiarmonici performed *La finta pazza* in early 1645, before the *Commedia dell'arte* performance at the end of that year remains unanswered, although Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker have discussed this possibility.[40] What seems not to have been noticed is that the printed libretto, *Feste theatrali per la finta pazza*, published in Paris,[41] commemorates the 1645 performance but retains a reference to the "Teatro Novissimo" where the opera was originally performed (Act III, 2),[42] and seems to preserve a text corresponding to Venetian versions of the work.

We do not know whether the music used in the Parisian performance was the same as the one preserved in the sole surviving manuscript, which removes direct references to Venice, and which seems to be associated with the touring company, the "Febiarmonici". In any case, during the preparations for the December performance of *La finta pazza*, the Queen mother wrote to her cousin, the Duke of Parma, requesting the use of the choreographer, Giovanni Battista Balbi. The Duke replied favourably and also sent to the Queen a celebrated stage designer, Giacomo Torelli, and both Balbi and Torelli had been involved in the original Venetian production of *La finta pazza*. While some minor singing roles must have been taken by the *Comici*, the performers for the major singing roles in *La finta pazza* are unknown. According to Henry Prunières,

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[39] This table is based on: Zaslaw, "The first opera in Paris: a study in the politics of art", 9 – 10, Table 1.
[40] Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Dalla Finta pazza alla Veremonda: storie di Febiarmonici" *Rivista italiana di musicologia* x (1975), 398 – 402. Also see: Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 238, where he has proposed the possibility even more strongly.
[41] Giulio Strozzi, *Feste theatrali per La finta pazza* (Paris: n. pub, 1665*) [GB-Lbl: 840.m.35, in this copy the publication date is corrected as 1645].
[42] For a further discussion regarding this reference, See: Chapter 7 of this study.

Anna Costa sang the main protagonist, Deidamia.[43] The production was, however, not very enthusiastically received. The Queen's confidante, Madame de Motteville wrote:

> The Queen had one of the musical comedies performed in the little hall of the Royal Palace where there was only the king, the queen, the cardinal and the familiars of the court . . . We were only twenty or thirty persons in this place, and we thought we would die of boredom and cold.[44]

In spite of this resistance, it was Torelli's art of Italian stagecraft that really persuaded the French court to support another production. Torelli's elaborate stage for *La finta pazza* sets are well known to us from five engraved published illustrations.[45]

Mazarin's Italian project culminated in a specially commissioned opera for France: Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo.* The opera was first performed under the composer's supervision in March, 1647, at the Palais-Royal in front of a large number of spectators including the young Louis XIV and the Queen Mother. Atto Melani, Jacopo Melani and Anna Costa returned to Paris on that occasion in order to sing the roles of Orfeo, Giove and Euridice respectively. Torelli again participated in the production and designed the elegant costumes and scenery. As we have seen in Chapter 3, this opera also contained a mad scene: Aristeo, a suitor of Euridice, summons Venus to his aid, and this, in the end, causes Euridice's death. Euridice's ghost avenges herself on the distraught Aristeo by sending him mad. The comical affect of the dialogue between the mad Aristeo and Momus, a Satyr is strongly reminiscent of the practice of the *Commedia dell'arte.*

The premiere of Rossi's *Orfeo* was rather a success so that the work was repeated in April and May, though to less acclaim. Even so, it provided works for the later

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[43] Henry Prunières *L'opéra italien en France avant Lulli* [1913] (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1975), 63.

[44] Françoise Bertaut de Motteville, *Memoirs*, Vol. X of Nouvelle collection des memoires, ed. Michaud and Poujoulat, 3d ser. (Paris: Commentaire analytique du code civil, 1839), 98. Cited from Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 119.

[45] *Feste Theatrali per la Finta Pazza. . . dedicate ad Anna d'Austria Regina di Francia regnate, cum privilegio.* The illustrations by N, Cochin are now located at the Kungl. Bibl., Stockholm. Copies can be

French musical theatre with a clear model. For example, as James Anthony has pointed out, "Dormite begli occhi" in *Orfeo* inspired the similar "sommeil" [sleeping] scenes in Lully's *tragédies lyriques.*[46] Yet, the French found difficulty in accepting Italian recitative writing uncritically.[47] In fact, Pierre Corneille's *Andromède* (1649)[48] represented a rejection of the excessive emotionalism of Rossi's recitative writing, since, although it contained numerous numerous *airs* and *chœurs*, recitative is totally absent. What Coreneille willingly "recycled" from *Orfeo* were Torelli's machines and stage designs, the elements that the French favoured most.[49]

In spite of the connections between France and Italy, it is not easy to pinpoint very specific links between Italian mad scenes and French operatic productions of the time. This may have been partly because, in seventeenth-century French culture under the influence of Descartes, there was a strong predilection for rationalism. Patrick J. Smith in his history of the opera libretto, argues as follows in relation to attitudes in France:

> In the context of a strongly nationalistic artistic tradition that gave great weight to the artistic product as end-result of intellectual ratiocination, this centralization fed the fires of debate and contributed to generalization....it is not surprising to note that even here [in *opéra-comique*] that growth was aided by the philosophical esthetics of the intelligentsia, in this case Diderot and the Encyclopedists. In French opera, there is always a reason behind every action, or so it seems, and there is always to be a writer in the audience willing to discuss the opera of the night before at interminable length, thus subjecting the work to a great deal more attention than it doubtless needs or deserves.[50]

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found in: Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1961), 135, 137, 139, 141, and 142.

[46] James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music: from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1973), 50.

[47] For a detailed discussion about the Parisian reception of Rossi's Orfeo, see: Romain Rolland, *Some Musicians of Former Days*, trans. Mary Blaiklock (London: Kegan Paul, s.a.), 97 – 109 and 122 – 8.

[48] For a modern edition of Corneille's *Andromède,* see: Christian Delmas (ed.), *Pierre Corneille: Andromède* (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1974).

[49] Delmas (ed.), *Corneille: Andromède*, xxxiv – v.

[50] Patrick J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1971), 43.

Mazarin's politico-cultural campaign succeeded in the sense that opera as a through-sung drama took root in the French lands. However, he can also be judged to have failed, since, after his death, Italian opera disappeared from the French musical scene and was not reintroduced until 1729 with the performance of Orlandini's *Il marito giocatore e la moglia bacchettona.*[51]

French Operatic Mad Scenes – A Rationalized Muse

As we have seen, the semi-comic nature of Italian operatic madness, which was nurtured mainly by the plebeian audience, was accepted rather awkwardly by the centralised royal court of France. The content of Italian mad scenes was not congenial to them, but their dramaturgical impact must have been noted. In fact, a number of operas and similar musico-dramatic genres of eighteenth century France featured the subject of madness (see: Appendix I, Table 2). This phenomenon, which occurred later than in Italy and England, was not pursued by a preference for a single type of madness. It encompassed a wide range from the traditional fabulous display of the bizarre (for example, Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Platée* of 1745) to a direct adaptation from the new and trendy dramatic genre, the *comédie larmoyante* (for example, Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac's *Nina ou la Folle par amour* of 1786).

However, for the French, the most appealing and enduring type was that of Greco-Roman tragic madness. This is not surprising considering the literary and dramatic background of French opera. In the seventeenth century, French tragedy was established by Jean Racine and Pierre Corneille, who turned to classical mythology and history for inspiration; indeed, they were among the first to show a strong preference

[51] Zaslaw, "The first opera in Paris", 11.

for Greek, rather than Roman, stories, and Racine could himself read Greek.[52]

When Lully and his principal librettist, Philippe Quinault, were working to create the *tragédie en musique* – the principal sub-genre of French opera – they were much influenced by these two dramatists. Under the circumstances, sub-plots for comic and lower characters were regarded as likely to distract from the emotional focus on tragedy, and eventually discarded. *Atys* (1676) was their first work excluding such scenes and also the first true French opera dealing with the subject of madness. The story is based mainly upon Ovid's *Fasti* (book 4, 221 – 44),[53] which tells of the self-castration of Atys (Attis), who is loved by the androgynous "goddess" Cybele. However, in the version of Lully and Quinault, details of the fate of Atys are changed, and he now provokes the rage of Cybele.[54] The goddess summons the Fury Alecto to drive him mad; then, in his insanity, Atys mistakes Sangaride (his beloved) for a monster and kills her (Act 5, Scene 3).

The scene starts with a short instrumental *prélude* in F major, which is characterised by incessantly running semiquavers played by strings.[55] This is the technique which had been previously used for many dances of furies in *ballets de cour*,[56] and was now, in opera, about to become a musical signal for their appearance. In fact, the mad scene of Atys is rather short, and the music is not particularly interesting. The murder of Sagaride simply occurs off stage and is reported by another character.

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[52] John Cairncross (trans.), *Jean Racine: Iphigenia, Phaedra and Athaliah* (London: Penguin, 1970), 11.
[53] *Fasti* is Ovid's poetical calendar of the Roman year with a book for each month. However, only the first six books survive. Book 4 is for April. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, s.v. "Ovid".
[54] Probably, Quinault chose the subject of Atys because he was a solar deity in the Roman era. Louis XIV – praised as the Sun King – emphasized the importance of self-control in order to pursue his courtly duties; thus, the image of Atys was represented as a reversion to the King's axiom. For the king's policies, See: Louis XIV, *Mémoires pour l'instruction du dauphin* (Paris: Didier, 1860), Ii, 314 – 5. Also, see: Downing A. Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647 – 1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 97.
[55] For a modern edition of the music, see: Théodore de Lajarte (ed.), *J. B. de Lully: Atys* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1971), 300 – 5.

The predilection of the French for classicism also influenced their adaptations of other genres of literature. When Quinault wrote the libretto of *Roland* (1685) after Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, he presented the despair and the consequent madness of the title role without the comical connotations that the original epic of Ariosto contained. This is a very different approach from the Italian "Orlando" operas of that time.[57] Roland, after recounting Angélique's betrayal in his lengthy solo scene (Act, IV, Scene, 2), eventually succumbs to insanity and unfolds a mad scene (IV, 6). Although his insanity is not clearly shown until he disarms himself in the middle of this scene,[58] the prelude for the scene is already dominated by semiquaver runs – a musical marker of the Furies. Later in the scene, Roland hallucinates the appearance of a Fury and has a conversation with her (See: Musical example 4). As the music shows, Roland's disjunct melodic line is interrupted by agitatedly running semiquavers played on the first violin as if the music represented the conversation between the hero and the invisible fury.

Another important example is Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Médée* (1693), based directly upon Corneille's tragedy of the same name. The libretto was devised by Thomas Corneille, a younger brother of the famous playwright.[59] When the revengeful Médée calls on la Fureur (Fury) and drives Creon insane (Act IV, Scene 9), Charpentier produces a mad scene startlingly different in style from that which he wrote for the aforementioned *Les fous devertissants*. After a short instrumental section for the Fury – again with running semiquavers – Creon unfolds his mad arioso, "Noire divinitez que voulez vous de moy?". This arioso is so serene and static that we cannot find any

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[56] Christout, *Le Ballet de Cour*, 13.
[57] See: Chapter 2 of this study.
[58] [Roland jette sen armes, et se met dans un grand désordre.] Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Roland, tragedies mise en Musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1685), 282.
[59] For a discussion about the transformation from Pierre Corneille's *Medée* to Thomas Corneille's libretto, see: Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in Ancien Régime*, 131 – 3.

musical sign of his insanity.[60] Yet, in this way, the composer succeeded by contrast in emphasising the wickedness of Médée, which the audience, in the end, may have judged more irrational than her victim.

As we have seen, the technique of running semiquavers played by strings became a musical marker of the Furies,[61] and the French operatic mad scene of the seventeenth century was most reliant on this emblematic representation. This is not surprising since, unlike the Italians, the French, whose main concern was to present allegories of the court through decorous love-stories of noble characters, were not keen on developing mad scenes into comic extravaganzas.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when Italian literati – especially the Arcadians – attempted to restore the decorum of their opera, they found their model in French classic tragedy. It was nothing less than the cross-fertilisation between Italian *opera seria* and French *tragédie lyrique* that made opera as a whole a dynamic force throughout the eighteenth century.

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[60] Clifford Bartlett and Brian Clark (eds.), *Charpentier: Medée* (Wyton: King's Music, 1998), 193 – 6.
[61] This technique is also seen at the end of Destouches' *Marthésie* (1699) where the heroine becomes irrational.

Chapter 5

The Traditions in England[1]

The institution most illustrative of the English attitude towards the insane was the famous Bethlehem Hospital or "Bedlam",[2] founded at Bishopsgate in 1247. Bedlam became a "house of correction" in 1557, and in the years 1675–6 the institution moved to a new building at Moorfields designed by Robert Hook, who based its splendid edifice on the Tuileries in Paris. It may not be a coincidence that the vogue for mad songs also seems to have flourished shortly after this much discussed and publicised move. In 1682 the following ballad was published, extolling the virtues of the new Bedlam:

Ex.5.1.[3] "New Bedlam"

[1] Part of this chapter was presented as a paper titled "Henry Purcell's Bess of Bedlam: performing 'the mad' in seventeenth century England" at the 11th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, 14 – 18 July, 2004.

[2] For the most recent study of Bedlam, see: Jonathan Andrews, "Bedlam Revised: a History of Bethlehem Hospital, c. 1634 – 1770" (PhD diss., Queen Mary and Westfield College, The University of London, 1991).

[3] The text is contained in: *Wit and Mirth: an Antidote against Melancholy, compounded of Ingenious and Witty Ballads, Songs and Catches and other Peasant and Merry Poems* (London: Henry Playford, 1682) [Gb-Lbl: c.30.e.28], p. 126 – 28. The music occurs in: *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, second part (London: Henry Playford, 1700), 167 - 70; *Wit and Mirth*, 2nd edn (London: John Young, 1707), vol. II, 167 – 70; *Wit and Mirth*, 3rd edn (London: John Young, 1712), 167 – 70; *Songs Compleat* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), 165 – 68; and Thomas D'Urfey (ed.), *Wit and Mirth* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), vol. IV, 165 – 68.

The official establishment of Bedlam in the late sixteenth century coincided with a period of nationally-directed, large-scale confinements of the insane across Europe. This "Great Confinement" – Foucault's famous description of the event[4] – brought about a total change in the basic image of the mad, from that of "outward wanderer" to "inward prisoner". During and after the seventeenth century, the deviant was removed from society, and yet, by a strange paradox, this removal also enabled the display of the insane, albeit within the confines of an asylum, as a form of public amusement. By the late seventeenth century, the lunatic asylums, as we know from the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, apparently became places of popular entertainment. However, such "exhibitions" may not have been so trivialising an idea as at first they seem, because contemporary visitors also viewed the patients as "a didactic spectacle of the dangers of excess".[5]

It may be that theatregoers expected stage characters to have an effect very similar to that of the real inmates of Bedlam. However, the portrayal of those afflicted by madness on the stage was sometimes sentimentalised, almost certainly selective (there are few cases of stultifying, uncommunicative catatonia), and – of course – fleeting, so as to fit in with the confines of dramatic time. In short, the dramatic portrayal of the mad was never quite realistic, and it underpinned the separating of the fictive and every-day worlds, though, this separation may have been blurred by the tendency of the Bedlam warders to parade their inmates in "theatrical" ways.

The "popularity" of mad characters on the English stage seems to have developed in parallel with changes in the Bedlam institution. However, the so-called "vogue for madness on the stage" needs careful investigation. In the period between

[4] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, Chapter 2, "The Great Confinement".
[5] Andrews, "Bedlam Revised", 3.

1587 and 1709, a total of 733 dramas were published in London. Of these, 103 had mad scenes (see: Table 7), though these mad scenes may or may not have contained songs. Table 8 shows the proportion of "mad" dramas for those in various periods during the seventeenth century. It should be noted that this table is by no means statistically perfect and comprehensive, because the figure for the total number of dramas is based mainly on information from Ghosh's *Annals of English Literature: 1475 – 1950*,[6] which lists only published materials, while the figure for "mad" dramas includes some unpublished ones. Also, issues surrounding the publication of early modern dramas are complicated. Especially in the cases of early works, playwrights sold their plays to an acting company, which exploited and revised the text before and during the performances. Sometimes playbooks appeared during this process (usually called "quartos") but they were often corrupt and different from what the playwrights originally wrote, which, later, might be published as part of their "collected works" ("folios"), as is shown in the cases of most of Shakespeare's plays.[7] It was not rare that the date of the premiere of a certain play and that of its authoritative publication were separated by some decades, and this makes difficult for us to make accurate statistics reflecting the precise nature of the "vogue". Even so, the presented graph should be sufficient to provide us with some reasonably reliable information on the matter.

Apart from the period between 1641 and 1660 (when the English theatre was closed owing to the Civil War and the oppressive regime imposed by Cromwell), the subject of insanity could be found regularly among the theatrical products on the London stage. However, it was particularly favoured in two periods: the first between

[6] J. C. Ghosh, *Annals of English Literature: 1475 – 1950*, 2nd edn [1935] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

1606 and 1625; and the second between 1686 and 1705. It would be rather hasty to conclude though that in these "peak" periods, the subject reached its zenith as a simple result of popular public response. In fact, there were particular forces behind these two "popularity peaks", in the personages of John Fletcher and Thomas D'Urfey. Thus, what we simplistically call a "vogue" seems to have been the result of the personal preferences of particular people. This issue will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Even so, it seems to be true that in seventeenth-century England, a substantial number of "mad songs" – whether theatrical or otherwise – was in circulation, probably more so than in any other European country. Indeed, in the eighteenth century, Thomas Percy, Bishop of Dromore, commented that:

> The English have more songs and ballads on the subject of madness, than any of their neighbours. Whether it is that we are more liable to this calamity than other nations, or whether our native gloominess hath peculiarly recommended subjects of this cast to our writers, the fact is incontestible [sic.].[8]

Moreover, there is some evidence that the English did regard a gloomy, melancholic state as part of their national psyche. An eighteenth century writer, George Cheyne called this trait "the English Malady" and concluded that this condition was derived from the nation's intellectual superiority.[9]

Unlike Italy or France, seventeenth-century England offers no completely sung opera that contains mad scenes or mad characters. Probably, *Cupid and Death* by Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons is the closest to the fully-fledged genre, but,

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[7] For a detailed discussion, see: Fredson Bowers, *On editing Shakespeare and the Elisabethan Dramatists* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 1955).

[8] Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry: Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs, and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets ...* (London: J. Didsley, 1765), Vol. ii, 343 [Gb-Lbl, 11621.bb.9]. Cited in Robert Gale Noyes, "Conventions of song in Restoration tragedy", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* liii- no. 1 (March, 1938), 186.

in this work, the characters Folly and Madness express themselves through speech and dancing and not by singing. Here, we must note that the English in the seventeenth century were reluctant to import foreign operas from the Continent and were not successful in establishing all-sung drama in their native language. [10] Although English dramas were often performed with considerable amounts of music, the taste of the seventeenth century English audience seems to have found the practice of recitatives uncongenial, and preferred to see the main plot conveyed by spoken dialogue. Consequently, some experimental through-sung works – for example, William Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656) and John Dryden's *Albion and Albanius* (1685) – were not very well received. Eventually, despite the fact that it was an Englishman who seems to have been the first to use the term "opera" on its own (as opposed to *opera scenica*, *opera in stile recitativo* etc.) to designate the notion of all-sung drama, [11] England tended to interpret the term rather differently. [12] Not surprisingly, there was some confusion, and Dryden referred to both the through-sung *Albion* and the half-spoken *King Arthur* as "operas'.[13] Later playwrights seem to have followed his suit, and in the restoration period, the term opera was frequently applied

[9] George Cheyne, *The English Malady; or A Treatise on Nervous Disorders of All Kinds* (London: Strahan & Leake, 1733). For a study of the English Malady, see: Vieda Skultans, *The English Malady: English Madness: Ideas on Insanity, 1580 – 1890* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

[10] For the issue of "English opera', see: Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera* [1928] (New York: Da Capo Press, 1965). Also, Curtis Price has presented an interesting argument about the issue, which questions "the assumption that opera in the Italian style is the apex of music drama and that those hybrids which mix song and speech are necessarily inferior". See: Curtis A. Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 3 – 6.

[11] John Evelyn wrote in Rome on the 19th of November, 1644 that "[Cavaliero Bernini], a little before my Coming to the Citty, gave a Publique Opera (for so they call those Shews of that kind) where in he painted the seanes, cut the Statues, invented the Engines, composed the Musique, writ the Comedy & built the Theater all himselfe". See: E. S. de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), II, 261.

[12] See: Graham Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), s.v. 'opera'.

[13] John Dryden, *The preface to Albion and Albanius: an Opera* [1685]. Cited from: John Dryden, *Of Dramatic Poesy and Other Critical Essays* (London: J. M. Dent, 1962), II, 35. According to Roger Savage, Dryden clarified the two by contrasting King Arthur the 'dramatick opera' and Albion the

to what we nowadays call "semi-operas"[14] such as Purcell's *Dioclesian* and *The Fairy Queen*.

In this particular context, inevitably, our approach to mad scenes on the English stage needs to be different from that toward those in Italian theatrical presentations. This is mainly because, in England, the existence of a mad scene or character in a drama or a semi-opera does not always guarantee the involvement of music. Indeed, it is very rare that the main, serious (often aristocratic) protagonists of English plays sing at all when they go insane. For example, one of the most famous "mad" characters on the English stage, Lady Macbeth did not sing either in Shakespeare's original version or in William Davenant's semi-opera adaptation, *The Tragedy of Macbeth*. In the latter version, it is not the mad scene of Lady Macbeth that is of musical importance, but the additional scene of Act II, where the witches predict the doomed fortunes of Lady Macbeth and her husband.[15] Hence, statements such as that by Ellen Rosand to the effect that "in spoken drama, the mere fact of singing was almost sufficient for the diagnosis of insanity"[16] need to be treated with great caution.

Even in those cases where there are songs associated with mad characters either in English dramas or in art songs and ballads, we cannot automatically assume that

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'singing opera'. See: Roger Savage, "The Theatre Music", in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (London and Boston: Faber, 1995), 383, n. 60.

[14] In fact, this term was first used by Roger North in his 'The Musicall Grammarian'(1728). For the modern edition, see: Mary Chan and Jamie Kassler, *Roger North's 'The Musicall Grammarian'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). See also: Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary*, s.v. 'semi-opera'.

[15] Although Davenant provided several witch scenes, the music, which is thought to have been provided by Matthew Locke, does not survive as a whole. The score, which was published as *The Original Songs Airs & Chorusses which were introduced in the Tragedy of Macbeth in Score Composed by Matthew Locke...Revised and Corrected by Dr. Boyce ...*(London: John Johnston, 1770), contains only three scenes for the witches. John Eccles (in 1695 or later?) and Richard Leveridge (in 1702) also wrote music for the Macbeth performances. (See: Gb-Lbl, MS Add. 12,219, and Richard Leveridge, *Complete Songs with the Music in Macbeth*, eds. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, Music for London Entertainment 1660 – 1800, Series A, vol. 6 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1997), 167. For a study of the Macbeth music, see: Roger Fiske, "The 'Macbeth' Music", *Music and Letters* xlv (April, 1964), 114 – 125.

[16] Rosand, "Operatic Madness", 241.

they express or represent madness as such. In fact such songs seem to fall into four rather separate categories. First, there are those that simply *refer to* madness, lunacy or Bedlam – either as the institution, or as a distraught mental state[17] – usually in relation to the distractions of love. Second, there is "the music sung or played to an insane person to ease his infirmity";[18] that is, remedial songs. Third, there are items containing first-person descriptions of the behavioural symptoms of actual mental disturbance – what we might call mad songs proper. Finally, there are all those songs and musico-vocal utterances, sung by figures designated as mad either by tradition or by the particular plot in which they appear.

Obviously, songs simply referring to madness may not be "mad songs" in a real sense, though they can occasionally reveal interesting insights into attitudes to the insane. Songs ameliorating the condition of madness are not at the core of our concerns, since they do not involve the direct musico-theatrical representation of the mad. However, it is tempting to see the use of such songs as reflecting contemporary curative beliefs, though, so far as we can tell, there are no surviving medical documents, which stipulate the use of music as a "scientific" cure for mental disorder.[19] Even so, in his celebrated *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Robert Burton wrote:

> Musick is a tonick to the saddened soul, a Roaring Meg against Melancholy, to rear and revive the languishing soul, affecting not only the ears, but the very arteries, the vital and animal spirits; it erects the mind, and makes it nimble. This it will effect in the most dull, severe, and sorrowful souls, expel grief with mirth, and if there be any clouds, dust, or dregs of cares yet lurking in our thoughts, most powerfully it

[17] For example, William Tompkin's 'Fine young folly', describes love only as a game and the ensuing 'Bedlam' as a 'pretty sport'.
[18] This phrase is taken from Curtis Price in his *Music in the Restoration theatre* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 21.
[19] I am grateful to Dr. Penelope Gouk for this information.

> wipes them all away, and that which is more, it will perform all this in as instant.[20]

Such a view seems to have been widely accepted at that time, and can be found in similar accounts elsewhere.[21] Indeed, the idea was not novel in the seventeenth century but quite traditional, as Burton himself observed when he referred to "how David's harmony drove away the evil Spirits from King Saul".[22]

The third type of "mad song" – first-person descriptions of deviant behaviour by the fictive subject of the poem – can be problematic, primarily because grief and distress can be healthy and justified as well as insane and disproportionate. Without proper evidence of the context in which the scene takes place there can be no conclusive categorization, and many texts conveying such symptoms say little about motivation, and frequently do not mention madness by name at all. We have already discussed this point briefly in the prologue of this study, and later in this chapter, the issue will be further explored in relation to the supposed suicide of Dido from Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*.

As for the fourth type of mad song – any musical item sung by a mad character, – even here there can be difficulties. This is because, in plays, once the derangement of a character is clearly presented in the plot, the mere act of singing itself is itself taken as a sign of her/his madness regardless of the content of the song.[23] Given these difficulties, it is clear that, without a narrative or dramatic context, it might be

[20] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* [1621] (Montana: Kessinger Publishing Company, s.a.), vol. I, 478. [This modern edition is based on the sixth edition posthumously published in 1651.]

[21] For example, see: Thomas Salmon, *An Essay to the Advancement of Musick by casting away the perplexity of different Cliffs, and uniting all sorts of Musick...in one universal Character* (London: J. Macock, 1672), Gb-Lbl, shelf mark, 51.b.1.

[22] Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. I, 480.

[23] This is usually the case; however, there is one exception. A character called Betty Jiltall, from Thomas D'Urfey's *Love for Money, or the Boarding School* (1691), sings a song "Royal and fair, great Willy's dear blessing" at the point where she reveals that she has so far pretended to be mad (IV, 3).

impossible to say whether a song is "mad" or not – and yet this is precisely the situation we find ourselves in relation to most independently published songs in seventeenth century England.

So far, by applying the above criteria, I have found around 60 indisputably mad songs in circulation in seventeenth-century England (See: Table 3). This number may seem rather small, considered alongside the 4150 songs found in Day and Murrie's famous catalogue of English songbooks published between 1651 and 1702.[24] However, from the viewpoint of social investigation, the importance of this genre is not as small as its number, since songs of this type frequently give us rare insights into society's attitudes towards 'outsiders'. Moreover, they often provide particularly transparent evidence for the links between the traditions of popular song, the art song and the conventions of theatrical and operatic representation. For example, the songs sung in *Hamlet* by the mad Ophelia are simply adaptations of street ballads or similar items, and some of them are vulgar and scurrilous. Such combinations of popular culture and sophisticated drama may seem to be in "bad taste"; though, they were widespread in early seventeenth-century English theatre. Probably this was because the public theatre of the time has not yet fully separated itself from more rudimentary forms of festive drama, which were, traditionally, designed as entertainments for all social strata.[25]

In order to understand the significance of the "mad songs" listed in Table 3, we need briefly to discuss some apparent anomalies. First, the list does include some texts for which no associated music is known to survive; this only happens in those

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The music by an anonymous composer first appeared in print in *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to purge Melancholy* (London: Henry Playford, 1699), 302-3.

[24] Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651 – 1702: a Bibliography: with a First-line Index of Songs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

cases where the playbook expressly indicates that the mad character sings (for example, as in Pandora's mad song in Lyly's *Mother Bombie*). Second, some songs are sung not by a mad character himself but by another person who acts as the mouthpiece of the mad one. This occurred quite often in the seventeenth-century English theatre, where, though in complicated and varied ways, actors, singer-actors and professional singers collaborated one with another. For example, in the complex case of "Orpheus I am", from John Fletcher's tragic-comedy, *The Mad Lover* (1612) (Act IV, Scene 1),[26] the songs is sung by Stremon together with his boy assistant, who is a young musician brought onto the stage expressly for that purpose. In the song, Stremon sings of madness in the first person as if he were another character on the stage – Memnon – who is suffering from love-induced madness. The rubric in the play tell us that the song "was rarely form'd to fit"[27] the mental state of Memnon. Another example is "Celia has a thousand charms" from Robert Gould's tragedy, *The Rival Sisters: or the Violence of Love* (1695). Famous as one of Purcell's finest settings (z 609 – 10), this is sung by a boy musician on behalf of the love sick Alonzo, who feigns insanity in order to press his suit. In such cases, fictive and real worlds can interact at several levels simultaneously. For example, in Fletcher's *The Mad Lover*, a real actor-singer, mimes to the singing of a real musician not playing a named dramatic part, and together they parodistically take on the persona of a second fictive character, in order to utter what they think might have been their thoughts, were they (in a singular sense) to have actually been him, and been mad. This is not a song

[25] Michael D. Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York and London: Methuen, 1985), 4.
[26] The main sources of this song are: GB-Cfm, MS 52. D (John Bull manuscript), f. 99v; and EIRE – Dtc [Trinity College, Dublin]: MS. F. 5. 13, f. 30r. Ian Spink attributed this song to Robert Johnson since the song is contained anonymously in the former MS amongst other songs of Robert Johnson. See: Ian Spink (ed.), *Robert Johnson: Ayres, Songs and Dialogues*, The English Lute-Songs Second Series 17 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1961), 75.

merely alluding to madness, but an utterance of madness (even if by proxy): therefore, it has found a place in the table.

Third, for the sake of completeness, I have included songs which were expressly labelled as "mad songs" in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, even when there is little or nothing in their texts or contexts to justify the label. For example, John Blow's "Lysander I pursue in vain"[28] is stipulated as a "mad song", even though the context and origin of the song are not documented. An extreme case is "Come, come, ye inhabitants of Heaven" by Morgan (see: Appendix 2, Musical Example 5).[29] This song was originally sung in William Mountfort's tragi-comedy, *The Successful Strangers* (1690): Biancha, having discovered that her beloved is in love with another woman, sings this song, in which she dreamingly muses on meeting with her lover in an ideal setting (Act IV, scene 4). At the beginning of the song, her father does say, "Heav'n guard your Sences";[30] but apart from this, there is no concrete indication of her insanity – except that, when Morgan's setting was published as a single sheet edition, it was labelled as a "mad song".[31] Even so, Morgan's song may have been

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[27] R. Warwick Bond (ed.), "John Fletcher*: The Mad Lover*", in *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, ed. A.H. Bullen (London: George Bull & Sons, 1908), vol. III, 184.

[28] John Blow, *Amphion Anglicus: a work of many compositions* (London: William Pearson, 1700) [GB-Lbl: G. 106.], 180. The song is described there as a "mad song".

[29] Probably this was the Thomas Morgan who was appointed the organist of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin in 1691. See: Ian Spink, "Thomas Morgan", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 17, 118.

[30] William Mountfort, *The Succesfull Straingers* (London: James Blackwell, 1690) [GB-Lbl: 645.i.21.(6).], 44.

[31] [Thomas] Morgan, "Come, ye inhabitants of Heaven" (London: J. Walsh, n.a.) [Gb-Lbl: G. 316. n. (7.)] The rubric on the sheet reads: "The 3d Weekly Song for Novem.r ye 16th. A New one Publis'd every Thursday. A mad SONG set by Mr Morgan being the last he made". The publication of the music seems to have been around 1699. The exact date of the première of Mountfort's play is not known; however, since the play was licensed for publication on the 27th of January 1690, it seems to have been performed in the 1689/ 90 season. See: William van Lennep, *The London Stage: 1660 – 1800* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), part I, p. 379. Also, there were some revival performances. A 1708 performance is documented; however, the play may have been revived in the 1692/93 season and the 1695/96 season. The latter case is comparatively certain, since the playbook was reprinted in 1696, but the 1696 edition contains "Dramatis Personae", identical to the 1690 edition, and still lists Mountfort as "Silvio" (despite the fact that the actor died in 1692), and is therefore clearly little more than a reprint of the earlier edition. It is not certain whether Morgan contributed to the original performance or to one of the revivals.

categorized as such simply because the role of Bianca was originally taken by Anne Bracegirdle, a celebrated actress, who, as we will see later in this chapter, played various insane heroines and whose portrayal of such roles became iconic in the field.[32]

Examining the extant English mad songs, we can deduce that, in most of the cases, madness on the English stage was induced by misfortunes in the characters' love affairs. However, there were other types. For example, "Beneath the poplar's shadow lay me", from Nathaniel Lee's *Sophonisba* set by Henry Purcell (Z. 570),[33] is sung by the sorceress Cumana at the point where she goes into a trance and predicts Hannibal's fate.[34] This is a typical instance of "prophetic madness", well known in the Ancient world.

The early mad songs on the English stage were often fashioned upon simple, popular tunes, as the case of Ophelia in *Hamlet* shows. This tendency was particularly clear especially in pre-Civil-War dramas. However, after the Restoration in 1660, there was a vogue for mad songs to be composed in more extended solo song style, and to become a particular medium of display for the actors and actresses involved. This is manifest in Henry Purcell's first true mad song, "Bess of Bedlam" (z. 370).

Purcell's song, consisting of multiple sections in changing keys and metres, effectively conveys the shifting moods of its afflicted character, and, more importantly for our purposes, the musical characteristics themselves now come to play a significant role in supporting the definition of the mad song as a genre. Such techniques of musical contrast would have been impossible before continental

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[32] Both Godfrey Finger and Henry Purcell wrote their settings of "While I with wounding grief did look", a poem by D'Urfey, written in recognition of Bracegirdle's excellent performance of Marcella in *Don Quixote*. For a further discussion, see below.

[33] The earliest source of this song, *Orpheus Britannicus, Book II* (London: Henry Playford, 1702) does not mention the play; in the publication, however, the song is clearly stipulated as a "mad song".

developments of these styles and forms had reached England around 1660. This structurally and musically more advanced type became the norm of the mad song in English theatre, and the genre saw its zenith with the examples such as Purcell's own "From rosy bow'rs" and John Eccles's "I burn, my brain consumes to ashes" (both from Thomas Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote* [1694]). This trend remained up to the early eighteenth century when Henry Carey (1687 – 1743) paid tribute to Purcell by composing two elaborate mad songs ("I go to the Elysian Shade" [1724],[35] and "Gods I can never this endure" [1732][36]) following the manner of "Bess of Bedlam".

At the turn of the century, extended solo songs of the type, produced by Purcell and Eccles, began to be published in the form of so-called "single sheet music". In this format they transformed themselves into properly commercial products. Such publications, which usually contained as an arrangement for the solo flute as well as the vocal version, enjoyed long-term popularity throughout the eighteenth century owing mainly to the growing enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie for domestic music-making and for the theatre.[37] Alongside this trend grew the tendency already mentioned to crown these songs with the names of notable singers who had performed them. This was a device that could be refreshed with each new generation of singers, and that sometimes prolonged the popularity of songs long past the point of their stylistic modernity. As the century drew on, and new generations of performers

[34] In the drama, after Cumana prophesies Hannibal's conquest over the Romans, she starts singing another song "Hark, hark, the drums rattle" (IV, 1); however, the music for this lyric does not survive. See: Nathaniel Lee, *Sophonisba* [1676] (London: R. Bentley, 1693), 37 – 9.
[35] Henry Carey, *Cantatas for a voice with accompaniment; together with songs on various subjects, for one two and three voices...* (London: printed for the author and sold at the musick shops, 1724) [GB - Lbl: G220. (2)], 25 – 8.
[36] Henry Carey, *Six Cantatas Humbly dedicated to the Rt. Hon.ble Sackville Earl of Thanet...*(London: n. pub., 1732) [Lbl: 380 (B), 1], 35 – 7.

established the priority of their status over that of the original composer, even "Bess of Bedlam" – a pioneering masterpiece of the genre - succumbed to the new trends: J. Bland's publication of Purcell's song around 1790[38] bears the rubric, "sung by Miss Harrop", who was the foremost oratorio soprano at the end of the eighteenth century.[39]

Scholars have tended to assume that the vogue for insanity in the history of English songs was a transitory phenomenon, which disappeared after the turn of the eighteenth century.[40] However, early eighteenth century England witnessed the popularity of two contrasting types of the mad song: one was the multi-sectional type on the Purcellian model, and the other consisted of traditional songs in simple ballad form, some of which seem to have been revived from earlier times. These preferences can be seen in the successive editions of *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*,[41] which collected together various traditional "mad" ballads[42] as well as recently composed settings.[43] Thus, early eighteenth century Londoners apparently appreciated the simple version of "Tom of Bedlam",[44] which had been continuously sung from about the 1610s, as much as George Hayden's elaborate cantata, "New

[37] The British Library possesses some "scrap-book" collections of these sheets. For example, GB-Lbl: G. 304; and k.7.i.2. These particular sources contain, amongst other items, G. 304 (41) Purcell's "Celia has a thousand Charms" (G. 304 (41)); and Eccles' "I burn, my brain " (G. 304 (89)).
[38] Gb-Lbl: G. 295.u.1
[39] Sarah Bates (née Harrop, c. 1755 – 1811) was an oratorio soloist in much demand, after her London debut in Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* at Covent Garden in 1777. She studied with Joah Bates whom she married in 1780. See: Anonymous, "Mr and Mrs Joah Bates, a Distinguished Amateur and Notabe Singer", *Musical Times* xlvi (1905), 13.
[40] For example, Timothy Roberts, *Thirteen Mad Songs by Purcell and His Contemporary* (Teddington: Voicebox, 1999), I, 4.
[41] The series was published originally by Henry Playford (1698 – 1706) and D'Urfey edited the final six-volume version (1719 – 1720). For a facsimile edition of the latter, see: Thomas D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (New York: Folklore Library, 1959), 4 volumes.
[42] For example, "Tom of Bedlam" and "Mad Maudlin". For a discussion of these songs see below.
[43] For example, "Bring out your coney-skins maids to me" (by Samuel Ackroyde); "I met with the devil in the shape of ram" (by Thomas Wroth); "Behold the man that with gigantic might" (by H. Purcell); and "Cease of Cupid to complain" (John Eccles).
[44] For further information, see below.

Mad Tom".[45] While elaborate songs continued to embellish many dramatic presentations, the revived popularity of the ballad form led to a grand culmination in John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728).

Shakespeare's Ophelia: its traditions and interpretations

As we have seen, an early and famous use of the simple type of "mad song" on the English stage was connected with the role of Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (c. 1600). Her mad scene is of particular importance not only because it firmly established the tradition of madness in the English theatre and elsewhere in later centuries, but also because the portrayal of her madness is achieved largely through its complex use of apparently simple songs. Uncovering the exact mechanisms by which this scene becomes meaningful, will enable us to explore several possible interpretative approaches to the mad song in context.

The first thing we need to do, though, is briefly to examine the use of mad songs in the English theatre before Ophelia. Perhaps the first song of this kind heard on the English stage was Accius and Silena's duet "O cupid! Monarch ouer Kings" from John Lyly's *Mother Bombie* (1587–90). However, since the two characters are portrayed as "half-witted" rather than as pathologically insane, the function of the song is obviously quite different from that of a mad song proper. Clearly, the buffoonish nature of this song is rooted in England's strong tradition of the fool, which we will examine later in this chapter.

[45] George Hayden, "In my triumphant Chariot" [a single sheet edition] (London: D. Wright, n.a. [probably c. 1720]) [GB-Lbl: H. 1601. (248)].

It was also John Lyly who was responsible for the character of Pandora, a love-crazed heroine, in his *The Woman in the Moone* (1597).[46] In Act V, Scene 1, Pandora is given the following verses:

> No, no, I will not dance, but I will sing:
> Stesias hath a white hand,
> But his nayles are blacke;
> His fingers are long and small,
> Shall I make them cracke?
> One, two, and three;
> I loue him, and he loues me.
> Beware of the shephooke;
> Ile tell you one thing,
> If you aske me why I sing,
> I say yee may go looke.[47]

On this evidence, it is now accepted by scholars that Pandora is the first character we know to have sung a real mad song on the stage – a view first observed by Robert Gale Noyes in 1948, and endorsed by Curtis Price in his *Music in the Restoration Theatre*[48] – although no music associated with this lyric survives. More intriguingly, we might note that the irregular and declamatory form of Pandora's verses is quite untypical of song poetry at this time, and particularly of ballade poetry. What we may be seeing here is a text suited to an early experimental declamatory musical expression of madness, somewhat removed from the ballad tradition, and only taken up in the later seventeenth century.[49] Be that as it may, Pandora – dramaturgically, if

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[46] John Lyly, *The Woman in the Moone, as it was presented before her Highnesse* (London: William Jones, 1597), Gb-Lbl, c.34.d.19. For an authoritative modern edition, see: John Lyly, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, ed. R. Warwick Bond (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), vol. iii, 229 – 288.

[47] John Lyly, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 281.

[48] Noyes, "Conventions of songs", 186; and Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre with a Catalogue of Instrumental Music in the Plays 1665 – 1713* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 254, n. 51.

[49] Some scholars suggest that, owing to the complex formal structure of the verse, it is unlikely that Pandora's song was actually set to music. See, for example, John Robert Moore, "The Songs in Lylys' Plays", *PMLA* xlii, no. 3 (September, 1927), 635. However, I do not quite agree, since the playbook clearly stipulates that Pandora "sings" and the form of the verse does not seem to be beyond the scope of singing in declamatory style.

not in terms of musical and poetic style – seems to have pioneered the tradition of mad songs for heroines who suffer from love-induced madness.

Ophelia from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, greatly expanded the dramatic dimensions of such scenes, even if her music seems to have originated in a different way: that is from the popular ballad tradition. Shakespeare quoted, or sometimes simply alluded to, a number of songs or snatches of songs. We know very little about the versions that Shakespeare actually used in his plays. However, from the texts or the titles of them we can deduce that the majority of them were derived from popular ballads of that time.[50] In her madness (*Hamlet*, Act IV, Scene 5, 20–200), Ophelia sings the following songs: "How should I your true-love know", [51] "Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day",[52] "They bore him barefaced on the bier",[53] "For Bonny sweet Robin is all my joy",[54] and "And will a not come again?".[55]

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[50] For discussion of the music for Shakespeare's tragedies, see: F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963); and Peter Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967). For the most recent compilation of songs related to Shakespeare's plays, see: Ross W. Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook* (London and New York: Norton, 2004).

[51] This song is thought to be a variant of the so-called "Old Walsingham Song". The poem survives in several manuscripts of the 16th century, and the most well known tune is based upon Byrd's setting in his *My Lady Nevells Booke* (1591). See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 423. Also see: F. W. Sternfeld, "Ophelia's Version of the Walsingham Song", *Music and Letters* xlv (April, 1964), 108 – 113

[52] There is no tune under this title surviving from Shakespeare's time. However, a ballad titled "Two Lovers' pleasant meeting on St. Valentine's Day" was registered on May 16, 1591 (now lost). See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 408. At the Drury Lane, a tune very similar to an old ballad called "Soldier's Life" was used. This ballad is contained in John Playford's *English Dancing Master* [1651].

[53] No Elizabethan music is known; traditionally, an adaptation of the Walsingham tune is used. Most recently, Duffin suggests the passage, "They bore him barefaced on the bier" is a part of the song, "Bonny sweet Robin". See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 73.

[54] Thirty contemporary sources are known. See: F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 68 – 78. Most recently, Duffin suggests that Ophelia's passages, "They bore him barefaced on the bier" and "And will a not come again?" are parts of this song, "Bonny sweet Robin". See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 73. A snatch of this song was sung also by the jailer's daughter in Shakespeare's *The Noble Kinsmen.*

[55] No Elizabethan music is known, but the poem fits perfectly to the song, "Go from my window", used in George Attowell's Francis New Jigges (1595). See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 53. The tune traditionally used at the Drury Lane is contained in Charles Knight (ed.), *Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare*, 8 vols., (London: n. pub., 1839 – 42), I. 153. See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*. 73. Other "singing" lines for the mad Ophelia, (Line 165 "Hey non nony nony hey nony" and 170 "You must sing down-a-down") are usually thought to be asides to the other songs.

The amount of the literature on Ophelia's madness is immense.[56] However, literary critics tend to take the actual singing of those songs as a signal, on its own, of Ophelia's mental state, because they regard "singing" as the already established conventional marker of insanity on the Elizabethan stage.[57] As we have seen, Ellen Rosand has also stated that "in spoken drama, the mere fact of singing was almost sufficient for a diagnosis of insanity".[58] However, this view, with its implications of an established tradition, is rather problematic, because it was only some three years before the role of Ophelia was created that the first singing mad heroine (Pandora) appeared. Apart from these two characters, there are no other examples that could be said to have contributed to the establishment of such a convention. Only when characters, who are clearly stipulated as "mad", sing without any necessary fictive reason (i.e. they are not serenading or carousing etc) and their personas undergo change or loose dignity, can we take their singing as a symptom of insanity.

More recently, some attempts have been made to read Ophelia's madness from the point of view of feministic theories of "otherness".[59] For example, Leslie C. Dunn

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[56] For example, see: Carroll Camden, "On Ophelia's Madness", *Shakespeare Quarterly* xv (1964), 247 – 255; Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney, "The Language of Madwomen in Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* iii, no. 2 (Winter, 1977), 451 – 460; Bridget Gellert Lyons, "The Iconography of Ophelia", *English Literary History* xliv (1977), 60 – 74; David Leverenz, "The Woman in Hamlet: An interpersonal View", in *Representing Shakespeare: New Psychoanalytic Essays,* eds., Murray M. Schwartz and Coppelia Kahn (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 119 – 121; Joan Montgomery Byles, "The Problem of the Self and the Other in the Language of Ophelia, Desdemona and Cordelia", *American Imago: A Psychoanalytic Journal for Culture, Science and the Arts* xlvi, no. 1 (Spring, 1989), 37 – 59; Sandra K. Fischer, "Hearing Ophelia: Gender and Tragic Discourse in Hamlet", *Renaissance and Reformation* xxvi (1990), 1 – 11; and Carol Thomas Neely, "Documents in Madness: Reading Madness and Gender in Shakespearean Tragedies and Early Modern Culture", *Shakespeare Quarterly* xlii (1991), 323 – 336.
[57] Such a view is found, for example, in Maurice and Hannah Charney, "The language of madwomen in Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists", *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* III, no. 2 (Winter, 1977), 453. Also, Sternfeld reads Ophelia's singing simply as a "symptom of her pathetic state". See: Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy*, 57.
[58] Rosand, "Operatic madness", 241.
[59] For example, Fischer, "Hearing Ophelia: Gender and Tragic Discourse in Hamlet"; Elaine Showalter, "Representing Ophelia: women, madness, and the responsibilities of feminist criticism", in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York and London: Methuen, 1985), 77 – 94; and Leslie C. Dunn, "Ophelia's songs in Hamlet: music, madness,

has investigated the connection between "singing" and Ophelia's sexual and psychological identity: she tells us that "as female is opposed to male, and madness to reason, so song in *Hamlet* is opposed to speech".[60] However, such a genderist reading is problematic, and for two reasons.

First, the meaning of the act of singing in Shakespeare's plays is complicated. Although a number of songs are allocated to standard types of characters – such as fools (for example, the fool in *King Lear*) or otherworldly figures (for example, Ariel in *Tempest*) – various other protagonists sing seemingly without there being any clear rationale behind the allocation of music to them.[61] For example, the most sinister villain, Iago in *Othello,* is allowed to sing when he incites Cassio to drink.[62] Moreover, there are significant parallels between the text of Iago's song "And let me the Cannikin clink", and that of Ophelia's song, "Tomorrow is St. Valentine's Day". No contemporary tune is known to survive for either song, but the two have very similar verse structures. Traditionally, Ophelia's "St Valentine's Day" has been sung to a version of "The Soldier's Life", a tune attributed to Byrd.[63] Since Iago's song contains the refrain, "A Soldier's a man, a life's but a span/ why then let a soldier drink", which seems to be related to the original version of "Soldier's Life", both may have been sung to the same tune.[64] We do not know whether the apparent connection

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and the feminine", in *Embodied Voices: Representing female vocality in western culture*, eds. Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 50 – 64.

[60] Dunn, "Ophelia's songs in Hamlet: music, madness, and the feminine", 52.

[61] Amongst Shakespeare's works, there is the only other example where a mad heroine sings in the Ophelian fashion: the jailer's daughter in *Two Noble Kinsmen* (c. 1613), written in collaboration (probably) with John Fletcher. The daughter sings 5 songs [see: Table 3]. Also, she alludes to the following songs: "There was three fools" [III, 5]; "Chi passa" [iii, 6]; "The Broom" [IV, 1]; and "Bonny Sweet Robin" [IV, 1], the last of which she shares with Ophelia. For a discussion of the daughter's songs, see: Lois Potter (ed.), *John Fletcher and William Shakespeare: the Two Noble Kinsmen* (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson, 1997), 360 – 3.

[62] Shakespeare, *Othello* (1604), II, 3.

[63] A keyboard version of this tune is found in F-Pc; MS Rés. 1186 (c. 1630 – 40). Several other versions are found also in John Playford's *English Dancing Master* (1651). See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 408.

[64] Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 50 – 1.

between the Iago and Ophelia songs affected their rhetorical meanings. However, it is true to say that the allocation of a song to a particular character probably arose from a number of complex practical factors (i.e. the actor's singing skills, the popularity of the song concerned) as well as the creator's intentions.

A second reason for treating genderist theories of Ophelia's song with caution is that, in early modern England, there seems to have been no established "feminisation" of madness. In fact, in the field of popular ballads, which we will examine shortly, few female characters were associated with madness,[65] and the English theatre throughout most of the seventeenth century predominantly featured male, rather than female madness. In any case, there are yet more complex aspects to this question, since on the English stage, it was boy-actors that played female roles until the autumn of 1660 after which the first professional actresses appeared.[66] These complications mean that the erotic signals of Ophelia's scene would have been ambiguous in terms of gender and lascivious display. For example, in one of her songs, "St Valentine's Day", Ophelia clearly refers to an imprudent sexual relationship between a young couple:

1. Tomorrow is St. Valentine day,
All in the morning betime,
And I a Maid at your window,
To be your Valentine.

3. By Jes' and by Saint Charity,
slack, and sigh for shame:
young men will do't if they come to't;
by Cock they are to blame.

[65] Joy Wiltenburg, "Madness and Society in the Street Ballads of Early Modern England", *Journal of Popular Culture* xxi – no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 103.

[66] For the issues of Renaissance boy actors, see: Juliet Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1975); Robert Kimbrough, "Androgyny seen through Shakespeare's disguise', *Shakespeare Quarterly* xxxiii (1982), 17 – 33; Laura Levine, "Men in Women's Clothes: Anti-theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642", *Criticism* xxviii (1986), 121 – 127; Stephen Orgel, "Nobody's perfect: or why did the English stage take boys for women?", *South Atlantic Quarterly* lxxxviii, no. 1 (Winter, 1989), 7 – 29; Phyllis Racklin, "Androgyny, mimesis, and the marriage of the boy heroine on the English Renaissance stage", in *Speaking of Gender,* ed. Elaine Showalter (New York: Routledge, 1989), 113 – 133; and Joy Leslie Gisbon, *Squeaking Cleopatras: the Elizabethan Boy Player* (London: Sutton, 2000). For a musical study, see: Lynda Phyllis Austern, *Music in English Children's Drama of the Later Renaissance* (New York and London: Gordon and Breach, 1993) and "No women are indeed: the boy actor as vocal seductress in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English drama", in *Embodied voices: Representing female vocality in Western culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83 – 102.

2. Then up he rose, and donn'd his clothes,
And dup'd[67] the Chamber door,
Let in the Maid, that out a Maid,
Never departed more.

4. Quoth she, before you tumbled me,
you promis'd me to wed:
So would I ha' done by yonder sun,
And thou had'st not come to my bed.[68]

Such overt content sung by a young gentle woman might well have been regarded as sensational, were it not for the fact that it could be taken as humorous, since the audience knew that, beneath the feminine clothes, the slender and beardless figure who was singing this song was not a woman, but a boy, and it was rather unclear with which side the character "Ophelia" was actually identifying.

Again, since the boy-actors were young, the madness portrayed would probably have lacked the depth of adult, tragic madness. Probably this is the reason why, apart from "St. Valentine's Day" quoted above, the speech and songs by Ophelia seem to have been intended to express her grief over her father's death, rather than the threatening rage of an abandoned woman. Finally, it may be true that, good as the young actors might have been as musical performers, the songs written for them could not demand the same musical presence and display as from an adult singer. In fact, later in the Restoration stage, Purcell's last mad song, "From rosy bow'rs", although beautifully set, lacks the expressive range one might expect in support of complex emotions, probably because of the immaturity of the intended singer-actress, Letitia Cross, who was just twelve years of age at the performance.[69] With the advent of female actors, the potential for emotional expression, musical range, and lascivious display under the guise of madness increased enormously.

Another important aspect of the representation of Ophelia lies in the fact that her costume and other attributes became stereotypical for madwomen on the stage.

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[67] Dup'd = opened. See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook*, 407.

[68] T. J. B. Spencer (ed.), *Shakespeare: Hamlet* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 163 – 4.

Ophelia, clad in a simple white robe, adorned with "fantastical garlands" of wild flowers, comes on stage "[with] her haire downe singing".[70] Such an image is frequently repeated not only on the later dramatic stage but also on the operatic stage, as we can see from the celebrated example of Lucia in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*.[71] Elaine Showalter has suggested, in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, "the stage direction that a woman enters with dishevelled hair indicates that she might either be mad or the victim of rape".[72] This brings us to another issue concerning the exploitation of female body on the Restoration stage, where apparently the rape scene became a notable feature. Elizabeth Howe asserts that "from 1594–1612, there are only four plays in which rape actually occurs, and there are five between 1612 and 1625; however, after 1660, ...rapes occur regularly in plays right into the eighteenth century".[73] Since Howe has not attempted to prove the vogue for rape scenes statistically in any sophisticated way, it is very hard to judge the import of such scenes. Yet, the mad scene and the rape scene can be viewed as two sides of the same coin in terms of theatrical function, since both give an excuse to expose a naked female body in order to titillate the audience. For example, John Dryden's *Amboyna* (1673) famously presents a rape victim: in Act IV, Scene 5, An Indian lady, Ysabinda, deceived and raped by Harman, is rescued by her betrothed, Towerson. A sensational

[69] This song was written for Thomas D'Urfey's *Don Quixote*, part III. For a discussion of this play, see below.
[70] From the stage direction of the first Quarto [1603, usually known as the "Bad" Quarto]. For a facsimile edition of the Huntington Library copy of the First Quarto, See: William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931).
[71] For the traditional visual images of Lucia and Ophelia, see: Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia", *Cambridge Opera Journal* iv – no. 2 (July, 1992), 125 – 7.
[72] Showalter, "Representing Ophelia", 81.
[73] Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and drama 1660 – 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 43.

frontispiece of this scene is inserted in the 1735 publication of this drama.[74] Probably, in the Restoration performance, Ysabinda appeared on the stage, with her clothes ripped and her body exposed.

Similar visual presentations are possible in scenes of deranged women. In fact, the roles of rape victims or mad women were often allocated to actresses especially renowned for their physical beauty. For example, one of the most popular actresses of the Restoration period, Anne Bracegirdle, a known beauty, was especially famous for her rape scenes as well as for her mad scenes.[75] However, we should note that the connection with such crude eroticism formed only a small part of the many ways of representing madness on the seventeenth-century stage.

The broadside ballad: Tom of Bedlam and Mad Maudlin

In sixteenth and seventeenth-century England, numerous popular song-texts were printed and circulated on large sheets called "broadsides". This is the genre we now call the "broadside ballad".[76] As we have seen in the case of Shakespeare, it was quite common for a protagonist to sing a ballad on the stage of Renaissance England.[77]

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[74] *The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, Esq.* (London: Jacob, Tonson, 1735). A copy is found in: Vinton A. Dearing (ed.), *The Works of John Dryden* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press), XII, facing page 54.

[75] Bracegirdle was the original Fulvia of D'Urfey's *The Richmond Heiress* and the first Marcella of the same author's *The Comical History of Don Quixote.* Colley Cibber addressed her as "the *Cara,* the Darling of the Theatre", and praised her constancy "in resisting her [admirers]". See: Robert W. Lowe (ed.), *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), I, 171 – 172.

[76] James Porter, "Ballad", *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd end, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 1, 544. A good number of the ballads can be found in the forms of compilations such as William Chappell and J. Woodfall Ebsworth (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* (Hertford: Ballad Society, 1869 – 1901), 9 volumes; J. Woodfall Ebsworth (ed.), *The Bagford Ballads* (Hertford: Ballad Society, 1878), 2 volumes; and Hyder E. Rollins (ed.), *The Pepys Ballads* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927 and 1929), 2 volumes.

[77] Another clear example is Desdemona *in Othello* (IV, 3). She famously sings the "Willow song". The text survives in two similar but different broadside ballads from the early 17th century. See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's songbook*, 467 – 70. The title of the song seems to have been based on the fact that at weddings or in seasonal festivals, it was the custom for unsuccessful suitors to wear the willow garland and sing of their sorrow. See: Charles Read Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), 21.

Such a direct borrowing from popular musical culture went on well into the Restoration period, and the convention contributed to various mad scenes.

First, we will examine the relationship between the ballad and the subject of madness. Sold for a penny, broadside ballads mirrored ordinary people's interests, and included views on the political or religious authorities, and on moral issues. Under the circumstances, madness frequently became the chosen subject of such ballads. Joy Wiltenburg has already discussed such "mad" ballads,[78] which can be categorised into five major types:

(1) The didactic ballad. Predicated upon the medieval connection between madness and sin, some religious ballads tell of the devilish folly of heretics as in, for example, a ballad entitled "An exclamation upon the erronius [sic] and fantastical sprite of heresy". [79] This didactic tendency was particularly conspicuous in the ballads of the comparatively earlier years, and probably reflected the number of clerical or pedagogic authors contributing to the genre.

(2) The news-report ballad. These gathered materials from real incidents, reporting on how deranged criminals had committed their cruel crimes. For example, a ballad called "The woefull Lamentation of William Purcas", tells the tale of how a person called Purcas had killed his mother in a drunken rage.[80]

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[78] Joy Wiltenburg, "Madness and Society in the Street Ballads of Early Modern England", *Journal of Popular Culture* xxi – no. 4 (Spring, 1988), 101 – 127.

[79] Hyder E. Rollings (ed.), *Old English Ballads 1553 – 1625, Chiefly from Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 27. Cited in Wiltenburg, "Madness and Society in the Street Ballads", 105.

[80] William Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* [1869 – 1901] (Herford: AMS Press, 1966), vol. iii, 34. Cited in Wiltenburg, "Madness and Society in the Street Ballads", 108.

(3) The love-madness ballad. This is derived from the traditional romance, which features love-crazed characters. Also, some ballads depict the desperation of unrequited suitors as in "The desperate Damsell's Tragedy".[81]

(4) The parody ballad. Some ballads parodied plays or other types of literary output which featured the subject of madness. There is, for example, a ballad version of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*.[82]

(5) The farcical-dialogue ballad. A number of ballads take over the dialogue form and some songs are based on the conversations of "mad" couples, as in "A Mad Kinde of wooing: dialogue between Will the simple, and Nan the subtill [sic] with their loving agreement".[83]

The street ballads of Renaissance England produced a number of prototypical characters widely accepted as embodiments of insanity. Two famous examples are: "Tom of Bedlam" and his female counterpart, "Mad Maudlin". Tom appeared in several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century songs, [84] and his most well-known appearance in English literature occurred in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (c. 1605), where

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[81] Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* (London: Taylor and Co., 1871), I- pt. I, 265 – 267.
[82] Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* (1966), II, 457.
[83] Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* (1871), II, 436 – 439.
[84] For a good study of Tom, see: Jack Lindsay (ed.), *Loving Mad Tom: Bedlamite Verses of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [1927] (London: s. pub, 1969), which includes the following songs directly associated with Tom: "From the Hagg & hungry Goblin", "Loving Mad Tom", "Tom o' Bedlam's Song', "From the Top of High Caucasus', and "Forth from My Sad and Darksome Cel". The last with its music is preserved in: *Choice Songs & Ayres*, first book (London: John Playford, 1673), 66 – 7; *Choice Aryes, Songs, Dialogues* (London: John Playford, 1675), 75; *Choice Ayres, Songs & Dialogues* (London: John Playford, 1676), 94; *Catch that Catch can; or the Second Part of the Musical Companion* (London: John Plyaford, 1685), n. 71; *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musical Companion* (London: John Playford, 1686), n. 25; *Wit and Mirth* (London: Henry Playford, 1699) 43 – 4; *Songs Compleat* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), p. 43- 4. The music for "From the Hagg & hungry Goblin" and "Forth from my sad and darksome cell" can be seen in: Duffin, *Shakespeare's songbook*, 402 and 404.

the character Edgar is disguised as Tom o' Bedlam.[85] There are two surviving tunes associated with Tom of Bedlam. The first, "From the hag and hungry goblin" is preserved in the so-called *Giles Earle's Songbook* (1615).[86] The second, and more widely-distributed, is the so-called "Gray's Inn Masque" tune.[87] Two anonymous ballads were written to fit the second tune: "New Mad Tom of Bedlam",[88] and "The Man in the Moon Drinks Clarret".[89] The tune was, although once erroneously attributed to Purcell,[90] probably, taken from the dance of the Madmen in the second antimasque of Francis Beaumont's *The Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn* (1613), for which John Coperario [John Cooper] wrote the music.[91] The real origin of the Tom of Bedlam character is not known, but he may have been based on a real court fool, called Tom le Fol, in the service of Edward I (reigned 1272 – 1307). What is clear is that shortly after the performance of the *Masque of the Inner Temple* in 1613, the name "Tom of Bedlam" established itself as the most famous embodiment of male insanity. Early evidence for this comes from the itineraries of King James I, who, on the 9th of January 1618, saw a performance of "a Play ...of Tom of Bedlam the Tinker, and other such mad stuff" presented by his courtiers.[92]

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[85] For a study of the connection between "From the Hagg & hungry Goblin" and *King Lear*, see: Stanley Wells, "Tom O'Bedlam Song and King Lear", *Shakespeare Quarterly* xii – no. 3 (Summer, 1961), 311 – 315.
[86] Gb-Lbl, MS. 24,665.
[87] The same tune with other texts seems to have been circulated during the seventeenth century; for example, a song "Make room for an honest redcoat", which was used in an anonymous play, *Ratts Rhimed to Death* (1660) and included in *A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs*, 3rd edn (London: N. T[hompson], 1685), was based upon this tune.
[88] Chappell (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads*, II – pt. II, 259 – 261.
[89] Ibid., II – pt. II, 255 – 258.
[90] In the index of GB-Lbl: MS Add. 22099, this song is attributed to Henry Lawes, and in Walsh's *Orpheus Britannicus* (c. 1725) to Henry Purcell.
[91] For the main sources and dating of these two lyrics and the tune, see: Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 263 – 266.
[92] John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and magnificent festivities of King James I* [1618] (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), Vol. III, 465.

The female counterpart of Tom seems to be a woman called Mad Maudlin. Derived ultimately from Mary Magdalene in the Bible, the term Maudlin indicates "a penitent", or a figure who is "characterized by tearful sentimentality; mawkishly emotional; weakly sentimental", or in "a particular stage of drunkenness".[93] In this sense, the "Mad" in Mad Maudlin may mean "wayward, vagabond-like" rather than "insane". She appears in a ballad called "Tom of Bedlam", whose text is contained in a poem-collection entitled *Wit and Drollery* (1656). Curiously, there are some textual similarities between this ballad and Henry Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam" (See: Table 9). Both Maudlin and Bess come from the "Elizian" fields; both make reference to nymphs ("Mab the fairy queen");[94] and both allude to mythological gods such as Jove, Mars and Venus, and describe the scene where C[h]aron wanders away from his boat. This extensive reference to mythological figures is (as we will see in Chapter 7), one of the conventions that contemporary English theatre shared with its Italian counterpart for the depiction of insane states and which, within a complex of dramaturigical signals, could be taken to represent madness. The parallels between the "biographies" of Bess and Maudlin may suggest that they are generically the same fictive character, particularly since "Maudlin" is not only a woman's name, but could also be a descriptive epithet. I will further explore this point in the section on "Bess of Bedlam".

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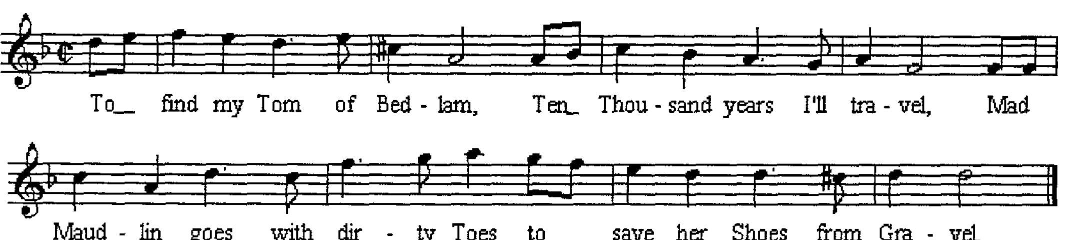
[93] J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner (eds), *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. IX, s.v. "Maudlin".

[94] The reference to Oberon and fairies may have alluded to the legendary character, Robin Goodfellow (Puck), who is the son of Oberon and the fairies' jester. He appears in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and sings a ballad called "the Mad Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow". See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's songbook*, 335 – 8.

Maudlin's search for Tom is also recorded in a later ballad contained in *Wit and Mirth* (the second part, 1700):[95] "to find my Tom of Bedlam Ten Thousand Years/ I'll Travel,/ Mad Maudlin goes with dirty Toes to save her Shoes from Gravel". In this song, however, Maudlin is presented simply as a poor wretch, begging food from Pluto, rather than an obviously insane woman. The tune given to her in this publication is a variant of "From the hag and hungry goblin", one of the Mad Tom tunes. However, this tune does not also fit the poem in which Mad Maudlin appears in Wit and Drollery of 1656.

Ex. 5.2. "Mad Maudlin"



The nature of the street ballad gradually changed alongside the social shift in its readers. Especially after the Restoration, balladry became one of the most popular pastimes of courtiers, indulging their preference for drollery and wit. This inevitably changed the characteristics of the ballad. Courtly burlesques and pastorals in the form of the ballad were printed as broadsides,[96] and the printed songbooks of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries should be viewed in this context. Playford's aforementioned publication, *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*

[95] *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, the second part (London: Henry Playford, 1700), 192 – 4. The song is included also in: *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 2nd edn (London: John Young, 1707), vol. II, 192 – 4; Thomas D'Urfey (ed.), *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Malancholy*, 3rd edn (London: John Young, 1712); 192 – 4; *Songs Compleat* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), vol. IV, 189 – 90; and D'Urfey (ed.), *Wit and Mirth; or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), iv, 189 – 90.

[96] Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, 156 – 158.

of 1682 marks the culmination of this "popular" tradition, and as we have seen, it had close connections with developments in the English theatre.

Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam" and D'Urfey's *A Fool's Preferment*

Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam" was first published in *Choice Ayres and Songs*, the fourth book of 1683.[97] It is in several respects, a very important pioneering work amongst English mad songs, and this section will examine the content and significance of this pivotal example.

What seems not to have been discussed by any other scholar is the fact that the character "Bess" was not an invention of Purcell or his poet, but a traditional figure. A young girl called "Bess" (or Bessie) appears in several broadside ballads in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[98] and several poems provide contextual clues as to her fictive life. For example, there is a ballad called "Love's Lunacie" written by a certain Richard Climsull and dating from c1637, which features the morbidly lamenting Bess, and gives a detailed account of her troubles.[99] In this ballad, Bess tells us that "Tom was the cause of all my woe' and that he did her 'some wrong' by devouring all her means and 'making no recompense'. Her lodging 'was once soft and easy' and her garments were 'silke and sattin', but now she is now locked up in Bedlam, ' a place of torment', ruined by 'pride and love'. It may be, of

[97] *Choice Ayres and Songs, the fourth book* (London: A. Godbid and J. Playford, 1683), 45.
[98] Some of the cases denote Queen Elizabeth I. For example, "Come over the Burne, Bessy to me", was a ballad in circulation during the reign of Henry VIII, but was re-titled "A song between the Queene's Majestie and Englande" soon after the Queen's ascension. See: E. F. Rimbault, *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads gathered from ancient Musick Books MS and Printed* (London: John Russell Smith, 1851), 71 – 72. This song was later sung by the feigned mad Edgar in Shakespeare's *King Lear* (III, 6). However, the question of why Elizabeth I should, even tangentially, be linked to madness is not clear.
[99] Charles Hindley (ed.), *The Roxburghe Ballads* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1873), II, 286 – 290. According to this publication, this song is sung to the tune titled "The Mad Man's Morris" (Ibid.; II, 479 – 485.)

course, that the fictional character of Bess had a real person, or an amalgam of real personalities, behind it, but the evidence for this is lacking.

In Purcell's song of 1683 there is no reference to the name of Bess's lost love, but in her ballad, "Love's Lunacie" of 1637 she refers to "Tom", who is clearly "Tom of Bedlam". Thus this could support our hypothesis that Mad Bess and Mad Maudlin are effectively one and the same person – at least they have Tom in common.

Our investigation into the connections between the text of "Bess of Bedlam" and the ballade traditions provide some evidence, at least, of the song's link with popular culture. We do not know the exact date when Purcell composed "Bess of Bedlam". As already noted, the song did not appear in print until 1683, but among the manuscript sources of this song,[100] the versions in at least five of them - Och 350, Lbl Add. 33234, Cfm 118, Lbl. Add. 29397 and Lbl. Lansdowne 740 - may predate the first publication. What is clear is that those manuscripts were copied from a source different from the published version in *Choice Ayres*, and their lost common source might perhaps have been Purcell's autograph. Curiously, the version in the MS Lansdowne 740 (f. 171^{v}),[101] which contains the text only, does not include the last

[100] The known surviving sources are: GB-Och: 350 (c. 1675 – 90); Gb-Lbl: Add. 33234 (c. 1680 – 5); GB-Cfm: 118 (c. 1680 – 5); GB-Lbl: Add. 29397 (C. 1682 – 8); GB-Lbl: Lansdowne 740; US-Yale University: Osborn MS 9 (1692); GB-Ob: Mus Sch C. 96 (the late 17th century); GB-Stoneleigh Abbey Library: [I] (the late 17th century); GB-Lbl: Harl. 1270 (between the late 17th and early 18th centuries); GB-Lbl: Add. 22099 (c. 1704 – 7); Gb-Lbl: K. 24. e. 6. (the early 18th century): US-WS: 1634.4 (1721); GB-Cfm: 120 (c. 1728); and GB-Ouf: e.i. (the mid 18th century). Where possible, the dates follow the most recent information given in Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: the Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[101] This MS is of miscellaneous nature (for the detail, see: Henry Ellis (ed.), *Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts and indexes* (London: BL, 1810), vol. 2, 166.), and dating each section is very difficult. Franklin Zimmerman indicated that this MS bears the year of 1655 (f. 140 r) [see: idem, *Henry Purcell 1659 – 1695: an analytical catalogue of his music* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 184.]. However, this appears in the section of a record of the expenditure of a household and was written by a hand different from the one of the "Bess" text so that it is irrelevant here. Just before the Bess text, there are the texts of two songs, copied by the same hand: "Whilst Alexis lay pressed" (f. 170^{v}) and "Let Hector Achilles and each brave commander" (f. 171^{r}). The setting of the former (by Staggins) first appeared in print in *Choice Songs and Ayres*, 1st book (London: John Playford, 1673), 27; and the latter (by H. Purcell) in *Comes Amoris or the Companion of Love* (London: John Carr, 1689), 22- 5. The

eight lines of Purcell's setting.[102] These lines are somewhat shorter and more irregular than the others, and may even have been added at a late stage, as the result of a decision by Purcell to add a dramatic, reflective codicil to the song. He had already reached a firm cadence in the 'home key' at the words 'Which fools do admire and wise men endure' – that is, the very line that the version in Lansdowne 740 suggests was the original ending of the poem.

Although the text of Purcell's song has clear links to popular traditions, the situation regarding the music is more complex. The first clear evidence we have for the widespread currency of Purcell's "Bess of Bedlam", is that two sections of it appear in Thomas D'Urfey's play *A Fool's Preferment* (Act III, Scene 2),[103] first presented in 1688, five years after the publication of the song. This early association of the song with a drama was discovered by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson in 1981.[104]

In the play the extracts are sung by a character named Lyonel, who goes insane after his beloved is abducted by the King, and he believes her to be dead.[105] The two fragments that Lyonel sings are "In yonder cowslips" and "I'll lay me down". These fragments are really the only sections of Purcell's song that could have been extracted in this way: both come from those parts of the original text that are nearest in form to simple quatrains with regular rhyme schemes, their references are neutral as to gender, they are both in the first person, and, in the original music, their untrammelled

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latter may seem to suggest that this MS was copied later than my suggestion; however, the exact date of its composition is not certain, either.

[102] "Cold and hungry am I grown;/ Ambrosia will I feed upon,/ Drink nectar still, and sing:/ Who is content,/ Does all sorrow prevet,/ And Bess in her straw,/ Whilst free from the law,/ In her thoughts is as great, great as a king".

[103] Thomas D'Urfey, *A Fool's Preferment, or the Three Dukes of Dunstable* (London: Jos Knight, 1688), 41 – 2.

[104] Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "A Purcell Problem solved", *Musical Times* cxxii (July, 1981), 445.

major key tonality, which is so like many popular songs of that time, presents a calm oasis among the harmonic adventures of Purcell's music (see: Ex.5.3. and 5.4. below).

Ex. 5.3. Purcell, "Bess of Bedlam", mm. 23 - 37

More interestingly, both extracts have close musical and poetic links with ballad form. "I'll lay me down" has the musical form ABCD which is the most common structure found in the ballad, and "In yonder cowslips" has the form ABAC, which is the second most common. Also the texts of both extracts have either three or four stresses per line which is almost universal for the ballad.[106] Given these features one might even ask whether Purcell (and his anonymous poet) had borrowed from, or deliberately parodied, the ballad repertory at these points. Certainly references to cowslips, owls, bats, ravens and cats are found in a number of popular ballads, and also in theatrical songs and incantations, perhaps most famously in the song sung by

[105] "Lyonel: A well bred Ingenious Gentleman: who, being hindred of his Mistress, by the King, fell distracted", in D'Urfey, *A Fool's Preferment*, vi.
[106] James Porter, "Ballad", *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd end, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 1, 544.

Ariel in *The Tempest*: (V, 1) "Where the bee sucks, there suck I/ In a cowslip's bell I lie/ There I couch when owls do cry/ On the bat's back I do fly".[107]

Ex.5.4. Purcell, "Bess of Bedlam", mm. 47 - 56

Interestingly enough, the two extracts from "Bess of Bedlam" just discussed in relation to *A fool's preferment*, are not the only items sung in the play that are related to Purcell, since the 1688 edition included a supplement containing songs for the play "Excellently compos'd by Mr Henry Purcell". Although, as we have seen, extracts from "Bess of Bedlam" are quoted in the play, Purcell's music for this particular text does not appear in the supplement. What the supplement does instead is to allocate two other pieces to the third act: "Fled is my love" (z. 571 – 3) and " 'Tis death alone" (z. 571 – 4). Neither of these texts is cued within the body of the play, and their musical style is more complex and demanding that the simple extracts that are actually allocated to Lyonel in the third act. However, we know from the evidence of Colly Cibber that the actor who played Lyonel, William Mountfort,[108] was a fine singer:

[107] The setting of this poem which survives at Oxford Bodleian Library (MS Don.c.57) was probably the one used for the original production. Although in the MS, it is attributed to John Wilson, Wilson himself attributed it to Robert Johnson in his *Cheerfull Ayres* (1660). See: Duffin, *Shakespeare's Songbook,* 455.

[108] The relationship between the actor and Purcell seems to have been quite a close one. The actor added words to the first act tune of Purcell's *Dioclesian* (z. 627 – 4), and this song, "O! How happy's he, who from bus'ness free" [z. 403] was included in *Wit & Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*

> If it could be remembered how much he had the Advantage of me in Voice and Person, I could not here be suspected of an affected Modesty or of over-valuing his Excellence: For he sung a clear Counter-tenour [sic.], and had a melodious, warbling Throat, which could not but set off the last Scene of Sir Cortly with an uncommon Happiness; which I, alas! could only struggle thro' with the faint Excuses and real Confidence of a fine Singer under the Imperfection of a feign'd and screaming Trebble, which at best could only shew you what I would have done had Nature been more favourable to me.[109]

Indeed, Lyonel's other songs in the play[110] were far more demanding than the "Bess of Bedlam" ballad-like extracts. This means that the simple "Bess" extracts are unlikely to have been late substitutions on the grounds of performer incompetence. It is more likely that the text of the play had to be settled long before production of the musical supplement began, and at the point where the play text was finalised the Act III songs and their texts were still under debate, and so makeshift extracts from an already published song were inserted into the play so that at least something would be available for the first performance. Moreover, at the end of the second extract Lyonel says "How d'ye like that Dirge now",[111] – and the perfunctory ten-bar C major incantation from *Bess*, full of ravens, bats and owls, hardly does justice to the description "dirge", which a contemporary dictionary describes as "...a mournful Ditty or Song of Lamentation sung at a funeral, from the *Teutonick* word *Dyrke*, to

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(London: William Pearson, 1706) and other various song-collections. *Wit and Mirth*, 6th edn (London: William Perason, 1720) indicates "Mr. Mumford" as the author of the lyric. When the actor died, Purcell provided an anthem, which was sung at his burial [see: Narcissus Luttrell. *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), II, 641. Cited in Price, *Purcell and The London Stage*, 211.].

[109] Robert W. Lowe (ed.), *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London: John C. Nimmo, 1889), I, 129 – 30.

[110] Lyonel is thought to have sung (apart from the fragments from "Bess of Bedlam"): "I sigh'd and I pin'd" (Z. 571 – 1); "There's nothing so fatal as woman" (Z. 571 – 2); "Fled is my love" (z. 571 – 3); "'Tis Death alone can give me ease" (Z. 571 – 4); "I'll mount to you blue coelum" (Z. 571 – 5); "I'll sail upon the dog-star" (Z. 571 – 6); and "If thou wilt give me back my love" (Z. 571 – 8). Amongst them, "I'll sail upon the dog-star" is the most demanding, and Curtis Price argues that this song may have been too challenging even for Montfort and been replaced with "I'll mount to you" because the two texts are closely related. Idem, *Henry Purcell and London stage*, 158.

[111] D'Urfey, *A Fool's Preferment*, 42.

commend or praise".[112] The song "'Tis death alone" found only in the supplement to the play does fit the description (and genre) of a "dirge" far better and may have become the preferred musical insertion in later performances. On the other hand, we have to bear in mind that in a play of this kind, full of comical situations and characters, an ironic use is always possible, so the arguments above are not conclusive.

Musically, "Bess of Bedlam" consists alternately of recitatives and measured music. Of course, Purcell's music could not have been structured in this way unless the poetry allowed it, and therefore there is a strong possibility that the poem, at least in its final form, was consciously structured with the musical requirements in mind. We have to say "in its final form" here, because the body of the poem, beginning with "Bright Cynthia" and ending with "Wise men endure" could be seen as consisting of seven strophes (though these are not absolutely balanced in terms of syllable-count and metre) which bear some relation to the ballade tradition, but the opening six lines and the final eight will not fit into this scheme (see: Table 9). It may be that the unknown poet wrote a traditional, regular-type poem which became the core, and then Purcell further pressed him (or her) for an introduction to suit his recitative style. Having done that, Purcell perhaps later still felt the need for a balancing, similar section at the end, and the last eight lines were added, even though the home tonic had been reached earlier. Interestingly enough, as we have seen, the manuscript Lansdowne 740, which contains the text only, omits the final section of poetry and so may represent the state of the poem at an intermediate stage of the musical composition.

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[112] Edward Phillips (ed.), *The New World of Words: or Universal English Dictionary* [1702], 6th edn, (London: J. Phillips, 1706), s.v. "Dirge".

If "Bess of Bedlam" was Purcell's first true mad song, then he quickly developed and expanded the genre, first, as we have seen, in his pieces specifically written for D'Urfey's *A Fool's Preferment* in 1688. Indeed, D'Urfey may have been a prime mover in the development of the mad song, since he wrote numerous plays featuring mad characters. Also we should note D'Urfey's personal interest in the ballad, since he was responsible for some volumes in a series of ballad and poem collections issued under the title, *Wit and Mirth*, first published under his particular editorship between 1719 and 1720. Another song from *A Fool's Preferment*, sung by Lyonel, "I'll sail upon the dog star" also shows its indebtedness to the genre – the playwright seems to have based his verse on a ballad called "I'le bark against the Dog-Star".[113] The text of this popular song was included in *The New Academy of Complement* of 1671, a collection of "the newest, choicest songs a la Mode, both amorous and jovial":[114]

I'le bark against the Dog-Star,
And Crow away the morning,
I'le chance the Moon,
Till it be noon,
And I'le make her leave her horning;
But I will find bonny Maud, merry mad Maud,
And seek what e're betides her,
Yet will I love,
Beneath or above,
That dirty earth that hides her.[115]

This investigation concerning "Bess of Bedlam" has also given us an insight into what it means for an artwork to be 'popular' in any cultural setting. The simple tunes which conveyed the early mad songs were, perhaps, popular in origin. Purcell's composition, by contrast, was perhaps popular by destination – its features were

[113] The link between the Dog Star and the insane seems to have been quite strong. In a ballad, "Forth from the dark and dismal cell", Tom of Bedlam (see: above) also sings that "last night I heard the Dog-Star bark".
[114] *The New Academy of Complements* (London: Tho. Rooks, 1671) [GB-Lbl: 1076.e.29].
[115] Ibid., Song 317, p. 305.

artfully conceived so as to have popular appeal. And finally, later composers mimicked this style under the pressure imposed by publishers who were eager to exploit the popularity of mad songs – their products were popular by parody.

Popular entertainment: jiggs and dances

Not only street songs, but also popular entertainments on a bigger scale feature the subject of madness. The "dialogue" type of ballad shows the genre's potential to present a kind of drama in miniature, and the form was popular not only in Elizabethan England but also in some other North European countries. This popular genre was performed at civic feasts and combined the three elements of drama, music and dance. All the elements used together were usually called a "jigg" (with two "g"s as opposed to the dance "jig" with one "g").[116] By nature, it was "the darling of the groundlings, not the literati".[117] One of the surviving examples, *The Wooing of Nan* (c. 1590) describes a Fool's triumph in gaining Nan's love.[118] And a similar plot can be found in *Fool's Fortune*, performed at Claverly, Shropshire.[119] Although the music does not survive, *Fool's Fortune* seems typical of the genre; its simple plot advances through the exchanges between a couple, Ginny and Jockey.

Civic feasts and pageants contributed to the development of English theatre in another respect. They often presented mimetic dance, sometimes called "drollery"[120]

[116] The genre is also spelt "jig" or "jygge". I have followed the practice of *The New Grove Dictionary* which uses "jig" for the type of dance and "jigg" for this genre. See: Thurston Dart and Michael Tilmouth, "jigg", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), XIII, 119 – 20.
[117] Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, 3.
[118] The text is found in a late 16th century MS at Dulwich College. The attribution to Christopher Marlowe is not conclusive. Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, 252 – 253; and Eric Walter White, *A Register of First Performances of English Operas and Semi-Operas from the 16trh century to 1980* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1983), 1.
[119] C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970), 140 – 156.
[120] The term originated from *drôlerie* [fr.] (also spelt "draulerie") and, around the Shakespearean era, came to designate "something humorous or funny", especially "a comic play or entertainment". See:

or "antic" dance,[121] for which dancers wore various disguises: "Scotchmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, sailors, cooks, shepherds, clowns, peddlers, rogues, drunkards, beggars, gipsies", and amongst others, "Madmen".[122] In his *Londini Speculum* [1637], a dramatist, Thomas Heywood, pointed to the popularity of "anticke gesticulations, dances, and other Mimicke postures", because they were "devised onely for the vulgar, who are better delighted with that which pleaseth the eye, than contenteth the eare, in which we imitate Custome".[123] Despite Heywood's contemptuous tone, such antic dances came into vogue during the course of the seventeenth century. Even Heywood's own domestic play, *A Woman killed with Kindness*, started with the scene where "mad lads" and country-lasses danced "all their country measures, rounds, and jigs".[124] The preference for such burlesque presentations seems to have been comparable to the situation in seventeenth-century France,[125] where many court-ballets with similar themes were produced. The same fashion is found in the contemporary *Mascherate* in Italy.[126]

As in Italy and France, antic dance in England came to be important in more dramatic genres such as staged plays and courtly masques. Ben Jonson's masque, *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* (1611) contains a "Follies Dance"; and all of the following include dance scenes for Madmen: Thomas Campion's *The Lords' Masque* (1613); John Webster's play, *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1614); and Middleton

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The Oxford English Dictionary [1933] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), s.v. "Drollery". Randle Cotgrave gave the definition of "d[r]aulerie" as: "waggerie; also, the figure of a Mask, Satire, Monkie or such like apish visages, and Anticke resemblance, set on the top of a scutcheon or coat of Armes". See: R. C. Alston (ed.), *Randel Cotgrave: A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* [1611] (Menston: The Scolar Press, 1968), s.v. "d[r]aulerie". The page number is not given.

[121] The term was apparently an adaptation of *antico* [It.] but used as equivalent to *grottesco*. Sometimes, the term denoted "a grotesque pageant or theatrical representation". See: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Antic".

[122] Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, 160.

[123] Ibid., 368.

[124] Ibid., 358.

[125] See Chapter 4 of this study.

and William Rowley's *The Changeling* (c. 1623). In Henry Purcell's *The Fairy Queen* (1692) the Duke's speech on poets, lovers and madmen must have been derived from this strong tradition (Act V):

> More stranger than true. I never could believe,
> These Antick Fables, nor these Fairy Toys.
> Lovers and Lunaticks have pregnant brains.
> They in a moment by strong fancy see
> More than cool reason e're could comprehend.
> The Poet, with the mad-man may be joyn'd.[127]

Clownish characters and the tradition of court jesters

As we have seen, there seems to be confusion about similar but different character-types: the fool (those who do silly things as professionals), the foolish (those who have attributes of the first, but act so out of incompetence or stupidity, and in an amateur fashion), and the mad (those who may behave similarly to the first two types, but as a result of their mental condition). Such confusion is to a certain extent inevitable, since, in some cases, the dramaturgical functions of those types overlap. This is probably because the ways of representing the foolish and the mad were influenced by real fools – court jesters. Thomas D'Urfey's mad play, The Richmond Heiress starts with the "prologue spoken by a Mr. Dogget", who, "with a Fools cap with bells on his head", articulates:

> Fools are the Chief support of Stage Affairs:
> Were there no Fools, there would be no Players.[128]

The fool was an important feature of European culture and the relation of this character to the development of spoken drama has been discussed by many

[126] See: Chapter 3 of this study.
[127] Michael Burden (ed.), *Henry Purcell's Operas: the Complete Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 395.
[128] D'Urfey, *The Richmond Heiress*, v.

scholars.[129] The influence of the fool on literature is especially strong in the case of England, as is evidenced, for example, by several characters in the plays of Shakespeare.[130] Shakespeare's interest in Fools was probably derived, in part, from the status that they enjoyed in the English royal court throughout the Middle Ages and up to, and including the Stuart reign.

The "fool" here actually designates a wider range of the type than what we usually mean by the term, as the monarch not only recruited those who artificially acted as the fool, but also the insane or the mentally retarded whether congenitally or spasmodically. For example, there is a record of Henry VII taking a "natural fool" with him on his formal progresses.[131] Probably such traditions caused further confusion between the function and delineation of the fool and the mad on the stage.

The *raison d'être* of the fool – whether fictitious or real – is to confront his master with (sometimes unpalatable) reality, and this trait is retained in some mad characters. For example, in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the Fool never attempts to distract the king from his misfortune; rather, he urges the king to accept the situation with resignation. The Fool sings as follows and the king receives this as the utmost truth:

> He that has and a little tiny wit,
> With heigh-ho, the wind and the rain,
> Must make content with his fortunes fit,
> Though the rain it raineth every day.[132]

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[129] For an authoritative study on the fool, see: Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); and Enid Welsford, *The Fool, his Social and Literary History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1935). The most recent study is: John Southworth, *Fools and Jesters at the English Court* (Stroud: Sutton Press, 1998).

[130] For example, the two grave-diggers in *Hamlet* [c. 1600]; Touchstone in *As you like it* [c. 1600]; and, needless to say, the Fool in *King Lear* [1605 – 6].

[131] Southworth, *Fools and Jesters*, 62 – 63.

[132] William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act III, 2. G. K. Hunter (ed.), *William Shakespeare: King Lear* (Harmondsowrth: Penguin, 1972), 120. No musical source for this text earlier than the eighteenth century is known. However, for another song sung by the Fool in the play, "Then they for sudden joy did weep" (Act I, 4, l. 191 – 194), an early seventeenth century tune with a similar text survives: "Late

Such an aspect of the "wise-fool" can be seen in various later plays as well. Considering thus, we may be able to interpret the mad Lyonel (mentioned earlier), in D'Urfey's *A Fool's Preferment,* as an example of a character standing in the tradition of the fool. The "Dramatis Personae" of the playbook describes him as "a well bred Ingenious Gentleman: who, being hindred of his Mistress, by the King, fell distracted".[133] Such overt criticism of the promiscuity of the monarchy was not unknown in contemporary sources, and the kings themselves were often brazen in the public acknowledgement of their mistresses.[134] Interestingly, D'Urfey, one of the most important instigating figures behind the vogue for dramatic madness, himself was favoured by the English court and acquired the status as a semi-official court jester.[135]

Foreign influences and an English adaptation of *Don Quixote*

Early modern English culture took much from the cultures of other European countries particularly Italy and France,[136] and some English dramas featuring insanity are telling examples of this point. For example, as we have seen in the cases of Mad Maudlin and Bess of Bedlam, excessive references to mythological figures were

as I waked out of sleepe" written in an early seventeenth century hand in the British Library copy of *Pammelia, Musicks Miscellanie* (1609) [Gb-Lbl: k.l.e.9], A1^{v} – A2^{r}. See: Peter J. Seng, "An Early Tune for the Fool's Song in *King Lear*", *Shakespeare Quarterly* ix (1958), 583 – 85.

[133] D'Urfey, *A Fool's Preferment*, vi.

[134] For example, King Charles II's former mistress, Mary Davies and their illegitimate daughter, Lady Mary Tudor respectively sang the roles of Venus and Cupid in the premiere of John Blow's *Venus and Adonis* (c.1683). Intended to be a satire on the promiscuity of the king, this production, in the end, secured Mary Tudor's annuity from the king.

[135] Leslie Stephen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Smith Elder, 1938), s.v. "D'Urfey, Thomas".

[136] For the Italian influence on the English Renaissance, see: G. S. Gargàno, *Scapigliatura Italiana a Londra sotto Elisabetta e Giacomo I* (Florence: Luigi Battistelli, 1923); John L. Livesay, *The Elizabethan Image of Italy* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1964); Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's lost Renaissance* [1986] (London: Pimlico, 2000); Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: the Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968). Also, John Peacock, "Inigo Jones and the Florentine Court Theater", *John Donne Journal* v (1986), 201 – 234 is of particular interest.

frequently used as a conventional way of representing insanity in the English theatre as well as in its Italian counterpart.[137] Also, displaying a group of asylum inmates was favoured on the English stage as well as on those of other countries.[138] Of course, some of these "influences" belong to general European culture (particularly those deriving from Ancient Greece and Rome) and arrived in this country via a number of different routes across the centuries. In order to examine some issues surrounding the assimilation of foreign influences on the mad scene in England, this section will explore D'Urfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote* (part I and II in May 1694, and part III in November 1695),[139] and its relation to the most famous "mad" novel of Spanish origin: Cervantes' *Don Quixote.*

Cervantes' *Don Quixote* became known to the English soon after its first publication (part I in 1605, and part II in 1615).[140] It was as early as 1612 that Thomas Shelton published the first English translation of part I of *Don Quixote.*[141] By the time D'Urfey undertook his adaptation, the story of the Don and Sancho Panza had become not only a matter of common knowledge but also the inspiration for various dramas. Just a month before the first part of D'Urfey's version was shown, John Crowne (1640?–1712) also presented a drama, *The Married Beau,* which was based on the

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[137] Other examples include the mad Lyonel in D'Urfey's *A Fool's Preferment* who shows a similar "symptom" (Act V). See: D'Urfey, *A Fool's Preferment*, 84. For a more detailed discussion about this particular way of representing the mad, see Chapter 7 of this study.

[138] For example, Doctor Guiacum in D'Urfey's *The Richmond Heiress* is more eager to display his patients than to cure them. See: D'Urfey, *The Richmond Heiress*, 20 (Act II, Scene 2).

[139] See: Van Lennep. *The London Stage*, part I, p. 434, 435 and 453.

[140] For the early reception of *Don Quixote* in England, see: Ronald Paulson, *Don Quixote in England: the Aesthetics of Laughter* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

[141] Thomas Shelton, *The History of valorous and vvity [sic.] knight-errant, Don Quixote of the Mancha*, Part I (London: Ed. Blount and W. Barret, 1612). The translation of Part II was published as: idem., *The Second Part of the History of the valorous and witty knight-errant, Don Quixote of the Mançha* [sic.] (London: Edward Blount, 1620). However, Anthony George Lo Rè argues that the second part was translated by Leonard Digges. See: A. G. Lo Rè (ed.), *A facsimile edition of the fisrt English translation of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote la Mancha* (Chapel Hill: A. G. Lo Rè, 2002). For an analysis of Shelton's translation, see: Sandra Forbes Gerhard, *Don Quixote and the Shelton Translation: a stylistic analysis* (Madrid: Studia Humanitatis, 1982).

"novel of the Impertinent Curiosity" of *Don Quixote* (Part I, Book 4–4).[142] Also, Cervantes' influence can be traced in the 1700 revival of John Fletcher's *The Pilgrim*, for which Dryden wrote a new prologue, epilogue, dialogue and masque.[143]

Fundamentally, D'Urfey's play corresponds to Cervantes' original; but D'Urfey's exaggerated style, which is typical of the Restoration theatre, is, in some respects, even "madder" than Cervantes'. D'Urfey newly juxtaposes Don Quixote with other deranged characters for dramatic effect. During the course of D'Urfey's trilogy, the Don encounters three characters who have lost their senses: Cardenio (part I), who is "a Gentleman, that being treacherously depriv'd of Luscinda his betroth'd Mistress, fell mad"[144]; Marcella (part II), who suffers from the madness induced by her unrequited love; and, Altisidora (part III), who feigns madness in order to seduce the hero. As compared with Cervantes' original, the two female roles are altered significantly in D'Urfey's characterisation. The playwright spiced up the heroines along the lines of Restoration dramatic practice.

Each of the three insane characters not only exemplifies a particular type of madness, but also expresses that madness through an assigned "mad song". When Cardenio makes his first entry, he, "in Ragged Cloaths and in a wild Posture",[145] presents himself as a typical "wild madman", and sings "Let the dreadful engines" in a setting by Purcell (z.578–3).[146] This long monologue, consisting of forty lines, first

[142] John Crown, *The Married Beau, or the Curious Impertinent* (London: Richard Bentley, 1694). This drama was performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, in April of 1694. Henry Purcell and John Eccles contributed music to this performance.
[143] It was Walter Scott who first discussed Cervantes' influence on the play. See: Walter Scott and George Saintsbury (ed.), *The Works of John Dryden* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882), viii, 488. For Dryden's contributions, see: Vinton A. Dearing (ed.), *The Works of John Dryden* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), vol. xvi, 261 – 273.
[144] D'Urfey, *The Comical History of Don Quixote*, part I (London: Samuel Briscoe, 1694) [GB-Lbl: 81.e.6. (1).], ii.
[145] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, part I, 31.
[146] The main sources of this song are: *Let the dreadful engines* [a single sheet edition] (London: T. Cross, 1694) and *The Songs to the New Play of Don Quixote*, Part the First (London: Samuel Briscoe,

links the character's inner turmoil to stormy weather, then sings about the peaceful scenery where his beloved rests; and finally, after restoring the character's fury, resignedly wishes "good-night" to the world.[147] Purcell's setting, formed from eight sections, faithfully follows, and effectively conveys, the shift of the moods. Touched by his song, Don Quixote, against the advice of Sancho Panca [sic.], attempts to cure Cardenio's insanity. Cardenio outlines his tribulations to Don Quixote; but, in so doing, he overtly criticises a character who he thinks he has never met by describing him as "a modern Madman call'd Don Quixote, a strange whimsical Monster".[148] This provokes the Don's rage and their potentially therapeutic session ends up in a great fight (Act IV, Scene 1).

In Part II of *Don Quixote*, a beautiful shepherdess, Marcella, who "hates Mankind, and by her Scorn occasions the Death of Chrysostome",[149] is now victimised by the power of love. Ambrosio, a dear friend of Chrysostome, who rescues Marcella from her abduction by Diego,[150] revenges his late friend by responding scornfully to Marcella's approaches. The overall tone of this episode is quite misogynistic. Seeing Marcella in her madness, Ambrosio utters, "oh, take this from me, Friend; when once a Woman's mad, she's in perfection".[151]

1694), 20 – 26. The facsimile edition of the latter is published as: Curtis Price (ed.), *Don Quixote: the Music in the three plays of Thomas Durfey* (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Macnutt, 1984). Also, GB-MS LGL VI. 5.6. MS (usually called "Gresham College Autograph") contains the voice part of this song and shows some variants.

[147] Cardenio's farewell here is of some significance, since it conforms to the ending of the lament from Otway's *The Orphan*, which we will examine shortly. D'Urfey may have intended a parody.

[148] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, part I, 35.

[149] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, Part I, ii. [149] Marcella was performed originally by Mrs Bracegirdle.

[150] Curtis Price argues that this abduction episode reflected a real incident: Captain Hill attempted to abduct the actress; and this resulted in the death of Mountfort who saved her (See: Price, *Purcell and the London Stage*, 215). For this incident, see: Edmund Bellchamber, "Memoirs of the Actors and Actresses mentioned by Cibber, taken from Edmund Bellchamber's Edition of the 'Apology' [1822]", in *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*, II, 342 – 345. Later Mountfort's heroic deed was highlighted in an elegy, "Poor Mountfort is gone". This song appeared in: *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, the fourth edn (London: William Pearson, 1706), 19 – 20; and *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive* (London: W. Pearson, 1719), 244 – 45.

[151] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, Part II, 60.

This story gave a wonderful opportunity for John Eccles to write a mad song, which D'Urfey himself recorded as "the best of that kind ever done before".[152] The song in question was "I burn, my brain consumes to ashes", sung in Act V, Scene 2. Prior to the song, Marcella's derangement is expressed by her speeches: first, she talks about Cupid, who "has promised to bring Ambrosio to her in his Mother's Chariot";[153] then, suddenly, she sees an eerie illusion, in which her "dear man turn'd to a Draggon"; and she screams: "see! See his Mouth and Nostrils breathing Flames that singe my veins and scorch my heart to Cinders"[154].

Following its performance in 1694, Eccles's song was received very well, owing mainly to the sensational performance by Bracegirdle (the first Marcella). Godfrey Finger paid homage to the actress by writing a song, "While I with wounding grief did look", which, when it was published in *Thesaurus Musicus* (1695), was described as "A Song upon Mrs. *Brace-girdle*'s Acting *Marcella*, in *Don Quixote*".[155] Again Henry Purcell set an altered version of this lyric to music, and Purcell's version was used for the 1695 performance of Dryden's *The Spanish Friar*.[156]

The third part of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote* features the feigned madness of Altisidora, who is on a mission to seduce Don Quixote. Following Basilius' suggestion, she decides to sing for the Don, since "...I have got the most deplorable Matters, the most Melancholly miserable Madrigals, that being dismally howl'd about twelve at night, would make all the Cats of the Parish come into the Consort".[157]

[152] Thomas D'Urfey, *The Comical History of Don Quixote, the third part* (London: Samuel Briscoe, 1696) [GB-Lbl: 81.c.6.(3)], ix.
[153] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, Part III, 59.
[154] Ibid., 59.
[155] *Thesaurus Musicus*, the fourth book (London: John Carr and Daniel Dring, 1695) [GB-Lbl: H. 1601.c. (4).], 5.
[156] This play was produced originally in 1679/80.
[157] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, Part III, 23.

Here, she sings "Damon Feast your Eyes on me", set by Morgan.[158] Yet, finding Don Quixote untouched by this song and still determined to be faithful to his Dulcinea, Altisidora resolves to take a more drastic measure (Act V, Scene 1):

> I intend to teize him now with a whimsical variety, as if I were possess'd with several degrees of Passion – sometimes I'll be fond, and sometimes freakish; sometimes merry, and sometimes melancholy, - sometimes treat him with Singing and Dancing, and sometimes scold and rail as if I were ready to tear his eyes out....you shall see such a scene.[159]

Her ideas are embodied aptly in her following song, "From rosy bow'rs" (z. 578–9), set by Henry Purcell. In the printed playbook of 1696,[160] the lyric of this song is divided into five Movements, and some sections are given the following expressive indications, which characterise the themes or moods of the sections: "Love", "Gaily", "Melancholy", "Passion", "Swift" and "Frenzy", which Purcell has attempted to reflect in different musical styles (see: Ex. 5.5. below). This early attempt to codify the theatrical types of madness was further clarified when the song was reprinted in the 1719 edition of D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth, or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, and the movement headings became: "Sullenly Mad", "Mirthfully Mad", "Melancholy Madness", "Fantastically Mad" and "Stark Mad".[161] We do not know whether there was any collaborative discussion between D'Urfey and Purcell on the meaning and

[158] Probably this was the Thomas Morgan (see: n. 29) as well. The song is contained in *New Songs in the Third Part of the Comical History of Don Quixote* (London: Samuel Briscoe, 1696), 8 – 9; and *Songs Compleat, Pleasant and Divertive* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), 255 – 6.
[159] D'Urfey, *Comical History*, part III, 46.
[160] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, part III, 49. Also, as Curtis Price has pointed out, there is a number of differences between the text in the Quarto and that in the song version. See: Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 219 – 20.
[161] Thomas D'Urfey (ed.), *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy*, the fourth edn (London: J. Tonson, 1719), 1 – 3. This volume contains only the lyric of this song. D'Urfey, at the beginning of the page, wrote: "A Mad Song./ By a Lady distracted with Love. Sung in one of my Comedies of DON QUIXOTE: The Notes to it done by the late famous Mr. HENRY PURCELL; which, by reason of their great Length, are not Printed in this Book, but may be found at the Musick Booksellers singly, or in his Orpheus Brittannicus; performing in the Tune all the Degrees of Madness".

appropriate expression of these sections, but Purcell's music, written alternately in recitative style and in aria style, clearly displays the contrasting and changing moods:

Ex. 5.5. The movements of Purcell, "From rosy bow'rs"

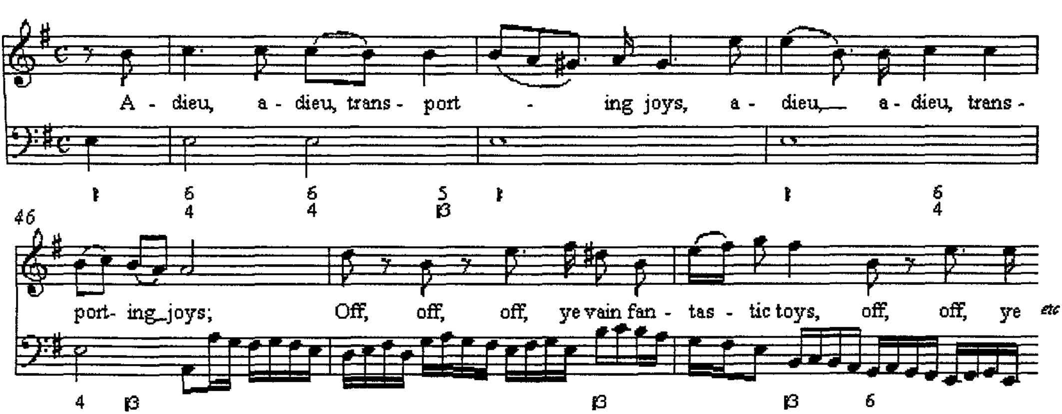
Text incipit[162]	The 1696 division	The 1719 heading	Style (form)	Key [Meter]
Where Rosy bow'rs where sleeps the God of love... With tender passion...	1st movement *Love*	Sullenly mad	Recit	c min [C]
Or if more influencing... To be brisk and airy... As once on Ida dancing...	2nd movement *Gaily*	Mirthfully mad	Aria (AAB)	c min [2]
Ah! 'Tis in vain... My veins all shiver...	3rd movement, Slow *Melancholy*	Melancholy mad	Recit	c min [Barred C]
Or say, ye pow'rs... Increasing all with tears... Or say ye pow'rs...	4th movement *Passion*	Fantastically mad	Aria (A) (B) (A)	c min [3]
No, no I'll straight run mad... Wild thro' the woods I'll fly	5th movement *Frenzy*	Stark mad	Recit ~ freely organised aria	C maj [Barred C]

The last "stark mad" section is of particular musical interest. Starting as a recitative, which manically repeats certain words ("no, no, no, no, no" and "mad, mad, mad, mad, mad"), it transforms itself without a sectional break into a short through-composed aria at swift speed. Such techniques of fusing two different styles are quite unusual in Purcell's works. Curtis Price has pointed out that Purcell's setting of "I'll straight run mad" (See: Ex. 5. 6. below), which "rattles up and down the tonic major chord", was evidence of Eccles' influence.[163] The aforementioned fluid structure fusing a recitative-section and an aria-section is another piece of evidence of Eccles' influence, since he used this technique in his mad song, "I burn" for Bracegirdle:

[162] As we have seen (n. 160), there are discrepancies between the texts; however, in this table, the 1719 version is used.
[163] Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 220.

Ex.5.6. Henry Purcell, "From rosy bow'rs", mm. 131-6

Ex.5.7. John Eccles, "I burn, my brain consumes to ashes", mm. 43-8



The aria sections of "From rosy bow'rs" are formally more rigid; however, in these sections the first Altisidora, Letitia Cross probably sang and danced at the same time.[164] We know that she was competent not only at singing but also at dancing, and, in the prologue of *Don Quixote*, she is given the following lines: "I'll have a thousand

[164] I am indebted to the late Robert Spencer for this interpretation.

Tricks to fool the Beaus./ Show'em by dancing what to Art belongs;/ Or if that fail, I'll charm 'em with new Songs".[165]

"From rosy bow'rs" was "the last song that Mr. Purcell set, it being in his Sickness";[166] after the death of the composer, the English mad song also saw a change of direction as I have indicated above.

Enthused by the success of the first two parts, D'Urfey hoped to capitalise on them by producing a third "Don Quixote" play. However, the last part of his trilogy ended up a failure. He left a strong defence of his work in its preface,[167] mainly blaming its failure on inexperienced actors. The playwright's claim may have been true to some extent, since the aforementioned Letitia Cross seems to have been only twelve years old at that time.[168] However, the failure may also have reflected a more general shift in the taste of the audience of Restoration theatre. It is in the nature of commercial theatrical ventures that they try to anticipate public taste, and, in so doing, occasionally move beyond (or fall behind) its bounds. As indicated in the prologue to this study, this is one reason why we cannot always take the raw data of performances and publications as indications of social enthusiasms for particular theatrical genres, or as evidence for their worthy "value-relation" to society as a whole.

The lament of the rational Dido

In order to clarify our definition of theatrical madness, the last section of this chapter will focus upon the most debated work of English Baroque music: Henry Purcell's

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[165] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, part III, 1. For the singer-actress, see: Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, "Purcell's Sopranos", *Musical Times* CXXIII (1982), 607.
[166] *Orpheus Britannicus*, Book I (London: Henry Playford, 1698), 90.
[167] D'Urfey, *The Comical History*, part III, viii – xi.
[168] In the prologue of the play, an actor, Hildebrand Horden joined the actress and mocked her, saying, "Child, th'art three years too young". And when D'Urfey wrote *Ibrahim the 13th* in 1697, she was

Dido and Aeneas (z.626), on a libretto by Nahum Tate. Recent discussions of this opera have particularly concentrated on attempts to establish the date of its composition, the circumstances of its premiere,[169] and its "true" meaning – this last via interpretations which view the opera as a political allegory.[170] The purpose of the present study, however, is to explore the meaning of Dido's apparently rational approach to suicide in this opera.

For the most part, Nahum Tate took his portrayal of Dido from Virgil's *Aeneid,* where she takes her own life after being abandoned by her lover. As we have already seen in Chapter 1, the meeting between Dido and Aeneas is an anachronism traditionally said to have been created by Virgil. The "real" Dido, who chose to die rather than to submit to the advancements of the Libyan King Iarbus,[171] is praised for her exemplary chastity in later literature.[172] In Virgil's work, some doubt is cast on the

given the line "Look, to't, ye Beaus, my Fifteen is a coming". See: Baldwin and Wilson, "Purcell's Sopranos", 607.

[169] Contrasting to the long-accepted view that the opera was probably composed for performance at Josias Priest's Boarding-school in 1689, Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock have proposed that it was intended to be performed at court in 1684. However, their account, based on rather weak evidence, has attracted criticism. See: Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, "Unscarr'd by turning times? The dating of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*", *Early Music* XX, no. 3 (August, 1992), 372 – 90; Mark Goldie, "the earliest notice of *Dido and Aeneas*", *Early Music* XX, no. 3 (August, 1992), 392 – 400; Curtis Price, "*Dido and Aeneas*: questions of style and evidence", *Early Music* XXII, no. 1 (February, 1994), 115 – 125; and Andrew R. Walking, "The dating of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*? A reply to Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock", *Early Music* XXII, no. 3 (August, 1994), 469 – 81;

[170] John Buttrey, "Dating Purcell's Dido and Aeneas", *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* civ (1967 – 8), 51 – 62 (where the author reads the opera in relation to the English public's fear of the joint reign of William of Orange and Mary); Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 229 – 34 (Price views the opera as a manifestation of the fear of the Protestant after James II's avowal of Catholicism); Andrew Walkling, "Performance and political allegory in Restoration England: What to interpret and when", in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 163 – 79; Idem., "Political Allegory in Purcell's Dido and Aeneas", *Music and Letters* CXVI, no. 4 (November, 1995), 540 – 71 (Walkling proposes that the work was written to address the contentious issue of James II's Declaration.) Price later retracted his politico-allegorical rending of *Dido* in his "*Dido and Aeneas*: questions of style and evidence" (see: n. 168 above).

[171] See: Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 356 – 250 BC), *Historia.*

[172] For example, Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* and *De casibus virorum illustrim*. For the "historical" Dido, see: Wendy Beth Heller, "Chastity, Heroism and Allure: Women in the opera of seventeenth-century Venice" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1995), 158 – 61; and Diane Purkiss, "The Queen on stage: Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and the Representation of Elizabeth I", *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber, 1998), 152 – 54.

chastity of Dido, and a strong association is drawn between insanity and the situation of an abandoned woman.[173]

Turning to the works of the seventeenth century, however, we find rather different portrayals of Dido. For example, as we have seen, in Cavalli's *La Didone* (on a libretto by Busenello), the heroine, in the end, happily marries Iarba, although Iarba's status is somewhat undermined when he goes insane in a number of comic scenes. Compared to this opera, the Didos on the English stage are more faithful to Virgil's epic,[174] although we still find some additional elements as each playwright exercised his own discretion. Christopher Marlowe's tragedy, *Dido Queene of Carthage* (published in 1594)[175] largely follows the course of the epic. However, despite its labelling as a "tragedie", it has many of the ingredients of pastoral comedy, including the unrequited love of Anna for Iarbus, the mischief-making of the disguised Cupid, and the abduction of Cupid by the old nurse. The juvenile cast must have emphasised the humour. The characterisation of Dido here is different from that of Virgil's queen. Her open admiration for Aeneas at first bears no sign of insane obsession (III, 1). However, on learning of his departure, her speech wanders into the world of mythological allegory, as she expresses her ardent attachment – a device that

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[173] See: Chapter 1 of this study.

[174] In seventeenth-century England, the original Latin *Aeneid* was read widely; in addition, a number of English translations were published. For example, by the year 1678, fourteen different English versions of the *Aeneid* were available. [See: Robert Russell Craven, *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Nahum Tate's Brutus of Alba* (New York and London: Garland, 1987), 239 – 240.] Later in the century, John Dryden translated the epic consulting Richard Lauderdale's then unpublished version (Dryden's version was published in 1697 and Lauderdale's in 1709). See: L. Proundfoot, *Dryden's Aeneid and its Seventeenth-century Predecessors* (Manchester: University Press, 1960). For music historians it is interesting to note that the title pages of *Orpheus Britannicus*, the second book (all the 1702, 1711, 1712, 1721 issues) bear a quotation from the *Aeneid*, Book VI.

[175] Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* (London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1594). For this study, I have consulted the text in: Roma Gill (ed), *Christopher Marlowe: Dido Queene of Carthage*, The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), vol. 1, 114 – 74.

draws upon conventional portrayals of insanity previously discussed in this study (V, 1):

> Ile frame me wings of waxe like Icarus.
> And ore his ships will soare unto the Sunne,
> That they may melt and I fall in his armes:
> Or els Ile make a prayer unto the waves,
> That I may swim to him like Tritons neece:
> O Anna, fetch Arions Harpe,
> That I may tice a Dolphin to the shoare,
> And ride upon his backe unto my love...[176]

The implication of insanity via convention is confirmed as Marlowe's drama moves towards its denouement. Dido, in order to "rid [herself] from these thoughts of Lunacie",[177] burns herself alive, and the play ends with the shocking double suicide of Iarbus and Anna.

Before undertaking *Dido and Aeneas* for Purcell, Tate had already produced another "Dido" play: *Brutus of Alba* (1678).[178] The character of Dido does not actually appear in the final version of the play, but Tate tells us in the preface:

> I wou'd not have surpriz'd to find this Tragedy bear some Resemblance with the passages of the Fourth Book of the *Aeneids*, for I had begun and finisht it under the Names of Dido and Aeneas; but was wrought by advice of some Friends, to Transform it to the Dress it now wears.[179]

In this play, then, the Virgilian story was repeated with the two main protagonists, renamed Brutus and the Queen of Syracuse, and it soon becomes clear that the characterisations in *Brutus of Alba* prepared the ways in which Tate was to portray the main character of *Dido and Aeneas*. First, Tate, eliminating the goddesses who were dominant in the original of Virgil; introduced an evil sorceress, Ragusa, who was

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[176] Marlowe, *Dido Queene of Carthage*, V – 1, 243 – 50. Gill (ed.), *Marlowe: Dido*, 171.
[177] Marlowe, *Dido*, V – 1, 273. Gill (ed), *Dido*, 172.
[178] Nahum Tate, Brutus of Alba (London: Jacob Tonson, 1678). For this study, I have consulted the text in: Robert Russell Craven, *A Critical Old-Spelling Edition of Nahum Tate's Brutus of Alba* (New York and London: Garland, 1987).
[179] Craven, *Tate's Brutus of Alba*, 75.

probably descended from the witch in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and offered the model of the Sorceress in the opera. Second, the character of the Queen is somewhat more mature than Marlowe's Dido and more akin to Virgil's. Upon hearing of Brutus' intention of leaving, she rages and vows to avenge herself along the lines of Medea: "...he is false, as Jason false, forsworn,/ Teach me Medea's Arts! For my Revenge/ The Globe shall wreck, and Nature be in Pangs".[180] Here, though, the madness of Tate's Queen (unlike Marlowe's) is never confirmed,[181] although the drama tells us of her threatening fury. Also, it is the strong pride and dignity of the Queen that Tate seems to have wished to portray. During the final confrontation with Brutus, she rejects his pity and orders him to leave her. These attributes were inherited later by the Dido in Tate's operatic version.

Probably, the biggest problem in interpreting Dido in the opera by Tate and Purcell is caused by the ambiguous, and, at times, obscure motivations of the plot. Dido suffers from inexplicable grief, and readily invites Belinda's rather imprudent advice. Aeneas, on the other hand, is rather effete as a hero and resolves to leave the Queen not because of the command of the Gods but owing to a trick of the Sorceress who incites hatred against the queen for no known reason. Considering these flaws and despite several allegorical interpretations of this opera, we may find it more natural to accept this work as a moral lesson for young ladies.[182] In this sense, Josias Priest's boarding school still seems to be a strong candidate for the work's birthplace, although we may not discard the possibility of the court performance of the work.

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[180] Tate, *Brutus of Alba*, V – 2, l. 23 – 26. Craven, *Tate's Brutus*, 148.
[181] In fact, it is the poisoned Somizan that goes mad in the drama (V, 3 and 4).
[182] Ellen Harris and, most recently, Wendy Heller have taken this stance. See: Ellen Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), esp. 18 –33; and Wendy Heller, "'A Present for the Ladies': Ovid, Montaigne and the Redemption of Purcell's Dido", *Music and Letters* CXXXIV, no. 2 (May, 2003), 189 – 208.

What is important here is that Tate emphasises the strength of Dido's actions, and constructs the opera text (especially its ending scene) almost as if it were Dido's first person narrative, while Virgil presents the heroine through rather chauvinistic eyes and, in so doing, suggests that they are reliant on men, and that abandonment therefore holds dangers. Wendy Heller has indicated that Tate's opera was indebted more to Ovid's *Heroides* than to Virgil's epic,[183] but her arguments are mostly based upon textual similarities. It seems that the crucial connection is that both Ovid and Tate write about Dido's feelings in the first person, and that Ovid must have been an important source in this sense, because he was the earliest author to portray Dido in such a way. Even so, the dignity and determination, which Dido shows in the last scene, is Tate's creation and forms the core of the opera.

Throughout the opera, Dido does not act as a strong ruler but an ordinary woman who loves too much. It is her unstinting love for Aeneas that eventually results in her downfall. On the other hand, Aeneas' love for Dido seems rather frivolous; the Sailor's brief aria, "Come away fellow Sailors" (z. 626 – 29b), which urges his companions to "Take a Bouze short leave of your Nymphs on the Shore,...But never intending to Visit them more",[184] inevitably suggests a parallel with Aeneas' cruel behaviour in the audience's mind.

In their final dialogue, Dido remains totally rational, although she sharply accuses Aeneas. The reason for the elimination of her mad scene may have been practical; the mad scene does not seem to be suitable for young ladies' education if we consider the contemporary theatrical tendency to present insanity with sexual innuendo in a comical light. But there seems to be a more plausible rationale for

[183] See Heller, "A Present for the Ladies", n. 155 above, and Ovid, *Heroides*, trans. Harold Isbell (London: Penguin, 1990), 56 – 66.

presenting the rational Dido: she is not the prototype of an abandoned woman. Upon Dido's accusation, the panic-stricken Aeneas retracts his plan, saying "in spight of Joves Command I stay,/ Offend the Gods, and Love obey".[185] Dido suspects, however, that his words do not come from his sincere love but from pity, which she rejects with dignity. Dido's determination here is emphasised by her sharp repetition of the word "away!". She does not passively and miserably allow Aeneas to abandon her, but, instead, she herself chooses to abandon the inconstant Aeneas, who then unwillingly leaves.

Throughout the opera, Tate retained his stylised and formalised manner, which, as a result, may have weakened the realistic aspects of the characterization. Purcell's music, however, rigidly follows Tate's manner. Dido's final utterance is embodied in a well-known lament: "When I am laid in earth" (z. 626–38b). This piece is typical of the lament of the Baroque era, built over a decorated descending tetrachord, in a minor mode, and presented in a rigidly unvaried manner.

Here we might consider the observations of Susan McClary who has evaluated Monteverdi's *Lamento della ninfa*, also based on a descending tetrachord, in terms of madness and gender. McClary's verdict that the nymph is mad is based upon the Nymph's obsessive fixation with her unfaithful lover so as to make her disregard "standard emblems of femininity"[186] (for example, the Nymph crushes flowers).[187] Furthermore, her melody-line, through its "refusal of cadence", not infrequently causes frictions with the bass ostinato, as if it resists acceptance of "normative

[184]Irena Cholij (ed.) "Dido and Aeneas", in *Henry Purcell's Operas: the Complete Text*, ed. Michael Burden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 110.
[185] Ibid., 111.
[186] McClary *Feminine Endings*, 89.
[187] "Si calpestando fiori…". Denis Stevens, *Claudio Monteverdi: Songs and Madrigals* (Ebrington: Long Barn, 1999), 127.

reality".[188] For McClary the nymph is mad, and this is unlike the case of Dido, which she interprets simply as depicting grief.[189] It is true that Dido's melody, unlike that of Nymph, does not show "dissonant refusals of cadences implied in the [ostinato] bass",[190] and in this sense, Dido, even facing immediate death, is, by this particular musical criterion of McClary's, quite sane.

We should be wary, however, of accepting such a purely musical criterion of madness. Regarding seventeenth-century ostinati, McClary tells us:

> Whether in the semiotic service of grief [as in Dido's lament], erotic transport [as in the duet closing Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*], or madness [as in the nymph's lament], the ostinato is always associated with some obsessive condition.[191]

This is rather problematic because in the seventeenth century, such musical semiotics does not seem to have been operating as rigidly as she claims.[192] For example, "Speme, à dirla come và" from Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* (Act II, Scene 2) is, although written an over a descending tetrachord in a minor mode, fundamentally a comic song.[193] Moreover, her argument about madness in relation to fixation upon memories of lost love is also questionable.[194] In fact, grief in the face of trauma is often a sign of sanity rather than insanity. Therefore, lamentation has many functions in dramaturgical terms – only when lamentation is accompanied by a loss of reality or a

[188] McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 87 – 89.
[189] Ibid., 192, n. 17.
[190] Ibid., 87.
[191] Ibid., 192, n. 17.
[192] For a more discussion regarding the descending tetrachord, see: Chapter 8 of this study.
[193] Also see Chapter 8 of this study.
[194] Most recently, McClary's reading of Monteverdi's dramatic music as gendered conceptions has been criticised by Jeffrey Kurtzman. His counter-arguments are mainly, that how to read musical binary opposition is always ambiguous unless the composer made his intention explicitly, and that McClary has applied a modern concept of tonality to the music of Monteverdi which is fundamentally too early to be discussed in such terms. Idem, "Deconstructing Gender in Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*", *Journal of Seventeenth Century-Music* IX, no. 1(2003) <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Kurtzman.html>.

complete breakdown in a character's identity can it be said to stray into the genre of the mad.

As we have seen, when assessing the sanity or insanity of Dido, musical factors on their own will not be sufficient. Also, we must take into account the tradition in England of transforming classical stories into moralistic and didactic tales. Examples include *The Tragedy of Nero* by Nathaniel Lee (1674), *Troilus and Cressida* by Dryden (1679), and *Oedipus* written in collaboration of Lee and Dryden (1678).[195] Therefore, if Dido were to be mad, that would exclude her from having the capacity to make moral choices. Moreover, Tate seems to go to great pains to exclude those references to her madness found in Virgil, and to find other reasons for her actions.

Purcell's skills succeeded in ennobling Dido's character even beyond the portrayal found in Tate's text. Dido's dignified attitude towards the irresponsible man and her intense but inward expression of grief are, surely fashioned to be remembered by an audience of young girls.

Tate and Purcell, though, did not forget the work's potential as a Restoration entertainment, even if this was not their primary purpose. The presence of the Sorceress and her followers, like Ragusa and her attendants in *Brutus*, illustrates this point as does, rather surprisingly, Dido's poignant lament. It seems not to have been noticed before that the text of Dido's lament draws on a dramatic model that had already proved successful in the theatre. In Thomas Otway's *The Orphan* (1680),[196] the heroine Monimia also commits suicide and the similarity between the two speeches can be seen below:

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[195] Spencer, *Tate*, 55.

[196] Thomas Otway, *The Orphan: or The Unhappy-Marriage, a Tragedy as it is acted at His Royal Highness the Duke's Theatre* (London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1680).

[*The Orphan*, V, 2] When I'm laid low in the Grave, and quite forgotten, Maist thou be happy in a fairer Bride; But none can ever love thee like Monimia. When I am dead, as presently I shall be; (For the grim Tyrant grasps my heart already,) Speak well of me, and if thou find ill tongues Too busie with my fame, don't hear me wrong'd; 'T will be a noble justice to the memory Of a poor wretch, once honour'd with thy Love. How my head swims! 'T is very dark: Good-night![197]	[Dido and Aeneas, Act III] Thy hand Belinda, – darkness shades me, On thy Bosom let me rest. More I wou'd but Death invades me, Death is now a welcome Guest. When I am laid in Earth my wrongs Create No troubles in thy Breast Remember me, but ah! forget my Fate.[198]

Otway's heroine takes poison after being deceived and raped. She secretly agrees to marry her guardian's son, Castalio, but on the night of the wedding, his brother, Polydore, pretends to be Castalio and breaks into her chamber. Ellen Harris has already drawn our attention to the recurring suicide scenes of rape victims on the seventeenth-century English stage, and has provided an interpretation of Dido in this light.[199] The parallels between the two laments above may at first seem to support her theory. However, despite Harris' observation, the issue here is not rape as physical violation, but moral issues surrounding physical union. Monimia succumbs to the person who she has thought to be her husband. In parallel to this, Dido is once ready to accept Aeneas although their consummation is only vaguely implied.[200] In both of the cases, the heroine's consent is given in anticipation of her marriage. However, the situations do not turn out to be what the heroines have expected. Monimia realises that the person who has been admitted is a trickster, and Dido learns that Aeneas, despite her belief and hope, is not totally committed to her. Both of the stories tell of the tragedy of a woman who advances into a physical relationship too hastily: this

[197] Thomas Otway, *The Orphan: or the Unhappy-Marriage* (London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1680), 69.
[198] Cholij (ed.),"Dido and Aeneas", 111.
[199] Harris, *Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas*, 23 – 25.

may be the moral message for young girls that both Otway and Tate latently presented in their works.

In fact, it may have been rather natural for the Restoration audience to view Dido as belonging to the Monimia-type, since Otway's play was popular and stayed in the public consciousness for some time. The popularity of *The Orphan* was largely due to the excellent performance of the first Monimia, Elizabeth Barry.[201] Consequently, the play was frequently revived over the following decades, with the first revival, a month after its premiere, then, again in January 1687, February 1692, and again in November 1699.[202] Apart from these documented performances, there may have been yet further performances in the 1684/85 season and the 1690/91 season, since the playbook was reprinted during those periods.[203] During the course of those performances, Monimia's verses became an archetypal lament of the Restoration period. Otway was surely one of the foremost writers of pathetic tragedies and his close relationship with Tate has already been acknowledged in the field of literary studies.[204]

[200] The only implication of their consummation appears when, upon hearing the message of the Spirit, Aeneas laments: "one night enjoy'd, the next forsook". Cholij (ed.), "Dido and Aeneas", 110.

[201] She first created the role of the Sorceress in Charles Davenant's *Circe* (1677), which influenced Tate's *Brutus of Alba*. For Davenant's influence on Tate, see: Craven, *Tate's Brutus of Alba*, 44 – 46. Also, Henry Purcell wrote some incidental music for *Circe* (z. 575).

[202] Van Lennep, *The London Stage*, part I, p. 285, 286, 355, 401, 517,

[203] Ibid., part I, 332 and 387.

[204] Both Tate and Otway, amongst other prolific dramatist, participated in the project of translating Ovid's *Epistles* (in 1680). For their relationship, see: Christopher Spencer, *Nahum Tate* (New York: Twayne, 1972), 49, and 111.

Chapter 6

Spain, Germany, Austria

For the sake of completeness in this study, I have included here brief accounts of early mad songs and operas in Spain, Germany and Austria. Most of this information has been gathered from secondary sources, though the observations, comparisons and analyses that accompany this information and link it to the main theme of this thesis are my own.

Spain - shared themes, separate traditions of representation

As is well known, opera – at least opera on the Italian model – got off to a slow start on the Iberian peninsular. The first native opera composition there seems to have been *La selva sin amor* with a text by Lope de Vega and music by Filippo Piccinini (originally from Bologna), which was performed in 1627. There was then nothing until 1660 when two works by Calderón and the composer Juan Hidalgo were performed in Madrid: *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan.*[1] This last work does contain a mad character (Eróstrato), and we shall return to it later, but first we need to examine a little the various traditions out of which these operas emerged.

Superficially, at least, the situation regarding the diverse genres of Spanish theatre music was not unlike that of England. There were individual theatrical songs for use

[1] The standard study of stage music in seventeenth century Spain is now Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). See also: Emilio Casares and Xoán M. Carriera, 'Spain', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, IV, 469-73; Jack Sage, 'Seventeenth-Century Spanish Music Drama and Theatre', *International Musicological Society Congress Report*, xii (1977), 701-5; idem., 'The Spanish Contribution to the Birth of Opera', in *The Operas of Monteverdi*, English National Opera Guides 45, edited by Nicholas John (London: Calder Publications Ltd, 1992), 65-69.

in secular plays (*comedias*) and sacred allegorical dramas (*autos sacramentales*), 'semi-operas' and *zarzuelas* which mixed spoken sections with musical ones,[2] and, as we have seen, just a few operas based partly on Italian models. Quite why operatic developments were so slow to take root in Spain (and, for that matter, Portugal, which produced no opera until the eighteenth century) is not altogether clear though several factors seem to have contributed to the delay.

First, there is the austere Catholicism of the Spanish Royal Court which may have resisted an art form which had an alarming tendency to populate its plots with all kinds of situations and characters, including the lewd, the mad, and the subversive. When Margherita of Austria became betrothed to Philip III of Spain in 1598 she passed through Mantua on her way to join him, where she saw a performance of Guarini's *Il pastor fido*. It was clearly assumed that she had enjoyed the experience since Gastoldi included in his *Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1602) four pieces headed 'Il Gioco de la cieca rapresentato alla Regina di Spagna nel Pastor fido', which were settings of the erotic "blind man's buff" episode from Act III Scene 2 of the play.[3] However, in an account of Margherita's life written in 1617 by a courtier, Diego de Guzmán, we are told that she attended these theatrical events in Italy "more out of obligation than for pleasure", and that "it was very much in accord with her judgement to banish these theatrical spectacles from Spain, such that, in effect, for

[2] The 'semi-operas' were court plays which usually had mythological themes, and were designed to incorporate operatic scenes (including recitatives) alongside spoken ones. The Zarzuela (the root of the term means 'bramble bush', and may refer to a protective screen grown around the hunting lodge of Philip IV on the outskirts of Madrid) was lighter in tone and generally did not include recitative. See the detailed discussion of the distinctions in Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 258-61, and compare the conflation of the two in Roger Alier, 'Zarzuela', *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, IV, 1211-1215. The term 'semi-opera' was coined in 1728 by Roger North in his *Musicall Grammarian* to describe certain works by Purcell (see: Strahle, *An Early Music Dictionary: Musical Terms from British Sources, 1500-1740*, 257; see also: Chapter 5 of this study), and Stein has deliberately taken it over for a small group of works by Calderón (see *Songs of Mortals*, 130).

[3] See Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Vol. 1, 150, 152.

some time she succeeded".[4] Later, the *comedias* of Lope de Vega and Calderón did contain humorous, and buffoonish, characters and plots, but little that was directly erotic or went beyond the bounds of "clean humour"[5] or that reached out to "low" public taste. This sense of decorum naturally effected the potential range of characters on the Spanish stage (including mad characters) and also restricted the traditions upon which it felt it could draw. For example, the "madness" of the main character in Cervante's *Don Quixote* is of the eccentric kind, made humorous with quaint chivalry, rather than tragic or unsettling. These latter kinds of madness seem to have been rare in Spanish drama and literature, perhaps, in part, because the traumatic events of the reign of Queen Juana "La Loca" (who, 1506, became too mad to rule, and was then confined to a palace near Valladolid for five decades) made the exploration of such themes too problematic politically and socially for the succeeding generation.[6]

The innovations that were introduced into the Spanish theatre – especially Lope de Vega's abandonment of the Aristotelian "unities" of time, place and action, as set out in his study of drama in 1609[7] – did influence Italian dramatists and librettists,[8] but this by no means implies that there was also a complementary attempt to exchange views between Italy and Spain on musical practices in relation to opera. Such an exchange was hindered by many factors. For example, even though diplomatic

[4] Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 69-70.
[5] Ibid., 261
[6] The standard studies of her life are: Antonio Rodríguez Villa, *La Reina Doña Juana la Loca, Estudio Histórico* (Madrid: n.pub., 1892) and Fernández Alvarez, *Juana la Loca, la Cautiva de Tordesillas* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2000).
[7] Lope de Vega, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* [Madrid, 1609]. For the facsimile edition, see: Juana José Prades, *Lope de Vega: El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones scientificas, 1971).
[8] Vega's treatise opens with the advice to the Italian Hispanophile, Jacopo Cicognini, that he should prefer natural variety to artificial unity. Jacopo's son, G. A. Cicognini, the librettist of Cavalli's *Giasone*, echoes this advice in the "Foreword" to his libretto. Also Busenello wrote in the preface to his *Didone*, "it is constructed not in accordance with the Rules of Antiquity but according to Spanish methods which permit the years, not just the hours, to be represented". See: Sage, 'The Spanish Contribution to the Birth of Opera', 67.

missions to Spain were fairly frequent,[9] a travelling opera company visiting Madrid would find no other court receptive to opera (and therefore no other potential source of income) within a thousand miles. Again, the performance traditions in Spain were somewhat singular, since both male and female roles in the Spanish court plays and semi-operas were usually only presented by women,[10] and the conservatism of the "not generally questioned" compositional norms of Spanish music was well known.[11]

Even so, as far as the theatre was concerned, it is clear that Spanish playwrights did participate in a Europe-wide interest in farcical, buffoonish and (occasionally) mad characters on the stage. Little direct investigation has been made into these particular traditions on the Iberian peninsula, but a glance at the play titles by, for example, Lope de Vega reveals the usual crop of words suggestive of such characters and plots – *loco* [mad];[12] *bobo* [silly fool];[13] *furioso* [raging];[14] *bizarrías* [bizarre ones];[15] and so on. Moreover, many of these plays employed theatrical songs, which would have enhanced the action at strategic moments. However, in spite of the detailed work on particular repertories in this area by Felipe Pedrell, Jesús Bal y Gay, and particularly Miguel Querol, Spanish theatrical songs await a comprehensive survey, and their music is scattered through many sources and editions.[16]

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[9] To cite but one example, The Duke of Mantua sent the painter Peter Paul Rubens on a "good-will" mission to the Spanish Court in 1603. His attempts to track down the travelling court by pursuing it from Madrid, to Aranjuez, Burgos and Valladolid, are detailed in a series of letters to the Mantuan Court Secretary, Annibale Chieppio. See Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London; Phaidon, 1998), 71-73.
[10] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 134, 190-1, 219, 253.
[11] Ibid., 190.
[12] *Los locos por el cielo* (1598-1603).
[13] *El bobo del colegio* ((1606-10); *La dama boba* (1613).
[14] *Belardo el furioso* (1586-95).
[15] *Las Bizarrías de Belisa* (1634).
[16] See, for example: Jesús Bal y Gay (ed.), *Treinta canciones de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1935); Felipe Pedrell (ed.), *Cancionero musical popular español* (Valls: E. Castells, 1922), Volume IV; Miguel Querol (ed.), *La música en las obras de Cervantes: Romances, canciones y danzas traditionales a tres y cuatro voces y para canto y piano* (Madrid: Uníon musical española, 1975); idem., ed., *Música barroca española, VI: teatro musical de Calderón*, Monumentos de la música española, 39 (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1981); and idem., ed.,

Louise K. Stein in her book on Spanish musical theatre does provide a valuable (if unnumbered) list of surviving theatrical songs,[17] though there is little analysis of these pieces by genre, and almost no indication of their specific content. However, of the 568 songs in the list, around half a dozen seem to make reference, at least in their titles, to some aspect of foolery or madness: "Amor loco" (from Lope de Vega, *La bella malmaridada*, Act I);[18] "Ay amor, qué dulce es la saña [= fury]/de tu sin razón [= reason]" (from Antonio de Zamora's *Preso muerto y vencedor*, Act II);[19] "Ay qué mal, ay qué rabia [= rage]" (from Marcos de Lanuza's *Hypermenestra y Linceo*, Act II);[20] "Inconstante fortuna/condicional imagen de la luna" (from Pedro Calderón's *El conde Lucanor*, Act I);[21] "Loca esperanza que velas" (from Alejandro Arboreda's *El arco de paz del cielo Santa Bárbara*, Act II);[22] and "Razón, fortuna, amor, celos" (from Calderón's *La banda y la flor*, Act III).[23] Of course, without a proper analysis of the content and context of the hundreds of theatrical songs in Stein's catalogue, such a list can only give the roughest indication that songs involving madness or foolery were indeed in the theatrical repertory, but, unfortunately, such a detailed examination of this special repertory must lie outside the bounds of this particular study.

A similar problem arises when trying to assess the "popularity" of these theatrical songs, and at what levels in Spanish society they were able to penetrate the culture. As with the English song and ballad traditions, there is the question of whether these

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Cancionero musical de Lope de Vega (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1986), 3 Vols.

[17] Stein, "Catalogue of Extant Seventeenth-Century Spanish Theatrical Songs", *Songs of Mortals*, Appendix II, 361-407.

[18] The main source of the song is E-Mn: MS M-1370 – 72, p. 63. See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 365.

[19] The song is contained in so-called "Novena Manuscripts", one of the largest sources for music for comedias of that time. The source is now at the Congregacion de Nuestra Senora de la Novena, in Madrid. See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 367.

[20] The main source of the song is E-Mn, MS 13622, ff. $37^r – 38^r$. See: Stein, 368.

[21] The main source of the song is MS Novena, p. 18. See: Stein, 383.

[22] The main source of the song is MS Novena, p. 310. See: Stein, 386.

[23] The main source of the song is MS Novena, p. 67. See: Stein, 396.

works were popular in origin, or by destination, or by parody (see: Chapter 5).[24] Finding works that are genuinely popular in origin (that is, works that apparently spring out of the spontaneous, and anonymous, music making of the "folk" – whoever they might be – and which tend to be handed down orally from generation to generation) is always difficult. No Spanish theatrical songs as such seem to fall into this category, though *Guárdame las vacas*, "a well-known tune that had already crossed from the popular sphere into that of sophisticated art music" was parodied in an instrumental version performed in 1617 in the *Masque of the Dreams and Visions of the Night* presented for the Duke of Lerma.[25] As for songs popular by destination, one such candidate might seem to be *Amor loco* ("Mad love") which is quoted in at least three works, each of them by a different author.[26] However, there is no evidence for its performance outside of these works, and, in cases such as these, we might want to say that the song was not intended for (that is, intentionally designed for) wide popular consumption, but that, in the end, it took on the appearance of popularity in virtue of its (unanticipated) reception and – perhaps more importantly – the

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[24] This codification of the meanings of the word "popular" draws on Richard Green's distinction between songs popular in origin and those popular by destination found in his *The Early English Carols* [1935] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 130. Compare Ermolao Rubieri's three categories of popular song: (1) those composed by and for the people; (2) those composed for the people but not by the people; and (3) those composed neither for nor by the people, but adopted by the people because they conform to their way of thinking and feeling. Rubieri's categories are reported and discussed by Antonio Gramsci in David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds., *Antonio Gramsci: Selections from Cultural Writings* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985), 195. Gramsci believed that all "popular" songs belonged, in the end, to Rubieri's third category. For a discussion of the dubious notion of "collective composition" in folk music see: Ernst Fischer's "Folk Art" in his *The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach* (Harmondsworth; Penguin, 1963), 62-8; and Dave Harker, *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1700 to the Present Day* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1985). For a sophisticated discussion of the notion of folksong in early modern Europe see Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Index, "Folklore", "Folksong". See also Footnote 26 below.

[25] Lousie K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 83. *Guárdame las vacas* formed the subject of instrumental variations by Luis de Narváez, Alonso de Mudarra, Enríquez de Valderrábano, Antonio Cabezón and many others, and also played an important role in the early history of the *Romanesca*. For the Valderrábano variations see Archibald T. Davison and Willi Apel, eds., *Historical Anthology of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), Vol. I, 133 (Item 124).

[26] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 365. The sources are: Augustín Moreto, *Yo por vos, y vos por otro*, Act I; Lope de Vega, *La bella malmaridada*, Act I; and Jorge de Montemayor, *La Diana*.

unpredictable conveniences of the circumstances of its re-use. The difference between "intentional" popularity and "reception" popularity is not always easy to discern at a distance of several hundred years, and what might seem to be clues to the distinction within the style of the music itself can easily lead to circular arguments.[27] We are, though, on surer ground when it comes to imitations, not so much of melodic style, as of popular formal types and poetic genres within theatrical music. In Calderon's *Celos aun del aire matan*, for example, a "mad" opera which we shall discuss in more detail shortly, the composer Hidalgo sets the dignified monolgue, "Noble en Tinacre naciste" for the huntsman Clarín in Act II, as a *jácara* (a swaggering, common dance) – thus revealing Clarín's character to be that of a stereotypical ruffian.[28]

Exactly how music fitted into Spanish plays of the seventeenth century, what dramaturgical functions it fulfilled in them, and whether it was specifically used in the representation of madness, are questions difficult to resolve in detail. By way of example we might briefly examine an interesting work by Pedro Calderón, *El jardín de Falerina* (probably written 1648-9).[29] This two-act play centres upon an encounter between the hero, Rugero, and the sorceress Falerina who uses her musical and magical arts to seduce him. Clearly the story has strong links with traditions we have already met elsewhere in the course of this study. The plot is based on episodes from both *Orlando furioso* by Ariosto and *Orlando innamorato*, by Matteo Maria Boiardo.[30] Moreover, the character of Falerina is none other than that of "Falsirena", who had already made an appearance as an evil seductress and enchantress in Mazzochi's opera *La catena d'Adone* (Rome, 1626), which, in turn, was derived from

[27] I am most grateful to Anthony Pryer for helping me to clarify and develop my ideas in this area, for providing several crucial references, and for generously suggesting some fundamental distinctions.
[28] See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 230-233.
[29] See the general discussion of this work in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 113-20.

Marino's poem *L'Adone,* dedicated by the poet to Louis XIII of France in 1623.[31]

The evidence for the contribution of music to performances of Calderón's play in its original form is rather complex. According to Louise Stein, the stage directions in the extant, seventeenth century copies of the text,[32] call only for ensemble songs; that is, sung dance music for Act I and songs of enchantment sung by Falerina's nymphs to Rugero in Act II. However, in the earliest surviving music for the play (found in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona),[33] there are nine songs, three of them solo, four of them ensemble pieces. Moreover, the texts for the solo pieces and some of the ensemble pieces are not to be found in the play, and are probably later additions. However, the enchantment music in Act II may be original. Rugero hears the repeated ensemble song of the nymphs ("Cesen, cesen rigores")[34] but sees only mute statues around him, until Falerina steps down from her pedestal and works her charms on him. However, Rugero resists her magic with the power of reason, and so Falserina commands her nymphs to sing the four-voiced "Ay, miseró di te", at which, in the words of Louise Stein, "Rugero suffers sudden lethargy, delirium, and finally total loss of senses", even though the music "does not seem special or enchanting".[35]

This does seem to be another case where the expressive needs of Spanish drama are not quite matched by an over-conservative musical style. But, from the perspective of this study, these examples from *El jardín de Falerina* do draw attention to an interesting dramaturgical overlap between scenes of madness and those of

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[30] Especially Book I, cantos 17 and 28; and Book II, cantos 4 -7 of Boiardo's epic. See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 113, n. 21. For the epics by Ariosto and Boiardo, see: Chapter 2 of this study.

[31] See: Jack Sage, "The function of music in the theatre of Calderón", in *Critical Studies of Calderón's Comedias*, ed. J. E. Varey (London: Tamesis, 1973), 216-18; and P. J. Waley, "Giambattista Marino and Gracián's Falsirena", *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* XXXIV (1957), 169-71.

[32] Calderón, *Quinta parte de comedias* (1677), and Calderón, *Verdadera quinta parte de comedias* (1682). See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 114, footnote 27.

[33] E-Bc, ms 747/4.

[34] See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 437, Example 19c.

enchantment where, briefly, the perspectives of a wider reality may be lost. Enchantment scenes are fairly common in early opera, usually in relation to the story of Ulysses and Circe,[36] but also in connection with Ruggiero and Alcina.[37] However, although the characters in such scenes are often described as having their senses weakened, they still tend to behave rationally within the limited confines of their environment, and respond logically, if narrowly, to the seductive agendas on offer. They are, in a sense, cocooned from a wider reality, rather than divorced from reality altogether, and therefore such scenes and character–types are excluded from this study. Similarly, some plays and operas call for "magic music" but, as we shall see later in this study, this tends to be of a rather different kind from that accompanying mad scenes.

Perhaps the work closest to a "mad" opera in the early Spanish repertory is *Celos aun del aire matan*, produced in Madrid in 1660 with a text by Calderón and music by Juan Hidalgo.[38] A score for voices and bass line for all three acts survives,[39] and another source has the music for Act I only.[40] The story of the opera is based on the myth of Cephalus and Procris, and is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Book 7. Aura, an attendant of Diana, allows her lover Eróstrato into the forbidden sacred grove. She is betrayed by her sister-nymph Procris, and Diana prepares to kill her. But at that

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[35] Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 116. The music is given on page 439 as example 19d. Stein incorrectly refers to the music examples as 13a and 13b, rather than 19c and 19d.

[36] See, for example: Zamponi's *Ulisse all'isola di Circe* (Brussels, 1650), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. V, p. 422, no. 24207]; Richiedei's *La Circe delusa* (Brescia, 1661), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. II, p. 130, no. 5648]; Ziani's *La Circe* (Vienna, 1665), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. II, p. 129, no. 5638]; Franchi's *La Circe* (Venice, 1679), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. II, p. 129, no. 1639]; and Sabadini's *Circe abbandonata da Ulisse* (Venice, 1697), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. II, p. 130, no. 5646].

[37] For example: Francesca Caccini's *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall' isola d'Alcina* (Florence, 1625), [Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. IV, p. 13, no. 14223]. See also: Chapter 2 of this study, esp. Section "Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*".

[38] See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 219-57.

[39] Évora (Portugal), Biblioteca Pública, CL 1.2-1.

[40] Madrid, Palacio de Liria, Caja 174, no. 121.

moment Venus snatches Aura away and transforms her into a nymph of the air. Eróstrato is driven to madness and violence by the loss of Aura, and in Act II he burns down Diana's temple. In Act III Diana sends three Furies to wreak revenge, and punish all those who dare to love. Procris, who meanwhile has fallen in love with Cephalus, is "accidentally" mortally wounded by him. As she is dying, she admits that her love was sullied by jealousy after hearing him call out the name Aura, but he explains that he was only yearning for a cool breeze – hence the title, "Jealousy, even of the air, kills". Eróstrato ends the opera hidden in the forest like a wild beast.

As we have seen, the Spanish musical traditions were rather distinctive. In the semi-operas and the few surviving operas, we can still discover strophic airs in triple metre, declamatory airs in duple metre and several types of recitative, though their uses were different from those found in Italian works. According to Louise Stein, the most generally used musical form for plot narration and dialogue "was not through-composed recitative, but strophic air, whether in duple or triple metre."[41] This was a somewhat inflexible system and, at the point where Hidalgo had to portray the demented outrage and lamenting despair of Eróstrato at losing Aura (Act I), he decides to try a new combination of old techniques. Eróstrato's "furioso" couplets (with eleven-syllable lines) are expressed through an assertive triple-time air, with an angrily rising melodic structure, whereas his confused, despairing emotions (in eight-syllable lines) break into this pattern in brief sections of duple-time recitative.[42]

Stein comments that "The music of this scene is 'realistic' in that it captures the grief, shock and spontaneous madness that overcome Eróstrato upon hearing … the tragic news concerning his beloved".[43] The kind of musical combination used to

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[41] See: Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 229.
[42] See Example 49 in Stein, *Songs of Mortals*, 499.
[43] See: Ibid., 238.

present this scene was unusual for Hidalgo, and it perhaps shows the beginnings of not only an awareness of, but an acceptance of Italian methods of musico-dramatic portrayal. Similar questions might be raised in relation to Aura's great recitative-monologue which she sings whilst tied to a tree in preparation for Diana's punishment.[44] At least one writer has drawn attention to the parallels between this lament and the situation of Arianna in the famous setting by Monteverdi.[45] Both are abandoned to their fate by their lovers, and Aura refers to "mi tragedia" (Act I, scene 2) in a way that belies the apparent pastoral setting, but suggests links to the genre-type of *Arianna.* Whatever these links – indirect or otherwise – with Italian opera might have been, however, they were not to come to fruition in Spain until the eighteenth century. The story in Naples, a province of the Spanish crown since 1504, was, of course, rather different, though for much of the seventeenth century Neapolitan theatrical activity remained largely indebted to the Venetian repertory.

Germany

Before Italian opera arrived on German soil there was already a variety of stage-presentations with music in vogue. These included sacred dramas, Latin school dramas, court entertainments, and ballet and plays with music in the popular theatre.[46] There were also some attempts to revive Roman comedies with music, particularly at Heidelberg after the university there acquired a manuscript collection of Seneca and Terence in 1450.[47] Although those performances usually had prologues in German

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[44] See Ibid., 239-43, and Example 50.
[45] Ann Livermore, *A Short History of Spanish Music* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 101.
[46] For the most recent study of German opera at its nascent stage, see: John Warrack, *German Opera: from the beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), especially, Chapter 1 and 2. Also see, Thomas Bauman, "Germany, Austria" in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. II, 386 – 7.
[47] Warrack, *German Opera*, 3.

and made use of some music, they did not lead Germany to establish its own fully-sung musical drama; that had to wait until the eighteenth century.

In the seventeenth century Germany gradually accommodated Italian opera and some original operas in the Italian language were written for German courts. In those productions, we can trace two strong traditions of the German theatre. The first is their predilection for stories derived from the Bible. From the sixteenth century onwards, the Germans found in musical drama a means of spreading their religious ideas – protestant dramas with hymns and instrumental music in North Germany, and Jesuit dramas with music, dance and spectacle in South Germany.[48] This tradition prepared ways for sacred operas (or staged oratorios) favoured in Germany in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, an example being *Il sacrificio d'Abramo* by Luca Antonio Predieri (on a libretto by Francesca Manzoni).[49]

The second strong tradition in the German theatre was their predilection for the professional Fool. It seems that this was partly initiated by itinerant English troups (known as *Englische Komödianten)*, especially the one led by William Kemp (who was, as a fool in the service of the English court and later joined Shakespeare's company), which visited Germany in 1586.[50] These activities led the Germans to create their own versions of the fool in characters such as Wursthänsel (also known as "Hanswurst"). By the beginning of the eighteenth comic characters had become almost an essential part of German opera. For example, Barthold Feind, a librettist for the Hamburg opera tells us in 1708 that "I have always been explicitly requested to insert a comic part in my operas...if the introduction of a comic character proves quite

[48] Ibid., 4 – 8.
[49] *Il sacrificio d'Abramo* (Würzburg: A. Gleitsmann, s.a.). Since the libretto describes the composer as "maestro di capella del duomo di Bologna", the work was probably performed some time between 1728 and 31 when Predieri was in charge of the cathedral of Bologna.
[50] Warrack, *German Opera*, 11.

unavoidable, I suggest that this part be assigned to a satirist, who derives the vices of the time".[51] An example of one of Feind's "comic characters" is Bassian, a fruit-seller in his *Masagniello furioso* (1706), a mad opera which we will examine shortly.

Among the operas produced in seventeenth-century Germany, there were very few containing mad scenes. Apart from a revival of Freschi/Aureli's *Helena rapita da Paride*, premiered in Venice in 1677 and given in Hanover in 1681,[52] the only title relevant to this study is *Le pazzie d'Amore e dell'Interesse* by Francesco Antonio Pistocchi,[53] performed at the court theatre of Ansbach in 1699.[54] However, this opera has more to do with conveying moral messages than with presenting comical madness which we have seen in so many Italian instances.

Probably the most important "mad" opera of early Baroque Germany is Reinhard Keiser's *Masagniello furioso* (on a libretto by Barthold Feind) premiered at the Theater am Gänsemarkt in Hamburg in 1706. It was in Hamburg that the first public opera house outside Venice was founded in 1678,[55] and the liberal atmosphere of the city – as a commercial centre of the Hanseatic League – was mirrored in the choice of the subjects in its operatic productions. *Masagniello* was no exception; it features in the title role, a contemporary Neapolitan fisherman, who, in 1647, led the Neapolitans into an uprising against their Spanish rulers, but (according to the opera, at least) went mad and was killed by his own people. The librettist, Barthold Feind, had himself played a turbulent role in the Hamburg politics of the period.

[51] From Feind's treatise, *Deutshce Gedichte...sammt einer Vorrede...und Gedancken von der Opera* (1708), which we will discuss shortly. The translation is from: Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 322.

[52] Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, Vol. III, 9-10; catalogue number 8719.

[53] Pistocchi (1659 – 1726) was a well-known singing teacher, whom Burney mentioned. See: Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* [1789] (New York: Dover, 1957), vol. ii, 539.

[54] Anonymous [Pistocchi himself?], *Le pazzie d'Amore e dell'interesse* (Ansbach: Gretschmann, 1699).

[55] John Bergsagel, "Hamburg" in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, II, 606.

Feind wrote an important treatise regarding operatic dramaturgy: *Deutsche Gedichte...sammt einer Vorrede...und Gedancken von der Opera* (1708), in which he uses his *Masagniello* as an example. [56] In the treatise he unfolds his counter-arguments against Saint-Evremond, a French theorist, who criticised opera for its unnatural use of continuous singing. To Feind, drama – either spoken or sung – is set in a fictive world where "it would be surely be no less legitimate to recite in verse than to sing",[57] and singing is effective because it "capable of imbuing a discourse with ten times more energy than any declamation or simple speech".[58] To him, the verisimilitude which opera should aim for can be achieved by theatrical conventions, which each country establishes as "a kind of tacit agreement between author and spectator".[59] Thus, even the question of whether one should follow classical theatrical conventions such as the unity of time, is dependent upon the taste of the audience and the conditions of the theatre concerned. Feind particularly believes in the power of action so that the most important action – even if rather cruel or shocking – should be presented on the stage rather than be reported by a protagonist.[60]

As a demonstration of these ideas, Feind/Keiser's "mad" opera *Masagniello* differs fundamentally from Italian examples. The betrayal by his friends drives Masagniello mad, and his mad scene has no comical nuance.[61] In the end he is gruesomely killed on the stage.[62]

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[56] This treatise is partly translated and included in Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth century*, 311 – 26.
[57] Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth century*, 313.
[58] Ibid., 314.
[59] Ibid., 312.
[60] Ibid., 323 – 4.
[61] Barthold Feind, *Masaniello* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967), Act III, Scene 13, p. 110. For a modern edition of Keiser's setting see: Reinhard Keiser, *Masaniello furioso*, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik Abteilung Oper und Sologesang, Band 11 (Mainz: B. Schott, 1986).
[62] Feind, *Masaniello*, p. 111.

Austria

The southern part of German-speaking lands enjoyed closer connections with Italian culture, and it was Salzburg that was first introduced to monody –one of the musical foundations of opera – as early as 1612. In that year, the Prince-Archbishop, Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems invited Francesco Rasi (who had sung the title role of Monteverdi's *Orfeo* at the première)[63] to Salzburg, and a grateful Rasi dedicated his *Musica da camera e chiesa* to the Archbishop in the same year. Shortly after, Rasi arranged for stage-designers to travel from Mantua to Salzburg,[64] where, in 1614, a stage was erected in the Archbishop's residence so that an Italian "Hoftragicomoedia" and a pastoral – *Orfeo* (probably with Monteverdi's setting) – could be produced.[65] This was the beginning of the association between Italian opera and Austria.

In the 1620s and 30s it was the Habsburg capital that benefited from its cultural association with the Mantuan court,[66] and the Vienna established a custom of presenting a musical entertainment during Carnival or for Imperial festivals such as birthdays and weddings.[67] Eventually, encouraged by the enthusiasm of the ruling

[63] See: Susan Parisi, "Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587 – 1627: an archival study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1989), 483.
[64] Parisi, "Ducal patronage of music in Mantua", 494.
[65] Warrack, *German Opera*, 17.
[66] For example, Francesco Rasi sang at the imperial court in Prague (1612) and when he died (1621) Emperor Ferdinand II appointed his widow to the empress' household. Also, Francesco Campagnolo, was appointed as theatre kappellmeister at the Imperial court in Innsbruck (1629). Both of these singer/composers were associated with Monteverdi. See: Parisi, "Ducal patronage of music in Mantua, 1587 – 1627: an archival study", 427, 484, and 487. Also, Geoffrey Chew discusses Monteverdi's association with the Habsburg in relation to the composer's Book VIII, commissioned by Ferdinand II. See: Idem., "The Platonic Agenda of Monteverdi's Seconda Pratica: a Case Study from the Eighth Book of Madrigals", *Music Analysis* XII, no. 2 (July, 1993), 152 – 55.
[67] For example, for the wedding of Ferdinand III and Maria Anna of Spain, Bernardino Grassi composed a short musical entertainment, *Orfeo*, which opened with a ballet by Archduchess Claudia and her ladies-in-waiting. The printed libretto survives [*Orfeo* (Vienna: Michael Rittio nel Nuovo Mondo, 1631); now at A-Wn]. Grassi was previously in the service of the Gonzaga family between c. 1605 and 1617. See: Parisi, "Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua", 450.

dynasty, Vienna made itself into a centre of Italian opera.[68] Benedetto Ferrari served at the court as a lute player between 1651 and 1653, and wrote, for example, the libretto of *L'Inganno d'Amore* for the 1653 Carnival season.[69] Under the reign of Leopold I, who himself was a musician by training, the imperial court recruited a number of Italian musicians and librettists who had worked in Venice. For example, Aureli worked for the imperial court in 1659, Ivanovich in 1665, and Francesco Sbarra in 1667. Most importantly, Nicolò Minato became the first official court poet to Leopold I in 1670 and stayed in the imperial court until his death in 1698.[70] Among composers, the most famous case is Antonio Cesti, who, despite his earlier connection with Florence, had written several operas for Venice and arrived in Vienna in 1666 after working in Innsbruck and Rome. He contributed greatly to the consolidation of the popularity of Italian opera in the German speaking court.

The earliest performance of the "mad scene" in the imperial capital was probably Cavalli's *Egisto*. The Österreichsche Nationalbibliothek, Vienna now possesses a manuscript copy of this opera, which was once in the possession of Emperor Leopold I. The score is usually thought to have been associated with a seventeenth century performance of this opera in Vienna. However, the documentary evidence is rather weak. Although the copy was partially an autograph,[71] it was copied some time during the early 1650s.[72] Thus, this tends to work against some recent speculations

[68] For music theatre in the Viennese imperial courts, see: Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert.* Also see, Franz Hadamowsky, "Baroktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof mit einem Spielplan (1625 – 1740), *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theater* (1951 – 52), 7 – 117.
[69] Benedetto Ferrari, *L'inganno d'amore* (Ratispona: Christoff Fischero, 1653).
[70] Favrizio della Seta, "The Librettist", in *Opera Production and Its Resources*, eds. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 239.
[71] For example, see: August Wilhelm Ambros, "Francesco Cavalli", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* LXV (1869), 313- 5.
[72] The music was copied by Cavalli, his wife, Maria and a third hand. Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1980), vol. 1, 166 – 7.

that the Viennese performance was as early as 1642 or 43.[73] In fact, there is no record which tell us that the opera was ever performed in the Habsburg capital in the seventeenth century.[74] Lorenzo Bianconi only hypothesises that the "ansehnliche Comoedia in Italiänischer Sprach", reported to have been performed by the imperial musicians for the celebration of the birthday of Emperor Ferdinand III in 1651,[75] may have been either *Egisto* or *Giasone*.[76]

Leaving aside the question of whether *Egisto* was seen in Vienna, the Venetian vogue for operatic madness seems not to have been unknown at the court. Antonio Bertali's untitled one-act opera, performed in on the 18th of November, 1664, starts with a phrase "Pazzo amor", typical of the Venetian libretto.[77] Moreover, the imperial court saw at least three operas by Minato, all featuring insanity: *Aristomene Messenio*, *I pazzi Abderiti* and *La Vendetta dell'Honestà*. The first was performed for the birthday of Queen Mariana of Spain on 20 December, 1670, and, the music was provided mainly by Giovanni Felice Sances.[78] This fundamentally serious opera, dealt in a subplot with the temporary insanity of Tisi, who had lost his lover. *I pazzi Abderiti* is a more light-hearted and satirical piece, featuring troublesome situations

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[73]For example, "Vienna" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. However, this information in turn contradicts that in the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (see: Herbert Seifert, "Vienna", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. 4, 989).
[74] Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera: 1597 – 1940* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1943), 12.
[75] Franz Hadamowsky, "Baroktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof mit einem Spielplan (1625 – 1740)", in *Jarhuch. Der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung* (1951 – 2), 70.
[76] Lorenzo Bianconi, "Caletti (Caletti-Bruni), Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, ed. Alberto M. Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1973), vol. 16, 692.
[77] Franz Hadamowsky, "Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof mit einem Spielplan (1625 – 1740)", *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theater* (1951/ 2), 72.
[78] The music of Act II, Scene 10 is attributed to Leopold I. The MS score is now in the possession of A-Wn (Mus. Hs. 18.704). The music for the third act is lost. For this opera, see: John Whenham, "Giovanni Felice Sances, the Emperor Leopold I and Two Operas for the Viennese Court", in *Il Teatro Musicale Italiano nel Sacro Romano Impero nei Secoli XVII e XVIII,* ed. Albert Colzani et al (Como: Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi, 1999), 311 – 338.

caused by the mad citizens of Abdera.[79] It was performed for the 1675 Carnival season,[80] and the music was written mainly by Antonio Draghi,[81] who had sung in *Le Fortune di Rodope e di Damira* in Venice and joined the Kapelle of the Empress Dowager Eleonora around 1658.[82] *I pazzi Abderiti* was mentioned in a report by the Venetian ambassador to Vienna, Francesco Michiel (dated 9 March, 1678).[83] The last example, *La Vendetta dell'Honestà*, in which a character called Simonide feigns madness, was written also by Minato and Draghi, and performed in 1687.[84]

After these operas, the imperial court seems to have developed quite an ambivalent taste for musical drama. While it favoured heroic and military dramas (a trend that became emphatic in the following century), its taste for nonsensical extravaganzas, especially during the Carnival season, remained strong. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, when the popularity of this kind of work was in decline in its homeland, Venice, the Viennese court retained its enthusiasm. For example, a *scherzo scenico* entitled *La pazzia meritevole*,[85] was performed in "sechs Bühnenbildern [six scenes] and three ballets,[86] as part of "varii Divertimenti con opere e altri rappresentazione Teatrali e balli" by the noblemen of the court, during the 1696 Carnival season.[87]

In Vienna, Italian opera was perceived not only as a princely entertainment but also as a political instrument for the display of the power of the Holy Roman Empire. The financial extravagance of the productions frequently came under criticism. Also

[79] Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 266 – 7.
[80] Hadamowsky, "Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof", 79.
[81] The MS score, which includes the contribution of Leopold I, survives at A-Wn.
[82] His role sang Bato, the adoptive father of Damira, which Anna Renzi sang.
[83] Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, 267, n. 113.
[84] Ibid., 239.
[85] The printed libretto survives: [Anonymous], *La Pazzia meritevole* (Vienna: Susanna Cristina, 1696), now in the possession of A-Wn.
[86] Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaisehof*, 190.
[87] Hadamowsky, "Barocktheater", 93.

from the creators' viewpoint, writing opera for the Emperor was not less demanding than for a public audience. For example, Minato, during his almost thirty-year service in the court, had to produce approximately 170 secular stage works and 40 sacred works. Under such circumstances it seems that the Imperial court was not so much concerned with "conspicuous consumption" in the old aristocratic manner of the Medicis and other early patrons of opera, as with "profligate demonstration" of its political, financial and dynastic power. In this demonstration, opera – and even "mad" opera – played an important role.

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After crossing the Alps, the mad scene reached a new stage in its development. Now we need to analyse and codify in some detail those conventional dramatic devices and topoi that helped to confirm certain scenes and characters as being "mad" within the complex machinations of the fictive world of the stage.

Chapter 7

Textual and Behavioural Signifiers of Madness in Seventeenth Century Italian Opera

It is an important part of the argument of this study that mad characters on the stage can only be identified, and their actions understood, if we are able to grasp fully the traditions upon which they draw, and the conventions by which they are represented. Hence in this chapter, we will analyse in detail selected librettos of seventeenth century "mad" operas in order: (1) to codify the standard terms used to describe deranged characters, or the chaotic situations in which those characters appear; and (2) to categorise the conventional signals of behaviour and speech-content employed to denote madness on the stage. Regarding the former, it is clear that there was a predilection for a rather limited number of terms for denoting mad characters. And as for the latter, there seem to be certain themes or topoi which were established in the late Renaissance (or even earlier) and then used throughout operatic history for similar purposes. While most of these topoi were inherited directly from the traditions found in literature or drama, certain of those traditions did not find their way in the field of opera, and we will consider the possible reasons for this. A close examination of the verbal and behavioural signifiers of madness on the operatic stage, and their relation to literary and dramatic models, seems not to have been attempted in any systematic way before, and yet such an endeavour seems to be an important first step in developing a sophisticated typology of madness on the operatic stage.

1. Standard Terms for Denoting Deranged Characters and Situations

A variety of terms designating "insanity" can be found in early modern Italian literature including opera libretti. Since each term has a slightly different nuance, by tracing the occurrences of the terms, we can deduce what type of madness was presented most frequently on the operatic stage, as well as any changes there might have been in such usage. However, to begin with, it is necessary to list those terms and check their meanings. The table below gives those words together with their definitions taken from two of the most detailed and sophisticated seventeenth century dictionaries of Italian vocabulary: John Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words or A Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (1611)[1], and the comprehensive *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612)[2]:

Term	John Florio's definition	*Vocabolario della Crusca*
Balordo	A dizzard, a giddy head.	= besso (in Sienese dialect, "bescio") Sciocco [foolish]
Delirante (from "delirare")	delirare = to dote, to rave, to goe out of the right way. Among ploughmen it is to leave bare balkes uncovered in harrowing, whence came the metaphore to rave and speake idly	Delirare = esser four di sè, aver perduro il discorso, farneticare [to be out of one's self; to have lost reason; to rave]
Folle	Vaine, fond, foolish, also a foole, a gull, an idiot	Pazzo, stolto, matto, vano.
Forsennato	Mad, out of wit	Fuor del senno [out of senses]
Furioso/ furente/ furibondo (from "furore")	Furore = Fury, rage, bedlam, madness	Furore = Furia, impeto smoderato predomonante la ragione, pazzia. [fury, excessive impulse which overwhelms reason, insanity].
Insano	Foolish, doting, unruly, mad, witlesse, skittich, raging, furious, an Idiot	Pazzo, stolto
Matto	Mad, fond, foolish	Pazzo, stolto.
Mentecatto	Ravished of his wits, beside himselfe.	Infermo di mente, siocco, pazziccio [mentally sick, siocco (see below)]
Pazzo	Foolish, fond, mad, simple	Oppresso da pazzia. [suffering from insanity]

1 John Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words* (London: Edw. Bleunt & William Barret, 1611).
2 L. Salviati, et al, *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612).

Sciocco	Foolish, fond, gullish, simple	Parlando d'huomo, o d'azion d'huomo, vale, che manca di saviezza, di prudenza [regarding a person, or the action of a person, the term indicates those who lack wisdom or prudence]
Semplice	Simple, plaine, simple-witted, shallow-headed *etc*	Puro, senza malizia, inesperto, idiota *etc* [Pure, without malice, inexperienced, idiotic]
Stolto	Foolish, fond, sottish, unwise,	Pazzo, sciocco, di poco senno [insane, foolish, with little sense]

Seventeenth century librettists made use of all of the words listed above, but with varying degrees of frequency and grades of overlap. The reasons for this seem to have been complex, but we should note that the common usage of these terms was not as analytical as modern Italian dictionaries may suggest.[3] Also, in early dictionaries, the attempt to find discrete definitions was not always rigourous, and dictionary-definitions tended simply to reflect confused usage, rather than, as today, subtly govern and control it by providing recognised authoritative opinions on, and etymologies of, meanings. Moreover, not infrequently, the librettists themselves needed to choose a certain word in order to fulfil the requirements of rhyme and syllable count raised from the poetic and musical point of view. What does seem clear is that opera librettists preferred terms designating humorous aspects of madness – *folle*, *matto*, *pazzo*, *sciocco* and *stolto* – perhaps because they may have found it inappropriate to present on the stage aggressive and potentially threatening types of madness, or because, at first, it was felt the grander themes of epic human tragedy (as opposed to stylised, pastoral transformations from human life to mystical immortality) would not be appropriate for the operatic stage.

[3] For example, from Barbara Reynolds (ed.), *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), we are given the following varying connotations of those terms. Balordo = slow-witted; delirante = ravingly mad; folle = vainly foolish in judgment; forsennato = frantically mad; furore = frenzied madness; insano = demented; matto = crazy, stark staring mad; mentecatto = imbecile; pazzo = silly, ridiculously mad; sciocco = silly, foolish; and stolto = silly, unbound.

Notwithstanding these caveats, an examination of the vocabulary of madness might well prove instructive and we shall begin with the two rarest terms – *mentecatto* and *balordo*. So far as can be discovered, each of these is found only in one instance. The former is found in Cavalli/Faustini's *Egisto* (1643) where Egisto's estranged lover, Clori, pretends not to recognise him (*Egisto*, II, 2). This word was rare in literature probably because of its pathological connotation. The latter, *balordo*, is used for Statira, the imbecilic heroine in Freschi/Morselli's *Dario* (1685). The term seems to be extremely rare even outside the theatre. The *Vocabolario della crusca* only tells us that the term is almost synonymous with *bescio* and does not give a separate entry for *balordo*.

It may be significant that seventeenth-century librettists did not favour the term *furore* and its derivatives as much as their predecessors had done. In the sixteenth century, the notion of *furore* was of particular significance.[4] For example, Gabriello Chiabrera chose this word when he praised Isabella Andreini's powers of histrionic portrayal: "Nel giorno che sublime in bassi manti/ Isabella imitava alto furore;/ E stolta con angelici sembianti/ Hebbe del senno altrui Gloria maggiore".[5] Obviously, Chiabrera thought highly of the ambivalent nature of Isabella's characterisations, representing, as she did, "*alto* furore" in *bassi* manti", and being "*stolta*" with "*angelici* sembianti" (my own italics). In response to this homage, Isabella Andreini herself wrote that "La tua gran Musa hor che non può? Quand' ella/ Mè stolta fà de l'altrui senno altera/ Vittorice; ond'è, ch'ogni più dotta schiera/ Furor insano alto

[4] For a discussion of the Ficinian notion of "furore", see: Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*.
[5] [In those days, sublime but dressed in humble costumes,/ Isabella used to imitate high fury./ And foolish but with an angelic countenance,/ she won greater glory from those with sensibility.] This is one of the poems dedicated to Isabella and included in her publication: Gabriello Chiabrera, Sonetto clxxi, in Isabella Andreini, *Rime* (Milan: Girolamo Bordone & Pietromatire Locarni, 1605) [Gb-Lbl: c.46.d.(2).], 200.

saver appella".[6] What this quotation seems to show is that Isabella Andreini herself did not believe that the meaning of her characterisation resided in the flat, behavioural symptoms she displayed on the stage, but rather in the poetic and intellectual ideas behind them, and the ability of the audience to interpret them in a deeper manner, – which is precisely the argument of this study. Also, what is interesting about these quotations is the fact that they imply a link between what Chiabrera calls "alto furore" (high frenzy) and "alto savor" (a high form of knowledge). This is close to the notion of "divine madness", though such an idea may have been somewhat outmoded in the seventeenth century, and this may be part of the reason why the term *furore* was comparatively infrequently used in seventeenth century libretti. Of course, Furore as an allegorical character appeared in some operas or their prologues.[7] Also the derivative terms "furioso", "furente" and "furibondo" were still used especially to designate enraged characters such as Gernando in Pollarolo/David's *Amor e dover* (1696) and the title role of Perti/Noris's *Il furio Camillo* (1692).[8]

Another word important in literature of the sixteenth century, at least, is *Forsennato*. It was used famously in *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Torquato Tasso in order to describe the enraged Armida (Book XVI Canto 40). The musical settings of this canto, "Forsennata gridava: O tu che porte" include those by Giaches de Wert (a five-part madrigal),[9] Sigismondo D'India (a strophic solo aria),[10] and Pietro Antonio

[6] [How can I claim your grand Muse/ When it is she that enables my [displays of] foolishness, through the sensibility of others, to achieve the exalted form of female Victory?/ Hence it is that more educated people come to call insane fury a higher form of knowledge.] Sonetto clxxii from Andreini, *Rime*, 200.
[7] For example, Cavalli/ Faustini's *La Doriclea* (1645); Alessandro Leardini/ Gio. Battista Fusconi's *Argiope* (1649), the prologues of P. A. Ziani/ Nicolo Beregan's *L'Annibal in Capua* (1661) and of P.A. Ziani/ Aureli's *Le Fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira* (1661).
[8] There were in fact two works with the same title. Lotto Lotti, *Furio Camillo* (Parma: Stamperia Ducale, 1686) and Matteo Noris, *Furio Camillo* (Venice: Il Nicolini, 1691). The former was premiered at the Novissimo Teatro Ducale in Parma in 1686. The music (by Bernardo Sabadini) is now lost. The latter was premiered at the S. Salvatore in Venice in 1692. The music by Giacomo Perti is in D-Bds.
[9] *Di Giaches de Wert l'Ottavo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci*...(Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586) [Vogel: 2990], 18.

Giramo (an aria over a Roman bass).[11] Of the three, the most famous is Wert's vivid setting, which begins with an unforgettable leap of a tenth. The term *forsennato* is only infrequently found in the librettos of the following century. My investigations suggest that, in fact, only two characters are described by this term: Eralbo in Pallavicino/G. Faustini's *Tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Meraspe* (1667), and Giunio in Ruggieri/Lotti's *Saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto* (1698).

Gary Tomlinson has asserted that "madness before the modern era is conceived as externalization" and this is "nicely preserved" in the terms *fuor di se* [out of one's self] and *forsennato* [out of one's senses].[12] Tomlinson's implication here seems to be that, in the seventeenth century, there was still a concrete sense of self from which one might become estranged, whereas in nineteenth-century opera, with its fragmentary psychological and musical deconstructions of the personality in mad scenes, one is led to extreme forms of the interior chaos of the character, revealing the fragile and illusionary notion of "identity", rather than the outward, behavioural chaos. In general, this seems correct; however, this may not be a valid early-opera/late-opera distinction as we see from, for example, Pallavicino/Franceschi's *Didone delirante* (1686), where the deranged Didone holds a dialogue with her own mirror image (Act III, Scene 17). We will return to this issue later.

As we have seen, seventeenth-century librettists preferred to use the lighter designations of insanity, which make a mockery of those targeted: *folle*, *matto*, *pazzo*, *sciocco* and *stolto*. The term *pazzo* is the one most commonly used in libretti, although, curiously, it is not included in Patrick Smith's list of stock words in general

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[10] *Le Musiche di Sigismondo D'India nobile palermitano da cantar solo...* (Milan: L'herede di Simon Tini & Filippo Lomazzo, 1609) [Vogel: 832], 35 – 36.
[11] *Arie a più voci di Pietro Antonio Giramo* (no publication data given) [Vogel: 1258], 9.
[12] Gary Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song: an Essay on Opera* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), 93.

use in seventeenth-century opera texts.[13] Moreover, the use of those light terms is not limited to the descriptions of mad characters, and, indeed, their association with comic characters is everywhere apparent.[14] For example, the term *pazzo* is found most frequently in those scenes where an old nurse (one of the stock characters derived from the practice of the *commedia dell'arte*) urges the heroine to undertake a sexual adventure, or scorns her when she rejects such an adventure, or, sometimes, chides her when she goes to extremes. In Monteverdi/Busenello's *L'incoronazione di Poppea,* for example, Arnalta scolds her mistress when she rejoices in her illicit relationship with Nero: "Ben sei pazza se credi/ Che ti possano far contenta e salva/ Un Garzon cieco & una donna calva".[15] In *Il tiranno humiliato d'Amore* (1667) by Pallavicino and G. Faustini,[16] Astiaca, singing a strophic song, ridicules Erope, who insists on remaining faithful to her (feigned) mad husband, Eralbo:

Semplicetta
Asdegnosetta
T'ha bendato un Ciecco gl'occhi
Che non vedi il ben, che tocchi
Bevi il fel l'ambrosia getti
Per penar fuggi i diletti
Semplicetta
Degnosetta

Pazzarella
Sciocarella
Tu vaneggi delirante

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[13] Smith, instead, listed the following terms: *tiranno, furibondo, catena, superbo, germano, saetta*, and *pupille*. Patrick Smith, *The Tenth Muse: a Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1971), 25.

[14] For example, Egisto and Climene use the term *folle* and *stolto* when they deplore the foolishness of those in love (*Egisto,* I, 3). Later, in the same opera, the crazed Egisto scolds his imaginary companions, calling them "sciocche" (III, 9).

[15] [You are indeed mad, if you believe that a blind boy [Cupid] and a bald woman [Fortune] can make you content and safe]. Giovanni Francesco Busello, *L'Incoronazione di Poppea...Opera Musicale Rappresentata nel Teatro Grimano l'Anno 1642...* (Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1656), [Act I, Scene 4], 16. Gb-Lbl: 1377.a.

[16] Based on the late Giovanni Faustini's incomplete work, the text was revised by Nicolo Beragano and others. After revising the first act, Beragano withdrew from the project and the text was completed by others. The printed libretto listed only the names of the revisers' procurators [Andrea Contarini and Nicolo Sagredo] in the statement regarding the legal issues of the work. See: Giovanni Faustini et al, *Il Tyranno Humiliato overo il Meraspe* (Venice: Bortolo Bruni, 1667), [68].

Nel'amor d'un pazzo amante
E t'ascordi [sic], e non t'appigli
Sconsigliata a miei consigli[17]

As can be seen, this song contains several terms frequently used in such comic scenes, and it demonstrates clearly the profligate and indiscriminate manner in which they might be used.

Of course, the aforementioned cases are not "mad scenes", but they prove that librettists used the term "pazzo" whenever they wished to describe certain attributes or actions in a mocking fashion. The foremost target is usually a person who is in love, regardless of whether he or she is actually mad. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the most common theme of seventeenth-century opera was "pazzia amorosa", and its representation seemingly matched exactly the tastes of most contemporary audiences.

From the second half of the century, a more serious term began to make frequent appearances. For example, in Cavalli/G. Faustini's *Eritrea* (1652), Theramente, a prince who goes mad believing his beloved Eritrea to be dead, is described by Eritrea as "il prence delirante" [the delirious prince].[18] But perhaps, the most telling example of the "delirante" figure is to be found in the title role of Pallavicino/Franceschi's *Didone delirante* (1696).[19] Enea's departure enrages Dido, and, as a result, she loses her senses, just as Virgil describes in his *Aeneid*.[20] Characters such as Theramene and Didone are still mocked by minor characters within the plots in a conventional comic

[17] [A simpleton/ subject to contempt/ you have your eyes covered by a blind person/ hence you do not see the person that you touch / you drink nectar, nonetheless throw/ yourself upon suffering and flee from pleasure/ a foolish woman/ subject to contempt// mad woman/ foolish one/ you rave/ because of the love of a crazed lover/ and although listening to it, you will not obey / my advice, you careless woman.] Ibid., [Act I, Scene 4], 11.
[18] Giovanni Faust, *L'Eritrea* (Venice: Il Giuliani, 1652), Act I, Scene 8, p.27.
[19] Antonio Franceschi, *Didone delirante* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1686). US-LAus, no. 319.
[20] See: Chapter 1 of this study.

fashion; however, their mad scenes seem to have been designed primarily to evoke a sympathetic response to their tragedy from the audience.

Such a preference for seriousness led some librettists to avoid using the conventionalised and slightly affectionate term, *pazzo*. For example, in Pollarolo/David's *Amor e dover* (1696), the ever-pugnacious Gernando is stipulated as "furioso",[21] a term more typical of the sixteenth century.[22] At first glance, however, there seems to be little difference between Gernando and other "pazzo" characters. His behaviour is certainly not any saner, and his nonsensical exchange with a servant Silvio is very similar to other "pazzo" scenes.[23] Yet, his fury results in something beyond a mere farce: he vents his anger by burning down the palace of his enemies.[24] Such evil deeds were unknown to the comic type of the mad character and became characteristic of the serious type, which began to develop at the end of the century. Also, certain scenes – such as the one in which Gernando drags a chair across the stage in imitation of Orlando dragging a dead horse in a mad scene from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* – seem deliberately to draw upon Renaissance traditions, and this may explain the "resurrection" of the sixteenth century epithet "furioso" in this opera.

Finally, we come to the term *insano*. This term seems to be used to indicate madness in a general sense without specifying its particular nature;[25] therefore, librettists seem to have preferred to combine this term with other words.[26]

This terminological examination seems to reveal that the mad scene during the course of its development, underwent an attitudinal shift away from the merely comic

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[21] Domenico David, *Amor e Dover* (Venice: Il Nicolini, 1697), 11.
[22] Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* is, of course, the most famous example.
[23] David, *Amor e dover*, Act II, 3, p. 36.
[24] Ibid., Act II, Scene 9, p. 42.
[25] For example, in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657), a crowd of madmen is described by this term when they are about to form a *ballo* (II, 21); and in *Helena rapita da Paride* (1677), the feigned mad Euristene refers to the madness of the mythological Orestes by this term.

and towards the insane, a trend which has already seen suggested by other evidence accrued in the chapter on seventeenth century Italian operas.[27] It was through this change that the mad operatic characters of the eighteenth-century were able to gain a new status as tragic heroes and heroines.

2. Conventions of Behaviour and Speech-content in the Mad Scene

As we have seen, the conventions associated with mad scenes in early literature and drama set important precedents for later operatic practices. However, not all of these conventions took deep roots in the field of opera, and first we must deal with a small number – those associated with the display of nudity, or the use of nonsensical speech, or the allocation of special songs or dances to mad characters, or the uttering of pointless catalogues of animals or birds – that were used only rarely in early opera.

In the sixteenth century, nudity was connected to insanity particularly through its use in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, and there are a few operatic examples which follow suit. In Cavalli/Busenello's *Didone* (1641), for example, Iarba's insanity is made manifest when he "si straccia l'habito" [rips off his clothes].[28] Similarly, Publicola in Legrenzi/Noris' *Totila* (1677) takes his clothes off on the stage.[29] However, Domenico Freschi/Aureli's *Helena rapita da Paride* (1677) reveals a rather different attitude towards this practice. In this opera, there was originally a scene where the feigned mad Euristene, in the nude, attacked Desbo who is disguised as an Armenian peddler.[30] Interestingly enough, this scene was later deleted and neither the second

[26] For example, the madness of Didone in *Didone delirante* is described as "furie insane" (III, 16).
[27] See Chapter 3 of this study.
[28] Busenello, *Didone* [US-LAus, no. 11], 54.
[29] Matteo Noris, *Totila* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1677), II, 10, p. 20. For the facsimile edition, see: Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *Matteo Noris: Totila*, Italian Opera Librettos: 1640 – 1770, X (New York and London: Garland, 1979).
[30] Aurelio Aureli, *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1677) [US-LAus, no. 219], II,

edition of the libretto (published in the same year)[31] or the sole manuscript score[32] contains it. Such a revision may have been a result of the censorship of the republican authorities. However, considering the fact that *Helena rapita da Paride* was produced in the same year as the aforementioned *Totila*, which boldly presented nudity,[33] it seems more likely that the censorship may not have operated in such a sweeping manner, and that practical and commercial interests may have played a part in its suppression. *Totila* was produced in the Teatro Santi Giovanni e Paolo, while *Helena rapita da Paride* was given in the Sant' Angelo. Backed up by the power of the Grimani family, the SS. Giovanni e Paolo was always keen on seeking popular appeal, and clearly did not hesitate to display nudity. On the other hand, the S. Angelo, which was inaugurated with *Helena rapita da Paride*, took a more careful path. Probably, Francesco Santurini, the impresario, considered nudity unsuitable for the inauguration of his new theatre, since we know that he was fairly soon driven to attempt to attract audiences by offering them low prices.[34]

Perhaps not surprisingly, certain verbal elements of sixteenth-century spoken comedy – both *dell'arte* and *erudita* – did not find a secure place in the new art of opera. For example, nonsensical word-play, which forms an important aspect of various comic dramas, is rarely found in seventeenth-century opera libretti. A typical instance of the *commedia dell'arte* type can be found in the play, *La Centaura* (1622)[35] written by Giovanni Battista Andreini, a famous actor of the field.[36] In this

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8, p. 37.

[31] US-LAUS, no. 220.

[32] I-Vnm: Cod.It: IV, 367 (=9881).

[33] *Totila* seems to have been particularly bold regarding nudity. There is another, even more titillating scene in Act II, Scene 12, where Publicola's wife Clelia, who is pursued by a Roman general Vitige, manages to escape by displaying her breasts and embarrassing the general (and probably the audience). See: Noris, *Totila*, p. 23

[34] Mangini, *I Teatri di Venetia*, 74.

[35] Considering the appropriate generic term for this work, the author himself described this work as "self-contradictory", since each of the three acts exemplifies a different genre: the first act is

work, the feigned mad characters, Lelio and Filenia, move to opposite ends of the stage, and shout at each other (Act I, Scene 5):

> Lelio: Hu, uh, uh, dalli, dalli, dalli.
> Filenia: Eh, eh eh; piglia, piglia, piglia.
> Lelio: Che vedo? Quest' è donna; dalli, dalli, alla pazla. [sic. "pazza"]
> Filenia: Dalli dalli al pazzo.[37]

The two characters repeat their nonsense again in Act 1, 10:

> Lelio: Chiella, chiella? Eh, eh, eh.
> Filenia: Eh, eh, eh.[38]

This time, however, they make themselves burst into laughter; and their laughter is followed by a song (designated as "canzone" in the play text) praising the God of love:

> Le belle tette c'hà la mia Rossina do viva
> L'Amor, Dò Rossina bella, fa la la lella,
> Viva L'Amore, che morir mi fà.[39]

Apart from nonsensical word-play, this mad scene by Andreini is of some significance for two further reasons. First, sudden laughter is a ubiquitous sign of insanity amongst later operatic protagonists. The examples include Egisto (*Egisto*, III, 5 and III, 9); Aristeo (*Orfeo*, III, 4); Damira (*Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*, II, 20); Eritreo (*Gl'amori di Apollo e di Leucotoe*, III, 15); Atrea (*Il Pompeo Magno*, I, 4); Damira (*Damira placata*, II, 14); Irene (*Falaride tiranno d'Agrigento*, II, 13); and Ulisse (*La finta pazza d'Ulisse*, I, 11). Second, in the mad scenes of comparatively early operas, it often happens that the mad character performs, or requires other to

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"Commedia", the second "Pastorale" and the third "Tragedia". See: Gio. Battista Andreini, *La Centaura...in comedia pastorale e Tragedia* (Paris: Nicolas della Vigna, 1622) [GB-Lbl, 162.a.9.], [p.7].

[36] He was the eldest son of Isabella Andreini. For a further discussion of his career, see: Chapter 5 of this study.

[37] [Hu, uh, uh, catch [it], catch it catch it / eh, eh, eh, take [it], take it, take it / what do I see? This is a woman, catch the mad woman./ Catch, catch the madman.] Andreini, *La Centaura*, I, 5, p. 15.

[38] [who's the woman, who's it? Eh, eh, eh./ Eh, eh, eh.] Ibid., 29.

[39] [The beautiful breasts that my Rossina has deserve praise/ The God of love, I deserve beautiful Rossina, fa la la la lella/ Hail to Love, let me die.] Ibid., 29.

perform, a particular song or piece of instrumental music. Both Deidamia (*La finta pazza*, II, 10) and Lilla (*La ninfa avara*, II, 3) ask other protagonists to sing a brief song. Similarly, Iarba in *La Didone* mentions a song (II, 13),[40] and a *ballo* (III, 2). In a related way, in the through-sung *dramma burlesco*, *L'Ospedale,* the utterance of the Matto slides into solmization, which makes himself laugh more than any others:

> E pur fra le risate
> De le brigate
> So' fare la mi a
> Sol, fà, re, la, mi, ah, ah, chi non rideria [sic.]?[41]

Of course, the music faithfully follows the notes indicated by the lyric (see: Appendix II, Musical Example 2). However, this practice of having special musical items for mad characters does not seem to have survived so long, although stylistically simple and light-hearted arias were frequently allocated to insane characters as an integrated and on-going presentation of their roles within the opera as a whole, even later in the seventeenth century. Probably, one of the last examples of the earlier practice is provided by Orlando in *Bradamante* (1650),[42] who enters the stage carrying "una lunga corda" [a long string] and starts his mad scene by asking a crazed soprano[43] to sing the song: "La bella la fà la là: viva l'amore" (III, 6).[44] Probably this practice was short-lived because it was soon overtaken by the development of the aria in opera. At the comparatively early stage of the genre, when declamatory style was favoured as an important means of serious characters' emotional outbursts, arias sung by comic figures – including mad ones – could give musical and dramatic variety. However,

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[40] See: Chapter 3 of this study.

[41] [While my companions roar with laughter, I know how to do my part...sol fa re la mi, ah, ah, ah, who does not laugh?] Antonio Abati, "Lo Spedale: Drama Burlesco", in *Poesie Postume di Antonio Albati* (Bologna: Gio. Recaldini, 1671) [GB-Lbl: 11429. a. a. 8], 363 – 4.

[42] Ivanovich's attribution of this work to Cavalli has been questioned by Thomas Walker. Idem, "Gli Errori di 'Minerva al Tavolino': Osservazioni sulla Cronologia delle Prime Opere Veneziane", in *Venezia e il Melodramma nel Seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1972), 15.

[43] Probably, Orlando is referring to himself, although we do not know whether Orlando was a soprano castrato or not, since the music does not survive.

when aria began to establish itself as the foremost expressive tool, composers needed to seek another method for lighter characters – and this is mainly achieved by the arioso, as we shall see in detail in the next chapter.

Another practice that operatic mad characters only fleetingly inherited from their dramatic counterparts, and one already partially and briefly surveyed by Paolo Fabbri in his study of the mad scene,[45] is the so-called "cataloguing" tendency; that is, making a long list of items – such as places, food, social ranks, occupations, things for sale – apparently to little purpose. The practice is found in various scenes in the *comedia erudita*. For example, in Raffaello Borghini's *L'amante furioso*, Nastagio unfolds a long, alliterative list of women's behaviour:

> ...e perciò le donne danno disturbi, debiti, danni, dishonestà, difficultà, diffidenze, deformità, dimenticanze, debolezze, dishonori, disaventure, distruttioni, derisioni, disperationi, doglio, durezze, disgratie, discipline, dolori, dispetti, digiunti, disagi e disordini...[46]

Such a tongue-twisting juxtaposition of words was a result of the direct influence on the *commedia erudita* from *commedia dell'arte* where it was much appreciated as part of an actor's comic skill. However, within mad scenes in seventeenth century opera, we only find two catalogues: both from Deidamia in Sacrati/G. Strozzi's *La finta pazza*.

In her feigned insanity, Deidamia unfolds first a catalogue of Greek monsters:

> La fiera d'Erimanto,
> L'Erinne acarontea,
> Il Piton di Tessaglia,
> La Vipera Lernea,
> Ci sfidano à battaglia.

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[44] Pietro Paolo Bissari, *La Bradamante* (Venice: Il Valvasense, 1650) [US-LAus: no. 62], III, 6, p. 65.
[45] Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos", 174 – 5.
[46] [...thus, women make disturbances, debts, damages, dishonesties, difficulties, diffidences, deformities, delusions, debilities dishonours, disadventures, destructions, derisions, despairs, distress, duresses, disgraces, disciplines, discomforts, disparagements, denials, disquiets, and disorders...] Raffaello Borghini, *L'amante furioso* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1583), II, 12. Cited in Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos", 175.

...
Mugge il Toro di Pindo,
Rugge il Nemeo Leone,
Udite, udite, Cerbero, che latra.[47]

The catalogue above is presented as if Deidamia were hallucinating the appearance of those monsters. As we will see shortly, such delusional evocation of mythological figures is commonly seen in mad scenes; however, later instances usually convey certain narratives regarding those figures rather than simply list them. Deidamia's second catalogue consists of various birds: "Cutrettola, Fringuello, Ocha [sic.], Frusone, Barbagianni, Babbusso".[48] Although Ellen Rosand translated the words *barbagianni* and *babbusso* as "barn owl" and "idiot" respectively,[49] they both seem to have double meanings. It is true that the *Vocabolario della Crusca* defines *barbagianni* simply as "barn owl",[50] and *babbu[a]sso* as synonymous with *bescio*, or *besso*, meaning "foolish". However, according to the modern *Cambridge Italian-English dictionary*, *barbagianni* also denotes a "stupid individual, and blockhead",[51] and in Florio's 1611 Italian-English dictionary, *Barbagianni* means both "barn owl" and "a foolish character", and *babbusso* [*babuasso*] "gull" and "idiot".[52] Thus, Deidamia's list neatly slips between a standard topos for mad characters (that is, a pointless list of birds) and actual references to mad people.

Later in the eighteenth century, especially after the attempt by Carlo Goldoni to restore the *commedia dell'arte* heritage in opera libretti, the comic catalogue aria

[47] [The beast of Erymanthus/ The Acherontean fury,/ The python of Thessaly,/ The Lernean hydra/ Challenge us to a fight/... The bull of Pindus bellows,/ The Nemean lion howls;/ Listen, listen to Cerberus who barks.] G. Strozzi, *La finta pazza* (II, 10), 75.
[48] [Yellow wagtail, chaffinch, goose, hawfinch, barn owl and gull.] Ibid., 77.
[49] Rosand, "Operatic Madness: a Challenge to Convention", 246. Fabbri's translator, Tim Carter did not specify the English word for "babbusso". See: Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos", 175.
[50] *Vocabolario degli Academici della Crusca*, s.v. "Barbagianni". The deifinition reads that "uccel notturno, detto cosi forse dalla barba, ch'ogni ha sotto l'becco" [a nocturnal bird, called so probably because of the beard which it has above its beak].
[51] *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary*, s.v. "barbagianni".

established itself as one of the most recognised comic practices. The most famous example is, of course, Leporello's "Madamina, il catalogo è questo" from Mozart/Da Ponte's *Don Giovanni.*[53]

Although the literary and dramatic conventions just discussed found only an intermittent place in the seventeenth century opera libretto, other traditions had a more lasting impact. What follows is a detailed examination of three recurring devices that are found with increasing frequency in the service of the presentation of deranged characters in seventeenth century opera: (1) an extravagant calling upon mythological gods, heroes or beasts; (2) delusional or metaphorical references to war; and (3) identity confusion or substitution. Some aspects of these have been already discussed by Ellen Rosand[54] and Paolo Fabbri,[55] but further close reading of many libretti has revealed that the occurrence of these mechanisms is much more widespread than previously thought. Moreover, I have attempted to explicate the dramaturgical meanings of these topoi, especially by connecting them to the traditions from which they come. This investigation is of particular importance, since, on the operatic stage, these topoi, taken in isolation, function as the most conspicuous signals of insanity, and together with contextual and narrative clues within the plot, frequently confirm the mental state of a character who might otherwise have been presented in ambiguous terms.

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[52] Florio, *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, s.v. "barbagianni" and "Babbu[a]sso".
[53] See: John Platoff, "Catalogue Arias and the 'Catalogue Aria'", in *Wolfgang Amadè Mozart: Essays on his Life and his Music*, ed. Stanley Sadie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 296 – 311. Also see: Daniela Goldin, "Aspetti della librettistica italiana fra 1770 e 1830", *Analecta musicologica* XXI (1982) 128 – 91.
[54] Rosand, *Opera*, especially, 346 – 60.
[55] Fabbri, "On the origins of an operatic topos: the mad scene".

The Evocation of Mythological Figures

Many of the mad scenes of the seventeenth century include abundant references to mythological figures and monsters (See: Appendix I, Table 10). To a certain degree, of course, the evocation of Greco-Roman gods and heroes was commonplace in seventeenth-century opera in general, especially in those scenes taken from mythological or pastoral operas where characters lament the troubled progress of love,[56] or seek revenge.[57] Also, regardless of the setting, Amor (Cupid) frequently makes an appearance in order to wreak his mischief.

However, in the service of the mad scene we find mythological allusion occurring in three rather distinctive forms: (1) the mad character hallucinates the appearance of mythological figures. In such cases, fierce monsters (for example, *Cerbero* [Cerberus], *Arpia* [a Harpy], or *Sfinge* [the Sphinx]) seem to emerge to attack the character or figures in the underworld (Pluto, Proserpina and so on), and this vision makes the protagonist believe him or herself to be dead. An example of this type can be found in Publicola's mad scene in *Totila* (Act I, Scene 11).[58] (2) The mad character mistakes other characters for monsters or mythological figures. For example, Eralbo in Pallavicino/Faustini's *Tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Meraspe* (1667), feigning insanity, pretends to mistake Ceffisa (a lady of the court) for Proserpina;[59] and Euristene in Freschi/Aureli's *Helena rapita da Paride* (1677), in his derangement, calls Enone "Venere" and is horrified by the old nurse Elisa whom he mistakes for a "sfinge spolpata" [meagre sphinx] and an "orrida Arpia" [horrid

[56] For example, Climene in *Gl'Amori di Apollo e di Leucotoe* deplores her husband's infidelity singing of Cocito [Cocytus]. Aureli, *Gli Amori di Apollo e di Leucotoe*, (I, 1), 1.
[57] For example, Helena in *Helena rapita da Paride* vows revenge and prays to Aletto [Alecto]. Aureli, *Helena rapita da Paride*, (II, 1), 35.
[58] For other examples, see: Appendix I, Table 10.
[59] Giovanni Faustini [et al], *Tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Meraspe* (Venice: Bortolo Bruni, 1667), I – 12, p. 24.

Harpy].[60] These scenes are often taken to extremes and frequently lead to comic extravagance (for other examples, see: Table 10). (3) The mad character believes him or herself actually to be a mythological figure. This can be either serious or purely farcical depending on the situation and the chosen character. For example, in A. Scarlatti/Contini's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (1679), Eurillo, suffering from insanity induced by jealousy, declares that he is Alecto from the Tartarean shores, and unfolds a poignant scene,[61] while Deidamia of Sacrati/Strozzi's *La finta pazza* (1641) at one point pretends to be "Elena bella" [beautiful Helen of Troy] during the course of her imaginary transformations.[62] The most elaborate case is that of Caligula in *Caligula delirante* of 1672 (the music by Pagliardi).[63] The hero, who has lost his senses because of the side-effects of an elixir his estranged wife has given him, appears first in the guise of Hercules,[64] and then Endymion.[65]

Table 10 demonstrates how frequently references from classical mythology were used in relation to deranged protagonists. From this, we can deduce that the delusional evocation of, or identification with, mythological figures was a conventional way of underscoring representations of insanity. Such mythological evocations had previously played an important role in literature and drama, not only in the mad scenes in tragedies but also in comedies (both of the *dell'arte* and *erudita* types).[66] Probably, this practice was, in part, derived from Greek and Roman tragedies where insanity was portrayed as an intervention of the gods, an expression of their anger or

[60] Aurelio Aureli, *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1677), II, 17, p. 43.
[61] Frank D'Accone, *Alessandro Scarlatti: Gli equivoci nel sembiante*, The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti, VII (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), 151.
[62] Giulio Strozzi, *La finta pazza* (Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), II, 10, p. 77.
[63] The attribution of this libretto to Domenico Gisberti is not conclusive.
[64] Anonymous, *Caligula delirante* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1672) [GB-Lbl: 11712.a.35], II – 14, p. 44.
[65] Ibid., III – 8, 56.
[66] See, for example: Fabbri, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos", 168.

revenge[67] – a view most famously encapsulated in the (not strictly classical) phrase, "Quem Jupiter vult perdere, dementat prius".[68] Such traditions come together in complex ways of Act III, scene 5 of *Egisto*, where the already mad Egisto calls down lightning to strike at his unfaithful lover,[69] as though he were Jove himself.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when the nature of the mad scene began to change, some librettists exploited these manneristic scenes by integrating their misunderstandings and delusions more fully into the plot. For example, in *Amore fra gl'impossibili* (1693) by Girolamo Gigli, the character of Lucrine is constantly absorbed by the mythological world, and she is in love with a statue of Adonis. When her relationship with Adonis is threatened by his affair with Venus, Lucrine urgently seeks out Vulcan, the husband of Venus, to inform him of her adultery, and in her mad desperation, manages to mistake Don Chisciotte for Vulcan. In this work, the conventional techniques used to characterise the insane on the stage become part of the dramatic logic, and the stereotypical signal of the evocation of gods and mythical figures begins to overlap with the device of identity substitution which we will discuss more fully shortly.

Other playwrights also developed this technique of allowing their characters deliberately to take over the attributes of certain mythological figures so as to make metaphorical or dramaturgical points. For example, some insane characters, by brandishing a lighted torch in darkness, evoke the attributes of the Furies, as we can

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[67] See: Chapter 1 of this study.

[68] [Whom Jove would destroy he first sends mad.] This famous saying actually occurs first in the *Homeri Gnomologia* (1660) by James Duport (1606 – 1679), which comprises a collection of all the sentences in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that seemed, to Duport, to contain an aphorism or remarkable opinion, augmented by further quotations from classical authors and marginal notes by Duport. The exact quotation cannot be found in any ancient text.

[69] Giovanni Faustini, *Egisto*, III, 5, "Celesti fulmini".

see from Rosaura in *Lo schiavo fortunato in Algeri* (II, 15);[70] Lucrine in *Amore fra gl'impossibili* (II, 14); Ulisse in *La finta pazzia d'Ulisse* (II, 12); and Gernando in *Amor e dover* (II, 9). In this last case, Gernando, in his mad rage, and in his role as a quasi-fury, sets fire to the Ferrarese court, which has devastating consequences – it is an act that moves the representation of madness from the realm of comedy to deep within the orbit of tragedy; a shift seen to ever greater effect in operatic works of the eighteenth century.

Delusional References to War

It is a commonplace in Medieval and Renaissance European literature that the pursuits and conflicts of love are expressed through metaphorical references to a battle. The extraordinary continuation of this tradition can be seen by comparing, for example, the remarkably similar sentiments displayed both in a fourteenth-century chanson by Grimace, "A l'arme, a l'arme, sans sejour et sans demour" from the Reina codex,[71] and in Monteverdi's madrigal, "Gira il nemico insidioso Amore", with a text by Giulio Strozzi:[72]

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[70] Marcantonio Gasparini, *Lo schiavo fortunato in Algeri* (Treviso: Giovanni Molino, 1688). I – Bc, Mb, Rsc, and Vcg.

[71] [To arms, to arms, no time to waste.] Willi Apel (ed.), *French Secular Compositions of the Fourteenth century*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae liii (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1970 – 2) , no. 37. For a discussion of the long tradition of the warlike endeavour of the lover, see: Bernard O'Donoghue, *The Courtly Love Tradition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982).

[72] [The enemy, insidious love, encircles] Claudio Monteverdi, *Madrigali Geurrieri et Amorosi, Libro Ottavo*...(Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1638), no. 3 [SV 148].

Grimace:	Monteverdi:
A l'arme, a l'arme, sans sejour et san demour, car mon las cuer si est en plour. A l'arme, tost, doulce figure, a l'arme, car navrés suy de tel pointure que mors suy sans nul retour: diex en ait l'arme...[73]	Gira il nemico, insidioso Amore, La rocca del mio core. Su presto ch'egli è qui poco lontano: Armi alla mano! Nol lasciamo accostar, ch'egli non saglia Sulla fiacca muraglia, Ma facciam fuor una sortita bella: Butta la sella!....[74]

In the seventeenth century, these conventions were taken over into the mad scene of spoken theatre,[75] but here the references to battle moved from the metaphorical and became delusional – that is, in the imaginations of the mad characters experiencing them, they became "real" battles. Moreover, the image of war in connection with madness became strongly established after the appearance of a series of adaptations of *Orlando furioso*. Although Ariosto's original Orlando is a comparatively reticent figure, in later adaptations, he frequently displays his madness through his hallucinations of battle scenes. For example, in Prospero Bonarelli's *La pazzia d'Orlando* (1647), Orlando, in a deluded state, fights the Tartar and the Moor, and shouts at the cowardly Cupid:

> Sù, sù all'armi, all'armi,
> Risoniamo la tromba.
> Sù tamburri, che fate?
> Ah, battete, sonate;
> Non vedete voi là,
> Che mi vien contro il tartaro, e il moro,
> E del compo nimico
> Hanno ambo i Corni Angelica, e Medoro;[76]

[73] [To arms, to arms, no time to waste,/ for my heart is grieving./ To arms, quickly sweet angel,/ for I am pierced so sharply/ that death surely awaits me:/ God, have mercy on my soul.] Apel (ed.), *French Secular Compositions,* 122.

[74] [The enemy, the insidious Cupid, encircles/ the fortress of my heart./ Come, quickly, because he is not far from here/ Take up arms// We will not let anyone approach, nor leap/ onto the weary wall/ but let us make a good attack,/ throw your saddle.] Francesco Malipiero (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Madrigali Guerrieri et Amorosi, Libro Ottavo* (Vienna: Universal, 1967), Part I, 32.

[75] For example, Lodovico Riccato's *I pazzi amanti* (1596) and *Le pazzie amorose* (1608).

[76] Paolo Fabbri interprets that horns (corni) are a sign of cuckoldry. Idem, "On the Origins of an Operatic Topos", 168.

Ma tù, perche fuggendo,
Volgi, codardo Amor, indietro il Volo?
Ferma, ch'io son qui solo,
Nulla ho in man, nulla ho in capo,
Son senza lancia e scudo...[77]

The associated music does not survive; but, the trumpet (*la tromba*) and the drums (*tamburri*) might well have been employed as illustrations of the warlike text.

Numerous other insane characters on the operatic stage also refer to imaginary battles. This method is conspicuous in the lines of male protagonists. Iarba (*Didone*, III, 2), Egisto (*Egisto*, III, 9), Theramene (*Eritrea*, II, 5), Eralbo (*Tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Meraspe*, I, 13 and III, 8), and Ulisse (*La finta pazzia d'Ulisse*, I, 11), all, in their hallucinations, witness battles. However, references to battles are not exclusive to male characters; mad girls unfold imaginary battle scenes as well. This practice is first recorded in Monteverdi's letters regarding his music for *La finta pazza Licori*, written by Giulio Strozzi,[78] and, a couple of decades later, is found again in the character of Deidamia in *La finta pazza* by the same librettist.[79] Although we know little about *La finta pazza Licori*, according to Monteverdi's letters, Licori, while pretending to be mad, acts as "first a man and then a woman", speaking of "guerra..., pace..., morte, e va seguitando";[80] and the performer Margherita Basile, will "have to become a soldier, brave and timid by turns".[81] More significantly, in the same letter,

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[77] [Come on, take up arms,/ let us sound the trumpet./ Here, drums, what are you doing?/ ah, beat and play;/ don't you see there,/ towards me, the Tartar and the Moor advance/ and the enemy camp/ Angelica and Medoro both have horns/ But you, why are you fleeing?/ turn around, coward Cupid,/ wait, I am alone here,/ no one has control nor intention/ I am deprived of a spear and a shield.] Prospero Bonarelli, "La Pazzia d'Orlando", in *Melodrami cioè Opere da rappresentarsi in Musica* (Ancona: Marco Salvioni, 1647) [Gb-Lbl, 11715.cc.13.], 243 – 44.

[78] See Chapter 3 of this study.

[79] In Act II, Scene 10, Deidamia says "Guerrieri, all'armi, all'armi/ all'armi, dico all'armi/ Ove stolti fuggite?" [Soldiers, take up arms, I say, take up arms,. Where are you fleeing, stupid?] *La Finta Pazza, Drama di Giulio Strozzi*...(Venice: Gio. Battista Surian, 1641), [US-LAus, no. 15], II, 10, 75.

[80] Lax (ed.), *Monteverdi: Lettere*, 153 (dated 7 May, 1627). "War..., peace..., death and so forth". [Stevens (ed.), The Letters of Monteverdi, 319.]

[81] [...or divenghi soldato, bravo or temi, or ardischi.] Lax (ed.), *Monteverdi: Lettere*, 165 (dated 10 July, 1627). Stevens (ed.), *The Letters of Monteverdi*, 340.

Monteverdi says that the imitation of madness "must take into consideration only the present, not the past or the future, and consequently must emphasise the word, not the sense of the phrase".[82] This may be an indication that, even if the sense of the phrase is that the reference to, say, "war" is metaphorical, the mad character must suddenly take on the attributes of someone actually in the middle of battle. Hence, a careful literary distinction between "metaphorical" and "real" references cannot necessarily account for what may happen on the stage, and even in those cases where references to battle seem to be clearly metaphorical, if they are uttered by a mad character, they may have been accompanied by exaggerated and delusional actions in performance.

Several candidates for such treatment exist amongst the "metaphorical" references to battle. Examples include: Lilla (*La ninfa avara*, II, 4), Egisto (*Egisto*, III, 9), Aristeo (*Orfeo*, III, 4), and Eurillo (*Gl'equivoci nel sembiante*, III, 6). Of particular interest is *Orfeo* where the deranged Aristeo likens love to a battle in a very similar way to that in which it was presented in Medieval or Renaissance literature: "All'armi, mio core,/ E contro il rigore/ D'avara Beltà/ Tue forze prepara!/ Sù dunque, sù guerra".[83] Moreover, Aristeo unfolds his song with the accompaniment offered by Momo and Satiro who imitate the sound of the trumpet and the drum respectively (see: Appendix II, Musical Example 7).

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the practice of referring to war seems to have firmly established itself as one of the conventional methods of representing the mad on the stage. From this period, three very interesting examples survive. The first example is taken from Bassani/Morselli's *Falaride, tiranno*

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[82] [...dovendo aver la consideratione solo che nel presente e non nel passato e nel futuro, per conseguenza la imitatione dovendo aver il suo appoggiamento sopra alla parole et non sopra al senso della clausula...] Dated 7 May, 1627. Lax (ed.), Claudio Monteverdi: *Lettere*, 153 and Stevens (trans.), *The letters of Monteverdi*, 319.

[83] [Take up arms, my heart/ and against the rigour of mean beauty,/ prepare your armies!/ come on, now,

d'Agrigento (1684). In this opera, when Perillo instructs his daughter, Irene, how to feign madness, he give the following text as an example: "Armi, armi, Trombe e timpani Fendete l'aria, Spagete armonici i vostri carmi",[84] then Irene simply parrots it.

The second instance is from Freschi/Morselli's *Dario* (1685). In this opera, the heroine, Statira is not a typical mad character. She is stipulated as "balorda" or "sciocca",[85] an imbecilic but amicable girl, who cannot articulate herself. However, when her rival sister makes her believe that her suitor Dario is unfaithful to her, her mental state slides into something more serious. She vows revenge and begins to sing of war: "A guerra à guerra, Mà nò che ti posate. Si si pugnate. Svenate."[86] This first seems to be an example of metaphorical reference to war, alluding to one's emotional turmoil. However, her "war" then slides into something more insistent than metaphor, and she starts questioning herself, "Che parlo? E dove sono? In cielo? O in terra?" [What am I saying? And where am I? In heaven? Or On earth?] Thus, we can see that her "battle" has now become delusional and that her jealousy has driven her to the verge of madness. Interestingly, this aria was not included in the early, 1684 libretto of the work, entitled *L'incoronazione di Dario.*[87] We can deduce that, after the publication of this first version, the creators of the opera added this aria to the scene probably in order to deepen the personality of Statira, and this, second stage is reflected in the 1685 libretto. The text used in the sole surviving score, which also contains this aria,[88] is a mixture of the two versions.[89]

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war! (My own translation)] Clifford Bartlett, *Luigi Rossi: Orfeo* (Huntington: King's Music, 1997), 159.

[84] [Arms, arms,/ trumpets and drums,/ penetrate the air,/ unfold your harmonic odes] Adriano Morselli, *Falaride, tiranno d'Agrigento* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1684) [US-LAus, no. 300], II – 12, p.37.

[85] She is stipulated as "principessa balorda" in the Interlocutori". And "Sciocca" is the word that a court servant, Floro used for her (I, 5). Yet in the previous scene, he has used a stronger word, "pazza da catene" [i.e. mad enough to be chained up; Bedlam mad], although there is no sign of her derangement.

[86] [To war, to war, but no, why do you rest?/ yes, yes, fight and kill.] Adriano Morselli, *Dario* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1685) [US-LAus, no. 312], II – 5, p. 31.

[87] Adriano Morselli, *L'incoronatione di Dario* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1684) [US-LAus, no. 305].

[88] The music was written by Domenico Freschi; the Ms score is now in the possession of the Marciana

The last example is from Ruggieri/Lotti's *La saggia pazza di Giunio Bruto* (1698). Here, Giunio, who pretends to be mad, attempts but fails to assassinate the cruel emperor, Tarquinio (II, 10). Although the other protagonists do not take his deed very seriously, his song reveals to the audience his growing anger towards the tyrant: "Fiero inganno io vò battaglia, Voglio guerra col tuo cor, Vieni pur ti sfido sì; Che soffrir non sò così sembiante mentitor".[90] This is in fact a spontaneous outburst of his real feelings; it expressed a real desire for battle, and yet, its conventional references to conflict within the context of the mad scene contribute much to the dramaturgical clarity of the moment, and to the communication of the state of the protagonist's mind.

Identity Substitution: Fictive to Fictive, and Fictive and Real

It is a feature of the operatic mad scene that it sometimes shows a certain degree of detachment from even the parameters of fictive truth, as constructed by the unfolding plot. Most frequently, this happens when a mad protagonist reacts to a person already clearly established as being one character, as if they were another. In fact, this practice is widespread and the examples are many and various (See: Appendix I, Table 11).

One such typical scenario concerns a situation where an insane character simply mistakes a male servant for his lover (for example, the case of Orlando and Nico in Act III, Scene 10 of *Bradamante*), or an old nurse for a monster (for example, the case of Euristene and Elisa in II, 17 of *Helena rapita da Paride*). Such cases of mistaken

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Library [I-Vnm, CCCCVI (= 9930)].

[89] The characters of the 1685 version [US-LAus, no. 312] include Dalisa, a courtly woman instead of Niceno, a philosopher. Niceno seems to have been discarded some time during the course of the work's gestation, since this libretto still refers to his name [e.g. Argene's line (Act I, 13), "Floro, Niceno udite"]. In the manuscript score, there are both Dalisa and Niceno, although Taddeo Wiel's catalogue does not list Dalisa's name [see: idem, *Codici musicali Contariniani*, 54.]. The texts for the score are mainly taken from the 1684 version although some lines were taken from the 1685 version.

[90] [Cruel deceit, I want a battle,/ I want a war against your heart,/ come on, I indeed challenge you;/ I do not tolerate such a lying countenance]. Lotto Lotti, *La saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto* (Venice: Il Nicolini, 1698) [US-LAus, no. 458], 41.

identity were, and continued to be, a main ingredient of the comic treatment of the mad on the stage, and, indeed, of comedy in general.

A rather different situation is found in those circumstances where characters become oblivious of their allocated roles in the drama. Aristeo in *Orfeo* (III, 4); Damira in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (II, 10); Eurillo in *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (III, 6); Statira in *Dario* (II, 5); Didone in *Didone delirante* (III, 17); Gernando in *Amor e dover* (II, 4); and Ulisse in *La finta pazza d'Ulisse* (I, 11); all ask: "who am I?", "what I am doing?", and/or "where am I?". In more complex manipulations of this particular type, some mad characters actually break the barrier between their "fictive" role as a character, and their "real" persona as an actor/singer in front of an audience, by addressing the audience directly. We can find instances of this even amongst relatively early operas. For example, Ellen Rosand has discussed Deidamia in *La finta pazza* (1641), who singing, is suddenly taken aback by the reality of her situation. She asks: "Che melodie son queste?/ Ditemi? Che Novissimi Teatri, che numerose scene/ S'apparecchiano in Sciro?".[91] What seems not to have been noticed is that these lines were deleted from the libretto for the Febiarmonici version of the work,[92] and the sole surviving score does not contain this scene either. Clearly, this suggests, first, that this type of non-fictional awareness in the theatre may have been a fad especially favoured in Venice; and, second, that this particular scene, nonetheless, was not thought to be central to the characterisation of Deidamia. Again, it also seems that Deidamia's reference to "questi horror sacrati" (III, 3)[93] may have been intended as a humorous jibe against the composer ("Sacrati" also means

[91] [What are these melodies?/ Will you tell me? Why the Novissimi theatre, [and] why those numerous scenes are prepared in Scyros?] *La finta pazza, Drama di Giulio Strozzi*, III, 2, 87.
[92] *La Finta Pazza, rappresentata in musica da signori Academici Febiarmonici in Piacenza nell'anno 1644*; see also: Chapter 3 of this study.
[93] [These horrible cemeteries] *La finta pazza, drama di Giulio Strozzi*, III, 3, p. 88.

graveyard), though this phrase could have been taken in its ordinary prosaic meaning without confusion wherever the work was performed.

Another similar case of "non-fictional" awareness is that of Iarba in *Didone* (1641). Driven insane by his unrequited love, he suddenly steps outside of his fictive role, and turns on the poet saying: "Non possono i Poeti à questi dì/ Rappresentar le favole à lor modo,/ Chi hà fisso questo chiòdo/ Del vero studio il bel sentier smarì."[94]

A particularly interesting and complex case of the shift from "fictive" to "real" perspectives is found in Act II, Scene 12 *Pompeo Magno* (1666). Atrea, an old madwoman, disguised as a gypsy, pretends to tell the fortune of the court servant, Delfo. However, what she proceeds to do, as a character in (fictive) Roman times, is to forecast the real future (seventeenth-century) career of the singer playing Delfo. She says: "musico sei. E d'aurato coturno adorno il piede su le scene salisti... Ne gl'anni piu fioriti con Gloria tua gl'Adriaci Eroi t'udirò rappresentar Narciso, finger Nerone, e Ciro. Hor ch'il tempo ti sparge il crin d'arge[n]ti. Qui fai rider le Genti."[95] Although this is a "prediction" set in Roman times, the audience would have heard this after the events in the singer's career had already taken place.

We do not know exactly who this singer was, but he was a castrato and he apparently sang the roles of Narciso, Nerone, and Ciro. However, the particular reference to Narciso in this list may have been a mistake,[96] since although it can be found in the libretto, it is omitted from the sole manuscript score of *Pompeo Magno*.

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[94] [These days poets are unable/ to present tales in an appropriate fashion./ the person who fixed the tack,/ has lost track of true understanding.] *La Didone di Gio: Francesco Busenello*, 53 (II, 12).

[95] [You are a musician./ Your feet are adorned by golden shoes when you climb up to the stage./...In the years flourishing with your glory, I will hear you represent Adriatic heroes such as Narcissus, Nero and Cyrus./ In such days, you spread your silver locks./ Here it is that you make the people laugh.] Nicolo Minato, *Pompeo Magno* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1666), II, 12, pp. 47 – 8.

[96] Even so, it is just possible that this may refer to the title role in *Narciso et Ecco immortalati* (the music by Marco Marazzoli and Filippo Vitali despite Ivanovich's attribution to Cavalli, on a libretto by Oratio Persiani) premiered at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo during the 1642 season. The music is now lost. We should, however, note that there is a minor role "Narciso" in *Le Gelosie politiche et amorose*

"Ciro" here is probably the title role of *Il Ciro*, which was originally produced in Naples in 1653 (the music by Francesco Provenzale on a libretto by Giulio Cesare Sorretino),[97] and then revived at the Teatro di Giovanni e Paolo, Venice during the 1654 season (with musical additions by Cavalli).[98]

Ellen Rosand has suggested that "Nerone" refers to the role of that name in Monteverdi/Busenello's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*,[99] and remarked that "the singer of Delfo's role had been a star singer in his youth... This would have been particularly amusing since Delfo was supposedly an adolescent page".[100] However, there are two problems with this assumption. First, the role of Delfo is stipulated simply as "servo",[101] and was not necessarily meant to be a pageboy. Second, the tessitura of Monteverdi's Nerone (c' – g"), obviously implies a soprano-castrato, and seems perhaps to be too high for the singers of either Ciro or Delfo, both of which are roles for an alto-castrato (a – c"). This, in fact, casts doubt on Rosand's suggestion, since, even if we take into account natural the tendency for the voice to lower throughout a singer's career, the discrepancy is still too large. Therefore, Atrea's reference to Nerone may have alluded to a comparatively recent role created by this particular singer. It so happens that, among Venetian productions of that time, there was a "Nerone" role in a spoken drama with abundant incidental music, *Le Gelosie Politiche et Amorose* (the libretto by Pietr' Angelo Zaguri with an anonymous composer's prologue and incidental songs, now lost), performed at the Casa del

(1657/8) – to be discussed shortly.

[97] Michael F. Robinson and Dale E. Monson, "Provenzale, Francesco", in *the New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, vol. 3, 1151. The printed libretto of the Naples version does not survive, but the 1654 Venetian libretto mentions the earlier Neapolitan performance of the opera. See: Sartori, *I libretti italiani*, vol. II, 132.

[98] The work (with further musical additions by A. Mattioli) was revived at the Teatro Grimano during the 1665 season in Venice.

[99] The work was premiered during the 1642/3 season, and revived during the 1646/7 season.

[100] Rosand, *Opera*, 358, n. 70.

[101] Minato, *Pompeo Magno*, "Intervenienti", p. 9.

Giovanni Battista Sanudo during the 1657/8 season in Venice.[102]

Whatever the import of Atrea's list may have been as a reflection of the career of a real singer, for the seventeenth-century audience, its accurate "predictions" clearly marked her out, not as a simple-minded woman, but rather as a "wise-fool". The essence of this madwoman lies not only in her seemingly comic aspects, but also in something beyond them.

In cases such as these, it is clear that the characters are trespassing on the fictive structures within which they operate on the stage. From the viewpoint of a librettist, this is a double-edged device, since he may communicate directly with his intended audience at the risk of undermining the plausibility of his drama, or at least of interfering with the suspension of disbelief necessary to its effectiveness. This was a manoeuvre to be undertaken only with caution, and in seventeenth-century Italian opera, in which verisimilitude did not seem to be a matter of the utmost importance, it still seems to be the case that characters were allowed to step outside their fictive roles only in the guise of mental affliction.

Drawing these examples together, two interesting distinctions can be made. The first concerns those cases where the appeal to reality is very specific as to person and place – references to a particular theatre or singer, for example – and which can only survive so long as performances remain localized or where the experience of a particular audience is known. Not surprisingly, such kinds of "reality"-intrusion tended to die out fairly rapidly after operas became itinerant and repertorial. Atrea in *Pompeo Magno* (1666) seems to be a late example of this. In view of this trend, since

[102] Pietr' Angelo Zaguri, *Le Gelosie Politiche & Amorose, Opera Scenica* (Venice: Pietro Pinelli, 1657). See: Irene Alm (ed.), *Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), no. 95. In this work, there is a "Narciso" role as well; however, if the singer were singing Nerone in the same production, it would be rather unlikely for him to sing Narciso as well. Sartori's *I Libretti dalle Origini Italiani a Stampa al 1800* does

the printed libretto for the 1645 Paris performance of *La finta pazza* retains a reference to the Novissimo Theatre, it seems unlikely that this text represents a performance there by the itinerant company of the Febiarmonici, as suggested by Thomas Walker and Lorenzo Bianconi; such a company would have been the first to realise the redundancy of local references. We do know that the Febiarmonici visited Paris, but we do not know for certain what they performed there.[103]

The second interesting aspect of fictive/real transference in opera, is that it is not only the dramatic protagonists who reach across this divide. In certain situations – comic or characterful – the actors on the stage invite the audience to move towards them; the real spectators are drawn into the fictive world and encouraged to act as commentators or protagonists within the drama itself. Instances of this seemingly more complex dramaturgy are not easy to find in the seventeenth century. However, already in the eighteenth century, there are examples in works such as *Giannina e Bernardone* (1781) a *dramma giocoso* by Domenico Cimarosa (on a libretto by F. Livigni). In this opera, Giannina's aria, "Poverella, sventurata",[104] is certainly intended to invite the reaction from the audience by calling directly on their attention. Even in the seventeenth century, such a practice must have occurred in a pantomimic way in the improvisations of the *commedia dell'arte*, or, on the stage, or among comic operatic performers familiar with those other traditions.

The extraction of insane characters from their dramaturgical situations enables the audience's interest to shift from set-up fictionality (which they have so far enjoyed at a safe distance) to reality (which they share with the creators of dramas). This subtle shift as a dramaturgical device is effective only when it is happening within

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not include this work.

[103] See also: Chapter 4 of this study.

[104] Filippo Livigni, *Giannina e Bernardone* (Venice: Modesio Fenzo, 1781), Act I, Scene 14, p. 26. This

certain restrictions. Yet the exact contexts in which this aspect of early operatic madness was used becomes crucial when we attempt to establish its definition. We will investigate the dramaturgical function and significance of operatic madness further in the last chapter of this study.

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two-act *drama giocoso* was premiered at the Teatro di S. Samuele, Venice in 1781.

Chapter 8

Poetic and Musical Features of Mad Scenes

In this chapter, some poetic and musical characteristics of mad scenes in seventeenth-century operas will be explored. Discussing these two seemingly different aspects together is necessary for the following two reasons. First, this is the most effective way to investigate how a particular composer interpreted and sometimes manipulated the given text, since, in the field of opera, he was given a libretto before composing music, not the other way around. Second, analysing verse structures gives us a basic yardstick by which we might distinguish aria, recitative, and other genres such as arioso.

This examination of music for mad scenes will begin by calling into question the usefulness, in early opera, of dividing the common musical formal types into so-called "closed" and "open" forms: the practices employed in the service of plots and characterisation were actually much more flexible than this simple scheme implies. In seventeenth-century opera, there are many ambiguous episodes such as very short truncated songs with no strophic structure, arioso-passages within recitative, and monologues written in declamatory style. However, much critical literature on the seventeenth-century repertoire tends automatically to assume the validity of these categories as an analytic tool, and seems fixated on the division between closed-versus-fluid forms, as if it represented an already clearly established generic difference.[1] The main reason for this fixation seems to lie in our modern fascination with aria as solo closed form. This has led us to view this form as the most important

[1] For example, both Rosand's and Glover's studies deal mainly with "closed forms". See: Rosand, *Opera*, and Glover, "The Teatro Sant'Apollinare".

method of operatic characterisation, and therefore to investigate its practices vigorously.

However, this study will take a rather different stance. First, music will be divided into the following four categorisations – aria, recitative, recitative soliloquy, and arioso. These categorisations are based upon the metrical and stanzaic organisation of each lyric, but such features are frequently open to different interpretations and adaptations. We must note that even contemporary theorists and practitioners were not all unanimous, and their conflicting and sometimes ambiguous discussions of the terms may occasionally confuse us. Here, necessarily, our method is a compromise; while attempting to grasp past practices in their own terms, we exploit to our advantage what we now know came out of those practices. Only through this painstaking process, can we grasp the effects of musical characterisations.

Second, my investigation will particularly emphasise the roles of recitative and arioso, which have been somewhat neglected in previous studies. After all, it should be noted that, in the history of music, while the aria-type, in its embryonic, strophic form, existed before the birth of opera, the real developments of the new form were these two kinds of musical setting. Moreover, they both – but especially the arioso – functioned as particularly effective forces for characterisation in this repertoire.

Both poetic and musical features of mad scenes give rise to some complicated problems, and we will see them in detail in the following section. However, it should be noted here that, in the case of both aspects, the foremost issue is that there is no device exclusively designed to represent mad characters. All musical and poetic devices, which can be found in mad scenes (and which will be discussed below), appear also in other scenes.

Standard Italian Versification and its Application to Mad Scenes[2]

Unlike Classical Greek or Latin verse which is governed by the quantitative proportions of length, the Italian language makes no distinction between long and short syllables, and instead its poetry is classified primarily according to the following three elements: the number of syllables in a line; accent as dynamic stress; and the presence or absence of rhyme.[3] When we analyse Italian verses written for music, of particular relevance to this study are the number of syllables in a given line, the positions of the final accents, and the opportunities provided for regular, irregular and closed forms in the accompanying music.

In Italian poetry, line length can vary between three and eleven syllables: *ternario*, *quaternario*, *quinario*, *senario*, *settenario*, *ottonario*, *novenario*, *decasillabo*, and *endecasillabo*. However, the exact manner in which those syllables should be counted are affected by elisions and diphthongs. For example, "Quelle lagrime tue son il mio sangue" forms an eleven-syllable line, with "son_il" elided and the diphthong "mio" counted as one syllable, but "Che se tu se'l cor mio" makes a seven-syllable line, since the word "mio" – with the accent on the "i" and placed at the end of the line – should be counted as two syllables.[4] Also, syllable counts are affected by where the final accent is deemed to fall. In the case of final accents, there are basically four situations: *verso piano* (with the final accent on the penultimate syllable); *verso*

[2] For Italian versification, see: W. Theodor, *Versificazione Italiana dalle Origine ai Giorni Nostri* [1973] (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1991). For the subject in relation to seventeenth-century musical settings, see: Putnam Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-century Italian monody* (London: J. M. Dent, 1966), chapter 5; Barbara Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), esp. 30 – 38; and John Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), vol. I, chap. 3. Hanning's monograph is of particular interest regarding the matter, since it focuses upon the analysis by Girolamo Mei in his *Trattato sopra la prosa toscana* and *Del verso toscana* (the manuscript sources are now in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence and in Biblioteca Riccardiana repsectively.)

[3] Some sixteenth-century humanists argued that Italian poetry was also determined by the alteration of long and short syllables, but Girolamo Mei does not. See: Hanning, *Of Poetry*, 204, n. 70.

[4] The lines are taken from "Anima mia, perdona" by Battista Guarini (*Pastor fido*, III, 4).

tronco (with the final accent on the final syllable, which requires that, when counting line-length, one syllable should be added to the actual number of the syllables in the *verso tronco*; a six-syllable *tronco* line is a *settenario*); *verso sdrucciolo* (with the final accent on the antepenultimate syllable, so that one syllable should be subtracted; a twelve-syllable *sdrucciolo* line is an *endecasillabo*); and *verso bisdrucciolo* (with the final accent on the fourth syllable from the end; two syllables should be subtracted, so that a nine-syllable *bisdrucciolo* line is a *settenario*).

Versi piani are considered to be normative, since most of Italian words have a stress on the penultimate syllable. Other lines were once thought to be somewhat awkward and unsophisticated, and were therefore consigned to particular contexts or connotations. In fact, it was *versi tronchi* and *sdruccioli* that played a particularly important role in the construction of texts for insane characters.[5] However, it is not easy to say exactly what *verso tronco* or *sdrucciolo* imply. Ellen Rosand has proposed that, in seventeenth-century opera, *sdrucciolo* established its association with the evocation of the Underworld,[6] and Tim Carter has considered *tronco* to be comic.[7] To a certain extent, their accounts are correct; however, there are many exceptions and complications.

The *verso sdrucciolo* early attained an association with the pastoral, particularly after its use by Jacopo Sannazaro (1456 – 1530), in his three eclogues published as *L'Arcadia* in 1504.[8] In seventeenth century opera, this pastoral association continued, as we can see from Cavalli/G. Faustini's *La Calisto* (1651), where the terzetto "Pazzi

[5] *Parole bisdrucciole* are rarest in the Italian language.
[6] Rosand, *Opera*, 350.
[7] Tim Carter, "Versification, 1. Italian", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. iv, 965.
[8] Silke Leopold, "Iacopo Sannazaro et le madrigal Italien", in *La Chanson a la Renaissance: Actes du XXe Colloque d'Etudes humanists du Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université de*

quei ch'in amor credono" is sung by the pastoral characters Pane, Silvano and Sattirino (Act II, 11).[9] However, it also began to be used for lower-class and comic characters. This practice seems to have been established by Ariosto who presented in his comedies some blank verses with the *sdrucciolo* ending.[10] Such a non-exalted use of *sdrucciolo* found its way into seventeenth-century opera, as we can see from the anonymous preface to *Le nozze d'Enea in Lavinia* (1641; the music, now lost, was set by Monteverdi). The librettist writes, "...I have availed myself of several metres, such as to say giving the *verso sdrucciolo* to low characters, and the short and *verso tronco* to those who are angry".[11]

However, it is also the case that, by the mid-seventeenth century, *sdrucciolo* versification was used to express a character's extreme state of mind, and therefore, was associated with magical or monstrous beings, those who were mad, and those who were simply agitated for one reason or another.[12] Examples of *versi sdruccioli* for mad characters include: Deidamia (in *La finta pazza*, II, 10), Egisto (in *Egisto*, III, 5); Aristeo (in Rossi/ Buti's *Orfeo*, III, 4) Orlando (in *Bradamante*, III, 10); Eralbo (in *Tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Meraspe*, I, 12); Atrea (in *Pompeo Magno*, I, 20); Publicola (in *Totila*, II, 16) and Ulisse (in *La finta pazza d'Ulisse*, I, 11). A clear, the best example of the use of a *sdrucciolo* text for someone who is sane but agitated is Sicandro in *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (II, 21) (See: Appendix II, Music

Tours, Juillet 1977, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Tours: Van de Velde, 1981), 257; and Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue*, 29.

[9] Giovanni Faustini, *La Calisto* (Venice: Il Giuliani, 1651) [US-LAus, no. 71], 49.

[10] Leopold, "Iacopo Sannazaro et le madrigal Italien", 257.

[11] [...mi son servito di più metri di versi, com'a dire dando lo sdrucciolo a persone basse, et il breve, e tronco ad adirati...] Anonymous, "Lettera dell'autore" in *Argomento et Scenario delle Nozze d'Enea in Lavinia* (Venice: n.pub., 1640), xviii. The translation is from: Tim Carter (ed. and trans.), *Composing Opera*, 169.

[12] Paolo Fabbri presented a similar view. Idem, "Metrical and Formal Organization", in *Opera in Theory and Practice, Image and Myth*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, trans. Kenneth Chalmers and Mary Whittall, the History of Italian Opera 6 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 165.

Example 6). Sicandro, who is frightened, announces the arrival of a group of madmen who are to perform the "ballo di pazzi":

> Fuggite rapidi [sd][13]
> Lunge di qui. [t]
> Diversi stolidi, [sd]
> Che l'orme seguono [sd]
> Di questa misera [sd]
> Qua se ne vengono: [sd]
> Se qui vi trovano [sd]
> Dar vi potrebbono [sd]
> Le loro insanie [sd*][14]
> Qualche molestia [sd*]
> In questo di. [t]
> Fuggite rapidi [sd]
> Lunge di qui. [t][15]

This poem also demonstrates the practice of combining two unusual endings in such texts: *sdrucciolo* and *tronco*.

The use of *verso tronco* was not directly discussed in early sources in the way we have found to be the case for *sdrucciolo.* However, on the Venetian stage, it seems to have had a particular connotation. Since the speech of the Venetian plebeian dialect exploits truncated endings,[16] *verso tronco* sounds similar to stereotypical ordinary conversation as spoken by local characters. For example, the opening scene of Cavalli's *Eritrea*, which is sung by two fishermen, has many examples of *versi tronchi*. Probably, it is true to say that the *tronco* ending produces a similar effect to that of popular verse. For example, in Rossi/Buti's *Orfeo* (1647), Aristeo and Venus (disguised as an old woman) together sing "*quella* bella canzon sopra la speme (my italics)" [that beautiful song about hope]. The song may be based upon a popular tune

[13] Here, "sd" stands for *sdrucciolo*; "t" for *tronco*.
[14] The two words bearing asterisks, *insanie* and *molestie* can be taken as *parole piane*, considered the last two vowels ("ie") as a diphthong. However, the composer set those two vowels separately in order to keep the *sdrucciolo* rhythm. See: Appendix 2, Musical Example 6.
[15] [Flee quickly,/ away from this place/ A number of the foolish/ follow the footsteps./ of this poor woman/ Even if they do not come here/ they find you./ Their insanity/ how annoying/ in this day,/ Flee quickly/ and away from this place.] Aureli, *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira*, II – 21, p. 68 – 9.

or something similar, and the verse is written entirely in *versi tronchi.*[17] Interestingly, this song unfolds over a descending minor tetrachord bass. Although it is sometimes assumed that such an *ostinato* is an emblem of "lamento",[18] such uses perhaps suggest that the device had a popular root.[19]

Towards the eighteenth century, however, *verso tronco* was conventionalised as a practical literary device inviting musical masculine endings.[20] Thus, in the end, it ceased to have particular implications for the popularity of characters or style but did attract certain types of standard musical treatment.

Now, we came to the issue of the number of syllables in a given line. Traditionally, Italian poems for music were written primarily in *endecasillabi* or regular combinations of the *endecasillabo* and the *settenario*; but some writers, such as Gabriello Chiabrera, introduced a wide range of metrical combinations.[21] From its beginning, opera employed verse forms with great variety, and, by the mid century, the range of metres encompassed anything from the *ternario* to the *endecasillabo.*[22] The *novenario* and the *decasillabo* were, however, considered traditionally to be rather awkward. Dante (1265 – 1321) already mentioned a kind of hierarchy within line length:

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[16] I am grateful for Giuseppina Mazzella for this information.

[17] Speme, à dirla come và/ Tu cinguetti notte e dì/ Ma vi son poi ne' tuoi "sì"/ Più bugie che verità. [Hope, to say how things go/ you chatter day and night/ But there are then in your "yeses"/ more lies than truth.] Bartlett, *Rossi: Orfeo*, 76.

[18] Rosand, "The Descending Tetrachord: an Emblem of Lament", *Musical Quarterly* lv.

[19] Hans Ferdinand Redlich wrote that such a bass line came from the old Spanish "Malagueña" theme. See: Idem, *Claudio Monteverdi Life and Works*, trans. Kathleen Dale (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 90. However, we do not have evidence of the "Malagueña" theme which dates back earlier than the seventeenth century.

[20] The usefulness of lines with accents on final syllables in musical poetry was already acknowledged in the 17th century. The anonymous author of *Il corago, overo Alcune osservazioni per metter bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (1628 – 37) suggested that, in this case, using *parole tronche* (words originally with accents on final syllables) should be more preferable than abbreviated forms of *parole piane*. See: Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 166. The author of *Il Corago* is sometimes thought to have been a son of Rinuccini.

[21] For example, Chiabrera's "Damigella tutta bella" (Monteverdi's setting is found in his *Scherzi Musicali* [1607]) is written in the *quaternario*.

> ...though the Italian poets have used the lines of three and eleven syllables and all the intermediate ones, those of five, seven and eleven syllables are more frequently used, and next to them that of three syllables in preference to the others...But the line of nine syllables, because it appeared to consist of the line of three taken three times, was either never held in honour or fell into disuse on account of its being disliked. As for the lines of an even number of syllables, we use them but rarely because of their rudeness...[23]

Such a view was still somewhat apparent in the seventeenth century.[24] However, the *novenario* and the *decasillabo* began to be seen particularly after Aurelio Aureli made use of them from the end of the 1660s.[25] Yet, they were used still in order to achieve a special effect. It is of interest that when Caligula, in Pagliardi's *Caligula delirante* (1672; the attribution of the libretto to Gisberti is not conclusive), has fits of madness, he is frequently allotted arias – and we shall come to exactly what this word means in poetic and musical terms in a moment – written either in *novenarii*, ("Belle luci del sol, ch' adoro" [II, 8]), or in *decasillabi* ("E pur vago vezzoso e ridente" [II, 15]), or in a combination of both ("Al' incendio d'un occhio amoroso" [II, 7]).

Standard Categorisations: Aria, Recitative, Recitative Soliloquy, and Arioso

Before we examine musical features of mad scenes, we need to clarify the four categories of aria, recitative, recitative soliloquy and arioso. The poetic elements we have just discussed – the position of the final accent or the number of syllables in a given line – are important determinants here, and underpin the musical categorisations.

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22 Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 160 – 164.

23 [...licet trisillabo carmine stque endecasillabo et omnibus intermediis cantores Latii usi sint, pentasillabum, eptasillabum et endecasillabum in usu frequentiori habentur; et post hec trisillabum ante alia...Neasillabum vero, quia triplicatum trisillabum videbatur, vel nunquam in honore fuit, vel proper fastidium absolevit. Parisillaba vero propter sui ruditatem non utimur nisi raro...] From Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Cited from Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue*, vol. I, 22.

24 See: Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 161; for Lodvico Zuccolo's writing, *Discorso delle ragioni dle numero del verso italiano* (Venice: Ginami, 1623).

25 Paolo Fabbri, "Riflessioni teoriche sul teatro per musica nel Seicento", in *Opera e Libretto* (Florence: Olschki, 1990), vol. I, 1 – 31.

In libretti, the texts for arias stand out clearly from those for recitatives owing to their different metrical structure, or stanzaic organisation, or both. While the recitative verse comprises an irregular alternation of *versi endecasillabi* and *settenarii*, unrhymed or irregularly rhymed (*versi sciolti*), the aria verse shows a certain regularity, either structured by certain metres or regularly rhymed. Even so, there are certain ambiguous cases. Such an example is "Funeste piaggie, ombrosi orridi campi", a closed form sung by Orfeo in Peri/Rinuccini's *Euridice* (Scene 4).[26] This monologue consists of three strophes of unequal length,[27] and of an irregular alternation of *endecasillabi* and *settenarii*. Yet, all the strophes end with one and the same line, "Lagrimate al mio pianto, ombre d'inferno". In Peri's setting, which is fundamentally in declamatory style, this line, always given one and the same musical phrase, acts as a refrain. Thus, this is a hybrid of aria and recitative in both musical and poetic senses. Although such cases can invite varied interpretations, in this study, they are categorised as "recitative soliloquies".[28]

Another problem regarding categorisation lies in the rather ambiguous definition of arioso, which can invite quite varying descriptions of its attributes. However, in this study, I use the term in the following sense: that is, a section which is located within a recitative verse (*versi sciolti*) but shares some attributes with aria – musically characterised either by triple metre, or by a bass line organised in regular patterns. From the second half of the seventeenth century, alongside the establishment of the practice of arioso, librettists started to develop poetic cues for arioso. Usually these

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[26] Howard Mayer Brown (ed.), *Jacopo Peri: Euridice*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era (Madison: -R, 1981), xxviii.

[27] The first strophe consists of 10 lines (11/7/11/7/11/7/11/11/11/11 syllables); the second of 8 lines (7/11/7/11/11/7/11/11); and the third of 12 lines (7/7/11/11/7/11/7/11/7/7/11/11).

[28] As we will see, the term "recitative soliloquy" was first coined by Margaret Murata. Claude V. Palisca, on the other hand, calls this song "a solo madrigal", and interprets it as something close to an *aria da cantar ottava rima* in function and spirit. See: idem, "Aria Types in the Earliest Operas", in

cues consist of a few lines inserted within *versi sciolti*, but metrically different from the usual recitative verse, and they are too short to be independent aria-verses, and have no stanzaic organisation. Further clarifications will be found in the section on arioso below.

Musical Features of Mad Scenes

In this section, some musical characteristics of mad scenes in seventeenth-century opera will be explored. However, this task may be somewhat hindered by the following two considerations. First, a fair amount of the music does not survive: amongst the forty-eight operatic works listed in Table 1, twenty-seven seem to have been lost completely. Also, some operas survive only partially, and some very interesting mad scenes, for example, the scene where the feigned-mad Ulisse reads a book in a sing-song voice (*La finta pazzia d'Ulisse*),[29] are among the lost items.

Second, and more importantly, our expectations that "insane" music will be distinctive in some way are often thwarted owing to the dependence of such music on conventional, and generally applied devices. As a result, musicologists working on the repertoire may be frustrated by the apparent incongruity between the conventional logic of the music and the irrational expression, which it attempts to carry, as required by the libretto.

Part of the reason for this incongruity may be, as Ellen Rosand has put it, that it was "only when musical rules were firm enough or clear enough that breaking them could have an effect",[30] and such yet rules had not been fully standardised in the

Journal of Seventeenth-century Music IX, no. 1 (2004) [http:// www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Palisca.html].

[29] Matteo Noris, *La finta pazzia d'Ulisse* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1696) [US-LAus, no. 422], II, 12, p. 51.

[30] Rosand, *Opera*, 347.

seventeenth century. G. F. Handel and his eighteenth-century contemporaries standing, as they did, at the beginning of the "common practice" era, were able to express extremes or deviance by manipulating the accepted norms of the recitative and Da-Capo aria. For example, Handel constructs in his mad scene, "Ah! Stigie larve" (II, 11) from *Orlando* (1732),[31] musical procedures that can be perceived as "deviant". These include the use of an abnormal meter (5/8; mm. 22 – 24 and 27),[32] and an unusually structured main aria, "Vaghe pupille", which, as a kind of *rondeau* (mm. 63 – 195), works musically against the form of its two stanzas that would normally be set as a Da-Capo aria.

By contrast, Romantic mad scenes do not reveal any clear sign of specially distorting standard formal structures for expressive purposes. After all, the musical language of nineteenth-century mad scenes was characterised usually by its use of virtuosic coloratura, and its tendency to quote fragments of themes used earlier in the opera.[33] For the most part, the "set pieces" of the mad characters rigidly follow the conventionalised outline of standard double aria: recitative – Andante – recitative – cabaletta. Thus, Mary Ann Smart, a scholar working on the nineteenth-century examples, has been obliged to conclude that "typologies of madness based primarily on form are condemned to conclude that "mad" music is no different from sane".[34]

This conclusion is similar to that arrived at in the course of the present study, but its focus on nineteenth-century practices means that its justifications are rather

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[31] Also see Rosand's analysis of this aria in: idem, "Operatic madness", 265 – 286.

[32] Friedrich W. Chrysander (ed.), *Orlando*, The Works of George Frederic Handel (Ridgewood, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1965).

[33] See: for example, Stephen A. Willier, "Early Nineteenth-Century Opera and the Impact of the Gothic" (PhD diss., University of Illinois ar Urbana-Champaign, 1987), which discusses the themes, and Mary Ann Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita: Representations of Madness in Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1994), which indicates "a smaller level of formal articulation" (ibid., p. 29).

[34] Mary Ann Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita: representation of madness in nineteenth century Italian opera" (PhD dissertation: Cornell University, 1994), 29.

different. First, Smart argues that the divisions between "sane" and "insane" music are blurred because of the strongly standardized forms used in common for both, but her description could hardly apply in any simple way to seventeenth-century instances. While nineteenth-century forms were so standardised across the board between sane and insane music, seventeenth-century forms were in such a state of flux that they were adaptable. Second, Smart attempts to show that the display of insanity relies largely on "a surplus of conventional expressive devices often used in exaggerated forms".[35] However, for exaggeration to be recognisable in performative terms, this again requires "norms" of performance style to be established and accepted. It seems unlikely that this was quite the case in the seventeenth century, though, as we saw in the previous chapter in our discussion of Monteverdi's correspondence on *La finta pazza Licori*,[36] there may have been a performative dimension to the portrayal of madness in early opera that dramatically transcended the limited signals given out by the notated score and written libretto. Although it is true that "insane" music is based fundamentally on the "sane" music prevailing in an era, the ways in which that relationship works and is inflected by the galaxy of performative, literary and dramatic conventions particular to an epoch, vary enormously. It is a central task of this study to uncover that "galaxy of conventions" proper to the seventeenth century, and to show how it operates in the service of dramaturgical ends.

It is not difficult to see that the continuum of effects between "sane" and "insane" music frequently holds dangers for scholars. A case in point may be Ellen Rosand's attempt to define Act II Scene 4 of Cavalli/Cicognini's *Giasone* as a mad

[35] Ibid., 15.

[36] See his letter, dated 7 May, 1627. Lax (ed.), Claudio Monteverdi: *Lettere*, 153; and Stevens (trans.), *The Letters of Monteverdi*, 319.

scene on musical grounds alone.[37] In this scene, Isifile shows her extreme anger with Giasone, who, upon her inconvenient arrival, convinces Medea that Isifile is merely "una matta leggiadra [a mad lady]".[38] Isifile's music is rather excitable, partly written in *stile concitato*, and might be appropriate to madness in some circumstances. However, only when taken together with her speech-content,[39] which includes familiar "mad" topoi such as references to figures of the underworld, are we in a position to be persuaded to take her behaviour as possibly representative of madness in this particular situation. In fact, in the narrative itself, only Medea describes Isifile's behaviour as "pazzia", and the audience realises that such a perception is the result of a cowardly trick by Giasone to defame her in this way. Isifile is not mad at all.[40]

This example demonstrates the difficulties of attempting to define a character as insane on the primary basis of musical evidence. In an attempt to get further with this problem, this following section will explore how the musical forms of operatic representation relate to poetic and other conventions so as to suggest or support an interpretation that madness is intended in particular contexts. First, the discussion will be pursued under the four categorisations proposed above: aria, recitative, recitative soliloquy, and arioso. Each term will be examined in order to understand the range of

[37] Rosand, *Opera*, 358 – 9.
[38] D. Giacinto Cicognini, *Giasone* (Venice: Giacomo Butti, 1649) [US – LAus, no. 58], II – 13, p. 86.
[39] "In dietro ò Rea Canaglia/ Arrestar Regie membra/ Non è forza, che vaglia; ancor tentate/ Anime scelerate?/ Non sol le vostre forze, Ma d'Erebo i Legami/ Spezzerò, svellerò;/ Chi non teme di morte/ Sà da i Tartarei fondi/ Sbarrar le mura, e diroccar le porte." [Come back, criminal villain,/ to arrest a royal person/ is not worthy of force/ Do you try again/ evil souls?/ It is not only your forces/ but the bound with Erebus/ that I will tear and kill!/ Who does not fear death/ knows how to break down the walls and demolish the gates of the depth of Tartarus.] Cicognini, *Giasone*, p. 91.
[40] A very similar strategy is taken by Mozart's Don Giovanni. when he is confronted by Donna Elvira in front of Donna Anna and Don Ottavio (*Don Giovanni*, I, 12). Also in this case, the composer has given to the angry Donna Elvira fast *parlando* phrases within the quartet but the audience, of course, is aware of the situation and they (also Anna and Ottavio) will not conclude that Elvira is in effect a mad woman. See: Ernest Warburton, *The Librettos of Mozart's Operas* (New York and London: Garland, 1992), vol. IV, 23 – 24.

musical functions that it entails for expressing, representing and referring to events, emotions, and responses and ideas. After constructing such a detailed glossary, we will then analyse the musical practices in particular mad scenes. However, the main purpose of this procedure is not to search for musical deviance in mad scenes, although, of course, some interesting devices (for example, particular ornamentations etc) will be noted. Through the procedure above, we will see that it is the dramaturgical complexity of a given character, which is combined with practical factors (for example, who originally sang the role etc), that in the end defines the effect of the music, and allows it to function as a musical "symptom" of the insane. It is the core of my argument that there is no musical device that is sufficient on its own to indicate madness.

(1) Aria:

The Definition and Traditions

The Italian word, "aria" was derived from the Greek "ἀήρ" and Latin "aer", and, in general terms, usually referred to the act of assuming a certain manner or aspect,[41] as, for example, in the English expression to "take on an independent air". As a musical term, it first appeared at the end of the fourteenth century, signifying a manner or style of singing or playing. In the sixteenth century, it was often used to designate canzonettas sung in a particular local traditon or manner such as the "aria napoletana" or "l'aere veneziano".[42] In the second half of the sixteenth century, the term began to imply a setting of strophic poetry, usually, in the earlier examples with the melody

[41] See, *Vicabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, s.v. "aria". Also, Tim Carter has discussed some early seventeenth-century arias in terms of their similar "aria" (mood). See: Idem, "An Air New and Grateful to the Ear: the Concept of Aria in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy", *Music Analysis* XII, no. 2 (July, 1993), 127 – 45.

repeated, sometimes slightly varied, for each verse.[43] This particular association between the term aria and strophic poetic forms survived well into the seventeenth century. For example, Marco Da Gagliano in the preface to his *La Dafne* (1608) listed the following items as "arias", and all of them are in fact strophic songs: "Chi da lacci d'Amor", "Pur giacque estinto al fine", "Un guardo, un guardo appena" and "Non chiami mille volte il tuo bel nome".[44] It was in the seventeenth century that the term aria moved away from its initial implications only of attitude or manner, and came to mean something specifically musical; that is, a self-contained vocal composition, usually with instrumental accompaniment, and frequently in ternary or binary closed form.

As we have seen, in poetic terms, aria is defined as a setting for a type of verse, which, as opposed to *versi sciolti*, shows regularity in terms of metrical structure, or stanzaic organisation, or both. In the seventeenth century, there was no strong connotation that aria should mean a piece for solo voice. "Pur ti miro", the final piece of Monteverdi/Busenello's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1643) is, in effect, an aria sung by two characters (Nerone and Poppea). This type of duet – poetically an aria sung by two characters, as opposed to fluid conversation between two – should be included in this section as well. Amongst mad scenes, we have at least two examples of this kind of duet, both found in Cavalli's *Eritrea* (1652). "O luci bella" (I, 8) and "Bella sposa" (I, 11), are both sung by the mad Theramene in combination with another character. In neither of the duets is the madness of Theramene clearly portrayed. He simply participates, as it were, in other characters' arias as he joins with one of them in praising Eritrea (who is disguised as a man), and with the other in

[42] Siegmund Levarie and Ernst Levy, *Musical Morphology: a Discourse and a Dictionary* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1983), 67.
[43] Jack Westrup, "Aria", *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan, 1990), vol. 1, 167.

complimenting Laodicea. This kind of practice is occasionally expanded into performances with ensembles of singers. An interesting example occurs in Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647), where Aristeo's aria "All'armi, mio core" which sings of metaphorical war, is "accompanied" by Satiro and Momo who imitate the sounds of the drum and the trumpet respectively (See: Appendix 2, Musical Example 7).

Practices in Mad Scenes

In the appendix can be found Table 12, which lists arias from mad scenes. Before we start our examinations of the listed pieces, it is necessary to explain briefly how this table has been constructed. First, arias sung by characters that are established as insane by the plots have been included. In some ambiguous cases, the presence or absence of dramaturgical topoi for representing the mad –already discussed in Chapter 7 – have been used as the basis of the judgement. For example, in the case of Statira (in *Dario*) who is imbecilic, all of her arias sung might seem to be candidates for the "mad" category. However, only her "Svegliatevi pensieri" (II, 5) is included here, because the text refers in a delusional way to war and so this marks it out as an example of a mad aria.[45] Second, the mad arias are categorised in order of the status of the character singing the aria within the drama: that is, arias sung by primary characters are followed by those sung by secondary characters, and, then, those sung by minor characters. This method was necessary, since the status of a given character usually affects the number of, as well as the types of, arias allocated to him or her. Then, the arias for each of the types of characters are organised chronologically, in order to reveal how the mad aria as part of the history of opera changed and

[44] See: Carter and Szweykowski (ed.), *Composing Opera*, 67.
[45] See: Chapter 7.

developed. A closer look at the items in the table should enable us to diagnose important aspects of the poetic and formal features of the arias, as well as changing patterns of their allocation to characters, and of the role they might play in characterisation more generally.

First, it is interesting to note that some normative poetic features do emerge in relation to mad scenes. As we have seen, three arias sung by the title role of *Caligula delirante* are written in *versi novenarii* or *decasillabi* or a combination of both. Also, in some aria verses, each line has a different length. For example, the lines of "Svegliatevi pensieri" sung by Statira in Freschi's *Dario*, comprise eleven, seven, five and three syllables respectively, and such irregularity clearly reflects her disturbed mind. Moreover, the composer Freschi, manipulated the text by transforming the opening phrase into "*Re*svegliatevi pensieri", thus, enabling the first line to consist of twelve syllables (See: Musical Example 8). There is another, even more interesting example of a composer's manipulation of the given text: that is, "Sol nel Regno di Nettuno" an aria for Atrea in *Pompeo Magno* (I, 4). In fact, the lyric consists of two stanzas; the first has four 8-syllable lines (rhyming ABAB) and the second comprises six lines, the first of which is a 4-syllable line and the rest are 8-syllables lines (aABCBC). The composer, Cavalli, set the first two lines of the second stanza (Per gl'amanti/ Io le pesci, e diu qui avanti) in recitative despite their rhyming scheme, and transformed the rest as a rigid strophic song (See: Musical Example 9, mm. 21 – 24, and 28 – 31). Probably, Cavalli found light-hearted strophic songs most suitable for Atrea, who is very much like a fool, although stipulated as mad. Interestingly, the second aria of Atrea, "E la vita un vasto mare" – also a strophic song – seems to have been a later addition since the text is not found in the printed libretto (see: Musical

Example 10).[46] It is not clear at which stage this aria was added, yet, this addition must have been made in order to complete the characterisation of Atrea as well as to display the singer's vocal ability to the full.[47]

Next, we can see from Table 12 that the seventeenth century aria saw a certain change in its formal structure. Arias in various forms (in binary, or ternary forms, through-composed, or strophic variation) were already seen in the 1640s and 50s. However, towards the end of the century, ABA' form became increasingly popular. This form, of course, provided the embryonic outline of a da capo aria. It is very hard to pinpoint when this formal scheme became a real preference. However, it may be interesting to note that Caligula (in *Caligula delirante* 1672) sings nine arias of which three are in ABA form, another three are through-composed, two are in binary form (AA'), and the last and most substantial one is in ABB' form. His three ABA arias are rather short mainly because each text consists of a single strophe, and for those arias, the composer, G. A. Pagliardi, simply followed the rhyme scheme (abba) of the poems. However, in 1677, Freschi for the mad Euristene in *Helena rapita da Paride*, even manipulated the text to write an aria in ABA' form (See: Musical Example 11, mm. 8 – 20). The text of "Fingerò mille follie" consists of the following strophes, and the form suggested by the poetic structure is ABACA:

Strophe I: A	Fingerò mille follie Per amore d'un bel volto
B	Dentro il laccio che mi strinse Sarò Ulisse che si finse Più d'Oreste insano e stolto
A	Fingerò mille follie Per amore d'un bel volto
Strophe II: C	Un Alcide che delira Per novella Deianira Da ci ascun' vo sarò tolto
A	Fingerò mille follie Per amore d'un bel volto[48]

[46] Nicolò Minato, *Pompeo Magno* (Venice: Francesco Nicoloni, 1666) [US-LAus, no. 141].
[47] The singer for Atrea seems to have been an accomplished vocalist. See: Chapter 7.

The decision that Freschi made was to discard the second strophe (Section C –A), and form the aria in ABA form with a coda based upon repeating the second line of Section A. Moreover, another ABA form aria, "Chi s'inoltra al mio sembiante" from the same opera was clearly labelled as "aria" in the sole manuscript source.

By the time Alessandro Scarlatti wrote his first opera, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* in 1679, the rudimentary form of the Da Capo aria (as an aria consisting of two strophes and with the first strophe repeated) seems to have been established. The text of "Si sveni, s'uccida", sung by the insane Eurillo in *Gli equivoci*, is actually given the indication "Da Capo" in the libretto (see: Musical Example 12). In this opera, Scarlatti wrote 41 arias, of which 29 are in ABA or ABA' form, three in ABB' form, another three in AB form, and six in through composed form. Amongst those six through-composed arias, two are sung by Eurillo in his insanity, and the remaining four are episodic songs by Lisetta, a secondary character. It seems that through-composed arias, especially those sung by primary characters, began to be seen as deviant. As we have already seen in the case of Handel's *Orlando*, composers now began to represent insanity by using more fluid structures as opposed to the dominant ABA form.

Alongside the development of Da Capo aria, the aria with "motto" like opening came into being and became popular from the 1670s onwards. Examples include "Ferma il piede e non partir", "Bella Dea",[49] "Cruda Cintia"[50] (all from *Caligula*

[48] [I will feign thousand follies/ For love for a beautiful countenance/ inside of the chain which ties me/ I will become Ulysses who feigned more insane and foolish than Orstes/ I will feign thousand follies/ for love for a beautiful countenance// As a Hercules raves for new Deianira/ I will be out of myself.] Aurelio Aureli, *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1677), 39. There are two editions of this libretto (both bearing the date 1677); however, the poetic structure of "Fingerò mille follie" is one and the same.

[49] See: Musical Example 13.

[50] See: Musical Example 14.

delirante), "Svegliatevi pensieri" (from *Dario*), [51] and "Mirate, mirate" (from *Zenobia*), [52] and they all treat the incipit of the first line as a "brief vocal proclamation",[53] which the following short instrumental section echoes.

The table of arias also reveals that the seventeenth century saw a certain change in the way of allocating arias to characters. Probably this point can be seen more clearly when we consider the general situation rather than just those arias found within mad scenes. Up until the mid-seventeenth century, more arias (arias as rigidly structured solo songs) were allocated to secondary or minor characters than to primary characters. For example, Deidamia, the principal character of *La finta pazza* (1641) sings only two very brief arias throughout the entire opera.[54] This is mainly because at that time, for a principal character, singing in declamatory style was more favoured, because, in so doing, he or she could express a complex of emotions more movingly. Anna Renzi, who created the roles of not only Deidamia, but also Ottavia (*L'incoronazione di Poppe*a) and Damira (*Le fortune di Rodope di Damira*), excelled at this skill. On the other hand, good vocalists often seem to have been cast in secondary roles. Theramene in *Eritrea* (1652) sings three arias, two duets, two quartets, and two recitative soliloquies while the title role Etrea sings four duets, two quartets, but only one proper aria.[55] However, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the aria became the principal device by which main protagonists expressed

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[51] See: Musical Example 8.
[52] See: Musical Example 15.
[53] Jack Westrup, "Aria", in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992, vol. I, 170.
[54] "No, no amor vogl'io" (I, 3) and "Verga tiranna ignobile" (II, 10). The latter is sung in her period of insanity (see: Musical Example 19). Deidamia also sings other "closed" forms such as a duet with Achille (I, 3), a terzet with Eunuco and Achille (I, 5) and another terzet with Donzella and Achille (I, 5).
[55] "Cigni del'alma mia" (II, 12) written in ABB' form.

their feelings. For example, Statira in *Dario* (1685) has seven arias and three duets, some of which are quite florid and virtuosic.[56]

We can also see from Table 12 that there are several arias which seem to undergo "genre-transformation". Iarba's binary-form aria "Che più lieto di me nel mondo sia" in fact emerges from the preceding recitative section without marking a break (See: Musical Example 16). "Il vostro splendore" sung by Aristeo in *Orfeo*, and "Volto amato" by Theramene in *Eritrea* (See: Musical Example 17), "Chi mi toglie il mio tesore" by Caligula in *Caligula delirante* all overlap with the following recitatives. Probably the most interesting case of a flexible musical form is "Bel Narciso" by Publicola in *Totila* (See: Musical Example 18, mm. 11 – 55). Publicola's singing is constantly interrupted by the comments of Desbo, and, in the end, the exact form of the aria is almost indecipherable. It should be noted that such a way of representing madness is made possible only by the librettist providing an appropriate and suggestive poetic substructure.

Among the details not recorded in Table 12 is the use of instruments in addition to the basso continuo. These can be found even among earlier examples. For example, Deidamia's aria, "Verga tiranna ignobile" (*La finta pazza*) is decorated in the score by two unspecified instruments (probably strings) (See: Musical Example 19). Throughout the entire seventeenth century, instruments participated in arias in the form of interspersed ritornellos or decorations within vocal sections. However, among the items listed in the table, there is no score which gives any indication for the instrumentation. Even so we can speculate that some arias such as the "military" item, "Svegliatevi pensieri" by Statira (in *Dario*) may have used trumpets, since the music

[56] "Chi m'insegna" (I, 5), "Il cor, ch'ho nel seno" (I, 17), "Resvegliatevi o pensieri" (II, 5), "Son risolta" (II, 7), "Stringilo pur al sen" (II, 10), "Mia vita placati" (II, 17) and "Se posso io vo bacciarlo"

for the instruments in this aria frequently employs fanfare-like motives with repeated notes (See: Musical Example 8).

Another point that we should consider is whether there is any distinction between the musical means of representing "real" madness as opposed to its "feigned" version. In fact, there is no clear-cut division, and all musical devices can be used for either type. However, it is interesting to note that among "insane" arias, the most extraordinary example – "Su le ruine d'Acheronte"[57] – is in fact sung by a feigned-mad character, Euristene in *Helena rapita da Paride* of 1677.[58] The first section of this short aria (in abb'cc' form) comprises an utterly disjunct melody over a leaping bass, and both the vocal and bass lines then move into a section of semi-quaver scalic runs (See: Musical Example 20). Probably, such a way of representing madness is deliberately extreme so that it can be taken as a parody, and is, therefore, more suitable for "feigned" madness than for the "real" version. Ellen Rosand had observed that Cavalli's music for Egisto is more "mobile" than Sacrati's music for Deidamia, and she suggests that the reason for this is that Deidamia's madness is "only feigned".[59] However, her implication that really mad characters require more obviously disjunct or active music is nor supported by the examples we have discussed. After all, it is not really surprising that feigned mad characters require more drastic music, since they need to display their derangement in an exaggerated way in order to convince the other protagonists as well as the audience. This seems to be another instance where an attempt to identify "real" madness on purely musical grounds has again led to a problematic conclusion.

(III, 2). She also sings one duet with Argene ("Cessi il pianto", I, 2), and two duets with Dario ("Ci stringa", III, 8; and "Fra gioie, e contenti", III, 13).

[57] In the printed libretto, the words read as "su le *rive* d'Acheronte" (my own italics).

[58] Euristene is a *male* character who is in love with Enone, the estranged partner of Paride. Rosand erroneously describes Euristene as a feigned madwoman. See: Rosand, *Opera*, 360.

Finally, we need to discuss the role that arias play in relation to characterisation. It can be said that seventeenth-century arias are, in general, dramaturgically less complex than sections in declamatory style, in the sense that they tend to dwell on single emotions or aspects in moments that stand aside from the action or interaction. Only by retrospectively collecting together, as it were, all the emotions portrayed by all the musical items sung by a given character, can we understand fully his or her fictive personality. In so doing, we can appreciate at a deeper level the persona created by the collaboration between the librettist and composer. For example, the deranged prince Theramene from *Eritrea* sings two arias, which unfold over a descending tetrachord: "Colli boschi" (II, 5; see: Musical Example 21) and "Dolce frode" (III, 3: see: Musical Example 22). However, this does not mean that there was necessarily an association between the descending tetrachord and operatic madness. Rather, it shows the complexity of Theramene's character: since he is, in fact, a prince, an unrequited lover, and a madman. Thus, his music in these two arias is chosen not directly to portray his insanity but to express his unrequited love.

A similar principle of the dramatic adaptability of music can be seen in the relationship between the tragic and the comic in seventeenth-century opera – a genre which is often symbiotic of both. For example, Sacrati/Strozzi's *La finta pazza* is fundamentally an opera, which explores the comic effect of the feigned madness of Deidamia. The majority of the music sung to represent her insanity is comical. However, her "mad" aria, "Verga tiranna ignobile", is not a comic piece. The text reads as follows:

> Verga tiranna ignobile (rhyming a)
> Recide alti papaveri; (b)
> Per questo io resto immobile, (a)

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[59] Rosand, *Opera*, 354.

Fra voi sozzi cadaveri. (b)

Il foco merto, ardetemi: (c)
Il sepolcro apprestatemi: (c)
Donne care, piangetemi; (c)
Pace all'alma pregatemi.(c)[60]

Here, the heroine is referring gloomily to corpses ("cadaveri") and her own death ("il sepolcro apprestatemi" [prepare my sepulchre]), and the poem is aptly written in *versi sdruccioli*. Ellen Rosand describes this aria as "lament-parody",[61] probably (but not explicitly) because of the subject matter and the bass line which, in the first five measures descends in a similar way to that of a tetrachord bass (see: Music Example 19). However, there is a level of which this aria is certainly not a parody. Deidamia decides to pretend to be mad when she finds out that her beloved Achille is leaving her to participate in the Trojan War.[62] Even in her feigned and seemingly comical insanity, her inner sadness is real enough. It is in this aria that her poignant pain overcomes her, and in this sense, the aria can be viewed as a real lament. Rosand also suggests that mad scenes of the later seventeenth century can be recognised as such as a result of their incongruity with the surrounding situations. For example, the insane Publicola in Legrenzi/Noris' *Totila*, sings love songs, "Sù stringetevi" and "Bel Narciso", which are "strikingly inappropriate to his tragic situation".[63] However, both arias are in fact perfectly integrated within his dramaturgical situation: the former is sung when Publicola in his delusion tries to embrace the ghost of his wife; and the

[60] [Tyrannic, ignoble whip / chops tall poppies;/ For this I remain still,/ Amongst you loathsome corpses./ The benevolent fire*, burn me;/ prepare my sepulchre:/ Dear women, weep for me./ Pray for the peace of my soul.] Strozzi, *La finta pazza*, II, 10, p. 83. (*In the printed Venetian libretti, this reads as "il foco metro" [metric fire?]; however, I have read this as a misspelling of "merto". On the other hand, Bianconi and Sgrirri, in their modern edition, have read this as "il foco mesto" [the sad fire].)
[61] Rosand, *Opera*, 353.
[62] The story regarding Achilles at Skyros produced other operas including Giovanni Legrenzi/Ippolito Bentivoglio's *Achille in Sciro* (1663) and Metastasio's opera with the same title (1736, set by a number os composers). These operas, particularly Metastasio's setting, are discussed by Wendy Heller. See: Idem, "Reforming Achilles: gender, *opera seria* and the rhetoric of the enlightened hero", *Early Music* xxvi, no. 4 (November, 1998), 562 – 81.

latter appears when he mistakes his servant for Narcissus and praises him (See: Musical Example 18). Both of the songs present more than a simple comedy; in fact, they bring Publicola's agony to light. Light-hearted songs sung in tragic situations or poignant laments in comical settings do not always stand out as incongruous, rather, they create a superb artistic effect by linking the tragic and the comic in a drama.

(2) Recitative

The Definition and Traditions

The specific term *recitativo*,[64] designating a way of singing in order to imitate dramatic speech, was probably used first by Domenico Mazzocchi in his *La catena d'Adone* (1626), where the composer indicated the problem of "il tedio del recitativo".[65] The practice of recitative, of course, predated his account. It is very hard to pinpoint exactly how recitative came into existence; however, we need now to discuss what evidence survives.

From the poetic point of view, recitative verse derives directly from the sixteenth-century pastoral traditions. The type of verse used largely in the pastoral comprised free alterations of *endecasillabo* and *settenario* with no rigid scheme of stresses; it produced a prosaic quality[66] as well as a necessary length and flexibility in the structures, both of which were essential for musico-dramatic representation.[67]

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[63] Rosand, *Opera*, 360.
[64] Sternfeld has listed the uses of the phrases "recitar cantando" and "stile recitativo" between 1600 – 38. See: idem, *The Birth of Opera*, 39.
[65] [the tedium of the recitative] Carter and Szweykowski (eds.), *Composing Opera*, 120 – 1. Mazzocchi's writing will be discussed further in relation to arioso below.
[66] Andrea Perucci, later in the seventeenth century, acknowledged this point, writing "[lines] of seven and eleven syllables are more than others close to prose". See: idem, *Dall'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso* [1699], ed. Anton Giulio Bragaglia (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), 101. The translation is taken from Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 155.
[67] Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 154.

Mirtillo's speech from Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (I – 2) offers a useful example of this verse structure:

> Cruda Amarilli, che col nome ancora, [11 syllables]
> D'amar, ahi lasso, amaramente insegni! [11]
> Amarilli, del candido ligustro [11]
> Più candida e più bella, [7]
> Ma de l'àspido sordo [7]
> E più sorda e più fèra e più fugace, [11]
> Poi che col dir t'offendo, [7]
> I' mi morrò tacendo;[68] [7]

Before the birth of opera, there were many madrigal settings which drew on such prosaic excerpts from pastorals. The compositional techniques employed in setting such texts influenced the construction of texts for early opera, and, in both genres, repeated notes functioned as "carriers of the text".[69]

Apart from the madrigal, there was another long musical tradition that we should take into consideration. That is unmeasured homophonic chanting of psalm texts (*falsobordone*).[70] This manner was in fact exploited in the field of madrigal as well, as Monteverdi's "Sfogava con le stelle" (SV78, 1603) demonstrates. Probably it was a cross-fertilisation of many traditions that created operatic recitative style. However, the direct lineage seems to have started with the so-called "monody", and which culminated in the practices employed by composers associated with the Florentine Camerate.

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[68] Battista Guarini, *Il Pastor fido*, trans. Richard Fanshawe, ed. J. H. Whitfield (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), 70.

[69] Nino Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria", in *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honour of Donald J. Grout*, ed. William W. Austin (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), 62, n. 58.

[70] This point was first discussed by John Bettley. Idem, "North Italian falsobordone and its relevance to the early stile recitativo", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* CIII (1976/7), 1 – 18. Famously, of course, Monteverdi exploited this technique for his setting of "Dixit Dominus" from his Vespers (1610). The technique was codified and illustrated by Lodovico Viadana, who included nine *falsibordoni* in his *Cento concerti ecclesiastici…*(Venice, 1602). In the preface, he wrote that "I have taken pains that the words should be so well disposed beneath the notes…it should be possible for them to be clearly understood by the hearers…"; an aim that was very close to that of early opera practitioners. See: Margaret Murata (ed.), *The Baroque Era*, Oliver Strunk's Source Readings in Music History, 4 (New York and London: Norton, 1998), 110 – 113.

At this point, it is necessary to understand and define the "norm" of recitative in musical terms, not only to enable us to pinpoint any abnormalities in relation to operatic madness, but also to distinguish recitative clearly from other genres such as aria, arioso, and recitative soliloquy. However, this seems one of the more complicated tasks in the realm of operatic studies.[71]

The ideals of the Florentine monodists seem to have been based upon their careful observations of the practices of actors,[72] and some treatises were written from that point of view. Already in the early 1580s, Vincenzo Galilei set the following guidelines for vocal music which "expresses the ideas of text":[73]

(1) Only a narrow range of the voice needs to be used. Usually the range should be within six notes.
(2) A high range of voice should be used for an excited or querulous speech; intermediate for a tranquil speech; and low for a lament or a solemn speech.
(3) Slow metres should be used for the last; moderate speed for the tranquil, and rapid for the excited.
(4) The bass line should provide an accompaniment to the voice, and not proliferate independent parts to compete with it.[74]

Later, Galilei's ideas were developed by Giulio Caccini[75] and Jacopo Peri who approached the issues from the practitioners' viewpoint. Peri, in particular, in his preface to *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice*,[76] elucidated the principles Galilei had

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[71] Previous literature on the true nature of recitative includes: Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria", 39 – 107; F. W. Sternfeld, *The Birth of Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. 31 – 47, and Claude Palisca, "Peri and the Theory of Recitative", in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). Also see: Beth L. Glixon, "Recitative in Seventeenth-century Venetian Opera: its Dramatic Function and Musical Language (PhD diss., Rutgers University , 1986).
[72] Galilei made this point clear in his writing. Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1581), 89 – 90. Also see: Tim Carter, *Jacopo Peri, 1561 – 1633: His Life and Work* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), esp. 196.
[73] Palisca, "Peri and the Theory of Recitative", in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory*, 465.
[74] This is a summary of Palisca's reading of two treatises, *Discorso intorno all'uso dell'enharmonico* and *Dubbi intorno a quanto io ho detto dell'enharmonio con la solution di essi*, by Galilei. See:Palisca, "Peri and the Theory of Recitative", 465.
[75] Giulio Caccini, *L'Euridice composta in musica in stile rappresentativo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600). For a modern translation of the dedication, see: Murata (ed.), *The Baroque Era*, Oliver Strunk's Source Readings, 98; and Carter and Szweykowski (eds.), *Composing Opera*, 35 – 41.
[76] Iacopo Peri, *Le Musiche sopra l'Euridice* (Florence: Giorgio Marscotti, 1600). For a modern translation of the preface, see: Carter and Szweykowski (eds.), *Composing Opera*, 21 – 34.

proposed, by explaining his musical strategies. He tells us that what had suited his purpose was a combination of what the ancients called "diastematica" [diastematic] and "continuata" [continuous], that is "an intermediate path between the suspended slow movements of song and the fluent, rapid one of speech".[77] Claude Palisca explains that "diastematic" is a way of singing "in which the voice moves from one discrete pitch to another by interval" and "continuous" is "gliding through various pitches without sustaining any precise pitches or paying attention to the intervals separate them".[78] Peri also noted that "in our speech, certain words are intoned",[79] and this observation lead him to his careful considerations regarding bass lines. He stated that "harmony can be founded upon" intoned words, while in speaking, "one passes through many other [words] which are not intoned, until one returns to another that can move to a new consonance".[80] Also, he "made the bass move...now faster, now slower according to the emotions", and the bass was "held fixed through both dissonances and consonances until the voice of the speaker, opens the way to a new harmony".[81] In so doing, the voice "might not seem in a way to dance to the movement of the bass".[82]

[77] [...prender temperato corso tra i movimenti del canto sospesi, e lenti, e quegli della favella spediti e veloci...] Murata, *The Baroque era*, Strunk's Source Readings, 152.
[78] Palisca, "Peri and the Theory of Recitative", 456.
[79] Murata, *The Baroque era*, Strunk's Source Readings, 152. For a discussion about Peri's "intonation" from the linguistic viewpoint, see: John Walter Hill, "Beyond Isomorphism toward a Better Theory of Recitative", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* IX, no. 1 (2004) [http:// www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v9/no1/Hill.html].
[80] Murata, *The Baroque era*, Strunk's Source Readings, 152.
[81] [...feci muovere il Basso...hor più, hor meno, secondo gli affetti, e lo tenni fermo tra le false, e tra le buone proporzioni, finchè scorrendo per varie note la voce di chi ragiona, arrivasse a quello, che nel parlare ordinario intonandosi, apre la via a nuovo concerto...] Murata, *The Baroque era*, Strunk's Source Readings, 152. Similarly, Giulio Caccini stated in his *Euridice* that "the notes of the bass I have tied in order that in the passing of the many dissonances that occur, the note may not be struck again and the ear offended" (see: Murata, *The Baroque Era,* Strunk's Source Reading, 98).
[82] [...non paresse in un certo modo ballare al moto del Basso...] Murata, *The Baroque era*, Strunk's Source Readings, 152.

Taking Galilei's and Peri's observations about recitative together, it may be possible to construct a view of the "normative" features of this genre in the seventeenth century:

(1) Recitative is fundamentally based on syllabic settings of the text, and its rhythm and pitch follow the natural flow of speech. Thus, any melismatic settings, or any moments when a setting contradicts the natural accent of words, should be taken as deviations or special effects.

(2) The actual practice of recitative, of course, amounted to much more than reciting on a single pitch. The vocal range within any given section might be rather limited, but moments of modest musical lyricism were still possible. However, wide intervalic leaps and linear, "melodic" links between one phrase and another should probably be taken as significant, since they have almost certainly been employed for the purpose of producing particular effects.

(3) For those words where Italian speech-cadences require that they be held longer than others,[83] the bass harmony should change for them, and other syllables should unfold as dissonances against that sustained bass. Yet, in practice, changing bass notes on unaccented syllables is sometimes necessary in order to approach musical cadences.[84] However, frequent changes in harmony, or dissonances produced by the vocal part against especially "newly struck" bass notes, should be considered as special effects.

(4) The purpose of bass notes is to accompany the voice. Any moments when bass lines display musical independence (for example, by making contrapuntal effects against the voice part) can be viewed as divergent from the norms of recitative. Regularly patterned bass lines are, in fact, one of the attributes of contemporary arias,[85] thus, it seems necessary to consider any such phrases within recitative as different in kind. In this study, such episodes will be categorised as "arioso passages" and they will be discussed shortly.

[83] Peri: "I realized, similarly, that in our speech some words are *intoned* in such a manner that harmony can be founded upon them" (my own italics). [The translation is from Carter (ed.), *Composing operas*, 26 – 7.]

[84] Hill, "Beyond Isomorphism toward a Better Theory of Recitative".

[85] See: Palisca, "Aria Types in the Earliest Operas".

(5) Although never clearly described as such by any theorist, early seventeenth-century Italian recitative was largely written in duple time as opposed to its French counterpart, which was characterised by frequent alternation of duple and triple meters. Thus, recitative phrases in Italian works written in triple time require careful treatment. In this study, those phrases will be discussed as arioso passages, since the Italian use of triple metre was to a certain extent derived from its occurrence in aria. In fact, up until the 1660s, most arias were written in triple time (sometimes with a contrasting duple section).

It should be noted that the above points form only part of the basis of our judgement, when trying to distinguish "sane" from "insane" recitative, or one genre from another. To complete our judgement, we need also to analyse the given music and text in relation to the dramaturgical purpose and status of the character. In fact, attempts to to analyse and categorise music in relation to a range of factors can already be found amongst seventeenth century treatises – particularly in the categorisations of musical style proposed by Giovanni Battista Doni in his *Trattato della musica scenica* (1635 – 9), where he discussed the notions of *stile recitativo*, *rappresentativo* and *espressivo*.[86] For Doni, the term *stile recitativo* designated the musical texture that we now call "monody", and as such, it was not exclusive to the theatrical stage. By contrast, he defined *stile rappresentativo* as the musical way of representing (or imitating) actions and human manners, and, thus, saw it as especially suited to the stage. However, as he noted, these two terms, to a certain extent, were used almost interchangeably, partly because the latter could imply a certain kind of delivery of the former in some circumstances. On the other hand, the *stile espressivo* was not a genre but a quality and type of singing. Only when the *stile espressivo* was used in

[86] Giovanni Battista Doni, "Trattato della musica scenica", in *Lyra barberina: de' trattati di musica..tomo secondo*, ed. Anton Francesco Gori (Florence: Stamperia Imperiale, 1763), chapter XI. For a translation, see: Paulo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 166 – 7.

conjunction with music in *stile recitativo* (or *rappresentativo*) – rather than for the mere display of vocal techniques – would it find its true purpose. In a separate treatise,[87] Doni further tells us that the *stile rappresentativo* itself falls into three further subcategories depending upon what is "represented": (1) emotions of a certain fictive character, (2) a narrative of an event; and (3) the representation of certain types of formulaic poetry. He defines these subcategories as *stile espressivo, narrativo*, and *recitativo speciale*, and we may note here the confusing duplication of the term *stile espressivo* in both of his treatises but meaning a type of performance in the first, and a subject represented in the second. In the second treatise, Doni illustrates his ideas with musical examples: "Lasciate mi morire" (Monteverdi's *Arianna*) as an example of *stile espressivo*, "Per quel vago boschetto" (from Peri's *Euridice*) of *narrativo*, and "Io che d'altri sospiri" (Tragedia's prologue from Peri's *Euridice*) of *recitativo speciale*. The last example is based upon a verse comprising seven strophes of 4-line *endecasillabi*, and Peri set this as a strophic variation.

Interesting as Doni's discussions are, we cannot take over his categories in any simple way in this study, partly because we need to cover music written up until the end of the century. The next section will focus upon some features found in recitatives (i.e., declamatory settings of *versi sciolti*) in mad scenes. Even so, within those sections, passages showing aria-like traits (either those over patterned bass lines or those written in triple metre) will be discussed separately in the Arioso section. Also, long, closed-form monologues, which are written in *versi sciolti* but contain refrains, will be discussed separately as "recitative soliloquies".

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[87] Giovanni Battista Doni, *Annotazioni sopra il compendio de' generi e modi della musica* (Rome: Andrea Fei, 1640), 61.

Practices in Mad Scenes

Lyrical Declamation in Recitative

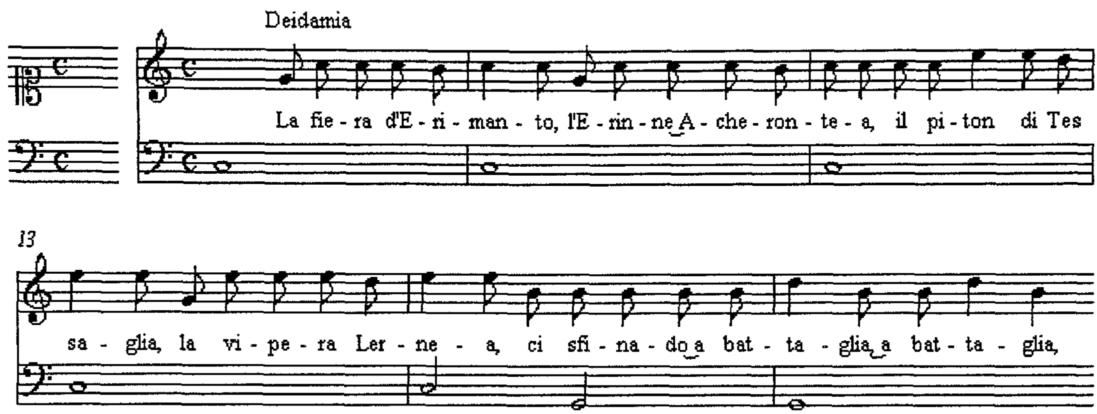
In seventeenth-century opera, where a clear dichotomy between aria and recitative was still to be established, many instances bear the attributes of both of the genres. Thus, recitatives written before the mid-century, in general, tend to be more "lyrical" than later ones. This section will discuss some particularly instructive cases from Sacrati's *La finta pazza* (1641) and Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647).

Before doing so, though, we need to explore exactly what might be meant by the terms "lyricism" or "melodiousness" when applied within the context of recitative. They can perhaps be best defined as temporary episodes of regular accentuation within a section, which are characterised by a sense of musical coherence in the phrasal designs. There is also a sense of continuity between phrases (perhaps rhetorically, to be described as "question" and "answer, or "statement and "expansion") underpinned by voice-leading structures that follow tonal rules at either the harmonic or melodic level.

In the case of Deidamia of *La finta pazza*, Sacrati wrote her recitatives to portray her feigned insanity by using a certain interval almost persistently. When she first pretends to be mad, she sings of delusional war and her recitative is marked by a fanfare-like inflection governed by a repetition of perfect fourths ("Guerriei, all'armi, all'armi", *La finta pazza*, II, 10). Subsequently, perfect fourths become a characteristic motive throughout her recitative in this scene, including the section "La fiera d'Erimanto", where she lists various monsters.[88]

[88] See: Chapter 7.

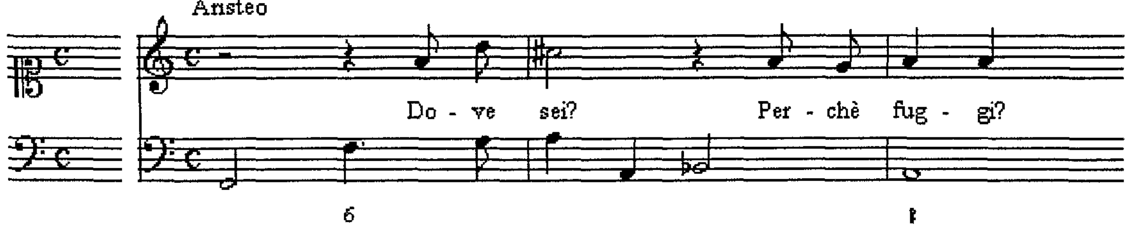
Ex.8.1. Sacrati, *La finta pazza*, II, 10, mm. 10–15:[89]



Perfect fourths sustain a military mood which reaches its highlight at the outburst of a quartet "Armi, armi, armi alla mano" (See: Musical Example 28).[90]

In Rossi's *Orfeo*, the mad Aristeo, devastated and miserable, goes in search of the deceased Euridice (III, 4). His fairly lengthy monologue starts with his poignant cry, "Dove sei? Perche fuggi? [Where are you? Why are you fleeing?]. Although, the section is too fragmentary even to be considered as an arioso passage, the bass line there is more assertive than what Peri noted as the ideal of the bass line for recitative.

Ex.8.2. Luigi Rossi, *Orfeo*, III, 4, mm. 68-70[91]



Aristeo's song-like recitative culminates when he instructs Momo and Satiro to sing a comical ensemble:

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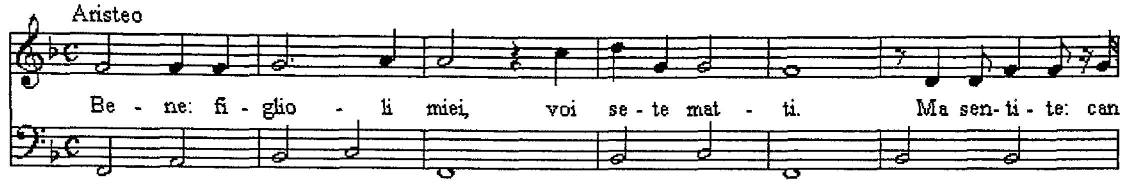
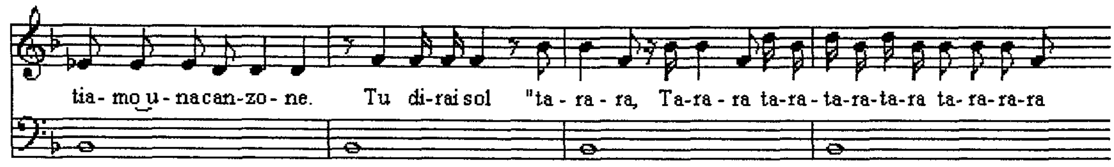
[89] Bianconi and Sgrirri (eds.), "Sacrati: La finta pazza", 159.
[90] This brief ensemble will be discussed in the Arioso section below.

Ex.8.3. Rossi, *Orfeo*, III, 4, mm. 250-9[92]





Ornamentation and word painting

Although the norm of recitative was syllabic setting, it was not unusual that within recitatives, composers gave brief melismatic settings to certain important words. Examples include the word "vita" in the utterance of the mad Theramene (I, 8) from Cavalli's *Eritrea* (1652), and the word "*la* stolta" in Damira's mad scene (II, 14) from P. A. Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e di Damira* (1657).

Ex.8.4. Ziani, *Le fortune di Rodope e di Damira*, II, 14[93]

These, of course, are not musical "expressions" of those words, nor do they "represent" their meanings. They simply draw attention to them.

In some cases, composers did musically "represent" the meanings of certain words – at least in a metaphorical sense. For example, in Cavalli's *Eritrea*,

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[91] Bartlett (ed.), *Rossi: Orfeo*, 154.

Theramene's phrase, "il mio gran pianto in me cresce" (I, 8) is depicted by an expansion between the descending bass ("il mio gran pianto" [my great tears]) and the chromatically ascending voice ("in me cresce" [increases in me]).

Some words prompted composers to make use of more elaborate ornamentations in ways that they had inherited from the madrigalists. For example, Damira's word "fulminatelo [strike him by lightning]" in P. A. Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (II, 10), and Eritreo's "fiamme [flames]" in G. B. Volpe's *gl' amori d'Apollo et di Leucotoe* (III, 15) are both decorated by semiquaver runs, perhaps in an attempt to imitate the flickering tongues of fire.

Ex.8.5. Ziani, *Le fortune di Rodope e di Damira*, II, 10[94]

The most elaborate case is that of Atrea in Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno* (I, 4) who shows off her vocal agility when she sings of "tremolar" (tremor), "guizzar" (dart) and "scintillar" (scintillate). At this final word, she sings a rapid descending semiquaver scale, in contrary motion to a similar but ascending figure in the accompanying bass line. Such moments lend interest and communicative power to the recitative sections.

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[92] Ibid., 158.
[93] I-Vnm: CCCCL (= 9974), f. 70v.

Ex.8.6. Cavalli, *Pompeo Magno*, I, 4[95]

Harmonic instability, dissonances and the depiction of the "mad"

Following Peri's exhortation that the harmony in recitatives should change according to the emotions presented by the text, seventeenth-century Italian composers employed continuous and sometimes bold modulations when they were required to depict the pathetic mental states of protagonists. This is particularly clear when a character bemoans the loss of his or her beloved. The question arises, though, as to whether harmonic instability and dissonance quickly become associated with mad characters and scenes.

In fact, in Cavalli's *Eritrea* (1652), Theramene, who has gone mad upon learning of the supposed death of Eritrea, expresses his affection (rightly) towards Periandro (the disguised Eritrea) in an uncertain, harmonically unstable way (See: Musical Example 17, mm. 39 – 46). Similarly, the character of Eritreo in Volpe's *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663), deplores the tragic death of his beloved, and the given music, in the space of eleven bars, passes through a number of keys: a, C, F, g, d.[96] More elaborate is the recitative of the delirious Eurillo in A. Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci*

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[94] Ibid., 64^{r}.

[95] I-Vnm: CCCLXXVII (= 9901), f. 11^{v}.

nel sembiante (1679),[97] which, during his hallucination (III, 6), alludes to numerous keys: c, g, Eb, Bb, D, A, c#, A, D, A, f#, D, A, a, G, E, B, F#, B, b.[98] Frank D'Accone has indicated that Scarlatti here made use of the technique of presenting rapid modulation, which was "reminiscent of the procedures" prevailing earlier than his own time.[99]

It is true that, as Cavalli's or Volpe's examples show, the technique of rapid modulation was frequently used in earlier operas. However, we should note that it was associated comparatively rarely with mad scenes. This is probably because while such techniques were employed to depict a complex change of emotions in earlier operas, madness itself was usually portrayed as a static state in which the character is temporarily trapped. Once a character proves to be mad, he acquires a kind of stereotypical treatment, often as a comic figure. The aforementioned case of Cavalli's Theramene is, as we have seen,[100] one of the earliest examples of "serious" madness; and the case just outlined of Volpe's Eritreo, in fact, occurs prior to his mad scene proper.

In the mad scenes, there are some instances of dissonances used spasmodically in relation to the emotions to be depicted. For example, in Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647), Aristeo, on the verge of committing suicide (III, 4), exclaims with a poignant dissonance: suspended e" flat in the vocal part against E in the bass.[101] A more interesting example is found in Legrenzi's *Totila* (1677). Publicola, who is shocked by the news

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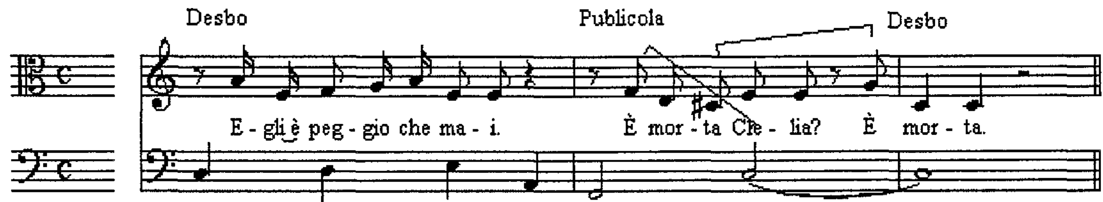
[96] Capital letters designate major keys and lower-case letters minor keys.
[97] See: Frank D'Accone (ed.), *Gli equivoci nel sembiate*, the operas of Alessandro Scarlatti, vol. VII (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 149 -50, mm. 16 – 55.
[98] Frank D'Accone similarly analysed the harmonic scheme of this recitative. See: idem, *The History of a Baroque Opera: Alessandro Scarlatti's Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (New York: Pendragon, 1985), 69.
[99] D'Accone, *The History of a Baroque Opera*, 70.
[100] See: Chapter 3.
[101] Clifford Bartlett (ed.), *Luigi Rossi: Orfeo* (Huntington: King's music, 1997), vol. iii, 159.

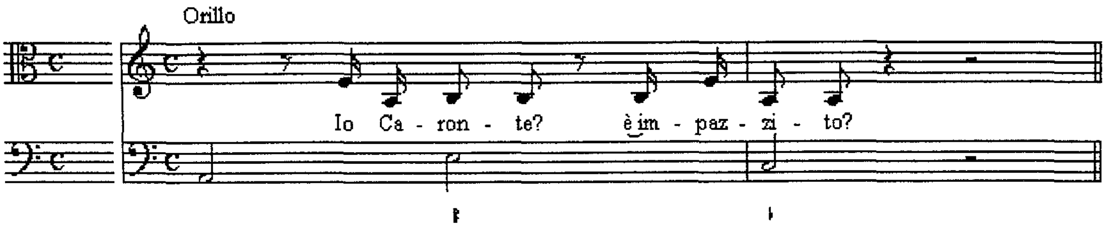
of his wife's death (II, 1), expresses his anguish via a complex of unusual harmonic moves.

Ex.8.7. Legrenzi, *Totila*, II, 1[102]



The vocal line is bounded by two "exotic" intervals (a descent of a diminished fourth and an ascent of a diminished fifth) and there is an implied chromatic descent (d-c#-c) between the voice and the bass line acting together. The false relation between the voice and the bass effectively draws attention to Publicola's almost "otherworldly" mental state.

The aforementioned examples are suggestive, but it would be rather hasty if we were to conclude that they are purely musical indications of madness. In fact, similarly interesting instances are frequently found in the music for characters who encounter the insane. Their remarks, upon realising that the person they are facing has gone mad, are often illustrated by daring musical phrases. The best example of this is found in Volpe's *Gl'amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663). Orillo, when he notices the first sign of his master's derangement (III, 15), remarks, "Am I Caronte? He is insane!": Ex.8.8.Volpe, *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe*, III, 15[103]



[102] I-Vnm: CCCCLX (=9984), f. 34v.

Here, the jarring effect caused by the relation between the vocal line and the harmony (with the note "a" superimposed above C minor chord) enhances the character's astonishment. Similar examples include:

Composer (Year)	Character, *Opera title* (Act, Scene)	Words [The italicised syllable is the moment when the dissonance occurs]	Notes in the vocal line	Chord
Rossi (1647)	Satiro, *Orfeo* (III, 4)	Il suo dolore alla Paz*zia* l'ha tratto [His [Aristeo's] grief has driven him mad]	C	B diminished chord in the first inversion
P. A. Ziaini (1657)	Bato, *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (II, 20)	*Misero*, mai non seppi d'esser d'aspetto tal qual l'hor mi sono. [Poor me, I never knew what was to become of me] (Upon realising his adoptive daughter has lost her senses)	G#	A minor chord
Legrenzi (1677)	Desbo, *Totila* (I, 11)	Del mio mor*ir*, non anco giunta è l'ora [The time I should die has not come yet] (Upon hearing Publicola's suggestion that they both should die together)	e' flat	G minor

We should note that, in fact, there is nothing innovative in the above examples; they all lie within the conventions of the seventeenth century.

The representation of laughter in relation to the mad

As we have seen in Chapter 7, sudden laughter is often presented on the operatic stage as a sign of insanity, and composers gradually devised several effective ways of conveying this in musical terms. However, on the Venetian stage, the musical expression of laughter was established before its association with mad scenes had begun. As we shall see in Chapter 9, Monteverdi, in his *Il ritorno d'Ulisse di patria* (1640), gave to Iro a written-out *trillo,* which gradually "transforms into natural laughter" as the rubric in the sole manuscript source tells us.[104]

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[103] I-Vnm: CCCLXXXVI (=9910), f. 90^{r}.
[104] "Qui cade in riso naturale", A-Wn 18763: f. 105^{r}.

After Monteverdi's example, composers evolved several methods of representing laughter in musical terms; however, they are all comparatively simple. One of the earliest examples amongst mad scenes is found in Cavalli's *Egisto* (1643). In his long monologue (III, 5) Egisto laughs at his companion, Tantalus who spits out bitter water. Egisto's laughter here is represented by a simple minor-third leap and gives a light-hearted mood within its section (see: Musical Example 24, m.162). Similar types of laughter are given to: Atrea in Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno* (1666); Damira (II, 14 and 20) in P. A. Ziani's *Le fortune di Rodope e Damira* (1657); and Euristene (II, 16) in Freschi's *Helena rapita da Paride* (1677).

In some cases, laughter is not notated and is left to the performer's discretion,[105] and instances of this device can be found in Cavalli's *Egisto*. In Act III, Scene 9, there are two occasions that Egisto bursts into laughter: his first laughter is not notated and the blank bar bears an indication, "ride" [laugh]. Regarding the second occasion, there is a discrepancy between the two surviving manuscript scores. While the Venetian source gives no notes,[106] the laughter in the Austrian source is set to a melodic inflexion which completes the cadence.[107]

Ex.8.9. Cavalli, *Egisto*, III, 9, m. 137.

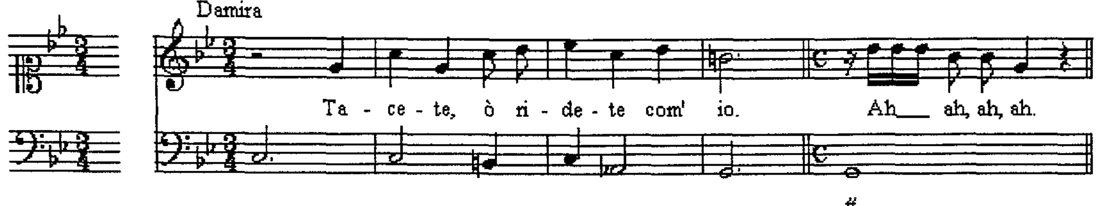
[105] Other examples include Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647). When Aristeo laughs at the ugliness of Satiro and Momo (III, 4), his laughter is not notated.
[106] I-Vnm, CCCCXI [= 9935], f. 90^v
[107] A-Wn 16452: 104^r

The dates and origins of these manuscripts – and therefore the invention and use of the devices – are not very certain. The Venetian source may have preserved the music for the premiere of the opera in Venice because most of the texts there conform to the original libretto.[108] However, Peter Jeffery's paper study has revealed that it was actually copied during the 1650s. The Austrian source, although partially an autograph,[109] was copied some time during the early 1650s. In the Austrian source, some additional music after Lidio and Clemene's duet "All' amare" (Act III, Scene 10) was copied, but Cavalli's hand crossed it out and put "Il fine" at the end of the duet.[110] Since Cavalli's truncated ending corresponds to the 1646 Florentine version of the libretto,[111] the music preserved in the Austrian source is not the premiere version but a revised one, and this seems to suggest that the Viennese performance, with its "melodic" portrayal of laughter (if it ever occurred)[112] was at least some time later than the Venetian premiere in 1643.

Operas written in the second half of the seventeenth century tend to provide us with slightly more musically interesting examples of laughter. In M. A. Ziani's *Damira placata* (1680), Damira's laughter (III, 14) is represented by a combination of notes of different value.

[108] Giovanni Faustini, *L'Egisto favola dramatica musicale di Giovanni Faustini* (Venice: Pietro Miloco, 1643) [US-LAus, no. 34].
[109] The music was copied by Cavalli, his wife, Maria and a third hand. Peter Jeffery, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Francesco Cavalli" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1980), vol. 1, 166 – 7.
[110] A-Wn: 16452, f. 115^{r}.
[111] Giovanni Faustini, *L'Egisto* (Florence: Franceschi e Logi, 1646). This information is taken from Jeffery, "The Autograph", 168.
[112] Regarding this issue, also see: Chapter 6.

Ex.8.10. M.A. Ziani, *Damira placata*, II, 14[113]



Probably, the most arresting is the case of Eritreo from Volpe's *Gl'amori d'Apollo et di Leucotoe* (1663). His laughter is a written-out *trillo* (III, 15) and, funnily enough, he teaches his servant to laugh in this way (see: Musical Example 27, mm.75-6). We have already seen the connection between laughter and this glottalized sound in Monteverdi's Iro. Overall, amongst seventeenth-century operas, there is no example of laughter as musically elaborate as Iro's. Probably the reason for this lies in the musico-aesthetic change which overcame opera during the seventeenth century as it moved from seeking a musical embodiment for each word, towards a concern with the general representation of, or response to, certain kinds of emotion.

Other devices used in the depiction of mad states

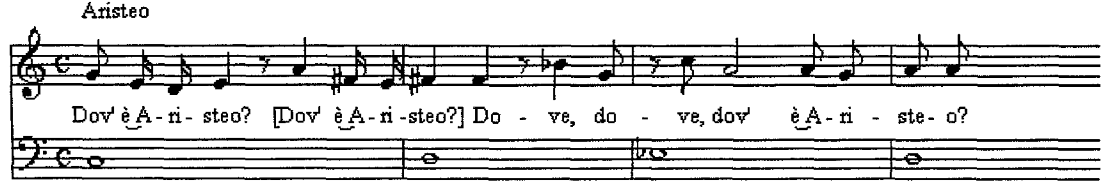
Aside from conventional devices discussed so far, there are more unusual mechanisms employed by composers for the depiction of mad characters. For example, there is the extraordinary clef change employed in the portrayal of Theramene in Cavalli's *Eritrea* (III, 12).[114] At the moment when he realises that his beloved Eritrea, who was believed to be dead, is alive and speaking to him, he comes to his senses: "stupor disciolti i sensi".[115] At this point, the clef changes from C3 to F3. This may suggest that the singer of Theramene has sung in falsetto up to this point and now uses his real

[113] I-Vnm: CCCCV (= 9929), f. 48r.
[114] I-Vnm, CCCLXI (9885): 93 v, m. 67.
[115] [The surprise (has) released my senses.]

voice (Baritone).[116] However, Giulio Caccini expressed his disapproval of *le voce finte* [falsetto] in the preface to his *Le nuove musiche*,[117] and such voices do not seem to have been very popular in seventeenth-century Italy. Thus, there is a possibility that Theramene's music written in C3 may have been intended simply for a high tenor.

Another unusual device is found in Rossi's *Orfeo* (III, 4). When Satiro and Momo call his name, the insane Aristeo fails to recognise his friends. In fact he has lost his identity and asks: "Dov'è Aristeo?" [where is Aristeo?]. The textual layout in the sole manuscript source contradicts the accents of natural speech.

Ex.8.11. Rossi, *Orfeo*, III, 4, mm. 128-31.[118]



However, It is very difficult for us to judge whether this is simply due to the copyist's error or whether it is what the composer intended.

So far we have examined some devices found in recitatives that were used for representing the mad. However, most of these conformed to the general methods of recitative writing of that time. Moreover, it should be noted that, particularly after the 1670s when the aria established itself as the prime tool of representing a character's emotions, recitative began to lose its former lyricism. However, after the turn of the

[116] Jane Glover, who came across this change of register previously, however, only noted that this "presents distinct difficulties in theatrical presentation". Glover, "The teatro Sant' Apollinare", 217.
[117] "Let [a singer] choose a key in which he can sing with a natural voice, avoiding falsetto". See: H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Giulio Caccini: Le Nuove Musiche* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1970), 56.
[118] Bartlett (ed.), *Rossi: Orfeo*, 155.

eighteenth century, the genre – in the transformed guise of *recitativo accompagnato* – regained its position as a vehicle for the representation of dramatic intensity.

(3) Recitative Soliloquy

Up until the 1660s, Italian opera libretti included monologue sections, which consisted poetically of some strophes of unequal length, and of an irregular alternation of *endecasillabi* and *settenarii*. They are seemingly very similar to the so-called recitative verse. However, usually, all the strophes end with one and the same line (a refrain), and involve rhyme schemes more regular than the usual recitative verse; therefore, they invite musical settings that are more "structured" than recitative. There is no agreed term for this kind of item, and it is variously called "arioso",[119] "solo madrigal",[120] or "recitative soliloquy". This last term was coined first by Margaret Murata, particularly for solo scenes based upon the aforementioned type of verse, which were written between the 1630s and 60s.[121] In this study, the term "recitative soliloquy" will be used because it seems to offer a useful way of distinguishing the aforementioned type of music from aria-like passages within recitatives (here, "arioso") or "madrigal" as a non-theatrical genre. Pieces which will be discussed under this term are: "O castità bugiarda" sung by Iarba (*Didone*, II, 12), "Celesti fulmini" by Egisto (*Egisto*, III, 5), and "Allor, bellezze estinte" and "Silentio doloroso", both by Theramene (*Eritrea*, I, 8 and III, 11). All of these examples were written by Cavalli, who was in fact the foremost composer in this style. It should be noted, however, that the definition of the term "recitative soliloquy" in this study differs slightly from that of Murata's. The term here includes Theramene's "Allor

[119] Sternfeld, *The Birth of Opera*, 141.
[120] See: Palisca, "Aria Types in the Earliest Operas".

bellezze estinte", which is not a monologue scene but a section forming only part of a scene. Also, the verse structure of Egisto's "Celesti fulmini", which contains some sections written in regular metres, is different from the other soliloquies. However, owing to the fluid musical structure of this lengthy scene, it seems right to discuss it as a whole rather than deconstruct it into several sections.

An analysis of each example will be given shortly, but first it is necessary to make one or two general observations. Recitative soliloquies are given exclusively to major and serious characters, as both Murata and Pirrota have previously emphasised.[122] Consequently, this type of music is comparatively rare in mad scenes, which are sung fundamentally by comic characters. The characters that sing the aforementioned pieces are all dramaturgically central if not pre-eminent. Also we should note that all these characters that sing soliloquies are of high birth,[123] and it seems true to say that the soliloquy was a kind of status symbol in opera of that time. Amongst the three characters who sing this type of music, it is Iarba who shows comic traits most clearly. Yet, at the point when he unfolds his soliloquy, he still retains his status as a nobleman, although Wendy Heller has suggested that the soliloquy transforms him from "a dignified King into an anti-hero".[124] If Iarba does suffer "degradation", then, it only occurs when he gets involved in comic scenes with court ladies (III, 2).

Although it is right to say that the recitative soliloquy is a hybrid of aria and recitative, it differs from both quite conspicuously. Like the aria, the soliloquy is musically self-contained; however, it is written largely in declamatory style and its

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[121] Margaret Murata, "The Recitative Soliloquy", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* xxxii – no. 1 (1979), 45 – 73.
[122] Murata, "The Recitative Soliloquy", 49; and Pirrotta, "Early Opera", 99.
[123] Iarba is the king of Etuli; Therame the prince of Assiria; and Egisto a descendant of Apollo.
[124] Heller, "Chastity, heroism and allure", 189.

structure is too fluid to make any patterned form. Yet, the textual refrain, which is given the same music when it appears, can be used to support the efforts of composers to achieve more musical coherence than they might be inclined to in recitative proper.

Recitative soliloquy in mad scenes

(1) Iarba, "O castita bugiarda" (Cavalli, *Didone*, II, 12) (See: Musical Example 23)

This solo scene of Iarba comprises two sections, the first of which consists of 66 lines of *versi sciolti* and the second of 4 lines. The second stanza is more regularly rhymed than the first (abba). The first five measures of the music unfold over a descending tetrachord (A-G-F-E), but the music develops in complicated ways and transcends any simple notion of a lament. The first stanza is characterised by a refrain "Son gemelle le donne, e le bugie" [women and lies are twins] which recurs frequently but not regularly (the 10th, 29th, and 45th lines). The refrain is given the same musical phrase on each occasion and thus this rather misogynistic axiom is impressed upon the listener. The rest of the music for the first section is written in recitative style, although the musical phrases for lines, which have similar meanings, echo ("Iarba Re, Iarba nato" (mm. 19 – 20) and "Iarba Re, Iarba eletto" mm. 26 – 7), and both express the last remnants of Iarba's pride as a king. When Iarba finally succumbs to the pain of his lost love, ("una lagrima sola m'esce à pena/ disperation ne dissecò la vena" [only one tear is left for my pain/ since my desperation dried my vein] (mm. 61 – 64), the bass line starts moving in a manner more regularised than that of the bass for usual recitative, as if to add a certain lyricism to the section. The setting for the second section, where the insane Iarba criticises contemporary poetry,[125] is of interest. This regularly rhymed section (abab) could have been set as a separate short song, but the

composer gave it a through-composed melody over a walking bass (mm. 120 – 126). This finally completes the degradation of this noble man – from a king into a madman – and anticipates his forthcoming comic scene.

(2) Egisto, "Celesti fulmini" (Cavalli, *Egisto*, III, 5) (See: Musical Example 24)

This lengthy solo scene of Egisto consists of over a hundred lines, written largely in *versi sciolti* but with some regularly metrical sections interspersed. Cavalli's treatment of the text – whether setting a given section as a fluid recitative or as a more regularised (aria-like) song – is not simply based upon the presence or absence of poetic regularity in the section.

The scene starts with two sections of regular poetry: four lines of *quinar-sdruccioli* followed by four lines of *quaternari-sdruccioli.* Cavalli could have set this opening section as a short but separate song; however, without separating it from the rest of the scene, he decided to treat it as the effective beginning of a long monologue. Recurring phrases in this scene are treated differently from that of the refrain "Son gemelle le donne, e le bugie" of Iarba. The four lines of *quaternari-sdruccioli* ("Abbrucciatela/ Somergetela/ Inghiottitela/ Divoratela"[126]), when recurring, are given the same music but this time one tone higher in order to intensify Egisto's rage against his unfaithful lover.

Another poetically regular section in this scene, quoted below, consist of two stanzas marked by one and the same beginning line, but the composer retained the flow of recitative. He decided to do so probably because he could then prevent lyricism from obscuring the disjunctions of the mad Egisto's utterance. The refrain,

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[125] See: Chapter 7.

[126] [Let them burn her/ let them drown her/ let them swallow her/ let them devour her.]

"Ah, cor malvaggio, ah core", at the second time, appears with similar but shorter music (Musical Example 24, mm. 68 – 80):

> Ah cor malvaggio ah core [7 syllable, rhyme a]
> Fuori di questo petto [7, b]
> Che non vo dar ricetto a untraditore [11, a]
>
> Ah cor malvaggio ah core [7, a]
> Esci, esci via che tardi? [7, c]
> Over spegni quel foco onde ancor ardi [11, c][127]

A songlike passage was given, instead, to the subsequent four lines of *settenarii* (Amor, sospendi i vanni/ Odi, le voci mie/ M'ha tradito costei/ Castigarla tu, dei;[128] Musical Example 24, mm. 81 - 93). In this lyrical section, although starting rather calmly, the music becomes more and more agitated alongside the text, and the persistent repetition of the last two lines effectively expresses the character's manic obsession. The most lyrical moment in the whole scene is given to the following ten lines. As we see below, although the lines have very few rhymes, the composer presented them with music more coherent and structured than was normally found in recitative:

> Aprite il varco, aprite,
> O disperati imperi a un disperato
> Approda al lido approda
> O di questa palude
> Curvo e pigro nocchier la stigia barca
> E me su l'atra riva anima afflitta (rhyme a)
> Tosto, tosto tragitta (a)
> Che richiamarmi voglio
> Dell' ingiustitie che comisse amore (b)
> Iniquo spirto avanti il suo signore (b)[129]

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[127] Oh, evil heart, oh heart/ begone from my chest/ that I do not wish to shelter a traitor/ Oh evil heart, oh heart/ go, go away now, what delays you?/ otherwise stifle that fire that still flames in you.]

[128] [Love, suspend your wings/ listen to my voices/ she has betrayed me/ for the gods' sake, punish her!]

[129] [Open the gateway, open/ ah, desperate powers to a desperate man/ pull the boat into the shore, pull/ Oh, [to the shore of] this marshy place./ [You are] bent and slow, boatman the underworld boat,/ and take me to the other shore/ afflicted soul/ quick, quick/ for I want to complain/ about the injustice which Cupid committed /- unjust spirit - / [I want to complain to] your master]. See: Musical Example 24, mm. 107 – 135.

Here, Egisto, believing himself to be in the Underworld, speaks to Charon. The use of a walking bass here effectively adds something comical to the scene. Around that time, it seems that the walking bass started to be used for comical characters especially in arioso sections, as we will see later. Interestingly, in this monologue of Egisto, fragments of a walking bass appear again, when the character hallucinates the appearance of Tantalus (another mythological figure), and speaks to him in rather a comical way (mm. 167 – 170).[130]

Among passages set in recitative style, there are occasions when particular words are intensified by music. For example, when Egisto describes his pains as "aspri e maggiori [bitter and great]", a dissonance (f#" against G major chord) colours the phrase (m. 39). Also, Egisto at one point hallucinates that the boat on which he and Charon are sailing, is now sinking, and exclaims with a poignant dissonance created by e" in the voice part against D major chord (m. 135). Both of the surviving manuscript scores (A-Wn 16452 and I-Vnm CCCCXI [=9935]) confirm this dissonance. Regrettably, however, Raymond Leppard, in his edition, corrected e" to d" to avoid its jarring effect.[131]

By juxtaposing these various, sometimes contrasting, elements, Cavalli succeeded in portraying Egisto's madness as a complex of emotions and, overall, as a tragic situation.

(3) Theramene, "Al cor, bellezze estinte" (Cavalli, *Eritrea,* I, 8) and "Silentio doloroso" (ibid., III, 11) (See: Musical Examples 25 and 26 respectively)

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[130] Leppard's edition omits this particular section, probably because the editor preferred a more serious presentation of this main protagonist. Raymond Leppard, *Francesco Cavalli: L'Egisto* (London: Faber, 1977), 190.
[131] Raymond Leppard, *Francesco Cavalli: L'Egisto* (London: Faber, 1977), 189.

Theramene is given two long recitative soliloquies. The first one, "Al cor bellezze estinte " is sung to express towards Periandro (in fact, Eritrea in disguise) the crazed prince's still strong feelings for Eritrea whom he believes to be dead. The lyric consists of twelve lines in *versi sciolti* but with regular rhyming (AabBccDdEeAA).[132] There is no musically crafted link between one line and its coupling line, but when the first line "al cor, bellezze estinte, anco v'adora" recurs at the end of the section, the same musical phrase reappears.

His second soliloquy, "Silentio doloroso", is the lament he sings upon learning of Periandro's death (and it is at this point that Eritrea discloses her real identity). The text consists of 26 lines of *versi sciolti*, which are divided into 5 stanzas (aBB/ cdceEFF/ aBB/ gHGIIjj/ cKkLmm). The refrain, "Silentio doloroso/ Cedi, dà loco al grido, et il furore/ Essanimato; oh Dio, m'animi il core",[133] which appears twice, is given to the same musical phrase, but on the second occasion, there is a repeat of the word, "cedi" (m. 26). When Theramene sings of the image of Periandro's ghost (...ombra adorata/ Trà paci eterne il tuo vagar riposa),[134] the otherwise static bass line starts "walking" as if it represented Theramene's wandering mind (mm. 41 – 2). The only lyrical moment in triple time ("armi, fochi accende/ desolate struggete",[135] mm. 50 – 56) gradually fades away as the words move to the next phrase.

Recitative soliloquy achieved a certain popularity up to the 1660s; however, from then onwards, it rapidly went into decline. To a certain extent, it is true to say that recitative soliloquy was a speciality of Cavalli as an opera composer, and that it died

[132] The capitals indicate 11-syllable lines.
[133] [Sorrowful silence,/ surrender, gives the place for outcry and fury/discouraged; oh God, revive my heart.]
[134] [...adorable shadow,/ in eternal peace, your itinerary rests]
[135] [weapons and fires, let them kindle/ but abandoned, extinguish.]

out once his career ended. Unlike the aria of the time, this form accommodated a complex of varying emotions, as we have seen above. There was little place for this dramaturgically effective tool from the later seventeenth century onwards, when Italian opera developed a rigid dichotomy between aria (as a vehicle for singular emotions) and recitative (as a conveyer of narratives and actions).

(3) Arioso

The Definition and Traditions

This section deals with ariosi found in mad scenes. However, first, it is necessary to clarify our definition of the term, and the biggest problem here lies in the varied uses to which the term has been put. It has been used to characterise a fairly wide variety of melodic styles from lengthy monologues written in declamatory style (in this study, as we have seen, this is defined as recitative soliloquy), to small-scale arias with a clear formal musical design (it is in this latter sense that G. F. Handel used the term arioso). Here, however, the term is restricted to passages found within recitative sections, but characterised by some features which can be found in aria (therefore, those passages are "aria-like").[136] The "quasi-aria" features that we will be concerned with here are the following types: passages that, although found within recitative section, are: (a) written in triple metre; or (b) those which unfold over bass lines organised with a certain musical regularity. The former are defined as "arioso" because, especially around the mid-century, most arias were written in triple metre while no Italian recitative was written in triple metre. This type of arioso is used particularly to enhance the (often pathetic) sentiments expressed within a recitative

[136] Margaret Murata, Marita McClymonds and Julian Budden, "Arioso", *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1990), vol. 1, p.189.

text. The "regular bass-line" type is defined as arioso because, as we have seen in the Recitative section above, the bass lines for recitatives do not usually show any musically organised pattern. Most of the examples of this type which we will see unfold over walking basses, and they are frequently associated with comic characters probably because of the restless (often tottering) nature of the action.

Seventeenth-century discussions of arioso are rare – much rarer than those concerning aria –, and the term arioso was never used clearly to distinguish an item from aria or recitative. Yet, Domenico Mazzocchi, in the "racconto delle arie, e chori a varie voci" of the printed score of his *Catena d'Adone* (1628, on a libretto by Ottavio Tronsarelli) wrote:

> Vi sono molt'altre mezz'Arie sparse per l'Opera, che rompono il tedio del recitativo, ma non son qui notate per non tediar chi legge, bastando haver notate le più conte.[137]

Modern interpretations of Mazzocchi's term "semi-aria" (mezz'Arie) are not all in agreement. Stuart Reiner has read the term as meaning either non-strophic arias or strophic recitatives, because Mazzocchi seems to have understood aria as a piece showing both "strophicism and lyricism".[138] However, Wolfgang Witzenmann has proposed that *mezz'Aria* designates recitative sections which include more songlike passages within themselves,[139] and Nino Pirrotta has supported and clarified this view by giving "Qual indurato scoglio" (from Mazzocchi's *La Catena d'Adone*) as an

[137] [There are many other 'half arias' scattered through the opera, which break the tedium of the recitative, but they are not listed here so as not to bore him who reads, it sufficing to have noted the most significant.] Carter (ed. and trans.), *Composing Opera*, 120 – 21.
[138] Stuart Reiner, "Vi sono molt'altre mezz'Arie…", in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 241 – 58. The quotation is from p. 245.
[139] Wolfgang Witzenmann, *Domenico Mazzocchi: Dokumente und Interpretationen*, Analecta Musicologica Band 8 (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1970), especially 192 – 94. The basis difference between Reiner and Witzenmann lies in that the former attempted to find examples of *mezz'Aria* amongst items listed in Mazzocchi's *racconto*, while the latter did in other sections of the opera.

example.[140] The example Pirrotta has given is in fact based upon a recitative verse with a refrain "la ragion perde dove il senso abbonda", which is, on each occasion, set over the same walking bass. Owing to its verse structure, in this study, this piece will be categorised as recitative soliloquy. However, the question of what exactly Mazzocchi meant by *mezz'Aria* aside, the accounts proposed by Witzenmann and Pirrotta are interesting, because both of them consider that the clue to defining *mezz'Aria* lies in the presence or absence of songlike passages in a section written largely in recitative style. In this sense, Mazzocchi's *mezz'Aria* is one of the earliest and most important references to arioso.

Over sixty years later, in 1691, Giuseppe Gaetano Salvadori, in his treatise, *Poetica Toscana all'uso*, discussed *arie cavate*, which, he explained, were settings of one or two ending lines excavated (*cavata*) from a *versi sciolti* section.[141] From the poetic viewpoint, such *aria cavata* is a developed form of arioso, and is found ubiquitously in late Baroque vocal music including J. S. Bach's cantatas.[142]

Although ariosi were mainly settings of lines simply excavated from recitative verse, mid-century Italian opera saw a certain change, as librettists started to develop poetic cues for arioso. Generally, these "cues" consisted of a few lines inserted within recitative sections, and, although metrically different from the usual recitative verse, they had no stanzaic organization.[143] Thus, they did not form aria-verses. The following example is a speech by the mad Eritreo from Aurelio Aureli's *Gl'amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (1663); I have placed the "arioso clues" in italics.

[140] Nino Pirrotta, "Falsirena and the Earliest Cavatina", in *Music and Culture in Italy from the middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), especially, 337 – 340.
[141] Giuseppe Gaetano Salvadori, *Poetica Toscana all'uso* (Naples: Gramignani, 1691), 75.
[142] Colin Timms, "Cavata", in *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), vol. I, 790.

Qual destin mi condanna [7 syllables]
A provar tra catene [7]
Per stinta beltà vive le pene? [11]
Ch'io peni per un bel, che m'ha tradito. [11]
Non son più ferito, [6]
Crudele mia vaga [6]
Sanata è la piaga [6]
Ridi meco, ah, ah, ah.[7]
Torna l'alma in Libertà [8t]
Terminato è il mio tormento, [8]
No mi ridico io mento,[144] [7]
Liber non è chi sta tra lacci involto [11]
Escusabili sono [7]
I tuoi vani deliri anima mia [11]
Un ostinato amor diviene pazzia [11][145]

The composer, G. B. Volpe, following these textual clues, set them as ariosi (See: Musical Example 27). (However, he also picked up the phrase "un ostinato amor" in the last line of this section, and made this an excuse for a "relentless" use of the circle of fifths in the music.[146])

Ariosi, in the aforementioned sense, flourished particularly between the 1640s and 60s, the period just before composers and audiences developed their strong predilection for arias. In some ways, the genre reflected in miniature a growing polarity between arias and recitatives. After the 1680s, this type of arioso began to decline in Italian opera.

[143] Paolo Fabbri has also indicated this practice. See: idem, "Metrical and Formal Organization", 170. Regrettably, however, his study does not include musical and dramaturgical analysis.

[144] A line identical to this is found in Iarba's monologue, "Castità buggiarda", in Act II, scene 12 of Cavalli/Busenello's *Didone* [see: Recitative Soliloquy Section above]. Busenello, *Didone*, p. 52.

[145] [What destiny condemns me/ to torment? [I am] chained/ to the extinct beauty, does destiny feel my pain?/ I suffer because of a beautiful man who has betrayed me,/ I am no longer hurt,/ my beautiful and cruel woman, /the wound is healed/ Laugh with me, ha, ha, ha./ Return to freedom, my soul,/ my torment is ceased/ no, I'll tell myself I lie,/ the person tied with chains is not free /excusable are/ your delirious contents, my soul/ relentless love becomes madness.] Aurelio Aureli, *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (Venice: Francesco Nicolini, 1663), 52.

[146] Nowadays, we usually understand the term "ostinato" as a short recurring pattern such as a descending tetrachord bass; however, originally this meant nothing more than "persistent or obstinate". See: Silke Leopold, *Monteverdi: Music in Transition* [1982], trans. Anne Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 105.

The use of ariosi in mad scenes

Arioso writing contributed noticeably to the operatic characterisation of the mad. This was probably because employing *arioso*-passages provided an operatic solution to the portrayal of the protagonist's mental abnormality. This point will be discussed further below.

Table 13 shows arioso sections within mad scenes. As we see, most of the examples are either (a) the triple-metre type or (b) the regularised bass (usually walking bass) type. However, this list also includes some exceptional "ensemble" passages. It seems right to discuss these passages here collectively, since their texts are "carved out" from recitative sections in the same way as ariosi. The duet and quartet from Cavalli's *Eritrea* ("O felice morire" and "O luminoso apunto e fausto giorno", I, 8 and 9), both based upon a few lines concluding the scenes, are set as brief ensemble-finales.

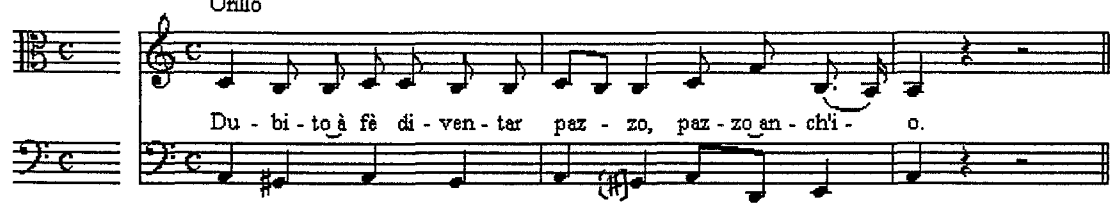
The text for "Armi, armi, armi alla mano" from Sacrati's *La finta pazza* (II, 10) is also extracted from Deidamia's speech (8 lines of *settenarii*,[147] rhyming as "abcbcdee). The composer set the first 7 lines as recitative and the last line as a short quartet, where almost all the protagonists on the stage join the feigned mad heroine and unfold a little musical scene. The military mood which the text evokes is emphasized by the music (See: Musical Example 28).

In mad scenes, the association between ariosi over walking basses and comicality seems to have been established particularly strongly. This type can intensify the comical side of the insane partly because it is easy to make it appropriate to the depiction of the straying mind of the character. In G. B. Volpe's *Gl' amori d'Apollo e*

[147] In the printed libretto, the last line consists of 7 syllables; however, the composer treated it as 8 syllables by repeating the word "armi" one more time.

di Leucotoe (1663), the insane Eritreo sings a number of arioso passages over walking basses (particularly in III, 15) (see: Table 13). In the end, Eritreo's servant (Orillo) starts his own arioso passage over a walking bass, which, in a comical way, expresses his anxiety after witnessing the bizarre behaviour of his master: "I wonder whether I myself become insane":

Ex.8.12.Volpe, *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe*, III, 15[148]

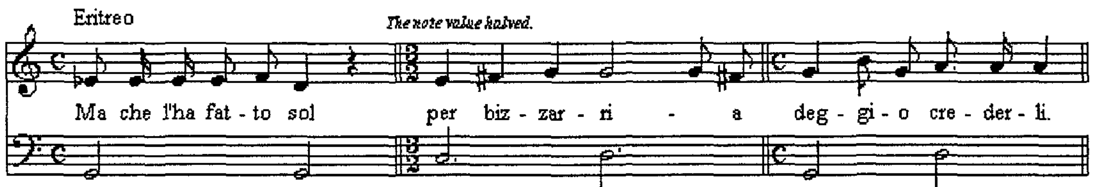


The only seemingly serious example of a walking-bass type arioso is Theramene's "Io vado in tanto" (Cavalli's *Eritrea*, II, 7), where he expresses his strong longing for Eritrea. However, this scene involves a comical aspect, because here, Theramene in his madness sings of love towards a man – although, that man is, in fact, his beloved Eritrea in disguise (see: Musical Example 29, mm. 85 – 97).

By analysing the examples listed in Table 13, we are able to trace not only the development of the use of arioso in mad scenes but also that of the poetic structures of libretti in general. First, arioso passages were given to lines extracted from *versi sciolti* for particular dramaturgical or musical purposes. It is interesting to speculate how and why composers decided to give arioso passages to certain lines. At a comparatively early stage, it seems that arioso writing was often activated directly by the text content. For example, in the case of Iarba's arioso passage, "Meritevole sei" from Cavalli's *Didone* (1641), the references to solmization and singing clearly triggered the ditty-like setting. In the case of Atrea from *Pompeo Magno* (1666),

Cavalli attempted to represent the imbecility of this character through the child-like "sing-song" nature of her arioso passages. For example, Atrea makes her first appearance on the stage by singing an arioso passage: "Hor ch'il folgore spento" (I, 4).[149] Here she sings that she is going to fish stars while Giove is taking a nap, and the arioso passage Cavalli wrote clearly reflects the nature of her character. Later composers generally followed Cavalli's manner, though some went to extremes, and used arioso writing simply in order to enhance a particular word. For example, G. B. Volpe's arioso setting for Eritreo's "Sol per bizzaria" (from *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe,* Act III, Scene 18, 1663) is intended to highlight the only one word "bizzaria". Only at the point where this word is mentioned, does the music change into in triple metre within a section otherwise written in duple metre.

Ex.8.13. Volpe, *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe*, III, 18.[150]



As we have seen, from the mid-century, librettists started to give poetic cues for ariosi, and one such example is the madwoman, Atrea's speech from Nicolò Minato's *Pompeo Magno* (1666). In Act I, Scene 20, Atrea leads eight madmen (two poets, two musicians, two alchemists, and two painters) to the stage and instructs them to fight against enemies. When she finds one of them crying, she says:

> Tu piangi? [3 syllables] (rhyming a)
> Et è possibile [5sd] (b)
> Che si terribile [5sd] (b)

[148] I-Vnm: CCCLXXXVI, f. 91^r.
[149] Minato, *Pompeo Magno*, 14.
[150] I-Vnm: CCCLXXXVI (= 9910), f. 94^r.

Tu resti ancor? [5t] (c)
È pur soave la pazzia d'Amor. [11t] (c)[151]

The composer Cavalli set this section as an arioso which employs a subtle shift from the triple-metre type to the walking-bass type without breaking the overall flow of the music. The dotted rhythm implied by the two *sdrucciolo* lines (the second and the third lines above) is marked first by the bass line, then by the vocal line, and they together create a contrapuntal effect (See: musical example 30).

Towards the late seventeenth century, the Italian opera libretto began to show more fluidity in its metrical structure. Dialogues between two or more protagonists became even more prosaic (although it is very rare in Italian opera for a prosaic section to be completely unmetred),[152] and those conversational sections were usually set in recitative. However, it was possible for some extracted lines to be set as ariosi. Examples include Caligula's "Al rotar di questa clava" (*Caligula delirante*, II, 14; the music by G. M. Pagliardi [1672]), Damira's "Che pena è la mia" and "Tacete" (*Damira placata*, II, 14, by M. A. Ziani [1680]). The most telling example is, however, "Cara mia speme stringimi/ Si, mio tesoro abbraciami", a dialogue between the insane Publicola and his wife, Clelia in Act II, Scene 2 of Legrenzi/Noris' *Totila* (1677).[153] This exchange was transformed into an arioso passage, lyrical but too brief to be called a duet. This musical treatment by Legenzi is very clever; while the lyricism of the music seems to celebrate the reunion of the two characters, the ominous *sdrucciolo* endings suggest that the their happiness is just a transitory one, since Publicola's senses have not yet been restored (see: Musical Example 31).

[151] [Are you crying?/ It is possible/ because the situation is terrible./ Do you still rest?/The madness of love is indeed sweet.] Minato, *Pompeo Magno*, 34.
[152] Fabbri, "Metrical and Formal Organisation", 154.
[153] Noris, *Totila*, 38.

The dramaturgical effects of *arioso* passages in mad scenes are strong. We can see this in the following respects. First, the practice contributed much to operatic characterisation by flexibly conveying the complex shifts of persona expressed in the texts. The transient portrayal of the comical side of otherwise sombre characters, or of the emotional pain felt by minor and buffoonish roles, is only possible through ariosi. Second, ariosi can be used to sum up the feelings of a character in a given situation, and draw the section to a close rhetorically as well as musically. For example, Egisto's final arioso, "O felice pazzia", although brief, conveys an epigrammatic comment, which decisively concludes the opera.

Ex.8.14. Cavalli, *Egisto*, III, 12[154]

Third, and most importantly, ariosi in mad scenes give a unique solution to one of the most challenging issues surrounding the dramaturgy of opera: the subtle difference between "realistic" song and "operatic" or "metaphorical" song. For example, Eritreo's arioso passage, "Torna l'alma in libertà" in Act III, Scene 15 of Volpe's *Gl'Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe*, is abruptly suspended, as if, at the end of this arioso, the character's singing voice has faded away along with his senses (Musical Example 27, mm.77-84). The arioso technique of Volpe portrays the mental state of Eritreo brilliantly.

As has been said at the beginning of this chapter, seventeenth-century "insane" music is based upon the conventionalised compositional strategies of the time, and, as a result, this makes almost impossible for us to define operatic madness in purely musical terms. Thus, the development of music for insane figures occurred alongside a musico-aesthetic shift in the history of opera in general. Probably the most important change that occurred in the seventeenth century was that the aria gradually established itself as the foremost representational device in the genre. Up to that point, arias were considered dramaturgically less effective than the sections in recitative style, because they could only encapsulate single emotions, and they stood apart from the action. The reason why, in the end, arias became the main means by which emotions and characters were presented, was a complex one, involving commercial factors (i.e. such as audience preference) and pragmatic ones (i.e. such as the demands from singers and impresarios). However, the prime factor does seem to have been as aesthetic shift which saw music move from embodying the content of words moment

[154] "Scena ultima" in I-Vnm, CCCCXI [= 9935], 101^{r}; the corresponding scene is not found in A-Wn 16452.

by moment through imitation and gesture, to imitating "human response to meaning". This shift may, in fact, have been sensed by Monteverdi as early as 1633,[155] when he said, in relation to the lament of Arianna, that he had found, "a natural way of imitation [via naturale alla immitazione]", which no book other than Plato could show him.[156] This does not seem to mean that the composer found a new way of musically imitating the meanings of words; rather, he seems to have found a new "object" for imitation – namely, the rush of responsive feelings that accompany the great dramatic moments in life. And we recognise these responses as "natural" in spite of the fictive settings in which we find them on the operatic stage, because the lyricism of arias and ariosi is able to capture generalised reactive emotions, with which we can identify, rather than a fragmented mosaic of imitated words which we need to read at a distance. Certainly, this is one of the solutions to the traditional and central problem of opera as a whole: how opera – through-sung drama – achieves its aesthetic purposes without breaching verisimilitude.[157]

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[155] Monteverdi's letter to (probably) Giovanni Battista Doni, dated 22 October, 1633. Here, the composer discussed his own treatise titled *Melodia overo secondo pratica musicale*.

[156] [Vado credendo che non sarà discardo al mondo, porsciachè ho provato in pratica che quando fui per scrivere il Pianto del'Arianna, non trovando libro che mi aprisse la via naturale alla immitazione, nè meno che mi illuminasse che dovessi essere immitatore, altri che Plato...]. Lax, *Monteverdi: Lettere*, 202.

[157] This issue has been discussed in: Nino Pirrotta, "Early Opera and Aria" in *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout*, ed. William W. Austin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968), esp. 81 – 89; Gary Tomlinson, "Pastoral and Musical Magic in the Birth of Opera", in *Opera and the Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Bauman and Marita Petzoldt McClymonds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7 – 20; and Tim Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre* (New Havena and London: Yale University Press, 2002). Also see: Tomlinson, *Metaphysical Song*.

Chapter 9

The "Madness of Iro": A Case Study

As we have seen, the prime aim of this study has been to understand the theatrical and musical mechanisms of the portrayal of operatic madness. Before drawing together our conclusions, however, the representation of madness will be discussed in detail through a particular case study – that of Iro in Monteverdi/Badoaro's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640).

We have already established that two of the major obstacles to understanding the complex mechanisms that enable us to "read" a character as mad are: 1) the tendency to label almost any character in an extreme state as "mad", and 2) the desire to seek simple and sufficient signals of madness within the music itself. How difficult it is to avoid these impulses may be seen by examining Ellen Rosand's influential and searching analysis of Iro first published in 1989.[1] Rosand interprets Iro's final scene (III, 1)[2] as a variant of the mad scene because "Iro's manic frenzy subtly transforms itself into something more sinister...Iro's mood becomes increasingly frenetic, desperate. Comedy slides imperceptibly into madness – and then, toward death."[3]

[1] Ellen Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*", *The Journal of Musicology* vii, no. 2 (Spring, 1989), 141 – 164. For the dating of this opera, see: idem, "The Bow of Ulysses", in *Journal of Musicology* XII, no. 3 (Summer, 1994), esp. 376 – 80. For Rosand's theories on mad scenes, see: idem, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of Genre* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); and "Operatic Madness: a Challenge to Convention", in *Music and Text: Critical inquiries,* ed. Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 241 – 272.

[2] In this chapter, unless stated, scene numbers of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* are taken from its sole manuscript score (A-Wn, MS 18763). They differ from those in the surviving manuscript libretti. The 9 MS libretti are now located in: I-Mb, Racc. Dramm. 3077; I – Mb, Racc. Dramm. 5672; I-Pci, H 48575; I-Rig, Rar.Libr.Ven. 13; I-Vcg, vol. I, n. 5, S. Cassiano; I-Vmc, MS Cicogna 192, n. 3330; I-Vmc, MS Cicogna 192, n. 220.1; I-Vmc, MS Cicogna, 192, n. 564; I-Vmn, Dramm. 909.2; I-Vnm, Dramm. 1294. 1; I-Vnm, Dramm. 3449.9; and US-LAu, II, n. 17. It seems that Monteverdi used I-Vnm, Cicogna 192, n. 564 as a working copy; however, there are many discrepancies between these libretti and the text which Monteverdi used.

[3] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria*", 147.

Since her account seems to have gained tacit acceptance among scholars,[4] it is perhaps time critically to reassess that interpretation and to uncover the complexities of the dramaturgical operations of Iro.

Rosand's purpose in her discussion of Iro is to demonstrate not only that he is a mad character, but that his madness is serious and tragic, and that, therefore, the audience should take him as a "moral exemplum".[5] The morality concerned is that of the conflict between sensuality and reason, and in this sense, we are told, *Il ritorno di Ulisse* shows a significant parallel to *L'incoronazione di Poppea* by the same composer. According to Rosand, in the case of *Poppea* it is Seneca who has reason, and he must take his own life in order for the sensuality of Nero and Poppea to triumph, whereas, in *Ulisse*, it is the sensuality of the glutton Iro that must be eradicated (through his suicide) in order that the rational and virtuous love of Ulisse and Penelope will find a just conclusion. Rosand's interpretation seems to be based on four premises, each of which needs to be examined in detail: (1) that Iro's character-type is serious rather than comic; (2) that this is supported by the supposed fact that Iro commits suicide; (3) it is further supported by the musical style allocated to him, and (4) that these things acting together demonstrate that he should be taken as a mad character.

(1) The character type of Iro

In order for Rosand to support her thesis she first has to show that Iro is not simply a comic character, and to do that she needs to explain away several apparent indications to the contrary. Although the surviving manuscript libretti do not give any direct

[4] Although Tim Carter, in his most recent monograph on Monteverdi's operas, simply refers to Iro's scene as "a take off of a lament scene". See Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 239.
[5] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il Ritorno*", 162.

description of Iro's character type,[6] the sole manuscript score does tell us that he is "parte ridicola" [ridiculous role].[7] This is not a term found elsewhere, but it seems to imply that Iro is, in essence, to be viewed as a comic character in the opera. Moreover, there is also some evidence that contemporary audiences thought of Iro as comic, since the anonymous librettist of *Le Nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* (set to music by Monteverdi in 1641, though the music no longer survives) pointed to the parallel between Iro and his own comic character, Numano. In the preface to this libretto, the author explains that Numano is a "persona giocosa" and that he inserted this character into the opera because he knew "the disposition of many onlookers, to whom jokes like this please more than serious things, just as we see the Iro of our friend [Badoaro, the librettist of *Ulisse*] having caused wondrous delight, to which kind of character I truly would not have given a place in any other tragedy."[8]

Rosand's response to this is, first, to argue that Iro and Numano are not equivalent since Numano is "neither base enough nor important enough"[9] to bear comparison, and is simply "a squire with an exaggerated appetite for battle".[10] At this point it may be sufficient to remark that, in the *Aeneid* itself, we are told that Numano "swaggered" towards battle "displaying his gigantic size" and "making himself seem grand by his very noise"[11] – attributes of Numano that are not only implied in the

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[6] According to the "interlocutori nell'opera" of US-LAus no. 17, Iro is "parasito [sic] de Proci" (the parasite of the suitors).

[7] A-Wn, MS 18763, f.103^{v}.

[8] [l'umore di molti Spettatori, a' quali più piacciono così fatti scherzi, che le cose serie, come vediamo l'Iro dell'amico haver maravigliosamente dilettato, al qual genere di personaggio in veramente in altra Tragedia non havrei dato luogo.] The translation is from: Carter and Szweykowski (eds. And trans.), *Composing Opera,* 167 – 169.

[9] In the *Aeneid* Numano's brother-in-law is King of the Rutulians, so his social status is at least quite important. See Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. W.F. Jackson Knight, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), 243-4, lines 595-7. Rosand seems to mean that Numano is not as dramaturgically important as Iro.

[10] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 144.

[11] See Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. W.F. Jackson Knight (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), 243-4, lines 596-7.

surviving text of *Le nozze d'Enea*,[12] but which are clearly rather close to those attributed to Iro both in Homer's *Odyssey* and in Monteverdi's *Il ritorno di Ulisse*. As for Iro and Numano not being dramaturgically equivalent, both appear in only three scenes in their respective operas. In the musical score of *Il ritorno dUlisse* Iro appears in Act I when he and the shepherd Eumete mock each other (I, 12), in Act II when the disguised Ulisse beats him up – the scene most faithful to the Homeric original – (II, 12), and, finally, in Act III when he unfolds his despairing monologue (III, 1). The libretto of *Le nozze d'Enea* has five acts altogether, and in Act I Numano appears with King Turno (I, 4)[13], In Act III with Juno and King Turno accompanied by Latino, Amata and Tirreo and choruses of shepherds and "Latini" (III, 2)[14], and in Act IV again with King Turno accompanied by Latino, Amata and Araldo (IV, 1).[15] Interestingly, in the libretti of *Ulisse*, Iro is given one more scene:[16] in Act IV, Scene 3 (in the 5-act structure of the libretti), Iro, after praying to Bacchus, attempts to draw Ulisse's bow after the suitors have all failed in their attempts.[17]

It is true that, since the characters of Numano and Iro appear in different plots, the dramaturgical details of their manoeuvres differ. However, both have physical and personality attributes in common, and both appear the same number of times. Moreover, in the original stories – Iro in the *Odyssey* and Numano in the *Aeneid* – both act as agents or messengers for higher powers who are trying to thwart the plans of the main protagonist – Numano acts for the goddess Juno who is implacably

[12] In the libretto, Numano is stipulated as "Milantatore [sic.] Rutulo" [self-conceited Rutulian]. Anonymous, *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia* [US-L-Aus, MS. No. 18], p. 6.
[13] Anonymous, *Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia*, pp. 18-20.
[14] Ibid., 39-42.
[15] Ibid., 51-53.
[16] The other scenes omitted from the musical setting are: Act I, Scene 9 (where Naiads unfold a military chorus) and V, 2 (discussed below).
[17] The scene discussed here is included in I-Vnm: Cicogna n.564 as well as in the others. Rosand, however, has failed to mention this scene and only discussed the scenes given in n. 16 above. See: idem, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il Ritorno*", 162, n. 30.

opposed to the ambitions of Aeneas, and Iro (whose name is derived from "Iris" – the female messenger who, in Homer, carries instructions from Zeus to mortals) operates on behalf of the suitors against the interests of Ulysses. It is not difficult to see why the anonymous librettist of *Le nozze d'Enea* thought that there were, indeed, parallels between the two characters.

At this point in the argument Ellen Rosand then draws our attention to the term "persona giocosa" used by the anonymous librettist to describe Iro and Numano.[18] She claims that Iro is certainly not an obvious model for such a character type, because a better example had already been provided in Manelli/Strozzi's *La Delia* of 1639, in the character of Ermafrodite whom Strozzi himself referred to as a "personaggio giocoso". Moreover, Rosand further asserts that Iro – unlike nurses, squires, pages and the like – is not purely comic, and neither does he step outside the action, as comic characters tend to do, to comment on the drama. So, although Rosand feels that she has done enough to show that Iro has little in common with Numano as the "persona giocosa" in *Le nozze d'Enea*, she now has to demonstrate that he also stands apart from Ermafrodite as the "personaggio giocoso" in *La Delia*, and that he shares little with standard comic characters in general.

Rosand's first claim that Manelli/Strozzi's *La Delia* (1639)[19] had already established "a basic comic type"[20] is developed in a rather interesting way. She begins by quoting the preface to Giulio Strozzi's libretto where he tells us:

> I have introduced the *Hilarode* of the Greeks in the person of the cheerful Hermaphrodite, a novel character, who, between the severity of the tragic and the facetiousness of the comic, stands out to advantage upon our stage.[21]

[18] She has repeated this account in her more recent article. Idem, "The Bow of Ulysses", 381.
[19] The libretto was published as Giulio Strozzi, *La Delia o sia La Sera sposa del Sole*...(Venice: Pietro Pinelli, 1639).
[20] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 144.
[21] Strozzi, *La Delia*, p. 7. [Ho introdutto qui L'Hilaredo de' Greci, e questi sarà il giocoso Ermafrodite, personaggio nuovo che trà la severità del Tragico, e la facetia del Comico campeggia molto bene su le

We may wonder whether a character midway between the tragic and the comic was exactly "a basic comic type" at this point in the seventeenth century, and this is a rather central issue. If Ermafrodite is comic, and represents such a mix, then that would seem to bring that character closer to Rosand's conception of Iro, not further away.

Ellen Rosand apparently attempts to save herself from this situation by simply defining the term "Hilarode" [ἱλαρῳδός] as "a singer of wanton songs",[22] thus seeming to place this character-type firmly in the comic tradition, and therefore separate from Iro. Although she does not identify her "late classical" source for this definition, it seems to be based on the complicated account of the Hilarode in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*.[23] But Athenaeus himself tells us that the Hilarodos was often confused with the Simodos, and that the Hilarodos was "more respectable" than the latter and "did not make lewd gestures".[24] Perhaps significantly, Rosand seems to support her definition by referring to an article on the "Simodos" [σιμῳδός] in the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopaedia of classical culture, rather than one on the Hilarodos.[25] Moreover, it is apparent from other sources that, crucially for our argument, the Hilarodos specialised in "straight-faced parody of tragic song"[26] – a clear indication of the combination of the comic and tragic. Such a view could have had interesting repercussions for Rosand's purposes since she claims that Iro sings a parody of a lament – but, on the other hand, this fact would also tend to link Iro to the (for her)

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nostre Scene]. Cited in, and the translation is from, Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il Ritorno*", 144 – 45.

[22] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 145, n. 10.

[23] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* xiv, 620 e – 621b. For a translation, see: Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings: I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 278 – 9.

[24] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* xiv, 621b. See also Solon Michaelides, *The Music of Ancient Greece: an Encyclopedia* (London: Faber, 1978), 139 and 300. Michaelides also makes it clear that the hilarodos is often "wrongly confused with the simodos".

[25] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 145, n. 10.

"simple" comic Hilarode tradition, and this she seems determined to resist as being "rather problematic".[27]

It seems likely that these particular worries were based on a misunderstanding, and that Strozzi's use of the term "Hilarode" for Ermafrodite was correctly understood by him to encompass the tragic and the comic, rather than being a misuse of a term that actually meant "comic". Even so, Rosand then sets out to show that Ermafrodite does fit into the comic tradition, in spite of Strozzi's "misunderstanding", and that this further divides Ermafrodite from Iro. She points out that Ermafrodite tells us in the opera "I am Venus' child/ but in the rest I resemble Scarabea",[28] and that Scarabea is a lascivious old nurse in Manelli/Benedetto Ferrari's *La maga fulminata* (1638).[29] According to Rosand, Scarabea is one of those "essentially comic types" whose function in opera "was to bridge the gap between the fictional world and reality by commenting on the acting ... in the form of direct address to the audience". Ermafrodite is of this type, and so is comic, whereas Iro "though of an appropriate social class ... does not simply react, foil and provoke: he feels and acts". [30]

Of course, one may doubt that Ermafrodite does ever use a "form of direct address to the audience" in *La Delia*, or that comic characters do not feel and act, but, in any case, the entire argument is only made necessary by a series of confusions. Rosand believes that Strozzi gives a mistaken definition of the Hilarodos (though he does not), and that the term should imply something simply comic. She then argues that Ermafrodite does suit something simply comic (which he may not) rather than Strozzi's definition which combines the tragic and comic. She then finally argues that

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[26] M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 378.
[27] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 144.
[28] [Son di Venere figlio/ Ma nel restante à Scarabea simiglio] Cited in: Rosand, "Iro and the interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 145.
[29] Rosand, "Iro and the Intrepretation of *Il ritorno*", 145 – 6.

"Iro more than Ermafrodite would seem to represent Strozzi's idea of the Hilarode of the Greeks"[31] – even though there is still the question, to which we shall now turn, of exactly how tragic Iro might (or might not) be.

(2) Iro and the question of suicide.

One of the major pieces of evidence that Rosand adduces in favour of her interpretation of Iro as "tragic" is that he supposedly commits suicide. She tells us that "his decision to commit suicide is shocking",[32] that, in his last musical moments in the opera, his declamations "emphasize the seriousness of his intentions" and "through them Iro gains the courage of his convictions" for his "culminating suicide",[33] and that "his gradual loss of identity ... becomes permanent when he transcends himself by performing his final, unequivocally tragic act".[34] Three questions arise from this account: first, does Iro, in fact, commit suicide?; second, even if he does, would that necessarily make him a tragic figure within the operatic conventions of the time?; and third, what kind of interpretation might the academicians and cognoscenti of the time have placed on a suicide within such a drama?

The first point to make is that neither the surviving libretti nor the manuscript score are clear as to whether Iro in the end commits suicide or not, although it is true that his lengthy monologue is almost all about the process of his decision-making regarding the matter. Moreover, in the libretti,[35] Iro's solo scene is followed by another (not set to music) in which Mercury unfolds a lengthy moralizing monologue

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[30] Ibid., 146.
[31] Ibid., 146.
[32] Ibid., 147.
[33] Ibid., 152.
[34] Ibid., 157.

on the meaning of death.[36] In passing he mentions the "proud suitors" (*Proci superbi*) who are now "shades",[37] and "illustrious princes" (*Principi illustrii*) who are now "dark souls",[38] but the scene contains no references to Iro at all. Indeed, in Homer's *Odyssey*, Iro is not killed but rather, after his defeat by Ulysses, propped up by the courtyard gate to keep the dogs and pigs away.[39] Moreover, before the fight, he is threatened by the suitor Antinous not with death, but with exile, should he be defeated.[40] Rosand's assumptions about the supposed suicide of Iro clearly need to be treated with caution.[41]

But even if we accept that Iro may have committed suicide, can we be certain, as Rosand tells us, that death was "clearly not a laughing matter,"[42] on the operatic stage? In fact, there seems to have been a rich tradition of comic death scenes in Renaissance Italian drama, and Iro's preoccupation with death – and even suicide – in his final scene seems to have had many dramatic precursors. Notable instances of this tradition can be seen, for example, in the comic entertainments written by the Paduan dramatist, Angelo Beolco (c. 1495 – 1542, often known as "Ruzante"). He is renowned for the mastery of suicidal monologues, and examples very akin to Iro's are found in his *Dialogo facetissimo* [Wittiest Dialogue] (1528) and *La Moscheta* [usually

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[35] For example, US-LAus, no.17, Act V, Scene 2, [p.92].
[36] This scene was, however, omitted in the manuscript score because "per esser maninconica" (being too melancholic). A-Wn, 18763, 107^r.
[37] [Placid' Ombre]. US-LAus, no, 17, [p.93].
[38] [Alme oscure]. Ibid., [93].
[39] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. E. V. Rieu (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1946), 278-9; Book XVIII, lines 139-41.
[40] "I'll throw you into a black ship and send you over the continent to King Echetus the Ogre": Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Rieu, 278; Book XVIII, lines 135-7.
[41] Rosand herself, without disowning the consequences of her previous position, has become more circumspect about the matter in her more recent writing. In *Opera in Seventeenth century Venice*, she says only that Iro "actively *determines* to commit suicide" (my italics). See: ibid., 63.
[42] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 152.

known as "Posh Talk" in English speaking countries[43]] (1529).[44]

Beolco was a well-reputed playwright, director and actor in sixteenth-century Italy,[45] and was praised highly by intellectuals such as Pietro Bembo, despite the fact that Beolco openly ridiculed Bembo's personality in his play *Betia* (c. 1523 – 26).[46] Beolco worked intensively in the Veneto region for his patron Alzise Cornaro and other Venetian patricians. His entertainments were usually in prose and written in the Paduan dialect, but they became increasingly popular in sixteenth-century Venice, especially during the Carnival season.[47] Beolco's plays frequently required songs and dances,[48] and the tune which Adrian Willaert (maestro di capella at St. mark's between 1527 and 62) used in the tenor of his *Canzon di Ruzante*, "Zoia zentil"[49] was probably one which Beolco had sung on the stage.[50] Obviously, Beolco was a fairly good singer, as during Carnival of 1529 he and his troupe entertained the Este family at a banquet by singing some "canzoni e madrigali alla pavana".[51] Moreover, Beolco

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[43] The original title, *La Moscheta* was coined by Beolco, derived from the Paduan expression, "favelare moscheto" [meaning "to talk posh"]. See: Christopher Cairns (ed.), *Three Renaissance Comedies* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1991), 191, n. 1.

[44] For a modern authoritative edition, see: Ludovico Zorzi, *Ruzante: Teatro* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1967), 659 – 721 and 581 – 687 respectively.

[45] For a brief summary of Beolco's biography, see: Cairns, *Three Renaissance Comedies*, 83 – 106.

[46] Bembo wrote to Beolco's patron, Alvise Cornaro, "you live happily along with your good and most kind Sir Angelo of whom I am certainly most envious". See: Zorci, *Ruzante: teatro*, 1325 – 26, n. 84.

[47] Edward Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 171. See also: E. Lovarini, *Studi sul Ruzzante e la letteratura pavana*, ed. G. Folena (Padua: Antenore, 1965), 81 – 108.

[48] See: Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), vol. I, 344. Also, Nino Pirrotta has identified three songs used in *Betia*: "D'un bel mattin d'amore", "De voltate in qua e do, bella Rosina" and "Poi che'l ciel e la Fortuna". See: idem, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 98 – 101.

[49] See: Lodovico Zorzi, "Canzoni inedite del Ruzante", *Atti del Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti*, CXIX (1960/ 61), 25 – 74. Adrian Willaert, *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana...con la Canzona di Ruzante...primo libro* (Venice: Gardane, 1548)., p. 2, "Zoia zentil". Vogel (*Bibliografia della Musica Italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 – al 1700*) gives 1544 as the earliest print of this publication but the 1548 version is the earliest surviving complete edition with the Ruzante piece.

[50] Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 194.

[51] This is one of the musical events documented in Cristoforo da Messisbugo's *Banchetti, composizioni di vivande e apparecchio generale* (Ferrara: Giovanni de Buglhat and Antonio Hucher, 1549). Messisbugo was a steward in the service of the Este family. Regarding the music and musicians

is thought to have provided models subsequently used by the *commedia dell'arte*,[52] and, interestingly for our topic, among them was the suicide monologue – one of the unique features of Beolco's plays – which became one of the stock scenes.[53]

Moreover, the suicide monologues in Beolco's *Dialogo facetissimo* and *La Moscheta* specifically make reference to a particular subject also found in Iro's message: the strong fear of hunger. In *Dialogo facetissimo*, the main character called Mènego, after being assaulted and losing his lady to a rival, starts a lengthy lamentation, which leads him to decide upon suicide. He weeps over his wounded body and worries that he will die soon, not as a result of his wounds but of starvation. He then resolves to eat himself so that at least he can die with a full belly:

> Doh, cancaro me magne mi, che a' ve l'he dà! Mo int'agno muò a' me amazerè senza. E sí serà an miegio, ché a' me magnere da mia posta, e cossí a' morire our passú, a despeto de la calesta. (in Paduan)
> [Che il canchero mangi me, che ve l'ho data! Ma in ogni modo mi ammazerò senza. E sarà anche meglio, perchè mi mangerò da me stesso, e cosi morirò ben pasciuto, a dispetto della carestia.][54]

However, he soon withdraws the idea saying, "e sì a' no me vuò gnan magnare, ché a' me stentera' massa, mo a' me vuò strangolare [Ma non mi voglio neanche mangiare, perchè stenterei troppo, mi voglio piuttosto strangolare]",[55] and, in the end, he gives up the idea of committing suicide completely.[56] Another of Beolco's characters, "Ruzante" in *La Moscheta*, decides to kill himself and asks his wife to bury his

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recorded in this recipe book of his, see: Howard Mayer Brown, "A Cook's Tour of Ferrara in 1529", *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, x (1975), 216 – 241.

[52] Surely, Beolco's musical skills were inherited by some *comici dell'arte*. For example, Francesco Gabrielli excelled at singing *villanelle* and *villanesche*, and published a strophic song "I più rigidi cori" (see: n. 84 below). Gabrielli is well known by music historians since his enormous collection of musical instruments interested Monteverdi (See: Chapter 2 of this study).

[53] Andrews, *Scripts and Scenarios*, 137.

[54] [Whether that nasty one eats me or not, see, what I have given to it. But in any way, without it, I will kill myself. And it will be better because I will eat myself so that I will die well nourished in spite of famine]. Angelo Beolco, *Dialogo Facetissimo*, I – 5. Zorzi, *Ruzante: Teatro*, 708 – 9.

[55] [But I will not want to eat [myself] because it is too much trouble. Rather, I want to strangle myself]. Zorzi, *Ruzante: teatro*, 708 – 9.

[56] Ibid., 709.

remaining body so that "le to carne no sem magnè da ii cani [la tua carne non sia mangiata dai cani]";[57] he then attempts to eat himself. The ending of Iro's speech – "Coraggioso mio core, Mio core coraggio, Vinci il dolore, e pria, Ch'alla fame nemica egli soccomba, Vada il mio corpo a disfamar la tomba"[58] – seems to have been based on very similar ideas.

Since Beolco's plays were written in the middle of an awful famine (1528 – 9), making jokes about trying to die with a full stomach seems to have been topical. In Iro's case it is the Carnival season that provides the context for interpreting the meaning of his lament on hunger. In early modern Venice, the carnival season began on the feast of Saint Stephen and lasted until the first day of Lent. Lent was, according to the Church law, a period of abstinence. However, running up to Lent, the opposite was emphasised, as the social historian, Peter Burke aptly put it, "the season had three major themes: gluttony, sex and violence".[59] Iro's morbid fear of starvation, when considered in the context of Carnival, can be viewed as a comic and ironic commentary on the forthcoming rigours of Lent. Such an interpretation might well remind us of a famous painting of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Battle between Carnival and Lent* (1559): a fat man, representative of Carnival, rides a wine barrel and confronts a skinny, miserable figure of Lent. The apprehensions of Iro may have been related to the coming strictures of Lent, which signified a return to orderliness in behaviour. We can see from these considerations how strongly the characterisation of Iro, with its preoccupations with hunger and suicide, might be rooted in the traditions

[57] [The meat (from my dead body) which belongs to you will not be eaten by dogs.] Beolco, *La Moscheta*, III – 6. Zorzi, *Ruzante: teatro*, 634 – 5.
[58] [Be courageous, my heart, overcome your grief, And before it succumbs to the villainous hunger, my body will go to feed the tomb.] Badoaro, *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, V – 1. The consulted copy is: US-LAu, no. 17, [p. 92.].
[59] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 1978), 186. For the custom of Venetian Carnival, see: idem, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 183 – 190.

of Carnival and the Italian theatre – and how, in spite of appearances, such preoccupations might be viewed as comic rather than tragic.

We come now to the question raised by Rosand as to whether Iro (as a result of his supposed suicide) might have been seen as a "moral exemplum"[60] by the academicians and cognoscenti of the period.

The topic of suicide, like that of madness, has attracted many taboos.[61] No society views suicide as simplistically legitimate, and its justifications are probably as complex as those surrounding the treatment of the mad since such justifications clearly mirror the society's cultural, political, ethical and religious backgrounds. With the rise of Christianity, suicide was condemned as a sin against the sanctity of human life, and a strong, moral ban on suicide was imposed on medieval Europe from the theological point of view. The Church refused to bury those who committed suicide in hallowed ground and sometimes a criminal punishment was even applied to the body of the deceased. However, from the early modern age onward, some jurists insisted on the exemption of suicides from such penalties since they committed suicide because of madness, which was a pathological state. For example, a seventeenth-century French writer, Paul Challine observed, "the best proof of madness is the fact of having killed oneself".[62] To put it simply, "there was no such thing as sane suicide".[63]

The early Renaissance period saw a shift in attitudes towards suicide. The rediscovery by the humanists of the classical literary heritage brought about the justification and the romanticisation of "virtuous suicide" (for example, as in the case

[60] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il Ritorno*", 162.
[61] For studies of suicide, see: Henry Romily Fedden, *Suicide: a Social and Historical Study* [1938] (New York: B. Blom, 1972); Georges Minois, *History of Suicide*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore and London: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); and for a study of seventeenth-century instances, Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[62] Paul Challine, *Maximes générales du droit français* (Paris: n. pub., 1665), 31. The translation is from: Minois, *History of Suicide*, 138.

of Lucretia). In *The Book of the Courtier,* Castiglione lists the suicides of famous female figures,[64] and praises them for their noble and brave deeds.[65] Another, and – in relation to the development of opera – more important vehicle for the legitimisation of suicide was to be found in the writings of the Greco-Roman sages. Their deeds were often justified by philosophical accounts, and the list of such "classical" suicides includes: Themistocles, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Diogenes, Hegesias, Zeno, Cleanthes, Socrates, Appius Claudius, and Seneca.[66]

A knowledge of this "noble" tradition began to influence intellectual elites in the Renaissance, and the question of the justification of suicide was widely discussed. During those discussions on suicide, the accounts of Seneca and the Stoics were central, particularly among seventeenth-century Venetian academicians, and, in particular, the Accademia degli Incogniti, to whose intellectual milieu Badoaro was quite close.[67] The Incogniti seem to have discussed the comparatively new ideas of

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[63] Minois, *History of Suicide*, 41.

[64] Those examples include: Mithridates VI's wives and siblings (who showed less fear of death than of Mithridates); Harmonia (who chose to die in the burning of her native city); and Ericharis (who, being involved in a great conspiracy against Nero, hanged herself before being tortured a second time). See: Baldessar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 227.

[65] Castiglione writes that "obstinacy that produces virtuous acts ought to be called constancy". Interestingly his emphasis on the virtue of constancy conforms to the major accounts of neostoicism (and those of the Accademia degli Incogniti), which we will examine below.

[66] Of course, in some cases, the issue of whether the philosopher actually committed suicide or not is subject to debate. For example, in the famous case of Socrates, the debate hinges on the question of whether he simply prematurely carried out the sentence that would have been decreed by law (which would not, morally, have amounted to suicide), or whether he administered the death sentence, which he knew would probably, in the event, have been commuted to some other punishment (in which case, he is morally culpable of suicide). See: I. F. Stone, *The Trial of Socrates* (London: Pan Books, 1989).

[67] Badoaro was a close friend of Busenello, who was a member of the Incogniti. However, despite Rosand's assertion that Badoaro "was an Incognito" (see: Idem., "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 159), Badoaro's membership of the academy is uncertain. Badoaro's name never occurred in contemporary records of the group such as those published in Balthassaris Bonifacii, *Musarum* (Venice: Hertzium, 1645), pt 1, and *Le Glorie degli Incogniti overo gli huomini illustri dell'Accademia de' Signori Incogniti di Venetia* (Venice: F. Valvasense, 1647). The name of Busenello appeared in the former and that of Giulio Strozzi was recorded in both of the publications. See: Monica Miato, *L'Accademia degli Incogniti di Giovan Francesco Loredan: Venezia, 1630 – 1661* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1998), esp. Appendix III "Elenco degli Accademici Incogniti", 237 – 40.

neostoicism frequently, and they based their views on this philosophical framework.[68]

During the Roman era, the justifications of suicide were developed mainly by the Stoics. Diogenes Laertius summarises the Stoic view of suicide as follows: "[Stoics] consider that a man takes his own life rationally for one of the following reasons: on behalf of his country, or friends, or if he is afflicted by intolerable pain or an incurable disease".[69] However, this does not go very far in giving detailed justifications in particular circumstances; after all, the justification of suicide prompted by pain may be questionable in many circumstances. Another Stoic, Zeno, one day tripped over and broke his toe, and striking the ground with his fist, he quoted a line from a Greek myth, *Niobe* "Why dost thou call for me?" and died on the spot by holding his breath.[70] Of course, Zeno did not kill himself simply because he broke his toe, he seems to have interpreted this accident as a divine signal which summoned him. Such Stoic episodes seemed to trivialise suicide, and perhaps prevented the later Stoic belief in suicide as the final vindication of human freedom (held by Seneca and others) from being properly understood. Moreover, their belief that the act of suicide might encapsulate the potential for unbounded freedom of the human soul, is sometimes reduced to the simpler notion that the act of suicide itself will automatically bring freedom, conceived as a kind of escape.[71]

As Neostoics considered death to be the ultimate display of their ideal, a glorious suicide was "evidence that one's mind was in perfect control".[72] There is some evidence that the Accademia degli Incogniti may have taken a similar stance on the

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[68] Iain Fenlon and Peter N. Miller, *The Song of the Soul: Understanding Poppea* (London: Royal Musical Association, 1992), 5.

[69] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives, Opinions and Sayings of Famous Philosophers*, Book VII, 130 (for his account of the Stoic doctrine, see: VII, 39 – 169). The translation quoted is from: J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 239.

[70] Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, 242.

[71] Ibid., 240.

[72] Fenlon and Miller, *The Song of the Soul*, 27.

subject of suicide. However, the Incogniti were sceptical about the immortality of the soul,[73] and they were not blind to flaws in the theories of the Stoics. Rather, they were sometimes openly critical of those theories: Giovanni Francesco Busenello famously presented the contrast between Seneca's human avarice and his philosophy in a very critical way in his *L'incoronazione di Poppea.*[74] Also, another member of the academy, G. F. Biondi, wrote that "the lives and manners of [those stoic] professors held no conformity with what they professed, the latter requiring the solid truth, the former content with superficial truth".[75] For the members of the Incogniti the rationale of an act, rather than the act itself was more important. Iro's mental state when he comes to decide upon suicide is not the least bit calm, and his reasoning is incomprehensible. The character of Iro can be rendered as a grotesque caricature of stoic pedants, who indulged in the vanity of life and committed suicide for almost no reason. And his characterisation would have been quite capable of drawing ironic smiles – rather than an empathetic sense of tragedy – from contemporary academicians.

(3) The musical language of Iro

Rosand's assertion that Iro is a tragic figure and significant enough to act as a moral exemplum, rests not only on an analysis of his traditions and actions, but also on the poetic and musical attributes of his part in the opera. There may be some evidence for this in the features of the text of his final monologue in Act III scene 1, which is written in *versi sciolti* and contains a few rhymed couplets, as is shown below.

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[73] Ellen Rosand, "Seneca and the Interpretation of *L'Incoronazione di Poppea*", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXXVIII – no. 1 (Spring, 1985), 37.
[74] See, for example, Valetto's comment upon Seneca in Act I, Scene 6.
[75] Giovanni Francesco Biondi, *La donzella desterrada*, tr. James Hayward (London, 1635), 83; cited in Fenlon and Miller, *The Song*, 47.

Ex.9.1. The text of Iro's monologue (Act, III, Scene 1)

Text[76]	Syllables	Rhymes	Monteverdi's text reading[77]
O dolor, o martir che l'alma attrista,	11	a	
Honesta rimembranza	7		O mesta rimembranza [o sad memory]
Di dolorosa vista.	7	a	
Io vidi estinti i Proci,	7		
I Proci furo uccisi, ah ch'io perdei	11		Word play "porci"/ "proci"
Le delizie del ventre, e della golla [sic.].	11	b	
Chi soccorre il digiun, chi lo consola.	11	b	Soccorre al digiun
O flebile parola.	7		
I Proci, Iro perdesti,	7		
I Proci, i padri tuoi,	7	c	
Sparga pur quanto puoi	7	c	Sgorga quanto vuoi [shed as much as you want]
Lacrime amare, e meste,	7	d	Lagrime amare e miste[78] [bitter and mixed tears]
Che padre è chi ti ciba, e chi ti veste,	11	d	
Chi più della tua fame	7	e	
Satollerà le brame?	7	e	
Non troverai chi goda	7		
Empir del vasto ventre	7		
Le affamata caverne.	7		
Non troverai chi rida	7		
Del ghiotto trionfar della tua gola.	11	b	
Chi soccorre il digiun, chi lo consola?	11	b	
Infausto giorno, à mie ruine armato.	11		
Poco dianzi mi vinse il vecchio antico,	11		Un veccio ardito
Hor mi abbatte la fame.	7		
Dal cibo abbandonato;	7		
L'hebbi già per nemica,	7		
L'ho distrutta, l'ho vinta, hor troppo fora	11		
Vederla vincitrice.	7		
Voglio uccider me stesso, e non vo' mai	11		
Ch'ella porti di me trionfo, e gloria.	11	f	
Chi si toglie al nemico ha gran vittoria.	11	f	è gran vittoria
Coraggioso mio core,	7		

[76] [Oh, grief, oh, martyrdom that saddens the soul/ honest memory/ of a painful sight./ I saw suitors destroyed/ The suitors were murdered, ah, and I lost/ the pleasure of the stomach and the throat/ Who will save [the one with] hunger, who consoles him?/ Oh, sorrowful word/ [it is] the suitors that you lost, Iro,/ the suitors, your fathers./ Shed as much as you can/ bitter and sad tears,/ because father is the one who feeds you and dresses you./ Who else will satiate the desire of your hunger?/ You will not find anyone who enjoys/ filling the hungry cavity of your vast stomach./ You will not find anyone who laughs/ at the greedy triumph of your throat./ Who will save the one with hunger, who will console him?/ Unfortunate day, armed for my ruin,/ Little while ago the old, ancient man won over me,/ Now, hunger conquers me/ deprived from food./ It was before my enemy/ I have destroyed it; I have won; now it penetrates me finding it victorious/ I want to kill myself, I do no longer want/[to see] hunger shall gain from me triumph and victory/ One who rids himself of the enemy has great victory./ Be courageous, my heart/ My heart, be courageous,/ Vanquish your grief and before/my heart succumbs to the villainous hunger,/ my body goes to feed my tomb.] The consulted copy is: US-LAu, *Raccolta de' Drammi*, catalogue no. 17, ff. 90 – 92. This version seems to date from the middle of the seventeenth century.

[77] A-Wn, 18763, 103^{v} – 107^{r}.

[78] Malipiero has read the word "amare" as "amore"; however, this seems to be a simple mistake. See: Francesco Malipiero, *Claudio Monteverdi, Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in Patria*, Tutte le opere di Claudio Monteverdi XII (Vienna: Universal, n.d.), 172.

Mio core coraggioso	7		
Vinci il dolore, e pria	7		
Ch'alla fame nemica egli soccomba.	11	g	
Vada il mio corpo a disfarmar la tomba.	11	g	

The poem is accented by a refrain, "Chi soccorre il digiun, chi lo consola", which appears twice but at irregular intervals (the 7th and 21st lines). In fact, as we have seen elsewhere in this study, this is a typical example of poetry designed for "recitative soliloquy",[79] and Monteverdi largely followed its implied scheme. It is interesting to note that, as we have seen in Chapter 8, "recitative soliloquy" is usually given to serious characters in order that they should be able to express their complex feelings. The content of the text seems to be essentially pathetic, and could provide an effective vehicle for a "lament" – or, at least, a complaint – if only Iro's devastation were caused by, say, the loss of love, rather than by his fear of hunger. Indeed, Monteverdi seems to highlight and encourage a comic interpretation by deliberately substituting the word "porci" [pigs] for "proci" [suitors] in line 4. Moreover, some further considerations, to be dealt with shortly, will perhaps lead us to suppose that the musical devices, too, employed by Monteverdi are fundamentally comic, and as a result, Iro's monologue should essentially be seen as a parody of a more serious genre.

The prime strategy which the composer employs in order to realise the meanings of the words is simply persistently to repeat key words. Other mechanisms frequently associated with Monteverdi such as jarring dissonances are virtually absent from the music given to Iro, and this curious feature may be a signal that we should not take his "lament" too seriously. The word-repetitions in Iro's monologue sometimes seem beyond control: for example, the phrase "m'abbatte" (line 24) is

[79] See: Chapter 8.

repeated four times, and "l'ho distrutta" (line 27) no fewer than eleven times. It is this kind of feature that leads Rosand to claim that "their exaggeration contributes to the portrayal of Iro's disintegrating psychological state".[80] However, one can equally convincingly point to comic traditions behind such a practice – for example, the stammering figure common in Renaissance comedy, employed in both *dell'arte* and *erudita.* In fact, in Monteverdi's musical portrayal of Iro, the character does not just "decontextualise" words as a result of his "tragic" monologue, he is made to stutter throughout the opera: in his first scene (I, 12) he has five attempts to say the word "bestie" [animals], and in his second (II, 12), when he challenges Ulisse to a fight, he tries four times to say "per mangiar" and six to say "ad uno". Similar observations might be made concerning what Rosand calls Iro's "hysterical laugh" in the monologue.[81] A glance at the surviving musical score[82] will confirm that the instruction is that the singer should end "in riso naturale".

Although Monteverdi set Iro's monologue largely in recitative style, there are also arioso passages in which the bass line plays an important role – and it is through such passages, as we have seen, that a composer might have the opportunity to put a more subtle complexion on his portrayal of a character. Iro's solo scene begins with a long cry over a "walking", *ostinato* bass. Although there is no established association between this type of the bass and a particular mood, the ever-tottering inflection of the bass line seems fundamentally comic. Moreover, the closest musical match to this bass among Monteverdi's other works seems to be the jogging little accompaniment that opens the simple love song "Non così tosto io miro" in his *Scherzi musicali* of 1607.

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[80] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 150.
[81] Ibid., 152.
[82] A-Wn, MS 18763, f.105^r.

Second, for Iro's refrain "chi soccorre il digiun, chi lo consola", Monteverdi provides a *ciaccona* bass pattern that is instantly recognisable from its use in his famous setting of "Zefiro torna, e di soave accenti" in his *Scherzi musicali* of 1632.[83] But this bass pattern is not only found in Monteverdi's *Scherzi*; it was widely used in the 1630s and also seems to have a particular association with the *commedia dell'arte*. A celebrated comedian from that tradition, Francesco Gabrielli, published a strophic song "I più rigidi cori" under the title of *Infermità, testamento, e morte di Scapino*.[84] In this publication, the song was coupled with a *ciaccona* written in the *alfabeto* tablature of Spanish guitar. Hence, as Ann MacNeil suggests, "I più rigidi cori" was probably sung over the specified *ciaccona* bass pattern (its basic harmonic progression is I – IV – V – I, not so far from Iro's I – vi – IV – V – I in his monologue).[85] In Gabrielli's song, while the lengthy text (28 stanzas) describes the pain of the now dying *comico* who recollects his active career in his younger days and orders what his friends should do on his deathbed, the syncopated rhythm of the Spanish dance totally contradicts this sombre mood. Overall, this creates a bitter-sweet humour, so typical of the *commedia dell'arte*. Monteverdi makes use of the bass pattern again in *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* when Valetto criticises "il filosofo astuto [the canting philosopher]" (Seneca) for his hypocrisy saying, "le vende per misteri, e son canzoni" (I, 6).[86] This undermining of the over-serious Seneca by the

[83] Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1632), no. 7.
[84] Francesco Gabrielli, *Infermità, testamento, e morte di Francesco Gabrielli detto Scappino, composto, e dato in luce à requisitione de gli spiritosi ingegni, con l'intavolatura della chitarriglia spagnola, sue lettere, e chiaccona* (Verona, Padua, and Parma, 1638).
[85] Ann MacNeil quotes the first stanza of the song and adds modern chord names above the indicated alphabet notation: idem, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte*, 29.
[86] Here, the composer may have made the best of the double entendre of "canzoni". The word means "songs" and also "hackneyed". Furthermore, Tim Carter indicates that there may be a "further resonance" in this musical setting since Seneca was Spanish as was the *ciaccona* in origin. See: idem, "Re-Reading Poppea", 183, n. 36. MacNeil connects Seneca's swan song "L'uscir di vita è una beata sorte", which is in triple time (Act Ii, sc. 1) directly with Gabrielli's output. See: Idem, *Music and Women*, 29 – 30. The association between *L'incoronazione* and the *commedia dell'arte* may be attested

use of the jolly *ciaccona*, might well suggest that we should interpret Iro's monologue as basically comic.

Other arioso-sections include "hor m'abbate" (mm. 91 – 101) in which two sets of five-beat patterned melodies (the voice and the bass) unfold against a six-beat measure; and "l'ho distrutta" (mm. 101 – 111), which comprises persistently repeated sequential inflexions in the voice and the bass. Although Rosand cites these instances as evidence that "Iro's sentences lose their syntax, his words their senses",[87] they are within the standard musical writing of that time: realising the meaning of the word by imitation.

Another, probably more important point which Rosand discusses is that Iro's musical language imitates the rhetoric of his superiors. She observes, for example, that Iro's opening whine, which is oddly lengthened, is a parody of Ulisse's exclamation at the news that he will soon be united with his son (I, 9), of Eumete's reaction to the return of his master (II, 2), and Telemaco's joyful exclamation on the same occasion (II, 3). Rosand then asserts that there is a parallel between Iro's practice and that of Isabella in *La pazzia d'Isabella*, performed by Isabella Andreini.[88] Certainly, in her madness, the character Isabella imitates her fellow actors "come del Pantalone, del Graziano, dello Zanni, del Pedrolino, del Francatrippa, del Burattino, del Capitano Cardone e della Franceschina tanto naturalmente".[89] However, unlike the case of Isabella, there is no line in the text which clearly proves that Iro intends to parody his fellow protagonists. Some features of Iro's music may be shared with other, more noble characters of the opera, but this might be coincidental, particularly

by the fact that the appellation of the opera, "opera reggia", which the 1643 scenario bears, is the term often found in *commedia dell'arte* scenarios.

[87] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 149.

[88] For a detailed discussion of this *commedia dell'arte* play, see: Chapter 2.

since it was standard to practice to emphasise the meaning of each word rather than the general mood of the given text as a whole; hence words denoting similar meanings, regardless of contexts, might well be given similar musical treatments. Moreover, there is an essential difference between the case of Isabella and that of Iro. While Isabella temporarily loses her dramaturgical identity as "prima donna innamorata" and degrades herself by mimicking other, lesser, protagonists, Iro's (supposed) mimicry of his superiors works the other way (from a lower character to a higher). Such a device is clearly reminiscent of those socially provocative comic characters – especially in works such as the plays of Beolco – upon which the Renaissance theatre was founded.

(4) Is Iro mad?

Our examination so far seems to indicate that Iro is based predominantly upon comic traditions in spite of Rosand's interesting attempts to prove otherwise. However, none of the points we have discussed – Iro's character type, speech content, musical language, and use (intentional or otherwise) of parody – provides us with a diagnostic tool for his mental state. Should we view Iro as mad or not?

It has been a central theme of this study that there are no dramatic or musical devices that, taken on their own, can confirm the madness of a given character. Thus, the case of Iro is still inconclusive, though it is clear that he never employs any of those verbal or behavioural signifiers of madness which we outlined in Chapter 7.

However, what we should note here is that any rush to reach a verdict about whether a particular character is, or is not, mad sometimes bypasses the subtle richness of the character's dramaturgical effect, and, thus, reduces the range of

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[89] [She acts most naturally like Pantalone, Graziano, Zanni, Pedrolino, Francatrippa, Burattino, Captain

explanation that can be applied to his or her theatrical effects. Plays and operas often provide an opportunity for a character to display absurdity (*la bizzarria*), an idea which seems to have been particularly favoured in the era, and which harmonized well with the burgeoning new theatrical genre, *tragicommedia*. In these circumstances it would perhaps be a mistake to group all seemingly bizarre protagonists under the category of "madness". Obviously madness is one interpretative tool with which we can analyse the repertoire, but not every eccentric character is mad. The mad scene aside, opera inherited from its comic predecessors (both *dell'arte* and *erudita*) various other stock scenes (for example, the drunkard scene, the sleep scene, and probably the suicide scene as we have seen above), and those scenes also exhibit absurdity within tragi-comedy. Yet, the disparate origin of each of these types makes their meaning complex, and this results in the diverse dramaturgical uses and consequences of the scene.

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Rosand's interpretation of Iro as a mad character is pioneering and interesting, even if her conclusions do not seem entirely secure. In fact, her arguments and our counter-arguments raise questions regarding the possible ways of reading opera in general. Rosand's reading of Monteverdi's two late operas – *Ulisse* and *Poppea* – has been formed by her belief that they share "the same binary opposition between sense and reason",[90] and convey the same moral message as that generated from the debates by the Accademia degli Incogniti. This view is shared by other scholars who also tend to favour interpretations of seventeenth-century opera that privilege views held by the

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Cardone and Franceschina.] This description is taken from Pavoni's report. See: Chapter 2.

[90] Rosand, "Iro and the Interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 162.

composers and librettists, as though they are equivalent to the cognoscenti.[91] This has led Tim Carter to propose that:

> The need to acknowledge the role of the librettists is all the more acute for opera in the seventeenth, eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries, when the poet not only came high in the hierarchy of the complex modes of production that defined "opera industry" but also often had a range of production responsibilities beyond just the text.[92]

There are, however, problematic aspects to this view as well. First, we have little evidence that composers actually shared academic views either with cognoscenti or with their librettists (if they were not one and the same).[93] Second, and more importantly, it was to dramaturgy that composers usually contributed more than to the hidden, political or moral messages of their operatic works. However, so far, very little literature has tackled the issues surrounding the dramaturgy of seventeenth-century opera. Even the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* has no article on dramaturgy, and only Joseph Kerman has attempted a survey of the subject in his *Opera as Drama.*[94] Unfortunately Kerman condemns the seventeenth-century repertoire for "unparalleled dramatic fatuity",[95] and discusses only a few supposedly pivotal works such as Monteverdi's *Orfeo*. We must accept that the aims of seventeenth-century dramaturgy, and the ways in which it operated, differ fundamentally from those of our own time.

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[91] Other examples include Fenlon and Miller's *The Song of the Soul,* and Wendy Beth Heller, "Chastity, Heroism, and Allure: Women in the opera of seventeenth-century Venice" (PhD dissertation: Brandeis University, 1995); idem, "Tacitisms: The Accademia degli Incogniti and the Use of Tacitus", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lii – no. 1 (Spring, 1999), 51 – 95; and idem., *Emblems of Eloquence* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[92] Carter, *Monteverdi's Musical Theatre*, 47.

[93] For example, Monteverdi and Nicolò Fontei both collaborated closely with Giulio Strozzi (a member of the Incogniti and Unisoni), but there is no record that either of them actually acquired the membership of any academy.

[94] Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* (New York: Random House, 1956). Carl Dahlhaus wrote several essays on operatic dramaturgy, which, although enlightening, deal largely with operas written after the eighteenth century. For example, see: idem, "What is a musical drama?", *Cambridge Opera Journal* I, no. 1 (March, 1989), 95 – 111.

[95] Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, 51.

Dramaturgy can be defined as the theorization of the mechanisms that lie behind the artful manipulation of characters and events in the service of dramatic pace, story-telling, and the willing suspension of disbelief.[96] From this point of view, characters who may exemplify similar messages of a didactic or ethical kind – for example, according to Rosand, Iro in *Ulisse* and Seneca in *Poppea* – might well have different degrees of significance in dramaturgical terms. Rosand might well be right that some considered Iro to be a moral exemplum, but dramaturgically, he is rather isolated and autonomous – perhaps even more so than those stock comic characters, who simply serve to comment on the leading characters' actions and give comic relief.

A composer such as Monteverdi usually interpreted his characters from the dramaturgical point of view, and he played a decisive role in characterising each protagonist. As we have seen, Monteverdi seems to have found in Iro a fundamentally comic character who drew upon long-established traditions, and it may even have been Monteverdi himself who labelled Iro as a "parte ridicola" [a ridiculous role].[97] This label suggests that we should not take Iro's quasi-tragic manners too seriously. Even in the case of Seneca in *Poppea,* as Tim Carter has indicated,[98] there is a musical tradition which might tempt us to view the character in a comical light. "Non morir, Seneca" (II, 3), the trio sung by Seneca's followers, might well be an attempt to mock the philosopher, because the three-part male voice scoring is typical of the

[96] My definition of the term is less generalised than that proposed by Dahlhaus. He has attempted to restore the "original" meaning of this somewhat overused term, defining it as "the composition of dramas *tout court* including the theories and principles of dramatic composition". See: idem, "What is a musical drama", 95.
[97] The sole MS score (A-Wn: 18763) is not an autograph of the composer, but the alterations in score numbering and some performance directions imply that it was closely associated with one of the earliest productions of the opera. See: Alan Curtis (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (London: Novello, 2002), vii – xii.
[98] Tim Carter, "Re-Reading Poppea: Some Thoughts on Music and Meaning in Monteverdi's Last Opera", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* CXXII, no. 2 (1997), 173 – 204.

Giustiniana,[99] a genre which often presents songs about three old men who are still interested in sexual adventures but are too aged to find them except with paid courtesans.[100] Thus, if Seneca is to be mocked, then even his decision to commit suicide could be devalued on the basis that he perhaps ended his life for a trivial reason – Nero's vanity.

However, we should not conclude that the musico-dramatic conception of characters as ordained by composers, and the meanings of the opera as a whole debated by academician-librettists are necessarily incompatible. Monteverdi's possibly ironic representation of Seneca may well have supported the strongly critical views held by the Incogniti of the Stoics in a rather vivid manner. On the other hand, in the case of Iro, there is a surviving letter from Badoaro, the librettist of *Ulisse*, to Monteverdi,[101] in which Badoaro expresses admiration for the musical realisation of *Ulisse*, but has to admit that he was scarcely able any more to recognise the work as his own.[102] Probably, the foremost strength of Monteverdi was not as "a debater, far exceeding that of any *letterato*" as Rosand put it,[103] but as a dramatist.

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[99] Ibid., 194.

[100] Tim Carter, "Justiniana", *Die Music in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 2nd edn. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), vol. 4, 1599.

[101] This is attached to the MS libretto, I-Vnm, Cicogna 192, n. 546. The full text and a translation can be found in: Curtis (ed.), *Monteverdi:Il Ritorno di Ulisse*, xx – xxi. Osthoff was the first to quote the entire letter. See: Von Wolfgang Osthoff, "Zu den Quellen von Monteverdis Ritorno di Ulisse in Patria", *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* XXIII (1956), 73 – 4.

[102] "Ammiriamo con grandissima maravigliosa i concetti cosi pieni, non senza qualche conturbazione, mentre non so più conoscere per mia quest'opera". [We admire with great wonder such concepts, yet not without disquiet, since I no longer recognise this opera as mine.]

[103] Rosand, "Iro and the interpretation of *Il ritorno*", 164.

Chapter 10

Conclusion

Towards an understanding of operatic madness

During the course of this study various kinds of investigation have taken place. First, there has been an attempt to uncover what the common ingredients of mad characters and scenes might be in early opera and its precursors. This has led to a categorising of the textual, behavioural and musical features routinely found in the presentation of such characters – that is, the topoi and conventions of madness on the stage, and aspects of their traditional meanings. Second, there has been an attempt to differentiate between the many character-types that some have included within the category of "the mad" – fools, imbeciles, the love-sick, the deranged, and so on – and so lay the ground for a meaningful typology of madness in early opera. The investigation into the topoi and types of madness was, in the first instance, compiled from characters and scenes where there can be no doubt about the intended madness. Much of the study has then gone on to test ambiguous instances – such as Dido, for example, or Iro – against these cases and their "normative" signals of madness. The third kind of investigation has involved uncovering the history and dissemination of the mad scene up to c.1700. Here, there has been an attempt to demonstrate how widespread the vogue for madness in opera was, to explore the different traditions of dramatic representation in different countries, and also to explain some of the immediate causes for change and development in the genre of the mad scene.

In order to understand exactly how these investigations relate to the central questions of the definition and understanding of operatic madness, we now need, finally, to locate them within the somewhat broader contexts of literary and cultural

theory. This will be done in a carefully limited way, since it is not our purpose now to embark on yet another thesis of a strictly theoretical kind. Rather we want to situate the research completed within a clear conceptual framework so that we can better understand the exact nature of the questions we have been trying to answer, and why it is so difficult to define, in any simple way, an artistic, fictive phenomenon such as operatic madness.

Mad characters, like the imaginary scenes in which they appear, are, of course, part of a fictive world, and this fact alone raises several important issues. First, in what sense do fictive characters exist and how do they relate to the realm of "the real"?[1] This question leads us to see the problems of defining the "truth" of someone's madness on the stage as a subsection of the issue of fictive truth in general. It also perhaps encourages us to categorise theatrical madness by using the methodologies of dramaturgy rather than those of the medical practices of everyday life. Second, following literary theorists, we need to make some kind of distinction between the types of human representation on the stage; between, for example, "rounded" fictional personalities (complex characters in plays or novels), and their embryonic "flat" character-types (drunks, madmen, villains, and so on). We also need to be aware of how both types might perform more than one kind of function in the service of a particular narrative or genre. And we have to take account of the complications that arise when a character is simulating the attributes of another personality or a character-type: "feigned' madness is almost as common as "real" fictive madness. Our concluding remarks will attempt to draw the detail of our investigations into the fold of these considerations.

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[1] Peter Lamarque, "How to Create a Fictional Character", in *The Creation of Art*, ed. Berys Gaut and Paisley Livingston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33-52.

Finally, we come to the question of how we might discover or interpret the broadly cultural and artistic meanings of the early operatic mad scenes. This type of investigation has required, first, some documentation of the many contextual influences – academies, theatres, theorists, social and political conditions, and so on – that acted upon the nature and development of the mad scene over time. It has also necessitated some collection of statistical data on particular so-called "vogues" in the reception of the mad scene, so as to gauge the reliability of such characterisations of its progress. Lastly, it begs some brief consideration of how certain cultural theorists (such as Michel Foucault or Mikhail Bakhtin) and certain critical theories (such as feminism) might add their own illuminations to our central topic.

In summary, then, our conclusions about the early operatic mad scene need to be discussed under three broad areas: those concerned with the fictive nature of the phenomenon; those connected with the problems of defining a character specifically as "mad" on the stage; and those arising from attempts to interpret the phenomenon of fictive madness within wider cultural and critical horizons. We shall begin with the question of fictionality and characterisation in general.

The Fictive World

What is "reality" in theatrical terms? Although, in "realistic" terms, theatrical narratives are peculiarly short-lived and only spasmodically detailed, they traditionally form closed microcosms which have a certain goal (usually the achievement of closure, or denouement) and this is made possible by a certain contract between audiences and creators. Within this microcosm, all protagonists have their own fictive identities and they react to events, which can be very extreme, in a

"realistic" (but not totally real) way. Such a contract produces what we might call a "fictive truth".

This view of fictive truth as a kind of enclosure, might tempt us to define dramatic/operatic madness as something like: "a protagonist's misreading of some of the ingredients of the (locally established) "fictive truth", which therefore, on occasion, impedes the advancement of the plot, or leads to detachment from it, or gives rise to cases of mistaken identity. In fact, in Chapter 7 on the textual and behavioural symptoms of operatic madness, we encountered a number of insane characters who temporarily or permanently lost their original "fictive" identity, and consequently misread signals from other protagonists. Also, in some cases – for example, Deidamia of Sacrati/Strozzi's *La finta pazza* or Atrea of Cavalli/Minato's *Pompeo Magno* – the mad scene seems to provide moments when the controlled and represented "truth" of theatre is dispensed with for the sake of a more direct presentation to the audience of the performer as a personality in his or her own right.

Yet we should note that even when characters show such signs of detachment from the given plot, this does not mean that they are now emancipated totally from fictiveness. Such practices only require us to re-define the extent of fictiveness and, in the end, all such presentations remain fictive in contextual terms (these characters are not strangers or friends in the street, so to speak). Moreover, the mere fact of seeming to break out of fictive bounds within the theatre cannot confirm the madness of a character – such actions often happen for comic effect during the antics of drunks and fools, or as the result of a self-conscious effect employed by the librettist in relation to almost any type of protagonist on the stage.

From this point of view, the only necessary and sufficient condition under which a certain character should confidently be viewed as mad is when the presented story

explicitly tells us so. This may seem rather disappointing, and even mistaken. Many might wish, for example, always to take as mad those characters previously defined as such in pre-existing literary or traditional sources, or those in a particular work who seem to attract extravagant emotional and musical effects. As we have seen, though, in our analyses of such characters as Dido in Purcell's opera, and Isifile in Cavalli's *Giasone*, such general criteria simply cannot be applied without creating contradictions within the works themselves – Dido is mad in Virgil's depiction, but not in Purcell's; Isifile is called mad by Giasone and she rages against him verbally and musically, but for good, sane reasons.

The librettist of each work sets up a very particular contract. His drama offers a specific vision, directed towards an imagined audience through the medium of other participating creators such as the composer and the performers. In so doing, he assumes that his audience is "able to deal interpretively with the expressions in the same way as the author deals generatively with them".[2] In fact, it has been interesting to trace the subtle changes that came over the means by which this contract was communicated during the course of the seventeenth century. For example, the opera libretto was originally a commemorative record of a specific performance directly connected with the initiating creators and sponsors; later it became a guide to enable audiences (sometimes far removed from the originating context) to understand the work in the way intended. Naturally, even distant audiences shared a certain "horizon of expectation" with others in their culture, but to what extent became less certain as opera went public and became itinerate.

[2] Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 7.

Fictive Personalities and Character-types

As Peter Lamarque has indicated in his stimulating essay on the construction of fictive characters,[3] separating "fictive personalities" (complex characters in plays and novels) and "character-types" (drunks, villains, etc.), is an important first step towards understanding how fictive people work in narratives. However, as this study has demonstrated, defining the concept of the "madman", even at the level of a character-type, presents considerable difficulties; madmen share several dramaturgical characteristics with other types such as buffoons, the love-lorn and the weak-minded, and the words attached comically or metaphorically to those various types and their actions – *pazzo*, *delirante*, and so on – often overlap. The problem is exacerbated in the late seventeenth century by there being a move away – in general terms – from portrayals of the insane as essentially comic figures, towards more serious representations.

Moreover, in drama, it is almost the norm that a given character will embody a complex amalgam of several "character-types" in the drama. King Lear, for example, is a "king/ruler", a "father" and a "madman". In the cases of "feigned" mad characters, the situation is even more complicated. The fact that they pretend to be mad means that, at a certain point, they acquire, at a secondary dramaturgical level, the attributes of an additional "fictive personality" who can also operate in complex ways within the plot. The point here is that mad protagonists – unlike simple buffoons or standard drunks – rarely operate at the level of a basic character-type at all, and this is another reason why it is so difficult to characterise or define them in terms of simple behavioural or musical signals.

[3] Lamarque, "How to create a Fictional Character".

Even among apparently simple character-types there might be fairly complex fictive operations taking place. For example, in the two mad operas where Don Quixote appears (*Don Chissiot della Mancia* and *Amore fra gl'impossibili*), we have seen that he is ancillary to the plot in the first, in spite of being the title-role, but is essential to the narrative in the second. Moreover, the "Don Quixote type" might have only minimal detail in common with the character as presented in the long novel by Cervantes, just as a "Faustian" character-type might share very little with the fully rounded fictive personalities of the particular "Faust" conjured up by either Marlowe or Goethe or Thomas Mann. We can see that there might be a kind of "axis of fictive identity" which moves, for example, from the fully-formed personality of Don Quixote by Cervantes, to the Don Quixote character-type (possibly, but not necessarily, attached to a role still called "Don Quixote"), to a different protagonist who intermittently displays character traits which resemble selected aspects of the Don Quixote character-type, but which still belong essentially to that different protagonist. Since this last situation is clearly to be found in early mad operas – for example, Gernando in *Amor e dover* by Pollarolo and David, is obsessed by chivalry like Don Quixote, but has deeper, more evil and complex aspects to his madness – we can see from this perspective as well that to signal madness unambiguously by stereotypical devices alone would be rather difficult to do.

Some roles, it seems, combine in the same person both a rounded fictive personality and a mere character-type. One such example is the drunkard Gelone who appears in Cesti's *Orontea* (1656), on a libretto originally by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini, but revised by Giovanni Filippo Apolloni.[4] Gelone, stipulated as "Servo

[4] For a modern edition of this opera, see: William Holmes, *Antonio Cesti: Orontea*, the Wellesley Edition, no. 11 (s.l.: Wellesley College, 1973).

faceto [facetious] di Corte",[5] has some narrative and enabling moments when he is involved in the main plot of the opera (I, 13; II, 15; III, 3; III, 8; III, 13; and III, 17). However, his other, solo, appearances (I. 6; I, 12; and III, 7) are marked by his drunken state. Dramaturgically, Gelone thus has a dual function: the first as a court servant presented as a rounded fictive personality integral to the plot; the second is his role as a comic character who stands aside from the narrative and is designed to provoke laughter.

It is interesting to note that, when fulfilling his second function as a mere drunken character, his most characteristic aria, "Ferme là utar", acquires a generic, stereotyped label in the score - "aria di imbriaco".[6] It might well be significant that there seems to be no equivalent generic musical label for a mad aria – "aria di pazzo", or some such expression – for most of the seventeenth century, until we meet the term "mad song" in England in the 1690s. This seems to indicate that "mad" characters were not seen as simple character-types such as drunks and fools, and this suggests again that we ought to treat the search for simple musical and theatrical signals of madness with caution. Indeed it is very rare to meet a mad protagonist in early opera that could in any way be described as a simple character-type. At first glance, one possible example here seems to be Atrea in Cavalli/Minato's setting of *Pompeo Magno*. As we have seen in Chapter 7, her insanity functions as if it were her perpetual attribute, and she is extraneous to the main plot. Indeed, when Alessandro

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[5] Andrea Cicognini, [+ Filippo Apolloni] *L'Orontea* (Venice: Steffano Curti, 1666)[Gb-Lbl, 905.l.10.(2)], 9. Cesti's music, however, corresponds essentially to the version published by Michael Wagner in Innsbruck in 1656 (Innsbruck: Michael Wagner, 1656). The 1666 Venetian libretto takes its prologue from Cavalli's *La Doriclea* (1643). For *L'Orontea*, see: William Holmes, "Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's and Antonio Cesti's *Orontea* (1649)", in *New Looks at Italian Opera: Essays in Honor of Donald J. Grout*, ed. William W. Austin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 108-132.

[6] In each of the three "drunken" scenes, Gelone sings an aria. The first two are "drunken arias" though only the second is specifically designated as such – "Chi non beve" (I, 6) in A-B-A form; and "Ferma là urtar". The third aria,"Amanti, udite me", mocks lovers and sings that "those weeping over unrequited love are mad".

Scarlatti reset the libretto he deleted her altogether. In the Cavalli setting there is nothing stereotypical about her music, but it is very individualistic and characterful[7] – perhaps this was the only recourse open to an imaginative composer who wished to set such a distinctive "mad" personality apart, but could draw on no established musical procedures by which to do so.

This complexity of the presentation of "the mad" in early opera is precisely why it was necessary in Chapter 8 to conduct a detailed investigation into the distinctions between not only the forms of aria and recitative (upon which many scholars have focused), but also their more illusive relatives, the arioso and the recitative soliloquy. As we saw, there are a few what we can now call "character-type" mad protagonists, such as Atrea from Cavalli's *Pompeo Magno*, that do display their madness through simple strophic ditty-like arias. Also, after about 1670, when the musical form of the da capo aria had become established, then a character such as Statira in Freschi's *Dario* of 1685 is able to give complex utterance to her state through the form of the aria which now, at least, had two contrasting sections. (See: Table 12). For much of the seventeenth century, though, the detailed musical presentations of madness took place through the use of arioso sections within recitative (See: Table 13). The portrayal of the mad Eritreo in Volpe's *Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* of 1663, for example, was achieved through extensive use of ariosi which employ walking basses or brief "expressive" episodes in triple time, all within a more "normative" recitative style. Eritreo, although mad, was essentially depicted in a comic fashion. For more noble characters, such as Iarba in Cavalli's *Didone* (1641), it was the recitative soliloquy that was the natural mode of expression before the full development of the aria; the *versi sciolti* of these sections, with their irregular mix of seven- and eleven-

[7] See, for instance,Appendix II, Musical Examples, 9, 10 and 30.

syllable lines, and their intermittently placed refrains, gave exactly the flexibility required to present a complex state of mind.

The Functions of Mad Roles in Narratives and Genres

As we have seen, "fictive personalities" may draw on various roles and character-types simultaneously – father, ruler, lover, and so on – and "mad" fictive personalities have an equally complex relationship to the various original stereotypes which they amalgamate and adapt. Moreover, it is a commonplace of drama that the dynamism of the narratives arise partly out of the conflicts between the various roles played by any one character. The dramaturgical mechanisms here may be quite complicated: fictive personalities may play several roles within a drama, and each of those roles may have its own embryonic character-types which suggest behavioural and attitudinal norms. How a mad character is depicted is dependent upon whether the creator or performer, or both together, think of the fictive person as being multi-roled and sharing aspects of many types and functions, or single-roled but not quite a caricature (so sharing only aspects of the underlying character-type), or a character-type pure and simple. Put simply, fictive persons and roles have functions within the plot but character-types as such do not. Moreover, the term "role" here encompasses both a plot function (characters cause events to happen), and, as it were, a dramaturgical catalytic effect, such as providing light relief so as to pace the concentration and involvement of the audience throughout the evening.

Comic characters often tend to have a "role" in this second sense rather than the first. On the other hand it is virtually impossible for a mad character to play only a single role since it is in the nature of their condition that they tend to combine traditional attributes such as those of the "wise fool" or the "buffoon" with yet more

destructive elements. Also they are frequently presented as a transformed version of a once-sane personality. This is unlike, for example, the "genuine" buffoon or fool where the simple character and a single role (usually comic) tend to merge. In this sense Atrea from *Pompeo Magno* of 1666 is akin to an imbecile or fool, since she has little real plot function, but she does play both a comic role and that of the "wise fool" (in her fortune-telling episode). It is not possible here fully to explore the implications of these distinctions for literary or operatic theory, but it seems important to signal their complications given that some have wished to match musical devices with "character" portrayal in a rather simplistic manner.

As we have seen (especially in Chapters 2 and 3) most of these characters act within dramas that – at least in Italy - could be described as tragi-comedies. The new genre of tragi-comedy overthrew the clear dichotomy between tragedy and comedy, originally set by Aristotle, and it was defended by opera librettists such as Ottaviano Castelli who wrote an essay defending the form – significantly, in the preface to his mad opera *La Sincerità trionfante* of 1638. An early effect of this was that the majority of seventeenth century "mad" operas do not provide the audience with a designation of either "comedia" or "tragedia", but bear more "neutral" labels such as "drama per musica" or simply "drama".[8] Not surprisingly, it also led to the creation of characters whose exact ambience – tragic or comic – is rather difficult to fathom, and this is true particularly of mad characters. Egisto in Cavalli's *Egisto* of 1643, for example, is fundamentally serious, but he also engages in a mocking exchange with an old nurse; a similar type of scene also takes place in Pallavicino's *Didone delirante* of 1686, in spite of its generally grave tone. Comic elements disappeared completely

[8] The only exceptions are: Benedetto Ferrari's *Ninfa avara*, (1641) a *favola boschereccia* [a pastoral fable] and G. M. Pagliardi/ the anonymous author's *Caligula delirante* (1672), a *melodrama* [sic.].

only in those mad operas written for conservative, aristocratic circles such as Scarlatti's *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (composed for Contini's private theatre in Rome in 1679), and particularly in those designed to accord with the taste of the French court, such as Lully's *Atys* (1676) and *Roland* (1675), and Charpentier's *Médée* (1693). Once mad characters became wholly serious, then they were, for a while, beyond the reach of traditional Renaissance stereotypes.

Our modern expectations towards drama are, perhaps, consciously or unconsciously effected by modern "realistic" representations of human psychology which hinder us from appreciating seventeenth century mad operas, and lead us to see them essentially as dramas of a knockabout kind. Thus, we tend to conclude that they are simply under-developed examples of their "purer" eighteenth-century counterparts, which we nowadays define as "opere serie", and we probably also assume that the serious is more important than the comic. However, by presenting their characters as a variable mosaic of roles and character-types, the creators of seventeenth-century opera aimed to reflect their own understanding of reality. As operatic history developed, it was in the eighteenth century when the division between the serious and the comic became most apparent, and Carlo Goldoni returned to the comic as providing the key to true-to-life portrayals in his *drammi giocosi* – an insight brought to fruition in musical terms in the late works of Mozart. In the Romantic era, by contrast, it was not the combination of genres that artists saw as giving verisimilitude, rather it was the overthrow of genres that seemed to them to open the way to a new psychological realism. It is this perspective we have inherited, and must overcome, if we are to understand the meaning of characterisation – and mad characters – in the Baroque period.

This is not to say that we cannot, from our modern perspective, see patterns and purposes in the relationship between characters and plots that may not have occurred to Baroque composers and librettists in quite the same form. Such a type of view has already been proposed by a theatre historian, Erika Fischer-Lichte, in her observations of the *commedia dell'arte*:

> The series of transformations which the young lovers must pass through in the form of disguise, masquerade, madness, magic and so on, hints at the practices and processes of initiation rituals in which youths lose the identities of girl and boy, and are led towards the changed identities of adult women and men.[9]

What is being described here is the *rite de passage* – an ethnological notion first formulated by Arnold Van Gennep[10] to denote a rite which marks a transition from one social condition to another. Usually, the process occurs in three stages: separation from the given group (this involves the marginalisation of the subject, and perhaps a symbolic death); transition (in which the person and the situation are gradually transformed via "rituals of rebellion"); and aggregation (the incorporation of the transformed individual back into society with a new status).

In a rather uncanny manner, this ritual template matches a large number of the plots of mad operas. The first phrase is represented by the mad character becoming mad and losing his/her former self; the second by what happens as a result of his/her madness (as Victor Turner has indicated,[11] in this second process, one deprived of his former social status may be reduced to "nakedness" or become subject to humiliation), and the third by being re-introduced to society, often with a new and "rightful" status. By these processes lovers are reunited with their temporarily lost or estranged partners

[9] Erika Fischer-Lichte, *History of European Drama and Theatre* [1990] (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 133.
[10] Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rite of Passage* [*Les Rites de Passages*, 1909], trans. Monika B. Vizedomand and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960).

(Deidamia in *La finta pazza*; Egisto in *Egisto*; Damira in *Fortune di Rodope e Damira* and *Damira placata*; Flavio in *Pazzo per forza*; Caligula in *Caligula delirante*; Statira in *Dario*; Delia in *Finto chimico*; and Eurillo in *Equivoci nel sembiante*), while others finally find their long-suffering devotion rewarded (Iarba in *Didone*; Theramene in *Eritrea* and Euristene in *Helena rapita da Paride*). In the case of political heroes, their "true" status is revealed after a period of having temporarily "withdrawn" from their society through the means of madness, either real or pretended (Ulisse in *La finta pazzia d'Ulisse*; Giunio in *Saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto*; and Eralbo in *Tiranno humiliato d'Amore*). Even Ormonte in *Zenobia, regina de Palmieri*, who has betrayed his country and fled from the situation by feigning insanity, comes to terms with his crime and is eventually forgiven by the generous ruler. As for characters in love with the "wrong" partners, some simply find more suitable matches (Olindo in *Sincerità trionfante*; Didone in *Didone delirante*; and Lucrine in *Amore fra gl'impossibili*), while others find a new impetus in their chivalric duties (Orlando in *Carlo il Grande* and *Bradamante*), or divine mission (Eritreo in *Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe*).

This ethnological interpretation of the plots of mad operas as being analogous to the transitions of ordinary life, perhaps suggests why such works could be seen as providing moral, social and psychological lessons for an audience in a more general sense. Mad characters could not only be mad as the result of divine vengeance (which might prompt obedience), and slide into chaotic states (which might emphasise the need for control – political or otherwise – or moral judgment), but they could also excite pity and sympathy (human virtues) and make all of these "messages" palatable by providing the comic means by which to transmit them.

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[11] Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969).

Topoi and Types of operatic madness

As we have seen in Chapter 7, operatic madness, drawing upon various background traditions, can be said to have been characterised through various textual and behavioural topoi. In fact these findings related specifically to Italian examples, since it is those that represent the longest and richest traditions, and they were sometimes taken up in other countries. Among the topoi of madness uncovered by our investigations were extravagant citations from mythology, delusional references to war, and situations of confused or mistaken identity (See: Tables 10 and 11). However, it is important to grasp that none of these topoi was found to be either necessary or sufficient (whether on its own or in combination with others in the list) to confirm a character as being mad on the stage, and this is in keeping with the function of topoi more generally in rhetoric where their use is essentially illustrative rather than syllogistic – they cannot prove or confirm arguments on their own.[12] Even so, it is clear that the listed behavioural and textual topoi from opera are more frequently associated with mad characters than with other types, though, for example, characters who are simply love-lorn frequently invoke Venus or Cupid, and those vowing revenge often call upon Mars or metaphorically refer to war. By contrast, it seems that there are no simple musical mechanisms which acted as topoi of the mad, though the particular form of the arioso was a method often employed to represent the irregular and erratic feelings and actions of such characters.

When it comes to codifying the types of mad characters found in early opera we need again to pay attention to the fact that they exist in a fictive realm. It has been

[12] See Lynette Hunter, ed., *Towards a Definition of Topos: Approaches to Analogical Reasoning* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991).

thought tempting by some to borrow typology models of madness from psychiatry,[13] and apply them to fictive characters.[14] However, such attempts seems to be rather problematic, and for the following two reasons. First, psychiatric typologies are based mainly upon causal features of madness rather than on its behavioural displays, and the background "case history" of a fictive character's personality disorders may never have been constructed by the author, or may be only poorly implied by the plot or by the traditions from which the character comes. Second, the main purpose of psychiatric typologies – schizophrenia, manic-depression, paranoia, etc – is to establish a yardstick by which separate mental illnesses can be diagnosed and cured, which is not a use normally helpful in relation to literary understanding. Psychiatrists have nothing to say about the most interesting aspect of madness in the theatre: that is, the fictive, dissembling, temporary and mixed presentations of its attributes so as to add tension and varied dynamism to the plot. What is required for the present purpose is something that will do justice to the many dramaturgical functions of characters who are supposed to be actually, or apparently, mad on the stage. Such a typology must take into account not only behavioural and motivational conventions, but also broader questions of tradition and intention in relation to such characters.

Regrettably, there seems to have been no study so far which has established an informative typology of fictive madness. Michel Foucault, in his celebrated *Madness and Civilization*,[15] refers to the "multiple presence" of madness in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and provides a (somewhat problematic) list of

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[13] The most up-to-date and comprehensive "manual" for this classification is: *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental disorders*, 4th edn. (Washington D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2000).
[14] For example, see: Robert M. Youngson, *The Madness of Prince Hamlet and Other Extraordinary States of Mind* (London: Robinson, 1999).

four types. His four categories are: (1) *la folie par identification romanesque* [madness by fantastic identification], when characters on stage come to believe that they are a well-known figure (for example, Don Quixote); (2) *la folie de vaine présomption* [madness by vain presumption], when a patient believes himself to be some powerful figure such as the god (Foucault fails to find a illustrative character in literature but says the notion is derived from *Philautia* – self-love – discussed by Erasmus[16]); (3) *la folie du juste châtiment* [the madness caused by just punishment], which produces a madness derived from guilt (for example, Lady Macbeth); and (4) *la folie de la passion désespérée* [madness by desperate passion] such as that caused by unrequited love (for example, Ophelia).[17] The difficulty with these types lies in the fact that Foucault fails to differentiate between genuine causes of madness, and conditions and symptoms that may not have their origins in insanity as such. He groups together truly psychiatric conditions such as delusional madness and megalomania [(1) and possibly (2)]; morbidity, which may or may not entail divorce from reality [(3) and (4)]; categories identified by symptoms [(1) is the most obvious]; or by direct causes [as in (3)]; or perhaps passive conditions [as in (4)]. In the end, those categories tell us nothing their literary connotations, or the dramaturgical contexts that might support their effective use within a plot. That is partly because they have been constructed on the basis of a category-analysis of madness in real life the results of which have then been applied to fiction.

In Table 14 of this study the issue has been approached from the other direction. Some thirty seventeenth-century Italian operas containing mad characters (that is, all

[15] Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison: Histoire de la Folie* [1961] (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 47 – 53. This section, for some reason, does not appear in the English translation. See: Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Routledge, 1971).
[16] A.H. T. Levi (ed. and trans.), *Erasmus: Praise of Folly* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 73.

of those where a thorough analysis of the libretto has been possible) have been mapped onto a grid organised according to the modes of the dramaturgical presentation of those characters. First they are categorised according to the importance of their roles in the narratives; that is, as principal, secondary or ancillary players. (We should note here that, in some cases, such as that of Carlo Fedeli's *Don Chissiot*, the title roles should not to be taken as automatically equivalent to the main protagonists.) Next, their madness is designated as either fictively "true" or "false"; that is, as "real" or "feigned" madness. This division helps to signal ironic and other kinds of "multi-layered" literary, musical and performative effects within the works. Finally, information is given about the fictive motivations and causes behind the madness displayed by the characters. In this regard it should be said that no role has found a place in the Table unless its madness has been clearly indicated by its function and actions within the plot, and by its direct description as *pazzo* or some other equivalent term, and perhaps by its employment of mad topoi as set out in Chapter 7 and Tables 10 and 11.

There are, however, several elements that have not contributed to this classificatory task, and they now deserve some brief attention. First, no musical elements have made a contribution here. This is because categorising mad scenes from the purely musical viewpoint is in effect impossible. Experience shows that an attempt at classification based upon compositional devices soon dissolves into a long, variegated list of particular composers' treatments of certain words or moods, which may be useful in codifying individual compositional styles, but seems to produce no general musical topoi used in relation to the presentation of the mad. Next, any

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[17] Foucault, *Histoire de la Folie*, 44 – 46. The translation is from: John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France 1600 – 1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 134 – 135.

conventional devices of acting, dress or singing style in relation to the mad had to be omitted for lack of evidence. There is also the issue of the traditions behind mad characters. Connecting each instance with its possible precursor and reflecting the result in the table may at first seem an interesting idea. However, apart from a few very obvious cases (such as the two Don Quixote figures in the table), each fictive personality or role was the result of fusing various traditions, and thus the "pedigrees" would, in many instances, have become so complex and fragmentary in their explanatory power as to become virtually unusable. Finally, there has been no attempt to divide the examples in the table into "comic" or "tragic" roles. This is because most of the cases, although to varying degrees, show "tragi-comic" traits.

Several interesting points emerge from this table. First, madness caused by love is overwhelmingly the most common type, probably because in those cases where the root of the madness is "automatic" or inherent (whether drug-induced, or through congenital weak-mindedness) there is less obvious opportunity for character interaction and development. Second, the "real" examples (taking principal and secondary protagonists together), outnumber the "feigned" instances, and this may indicate a gradually fading, as the century went on, of the influence of the *commedia dell'arte* traditions, which were overwhelmingly concerned with the latter. In this regard it may be significant, too, that the "feigned" instances have a tendency to use the "lighter" term *pazza*, or a near equivalent, in their titles, while "real" instances do not (though there are one or two exceptions to this within the repertory as a whole – usually in relation to retellings of the Orlando story). Third, at least two separate traditions can be discerned among the "real" instances. In those cases where the principal character is mad, then there are usually clear tragic overtones, whereas secondary mad characters tend to feel hopeless love for primary protagonists, and face

more ridicule. Moreover, their situations are acted out in what one might characterise as subplots, which usually involve a change of dramatic tone and pace. By contrast, nearly all the examples in the "feigned" category involve the main character, since the deceit clearly provides a major means of negotiation through the plot and is responsible for many of its tensions and turns of fate – this is particularly true in those cases where the principal character feigns madness for political ends. Fourth, as the remarks just made suggest, there is a subtle interconnection between the organisation of the characters, their traditional attributes, and the generation of plot-types. It seems that the introduction of a mad character could have a seismic effect on the equilibrium of the drama, and therefore only one librettist – the author of *Amore fra gl'impossibili*, Girolamo Gigli – has been brave enough to employ two insane protagonists in the same drama. Moreover, his secondary character, Don Chisciotte, seems to be little more than a stereotype, and, as we saw in Chapter 3, was probably introduced because of Gigli's own obsession with the Don Quixote story.

Probably what we should take from this analysis is that there might well be dangers in treating all bizarre scenes in seventeenth century opera equally, and as though they must have attracted common musical markers. Although those scenes share certain dramatic effects, each of them is derived from different traditions and embedded within a different plot-dynamic. Moreover, unlike stock comic scenes, the mad scene drastically transformed during the course of operatic history, from being fundamentally comic in works such as *La finta pazza* (1641) to expressing great tragedy in famous instances such as *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835). The historicising tactic adopted in this study attempts to incorporate those changes in its methods of explanation. Of course, other solutions, and other categorisations of mad operas, are

possible, but the fundamental approach here has been to understand the past in its own terms.

The History of the Mad Scene: Culture and Criticism

The first task of this study was always going to be to establish exactly how widespread the use of incontrovertibly mad characters was in the literature and music of early modern Europe. This was necessary since previous studies of the phenomenon had all been rather localized – Murata's investigations of works produced in Rome, for example, or Rosand's interest in Venice, and the concentration of both on Italy alone. For that reason this thesis began with an attempt to uncover and codify the wider traditions in epics and plays as well as in music. The fruits of those researches are discussed in the chapters on Italy, France, and England and Spain, Austria and Germany, and their results are codified in Tables 1-8. Aided by this information it has been possible to reinterpret some of the simplified impressions given in published accounts of the history of the mad scene. Rosand, for example, tells us that the mad scene in Venice was strong "within a limited time span – the 1640s", and that "it receded somewhat in prominence in the second half of the century".[18] However, as the data in Table 1 demonstrates, four mad operas were produced in that city in the 1640s compared with six in the 1680s and again four in the 1690s. Moreover, up to and including the 1640s, six such works were composed in Venice (including one by Monteverdi intended for Mantua), compared with nineteen for the rest of the century. Similarly, in the case of England, it has been possible (in Table 8) to examine precisely whether there might have been "vogues" in the use of mad scenes in plays by plotting such instances against the total number of

dramas known to have been published. The peaks of interest that do seem to emerge, in 1616-25 and 1686-1705, can be attributed overwhelmingly to the special interests of the playwrights John Fletcher and Thomas D'Urfey respectively. Again, the investigations into the traditions and topoi of the *commedia dell'arte*, the *commedia erudita*, the "asylum" operas and other genres in Chapters 2 and 3, have made it possible to draw more clearly the lines of influence and transmission, and even to prepare the ground for understanding much later operatic works – in Mozart's *La finta giardiniera* (1775), for example, the mad scene is characterised by extensive references to mythological figures just as in the seventeenth-century traditions, and Donizetti's *I pazzi per progetto* (1830) may well be the last example of a genuine "asylum" opera.

When dealing with historically and culturally distant works such as seventeenth-century operas, our aim to restore their "intended" meanings may not be entirely possible. Necessarily, our procedures become reliant upon the surviving documents which tend to reflect the "high" cultural reactions by academicians, aristocrats and cognoscenti to the operatic works. This is probably part of the reason why recent scholarship tends to read opera as an embodiment of academic (or to a lesser extent, political)[19] messages. However, although interesting, such attempts inevitably blur the boundaries between what was originally intended and those interpretations that most serve our own interests rather than theirs. In particular, politico-allegorical readings of

[18] Rosand, *Opera*, 324, and 357-8.

[19] For example, Hendrik Schulze has discussed seventeenth-century Venetian opera as an allegorical representation of the glory of the Republic. Idem., "Italian opera 1640 – 1710 as an expression of regional and political identities", a paper presented at the 11th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, The Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester, 14 – 18, July, 2004.

operas have been controversial,[20] apart from those few cases that provide certain evidence of intentional allegory.[21] Interpreting opera as a reflection the ethical and philosophical debates of the academies seems to have been more acceptable especially in those cases where the librettist is known to have been a member of a certain academy.[22] Nonetheless, we should not ignore the fact that operas were frequently designed as public entertainments which might address people from a wide range of intellectual and social backgrounds. To some extent, we may now need to re-focus upon the direct dramatic and entertainment aspects of opera. Some work on the composition of the wider audiences for opera in the seventeenth century has already taken place, and in Chapter 9 of this thesis there has been an attempt to uncover some of the comic and popular elements embodied in the role of Iro. Elsewhere, in Chapters 5 and 6, a discussion exactly what might have been implied by the term popular in this period, led to distinctions being drawn between those elements that were genuinely popular in origin, and those that were popular by destination or popular by parody. Such investigations do not mean to deny opera's function as an embodiment of deeper cultural thoughts. As we have seen in the case of Iro in Moteverdi/Badoaro's *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria,* more than one cultural tone can be presented in a single operatic work, and the effect of this is not to confuse the drama, but to enhance it.

In recent years, another major approach to the interpretation of early opera has arisen from the methods and practices of feminism. In her chapter on the musical

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[20] For example, in 1994, Curtis Price withdrew his politico-allegorical interpretation of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* which he previously had proposed in his *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* of 1984. For a detail, see: Chapter 5.

[21] For example, Cecchini/Castelli's *Sincerità trionfante* was obviously an allegorical production. See: Chapter 3.

representation of madwomen in her book *Feminine Endings*, Susan McClary states that many operas based on "the dramatic subject of madwomen" have maintained "positions of honor within the standard repertory", and that, "as [Elaine] Showalter reveals ... when madness is dealt with in bourgeois artworks ... it is almost always represented as female".[23] The view that madness in opera in the majority of cases is concerned with female protagonists seems to be fairly commonplace, but is simply not borne out by the sources. Of the fifty Italian mad operas listed in Table 1,[24] for example, thirty-eight of the mad protagonists are male, and thirteen female – and of those eleven perhaps only five are truly mad: Lilla (from *Ninfa avara*, 1641); Atrea (*Pompeo Magno*, 1666); Statira (*Dario*, 1684); Didone (*Didone delirante*, 1686); and Lucrine (in *Amor fra gl'impossibili*, 1693).

Much more interesting, though apparently previously unnoticed, is the division of roles between male and female characters in mad operas as revealed in Table 14 on the typology of madness. In those works dealing with "feigned" madness in the pursuit of love, almost every case is taken by a female protagonist playing the principal role (the only exception is Flavio in *Il pazzo per forza*, 1658), presumably because it is only by this indirect method that a woman of such status could actively pursue a person she desired. When it comes to secondary characters and "real" madness we see the mechanism operating the other way around: all the love-sick protagonists are now male, since these inferior characters are free to reveal their weaknesses in pursuit of noble ladies. In general in the seventeenth-century tradition

[22] For example, Busenello who wrote the libretti of *L'incoronazione di Poppea* for Monteverdi and of *Didone* for Cavalli, was a member of the Accademia degli Incogniti. The most recent academic readings of those operas can be found in Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*.
[23] McClary, *Feminine Endings*, 80, 84.
[24] Note that Gigli's *Amor fra gl'impossibili* has two mad characters – Don Chisciotte (male) and Lucrine (female).

of mad opera, it is the male protagonists who suffer the most extreme and "realistic" traumas of madness, not the female participants, and in far greater numbers.

Similar findings have arisen from Mary Ann Smart's dissertation on the later operatic mad scene which she began by posing the question: "are there mad scenes for men too?".[25] Smart finally concluded that "almost as many mad scenes were composed for men as for women in the first half of the nineteenth century",[26] and it seems likely (though this remains only an impression at this stage) that this was true in the eighteenth century as well.

Theoretical investigations into the "gendering" of insanity may have rather recent roots, perhaps arising from reactions to Sigmund Freud's influential but notorious essay on the link between hysteria and women.[27] Also, Michel Foucault's theories concerning the insane during the early modern period have been criticised by feminists for ignoring the institutionalised repression of female sufferers.[28] However, such criticisms, no matter how valid, are difficult to link in any direct way with the dramaturgical content of seventeenth-century opera, where both male and female protagonists lost their senses and unfolded nonsensical scenes which were based equally upon conventional topoi.[29] Probably, a more relevant point in this regard concerns not the portrayal of insanity in early operas, but the differing attitudes to male and female grief during the seventeenth century. As Juliana Schiesari has indicated,[30] while the suffering of male protagonists was characterised as

[25] Smart, "Dalla tomba uscita", iv.
[26] Ibid., 197.
[27] Sigmond Freud's *Studies on Hysteria* was published first in 1895.
[28] For example, see: Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady* [1985] (New York: Virago, 1987), 6.
[29] Juliana Scheisari has argued that in early modern literature, male "melancholy" was praised while women's grief was given no significance.
[30] Juliana Schiesari, *The Gendering of Melancholia* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

"melancholia", and taken as a sign of intellectual sensibility and power – for example, in the case of Hamlet – women's grief in the face of insanity was never so described.

A somewhat more sociological attempt to interpret not so much early opera as the context in which it took place, can be seen in Mikhail Bahktin's study of the notion of carnival in his *Rabelais and His World.*[31] As we have seen, mad operas were not only performed in the carnival season, but sometimes directly made reference to the occasion. In Ziani/Aureli's *Le fortune di Rodope e di Damira* (1657), for example, not only is carnival expressly mentioned, but masked characters appear on the stage. Moreover, in our discussion of Iro and his links with the sixteenth century "hunger" comedies of Ruzante, we found allusions to the abstinence of Lent, which follows the carnival season. Bakhtin interprets Carnival as a formalised expression of certain carnival-grotesque elements which were preserved in culture throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and which operated "to consecrate inventive freedom, to permit the combination of a variety of different elements and their rapprochement, to liberate from the prevailing truths, from clichés, from all that is humdrum and universally accepted".[32]

The references here to universal acceptance and liberation certainly do find parallels in certain aspects of the plots and agendas of some early operas. The freedom and all-inclusiveness of carnival, for example, seem to be mirrored in the desire of poets and librettists to throw off stifling traditions and attract new audiences through the creation of new genres – concerns we have seen reflected in the discussions of tragi-comedy by Guarini (*Il Verrato*, 1588) and Castelli (in the preface to his *La Sincerità trionfante*, 1638). As for the grotesque elements of carnival,

[31] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).
[32] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 34.

Bakhtin expressly links these to madness and to the subversive, insightful role that such a state might play within society as a whole. He tells us:

> The theme of madness is inherent to all grotesque forms, because madness makes men look at the world with different eyes, not dimmed by "normal", that is by commonplace ideas and judgements. In folk grotesque, madness is a gay parody of official reason, of the narrow seriousness of official "truth". It is a "festive" madness. In Romantic grotesque, on the other hand, madness acquires a somber, tragic aspect of individual isolation.[33]

However, Bakhtin's account would seem plausible only if we were to limit the madness of folk culture to the "wise fool" type, and we could accept his description of the shift in the views of madness from the comic to the tragic, only if we were allowed to say (at least in relation to the fictive world) that it was a much more gradual process and less complete process than he implies. Even so, if, as Mary Ann Smart has indicated, "tears and madness" are inextricably linked on the nineteenth century operatic stage,[34] we could also say that it was laughter that had the strongest connection to seventeenth century operatic madness.

There is though a further problem with Bakhtin's account, in that it embodies a rather simplistic understanding of the mechanism of laughter. The clear-cut dichotomy between the principle of laughter in folk culture (based upon pure hilarity), and that of the later cultures ("cut down to cold humour, irony, sarcasm"[35]), can hardly do justice to the complex reception of the complicated messages in mad operas or, indeed, other works of entertainment, whoever might be in the audience.[36] Idealised notions of the audience take us further away from clear explanations, not closer to them, and that is true both of "elitist" ideal audiences (academicians,

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[33] Ibid., 39.
[34] Smart, "Alla tomba uscita", 196.
[35] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, 38.

cognoscenti) and "plebeian" counterparts ("the Venetian public", "the ordinary populus").

Finally we come to an interpretation of fictive madness (and, by implication, the fictive mad opera) that explains its varying historical meanings in terms of the meta-attitudes and power structures of the cultures in which it has been variously created. For Foucault, the beginning of the seventeenth century saw the increasing importance of science and technology, the development of bureaucracy, and the spread of literacy and education. In these circumstances, the distinction between "reason" and "unreason" came to be more important than ever, and as abnormality provoked social anxiety, wandering mad men were caught and the "Great Confinement" of the mad began across Europe. By this means the mad were transformed from being "outward wanderers" into "inward prisoners", but also these removed "deviants" were, paradoxically, organised for public display and their behaviour became a source of safe, controlled public amusement. By the late seventeenth century, lunatic asylums were commonly advertised as places of popular entertainment, and, at the same time theatres widely offered "fictive" madness as an enjoyable distraction, in parallel with the culture as it were.

Such interpretations may seem attractively neat, but recent sociological and historical studies have cast doubt on Foucault's rather precise placing of the Great Confinement. Under the influence of Arabic institutions, the first lunatic asylum was already established in Spain as early as 1409 and the practice had, to a certain extent, already spread into fifteenth-century Europe, long before the advent of

[36] For a philosophical account of the artistic mechanisms of laughter, see: Ted Cohen, "Humour" in *The Routledge Companion to Aesthetics*, Berys Gaut and Dominic Mciver Lopes (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 375 – 81.

"Enlightenment" science and the "Age of Reason".[37] Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 4, there was considerable delay in the establishment of the mad scene in France when compared with other countries, and yet Foucault's theories were primarily founded upon his investigations into the historical records of that country. Foucault's grand theories are impressive, but only by testing our understanding against the teeming detail of historical facts can we ever hope to achieve Foucault's central aim – which was to understand the past better than it understood itself.

[37] H. C. Eric Midelfort, "Madness and Civilization in Early Modern Europe: A Reappraisal of Michel Foucault", in *After the Reformation: Essays in honor of J. H. Hexter*, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 254 – 260.

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APPENDIX I
(Tables 1 – 14)

Table 1: Mad scenes in 17th century Italian Musical Drama[i]

Title	Composer	Librettist	First performance/ Publication [the present location of the music]
David Musicus	Ottavio Catalani	Alessandro Donati	Rome, Collegio Germanico 1613; music lost
La finta pazza Licori	Claudio Monteverdi	Giulio Strozzi	Composed in Venice, 1627; music lost/ uncompleted
La pazzia d'Orlando	Unknown	Prospero Bonarelli	Libretto published in Venice, 1635; music lost
La pazzia d'Orlando	Unknown	Giulio Rospigliosi	Rome, the Teatro Barberini alle Quattro Fontane, 1638; music lost
La Sincerità trionfante	Angelo Cecchini	Ottaviano Castelli	Rome, Palazzo del Ceuli, 1638; music lost
La finta pazza	Francesco Sacrati	Giulio Strozzi	Venice, Novissimo, 1641 [I-IBborromeo]
La ninfa avara	Benedetto Ferrari	B. Ferrari	Venice, S. Moisé, 1641; music lost
Didone	Francesco Cavalli	Giovanni F. Busenello	Venice, S. Cassiano, 1641 [I – Vnm]
Egisto	F. Cavalli	Giovanni Faustini	Venice, S. Cassiano, 1643 [A-Wn and I-Vnm]
Orfeo	Luigi Rossi	Francesco Buti	Paris, Palais Royal, 1647 [I-Rvat]
Bradamante	Cavalli?	Pietro Paolo Bissari	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1650; music lost
Egisto	B. Ferrari	G. Faustini	Piacenza, Teatro Ducale, 1651; music lost
Eritrea	F. Cavalli	G. Faustini	Venice, S. Apollinare, 1652 [I-Vnm]
Il ratto d'Elena	Francesco Cirillo	Gennaro Paolella	Naples, S. Bartolomeo, 1655 Music lost
Le fortune di	Pietro Andrea Ziani	Aurelio Aureli	Venice, S. Apollinare, 1657

Rodope e Damira			[I-IB borromeo; Moe; Nc; Vnm]
Il pazzo per forza	Jacopo Melani	Giovanni Maria Moniglia	Florence, Pergola, 1658 [I-Fn]
Gli amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe	Giovanni Battista Volpe (Rovettino)	A. Aureli	Venice, SS Giovanni e Paolo, 1663; [I-Vnm]
Pompeo Magno	F. Cavalli	Nicolò Minato	Venice, S. Salvatore, 1666 [D-AN and I-Vnm]
Tiranno humiliato d'Amore overo Il Meraspe	Carlo Pallavicino	G. Faustini, Revised by Nicolo Beragano & others	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1667; music lost
Coriolano	F. Cavalli	Cristoforo Ivanovich	Piacenza, Ducale, 1669 Music lost
Aristomene Messenio	Giovanni Felice Sances	N. Minato	Vienna, the imperial court, 1670; [A-Wn]
Caligula delirante	Giovanni Maria Pagliardi	?	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1672; [D-MÜs and I-Vnm]
I Pazzi Abderiti	Antonio Draghi	N. Minato	Vienna, the imperial court, 1675; [A-Vienna palace library]
Helena rapita da Paride	Domenico Freschi	A. Aureli	Venice, S. Angelo, 1677 [I-Moe and I-Vnm]
Totila	Giovanni Legrenzi	Matteo Noris	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1677; [I-Vnm]
Gli equivoci nel sembiante	Alessandro Scarlatti	Domenico Filippo Contini	Rome, Contini's private theatre, 1679; [A-Wn (act I only); B-Bc; I-Bc, Moe, Rsc, Vnm]
Don Chissiot della Mancia	Carlo Fedeli (detto Sajon)	Marco Morosini	Venice, Cannaregio, 1680 Music lost
Damira Placata	Marc Antonio Ziani	Filippo Acciajuoli? [After Aureli, 1657]	Venice, S. Moisé, 1680 [I-Vnm]
Le Amorose Pazzie	Unknown	Ferrinando Leva	Milan, 1681; music lost

La pazzia d'Orlando	unknown	Giovanni Battista Fagiuoli [After Bonarelli, 1635]	Florence, Stanza de'Rifritti, 1682; music lost
Pazzie per Vendetta	Pietri Renda	Giuseppe Vollaro	Palermo, 1682; music lost
Falaride tiranno d'Agrigento	Giovanni Battista Bassani	Adriano Morselli	Venice, S. Angelo, 1683 Music lost
Dario	Domenico Freschi	A. Morselli	Venice, S. Angelo, 1685 [I-Vnm]
Didone Delirante	Carlo Pallavicino	Antonio Franceschi	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1686; music lost
Il finto chimico	Unknown	Giovanni Cosimo Villifranchi	Florence, Pratolino (Villa Medici), 1686; music lost
Il pazzo per forza	Giovanni Maria Pagliardi	G. A. Moniglia	Florence, Pratolino, 1687 Music lost
Lodovico Pio	Giuseppe Fabbrini	Girolamo Gigli	Siena, Collegio Tolomei, 1687; music lost
La vendetta dell honestà	Draghi	Minato	Vienna, the imperial court, [A-Wn]
Carlo il Grande	Domenico Gabrielli	Adriano Morselli	Venice, S. Giovanni Grisostomo, 1688; [I-Moe]
Lo schiavo fortunato in Algeri	Pietro Porfirii	Marcantonio Gasparini	Treviso, Santa Margarita, 1688 (or possibly earlier); music lost
Hiarba impazzito	Giovanni Battista Brevi	Giacomo Cipriotti?	Bergamo, for a *fiera*, 1690; Music lost
Amore fra gl'impossibili	Carlo Campelli	Amaranto Sciaditico [= G. Gigli]	Rome, Teatro della duchessa di Zagarolo, 1693; music lost
Zenobia, regina de Palmireni	Tomaso Albinoni	Antonio Marchi	Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1694; [US-Wc; some arias in A-Wn]
Il savio delirante	Giovanni Carlo Maria Clari	A. Saratelli	Bologna, Teatro del Pubblico, 1695; [I-Bc]
Didone deilirante	A. Scarlatti	F. M. Paglia	Naples, Teatro di Bartolomeo,

			1696; [some arias in I - Bc, Bsp, Nc, OS and Rvat]
La finta pazzia d'Ulisse	Marc'Antonio Ziani	Matteo Noris	Venice, S. Salvatore, 1696; [some arias in I-Rvat]
Amor e dover	Carlo Francesco Pollarolo	Domenico David	Venice, S. Giovanni Grisostomo, 1696; music lost
La fortunata sventura di Medoro, o pazzia d'Orlando	Giacomo Griffini	Girolamo Giovanalli	Lodi, Teatro di Lodi, 1697; Music lost
La saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto	Giovanni Maria Ruggieri	Lotto Lotti	Venice, SS Giovanni e Paolo, 1698; music lost
Atalipa	Unknown	G. Gigli	Siena, 1698?; music lost

[i] (1) The information for this table is based mainly on: Irene Alm (ed.), *Catalog of Venetian Librettos at the University of California, Los Angeles* (Berkeley and Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), and Claudio Sartori, *I Libretti Italiani a Stampada dale Origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990 – 94). However, this table does not list spoken dramas even if their prologues and/or *intermedii* were set to music. For this reason, the following Venetian works are not included: Giacomo Castoreo's five-act prose comedy, *Il pazzo politico*, performed at Teatro ai Saloni, in Venice in 1659; and Domenico Gisberti's *La pazzia in Trono, overo Caligola delirante*, performed at S. Apollinare in 1660. The latter was listed as a *dramma per musica* in Antonio Gruppo's catalogue, where the music was attributed to Francesco Cavalli. However, this is now thought to be dubious, since the work was intended for a private entertainment by the Accademia degl'Imperturbabili, and was probably performed as a spoken drama despite its rather confusing appellation, *opera in stile recitativo*. See: Antonio Gruppo, *Catalogo di Tutti i Drammi per Musica* (Venice: Antonio Groppo, 1745), [under "Anno 1660, d'inverno] 32; and Jane Glover, "The Theatro Sant'Apollinare and the Development of Seventeenth-century Venetian Opera", 24 – 5.
(2) The dates of the works in this table are in modern calendar system and follow the information given in: Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 2000); Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-century Venice* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), and Robert and Norma Weaver, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theater, 1590 – 1750* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978). The biggest problem, when one attempts to compile a chronology of early Venetian opera, lies in the Venetian calendar system, *More veneto*, in which the year traditionally changed on the 1st of March. In libretti, however, the system was not used consistently; for example, even within a certain libretto, there can be a discrepancy between the date in the title page and that in the dedication (See: Rosand, *Opera*, 27 – 28). Thus, in some difficult cases, the correct dating requires further documental evidence. Since the main purpose of this table is to present evidence of the constant popularity of the mad scene, I have not focused particularly on this problem; therefore in some cases further scholarly investigation may be needed.

Table 2: French "Mad" operas and similar musical dramas (Including 18th century sources)

Title	Composer	Librettist	First performance	Genre
Orfeo	Luigi Rossi	Francesco Buti	Paris, Palais Royal, 1647.	Italian opera
Atys	Jean-Baptiste Lully	Philippe Quinault	St Germain-en-Laye, 1676	Tragédie en musique
Roland	Lully	P. Quinault	Versailles, 1685	Tragédie en musique
Marthésie	André Cardinal Destouches	Antoine Houdar de Lamotte	Fontainebleau, 1699	Tragédie en musique
Médée	Marc-Antoine Charpentier	Thomas Corneille	Paris, Opéra, 1693	Tragédie en musique
Médus, roi des Mèdes	François Bouvard	F. –J. de Lagrange-Chancell	Paris, Opéra, 1702	Tragédie en musique
Le Carnaval et la Folie	Destouches	Lamotte	Fontainebleau, 1703 (concert performance)	Comédie-ballet
Les folies amoureuses	Jean-Claude Gillier	Regnard	Paris, Comedie-Francaise, 1704	Opera comique
Cassandre	F. Bouvard + Bertin de La Doué	Lagrange-Chancell	Paris, Opéra, 1706	Tragédie en musique
Le professeur de folie	Destouches	Lamotte	Paris, Opéra, 1706	Divertissement [Act 3 of *Le Carnaval et la Folie*]
Le triomphe de la Folie sur la Raison	André Campra	Antoine Danchet	Paris, Opéra, 1710	Prologue for Opéra-ballet, *Les Fêtes vénitiennes*
Idomenée	Campra	Danchet	Paris, Opéra, 1712	Tragédie en musique
Le mariage du caprice et de la folie	Jean-Claude Gillier	A. Piron	Paris, Foire St Laurent, 1724	Opéra comique
Les noces de la folie ou Le temple de mémoire	Jean-Claude Gillier	Louis Fuzelier	Paris, Foire St Laurent, 1725	Opéra comique
Impromptu de la folie	Jean-Baptiste-Maurice Quinault	M. A. Legrand	1725	Play with music

Don Quichotte chez la Duchesse	Joseph Bodin de Boismortier	C. S. Favart	Paris, Opéra, 1743	Ballet-comique
Les caractères de la folie	Bernard de Bury	C. P. Duclos	Paris, Opera, 1743	Opéra -ballet
L'île d'Anticire, ou La Folie, médecin de l'esprit	Unknown	Charles Simon Favart	Paris, Foire St Germain, 1745	Opéra comique
Platée	Jean-Philippe Rameau	Adrien-Joseph Le Valois d'Orville	Versailles, 1745	Comédie lyrique
L'isle des foux	Egidio Duni	Louis Anseaume and P. –A. Lefebvre de Marcouville	Paris, Comedie-Italienne, 1760	Opéra comique
Folette, ou L'enfant gâté	Jean-Joseph Vadé	Jean-Joseph Vadé	Paris, Foire St Laurent, 1755	Opéra comique
Roland	Nicolò Piccinni	J. F. Marmonetel after Quinault	Paris-Opéra, 1778	Tragédie en musique
Atys	Piccinni	Ditto.	Paris-Opéra, 1780	Tragédie en musique
Nina ou la Folle per amour	Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac	Benoît-Joseph Marsollier des Vivetières	Paris, Comédie-Italienne, 1786	Opéra comique
Le jeune sage et le vieux fou	Etienne-Nicolas Mehul	Francois-Benoit Hoffman	Paris, Favart, 1793	Opéra comique

Table 3: Mad Songs in English Theatre up to c. 1700

Song Title	Date	Composer[1]	Author, *Play Title* (Character) [Act, scene]	Representative contemporary musical sources
"O Cupid! Monarch ouer Kings"	Published in 1594	A	John Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (Accius and Silena) [III - 3]	
"Stesias hath a white hand"	1597	A	John Lyly, *The Wooman of the Moone* (Pandora) [V – 1]	
"How should I your true love know"	c. 1600	B	William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Ophelia) [IV – 5]	1. William Barley, *A new book of tablature… lute, orpharion …bandora* [1596]; Short Title Catalogue No. 1433. Orpharion section, sig. D.2.r (arranged by Francis Cutting). 2. Fitzwilliam Virginal MS. And other sources. [Reprinted in T. Dart, *John Bull, Keyboard Music II*, Musica Britannica xix (London: Stainer and Bell, 1963), 46. 3. Fitzwilliam Virginal MS; and other sources. [Reprinted in E. H. Fellowes, *Byrd, Works*, xx (1950), 24. 4. 'Shirburn Ballads', ed. A. Clark, (1907), facsimile opposite p.246.
"Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's Day"		B	Ditto	Traditionally sung to "The Soldier's Life" [see: John Playford (ed.), *English Dancing Master* (London: John Playford, 1651)]
"They bore him barefaced on the bier"		A	Ditto	
"For bonny sweet robin is all my joy"		B	Ditto	30 contemporary sources are known. See: F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 76 – 78.)

"And will he not come again"		A.	Ditto	
"Tom's A-Cold…Bless Thy Wit"	c. 1605	Traditional Bedlam call? Orlando Gibbons's "London Cry"?	*King Lear* (Edgar as Tom of Bedlam) [III – 4]	[Gibbons' part-books for voices and viols, "In nomine".] GB-Lbl, MS, Add.17792, cantus, f.110.r; 29665, p.76; 38530, f.14r, rubric, "Tom of Bedlam", etc. [See:Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespeare's Tragedy*, 180.]
"Come o'er the burn, Bessy to me"		B	[III – 6]	GB-Lbl, Add. MS 5665, ff. 143 v. – 144 r (an early 16th c. hand?) [c.f: 'Over the Broom Bessy', for solo lute, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. 2.11, f.80v.; 'Brown Bessy, Sweet Bessy', The Weld MS, in Lord Forester's possesion, f. 6r.]
"Call for the robin red-breast and the wren"		A	John Webster, *The White Devil* (Cornelia) [V - 4]	[There is a difference of opinion whether the lyric is to be spoken or sung. See: David Gunby, David Carnegie, Antony Hammond (eds.), *The Works of John Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), vol. 1, 346.]
"For I'll cut my green coat"	c.1613	B	Shakespeare and J. Fletcher, *Two Noble Kinsmen* (Daughter of Jailor) [III, 4]	Sung to a tune called "Go from my window"? [Folger Library, MS V.b.280 (c.1590)]
"The George alow"		B	[III, 5]	The second part of a ballad "George Aloo and the Swiftestake" registered in 1611. [Harvard University, MS Eng. 628]
"May you never more enjoy the light"		A	[IV, 1]	
"O fair, o sweet"		A	[IV, 1]	From the 7th song from Sidney's *Certaine Sonnets* (1598)?
"When Cynthia with her borrowed light"		A	[IV, 1]	

"O let us howl some heavy note"	c. 1613/ 14	Robert Johnson	J. Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* (a madman) [IV – 2; 8 madmen's 'masque']	New York, Public Library, Drexel MS 4175, "Ann Twice, Her Booke"; GB-Lbl, Add. Ms 29481 (before 1630); New York, Public Library, Drexel MS. 4041 (before 1650). [Spink, 54]
"Orpheus I am"	1617	Robert Johnson	John Fletcher, *The Mad Lover* (Stremon for Memnon) [IV – 1]	GB-Cfm, MS 52. D (John Bull manuscript), f. 99[v]; and Trinity College, Dublin, MS. F. 5. 13, f. 30[r]
"Charon, oh Charon"		A	Ditto (Stremon and his boy for Memnon) [IV – 1]	
"Arm, arm! The scouts are all come in"		Robert Johnson	Ditto (Stremon for Memnon) [V – 4]	New York, Public Library, Drexel MS. 4041 (before 1650). [Spink, 55]
"Nor love nor fate do I accuse"	1632	Robert Simpson? J. Wilson?	Richard Brome, *The Northern Lass* (Constance) [II – 4]	*Quadratum Musicum or a Collection of XVI New Songs* (London: John Clark, 1687), 6. [DM 2360; Price, p. 206.]
"The Bells were rung, and the Mass was sung";	1663	A	William Porter, *The Villain* (Charlotte) [V – 1]	Price, p.22
"Willy was fair, Willy was stout"		A	Ditto	Price, p.22.
"Beyond the malice of abusive fate"		A	(A boy for Charlotte)	
"Find me a lonely cave"	1663	John Eccles	(Charlotte)	*A Collection of Songs* (London: T. Cross, 1696?), f.7; *Mercurius Musicus* (London: Henry Playford, 1699), 77 – 9. Not printed in play. [DM 1007]
"For straight my Green Goun into Breeches"	1664	A	William Davenant, The Rivals (Celania) [III]	William Davenant, *The Rivals* (London: William Cademan, 1668), 32.
"He deserv'd much better than so"		A	Ditto	Ditto, p. 33
"There were three Fools"		B	Ditto	Ditto, p. 34. This song was probably a variant of a ballad

				"There were three jolly Welshmen".
"Lady-cow, quick, go flee"		A	Ditto	Ditto, p. 34.
"The Heifer was lost in the Green-Wood"		A	Ditto	Ditto, p. 40.
"See how the Dolphins caper there"		A	Ditto	Ditto, p.41.
"My lodging is on the cold ground"	1664	B	Ditto, [V].	Ditto, p. 48.
"In caves full of sculls, and rotten old Bones"	1675	[Lost]	Henry Nevil Payne, *The Siege of Constantinople* (Thomaso) [V – 1]	Price, p.254. [Similar to Powell's *Imposture Defeated* (1698), I ii, Sforza's simphony.]
"I found my Celia one night undressed"	1678	Unknown	Thomas Durfey, *The Fool Turn'd Critick*	*The Fool Turn'd Critick: A Comedy* (London: James Magnes and Richard Bentley), 35 – 6.
"No more dull reason seek no more"		Unknown	Ditto	*The Fool Turn'd Critick: A Comedy* (London: James Magnes and Richard Bentley), 51 –2. [DM2332]
"Room for a man of the town"		Matthew Locke [music lost]	Ditto	Text only. *A New Collection of Songs and Poems by Thomas D'Urfey* (London: Josoph [sic.] Hindmarsh, 1683), 3; Rochester/ D'Urfey *The Last and Best Edition of New Songs* (1677), as anonymous setting. [DM2818]
"White as the Lilly will she lye"	1683	A	Anonymous, *Romulus and Hersilia* (Feliciana) [IV - 2]	
"From silent shades, and the Elizium groves" (Bess of Bedlam)	Published in 1683	Henry Purcell	[Used for the 1688 performance of *A Fool's Preferment*?]	*Choice Ayres and Songs to Sing to the Theorbo-Lute, or Bass Viol* [1683], p.45; GB-Cfm, MS118 (c. 1685), p.78; GB-Och, MS350 (early 1680s), p.121;

				GB-Lbl, MS Harley 1270 (late 17th – early 18th c.), f.4v; GB-Lbl, Add. Ms 22099 (c. 1704-7), p.118; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29397 (c. 1682 – 90), f. 23v (voice only; ornamentation added); GB-Lbl, Add. MS 33234 (after 1682), p.246; *Orpheus Britannicus Book I* [1698], p.126. [DM 1093]
"I sigh'd, and I pin'd"	1688	Henry Purcell	Thomas Durfey, *A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel) [I – 1]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688]; [c.f: Purcell Society Edition, vol. XX]
"There's nothing so fatal as Woman"			*A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel) [I – 1]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688], [DM3252]
"Fled is my Love"			*A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel) [III - ?]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688], [DM1013]
"'Tis Death alone can give me ease"			*A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel) [III - ?]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688], [DM 3376]
"I'le mount to you blue Coelum"			*A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel) [III - 2]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688], [DM1630]
"I'll sail upon the dog star"			*A Fool's Preferment* (Lyonel?) [IV - ?]	*New Songs Sung in the Fool's Preferment* [1688], p. 10; *Orpheus Britannicus, Book I* [1698], p.122; GB-Ob, MS Mus. Sch. 95 (early 18th c).
"If thou wilt give me back my love" (Lyonel)			*A Fool's Prefermen* [V - ?]	*A Fool's Preferment, or the Three Dukes of Dunstable. . . Together with all the Songs and Notes to'em* (London: Jos. Knight and Fran. Sauders, 1688), 15 – 6. [DM 1710]
"How vile are the sordid intrigues of the town"	1693	H. Purcell	D'Urfey, *The Richmond Heiress* (Fulvia) [II – 2]	*Comes amoris,* the fourth book (London: John Carr and Samuell Scott, 1693), p.8. The song adopted from D'Urefy's *The Marriage-Hater Matched* [1692].

"Behold the man that with gigantic might"		H. Purcell	Ditto (a madman and a madwoman's incidental song) [II – 2]	*Orpheus Britannicus* (London: Henry Playford, 1698), 237-42; *Orpheus Britannicus* (1706), 216 – 21[also in the 1721 edition]; *Songs Compleat*...(London: J. Tonson, 1719), 73-5 [music not printed; v: D'Urfey and s: Leveridge and Mrs. Lindsey] [also in *Wit and Mirth* (Tonson, 1719)]. [DM 345]
"By those Pigsneyes that stars do seem"	1693	John Eccles	(Quickwit and Fulvia) [II – 2]	*Joyful Cuckoldom, or the Love of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen* (London: Henry Playford, 1671), no. 33.[DM 453; Price, 217/ 248/ 254.]
"Beneath a poplar's shadow lay me" (z 590)	1693	H. Purcell	Nathaniel Lee, *Sophonisba* [1676] (Act IV - 1)	*Orpheus Britannicus, Book II* [1702], p.47 [DM 358]
"Hark, hark the drums rattle"		A	Ditto (IV – 1)	
"Let the dreadful engines of eternal will" (Cardenio)	1694	H. Purcell	Thomas D'Urfey, *The Comical History of Don Qioxote* (Cardenio) [Part I, IV – 1]	Single sheet edition by T. Cross [1694]; *The Songs to the New Play of Don Quixote ... Part the first* [1694], p.20; GB-LGL, MS LGC VI. 5. 6 (Gresham sutograph), f. 61v (voice part only); *Orpheus Britannicus, Book II* [1702], p.243; GB-Lbl, Royal Music MS 24.e.6 (early 18th c), f. 50r; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 22099 (c.1704-7), p.62. [DM 1998]
"I burn, my brain consumes to ashes"		John Eccles	*Ditto,* (Marcella) [Part II, V – 2]	*A Collection of Songs compos'd by Mr. John Eccles* [1704], p. 143; *The Songs to the New Play of Don Quixote.. Part the second* [1694], p. 19; *Don Quixote, Music for London Entertainment 1660 – 1800*, Series A Vol. 2 (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Macnutt, 1984). [DM 1497]

"From rosy bow'rs"		H. Purcell	Ditto, (Altisidora) [Part III, V – 1]	*Orpheus Britannicus, Book* I [1698], p.90; *New Songs in the Third Part of the Comical History of Don Quixote* [1696], f. [16]; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 22099 (c. 1704 – 7), f. 118 r; GB-Lbl, Royal Music MS 24.e.6.(early 18th c), f. 22v. [DM 1091]
"I tell thee, Charmion could I time retrieve"	1695	Godfrey Finger	William Congreve, *Love for love* (singers [originally John Pate and John Reading] for Valentine) [IV – 1]	*[Two songs by Finger, no title]* (London:John Hudgebutt, 1695), 1 – 5; *Thesaurus Musicus*, the fifth book (London: John Hudgebutt, 1699), 11 – 15.
"Celia has a thousand charms"	1695	H. Purcell	Robert Gould, *Rival sisters* (boy for Alonzo) [II – 1]	*Orpheus Britannicus,* third edition, Book I [London: 1721], 1.
"Take not a woman's anger ill"		ditto	*Ditto,* IV, 1.	*Deliciæ Musicæ*, the third book (London: Henry Playford, 1696).
"O take him gently from the pile"	1696	John Eccles	John Banks, *Cyrus the Great, or the Tragedy of Love* (Lausaria) [I – [6]]	*A collection of Songs compos'd by Mr. John Eccles* [1704], p.112; Single sheet edition (T. Cross, [1697]; GB-Lbl, Add. MS 29378, f. 159 r. [DM 2527]
"I am arm'd, and declare"		A	Ditto	
"Peace no noise, you'll wake my love"		A	George Powell, *Imposture Defeated* (Sforza) [I – [2]]	
"No more 'tis all in vain"		A	Ditto	
"Morpheus, thou gentle god"	1699	Daniel Purcell	Abel Boyer, *Achilles or Iphigenia in Aulis* A soprano [originally Mrs Erwin] for	Single sheet edition: "Morpheus thou gentle God: a song in *Iphigenia*" (London: n. pub., 1700) GB-Lbl: G. 304. (106). The Lbl catalogue erroneously records the play as J. Dennis, *Iphigenia*

			Eriphile's insane jealousy) [IV – 1]	(London: Richard Parker, 1700).
"Come, come ye inhabitants of Heaven"	Published c. 1699?	Thomas Morgan	William Montfort, *The Successful Strangers* [1689/ 90?], (Biancha), [IV- 4]	Single sheet edition; [Thomas] Morgan, "Come, ye inhabitants of Heaven" (London: J. Walsh, n.a.) [Gb-Lbl: G. 316. n. (7.)]
"Lysander I pursue in vain"	Published in 1700	John Blow	No context known	*Amphion Anglicus* [1700], p.182; Facsimile edition (New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1965); indicated as "A Mad Song". [DM 2146]
"Must then a faithful lover go?"	1700	John Eccles	Pierre Antoine Motteux, *The Mad Lover* [the play now lost][2]	*A Collection of Songs compos'd by Mr John Eccles* [1704], p.86; Single sheet edition (T. Cross) [1700?]; Anonymous single sheet edition [1700?]; *Mercurius Musicus,* Jan- Feb, 1701, p.4. [DM 2235]
"Cease of Cupid to complain"			Ditto	*Mercuricus Musicus*, 2-3; *Wit and Mirth* (London: W. Pearson, 1706), 76 –7 [also in Young's 1707 and 1709 editions, pp. 206 –7]; *Songs Compleat* (London: J. Tonson, 1719), 297 – 8 [also in Tonson's *Wit and Mirth* (1719)] [DM 497]
"Come, come ye nymphs and ev'ry swain"				*Mercuricus Musicus,* p. 4 – 5.
"Advance, gay tenants of the plain"				*Mercuricus Misicus*, p.7.
"Known I've sworn and swear again"				*Mercuricus Misicus*, p. 35.
"No devouring Fish come nigh".	1700	John Barrett	John Vanbrugh , *The Pilgrim* [not in the play]	*Mr. Barretts Aires in the Comedy call'd the Pilgrim* (London: J. Walsh and J. Hare, 1702) GB-Lbl, d.24. (11.); *A Song call'd The Pilgrim. . . exactly engrav'd by T. Cross* [London, 1705?] k.7.i.2. (94).

"Down ye angry waters all"			Ditto (a mad scholar) [III – 3]	
"I am not proud, nor full of wine"			Ditto (Alinda) [IV – 1]	
"He call'd down his merry men all"			Ditto (Alinda) [IV – 1]	
"Look, I see my lover appear"			Ditto (A mad scholar and his mistress' masque, the text by Dryden) [V – 5]	
"Haste, give me wings"	1703	John Eccles	Anonymous, *The Fickle Shepherdess* (Amintas) [II – [2]]	*A Collection of Songs . . . Compos'd by Mr Eccles* [1704], p.126.

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[1] When it is known, the name of the composer is given. "A" designates the case that, although the verse is labelled as a "song" in the playbook, no setting is known to survive; "B" is the case that the song is a version or variant of a traditional/ folk tune and it is not conclusive which version was used in the performance.

[2] There are total 11 songs associated with this play. Since the playbook does not survive, it is very difficult to judge whether each song is a proper "mad song" or not. In this table, only the solo songs known to have been sung by Bracegirld are included.

Table 4:
Major Italian dramas of the 16th and 17th centuries which contain mad scenes or mad characters*

Title	Author	Genre	Publication Data [note]
Ercole furioso	Lodovico Dolce	Tragedia (in versi sciolti)	Venice: Giambatista e Marchio Sessa, 1560 [Translation of Seneca's play.]
La spiritata	Anton Francesco Grazzini	Commedia (in prose)	Florence: Casa de'Giunti, 1561; Venice: Francesco Rampazzetto, 1561; Venice: Bernardo Giunti e Fratelli, 1582. [Performed in Florence during the 1560 Carnival season.]
La pellegrina	Birolamo Bargagli	Commedia (in prose)	Siena: Luca Bonetti, 1589; Siena: Matteo Florini, 1589; Venice: Giambatista Pulciani, 1606. Siena: Matteo Florini, 1611; Siena: Bartolommeo Franceschi, 1611. [First composed some time between 1564 –7? See: Chapter 2]
Il pazzo assennato	Antonio Uso	Commedia (in prose)	Palermo: n. pub., 1573 [Performed in the presence of Marc' Antonio Colonna, Viceroy of Sicilia.]
La pazzia	Gio. Donato Cucchetti	Favola Pastorale	Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1581 Ferrara: Cesare Cagnaccini, 1586 Venice: Bartolommeo Carampello, 1597 Venice: Daniele Bisuccio, 1602 Venice: Angelo Salvatori, 1623 [The 1623 Venetian edition was published under the title *Pazzia di Fileno*.]
Amante furioso	Rafaello Borghini	Commedia	Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1583; Vinegia: Gio. Battista, e Gio. Bernardo Sessa, 1597
Le stravaganze d'amore	Criftoforo Casteletti	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: Sessa, 1584, 1587, 1605; Venice: Pietro Bernato, 1613
Torrismondo	Torquato Tasso	Tragedia (in versi sciolti)	Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 1587; Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1587; Turin: n. pub., 1587; Ferrara: Giulio Cesare Cagaccini, 1587 & 1597 etc
L'Ottavia furiosa	Giambatista Marzi	Commedia (in prose)	Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1589 [Performed on the wedding of Marzio Orsini and Porzia Vitelli in August, 1588.]
I pazzi amanti	Enea Piccolomini	Favola pastorale	Venice: [I. Guerra], 1596 [Dedicated to Prince Marino Grimani, and premiered on the 25th April, 1596.]
Amor pazzo	Niccola degli Angeli	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: Gli Heredi di Marchiò Sessa, 1596
Amanti furiosi	Ranieri Totti	Favola boschereccia	Venice: Giovacchino Brugnolo, 1597
Amante ardito	Lodovico Riccato?	Favola pastorale	Venice: Il Rampazetto, 1600 [Performed for Prince MarinoGrimani on the 11th May 1600.]
Il pazzo finito	Cristoforo Sicino	Commedia (in prose)	Rome: Stefano Paulini, 1603
La pazzia	Cristoforo Sicino	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: La Compagna Veneta, 1604; Viterbo: Li Discepoli, 1619; Venice: Giovanni Varisco, 1622; Venice: Roberto Mejetti, 1644; Rome: Giovanni Gigliotto, 1687.
La Petulanza confusa	Cammillo Gessi	Dramma	[Performed in 1605 in Bologna.]
La pazza saggia	?	Favola pastorale	Venice: Il Rampazzetto, 1605
Astrologo impazzito	Giovanni Ralli	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1607
Amorosa pazzia	Lorenzo Perez Rabanal	Favola pastorale	Naples: Il Logo, 1607 Naples: Giambatista Gargani, 1618 Naples: Ottavio Beltramo, 1628
La pazzie amorose	Lodovico Riccato	Favola boschereccia (in versi sciolti)	Padua: Gio. Domenico Rizzardi, 1608; Vicenza: Francesco Grosso, 1619; Venice: n. pub., n.a.
La furiosa	Giambatista della Porta	Commedia (in prose)	Naples: Gio. Giacomo Carlino e Costantino Vitale, 1609 Naples: Gio. Battista Gargano, 1618 Naples: Gennaro Muzio, 1726
La pace di Marcone	Cristoforo Sicino	Commedia (in prose)	Orvieto: n. pub., 1609; Venice: Lucio Spineda, 1618; Venice: Pietro Usso, 1628.
Il Pantalone impazzito	Francesco Righelli	Commedia (in prose)	Viterbo: Girolamo Discepolo, 1609 and 1621
Il furioso	Raffaello Riccioli	Tragicomedia (in prose)	Viterbo: Girolamo Descepolo, 1610
I pazzi amanti	M. Marc'Antonio Marzj	Commedia (in prose)	Ronciglione: Domenico Dominici, 1612
I pazzi amanti	Lodovico Riccato	Commedia pastorale (in prose)	Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1613; Venice: Ghirardo Imbetti, 1621
La pazzia di Panfilo	Livio Rocco	Favola boschereccia	Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1614
I pazzi prudenti	Giambatista Maccioni	Commedia (in prose)	Viterbo: Pietro & Agostino Discepoli, 1615
Architetto impazzito, Capitano e Parasito	Giovanni Francesco Vita	Commedia (in prose)	Naples: Secondino Rocagliolo, 1620
Le pazzie giovenili	Francesco Gatticci	Commedia (in prose)	Milan: Angelo Nava, 1621 Venice: Il Combi, 1624
La Centaura	Giovanni Battista Andreini	Commedia Pastorale e Tragedia	Paris: Nicolas della Vigna, 1622; Venice: Gherardo e Giuseppe Imberti, 1625; Venice: Salvador Sonzonio, 1633
La Ginevra	Ottavio d'Isa	Commedia (in prose)	Naples: Domenico di Ferrante Maccarno, 1622; Viterbo: Discepolo, 1630; Naples: Cammillo Cavalli, 1645.

Ercole furibondo	Ettore Nini	Tragedia (in versi sciolti)	Venice: Marco Ginammi, 1622 [Translation of Seneca's play.]
Diana vinto, overo la Pazzia di Florindo	Carlo Fiamma	Traggi satiri comica	Venice: Uvangelista Deuchino, 1624
La pazzia	Pietro Bagliani	Commedia (in prose)	Bologna: Teodoro & Clemente Ferroni, 1624
La pensieri fallaci	Francesco Gatticci	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: Giambatista Combi, 1624
L'Orlando forsennato	Marc'Antonio Perillo	Poesia scenica	Naples: Domenico Roncagliolo, 1624
La pazzia di Clorinda	Francesco Torrenti	Commedia (in prose)	Viterbo: Il Discepolo, 1625 and 1628 Perugia: Bartolommeo Passaro, 1645
Gli stapazzi	Giovanni Briccio	Commedia (in prose)	Rome: Guglielmo Faccioti, 1627
Ercole impazzito	Il Tenebroso	Dramma	[Performed in 1628 at the Palazzo Porta al Giardino, Bologna.]
Il pedante impazzito	Francesco Righelli	Commedia (in prose)	Brancciano: Il Fei, 1628
Armida infuriata	Orazio Persio	Intermedio	Naples: *Il Roncagliolo*, 1629
Impazziti amanti overo Florindo e Claudia	Quinto Zane	Poema drammatico scenico	Padua: Gasparo Cruellari, 1629
Pazzie degl'Innamorati	?	Dramma	[Performed at Villa di Persicetto in 1638; and at Villa Malrasia di Panzano in 1649.]
La pazzia d'Amore	Giacomo d'Aquino	Commedia (in prose)	Naples: n. pub., 1638
L'Orlando furioso	Ortensio Scamacca	Morale	Palermo: Nicolò Bua & Michele Portanova, 1644
Lo spedale	Prospero Bonarelli	Commedia (in prose)	Macerata: Agostino Grisei, 1646
Il pazzo politico	Giacomo Castoreo	Dramma	Venice: Andrea Giuliani, 1659 [Performed at Teatro de' Saloni in Venice in 1659.]
Argomento di Caligola impazzito	[the students of the Collegio Clementino]	Tragedia	Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1661 [Performed by the Collegio during the 1661 Carnival season. The proligue was set to music by Giubilio.]
Amore furie di Orlando	Giacinto Andrea Cicognini	Opera scenica (in prose)	Venice: n.pub., s.a; Bologna: *Giacomo Monti, 1663.*
Le pazzie per Vendetta	Vincenzo Maria Veltroni	Opera tragicomica (in prose)	Rome: Il Mascardi, 1676; Palermo: Giacomo Piro, *1682* [The 1682 version was a reduction and set to music by D. Giuseppe Vollaro.]
Armida impazzita per Amor di Rinaldo	Angelo d'Orso?	Opera eroica	Modena: Demerio Degni, 1677
Graziano infuriato	Giuseppe Maria Cesari	Commedia (in prose)	Bologna: Il Recaldini, 1679
La pazzia di sue vecchi amanti	N. N. ? (L'Accademico Moschino)	Commedia (in prose)	Bologna: Gioseffo Longhi, 1683
Furio Commillo	Lotto Lotti	Dramma	Parma: Stamperia Ducale, 1686 [Performed at Ducal Palazzo in Piacenza in 1686.]
Il Pazzo per Gelosia	Pietro Francesco Minacci	Scherzo dramatico	Rome: Francesco Tizzoni, 1687
Effetto dell'occhio,	Accademia Aspirante alla Gloria	Opera fabolica (in prose)	Monneo: Luca Stamb., 1688
Le nuove pazzie del Dottore	Simon Tomadoni (Tommaso Mondini)	Commedia (in prose)	Venice: Domenico Lovisa, 1689
La pazza politica di Roberto re di Sicilia	Tirinto (Accademico Rinato)	Opera scenica (in prose)	Venice: Domenico Lovisa, s.a. (1689?)
Il finto pazzo overo chi assai presume fa castelli in aria	Giacomo Badiale	Scherzo comico burlesco	Bologna: Carlo Troyse, 1694
Al fin medica al tempo ogni pazzia	[the students of Seminario Romano]	Comedia	Rome: Francesco de' Lazari, figlio d'Ignatio, 1695. [Performed by the Seminario during the 1695 carnival season. The maestro di ballo was Pietro Paolo Brandolisi.]
I litiganti overo il Giudice impazzito	[the students of Seminario Romano]	Comedia	Rome: Francesco de' Lazari, 1697. [Performed by the Seminario during the 1697 carnival season.]
La raggione assottiglia l'ingegno overo il Pazzo politico	Procolo Assanti	Opera tragicomica	Rome: Vannacci, 1697 [The prologo is described as "la pazzia con tamburro e castagnette in mano sonando".]
Amante impazzito	Ignazio Capaccio	Opera scenica (in prose)	Naples: Stamperia del Porpora, 1697
Un Pazzo guarisce l'altro	Girolamo Gigli	Opera seriaridicola	Siena: Stamperia del Pubblico, 1698
Armido, ovvero il Principe Impazzito	Domenico Filippo	Scherzo comico	Naples: Stamperia di Felice Mosca, 1700

[*] The information of this table is based mainly on: Lione Allacci, *Drammaturgia di Lione Allacci* (Venice: 1755, Giambatista Pasquali), and Claudio Sartori, *I Libretti Italiani a Stampa dale Origini al 1800* (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1990 – 1994).

Table 5: Madness in the *Commedia dell'arte*

Title	Source/ Performance record
La pazzia di Lelio	Given by the *Uniti* in Florence, 1604.
Pazzia di Delia	Played in Florence in January, 1610.
La forsennata principessa	*Il theatro delle Fauole rappresentative, overo la ricreatione Comica, Boscareccia e Tragia: Divisa in Cinquanta Giornate; composta da Flaminio Scala detto Flavio comico* (Venice: Gio. Battista Pulciani, 1611)
La finta pazza	Ditto.
La pazzia d'Isabella	Ditto.
La pazzia di Lavinia	Played by 'Lavinia', Marina Dorotea Antonazzoni of the *Confidenti* in Bologna, 1615. [L. Rasi, *I comici Italiani, Biografia, bibliografia, iconografia* (1897 – 1905)]
Pazzia di Scapino con spropositi pazzeschi et canzoni burlevoli	Printed, Bologna: Antonio Pisarri, 1618. Bologna, Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio: 8 ª, II *.III.26.
La pazzia di Doralice	MS, *Della scena de soggetti comici et tragici di B[asilio] L[ocatelli]R.*[omano] parte prima in Roma (1618), Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, F. IV. 12, Cod. 1211, cc. 60 – 66.
Li finti pazzi	Ditto, cc. 221 – 224.
Orlando furioso	*Della scena de soggetti comici et tragici di B[asilio]L[ocatelli]R.[omano]] parte seconda in Roma* (1622), Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, F. IV. 13, Cod. 1212, cc. 15 – 41.
Li tre matti	Ditto, cc. 43 – 50.
La finta pazza	Ditto, cc. 51 – 56.
La pazza di Filandro	Ditto, cc. 57 – 62.
La pazzia di Dorindo	Ditto, cc. 63 – 76.
Li due fratelli simili con la pazzia d'amore	Ditto, cc. [viii].
Il fate voi	Ditto, cc. 221 – 228.
La giostra	Ditto, cc. 323 – 332.
La centaura	Printed, Paris: Nicolas Della Vigna, 1622.
La pazzia di Arianna	Performed by 'Lavinia comica Gelosa', Marina Dorotea Antonazzoni, Milan, 1622. MS
La pazzia di Flaminia	Given by the Accesi in Florence, 1623.
La pazzia	Performed by"Dottor Graziano comico Unito", Pietro Bagliani. Printed in Bologna, 1624.
La pazzia di Cintia	Performed in Siena in September 1629. Recorded Mattias de'Medici's letter to Ferdinando II.
Magia d'amore con Lenora pazza furente	In MS *Ciro Monarca dell'opere regie, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense*: Cod. 4186, cc. 57 - 60. Datable c. 1650.
La nuova pazzia	Ditto, cc. 69 – 73.
Li Quattro pazzi	Ditto, cc. 177 – 179.

Pazzia d'Aurelio	Ditto, cc. 195 – 200.
Il Lunatico [Le Capricieux]	Performed in Paris, before 1668. *Traduction Du Scenario ou du recueil des scenes que joseph Dominique Biancolelli* [Giuseppe Domenico Biancolelli] *jouoit en habit d'Arlequin, dans les pieces Italiennes de son temps; rédigé, écrit de sa main; il mourut le 2 aoust 1688*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, MS. 13736; also see: J. A. J. Desboulmiers, *Histoire anecdotique et Raisonnée du Théâtre Italien Depuis son éstablissement en France jusqu'à l'année 1769* (Paris, 1769), vol. I, 61.
La pazzia di Flaminio nel presupposto tradimento di Cintia	Performed in 11/05/1680. MS *Scenari Isolati*, Naples, Biblioteca Benedetto Croce.
Pazzia del Dottore	In the repertory of Diana Constantini, 1681 [see: B. Brunelli, *I teatri di Padova* (1921)]. Played in Bologna in 1687, by the Accademia del Porto [Ricci, *Figuri teatrali*].
L'hôpital des foux ou le deuil d'Arlequin	*Traduction Du Scenario ou du recueil des scenes que joseph Dominique biancolelli* [Giuseppe Domenico Biancolelli] *jouoit en habit d'Arlequin, dans les pieces Italiennes de son temps; rédigé, écrit de sa main; il mourut le 2 aoust 1688*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, MS. 13736, Ditto, ff. 17 – 20. In the 18th century.
La pazzia d'Eularia [La follie d'Eularia]	Ditto, f. 283.
Al Fin medica il tempo ogni Pazzia	Scenario printed for a performance in 1695. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Misc. Fol. 72.
La grande pazzia d'Orlando	MS *Raccolta di Scenari più Scelti d'Istrioni divisi in due volumi*, pt, prima, cc. 1 - 4. Rome, Biblioteca dei Lincei, raccolta Corsiniana, Cod. 45, G, 5 and 6. In the 17th century.
Li dui simili con la pazzia d'Amore	Ditto, pt. I, cc. 200 – 202.
La pazzia di Doralice	Ditto, pt. I, cc. 216 – 218.
Il tre matti	Ditto, pt. II, cc. 130 – 133.
Li dui finti pazzi	Ditto, pt. II, cc. 165 – 167.
Disgrazie di Pulcinella	In the collection of Conte di Casamarciano (Naples, 1699), Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, 331. F. 10/3.; Published as: Gregorio Mancinelli, Le novantanove disgrazie di Pulcinella (Rome: Marco & Lorenzo Aureli, 1856).
L'amante lunatico	MS *Gibaldone de'soggetti da Recitarsi all'impronto: alcuni proprij e gl'altri da versi* (the collection of D. Anibale Sersale Conte Casamarciano, containing plays between c. 1650 - 1700), Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XI. AA. 41, ff. 30r – 32v
La pazzia di Cintio	Ditto, 44v – 46r
Trapule di Covello overo il finto pazzo	Ditto, 90r – 92r
Stravaganze d'Amore	Ditto, 124v – 127v

L'hospedale de pazzi	Ditto, 128ʳ – 130ʳ
L'innocenza infelice et il tradimento forsennato	Ditto, 210ᵛ – 213ʳ; [hardly legible in the MS. The title may be "L'innocenza infelice ed il tradimento fortunato"]
Pulcinella pazzo per forza	Ditto, 239ᵛ – 241ᵛ
La folle supposée	Performed in Paris, 1/06/1716. *Nuovo Teatro Italiano, che contiene le Comedie Stampate e recitate dal S. Luigi R. D°.Lelio* (Paris, 1733); and *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, ii, 607.
La creduto matto	Performed in Paris, 18/06/1716. *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris, Contenant toutes les Pièces qui ont été representées jusqu'à present sur les différens Théâtres François, & sur celui de l'Académie Royale de Musique* (Paris, 1756), iii, 271.
L'Hospitale de' Pazzi, o Lélio délirant par amour	Performed in Paris, 24/09/1716. *Nuovo Teatro Italiano, che contiene le Comedie Stampate e recitate dal S. Luigi R. D°.Lelio* (Paris, 1733).
Les Folies de Coraline	Performed in Paris, 8/01/1746. *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, ii, 598.
Amanti pazzo ne' suoi pazzi	Title only. In the table of the contents of *Dialoghi Scenici di Domenico Bruni detto Fulvio Comico Confidente.* Rome, Biblioteca Burcardo (S. I. A. E.): 3- 37 – 5- 35.
Il cavaliere creduto pazzo ossia il gioco di fortuna	In MS (no general title) at Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana: Cod. Vat. Lat. 10244, cc.12 – 24.
Lélio délirant par amour et Arlequin Écolier ignorant	*Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, iii, 269.
Un pazzo Guarisce l'Altro	Printed from a MS in Vienna by E. Maddalena, in *Akademie des Wissenschaft zu Wien*, vol. CXLIII, Phil.-hist.Classe, 1900.
Il Dottore disgraziato in amore con Belfonte e Gramustino impazzaiti per aacidenti	A Modenese scenario recorded by E. Re, "Scenarii modenesi", *Giornale storico della lettera italiana* lv (1910).
Li due amanti furiosi	Venice, Museo Correr, Codex, 1040, c.5. In the 17th century. [Reprinted in *Giornale Storico* xcvii (1931).]
Lélio délirant par amour et Arlequin Écolier ignorant	*Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris*, iii, 269.

Table 6: Venetian Operas which contain *Balli di Pazzi*

Title	Ballo	Date/ Location	Composer	Librettist	Music
La finta pazza	Ballo degli scemi e di pazzarelli buffoni di Corte [II – 10, the 1641 ed., II – 11 the 1644 ed]	1640-41, S. Novissimo	Francesco Sacrati	Giulio Strozzi	Segment in the MS?
Le fortune di Rodope e Damira	Ballo de Pazzi [the end of II]	1657, S. Apollinare	Pietro Andrea Ziani	Aurelio Aureli	Not included in the MS [I-Vnm, CCCCL (9974)]
Pompeo Magno	Ballo di Otto Pazzi, due impazziti per la Musica, due per la Pittura, due per l'Alchimi, e due per la Poesia [the end of I]	1666, S. Salvatore	Francesco Cavalli	Nicolo Minato	Existent in the MS [I – Vnm, CCCLXXVII (9901)]
Il tiranno humiliato d'amore overo Il Meraspe	Ballo di Pazzi, che seguivano Eralbo [the end of II]	1667, SS. Giovanni e Paolo	Carlo Pallavicino	Giovanni Faustini	Music lost
Seleuco	Escono Paggi e Gobbi, 2 Saggi, 2 Pazzi, 2 Buffoni, e 2 Bravi, e fanno un ballo [the end of I]	1668, S. Salvatore	Antonio Sartorio	Nicolo Minato	This version of the music lost
Caligula delirante	Ballo de Pazzi [the end of II]	1672, SS. Giovanni e Paolo	Gio. Maria Paliardi	Domenico Gisberti	Not included in the MS [Ending Ritornello only] [I-Vnm, CCCXCVIII (9922)
Helena rapita da paride	Ballo de'Pazzi [the end of II] [N. B.: In the 1677 printed libretto, "Ballo de' Pazzi" is included in the list of the balli; however, Act II ends with a ballo by "pastori". See: Aureli, *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice: Nicolini, 1677), p. 51.)	1677, S. Angelo	Domenico Freschi	Aurelio Aureli	Not included in the MS [I-Vnm, CCCLVII (9881)]
Damira placata	Ballo di Pazzi di Corte [the end of II]	1680, S. Moise	Marc'Antonio Ziani	Aurelio Aureli	Not included in MS [I-Vnm, CCCCV (9929)]
Gli Imenei stabiliti dal caso	Ballo di Pazzi [location not indicated]	1702, S. Cassiano	Francesco Gasparini	Francesco Silvani	Music lost
Il comando non inteso et ubbidito	Ballo di Pazzi e Pazze [location not indicated]	1710, S. Giovanni Grisostomo	Antonio Lotti	Francesco Silvani	Only some arias survive at: D-WD
L'Ingannator ingannato	Ballo di otto Personaggi rappresentanti tutti diverse Pazzie [I – 12]	1710, S. Samuele	Giovanni M. Ruggieri	Antonio Marchi	Music lost
L'Armino	Ballo secondo di Scienze, Arti liberali, e Filosofi che poi impaziscono [location not indicated]	1722, A. Angelo	Carlo F. Pollaroli	Antonio Salvi	D-ROu
Arcifanfano Re dei Matti	Ritorna la prima scena con Collina, su cui stanno sedendo I Ballerini, e le Ballerine rappresentanti altri pazzi, e Pazze, che vengono per aver l'ingresso nella Città, e doppo essere stati per ordine del Re de' Pazzi accettati, scendono dal Colle, e intrecciano le loro danze [the end of I]/ Il Re de pazzi per dar divertimento ai nuovi sudditi vuol introdurre il Ballo, onde un Maestro di Ballo Persignach disegnando, e ricercando l'idea, instruisce I Ballerini, li quail convari caratteri esequirono quello che è stato loro ordinate [the end of II]	1750, S. Moisè	Baldassare Galuppi	Polisseno Fegejo [After C. Goldoni]	This version of the music lost
Un pazzo ne fa cento	Scena del Secondo Ballo: Nella quale si rappresenta l'Ospitale de'Pazzi, che ri mostra a' Forastieri, con I diversi generi delle loro pazzie [the end of II]	1762, S. Moisè	Floriano Tedesco Gazman [Florian Leopold Gassman]	Giuseppe Foppa?	At A-Wn and DK-Kk
Il Demetrio	La Fiera di Amsterdam con vari provinciali Olandesi dove viene introdotti il Pantomino dal carattere di una Pazza	1768, S Benedetto	Antonio Gaetano Pampani	Pietro Metastasio	P-La

Table 7: Seventeenth-century English Dramas which feature madness

Title	Playwright	date[1]
Tamburlaine the Great	Christopher Marlowe	1587? (first published in 1590)
The Spanish Tragedy	Thomas Kyd	c. 1589 [1587?]
Titus Andronicus	William Shakespeare?	c. 1590
The Comedy of Errors	Shakespeare	1592
Historie of orlando furioso	Robert Greene	1594
Mother Bombie	John Lyly	1594 (first quarto),
The Woman in the Moon	Lyly	1597
Every Man In His Humour	Ben Jonson	c. 1598
Every Man out of His Humour	Jonson	1599
Hamlet	Shakespeare	c. 1600
Jack Drum's Entertainment, or the comedie of Pasquill and Katherine	John Marston	1600
Antonio and Mellida	Marston	c. 1601 (Pt I) 1602 (Pt II)
The Malcontent	Marston	c. 1602
The tragedy of Hoffman	Henry Chettle	1603
The Honest Whore	Thomas Dekker	1604
All Fools	George Chapman	1605
King Lear	Shakespeare	c. 1605
Macbeth	Shakespeare	c. 1606
The Yorkshire Tragedy	Unknown	c. 1606
Northward Hoe	Thomas Dekker and John Webster	1607
The Revenger's Tragedy	Cyril Tourneur	1607
What you will	Marston	1607
Northward Ho	Dekker and ebster	1607
Timon of Athens	Shakespeare	1607
A Trick to Catch the Old One	Thomas Middleton	1608
A Mad World, My Masters	Middleton	1608
Epicoene, or The Silent Woman	Ben Jonson	1609
Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly	Jonson	1611
The Atheist's tragedy	Tourneur	1611

[1] When there is a noticeable discrepancy between the date of the premiere and that of the first authoritative publication (e.g. the most plays by Shakespeare, see: Chapter 5) the premiere date occurs in the table.

The Roaring Girl	Middleton	1611
The Maid's Tragedy	F. Beaumont and J. Fletcher	c. 1611
Valentinian	Fletcher and Middleton	c. 1612
The White Devil	Webster	1612
If This Not be A Good Play, The Devil is in it	Dekker	1612
The Hog hath lost his Pearl	R. Taylor	1612 - 13
The Two Noble Kinsmen	Fletcher and Shakespeare	c. 1613
Bartholomew Fair	Ben Jonson	1614
The Duchess of Malfi	Webster	c. 1614
The Nice Valour	Fletcher	c. 1616?
The Devil is an Ass	Jonson and Middleton	1616
The Bloody Brother	Jonson, Fletcher, et al	After 1616
The Mad Lover	Fletcher	c. 1618
The Double Marriage	Fletcher & Philip Massinger	c. 1620
The Unnatural Combat	Massinger	c. 1621
The Wild Goose Chase	Fletcher	1621
The Pilgrim	Fletcher	1621
The Virgin Martyr	Massinger	1622
The Maid of Honor	Massinger	1622
The Witch of Edmonton	John Ford and Willliam Rowley	1622
The Duke of Milan	Massinger	1623
The Changeling	Middleton and Rowley	c. 1623
Rule a Wife, Have a wife	Fletcher	1624
The Sun's Darling	Dekker and John Ford	1624
Match me in London	Dekker	1625
The Noble Gentleman	Fletcher	1625?
A New Way to Pay Old Debts	Massinger	c. 1626
The Lover's Melancholy	Ford	1628
The Northern Lasse	Richard Brome	1629 (licensed)
Amyntas	Thomas Randolph	1630
Love Crowns the End	Tatham	1632
The City Madam	Massinger	1632
Love's Sacrifice	John Ford	1633
'Tis pity She's a Whore	Ford	1633

The Broken Heart	Ford	1633
Perkin Warbeck	Ford	1634
The Very Woman	Massinger	1634
The Antipodes	Brome	1636 - 38
A Mad Couple Well Match'd	Brome	c. 1637
The Constant Maid	James Shirley	Published 1640
The Sophy	John Denham	1641
[Restoration]		
The Villain	William Porter	1663
The Rivals	William Davenant	1668
All Mistaken; or the Mad Couple	James Howard	1672
The Siege of Constantinople	Henry Nevil Payne	1675
The Plain Dealer	William Wycherley	1676
Sophonisba	Nathaniel Lee	1676
Circe	Charles Davenant	1677
Fool turn'd Critick	Thomas D'Urfey	1678
Oedipus	John Dryden and Lee	1678
Brutus of Alba; or the Enchanted Lovers	Nahum Tate	1678
Mr. Turbulent	Anonymous	1682
Venice Preserved	Thomas Otway	1682
Romulus and Hersilia	Anonymous	1683
Sir courtly Nice	Crowne, John	1685
A Fool's Preferment	D'Urfey	1688
Love for money	D'Urfey	1691
A Very Good Wife	George Powell	1693
Richmond Heiress	D'Urfey	1693
The Fatal Marriage	Thomas Southerne	1694
Love for love	William Congreve	1695
The Rival Sisters	Robert Gould	1695
The Comical History of Don Quixote, pt I - III	D'Urfey	1694 - 5
Love for Love	Congreve	Pub. 1695
Cyrus the great	John Banks	1696
Imposture defeated	George Powell	1698
Caligula	John Crowne	1698
Achilles or Iphigenia in Aulis	Abel Boyer	1699

Mad Lover	Pierre Antoine Motteux	1700
The Way of the World	Congreve	1700
The Pilgrim	John Vanbrugh	1700
Fickle Shepherdess	Anonymous	1703
The Tender Husband, or the Accomplish'd Fools	Richard Steele	1705
Almyna	Delariviere Manley	1706

Table 8: Survey of the changing proportions of English mad dramas expressed as a percentage of the total number published in particular periods

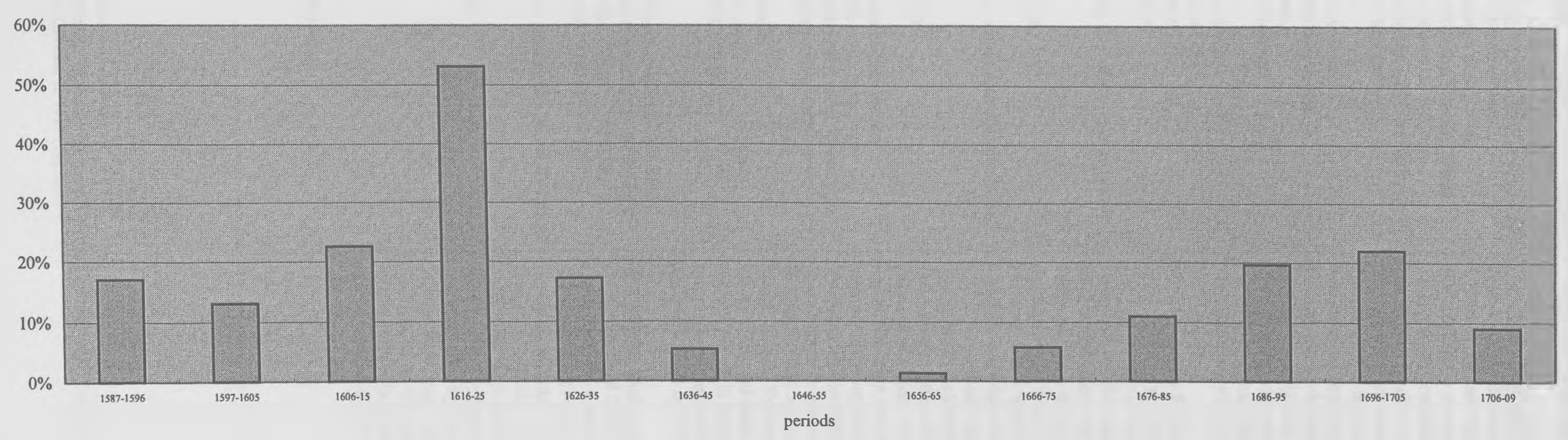

Table 9: A textual comparison between "Bess of Bedlam" and "Tom of Bedlam"

"Bess of Bedlam" in *Choice Ayres and Songs* (1683), p.45.	"Tom of Bedlam" in *Wit and Drollery*[1]
From silent shades, and the Elizium Groves, Where sad departed Spirits mourn their Loves; From Chrystal Streams, and from that Country, where Jove crowns the Fields with Flowers all the year, Poor senceless Bess, cloath'd in her Rags and Folly, Is come to cure her Love-sick Melancholy: Bright Cynthia kept her Revels late, While Mab the Fairy-Queen did dance; And Oberon did sit in State, When Mars at Venus ran his Lance. In yonder Cowslip lies my Dear, Entomb'd in liquid Gems of Dew; Each day I'll water it with a Tear, Its fading Blossom to renew: For since my Love is dead, and all my Joys are gone; Poor Bess for his sake A Garland will make, My Musick shall be a Groan, I'le lay me down and dye; within some hollow Tree, The Rav'n and Cat The Owl and Bat, Shall warble forth my Elegy. Did you not see my Love as he past by you? His two flaming Eyes, if he come nigh you, They will scorch up your Hearts. Ladies, beware, ye, Lest he shou'd dart a glance that may ensnare ye; Hark,! I hear old Charon bawl, His boat he will no longer stay; The Furies lash their Whips, and call, Come, come away. Poor Bess will return to the place whence she came, Since the World is so mad, she can hope for no Cure; For Love's grown a Bubble, a Shadow, a Name, Which Fools do admire, and wise Men endure. [The section below is not found in GB-Lbl: MS Lansd. 740, "Bess of Bedlam", ff. 171v – 172r] Cold and hungry am I grown; Ambrosia will I feed upon, Drink Nectar still, and sing; Who is content, Does all sorrow prevent: And Bess in her Straw, Whil'st free from the Law, In her Thoughts is as great as a king.	From forth the Elizian fields A place of restlesse soules, Mad Maudlin is come, to seek her naked Tom, Hells fury she controules: The damned laugh to see her, Grim Pluto scolds and frets, Caren is glad to see poor Maudlin mad, And away his boate he gets; Through the Earth, through the Sea, through unknown iles Through the lofty skies Have I sought with sobs and cryes For my hungry mad Tom, and my naked sad Tom Yet I know not whether he lives or dies. My pains makes Satyrs civil, The Nimphs forget their singing; The Fairies have left their gambal and their theft The plants and the trees their springing. Mighty Leviathan took a consumption, Triton broke his organ, Neptune despis'd the Ocean; Flouds did leave their flowing, Churlish winds their blowing, And all to see poor Maudlins action. The Torrid Zone left burning, The deities stood a striving, Dispised Jove from Juno took a glove And stroke down Pan from whistling. Mars for feare lay couching, Apolloes Cap was fire'd: Poor Charles his waine, was thrown into the main The nimble Post lay tir'd Saturn, Damas, Vulcan, Venus, All lay husht and drunk; Hells fire through heaven was rim, Fates and men remorslesse, hated our grief & hornesa, And yet not one could tell of Tom. Now whether shall I wander? Or whether shall I flie? The heavens do weep, the earth the aire the deep Are wearied with my cry. Let me up and steal the Trumpet That summons all to doome; At one poor blast the Elements shall cast All creatures from her wombe. Dyon with his Heptune, Death with destruction; Stormy clouds and weather, Shall call all soules together Against I finde In Tomkin ile provide a pumkin And we will both be blisse together.

[1] J[ohn] M[ennis], J[ames] S[mith], W[illiam] D[avenant], J[ohn] D[onne] et al, *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems Never before printed* (London: Nath Brook, 1656) [GB-Lbl, E. 1617 (1)], 126 – 7.

Table 10: Mythological Figures Mentioned in Mad Scenes

Character (Opera)	Act - Scene	Mythological figures	Type[i]
Deidamia (*La Finta Pazza*)	II - 10	La fiera d'Erimanto [The beast of Erymanthus] l'Erinne Acherontea [The Acherontean furriers] Il Piton di Tessaglia [The Python of Thessaly] la Vipera Lernea, [The Lernean hydra] Il Toro di Pindo [The bull of Pindus] Il Nemeo Leone, [The Nemean lion] Cerbero [Cerberus]	1
		Marte [Mars]	4
		Helena [Helen of Troy]	3
		Giove [Jove] (*Believing herself to be Giove's lover)	3
	II - 10	Bacco [Bacchus]	4
		Febo [Phoebus]	4
	III - 2	Orfei [Orpheuses]	1
Lilla (*Ninfa Avara*)	II - 3	Orfeo	2
Orlando (*Bradamante*)	III - 10	Endimion [Endymion] Atheon	1 1
Egisto (*Egisto*)	III - 5	Caronte [Charon]	1
		Tantalo [Tantalus]	1
		Danao [Danaus]	1
	III - 9	Euridice [Eurydice]	2
		Orfeo	3
		Giove	4
		Cupido [Cupid]	3
		Stigie [River Styx]	4
		Issione [Ixion]	4
		Sisifo [Sisyphus]	4
Aristeo (*Orfeo*)	III - 4	Deucalion	3
Theramene (*Eritrea*)	I – 8/ II - 7	Fenice [Phenix]	1
	II - 5	Hettore [Hector] Achille [Achilles]	4
Eralbo (*Tiranno Humilato d'Amore*)	I - 12	Prosepina	2
		Pluto	1
		Xerse (sic.) [Xerxes]	4
	I - 13	Giove Mercurio [Mercury]	1 1
		Giuno [Juno]	4
		Paride [Paris]	4
		Minerva	1

		Venere [Venus]	1
	II - 13	Dafne [Daphne]	1
		Giuno	1
	III - 8	Giove	1
		Giganti [Giants]	1
		Tifeo [Typhoeus]	1
		Titano [Titan]	1
		Briaro [Briareus]	1
Damira (*Fortune di Rodope e Damira*)	II - 10	Tonante [Jove]	1
		Giuno	3
		Venere	2
		Sfinge [Sphinx]	2
		Arpia	2
	II - 14	Mercurio	1
	II - 20	Teseo [Theseus]	2
Eritreo (*Amori di Apollo et di Leucotoe*)	III - 1	Cerere [Ceres]	1
		Bacco	1
	III -14	Pluto	1
		Furie	1
		Arpie [Harpies]	1
	III - 15	Caronte	2
	III - 28	Averno [the Hell]	1
Atrea (*Pompeo Magno*)	I - 4	Giove	1
		Giuno	1
	II – 12	Narciso [Narcissus]	1
	II – 12	Sirene [Siren]	1
	III - 5	Sisifo [Sisyphus]	1
Momerco (*Coriolano*)	III - 3	Pluto	4
		Giove	4
		Nettuno [Neptune]	4
		Alcide [Hercules]	3
		Marte	1
		Vulcan	1
		Idra [Hydra]	3
		Medusa	3
		Venere	1
Caligula (*Caligula delirante*)	II - 14	Cerbero d'Abisso [Cerberus of Hell]	2
		Mostri di Lerna [Lernean monsters]	1
		Cintia [Cynthia]	2
		Ercole [Hercules]	3
		Mercurio	2
		Aquilone [Aquilo]	1
		Gigante [Giant]	1

	II - 15	Diva [Godess]	2
		Megera [Megaera]	2
		Mostro di Flegetonte [Monster of Phlegethon]	2
		Arpia d'Acheronte [Acherontean harpy]	2
		Ecate [Hecate]	2
	III - 8	Endimion	3
		Paride	2
		Venere	4
		Cintia	4
	III - 10	Cintia	4
Euristene (*Helena rapita da Paride*)	II - 9	Ulisse [Ulysses] Orestes Alcide [Hercules] Deianira	3 4 3 4
	II - 17	Venere Sfinge [Sphinx] Arpia [Harpy]	2 2 2
		Meduse [Medusa]	1
		Narcisso Ganimede [Ganymede] Giove	1 1 1
	II - 24	Nesso [Nessus]	2
		Daianira	1
		Giove	4
	III - 3	Sisifo	1
Publicola (*Totila*)	I - 10	Stige Erinni Aletto Acheronte Eaco [Aeacus]	4 4 4 4 4
	I - 11	Arpie Megere Tartaro [Tartarus]	1 1 1
	II - 2	Cocito [Cocytus]	1
	II - 10	Teseo Tartaree arene [Tartarus' arenas]	1 1
	II - 16	Averno [the Hell]	1
	II - 17	Abisso [the Hell] Trifauce [Cerberus] Drago [Dragon] Alcide	1 1 1 4
	III - 15	Narciso	2
		Ipogriffo [Hyppogriffin]	1
		Mostro di Fleghetone [Monsters of Plegheton]	1

Eurillo (*Equivoci nel Sembiante*)	III - 6	Scilla [Sylla] Ecuba [Hecuba] Libico Leone [Libyan Lion] Idre [Hydras] Circe Megera [Megaera]	1 1 1 1 1 1
		Aletto [Alecto]	3
		Averno Cerbero Tesifone [Tisiphone]	1 1 1
Damira (*Damira Placata*)	II - 8	Giove Giuno	1 3
	II - 9	Teseo	2
Irene (*Falaride*)	II - 13	Penelope Giove	1 4
		Sirena [Siren]	3
Didone (*Didone Delirante*)	III - 13	Giove	4
	III - 18	Abisso Gigante Mostro orrendo [horrible monster]	1 1 1
	III - 19	Cupido	2
Lucrine (*Amor fra gl'Impossibile*)	I – 13/ II - 3	Vulcan	2
Ormonte (*Zenobia*)	II – 3/ II - 14	Giove	3
Gennaro (*Amor e Dover*)	II – 3	Furie	1
	II - 4	Fortuna	1
	III - 7	Alcide	1
		Marte Giove	4 4
Ulisse (*Finta Pazza d'Ulisse*)	I - 11	Fenice Giove Ercole	3 4 1
	II - 12	Idra	1
		Mostro immondo [evil monster] Saturno	1 1
Giunio (*Saggia Pazzia di Giunio Bruto*)	I - 4	Vulcan Europa	3 2
	I - 13	Bacco Venere	1 1
	II - 1	Minosse [Minos]	1
	II - 3	Angui [snakes] Chimere [Chimeras]	1 1

		Giove Giuno Marte	1 1 1
	II - 9	Pluto	2
		Orfeo	3
		Euridice	2
	III - 3	Citerea [Aphrodite]	2
		Cibele [Cybele]	1
		Giove	3

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[i] The numbers designate as follows:
1: The character hallucinates the appearance of the figures/ monsters/ places indicated in the table.
2: The character mistakes other character(s) for the figure(s) indicated.
3: The character believes him/herself to be the figure indicated.
4: The character mentions the names of the figures without particular dramaturgical consequences. Usually this type is exclusive to those major gods (e.g. Giove, Marte) but some figures are mentioned in relation to the particular condition from which the mad character is suffering.

Table 11
An insane character [A] mistakes another character [B] for someone else [C].

Title	Act - Scene	A	B	C
Ninfa avara	II - 3	Lilla	Ghiandone [villager]	Orfeo
	II - 4		Amarisca [old woman]	Bellissima dea
Didone	II - 13	Iarba	vecchio	Bella
Orfeo	III - 4	Aristeo	Satiro	Euridice
			Momo	Nudrice [nurse]
Bradamante	III - 10	Orlando	Nico [blacksmith]	[A's lover = Angelica]
			Fioretto [page]	Medoro
Eritrea	II - 7	Theramene	Misena [lady in waiting]	Eritrea
Tiranno humiliato d'amore	I - 12	Eralbo	Cefisa [lady in waiting]	Proserpina
			Niso [court servant] / Cefisa	Perfidi d'amore [Traitors in love]
Fortune di Rodope e Damira	II - 20	Damira	Bato [adoptive father]	Theseo
Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe	III - 15	Eritreo	Orillo [servant]	Caronte
	III - 28		Orillo	[A's lover]
Helena rapita da Paride	II - 17	Euristene	Elisa [old nurse]	Diana – Venere – Sfinge – Arpia-Medusa
	II - 24		Paride	Nesso [Nessus]
Totila	II - 16	Publicola	Marzia [daughter of the senator]	Clelia [A's wife]
	III - 15		Desbo [servant]	Narciso
			Desbo	[A's lover]
Damira placata	II - 9	Damira	Silo [adoptive father]	Teseo
Caligula delirante	II - 17	Caligula	Teosena [Mauritanian queen]	Bella Ciprigna [beautiful Cyprian]
	II - 18		Gelsa [old nurse]	Dina
				[A's lover] – Ceraste [Cerastes]
			Nesbo [page]	[A's lover]
Didone delirante	III - 13	Didone	Iarba	Enea
	III - 19		Iarba	Cupido
Amore fra gl'impossibili	I - 13	Lucrine	Don Chisciotte	Vulcan
Saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruno	I - 4	Giunio	Vulnia [A's lover]	Europa
	I - 13	Giunio	Colatino [A's friend]	Bella [beautiful woman]
	II - 9		Tarquinio [King of Rome]	Pluto
			Vulnia	Euridice
			Tarquinio	Irco [goat]
			Tullia [Queen of Rome]	Citerea [Aphrodite]

Table 12: Arias in Mad Scenes

1. Arias by Primary Characters							
Song-title (Incipit)	Character, *Title of opera* (Composer) [Date]	Act, scene in the score (in the libretto)	Musical Form	Verse Structure The number of strophes [The number of lines] (Syllable counts)	Rhyme	Key	Meter [D= duple; T= triple]
"Verga tiranna ignobile"	Deidamia, *Finta pazza* (Sacrati) [1641]	II, 10	AB	2 [2 x 4] (7sd)	abab/ cccc	D min;	D-T
"Rendetemi Euridice"	Egisto, *Egisto* (Cavalli) [1643]	III, 9	ABA	1 [6] (7/5/ 5/ 5/ 5/ 5)	abbcca	D-G-D maj	D-T-D
"Io son Cupido"		III, 9	AA'BB'	2 [9] (5)	abccdd efe	G maj	D-T
"Tra nozze si liete"	Damira, *Fortune di Rodope e di Damira* (P.A. Ziani) [1657]	II, 10	Through composed	1 [4] (7)	abba	D min	T
"Fate tutti allegrezza"		II, 14	ABA	1 [6] (7)	abbcca	G maj	D
"Al'incendio d'un occhio amoroso"	Caligula, *Caligula delirante* (G. A. Pagliardi) [1672]	II, 7	AA'	1 [4] (10/10t/9/9t)	abab	C maj	6/8
"Belle luci del sol"		II, 8	ABA'	1 [4] (9/9t/9t/9)	abba	G min	D
"Ferma il piede e non partir"		II, 15 (II, 18)	ABA'	1 [4] (8t/8/8/8t)	abba	A min	D
"E pur vago vezzoso e ridente"		Ditto	ABA' + coda	1 [4] (10)	abab	C maj	T
"Fors'e pur ch'io m'innamori"		Ditto	Through composed	1 [4] (8/8t/8/8t)	abab	A min	D
"Bella Dea"		III, 8 (III, 9)	ABB' + coda	2 [2x4] (9t/4/5/5t//8t/9/9t/ 8t)	abba/cc dd	A maj	D
"Chi mi toglie il mio tesoro?"		III, 9 (III, 10)	AA'	1 [4] (8/8t/9/9t)	abab	G min	D
"Cintia riedi amata dea"		III, 9 (III, 10)	Through composed	1 [4] (8/8/9*/ 11) [In the music, the 3rd line is treated as a 8 syllable line by omitting a word (tuo)]	aabb	C min	T
"Cruda Cintia		III, 10 (III, 11)	Through composed	1 [4] (9/9/9t/8t)	aabb	D min,	T - D
"Si sveni, s'uccida"	Eurillo, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (A. Scarlatti) [1679]	III, 6	ABA'	1 [6] 6	abcdda	A min	D
"Stelle scoccate"		III, 6	Through composed	1 [4] 5	abab	D maj	6/8
"Ola fermate"		III, 6	Through composed	1 [9] (5)	aaabca cbc	C maj	T
"Tra nozze si liete"	Damira, *Damira placata* (M. A. Ziani) [1680]	II, 8	Through composed	1 [4] (6)	abab	E maj – b min	T
"Veggo un raggio di speranza"		II, 13	ABA'	1 [4] (8)	abab	C maj; 6/8	6/8
"Suol de pazzi, la fortuna"		II, 9 (III, 10)	AB	1 [6] (8/7t/8/7t/8/11)	ababcc	E min	T - D
"Vendicar spero"		Ditto	ABA'	1 [7] (5)	abbacc a	C maj	T

"Svegliatevi pensieri"	Statira, *Dario* (Freschi) [1685]	II, 5	ABA [indicated by Da Capo]	2 [4+1] (11/7/5/3/11)	abbba	Bb maj	D
2. Arias by Secondary Characters							
"O che vita consolata"	Iarba, *Didone* (Cavalli) [1641]	III, 10	ABA'	1 [4] (8)	abab	D maj	T
"Che piu lieto di me nel mondo sia"		Ditto	Strophic (1st verse – Ritornello – 2nd – Ritornello)	2 [2x7] (2 x 7/11/6/5t/5t/10/10)	abbccd d/ abaccd d	D min	D - T
"Il vostro splendore"	Aristeo, *Orfeo* (L. Rossi) [1647]	III, 4	AB	3 [5+4+4] (9 x 7// 4t/3sd/3sd/7t)	abcbc/d ede/eff e	F min - F maj	T - D
"All armi, mio core"		Ditto	Through composed	2 [2x4] (6)	aabc/dd ee	Bb maj	6 [6/8]
"Volto amato"	Theramene, *Eritrea* (Cavalli) [1652]	I, 8	Strophic variation (AA'A'')	1 [6] (4)	aaabbb	E min	T
"Colli boschi"		II, 5	ABA' (A over a descending tetrachord)	2 [6] (2x7/7/11/7/11/11)	2 x aaBbC C	E min	T
"Dolce frode"		III, 3	Strophic (2 x AB; A over a descending tetrachord; B with instrumental obbligato in stile concitato)	4 [9 + 3 + 9 +2] (4/8/4/8/4/8/4/4/8 + 7t/7t/ 11t + 4/8/4/8/4/8/4/4/8 + 7t/7t)	aBbCc DdeE + *versi sciolti* + AbbCc DdeE + *versi sciolti*	C min; C3/2 – C – C3/2 - C	T – D – T - D
"Arpie del Erbe" [with the responding Desbo]	Publicola, *Totila* (Legrenzi) [1677]	I, 11	AA'B (each section interspersed with Ritornello)	1 [6 + Desbo's comments; altogether 10 lines] (6/6/6/6/8/8)	a [a] b[b] cd[e]f[g]f	C min	T
"Nò, che Giove giusto non è"		II, 1	ABA	1 [4] (9t/ 8t/ 8t/ 11t)	abba	D min	D
"Su stringetevi"		II, 16	AB	1 [5] (4sd/4sd/3sd/8/11)	aaabb	A maj – d maj	T - D
"Bel Narciso"		III, 15	Through composed	No stanzaic organization (constantly interrupted by Desbo) [altogether 11] (4/5/8/8/9/ 9/9t/9/5/10t/10t/10 t/10t)	abcbcd effgg	C min, - Eb maj	T
"Fingerò mille follie"	Euristene, *Helena rapita da Paride* (Freschi) [1677]	II, 10 (II, 11 in the 2nd edition)	ABA+Ritornello (Ritornello bass line only)	2 [7+5] (8)	abccba b/ddba b	G min	D
"Resta pur, ch'io non ti voglio"		II, 16 (II, 17 in the 1st edition; II, 18 in the 2nd edn)	ABA + coda	1 [6] (8/4/4/4/8/8)	AbbcC A	C min	D
"Su le ruine d'Acheronte"		II, 23 (II, 24 in the 1st; II, 25 in the 2nd)	ABB'CC'	1 [4] (8/8/8/11)	abab	C maj	D
"Se non fuggi, Amante insano"		Ditto	Through composed with the last phrase as a	1 [4] (8/8/8/11)	aabb	C maj	D

			refrain				
"Per cangiar la mia Fortuna"		III, 1 (III, 3 in the 2nd)	ABA+ coda Over a bass ostinato,	1 [4] (8)	abba	A min- C maj – A min,	D
"Chi s'inoltra al mio sembiante"		III, 1 (III, 2 *in the* 1st; III, 4 in the 2nd)	ABA	1 [4] (8)	abba	D maj	D
"Mirate, mirate"	Ormonte, *Zenobia* (Albinoni) [1694]	II, 3	ABA [indicated by Da Capo]	1 [6] (6/6/6/4/4/6)	aabccb	G maj – b min – G maj	12/8
3. Arias by Minor Characters							
"Sol nel Regno di Nettuno"	Atrea, *Pompeo Magno* (Cavalli) [1666]	I, 4	Strophic	2 [4 + 6] (8/8/8/8 + 4/8/8/8/8/8)	ABAB/ aABC BC	G maj	D
"E la vita un vasto mare"		II, 12	Ritornello - A-B-A' - Ritornello	2 [2x4] (8)	Abba/a abb	F maj	T

Table 13: Ariosi in mad characters' scenes

Composer	Title (Character) [date]	Scene	Texts	Verse structure	Key; metre	Type[1]
Sacrati	*Finta pazza* (Deidamia) [1641]	II - 10	Armi, armi, armi, alla mano	a 7 syllable line	D maj; C	Quartet
			Giacer io volea teco/ E lasciar il mio Giove/ Che ogni notte sta meco	3 lines from *versi sciolti* [aba]	D maj – A min; 3	a
		III - 2	Alla caccia, alla caccia al mondo, al bosco/ Atheon, Atheon/ La lepra se ne và/ E non sarai tu buon,/ In questi horror Sacrati/ Con que' tuo piedi alati/ A dar de' calci all' altrui crudeltà/ Guarda come fi fà	8 line section *versi sciolti*; 11/7t/7t/7t/7/7/11t/7t [abcbddcc]	C – A maj; 3	a
			In vece, d'erbe, fiori, hoggi mi dà/ E stecchi, e spine, e la ppole/ Vostra paternità?/ Che padri ingannatori,/ Pieni d'insidie, e trappole/ Vivono in questa età?	6 line section of *versi sciolti* (11t/7sd/7t/7/7sd/7t) [abacba]	D maj – a min; 3	a
Cavalli	*Didone* (Iarba) [1641]	II - 13	Meritevole sei,/ Ch'in suon d', f, fà, ut./ Ti canti in un l'Arcadia, e'l Calicut	3 lines from *versi sciolti* [abb]	D maj; 3	a
		III - 10	Amor per voi m'accora	1 line from *versi sciolti*	B min; C	b
			Sapete ch'io son quello/ Che per farvi l'amore	2 lines from *versi sciolti*	G maj; C	a
			O! bell'hore, ò chiar'hore,/ O bene mio squartato/ Deh consolate il vostro innamorato	3 lines (7/7/11) from *versi sciolti*	D maj; 3	a

			…popolacio/ E vi faccia mostrar al mondo tutto/ Quando il Cielo vi diè di bello, e brutto	½ + 2 lines from *versi sciolti*	D maj; 3	a
Cavalli	*Egisto* (Egisto)	III - 9	Hor, che'l mondo è in scompiglio,/ O popoli di Dite,/ Di guerregiar con Giove io vi consiglio	3 lines of versi sciolti [rhyme: aba; words repeated]	D maj; 3	a
Cavalli	*Eritrea* (Theramene + Laodicea) [1652]	I - 8	O felice morire/ De gl'occhi a mati a i vaggi e incenerire	7/11 lines	A min; C	Duet
	(Eritrea, Laodicea, Misena, and Theramene)	I - 9	O luminoso apunto, e fausto giorno/ Fà in te la nostra pace/ Scoloria, e fugace à noi ritorno	The last 3 lines of the scene (*versi sciolti*)	A maj; C3/2 - C	Quartet
	(Theramene)	II - 7	…Io vado in tanto/ A dolci rai del Sol, che mi ricrea,/ Per rasciugar del mio funesto il pianto/ A te vengo, Eritrea	The last ½ + 3 lines from *versi sciolti*	A min; C	b
P. A. Ziani	*Le fortune di Rodope di Damira* (Damira) [1657]	II - 20	…non è da credere/ Quanto mi fai tu ridere/ Solo in mirarti; ah, ah	½ + 2 lines from versi sciolti; [sd/ sd/ ending with laughter]	D min; C	b
G. B. Volpe	*Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe* (Eritreo) [1663]	III-15	O come ardente/ E quest' horrido loco/ Tutto avampo…	2 ½ lines from *versi sciolti*	F maj; 3/2 – C;	b
			Non son più ferito/ Crudele mia vaga/ Sanata è la piaga	3 *senario* lines	E min; 3	a
			Torna l'alma in libertà/ Terminato è il mio tormento,	2 lines from *versi sciolti*	C maj; C,	b
			Un ostinato amor divine pazzia	The last line from *versi sciolti*	G maj – e min; C	b
		III-18	[Sol] per bizzaria	Part of a 11syllable line from *versi sciolti*	G maj; 3	a

Cavalli	*Pompeo Magno* (Atrea) [1666]	I - 4	Hor ch'il folgore spento/ Dorme Giove inerme, imbelle/ Gettisi Phamo, e peschinsi le stelle	3 lies from *versi siolti*	G maj; C	b
			Pur rider mi fà	Single 6 syllable line	C maj; C	b
			A fè buona occasione/ Chi sà, che non s'adeschi; Egli è il Montone	3 lines from *versi sciolti*	G maj; C	b
			Nel conobbe per guizzar/ E chiamollo scintillar	2 lines from *Versi sciolti*	C maj; C	b
		I - 20	Qui piegata,/ Sciolto il piè/ Prostratevi à mè	4/4t/6t	F maj; C	b
			Tu piangi?/ Et è possibili/ Che si terribile/ Tu resti ancor?/ E pur soave la pazzia d'Amor	3/ 5sd/ 5sd/ 5t/ 11t	G min – d min; 3-C	a/ b
			Su, che fate/ Coronate il vostro Rè	2 lines from 4/8t syllables	G maj; 3	a
			Ben sei degno Pastor di questi Armenti	The last line (11 syllable) from *versi sciolti*	F maj; C	b
		III - 5	…Io cado, i' manco, / Sotto'l gran peso…	2 partial lines excavated from *versi sciolti*	B min; 3	a
Pagliardi	*Caligula delirante* (Caligula) [1672]	II - 14	Ferma ò Cerbero d'Abisso/ Da me in vano tenti fuggir	8/9t lines The beginning of the scene	C maj; C	b
			Al rotar di questa Clava/ Che di Lerna i Mostri ancide/ Le homicide/ Cole horrende	4 lines of ottonari/ quinari 8/8/4/4/ abbc	C maj; C	b
Legrenzi	*Totila* (Publicola) [1677]	I - 10	Intrecci d'alghe il livido Acheronte	1 line from *versi sciolti*	F maj; C	b

			Già fuggo l'aria viva/ Già nuda larva errante/ Scendo precipitoso ad' Eaco insano/ Che se Roma è un sepolcro ombra e'l Romano	The last 4 lines of the scene (*versi siolti*)	C min; 3 - C	a-b
		I - 11	Mio tesoro, e dove sei?	1 line from dialogue section	D min; 3	a
			A le battaglie, à la'rmi	Partially excavated from 11- syllable line	D min; C	b
		II - 2	Cara mia speme stringimi/ Si mio tesoro abbracciami	2 (7sd) lines from dialogue	C min; 3/4	a (duet)
		II - 17	Pria, che scagli ire omicide/ Og'un di voi sia con la clava Alcide	The last two lines of *versi sciolti*	D maj – B min; 3	a
		III-15	Sin, che spunta l'astro di Venere/ Meco qui siedi in grembo à l'erbe tenere	2 *sdrucciolo* lines from *versi sciolti*	Bb maj; C	b
M. A. Ziani	*Damira placata* (Damira) [1680]	II - 14	Che pena è la mia?/ Gli spirit ho sconvolti/ In mezzo a due stolti	3 lines from dialogue section	Eb maj; 3	a
			Tacete/ O ridete/ Com'io, ah, ah, ah	3 lines of dialogue section	C min; 3/4	a

[i] Type (a) designates a passage written in triple meter; (b) indicates that over a walking bass.

Table 14: Typology of Madness in 17th-century Italian Opera

Madness		Fictive Role					
Fictively true/ false	Causes/ motivations	Principal Protagonist		Secondary Protagonist		Ancillary Character	
		Character	Title (Year)	Character	Title (Year)	Character	Title (Year)
Real	Love-induced	Lilla Egisto Eurillo Didone Lucrine	Ninfa avara (1641) Egisto (1643) Equivoci nel sembiante (1679) Didone delirante (1686) Amore fra gl'impossibili (1693)	Olindo Iarba Aristeo Theramene Eritreo Publicola Orlando	Sincerità trionfante (1638) Didone (1641) Orfeo (1647) Eritrea (1652) Amori d'Apollo e di Leucotoe (1663) Totila (1677) Carlo il Grande (1688)		
	Elixir-induced	Caligula	Caligula delirante (1672)				
	Imbecilic	Statira	Dario (1685)			Atrea	Pompeo Magno (1666)
	Obsessed by Chivalric romance			Gernando Don Chisciotte	Amor e dover (1696) Amore fra gl'impossibili (1693)	Don Chissiot	Don Chissiot della Mancia (1680)
Feigned	For love	Licori Deidamia Damira Flavio Damira Irene Delia	Finta pazza Licori (1627) Finta pazza (1641) Fortune di Rodope e Damira (1657) Pazzo e forza (1658) Damira placata (1680) Falaride tirannod'Agrigento (1684) Finto chimico (1686)	Euristene	Helena rapita da Paride (1677)		
	For politics	Ulisse Giunio	Finta pazza d'Ulisse (1696) Saggia pazzia di Giunio Bruto (1698)	Eralbo Ormonte	Tiranno humiliato d'Amore (1667) Zenobia, Regina de Palmireni (1694)		

APPENDIX II
(Musical Examples 1 – 31)

Musical Example 1

Cavalli, *Pompeo Magno*, "Ballo de' Pazzi" [I-Vnm: CCCLXXVII (= 9901), 56r - 57r]

Terzo
piano
forte

40
piano
46
Quarto
5
52
55

Musical Example 2

Anonymous, *L'ospedale,* [I-Vnm: CCCCXLVI (= 9970), 28v - 30r]

to - po d'E - so - po Mi ha fat - to un ol - trag- gio, Un den - te mi ha ro - so Per
ch'e - ra o - do - ro - so Di cer - to for mag - gio e
pur frà le ri - sa - te De le bri - ga - te vò fa - re la mi - a, vò fa - re la
#
mi - a, Sol fa re la mi sol fa re la
mi
ah, ah, ah, ah
ah, ah, ah, chi non ri - de - ri - a?

Music Example 3

Charpentier, *Les Fous divertissants*, II, "Les trois musiciens: "ah, ah, ah" [F-Pn: Rés. Vm1 259, f.12]

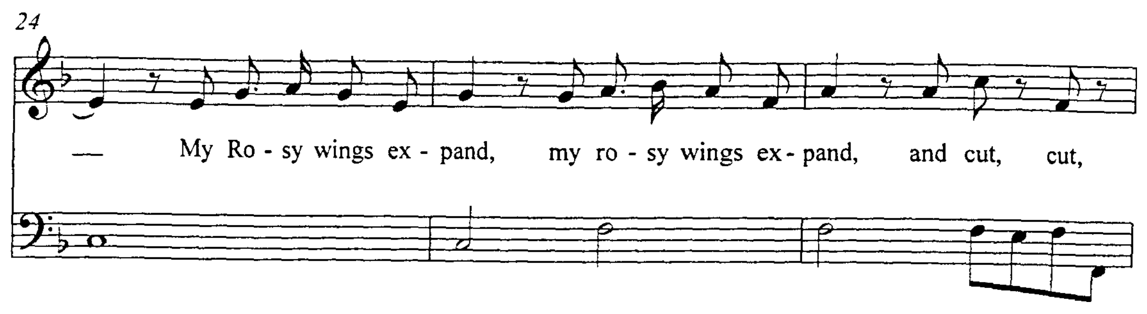
Musical Example 4

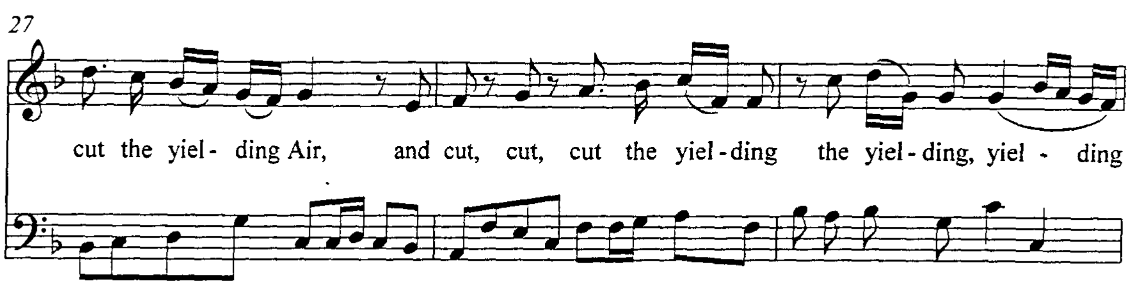
Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Roland*, IV, 6 [Lully, *Roland* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1685), pp. 282 - 4]

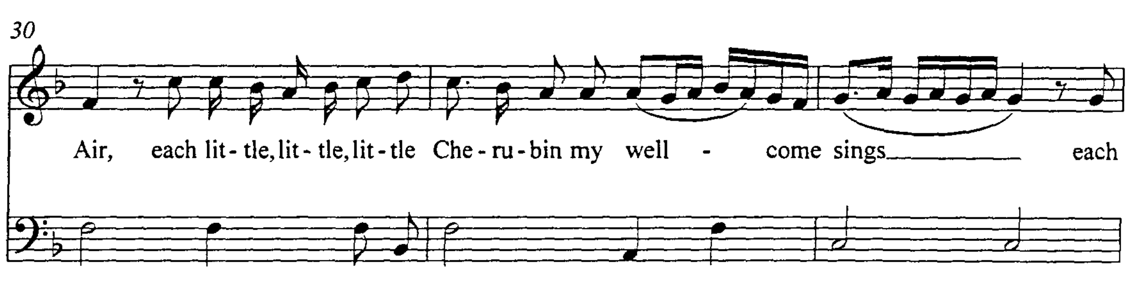
f
p
ya - ble Fu - ri - e.
Bar - ba - re, ah! tu me rends au jour? Que pré - tends
4 ♮ 6
6 ♮
tr
f
p
tu? par - le, O sup - pli - ce hor - ri - ble!
♮ 6 6
Il faut mon - trer un exem - ple ter - ri - ble Des tour - ments d'un fu - ne - ste a - mour.
6 6

Musical Example 5

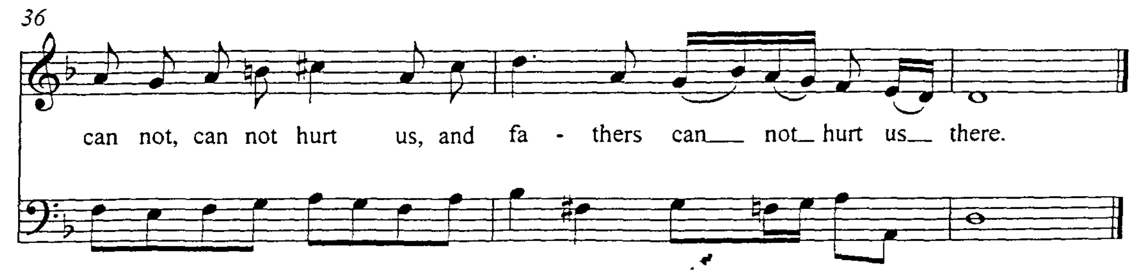
Thomas Morgan, "Come, ye inhabitants of Heaven" [GB-LBl: G.316.n.(7)]


24
My Ro - sy wings ex - pand, my ro - sy wings ex - pand, and cut, cut,


27
cut the yiel- ding Air, and cut, cut, cut the yiel - ding the yiel - ding, yiel - ding


30
Air, each lit - tle, lit - tle, lit - tle Che - ru - bin my well - come sings each

33
Slow
lit - tle, lit - tle, lit - tle Che - ru - bin my wel - come sings, and Fa - thers can not hurt us, they

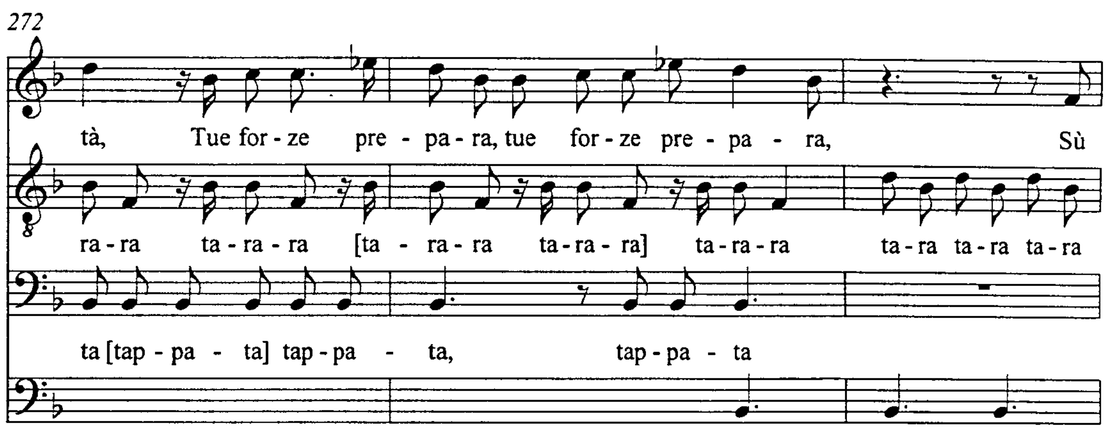

36
can not, can not hurt us, and fa - thers can not hurt us there.

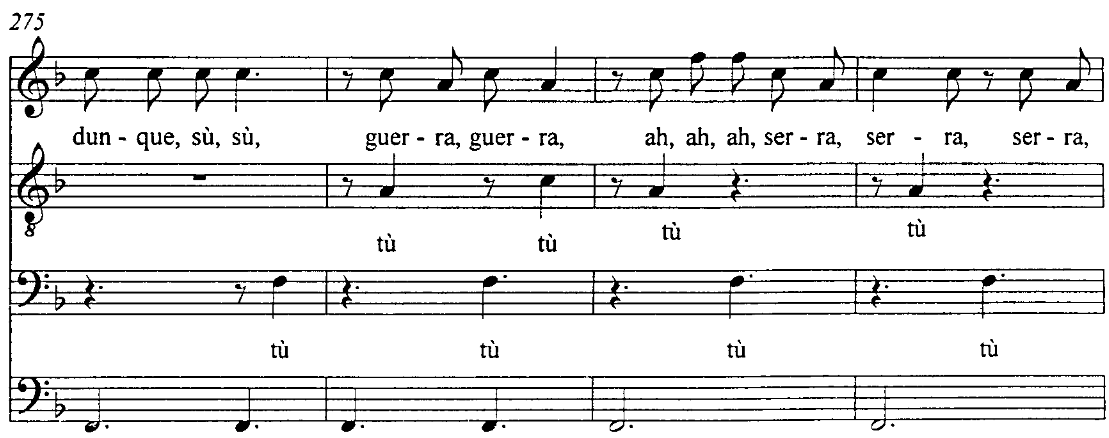
Musical Example 6

P. A. Ziani, *Fortune di Rodope e di Damira,* II, 21 [I-Vnm: CCCCL (= 9974), 78v - 79r]

Musical Example 7

Luigi Rossi, *Orfeo,* III, 4 [Bartlett (ed.), *Rossi: Orfeo,* p. 159]





Musical Example 8

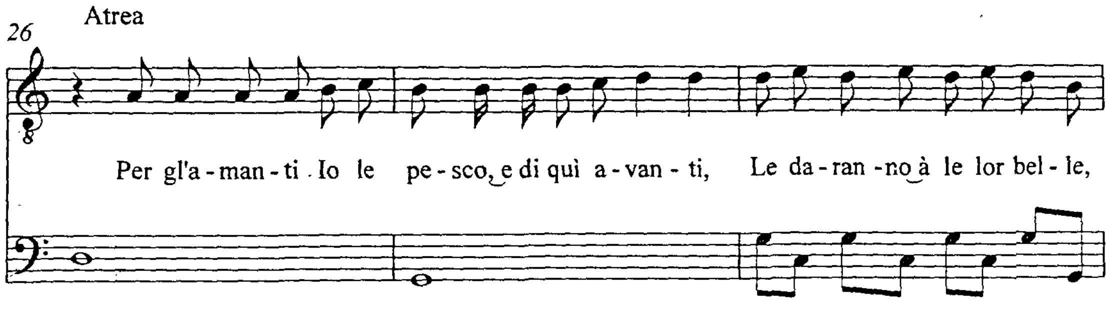
Freschi, *Dario*, II, 5 [I-Vnm: CCCCVI (= 9930), 40v - 42v]

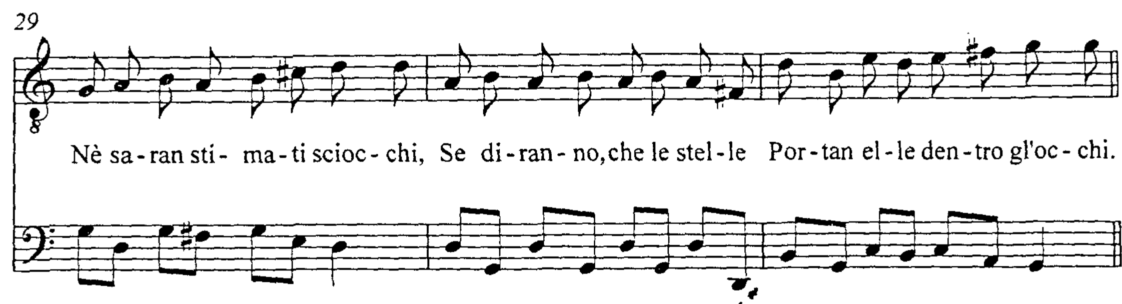
à guer - ra, à guer - ra,
à guer - ra, à guer - ra,
à guer - ra,
[à guer - ra,]
à
guer
ra,
à guer - ra, à guer - ra,

à guer-ra[à guer- ra,] à guer-ra, [à guer-ra,] à guer
ra. pon-
"ma no" in the libretto
no* che-ti po - sa-te, che-ti po - sa-te, po - sa

te, po - sa -
te, si si pu - gna - te, sve
na - te, pu - gna - te, sve - na - te, che par - lo, e do - ve so - no? che
"o cielo; o terra" in the libretto.
Da Capo
par - lo? e do - ve so - no? in cie - lo* o in ter - ra.

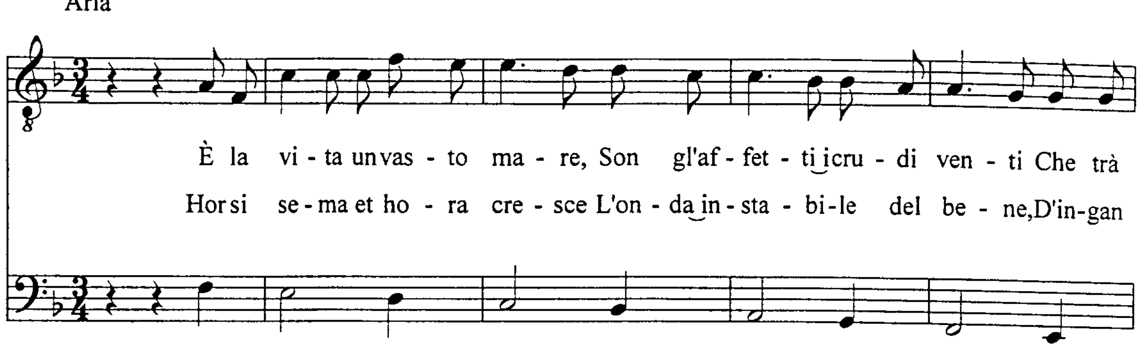
Cavalli, *Pompeo Magno*, I, 4 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXVII (=9901), 11r - v]

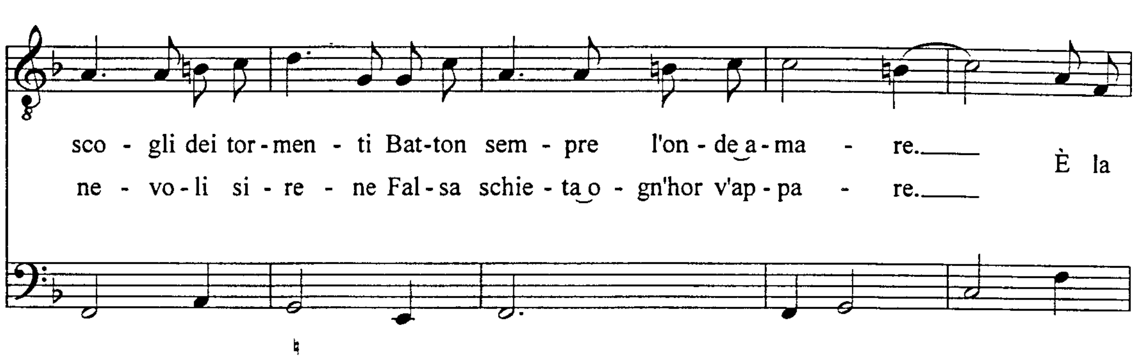




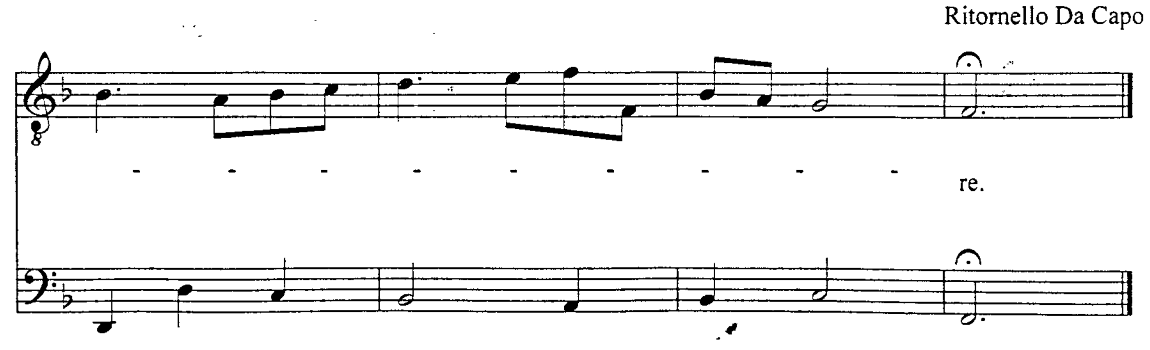
Musical Example 10

Cavalli, *Pompeo Magno*, II, 12 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXVII (= 9901), 83r - v]





Ritornello Da Capo



Musical Example 11

Freschi, *Helena rapita da Paride*, II, 10 [I-Vnm: CCCLVII (= 9881), 47v - 48r]

Musical Example 12

A. Scarlatti, *Gli equivoci nel sembiante,* II, 6 [D'Accone (ed.), *Scarlatti: Gli equivoci,*p.150]

Musical Example 13

Pagliardi, *Caligula delirante*, III, 8 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXXXVIII (= 9922), 94r - 95v]

16
S'il tuo vol - to il cor m'ar - dè, Se del rag - gio che por - ti in fron - te E più can - di - da la mia
19
fê, la - scia il po - - lo, e scen -
22
- di, e scen - di per me, e
25
scen - - - - di, e scen - di a me.

Musical Example 14

Pagliardi, *Caligula delirante,* III, 10 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXXXVIII (= 9922), 98v - 100r]

15
por - to fe - ri - to il cor, tu pia -
♯ 6

17
ga - - - sti il cac - cia - tor.
4 3

19
2 4 3

22
Ma di pur - pu - ree ro - se Ch'il se - no m'in - fio -
6

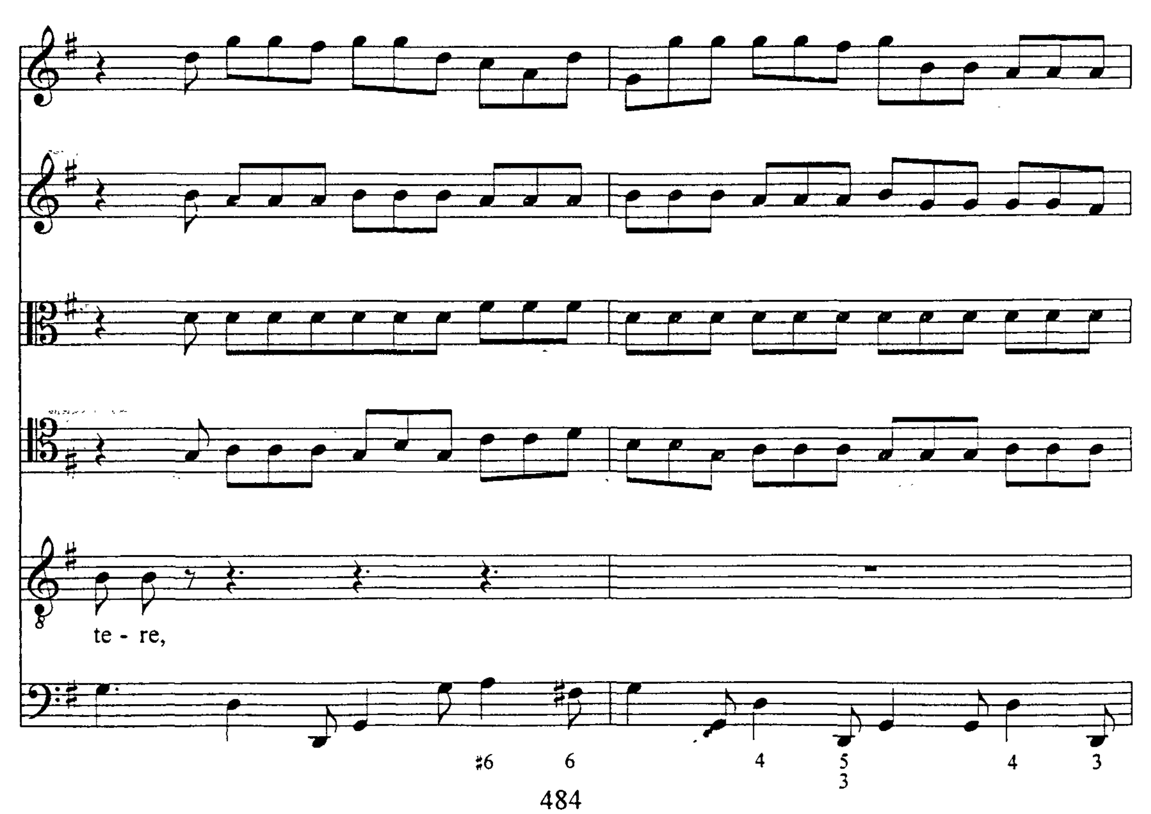
24
rò; Di sì ful - gi - di ru - bi - ni Chi la de - stra m'in - gem -
7 6

26
mò Ma d'a - mor sen - to lo stra - le Chi mi to - glie o - gni re - spi - ro.
4 3
29
Ohi - mè che man - co e spi - ro!

Musical Example 15

Albinoni, *Zenobia, Regina de Palmireni,* II, 3 [US-Wc: M 1500.A72Z4, 74v - 77r]

*"Vengon" in the libretto.
ra - te fug - gi - te ch'ar - ma - te, Sen vien*due Pan - te - re,
sen vien due pan
4
5
3


te - re,
♯6
6
4
5
3
4
3

Fu - rio - se, Sde - gno - se,
[fu - rio - se, sde-
6

*"L'uccidon" in the libretto.
gno - se,] vi uc - ci - don* le fie - re,
vi uc - ci - don le
4 5 ♯3

fie - re.
Da Capo

Musical Example 16

Cavalli, *Didone,* III, 10 [I-Vnm: CCCLV (= 9879), 129v - 130v]

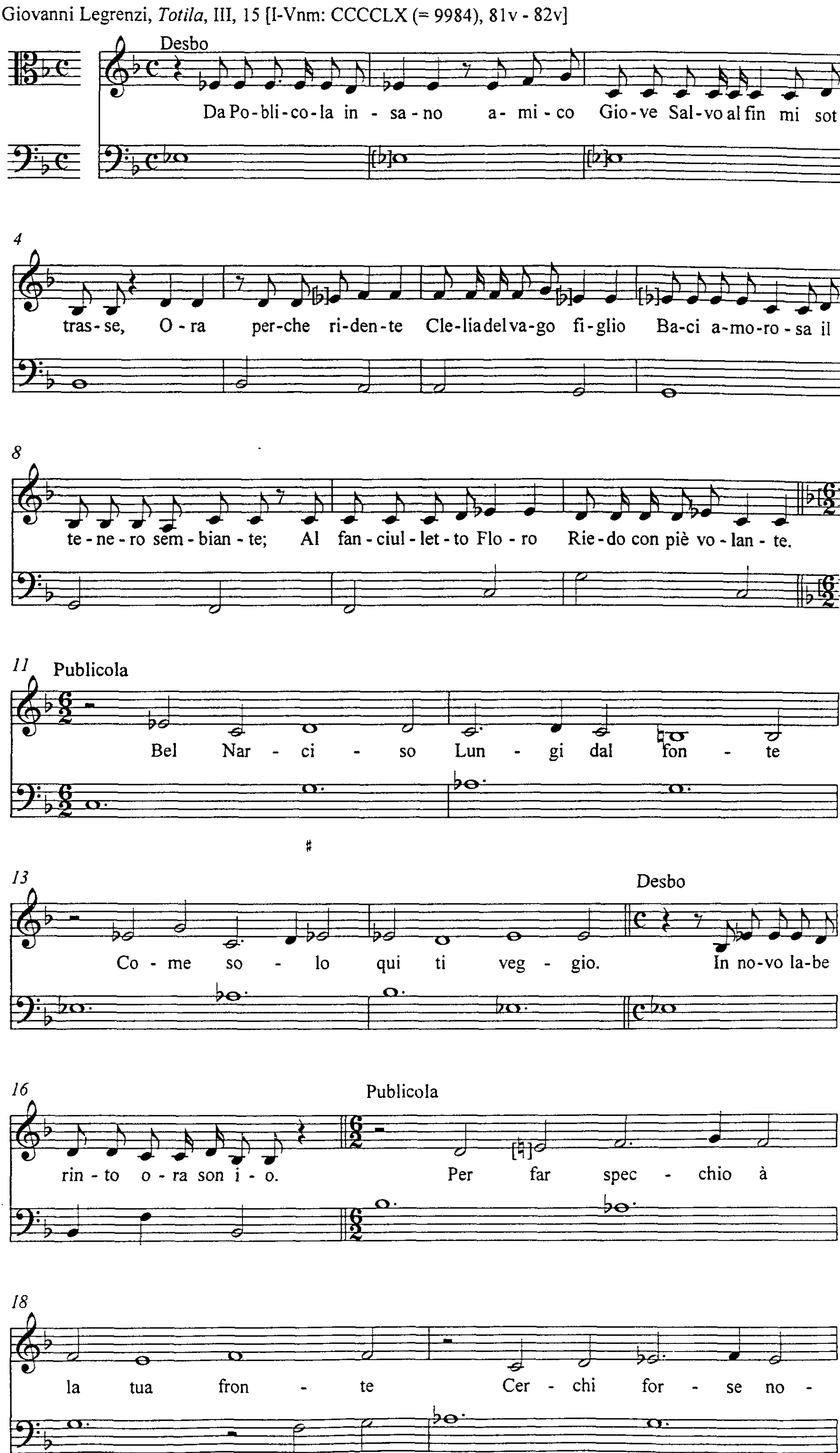
Iarba
O se cre - ti pro - fon - di, Non ar - ri - va - ti dal pen - sie - ro hu ma - no, Per con - tem
plar - li For - za no[n] hà L'hu - ma - ni - tà; Chi più lie - to, più lie - to di me
nel mo[n] - di fi - a, Se Di don, [Se Di - don] fi - nal-
men - te sa - rà sa - - - -
- rà mi - a
Ritornello da capo

Musical Example 17

66
- - - - - - - to
69
Se già mor - to T'ar - si in - cen - si e ac - ce - si fa - ci, Hor,
♭
6 #5
73
*"Hor, che spiriti hai tù vivaci" in the libretto.
che spir - ti hai vi - va - ci,* Dal tuo spo - so ac - co - gli, ac -
76
co - gli, ac - co - gli i ba - ci Che par - lo? o - ve tra - scor - ro?
80
Del no - to scon - so - la - to Il va - neg - gian - te ar - di - re
83
Scu - sa, per - do - na, ò si - re!

Musical Example 18

Giovanni Legrenzi, *Totila*, III, 15 [I-Vnm: CCCCLX (= 9984), 81v - 82v]



20
Desbo
vel - lo un ri - o, E quan - do mai.
22 Publicola
Que - ste chio - me con au - rei gi - ri
24
A più Nin - fe la - gna il cor,
26
Con tue guan - cie let - to de fio - ri
28
A i nu - di a - mo - ri E - be vez - zo - sa for -
30
man - do và; Chi non le ba - cia pia -
32
cer non ha, pia - cer non hà,

34
chi non le ba - cia pia - cer non ha.
36 Desbo
In - ten - do il re - sto à fè: Ad - dio, que - sta paz - zi - a non fà per
39 Publicola
me. Co - sì ri - tro - so? Sin, che spun - ta l'a - stro di ve - ne - re.
42
Me - co qui sie - di in grem - bo, [me - co qui si - di in grem - bo,] al er - be te - ne - re.
45 Desbo
Publicola
Il ciel m'a - i - to. De - nu - da or del bel se - no I mor - bi - det - ti a - vo - ri.
49 Desbo
Publicola
Eh, ch'io son Des - bo. Si, Del tuo ci - glio al
52
va - go ba - len Fra que - ste brac - cia ve -

54

Desbo

nir vò men, ve - nir vò men. O que - sto nò!

57 Publicola

Ma che veg - gio? che scor - go? Nuo - vo Pro - teo de mo - stri Co - me s'è tra - mu

61

Desbo Publicola

ta - to Il bel Nar - ci - so in I - po - grif - fo a - la - to. La - scia - mi! Mo - stro di Fle - ghe

64

Desbo

ton - te in dar - no pen - si Qui fa - bri - car - ti il ni - do. So - no il tuo ser - vo fi - do.

67 Publicola

Ra - pi - do spi - ghi il vo - lo; Pren - de l'ar - co, e lo stra - le.

Musical Example 19

Francesco Sacrati, *La finta pazza*, II, 10 (Bianconi and Sgirirri, "*La finta pazza*", pp. 173 - 4.)

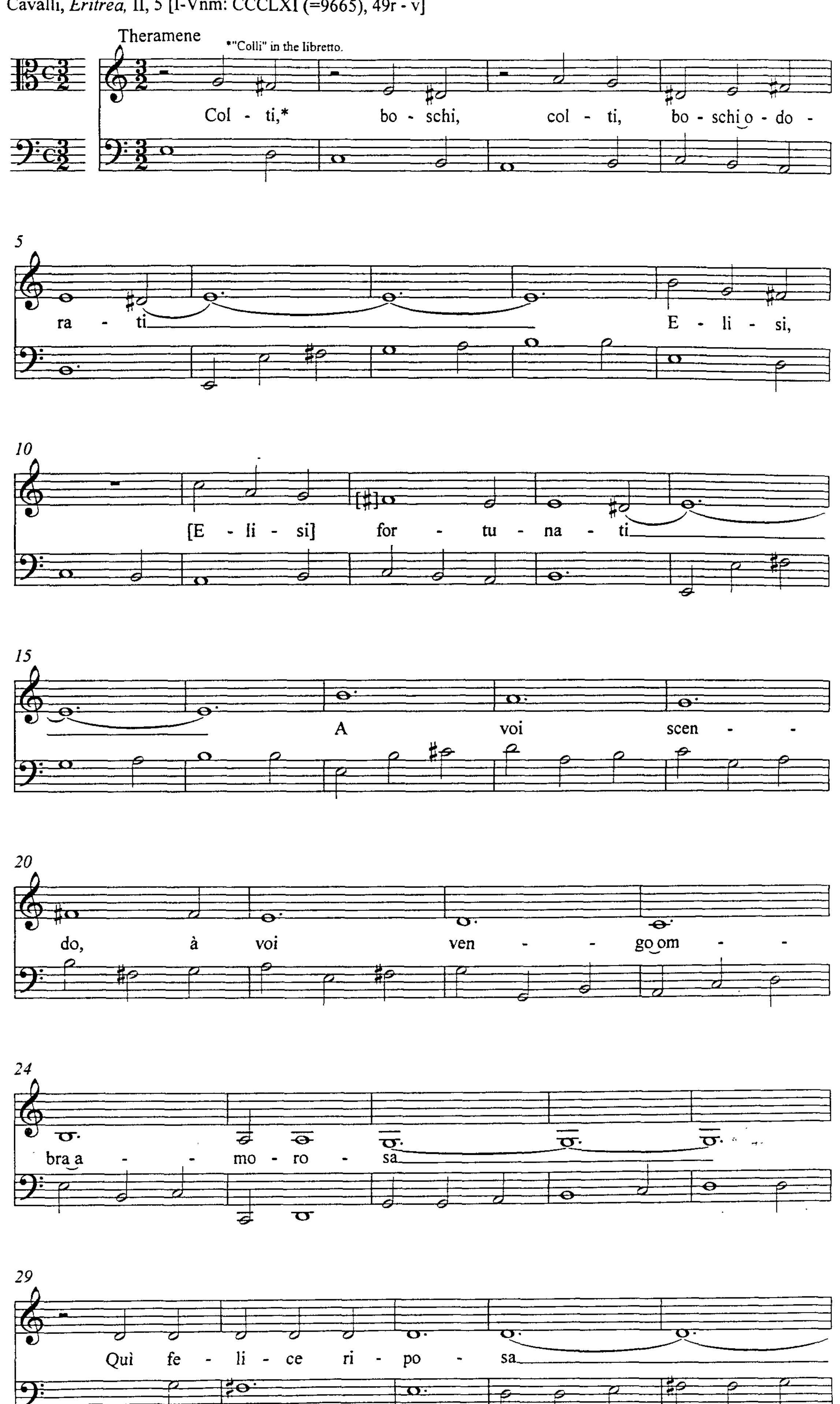
Musical Example 20

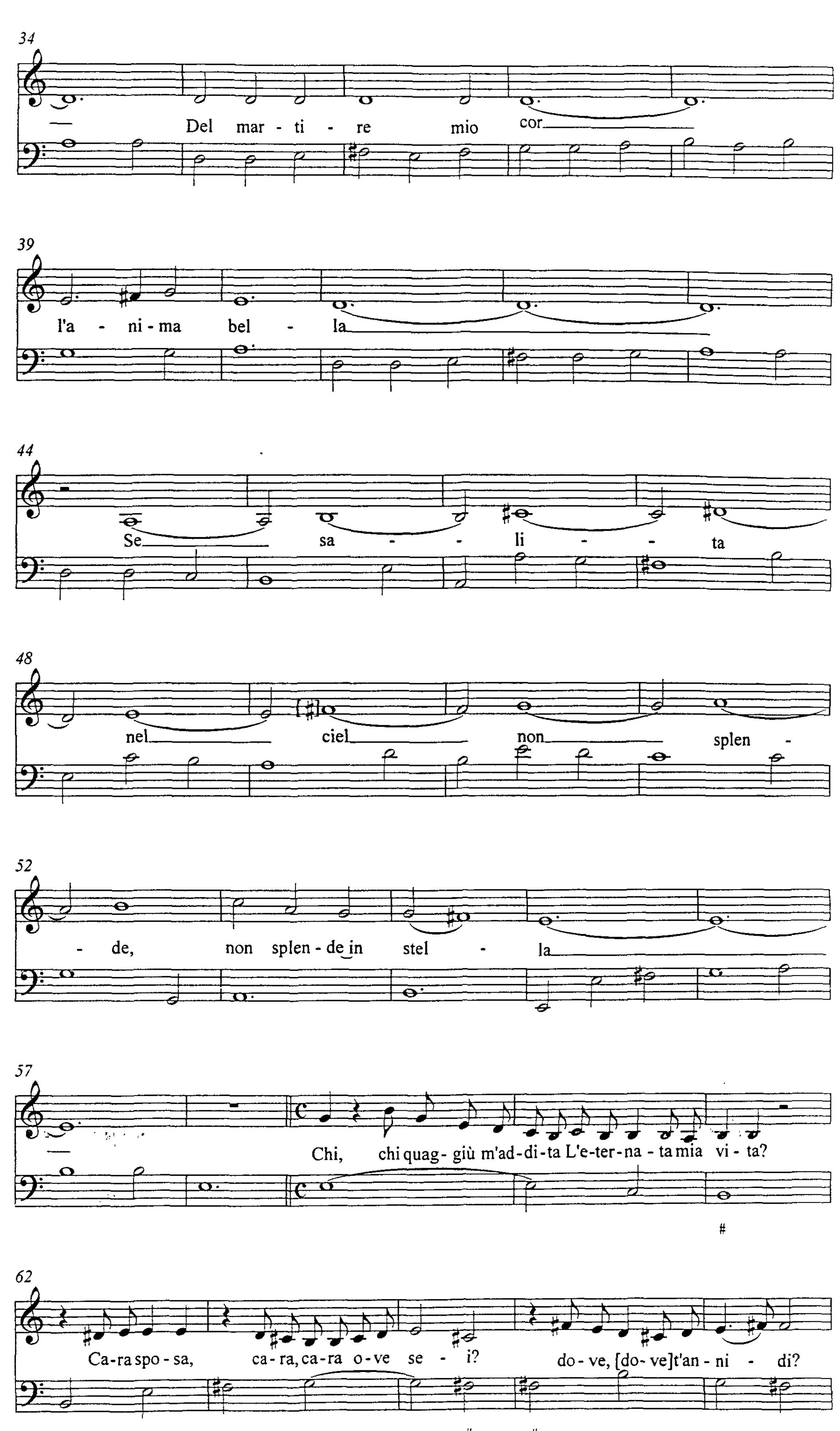
Freschi, *Helena rapita da Paride,* II, 23 [I-Vnm: CCCLVII (= 9881), 61r - v]

Euristene "rive" in the libretti.

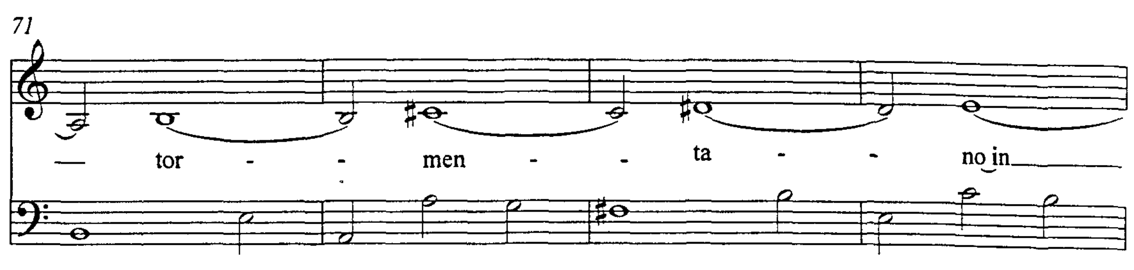
Musical Example 21

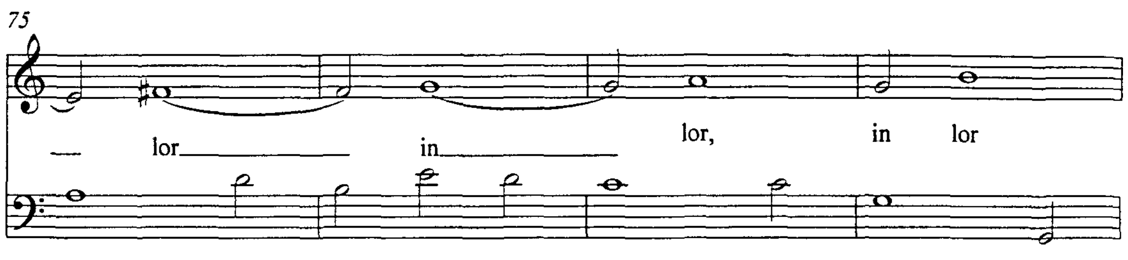
Cavalli, *Eritrea,* II, 5 [I-Vnm: CCCLXI (=9665), 49r - v]



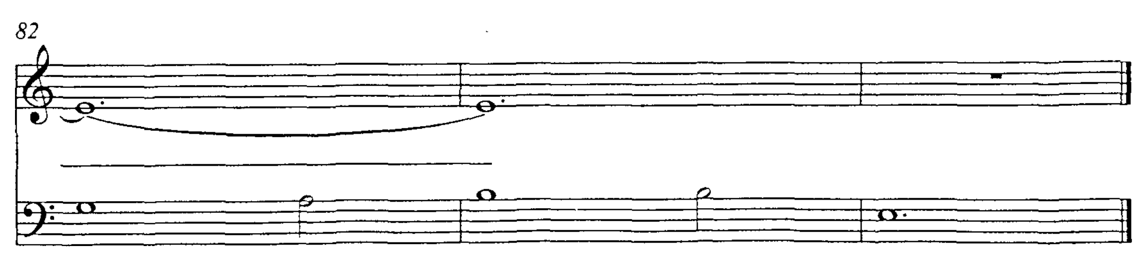

34
Del mar - ti - re mio cor
39
l'a - ni - ma bel - la
44
Se sa - li - ta
48
nel ciel non splen -
52
- de, non splen - de in stel - la
57
Chi, chi quag - giù m'ad - di - ta L'e - ter - na - ta mia vi - ta?
62
Ca - ra spo - sa, ca - ra, ca - ra o - ve se - i? do - ve, [do - ve]t'an - ni - di?

67
Be - a - ti que - sti li - di Tro-vo mu - ti scor - te - si, e pe - sti - ri - e Mi

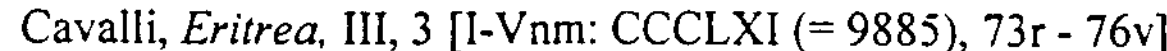

71
tor - - men - - ta - - no in

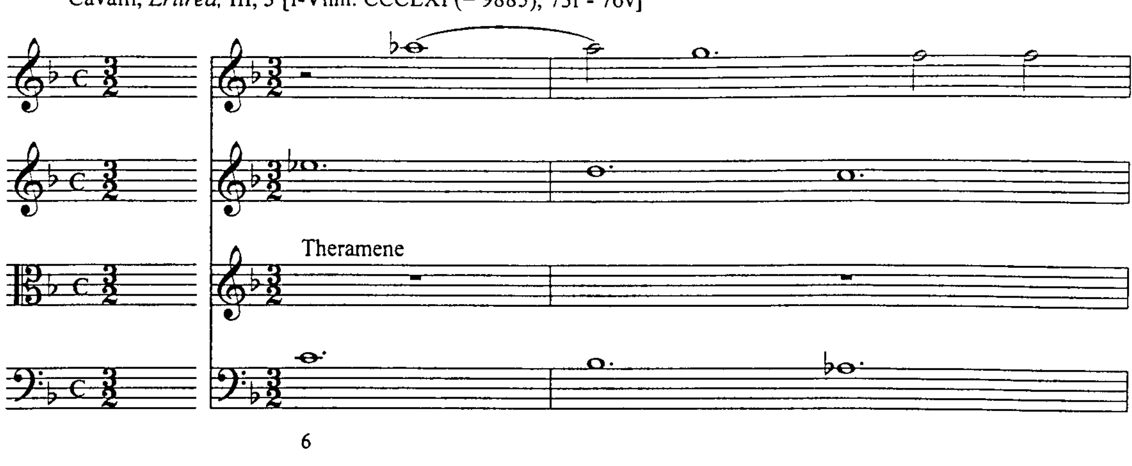

75
lor in lor, in lor

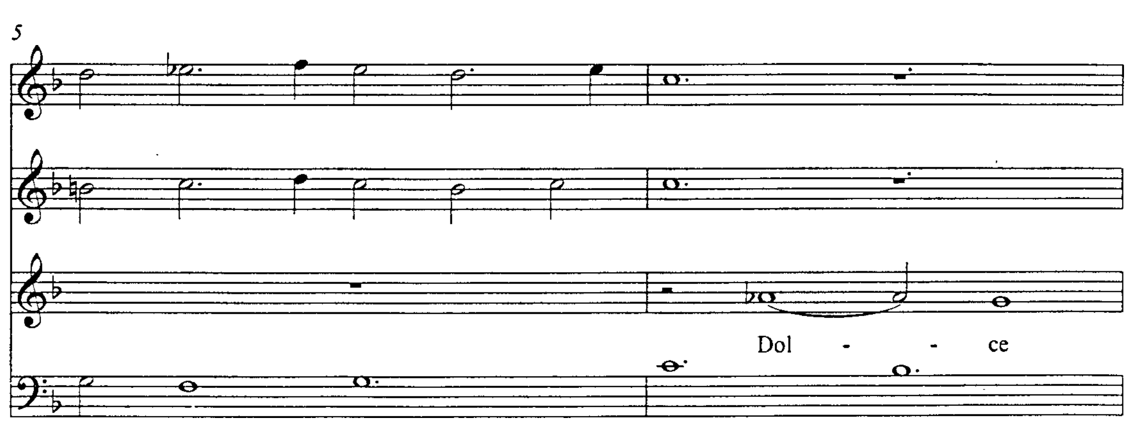
79
le ge - lo - si - - e.

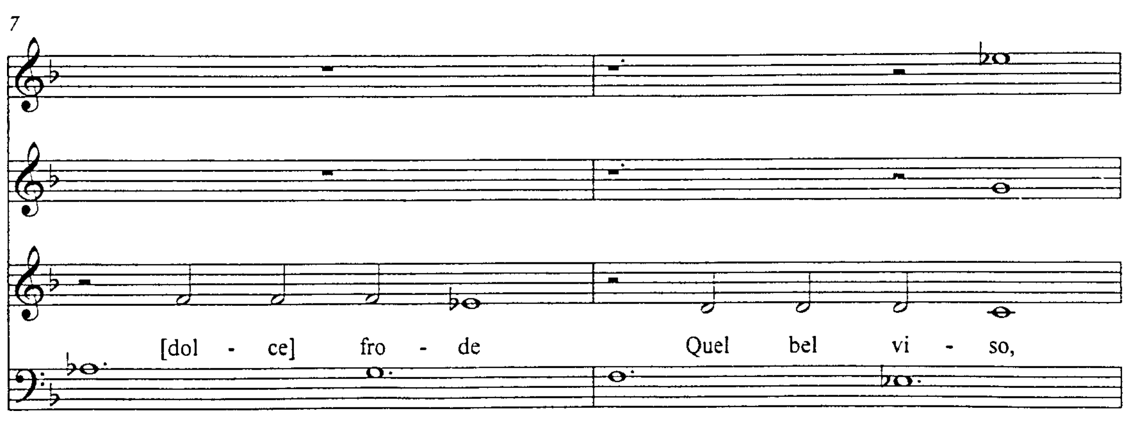

82

Musical Example 22

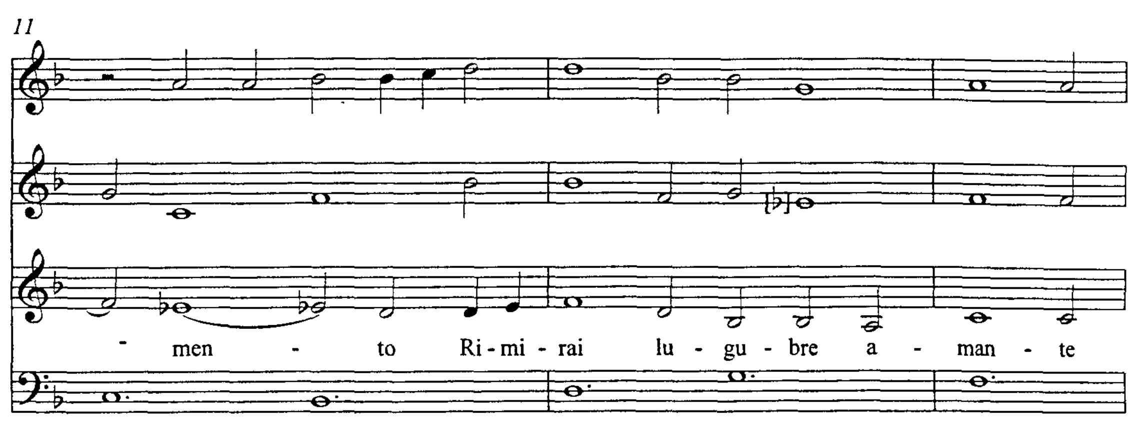

Cavalli, *Eritrea*, III, 3 [I-Vnm: CCCLXI (= 9885), 73r - 76v]



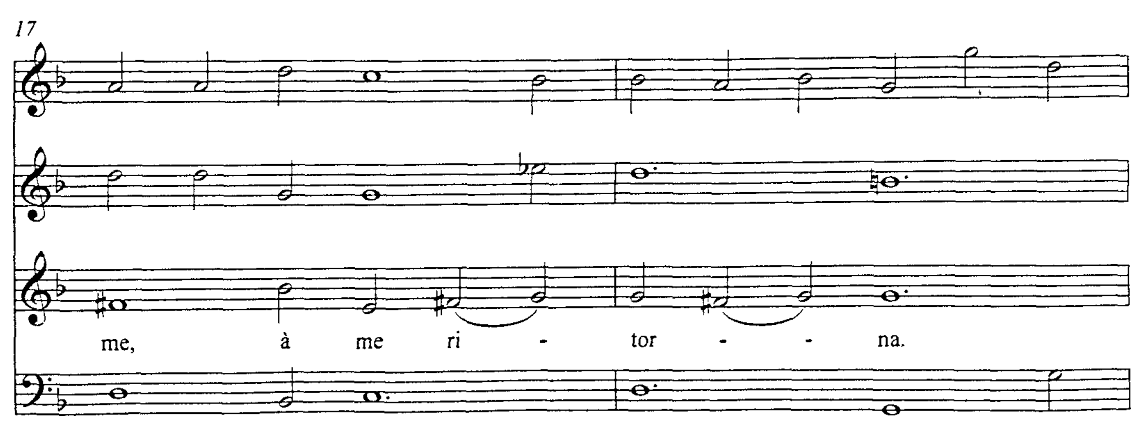




9
che già spen - to Per tor - -


11
- men - to Ri - mi - rai lu - gu - bre a - man - te

14
Hor spi - ran - te Ne suoi fre - gi à


17
me, à me ri - tor - - na.

19
Re - sa a -
21
dor - na Di suo spo - glie Fà che ba -
24
- - ci, fà che ba - - - -
27
- ci an - cor la mo -

29
glie
31
re - sa a - dor - na
di sue spo - glie
33
fâ che ba - - - - ci
fâ che
36
ba - - - - - ci

38

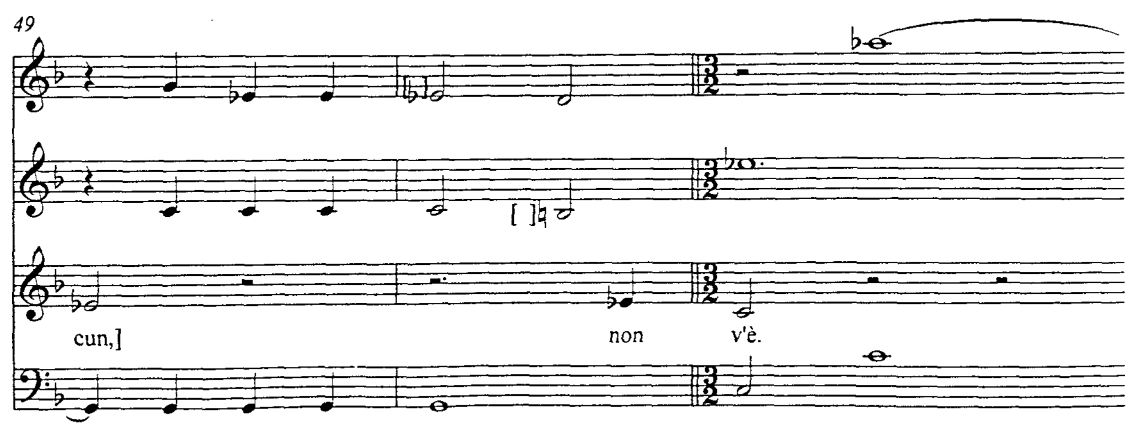
an - cor la mo - glie Ar - mi,

41

[ar - mi] sol - da - ri, [sol - da - ti,] O - là, o - là, Di qua vol - ge - te il

45

piè, Se di vi - ver bra - ma - te. Al - cun [al -



Musical Example 23

Cavalli, *Didone*, II, 12 [I-Vnm: CCCLV (= 9879), 85r - 87v]

Iarba

O cas-ti-tà bug-giar-da Quan-ti dil-let-ti co-pri, Quan-ti vi-tii nas-con-di

4

Con tuoi fal-la-ci e sce-le-ra-ti mo-di Ab-bel-li-sci le col-pe, or-ni le fro - di,

7

Di-don me-co si scu-sa Con le pol-vi,e con l'os-sa del ma - ri - to, Mes-chi-na i co

11

lo - ri e fa-bri-ca i pre-tes-ti, Per es-clu-der dal sen le pre - ci mi - e,

15

Son ge-mel-le le don-ne, e le bu-gi - e. Iar-ba Re,

20

Iar-ba na - to À in sos - pet-tir con la po-ten-za e l'ar-mi E Plu-to negl'ab

24

-bis - si, e Gio-ve in Cie - lo: Iar-ba Re, Iar-ba el-let-to À stan

28
car i tri-on-fi, À far su-dar le glo-rie È pos-pos-to ad E-ne-a?
32
À un fo-ra-stir men-di-co Che scam-pa dal-la ter-ra, Ch'e scac-cia-to del Ma-re,
35
Ond'han-no l'o-pre su-e Pe-nu-ria d'e-le-men-ti, Per-se gui-ta-to con u-gual ri-
39
go-re Dagl' in-cen-di e dai ven-ti, Dal-la Re-gi-na, E-ne-a mi s'an-te
42
po-ne? Quan-do nac-quer le fe-mi-ne mo-ri-ron Il dis-cor-so,
46
il giu-di-cio, e la ra-gio-ne. O cru-de an-go-scie
7 6
51
mi-e, Son ge-mel-le le don-ne, e le bu-gi-e.

56
Ge - lo - si - a ve - ne - no - sa, Ge - li - do mos - tro, e ri - o, Se
59
cer - chi il pian - to mio lo cer - chi in dar - no, U - na la - gri - ma so - la m'e - sce à
62
pe - na, Dis - pe - ra - tion ne dis - se - cò la ve - na. Et io la - scio il mio
66
*This line is not found in the libretto.
Re - gno, La co - ro - na de - po - no,* Ab - ban - do - no lo scet - tro, E m'in
70
du - co à pre - ga - re? Lin - gua na - ta ai com man - di, Lin - gua ch'à pe - na
74
for - ma le pa - ro - le, Men - tr'il cen - no de Re - gi è im - pe - rio mu - to, Di - scen - de à sup - pli
77
car, et è scher - ni - ta? Ma pur an - co, o Di - don, sei la mia vi - ta. Et

82
a - mo, e spe - ro an - co - ra, E pur in onta del - le mi - e fol - lie Son ge - mel - le le
86
don - ne, e le bu - gi - e. Co - sì strac - ciar, e
90
svi - sce - rar po - tes - si, Da ques - to sen, da que - sto cor l'i - ma - go Di quel vi - so as - sa - sin che m'hà fe
93
ri - ro, E an - nul - la - ti gl'a - mo - ri Ter - mi - nar i fu - ro - ri.
96
Ma - le - det - ta la fiam - ma, Che in - ce - ne - rì il mio pet - to Nò, nò,
99
mi ri - di - co, e men - to: La na - tu - ra cre - an - te Nel par - to - rir Di - do - ne Non pro
103
dus - se un bel vi - so, Ma in - car - nò un pa - ra - di - so. An - zi nò, che va

106
neg - gio; È Di - do - ne un in - fer - no, E in lei son io dan - na -to al fo - co e - ter - no
4 3
109
Ma Di - don m'hà scher - ni - to, Et io cie - co e pian - gen - te Vò cer-
112
can -do à ten-to - ni À suon d'as-pro mar-tel le mie ra - gio - ni. Deh, deh, gri-da ve-ri-
116
tà fà, ch'ogn'un sen - ta, Che un'os-ti-na-to a-mor paz-zia di-ven - ta. Non
4 3
120
pos - so - no i Po - e - ti à ques - ti dì Rap-pre - sen - tar le fa - vo - le à sue mo -
123
do, Chi hà fis-so ques-to chio - do, Del ve-ro stu - dio il bel sen-tier sma - rì.

Musical Example 24

F. Cavalli, *Egisto*, III - 5 (I-Vnm CCCCXI [= 9935]: 78v - 82r)

26
ra-mi Ond-io l'al-ma ne spo-glio, Se sra-di-ca-ste il pie-de Per gir ve-
30
*d' inA-Wn:16452
lo-ci ad a-scol-tar del Tra-ce le ca-no-re que-rel-le e i*me-sti can-ti, Le
34
*"spoglie" in the libretto.
fo-glie*pul-lu-lan-ti Con-ver-ti-te in or-rec-chie e i miei do-lo-ri U-di-te
37
pre-go, [u-di-te pre-go,] u-di-te, a-spri e mag-gio-ri.
42
non mi ne-ga l'in-fer-no La so-spi-ra-ta mo-glie, Più ca-ro se-no ac-co-glie La mia
46
*e' in A-Wn:16452
*"amanti" in -Wn:16452
don-na in co-stan-te. Ah, che* ne di-te, ò pian-te,*
51
Ce-da,[ce-da,]pur ce-da, oh Di-o, Del li-ri-co il cor-do-glio

55
al duo - lo mi - o. I - ra guer - rie - ra ar - di - ta Cal - pe - sta a - mor, cal - pe - sta, E in
* f in A-Wn
4 3
59
*a in A-Wn
que - sto pet - to de - sta, In - cen - dio tal, che ca - da In pol - ve - re con - ver - so
62
*f sharp in A-Wn
L'i - do - lo di co - le - i, Che m'è fat - ta ne - mi - ca, e pu - re an - co - ra il mio cor re - so à
65
me ri - bel - le, a - do - ra: Ah cor mal - vag - gio, ah
70
co - re. Fuo - ri, fuo - ri di que - sto pet - to, Che no[n] vò dar ri - cet - to a un tra - di -
73
to - re. Ah cor mal - vag - gio, ah, co - re.
77
E - sci, [e - sci] via, via che tar - di? O - ver spe - gni quel fo - co on - de an - cor ar - di.

80
A - mor so - spen - di i - van - ni, O - di, [o - di,]
85
o - di, [o - di,] le vo - ci mi - e, M'ha tra - di - to co - ste - i, m'ha tra-
4 3
89
di - to,[m'ha tra - di - to] co - ste - i, Ca - sti - gar - la,[ca - sti - gar - la, ca - sti - gar - la,]tu de - i.
93
Tu ri - di, [tu ri - di?] e de' miei ma - li, cru - del ti pren - di
97
gio - co? Và ch'in ce - ne - ri l'a - li Pos - sa ri - dut - ti de lo sde - gno il fo - co
100
*b.100, rhythmic discrepancy in A-Wn
T'e - stin - gua - no la fa - ci degl' in - fe - li - ci a man - ti Tur - bi - ni di so - spir, piog - gie di
103
*b.103, rhythmic discrepancy in A-Wn
pian - ti, E la ra - gion in - vit - ta L'ar - co in - giu - sto ti spez - zi

105
*b. 105, rhythmic discrepancy in A-Wn
e le sa - et - te De l'a - tra ba - ve del' e - ren - ni in fet - te, A - pri - te,
108
[a - pri - te] il var - co, a - pri - te, ò di - spe - ra - ti im - pe - ri
112
à un di - spe - ra - to Ap - pro - da, [ap - pro - da] al
4 3
116
li - do, ap - pro - da, Ò di que - sta pa - lu - de Cur - vo e pi - gro noc - chier la
120
sti - gia bar - ca, E me sù l'al - tra ri - va, [e me sù l'al - tra
124
ri - va,] a - ni - ma af - flit - ta To - sto, to - sto tra - git - ta Che ri - chia
128
mar - mi vo - glio Dell' in - giu - sti - tie che com - met - te a - mo - re, i - ni - quo spir - to,

132
[i - ni - quo spir - to] a - van - ti il suo si - gno - re. Ohi - mè
136
co - me sdru - sci - ta è que - sta na - ve, L'ac - qua per tut - to in - non - da,
140
af - fret - ta [af - fret - ta] il re - meg - giar che no[n] m'af - fon - da;
4 3
142
Sia - mo à ter - ra pur giun - ti, à Dio, [à Dio] Ca - ron - te.
146
Quan - ti hor - ri - bi - li og - get - ti, Quan - te for - me ri - mi - ro in un com -[m]i - ste In que - sti del - la
149
mor - te a - tri ri - cet - ti? Che cre - de - te, [che - cre
7 6♯
152
de - te] at - te - rar - mi Ò pal - li - de fan - ta - sme, o por - ten - to - si mo - stri?

154
Non m'ar - re- cò ter-ro-re Fan - ta-sma, e mo-stro rio di voi mag-gio-re.
156
*d in A-Wn
Tan-ta-lo, pren-di,[pren - di] il fug-gi-ti-vo po-mo, To-gli, [to - gli] dell'ac-qua a
160
va - ra, Be - vi, [be - vi,] che fa - i? ah, ah, per-che la spu - ti? As-sag
7 6♯
164
giar -la anch' io vò, se' il ciel m'a-iu - ti.
Hai tù ra-gio - ne,
168
el - la è ben trop - po a-ma - ra. Oh, di Da-nao ho-mi-
172
ci-de, E mal-na-te fi-glio-le Clo-ri, [Clo - ri,] non è con vo - i? In-se
176
gna - te - la,[in - se-gna - te - la] à mè Di - te, di - te, dov' è

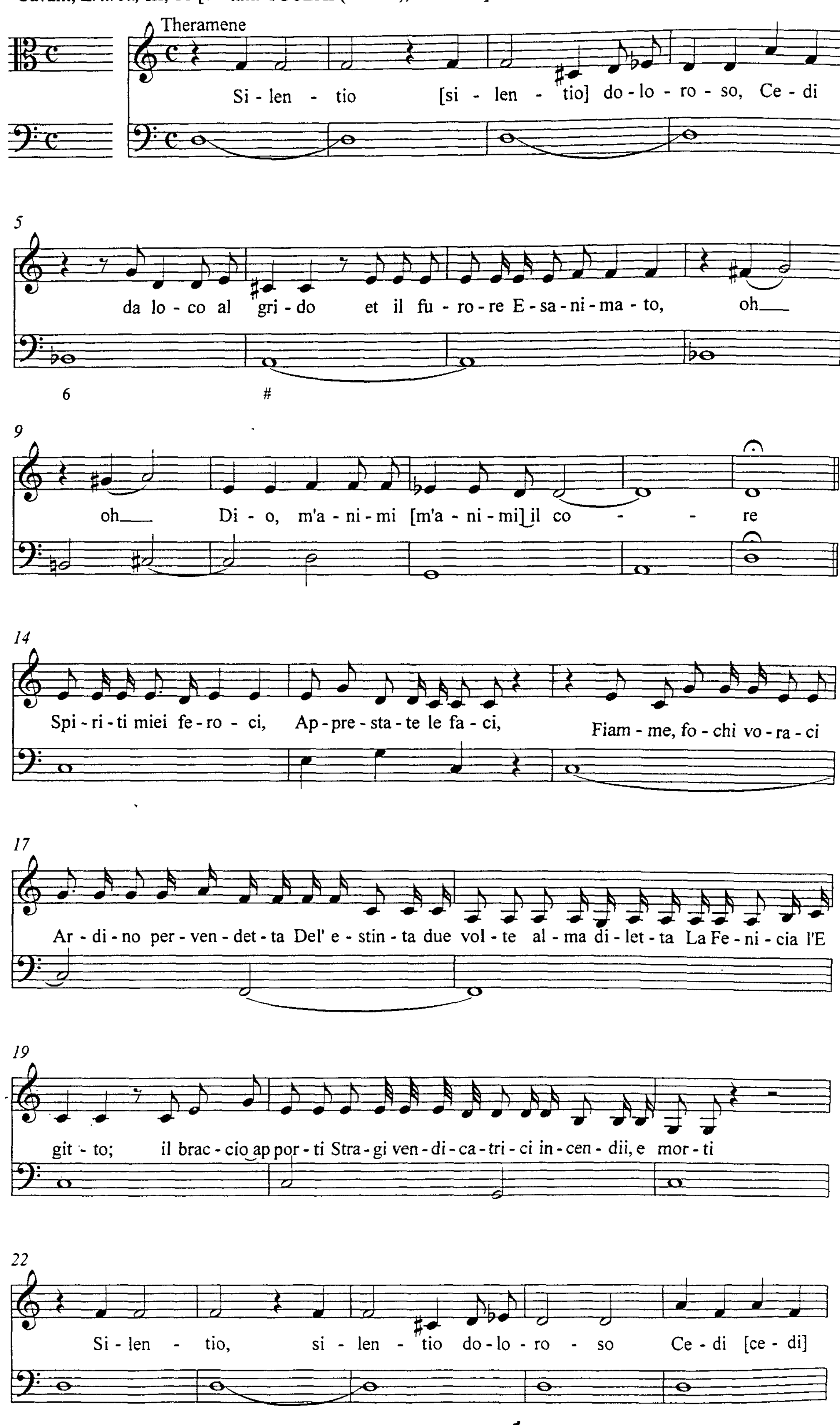
179
Ree d'u - na stes - sa col - pa Me la ce - la - te in va - no, La tro - ve - rò ben
182
i - o, La vò tan - to sfer - zar con que - ste ser - pi, Sin che de - sti pie-
185
tà del suo mar - ti - re Nel - le fu - rie so - rel - le di lei com - pa - gne fel - le
189
Ec - co, [ec - co] la scel - le - ra - ta Che dal con - ca - vo vo - stro Fat - ti - co - so stru
192
men - to in cui s'e - ra ce - la - ta, u - sci - ta fug - ge, Fug - gi pur, fug - gi pu - re, Ch'io
195
*In I-Vnm:cccxi, erroneously d' sharp appears.
se - gui - rò le tue fu - ga - ci pian - te Sin nel - le go - le del ma - stin la - tran - te.

Musical Example 25

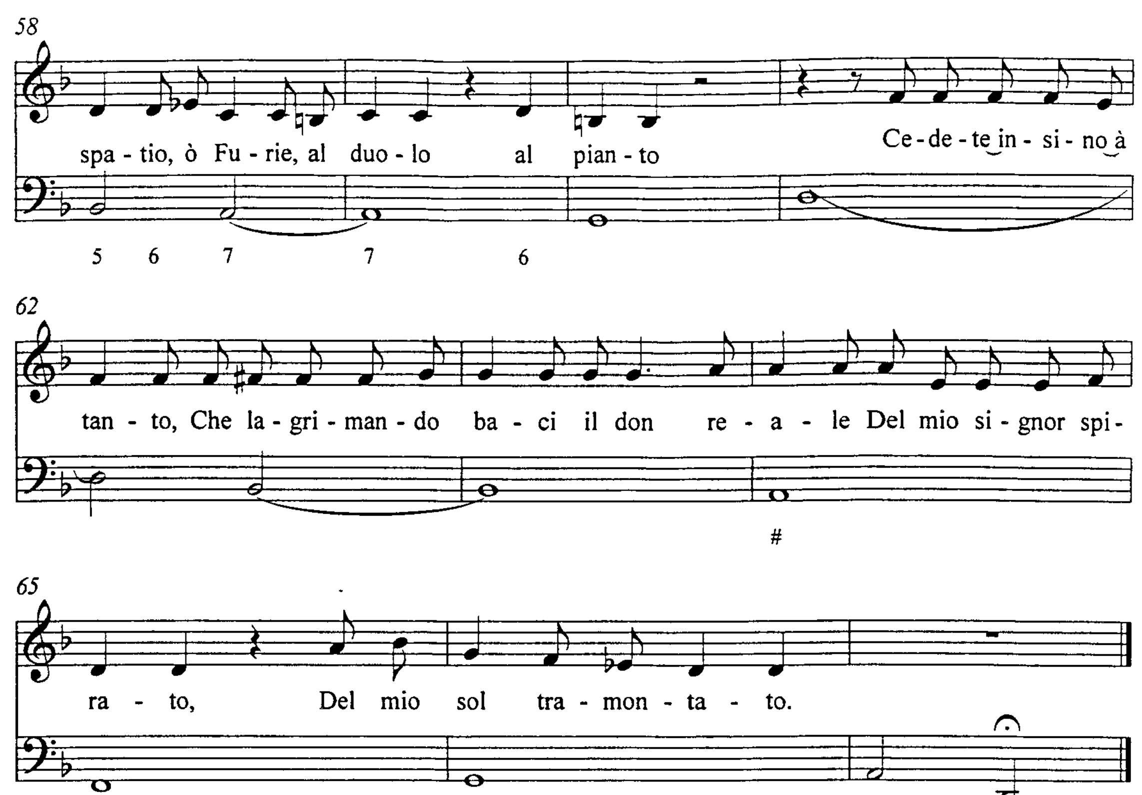
Cavalli, *Eritrea,* I, 8 [I-Vnm: CCCLXI (=9885), 23r-v]

Musical Example 26

Cavalli, *Eritrea,* III, 11 [I-Vnm: CCCLXI (= 9885), 91r - 92r]



27
dà lo - co al gri - do et il fu - ro - re E - sa - ni - ma - to; Oh,
31
oh Di - o m'a - ni - mi [m'a - ni - mi] il co - re
36
Del - la mia bel - la spo - sa Sfio - ri - ta, es - san - gue i - ma - go om - bra a - do - ra - ta
40
Trà pa - ci e - ter - ne, il tuo va - gar ri - po - sa:
45
*"al capo bello" in the libretto.
For - me - rò di duo re - gni al cor - po* bel - lo Il - lu - stre Mo - nu - men - to, ec - cel - so a - vel
49
lo. Ar - mi, fo - chi ac - cen - de - te, ac - cen - de - te De - so -
54
la - te, strug - ge - te. Mà, ce - de - te, ce - de - te an - cor voi Per bre - ve


58
spa - tio, ò Fu - rie, al duo - lo al pian - to
Ce - de - te in - si - no à
5 6 7 7 6
62
tan - to, Che la - gri - man - do ba - ci il don re - a - le Del mio si - gnor spi -
#
65
ra - to, Del mio sol tra - mon - ta - to.

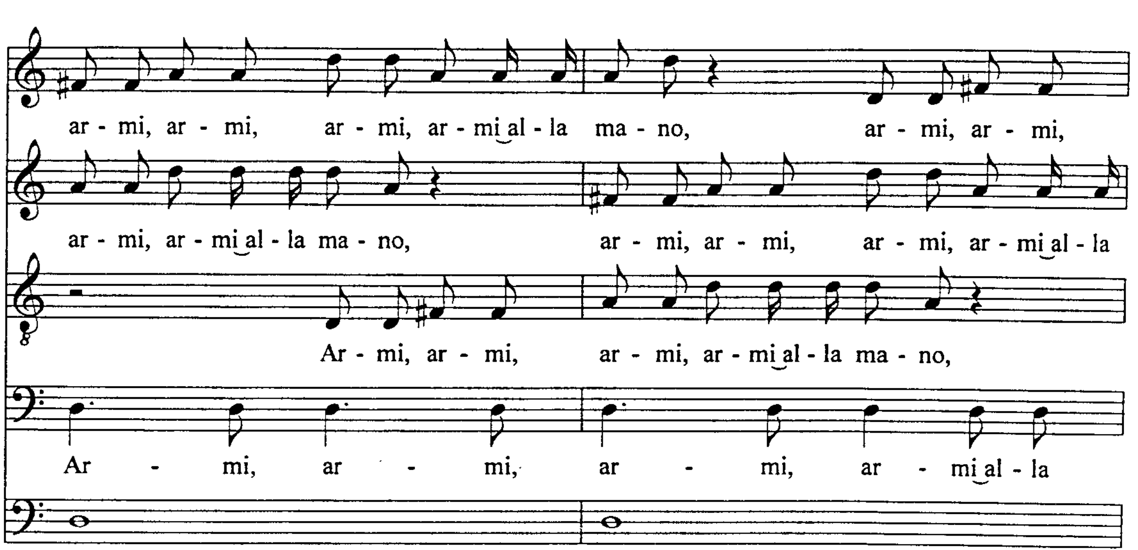
Musical Example 27

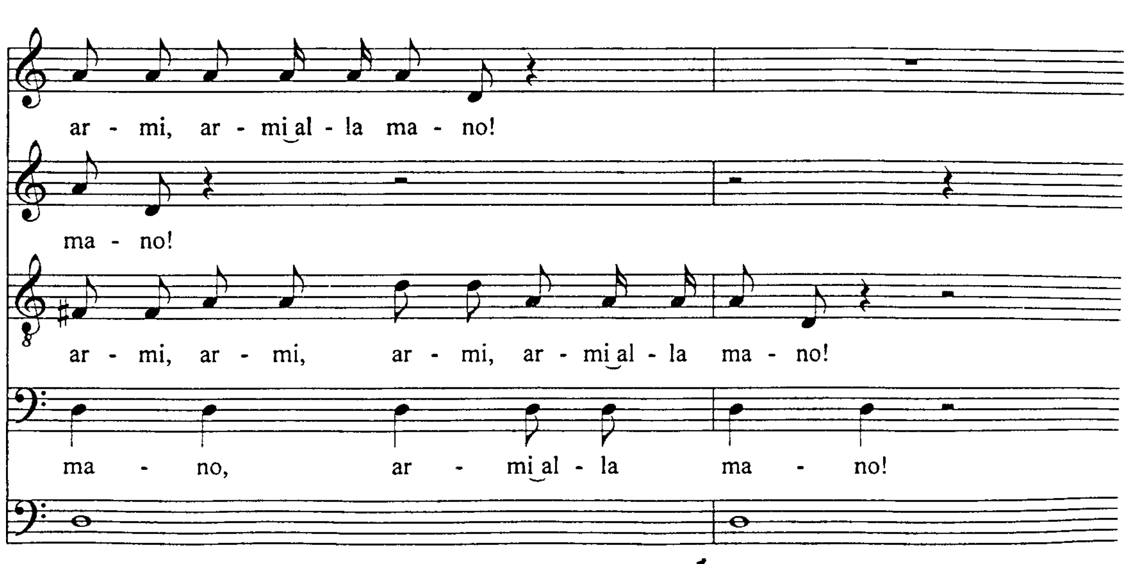
G. B. Volpe, *Gli amori di Apollo e Leucotoe*, III, 15 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXXVI (= 9910), 91v - 92r]

84
to
Nò mi ri - di - co, io men - to,
Li-ber non è chi sta tra
6♭
88
lac - ci in vol - to E - scu - sa - bi - li so - no I tuoi va - ni de - li - ri a - ni - ma
5♯
[3]♯
♯
91
mi - a Un o - - sti - na -
94
to a - mor di - vien, di - vien paz - zia

Musical Example 28

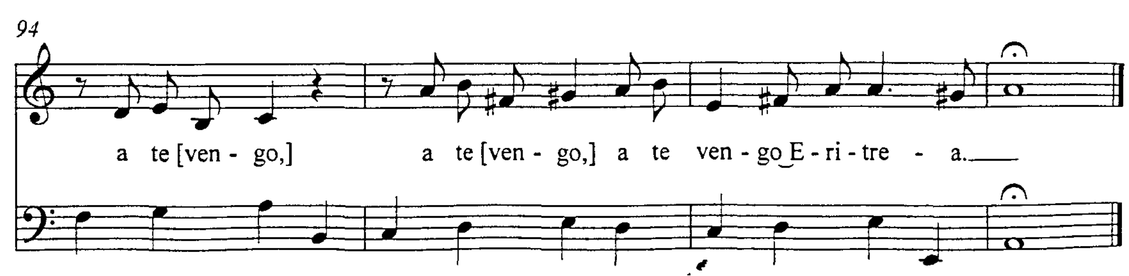
Sacrati, *La finta pazza,* II, 10 [Bianconi & Sgrirri (ed.), *Sacrati: La finta pazza,* p. 162]





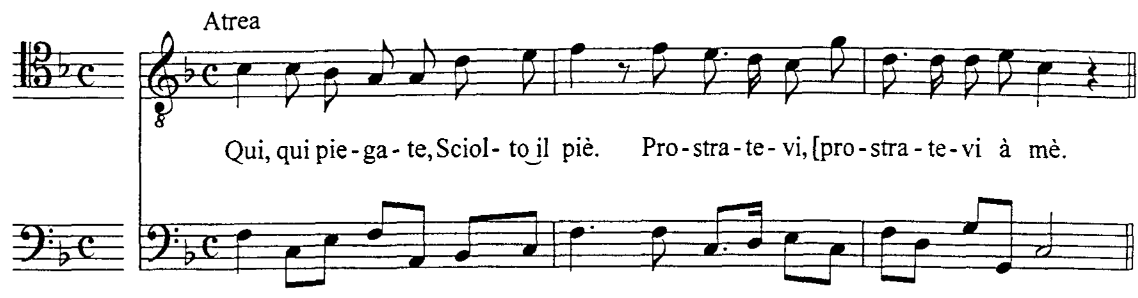
Musical Example 29

Cavalli, *Eritrea*, II - 7, [I-Vnm: CCCLXI (= 9885), f. 53v, mm. 80 - 97]



Musical Example 30

Cavalli, *Pompeo Magno,* I, 20 [I-Vnm: CCCLXXVII (= 9901), 54 v - 56r]



Musical Example 31

Legrenzi, *Totila,* II, 2 [I-Vnm: CCCCLX (= 9984), 38r]