

# The Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589

Bernardo Buontalenti's Designs and  
the Ledger of Emilio de' Cavalieri  
(1895)

## *An Art-Historical Essay*

Having laid aside the cardinalitial purple in 1588, Grand Duke Ferdinand I very soon ventured on the next step toward becoming the true father of his country: he chose as his bride Christina of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Catherine de Médicis, queen of France. In April 1589 the French princess entered Tuscany as its future sovereign; and in May she was acclaimed with all the pageantry with which, for more than a century, Florentine society had been accustomed to celebrate every major event in the life of the Medici family.

Detailed accounts of these celebrations survive in the diaries of Pavoni, Cavallino, and Benacci; the triumphal arch is described by Gualterotti, and the *commedia* and the Intermedi by Bastiano de' Rossi.<sup>1</sup> According to these sources, then, the festivities unfolded in the following sequence:

On 1 May peasants came in from Peretola and brought a magnificent maypole.

On the evening of 2 May the comedy *La pellegrina* (The pilgrim) by Dottore Girolamo Bargagli was performed by "Gli Intronati Senesi," with Intermedi by Giovanni de' Bardi di Vernio.

On 4 May *calcio a livrea* was played on the Piazza di S. Croce.

On 6 May the Intermedi were repeated, and the comedy was *La zingana* (The gypsy) performed by "I Gelosi," with their prima donna, Vittoria Pisimi,<sup>2</sup> in the role of the gypsy.

On 8 May there was a *caccia di leoni, et orsi, et ogni sorte d'animali* (hunt with lions, bears, and animals of all kinds) on the Piazza di S. Croce. In a battle between rats and cats, the rats were the victors, "*con gran riso di tutti*" (with much laughter on all sides).

On 11 May the *sbarra* (jousting at barriers) and the celebrated naumachia took place in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti.

On 13 May the Intermedi were repeated again, partly for the benefit of the Venetian ambassadors, who had not seen them before. The comedy, performed by "I Gelosi," was *La pazzia* (Madness), written by Isabella Andreini,<sup>3</sup> who also played the main role. Her big scene was that in which, as a *finta*

... *hora in Spagnuolo, hora in Greco, hora in Italiano ed in molti altri linguaggi, ma tutti fuor di proposito, e tra le altre cose si mise a parlar Francese e di cantar certe canzonette pure alla Francese che diedero tanto diletto alla serenissima sposa, che di maggiore non si potria esprimere.*<sup>4</sup>

...in Spanish, then in Greek, then in Italian, and in many other languages at random: and in the midst of it all she began speaking French and even singing songs in the French manner, which gave great delight to Her Highness the Bride; nothing could have pleased her more.

On 23 May there was a *corso al saracino* (tilting), and on 28 May a *mascherata de' fiumi* (masquerade of rivers).

As will be seen, the new grand duchess was greeted by a living compendium of Florentine festive pageantry. And yet, in spite of all the careful descriptions that are still extant, it is hard for us today to gain a clear notion of what was seen. Nowadays, the last thing that anyone thinks of on 1 May is a maypole. Lions, foxes, and wolves no longer do battle on the Piazza di S. Croce; and the traditional game of *calcio* is no longer played there. Nothing remains of the *sbarra* and the *corso al saracino* but weapons and caparisons in museum showcases; and today we go to the theater to see something quite different from the "*macchine quasi soprannaturali*" (almost supernatural machinery) of Bernardo Buontalenti.

There is only one way to transform the contemporary narratives, which now strike us at first sight merely as dry or bizarre enumerations, into vividly remembered images: and that is by making the effort to see them in the context of the depictions of festive pageantry in the art of the period—an effort that has yet to be made, either in a specific case study or in a more general work. Amid the inexhaustible wealth of the Florentine collections and libraries, I have come upon Buontalenti's original designs and the account book for the theatrical costumes, as well as a number of engravings that refer to the Intermedi of 1589; and it is therefore a pleasure as well as an honor for me to take the opportunity that presents itself and, in an essay in art history, to attempt to describe the historical position of the Intermedi of 1589 within the evolution of theatrical taste.

In all the contemporary descriptions, it is the Intermedi that are described as the highlights of the festivities; and historians, too, have always regarded them as such.<sup>5</sup> The guiding spirit of these Intermedi was Giovanni de' Bardi dei Conti di Vernio, from whose celebrated circle, the Camerata, the classically inspired reform of musical drama, the *Riforma Melodrammatica*, was to emerge. At his side were Emilio de' Cavalieri, theater manager and organizer of the singers and actors, and Bernardo Buontalenti, costume designer and machinist. A fourth figure was the learned *prologo* Bastiano de' Rossi, "L'inferigno," chief secretary to the Accademia della Crusca, whose task it was to expound to an educated public both the overall theme and the pri-

precise, comprehensive, and erudite description is naturally our most important source.

Bardi, Buontalenti, and Rossi had collaborated in the same way in 1585, when Bardi's comedy *L'amico fido* (unfortunately now lost) was performed in honor of the wedding of Cesare d'Este to Virginia de' Medici; and the memory of the fine effect achieved on that occasion led Ferdinando to entrust them with devising the festivities of 1589.<sup>6</sup> The only new member of the team was Emilio de' Cavalieri, who had been appointed superintendent (*intendente*) of fine arts on 3 September 1588.<sup>7</sup>

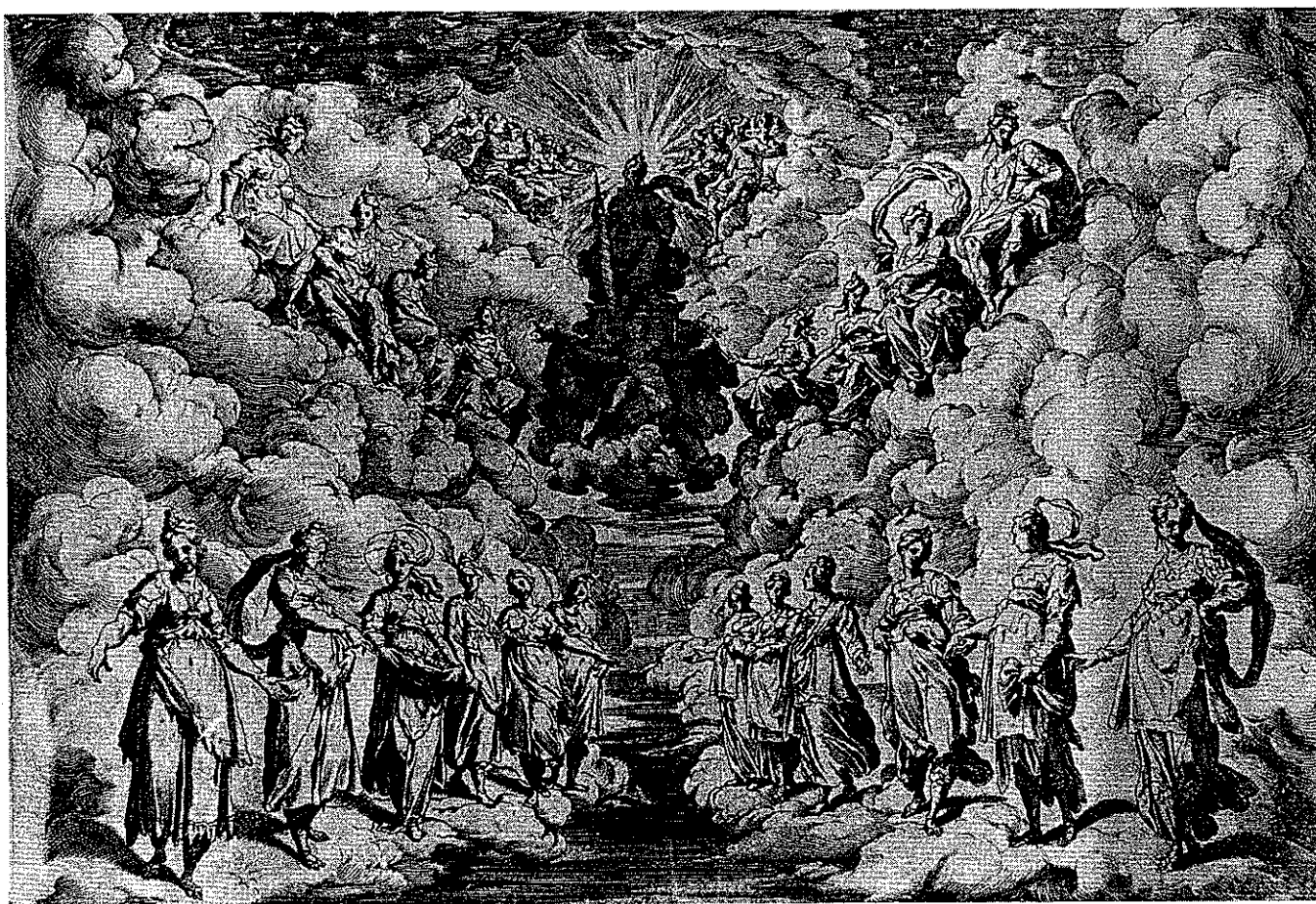
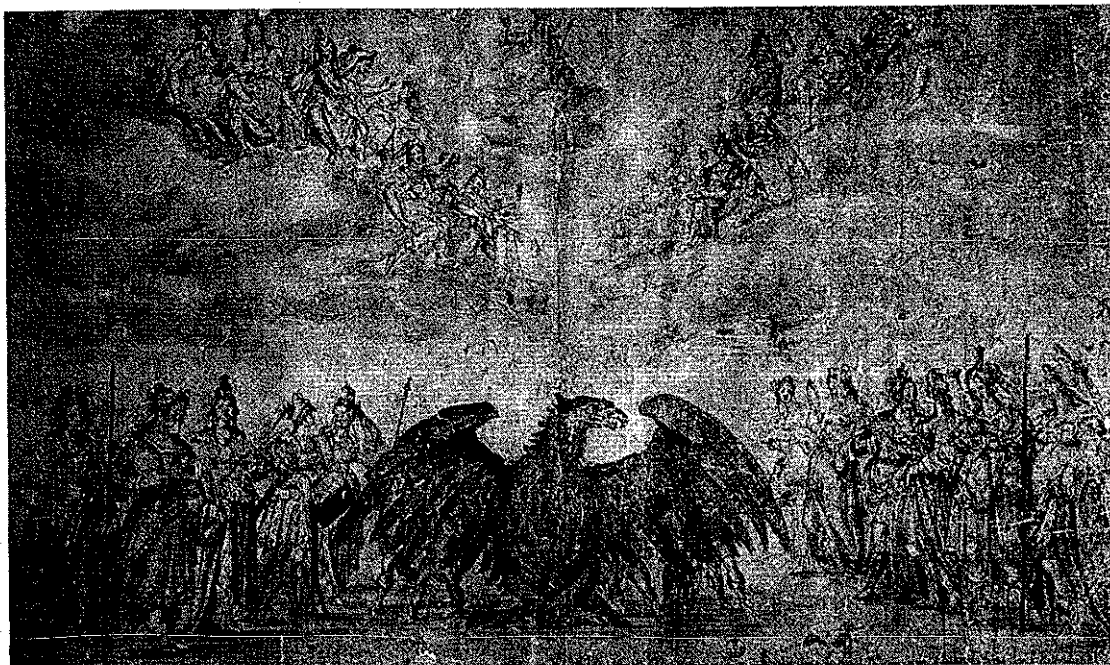
For Bardi—the friend of Vincenzo Galilei, the adviser to Caccini and Peri, the scholar and man of taste who was to launch the humanistic reform of music—to be found still, in 1589, inspiring florid Intermedi in which bedizened gods sang the praises of a princely couple to the madrigalesque music of Marenzio and Malvezzi, may at first sight seem strange and even undignified. It was works of just this kind, so highly appreciated in court circles for their “variety,” that formed the main hindrance to the emergence of any dramatic art and music based on psychology and unity. But we should not pass judgment too hastily. Bardi may have made his concessions to courtly tastes in 1585 and 1589, but he did not do so without a vigorous effort to impose his own taste; and this, as has not hitherto been noticed, went entirely in the direction of greater unity and clarity.

In his account of the 1585 festivities, Rossi plainly expresses his regret at the spoiling of an originally unified plan:

*Ma passiamo ad altro, e diciamo qual fu l'animo del Poeta, quando, da principio, gli convenne cercar la favola per la rappresentazion de' detti intermedi, che fu questo, di ritrovarla con un sol filo, e poscia far nascer da quella tutte e sei le rappresentazion, che gli abbisognavano. Ma fu giudicato opportuno alla ntenzione, che s'aveva principalmente nel presente spettacolo, che innanzi ad ogni altra cosa s'attendesse alla varietà: di maniera, che gli fu necessario, per cotal riguardo, perderne l'unità, e per conseguente il pregio, che per essa può guadagnarsi.*<sup>8</sup>

Let us move on and describe how the poet felt when he wanted, at the outset, to find a story for the Intermedi he was staging: to find one with a single thread that could be carried through all the six scenes that he needed. It was, however, considered best for the main purpose of the present spectacle that the need for variety should take precedence over everything else; for which reason he was obliged to sacrifice their unity, and with it such merit as unity is able to confer.

In the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi, there is an autograph pen and watercolor drawing, no. 7059, by Bernardo Buontalenti,<sup>9</sup> which bears the following inscription: “*Primo intermedio. Inven. Fece Bernardo Buontalenti, architetto di...?*” This can only refer to the first Intermedio of 1585. At the very top, in the center, Jupiter is seen enthroned on a cloud and flanked by eighteen goddesses on four other clouds. Below left are four Muses, led by a



**Fig. 77. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Design for the First Intermedio of 1589*  
 Drawing. Florence, Gabinetto delle Stampe (see p. 351)

**Fig. 78. Agostino Carracci**  
*Scene from the First Intermedio of 1589*  
 Engraving (see p. 354)

bearded, laurel-garlanded god (Apollo?); below right are five Muses led by a goddess in armor (Pallas?). In the center, between these two groups, is a gigantic eagle, with five putti peeping through its wings. The subject might thus be described as "Muses and Genii being sent out from Olympus." But as this agrees only in the most general terms with Rossi's description of the first Intermedio, in which eight *beni* (blessings)—Virtù, Fede, Bellezza, Gioventù, Felicità, Sanità, Pace, and Evento (Virtue, Faith, Beauty, Youth, Happiness, Health, Peace, and Success)—are sent from Olympus; it would probably not be wrong to suppose, therefore, that Buontalenti's drawing is a sketch for Bardi's first, rejected *concetto* of the scene.<sup>10</sup>

Be that as it may, by 1589 Bardi was more successful in imposing a degree of inner coherence to the content of his six Intermedi. The subjects now were as follows:

1. Harmony of the Spheres;
2. Contest between Muses and Pierides;
3. Apollo's Battle against Python;
4. Realm of the Spirits;
5. Rescue of Arion;
6. Apollo and Bacchus with Rhythm and Harmony.

All these, as will be seen, were pantomimes with an antique flavor, interspersed with madrigals, on the theme of the power of music;<sup>11</sup> and, as clearly emerges from Rossi's description, they were designed down to the last detail in accordance with the information supplied by the writers of antiquity.

They fall into two groups. Intermedi 1, 4, and 6 are Neoplatonic allegories of the cosmic significance of music: what was then called *musica mundana*.<sup>12</sup> Intermedi 2, 3, and 5 are scenes from the lives of gods and men in legendary times, illustrative of the effect of music on the soul; they represent classical instances of *musica humana*.

There are two remarkable things about this. The first is that, in the guise of Baroque allegorical personifications, and to the strains of madrigal music, the first group of Intermedi introduced in 1589 the very same Neoplatonic concepts of *musica mundana*—Harmonia Doria (1), Rhythm and Harmony (6)—that were to provide Bardi himself with the purely theoretical basis for his "reform of music."<sup>13</sup> The second is that the first artistic product of that reform—the *Dafne* of Rinuccini and Peri—had its germ in the third of these Intermedi, the combat between Apollo and the dragon Python.

We are thus faced with the disconcerting fact that within a very brief span of years the very same antique ideas and legends, in the same hands, gave rise to two diametrically opposed theoretical conceptions and artistic treatments. How did the influence of antiquity come to be so transformed? To answer this question in some detail, we shall examine the content of Intermedi 1 and 3, and the form in which they were performed.

Rossi's erudite observations are not—as might at first be supposed—mere

learned scholia for the edification of a cultured public, devoid of practical significance for theatrical performance. Buontalenti's autograph costume designs for the Intermedi, preserved in a volume in the Palatina,<sup>14</sup> and the account book for the costumes of the Intermedi and the comedy,<sup>15</sup> show us how hard and consistently the deviser, the composer, the superintendent, the designer, the machinist, and—not least—the costumer, worked together to create in every detail the contemporary idea of an authentic antique spectacle.

To give us an idea of the staging and grouping of the whole, we have not only Buontalenti's drawings but four engravings, the true content and interrelatedness of which have not hitherto been noticed. Two engravings by \* Agostino Carracci are free treatments of the scenes of Intermedi 1 and 3;<sup>16</sup> and, as reference to Rossi's description makes clear, two others, by Epifanio d'Alfiano, a monk of Vallombrosa, show Intermedi 2 and 4.<sup>17</sup>

Three successive grand dukes—Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando—had reason to be glad that Bernardo Buontalenti had been rescued from the 1547 floods at the age of ten; for he served the Medici, as their universal architect, for sixty years. He built their palaces, villas, gardens, and fortifications, and showed the same zeal in applying his art to the celebration of family occasions. He decorated the baptistery for their christenings, made toys for the little princes at Christmas, and designed writing desks and a perpetual motion machine. At weddings he supplied fireworks and brought down the whole of Olympus, by means of his much-admired theatrical machinery, to congratulate each happy pair; and it was he who made the preparations for their last, solemn rites.<sup>18</sup>

† Alongside all this, Buontalenti showed himself a true Renaissance architect, by no means uncultivated or lacking in theoretical interests. In 1582, at his request, Oreste Vannucci Biringucci<sup>19</sup> sent him an Italian translation of Hérodote of Alexandria (*Moti spirituali*); and he himself was said to have written *Alcuni trattati di scultura* and an *Arte dell'ingegnere*.<sup>20</sup> But his chief claim to fame—which even, says Baldinucci, led Torquato Tasso to pay him a brief though cordial visit in his house on Via Maggio<sup>21</sup>—was the theatrical machinery that he constructed and operated in the theater installed in the Uffizi in 1585.<sup>22</sup>

Buontalenti's costume designs are to be found in the Palatina volume mentioned above. This is the second of two large folio volumes of miscellaneous drawings, misshelved among the Palatina printed books and misleadingly labeled with the name of Giulio Parigi.<sup>23</sup> There are 260 drawings in all, mostly concerned with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century festivities, and I intend to discuss them as a whole elsewhere. Buontalenti's drawings<sup>24</sup> are pasted onto the first 37 folios of the second volume (one isolated drawing is on fol. 74). As six of the versos also carry drawings (fols. 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36), we thus have 44 drawings in all, inserted without any regard for coherence.

They refer to Intermedi 1, 2, 3, and 5, as follows:

1. 11 (Harmonia, fig. 80), 27 (Necessity with the Fates), 28 (*Nugola* {cloud} with Diana, Venus, Mars, Saturn), 29 (*Nugola* with Mercury, Apollo,

- Jupiter, Astraea, fig. 81), 32–37 (Sirens of the ten spheres), 74 (Vestal?); \*
2. 7 (woodpecker), 8 (Muse), 9 (Pierid), 30<sup>v</sup> and 31 (Mount of the Hamadryads);
3. 12 (Apollo), 13–24 (couples from Delphic chorus, fig. 84),<sup>25</sup> 24<sup>v</sup> (Apollo shooting an arrow, fig. 83), 25 (dragon, fig. 83);
5. 1 (*putto*?), 2 (*marinaro* {seaman}), 3 (*mozo* {shipboy}), 4 (*nochiere* {helmsman}), 5 (*marinaro*), 6 (Arion),<sup>26</sup> 10 (*ninfa marina* {sea nymph}).

There are handwritten additions in three different hands: in the first,<sup>27</sup> names of performers above the drawings for Intermedi 1 and 3; in the second,<sup>28</sup> names of performers above the drawings for Intermedio 5; and in the third, notes on the significance of the figures and on the colors and quantities of garments to be made up according to the drawings.

Finally, the account book of Emilio de' Cavalieri is a stout volume of 760 pages,<sup>29</sup> made up of three parts:

1. the so-called *Libro del taglio*, which is a survey of the materials used (194 folio pages);
2. the *Quadernaccio di ricordi*, the daily records of cloth given out for tailoring, wages to tailors, receipts, etc. (388 folio pages);
3. a file of individual notes and letters, mostly referring to the performance of *La pellegrina*. A request from the Gelosi company concerning the set for the mad scene ("*la pazzia d'Isabella*") bears a long holograph minute signed by Emilio de' Cavalieri.

The *Libro del taglio* and the *Quadernaccio di ricordi* are in the same hand throughout.<sup>30</sup> Names of performers, forty-one in all, are found only in relation to Intermedio 1 (*Quadernaccio*, 291–296, notes 414–416, 423–424). As Buontalenti's drawings also have running numbers that correspond to the captions under the drawings for Intermedio 1, the performers' names can be plausibly assigned to the figures mentioned by Rossi. Although these casting notes are given only for Intermedio 1, six tables on pages 301–308 give the quantities and kinds of materials used for each of the six Intermedi, and page 191 gives the total number of costumes<sup>31</sup> for which the master costumers, Oreto Belardi and Niccolò Serlori, and their fifty helpers were paid in September 1589. Oreto also received a special payment for his work at the dress rehearsal, held in Lent, and for the repeat performance of the *commedia*. On page 93 is a copy of the accounts for the cost of the *sbarra* and *commedia*, audited by the *ufficiali del monte* (officials of the public debt) on 26 May 1593. Total expenditure on the *commedia* and Intermedi: Fl. 30,255 £4 11s; for the *sbarra* Fl. 14,457 £10s 6d.<sup>32</sup> The same account shows that there was also a dress rehearsal of the comedies in Siena. The austere *ufficiali del monte* were far from satisfied, however: it was their verdict that the performances had been arranged "*con poca diligentia di risparmio*" (with scant regard for economy).





**Fig. 79. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Siren*  
Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 357)

**Fig. 80. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Harmonia Doria*  
Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 359)



Preparations for the comedies and Intermedi were in full swing from the beginning of October 1588. By then, Bardi and Cavalieri had already cast Intermedio 1; and by the end of December the costumes for the principal performers were ready. Oreto the tailor had received "16 braccia di tela cilindrata" (calendered cloth) to make a costume "per uno che va in una nuvola, et detto abito serve per modello nel primo Intermedio"<sup>33</sup> (for one who goes in a cloud, his costume to serve as a pattern for the costumes in Intermedio 1). The one who went in a cloud was Cesarone Basso, and the figure that he portrayed was the Siren of the eighth sphere.<sup>34</sup> His name appears beneath the drawing in question, written in Buontalenti's own hand; the same drawing served for the other ten Sirens—whose costumes, as will be shown later, represented the first stage of preparation for the performances.

With admirable tact, Giovanni de' Bardi<sup>35</sup> had chosen to present on the stage one of Plato's profoundest parables. According to Plato (*Republic* 10.617), the harmonious music of the spheres is generated as follows. From the lap of Necessity descends the adamantine spindle that forms the axis between the two poles of the universe. The three Fates, Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, sit at their mother's feet, helping her to turn the spindle and singing their eternal song of past, present, and future. Their song blends with the sounds voiced by the Sirens, rulers of the eight spheres that revolve about the axis of the universe; and thus eternal harmony springs from the concord of Necessity and Nature.

Here are Plato's words, after he has described the relative positions of the spindle and of the spheres:

*Fusum vero in Necessitatis genibus circumverti. Superne praeterea cuilibet circulo insistere Sirenem, quae una cum eo circumferatur, vocem unam, tonum unum emittentem; ex omnibus octo autem unam concinere harmoniam. Alias autem tres aequali intervallo circa sedentes in solio quamque, Necessitatis filias, Parcas, vestibis albis, capite coronato, Lachesin et Clotho et Atropon, ad Sirenum harmoniam canere, Lachesin praeterita, praesentia Clotho, Atropon futura, et Clotho quidem cum matre simul intermissione quadam temporis dextra manu tangentem fusi extimum volvere circuitum, Atropon vero sinistra interiores similiter; Lachesin denique alternis utraque manu tangere utrosque.*<sup>36</sup>

The spindle turns on the knees of Necessity. Above, on each whorl, stands a Siren, who is carried around together with it, uttering one sound, one note; from all eight, however, a single harmony sounds in concert. Three others sit around at equal intervals, each on a throne: the daughters of Necessity, the Fates, dressed in white with garlands on their heads, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos. They sing to the harmony of the Sirens—Lachesis of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future. And Clotho, from time to time touching the outermost whorl of the spindle with her right hand, joins with her mother to make it revolve; Atropos with her left hand likewise turns the inner whorls; finally, Lachesis with each hand in turn touches both.

Bardi ingeniously combined this idea of Plato's with another.<sup>37</sup> He personified the harmony of the universe as Harmonia Doria—the Dorian mode, which the musical theoreticians of the Renaissance, following Plato and Aristotle, supposed to be the supreme form of music—and brought her on stage, as a preordained harmony, before the song of the spheres. In his discourse, Bardi says of Harmonia Doria:

*... della qual Musica Doria, o tuono, che vogliamo dire, lodata oltre misura da tutti i gran Savi, ed altresì in altro luogo ragionandone Aristotele disse, che ella aveva del virile, del magnifico, e del divino, del grave, e dell'onorato, del modesto, del temperato e del convenevole.*<sup>38</sup>

... this Dorian Music, or mode, of which we speak, has been excessively praised by all the great philosophers, and Aristotle likewise has described it elsewhere as partaking of the manly, the magnificent, the divine, the grave, the honorable, the modest, the temperate, and the seemly.

The Platonist philosopher Francesco Patrizzi, in his *Poetica* of 1586, had described Harmonia Doria in similar terms:

*... haveva del melanconico, e dell'austero, e perciò del virile, e del grande, e del grave, e del magnifico, e del maestevole, e del divino; e appresso del temperato, del modesto, e dell'onorato, e convenevole.*<sup>39</sup>

... it partook of the melancholy, of the austere, and thus of the manly, the grand, the grave, the magnificent, the majestic, and the divine; and consequently of the temperate, the modest, the honorable, and the seemly.

The idea of representing the musical harmony of the universe in mythological terms was current in the Quattrocento in a different form. Here the musical soul of the cosmos was personified as Apollo, and he was surrounded by eight Muses as rulers of the spheres.<sup>40</sup> Seven Muses corresponded to the planets, and Urania to the eighth sphere; Thalia, in accordance with the myth, remained earthbound. The ninth and tenth spheres, which the Middle Ages had added to the system,<sup>41</sup> were personified as "Primum Mobile" and "Prima Causa." These notions were reflected, for example, in the engravings of the so-called *Tarocchi* (tarot cards) of Baldini.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, Gafurius, in his *Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, depicts the Harmony of the Cosmos as an eight-stringed lyre. In the woodcut,<sup>43</sup> Apollo is seen enthroned above; at his right hand are the Graces. Above him is a scroll with the words "*Mentis Apollineae vis has movet undique musas*" (the power of Apollo's mind moves these Muses on all sides). From Apollo's feet a long serpent slithers down, with its three heads on the earth below. Across the serpent's back, the names of the Greek modes form the eight strings of the lyre. At either end of each string is a circular medallion: Muses on the right, planets on the left.<sup>44</sup>

Bardi subjected this idea to a curious metamorphosis by replacing Apollo with Necessity and the Fates, and the Muses by the Sirens. But let Bastiano de' Rossi explain:

INTERMEDIO PRIMO<sup>45</sup>

*Si rappresentò in questo intermedio le Serene celesti, guidate dall'Armonia, delle quali fa menzion Platone ne'libri della Repub.<sup>46</sup> e due, oltre alle mentovate da lui, secondo l'opinion de'moderni,<sup>47</sup> vi se n'aggiunse, cioè quelle della nona, e decima sfera. E perchè nello stesso luogo si truova scritto, che ciascuna delle dette Sirene siede sopra il cerchio, o circonferenza di esse sfere, e gira con essa circonferenza, e girando manda fuori una sola voce distesa, e di tutte se ne fa un'Armonia consonante; il Poeta, poichè Platone vuole, che da tutte ne nasca una consonante, e sola Armonia, e l'Armonia per natura va sempre avanti a color, che cantano, la diede loro per iscorta, e mandolla avanti in iscena. E perchè lo stesso Platone in altro luogo<sup>48</sup> de'medesimi libri della Repub. afferma la Doria di tutte l'altre Armonie esser la migliore, e Aristotele altresì, pur nella sua Repub.<sup>49</sup> lo conferma, e oltr'a ciò dice, che tutti consentono lei aver dello stabile, e del virile, e propriamente della fortezza, la Doria<sup>50</sup> gli piacque di dimostrarci, e vestilla con abito, che aveva forte intenzione a questo costume: ma degli abiti più di sotto. Cadute le cortine si vide immantenente apparir nel Cielo una nugola, e in terra, avanti alla scena, d'ordine dorico, un tempietto di pietra rustica: in essa nugola una donna, che se ne veniva pian piano in terra, sonando un liuto, e cantando, oltre a quel del liuto, ch'ella sonava, al suono di gravicembali, chitarroni, e arpi, che eran dentro alla Prospettiva, il madrigal sottoscritto. Allato le sedevano, sì dall'una banda, come dall'altra, ma bene alquanto più basse, quasi ad ascoltare il suo canto, tre altre donne,<sup>51</sup> tanto naturalmente, e con tal relievo dipinte, che parean vive. La musica fu d'Emilio de'Cavalieri: le parole del trovatore degl'intermedi.<sup>52</sup>*

*Dalle celesti sfere,*

*Di celesti Sirene amica scorta,*

*L'Armonia son, ch'a voi vengo, o mortali:*

*Poscia che fino al Ciel battendo l'ali*

*L'alta fama n'apporta,*

*Che mai sì nobil coppia il Sol non vide,*

*Qual voi nuova Minerva, e forte Alcide.*

## INTERMEDIO 1

This Intermedio presented the Celestial Sirens, led by Harmony, whom Plato mentions in his *Republic*; the two Sirens of the ninth and tenth spheres have been added to those he mentions, in conformity with the views of the moderns. In the same place he writes that each Siren is seated on the circle or circumference of a sphere, and moves round with that circumference, singing a single continuous note as she goes, the notes together making a consonant Harmony. Since Plato stipulates that a single consonant Harmony is produced, and since Harmony by her very nature always precedes those who sing, the Poet has given Harmony to the Sirens as an

escort, and it is she who comes first on to the stage. And because Plato states elsewhere in the *Republic* that the Dorian is the best of all modes of musical Harmony, and Aristotle, too, confirms this in his *Republic*, adding that everyone considers it to have the qualities of stability, manliness, and fortitude, the poet chose to show the Dorian Harmony, dressing her in a costume that bore a close reference to this tradition; but of the costumes more in due course. When the curtain fell away, a cloud appeared at once in the heavens; and on the earth, in front of the stage, was revealed a small, rusticated Doric temple. In the cloud was a lady, who gradually descended to earth, playing a lute and singing; the madrigal she sang, which is printed below, was accompanied not only by the lute but by harpsichords, chitar-roni, and harps behind the scenes. On either side of her, but somewhat lower, as if listening to her song, sat three other ladies, painted so naturally and realistically that they seemed alive. The music was by Emilio de' Cavalieri, the words by the deviser of the Intermedi:

From the celestial spheres

Escort and friend of the celestial Sirens,

I, Harmony, descend to you, O mortals.

Then, soaring to high heaven on beating wings,

May lofty Fame announce

That never did the Sun behold so noble a pair

As you, new Minerva and strong Alcides.

Whereupon the cloud opened:

*...in manco tempo, ch'io non l'ho detto.*

*E ciò fu, che sparita, videro tutto quanto il Cielo stellato, con un sì fatto splendor, che lo illuminava, che l'avreste detto lume di luna: e la scena tutta in cambio di case (che a buona ragion pareva che si dovesson vedere) piena di nugole, alle vere sì somiglianti, che si dubitò, che non dovesser salire al Cielo a darne una pioggia. E mentre che tal cosa si riguardava, si vide di su la scena muoversi quattro nugole, su le quali erano le mentovate Serene, che fecero di se non solamente improvvisa, ma sì bella mostra, e sì graziosa, e con tanta ricchezza, e magnificenza d'abiti, che come di sotto potrà vedersi, eccedevano il verisimile: e cominciarono tanto dolcemente a cantare questo suono in su liuti, e viole, che ben potevano, se la lor vista non gli avesse tenuti desti, con la dolcezza del canto loro, addormentar di profondo sonno, come vere Serene, gli ascoltatori.*

Noi, che, cantando, le celeste sfere

Dolcemente rotar facciamo intorno,

In così lieto giorno,

Lasciando il Paradiso,

Meraviglie più altere,

Cantiam d'una bell'alma, e d'un bel viso.

*Le parole di questo canto, e gli altri madrigali, che seguono appresso in questo intermedio, furono composizione d'Ottavio Rinuccini, giovane gentil'huomo di questa patria, per molte rare sue qualità ragguardevole, e la Musica di Cristofano Malvezzi da Lucca Prete, e Maestro di Cappella in questa Città. Cantato, ch'ell'ebbero, immantenente s'aperse il Cielo in tre luoghi, e comparue, con incredibil velocità, a quell'aperture, tre nugole. In quella del mezzo la Dea della Necessità con le Parche, e nell'altre i sette Pianeti, e Astrea: e tale fu lo splendore, che vi si vide per entro, e tale gli abiti degl'Iddei, e degli Eroi che si paoneggiavano in esso Cielo, ricchi d'oro, e di lucidi abbigliamenti, che potette ben parere ad ognuno, che'l Paradiso s'aprisse, e che Paradiso fosse divenuto tutto l'Apparato, e la Prospettiva. Aperto il Cielo, in esso, e in terra cominciò a sentirsi una così dolce e forse non più udita melodía, che ben sembrava di Paradiso. Alla quale, oltre a gli strumenti, che sonarono al canto dell'Armonía, e delle Serene, vi s'aggiunsero del Cielo, tromboni, traverse, e cetere. Finita la melodía, le Parche, le quali sedevano per egual distanza, e toccanti il fuso, intorno alla madre Necessità nel mezzo del Cielo, e che, come dice Platone, cantano all'Armonía di quelle Serene, Lachesi le passate, Cloto le presenti, e Atropo le cose a venire, cominciarono, richiamandole al Cielo, a cantare: e per far più dolce Armonía, parve al Poeta, che i Pianeti, che sedevano nell'altre aperture del Cielo, allato a quella del mezzo, cantassero anch'eglino insieme con le tre Parche, e con esso loro la Madre Necessità. Al qual canto movendosi le Serene in su le lor nugole, e andandosene verso il Cielo, cantando, e facendo un gentil Dialogo, che fu questo, rispondevan loro a vicenda:*

- P. — *Dolcissime Sirene,  
Tornate al Cielo, e 'n tanto  
Facciam, cantando, a gara un dolce canto.*
- S. — *Non mai tanto splendore  
Vide Argo, Cipro, o Delo.*
- P. — *A voi, regali amanti,  
Cediam noi tutti gran Numi del Cielo.*
- S. — *Per lei non pur s'infiora,  
Ma di Perle, e rubin s'ingemma Flora.*
- P. — *Di puro argento ha l'onde  
Arno, per voi Granduce, e d'or le sponde.*
- S. — *Tessiam dunque ghirlande a sì gran Regi,  
E sien di Paradiso i fiori, e i fregi.*
- P. — *A lor fronte regal s'intrecci stelle,*
- S. — *E Sole, e Luna, e cose alte, e più belle.*

*Fu veramente cosa mirabile, il vedere andarsene quelle nugole verso il Cielo, quasi cacciate dal Sole, lasciandosi sotto di mano in man, che salivano, un chiaro splendore. Arrivate le Serene al Cielo su dette nugole, soavemente cantando, finì il dialogo, e cominciarono tutti insieme, e le Parche, e i Pianeti, ed elleno, in su i mentovati strumenti, novellamente a cantare:*

*Coppia gentil d'avventurosi Amanti,  
 Per cui non pure il Mondo  
 Si fa lieto, e giocondo,  
 E spera aver da voi  
 Schiera d'invitti, e gloriosi Eroi.  
 Ma fiammeggiante d'amoroso zelo  
 Canta, ridendo, e festeggiando 'l Cielo.*

...in less time than it takes to describe it.

And when the cloud was gone, the starry heavens were revealed to all, in a light so contrived that you would have taken it for the light of the moon itself: and the stage entirely full, not (as the spectators reasonably expected) of houses, but of clouds, so lifelike it seemed they might rise up to the sky and deliver a shower of rain. While the audience contemplated this, four clouds descended from above the stage carrying the Sirens, whose appearance was not only unexpected but so beautiful and graceful, with such rich and magnificent costumes, that, as will be seen below, they were beyond belief. They began very gently to sing the following, to the strains of lutes and viols, so that, if the sight of them had not kept the audience awake, they might, like true Sirens, have lulled them into a deep sleep with the sweetness of their song:

We, who by singing make the spheres  
 Of heaven sweetly turn around,  
 On such a joyful day,  
 We leave our Paradise,  
 To sing of loftier marvels,  
 A virtuous spirit, and a lovely face.

The words of this song and of the other madrigals in this Intermedio were written by Ottavio Rinuccini, a young gentleman of Tuscany, possessed of many rare and admirable qualities; and the music was composed by Cristofano Malvezzi, priest, of Lucca, and master of music in this city. While the madrigal was being sung, the heavens suddenly opened in three places; and, with incredible speed, three clouds appeared in the openings. In the middle cloud was the goddess Necessity, with the Fates, and in the other two were the seven Planets with Astraea. The splendor revealed was such, and the costumes of the gods and heroes who thus paraded in the heavens were so rich in gold, and sparkled so brightly, that the audience might have imagined that the gates of Paradise were opening, and that the whole stage and its scenery were a Paradise. As the skies opened, a sweet melody that had never been heard before began to play, which certainly seemed to come from Paradise. To the instruments accompanying Harmony's song, and those played by the Sirens, were added sackbuts, flutes, and citterns from above. When the melody finished, the Fates, seated at equal distances around their mother Necessity, who was in the center of the sky, and all touching her spindle, began their song to the accompaniment (as Plato says) of the Sirens: Lachesis sang of things past, Clotho of



things present, and Atropos of things to come, commending their song to heaven. To make their song sweeter, the Poet caused the Planets, seated in the other openings in the sky to either side of the central one, to sing with the three Fates, as did Mother Necessity herself. During this song, the Sirens on their clouds moved skyward, singing, and they exchanged this charming dialogue with the Fates, each replying in turn:

- F. Sweet Sirens now return  
To heaven, and meanwhile  
Let us compete with our sweet song.
- S. Never was such splendor  
In Argos, Cyprus, or Delos.
- F. To you, O regal lovers,  
All we great deities of heaven yield.
- S. For her, not flowers alone,  
But pearls and rubies Flora now will wear.
- F. For you, Grand Duke, the Arno  
Has waves of silver now, and banks of gold.
- S. Let us weave garlands for such great Monarchs,  
Of flowers and ornaments from Paradise.
- F. And wreath their regal brows with stars,
- S. And Sun and Moon, and all things high and fair.

The ascent of the clouds into heaven, as dispelled by the sun, was indeed a wondrous sight; gradually they rose higher, a brilliant light remaining below. The Sirens arrived in heaven, still singing; the dialogue concluded; and then all joined together, the Fates, the Planets, and Sirens, with all the instruments mentioned above, and began a new song:

O gentle pair, intrepid lovers both,  
Not only does this World  
Here revel and rejoice,  
Expecting from your line  
A glorious and unvanquished host of Heroes:  
The Heavens too, aflame with amorous zeal,  
Laugh, sing, and celebrate this day.

In the following section of his text, Rossi gives an exact description of the costumes, adding that in the heavens, like the blessed in Plato's Elysian Fields, there were twelve more "*huomini e donne eccellenti nelle più sovrane virtù*"<sup>53</sup> (men and women excelling in the most sovereign virtues).

Rossi thus mentions 35 characters in all;<sup>54</sup> the account book, however, mentions 41 performers and 45 costumes. This discrepancy is explained by the fact that in performance, in order to strengthen the band, a number of musicians (students from the school of Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta)

were posted in the heavens among the heroes. (The planetary deities, too, as we shall see, were added to the cast of the Intermedio only in rehearsal.)

It is worth pausing to consider all the musicians, as they—like all the performers mentioned in the account book and in the designs—are more or less known individuals who belonged either to the grand ducal court chapel<sup>55</sup> or to Bernardo Franciosino's instrumental school.<sup>56</sup> We give here a brief outline of the performers and their roles, without entering into undue detail about individuals, marking with an asterisk the names of those soloists who did not belong either to the Franciosino's Scuola or to the grand ducal chapel.<sup>57</sup>

*Armonia* was played by:

1. Vittoria Archilei.<sup>58</sup>

The fifteen<sup>59</sup> *Sirene* by:

2. Antonio Archilei (*Luna*).
  3. Lucia Caccini (*Mercurio*).
  4. Jacopo Zazzerino (*Venere*).
  5. Antonio Naldi (*Sole*).
  6. Gio. Lapi (*Marte*).
  7. Baccio Polibotria (*Giove*).
  8. Niccolò Castrato (*Ottava Sfera*).
  9. Cesarone (*Ottava Sfera*).
  10. Gio. Batt. del Violino [Jacomelli] (*Nona Sfera*).
  11. Raffaello Gucci (*Decima Sfera*).
  12.  $\frac{mo}{p}$  Giulio Caccini
  13.  $\frac{do}{s}$  Gio. Batt. di Ser Jacopi
  14.  $\frac{zo}{f}$  Durtio
  15.  $\frac{to}{q}$  Zanobi Ciliani
- } Sfera dell'Empireo.
16. A contralto from Rome.

The four *Pianeti* on the right:

17. Mario Luchini (*Luna*).
18. Alberigo\* (*Venus*).
19. Gio. del Minugiaio\* (*Mars*).
20. [Lu]ca Marenzio (*Saturno*).

1.a Parca: 21. Don Gio. Basso.

2.a Parca: 22. Ludovico Belevanti.\*

Necessità: 23. Onofrio Gualfreducci.

3.a Parca: 24. Piero Masselli.\*

The four *Pianeti* on the left:

25. Pierino (*Mercurio*).
26. Mongalbo\* (*Giove*).
27. Ser Bono (?)\* (*Apollo*).
28. Cristofano\* (*Astraea*).

The following thirteen musicians as heroes in the heavens:

29. Gio. del Franciosino.
30. Gio. Batt<sup>a</sup> del Franciosino.

31. Paolino del Franciosino.<sup>60</sup>
32. Antonello del Bottigliere (?).
33. Orazio del Franciosino.
34. Prete Riccio.\*
35. Tonino di M.<sup>o</sup> Lena (?).\*
36. Paolino Stiattesi (?).\*
37. Piero Malespini.
38. Oratio Benvenuti.\*
39. Il Biondino del Franciosino.
40. Lex.<sup>o</sup> del Franciosino.
41. Feduccio.

The Carracci engraving<sup>61</sup> shows us the elaborate stage spectacle: above, in the heavens, sat Necessity, with thirteen musicians behind her as heroes in Elysium; the eight planetary deities paraded on the two upper clouds, and the fourteen Sirens on the two lower clouds.

There is no doubt that Intermedio 1 afforded a brilliant and surprising spectacle; but whether it left the onlookers with any clear impression of the meaning of the characters, or of the connection between them, is another question altogether. The resources proper to the theater, those of words and action, were used hardly at all to characterize the mythological *concetti*. The dramatic action consisted in the fact that a number of the mythological company floated aloft to sing—with some slight mythological allusions—the praises of the grand ducal couple.

The figures in Intermedio 1 were thus given no opportunity to convey their nature and identity through words or dramatic actions. The author, if he wanted to convey some sense of meaning and coherence to the spectator, was left with only one recourse: the path to the emotions, through the ear, was closed; but the path to the understanding, through the eye, remained open. The characterization must be conveyed through clear, symbolic visual signs that would be familiar to the spectator as attributes of mythological beings. In the event, however, his excessive zeal in the pursuit of attributes led to some arbitrary and unnatural combinations. As typical examples of this formative process, let us take the figures of Necessity and the Sirens.

Between the beginning of October and the beginning of December, Siren costumes were made for fifteen of the singers in the grand ducal chapel.<sup>62</sup> At this stage we find no mention of any other figures, which suggests that Bardi may initially have intended to present the choral dance of the stars, mentioned as the principal subject of the ancient choruses in a *Trattato sulla musica degli antichi* by an unknown author who was certainly well versed in the ideas of the Camerata.<sup>63</sup> As in 1584, therefore, the initial conception was a comparatively simple one, which became less clear as work proceeded and the cast grew by two thirds. Bardi himself had already made some concessions toward the use of larger forces, adding five more Sirens to those of the ninth and tenth

In any case, the Sirens were the principal figures, and it was necessary to devote great attention to their headdresses. Two attributes must be instantly recognizable: that they were the winged songstresses of antiquity and that they were the movers of the spheres. As Sirens, they were therefore given garments of feathers and, as stars, the emblems of their respective spheres on their heads. Each Siren also wore a colored satin skirt and above it a shorter garment of the same color: a distant echo of the Greek chiton. Her face was covered by a mask, held in place by a bandeau, and in her hair, as well as the emblem of her sphere, were a number of plumes and stars.<sup>65</sup> Her ornate shoes were designed with particular care, as the possession of human feet showed that these cosmic Sirens had nothing in common with the bird-footed or fish-tailed<sup>66</sup> Sirens who bewitched men with their song.

Here is Rossi's description of the costume of the Siren of the Moon:

*Dopo l'Armonia le Serene: la prima d'esse, che volgeva il Ciel della Luna, era infin dalla spalle a' fianchi, si come l'altre Serene, che si diranno, tutta pennuta, e addosso le penne soprapposte l'una all'altra in maniera che in più acconcio modo non istanno le naturali addosso agli uccelli: erano finte di sbiancato ermisin mavi, e lumeggiate d'ariento, che la facevano apparir del color proprio del suo pianeta, quando di notte si vede in Cielo. Alla fine delle penne un bel fregio d'oro, e sotto un'abito vago di raso bianco, con alcuni ornamenti d'oro, che le andavano a mezza gamba. I suoi calzaretti mavi adorni di gioie, di cammei, di mascherini, e di veli d'ariento, e d'oro, avendo il poeta avuto riguardo, contrario alle malvage Serene, che hanno le parti basse brutte, e deformi, di far queste in tutta perfezion di bellezza. Aveva biondi i capelli, e piena di raggi lunari l'acconciatura, dalla quale pendevano in ordine vago, e bello, alcuni veli mavi, che svolazzando faceano una lieta vista: e sopra all'acconciatura una Luna: e per più farla lieta, e adorna le mise dietro alle spalle un manto di drappo rosso, nel quale, percotendo i lumi, che invisibili nele nugole furono dall'artefice accomodati, come più di sotto diremo, risplendeva sì fattamente, che non vi si poteva affisare gli occhi.<sup>67</sup>*

After Harmony came the Sirens. The first of these, who turned the Moon's heaven, was covered like the other Sirens in feathers from neck to knee, and on her back the feathers overlapped just as naturally as they do on the back of a bird; the feathers were made of soft, sky-blue silk, heightened with silver, which made the Siren look the same color as her planet when it is seen in the night sky. At the end of the feathers a beautiful gold decoration, and below the feathers she wore a charming white satin gown to her knees, with some gold embroidery on it. Her little, pale blue shoes were covered with jewels, cameos, little masks, and with gold and silver ribbons. In contrast to the wicked Sirens, who have ugly and misshapen lower parts, the poet had taken care to make these admirable in their perfection. Her hair was blond, and her headdress shaped like the rays of the moon; to her headdress were attached, in pretty disarray, several gaily fluttering pale blue veils; and on top of her headdress was a Moon. To make her more cheerful and lovely, she wore a red cloak; when this caught the light (I shall have more to say later about the

lights, artfully concealed in the clouds) it glittered so brightly that the eye could not rest on it.

The costumers, Oreto Berardi and Niccolò Serlori, with eight or so assistants each week,<sup>68</sup> set to work to transpose all this ingenious and almost over-subtle symbolism from the realm of ideas into the crude reality of costume. The first difficulty was the coats of feathers, which could never be made for fifteen Sirens from expensive real feathers. But Francesco Gorini found a substitute: on October 5 he took delivery of "53 br. di tela di quadroni per far dipingere e somigliare penne per 14 vestiti del primo intermedio"<sup>69</sup> (53 braccia of canvas to be painted to look like feathers for 14 costumes for Intermedio 1). Clearly, there was going to be an element of illusion.

All through October, and until the middle of November, the tailors worked hard. By 15 November, 99 braccia of *tela cilindrata* (calendered cloth) had been made up into "tredici busti con maniche, mezze maniche, bendoni, alietti, e altri abbigliamenti per il primo Intermedio"<sup>70</sup> (thirteen bodices with sleeves, half sleeves, bands, little wings, and other garments for Intermedio 1), in which they were to be worn by singers 2-16, as listed above.

On 17 November Giovanni Lapi's costume was ready.<sup>71</sup> By 19 November the costumes for the other named performers had been cut out and were being made up. During November work proceeded on the trimmings, including "spallacci, maschere, mascherini e rose di cartone"<sup>72</sup> (shoulder pieces, masks, half-masks, and roses of paper). Such was the concern for authenticity that efforts were made to compensate for the anatomical deficiencies of the male performers: "Poppe e petti di cartone d'ogni sorte devono dare il 3 di dicembre n.º 24 poppe di cartone dipinte havute da Francesco Gorini"<sup>73</sup> (breasts and bosoms made of paper of all kinds; to deliver on 3 December, 24 painted paper busts from Francesco Gorini).

All of this goes to show what skill and care were lavished on the making of appropriate, expressive accessories for the Sirens; and even more erudition was required to devise the attributes of Necessity. Buontalenti's beautiful drawing<sup>74</sup> shows Necessity more or less as Plato describes her: she sits on her throne, and the spindle descends in front of her, spun by the three Fates, garlanded and clad in white. In her left hand, Necessity holds two large nails, in her right hand a bunch of gut strings, and on her head she wears a garland of cypress. These last two attributes are not mentioned by Plato but by Horace,<sup>75</sup> in whom Bardi was fortunate enough to find a number of attributes proper to Mother Necessity:

*Te semper antit saeva necessitas  
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu  
Gestans athena, nec severus  
Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.*

Grim Necessity always walks before you,  
 Brandishing spikes and ties (*recte*: wedges)  
 In her brazen hand, and she has  
 Her dread hook and molten lead.

We leave the explanation to Rossi:

*Stava la Madre Necessità nel Cielo all'apertura di mezzo, e sopra un seggio di color cenerognolo si sedeva. Figurata dal facitore nella guisa, che ce la describe Orazio in quella sua ode: di fiera vista, chiamandola egli saeva: le mani di bronzo, e in esse due fortissimi, e grossi chiovi, di quelli, con che si conficcan le travi. I cunei, cioè erano certi legami fortissimi, e sottilissimi, quasi della spezie della minugia, che s'adoperavano a tormentare i colpevoli, in guisa strignendo con essi le membra loro, che venivan quasi ad unirsi. L'oncino e'l piombo strutto, che similmente l'è assegnato da quel Poeta, gliel dipinser nel seggio. La 'ncoronò di Cipresso, e la vestì di raso bigio argentato: tra le ginocchia le mise il fuso, il qual pareva di Diamante, e sì grande, che con la cocca entrava ne' Cieli, come un fuso ordinario in un fusaiuolo.<sup>76</sup>*

Mother Necessity appeared in the sky, in the central opening, seated on an ashen-colored throne. She was figured by the artist as she is described by Horace in his ode: fierce-featured (he calls her *saeva*), with hands of bronze, in which she held two huge, strong nails like those used to fix beams. The *cunei*, very strong but supple ties (*sic*), like gut, were used to torture criminals by tying their limbs together so tightly that they almost fused. The little weighing scales and the molten lead, which that poet also ascribed to her, were painted on her seat. Crowned with cypress, she wore a silver-gray satin gown. Between her knees was the spindle, which seemed to be made of diamond and was so long that the tip fitted into the heavens as a normal spindle fits into a whorl.

\* And so Plato's and Horace's profound allegories, their poetic interpretations of the mysteries of life, were taken by the scholars of the sixteenth century as personal descriptions; their recondite symbols served to define the costumes and props that the decorators and costumers gave to the actors to wear or carry, or else, when—like Necessity—the performers had their hands full already, painted on their thrones. (Since the sides of the latter, as Bardi's drawing shows, were totally invisible from the front, the spectators never saw them; but at least the deviser's conscience was set at rest.) If we compare Buontalenti's other drawings (*Harmonia* and *Planets*) with Rossi's description, which I cannot discuss at any greater length here, we find at once the same Baroque style of invention and execution.

† Did all of this labored and obtrusive symbolism enable Bardi to make clear, at least to the educated portion of the public, the profound, underlying idea of his carefully wrought composition?<sup>77</sup> The diaries of Pavoni and Cavallino, who can certainly be regarded as intelligent and unprejudiced spectators, supply a negative answer. Both were filled with admiration for the *Intermedi*, and



gave faithful descriptions of their externals; but neither seems to have guessed that the central idea of this Intermedio was that of the harmony of the universe. Pavoni did at least perceive that the musicians above the clouds represented the "*Sirene celesti e altri Pianeti*" (Celestial Sirens and other Planets); but he describes the figure of Harmonia as follows: "*una donna che stava a sedere sopra una nuvola; e con un liuto cominciò a sonare e cantare molto soavemente*"<sup>78</sup> (A lady seated on a cloud began to play on a lute and sing most sweetly); and Cavallino tells us "*restò in aria una nube che vi era dentro una donna da angiola vestita, che a guisa d'angiola cantava sì sonoro, e con bellissimi concerti che ogn'uno restò maravigliato*"<sup>79</sup> (there was a cloud in the air that had within it a lady dressed as an angel, who sang as sweetly as an angel, with harmonies so beautiful that all were enchanted). Neither noticed Necessity, seated with the Fates at the axis of the universe. †

Bardi's fate was that of an artist whose finely elaborated work of art, designed to be seen by connoisseurs at leisure and at close quarters, is shown to the public briefly and in an ornate and distracting setting. From our modern point of view, the failure of all these hieroglyphic symbols seems entirely natural and predictable; and most people will smile at Bardi's efforts and consider that this sort of costume symbolism deserved, at best, the approval of those sophisticated scholars whose questionable pastime it was to puzzle over the pictorial riddles of the ancient world. But such a judgment is too closely tied to the standpoint of modern theatrical practice. It fails to take account of the true origins of the Intermedio, which did not lie in the spoken drama so much as in the mythological pageant; and this, being an essentially mute and gestural art, naturally relies on accessories and adornments.

All those now extinct transitional forms between real life and dramatic art, which the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries produced in such abundance—as, for example, in the carnival *mascherate*, for the *sbarre*, the *giostre*, and the *bufole*—afforded a unique opportunity for members of the public to see the revered figures of antiquity standing before them in flesh and blood. And in them the aid of decor and costume was all the more necessary, because the figures moved past the spectator in large numbers and in rapid succession, leaving him only a short time in which to divine their often highly involved significance.

For just one example of the complexity of the demands that were made on the ingenuity of the deviser and of the artist, even in a wholly mute *mascherata*, I refer to the figure of Memoria, presented in the celebrated *Mascherata della genealogia degl'iddei de' Gentili*, performed in honor of the wedding of Francesco de' Medici and Giovanna d'Austria in 1565, in the conception and execution of which the grand duke himself took an active interest. Aside from the celebrated descriptions of the event by Baldini<sup>80</sup> and Vasari,<sup>81</sup> the costume designs have also been preserved, in three different collections,<sup>82</sup> and we can therefore form a clear idea of the look of the individual figures.

The design by Vasari (?) for Memoria,<sup>83</sup> a member of the train that followed the Chariot of the Sun, shows a female figure in profile, stepping to the right,

in a dress fantastically adorned with veils. With her right hand she touches her ear, and in her left she carries a little dog; on her head is a nest containing fabulous beasts. Baldini explains her significance by saying that the deviser of the pageant

...ordinò che con le due prime dita della man'destra ella si tirasse spesso la punta dell'orecchio dritto, perciocche Plinio nell'undicesimo libro dell'Hystoria Naturale scrive:

*Est in aure ima memoriae locus quem tangentes attestamur.*<sup>84</sup>

Et Virgilio nella sesta Egloga dice:

*Cum canerem reges et praelia, Cynthus aurem*

*Vellit et admonuit, pastorum [sic] Tityre, pingues...*<sup>85</sup>

Et quel che segue. Dettegli in mano un cagnuol'nero per la medesima cagione, che egli haveva vestita la figura di questo stesso colore,<sup>86</sup> e perchè il cane è animal' di grandissima memoria, come si vede giornalmente per isperienza, la onde Socrate appresso a Platone nel Phedro giura per il Cane,<sup>87</sup> che Phedro haveva imparata a mente tutta quella bella oratione, che Lysia haveva composta. messegli oltre à di questo in capo una acconciatura piena di molte, e di varie cose, per dimostrare che la Memoria è fedelissima ritenitrice, e conservatrice di tutte le cose, che gli son' rappresentate da'sentimenti nostri, e dalla phantasia, come si è detto disopra...<sup>88</sup>

...commanded her to tug repeatedly at the lobe of her right ear, with the first two fingers of her right hand, because Pliny writes in the eleventh book of his *Natural History*:

The seat of memory lies in the ear lobe, which we attest to when we touch it.

And Virgil in his sixth Eclogue says:

When I would sing of kings and battles, Apollo tugged

My ear and warned, "O Tityrus, the shepherds' [sic] fat..."

And so forth. He gave her a small black dog to carry, because he had dressed the figure in black, and because the dog has the best memory of any animal, as we witness daily. In Plato's *Phaedrus*, Socrates swears by the Dog that Phaedrus has memorized the fine oration written for him by Lysias.

Along with these, she was given a headdress bearing many and various objects, to show that Memory is a most faithful keeper, preserving all that our feelings and imagination portray to it, as was remarked above.

Such a travesty of classical literature speaks for itself. The motive for this remorseless plundering of the writers of antiquity for visible attributes is clear: † the mute, allegorical *mascherata* demanded clear symbols, and the scholars had to do their best to justify them.

Despite the use of stage machinery, Intermedio 1 and the other two concerned with the *musica mondana* (4 and 6) evidently came closer to the mute *mascherata* than to the drama. These were creations designed for an educated audience that wanted to see an accurate antiquarian re-creation of the pageantry of the ancient world. However, Bardi would not have been the head of

the Camerata if he had not also tried to breathe new life into these ossified, ancient forms. We can see—and this is extremely interesting from the point of view of theatrical history—how Bardi, in the Intermedi of the second group, and especially in Intermedio 3, seeks not only to appeal to the memory through the mute language of attributes and antique trappings but, with the aid of Ottavio Rinuccini, also to speak to the emotions with the means proper to the theater: words and actions.

However, this collaborative work by two pioneers of the *Riforma Melodrammatica* could not be made entirely consistent. Bardi wanted to achieve a direct dramatic impact, but he was too much of a scholar to abandon archaeological reconstruction altogether. The result, in Intermedio 3, was a curious hybrid product, somewhere between mythological pantomime and pastoral drama.

Intermedio 3 was intended as a musical pageant in the manner of the ancient Greeks. The intention was to enact the *battaglia pitica*, Apollo's victory over the dragon Python, as it was commemorated at the Pythian Games in Delphi. According to the ancient writers, the musical part of this festival consisted of a solo song, recounting the god's battle with the dragon, which was sung in the earliest times to the accompaniment of a kithara, later also to that of a flute.<sup>89</sup> Bardi, however, perhaps basing himself on a passage in Lucian,<sup>90</sup> elected to suppose that the performance in honor of Pythian Apollo consisted not only of a song but also of a mime performance, with chorus, representing Apollo's liberation of the people of Delphi from the dragon. In this he had the support of Francesco Patrizzi, who actually derived the institution of the chorus in antiquity from the Delphic festival:

*Non andò guari, che Filammone poeta anch'egli, e cantando e sonando, fece un coro intorno al tempio d'Apollo Delfico danzare. E questa appo Greci, fu la prima origine del choro.*<sup>91</sup>

It was not long before Philemon, himself a poet, had a chorus dance around the temple of Apollo in Delphi, while he sang and played music. And this was the origin of the chorus among the Greeks.

Seeking authoritative antique guidance as to the look of such a mime performance, Bardi once more resorted to some arbitrary readings of his classical sources. As Rossi's description shows, he used the account by Julius Pollux<sup>92</sup> of the various poetic meters used in the ancient *Νόμος Πυθικός*<sup>93</sup> to convey the dramatic phases of the fight between Apollo and the serpent, and deduced from this the dance movements to be performed by the actor who played the part of Apollo.

We might well suppose that this Intermedio, like the first, was a mimed illustration of a philological conceit. But we still possess Buontalenti's designs for almost all of the characters in the chorus,<sup>94</sup> for Apollo, and for the dragon,<sup>95</sup> as well as the engraving by Carracci that depicts the scene;<sup>96</sup> and these show that the Delphic chorus supplied a dramatic element such as might arouse the

interest even of an unlearned public through the emotions of terror and pity: the chorus of Delphians, thirty-six strong, supplied an accompaniment to the battle in words, song, and mime. It expressed first the terror aroused by the monster, then the people's pleas for Apollo's assistance, then the tense expectancy during the battle, and finally joy at the final deliverance.

The engraving by Carracci depicts the moment of Apollo's descent from the skies. A semicircle of men and women, standing in couples, express horror and revulsion at the dragon, which is upstage center, wings outstretched and spitting fire. Apollo swoops down from above. The engraving faithfully reproduces the monster as drawn by Buontalenti,<sup>97</sup> but the other figures are only remotely reminiscent of the originals, which are much more subtly done. Buontalenti's drawings<sup>98</sup> show the men and women of Delphi, in pairs, miming in duet, exchanging their impressions through movements and gestures; this arrangement lends dramatic animation to the whole scene without destroying its unity.

Rossi's description refers us back to other details of the designs:

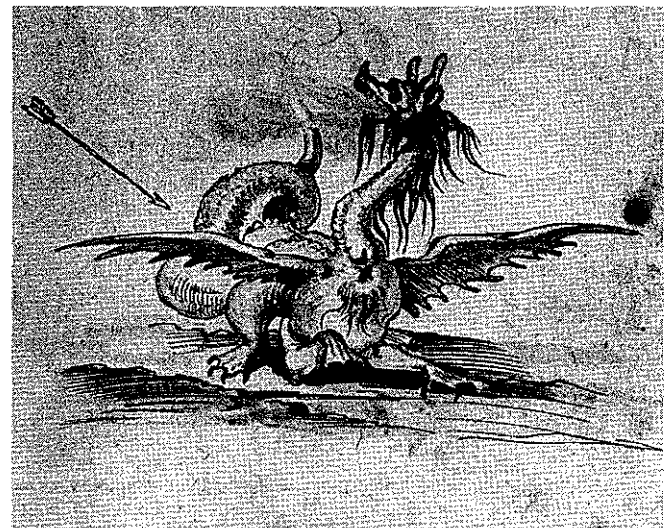
#### INTERMEDIO TERZO<sup>99</sup>

*Sparito il monte, e le grotte, e dileguatesi gracchiando, e saltellando le piche,<sup>100</sup> ritornò la scena al primiero modo, e cominciò 'l secondo atto della commedia: e finito, furono ricoperte le case, da querce, da cerri, da castagni, da faggi, e da altri arbori di questa sorta, e tutta la scena diventò bosco. Nel mezzo del bosco una scura, grande, e dirocciata caverna, e le piante, vicine a quella, senza foglia, arsicciate, e guaste dal fuoco. L'altre più lontane, la cui cima pareva, che toccasse il Cielo, erano belle, e fresche, e cariche delle frutte, ch'elle producono. Apparita (nuova maraviglia) la selva, si vide dalla sinistra venire nove coppie tra huomini, e donne, in abito quasi alla greca:<sup>101</sup> ma tutti, e per qualche colore, e per gli ornamenti, come diremo poco di sotto, differenti l'un dall'altro in alcuna parte, e al suono di viole, di traverse, e tromboni, cominciarono, giunti in iscena, a cantare.*

*Ebra di sangue in questo oscuro bosco  
Giacea pur dianzi la terribil fera,  
E l'aria fosca, e nera  
Rendea col fiato, e col maligno toscio.*

*Le parole di questo, e de'seguenti madrigali dello 'intermedio presente, furono d'Ottavio Rinuccini sopra mentovato, e la Musica del Marenzio. E mentre, che gli usciti in iscena cantavano il madrigal sopradetto, si vide, dell'altra banda, venire altre nove coppie d'huomini, e donne, e ripigliare sopra gli stessi strumenti, il canto, dicendo.*

*Qui di carne si sfama  
Lo spaventoso serpe: in questo loco  
Vomita fiamma, e foco, e fischia, e rugge;  
Qui l'erbe, e i fior distrugge:*



**Fig. 82. Agostino Carracci**  
Scene from the Third Intermedio of 1589  
Engraving (see p. 371)

**Figs. 83a,b. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
Apollo and the Dragon  
Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 372)

*Ma dov'è 'l fero mostro?*

*Forse avrà Giove udito il pianto nostro.*

*Ne appena ebber quest'ultime parole mandate fuora, che un serpente, drago d'inestimabil grandezza, dal poeta figurato per lo serpente Pitone, vomitando fuoco, e col fume d'esso oscurando l'Aria d'intorno, cavò fuori dell'orrida, e tetra caverna il capo. E quasi coperto da quelle arsicciate piante, non vedesse quegli huomini a lui vicini, li stava lisciando al Sole, che bene al Sole si poteva assomigliar lo splendore del lacosì bene allumata scena, e alquanto stato il rimise dentro. Onde i miseri veduta la cruda fiera, tutti insieme, sopra gli strumenti predetti, con flebile, e mesta voce, cantarono queste parole, pregando Iddio, che volesse liberargli da così acerbo, e strano infortunio.*

*Oh sfortunati noi,*

*Dunque a saziar la fame*

*Nati sarem, di questo mostro infame?*

*O Padre, o Re del Cielo,*

*Volgi pietosi gli occhi*

*Allo 'nfelice Delo,*

*Ch'a te sospira, a te piega i ginocchi,*

*A te dimanda aita, e pianga, e plora.*

*Muovi lampo, e saetta,*

*A far di lei vendetta,*

*Contra 'l mostro crudel, che la divora.*

*E mentre, che durò 'l canto, cavò egli nella stessa guisa dua altre volte il capo, e 'l collo della spelonca. E finito, con l'aliacce distese, pieno di rilucenti specchi, e d'uno stran colore tra verde, e nero, e con una smisurata boccaccia aperta, con tre ordini di gran denti, con lingua fuori infocata, fischiando, e fuoco, e toscò vomendo, in vista spaventoso, e crudele, quasi accorto degli'infelici, che erano in quella selva, per uccidergli, e divorargli, tutto in un tempo saltò fuor di quella spelonca: ne appena fu allo scoperto, che dal Cielo, venne un'huomo armato d'arco, e saette, che gli soccorse, e per Apollo fu figurato: perciocchè ci volle il Poeta in questo intermedio rappresentar la battaglia Pitica, nella guisa, che c'insegna Giulio Polluce, il quale dice,<sup>102</sup> che in rappresentandosi con l'antica musica questa pugna, si dividea in cinque parti: nella prima rimirava Apollo se 'l luogo era alla battaglia conveniente, nella seconda sfidava 'l serpe, e nella terza, col verso iambico, combatteva: nel qual iambico si contiene ciò che si chiama l'azzannamento, dichiarato poco di sotto. Nella quarta col verso spondéo, con la morte di quel serpente, si rappresentava la vittoria di quel Iddio. E nella quinta, saltando, ballava un'allegro ballo, significante vittoria. Essendo a noi, dalla malvagità, e dalla lunghezza del tempo, tolto il poter così fatte cose rappresentar con que'modi musici antichi, e stimando il poeta, che tal battaglia, rappresentata in iscena, dovesse arrecare, sì come fece, sommo diletto agli spettatori, la ci rappresentò con la nostra moderna musica, a tutto suo potere, sforzandosi, come intendentissimo di*



*quest'arte, e d'imitare, e di rassomigliar quell'antica;<sup>103</sup> fece venire Apollo dal Cielo, e con incredibil maraviglia di chiunque lo rimirò: perciocchè con più prestezza non sarebbe potuto venire un raggio, e venne, quasi miracolo (perciocchè niente si vide, che 'l sostenesse) con l'arco in mano, e 'l turcasso al fianco pien di saette, e vestito d'un'abito risplendente di tela d'oro, nella guisa, che fu posto nel primo intermedio, tra i sette pianeti in Cielo. E ben vero, che'l detto abito non era tanto infocato, e, perchè fosse destro, e spedito, non circondato da raggi. Arrivato in questa maniera sul palco, alla melodía di viole, di traverse, e di tromboni, cominciò la prima parte della battaglia, che è di riconoscere il campo, e con gran destrezza, ma da lontano, intorno al serpe ballando, acconciamente quel riconoscimento ne dimostrò: e ciò con prestezza fatto, e mostratosi al fier serpente, saltando, e ballandogli intorno, con bello atteggiamento, e gentile, ci rappresentò la disfida, e si vide il serpe fischiando, scotendo l'ale, e battendo i denti, accignersi fiero, e con grande orrore alla pugna.*

*Nella terza parte ci mostrò egli, pur tuttavia ballando, e saltando, il combattimento, e frecciando spesso il serpente, e 'l serpente lui seguitando: e al suon della melodía ruggendo, e dirugginando i denti, con maravigliosa attitudine, si troncava le saette, ch'egli avea fitte nel dosso, e squarciavasi le ferite, e da esse versava in gran copia il sangue, brutto, e nero, che pareva inchiostro: e con urli, e con gemiti spaventevoli, tuttavia mordendosi, e perseguitando chi lo feriva, cadde, e morì. Caduto, e morto, egli tutto lieto, gonfio, e altiero, ballando sopra musica significante vittoria, esprese col ballo felicemente quell'atto di quella lieta alterezza: e ballato si ritirò dal serpente morto, e gli pose il piè dritto, quasi trionfante, sopra la testa. E, ciò fatto, s'accostarono due coppie di quegli huomini, che erano lungo la selva<sup>104</sup> a veder la pugna, quasi non credessero, e volesser chiarirsi del morto drago: e vedendolo in terra, tutto imbrodolato, in uno scuro, e quasi nero lago di sangue, e Apollo, che 'l piè gli teneva sopra la testa, cominciarono in allegro tuono, e sopra dolci strumenti, lodando quel Dio, e chiamando i compagni a tanta letizia, a cantare in questa maniera.*

*O valoroso Dio,*

*O Dio chiaro, e sovrano,*

*Ecco 'l serpente rio*

*Spoglia giacer della tua invitta mano.*

*Morta è l'orribil fera,*

*Venite a schiera a schiera,*

*Venite, Apollo, e Delo*

*Cantando alzate, o belle Ninfe al Cielo.<sup>105</sup>*

*A quel canto s'accostarono tutti gli altri, che uscirono al principio dello 'ntermedio, i quali s'erano ritirati lungo la selva, a veder da lontan la pugna, e andarono a veder con maraviglia il morto serpente, il quale alla fine del canto, fu via strascinato, ne più si vide. E sparito il mostro, Apollo, alla solita melodía, festeggia, e balla, e con grazioso atteggiamento della persona, esprime la quinta parte di quella musica, che fu la letizia dell'aver liberato i Delfi da peste sì orribile, ed importuna,*

*com'era quella di quel serpente. Finito il su ballo, i Delfi, così huomini, come donne, che gli si ritrovavano intorno, cominciarono, ed egli insieme con esso loro, rallegrandosi, e ringraziando Iddio d'una tanta grazia, una carola, cantando, sopra liuti, tromboni, arpi, violini, e cornette, dolcemente queste parole.*

O mille volte, e mille  
 Giorno lieto, e felice:  
 O fortunate ville,  
 O fortunati colli, a cui pur lice  
 Mirar l'orribil'angue  
 Versar l'anima, e 'l sangue,  
 Che col maligno toscò  
 Spogliò 'l prato di fior, di frondi 'l bosco.

*E carolando, e cantando, se n'andarono per la medesima via, ond'eran venuti: sparve la selva, e lo 'ntermedio finì. E perchè dagli antichi fu finta la battaglia Pitica in Delo, alla presenza de i Delfi, il poeta ci rappresentò quei popoli, che furono tra huomini, e donne diciotto coppie, in abiti tendenti al greco, e de'colori si rimise nella discrezion dell'Artefice. E perchè alcuni vogliono, che Delo fosse edificata da Delfo figliuolo di Nettuno,<sup>106</sup> a tutti adattò in mano, o in capo, o nella vesta alcuna cosa marina.*

### INTERMEDIO 3

The hill and grottoes having disappeared, and the magpies having scattered, croaking and hopping, the scene returned to its original state, and the second act of the play began. At the close of the act, the houses were masked by oaks, turkey oaks, chestnuts, beeches, and other such trees, and the whole stage became a wood. In the midst of the wood was a large, dark, rocky cave, and all the plants around the cave had been parched and rendered leafless by fire. The trees farther from the cave, whose tops seemed to touch the sky, were green and fresh and laden with fruit.

After the appearance of the wood (a wonder in itself), nine couples, men and women, dressed after the Greek fashion, appeared from the left. Each couple differed slightly from the next, whether in the color of their dress, or in their ornaments—these will be described later. No sooner had they arrived on the stage than viols, flutes, and sackbuts struck up, and they began to sing:

Here is the spot where, drunk with human blood,  
 The monster lay within this gloomy grove,  
 Clouding and blackening the air  
 With its foul breath and its malignant venom.

The words of this and the other madrigals in this Intermedio are by the above-named Ottavio Rinuccini, and the music by Marenzio. While the nine couples on stage sang this madrigal, nine more couples of men and women entered from the other side and took up the song on the same instruments, singing:

This is the place where, craving flesh,  
 The fearful worm stands; in this place  
 It spews out fire and flames, hisses, and roars,  
 Destroying grass and flowers;  
 But where's the monster now?  
 Can Jove at last have heard our pleas?

Hardly were these words spoken when a serpent of immense size, portrayed by the poet as the serpent Python, belching flames and black smoke that darkened the air around the cave, thrust its head out of the dark and fearsome cavern. Screened, as it were, by the charred foliage, it failed to see the human beings nearby; it stood preening itself in the sunlight—for the brilliancy of the stage rivaled the Sun itself—and after a while went back into the cave. When those poor wretches saw the cruel beast, they sang, in plaintive and melancholy voices, accompanied by the same instruments, a prayer to God, that he might deliver them from their strange and cruel misfortune:

O miserable we,  
 Were we then born to slake  
 The hunger of this loathsome beast?  
 O Father, King of Heaven,  
 Look mercifully down  
 On miserable Delos,  
 Imploring you on bended knee,  
 Pleading for help with bitter tears.  
 Send your lightning and your bolt  
 To avenge poor Delos  
 On the ferocious monster that devours her.

While this song was being sung, the serpent thrust its head and neck out of the cave twice more in the same way. When the song was over, it unfurled its small wings, which were of a curious color between green and black and studded with little glinting mirrors, and opened wide its vast mouth, showing three rows of huge teeth and a flaming tongue. Then, hissing and spitting fire and venom, fierce and horrid to behold, the monster caught sight of the wretches in the wood and made one great bound out of the cave to kill and eat them.

No sooner had it emerged into the open than a man with bow and arrows, dressed as Apollo, appeared from the sky to help them. In this Intermedio, the poet has indeed sought to recreate the Pythian Battle, as described by Julius Pollux, who states that, when the battle was enacted with the ancient music, it was divided into five parts. First, Apollo looked round to see if the place was suitable for a battle, then, in the second part, he confronted the serpent, and in the third (in iambics) he fought the battle. The section in iambics also contains what is called the "biting," described below. The fourth, spondaic section represented the death of the serpent and the victory of Apollo. In the fifth section he danced a joyful dance, signifying victory.

Through the depredations of time, we have lost the ability to perform such things with the musical modes of antiquity; the poet, however, feeling that this battle, reenacted, should give the utmost delight to the audience (as indeed it does), has presented it to the accompaniment of our modern music, doing his utmost, as one highly learned in that art, to imitate and recreate the music of antiquity. He made Apollo descend from the skies, to the utter stupefaction of all who saw it: a ray of light could not have descended quicker, as he appeared miraculously (for, whatever the mechanism that held him up, it was not visible), his bow in his hand and a quiverful of arrows at his side, dressed in a gleaming robe of cloth of gold, in the manner described in Intermedio 1, where he appeared among the seven planets in the heavens. Truth to tell, his costume was no longer so much covered in flames; and, for greater agility and speed, it had no surrounding rays.

When he had thus arrived on stage, to the music of viols, flutes, and sackbuts, he began the first part of the battle, which is the reconnaissance of the field of battle, and with great skill, but at a distance, he executed a dance around the serpent, appropriately enacting that reconnaissance. This he did with agility, dancing and leaping, showing himself to the fell serpent in elegant attitudes, expressing his contempt, and the serpent could be seen hissing, beating its wings and gnashing its teeth, hideously bracing itself for the fight.

In the third part he enacted the fight, still dancing and leaping, shooting frequent arrows at the monster, which pursued him around the stage. The monster roared to the sound of the music and gnashed its teeth; striking extraordinary poses, it tore out the arrows that lodged in its back, rending the wounds they caused, and from the wounds flowed vast quantities of dreadful black blood, like ink. Then, with terrifying groans and cries, still tearing at its own flesh and pursuing its assailant, the serpent fell and died. Apollo, joyous and full of pride at its death, danced to music signifying victory, and felicitously expressed his state of happiness and pride; after this dance, he stood beside the dead serpent and set his right foot on its head in triumph.

This done, two of the couples who had been in the wood, watching the fight, approached, as if incredulous and eager to make sure that the serpent was dead. When they saw it on the ground in a pool of dark, almost black, blood, with Apollo with his foot planted on its head, they began singing and playing dulcet instruments for joy, praising the God and inviting their companions to share their joy. This is what they sang:

O valiant God,  
Illustrious and sovereign God,  
See the foul monster,  
Slain by your unconquered hand.  
Dead is the loathsome beast;  
Come, rank after rank,  
Come, lovely nymphs, and with your song,  
Exalt Apollo and his Delos to the skies.

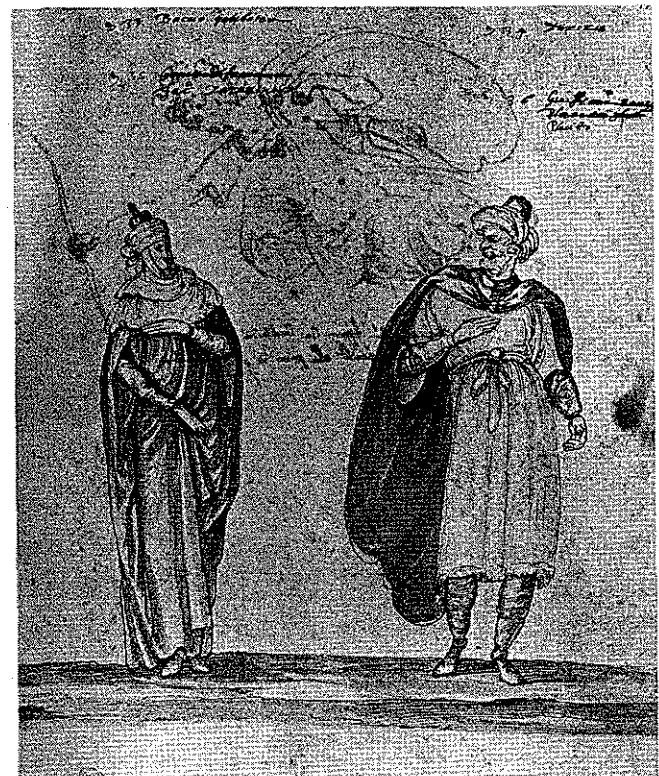
As they sang, the others, who had appeared at the beginning of the Intermedio, and had then withdrawn to the forest to watch the fight from farther off, came forward to marvel at the dead serpent; when the song finished, the serpent was dragged offstage, out of sight. When the serpent had gone, Apollo, accompanied only by instruments, danced and made merry, and with graceful movements of his person interpreting the fifth part of the music, which was the joy of having freed the people of Delphi from so vile and hideous a scourge as the serpent. When his dance was finished, the people of Delphi surrounding him, men and women alike, began to rejoice, and he rejoiced with them. They thanked the God for so great a favor; and, to the accompaniment of lutes, sackbuts, harps, violins, and cornetts, sweetly sang a carol to these words:

A thousand times, a thousand,  
 O joyous, happy day!  
 O blessed homes,  
 O blessed hills, allowed to see  
 The fearful serpent  
 Drained of its life and blood—  
 Which with malignant venom  
 Did rob the fields of blooms, the woods of leaves.

Thus singing and dancing in a ring, they returned the way they had come; the wood disappeared, and the Intermedio came to an end. And because this was a reenactment of the Pythian Battle in Delos, in the presence of the people of Delphi, the poet showed us those people, eighteen couples, men and women, in costumes in the Greek style, leaving the colors to the discretion of the artist. And because some maintain that Delos was founded by Delphos, son of Neptune, each person was made to carry or wear something connected with the sea.

At the end of his narration, Rossi gives us the most precise indications of the form and shape of the costumes worn by two of the couples in the Delphic chorus; these agree precisely with Buontalenti's designs (V.D. 26, 13), reproduced as fig. 84. This agreement is interesting<sup>107</sup> not only because it gives us an insight into the nomenclature of theatrical costumes but also because the fantastic costumes of the female figures, with their multiple layers, cloaks, and flying veils,<sup>108</sup> present us with an instructive and hitherto overlooked source of evidence for the history of ornament.

These Baroque theatrical accessories are distant offshoots of a quasi-antique decorative formula that originated in the early Renaissance. Rossi says expressly that the Delphians, whose dress an unprejudiced observer might take for an exaggerated Turkish costume, were dressed "*quasi alla greca*"<sup>109</sup> (after the Greek fashion); and, indeed, the female costumes were ultimately derived from the garb of the nymph (*ninfa*), who evolved, through the fruitful interaction of the arts, as the Renaissance type of the young woman of classical antiquity.



**Figs. 84a-d. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
**Men and Women of Delphi**  
 Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 379)



The *ninfa* was among the attractive offspring of a multiple conjunction of art and archaeology, such as only the Quattrocento could produce. As a boldly striding maiden, with flowing hair, skirts kilted up *all'antica* and fluttering in the breeze, she appeared in the visual arts and also—as a living figure—in the performing arts. In processions,<sup>110</sup> and in the first dramatic performances on mythological subjects,<sup>111</sup> she was a virgin huntress, one of the companions of Diana; in painting and in sculpture, she supplied a general feminine type, both in historical and in mythological subjects. This explains why we find Savonarola already inveighing against the “nymph,”<sup>112</sup> as an embodiment of pagan life, and against the billowing veils (*veliere*), which, to him and to his followers, were the embodiment of worldly wantonness.<sup>113</sup>

It may be added that an artistic reflection of the nymph type can be found in the striding maiden, carrying a basket or a pot on her head, who appears so often as a generalized ornamental motif in the panel paintings and frescoes of the Florentine School, from Filippo Lippi to Raphael.<sup>114</sup> But it would take too long to trace this figure through all her successive phases, down to the end of the sixteenth century.

In the specific context of the theatrical costumes just discussed, it should be mentioned that she reappears as a favorite type, not only in sixteenth-century masquerades and Intermedi<sup>115</sup> but also in pastoral drama. In this period the memory of antique art,<sup>116</sup> already faint, receded even further: the dress, initially simple and kilted up, had transformed itself into an assortment of ornate overgarments, although the veils and the flourishes remained, as relics of the costume of the fleet-footed huntress, even when the nymph had taken on much more of the character of a sentimental shepherdess.

Her importance in pastoral drama can be seen in a passage from the *Dialoghi* of Leone de' Sommi, an experienced actor at the court of Mantua, who devotes a long note to the costume of the nymph, singling out her flowing accessories as a characteristic and graceful ornament. He says:

*Alle Nimphe poi, dopo l'essersi osservate le proprietà loro descritte da' poeti, convengono le camiscie da donna, lavorate et varie, ma con le maniche; et io soglio usare di farci dar la salda, acciò che legandole coi manili o con cinti di seta colorata et oro, facciano poi alcuni gonfi, che empiano gl'occhi et comparano leggiadrissimamente. Gli addice poi una veste dalla cintura in giù, di qualche bel drappo colorato et vago, succinta tanto che ne apaia il collo del piede; il quale sia calzato d'un socco dorato all'antica et con atilatura, ovvero di qualche somacco colorato. Gli richiede poi un manto sontuoso, che da sotto ad un fianco si vadi ad agroppare sopra la oposita spalla; le chiome folte et bionde, che paiano naturali, et ad alcuna si potranno lasciar ir sciolte per le spalle, con una ghirlandetta in capo; ad altra per variare, aggiungere un frontale d'oro; ad altre poi non fia sdicevole annodarle con nastri di seta, coperte con di quei veli sutilissimi et cadenti giù per le spalle, che nel civil vestire cotanta vaghezza accrescono; et questo (come dico) si potrà concedere anco in questi spettacoli pastorali poi che generalmente il velo sventoleggiante è quello che avanza tutti gli altri ornamenti del capo d'una*

*donna et ha però assai del puro et del semplice, come par che ricerca l'habito d'una habitatrice de'boschi.*<sup>117</sup>

The *nymphs* will be dressed in keeping with their descriptions by the poets. They should wear bodices, variously embroidered, but with sleeves, and it is my practice to have them starched, so that when they are tied with cuffs or with colored silk ribbons or with gold bands, they puff out a little, gratifying the eye and looking wonderfully light. With this goes a skirt made of beautiful, richly colored fabric and kilted up to reveal the instep; the feet should be clothed in tight-fitting buskins, gilded in the antique style or stained with sumac. Then they should wear a flowing mantle, fixed low on one side and gathered up to the opposite shoulder. Their hair should be thick and fair, and should look natural. Some should wear their hair loose on their shoulders, crowned with a garland. Others, for variety's sake, could wear a gold bandeau. The remainder might tie up their locks with silk ribbons, and cover their heads with those filmy veils, falling to the shoulders, that add such grace to civil dress. This may be permitted (as I say) in these pastoral performances, since in general a wafting veil excels all other head ornaments that a woman can wear, and yet it conveys a strong sense of purity and simplicity, such as is appropriate to a forest dweller.

Similarly, Angelo Ingegneri says, of pastoral plays:

*Come che in queste sia già accettato per uso irrevocabile l'abbigliare le Donne alla Ninfale, ancora ch'elle fossero semplici Pastorelle; il qual habito riceve ornamenti e vaghezze assai sopra la loro conditione.*<sup>118</sup>

In these, it has become an invariable custom for the ladies to be dressed in the *nymphal* style, even where they themselves are nothing but shepherdesses: a costume that entails ornaments and graces far superior to their condition.

Rossi, in his account,<sup>119</sup> pauses to admire the graceful motions of these veils and draperies, not only in the costume of the people of Delphi but also in those of the Sirens and the Luna of Intermedio 1; in the Muses, Pierides, and Hamadryads of the second; and in the Muses of the sixth. He, too, thus considers them to be accessories proper to the nymphlike figures of antiquity. What the Delphic chorus looked like to a contemporary audience is apparent from Cavallino's account of Intermedio 3: "*Usciti di due parti un buon numero de'pastori e Ninfe*" (Enter from both sides a good number of shepherds and nymphs).<sup>120</sup>

Rossi was thus quite right to detect something Greek and antique in the costumes of the chorus. This outlandish garb, which now looks at first sight like the offspring of the artist's personal caprice, had its origin in the still-vital tradition of the nymph type; and this in turn owed its artistic existence to the Quattrocento desire to give bodily shape to the figures of antiquity. However, these fluttering veils, flounces, and draperies have their artistic justification

not on the stage but in processions: they are ornaments designed to be seen in motion and in profile;<sup>121</sup> only in motion do they reveal those graceful lines that had appealed to Renaissance artists since the time of Leon Battista Alberti.<sup>122</sup>

Leaving aside for the moment the aesthetics of ornament in general, we penetrate a little more deeply, with Rossi,<sup>123</sup> into the secrets of the theatrical wardrobe:

*La prima coppia<sup>124</sup> un bel giovane huomo, e una bella giovane donna: l'huomo con roba di raso azzurro scollata, che gli arrivava a mezza la gamba, con ricami, e frange d'oro dappiè, e tutta l'abbottonatura di botton d'oro; stretta infino alla cintola, da indi in giù alquanto più larga, e due maniche strette, e lunghe quanto la vesta gli pendevano dalle spalle. Sopra aveva un'altra vesticciuola più corta d'Ermisino verdegiallo, con bendoni a ricamo d'oro dappiè. E sopra questa un'altra robetta a mezza la coscia, di raso incarnato con fregio intorno, e dagli spallacci pendevano alcuni bei nappon d'oro, ed era cinto con una cintura di raso rosso, la cui serratura, erano due belle maschere d'oro, che serrando si congiugnevano insieme.<sup>125</sup> In capo una bella, e bionda ricciaia, e in piede i calzari di raso rosso, lavorati a nicchie, e a chiocciolette, e ricamati d'oro, come la vesta. In mano strumenti.*

*La donna<sup>126</sup> il busto di raso turchino a ricamo co'suoi spallacci a bendoni con frange d'oro. La vesta di sotto di raso bianco con un fregio d'oro dappiè, e una sopravvesta di drappo incarnato con bel ricamo; squartata, e le squartature abbottonate con certi riscontri d'oro. Dalla serratura del cinto, che era una testa di marzocco, che avea due risplendenti gioie per occhi, pendevano due veli d'oro, che, serpeggiando, le cadevano con bello ornamento fin quasi a'piedi. L'acconciatura, tutta adorna di branche di corallo, e di veli, e un velo turchino grande sotto la gola, che con amendue i capi, per lo 'ntrecciamento passando de'suoi capelli, e dalla parte di dietro cadendole infino a'piedi, faceva sventolando una bella vista.*

*Nell'altra coppia un'huomo<sup>127</sup> con una vesta lunga di raso azzurro abbottonata infino in terra a riscontri d'oro, e alcune borchie d'oro sopra le spalle: gli spallacci verdi, e le maniche di raso rosso, con ricamo di seta nera, e similmente i calzoni. In capo un turbante a chiocciola, in cima al quale aveva una chioccioletta marina, e nella serratura del cinto due nicchie dentrovi alcune gioie di pregio.<sup>128</sup>*

*La donna<sup>129</sup> con busto di raso rosso con un pregiato fregio alla fine d'esso. Le si partia dalla scollatura un'ornamento d'oro massiccio, che l'arrivava sotto le poppe. Gli spallacci bianchi ricamati di seta nera, e le maniche di colore all'arance simile. La vesta lunga, per fino a'piedi, mavi, fregiata a ricamo d'oro, e di seta. Una robetta sopra di raso bianco, a ogni palmo traversata con due liste gialle, che n'avieno una turchina nel mezzo. Il cinto era tutto d'oro, e da una testa di marzocco, che copriva la serratura, pendevano alcuni veli di seta, e d'oro, che, con alcune ricascate artificiose, le facean dinanzi un bello ornamento. Al collo un vizzo di grosse perle, e di sotto la gola le si partiva un velo turchino, che andava annodandole con bel gruppo le bionde trecce, le quali facieno una cupola con tre ordini, e in cima una palla, dalla quale surgeva una branca di bel corallo. Un velo d'oro, e 'ncarnato le pendeva con belli svolazzij infino in su'piedi, e sopra la fronte le cadevano alcuni ricci pieni de perle, e di coralletti.*

*Gli abiti, e gli ornamenti di tutti gli altri, così huomini, come donne,<sup>130</sup> ne di bellezza, ne di ricchezza, ne d'ornamenti, ne d'artificio, ne di splendore, non cedevan punto a'primieri. Ed erano tutte adorne l'acconciature di quelle donne, e similmente le veste, di coralli, di nicchie, di perle, di madreperle, di conchiglie, e d'altre cose marine, e tutte diverse l'una dall'altra. E anche agli huomini, e in capo, e ne' panni isì fatte cose. E tanto, e più vaghi, e più belli fur giudicati, quanto furono differenti d'artificio, e d'ornamento, e tutti simiglianti all'abito greco, che si mostrò veramente l'artefice, che ne fece i disegni, richissimo d'invenzione, poichè potette esser tanto vario, e tanto vago nell'unità. Ma passiamo alquanto, perciocchè se particolarmente dovessimo scrivere tutto ciò ch'avieno i personaggi di questo intermedio intorno, allungheremmo troppo 'l volume. Faccia ragione il leggitor da'descritti, in che maniera il rimanente fosse vestito; non essendo, come abbiám detto, niun di loro all'altro inferiore in alcuna parte.*

The first couple, a handsome young man and a beautiful young woman. The man was in a collarless robe of blue satin, to midcalf, embroidered, with a gold fringe round the hem and gold buttons throughout; straight to the waist and slightly flared below. Narrow sleeves, the same length as the robe, hung from his shoulders. Over this, a second, shorter tunic of yellow-green sarcenet, with bands of gold embroidery round the bottom. And over this another short gown, to midthigh, made of scarlet satin with a border, gold tassels hanging from the shoulders, and a red satin belt. The belt had a remarkable clasp made of two gold masks, which made a single mask when clipped together. His hair was blond and curled, his shoes of red satin, embroidered with shells and scrolls, in gold as on the robe. In his hand he held musical instruments.

The woman wore a bodice of dark-blue embroidered satin, with shoulder pieces and gold fringes; the underbodice was white satin with a gold border; the overgarment, of embroidered scarlet fabric, was slashed and the slashes fastened with gold fastenings. From the clasp at the waist, fashioned to represent the head of a *marzocco* [i.e., the lion of Florence], with two little glinting jewels for eyes, two twisted gold scarves hung elegantly almost to her feet. Her headdress was adorned with coral branches and veils, and she wore a large dark-blue veil under the chin. Both ends of this blue veil were threaded through her hair and hung to her feet, billowing out elegantly behind her.

The man of the second couple was dressed in a long, bright-blue satin robe, buttoned through with gold fastenings, and gold studs on the shoulders. Green shoulder pieces, sleeves of red satin embroidered with black, and matching breeches. On his head a turban, with a sea shell on top; two shells containing rich jewels in the clasp of his belt.

The woman wore a red satin bodice, richly bordered. From her neckline a solid gold jewel hung below her bust. White shoulder pieces embroidered with black silk, and orange sleeves. Her ankle-length undergarment was pale blue, embroidered around the hem with silk and gold thread. The white satin overdress was horizontally striped, with double yellow stripes separated by a narrower dark blue stripe. The gold belt had a *marzocco* over the clasp, from which hung gold and silken veils,

artfully gathered, which made a fine ornament when seen from the front. Round her neck was a string of large pearls, and lower on her throat a dark blue scarf which bound her blond tresses into a three-tier crown with a sphere on top, from which arose a beautiful branch of coral. A long gold and-scarlet veil hung fluttering behind, and the curls hanging on her forehead were full of pearls and little pieces of coral.

The clothing and ornaments of all the others, men and women alike, yielded nothing to those just described, whether in beauty, richness, decoration, artifice, or splendor. The headdresses and the robes of the women were all adorned with coral, shells, pearls, mother-of-pearl, conchs, and other marine ornaments, all different. The men's headgear and clothes were decorated in the same way. The more varied these were, both in invention and in ornament, the more elegant and beautiful they were judged to be; and yet all retained the likeness to Greek costume; the artist who made the designs truly showed himself rich in invention, by contriving such variety and such elegance within unity. But let us pass on, for if we were to describe in detail everything worn by the actors in this Intermedio, this volume would grow too lengthy. The reader may imagine from what has already been described how the remainder were dressed; as we have said, none was inferior to any other in any part.

This concludes our brief art-historical interpretation of Intermedi 1 and 3; we have chosen them as examples, because they reflect two successive evolutionary phases through which the Intermedio passed on the way to melodrama.

We have seen how Giovanni de' Bardi, in Intermedio 1—the *armonia delle sfere*—was still trying to make himself understood through the technique of the mute "mythological procession": that is, through the language of attributes and ornaments that spoke only to a public versed in the subtle inventions of the Quattrocento. But by Intermedio 3—the *battaglia pitica*—the deviser, with the help of Ottavio Rinuccini, was already on the way to adapting to the new requirements of the theater a learned conceit that still belonged, in its inner character and its external trappings, to the realm of Renaissance humanism.

The strength of Bardi's continuing faith in this sort of Intermedio is apparent from his use of the genre, on this occasion, to embody the most profound philosophical ideas and poetic myths of the ancients on the subject of the power of music: the very ideas that the Camerata studied with a view to the revival of melodrama.

In the house of Jacopo Corsi, after Count Giovanni had left Florence for Rome in 1592, his musician friends, Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini, not only kept his ideas alive but further developed them to the point where the new melodrama was born at last. The presiding poetic genius of both Camerate was Ottavio Rinuccini;<sup>131</sup> and he was the librettist both of Intermedio 3 in 1589 and of the very first opera, *Dafne*, which was performed at Jacopo Corsi's house in 1594.<sup>132</sup> A comparison of these two libretti, in terms both of dramatic style and of interpretation of antiquity, will illustrate better than anything the artistic and cultural gulf that separates the Renaissance from modern times.

in *Dafne*, the fight with the dragon has shrunk to a brief prologue, in which there are still traces of the spectacle of 1589, both in the grouping and action of the chorus and in the *danza bellica* of Apollo.<sup>133</sup> But the archaeological ambition to perform that dance in accordance with the rules of Julius Pollux<sup>134</sup> no longer dominates the psychology of Apollo. The process of rejuvenation, which gave new life and spirit to the figure of Apollo in the Florentine scenic festivals of the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>135</sup> had reached its conclusion. Since 1565 he had transformed himself from an antique cosmic symbol, and a mute dancer, into a youthful and sentimental deity who had found not only words to speak but new and previously unheard melodies: none other than the age-old song of the power of love, the lovelorn shepherd, † and the coy shepherdess.<sup>136</sup>

It was now the turn of Florence to witness the triumph of the pastoral feeling that had found its purest expression in Tasso's *Aminta* and in Guarini's *Il pastor fido*: works that were the delight of a sentimental and courtly society that had none of the subtle erudition of the early Renaissance. There remained, even so, one great distinction. In Florence—though there was a desire, as elsewhere, to touch the soul more deeply through the psychological resources of drama—the ultimate criterion remained the authority of the ancients.<sup>137</sup>

That authority was still quite strong enough to provide, as it were, the raw material to which the Florentine genius applied its uniquely harmonious blend of artistic originality and imitative capacity. However, the progress of dramatic art did not derive so much from reliance on antique sources as from the way in which they were interpreted. In the Intermedi of 1589 and the *Dafne* of 1594, we have two opposite conceptions of classical sources. One tended, in the Baroque manner that sprang from the illustrious traditions of the Quattrocento, to endow the figures of antiquity with solid form and a certain outward archaeological accuracy; the other, which in a way was more classical, looked to melodrama for a new form of expression in which words and sounds would be united, as they were believed to have been united by the Greeks and Romans in the *melopoea* of tragedy.

At the height of the Baroque, we witness a momentary rebirth of a subtle, Florentine artistic sense: capable of ridding the antique of all the erudite accretions that in 1589 had so much preoccupied all those involved—from the poet to the costumer—and capable, at the same time, of remaining true to its classical ideals while looking for a new way to involve not only the minds but the hearts of the spectators.

The *tragedia in musica* addressed a twofold public demand. On one hand, it referred to the antique, through its plots; on the other, through the intensity of feeling evoked by the new technique of the *stile recitativo*, it offered a \* replacement for the rarefied delights that audiences had previously found in the studied inventions of the Intermedi.

In closing, I would like to thank Mr. A. Giorgetti for his kind assistance in translating this essay into Italian from my German original.

## Appendixes

### I

The most important descriptions are listed in the book by P. A. Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni* (1893).

The title of the book by Bastiano de' Rossi is the following:

*Descrizione | dell'Apparato, | e degl'Intermedi. | Fatti per la Commedia rappre-  
| sentata in Firenze. | Nelle nozze de' Serenissimi Don Ferdinando | Medici, e  
Madama Cristina di | Loreno, Gran Duchi di | Toscana. | In Firenze. Per Anton  
Padovani. M.D.LXXXIX. In-4°, 72 pp.*

The principal source for the other festivities of 1589 is the *Diario* of Pavoni:

*Diario | descritto | da Giuseppe Pavoni | delle feste celebrate nelle solennissime  
nozze delli Serenissimi Sposi, il sig. Ferdinando Medici, e la signora Donna Cristina  
di Lorena Gran Duchi di Toscana. | Nel quale con brevità si esplica il Torneo, la  
Bataglia navale, la Comedia con gli Intermedi; et altre feste occorse di giorno in  
giorno per tutto il dì 15 di Maggio MDLXXXIX. | Alli molti illustri, et miei  
Patroni osservandiss., li signori Giasone, et Pompeo fratelli de' Vizani. | Stampato  
in Bologna nella Stamperia di Giovanni Rossi, di permissione delli Signori  
Superiori. In-8°, 48 pp.<sup>138</sup>*

To this is added the:

*Racolta di tutte | le solennissime Feste | nel Sponsalizio | della Serenissima | Gran  
Duchessa | di Toscana | fatte in Fiorenza il mese di Maggio 1589. | Con brevità  
raccolte da Simone Cavallino da Viterbo. | All'Illustriss. et Reverendiss. sig. Patri-  
arca Alessandrino, Caetano. | In Roma, Appresso Paolo Blado Stampatore Came-  
rale 1589. In-8°, 46 pp.<sup>139</sup>*

I have not been able to consult the *Diari* of Benacci,<sup>140</sup> or his descriptions in French of the same festivities.<sup>141</sup> Among the poems<sup>142</sup> written on the occasion of the wedding of Ferdinando and Cristina the following is of interest:

*Venuta | della Serenissima Cristina di Loreno in Italia | al Seggio Ducale di Fio-  
renza | del suo Serenissimo Sposo | Don Ferdinando Medici Gran Duca | Terzo di  
Toscana. | Raccolta in ottava rima da M. Pietro Niccola | de Cardi, Cittadino  
Fiorentino, 1589. | In Firenze, appresso Giorgio Marescotti MDXC. In-4°, 48 pp.*

The *Ricordanze* of Giovanni del Maestro, majordomo to Ferdinand I, offer much factual information on festivities at the grand ducal court. In the Archivio di Stato there exist both the original notes<sup>143</sup> and the historical compilation that Giovanni<sup>144</sup> himself began in 1589; he intended it for the grand

*familiarii del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Cardinale*<sup>146</sup> also seems to have been compiled under the direction of this same Giovanni, as the title is written in his hand.

## II

The first engraving,<sup>147</sup> by Epifanio d'Alfiano,<sup>148</sup> shows Intermedio 4. Seated above, on a cloud, are those spirits who live, according to Plato, in the sphere of fire, and who serve as intermediaries between men and gods. Beneath them, in a chariot drawn by two dragons, a sorceress approaches, wearing a fantastic costume draped with veils. Below, there arises the three-headed Lucifer of Dante, with bat wings, holding a sinner in either hand and another, waist-deep, in his mouth, surrounded by his devils, who are busy tormenting the damned souls with their pitchforks. The city of Dis is seen in the background. On one wheel of the sorceress's chariot is the inscription: "*D. Epifanio d'Alf. M. Vall. Incid.*"

In the second engraving,<sup>149</sup> we see Intermedio 2, with the metamorphosis of the Pierides into magpies. Apollo sits on a mountain peak, center stage, on which the nine Muses sit three by three, and beneath which, in a cave, there reclines the god of the Castalian spring. In two other caves, to left and right, are another nine goddesses (the Hamadryads?) playing various instruments. The sides of the stage are formed by pergolas and other garden structures. Downstage, the nine Pierides run hither and thither, transformed into magpies.

In spite of the discrepancies between the engraving, Rossi's description, and Buontalenti's drawings, there can be no doubt that this plate does represent Intermedio 2: such discrepancies are explained by the fact that the engraving dates from 1592, as the inscription tells us: "*S. Epif. Alfiano Mon.<sup>co</sup> Vallombrosano f. 1592.*"<sup>150</sup>

## III

On the cover of the *Ruolo* is the inscription, in the hand of Giovanni del Maestro:

1588. — *Ruolo della Casa del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Ferdinando Medicis, Cardinale, Gran Duca di Toscana.*<sup>151</sup>

1588. — Register of the household of His Serene Highness Ferdinando Medici, cardinal, grand duke of Tuscany.

On the first page, in the hand of his bookkeeper:

*Ruolo della Casa et familiarii del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Car.<sup>le</sup> Gran Duca di Toscana da di primo di settembre 1588. Con la provisione et ogn'altra comodità che da S. A. Ser.<sup>ma</sup> ad essi si concede. Dichiarata a ciascuno al suo nome proprio, o, sì vero nella intitolatione del suo offitio.*



Register of the household and family members of His Serene Highness the cardinal grand duke of Tuscany, on 1 September 1588. Including the pay and allowances granted to them by His Serene Highness. Each person is listed under his own name, with his post listed where appropriate.

I extract from this ledger the names of the musicians, listed on p. 17, with their monthly pay in ducats:

<i>Musici</i>	<i>Duc.<sup>152</sup></i> *
1. <i>Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta</i>	20
2. <i>Luca Marentio</i>	15
3. <i>Cristofano Malvezzi insegna alle Signore principesse</i>	9
4. <i>Gio. Batt. Jacomelli del Violino</i>	16
5. <i>Ant.<sup>o</sup> Archileo con cavallo a tutto governo,</i>	
6. <i>et per la Margherita sua putta et per la balia</i>	
<i>et per pigioni di casa in tutto</i>	18
7. <i>Vittoria sua moglie</i>	10
8. <i>Onofrio Gualfreducci da Pistoia</i>	15
9. <i>Giulio Caccini</i>	16
10. <i>Gio. Franc. Sanese, Trombone</i>	15
11. <i>Ant.<sup>o</sup> Naldi, guardaroba della Musica mangia in tinello et ha</i>	6
12. <i>Mario Luchini</i>	6
13. <i>Don Gio. Basso et serva anco al Duomo</i>	9
14. <i>Don Cornelo, Basso</i>	4
15. <i>Gio. Piero Manenti</i>	3
16. <i>Baccio Palibotria</i>	5
17. <i>Zanobi Siciliani</i>	6
18. <i>Jacopo Peri detto Zazzerino</i>	6
19. <i>Ant. Franc. d'Annibale, Trombone</i>	4
20. <i>Frate Andriano de' Servi, Trombone</i>	4
21. <i>Pierino Polibotria</i>	4
22. <i>Niccolò Bartolini da Pistoia, Eunuco</i>	6
23. <i>S.<sup>r</sup> Cav.<sup>re</sup> Cosimo Bottigarj con cavallo a paglia e striglia senza altro.</i>	

<i>Musicians</i>	<i>Ducats</i>
1. <i>Bernardo Franciosino, cornett</i>	20
2. <i>Luca Marentio</i>	15
3. <i>Cristofano Malvezzi, tutor to the princesses</i>	9
4. <i>Giovanni Battista Jacomelli, violin</i>	16
5. <i>Antonio Archileo, with full keep for horse</i>	6
6. <i>and Margherita, his woman, plus wet nurse</i>	
<i>and the rents, a total of</i>	18
7. <i>Vittoria his wife</i>	10
8. <i>Onofrio Gualfreducci da Pistoia</i>	15
9. <i>Giulio Caccini</i>	16

10. Giovanni Francesco Sanese, sackbut	15
11. Antonio Naldi, sees to the musicians' wardrobe and eats in the small dining room, and receives	6
12. Mario Luchini	6
13. Don Giovanni, bass, also sings in the Duomo	9
14. Don Cornelo, bass	4
15. Giovanni Piero Manenti	3
16. Baccio Palibotria	5
17. Zanobi Siciliani	6
18. Jacopo Peri, known as <i>Longhair</i>	6
19. Antonio Francesco d'Annibale, sackbut	4
20. Brother Andriano, Servite, sackbut	4
21. Pierino Polibotria	4
22. Niccolò Bartolini da Pistoia, eunuch	6
23. Signor Cavaliere Cosimo Bottigari, with horse (straw and grooming only)	

On p. 29, the following names have been added in Emilio de' Cavalieri's hand:

24. *Cesare del Messere basso musico con provisione di scudi quindici il mese, come apparisce per rescritto di S. Alt. sotto dì 1° d'ottobre 1588 da cominciarli il 1° di settembre prossimo passato.*
25. *Duritio Usorelli della Viola musico con provisione di scudi otto il mese da cominciar il medesimo detto dì, come per il medesimo rescritto.*
24. Cesare del Messere, bass, an allowance of 15 scudi per month, as was added by His Highness's rescript on 1 October 1588, with effect from 1 September preceding.
25. Duritio Usorelli, viol, an allowance of 8 scudi per month, to commence as no. 24 above.

#### Notes

1. For fuller information on the sources, see appendix I.
2. See d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro* (1891), 2:167, 2:466 f.
3. For information on her, see Bevilacqua, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 23 (1894): 88 ff.
4. For the subject of the comedy, see Pavoni [appendix I], 46, where details of the jealousy between these two prima donnas will also be found.
5. See Baldinucci (1846), 2:509–23; Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro* (Venice, 1785), 1:208 ff.; G. Giannini, "Origini del dramma musicale," *Propugnatore*, n.s., 6, no. 1 (1893), 209 ff. [especially 250, n. 1]; U. Angeli, *Di alcuni Intermedi del Cinquecento* (Modena, 1891); Renier, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 22 (1893): 381.
- \* 6. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 4–5.

7. The decree of appointment is printed, in part, by Gaye, *Carteggio* 3:484, and his representatives are listed as “maestro Giaches <Bylifelt?> ... tedesco, nostro gioielliere” † (Master Giaches <Bylifelt?> ..., a German, our jeweler), for the visual arts, and Paolo Palluzzelli, gentleman of Rome, for music (Archivio Mediceo, Minute di Ferdinando, filza 62, p. 222). The Venetian ambassador, Tommaso Contarini, gives the following account of Cavalieri's character in his *Relazione* of 1588 on Ferdinando's court: “Il signor Emilio Del Cavalliero romano, servitore molto del Granduca, abita in palazzo; non è così assiduo alla persona come gli altri, perchè ama la libertà; ma possiede assai la grazia di S.A.; attende a' trattenimenti di musica e di piaceri.” (Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri, the Roman, waits on the grand duke and lives in the palace; he is not as attentive to his employer as the others, because he values his liberty; but he nevertheless finds favor with His Highness; he sees to musical and dramatic entertainment.) See Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni veneziane: Appendice* (Florence, 1863), 285. We know the date of his death (11 March 1602) from Gandolfi. See *Rassegna nazionale* [15:297 ff.] (16 November 1893).

8. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1585), 61.

9. [Fig. 77.] 45 × 75 cm.

10. This subject may have been derived from Martianus Capella's poem *De nuptiis Philologiae cum Mercurio*, which also supplied material for Intermedi in Mantua in 1584 and 1598; see A. Neri, “Gli ‘Intermezzi’ del ‘Pastor fido,’” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 11:412 ff. This would also explain Rossi's remark (*Descrizione*, 6<sup>v</sup>) that Jove was represented “nell'abito appunto, che alle nozze di Mercurio s'appresentò” (in the very same costume in which he appeared at the nuptials of Mercury).

11. Intermedio 4, with its sorceress and spirits, although based on Plato, was less well integrated with the overall *concetto*. It was the kind of spectacular fantasy that was a favorite at the time. A similar scenario—sorceress, spirits, hellfire, and all—appears in, for example, the second Intermedio of 1585 (Rossi, *Descrizione* (1585), 12<sup>v</sup>). See also the first Intermedio of 1567, as described by Ceccherelli (Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni*, 1893, no. 3401), and the second Intermedio of 1569, as described by Passignani (Bigazzi, no. 3512). This may be because the verse text of Intermedio 4, unlike the others, was not by Ottavio Rinuccini but by Giovanni Battista Strozzi.

12. See G. B. Martini, *Storia della musica* 1 (1757): 9, after Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1, no. 2; and Luigi Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1553), 2; also Zarlino, *L'istitutioni harmoniche* (1589), part 1, ch. 6–7, in *Opere* (Venice), 1:16 ff.

13. See Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (1887), 4:160 ff., and Bardi, “Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini sopra la musica antica e 'l cantar bene,” in Doni, *Trattati di musica*, ed. Gori (1763), 2:233–48.

14. Biblioteca Nazionale, C. B. 53. 3. II, pp. 1–37, 74.

15. Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, no. 140.

16. See figs. 78, 82. The originals are in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, 19:69, nos. 123, 124. Bartsch, *Le peintre-graveur* 18:106, nos. 121, 122, erroneously explains them as *Eternité paroissant dans l'Olympe* (Eternity appearing on Olympus), and *Persée descendant de l'Olympe pour combattre le dragon* (Perseus descending from Olympus to do battle with the dragon).

17. The originals are in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:72–73, nos. 399, 400. For description see appendix II.

18. Baldinucci, *Notizie* (1846), 2:490 ff.; Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils in Italien* (1887), 229 ff.; P. F. Covoni, *Il Casino di San Marco costruito dal Buontalenti ai tempi Medicei* (1892).

19. Gaye, *Carteggio* 3:449.

20. See Giovanni Cinelli, "Scrittori fiorentini," Ms. Magliabech. C. IX, 66, vol. 1, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>.

21. Tasso's visit has recently been discussed by Giosuè Carducci: *Nuova antologia* (1895), 34–35.

22. On the present state of the Teatro Mediceo, see Marcotti, *Guide-souvenir de Florence* [1892], 80. The auditorium was some 56 m long, 35 m wide, and 14 m high, according to the value given for the braccio by Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia* (1883), 206. The rake of the floor was 1.25 m. To gain a clear idea of the technical aspect of the stage machinery, see in particular Nicola Sabbattini, *Pratica di fabbricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, 2d ed., including book 2 (Ravenna, 1638), 2:71–165.

23. It is labeled as follows:

*Parigi Giulio, Disegni originali de' carri e figure de' personaggi che decorarono la Mascherata rappresentante la Genealogia degli Dei, fatta in Firenze nelle nozze di Francesco de' Medici con Giovanna d'Austria descritta da Giorgio Vasari <this is correct>, aggiuntivi i disegni del personaggi che rappresentarono la Commedia intitolata La Pellegrina di Girolamo Bargagli, recitata nel salone sopra gli Uffizi per le nozze di Ferdinando I <here the compiler is in error; the designs are all for the Intermedi>, e Disegni del festino dei Pitti nel matrimonio di Cosimo III <?>.*

(Parigi, Giulio, original designs for chariots and figures for the masque representing the Genealogy of the Gods, performed in Florence to celebrate the marriage of Francesco de' Medici to Giovanna d'Austria, described by Giorgio Vasari <this is correct>, together with designs for the costumes of the actors in the comedy entitled *La pellegrina* by Girolamo Bargagli, performed in the Salone above the Uffizi for the marriage of Ferdinand I <here the compiler is in error; the designs are all for the Intermedi>, and designs for the festivities at the Pitti on the marriage of Cosimo III <?>.)

See Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni*, no. 3509. In my opinion, only two of the drawings (2:39–40) are actually by Parigi.

24. They are pen and watercolor drawings on sheets of thick paper, approximately 57 × 47 cm. The figures are 27 cm high, except the sketches for the Sirens in Intermedio 1, which are around 37 cm high. As external evidence that they are really by Buontalenti, we draw particular attention to the monogram B.T. on fol. 10. The drawings on fols. 32 and 36 are merely copies, made to guide the costumer.

25. See fig. 84.

26. See fig. 92.

27. Although this first hand resembles that of Emilio de' Cavalieri, I believe that it is not his but that of Bardi or Buontalenti.

28. The *Libro di conti* of Emilio de' Cavalieri is in the same hand. It may be that of Francesco Gorini, who was *provveditore alla commedia*; his lists served to authenticate items of expenditure.

29. On its vellum spine, the volume is inscribed as follows: "Libro di conti relativi alla commedia diretta da Emilio de' Cavalieri" (Book of accounts relative to the comedy directed by Emilio de' Cavalieri). For the sake of brevity, we shall use the abbreviation L.C. to refer to this account book and V.D. to refer to the volume of drawings.

30. Perhaps, as we have suggested, that of Francesco Gorini, *provveditore alla commedia*.

31. For Intermedio 1, 45 were made; for Intermedio 2, 34; for Intermedio 3, 38; for Intermedio 4, 42; for Intermedio 5, 37; for Intermedio 6, 90; a total of 286 costumes. The price per costume was £2 17s 6d. In addition, Oreto received "*ducato dodici per essersi fatta la commedia una volta più dell'altra, e provato dua Intermedii la quaresima passata*" (twelve ducats because the comedy was performed once more than the other, and two Intermedi rehearsed last Lent). Of the total of Ducats 117 £3 5s, Oreto had been paid the greater part on account. On 16 September 1589, he acknowledged receipt of the balance due, i.e., Ducats 30 £2 15s (L.C., 197).

32. See L.C., *Taglio*, 91.

33. L.C., *Quadernuccio*, 291.

34. See V.D., 37, and fig. 79. The artist's name, in the left-hand corner, is hard to decipher in the reproduction.

35. The catalog of Bardi's writings given by Mazzuchelli affords a general idea of the breadth of his erudition. Bardi deserves a whole biography to himself.

36. Plato, *Republic* 10.617 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1846), 2:192 f. See Cartari, *Le imagini dei dei* (Padua, 1603), 276. Cartari's first edition (Venice, 1556) lacks both the description and the engraving of Necessity. †

37. See Plato, *Republic* 3.399 and *Laches* 188; Aristotle, *Republic* 8.4; [Pseudo-] Plutarch, *De musica* 17.

38. Bardi [see note 13], 240.

39. Francesco Patrici, *Della poetica* (Ferrara, 1586), "La deca istoriale," 298. This work, as well as the same author's *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591), which we have not had the opportunity to consult, may well have influenced Bardi. In 1586 † Bardi wrote Patrizzi about the dispute between Pellegrini and the Accademia della Crusca; see Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d'Italia* 2.1, 334. Patrizzi also speaks of exchanging ideas on the music of antiquity with Bardi and Galilei; see *Della poetica*, 286.

40. See Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.

41. For instance, Dante, *Convito* 2.3-4.

42. See Kolloff, in *Meyers Künstlerlexikon* 2:589. Similar conceits are expressed in the reliefs by Agostino di Duccio in Rimini.

43. Franchini Gafurii... *de Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518), fol. 92, "*Quod Musae et sydera et Modi atque Chordae invicem ordine conveniunt*"; 94<sup>v</sup> (our fig. 96).

44. In Bardi's system, Astraea, identified by the ancients with the Virgo of the zodiac, represented the eighth sphere. Astraea also appears as an allegorical figure in † Frezzi's *Quadriregio* [ed. Filippini (Bari, 1914)], 4.11-13.

45. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 18-32.

46. *Republic* 10.616-17.

47. As for instance in Dante [see note 41].

48. *Republic* 3 and *Laches* [see note 37].
49. *Republic* 8.5 (and 7.10).
50. See p. 358.
51. Personifications of the Harmonies or modes: Hypodoria, Hipofrigia, Hipolidia, Frigia, Mixolidia. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 23.
52. This was the only direct collaboration between the deviser of the Intermedi and the superintendent of fine arts.
53. The Virtues were represented as follows: Justice by Numa Pompilius and Isis; Religion by Massinissa and by a Vestal; Piety by Aeneas and by the dutiful daughter mentioned by Valerius Maximus; Conjugal Love by Tiberius Gracchus and by Portia; Liberty by Hieron and by Busa; Fortitude by Lucius [Siccus] Dentatus and by Camilla.
54. Harmonia, 10 Sirens, 8 Planets; Necessity, 3 Fates and 12 Heroes.
55. See Archivio di Stato, Depositeria gen., no. 389: "*Ruolo della casa et familiari del Ser.mo Cardinale Gran Duca di Toscana per da di primo di Settembre 1588...*" See appendix III. There were 24 musicians in all, and for each the monthly salary is given.
56. Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta heads the list, with a monthly salary of 20 scudi. See also Bonini in La Fage, *Diphthérogaphie* (1864), 167–80.
57. For personal details see principally Malvezzi, *Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la Commedia rappresentata in Firenze* (Venice, 1591). The personal details are printed by Vogel, *Bibliothek der weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens* 1:382–85.
58. No. 1: see V.D., 11.—Nos. 2–15: see V.D., 32–37, and L.C. *Quadernaccio*, 291, 293, 294.—No. 16: see V.D., 36<sup>v</sup>, and L.C., 293.—Nos. 17–20: see V.D., 28, and L.C., 431 f.—Nos. 21–23: see V.D., 27, and L.C., 432.—No. 24: see V.D., 27, and L.C., 441.—Nos. 25–28: see V.D., 29, and L.C., 441.—Nos. 29–41: see L.C., 424, 423.
59. On the number of Sirens see p. 365.
60. Probably identical with Paolo del Franciosino, who died in 1657 at the age of 90. See Bonini [note 56], 178.
61. See fig. 78. Although the figures are rather freely drawn, the presence of Necessity with her spindle and the three Fates proves beyond doubt that this refers to the present Intermedio. The engraving was probably made some time after the performance, as was that by Epifanio d'Alfiano for Intermedio 2, which bears the date of 1592.
62. See nos. 2–16. No. 1 was Vittoria Archilei, as Harmonia, whose green velvet robe was to be made up later to highly precise specifications.
63. Published by Bandini in Doni, *Trattati* 2, appendix, p. 99. The author describes the choral dances as follows, apparently drawing on a passage in Lucian, *De saltatione* 7:
 

... i quai balli o rappresentavano il moto dell'ottava Sfera, o del Sole, o della Luna, o d'altro Pianeta, e la teorica di essi, o altri maravigliosi soggetti. E per più intelligenza addurremo l'esempio di quando rappresentavano il primo mobile conducente i globi celesti...

(... these dances depicted the movement of the eighth sphere, or of the sun and the moon, or of the planets, and sometimes processions of them all, or other magnificent subjects. To convey their content more vividly, one example might be the dance in which the Primum Mobile was portrayed, leading the celestial spheres...)

This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the Planets were originally intended to appear not on clouds but in chariots of their own. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1689), 26, says of Bardi:

*...Avrebbe voluto, che ciascun di questi pianeti fosse comparito in sul carro, che dagli scrittori è assegnato loro, ma non avendo, per più cagioni, l'artefice potuto eseguire il suo intendimento, volle, che gli dipignesse ne'seggi.*

(...He would have liked each of the planets to appear in the chariot assigned to them by the poets; but since the artist, for a number of reasons, had been unable to carry out his intentions, he had him depict them on thrones.)

64. Only three drawings exist of the Sirens of the highest spheres (V.D., 35–36). As can be seen from the inscriptions on the drawings themselves, they are all dressed in the purest colors of the Empyrean, “*trasparenti sì come la foglia del diamante*” (transparent as lamina of diamonds). An additional note specifies; “*di questa sorte dove sono disegnate tre ànno a essere cinque*” (so that where three are drawn, there are to be five); the latter number has subsequently been altered to “seven.”

65. See fig. 79, reproducing Buontalenti's design for the Siren of the eighth sphere. Rossi supplies only a brief description of her (*Descrizione*, 1589, 25):

*Quella volgente l'ottava sfera, sopra una bella, ma semplice acconciatura, un'orsa tutta circondata di stelle. Il vestimento, e le penne cilestrine. La sopravvesta, che le si partia dalle penne, e andava infino al ginocchio, circondata dappiè con bondoni a vago ricamo, da' quali pendevano nappon d'oro: ed essa, e la vesta, tutta quanta ricamata di stelle.*

(The Siren circling the eighth sphere in a simple but elegant headdress bearing a she-bear surrounded by stars. Robe and feathers, sky-blue. Her mantle, attached to the feathers and reaching to her knees, had a richly embroidered border, hung with gold tassels; the robe and mantle embroidered all over with stars.)

66. It was thus that they appeared at the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo in 1539: “*Apparsero in un tratto tre Serene ignude, ciascuna con le sue due code minutamente lavorate di scaglie d'argento.*” (Suddenly three naked Sirens appeared, each with her two tails minutely worked with silver scales.) See Giambullari, *Apparato et feste* (1539), 111.

67. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 23.

68. See L.C., 87–89. The numbers of assistants employed were as follows:

Oct. 5–15	9
" 15–20	13
" 20–27	6
" 27–Nov. 4	10
Nov. 9–11	5
" 11–18	5
" 18–25	5

69. See L.C., *Quadernaccio*, 291. The ingenious idea of making the feathers out of paper was reserved for a later age (1763): Ademollo, *I primi fasti del teatro di via della Pergola*, 30 n.

70. L.C., 291.

71. I reproduce the following as an interesting curiosity [*Quadernaccio*, 292]:

*Nota di quello si mette in un abito di n.º 6 di Gio. Lapi: A dì 17 di novembre 1588.*

*Raso rosso per li braccialetti, sottana e sottanella br. 11  $\frac{2}{3}$  <ca. 6.5 m>. — Taffetà turcina per fodera de bendoni br. 1  $\frac{1}{8}$  <ca. 1.3 m>. — Velo giallo br. 8 per dintorni e mostre che non servirono br. 8 <ca. 4.6 m>. — Velo bianco br. 5 per gorgiere e calzari e dintorno br. 5 <ca. 8.7 m>. — Velo ad oro br. 4  $\frac{2}{3}$ , per cignere e inanzi br. 4  $\frac{2}{3}$  <ca. 2.5 m>. — Tela cilindrata per fare il busto, maniche e bendoni e altro br. 7  $\frac{3}{5}$  <ca. 4.4 m>. — Tela di quadrone dipinta a penne br. 8 <ca. 4.6 m>. — Guarnitione di tela con stag.<sup>lo</sup> <?> e verde fra larghe e strette per la sottana e sottanella br. 14 <ca. 8 m>. — Maschere piccole n.º 4, e 2 grande per le spalle n.º 6. — Tela bott.<sup>na</sup> <?> per la gorgiera br.  $\frac{3}{4}$  <ca. 0.45 m>.*

(Note of materials required for a costume, for no. 6, Giovanni Lapi: 17 November 1588.)

Red satin for the bands, skirt, and underskirt <ca. 6.5 m>. — Deep blue taffeta for lining the bands <ca. 1.3 m>. — Yellow voile for overskirts and for patterns that will not be used <ca. 4.6 m>. White voile for ruffs, footwear, and overskirts <ca. 8.7 m>. Gold voile for trimming and front <ca. 2.5 m>. Calendered cloth for the bodice, sleeves, bands, etc. <ca. 4.4 m>. — Canvas painted with feathers <ca. 4.6 m>. — Green cloth cut unevenly <?> for the skirt and underskirt <ca. 8 m>. — Small masks, 4, and large shoulder masks, 2, total 6. — <?> fabric for the bodice <ca. 0.45 m>.)

72. L.C., *Taglio*, 11.

73. L.C., *Taglio*, 19.

74. V.D., 27.

75. *Carmina* 1.35.

76. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 25.

77. Rossi's *Descrizione*, the preface to which is dated 14 May 1589, cannot have been of any use to those present at the performances.

78. *Diarii*, 14.

79. *Raccolta di tutte le feste*..., 3.

80. *Discorso sopra la mascherata*...; see Bigazzi (note 23), no. 3371.

81. *Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 8:519.

82. Vasari's originals are in the above-mentioned volume in the Palatina, 1:1–164; there are also copies in the Uffizi, nos. 2666–2945 [*Disegni di figura*, Vasari, *Carri trionfali delle Divinità*], and in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Follini, II, I, 142).

83. V.D., 1:37.

84. *Nat. hist.* 11.103. A better reading is *antestamur* (we call as a witness); this verb was used for a special manner of testifying in court.

85. *Egloga* 6.{4–5}:



... "*pastorem Tityre pingues  
Pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.*"  
(... "O Tityrus, the shepherd should  
Fatten his sheep, but sing a slender song.")

Of course, this act has no symbolic value in itself.

86. See *Discorso*, 36.

87. That is, he swears  $\nu\eta\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \chi\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ , by the constellation Canis, the Dog; it need hardly be added that the passage bears no reference to a real animal.

88. See *Discorso*, 36.

89. See T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (1879), 17–38, and Arteaga (note 5).

90. *De saltatione* 16, in which he speaks of the  $\delta\pi\acute{o}\rho\chi\eta\mu\alpha$  (*hyporchema*, choral hymn) of Apollo [see *ibid.*, ch. 38]. [See also pp. 539 f. of the present volume.]

91. *Della poetica* [see note 39], "La deca disputata," 180.

92. *Onomasticon*, bk. 4, segm. 84. See note 102.

93. See Zarlino (note 12), part 2, ch. 5, p. 81 f., on the "Pythian law."

94. See plates 5, 6, 7 (V.D., 26, 13, 24) [fig. 84]. The sketch for the twelfth couple (nos. 23, 24) is the only one to have been lost; the actors' names are given, but as they are mostly the same as in Intermedio 1, we have not repeated them.

95. V.D., 25.

96. See fig. 82.

97. See fig. 83. It may therefore be supposed that this engraving, too, was made some time after the performance.

98. See fig. 84.

99. *Descrizione* (1589), 42–48.

100. This refers to Intermedio 2.

101. See below, p. 379 ff.

102. *Onomasticon* 4.10, segm. 84 [Amsterdam, 1706]:

*De quinque Pythicis certaminibus. Pythici vero modi, qui tibia canitur, partes quinque sunt, rudimentum, provocatio, Iambicum, spondeum, ovatio. Repraesentatio autem, est modus quidem pugnae Apollinis contra Draconem et in ipso experimento locum circumspicit, num pugnae conveniens sit. In provocatione vero provocat Draconem. Sed in Iambico pugnat. Continet autem Iambicum tubae cantus, et odontismum, utpote Dracone inter-sagittandum dentibus frendente. Spondeum vero, Dei victoriam repraesentat. Et in ovatione, Deus ad Victorialia carmina saltat.*

(On the five Pythian competitions. The Pythian mode, which is played on the flute, has five parts: the Trial, the Challenge, the Iambic, the Spondaic, and the Triumph. This mode is a representation of Apollo's battle against the Python. In the Trial, he looks around to see whether the place is suitable for the fight. In the Challenge, he summons the Python forth. In the Iambic he fights; the Iambic includes the music of the war trumpet, and the *odontismon*, the effect of the Python grinding its teeth when assailed with arrows. The Spondaic represents the victory of the god. And in the Triumph the god dances to the songs of victory.)

103. This remark proves how hard the deviser tried to reproduce not only the action of the antique pantomime but its music, conscious though he was of the inadequacy of the imitation.

104. See fig. 82.

105. I heard the music of this madrigal at the commemoration of the Florentine *Riforma Melodrammatica* on 17 February 1895. It is reprinted as an appendix [to the *Commemorazione della Riforma Melodrammatica*, Atti dell'Accademia del Real Istituto Musicale di Firenze (1895)].

† 106. This is one of Bardi's arbitrary assumptions, adopted in order to link Delos (Delo) with Delphi (Delfo)—the true relationship being far from clear to him—and thus to procure another attribute for his figures, most of whom accordingly hold seashells or branches of coral.

107. The agreement is so manifest as to suggest that Rossi had personally inspected either the designs or the costumes themselves.

108. The designs that are not reproduced here show an even more marked Mannerist style in the treatment of the costume.

109. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 42; also 46, "*in abiti tendenti al greco*," and 48, "*e tutti simiglianti all'abito greco*." See pp. 372, 376, and 384.

110. See examples in d'Ancona [note 2], 1:225, 1:296, and passim. On Maddalena Gonzaga, costumed as a "nymph," see Luzio-Renier, *Mantova e Urbino* (1893), 48. An idea of the costumes of these "nymphs" can be gained from the frontispiece of Boccaccio's *Ninfale* in the Panizzi edition (Florence, 1568), and from an engraving in the 1546 edition of Luca Pulci's *Driadeo*. See also the "Canzona delle \* Nimphe e delle cicale," in the first edition of the *Canti carnascialeschi* of Lorenzo de' Medici; interestingly, subsequent editions change "*Nimphe*" (nymphs) to "*Fanciulle*" (girls).

111. For example, in the *Orfeo* of Poliziano and in the *Fabula di Caephalo* of Niccolò da Correggio. See d'Ancona [note 2], 2:5, 2:350. In my own work, "*Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Spring*" (1893), [our] pp. 120–25, there are further indications of the relations between the nymph, as she appeared in pageantry and in poetry, and Quattrocento works of art.

112. See—to take just one example—the mythological paintings and drawings of Botticelli. The characteristic nymph type has also been preserved for us in an engraving by an anonymous Quattrocento artist, who may well have worked from a drawing by Botticelli himself. The subject is the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, and in their train are Bacchantes costumed as nymphs. See the publication of the International Chalcographical Society (1890), no. 4; I consider it not unlikely that a connection exists between this drawing and the celebrated *Trionfo di Bacco e d'Arianna* written by Lorenzo il Magnifico [see fig. 18].

113. See Savonarola, *Prediche quadragesimale ... sopra Amos propheta, sopra Zaccharia propheta ...* (Venice, 1539), c. 175':

*Guarda che usanza ha firenze; come le donne fiorentine hanno maritate le loro fanciulle: le menono a mostra: e acconciatela che paiono nymphe: e la prima cosa <è che> le menano a santa liberata: questi sono lidoli vostri.*

(Look at the Florentine custom. See how the matrons of Florence have married off their daughters. They put them on show, dressed up to look like nymphs, and the first thing they do is to lead them straight to Saint Uncumber; and these be your idols.)

See G. Gruyer, *Les Illustrations des écrits de Savonarole* (1879), 206. On the veils, see the sermon on the Kine of Samaria in Perrens, *Hieronymus Savonarola*, trans. Schroeder (1858), 540, and Landucci, *Diario*, ed. del Badia (1883), 123.

114. This figure appears, for example, in Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella, and in those by Botticelli, Signorelli, and Rosselli in the Sistine Chapel. The engraving by Agostino Veneziano (1528; Bartsch, vol. 16, section 9, no. 470) shows us the type in Mannerist guise.

115. Anyone interested may refer to the descriptions mentioned by Bigazzi (see note 23) of *feste Fiorentine* in 1539, 1567, 1569, and 1579. See also Giannini (note 5) and Angeli (note 5). A characteristic example is also to be found in the little book by G. E. S[altini], *Di una mascherata pastorale fatta in Siena per la venuta della Granduchessa Bianca Cappello, la sera del 22 di febbraio 1582* (Florence, 1882) [especially 18 ff.].

116. Compare, for instance, the nymphs of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, in the first edition of 1499 and in the French edition of 1546. The relation between the nymph and the art of antiquity is something that I intend to discuss at greater length elsewhere.

117. See d'Ancona (note 2), 2:581: "*Degli abiti da usarsi nelle rappresentazioni sceniche.*" The dialogues were probably composed around 1585; *ibid.*, 410. Depictions of these theatrical nymphs are to be found in the illustrated editions of Tasso's *Aminta* [Venice: Aldo, 1583 etc.] and of Guarini's *Il pastor fido* [Venice: G. B. Ciotto, 1602 etc.]. The theatrical type of the nymph held the stage, not only in Italy but in France, England, and Germany, until the mid-seventeenth century.

118. Angelo Ingegneri, *Discorso della poesia rappresentativa* ([Ferrara,] 1598), 72.

119. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 24, 26, 40, 41, 47, 48, 49, 67, 68. Buontalenti's sketches for other figures in Intermedi 2 and 3 exemplify the use made of veils in the Intermedi: in all, no less than 5287 br. (some 3,000 m) of Bolognese veiling.

120. *Ibid.*, 14. In his rough stanzas in honor of the wedding of Ferdinando and Christina (Florence, 1590; see appendix I), Niccolò de' Cardi tells us:

116 *Degl'Intermedij ognun prese diletto*  
*Delle Sirene venute dal Cielo*  
*Con muse, e Ninfe in canto, e mortal velo.*

117 *Le quali in drappi belli, e trecce attorte*  
*Nell'Intermedio primo in lieto accento...*  
 (All delighted in the Intermedi,  
 In Sirens swooping from the skies,  
 Muses, and singing nymphs in mortal veils,  
 Who, beautifully draped, with tresses curled,  
 In the first of the Intermedi in joyful tones...)

121. G. Semper coined the right word for this type of decoration: *Richtungsschmuck* (directional ornament); see Semper, *Kleine Schriften* (1884), 319 ff.

122. *Liber de pictura* (Vienna, 1877), 129 f. [See *Birth of Venus*, our pp. 95–96].
123. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 46–48.
124. See the figure on the right in fig. 84a; the actor was Onofrio Gualfreducci.
125. This clasp is missing in the drawing.
126. See the figure on the left in fig. 84a; the actor was Oratio (del Franciosino?).
127. See the figure on the right in fig. 84b; the actor was Giovanni Lapi.
128. Here, too, the clasp is missing in the drawing.
129. See the figure on the left in fig. 84b; the actor was Alberigo (Malvezzi?).
130. A number of the women of Delphi are dressed more simply, as matrons. See fig. 84c, which we select advisedly, because this particular woman was played, as the inscription shows, by none other than Jacopo Peri. Because of Peri's importance in the history of the *Melodramma*, we have also given, in fig. 92, a reproduction of the costume he wore as Arion in Intermedio 5. See also G. O. Corazzini, "Jacopo Peri e la sua famiglia" [*Atti* {note 105}].
131. Guido Mazzoni, "Cenni su Ottavio Rinuccini poeta" [*Atti* {see note 105}].
132. For the musical history of this, see R. Gandolfi, "Dell'opera in musica" [*Atti* {note 105}].
- † 133. See the preface by Marco da Gagliano to Rinuccini's *Dafne* (1608), reprinted by Corazzini in the same volume (appendix) [*Atti* (see note 105)]. Apollo's *danza bellica* was still important enough for Marco da Gagliano to recommend that an expert dancer should take the part of Apollo in the fight scene; in the third Intermedio, too, the Aghostino (V.D., p. 24<sup>v</sup>) who played Apollo was probably a dancer.
134. See p. 371.
- † 135. See the description of the *Carro del Sole* (chariot of the sun) in the *mascherata* of 1565, in Ingegneri, *Discorso* {note 118}, 29–36, and that of the Chariot of Pythian Apollo in the *sbarra* of 1579. See also R. Gualterotti, *Feste nelle nozze... Francesco... Bianca Cappello* (1579), 17 f.
136. It comes as a surprise to find that Rinuccini, in his *Dafne* and in his *Euridice*, follows in the footsteps of Poliziano, both in the choice of subject and in the infusion of pastoral feeling; and that, in the same manuscript in Mantua as the *Orfeo*, there is also the *Rappresentazione di Phebo et Phetonte*, which, according to d'Ancona's analysis of it {see note 2}, 2:350, bears a certain resemblance to Rinuccini's *Dafne*. D'Ancona
- † hypothesizes, on good grounds, that this *rappresentazione* is identical with the *Festa di Lauro* composed in 1486 by the Florentine Gian Pietro della Viola.
137. Emilio de' Cavalieri, in his pastoral dramas with madrigal music, still fell
- † short of the new ideals. I shall give an account elsewhere of the sixteen drawings that refer to *La disperazione di Fileno*, staged in 1594.
138. There is still no copy of this extremely rare volume in any public library in
- † Florence. Mr. Tito Cappugi, who does possess a copy, was kind enough to allow me to consult it.
- A brief account exists, by this same Pavoni, of the *Entrata della serenissima granduchessa sposa... al molto illustro Giovanni Battista Strada Hispano...* (Bologna: Rossi, 1589), 8°, 4 pp.; it is in the Biblioteca Moreniana.
139. In the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

140. Bigazzi, no. 3379: *L'ultime feste...* Benacci also wrote a brief account of the solemn entry alone: *Descrittione della solennissima entrata... fatta alli 30 di Aprile 1589* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1589), 8<sup>o</sup>, 4 pp.
141. Bigazzi, no. 3443: *Discours de la magnifique réception...* (Lyons, 1589); and Bigazzi, no. 408: *Discours veritable du mariage...* (Paris, n.d.).
142. I have not had sight of the poems by Paolini and Borghesi (see Moreni, *Bibliografia*). The *Canzone* by Muzio Piacentini (in the Biblioteca Moreniana) perhaps refers to the *mascherata de' fiumi* of 28 May 1589; see p. 350.
143. Filz. Strozz. 1<sup>a</sup> serie no. 27, 28, 29, 30, 51. See Guasti, *Le carte Stroziane* (1884), 147, 148, 274 f.
144. This is the so-called *Storia d'etichetta*, of which the Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, holds three copies; I owe the reference to the kindness of Mr. Carnesecchi.
145. Filz. Strozz. 1<sup>a</sup> serie no. 20. See Guasti [note 143], 110; the text of the dedication is also found, without the signature, in the *Storia d'etichetta* 1.
146. See appendix III.
147. Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:72, no. 399; 258 × 262 mm. Compare Rossi, *Descrizione*, 49–51, and see p. 354.
148. See W. Schmidt, in *Meyers Künstlerlexikon* 1:296 [and Paul Kristeller, in Thieme-Becker, 1:279].
149. Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:73, no. 400; 250 × 332 mm.
150. The engraving by Epifanio, mentioned by Ottley, *Notices of Engravers* (1831), under no. 2, which represents a procession of mythological figures headed by Neptune, might well refer to the *mascherata de' fiumi*; see p. 350.
151. Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, 389; see p. 387.
152. Per month.