"*Mente teatrale*: Andrea Calmo and the Victory of the Performance Text in Cinquecento *commedia*"

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The theatrical contributions of Andrea Calmo mark a crossroads in the development of cinquecento Italian comedy toward the gradual diminution of textual values in favor of the mise-en-scene.[1] As a precursor to the actor-centered *commedia dell'arte*, Calmo innovated procedures that increased the range of performance choices for the actor, while placing new emphasis upon each component of the performance text. Unlike Calmo's predecessors and contemporaries, who considered the text as *object* to be of primary concern in performance, Calmo focused upon the *subjective* response of the spectator (audience reaction). In this sense, Calmo's aesthetic was similar to the spectator-orientated Mannerist painters of the cinquecento, whose frescoes of gestural frenzy and furious action mirrored the restive spirit of the times.

Proceeding by trial and error, Calmo developed a way of thinking which considered the performance as an entire system, capable of adjusting itself to changing conditions. Calmo's pragmatic yet imaginative approach, deviated from the established litany of prescribed renaissance conventions, thus seeding the notion of *mente teatrale* (theatrical mind).[2] Eventually, the resultant move from the tradition of *humanae letterae* to the *mente teatrale* culminated in the Golden Age of the *commedia dell'arte*, a period between 1575-1625, during which the itinerant *compagnie* achieved great success throughout the courts and cities of Europe. While many theatre historians consider the *commedia dell'arte's* commercial success and international appeal as giving birth to the modern professional theatre, it was Calmo who intitiated the *thinking*, functional response that made this phenomenon possible.[3] Calmo realized the *mente teatrale* as a spatial metaphor which anticipated *a priori* the actualization of the performance text in space and time. As an aesthetic principle, this vital notion of *mente*

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teatrale can be contrasted with the rhetorical and classical dictums upon which the style and form of the *commedia erudità* was based.

II.

From Calmo's birth in Venice (1510) and through his early development as an actor and author, the *commedia erudità* (learned comedy) prevailed as the favored cometic form in most of Italy, enjoying its first great success before the D'Este court at Ferrara, and subsequently throughout the network of Italian courts. A product of the humanist tradition and promulgated by the literary academies, the form of *commedia erudità* was essentially based after the classical comedies of Plautus and Terence, with a sprinkling of characters and situations derived from the Renaissance *novella*, and to a lesser degree, everyday life.[4] While the amateur courtiers and students who performed the *commedia erudità* adopted a classicistic style based upon the rhetorical dictums of *memoria* (committing to memory), and *actio* (performing the discourse like an actor, including style of diction and gesture), the playwrights of the learned comedies practiced the rhetorical tenets of *invenzione*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* in the accomplishment of the finished dramatic text. The idea of *invenzione* suggests the notion of fabrication, generally regarding familiar sources and commonplaces, and involves a certain amount of self-expression. It is considered the first canon of rhetoric. Roland Barthes posits that *inventio* is less about invention than about discovery, "everything already exists one must merely recognize it. This is more an 'extractive' notion than a 'creative' one." The other two canons of rhetoric are *dispositio* (ordering what is found), and *elocutio* (adding the ornament of words, of figures). Rhetoric was included as learning principle across all the disciplines.[5]

While courting the good will of aristocratic patrons, the humanist playwrights were also required to impress the elite, classically-trained literati of the academies, as publication aims clearly superseded the goal of performance. *Commedia erudità* scholar, John Andrews, posits that Ariosto, for example, never wished to have his *prose* (i.e. acted) versions of *Cassaria* or *Suppositi* published, since he regarded verse as the proper form for any published dramatic text—thereby demonstrating his meticulous loyalty to the Roman models.[6] Yet unlike Calmo, who was a professional performer as well as playwright, the authors of the *commedia erudità* had little or no performance tradition. When Bibbiena's *La Calandria* was to be revived in Rome following its production at the Urbino festival of 1513, Bibbiena had to send to Urbino for information which explained how it had been staged there.[7] While Baldassare Castiglione provides a description of this production which has been fruitful to scholars,[8]

scant information exists in the playtexts of the learned comedies (as in the form of stage directions or promptbooks) leaving us with a vague record of how these learned comedies were actually staged.

Moreover, the classical regimen of the humanist playwrights proscribed the use of stage directions, so if a character entered during someone's monologue (Ariosto, *La Cassaria* II, 2); or, if one character was hiding and eavesdropping on another (*Gli Ingannati*, II, 6) all must be deduced by the reader or director.[9] By restoring an antique practice with doubtful consequences in production, the humanist playwright was promulgating the hegemony of a written tradition, while catering to the academicians who viewed the dramatic text as an object of study, rather than as a means toward performance. In addition, these playwrights were emphatically distancing themselves from the late medieval writers of the *sacre rappresentazione*, who often provided extensive stage directions in their works. For the classical purists, stage directions would have signalled a *contaminatio* of the literary text.

III.

At the Bibliotecà Rinascimentale in Ferrara, a number of extant published scripts from the *commedia erudità* contain frontispiece woodcuts or engravings, which, rather than depict the actual performance, were actually added later to increase market demand for the published playtext. Since the same images are sometimes stamped for different plays, they offer little specific iconographical evidence of actual scenes, although they provide a kind of generic rendition of the performance style. An engraving insert from Sforza degli Oddi's *Prigione d'Amore* (Figure 1) depicts two characters set in front of the castle prison in Ferrara, and provides a typical example of a gestural style derived from classicistic methods.[10]

Because the Serlian Stage was usually raked to increase the perspective effect, a certain distance (*misura*) had to be maintained to harmonize the proportions between the actors and background. The resultant limitation in actual playing space encouraged a declamatory style of presentation. Here, Lelio and Iacopino are positioned in the classicistic style derived from the rhetorical *actio*. The rhetorical foundation of performance in the cinquecento was based upon the same needs that drove the humanist playwrights. Angelica Gooden observes that, " . . . to draw parallels between acting and the liberal art of rhetoric (commonly referred to as the fountain-head of all the arts) [was] an effort to prove the former's right to an elevated status in the hierarchy of arts."[11]

Angelo Ingegneri, who directed the revival of *Oedipus the King* for the official opening of Il Teatro Olimpico (1585), was one of the early theorists in

the theatre to consider the role of gesture in dramatic performance. Consistent
with his academic background, Ingegneri subordinated gesture to both the written
word and its function:

> Gesture consists in the opportune movements of the body and its parts,
> and especially the hands and eyes. The appropriateness of the gesture
> is ruled by the word and the sentence, and also by the functions that
> one has, to teach, to motivate, to reprove and so on. . . . From the
> regulated voice and the good gesture is necessarily born decorum, or
> propriety, which is required of a well-performed play.[12]

Renaissance gesture specialist, Alfred S. Golding, has detailed nuances within this
classicistic approach to acting, particularly through his study of Louis Crésol, a
French Jesuit. For instance, Golding synopsizes:

> Ordinarily, the action of the hand and its fingers was not to be a literal
> duplication of the spoken word (as when indicating an object in formal
> pantomime), nor a word-for-word translation of the speaker's idea (as
> in modern sign language). Instead the sense of the speaker's word
> was to be conveyed by a symbolic gesture. So when the idea of
> accusation was to be conveyed the speaker pointed the index finger of
> his right hand at the object of his accusation, while touching the other
> fingers to the thumb.(II,10,3) In executing this action Crésol cautioned
> that the arm was not to be completely extended but was to remain
> flexed in order to convey the idea that the speaker was a graceful,
> hence noble person.(II,11,1 and 3) Merely joining the last three
> fingers to the thumb had significance in itself for it denoted that the
> words accompanying the gesture were of great importance (II,2,2).[13]

In the image before us, Iacopino's right hand crosses his body and is placed over
his heart, symbolically indicating that he is speaking directly from his heart. The
last three fingers of his extended left hand are connected to his thumb, suggesting
as Crésol tells us, that his words are of great importance. Iacopino stands in a
modified contraposto with his weight and left foot shifted slightly forward, his
knees flexed, counterpoised by his upper torso which is turned moderately
upstage to the right—the graceful, harmonizing balance symbolic of his refined,
courtly manner. The younger Lelio, stands more flat-footed, his feet spread wider
than his shoulders, his body turned slightly inward, his chest openly
displayed—all symbolic of the exuberant and confident young man at the ready.
These rhetorically-based gestures were in sharp contrast to the generally

grotesque, mannered, and anti-classical gestures of the Venetian buffoons. For the buffoons, gesture took on an autonomous presence often divorced from or subverting textual motivations or rhetorical dictums. The learned, elite audiences for *Prigione d'Amore* "read" the highly symbolic, coded gestures as a dependent system harmonizing within the larger network of rhetorical and classicistic conventions which made up the learned comedy. For the popular audiences who viewed the buffoons, gesture was simply to be enjoyed in and of itself as a phenomenal expression of virtuosity within the moment of performance. Thus, while the former system requisites both textual and pretextual information (rhetorical, classicistic codes), the latter is experienced as essentially phenomenological and theatrical.

IV.

In most cases, the Horation aim of the *commedia erudità* ascribed a moral purpose which demonstrated and corrected the ill-effects of deviant behavior. As the Counter-Reformation asserted more control of the arts in the mid-to-late cinquecento, upholding the moral aim of the comedy became increasingly important to censors.[14] Renegade playwrights, like Pietro Aretino, were prevented from having their works performed on the grounds that they contained licentious scenes without redeemable value.[15] On the other hand, the "non-literary" buffoons of Venice, a tradition to which Calmo belonged as a performer, were more successful in depicting the lewd and salacious since evanescent performance images, unlike textual materials, could not be considered as objective evidence and thus were difficult to censor.[16]

The *commedia erudità* usually avoided grotesque, obscene, and physical extremes of behavior, because they were manifested through the lower body and thus violated humanist ideals. Grotesque speech, including *sporchi* (profanities) and the use of rustic dialects, was also rejected by most humanist writers, whose mission was to establish a literary tradition which exalted the native Tuscan as the official Italian dialect.[17] As such traditions were born more from the academies than from real life, it was small wonder that the *commedia erudità* had limited appeal within the popular culture.

Furthermore, as was the tradition in antiquity, all female parts were played by males.[18] On the other hand, the cultural phenomenon of actresses, according to Taviani, was linked to the *meretrice honestae* (honest prostitute) or *hetearea* (a kind of western geisha), who joined forces with the buffoons in cinquecento Venice.[19] As prototypes of the *commedia innamorate* (female lovers), these "poets-in-action" were often well-trained in language skills and eloquent orators and soon became the indispensible element behind the new *fascinazione del*

teatro. In supporting this claim, Italian theatre historian Roberto Tessari notes, that the primary agent of audience attraction was neither the *lazzi* nor the Pantalone-*zanni* exchanges, rather it was the element of eroticism which the actress brought to the stage. This force of attraction was determined to be a source of societal disruption by the fathers of the Counter-Reformation who inveighed against such practices. In *Trattato contro alle commedie lascive*, Domenico Gori condemned *l'attrice*, "These actresses contaminate the entire theatre organism." Oddly, part of what Gori described, most modern actors would plaintively acknowledge as normal backstage activity.

> Men and women live together promiscuously: the young men are unrestrained, they think night and day of love . . . The women are almost always shameless, with men viewing them dress and undress and comb their hair. The men see them in bed half-nude, and talk between them is always lascivious. The women are often prostitutes.[20]

Moreover, what the official tractates of the Church recognized and feared, was the powerful nature of this new, concrete image on the stage, how it distracted young men from their work, or its potential to overwhelm the spectator with desire. Ironically, this *negativa poetica* underscored two of the component elements of the developing *mente teatrale*: 1) the recognition of the female form as a powerful stage image; 2) the reification of desire into a theatrical commodity. Calmo and the Venetian buffoons were aware by the mid-sixteenth century that the addition of attractive and talented women on the stage was necessary for their economic success. Rather than conceive projects which involved elaborate sets and lengthy rehearsals (typical *commedia erudità* productions), Calmo began experimenting with components of the performance text which would adapt themselves to a very short preparation period, often well under twenty-four hours. One of these components involved the charged verbal, gestural, and sensual spontaneity between the *innamorata* and the buffoon—thus theatricalizing (and capitalizing) on this new, powerful image of attraction.

V.

Italian theatre historian Ludovico Zorzi has suggested that Calmo's direct link to the buffoons was indicative of a new and vital spirit in the theatre:

> The links of Calmo with the continuous consortium of buffoons, actors and virtuosos, is demonstrated by the fact that this group throve in the city from the century's beginning; from evidence that a rapid change

occurred particularly about the central lagoon of Venice in the course
of a relatively few years; and in the rapport that existed between the
theatre world and the public; as a consequence the city conceived and
gave life to the theatre.[21]

One of the most popular Venetian buffoons in the early cinquecento, Zan Polo,[22]
gave us the nomenclature: *commedia di zanni*, and *commedia di buffoni*, names
later appropriated to describe the early *commedia dell'arte*. Nevertheless, Zan
Polo was popular with the aristocracy and academic sectors of Venetian society
as well, and performed in a variety of forms and venues. On February 15, 1515,
Zan Polo acted with a company before the *Accademici Immortali* :

> . . . in a new comedy, [Zan Polo] feigned that he was a necromancer
> and that he went to Hell, and showed a Hell with Furies and Devils
> [*lazzi* of the Devil and the necromancer]; and then he represented the
> God of Love and was carried to Hell . . . there was a dance, then
> music of nymphs in a triumphal car who sang a song.[23]

Evidently, the patricians of Venice sometimes encouraged works of literary merit
to be performed. In fact, a number of the transitional figures in the development
of the *commedia dell'arte*—Ruzante, Calmo, and buffoons such as Zan
Polo—were in the modern sense of the term, crossover artists. Indeed, even
much later the *commedia dell'arte* troupes would occasionally perform scripted
literary comedy. Calmo may have been interested in publication as a means to
attain legitimacy, and to expand his reputation and professional career as a
playwright and actor. Yet, while ostensibly packaged in the fashion of most
learned comedies, a number of Calmo's plays actually underscore a clearly
anti-classical aesthetic.

Calmo's dramaturgy in the play, *Rodiana* (1553), demonstrated at least in
part the influence of the *commedia erudità*—five acts, Terentian double-plotting,
use of prologue, influence of the *Decameron* (Act IV). However, Franco Fido
and others have identified the significance of its innovations, particularly in the
area of multiple dialects and languages. The dialects range from Bergomask to
Venetian; the languages as extreme as the character Demetrio's use of ancient
Greek ("*imeran, efphrosignis agin*"—to be delighted; Act V, 156).[24] Piermario
Vescovo's recent line by line transcription/annotation of *Rodiana* into readable
Tuscan demonstrates and explores Calmo's virtuosic linguistic skills. In a sense,
Vescovo's treatment homogenizes Calmo's textual chromaticism into a
monochromatic scheme, "cleansing" the script of its ethnic musicality and

difference, in much the same way as the humanist playwrights redacted their published scripts into the official Tuscan.

Through plurilingualism, Calmo could comedically suggest hegemonic relations between characters or regions, or accurately depict the quotidian conflicts and misunderstandings between the native Venetians and foreign inhabitants. These interactive speech acts detected "on the Rialto" could be exaggerated, parodied, or ridiculed quite readily. Innately theatrical in their coloration and difference, it was not long before the *mente teatrale* of Calmo recognized and synthesized this linguistic phenomenon into his plays. Eventually, as Padoan suggests, Calmo left the text in favor of dialectal improvisation—beginning a practice that found its fruition in the early *commedia dell'arte*.[26] The pragmatic Calmo assessed that this dialectal *contaminatio* flourished in the spontaneity of the moment, feeding upon the daily turn of events which confronted his culturally diverse audience. This dialectal move to improvise began a series of practices which promoted the immediacy and indeterminacy of the speech act over rhetorical *memoria* and the adherence to the literary text.

In this sense, Calmo introduced a theatre governed by *parole*, in which the very nature of the speech act's spontaneity held the potential to disrupt textual continuity or coherence. However, Calmo intuitively recognized that every dialectal speech act was governed by "context-generated expectations"[27] which performers and audience members shared. This context sharing allowed for a great degree of flexibility within a given exchange. For instance, each dialect or language possessed its own illocutionary force (threats, promises, etc.) which offered numerous cometic possibilities for insinuations and misunderstandings. If *parole* underscored the first principle of dialectal improvisation in Calmo's theatre, then coherence was provided by the established contexts of each exchange.

The complex diction of *Rodiana* demonstrates that Calmo recognized not only the polyglot of speech which was part of quotidian life in Venice, but also the need to individualize dialogue to fit a specific role. Lea posits that for Calmo dialect was used exactly in the manner adopted by the *commedia dell'arte*,[28] "each character is given a particular jargon as a comic handicap."[29] In *La Spagnoulas* Calmo counterpoints high Venetian with the Bergomask dialect in the characters of Zurloto and his servant Rosato, respectively. By repeating this device in a number of his plays, Calmo gave credence to the Pantalone-*zanni* interchanges which found prominence in the *commedia dell'arte*.[30] Mario Apollonio affirms that the Pantalone-*zanni* opposition establishes a dynamic that effectively served as a substitute for the rigorous mechanisms of *commedia erudita*.[31]

These exchanges grew to be so popular, that during the period of the *commedia dell'arte*'s initial growth, pamphlets of these "duets" were often published:

> Around 1570 they begin to publish in a series of pamphlets and libretti the contents of many of the dialogues and *contrasti*, but often also poems, in which there are protagonists, or in which there appears masks of the *commedia dell'arte*. Some like the beautiful *Dialogue of a Magnifico with the Zanni Bergamasque* could be considered with their dramatic development true small comedies: Apollonio called them "the original nucleus," as some have thought, of the *commedia dell'arte*.[32]

By the time of Andrea Calmo's death in 1570, twenty-one years after he had first introduced the prototype of Il Magnifico, the stage figure of Pantalone had been fully inculcated into the performances of the *commedia dell'arte*.[33] Most theatre historians attest to the Magnifico character which Calmo both acted and developed in his plays, acknowledging him as the precursor of this *commedia* type.[34] Anya Peterson Royce's comments are indicative of this general consensus:

> If the most important character in the plays of Beolco was Ruzzante, the rustic, it was in the work of Andrea Calmo we find the prototype of Il Magnifico, the representative of the upper classes of Venice. The title, Magnifico, was granted to the patrician class and predated the use of "Excellency." This proto-Pantalone appears first in the 1549 work of Calmo, *La Spagnoulas*,[35] in the character of M. Zurloto . . .[36]

In addition to the Magnifico type, *La Spagnoulas* contains a prototype of the Spanish Capitano:

> In this play too, is the precursor of the Spanish Capitan later made famous by Francesco Andreini in the form of Capitano Spavento del Vall'Inferno. Here the character is the Albanian or Greek mercenary, terrible in words and cowardly in deeds. He was probably played by Antonio da Molin, Il Burchiella, a Venetian and a friend of Calmo. Burchiella would have been quite capable of carrying on the dialogue in the mixture of Greek and Italian in which it is written since he himself composed poetry in Greek.[37]

Concerning the soldier part, in this case the second lover, Stradioto, Lea argues,[38] "The name (Stradioto) suggests that he was meant to be a caricature of the Greek soldiers of fortune who plagued Venetian society as the Spaniards had plagued Naples and Milan."[39]

Allardyce Nicoll detected certain formal similarities in Calmo's tripartite names of various Magnifico characters to that later favored by Pantalone dei Bisognosi:

> Zilioli (in *Vite dei poeti italiani*) declares that Andrea Calmo acted the part of Pantalone, and although this is not substantiated fully, it is interesting to note that in Calmo's work the names of the old men types are of a form similar to the later famous Pantalone dei Bisognosi, Zurloto di Ugnoli, Cocolin di Zucoli, Algreto di Liquidi.[40]

Through his examination of *Le Lettere*, a collection of letters written by Calmo to various individuals, Mario Apollonio recognized Calmo's contributions to the development of Pantalone, "the bequest of Calmo sustained in the iconographic monologue of his *Lettere*, provided the character of Pantalone."[41] Calmo's *Lettere* contain extensive notes on the character traits and development of Magnifico, and sample stock speeches (*generici*) such as the *tirata*.[42] *Le Lettere* became the *sine qua non* for the *commedia dell'arte*'s Pantalone figure, serving in major part as the *zibaldone* for future generations of Pantalones. Evidence of its influence as a source is found in this prologue written by Domenico Bruni, an actor who had been with the Gelosi and Confidenti troupes: "Oh Lord! Just listen to it. In the morning the Signora calls me: 'Hey, Ricciolina bring me the material I need to study for the lover's role of Fiammetta.' Pantalone insists I get *Le Lettere* of Calmo . . . "[43]

Zibaldone were the commonplace books which contained stock speeches, *lazzi* (comic business), and appropriate behaviors necessary to play a specific character type. This contribution was highly significant for it created a shift in the creative process of the actor. No longer was it necessary for the performer to create the character from the "givens" of the text. Rather, the *givens of the character* created the essential element of the text. The thinking-in-action performer could proceed as the moment demanded, long speeches could be cut at will, or comic business added, depending upon the mood and responses of a specific audience.

At this point we can begin to sense a pattern to Calmo's *mente teatrale*. Calmo dissected from a number of sources in his creation of a successful repertory. While his approach was revolutionary, it was nevertheless solidly entrenched in identifiable idioms, which were understood equally well by

performer and audience. He was thus able to process a kind of performance text-sharing, allotting each performer a wider range of choices within a compartmentalized scheme.[44] This scheme enabled him to structure the performance text as a network of interchangeable parts which could be tailored to specific audience demands, or as performers came and went, to adjust to the given talents of his ensemble.

VI.

In Venice, the theatre played a greater role in everyday life than in the neighboring cities like Ferrara, the center of the *commedia erudità*, where it was regarded as "*l'episidio eccezionale*," (exceptional episode).[45] But by the middle of the cinquecento there was a demand for repertory as audiences became more sophisticated and grew weary of "*le magre scene dell'intermedio buffonesco*"[46] or the sterile productions of the *commedia erudità* which abounded with long-winded speeches delivered "*senza profitto*" (without profit). While Calmo was able to meet the demand of a new repertory, Zorzi posits that his enduring legacy arises from his contributions to the craft and technique of the theatre:

> [Calmo presented] an archetype of the theatre of craft. The prestige
> of his theatre was especially based upon the freedom of argument and
> movement, which can be positioned against the rigidity of the erudite
> comedy. The work of Calmo concurs particularly to the formation and
> the perfection of the technique of theatre. *In this sense it was*
> *certainly the most genuine contribution given by the Italian comedy to*
> *the modern theatre.*[47]

Zorzi affirms that Calmo, unlike Angelo Beolco or the academicians, regarded the theatre as a means to make a living and therefore approached it from the perspective of economic need.[48] For example, while the typical *commedia erudità* performance required three months to rehearse and perform, Calmo's plays could be produced in under three weeks. Paolo Mazzinghi supports Zorzi's argument by demonstrating that Calmo's texts were established as vehicles to be theatricalized rather than read as literary material.

> But the originality of Calmo's comic writing is in the capacity to
> construct a structural basis. For Calmo, the 'eye' must be more
> attentive to the *rhythm* and to the necessities of *performance* than to

literary form. It is this structural basis which would serve as a track
for the evolution (comic, mimic, acrobatic, and singing) of the actor.[49]

The stress that Calmo places upon rhythm and theatricalized presentation assumed
primary importance in his developing *mente teatrale*. A painting (Figure 2) by
the Flemish Mannerist, Ambrose I. Francken, captures the quick pace and
arresting stage pictures that are associated with Calmo's theatrical style.
Francken, who settled in Venice during the 1560's, describes a scene from
Calmo's *La Spagnoulos* in which Zurlotto (Magnifico) is carried by a collier to
the house of his *amore* (love interest).[50] The unmasked characters are the
Calmoesque prototypes of the *commedia* figures, Brighella (with the lute),
Pantalone (carried by the zanno, wide-legged trousers), the ruffiano (with the
dagger), and the swaggering Capitano, here the Greek, Stradioto in *La
Spagnoulas*. Note the rhythmical quality which the gestures provide—the s-shape
serpentina line through Il Magnifico and *zanno* creates a Mannerist sense of
movement which links us visually to the *innamorata* in the upper left of the
composition. The ruffian's dagger poised at the ready is juxtaposed to Stradioto's
right arm which reaches for the club handed to him by the little boy. The
"Brighella" figure's guitar is pointed inward and upward, drawing us into the
picture. Yet the overall effect Francken seems to establish is of multiple points
of focus, a concentration on the separate parts rather than a unified whole. Unlike
the image from Oddi's *Prigione*, where the static figures are balanced in
preparation for their rhetorical addresses, Calmo establishes a mise-en-scene in
which the audience anticipates impending action and shifting visual images. The
rilievo-like drop behind the performers suggests that the figures themselves
construct a theatrical space, rather than the illusory scenography of the
Renaissance city in which man was harmoniously situated as the "measure of all
things."[51]

VII.

As evidenced in this painting, Calmo integrated music into the spectacle.
It appears he learned this technique from the example of the *comici buffonesche*,
namely Dominico Taiacalze and Zan Polo,[52] who had employed it with success.[53]
He used it particularly in scenes with the *innamorati*, which would have
otherwise suffered a certain "*stanchezza*" (dreariness); or when scenes were
marginally funny, music served as a stopgap. In other cases, Calmo underscored
comic scenes with buffoons and acrobats where no dialogue was indicated.
Calmo's ability to relate to performance as an effect upon the senses, to make
sure that there was always a level of theatrical interest, is further evidence of his

mente teatrale. The early biographer of Calmo, Zilioli, describes him as *"un ottimo cantore"* (superb singer)[54] and in each of Calmo's works for the *"vecchio veneziano"* (Il Magnifico) there is material to be sung.[55]

Usually songs were drawn from the popular repertoire of the time, although at times Calmo composed in the more sophisticated madrigal form.[56] Little attention has been given to Calmo's *Rime*, although one of the songs, *Dura passion*, appears in the script of *Fiorina*, and caused Gino Belloni to recognize *"le molte discordanze"* (a great deal of dissonance).[57] Mazzinghi finds that Calmo in fact experimented with imitations of Petrarch, following the fashion of *maniera* poets and composers.[58]

> We should not doubt or even lose sight of the fact that in the course
> of the sixteenth century the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch was complemented
> musically by different authors. But beyond his imitation and parody
> of the *Canzoniere*, other rhymes of Calmo refer to previous texts of
> other authors and previous musicians.[59]

Calmo's reference to previous texts and music is evident in his use of five titles from *"Il terzo libro de Madrigali di Verdelot insieme con alcuni altri bellissimi Madrigali di Constantio Festa et altri eccellentissimi autori, novamente stampati [1537]."*[60] A more important example was the madrigal: *Son vecchio inamorao e volentiera m'allegro e canto*, which was adapted by Calmo for a "lovers lament" or a "serenade" of Il Magnifico.[61]

By interpolating the popular music of the day, Calmo was further defining a compartmentalized system of performance consistent with his practice of inserting dialectal improvisation. Moreover, both popular music and dialects represented the synchronic sounds of the culture and as such had immediate spectator appeal. On another level, Calmo also understood that the most interesting and entertaining aspects of the *commedia erudità* performances came from the *intermezzi*, which were performed between acts. Spectators tolerated the sterile performances of the learned comedy only to revel at the dazzling *intermezzi*, which combined music, dance, and lavish spectacle. Indeed, it is another testimony to Calmo's *mente teatrale*, that he recognized the theatrical appeal of popular music, and then responded by integrating it directly into his performance text.

VIII.

Earlier I related the practice that the humanist playwrights avoided the use of stage directions in their published scripts. Calmo, unlike writers of learned

comedy, made extensive use of *didascalie*, (stage directions) in a number of his plays. Here are excerpts of directions from *Rodiana*:

> Here a cat jumps from the balcony; Here Felicity feigns drowning herself and Cornelia comes outside; Here Corado the German suffers from insomnia.[62]

The use of stage directions,[63] including numerous indications of entrances and exits, suggests that the dramatist, Calmo, was less concerned with creating the *"eccellente poema"* (excellent poem) to achieve the *"corona di gloria"* (crown of glory for academic excellence), than in realizing specific actions upon the stage which would hold an audience.[64] Moreover, Calmo sketched out scenes with little dialogue allowing a measure of improvisation in his productions. These inchoate sketches mark a significant step in the evolutionary development of the scenarios of the *commedia dell'arte*.

    In fact, Calmo's major contribution to the theatre can be related to this gradual diminution of textual significance. Mazzinghi states:

> The lot of his innovations, from the theatrical point of view, is the disintegration of the literary text. The comedy of Calmo presents itself for the most part as a mixture of optional and interchangeable parts (often unrelated and weakly plotted) that ruin the continuity of the text, permitting a variance in its rhythm and the extrapolation and modification in its parts, according to the needs of the performance, without troubling the general equilibrium and the display or the action.[65]

In a diachronic sense, Mazzinghi's comments posit Calmo as the first playwright to accommodate post-structuralist theory into his process. Two of the major components of Calmo's *mente teatrale*, indeterminacy and discontinuity within the performance text, have been among the primary concerns of post-structuralist thought. In addition, not only was Calmo's theatre phenomenologically-centered, but his *mente teatrale* was constructed along that sensibility. He strove to fill the audiences' senses from moment to moment—by recognizing and adapting those phenomena which would appeal to the heterogeneous multi-cultural audiences which inhabited Venice during the latter-half of the sixteenth century.

    Synchronically, the move away from structural unity, where each part of the text was proportioned and harmoniously balanced with the whole, signalled a major shift from renaissance practices, consistent with the anti-classical trends in Mannerist art and music. As the virtuosity of the painter became the truly linking

force in Mannerist art, so to did the virtuosic actor emerge at the nucleus of these theatrical experiments. The end result in actual practice was toward the primacy of the actor. Calmo's developing *mente teatrale* recognized that the force of attraction underscoring the virtouso's moment in performance was beyond any literary capacity.[66]

IX.

As a theatrical innovator Calmo was significant. His *Lettere* influenced not only the development and *generici* of the Venetian Pantalone, but also forecasted the working methods and *mente teatrale* of the *comici dell'arte*. *Le Lettere* provided a model for the development of the stock speeches and an understanding of the inherent comic value in the varied use of dialects in performance. Calmo employed diverse elements for theatrical effect, with little regard to systematic coherence or dramatic unity, a practice later utilized effectively in the *commedia dell'arte* as a technique of composition (*contaminatio*). His innovative use of stage directions prefaced their later development into the complete plot scenarios.[67] Calmo integrated improvisational elements into performance, creating a shift from the primacy of the author to that of the actor, thus diminishing the hegemony of literary form and rhetorically based gesture.

Finally, Calmo's use of music served many purposes: entertainment, as when performing the popular songs of the day; underscoring the scene to advance the dramatic action; performing madrigals to demonstrate virtuosity. This attraction of music was recognized and utilized by the *commedia dell'arte*.

The work of Calmo reveals the emphasis shifting from the written text to the performance process. In this sense he reflects the practices of the Mannerist artists who altered Renaissance themes and subjects toward a more dynamic representation. Calmo used his *mente teatrale* to transcend established rhetorical methods of playmaking and in the process achieved a newer design wherein spontaneity, indeterminate structure, and improvisation became the tools to formulate an anti-classical aesthetic of artistic expression. As we have seen, Calmo gave freer play to an improvised dialectal theatre, thus recognizing the force and immediacy of the speech-act in performance. His practices allowed for the integration of disparate synchronic sources into the performance text, suggesting compelling parallels with current and recent postmodern practices in the theatre.

The career of Andrea Calmo thus signifies the development of the theatre into a phenomenal, spectator-oriented, commercial enterprise. Calmo's *mente teatrale* is founded on anti-classical and even post-structuralist sensibilities

centered around two fundamental principles: 1) more license and authority for the actor in the creation of the mise-en-scene; 2) the victory and establishment of the performance text over the hegemony of the dramatic text and its concomitant classicistic and rhetorical conventions.

University of Alabama

Scena Settima.

Lelio Giouanetto. Iacopino.

Fig. 1. *Prigone d'Amore.* Courtesy of the Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute, The Ohio State University.

Fig. 2 Ambrose Francken, "The Delivery of the Love Letter," Courtesy of the Courtauld Museum of Art.

Notes

1. Patrice Pavis in *Language of the Stage* (New York: PAJ, 1982) 160. Pavis defines *mise-en-scene* as the interrelationship of the systems of performance.

2. Ferdinando Taviani, "L'ingresso della Commedia dell'arte nella cultura del cinquecento," in *Il teatro italiano del rinascimento, a cura de F. Cruciani e D. Seragnoli* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987) 320-321.

3. Thomas Heck, *Commedia dell'Arte: a guide to the primary and secondary literature* (New York: Garland, 1988) 93.

4. Marvin Herrick, *Italian Comedy in the Renaissance* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1960). Herrick presents a complete view with historical backgrounds dating back to the early Latin Humanist plays, also considering hybrid forms such as the *contrasti*, and the *sacre rappresentazione*.

5. Roland Barthes, *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988) 51.

6. R. A. Andrews, "Written Texts and Performed Texts in Italian Renaissance Comedy," *Writers and Performers in Italian Drama*, eds. J. R. Dashwood and J. E. Everson, (Lewiston: Mellon, 1991) 89.

7. 78. (Ms. Vat. Urb. Lat. 490).

8. Most recently, Jack D'Amico, "Drama and the Court in La Calandria," *Theatre Journal* 43 (1991) 93-106.

9. 93.

10. Microfilm of original at *Bibliotecà Rinascimentale* in Ferrara at the Palazzo Paradiso. No. 25-123-31. Copy attained through Lawrence and Lee Theatre Research Institute, The Ohio State University. Incidentally, the Palazzo Paradiso was Ariosto's Ferrara residence. For information on Oddi see Marvin Herrick's *Italian Comedy in the Renaissance* (Urbana: Illinois UP, 1960) 190-192.

11. Angelica Gooden, *Actio and Persuasion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 10.

12. Angelo Ingegneri, *"La rappresentazione delle favole sceniche"* (Ferrara, 1598) in *Lo spettacolo dall'Umanesimo al Manierismo*, ed. Ferrucio Marotti (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1974) 305-306. *Il gesto consiste ne i movementi opportuuni del corpo e delle parti sue, e spezialmente delle mani, e molto piu del volto, e sopratutto de gli occhi. L'opportunita di esso si regge dalla qualita delle parole e delle sentenze, et anco dell'ufficio buon gesto nasce necessariamente il decoro, il quale e la perfezzione d'ogni ben rappresentazione favola.*

13. Alfred S. Golding, "Nature as Symbolic Behavior" in *The Language of Gesture in the Renaissance*, eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Philip Sohm, in *Renaissance and Reformation* X:1 (1986) 148.

14. On the other hand, Machiavelli's *The Mandrake* achieved considerable contemporary success despite its lack of moral tone, and ridicule of the clergy.

15. Calmo documents in his *Lettere* his admiration for Aretino who had been banished to Venice.

16. Ferdinando Taviani, *La Fascinazione del teatro: La commedia dell'arte e la societa barocca* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1979) See Chapter II.

17. Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication* (Cambridge: London, 1987) 85. However, in the mid-cinquecento Bembo was attempting to establish the Venetian dialect as the equal of Tuscan. In fact, in cinquecento Venice, Latin was losing favor as the common language of the learned and being replaced by Venetian. "Dialect was not a symbol of informality as it later became, because it was spoken on a number of formal occasions." Bembo also promoted the Aristotelean notion that lowly subjects should be spoken in low style, the classicistic idea that class is reflected in the level of diction.

18. Ironically, the major audiences for these performances were usually women of the court.

19. Taviani, *"'Le fleur et le guerrier 'les atrices de la Commedia dell'arte,"* in *L'Energie de l'acteur: Anthropologie theatrale. Bouffonneries*, 15/16 (Cazilhac, 1986) 66.

20. Taviani, La Fascinazione . . . 136-139.

21. Ludovico Zorzi, *"Tradizione e innovazione nel 'Repertorio' di A. Calmo,"* in *Studi sul teatro veneto fra rinascimento ed età barocca* (Firenze: Olschki, 1971) 231. *"I legami del Calmo con la nutrita consorteria di buffoni, di attori e di virtuosi, allignati in città fin dai primi del secolo, stanno a dimostrarlo; e testimoniano di una rapida modificazione, sopravvenuta nel centro lagunare in un giro d'anni relativamente breve, nei rapporti tra i teatranti e il pubblico, e quindi nei modi stessi di concepire e di dar vita al teatro."*

22. Zan is the shortened form of Zanni, which refers to a comic buffoon character, usually from the Bergomask province. In the *commedia*, the term Zanni was used.

23. Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte* (New York: Blom, 1964) 52.

24. Andrea Calmo, *Rodiana: comedia stupenda e ridicolosissima piena d'argutissimi moti e in varie lingue recitata*, trans. and annotated by Piermario Vescovo (Padua: Antenore, 1985) 224.

25. There is a long tradition of the immigrant, for example, as a source of humor and ridicule in American plays of the early twentieth century. Vaudevillian performers developed a genre of dialect performers—Irish, German, Jewish, Italian, and so on.

26. Giorgio Padoan, *"Il teatro veneto del rinascimento: realismo dilettale e mélange espressionistico,"* in *Le Théâtre itaile et l'Europe, XV-XVII siècles* (Paris: Presse Universitaires de France, 1983) 53-66.

27. See "Speech-Act Theory" in Wendell Harris, *Dictionary of Concepts in Literary Criticism and Theory* (New York: Greenwood, 1992) 373.

28. This points to the primary difference between Angelo Beolco (Ruzante) and Calmo. In Calmo's work we laugh at everyone, the feelings of justice or sympathy which are provoked by Beolco's characters are never aroused. It also suggests a major difference from the *commedia erudità*—the Horatian ideal professes that comedy should teach a moral lesson by exposing a moral vice for comic cleansing. The common end of moral purpose evident throughout Renaissance comedy,

with the important exception of the ribald amoral comedies of Piero Aretino, is not present in the works of Calmo. Aretino lived and worked in Venice during the mid-cinquecento.

29. Lea 242. For the full variety of dialects used see Zorzi (op.cit.) 225.

30. Royce 72. On page 85 Royce mentions a dialogue between Pantalone and Zanni that exists in the *Bibliotecà Nazionale* in Florence. This exchange which centers around a sonnet, suggests a bizarre parody of Petrarchism. "In it the Magnifico tells Zanni he is dying of love for the fair young woman he has seen on the balcony and asks him to convey his desires to the woman in the form of a sonnet he has written. Zanni wants to know who the woman is and there is more by-play as Magnifico tells him. More argument takes place when Zanni wants his *scudo* in advance, and finally the Magnifico relents and gives him the *scudo* and the sonnet. Zanni reads the sonnet and says that it was written by Petrarch. Magnifico denies this fact. Magnifico orders Zanni to tell the young woman that he is rich and a liberal spender. Zanni is incredulous but finally goes off on his errand. When Zanni returns, Magnifico tries to find out what his love said but Zanni launches into a long description of how kind she was to him in giving him white bread and cheese to eat and promising cake the next time he came. Magnifico finally demands to know what she had said about him and learns that Zanni forgot both his errand and the sonnet. In fact, he used the paper on which the sonnet was inscribed to wrap some fish."

31. Mario Apollonio, "Il duetto di magnifico e zanni" in *Studi sul teatro veneto fra rinascimento ed età barocca* (Olschki: Firenze, 1971) 219. "Vi si sostituisce il meccanismo comico più rigoroso, ed il giuoco inventivo del dialogo comico, con l'opposizione del Vecchio e dello Zanni."

32. Cesare Molinari, *La Commedia dell'Arte* (Arnoldo Mondadori: Milano, 1985) 18. "*Attorno al 1570 si cominciarono a pubblicare in serie opuscoli e libretti contenenti il più delle volte dialoghi e contrasti, ma spesso anche poemetti i cui protagononisti sono, o nei quali compaiono, le maschere della commedia. Alcuni, come il bellissimo* **Dialogo de un Magnifico con Zanni bergamasco**, *possono considerarsi delle vere piccole commedie con un loro sviluppo drammatico: 'il nucleo originario, qualcuno ha pensato, della commedia dell'arte'.*"

33. Apollonio, (1971) 218. "*La cronologia del Calmo è legato alla vicenda della commedia dell'arte.*"

34. Lea 248. The confusion here rests on two counts. There is no attribution of Zan Polo as Magnifico in the Sanudo diaries (see below), and Zan Polo's "assumption of the name Cantinella tempts the researcher to theorize that he is to be identified with the actor Benedetto Cantinella who appears as the Magnifico in the Canti Carnascialeschi." Zan Polo was an excellent buffoon who performed as a professional mime, transformist, and acrobat in Venice during the first half of the sixteenth century. He spoke six dialects and Latin and Greek. An example of a solo performance appears from the *Libero del Rado Stizuxo* printed in Venice in 1533, "that on this occasion Zan Polo burlesqued the exploits of the heroes of the chivalric romances speaking a mixed dialect of Venetian and Dalmatian." Lea 248.

35. "In *La Spagnolas* the crude motives, fast pace and physical comedy, and the 'picturesquesness of the dialectical abuse' prefigure the *commedia dell'arte*." Lea 246.

36. Anya Peterson Royce, "The Venetian commedia: actors and masques in the development of the commedia dell'arte," *Theatre Survey* (1987) 27:1/2, 72-73.

37. Royce 72-73. For full detail on the background of this soldier type see Daniel C. Boughner's *The Braggart in Renaissance Comedy* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1954). Beolco's *Il Parlamento di Ruzzante* (c. 1525) is a "farcical satire of the peasant recruit, a combination of braggart, coward and cuckold," 101. Boughner began his quest with an analysis of Shakespeare's Falstaff, and suggests that this type, with a his well-developed list of characteristics, is found in many forms of Renaissance Comedy.

38. It appears that Stradioto is depicted in the Francken painting as entering through the curtain and receiving a bludgeon from a porter.

39. Lea 245.

40. Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes, and Miracles* (New York: Cooper Square, 1963) 299,n.8.

41. Zorzi 219."*L'eredità del Calmo. . . . , sostenuta dalla iconografia monologia delle Lettere, condizione il personaggio del Magnifico.*"

42. Zorzi 235. " *. . . . è significato in questo senso che le stesse Lettere di Calmo costituiscano il primo repertorio tecnico e linguistico per le 'tirate' del Magnifico veneziano.*" The tirade later became part of the stock speeches of a number of *commedia dell'arte* figures, particularly of the fulminating hero (Capitano) or heroine (innamorata). Eventually the tirade was assimilated into the formal literary drama of Spain, England, and France. Molière's *Tartuffe*, which opens with the long tirade of Mme. Pernelle, provides an excellent example of this assimilation into seventeenth-century dramaturgy.

43. Kenneth and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'arte* (Cambridge: Shakespeare Head Press, 1990) 149.

44. In this sense, it all seems quite similar to what The Performance Group was doing in the late 1960's and early 1970's with built texts like *Dionysus in '69*, and *Commune*.

45. 231.

46. 231. "the poor quality scenes performed by buffoons during the intermedi." Zorzi points out that costumes were designed by such great artists as Titian and Vasari, which were solicited by the *Compagnia della Calza*, a group of young aristocrats who often joined the professional buffoons in performances of various types.

47. Zorzi 238-239. "*Archetipo di un teatro di mestiere, il cui prestigio fu soprattutto l'elemento popolaresco e la libertà di argomenti e di movimenti che essa poté serbare contro l'irrigidimento della commedia erudita, l'opera del Calmo concorse specialmente alla formazione e al perfezionamento dell tecnica teatrale; e tale fu certamente l'apporto più genuino dato dalla commedia italiana alla creazione del teatro moderno.*"

48. Calmo lacked Beolco's learned background and according to Zilioli was the son of a fisherman.

49. Paolo Mazzinghi, "*Parti 'improvvise' e parti musicali nel teatro di Andrea Calmo,*" ed. G. Padoan, *La commedie rinascimentale veneta* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza 1982) 182. "*Ma l'originalità di Calmo commediografo è da ricercare proprio nella capacità di costruire una struttura di base che, conocchio attento più al ritmi e alle necessità della rappresentazione che a quelli lettura, servisse come tracci per le evoluzioni (comiche, mimiche, acrobatiche, e canore) degli attore.*"

50. See M.A. Katritzky, "Lodewyk Toeput: some pictures related to the commedia dell'arte," *Renaissance Studies*, (1:1 1987) Ambrose I. Francken: *Scene from the commedia dell'arte* 99.

51. The notion of figures creating the spatial field is characteristic of Mannerist painting. For more on this subject, see my book, *The Early Commedia dell'Arte (1550-1621): The Mannerist Context* (New York, Bern: Peter Lang, 1994).

52 See Lea, Appendix C, for Taiacalze's contributions listed in the Sanudo diaries.

53 Mazzinghi 26.

54. A. Zilioli, *Vita del Calmo, ms. della Raccolta Durazzo di Genova; copie nei codici marciani* It., Cl. X, 1 (=6394) e It. Cl. VII, 288 (=8640). Lea warns us that Zilioli is not totally reliable as a source.

55. We are to assume that the old Venetian was Calmo as the Pantalone figure. Many of these songs are contained in the *Lettere*.

56. Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture 1530-1630* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1979). Maniates demonstrates the full development of mannerist music during this period. The madrigal is a polyphonic form of vocal music, utilizing chromaticism, arbitrary cadences, and requiring a great deal of skill.

57. G. Belloni, *Per il testo delle "Bizzarre rime" di Andrea Calmo* in *Studi di Filologia Italiana* (XXXVI, 1978) 419 n.2. The reader will of course recognize that Petrarch was the author of the Rime, which was widely imitated and parodied in the mid-cinquecento.

58. See Maniates, Chapter 3 for a discussion of *imitazione delle parole*. Scholars have posited that monody which develops later into the style favored for opera, is general term to describe the solo song. Also Maniates 410-421.

59. Mazzinghi 32. "Non dobbiamo inoltre dimenticare che nel corso del' 500 il Canzoniere del Petrarca fu complemente musicato da diversi autori . . . Ma oltre a quelle di imitazione e parodia del Canzoniere, altre rime di Calmo fanno riferimento a testi precedenti di altri autori e già musicanze."

60. Mazzinghi 32.

61. Translations of the madrigal titles: "I am an old lover and would like to be happy and sing;" "I am a young woman and wish to be happy and sing."

62. Originals in A. Calmo, *Rodiano* (Venezia, S. di Allessi 1553) respectively, [IV, 2, p. 78; IV, 8, p.84; IV, 9, p.85; V, 1, p.98]. *"Qui salta una gatta dal balcon"*; *"Qui Felicita finge di annegarsi e Cornelio vien fuora"*;*"Qui Felicita intra in casa e serra Cornelio fuora"*;*"Qui Coradotodesco fa l'insonio"*; Mazzinghi 25.

63. The *didalscalie* prefigure their extensive development in the scenario. Ludovico Zorzi, *"Tradizione e innovazione nel 'repertorio' do Andrea Calmo,"* in *Studi sul teatro veneto fra Rinascimento ed età Barocca, a cura di M. T. Muraro* (Firenze: Olschki, 1971) 234-256.

64. Roberto Tessari, *La Commedia dell'Arte: la Maschera e l'Ombra* (Milano: Mursia 1984) See Chapter One. These terms refer to the goals of the amateur writers, particularly from the academies. Stage directions are directly related to the craft of theatre, and suggest Calmo's professional approach to the theatre as a business.

65. Mazzinghi 26. *"La 'disgregazione' del testo letterario è in fondo il prezzo della sua carica innovativa dal punto di vista teatrale. Le commedie di Calmo si presentano per lo più come insieme di parti opzionali e intercambiabli (spesso slegate fra loro e dal debole intreccio) che, pur facendo perdere in continuità il testo, permettono di variane il ritmo e di estrapolarne o modificarne parti, a seconda delle esigenze dello spettacolo, senza turbare l'equilibrio generale e il dispiegarsi dell'azione."* *"Slegate fra loro,"* here meaning "disconnected among themselves," suggests the mannerist notion of the *"discordia concors,"* that Sypher and others have used to characterize mannerist art. The stress on parts in lieu of the whole, a fundamental principle underlying all mannerist art, was a cornerstone of the theatre of Andrea Calmo.

66. See James Mirollo, *Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1985) 95. Mirollo speaks of the yearning for fame and economic success of the sixteenth-century artist. For instance, regarding Benvenuto Cellini's (1500-1571) sculpture of "Perseus with Head of Medusa," Mirollo posits Cellini's need to show great virtuosity in his work as a kind of eternal imprint, was reliant upon his standing out from other artists through a particular display of virtousity.
Virtousity was required "to mitigate the harsh realities of the actual milieu in which they were consumed." Mirollohere draws the connection between virtuosity and the demands of consumerism, which by this time had made art a commodity.

67. As evidenced in the Flaminio Scala collection. Henry Salemo, *Scenarios of the Commedia dell'Arte* (New York: New York University, 1987).