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THEORIES OF DIRECTING
IN LATE RENAISSANCE AND EARLY BAROQUE ITALY

by

Anna Migliarisi

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosphy
Graduate Centre for Study of Drama
University of Toronto

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Abstract

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The purpose of this thesis is to determine the status of the art of direction in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in Italy, to appraise its first emergence as an independent craft, and to examine its changing artistic ideals in the context of the dominant styles of the time. To this effect I examine the following texts, which represent the earliest formal treatments of direction: Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche (1565) by Leone De Sommi, also known as Leone Ebreo, professional director at the court of Mantua; Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche (1598) by Angelo Ingegneri, director of the first production of Oedipus the King (1585) in modern Europe; and Il corago o vero alcune osservazioni per mettere ben in scena le composizioni drammatiche (1628), an anonymous treatise by a professional director in the early baroque theatre.
Most theatre historians quickly dismiss the idea of the art of directing before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the grounds that there were no professional directors before this period and no formal treatments of the art of direction worthy of notice. By closely examining the theory and methodology of De Sommi, Ingegneri and the author of Il corago, I argue that their work in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries already has all the fundamental characteristics of the work of modern professional directors. I examine their approach to textual analysis, casting, working with actors, acting and technical rehearsals, costume and scenic design, use of stage machines, music and sound effects, and production organization. In the process, this thesis defines each author's concept of the role and function of the director and his strategic position in the hierarchy of theatrical production.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the unfailing support and encouragement with which Professor Domenico Pietropaolo guided my research, writing, and editing process. He made himself available at every phase of the work; his patience, insight and 'good instruction' through the whole process were invaluable. I wish to thank Professor Mary Ann Parker for her enthusiastic support as well as her discerning eye for detail, and Professor David Trott for his provocative comments as well as his continuous encouragement throughout the writing process. I am grateful to both Monica Leone and Celestino De Iuliis for their assistance with the translation of Ingegneri. Professors Lisa-Lone Marker and Michael J. Sidnell also deserve my thanks for their seminars on directing and theory at the Drama Centre, the notes from which I have turned to time and again through the writing of this thesis. Ronald Bryden also deserves my sincere thanks for his profound kindness and continuous support. Lastly, I want to thank my mother, my sister Adriana, and my family of friends for their unwavering support through the whole process.
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The purpose of this work is to determine the status of the art of direction in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Italy, to appraise its first emergence as an independent craft, and to examine its changing artistic ideals in the context of the dominant styles of the time, namely, classicism, mannerism and baroque. To this effect I shall examine the following texts, which represent the earliest formal treatments of direction: *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche* (1565)\(^1\) by Leone De Sommi, also known as Leone Ebreo, professional director at the court of Mantua; *Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche* (1598)\(^2\) by Angelo Ingegneri, director of the first production of *Oedipus the King* (1585) in modern Europe; and *Il corago o vero alcune osservazioni per mettere ben in scena le composizioni drammatiche* (1628),\(^3\) an anonymous treatise by a professional director in the early baroque theatre.

Most theatre historians quickly dismiss the idea of the art of directing before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In their introduction to *Directors on Directing*, a standard source book on the art of direction, Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy claim that, before the end of the nineteenth century, "the director did not even have a name, for the terms "director", régisseur and metteur en scène had barely begun to acquire their present meaning."\(^4\) According to the most recent edition of Brockett’s *History of the Theatre* (1995), the director as independent functionary was in a
latent stage of development until the appearance of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen (1826-1914), who is thought to have facilitated the transition of the dominant artist in the theatre from actor to director.5

In the present work I hope to show that this view is erroneous. By closely examining the theory and methodology of De Sommi, Ingegneri and the author of Il corago, I hope to demonstrate that the work of these directors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries already has all the fundamental characteristics of the work of modern professional directors. In studying each work, in chronological order, I shall examine the directors' approaches to textual analysis, casting, working with actors, acting and technical rehearsals, costume and scenic design, integrating stage machines, music and sound effects, and organizing production. I shall also attempt to define each author's concept of the role and function of the director and of his position in the hierarchy of theatrical production.

With respect to scholarship, on De Sommi and Ingegneri there is an extensive bibliography in Italian. However, most of it is concerned with their plays and literary works rather than their theories of direction. A number of historians have acknowledged De Sommi's contribution to our knowledge of theatrical practice in the sixteenth century, and we have two translations of his dialogues into English.6 However, there has been no systematic examination of De Sommi's treatise from a directorial point of view, and he is generally described by most theatre historians as
a precursor or as an embryonic director. Ingegneri is rarely mentioned in the context of direction, although his production of *Edipo tiranno* is cited as a historical landmark in the development of theatre architecture and scenography. Ingegneri's treatise has not been translated into English, and his *Progetto*, written two years before the production of *Edipo tiranno*, has, thus far, not been recognized as a document which organizes a director's vision in concrete terms, and which was employed as a basis for a subsequent theatrical production. *Il corago*, published for the first time in 1983, is virtually unknown to theatre historians, although a handful of musicologists have recognized its significance in the context of the staging of early opera.

In Chapter One, on De Sommi, I attempt to position De Sommi's ideas on directing in the light of the cultural climate of the time and in the context of other treatises of the period, such as Lodovico Castelvetro's *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta* (1570) and Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices Libri Septem* (1560). I hope to make clear that De Sommi's treatise stands apart from these works in a fundamental way. Scaliger and Castelvetro were not practitioners but theorists writing for other theorists, and their cursory comments on scenic matters are exceptions to a critical trend which focused on drama as literature rather than on its performance potential. De Sommi's *Quattro dialoghi* are unique in that they are fundamentally a manual of practical instruction, rather than abstract theory, written by a director and dedicated specifically to the professional in the theatre. They also deal
with virtually every aspect of directorial practice, from selecting the play-text to matters of scenography. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that no comprehensive rules of directing were inherited by De Sommi and other Renaissance practitioners from the religious theatre of the Middle Ages. Professional ‘dialogue’ on the art of direction clearly begins with De Sommi and concerns especially comic and pastoral drama. For while De Sommi’s instructions are intended as guidelines for the director working in all theatrical genres, De Sommi’s primary emphasis throughout his work is on comedy and the pastoral.

I have divided my study of Angelo Ingegneri’s two-part treatise into two chapters because of the scope of the material. In Chapter Two, *Della poesia rappresentativa discorso*, I examine Ingegneri’s treatment of dramaturgy, which is presented from a directorial point of view. Like De Sommi, Ingegneri’s instructions are dedicated to the practitioner rather than the theorist, and his primary concern is the interpretation of the rules of composition especially, but not only, the poetics of tragedy, from the perspective of production and performance. In Chapter Three, *Del modo di rappresentare la favole sceniche trattato*, I examine Ingegneri’s treatment of production, which he codifies in a three-part schema comprised of *apparato*, *azione* and *musica*. Throughout the chapter I refer the reader to Ingegneri’s *mise en scène* for *Edipo tiranno* and his director’s plan for this production, *Progetto*, which was written almost two years before the performance in Vicenza. Like his predecessor De Sommi, Ingegneri
deals with virtually every aspect of theatrical production, and his instructions are intended for the director working in all genres. However, his emphasis throughout the treatise is on tragedy, and in particular on his interpretation of Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King*.

In Chapter Four, I turn to an examination of *Il corago*, which is perhaps the most comprehensive of our manuals, since the author deals with directing both musical and spoken drama. In fact, eight of the twenty-three chapters (divisions which purposely signify the various duties of the director) are devoted specifically to the treatment of musical drama. This, in itself, suggests that by about 1628 opera had achieved sufficient recognition as an autonomous theatrical genre to warrant an independent detailed treatment from a directorial point of view.

It is noteworthy that each of our authors deals with directing text or music-based theatre. Their point of departure is uniformly the word or the note (the musical score), and their primary concern is the method whereby the director may transpose the literary script into a stage performance which best conveys the essence or soul of the play-text entrusted to them. The author of *Il corago* makes mention of a second book, no longer extant, in which he treats the art of directing pantomime. The directorial issues associated with this genre and the *teatro all’improviso*, also known as *commedia dell’arte*, warrant a separate study, which I plan to undertake in the future.
Notes to Preface


CHAPTER ONE
LEONE DE SOMMI

Introduction

Most historians of the theatre claim the director emerged as an independent professional towards the end of the 19th century. The Duke of Saxe-Meiningen (1826-1914) is generally cited as the first modern régisseur.¹ The accepted view is that the rise of naturalism and the new dramas of realism (embodied in works such as Zola’s Thérèse Raquin, Chekhov’s The Cherry Orchard and Gorky’s The Lower Depths) demanded an ensemble interpretation with an emphasis on scenic realism. Thus the appearance of the modern director — a commanding visionary in control of every aspect of production, who could visualize, interpret, harmonize all the elements of the scenic environment and express the "soul" of the play.² The general assumption of most theatre historians is that prior to the 1850s or so the director is a shadowy, underdeveloped figure rather than a professional functionary. Impromptu at Versailles and Hamlet are cited as seminal but embryonic considerations of the director’s craft.

Both Molière and Shakespeare figure prominently as director-authors but with the emphasis on their activities as authors, while the medieval stage manager is usually regarded as no more than a precursor of the director. In fact, according to standard
theatre sources, there were no directors, in the full sense of the term, till the end of the nineteenth century. Part of the problem in studying the history of the art of direction is that, while a director of some sort has always been present, since somebody had to assume responsibility of a given production, the art of the director did not become an object of careful description until the late Renaissance. Leone De Sommi’s *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche*, completed in 1566, is possibly the first systematic account of the art of the director in western theatre.

Leone De Sommi is well known to scholars of the theatre as a leading figure of theatrical activity in Mantua in the late 1500s. Under commission to the Gonzaga family between 1556 and 1592, De Sommi wrote plays, produced, stage managed, designed settings and costumes, choreographed, and directed a variety of theatrical entertainments: ballets, musicals, intermezzi, comedies, tragedies and pastorals. Leone’s services as a maestro of the theatre (D’Ancona) were called upon outside of Mantua, and his directorial skills were esteemed by his literary contemporaries. He was employed in the Duchies of Savoy and Turin, and between 1538 and 1556, by the Este family of Ferrara. In 1584 he was commissioned as a director and a dramaturge for the Ferrarese production of *Pastor fido* by Giambatista Guarini, and there is evidence that De Sommi conducted rehearsals, coordinating the music, acting and dancing, for the 1592 staging of the play in Mantua. This production was postponed until 1598;
however, De Sommi's directorial imprint remained: the intermezzi and the representation of the shepherds reflected De Sommi's pastoral conception and designs as codified in *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche*.

Theatre historian Cesare Molinari observes that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were no real experts in the theatre, except for De Sommi, who devoted himself almost exclusively to the study and practice of theatre. The *Quattro dialoghi* were written principally as a manual of practical instruction for other theatre professionals rather than as an abstract theory for scholars and playwrights.

The bibliography on De Sommi is extensive; however, most of the critical material emphasizes his literary accomplishments and his contribution, as a Jew, to the development of Mantuan cultural life rather than his theory of directing. The most common view of De Sommi is that he was a lighting expert and a scenic theorist. He is variously described as a stage manager, a man of letters, a scene designer, a *scrittore accademico*, a technical expert, a theatrical adviser, and an impresario or purveyor of theatrical entertainments. However, a number of scholars have recognized his contribution to the art of direction and to our knowledge of its practice in the sixteenth century. The most prominent of them are Cesare Molinari, Ferruccio Marotti, C. A. Blanchard-Rothmuller, W. S. Botuk, and Allardyce Nicoll. None of them, however, have carried out a systematic analysis of De Sommi's reflections on the art of the director,
and this perhaps accounts, at least in part, for the conspicuous reluctance among theatre historians to refer to De Sommi, without qualification, as a director. And yet there is irrefutable evidence that De Sommi was a sought-after maestro dello spettacolo precisely because of his expertise in the diverse arts of theatrical production. In fact, De Sommi also functioned as a dramaturge, a casting director and an artistic director, concepts usually associated with modern theatre practice. In contemporary theatre the artistic director generally chooses the season, and the casting director recommends and pre-screens actors for the auditions. The dramaturge acts as literary advisor to the artistic director and often assists the playwright in the development of a new play-script. De Sommi functioned in all of these capacities, although in the sixteenth century they were not distinguished as such.

Most histories of the theatre revere the concept of the multi-dimensional director who is able to blend the diverse arts of the theatre into a single organic image. Yet despite De Sommi’s expertise in the various arts of the theatre, in which he was renowned as an accomplished maestro throughout late Renaissance Italy, he is usually relegated to forerunner-status by most standard sources on the art of direction. In fact most theatre historians entirely disregard the idea of the art of directing before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. My purpose in this chapter is to show that this view is erroneous and requires revision. By closely examining De Sommi’s concept
of the art of direction, including his innovations, I hope to demonstrate that his work in the sixteenth century shows all the fundamental characteristics of the work of a modern professional.

*Quattro dialoghi* consists of four dialogues between master director Veridico (the truth-teller) and two noblemen, Santino and Massimiano, in which De Sommi deals with the following topics: first, how to choose a play; second, how to choose the actors; third, how to work with actors; fourth, how to costume a show; fifth, how to set a stage; sixth, how to work with lights; seventh, how to stage pastorals and integrate intermezzi; eighth, how to organize production and harmonize actors, lights and other elements into a unified stage impression "...che tutta insieme sia poi un corpo bene organizzato et unito, non sensa polsi ne senza spirito." Thus De Sommi's methodology involves the interpretation of abstract impressions evoked by the initial reading of the play-text and their transformation into concrete images on stage. It is interesting to compare De Sommi's method with Jacques Copeau's definition of the directorial process in his essay on "Dramatic Economy":

Directing is the sum-total of artistic and technical operations which enables the play as conceived by the author to pass from the abstract, latent state, that of the written script, to concrete and actual life on the stage.

In Dialogues One and Two, De Sommi discusses his theoretical views of drama as they relate to the art of writing plays. De Sommi believed that writing and directing were part and parcel of a similar creative process. His ideal director is in fact also
the author of the play; consequently, knowledge of the principles of good play-writing goes hand in hand with the ability to choose a suitable vehicle for representation. Dialogues Three and Four are distinguished by a number of innovations in the art of directing: a performance theory and a method of working with actors, a director's workbook which organizes and documents the director's vision and method of constructing a theatrical performance, and innovations in the use of light and colour for psychological effect.

De Sommi's ideal director has vision, imagination, a plan of action, and, while this is not stated explicitly, he is fully conscious of his decisive role in the realization of the performance. In Dialogue One, Veridico is caught in the act of directing by Massimiano and Santino, who arrive ahead of time in anticipation of the master's discussions on how to direct a play. Throughout Quattro dialoghi De Sommi seizes every opportunity to underscore Veridico's reputation as maestro dello spettacolo. Veridico's versatility as a playwright, director and costume designer is noted by Massimiano and Santino in the opening exchange of Dialogue One. Throughout the four discussions Veridico has the upper hand and final word on virtually all matters - selecting the text, casting, and conducting acting and technical rehearsals. In his theoretical discussion of the origins of drama, Veridico underscores the arrogance of the lying Greeks ["i mendaci grechi"] to overlook what he considers to be Job's rightful position as the original
tragic hero. He dismisses contemporary theorists and their rules because they are inconsistent and restrictive, and because they lack originality. In Dialogue Four he orders his technical crew about with exacting standards. Just as the actor must be "alert" in rehearsal as well as in performance (as Veridico instructs in Dialogue Three) the ideal director must be confident, capable and vitally present, since directing, in De Sommi's view, is a personal expression of intelligence and imagination.

As a model of practical instruction on the art of directing, the Quattro dialoghi are unique for the 1560s. Theories of performance and of directing are in themselves unusual for this period (predating Angelo Ingegneri's Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche by some twenty years). Furthermore, the Quattro dialoghi deal with all aspects of drama from theory to performance. As Marotti and Molinari observe, this is unusual in this period, since dramatic theory, textual criticism, scenography and representation are conventionally treated as autonomous phenomena. Theory often conditions practice, as is evident in the number of tragedies based on ancient rules written in this period which remained unperformed. With the quick dissemination of Aristotle's Poetics after 1536, the nature and legitimacy of performance come into question, culminating in the notorious genre quarrels between the conservative-theoretical right and the subversive-practical left. The polemics include relegating
representation to a secondary position in the art of drama. Scaliger’s *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561) privilege rules and text, while citing performance as a non-essential aspect of dramatic poetry. Scaliger overlooks (emotional) catharsis and claims that acting is accidental to dramatic art because words transport the reader ‘there’ in themselves.

At the other end of the critical spectrum, Giraldi Cinthio’s *Discorso intorno al comporre delle comedie, et delle tragedie* (1554) posits performance as the distinguishing feature of drama. This treatise was written primarily in defense of Cinthio’s own plays, Senecan tragedies with happy endings for the most part, commissioned by the Este Court of Ferrara and written specifically for representation on stage. This accounts for his defence of scenic spectacle (magnificent scenery and costumes), attention to style (gestures, delivery, use of voice) and happy endings (a concession to the taste of his modern audience). Castelvetro’s *Poetica d’Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta* (1570) is considered to be the commentary which effectively shifts theoretical emphasis from drama (the poem itself) to performance, with the spectators determining what is decorous, appropriate and convincing. De Sommi anticipates this shift in his *Quattro dialoghi* by differentiating between performance and literary texts. Representation is a performative phenomenon, which brings the play into existence; words do not translate, necessarily, into suitable stage images, and thus De Sommi cautions poet and director to emphasize "natural" things: "...molte cose saranno
De Sommi’s status and function as a modern maestro rather than a medieval maître de jeu is further revealed in his unique understanding of the nature of theatre, which presupposes that theatre poses a number of questions to the playwright, the actor, and the director as well as the spectator. As De Sommi observes in his letter "A' lettori" in Quattro dialoghi, theatre is a transaction that occurs between the actor on stage and the spectator in the auditorium. In his view, what happens to men while they are on earth is exactly what happens to actors up on the stage ["adiviene propriamente a gli uomini, mentre stanno al mondo, come aviene a gli istrioni su per le scene"]. Both play out their respective roles according to a set of established principles until the "story" reaches its end. Furthermore, every phase of representation is subject to divine principles as well as a hierarchy of creation, whose nature is cyclical and whose ultimate aim is goodwill. That is to say, the poet receives an idea from God, the director channels that idea into concrete stage directions, the actors imbue the characters with "life", and the spectator, recognizing his true self, is moved towards his original divine goodness, and this completes the circle.

Implicit in De Sommi’s conception is the moral imperative associated with representation and the civil responsibility attributed to the role and function of the director. However, De Sommi’s vision of theatre is more than a medieval recreation of
hell-mouth to frighten the social deviant into obedience. In his view, representation is an autonomous, self-sufficient phenomenon which proceeds under the strict command of the director, who is positioned at the top of the creative hierarchy. The director is an instructor or guide as well as an autocrat. He schedules, organizes and conducts rehearsals with both cast and crew, his word is final on virtually all matters, and he has the authority to bar visitors such as Santino and Massimiano from rehearsals. Veridico's actors, whether courtiers or professionals, are co-operative ["che ubidienti esser vogliono"], that is to say, they are willing to subordinate their talent to the authority and vision of the director, and their approach to their craft in rehearsals as well as in performance reflects a certain standard of excellence.

As a document, *Quattro dialoghi* represents a conscious attempt on the part of De Sommi to codify representation from the point of view of the director. He argues:

mi par assai degna questa facoltà scenica di essere trattata molto più curiosamente, et con discorso più particolare di quello che sin ora sia fatta da' scrittori antichi o moderni.  

Since no rules on directing a play were inherited from the Middle Ages, De Sommi attempted to fill this void by providing a point of reference for new advances in acting, directing and stage craft:

ho giudicato non essere vana fatica il raccogliere questo ragionamente...(non però con pensiero di satisfare
intieramente, ma più tosto con animo di incitar altri a supplire ov'io sarò manchevole)."
Choosing a Play

According to Veridico, the first and perhaps most significant phase of the art of direction is the selection of the play to be represented, a precept which effectively distinguishes the role and function of the director from that of the poet:

SANTINO. ...essendo (poniam caso) ricercato oggi dal principe nostro a farle rappresentare una commedia.

VERIDICO. Presuponete che egli me ne desse una a sua modo?

SANTINO. Anzi, no; ma che vi desse anco l’assunto di trovarla.

De Sommi believed that vision derives from the director’s response to the play’s basic shape and story, and so Veridico endeavours to choose a play that satisfies him ["che mi satisfacesse"]. A satisfactory play adheres to objective criteria which Veridico outlines in concrete precepts. However, underlying Veridico’s formula is an understanding that the director is an artist with a vision whose choice of a text for theatrical representation is also personal and subjective. The director’s ego is, in fact, a decisive factor in the selection of a satisfactory play, a concept which we encounter in full bloom in Ingegneri’s treatment of Edipo tiranno in 1585.

A play is satisfactory if it is useful and pleasurable, and if it adheres to ideals of propriety and verisimilitude with respect to subject, character and action. Veridico provides a cautionary note to the director regarding the innate power of
theatre to move an audience. Thus a suitable text rewards virtues which are to be imitated, and punishes vices, which are to be avoided and condemned.27

Veridico’s notion of what constitutes a satisfactory play is characterized by an adherence to classicist rules, on the one hand, and a number of innovations, which he regards as improvements, on the other. His rules correspond, generally speaking, to the theoretical views of his contemporaries, a fusion of Platonic, Aristotelian and Horatian precepts.28 His innovations are his way of adapting the rules for the purpose of representation.

His definition and understanding of the nature and purpose of comedy and tragedy is principally rule-based. The purpose of tragedy is moral and theological and thus better served by the use of real events and historical episodes rather than invention. The audience will be moved to catharsis in a much more profound way if they recognize that the stage action has a referent in the "real" world. The test of a good tragedy, in fact, lies in the audience’s response rather than in the writer’s clever invention:

che sapendo lo spettatore che la rappresentazione ha origine da la verità, si moverà più a terrore et a compassione ne i successi terribil et esemplari di quella; et essendo maggioramente commosso, purgherà più l’anima da i vizii, traendo più profitto da gli esempi, come cose considerate per vere.29

Comedy too provides pleasure, but its purpose is to present examples of the way to a good and temperate life through delight
rather than fear. Veridico observes that the essential
difference between these genres, in the standard sixteenth
century view of them, is that tragedy deals with royal personages
involved in terrible actions of some magnitude, while comedy is a
mirror of ordinary civil life.

Choosing the right play, according to Veridico, requires
knowledge of the audience, its taste and expectations, as well as
some knowledge of dramatic theory. Veridico privileges new
plays, or at least plays that are little known, since he regards
novelty as attractive in a theatrical production. He advises the
director to avoid printed editions of plays, and maintains that
it is almost common opinion that comedies which the spectator
already knows about are ill-received. The reason for this is
that the audience derives pleasure from being voluntarily cheated
into believing that the actions that the actors are engaged in
are real ["che li paiano veri"].

If the spectator is already familiar with the dialogue or the action, the play seems too
obvious and foolish a lie, and loses that naturalness which
Veridico maintains must always accompany it.

A satisfactory comedy is written in good prose style. De
Sommi effectively elevates the artistic stature of prose to that
of verse by claiming it has a perfection of its own, with rules
that apply to it alone. Good prose has a characteristic rhythmic
flow, akin to that of formal verse, that is pleasing to the
listener. Verse is always rhythmically and harmoniously
arranged and thus is better suited to the dignity of tragedy,
which demands a form of speech that has weight ["il lor parlare debba essere piu pesato"], that is more rhythmical than that of common man. The familiar ring of prose is better suited to comedies and less exalted subjects. Since the value of comedy lies in its fidelity to nature, the lighter prose of common speech is verisimilar and therefore more suitable to this genre.

Veridico maintains that verse should approximate prose utterance. While he presumes that the skilled actor will be able to speak in verse, Veridico cautions the poet against sonorous soliloquies, monotonous meters, over-use of consonants, repetition of sounds and severe rhetoric. A sententious style of this sort would be inconceivable in performance, as far as De Sommi is concerned, as well as undramatic for the audience, who must be able to follow the narrative logic of individual speeches as the action unfolds from one scene to the next.

Whether in verse or prose, the text must be appraised in the context of its intended effects and its performability: "essendo il fine delle tragedie, come anco delle comedie, il doversi non solamente legger su i libri, ma appresentarsi anco in scena." Veridico observes that the stage representation is the final test of the play ["il cimento delle comedie"], and the director, actors and designers must be able to lift the poet’s words off the page to create beautiful stage images:

questa è cosa di piú importanza che altri forse non crede...et molte cose saranno belle da leggere che a doversi rappresentare riescono poi insipide; et cosí anco lo contrario."
To emphasize this precept, Veridico describes his impressions of a recent production, presumably in Mantua, of a prose tale taken from the *Decameron* by Boccaccio and reproduced for the stage in blank verse. The action of the play revolved about the foolish antics of Calandrino, who was persuaded by Bruno and Buffalmacco to believe that he had become invisible through the power of an extraordinary heliotrope. At one point in the action, Bruno and Buffalmacco proceed to throw pebbles at the "invisible" Calandrino. According to Veridico, the novella, as written by Boccaccio, is delightful; however, played out on stage, the tale was both awkward ["sgarbattisima"] and bereft of spirit. In his view, the regularity of the verse made it seem like a monotonous *cantilena*, and the abstract nature of the subject matter was ill-suited for verisimilar stage action. As a result, the simplicity and "naturalness" of the original story was compromised, and, in the opinion of Veridico, the spectators could not allow themselves to believe that the actions in which the characters were engaged were probable or true."

Veridico continues this discussion by observing that theme, dialogue and action must always be treated as interdependent aspects of the play, and this is of utmost importance in the treatment of comedy, in which physical action is essential to its successful playing on stage. According to Veridico, comedy is composed of actions and words, actions pertaining to the actor and words pertaining to the poet. The perfection of comedy does not consist only of its being well written, it is also
necessary that it be well played.\textsuperscript{41} To this end, in his assessment of the text, the director must bear in mind what can and cannot be effectively realized in performance in concrete physical actions.

Veridico states his preference for comedies with a double or complex plot, and his reason for this is that the variety of scenic events which this form permits will capture the interest of the spectator, who will pay attention with greater delight as new and unanticipated events unfold from one scene to the next.\textsuperscript{42}

Veridico favours the use of a few licentious phrases in comedies to arouse and hold the attention of spectators who are apt to fall asleep during philosophical scenes and moral discourses. Veridico observes that there is no doubt that if comedies had to be seen only by virtuous and wise persons, they would always be more praised the further they were from all lasciviousness and obscenity. However, because persons who are licentious will always be greater in number than those who are entirely virtuous, and because the beauty of comedy rests in its appeal to a wide range of spectators, small obscenities in comedy are desirable. Veridico defends this potential breech in propriety by observing that these licentious sections mirror the shameful parts of the human body from which comedy takes its perfect form. The poet is advised, however, to avoid what Veridico describes as the ‘vicious element’. Vulgar phrases ought to be concealed with virtuous words, just as nature places
the shameful parts of the human body where they can be easily concealed. In this way, not only will the integrity of the composition be preserved, but, in a certain sense, the play might be called more entirely perfect."

Like subject and action, character must adhere to rules of propriety and verisimilitude. In the case of comedy, Veridico is lenient with the rules if they are modified "naturally" and if the characterization serves a moral end. For example, if the poet aims to condemn vice or expose a social ill in order to instruct the spectator, then the characters could exhibit uncharacteristic qualities or satirical touches. A physician might be depicted as a prescription monger interested more in financial gain than in his patients' health, or, a pater familias might engage in ridiculous actions that are below his age and station."

Veridico dismisses the notion of an exact rule in the case of happy endings. In his view, the happy or unhappy ending is not what gives a play the name of tragic or comic, but rather the quality of its characters and the incidents that occur in its plot. It is the task of the director to ensure that the audience leaves the theatre in a state of contentment after the performance, and a happy ending serves this end.

With respect to genre, Veridico favours the pastoral because it makes a much more pleasing and beautiful show, and by this De Sommi means that the pastoral permits the writer to introduce fantastical subjects and characters, and exotic settings which,
in performance, target the senses as well as the intellect of the spectator. Veridico’s legitimization of this genre and leniency towards happy endings reveal De Sommi’s understanding that reception determines "success" in theatrical production. In this respect, De Sommi is in agreement with Cinthio and Castelvetro who, in their respective treatises, argue that representation must concede to the pleasure of the modern spectator," and with Guarini and Ingegneri, who defend the pastoral as an intermediary between comedy and tragedy." Throughout the late Renaissance tragedy was, generally speaking, revered as the sublime genre, but it was the pastoral, as well as comedies, that proved successful on stage. The pastoral or, in the case of Cinthio, tragedy with a happy ending, sparked a series of genre-quarrels among critics and theatre practitioners precisely because it was successful as a genre, and De Sommi seems to understand this fully.

At the same time, De Sommi is aware of the challenge facing the director in producing this highly complex genre, which is a combination of poetry, music and dance. According to Veridico, the pastoral is, in fact, the most difficult genre to direct, and observes that the degree of organization and skill required to achieve unity of production in costuming, lighting, choreography, creating a scenic environment and working with actors, dancers, choreographers, designers and technicians demands a seasoned director at the height of his creative powers:

Et, sopra tutti gl’avvertimenti, bisogna che chi essercita
questi poemi sia bene essercitato, perché è molto più difficile condur una sì fatta rappresentazione che stia bene, che non è a condurre una comedia.50

According to Veridico, the purpose of writing drama, which he defines as an imitation or mirror of human life, is theatrical representation ["appresentarsi...in scena"].51 Therefore a "satisfactory" play is one which can be transformed into a performance by the director, the actors and scenic artists in such a way that it fulfils its dual function, to instruct as well as to delight the spectator. As the servant of the play, the director plays a decisive role in the interpretation and final expression of the dramatic work on stage. If he is not himself the author of the play, it is the task of the director to familiarize himself with both the theoretical and the practical aspects of play-construction in order to determine what can and cannot be successfully realized in performance.

Discussing play-construction, De Sommi provides us with a highly original theory of the origins of drama and its division into five acts. Veridico argues that the origin of drama lies further back than the "lying" Greek authors would lead us to believe. The Greeks, in fact, inherited the art of writing plays from the ancient, sacred books of the Hebrews. Drama was invented neither by chance nor by rustic intellect, but was established by divine ordinance in the form of the Five Books of Divine Law delivered to Moses by oracle from the lips of the Almighty Himself:
con divino proponimento posso credere che di essa ci fu
data la norma primieramente dal sublime ingegno del celeste
legislatore Mosè, esperto duce de' Giudei, il quale, dopo
che egli ebbe scritto i suoi cinque libri della legge divina
espostagli da l'oracolo, anzi dalla bocca di Dio ottimo, in
cinque mille cinquecento e cinquanta versi, scrisse poi,
come appresso gli ebrei è manifesto, la elegantissima et
filosofica tragedia di Iobbe, di cinque soli umani
interlocutori."\textsuperscript{52}

While not originally written to be performed, Veridico
maintains that the tragedy of Job was "received" in the form of a
dialogue or discussion in which five human characters took part,
a form subsequently assumed by every poet as suitable for
dramatic representation. Furthermore, the term scene (derived
from scigni, which signifies, in both Greek and Italian, leafy),
is thought to be an allusion to the places where the ancient
Greeks performed their rustic plays. Veridico argues that
scehono is a Hebrew word meaning "way" or "street" where there is
a group of houses, and it seems more likely, in Veridico's view,
that the first plays were performed by citizens in a habited spot
with settings akin to modern (Serlian) street scenes. Veridico
substantiates his argument by citing Corso della Vita, a tale
from the Chaldean, translated by Veridico into Italian, which
documents the spiritual journey of a young man who is taught the
ways of the world by a guardian angel. The turning point in the
drama occurs when the angel has the youth look into a mirror.
The youth recognizes his true self, sees himself turned into an
aged man and, in a moment of repentance, strips off his worldly
robes and submits to God's will. Veridico maintains that this
piece was composed specifically for representation, and that it
was probably performed in public.53

With respect to the division of the dramatic action into five acts, Veridico argues that Moses "chose" a five-fold division because the number five was a potent symbol of the divine; thus, there was no better form for works meant to instruct the spectator in the pursuit of virtue. Veridico observes that he has discovered no references to this subject as it pertains to the director's craft in contemporary criticism.54 For him, the number five embodies "perfection"—it is the mediator or mean of all numbers, the Pythagorean matrimonial number and the mark of Mercury, God of Sciences. The number five has great power over evil spirits, it is potent against poisons, and it is associated with the "supernatural" swallow, which produces its young in fives. Divine law is also quinary in structure, the name of God is expressed in five letters, the Song of Songs is written in five Psalms, and so on.55

According to Veridico, this "perfection" is mirrored in the structure of man (the microcosm), who was created by God in his own image and who embraces within himself something of the whole universe (the macrocosm). The whole composition of man is made up in terms of fives: five chief parts (bones, nerves, veins, muscles, flesh); five senses (sight, taste, smell, touch, hearing); five psychological qualities (vegetable, sensible, lustful, irascible, rational) and five extremities (the head, two hands, two feet). These five extremities are also divided into fives: five fingers to each hand, five toes to each foot and five
parts to the head (eyes with visual sense, mouth with a sense of
taste, ears with sense of hearing, nose with a sense of smell,
and the brain or higher self whose supreme intellect flows
throughout the entire body).  

Veridico argues that since drama is a mirror of human life,
whose end is society, it stands to reason that the closer its
relationship is to man the greater will be its perfection.
Consequently, a "perfect" play is constructed in five acts, which
correspond to the five extremities of the perfect human figure -
act one represents the head; act two, the left hand; act three,
the right hand; act four, the left foot; act five, the right
foot:

...prima, sí come con li sentimenti del capo l'uomo vede,
ode, et capisce ogni sua cosa, così nel primo atto de la
comedia con la protasi, o vogliam dire argomento e
dimostrazione, si ha a far conoscere, vedere, et capire i
soggetti principali de la favola; et sí come con la
debolezza della man sinistra poco si diffenderebbe un uomo
da i sinistri casi, se la forterza della destra non lo
aiutasse a condure a bon fine le sue imprese, così i
travagli et le aversità che hanno da vedersi nel secondo
atto d'una bene osservata comedia, troppo mal fine
sortirebbono, se con la sua natural disposizione il terzo a
piu destro fine non conducesse quase ogni sua parte; et sí
come, caminando per questo mondano deserto, non si ponno
fuggir gli intoppi d'infiniti dispiaceri et sinistri
precipizii che ci son posti tra' piedi, se la potenza del
destro fato co' divino apoggio non ci sostenesse, così le
rovine et le querele che nel colmo de l'intrico, o
vogliam dir ne l'epitasi de l'atto quarto, a troppo
dispiacevole orrore condurebbe le menti nostre, se il
quinto con la catastrofe e ultimamente con la peripazia non
ci ristorasse co'l suo felice fine.

Traditionally, actors were not permitted to leave the stage
empty except between these five acts in order to prevent the
spectator from supposing that the play was divided into more
portions. With respect to the number of scenes within each act, Veridico maintains that this may be left to the discretion of the author. However, he believes that an act should not include less than two scenes or more than nine. Veridico allows for a three-act dramatic structure in the case of farces and satyr-plays, a division which he claims harmonizes with the sublime human figure because it corresponds to the "three worlds" - the earthly, the celestial and the spiritual. From the stomach or diaphragm down to the legs, man corresponds to the lower world of body; from the waist up to the throat, to the celestial; and the head, the highest part, is the representation of the spiritual world.56

Whether three or five-act in structure, Veridico’s perfect play is a literal and figurative "whole" body, which he describes as a well-planned organism unified by a dominant spirit. Just as in the human body there is no part made in vain, a play is perfect when the omitting of the smallest part renders it imperfect. The play’s heart and soul is the main theme of the play, that which gives life to all its various parts:

sí come il cuore destribuisce lo spirito a tutte le membra, così il soggetto dispensarà le sue sustanze a tutte le parti di questo poema, talche non paia esservi cosa soverchia né oziosa, sí come nel corpo nostro non è membro alcuno fabricato invano.59

Veridico’s theory of dramatic structure, an eclectic blend of Jewish mysticism, occult science and neo-platonism is informed, to a certain extent, by the spirit of the late
Renaissance. As Wendy Sue Botuck observes, De Sommi's recourse to quinary theory is not, in itself, unusual for this period, since numerology had been used to explain metaphysical phenomena since the Middle Ages. However De Sommi is the only critic in this period who explains drama in this particular way. The link between De Sommi's views as a critic and his views as a director rests in the moral imperative which he attaches to representation and the role and function of the director. As a critic, De Sommi does not distinguish between craft (the techniques of representation) and purpose (drama's divine origins and moral function). As a practitioner, he positions the director, if he is not the author of the play, at the centre of theatrical activity, where, as the messenger or facilitator of the word (the play-text), he plays a decisive role in the realization of the larger purpose of drama.

De Sommi's understanding that each play embodies an inner meaning or soul, which the director must access and express in a beautiful stage form, could be compared to the aesthetic principles of some of his professional counterparts in modern theatre. In their respective quests for external form, figures such as Brahm in Germany and Stanislavski in Russia, for example, placed an emphasis on the inner spirit of the text, and their theatrical experiments focused specifically on finding actors who could fulfil this goal. Brahm sought to capture the power and spirit of the classical repertory without getting bogged down, as he describes it, in hollow conventions and so miss the 'truth of
life'. In his early work, as documented in his production plans, Stanislavski attempted to reach the soul of the play through external, realistic means. His methodology shifted when he stumbled on the significance of the inner meaning of the play, and gained a new appreciation for the playwright.\textsuperscript{61}

In principle, De Sommi's methodology is not significantly different. His concern in \textit{Quattro dialoghi} is exploring and codifying an external form of representation. De Sommi's \textit{mise en scene} embodies sixteenth century pictorial illusionism; however, his instructions, in the areas of acting and stage lighting for example, are distinguished by a preoccupation with realism. De Sommi's literal and figurative body, the play, has a heart that provides spirit to all of its members. Similarly, Stanislavski's notion of the soul of the play, or super-objective, is a heart that is life-giving, a main artery that provides nourishment and life to all the parts. Structurally, De Sommi's perfect play needs all of its parts but no more than those parts. According to Stanislavski, the most insignificant detail, if it is not related to the super-objective, will stand out as superfluous or wrong. A play with a deformed broken back-bone cannot live.\textsuperscript{62} Finally, in Stanislavski's view, the soul of the drama is the principal creative impetus for actors to begin building a character; the primary mission of Stanislavski's actor is to create the life of the human spirit. De Sommi's work with the actor, as revealed in Dialogue Three, begins with a reading of the whole play so that each actor may be instructed in its theme or subject matter; the
actors' duty is to fully comprehend the nature or spirit of the characters and reveal it in suitable vocal and gestural behaviour.

Other significant aesthetic comparisons could be made with De Sommi and modern directors; however, we must not forget that De Sommi's pictorial stage is quite distant from the stage of twentieth-century naturalism. The explicit similarities in the aesthetic principles of De Sommi and his modern counterparts are less significant than the overall comparisons to be made between De Sommi's methodology and modern directorial practice. Like his professional counterparts in modern theatre, De Sommi fully understands that there is a theoretical explanation for representation, from the origin of the word to its final expression on stage, and he codifies this understanding in a practical methodology.

Choosing the Actors

De Sommi considers the selection of the actors ["the distribution of the parts"] to be one of the most significant choices which the director will make after choosing the play for representation. In Dialogue Three, Veridico "insists" that it is more important to have a good actor than a fine play, since a poor comedy played well will meet with greater success than a
fine comedy played badly. As a general rule, the actor must possess a natural disposition for histrionics, an ability to understand his part well, as well as solid physical and vocal training and technique. In addition, the actors must be what Veridico describes as co-operative ["ubidienti"], and by this he means that the actors must be willing to subordinate their talent to the authority and vision of the director, as well as to the demands of the text and the directions of the author.

Veridico casts prior to the first reading of the play, choosing the actors who seem fittest for the various roles. He casts to type, considering the individual actor’s vocal and physical qualities, and histrionic disposition as it relates to the role. Given the physical and acoustical conditions of court theatre in the sixteenth century - open spaces (indoor and outdoor), dim lighting and noisy audiences - good enunciation and the power of projection are, for Veridico, chief considerations in casting, and he advises the director to listen very carefully to the voices of the actors before assigning the roles. As a general rule, the director must not assign the part of an old man to an actor who has a boyish voice, or the part of a young woman to an actor with a heavy voice. If the text requires the impersonation of a ghost, in a tragedy for example, then the director must listen for a naturally shrill voice, or at least one able to sustain a trembling falsetto, in order to create the desired effects in performance.

With respect to physical qualities, Veridico observes that
the actor must embody the nature of the character he has to interpret ["la qualità del personaggio che hanno da imitare"].

A lover must be handsome, a parasite overweight, a soldier well-built, and a king must be tall as well as dignified in carriage and movement. Details such as facial features and colour of hair are less significant to Veridico since they can be dealt with through the use of make-up and hair pieces. Veridico observes that the director may dye a beard, draw a scar, make a face appear pale or yellow, more powerful and ruddy, or more white or more brown as necessary. Veridico advises the director to refrain from employing masks and false beards, and the reason for this is that they hamper the delivery of the actor. If the director is forced to cast a beardless actor in the role of an old man, then he could paint the chin of the actor so that it seems shaven, with a white head of hair under his cap, and he could make a few brush-strokes on his cheeks and forehead in order to make the actor appear not only aged but decrepit and wrinkled.

Veridico concludes this discussion by emphasizing that it is the over-all presence or impression of the actor on stage that the director must consider when distributing the roles. The actor must embody an aspect, or essence, of the character that is immediately recognizable and potentially convincing to the spectator. It is the task of the director to make every effort to transform rather than transfigure the actor from his own natural being:
Perché a me basta il transformarli, e non trasfigurarli, ingegnandomi quanto più posso di farli, parer tutte persone nove, però che quando lo spettatore conosce il recitante, se gli leva in parte quel dolce inganno in cui devressimo tenerlo facendoli credere, più che sia possibile, per vero successo ogni nostra rappresentazione.\textsuperscript{69}

Working with Actors

As a general rule, Veridico calls actors, and schedules, organizes and conducts rehearsals himself. His word is final and he has the authority to open or close rehearsals to visitors, such as courtiers Massimiano and Santino. When Santino asks Veridico to describe a rehearsal and his method of working with actors, Veridico observes that this is a most difficult undertaking ["questa per certo e impresa gravissima"].\textsuperscript{70} We have no documentation beyond the Quattro dialoghi regarding the specifics of contemporary acting rehearsals, their frequency, length or general organization. However, the direct references to rehearsals throughout the Quattro dialoghi and Veridico’s description of the first reading of the play suggest that rehearsals focused strictly on the needs of the actors and their interpretations were a requisite stage of production.

Veridico’s work with the actors begins at the first reading of the play, in which he brings the entire cast together to read the play out loud from start to finish, so that even the children
who may have parts in it may be instructed in its subject matter, and by this De Sommi presumably means the theme of the play and his vision of its realization. This initial encounter with the text is followed by a thorough discussion on characterization, led by Veridico, who impresses in the minds of all the nature of the character that they have to imitate. Veridico then dismisses the actors giving them time to "learn their parts" before the following rehearsal.

Veridico refers to the "parts" of the text that are extracted and handed out to the actors, and presumably this is the only part of the play that is distributed. This is thought to be standard practice in the sixteenth century; however, Veridico's concept of a first reading is novel in directorial practice. It is noteworthy that Veridico brings his interpretation and concept of characterization to the actors in the first reading, after he has analyzed the play, extracted the parts and selected the actors most suitable to the roles. Secondly, his vision as "guide" or director ultimately predominates and shapes the exploration of character in subsequent rehearsals.

Throughout Dialogue Three Veridico makes numerous references to his decisive role in rehearsals. He insists on selecting good actors, commands the entire cast to rehearsal ["li riduco tutti insieme"], orders them to speak slowly and project their voices, forces them ["li costringo"] to articulate every word down to the last syllable, and demands various and effective movements and
gestures." He also requires that the actor be extremely alert ["svegliato"] and cheerful in all of the rehearsals and that he accustom himself to a certain vivacity in preparation for the final performance." At the end of Dialogue Three Veridico permits Massimiano and Santino to observe a technical rehearsal in which he will test the lighting to see that everything is in order, in anticipation of what we refer to in contemporary theatre practice as the dress rehearsal." During this time, traditionally held several days to a week before the preview or opening of the play, final adjustments are made to costumes, make-up is tested, performance properties are introduced (since working properties are generally used during rehearsals), lighting and sound levels are set and actors work with actual set pieces. In Dialogue One, we encounter Veridico supervising two assistants, who are making final adjustments to costumes." In Dialogue Three, Veridico is reviewing his "lists" which organize the costumes, stage properties, and the entrances and exits of the actors." Dialogue Four takes place prior to the modern version of a technical rehearsal, the phase in which technicians and designers have precedence over the actors, held before the dress rehearsal so that the director can make final adjustments before viewing the whole stage picture in its totality. The play Veridico is preparing for throughout the Dialogues is scheduled to go on in a matter of days, Tuesday next according to Santino," and in the final Dialogue we find Veridico ordering his crew about so as to test the impact of the lighting against
According to most histories of the theatre, rehearsals throughout the Renaissance were either minimal or non-existent, or they revolved around the specific needs of the actor. In England, Shakespeare's actors were presumably given only sides of the text with cues and directions integrated into the verse. "The English bookholder" is in fact the closest idea of a director that we know of in the Renaissance, although this figure did not hold an elevated place in the theatre. According to Oscar Brockett's most recent edition of History of the Theatre (1995), the actor was the dominant artist of the theatre until the appearance of the Meiningen Players, which marked the emergence of the director as the leading force in theatrical representation. In seventeenth-century France, according to playwright Samuel Chappuzeau (1625-1701), the actors memorized their parts and then gathered for a first rehearsal, which served only to give a rough sketch of the whole. The author ordinarily attended this and second or third rehearsals in order to instruct the actor if he failed to grasp the sense of the text or failed to suit emotion or gesture to the demands of the dramatic action. In Impromptu at Versailles (1663), author-director Molière analyzes roles and instructs actors under his guiding hand.

In Italy, in the early 1500s, the author-director usually supervised the rehearsals of his own works. By the mid-1500s, as we are told by Perrucci, the professional players of the commedia
dell'arte were rehearsing for an average of one hour under the
guidance of the lead actor or director of the company.11 By
the 1580s De Sommi is rehearsing portions of Pastor fido for a
period of over a year. For his production of Edipo tiranno in
1585, Ingegneri rehearsed for a period of one year, and in the
early decades of the seventeenth century, as we are told by
Claudio Monteverdi, musical drama required a minimum of five or
six months of rehearsals under the strict guidance of a corago or
director.12 In 1565, when the Quattro dialoghi were completed,
we find De Sommi scheduling, organizing and conducting both
acting and technical rehearsals, from the first reading to the
final performance, a fact which, contrary to what we are told in
most histories of the theatre, leaves little doubt of the
director's dominant position in theatrical representation in late
Renaissance Italy.

When Veridico sends his actors off to "learn their parts",
following the first reading, De Sommi implies that these actors
have a method to approach the exploration of their roles. That
is to say, they know, more or less, what Veridico expects from
them and they have a set of rules or precepts on which to base
their study in private, which will be integrated into subsequent
rehearsals. Acting in the sixteenth century was subsumed under
the rubric of rhetoric, and performers, whether courtiers or
professionals, would have a basic knowledge of comportment,
gesticulation, the use of figures such as personification to
'take on' a character, an understanding of the psychology of
humours, the idea that inner states manifest outwardly on the body in physical movements and sounds of speech, and a familiarity with the art of memory."

Veridico’s directions to the actors would be informed, to a certain extent, by this rhetorical grammar as well as by the typology of characters that appear in the plays of the period, which in itself implies a certain kind of delivery: pining lovers, overbearing fathers, crafty servants, as well as the gamut of allegorical figures found in pastorals and intermezzi. These factors do not seem to impede Veridico; on the contrary, his precepts reveal an approach to acting which is situated outside accepted conventions of character in the sixteenth century. Veridico strives for something more natural, beyond affectation and rhetorical posturing. Discussing delivery, he instructs the actor to strive for smooth and natural speech, and to shun like bad luck that "pedantic" manner of speaking which makes words sound like passages learned by rote."

The actor is instructed to flesh out the character with gestural behaviour which is not apparent, or written in the body of the text, and to strive for a variety of vocal and physical actions according to the shifting states and circumstances in which the character is shown to be at the time." It is the duty of the actor to endeavour as much as he can to deceive the spectator, so that the events that he plays for him seem real to the listener, and that of the director to transform each actor from his own natural being, so that he may not be so soon
recognized by the spectators who communicate with him daily."

Discussing vocal technique, Veridico instructs the actor to project his voice without shouting or sounding artificial. The actor must raise the voice moderately, making his words clearly understood by all the spectators present, paying particular attention to reaching the back rows of the auditorium. Inaudible dialogue, Veridico cautions, may result in an uproar by frustrated spectators in the back of the theatre which would disturb the action of the play and shatter the illusion of the stage impression." As a general rule, the actor must never turn his back on the audience; his face must be visible to the spectator at all times. The actor is advised to face the audience in either full or three-quarter profile when delivering the prologue or when engaged in scenes with other characters."

The actor must pay careful attention to pronunciation, rhythm, tempo and tone in his speech. He must avoid "rapid speech", and articulate each word, down to the last syllable, slowly and deliberately without dropping the voice at the end of individual words or phrases. To do otherwise would cause "displeasure" among the spectators, who would miss the conclusion of the sentences.""

Whether the text is written in verse or prose, the speech must sound natural, life-like, like ordinary speech ["parlar familiare"]." The actor must speak as the character would speak, that is intonate, pause, stress a syllable, emphasize a word, and so forth. The tone of the speech must shift according
to the emotional state in which we find the character, at times arrogant, placid, timid, bold, following the natural rhythms and inflections of the text, and always imitating and observing what is natural to the sort of person being represented. Speeches and dialogue must always sound spontaneous, as if the character were uttering the words for the first time: "...che non paia altro che un familiar ragionamento che improvisamente occorra."

It is also necessary for the actor to establish and sustain a relationship with the audience throughout the performance. That is to say, he must be conscious always of the meaning and context of the words he is expressing, and the extent to which this meaning and context is being projected and received by the spectator. Veridico observes that even though it may often seem to the actor reciting on stage that he is speaking slowly, it is never so slow that it does not seem very rapid to the spectator, provided that the delivery is smooth and sustained rather than fragmented, so that it does not bring on affectation and boredom in the listener. The actor must know how to 'play' with voice and speech in order to engage the spectator fully into the dramatic action being represented on stage:

bisogna poi anco al recitante avvertire di piú, in questo caso, che egli ha da dar tempo alli spettatori di poter capir comodamente i concetti del poeta, et gustar le sue sentenze."

According to Veridico, characterization is not a general idea but a vital composite of gestural behaviour and emotional
states. In keeping with the rhetorical tradition, De Sommi maintains that passions, or inner states, are manifested by the body. A simple, convincing characterization could be created through personification, rhetorical postures and sequential states of mind, experienced by the actor, which would produce some kind of emotional response. However, Veridico encourages the actor to look beyond these rhetorical conventions and to create effects that give "spirit" to the delivery. For example, it would not be enough for an actor playing a miser always to hold his hand on his purse (in checking often to be sure he has not lost the key to the strong-box), but it is necessary for the actor to know how to imitate the "frenzy" he would feel if he learned, in a strategic moment of the play, that his son has stolen his money from him. If he is playing the role of a servant, the actor must know how to break into a lively dance in an occasion of joy, and how to tear his handkerchief with his teeth or pull out his hair in a moment of grief. If he is portraying a fool, he must know, in addition to giving all the wrong answers, which the poet will teach him with words, how to mimic all the more, how to catch flies, how to look for fleas, and how to do other similar foolish things. If the actor is portraying a servant-girl, he must know how she would shake her skirt at her master in a capricious manner or how she would bite her finger in anger just before scurrying off stage."

According to Veridico, characters must be particularized with effective movements and a variety of spontaneous yet
specific gestures, moods and impulses. These actions derive from the given circumstances of the drama and from considerations that are not made explicit by the poet in the body of the play, or what modern practitioners refer to as sub-text. These actions must be characterized by a "seeming naturalness", a spontaneity, as if the actor is playing out of the dramatic circumstances of the moment. They add "spirit" to the role and flesh out characterization beyond cardboard stereotypes. Therefore they improve the play as a whole by shedding light on ideas not always expressed in the literary text."

Implicit in these instructions is an understanding that the performance text embodies multiple layers of meaning. The visible text is comprised of the story (plot and action), the words and the characters. Veridico defines the invisible text as the spirit behind the words or the intent behind the action. These invisible intentions, or inventions, derive from a creative state of some sort that triggers off the actor towards emotional identification:

Io mi ricordo averne veduti di quelli che, ad una mala nova, si sono impalliditi nel viso, come se qualche gran sinistro veramente gli fosse acaduto."

When Massimiano asks Veridico to comment on this phenomenon, to describe its source and nature and the technique that stimulates it, Veridico sidesteps the answer. Much has been made of this in the critical material on De Sommi. Alfred Golding suggests that De Sommi skirts the issue because it would be "vulgar" to discuss
such professional details. In his view, Veridico down-plays his knowledge of acting because it was considered a lower-class activity, and as such Veridico’s instructions might offend De Sommi’s gentile sponsors, to whom the Quattro dialoghi are dedicated. However, by the 1560s, acting had achieved a certain recognition as a profession in Mantua and throughout the major courts of Italy. The highly cultured Gonzaga were enthusiastic patrons of theatrical art and the histrionic tradition of the Jewish Players was a significant force in the cultural development of Mantua. Furthermore, in Quattro dialoghi, De Sommi assumes he is speaking to other professionals, who would have an understanding of his vocabulary as a theatre artist. It is unlikely that De Sommi would raise the issue unless it was meant to be emphasized. Throughout the Quattro dialoghi Veridico is deliberate in his analysis and assessment of theatre art, and an accidental allusion would be uncharacteristic of his overall style.

My view is that De Sommi deliberately intends Veridico to remain baffled by Massimiano’s question. Veridico fails to elaborate on this issue because De Sommi himself, knowingly, does not have an answer. He has effectively tapped the fundamental mystery and problematic of the acting process - the question whether the actor, at given moments in performance, is imitating or experiencing the emotions of the character - an issue which puzzles practitioners until Stanislavski’s theory of the super-conscious.98
De Sommi pinpoints this phenomenon or something very much like it in 1566. He seems to understand that there is a creative state out of which derive spontaneous bursts of inspiration, in which the actor's soul merges with the character's, and that the phenomenon has something to do with the actor being present in the dramatic circumstances in which the character is shown to be at the time. Furthermore, there is a technique to trigger off this impulse, since, according to Veridico, this was a special study in which the ancients had much practice.\textsuperscript{99} However, Veridico is unsure if the "art" is within the actor's domain or if the director can facilitate it through directions. He has no theory or grammar at his command to explain this phenomenon save Plato's concept of poetic fury:

\begin{verbatim}
il divino Platone, nel suo dialogo del furore, fa dire ad Ione: "ogni volta ch'io recito qualche cosa miserabile, gli'occhi mi lacrimano; quando qualche cosa terribile o pericolosa, i capelli me si rizzano"; et lo che segue.\textsuperscript{100}
\end{verbatim}

Veridico consequently sidesteps the issue by stating that natural talent, a faculty or gift for acting, embodies this technique: "Ma queste cose in vero malagevolmente insegnar si possono, e sono al tutto impossibili da impararsi, se da la natura non si apprendono."\textsuperscript{101} He is confident, however, that the effects of this "art" are extraordinary, and he describes his response to the performances of actors Montefalco, Veratto da Ferrara, Zoppino da Mantova, Clivio, Zoppino da Gazzolo, and a young Roman actress Flaminia:
Ma credo che gli antichi vedessero, né si possa fra moderni veder meglio; perché infatti ella è tale su per la scena, che non par già a gli uditori di veder rappresentare cosa concertata né finta, ma sì bene di veder succedere cosa vera et improvisamente occorsa.\(^{102}\)

Flaminia’s talent is unique and her playing rare, and she embodies qualities which Veridico considers ideal in a performer: talent or a natural disposition for the work, and solid skills and technique where nature falls short.\(^{103}\)

The actor’s work proceeds in three phases: private study and preparation, rehearsal, and performance. Veridico maintains that, in rehearsal, it is useful to have the author of the play present as guide ["guidatore’], since he may be able to illuminate unclear or hidden aspects of the text to the actors.\(^{104}\) During this phase, the actors are required to be in performance mode, or what Veridico describes as "awake and cheerful". Just as the poet has to keep the listener attentive with his verisimilar and artful subject and with the words chosen, full of spirit and well put together, the actor must refrain from reciting coldly, without passion and with insufficient power. In order to avoid this defect, it is necessary for the actors to accustom themselves to what Veridico describes as "vivacity", in all of the rehearsals. An actor that is "alert" throughout rehearsals invites creative inspiration in performance; however, an unprepared "cold" actor invites potential public embarrassment with an awkward unrefined performance, which, Veridico cautions, stands to bore the spectator.\(^{105}\)
Being wholly present as an actor, in rehearsal and in performance, presupposes an awareness and conscious use of body language, and this is of utmost importance in comedy, which, De Sommi reiterates, is composed of actions (the "body") and words (the "soul"). According to Veridico, it is not by chance that the efficacy of movement and gesture is greater than that of words in revealing and refining a character on stage, and he substantiates his argument by referring to the increasing popularity of pantomime, or "mute comedies", which make themselves understood with actions alone and make the show so pleasing.\textsuperscript{106}

As a general rule, in order to achieve "corporeal eloquence" in performance, the actor must maintain an agile, flexible body that is loose and never stiff or awkward. He must pay attention to his stance and carriage, to the use of his arms and hands, and to the movement of his head, which must not appear to be attached to the neck of the actor with nails. He must assume natural body positions on stage and move only when occasion demands it. In other words, movements of the body must always be motivated by the dramatic circumstances of the particular moment in the play, since extraneous movement and gestures are unattractive and distracting.\textsuperscript{107}

Veridico instructs the actor to avoid moving and speaking at the same time and to maintain a stillness of body in those moments where appropriate gestures cannot be found to correspond to the emotions being evoked by the dramatic circumstances.
Veridico cautions the actor against posing artificially, which he considers to be the principal danger and by-product of rhetorical training. For example, if the character adopts the habit of placing the hand on the hip, or on a sword, the actor must ensure that the hands do not remain always in these positions. When the dialogue that requires such an action is finished, the actor must remove the hands and find another gesture more proper to the words that follow.¹⁰⁸

The actor must avoid stiffening his body like a statue when delivering soliloquies or when engaged with another actor in a scene. When reciting a lengthy speech, Veridico advises the actor to gently shift his body weight from one leg to another while leaving the arms hanging in an easy and natural manner and allowing the arms and hands to go where nature leads them, without holding them lifted, or folded in a knot, as if they were attached to the body with pegs.¹⁰⁹

Gestural behaviour, Veridico observes, must always correspond to the character’s given dramatic circumstances, and the actor will achieve verisimilar body language by observing, interpreting and incorporating life-like details into his characterization. Choices in deportment and demeanour should be specific and may be enhanced by the actor’s use and handling of stage properties and costume accessories, as in the case of the miser who fondles his purse or the servant who tears his handkerchief with his teeth out of grief. As we are told in Dialogue One, Veridico designs his own costumes. We can only
speculate on the contribution De Sommi's actors may have made to the selection of such details. However, Veridico's concern with all the fundamental choices made by the actor, designer or director when crafting a character is "sweet deceit". Under no circumstances must the spectator recognize the actor behind the persona. Excellence in acting can consequently be measured by the extent the actor convinces both the director and the spectator that they are witnessing real characters engaged in a real series of events.\textsuperscript{110}

How to Costume a Show

Veridico's instructions on costume design emphasize external beauty - lavish designs, sumptuous materials and evocative colours. Their function is to create visual splendour for the audience and reveal individual characterizations while adhering to conventions of propriety and verisimilitude. According to Veridico, the interpretation and design of costumes are conditioned by the literary text in the form of secondary directions by the poet. However, the extent to which the director-designer can work creatively within these "limitations" is the measure of individual industry and imagination. For example, if the poet introduces a deity or other extraordinary personage in a pastoral, or perhaps a witch or a rough peasant,
then it is necessary that the director dress these figures according to the indications of the author. However, if the poet does not provide concrete directions or if he simply describes the character as a young shepherdess, then the director may dress the actor in a standard nymph design, changing it from more lavish to less so and accessorizing as he wishes.  

As a rule, Veridico’s taste in costume design is aristocratic, and his instructions are conservative, in contrast to the realistic bias of his instructions on acting. His pastoral vision, which represents the ruling class in a beautiful light, is ideologically charged, and his emphasis on class differentiation mirrors the dress code of the sixteenth century - social rank made visible. However De Sommi breaks new ground in this area of production - his designs for shepherds and wood-nymphs become standard models for the pastoral genre, and his overall instructions to the designer are characterized by an understanding that costumes are revelatory of character. Costumes may appear to be as fashionably elegant as street clothing, but they are essentially, and purposely, designed and constructed in order to be worn by actors on stage. The design should transform rather than transfigure the actor, and the character who is being portrayed must always eclipse the identity of the individual actor.

Finally, as we are told in Dialogues One and Two, costume design in itself is a highly skilled craft, and the director must call upon the expertise of exceptional artisans, since costumes
that are poorly conceived or constructed can detract from the overall aesthetic beauty of the stage picture.

Veridico instructs the director to dismiss Pollux's rules of dress on the grounds that they are too restrictive and little known or appreciated by the modern spectator. The director must strive always to dress the actors in sumptuous and elegant costumes because they increase greatly the reputation and charm of comedy as well as tragedy. Veridico's servants are dressed as elegantly as their masters, and class distinction is revealed by the degree of lavishness in the design of the individual costume. For example, if a servant is dressed in velvet or coloured satin then the director must ensure that the costume of the master is distinguished by the addition of embroidery or fancy ornaments such as buttons, jewellery or beading. Veridico frowns upon dressing characters in wretched, threadbare skirts and doublets that are torn or ragged, even in the case of costumes for characters such as servants, misers or parasites, on the grounds that they would compromise the visual splendour of the mise en scène.

According to Veridico, the director must make every effort to dress the actors as differently from one another as possible, since variation assists the actor in particularizing the character he is portraying and, at the same time, serves as a visible code for the spectator engaged in clarifying the plot of the play. This is particularly important in comedies and pastorals with double plots and large casts of characters.
Differentiation between characters in a complex comedy, for example, might be achieved through attention to detail in the cut and colour of the costumes and in the use of accessories (and Veridico is particularly fond of the use of hats with variously cut and coloured feathers to particularize and distinguish individual characters). Four servants might be distinguished by the colour and style of their livery – one in white with a hat, one in red with a little cap on his head, the other in a uniform of all different colours, and the other in a velvet cap and a pair of knitted gloves. Two lovers might be dressed in similar colours or textures yet be differentiated by the length and style of their clothing – one with a cloak, the other with an overcoat, one with feathers in his cap, and the other with gold and without feathers, and so on.¹⁷

With respect to the colour of the costumes, Veridico advises the director to select his colours and fabrics judiciously, since he believes that colour creates and effects the mood of the actor as well as that of the spectator viewing the play. Veridico favours a variety of primary, bold and bright colours, and he cautions against the use of black or very dark colours, particularly in the staging of comedy, since he believes they evoke a sombre mood.¹⁸ The director or designer’s choice of colour in dressing characters must also compliment the thematic intentions of the play itself. A joyful comedy, for example, necessitates a vivid interpretation by the actor as well as the designer. The designer would use bright colours and crisp
fabrics, and the actor would compliment this visual vivacity with an energetic delivery of the text and an expressive use of movement and gestures.

With respect to genre, the director may introduce exotic designs far removed from custom in the representation of comedy because it adds charm and novelty to the mise en scène, which pleases the modern spectator, who delights in viewing things strange and out of the ordinary. Veridico maintains that exotica also enhances verisimilitude, on the grounds that theatrical situations involving foreign or unrecognizable persons are, invariably, more probable than the formulaic dramatic situations of popular comedy. The comedy that Veridico is directing in Quattro dialoghi is in fact a classic comedy, which he has chosen to set in Constantinople, in order to introduce clothes not in common use, which he hopes will add not a little charm to the show."

In the treatment of tragedy, Veridico maintains that the director must be extremely diligent, never dressing the actors in the modern style, but in the elegant fashions seen in antique sculpture and paintings. Since tragedy deals with exalted figures such as kings and noblemen, the actors must be dressed in fabrics and colours that are elegant and luxurious, and that correspond to the rank and the station of the characters. Veridico states his preference for tragedies that feature large casts of characters with gladiators, soldiers and squads of armed men, since this permits the director to introduce a variety of
splendid accessories and weapons, which, he maintains, are always a most beautiful sight.\textsuperscript{120}

When Santino comments on the expense associated with dressing such an array of characters with fine fabrics and exotic accessories, Veridico observes that means need not deter a clever and imaginative director from creating beautiful designs, since no wardrobe of a prince or patron is so ill-stocked that every great tragedy could not get the clothes it requires. The director is instructed to borrow clothing that can be restyled for the production of the play and to make use of brocade and tassels from draperies and other household linens to create elegant as well as unusual accessories, in imitation of the ancients, without cutting or spoiling them in any way.\textsuperscript{121}

Veridico’s general guidelines for costume design in comedy and tragedy apply equally to the pastoral — the designs must be subordinate to the secondary directions provided by the poet, the characters must be dressed as differently from one another as possible in order to provide scenic contrast, and the final choices in the design of costumes are made by the director and are determinable only through actual experimentation in rehearsals under working lights and against scenic perspectives. Veridico creates a standard design for both shepherds and wood-nymphs which he then particularizes for each character through the use of colour, cut and accessories.

Shepherds are uniformly dressed in a sleeveless tunic of a pleasant colour covered with two leopard or other skins. The
legs and arms are covered with flesh-coloured cloth except in the case of actors that are young and handsome who may leave their limbs bare. They wear either socks or cothurni and are never allowed to appear on stage with bare feet. Differentiation in a chorus of shepherds might be revealed by the colour of the tunic, the type of skins or the way that the skins are placed on, or off, the shoulder or secured at the waist, and so forth. Shepherds generally carry a small flask, or wooden bowl, attached at the waist, and others have a pouch slung over the shoulder. Each shepherd carries a walking stick, and each stick is particularized - some are evenly cut and sanded and others are ornamented with leaves or flowers. Differentiation between shepherds is also achieved by contrasting hair styles and wigs, make-up and finally, and perhaps most significantly, by the actor himself, that is, his carriage, body language, and employment of the stage properties assigned to his character.122

Nymphs, once the director has observed their requisites as described by the author, are uniformly dressed in sleeved blouses that are variously decorated with ribbons of coloured silk, buttons or pieces of jewellery. Veridico advises having the blouses well-starched before the sewing on of these colourful details, so that the buttons and jewels will literally stand out and glitter evocatively in the lights, creating an attractive visual feast for the audience. Sashed skirts that vary in colour and fabric are worn to ankle length, feet are clad in elegant gold slippers in the antique style (sandals) or in boots of
coloured leather, and a cloak knotted at one shoulder completes the dress proper. Nymphs are uniformly fair-haired, in the Petrarchan tradition, with long thick tresses that flow freely and naturally over the shoulders, and Veridico provides specially designed wigs for the actors to create this effect. Differentiation between nymphs on stage is achieved by the use and placement of coloured garlands and ribbons in the hair, flowing veils and stage properties such as hunting spears, and bows and arrows.  

Veridico concludes this discussion by observing that his costume designs for shepherds and nymphs are meant to serve as simple guides for the designer-director, and he cautions the director against imposing his blueprint on other characters that appear in the play. If the author introduces a peasant, for example, then the actor must be dressed in crude and rustic clothing rather than in the tunic and animal skins characteristic of the shepherd’s costume. If the play requires a shepherdess, the director may dress the actor in the manner in which the nymphs are dressed, changing the costume from more lavish to less so and adding a walking stick. If animals are used on stage, and Veridico favours the use of real dogs and other animals in his mise en scène, they too must be suitably dressed. He advises the use of elegant collars and pretty coverlets that coordinate, presumably, with the colours of the costume of the particular shepherd who leads the animal assigned to him on and off stage.
As a general rule, excellence in this area of design presupposes the spectacular. Beautifully designed and expertly constructed costumes provide a visual feast for the spectator viewing the play and, along with the other elements of the mise en scène (literary, visual and kinetic), they serve one end - to contribute to harmony of impression in production:

dico che, sì come nella lor testura le si ricerca il verso, così bisogna che chi li veste o essercita, facci accompagnare le presenza et i movimenti di chi vi recita alla gravità che con li versi li avrà dato il poeta.¹²⁵

How to Set a Stage

The following discussion on how to set a stage takes place in Veridico’s theatre, where Veridico and courtiers Santino and Massimiano are waiting for the lamps to be lit in order to view the perspective scenery, a fact which, to a certain extent, explains why this section is brief and less comprehensive than Veridico’s instructions on the other aspects of theatrical production. His emphasis throughout this section is on the visual appeal of the modern perspective scenery and on the problems associated with recreating the splendour of antiquity in modern stage design.

As Veridico’s scenery gradually comes into view, Massimiano observes:

veramente gran forza ha quest’arte della pittura, quand’ella
In response, Veridico makes a comparison between the arts of the actor and the scenic painter. According to Veridico, both the painter and the actor tell a story in space, the painter through the use of colour and canvas, and actor through his body and spirit or "vivacity". Both have a power at their command to make fiction seem real:

*Questa forza istessa avrà il perfetto comico che quantunque sappiamo che egli ci recita una favola, se sarà diligente nel rappresentarla, ci parrà un successo veracissimo.*

De Sommi's ideal director makes interconnections between phenomena in the theatre. He understands that the actor’s interpretation of a character, costumes, sets and lighting are inter-related to the demands of the text, and that rhetorical action (acting) and diction (text) are connected to line (architecture) and colour (painting). Thus performance is a clash of inter-related languages, a veritable feast for the senses. However one language must not overshadow the other, as in the case of Veridico’s actor and painter, who possess a similar power and whose effects are balanced and complimentary. Veridico is aware that harmony in production presupposes that all parts of the *mise en scène* are separate but of equal significance to the integrity of the whole.

According to Santino, the painting and architecture of Veridico’s scene is marvellous, and he maintains that he has
never seen one so beautiful, not in Naples, Rome, Florence or Milan. Veridico maintains that he is not an expert in either architecture or painting, and observes that the visual appeal of modern perspective scenery is the new preoccupation of sixteenth century designers and painters. With respect to the various types of modern settings, Veridico maintains that it would be impossible to provide enough examples, since the manner and style of painters are different, and the models by which one may construct scenes infinite. The stage houses and street squares may be treated in a variety of styles, and may be embellished with elaborate arches, columns and statues, imitating the architectural features of a particular city. However, he emphasizes that the models and style must always coincide with the demands of the text ["seconda che ricerca la favola"] and be treated in context of performance.¹²

As a general rule, just as costumes must always be elegant and sumptuous, stage settings must also be designed in the most beautiful styles possible. According to Veridico, modern settings are shadows of those of antiquity, and the reason for this is that, in antiquity, representation was held in great esteem and was placed among the principal and most important matters of civil life. Veridico cites Virgil’s Aeneid and a poem by Ercole Bentivoglio to illustrate what he describes as a perfectly beautiful scene:

Marco Scauro cittadin romano
Sí bel teatro fece, e bella scena,
Che fu di vetro, e fu parte di marmo,
E che di tante alte colonne ornolla
Del marmo di Locullo, e che vi pose
Sì belle statue di scultori egregi.
E che si legge ancor che Caio Antonio
Ne fece una d'argento, e d'oro un'altra
Petreio, e Quinto Catulo d'avorio.
E fece Curion que' due teatri
Che si volgean con si mirabil arte
Che compiuto facean l'amfiteatro.\(^{130}\)

Veridico's modern monoscenic stage, Serlian perspectives of tragic, comic and rustic scenes,\(^{131}\) embodies the classicist ideal; however, Veridico's imitation is figurative and not literal in nature. The stage itself, made of wood and stucco, is temporary and is set up in courtyards or ducal halls, as occasion demands, and is torn down after the performance. Veridico observes that, once in a while, a magnificent setting is created in modern times, and he describes the scene for the play performed in honour of the marriage of Duke Guglielmo to Eleonora of Austria in 1561. According to Veridico, this setting, embellished with marvellous architecture, stupendous sculptures and other elegant features, cost thousands of ducats yet, as a temporary structure, was destroyed immediately after the performance.\(^{132}\)

Veridico's discussion is cut short by Santino, who observes that there are so many lamps lit that the beautiful scene is beginning to make itself visible, at which point Veridico turns to a discussion of lighting the scene. It is noteworthy that underlying Veridico's general discussion of theatre design (as well as his discussion of theory of drama) is a vision of
permanence in the theatre. While De Sommi makes no direct allusions to this in the dialogues, it is interesting that in 1567, one year after the Quattro dialoghi were completed, he petitioned the Duke of Mantua for a license to establish a permanent theatre company in which spectators would be charged entry and actors would be paid a stipend. There is no evidence that this license was granted. However, had the Duke approved De Sommi’s project, Mantua would have had the first modern public theatre with a resident company of professional players."

Lighting

Veridico’s instructions on lighting are based on the established Serlian principle that light simultaneously illuminates (by hanging lights over the scene) and decorates (through the use of coloured reflectors). His instructions are distinguished by a series of innovations in lighting technique: strategic placement of candles to illuminate the actors as well as the scenery, shades to conceal lighting sources, reduced and invisible lights in the house and behind the audience to intensify the light on the stage, practical suggestions to avoid the common by-product of sixteenth century illumination, that is smoke, and psychological considerations in the placement and use of lights.
Veridico illuminates the stage picture from above the stage, using the sources of lighting available in the sixteenth century: torches, tallow candles, oil lamps and candelabra, either standing or fixed. According to Veridico, lights on the roofs of the houses on stage are employed to create gladness and joy ["letizea e gioia"], since, in his view, comedies came along to give pleasure through delight and relief from troublesome thoughts. This convention is also associated with the festival culture of the Italian Renaissance, in which fireworks and lighting were often the central attraction of the festivities. Bonfires and torches were secured on top of towers and rooftops to simulate "gioia" with the first appearance of the unveiled scene.134

According to Veridico, the simple use of light in the theatre can have an impressive emotional effect on the attending audience. As Gosta Bergman observes in Lighting in the Theatre, light itself was literally worshipped throughout the sixteenth century, and there was a significant contrast between feast lighting and lighting in everyday situations.135 The general public was used to comparatively dim lighting, from a twentieth century point of view, both in and out of doors. Indoors, the frame of reference was the light from an oil lamp or tallow candle, and outdoors, there was no such thing as public illumination. Wealthy citizens could maintain servants, who would lead the way through the streets at night time with torches. However, most people, necessarily adjusted to these
conditions, would be forced to find their way through the darkness.

Veridico incorporates the mood of gladness and joy created by the simple presence of light in the theatre into his representation of tragedies, since, thematically, all plays of this genre begin in a state of harmony, or light, and move towards darkness. Furthermore, Veridico observes, it would never be out of order to awaken the soul as much as possible to gladness, even though in tragedies some ruin or death may follow.136

Veridico instructs the director to underscore the structural movement of tragedy with a corresponding visual play of light, in order to induce specific emotional effects in the spectator. Veridico describes the production of a tragedy which he directed, in which this technique, an interplay of sound (words) and lights, proved most effective. Veridico explains that he had the stage brightly lit during the opening episode, to awaken the soul of the spectator to gladness, a mood sustained until the first unhappy incident of the drama, which is the unexpected death of a queen. This unhappy turn of events is revealed by the Chorus, who laments that the sun itself could not bear to see such ill, and so it too 'darkened'. Veridico directed the scene to have most of the stage lights, which were not used to light the perspectives proper, extinguished at this precise line in the text, a mood-inducing technique which, he claims, proved effective in creating a profound impression of horror (catharsis)
among the spectators and won universal praise for Veridico’s direction.¹³⁷

Veridico advocates the use of Serlio’s bozze, or transparent and coloured glass frames, to cover all visible sources of decorative light. This technique minimizes the brilliant light striking directly upon the eye of the spectator, who must keep his eyes fixed on the stage picture. While coloured glass produces evocative visual effects, softening and diffusing the light that it filters, the primary purpose of using bozze, Veridico observes, is to maximize the comfort of the audience focusing on the stage picture.¹³⁸

Veridico codifies the use of invisible and concealed lighting sources with strategically placed reflectors or small mirrors. The mirrors reflect the concealed lights which Veridico places behind the columns and between the decor frames of the setting. The reflectors serve to impart texture and subtle depth in the decor, enhancing the visual beauty of the mise en scène and creating an atmosphere on stage which corresponds to the spirit of the play being represented. Reflectors have the added advantages of minimizing the irritating effect of direct light on the eyes of the spectator, and, Veridico observes, they produce no smoke visible to the audience.¹³⁹

Veridico provides a cautionary note regarding the principal hazard associated with the use of sixteenth-century lighting equipment: smoke from the oil lamps and candles on and off stage and in the house. Both sources of lighting are effective in
creating an atmosphere of soft, perpetually moving light flickering on the backcloths. However, the drawback is that candles and lamps produce an abundance of smoke, which forces the actors to move downstage, and this, in turn, can shatter the stage illusion. Furthermore, the toxicity of the smoke varies with the quality of the wax and wick employed. In the sixteenth century, wax candles from beeswax, usually white or yellow, produced the most constant light. This was the preferred choice in court and the method most likely used by De Sommi. However, beeswax candles were expensive; tallow candles, made from vegetable or animal fat, were less expensive but produced more smoke. Veridico’s solution for this potential hazard is to circulate the air out of the theatre through a number of vents in the ceiling behind the proscenium and on the floor of the stage. Veridico observes, with some severity, that this is a technical matter of some importance in the successful presentation of a play, a matter to which, as far as he is concerned, few of his contemporaries pay sufficient attention. He cautions the director to take adequate pains to ventilate the stage before the actual performance begins, in order to prevent the appearance of a screen of smoke suspended in mid-air, which will make actors appear like ghosts rather than men and which can "blind" the spectators.

In lighting the auditorium Veridico uses only twelve standing lamps (candelabra) at the far end of the auditorium, a converted ducal hall which, according to Santino, is generally
lit with 250 torches. This unusual and innovative use and arrangement of the house lights reveals De Sommi’s advanced knowledge of optics, a science which was relatively young prior to the 1800s. Veridico explains that his reason for this extraordinary lighting arrangement is that a person standing in shadow will see a distant illuminated object more clearly than if he stands in light himself: "...perché la vista va piú unita all’obietto, senza vagare, o, secondo il parere d’i peripatetici, l’obietto si viene piú unitamente ad appresentare a l’occhio."\(^{142}\) By placing only a few lamps in the auditorium, and rendering the stage as bright as possible, Veridico differentiates between the acting area, the stage proper and the viewing area, the auditorium, and effectively introduces the darkened auditorium of modern theatre practice. Ingegneri advocated this principle twenty years later; however, according to Bergman, the fully darkened auditorium appeared in Italian opera houses towards the end of the seventeenth century.\(^{143}\) Elsewhere in Europe the use of lamps and candles persisted until the coming of gas in the nineteenth century. It is notable that Veridico places the lamps behind the spectator rather than at the front of the stage, as was customary during this period. This placement renders the lighting source invisible to the audience and has the advantage of creating less smoke. Small vents would be placed in the ceiling to prevent clouding the spectator’s vision; furthermore, Veridico observes, the Duke would save 50 ducats.\(^{144}\)
Pastoral drama is uniformly set in Arcadia, an idyllic, artificial universe, inhabited by nymphs, shepherds, satyrs, gods and demi-gods and other allegorical figures. As a genre, the pastoral is structurally complex, generally in five acts with double plots, interwoven with lyric poetry, music, dance and song. Thematically, it is romantic, sentimental and consciously mannered in tone and style. Throughout the Renaissance, the pastoral was performed either indoors in temporary Court theatres or outdoors in a bucolic garden. Tasso’s production of *Aminta* in 1573, which is in part an allegorical praise of the Estensi dynasty of Ferrara, was performed on Belvedere Island in the Po River by the Gelosi Company. Most scholars agree that the vogue for the pastoral emerged with this environmental production of Tasso’s *Aminta* and reached its high point with the 1598 production of *Pastor fido*. In *Quattro dialoghi*, De Sommi codifies a design and directorial approach in staging the pastoral that becomes standard practice in the representation of this genre.

Veridico’s pastoral setting, an elaboration on Serlio’s rustic scene, is an elegant three-dimensional picture, consciously stylized to exhibit beauty before the viewers when the stage picture is discovered ["scoperto"]. It is characterized by a neo-classical placement on stage of the various theatrical elements, rustic decor and costumes, and by
the careful placement of lamps and reflectors to decorate and evoke mood.

Veridico considers the beginning of a performance (in all genres) to be the most critical moment of a production, since the spectator must be left virtually breathless by the loveliness of the first impression. Veridico creates a mood of suspense and anticipation for this moment by masking the stage picture with a front curtain. Veridico’s audience would probably be restless and animated by the period of waiting generally associated with sixteenth century theatrical production. This impatience is humorously revealed at the beginning of Dialogue Four when Massimiano, Santino and Veridico are forced to wait for the lamps to be lit so that they might view the perspective painting. When the lamps are finally lit and the actors are in their places back stage, a musical cue of trumpets and flutes calls attention to the audience that the show is about to begin, and serves as a cue for the technicians back stage to lower the curtain into the pit. Veridico’s pastoral, summer-time setting is a dense "joyful" landscape of actual foliage, flowers, trees full of fruit, and live birds perched in tree branches that sing songs which are intended to arouse feelings of joy in the spectator. The fore-stage, adorned to represent a flowery field, is the principal acting area for the actors. In the distance, mountains, valleys, cottages and caves are painted in conformity with the laws of perspective.

Veridico states his preference for the use of real animals
on stage, such as rabbits and other small creatures, that wander in and out of the setting from time to time. Veridico does not indicate how this appearance of the animals on stage is executed in performance, but it is likely that a crew-member would be assigned to direct the animals into position. In the case of the singing birds, they were probably placed in the setting by De Sommi or his scenic artists prior to the lowering of the curtain. The challenge associated with the use of real animals in the *mise en scène* would be felt, no doubt, when moving the creatures off the stage at strategic moments of the drama. As we know from Veridico's instructions on costumes, shepherds and nymphs were often assigned dogs as stage companions, and we may assume that each shepherd would be responsible for leading his animal off stage when necessary. In the case of hares or birds it is likely that these creatures would, respectively, scurry off stage or fly out of the *mise en scène* at their own will, unexpected occurrences which presuppose a number of challenges for the director in the successful realization of this genre.

De Sommi identifies two areas of potential difficulty for the director in the staging of pastorals, intermezzi and extraordinary prologues: the scope of the *mise en scène*, veritable three-dimensional landscapes, and, secondly, the suitable integration of the prologue and interludes which, by their novelty, easily distract the mind of the spectator away from the plot of the drama. Veridico's instructions for the staging of these complex theatrical forms allies with his overall
directorial approach, which we have encountered in his previous instructions - strict adherence by the director to the secondary directions of the poet, a concession by the company of actors as well as artisans to the judgement, skill and artistic vision of the director, and the fusion of all the languages of the stage to create and sustain harmony of production.

Discussing prologues and visible intermezzi, Veridico observes that extraordinary inventions that surpass the natural, or verisimilar, are not, as a rule, suitable for stage representation. The reason for this is that extraordinary inventions do not harmonize well with plays which deal with dramatic events that are probable, or that deal with "natural things".149

The prologue, Veridico cautions, must always have some bearing on either the plot of the play or the occasion of the theatrical performance, and he provides examples to illustrate this precept. An appropriate intermezzo for the coronation of a new head of state, for example, might depict a tale of a God who gains the rule of the heavens over his equally powerful brothers by a democratic drawing of lots. The Prologue-God of this intermezzo could then recite a stirring speech about good government, a subject matter which would parallel the actual state occasion. The birth of a new prince might inspire the poet to introduce Lucina, who, as goddess of light presiding over childbirth, could predict immortal glory for the newborn. If the play is to be performed at a wedding feast, the poet could
introduce Hymen, the God of fruitfulness, who would sing praises in what Veridico describes as the Greek tradition.\textsuperscript{150}

In the case of prologues relating directly to the plot of the play, Veridico provides two examples, based on productions recently presented in Mantua: a conversation between Comedy and Tragedy for a performance of a new tragi-comedy, and a dialogue between Fortune and Fame in the comedy \textit{La fortunata}.\textsuperscript{151} If the director has difficulty finding a prologue that has a direct connection to the play, Veridico advises him to introduce personifications and allegorical figures that relate, in some way, to the city in which the play takes place, to the patrons and legendary heroes of the city-state itself, or, to specific geographical landmarks such as a river that surrounds the city-state (as in the case of Alfeo, the River of Arcadia, in \textit{Pastor fido}). The possibilities are virtually infinite in creating these theatrical entertainments and, according to Veridico, there is no lack of appropriate subject matter for these forms except in the limited imagination of the poet-director.\textsuperscript{152}

Turning to visible \textit{intermedii}, Veridico observes that extraordinary inventions are unsuitable in the representation of comedy, because they distract the minds of the spectators with their novelty. When they return to the story, it seems less beautiful to them, and the comedy itself loses much of its reputation:

\begin{quote}
con la lor novità traviano la mente a lo spettatore, in modo che quando torna poi alla favola, le par men bella, perché, in vero molto avrà più forza di tirare a sé la mente nostra il veder (poniam caso) un Cadmo seminar i denti
\end{quote}
dell’ucciso serpente et nascerne uomini armati, overo un Perseo scendere con artificio volando, per diffendere una Andromeda, che non avrà il veder un servo con astuzia salvarsi da i pericoli che li soprastanno, o uno amante trovar modo di ridursi da solo a solo con l’amata sua donna.153

However certain "bizarre things" that do not distract the viewer from the play itself are, on occasion, permissible on the grounds that they provide pleasure for the spectator. De Sommi’s imaginative powers as a writer as well as a director are revealed in Veridico’s description of what he considers to be a "bizarre" musical interlude, which he created specifically for representation with a comedy. The interlude began with "eight or ten" artisans entering from different stage streets and singing in concert. As the actors moved into their positions on stage, each was made to identify his particular profession by playing an instrument which was concealed in the tools of his particular trade. A small lyre was hidden in a locksmith’s pan, a flute was found in the handle of a chimney-sweep’s broom, a violin was tucked away in a shoe mender’s pair of old boots, and a harpsichord was concealed in the basket of a pastry-cook. According to Veridico, this unusual interlude was pleasing, but it did not distract the spectator from the subject of the comedy that was being represented.154

As a rule, unnatural intermedii are entirely inappropriate for comedy. However, in tragedy as well as pastoral drama, extravagant and supernatural intermedii are permissible. The reason for this is that the dramatis personae in these genres
generally include characters such as ghosts, furies and extraordinary personages, and the modern spectator anticipates the fantastic in their representation. However, Veridico cautions the poet to treat the intermedii with decorum and to make sure that the subject matter always relates to the plot of the play in some way. For example, the poet could emphasize an impending tragic incident in a play with an appearance by the fates or furies of hell, which could be staged by the director in the form of a choreographed ballet or moresca. Like the "bizzarrerie" of comedy, interludes such as these make a pleasing and admirable show, without distracting the spectator from the established mood and subject-matter of the text.155

Massimiano's description of the intermedii, which he has seen presented in Mantua and Bologna, involving fancies such as moving rocks, flying eagles, and a giant carrying an extravagant globe out of which appear four dancing satyrs, illustrates the potential organizational and technical difficulties the director may encounter when choreographing this highly complex form. Veridico's advocacy of harmonious accompaniment of the intermedii to the theme of the play strikes Massimiano as a highly difficult task, for the director as well as the poet, and he requests a concrete, written example from Veridico to illustrate this precept.156

De Sommi brings Quattro dialoghi to a close with Veridico searching for the manuscript of this perfect pastoral, written in five acts, in which the intermedii are so appropriate to the text
that they seem to be almost one body ["un corpo istesso"]).\(^{157}\)

As Veridico searches for the manuscript, he describes the pastoral feast which followed the performance of this particular play, a vision which allied with Veridico's pastoral \textit{mise en scène} - a ducal hall was completely transformed into a rustic environment distinguished by classical columns and vaulted arches covered with actual foliage. Two \textit{logge} were ornamented with boughs strewn with fruit, both real and artificial. The room was illuminated with concealed lamps and coloured glass reflectors skilfully placed among the columns and foliage. Great water-filled globes, lit by overhanging chandeliers, were placed in each archway which gave the impression that each arch was lit naturally by a blazing sun.\(^{158}\) As soon as the play was over, the character of Orpheus, followed by a train of shepherds and nymphs, emerged from the \textit{mise en scène} and, in a few lines of verse to the harmonious accompaniment of a lyre, the characters escorted the audience to an adjoining hall for the pastoral feast, "la vista della quale all'improviso porse a tutti gratissimo stupore".\(^{159}\) "All'improviso" effectively articulates Veridico's chief criterion for excellence in the production of the pastoral genre - the element of surprise and wonder created for the audience by the magnificence of the stage impression. Massimiano himself is in fact "transported" by Veridico's narrative,\(^{160}\) a metaphor which, in turn, reveals the defining feature and task of the stage director: he is a storyteller who fashions words and images that transport the spectator
to pleasure and delight.

Veridico's pastoral mise en scène is, finally, in the Renaissance definition of the term, art, that is to say, sound principles skilfully placed in space. However his aesthetic plays with boundaries in the mannerist tradition. The pastoral feast which Veridico attended was artificial, but it was not unreal - a concept embodied in his account of the "art" that was employed in bringing the food to the table. Each dish was displayed alive and uncooked, Veridico recalls, but in an instant the "works of art" were magically transformed and finally consumed by a ravenous audience:

...prima che gli uccelli coti venissero, gli uccellatorini di vivi ne portavano, or con musiche et ora con versi et ora con parole sciolte accompagnandoli; et il medesimo, se di selvagine doveva imbandire lo scalco, varii cacciatori comparivano con corni strepitosi et carni, et di diversi maniere n'aduuvano, appresentando ad uno un capo di cinghiale, ad un altro una lepra, a questo un daino, et a quello un capriolo et così di tutti...così se di capretti, o di altri simili carni domestici venir doveva, compariva o un pastore o un villano a portarne de'vivi, appresentandone ora al signore, et ora a gl'invitati, con diversi motti et arguzie et subito de quelli sorti n'era imbandita la mensa.  

How to Organize Production

One of the difficulties in defining the director's task is that it is the nature of his work to promote the other artists in the theatre, including the actors, designers and writers; it is
virtually impossible to pinpoint when the director’s job actually ends and that of the other artists begins. The director’s absence, in effect, marks his success. This concept is understood fully by De Sommi, who, as a director, insists on creating and maintaining scenic illusion from the instant the curtain is dropped into the pit in act one through to the finale in act five. Veridico advocates a seamless aesthetic, that is every theatrical element of the mise en scène and each moment of the performance is of equal importance – lights and sound effects, entrances and exits, the beginning of the show, decor and costumes, the actors – how they speak the text, move stand, walk, and so on. Harmony of production is achieved by calculation: careful pre-planning and scrupulous organization embodied in a director’s workbook.

The type of workbook De Sommi has in mind is known to modern scholars and theatre practitioners as the director’s workbook or production plan, or in some cases as the director’s private notebook. Theatre historians, generally speaking, regard the director’s workbook as the most significant point of access to the directorial process and to the aesthetics of production. A number of seminal workbooks by pioneering directors are compiled in Directors on Directing (1953), a standard source book of the modern theatre, including Stanislavski’s Production Plan for the 1902 production of The Lower Depths at the Moscow Art Theatre, Brecht’s Notes for the 1949 production of Mother Courage in Berlin (compiled in 1949 and published in 1958), and the Private
Notebook Elia Kazan kept before and during rehearsals of the 1947 New York production of *A Streetcar Named Desire*. Now De Sommi advocated the use of a director's plan in 1566. This fact by itself shows that there was a critical shift in the art of the theatre at that time and in the status and function of the director.

In Part Three of *Quattro dialoghi* Veridico describes the director's plan or guide ["guida"] as a useful and necessary organizational tool of production and refers to the following constituent parts: property chart, costume plot, scene breakdown, character entrance, and cue line chart.¹⁶⁴

The property chart lists the stage properties required by each character in every scene as well as their locations back stage and gives directions for moving them off and on stage. Veridico emphasizes the importance of accurate and detailed notations for each character and every property and observes that a missing property may throw the show off: "...può in gran parte sconcertare lo spettacolo". In the English translation by Allardyce Nicoll this reads: "...to forget even some small article may put the players very much out."¹⁶⁵ The difference between players and show is significant. A missing stage property would throw an actor off and out of the action, and at the same time the rhythm of the entire scene, thereby shattering the illusion of the stage impression. Verisimilitude was the primary measure of excellence in production in this period and Veridico's pictorial stage presupposes detail. To shatter the
illusion with a missing stage property, a hurried entrance, an actor crossing from stage left to right rather than right to left presents potential problems for the sixteenth century director. Why move this property or actor at this moment and not the next? For dramatic effect. Scenic details reflect deliberate and premeditated choices on the part of the director who calculates an impression of realism via a perfection of artifice.\textsuperscript{166}

Veridico organizes and itemizes costumes for each character on a master costume list. Actors are generally assigned only one costume apiece; however, variations in colour, cut and accessories provide scenic contrast. The costume list serves to prevent confusion among the actors in identifying and locating their costume pieces and personal accessories before and during the performance. Veridico is aware that actors must be comfortable inhabiting their costumes well in advance of the final performance, and he makes provision for this by testing the costumes in technical rehearsals. When costumes are finally approved they are entered onto the master costume list, which will be referred to in subsequent rehearsals, leading up to the final performance.

The scene breakdown lists all the scenes of the play accompanied by a list of the characters that appear on stage in chronological playing order. The character entrance and cue line chart would indicate the place that the character enters from, Serlio’s house or street, the cue line which prompts the character’s entrance, and the first words or the line that each
character utters on his entrance. This detailed listing would help organize the actors backstage, in the wings and at the same time, it would facilitate smooth transitions between scenes. Furthermore, this tool of organization would prevent gaps, or empty moments, between scenes, which could interrupt the established momentum of the dramatic action.

Cues for lighting and special effects, also included in the director’s plan, would be tried and tested in technical rehearsals well in advance of the performance. Veridico’s concern is that nothing, not the smallest detail of lighting, costuming, make-up, decor, is left to chance. Every moment of the performance is deliberately calculated by the director to create and maintain scenic illusion.

From his description of the first rehearsal, we can determine that Veridico’s plan may have included his ideas with respect to the interpretation of the play and of specific roles. The first reading of the play by the company is followed by a discussion of the theme of the play and Veridico’s views on characterization, which suggests that the director walks into the rehearsal hall with a conception of some sort in mind.

In contemporary theatre practice the type of plan described by De Sommi is sometimes found in two forms: the promptbook, usually in the care of the stage manager, who records directions into the book and prompts when necessary, and the personal workbook, such as Elia Kazan’s notes for *A Streetcar Named Desire*, which were never intended for public perusal. Both the
promptbook and the personal workbook include the two phases of the director's work: the staging of the play during the rehearsal period and the director's private work of analysis and imagination before the rehearsal period begins. In De Sommi the kinds of materials we would find in both promptbook and workbook are not distinguished, but we know that together they form what he describes as a director's list or guide ["una lista", "guida"].

Historical precedents for the promptbook are found in the theatre of the Middle Ages, where the clerical master of ceremonies would supervise the execution of the passion-plays based on the directions in the promptbooks. The image of the medieval regisseur-conductor has survived in Jean Fouquet's miniature of "Mystère de Sainte-Apolline" (1460). Here the maître de jeu conducts the performance among the players from directions in the promptbook, with a conductor's baton in hand. In Hubert Cailleau's miniature of the stage director of Valenciennes (1547) and Jakob Ruf's "Von des Herren Weingarten" (1539), promptbook and conductor's baton figure prominently. In the extant "Livre de Conduite du régisseur" we find a thorough account of the organization and production of the 1501 "Mystère de la Passion" in Mons. This promptbook embodies the work of two conducteurs des secrets, however the whole town collaborated in this lavish eight-day, amateur production involving months of preparation and over three hundreded amateur actors. From sixteenth-century Italy, we have directorial notes in letter form
dated November 10, 1560, on the staging of comedy and on comic characterization by Alessandro Piccolomini, a theorist and playwright associated with the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena.

Extant written and pictorial evidence indicates that the medieval maître de jeu moved about the stage in full view of the audience using the promptbook as production guide. The promptbook represents, in part, a record of the performance. With De Sommi the régisseur is no longer in view of the audience, and this suggests that the role and function of the director has shifted dramatically.

In Quattro dialoghi we encounter an artistic leader and guide who wields considerable authority over cast and crew. He schedules, calls and conducts rehearsals with actors. He oversees designers and technical crew. He has the authority to conduct rehearsals in camera. Veridico's methodology posits an artistic hierarchy and strict adherence to a single point of view, a personal vision committed to paper and embodied in a workbook or director's plan.

The principal scholarly value of the workbook consists in the fact that it allows us to determine what an individual director chooses to emphasize, and the extent to which the entries reflect what took place in rehearsals and performance. There seem to be no surviving workbooks for any of De Sommi's productions, and we can only speculate the extent and depth of his preparatory work. However, based on existing documentation and
Quattro dialoghi, we can conclude that De Sommi was a master of pre-production planning and organization in all aspects of production from idea to realization.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the director’s function begins with the selection of play for representation and ends with the musical overture which begins the performance. If he is not the author of the play, Veridico’s ideal director is subordinate to the intent of the poet and the literary text. He has the ability to visualize, analyze and interpret the visible text—words, dramatic action and character objectives. He is able to demonstrate ideas not always expressed in the text, such as character intentions and gestural stage behaviour, but which are necessarily present in the invisible sub-text. And he has a grammar at his command to articulate both visible and invisible texts in concrete directions to actors, designers and technicians. From author’s soggetto to characterization and manner of costuming the director must be able to grasp, distil and physically express the poet’s idea in space. The poet provides "flesh", the actor "spirit" and the director transforms flesh and spirit into a unified organic whole, integrating all the arts at his disposal (sets, costumes, colour, lights,
movement) into "soul". De Sommi's director is thus soul-maker.

From page to stage this highly complex transformational process which differentiates performance from literary text implies a period of preparatory time, that is to say, a period of private analysis and reflection recorded in the director's workbook. The fact that the workbook is a written documentation is significant: to make sure all aspects of production have been covered and that nothing is left to chance, avoiding at all costs "the haphazard assembling of materials". As Pavis observes, the plan or mise en scène is thus an object of knowledge.171 One arrives at representation from vision to private analysis and imagination, rehearsal and finally to realization or performance which, with the audience present, completes the theatrical experience.

In Directors on Directing, absolute control and personal vision seem to be the criteria and defining features of the modern theatre director. His function includes: artistic unification, respecting and representing the playwright's intentions, representing the audience, guiding actors, technicians, designers, and organizing a working process in both production and pre-production phases of theatrical representation. If we accept this definition of the modern director, and there is no reason why we should not, then De Sommi is more than a forerunner or promise of a director, as most histories of the theatre and of the art of direction would lead us to believe. While working within a tradition of sixteenth
century rule-based classicism, De Sommi’s vision and methodology is situated outside the directorial practice inherited from the late Middle Ages: the realistic bias of his acting method, creating an illusion of character so that the audience does not recognize the actor; his intensive rehearsals; his psychological considerations in creating scenic mood through the use of colour and lights; his emphasis on the ensemble rather than the star-system; his artistic hierarchy, with the director as guide and autocrat; his advocacy of a directing method embodied in a workbook; and finally, the professionalism he brought to every aspect of theatrical production -- all these things reflect the ideas of a pioneer director whose work in the sixteenth century already has all the fundamental characteristics of the work of a modern professional.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Cole and Chinoy 22.

2. Cole and Chinoy 25.

3. The Introduction to *Quattro dialoghi* is dated 1556 but most De Sommi scholars, including D’Ancona and Marotti, believe the *Dialoghi* were composed, in part, about a decade later. Allardyce Nicoll in the introduction to his English translation of de Sommi’s *Dialogues on Stage Affairs* in *The Development of the Theatre* states: "...though they were begun in that year, they were certainly not completed until at least a decade later. The surest clues are the reference to Flaminia and to Leono Aretino. Flaminia made a great stir when she came to Mantua in 1567 and Leono Aretino’s work (sic) for Duke Gugliemo’s wedding was carried out in 1561. One might suggest that the composition of the original manuscript was undertaken about this time; it may be that the copyist’s date 1556 was put in error for 1565." (237).


5. In modern theatre practice, the dramaturge is the reader-
literary editor, often associated with a permanent theatre company, who is skilled in the technical aspects of play construction. He may also be responsible for selecting and arranging the repertoire as well as advising the director or playwright during the course of rehearsals. The dramaturge has been in existence since at least the eighteenth-century, as witnessed by Hamburg Dramaturgy by Gotthold E. Lessing. See Gotthold E. Lessing, Hamburg Dramaturgy, Trans. Helen Zimmern, Intro. by Victor Lange (New York: Dover, 1962).


8. De Sommi’s literary output, in both Hebrew and Italian, was substantial; however, most of his works were destroyed in a fire at the National Library of Turin in 1904. The collection consisted of sixteen manuscripts: four volumes of poetry, eleven of plays (six comedies, three pastorals, several intermezzi) and two volumes of poetry. Among the poetry were translations into ottava rima of forty-five Psalms accompanied by the original Hebrew. The extant
works include three comedies, *Tre Sorelle*, *Il Tamburo* and *Tsahoth B'dihutha d'Kiddushin* - the latter considered to be the first Hebrew drama; a pastoral, *Hirifile*; and *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche*.


11. *Quattro dialoghi* 31. "That together the whole is a well organized and unified body lacking neither pulse nor spirit." Blanchard-Rothmuller 85. Nicoll translates this passage as: "the whole taking shape as a well planned organism, unified by a dominant spirit." (248).


13. "Et a questo giova molte (come anche in molte altre parti e utile) lo avere per guida lo stesso autore de la favola." *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 46.


17. For discussion see M. T. Herrick, Italian Tragedy in the Renaissance (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1965), henceforth Herrick, Italian Tragedy. See also Angelo Ingegneri's discussion in my Chapter Two.


19. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 22. "many things delightful in the reading will be insipid when produced [represented]." Nicoll 244.


23. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 7. "is worthy of being treated more diligently and with more detailed attention, than anything written up to now by ancient or modern writers." Blanchard-Rothmuller 4-5.

24. Quattro dialoghi A' Lettori 7. "[I] have deemed it not a vain undertaking to gather together these discourses...not, however, with the thought of satisfying completely, but rather with the desire to urge others to supplement that in which I shall be insufficient." Blanchard-Rothmuller 5.

SANTINO. ... we shall begin by asking you about the way you would go about it, if you were (let us say) today required by our prince to put on a comedy for him.

VERIDICO. Do you presuppose that he might have given me one of his own choosing?

SANTINO. On the contrary, no; rather that he might have given you the task of choosing it, too. Blanchard-Rothmuller 124.


27. "dove si hanno a tassar i vizii per fuggirli, et ad approvar le virtù per imitarle." Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 12.


29. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 16. "that the spectator, knowing that the play has a basis in truth, will be moved more to terror and compassion in the terrible and exemplary results of it; and, being more greatly moved, he will purge his soul more of vices, drawing more profit from the examples, as if they were things considered true." Blanchard-Rothmuller 23-4.


34. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 23.

35. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 22. "because, it being the end of tragedies, as well as comedies, to not only be read in books, but to be performed on stage." (My translation).


37. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue One: 22. "this is something more than others believe...there are many things which will be beautiful to read, which, when they must be played, turn out to be insipid; and thus the contrary also holds true." Blanchard-Rothmuller 35.

38. De Sommi does not provide the dates or the place of this production.


40. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 47.

41. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 40.
42. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 41.


44. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue One: 19.


47. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 53.


50. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 53. "He who attempts one of these pastoral shows must be a real expert, for it is much more difficult to win success in them than in comedies." Nicoll 255.


52. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue One: 13-14. "I conceive it is established by divine ordinance. The sublime genius of the holy legislator Moses, the famous leader of the Jews, after he had written his five books of divine law as delivered to him by oracle - nay, from the lips of the Almighty God Himself - in 5550 verses, produced as is demonstrated in the literature of the Jews, the magnificent and philosophic tragedy of Job, introducing therein
just five human characters." Nicoll 241.


55. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Two: 28, 30-1.

56. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Two: 30.

57. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Two: 31-32. "just as man sees, hears, and understands through the senses located in the head, so the first act of comedy with its exposition, which we might style the demonstration of the argument, must present to the understanding and sight the principal bases of the plot. Similarly, just as the left hand, being the weakest, does not aid man much in defending him against dangers, unless he is able to employ his stronger right hand to realize his aims, so the intrigues and mischances which ought to be introduced in a well-planned comedy throughout the course of the second act, would result in utter disaster were it not that, quite naturally, the third act carried these affairs to a happier conclusion. And just as we should, in traversing the ways of this weary world, stumble into many of the pitfalls and precipitous dangers placed around us were it not for the firmness of our right feet which God has given us our say and support, so the disasters and threats which occur at the climax of the intrigue - or, rather, the epitasis of
the fourth act - might result in complete ruin for the characters and plunge our minds into hopeless gloom, if it were not that the fifth act, introducing catastrophe and peripeteia, brought everything to a fortunate conclusion." Nicoll 248.


59. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Two: 32. "even as the heart distributes its spirit to all its members, so the theme of the play should send its spirit into all the parts of the work, giving the impression that nothing is extraneous or without purpose any more than the body has been created in vain." (My translation).

60. Botuk 148.

61. Cole and Chinoy 29-36.


64. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 39.


69. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 50. "so that he may have them seem to be unknown persons, because when the spectator recognizes the actors, that sweet deceit in which we must hold him rises up in him a little, making him lieve, as much as possible, that every one of our plays is a true success." Blanchard-Rothmüller 141.

70. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 40.


73. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 46.


76. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 37.


78. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 59.

79. Brockett 429.

80. Chappuzeau in Brockett 230.

82. See my chapters on Ingegneri and *Il corago*.

83. See my chapter on Ingegneri.


85. "et simili cose che il poeta, nella testura della favola, non può esplicitamente insegnare...bisogna sempre che egli s’ingegni di variar gl’atti secondo la varietà delle occasioni, et imitare non solamente il personaggio che egli rappresenta, ma anco lo stato in che quel tale si mostra di essere in quell’ora." *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 41-2.

86. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 38, 50.


88. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 55. De Sommi’s principal concern here is audibility but he also observes that the actor must avoid moving too close to the scenic perspectives, since if he gets too close they lose their verisimilitude. Compare to the instructions in *Il corago*. 
89. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 40.


92. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 41. "the actor must attempt to give the spectator time to be able to understand easily the conceits of the poet and to relish his maxims." (My translation).

93. See Alfred S. Golding, Introduction to *Comedy of Betrothal* by Leone De Sommi (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1988) 44, henceforth Golding.


96. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 42. "I remember having seen actors who, upon hearing bad news, became suddenly pale in the face, as if some great evil had actually befallen them." Blanchard-Rothmuller 132.

97. Golding 41.


100. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 42. "The divine Plato, in his dialogue on poetic frenzy, has Ion say: 'every time that I recite something miserable, my eyes fill with tears; when I recite something terrifying or dangerous, my hair stands on end', and so on." Blanchard-Rothmuller 132.

101. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 42. "But these things, truly, can hardly be taught, and they are absolutely impossible to learn if you do not assimilate them by nature...one cannot give rules for this profession, because, really, it is necessary to be born into it." Blanchard-Rothmuller 132.

102. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 43-4. "I don’t believe that the ancients saw anything better, or that anything better could be seen among the moderns; because, in fact, she is such, up on the stage, that it really does not seem to the listeners that they are seeing anything rehearsed or fictitious, but rather that they are seeing something happen which is real and has come to pass extemporaneously. In such a way does she change her gestures, her voices and colours, according to the variety of circumstances, that she marvellously moves whoever is listening to her not less to wonder than to extreme pleasure." Blanchard-Rothmuller 133.

Sebastiano Clavignano da Montefalco performed in Ariosto’s *Cassaria* and *La Lena*, and in Giraldi Cinthio’s *Orbecche* (1541) and *Egle*
Cinthio described Montefalco as the Roscio of his day, claiming that he could laugh or cry at will onstage. G. B. Veratto of Ferrara was praised by his contemporaries for his portrayal of both ridiculous and serious roles. He performed in courts throughout Italy as well as France. He appeared in Ingegneri’s production of *Edipo tiranno* (1585), Beccari’s *Sacrificio* (1587) Argenti’s *Sfortunato* (1589). Accounts of his day describe his "natural ease", his "majestic and handsome face", and his "clear and sonorous voice". Torquato Tasso expressed his admiration for Veratto in the epitaph he wrote for him. Guarini named his defense of *Pastor fido* after Veratto. Very little is known of the actors Olivio of Mantua and Zoppino da Gazzolo. Zoppino da Mantova was Filippo Angeloni, a writer as well as an actor who was renowned for his portrayal of ridiculous roles. Very little is known of Flaminia. However, it seems that she performed in Mantua in 1567, and D’Ancona claims she may have led an acting troupe of her own. Flaminia was praised for her beauty, her dancing, and was considered to be a fine tragedian as well as pastoral nymph. For further discussion see D’Ancona’s *Origini* II: 413-15, 447-51.

103. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 46.


106. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 47.

120. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 50.


125. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 54. "I shall say that, just as verse is required in their compositions, thus is it necessary for whomever costumes or directs to have the presence and the movements of the players be in keeping with the gravity which the poet will given them [the poems] with his verses." Blanchard-Rothmuller 147.

126. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 59. "This art of scene painting [in perspective] really has a great effect, when it is well done; because while I stand here I am deceiving myself so much, that, even though I know that is only a flat canvas, it seems to me to be a street that runs on for half a mile." Blanchard-Rothmuller 169.

127. In Dialogue Three De Sommi allies poetry with painting with Horace's simile "ut pictura poesis". As Lee Rensselaer observes,
comparisons between the media had served as a testing, and battle, ground for various theories of imitation since the middle ages. In the Renaissance Horace's simile was seized by critics of painting and the terms poet and painter were practically interchangeable. For further discussion see Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967).

128. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 59. "The same effect must the perfect comic actor have, in that even though we know he is reciting fiction to us, if he is diligent in his performance, it will seem a very real event to us." Blanchard-Rothmuller 169.


130. Marcus Scauro, A Roman Citizen.

Made such a beautiful theatre and beautiful scene,
Which was of glass, and partly of marble;
And that [sic.] he decorated it with so many high columns

Of Locullan marble; and that he placed there
Such beautiful statues by egregious sculptors.
And that one may still read that Gaius Antonius
Made one of silver; and Petreius, another
Of gold; and Quintus Catullus, of ivory.
And Curio [the Curion?] made those two theatres
That revolved so miraculously
That they had the amphitheatre completed.
131. Sebastiano Serlio’s (1475-1554) description of comic, tragic and pastoral settings may be found in his Regole generali di architettura (1545). See Nagler Source Book 73-8. Serlio’s study of scenic design as well as of theatrical architecture was conceived as an elaboration on De Re Architectura by the Roman Vitruvius Pollio, discovered in 1414, and published in Latin in 1486, and in Italian in 1521. De Re Architectura dominated theatrical theory and practice in Renaissance Italy in much the same way that Aristotle and Horace dominated Renaissance poetics. Book Five of this treatise contains descriptions of three backgrounds, one each for comedy, tragedy and satyr plays, which Serlio codifies in 1545. See Ronald W. Vince Renaissance Theatre: A Historiographical Handbook (London, England and Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, 1984) 11-16.


134. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 63.


137. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 63-64.

138. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 64.

139. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 64.

140. Bergman 53-54.


142. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 65-66. "The reason being that the sight proceeds more directly and without any distraction towards this object, or, according to peripatetic theory, the object impinges itself more directly upon the eye." Nicoll 259.

143. Bergman 65.

144. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 66.

145. In "The Pastoral Play: Conflations of Country, Court and City," in Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento ed., M. De Pannizza-Lorch (Milano: Edizioni de Communità, 1980), L. George Clubb observes that the pastoral universe has no frame of reference in the real world, and that, as a genre, it owes its existence to the cultivation of drama at court. Theoretically it is the outward expression of Ducal power and magnificence rather than an Horatian mirror of life (66-8). The magical forest for this production was situated, literally, between a rustic, primitive world, the Po
River, and an artificial, civilized courtly world. For further
discussion see Douglas Radcliffe-Umstead, "Love in Tasso's
"Aminta": Reflections of the Este Court," in De Pannizza-Lorch.

146. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 66.

147. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Three: 54.

148. With respect to setting the pastoral at night-time, Veridico
observes that the setting requires expert care in perspective
painting and in the use and placement of the concealed lamps.

149. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 68.

150. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 68.

151. Quattro dialoghi, Dialogue Four p. 69. The prologues which De
Sommi describes appear to be from his own plays, Hirifile and La
Fortunata. See Marotti's introduction to Quattro dialoghi and
Botuk, who provides us with the first English language translation

152. "Delle invenzioni diverse et stravaganti credo io in vero che
ogni uomo di giudicio ne saprebbe trovar." Quattro dialoghi
Dialogue Four: 71.

153. Quattro dialoghi Dialogue Four: 69-70. "since by their
novelty they so distract the mind of the spectator that when he
turns again to the plot of the drama it seems to him less interesting, for truly we shall be more powerfully attracted by the spectacle (say) of a Cadmus sowing the teeth of the slain dragon...or of a Perseus ascending on his Pegasus to defend Andromeda, than when we watch a slave astutely disentangling himself from the dangers encompassing him or a lover planning a tete-a-tete with his adored one." Nicoll 261.

154. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 70.


156. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 71.


158. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 72.


160. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 73.

161. The Italian art historian Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) first coined the term *maniera* in reference to an effete and highly developed style now known as mannerism, which emerged in Italy in reaction to high renaissance art, and was later disseminated in northern Europe. Mannerism produced a bizarre and elegant style in which tension, juxtaposition of brilliant colour and virtuoso
displays of the artists' powers of invention were encouraged. Its stylistic importance waned with the emergence of counter-reformation doctrine. Further information on mannerism may be found in Milton Kirchmann *Mannerism and Imagination: a re-examination of 16th century Italian aesthetic* (Salzburg: Institut fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1988); M R Maniates *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture* (Chapel Hill: U of California P, 1979), henceforth Maniates.

162. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Four: 73-74. "before the birds course came, hawkers brought them in alive, accompanying them now with verses, now with doggerel rimes. Similarly before the meat was served a number of hunters appeared with sound of horn and hounds, and presented to one guest a boar's head, to another a hare, to this man a deer and to that a roe... when the time came for kids or other like domestic meat a shepherd or a peasant arrived to lead them in alive; he would then present them to the lord and to the guests with many witty remarks, and immediately the table would be served with these courses." Nicoll 262.


164. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 54.

165. *Quattro dialoghi* Dialogue Three: 54; Nicoll 256.
166. Massimo Ciavolella and Donald Beecher, Introduction to *Three Sisters* by Leone de’Sommi (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1993) 34.


169. The letter by Piccolomini (1508-1578) may be found in Daniele Seragnoli, "La struttura del personaggio e della <<fabula>> nel teatro del Cinquecento" *Il teatro italiano nel Rinascimento* eds. Fabrizio Cruciani and Daniele Seragnoli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987) 297-317.

170. See Figures 3 to 6 in Appendix.

CHAPTER TWO
ANGELO INGEGNERI

Introduction

On March 3, 1585, the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, the first permanent theatre in continental Europe built for the sole purpose of presenting classical works, was inaugurated with a performance of *Edipo tiranno*, a translation by Orsatto Giustiniani of Sophocles's *Oedipus The King*. Eye witness accounts describe the architectural splendour of the theatre designed by Andrea Palladio, the magnificent perspectives designed by Vincenzo Scamozzi, the elegant costumes by Giambattista Manganza, the lavishly dressed noblemen and noblewomen who had come to attend the performance, and the stirring effects of the tragedy directed by Angelo Ingegneri, an accomplished director in late Renaissance Italy, considered to be an expert in the staging of tragedy.

According to an account by Giacomo Dolfin, a viewer in the audience, the powerful impact of the lighting and other visual aspects of the production surpassed nature itself, and the initial impact of Ingegneri's *mise en scène*, once the curtain was dropped, was such that the audience "forgot" about the prolonged wait for the performance to begin. In the opinion of this particular eye witness, Ingegneri and the Accademia Olimpica,
which produced the spectacle, had succeeded in what they had set out to accomplish: to venerate the prodigious ideals of antiquity. The production of *Edipo tiranno* in Vicenza was the final result of five years of scrupulous planning and organization by the Accademia Olimpica, beginning with the application for a permit for the construction of the Olimpico itself in 1580, and the approval of Giustiniani’s translation of *Edipo tiranno* by the Academy’s text selection committee in late February 1583. The preparation and production of the tragedy, under the direction of Ingegneri, involved the cooperation of approximately two hundred people, including a cast of over one hundred professionals and dilettantes, the composer and musicians, the technical crew for rehearsals and the performance, the setting, lighting and costume designers, a number of tailors, wig-makers and cobblers. The production personnel also included six committees assigned to the following tasks: to suspend the stage curtain, to prepare the auditorium, to seek out housing for the performers, musicians and out-of-town guests, to guard the scena against curious visitors during the construction of the set and rehearsals, to bar masked persons seeking entry at the final performance, to guard the entrances during the performance, to usher guests to their seats, and, finally, to organize the inauguration ceremony and banquet which began at noon and continued until the performance at seven-thirty in the evening.

This collaborative undertaking took place under the strict supervision of Ingegneri, who made sure that everyone adhered to
his directorial plan, the Progetto for Edipo tiranno, the details of which, according to the transcripts of the Academy compiled in the Zigiotti manuscript, he had worked out between late February 1583 and early March 1584. The manuscript indicates that suggestions for casting the principal roles were put forth by various members of the Academy as early as March 1584, while the final selection took place in November 1584. The manuscript also suggests that the chorus and the supernumeraries were engaged and rehearsed separately, beginning in May 1584, and then integrated into the final rehearsals between November 1584 and the opening in March 1585. In other words, the production of Edipo tiranno was prepared over a period of one year, four months of which were devoted to rehearsals that included the entire cast.

In Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche, a two-part work written and first published in 1598, Ingegneri outlines his theory of drama and his directorial methodology using his production of Edipo tiranno to illustrate his ideas. Like Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazione sceniche by De Sommi, Della poesia rappresentativa is a manual of practical instruction for the professional theatre director. Ingegneri’s methodology, which includes advice on play-writing, analyzing the play-text, directing actors, creating effects by means of lighting, music and colour, designing settings and costumes, blocking the stage action, directing supernumeraries and organizing production, is
In Part One, *Discorso*, Ingegneri outlines a series of rules on the composition of plays which derive from his study of the classical doctrines of Horace, Aristotle, Sophocles, Terence, Plautus, Seneca, the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintillian, as well as his own observations in the study and practice of theatre. As a modern practitioner, Ingegneri is concerned with the practical application of the rules to performance. Drama, in his opinion, is theoretical until it is transposed into actions, emotions and images before an audience on stage; consequently the literary and performance aspects of the play-text cannot be separated. Ingegneri advocates adherence to sound dramaturgical principles but argues that they, in and of themselves, have little to do with the ultimate value of the work if the audience is bored or distracted, and if the other collaborative artists are unable to transpose the written text into a performance. Thus the play-text, in Ingegneri’s view, functions like a musical score in that it is the tension between the poet’s notes, the rules of composition, and the expertise and imagination of the various collaborative artists that determines how its potential is realized in performance.

In Part Two, *Trattato*, Ingegneri formalizes the art of direction by distinguishing between the two phases of directorial practice: preparation and production. In phase one, the preparation, Ingegneri advocates the anatomical distillation of the literary text as a way of extracting from the written words
the implicit raw materials of performance. Every text, in his view, has its own thematic and structural integrity, and its own visible and invisible parameters; it is the task of the director to extract this complexity from the literary text in order to liberate the figurative or representational. In phase two, production, the director, in collaboration with the other artists in the theatre, synthesizes the raw materials into action and emotion, line and colour, voice and gesture, and sound and rhythm, which in their totality (on the stage), give shape and form to a specific and harmonized universe. The essence of the work, the soul of the play, resides in the fusion of the disparate languages of the stage in the presence of an audience. In Ingegneri’s view representation is a series of negotiations between artists beginning with the poet who fashions thoughts and words in a form which best conveys his particular vision of life and which is written specifically for the other collaborative artists in the theatre. His conception of the relation of the director to his collaborators and to the text is similar to that of the modern-day conductor to his orchestra and the score, as enunciated by Edward Gordon Craig in *The Art of the Theatre*. As the figure with a strategic view of the whole, the director-conductor has the responsibility of realizing the most compelling interpretation possible of the play-score entrusted to him.

Ingegneri was a director, producer, literary theorist, poet, playwright and a lighting expert. He was commissioned to organize theatre festivals and direct productions at various courts.
throughout Italy, in Ferrara, Parma, Rome, Urbino, Turin and Vicenza. His views in *Della poesia rappresentativa* are the fruit of over twenty years of study and practical experience in the art of the theatre. The bibliography on Ingegneri and on *Della poesia rappresentativa* is extensive, however most of the scholarly material emphasizes Ingegneri’s theory of drama in the context of the literary debates of sixteenth-century Italy. The production of *Edipo tiranno* is cited by most theatre scholars as a landmark in the history of European theatre, and an English translation of an eye-witness account of the performance appears in Nagler’s *A Sourcebook in Theatrical History*, however, the emphasis in most scholarly studies is generally on the Teatro Olimpico itself, in light of the advances in the scenography and architecture that it represents, rather than on Ingegneri’s *mise en scène*.

The most comprehensive study of the production of *Edipo tiranno* is *La Rappresentazione d’Edipo Tiranno au Teatro Olimpico* by Leo Schrade published in 1960. This study includes Giustiniani’s translation of Sophocles’s text along with the musical score for the four choral odes composed by Andrea Gabrieli. An invaluable miscellany of materials on the production was compiled in 1973 by Alberto Gallo in *La prima rappresentazione al Teatro Olimpico*. This work includes Ingegneri’s *Progetto*, eye-witness accounts and critiques of the production, a number of letters pertaining to the pre-production phase of the performance, and four introductory commentaries to
the material. However there are no translations into English of this material except for the account by Pigafetta in Nagler’s *Source Book*.

Several scholars, in their introductions to his theory of drama, refer to Ingegneri as a director, a producer, or an organizer of theatrical festivities, but there has been no extensive examination of *Della poesia rappresentativa* from the point of view of the art of direction, and there are no translations of the treatise into English. The *Progetto*, that is to say Ingegneri’s plan of action for *Edipo tiranno*, does not appear in histories of the theatre or studies of the art of direction, yet the significance of this document to scholars of the theatre cannot be underestimated. The *Progetto* represents the first known workbook, in letter form, that outlines a director’s analysis and interpretation of a play-text which served as the working model for the production phase of a theatrical representation. Ingegneri’s views on the art of directing and on theatrical practice in general elaborated on in *Della poesia rappresentativa* derive, in part, from this document written two years before the performance in Vicenza.

In this chapter I shall examine *Della poesia rappresentativa* with reference to Ingegneri’s *mise en scène* for *Edipo tiranno* and illustrate that his theory and methodology are not significantly different from accepted notions of what constitutes modern directorial practice. The existence of the *Progetto* alone, which served as the conceptual basis for the production of *Edipo*
tiranno, suggests that Ingegneri’s methodology has more in common with modern directorial practice than with the supervisory function of the régisseur of the Middle Ages. As a work on the art of direction, Della poesia rappresentativa is distinguished by a number of innovations, including a sophisticated theory of textual analysis and a three-part schema that represents the performance design by means of a discussion of the set, the scenic action, and the music. His advice to poet, director, designer, and actor is specific and his terminology is practical.

In the Trattato, for example, Ingegneri advises the director to approach the text in various stages of reading, directed at identifying the whole, the "given circumstances", and the "small parts", so as to deduce from them the intentions of the poet while activating his own imagination. In his view the story of the play, beginning with the remote circumstances of the tale and the personal histories of the principal characters, will determine the emotional make-up, behaviour and actions of the characters in the virtual time on stage. Thus the director’s grasp of the story as an imaginative whole is decisive. In his discussion of Edipo tiranno, Ingegneri speaks of character motivations, objectives, obstacles and the emotional lines of action of individual characters - a grammar that is generally associated with modern directorial practice. Ingegneri claims that it is the task of the director to instruct the actor to place himself in the given circumstances of the play and to follow the line of the role beginning with the inciting incidents
that propel him on stage in act one and including the circumstances that act on the character between acts. In this way, by following the sequential logic of the emotional life of the characters, the audience will be convinced of the truth of what is unfolding on stage.

In Ingegneri's view, every image, act and utterance on stage has a decisive meaning, and the audience must be made to understand that meaning by means of the particular language employed by the respective artist: the emotions and gestures of the actor, the colours and textures employed by the costume designer, the line, colour and depth employed by the scenic painter, and the pitch and register employed by the singer-musician. In his advice to the actor, for example, Ingegneri cautions against affectation, superfluous movements of the body and inappropriate inflections of the voice since they will distract the audience from the subject matter as well as the line of the individual role. Furthermore, at strategic moments in the action, the gaze of the eyes or a subtle gesture with the hands can, in Ingegneri's view, be far more expressive and meaningful to the spectator than vocal blustering or rhetorical posturing. Similarly, the director must see to it that the visual and auditory images created by the designers and musicians are rendered meaningful to the eyes and ears of the spectator.

In Ingegneri's view, the director is the guardian of the whole stage impression. His principal task is to extract the thought of the poet, articulate it in concrete terms to the
actors and other collaborators, and reveal it in an appropriate theatrical form. Ingegneri advances the notion of the preparation of the director by means of an operative plan of action (that includes an "anatomy" of the text) which will enable the director to approach the production with concrete ideas that can be explored and applied in rehearsal. With respect to the distillation and transformation of the (primary and secondary) written text into a performance text, Ingegneri advises the director to begin by conceptualizing the "place" where the action will unfold in relation to the essential spirit of the drama which the poet wishes to convey. The reason for this is that the first impression (or palette) conceived by the director will determine his subsequent choices in colour and depth, lines and configurations, and tone and pitch. In Ingegneri’s view the centrepiece of this atmospheric "place" is the actor whose expression in its entirety, a harmony of voice and movement, constitutes the efficacy of the performance. According to Ingegneri, the theatre ultimately concedes to the actor. In Trattato he advises the director to position the lighting apparatus on the stage in such a way so that the faces of the actors are well lit; this represents a radical shift in the history of lighting in the theatre as well as in the conception of the actor on stage.\textsuperscript{12}

Ingegneri’s understanding of representation presupposes that performance is a fusion of words and gestures (azione), line and colour (apparato), and music and rhythm (musica). These
disparate languages constitute the signifying system of the theatre; it is the responsibility of the director to acquaint himself with these diverse modes of communication in order to give the most appropriate form to the performance. Similarly, the poet must envision his story with these languages in mind since play-writing constitutes one part of representation. In Ingegneri’s view the play-text is neither poetry nor novella but an independent form meant for performance. The writer will consequently benefit by familiarizing himself with the various languages of performance and by exposing himself to the totality of production problems in order to determine what can and cannot be achieved on stage. For example in the composition of soliloquies, the writer must consider the work of the actor, since reading and delivering a drawn-out speech require a different use of the breath and vocal apparatus.13 When incorporating an echo into the scene, Ingegneri advises the writer to consider the dimensions and acoustical peculiarities of the performance space, the specific placement of the echo in the setting, and the lapse of time between the phrase and response by the echo in order that the actors, designer and the director can best facilitate the desired results.14

The representative feature of Ingegneri’s treatise which, in my view, positions him in the ranks of modern directors and directorial practice (and distinguishes Della poesia rappresentativa from other treatises of the late Renaissance) is his irrefutable "presence" as a director in the theatre. Maria
Luisa Doglio makes this observation in her introduction to the critical edition of *Della poesia rappresentativa*. She notes the significance of the treatise in its illustration of significant developments in sixteenth century theatrical practice and as a record of the transitional elements of style between mannerism and Baroque. In his *mise en scène* for *Edipo tiranno*, Ingegneri reveals a stylistic combination of imagination and audacity with his play of colour, lights, mood, scent and images in space. The production has all the elements of *formalismo academico* yet its operatic style and scope strains the boundaries of classicism. Ingegneri consciously juxtaposes classical symmetry with baroque heroics, which is the essence of mannerism—contradiction and juxtaposition playing havoc with the unity it desires. Ingegneri’s treatment of *Edipo tiranno* and his methodology as set down in *Della poesia rappresentativa* suggests that the art of directing is not a science of reasoning per se, but that it is dictated by poetic logic that presupposes an intuitive as well as an inferential mode of thinking, and that derives from the disposition and genius of the individual director. While Ingegneri does not use these terms, which I have borrowed from José Arguelles and Richard Hornby, it is clear that his ideal director requires theoretical as well as practical knowledge of the languages of performance and of the materials at his disposal. He also needs a method with which to fashion these materials so as to transform imagination into concrete reality. He must possess *ingegno* and the confidence to position himself at
the apex of the creative hierarchy in service to the poet and to the tastes and expectations of the audience of his day.

In *Edipo tiranno* we see this ideal figure in action. Ingegneri’s plan of action serves as the conceptual basis for the other collaborators under his strict supervision. His *mise en scene* is an harmonized universe that synthesizes the languages of performance in service to the poet’s intended effects. His departures from the rules of classicism and his stylistic elaborations are intended to create an affective impression that invokes meaning for the exclusive audience of late Renaissance Vicenza. According to Pigafetta, Ingegneri’s treatment succeeded in this regard: one would hope that this “exquisitely performed [tragedy] should produce its effects and eradicate the afflictions with which most part of this our most courteous, courageous, and ingenious city is befallen.”

Ingegneri’s commanding presence as a director in *Della poesia rappresentativa* is literal as well as figurative; throughout the treatise he muses confidently in the first rather than the third person. In *Quattro Dialoghi*, Ingegneri’s predecessor De Sommi, speaks through Veridico and his directions are literally "marginalized", that is to say, written in the margins. With Ingegneri there are no such distinctions in the text and no sublimation of his ego. In the *Discorso* he delights in taking to task critics who challenge his views on speculative grounds, and chastising playwrights for debasing their craft with misguided conceit. He cautions the comic actor against
vulgarizing his art with buffoonery, and bemoans ill-conceived notions of scenic effects and the flagrant disregard for standards of excellence in representation by practitioners content with creating momentary effects rather than lasting, affective stage impressions.¹⁹

The figure of director that emerges from Della poesia rappresentativa, and from the various extant accounts of the production of Edipo tiranno, is one of a visionary who is aware of his own ingegno and who deliberately intends to advance this relatively new and independent function in the theatre - the art of the director.

The impulse to formalize directorial practice, which begins with De Sommi, reflects the growing recognition of this function in the theatre throughout the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods. This occurs alongside the establishment of professional theatre companies, the developments in scenography, the emergence of pastoral and musical drama, and the theoretical shift in literary criticism from drama as literature to drama as performance and reception. At the heart of this performative phenomenon emerges the director, a professional functionary who, in the case of De Sommi and Ingegneri, possess an histrionic sensibility coupled with theoretical and practical knowledge of the diverse arts of the theatre.

However, until figures like Ingegneri and De Sommi began to document their ideas, the art of direction was not acknowledged, and this gave rise to the tendency to refer to this figure as a
producer, a supervisor, or as an organizer of theatrical entertainments. Furthermore, until the *Poetica d’Aristotele vulgarizzara et sposta* (1570)²⁰ by Castelvetro, an insignificant number of theorists treated the poetics of representation and, in most treatises of the period, there was a conspicuous absence of a vocabulary with which to discuss the art of directing in the abstract. Unlike literary criticism the art of directing did not inherit rules from classical and medieval authors. The treatises of De Sommi and Ingegneri are invaluable to students and scholars of the theatre because they introduce an operative vocabulary and a point of reference for the art of directing in the theatre.

As we have seen in the first chapter, throughout the Renaissance, the playwright would generally supervise the production and this was standard practice until De Sommi.²¹ Ingegneri’s understanding of the art of direction is revolutionary in that he challenges the accepted (classical) conception of the poet as the ideal director. In his view, directing in the theatre is an art in itself with an exclusive vocabulary distinguished from the rules and grammar of the poet. Moreover, Ingegneri positions the director at the helm of the theatrical activity. In his view the director brings a strategic perspective to the interpretation of the play-text since his responsibility is to the theatrical experience as a whole. Thus Ingegneri’s ideal director is distinguished as an auteur of the theatre, in the manner of a visionary such as Gordon Craig, whose breadth of knowledge and experience in the various arts of the
theatre and whose uncompromising standards of excellence in theatrical representation, as well as his self-understanding as an artist, are effectively articulated by the force of his "presence" and the integrity of his unique vision.
PART ONE: Della poesia rappresentativa discorso

Preliminary discussion

In Discorso, Part One of Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche, Ingegneri cautions the poet against leaving the stage empty between scenes and acts. There were no such divisions in the works of classical antiquity such as Oedipus the King, which Ingegneri considers to be the model of excellence in dramatic writing and in which a logical flow of events is maintained from one episode to another which does not interrupt the rhythm of the action as a whole. In Ingegneri’s view, dramatic continuity on stage is a function of the text, which enables the director to achieve a seamless execution of the action. Ingegneri reminds the poet of the significance of this principle and observes that the director must not be burdened with the task of filling in literal or figurative gaps in the action during rehearsals on his behalf.

With this cautionary note Ingegneri effectively distinguishes between the functions of the poet and that of the director. In his view the director has the most challenging task in the production of a dramatic work, since he must translate the literary text into a performance, a process which requires a sophisticated knowledge of play construction and dramatic theory, as well as practical knowledge of the diverse languages of the
stage. Ingegneri suggests, by his numerous references throughout Della poesia rappresentativa to productions of his day, that the poet as well as the director will enhance his development as an artist by attending as many performances and by reading as many dramatic texts as possible, in order to understand better the concept of performance from a directorial point of view.

Thus the first function of the director, when commissioned to direct a production, is to assess the merits of the literary text from the point of view of its performance potential. From this principle Ingegneri derives what he considers to be the most important rule for the practising poet, which is that he must envision his story in space before putting pen to paper:

"Converrebbe adunque che il poeta, il quale si da a fare alcuna opera dramatica primieramente si figurasse dinnanzi agli occhi la scena." The writer must focus his mind’s eye on the scene, which he must visualize in terms of physical setting, entrances, exits, performers, language that is appropriate to the characters and to the subject, and dialogue that is verisimilar. By imagining the scene beforehand, irregularities in form or meaning can be corrected before the rehearsal phase of theatrical production. In Ingegneri’s view, the poet is accountable for each syllable in the literary text and the director for its corresponding utterance, act or image on the stage.

Like his predecessor De Sommi, Ingegneri tends to rein in the parameters of play construction with a proviso for the imagination of the poet and the practical problems associated
with performance. Ingegneri’s rules of composition are flexible, provided that improvements to the rules do not compromise the integrity of the poet’s vision or that they enhance the pleasure and comfort of the spectator, which Ingegneri considers to be a necessary end of dramatic art. While Ingegneri has a high regard for the rules of the ancient masters, in his view, precept and performance are co-dependent. In this he diverges from Aristotle who distinguishes between internal and external parts and assumes that music, diction and spectacle can be separated from plot, character and thought. In the opinion of Ingegneri, spectacle is not a mere addition but is intrinsic to the text. Furthermore, just as customs and manners evolve and transform over the course of time, so do the rules for the practising dramatist. Ingegneri observes that the poets of antiquity experimented with forms and styles of composition, and this is confirmed by Aristotle himself. Similarly, writers of the new age must be encouraged, in the name of progress, to experiment with innovative literary styles and forms. While he makes no direct reference to the debate over Guarini’s *Pastor fido* in this discussion, Ingegneri is endorsing the development of pastoral tragi-comedy, and, in the case of Cinthio, of tragedy with a happy ending.

Ingegneri’s position in the Renaissance debate over the theory of genre corresponds to that of Guarini and other modern practitioners who claim that, as entertainment, the pastoral is superior to both tragedy and comedy. In *Della poesia*
he claims that, in performance, comedy has been reduced to distasteful farce on account of mercenary actors ["istrioni mercenari"] who perform their roles for cheap comic effects. In the case of tragedy, it offers a melancholy spectacle but does not delight. There are few suitable texts in this genre from a performance point of view and most ancient models are both impractical and expensive to produce. Thus the superiority of the pastoral which, in Ingegneri’s view, functions as an intermediary between the solemn grandeur of tragedy and the sensual pleasure derived from comedy ["mezzane fra l’una e l’altra"]. He observes that the pastoral, with its sweet verse and gentle maxims, is a superb tapestry ["superba tapezzaria"] of elegance, utility and delight that is gratifying to both the eyes and intellect: "it is entertainment for every season, every gender, and just as a beautiful day begins with a sunrise and that sunrise is indicative of the day to come," the pastoral embodies a new tradition, which reflects the natural and necessary progression of the manners and customs of a cultured society.

Ingegneri views the pastoral as a highly complex literary form and observes that only a handful of modern poets have achieved proficiency in this genre. Modern writers are indebted to Tasso who established the genre with Aminta (1573), a play which, in Ingegneri’s view, successfully recaptures the glory and grandeur of the theatre of antiquity by integrating the classical rules with sixteenth century taste and conventions. According to
Ingegneri, the originality of Tasso and his chief contribution to the modern poet rests in his conception and use of language: Tasso's poetry is elgiac and lyrical and the arrangement and the progression of the action is very musical in construction; his dialogue and speeches are composed in a style which implies text declamation and which is intended to produce specific emotional effects in the spectator in performance.

Generally speaking, according to Herrick's study of Italian tragedy in the Renaissance, the conception of language was problematic for sixteenth century dramatists working in the tragic and pastoral genres, since the ancient models, which dictated the use of verse and an elevated style of writing, had to be reconciled with the accepted doctrine of verisimilitude. Tragedies of the early sixteenth century were usually composed in rhyme, while the "learned comedies" (comedie erudite) were usually in prose. In Sofonisba, Trissino introduced unrhymed blank verse, or versi sciolti, which freed the form from terza and ottava rima. By mid-century, unrhymed Italian verse began to appear in both tragedy and comedy. The formal pattern of versification set by Trissino and Cinthio, allowed for unrhymed verse for dialogue, rhymed verse for choral odes and the optional use of rhymed verse in set speeches that were intended to produce specific dramatic-emotional effects. In Aminta Tasso follows this pattern, using unrhymed verse for the dialogue and lyric measures in the choral odes. 27

Most tragic poets of the Renaissance employed verse and the
high style according to the rules of Horace, Aristotle and Cicero. However, Cinthio employed verse in both comedy and tragedy, and writers such as Dolce, a follower of Cinthio, retained verse in tragedy but experimented with both verse and prose in comedy. In Canace, an imitation of Cinthio’s Orbecche, Speroni introduced modifications in the choice and use of verse forms (employing seven-syllable lines in combination with five and eleven-syllable lines, which were intended to stir emotional responses from the listener) that departed from the accepted scheme espoused by Trissino and Cinthio.  

According to Ingegneri, Canace is a noteworthy model (along with Orbecche and Sofonisba) for modern poets experimenting with new forms and styles of composition. He observes that the acute intelligence of Speroni pointed the way for Tasso, who in turn inspired Guarini to experiment with form, style and subject matter, thereby stabilizing the genre. In Ingegneri’s view Pastor fido is the final result of the evolution of staged poetry in the sixteenth century.

A Cautionary Note on Style

Ingegneri prefaces his rules for the composition of plays with a discussion on the elements of style derived from his study and observation of contemporary drama and performance. In his
view, the poet who blindly imitates the ornate versification of model plays such as *Aminta* for the sole purpose of intoxicating the audience with conceits will produce an inferior composition lacking merit as well as substance.

Ingegneri illustrates the potential dangers of this offensive practice by comparing the poet to the gallant knight who wins praise for his surface qualities (appearance, wit and conceit) but who, on close inspection, lacks art and invention. He regrets that the flamboyant poet-knight stands to gain much in the way of adulation from his admirers, and observes that whether the knight wins or loses the tourney he is sure to gain sympathy, especially from the female spectators, intoxicated by his ostentatious manner and by the sweetness of his verse ["quella smisurata dolcezza delle parole"].

Ingegneri cautions the poet to refrain from this literary abuse because it debases rather than dignifies the art of play-writing as well as theatre practice in general, that is to say, the ability of the intoxicated spectator to distinguish between art and contrivance is sorely compromised. Furthermore, the poet fails to develop his talent, and the director, on close examination of the play-text that he is commissioned to direct, will be faced with a literary concoction that is virtually unstageable. Thus the poet must be circumspect in undertaking the composition of a play, since excellence in play-writing is achieved by building on a solid foundation of industry and artistry. To further emphasize this principle, Ingegneri
compares stylistic flamboyance with flaunting wealth and the construction of a play with that of a palace: onlookers may envy the display on sight, Ingegneri warns, but if the play-palace is built without concrete underlying principles it will eventually crumble, leaving the inhabitants destitute and grief-stricken."

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of the literary abuses of style by declaring that his principles of dramatic writing derive from his study and practical experience in the various arts of the theatre in combination with the rules inherited from the ancient masters. He takes exception to the charges of certain cognoscenti that his dramaturgical principles are presumptuous, on the grounds that they deviate from the ancient rules and that they are difficult to realize. Ingegneri regards his 'deviations' as improvements to the rules that reflect the natural and necessary evolution of conventions and practices. While he has a high regard for the inherited practices of the masters of antiquity, treating the ancient rules as infallible doctrine is, in Ingegneri's view, a grave error. He dismisses the ruling that his principles are impractical by maintaining that his dramaturgy is based on study, intelligence and practical experience, and by inviting his critics to disprove his knowledge and expertise in the context of performance since, in his view, drama and rules are theoretical until they are tested before an audience on stage. Ingegneri concedes to the charge that his rules of composition are of exacting standards but he views this as an advantage rather than as a shortcoming, and in a comparison
between the playwright and the tailor he advises the poet who is incapable of "cutting the cloth" with his rules, so to speak, to reconsider his literacy pursuits.32

The Rules of Composition

According to Ingegneri the title is the first part of the play that the poet must consider when composing a dramatic poem. Just as the first unit of a series eventually becomes part of the whole, so too does the title function as a member of the entire work. Thus the poet must see to it that the title corresponds to the subject of the dramatic action, otherwise it will deform the meaning of the play and contaminate the beauty and integrity of the whole. It is interesting to compare this precept with the views of de Sommi in Quattro dialoghi. While de Sommi does not treat titles specifically, he compares a well constructed play with the perfectly formed human figure and claims that all parts of the literal-figurative body must be fitting from an aesthetic as well as from a functional point of view. This conception corresponds to Ingegneri's (formalist) preoccupation with proportion, symmetry and harmony of production in every aspect of theatrical representation. In his view, the title, or the first unit ("la prima unità")33 of the dramatic composition, functions as an external sign of internal logic and harmony.
With regard to the choice and use of speech, Ingegneri advises the poet to match the language of the characters with the locale where the action is to take place. For example, a play in Italian would be better served if it were placed in Tuscany rather than Arcadia or Cyprus since this constitutes verisimiglianza. In the case of comedies and pastorals, this rule is not inflexible; however, in tragedies, where the stories are based on actual occurrences, Ingegneri advises the poet to exercise caution in the choice of the language spoken.

Ingegneri expresses admiration for stories in Latin which are skilfully transposed into the vernacular. The ancient models of tragedy and comedy available to Renaissance dramatists until mid-century were generally in Latin or Greek, and the difficulties associated with translating texts from one language to another became a principal concern of humanist scholars and practitioners. In his introduction to Edipo tiranno, Giustiniani addresses this problem in light of his attempt to reconcile the lingua volgare with the elegant verse of Sophocles's text. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, humanist scholars had little access to the Greek texts of antiquity. Consequently, Seneca emerged as the principal model for tragedy, and, according to Herrick's study of the development of tragedy in Italy, he appealed to the humanists in part because he wrote in Latin, which was the formal language of education throughout the Medieval and Renaissance periods.

The first recorded Italian tragedy in Italy, Eccerinus by
Mussatto (1315), was written in Latin rhymed verse and this was standard practice until Trissino’s Sofonisba (1515), which was written in unrhymed Italian verse and adhered to the Greek model. The texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides became available in Greek in the early sixteenth century and by mid-century a number of Italian translations and adaptations of these plays began to appear. According to Herrick, the number and variety of translations of Sophocles’ Oedipus the King is indicative of the general progression of tragedy in the sixteenth century. The most significant include Italian translations by Pazzi (1536), Segni (1549) and Dolce (1650), and an interpretation, based on both Sophocles and Seneca, by dell’Anguillara (1556).\(^{25}\)

In the first half of the sixteenth century Dolce’s Thyestes and Cinthio’s Orbecche were the accepted Senecan models for Italian tragedy, but by the late Renaissance Oedipus the King dominates the genre. This shift can be attributed to the dissemination of The Poetics, to the status conferred on Sophocles by Aristotle, to the number and variety of translations and adaptations of the text by Italian humanists, and finally, as Herrick observes, to the influence of Ingegneri’s production of Giustiniano’s Edipo tiranno in Vicenza in 1585.

Ingegneri’s conception of dramatic unity corresponds to the standard sixteenth century preoccupation with verisimilitude, whereby the pleasure of the audience is coincident with its belief in the approximate truth of the representation on stage. The unities emerge as parameters that serve to maintain this
belief. According to Ingegneri, the poet should see to it that the action unfolds within the space of a natural day, that is, of twenty-four hours, according to the doctrines of the (classical) "maestri dell’arte". In addition, it would be admirable on the part of the poet if the action could occur within the same time, and no more, in which it will be performed, that is, four or five hours. Not only would this perfect form assist the actors in performance, who must convince the spectators that the actions they are engaged in are probable and life-like, but it would create a powerful impression of scenic truth that would arouse the passions of the audience (which Ingegneri considers to be the necessary end of dramatic poetry) as well as elicit considerable praise and glory for the skill of the poet and the perfection of his work. Ingegneri cites Oedipus the King by Sophocles and Enone by Ferrando Gonzaga as models of excellence in this regard.

Ingegneri advises the poet to employ no more than twelve principal characters in comedy, tragedy and the pastoral, and observes that each character must serve a specific and necessary dramatic function in the action. In his view, a large dramatis personae would necessitate multiple scenes and subplots which could lead to chaos and confusion in the representation of the work by disrupting the ease of execution from one episode to the next. Furthermore, multiple personages could create considerable confusion for the spectator, who must be able to remember the names of the individual characters, understand character
motivations, emotional-behavioural peculiarities as well as individual functions in the action, and, finally, must grasp the sequential logic and meaning of the scenic action as a whole."

With respect to the creation of characters for comedy, tragedy and the pastoral, assuming he respects the number of these characters employed as recommended above, Ingegneri encourages the poet to look to traditional historic sources for inspiration, however he makes provision for the creation of new models as long as they conform to the customs and manners of the country that is being represented. If the poet is specifically dealing with the tragic genre, which traditionally derives from historical events, Ingegneri advises him to remain faithful to the actual account of the events and the characters. However invented characters are permissible in tragedy, provided that these figures serve a secondary or supporting, rather than principal, function in the action. Moreover they must be verisimilar and serve to advance the plot in a manner that is essential to the dramatic action as a whole. Ingegneri considers it a grave error on the part of the poet to introduce fictional characters alongside those taken from historical accounts. His reason for this is that tragedy is traditionally associated with history in its treatment of character and subject, and that fiction belongs to comedy. He observes that by deviating from these conventions, tragedy becomes fiction and thereby loses its status in the genre."

With respect to the composition of the prologue in tragedy,
which serves as an introduction to the main action of the play, Ingegneri advises against the use of extraordinary personages or themes that are not suitably integrated in the subject of the main action. His reason for this is that such extraordinary irregularities tend to deform the integrity of the whole in the same manner as does a poorly conceived title.

Ingegneri considers the use of ghosts and infernal spirits in the prologue of the comedy and the pastoral, intended for the sole purpose of frightening children in the audience, to be in poor taste, and observes that these effects generally move the adults in the audience to derisive laughter rather than fear. Ingegneri is decidedly contemptuous of the frequent use of ghosts in modern plays. However, if an extraordinary personage in the prologue is necessary to the dramatic action as a whole, the poet is advised to bear in mind the practical problems associated with performance: the placement of the infernal creature on the stage, the treatment of its costume, movement, speech as well as other practical consideration which Ingegneri treats in depth in Part Two of Della poesia rappresentativa.

The first consideration the poet must take into account regarding the tale itself is the place where the action will unfold, and by this Ingegneri means the environment in its totality in the context of the essential spirit of the drama which the poet wishes to convey. In Ingegneri’s view, all parts of the play-text must be related organically to the whole which is unified and complete in itself. The poet must refrain from
employing either characters or objects (set pieces, entrances and exits, and so on) that do not serve a definitive purpose and function in the main action. Thus the on-stage environment created by the poet must be rooted in causality - the characters must relate to the action, the action to the physical setting, and the dialogue and language to the situation and characters. The place must be a logical rather than an arbitrary choice on the part of the poet. It must represent a specific environment where the action occurs out of necessity and probability, and where the characters appear and speak because of specific needs and intentions that must be fulfilled in this particular virtual time and space and no other.  

The poet must see to it that the characters of the drama are never made to enter the chosen place except for some purpose relevant to the realization of the on-stage events. To do otherwise would infringe on the conventions of decorum and verisimilitude and he cites Sophocles' use of the tragic chorus in *Edipo tiranno* to illustrate this principle. In this play the chorus of Elders, the representative citizens of Thebes, convene in the heart of city out of necessity and probability and their invocation in the first ode precipitates the appearance of Edipus in act two who subsequently curses the murderer and invokes the assistance of the citizens of Thebes to "save" Thebes by fulfilling his charge.

With regard to the choice of the specific site where the action takes place, be it in a piazza, court, street or some
indoor setting, the poet must take into account the individual characters and the nature of the action being represented. If the characters are conducting business which concerns the general populace of a specific city then a street or piazza would be a suitable setting. However if the characters of the drama would not be normally seen conducting their affairs outdoors then there is no reason to avoid indoor settings since this would constitute verisimiglianza.\textsuperscript{42}

Ingegneri distinguishes between tragedy, comedy and the pastoral with regard to the use and function of the chorus. In tragedy the chorus must be employed as an active participant in the dramatic action, in accordance with the received traditions of classical antiquity. The poet must refrain from using the tragic chorus as a musical diversion between one episode and the next that serves no purpose other than to distract the spectator from the main action of the drama. One of the principal functions of the tragic chorus is to make present the off-stage community alluded to in the text, and voice its emotional-pragmatic investment in the dramatic action that is unfolding in the virtual time and space on stage. Ingegneri observes that in tragic works where we see kings and great lords and principal characters whose affairs tend to deal with very serious matters that have grave political consequences, it does not seem fitting or life-like that the prince, on his appearance in public, should find the place deserted ["vuota"], since the stage stands for the larger place or the particular community being represented. Thus
it is the function of the chorus to fill up this representative physical-psychological void."

Ingegneri cites Horace who observes that one of the functions of the chorus is to allow the individual poet to express his voice and personal point of view in light of the action being represented. Ingegneri maintains that the principal role and function of the chorus is, nonetheless, not significantly different from the role and function of the other interlocutors of the drama in that they participate in the tragic action as a representative body with a collective investment in the decidedly serious affairs which this genre represents. In Edipo tiranno for example the chorus is made up of a group of distinguished elders whose concerns in the dramatic action reflect those of the citizens of Thebes and whose sympathies and allegiance to the king are firmly established in their first appearance. Ingegneri cites On the Art of Poetry by Horace to further clarify the role and function of the chorus:

Ille bonis faveatque et concilietur amice
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
Iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis.
Ille regat commissa, Deosque precetur, et oret
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis."

The function of the tragic chorus is also to reflect a sense of scenic reality. Ingegneri illustrates this concept by observing that when a city is up in confusion on account of some important event, it is probable that there would be considerable commotion and that people would gather en masse to witness this
event. For example, as illustrated in *Edipo tiranno*, it is logical that the appearance of the chorus at the end of the prologue is brought about by the calamity afflicting Thebes and the appearance of the prince. Furthermore it is appropriate that the chorus remain on stage from this point on in the dramatic action and speak in unison or intervene through the chorus leader. Ingegneri considers this appearance on the part of the chorus to be verisimilar on the grounds that it would seem improbable that events of such significance would take place without arousing the natural curiosity of the citizens, causing them to surround the heart of the city in order to discover what is taking place.45

In the case of comedy and pastoral, the incorporation of a chorus is unnecessary on the grounds that, unlike tragedy, these genres traditionally deal with the private matters of ordinary citizens and thus no formal *en masse* intervention is required. Furthermore the main action in these genres is generally confined to a particular street or clearing in the woods, neither of which would necessarily arouse the curiosity of an entire community.

With respect to pastoral drama, Ingegneri advises the poet to refrain from the practice, which he has observed among contemporary writers, of signifying the appearance of the chorus in the play-text with *coro* at the end of each act to indicate to the director that a musical composition is required in performance. In his view the poet would demonstrate greater skill by introducing the chorus in context, when the right
occasion emerges directly from the dramatic action. Such occasions may be a wedding, a dance, a game or a festivity of some sort. Naturally the poet must see to it that the established physical "place" on stage can accommodate such an occasion effortlessly and without hindering the logical flow of the dramatic action. In this way, by reconciling the occasion with the circumstances of the drama, the poet can maintain the presence of chorus as participants in the action during the entire performance. Ingegneri cautions the poet to refrain from assigning this choral function to the nymphs and shepherds. His reason for this is that these figures are generally associated with the frivolous songs of the intermedii and this overlap in role and function could cause considerable confusion among "dimwitted" spectators ("gl'idioti") who must be able to distinguish between the odes that derive from the action represented and those songs which are intended to simply delight and detract the viewer from the main action.

Finally in his conception of the chorus, the poet must adhere to principles of propriety and verisimilitude in light of the specific genre that he is working with and the poetic logic, or unity, of the dramatic work as a whole. For example it would be inappropriate for a chorus of grave and dignified elders to burst into a frivolous bagatelle; similarly a chorus of nymphs would not constitute appropriate witnesses of tragic events in the classical sense. Furthermore the poet must ensure that the subject matter of the intermedii and choral interludes is
distinguished from or integrated with the dramatic action as a whole, and this will enable the "ignorant" audience ("personi ignorantii") to follow the line of the dramatic action with considerable ease."

Ingegneri states his preference for the integration of musical intermedii in both comedy and pastoral on the grounds that they are a delightful and pleasing addition to the spectacle. However in the tragic genre intermedii must be strictly avoided, and he emphasizes that the musical odes of tragedy must be treated with propriety and verisimilitude with respect to both subject and character. His conception of the physical expression of the tragic odes (which he treats in depth in part two of Della poesia) reflects a preoccupation with emulating the ancient treatment as he understands it.

In the theatre of classical Greece, the large circular orchestra was the designated playing area for the chorus, who would sing its strophes while executing violently expressive dances accompanied by an aulos. However the actual choreography of these dances and the manner in which the music was integrated in performance, if it was continuous or if it alternated with recitation and musical embellishments, was virtually unknown to sixteenth century scholars and practitioners (a situation that has not changed significantly in the twentieth century)."" Ingegneri’s conception of the tragic odes in performance implies dance by suggesting that the music be accompanied by regulated gestures and motions,"" which (as he understands it and within
the confines of an indoor theatre) serve to illuminate aspects of
the narrative without hindering the sequential logic of the
theatrical action and which provoke an affective response from the
spectator analogous to the effects achieved by the ancient
poets.°

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of the chorus with a
reference to Aristophanes and his comic treatment of the chorus
in works such as The Birds and The Frogs and observes that,
according to Castelvetro, these fabulous figures do not
constitute a conventional chorus at all. In Ingegneri’s view the
classification of these characters is problematic; nonetheless
they cannot be dismissed, and his reason for this is that like
the comic choral figures seen in contemporary carnival
entertainments, who dance and sing to music, they embody all the
essential aspects of a classical chorus.°

In Ingegneri’s view the principal characters in the first
act of plays of all genres should never be made to enter the
stage more than once. The reason for this is that the first act
serves as a prologue, and its principal function is to establish
for the audience the physical locale, the psychological mood and
the chief players and events which are about to take place. He
claims that this practice, the sole appearance of the actors, can
produce good effects ["buonissimo effetto"]° which can serve to
the poet’s advantage. By this Ingegneri means that if the
presence of the actor is pleasing to the public it will arouse
the curiosity of the spectator, already weary of waiting for the
play to begin, as each new character and element of the story is introduced scene by scene. In this way the audience will look forward to the subsequent action in act two, which constitutes the beginning of the main action of the drama.

Ingegneri maintains that individual scenes or episodes should not contain more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty verses in total, and that the scenes themselves should number five or six, or seven at the most, for a total of five hundred verses per act. In this way the whole work itself will not exceed 2500 verses, which Ingegneri considers to be the optimum number for dramatic poems of any genre. In the case of the pastoral, this total number is flexible, since this genre entails complex story-lines with double-plots as well as variations in verse forms and the use of songs and interludes.

The reason for these guidelines is simply to enhance the pleasure and comfort of the spectator. Thus the representation in its entirety must not last more than three and a half or four hours including the choral passages and interludes. If the spectator is forced to endure anything longer than this, then the delight and enjoyment of the representation is in jeopardy.  

Ingegneri observes that the suggested length of the scenes as stated above will effectively reduce the length of individual soliloquies and set speeches. He states his preference for a composition that is neither excessively drawn-out nor insufficiently developed and declares emphatically that, in performance, sonorous and ill-wrought speeches will strain the
interest of the spectator who might derive as much pleasure and delight from napping during the recitation of these episodes."

In this regard, he adds a cautionary note to the actor who, in Ingegneri's view, must respect the grammar and prosody of the poet, that is to say the form and style of the verse, in his interpretation and delivery of these speeches. Paying attention to meter and rhythm, pauses between phrases and clauses, and emphasizing the appropriate words and syllables, will enable the actor to reveal the passions of the characters as well as to heighten the emotional impact of the speeches for the spectator. By adhering to the rhetoric of the poet, the actor will facilitate the effects which the author wishes to convey.

Ingegneri cautions against the employment of soliloquies and set speeches as an occasion for oratorical ranting on the part of the poet (with his conception) or the actor (with his delivery). In his view, the soliloquy must always be brief and to the point, since its essential function is to reveal to the spectator the interior states of a character in strategic moments of the drama.

To this effect, these speeches must be conceived in terms of active interior dialogue that not only moves the action of the drama forward but also elicits the complicity of the audience.

Ingegneri advises the poet to observe strict verisimilitude when several interlocutors are engaged in dialogue. He must avoid repeating statements which have been previously made by actors in scenes already witnessed by the audience. Not only is this repetition unrealistic and time-consuming, but it is also
tedious for the spectator and thereby compromises the efficacy of the representation as a whole.  

Ingegneri emphasizes the importance of this precept by relating his experience at a recent performance where a spectator, weary of the endless repetition of dialogue in the manner described above, rose up from his seat during a scene and exclaimed to the actors on stage: "Non piú. Basta. Il sappiamo, abbiamo veduto ogni cosa," at which point the entire audience burst into laughter. Thus, Ingegneri cautions, if the repetition of a particular segment in a scene is of significance to the sequential logic of the dramatic action as a whole, then the poet must mask the imperfect part ("qualche parte imperfetta") in an invisible manner. For example, the poet could assign the information to be revealed to several actors rather than to a single character and employ verisimilar dialogue - with broken sentences, pauses, and questions and responses - rather than a word for word explication of the particular event. In this way, the logical flow of the action will be maintained from one sequence to the next and the seamless art of the composition will effectively engage the spectator and bring the author much praise.

Ingegneri advises the poet to see to it that the individual scenes within each act are suitably linked. By this Ingegneri means that each scene must either precipitate the action that follows or answer the preceding action in an intelligible manner. In this way the action on stage will flow effortlessly from one
episode to the next without interruption in continuity ["per non far scena vuota"]). Ingegneri praises the art of the ancient masters, and in particular Sophocles, who distinguished between the episodes with suitably integrated choric passages. He states emphatically that dramatic continuity in performance is a function of the text and he cautions the poet against burdening the director in rehearsal with what he considers to be literary negligence."

The role and function of the director, which Ingegneri considers to be the most taxing in the production of a theatrical work, is to decode the literary text and articulate its "hidden" meaning to the actors and other collaborative artists. In rehearsal his task is to shape the formal expression of the hidden by means of the language of performance. Ingegneri emphasizes that it is not the function of the director (or the other collaborative artists) to fill in the "gaps" of the play-text on behalf of the poet. In rehearsal the director’s task is to ensure that his actors are in the wings, fully prepared to enter and engage in their dialogue and actions the instant that the scene being played out on stage is complete, so as to prevent unnecessary interruptions in the stage illusion. It is the responsibility of the author to facilitate this type of execution by ensuring that each unit of action, beginning with the first scene in act one, logically requires the one that actually follows it in the continuum of the text.

Ingegneri distinguishes between narrative and dramatic modes
of composition by advising the poet to envision the play-text, whether comedy, tragedy or pastoral, as a progression of substantive textual actions that can be transformed by the performer into concrete gestural behaviour and active, intelligible speech. In his view language is alive, that is to say, it embodies meaning and emotion, either literally or figuratively, and this must be made explicit in performance.62

As a general rule, he advises discretion in the use of figures and conceits in both set speeches and dialogue. His reason for this is that an over-wrought style will obscure the poetic eloquence of the composition as a whole as well as diminish the impact of strategic speeches or moments in the dialogue in which a character is moved to reveal profound emotions for reasons emerging from the given (dramatic) circumstances. The dialogue, whether in verse or prose, must be characterized by an unadorned simplicity and clarity that conveys the poet's meaning and propels the action forward intelligibly ["condurre il fatto intelligibilmente"] from one verse or phrase to the next. Tedium laments, long and superfluous passages and complex philosophical discourses stretched out at great length, even when they are recited expertly by the actors, serve no other purpose than to strain the interest and attention of the spectator.63

Ingegneri cautions the poet against imitating the practices of certain (unnamed) contemporary writers who approach their compositions, and in particular the tragedy and the pastoral, as
if they were lyrical poets rather than dramatists. Their works are tainted with self-conscious Petrarchism and they continuously violate the rules of decorum and verisimilitude. According to Ingegneri, the effects of excessive ornamentation on the listener are similar to the effects of a banquet of sweets on the stomach and palate in that, after a while, the consumer-listener would grow nauseous ["sentiriano nausea"] and the feast would no longer be pleasurable. Thus, in Ingegneri's view, if the poet wishes to engage his audience with his composition (and the actor with his delivery) he must employ sweetness ["dolcezza"] with moderation and in this way, in keeping with Ingegneri’s metaphor, the listener will never be made to feel full.

In the composition of comedy Ingegneri cautions the poet against the excessive use of witticisms, ridiculous speeches and verbal banter intended for the sole purpose of amusing the spectator with comic effects. Not only does this vulgarize the art of comic writing but it also serves to distract the spectator from the logic of the action. In his view, the poet must see to it that the ridiculous always arises from the structure of the plot itself, with its complications and sub-plots, from the inappropriate comportment of the characters, and from the many delightful and pleasing inventions that derive from and are related to the main action. By inventions Ingegneri means devices characteristic of the erudite as well as scenario-based comedies: the substitution, disguise and misidentification of characters, the tricks played on foolish old men by clever
servants, the feigned deaths and madness of pining lovers, and the sudden reversals, recognitions and reunions of parents and siblings.

Ingegneri states his preference for the use of prose rather than verse in the composition of comedy on the grounds of verisimilitude but cautions the poet against treating verse as if it were prose in order to create an impression of the common speech of everyday life that characterizes this genre. Such a practice would not only strain the impression of reality for the spectator viewing the comedy but it would also diminish the inherent elegance and stature of verse as a distinct form.

Ingegneri discusses several precepts in connection with the composition of the pastoral which derive from a conversation with an unnamed gentleman, presumably a director-dramatist who has had considerable experience with the representation of this genre. The precepts which this gentleman puts forth are in Ingegneri's view not inflexible, however they are worthy of consideration by the poet because they illuminate some of the principal problems associated with achieving the desired effects in the representation of pastoral drama.

According to this particular gentleman it is inadvisable to have the shepherds falling passionately in love with the nymphs, since this would inevitably lead to marriage during the course of the action. This would inappropriately suggest to the spectator that the characters are regular members of society. Ingegneri feels that this breech in propriety is in actual fact a minor
problem since the fantastical and romantic nature of this genre will subsume the impact of such a divergence in the rules."

The second piece of advice deals with the depiction of certain characters in profound emotional turmoil on account of catastrophic circumstances that eventually lead to their simulated suicide on stage. In Ingegneri's view this treatment is sure to cause more of a comic reaction in the spectator than a compassionate one, and he advises the poet to avoid such histrionic episodes as much as possible."

The third consideration concerns the treatment of pagan rituals that generally lead to the human sacrifice of a particular character on stage. Ingegneri believes that these scenes should be strictly avoided on the grounds that such acts offend not only the religious beliefs of the spectators, but also their human sensitivity, forcing them to bear witness to horrific sights that violate accepted codes of decorum and verisimilitude. In this regard, Ingegneri advocates strict adherence to the doctrine and models of the ancient masters who made sure that all brutal acts occured off stage. This practice would enable the poet to create specific emotional effects without offending the audience or shattering the integrity of the scenic illusion."

While Ingegneri makes no reference to Pastor fido in this discussion, the treatment of the sacrifice of Amirillis in act four illustrates this precept: the young heroine is "about" to be sacrificed but is "saved" by a sudden turn of events at the last moment. Thus the audience is moved by the potential danger of
the dramatic circumstances which constitutes part of the pleasure
derived from this genre.

According to Ingegneri the most significant aspect of the
poet's art concerns his visualization of the staging prior to
actual composition. Ingegneri advises the poet to focus on the
setting in its entirety: the perspectives, the individual streets
and houses, and the entrances and exits which will be used by the
actors - in short all the physical elements that he wishes to
employ in order to establish the specific environment where the
action will unfold. He must then imagine the individual
characters in the drama entering and leaving the scene, reciting
their dialogue and enacting their emotions, and moving within the
environment engaged in the progression of events that constitutes
the action of the tale. In this way the poet can determine if
his initial, abstract idea of the subject of the tale and of its
physical environment as well as his conception of the characters
and of the dialogue which they speak are probable, verisimilar,
and suitable for transformation on stage by the actors, the
scenic artists and the director into the language of performance.

Ingegneri states that if the poet were to position himself
as a spectator ["spettatore"] of his work beforehand in the
manner described above, then the potential difficulties
associated with performance could be treated well in advance of
the production phase of theatrical representation. To illustrate
this principle he refers to an early treatment of Sofonisba in
which the author places the action in a number of locales
scattered among several countries.\footnote{72} In Ingegneri's view the structural framework of this treatment is problematic from a performance point of view because it is difficult to carry out with verisimilitude. Not only are the shifts in locale impractical to realize on stage but furthermore the characters are compelled to "quickly" journey from one scenic time-frame to the next. As a result, and in order to maintain a semblance of reality, a formal act division would be necessary with each shift in time and place. This would amount to fifteen or twenty acts in total, rendering the tragedy virtually un-stageable.\footnote{73}

It is interesting to note that Edipo tiranno was produced in Vicenza at a time when tragedy was in decline as a genre in Italy. This was due in part to the fact that until mid-century tragedy was a literary preoccupation among humanist scholars and theorists, who, for the most part, failed to distinguish between the narration and the representation of the events on stage. As a result, in their attempts to recreate the grandeur of classical tragedy, the tragic poets created mechanical, static imitations of the Roman and Greek models which were not only expensive on account of the requisite magnificent setting and costumes but which were difficult to produce on stage.\footnote{74}

Ingegneri's mise en scène for Edipo tiranno is an answer to this problem, that is to say, he incorporates the impossibility of an historical reconstruction of the quintessential Greek experience by focusing on the effects which the original production may have produced. Implicit in his 'restoration' of
classical tragedy is an understanding that *Edipo tiranno* must speak to a sixteenth-century audience in the light of modern theatrical conventions and practices. Similarly the modern poet (like the modern director) must take into account the range of contemporary theatrical practices and conventions and apply this understanding when visualizing his composition. Furthermore, in Ingegneri's view, the principal flaws that surface in rehearsal and performance generally derive from an oversight on the part of the poet in this regard.75

With respect to the potential difficulties associated with the characters that appear on the stage and the relationships and dynamics between them, the poet must see to it that the characters are conceived as active participants in the action being represented and that they are made to speak and engage in the dialogue out of necessity and probability. For example, it would be inappropriate to place the character of a queen on the stage for a length of time without engaging her in the conversation that is ensuing, or without having the other characters in the episode actually turning to her and acknowledging her presence. Placing characters on stage that are not involved in the action being represented, either implicitly or explicitly, should be strictly avoided. Not only would this practice confuse or perhaps bore the spectator in performance, but it would also lead to grave difficulties for the director of the representation in the preparation of his *mise en scène*.

Ingegneri illustrates this precept by relating his
experience with a certain poet who failed to visualize his composition in the manner he prescribes. On close examination of the play-text, Ingegneri observed that this writer had included the character of a queen in the manner described above. When this irregularity was brought to the author’s attention, the poet replied that it was the responsibility of the director to justify the presence of the queen on stage. The poet then retracted this statement by stating that the queen had in fact, in this particular episode, left the palace for a breath of fresh air and was headed for her throne in the piazza. When Ingegneri pointed out the absurdity of placing the queen on a throne in the middle of a piazza where other characters of the drama were playing out a scene, the poet argued that the rules did not state conclusively that the queen and her throne could not be employed in this fashion - an argument which Ingegneri dismisses as preposterous."

Ingegneri observes that many contemporary poets working in the pastoral genre have begun to introduce the use of the echo in their compositions, which he feels is a delightful invention which can produce marvellous effects in performance. However, if not skillfully integrated, the echo is problematic in production, and Ingegneri discusses some common errors ["diversi falli"] that take away much of the grace that the use of the echo has brought to the representation of this genre."

The first common defect concerns the duration of time required for the echo to take effect as the poet intends.
Ingegneri advises the poet to consider the quality and nature of the interaction between the actor and the echo, since this will determine if the response of the echo to the actor's line occurs within a convincing lapse of time. An evocative effect can be achieved by having the first actor recite the entire line, followed by the response of the second actor (the echo) on the last syllable or perhaps the penultimate syllable of the final word of the phrase. If this suggestion were followed in the text, that is, keeping the echo brief and staying faithful to what the first actor recites, then it would enable the echo, the second actor, to maintain the spirit and sentiment "spirto overo sentimento" of the words pronounced by the first actor."

Ingegneri advises the poet to take into account the manner in which the differentiation between the actor and the response of the echo can be achieved in light of the placement of the actors in the scene. If the actor reciting the part of the echo is to be hidden behind the perspectives then the text must indicate that he must pitch his voice higher than the on-stage actor or perhaps turn his face away slightly from the direction of the first actor so that the voice reverberates appropriately. If the actor who introduces the echo is required to intervene between one response and another, then the poet should see to it that this is indicated in the text, that is, that the actor must lower his voice in contrast to the higher pitch of the echo, or that he is to utter his reaction in a quick expulsion of breath."
While the actual choreography of the echo would be conducted during the rehearsal process, Ingegneri states emphatically that the director and the actors must not be burdened with poorly conceived effects. He advises the poet to indicate to the actors and to the director the effects which he wishes to achieve in the play-text by means of the syntactical structure of the verse, by the choice of phrase or word to be echoed, and by the placement of the source of the echo within the setting, in light of the physical structure and dimensions of the theatre itself.

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of the rules of composition with a consideration of the structural division of the scenic action. His conception concurs with the accepted Horatian-Aristotelian pattern conventionally used for the composition of comedy, tragedy and pastoral drama throughout the Renaissance: five acts, or three episodes plus a prologue and exode. Ingegneri cautions the poet against the practice which he has observed among contemporary dramatists, of concluding the main action of the play in the fifth or final act. His reason for this is that a prolonged wait for the final reversal or recognition in the text might "bore" the spectator. In his view the action must begin to unravel in act four and in this way the spectator will begin to envision the consequences that he will see and hear in the fifth act. He cites the structure of Oedipus the King as the classic model of excellence in this regard - where the reversal occurs in act four and the tragic consequences, the blinding of Edipus and Jocasta's suicide, are
revealed in act five. Ingegneri observes that this arrangement can serve to the poet's advantage since it allows him the option of introducing an unexpected twist in the action that the audience had perhaps not foreseen. In this way the spectator will be kept in a state of suspense and anticipation from the beginning to the end of the performance, because he will not have expected what will occur in the fifth and final scene. Thus the delight and efficacy of the production will increase significantly and the spectator will leave the theatre in state of contentment.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Biographical information on Angelo Ingegneri (1550-1613) may be found in Maria Luisa Doglio, "Nota Biografica," in Angelo Ingegneri, Della poesia rappresentativa e del modo di rappresentare le favole sceniche, ed. Maria Luisa Doglio (Modena: Edizioni Panini, 1989), henceforth Doglio.


3. The Academia Olimpica was a humanistic society chartered in 1555 with twenty-one members including Andrea Palladio who designed the Teatro Olimpico, Palladio's son, Silla, who supervised the completion of the theatre from late 1580 to 1585, and Vincenzo Scamozzi, who designed the perspective vistas. The Academy's major interest in its formative years were limited to the sciences but later it included dramatic recitations, which were staged at various private locales throughout Vicenza, beginning with a production of Andria by Terence in 1557 and including the first performance of Sofonisba by Trissino in 1562.

4. The committee of three assigned to this task were Antonio
Riccoboni, Sperone Speroni and Gianbaptista Guarini. Submissions included a pastoral, *Limonata*, by Ingegneri, a tragic pastoral, *Eugenie*, by Fabio Pace and *L’Amynta* by Tasso. Dissatisfied with the above works the committee approached Pace to prepare a translation of Sophocles’ *Oedipus the King* but Pace declined and the committee resolved to commission a translation by Orsato Giustiniani. There is speculation among scholars regarding the nature of the commission (since Giustiniani’s inscription to the play indicates that *Edipo* was "recited" at Vincenza) as well as the text which Giustiniani employed for the translation. Leo Schrade contends that Giustiniani probably employed the Aldus text (in Greek) since it was the most accessible edition. Leo Schrade, *La Représentation d’Edipo Tiranno au Teatro Olimpico*, (Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1960), henceforth Schrade, *La Représentation*.


10. Ingegneri’s plan of action includes an in depth analysis and breakdown of the text; character studies of the principal roles; a detailed treatment of the costumes for the principal and the supporting roles as well as the supernumeraries; his conception of "place" (the setting) and the chorus; the blocking of the action; his conception of the beginning of the show; and a discussion on the affective potential of the play. He does not treat the music in this study (as he does in *Della poesia rappresentativa*) and his analysis of the individual episodes ends with act three. However this "incompletion" is not surprising since in Ingegneri’s view the first "part" of the performance, that is, the environment established in the prologue along with the first appearance of the characters on the stage will set the tone for the subsequent action.

11. Ingegneri singles out the importance of the actor’s use of the eyes and hands in his discussion of movement and gesture in
Progetto 18. See also Ingegneri's blocking of Edipus's entrance in my Chapter Three. It is interesting to compare this view with that of André Antoine who observes that "...movement is the actor's most intense means of expression; that their whole physical make-up is part of the character that they represent, and that at certain moments in the action their hands, their back, and their feet can be more expressive than any oral ranting;". André Antoine, "Behind the Fourth Wall," in Cole and Chinoy 100.

12. "Tale illuminazione, chi potesse accommodarla in modo che solo se ne vedesse lo splendore e se n'avesse il servigio del lume, senza che si potesse dal teatro scorgere donde, né come ei si venisse, accrescerebbe allo spettacolo grande ornamento. E massimamente s'ei la disponesse in luoco ond'ella gisse a ferire colla luce i volti degli istrioni." Della poesia rappresentativa 27.


15. Dolglio xi.

16. José A. Arguelles, The Transformative Vision: Reflections on

17. See my Chapter One.

18. Pigafetta 86.

19. Della poesia rappresentativa 5-7, 15, 18, 30.

20. Ludovico Castelvetro in Gilbert.

21. With the exception of plays by dead authors.

22. Della poesia rappresentativa 17. This encapsulates Ingegneri's understanding of the theatre as spectacle.

23. Weinberg observes that the rules which Ingegneri prescribes are, "informed by the same kind of spirit that went into the formation of the French neo-classical creed: a wish to reduce the whole of art to very precise and concrete rules, to solve all the practical problems in terms of a fundamental principle of verisimilitude." (1091).

24. On these points see Hornby's discussion of The Poetics in Hornby 68-91.


30. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 5


32. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 5-6.


36. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 8

37. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 8. The restrictions which Ingegenri discusses were not referred to as "the unities" until the seventeenth century. The first reference to the unity of time
appears in Cinthio’s *On the Composition of Comedies and Tragedies* (1554). In his treatise of 1570, Castelvetro proposes that the unities of place and action are logical consequences of the unity of time, a formulation which marks the beginning of innumerable disputes among theorists and practitioners throughout Europe. While Ingegenri does not articulate it as such, his conception of time, place and action corresponds with that of Castelvetro.


41. "deve fengersi luoco in cui di certa necessità, od almeno di buona opportunità, avvengano quie fatti che s’introducono e convengano quelle persone che quivi si reducono a favellare." *Della poesia rappresentativa* 9. This view corresponds with André Antoine’s observation: "For it is the environment that determines the movements of the characters, not the movements of the characters that determine the environment." Chinoy 94.

42. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 9. De Sommi is decidedly against the depiction of inner rooms on the grounds of verisimilitude.

44. It should side with the good characters and give them friendly advice, and should control those who are out of temper and show approval to those who are anxious not to transgress. It should commend moderation in the pleasure of the table, the blessings of law and justice, and times of peace when the gates lie open; it should respect confidences, and should pray and beseech the gods to let prosperity return to the wretched and desert the proud. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 10.

45. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 10-1.

46. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 11.

47. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 11. It is interesting to note that Ingegneri is concerned with the comfort, safety and pleasure of the spectator on one hand but refers to him as "ignorant" and "dim-witted" on the other. We see this curious perception of the audience in De Sommi as well as in the critical commentaries of many of the principal theorists throughout the Renaissance, including Castelvetro who declares emphatically that theatrical representation must cater to the needs of the rude multitude rather than to (elitist) scholars and dilettantes.


49. "co'l moto e co'l gesto regolato over colla musica e non con
semplice e ordinarie parole." Della poesia rappresentativa 12

50. Della poesia rappresentativa 12.

51. Della poesia rappresentativa 12.

52. Della poesia rappresentativa 12.

53. Della poesia rappresentativa 13. According to audience accounts, Ingegneri's production of Edipo tiranno was contained within these guidelines. The performance was approximately three and a half hours in length, from seven-thirty to eleven in the evening. Giustiniani's translation contains 2420 lines which is 890 lines longer than the original. However this discrepancy can be attributed to the differences in versification from the Greek to the vernacular, since the translation follows closely the original. Further information on Giustiniani's versification and style may be found in Schrade La Représentation 35-37.

54. "che chi potesse dormire tutto quel tempo e risvegliare poi a suo buon piacere quando vengono l'altre scene in dialogo, credo che ne sentirebbe assai più diletto." Della poesia rappresentativa 13.

55. Della poesia rappresentativa 13-14.

56. "notabile inconveniente nel vero, con ciò sia che oltra 'l tempo che vi si perde, di cui deve il pota scenico essere molto provido dispensatore, non ne lasciand'ere un minimo momneto a male,
non può ciò seguire senza tedio degli ascoltanti, i quali vorranno sempre intender cose nove e veder proceder l'azione, anzi che fermarsi overo in certo modo ritornare a dietro."  

Della poesia rappresentativa 14.

57. "Enough. Please stop. We already know and we've already seen everything."  

Della poesia rappresentativa 14.

58. Della poesia rappresentativa 14.

59. "di tale documento ha a servirsì il poeta e non laciarnel peso al corago...questa importantissima parte tocca intieramente all'autore del poema."  

Della poesia rappresentativa 14-5

60. Della poesia rappresentativa 14-5.

61. Ingegneri outlines the method by which the poet can achieve this structural seamlessness in his discussion of visualizing the composition.

62. Della poesia rappresentativa 15.

63. Della poesia rappresentativa 15

64. "e certo sembra cosa lontana da ogni decoro che i poeti dramatici d'oggidì vogliano esser più spiritosi e più figurati e vie più di concetti abondanti che non sono i lirici stessi."  

Della poesia rappresentativa 15
65. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 15.

66. "più tosto quel ridicolo che nasce della struttura delle cose degne di riso o per la sconvenevolezza dei costumi di qualche vizioso o per alcuna faceta invenzione di tale astuto introdotto nella favola." **Della poesia rappresentativa** 16.

67. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 16.

68. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 16.

69. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 17.

70. "primieramente si figurasse dinnanzi agli occhi la scena, divisandone fra di sé gli edifici, le prospettive, le strade, il proscenio e ogn’altra cosa opportuna per l’avvenimento di quel caso ch’ei si prende ad imitare; e ne facesse nella sua mente proprio una cotal pratica, che non uscisse personaggio che non gli sembrasse vedere ond’ei si venisse, né si facesse su ’l detto proscenio gesto, né vi si dicesse parola ch’egli in certo modo no ’l vedesse e non la udisse, mutando e migliorando, a giusa di buon corago e di perfetto maestro, quegli atti e quelle voci che a lui non paressero bene a proposito." **Della poesia rappresentativa** 17.

71. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 18.

72. Ingegneri is referring to the play written by Galeotto De Carretto in 1502 and published in Venice in 1545.
73. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 17-8.

74. For further discussion see Herrick, *Italian Tragedy*.

75. "Se così avessero fatto alcuni, per altro forse dei migliori tragici de' nostri tempi, non si troverebbero nelle tragedie loro di quelle difficoltà che vi si scorgono per ciascuno." **Della poesia rappresentativa** 17.

76. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 18.

77. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 18.

78. **Della poesia rappresentativa** 19.

79. "se all'introduttore dell'eco tornerà commodo l'interporre fra l'una risposta e l'altra ora più e ora men lungo discorso, attenda egli almeno di dare ad un tale fatto verisimiglianza o co'l far abbasare all'istrioni la voce o co'l fargli dire tutt'in un fiatto, e senza punto arrestare, quanto gli occorrerà parlare fra questa e quella risposta overo finalmente co'l farlo guardare in diverso lato per tutto quello spazio ch'egli ragionerà di più l'una fiata che l'altra." **Della poesia rappresentativa** 19-20.

80. "E dico all'autore che avvertisca egli a questo, costituendo il suo sermone e la sua poesia in guisa tale che'ella così necessariamente ricerchi e non ne lasci pensiero né all'istrione medismo né al corago." **Della poesia rappresentativa** 20.
CHAPTER THREE
ANGELO INGEGNERI

Part Two: Del modo di rappresentare la favola sceniche trattato

Introduction

In Part One of Della poesia rappresentativa, which is called Discorso, Ingegneri discusses the rules of dramatic composition in the context of performance. In his view, the literary and performance aspects of the play-script cannot be separated. This conception is not significantly different from that of De Sommi, who sees dramaturgy as a fundamental skill which the director must possess in order to fulfil his function. However, De Sommi considers the poet to be the ideal director. In Ingegneri, and as we shall see in Il corago, we witness a radical shift in this regard. Ingegneri distinguishes between the task of the poet (writing a suitable play-script) and that of the director (creating a mise en scène), since each is conditioned by different criteria. According to Ingegneri, the director must be familiar with the technical aspects of play-construction and understand how the rules of composition relate to the realization of the literary in performance, in order to instruct and guide the poet. For example, in the treatment of the soliloquy, the poet would need to know that excessive ornamentation and drawn-out phrases would pose problems for the actor in his delivery of the text, that multiple scenes and subplots may confuse the
spectator and take away from the through-line of the story, and that the use of ghosts and other extravagant effects may set an inappropriate tone for the play. Thus the director must have a thorough command of the rules in order to guide the poet through the re-writing process and to ensure that the text can be suitably translated into the language of performance.

In Part Two, which is called Trattato, Ingegneri deals specifically with theatrical production, which proceeds in two distinct phases: the preparation of the performance text by the director, and the realization of the performance in collaboration with the other artists in the theatre.

Preparation

Ingegneri observes that every tale, whether tragic, comic or pastoral, presupposes that a number of (past) events have occurred that lead up to the (present) action on stage. These occurrences ["alcune cose accadute"], or given circumstances as they are referred to in modern directorial practice, are comprised of the remote history behind the tale ["gli avvenimnti di lunga mano anteriori al fatto"], in its chronological order, including the major events in the lives of the characters which shape their individual personalities and behaviour, the specific events that occur just prior to the opening scene [quegli esiando che sono più vicini al principio della stessa favola"] and, finally, the
events that take place between one act division and another ["che verisimilmente occorresse fra l'un atto e l'altro"], which will inform the behaviour of the characters in the scenic action, thereby creating a life-like impression for the spectator viewing the performance.¹

It is the function of the director to secure a thorough understanding of these governing circumstances, by an anatomical distillation of the literary text ["questa quasi anatomia...o più tosto distillazione"] piece by piece, into acts, scenes and small parts ["parte"], or beats, in order to comprehend the meaning which the author wishes to convey and express it in a beautiful form in the virtual time on stage. In Ingegneri's view this initial encounter and understanding of the play-text by the director constitutes the first and perhaps the most critical phase of the art of direction.²

Ingegneri advises the director, on encountering the play-script, to begin with an analysis of the facts as indicated by the primary and secondary texts - the words, the plot, its arrangement and rhythmical structure, the clues to characterization, and the boundaries of time, place and action as set down by the poet. These elements represent the surface structure that enables the director to access the deeper structure, or the hidden sub-text.³ In their totality, primary, secondary and sub-texts will lead the director to an understanding of the life and substance of the play ["la sostanza sua"].⁴
Ingegneri illustrates his method of play analysis with his reading of *Edipo tiranno* for the Vicenza production. Ingegneri describes the major events leading up to the opening scene which he derives from a study of the primary text. He begins with the remote circumstances surrounding the birth of Oedipus and his exposure on Mount Cithaeron and subsequent adoption by Polybus who raises Oedipus as his own son. He continues with the flight of Oedipus from Corinth and his encounter and slaying of Laius, his arrival at Thebes and his unravelling of the riddle of the Sphinx and his subsequent betrothal to Jocasta. With this description, Ingegneri brings us to the present circumstances.

Ingegneri continues his reading with a straightforward description of the circumstances leading into the action of act one: Thebes is overcome by famine and plague and a group of children and elders of the city turn to *Edipo tiranno* in supplication. Oedipus attempts to relieve the situation with every human means available to him but his efforts are in vain. The urgency of the situation compels Oedipus to appeal for divine guidance and to this end he directs Creon to consult the oracle. This, concludes Ingegneri, is where the tragedy begins ["e qui incomincia la tragedia"]. Thus the point of attack and the first unit of the on-stage action concerns a city in mourning seeking deliverance.5

By studying the previous circumstances in their chronological sequence in this manner, from remote past to the present, the director can deduce that Sophocles begins his tale
towards the end of the myth of Oedipus, the plague, with the action compressed into a twenty-four hour time-frame, and that the 'life' of the play consists of a history of mitigating circumstances. It is the task of the director, through research and study to seek these out and to consider the ways in which past occurrences will effect the present action.

Ingegneri concludes his first reading of *Oedipus the King* with a rough outline of the major events or actions of the given (present) circumstances as set down by Sophocles. The purpose of this summation is to enable the director to define for himself the action of the tale from beginning to end in simple and straightforward terms. His plan will serve as the basis for his directions to the actors and other artists in the rehearsal phase of the production.

In his analysis Ingegneri identifies twelve principal actions ["parte"]: i) Creon reports that the pollution will be driven out of Thebes when the murderer of Laius is exposed; ii) Oedipus appeals to Teiresias for guidance; iii) Teiresias declares that Oedipus is the murderer; iv) Oedipus suspects that Teiresias and Creon are plotting against him; v) Jocasta seeks to console Edipo tiranno with an account of the events surrounding the murderer of Laius; vi) Oedipus recounts to Jocasta his coincidental slaying of a man (Laius) and sends for the Messenger; vii) the Messenger reveals that Poloybus has passed away and hope is restored; viii) a reversal occurs when the Messenger reveals that Polybus was not Oedipus' natural father
and Oedipus sends for the Herdsman; ix) Jocasta recognizes the truth; x) the Herdsman reveals the identity of Edipo who is condemned to bear the curse he cast on the murderer; xi) offstage, Jocasta hangs herself and Oedipus dashes out his eyes; xii) Oedipus is condemned to wander the world as an example of unhappy misfortune ["esempio di tanta infelicità"].

On the basis of this distribution of the material of the play, the director is advised to break down the text into large units of action, beginning with the act divisions set down by the poet, followed by a study of the major units of action within each act, and finally an analysis of the smaller, more manageable parts, including individual speeches as well as entrances and exits. The director will study these major units and small parts in sequential order and begin to shape a line of consecutive action. This will enable the director to assess the significance of the parts in relation to the whole and to begin scoring the material in his mind’s eye.

With each reading of the text and analysis of the individual parts, a deeper understanding of the material will emerge and the director will begin to think in practical concepts: rising and falling actions, pace, rhythm, reversals and recognitions, events which require a response and events which occur in response, the action of the individual characters and how each figure in the text is involved in the revelation of the plot, the conflicts and dynamics between characters, and finally, the point of view of the spectator and the effects which the author wishes to convey.
During this decoding process the director will begin to take into account the invisible sub-text in greater depth - the personalities and emotional make-up of the individual characters, their intentions and desires, the tone of the individual characters, the emotional shifts that occur in the individual characters from one episode to the next, and the way in which these shifts inform the overall mood which the author wishes to create. With respect to Oedipus the King, the director must also consider the self-understanding of the characters and how this informs their interaction with the other figures. This process also includes a consideration of the secondary text which provides direct and indirect references to setting, costumes and stage properties. It also concerns the physical appearance and expressions of the individual characters, as well as the colours, sounds and mood which will inform the mise en scène in its entirety.

Scoring the material

According to Ingegneri’s approach, which takes us from the whole to the small parts, act one of Oedipus the King would be divided into four principal actions: the disclosure of the plague, the entrance of Oedipus, the arrival of Creon, and the procession off stage. The secondary text indicates that Creon’s
arrival is "bright", that he wears "fruitful laurel" and that he will deliver his news to Oedipus in public. This is the incident, or note, which establishes the dramatic tension between hope and fear which Ingegneri determines will characterize the progression of the action until the climax of reversal and recognition in act four. The primary text reveals that this incident occurs in the middle of the act, and the director must ensure that everything that occurs on stage before this point in the action anticipates the intended emotional impact of the news which Creon delivers. Thus from the moment the curtain is dropped, the director must establish a sense of anxiety and foreboding which is described by the secondary text as "dolente". In addition he will note the confident manner and tone of Edipo in the second unit, indicated by the secondary text, which will resonate with the previously established mood of suspense and anticipation and which will inform the tone on Creon’s arrival. Based on this assessment of the whole unit, the director will then begin to focus his attention on the first "part".

Ingegneri illustrates this process in his analysis of the first scene in the prologue, the disclosure of the plague. One morning, the people of Thebes, writes Ingegneri, gather together in mourning and supplication. They gather at the four devotional sites of the city, including the altars situated in the central square that leads to the palace doors of Oedipus. Here an old priest and a group of children, the most noble of the city, dressed in mourning garments gather in vigil. Smells of incense
emanate from the altars and hushed prayer can be heard from off stage. Oedipus enters from his palace and speaks with the supplicants."

From this reading Ingegneri deduces the following: the scenic action begins in the early morning; the place is Thebes; the governing circumstances are that the entire city is in mourning and crowds of suppliants are flocking to the four principal devotional sites of Thebes. There are three off-stage sites including the market square, the double shrine of Pallas and the temple of Ismenus which are encircled by the city walls; the on-stage place, a square that leads up to the palace of Oedipus, represents the heart of the city, the setting includes two altars with graduated steps that can serve as seats for the characters; the characters in this scene include an old priest and a group of young children (the most noble in the city), the costumes worn by the characters are ceremonial, the children wear garlands in their hair, there is a fragrance of incense which emanating from the two altars; there are sounds of prayers in the distance; the mood is grievous and melancholy, the characters have proceeded from the outskirts to the heart of Thebes to gathered in vigil, this commotion compels Oedipus to appear and speak with the suppliants."

Based on these deductions, Ingegneri elaborates his score further by seeking out specific detail on top of detail with respect to the setting and costumes, the physical appearance of the characters and the placement of the figures in the setting,
as well as the colours, texture and sounds which the reading evokes in his imagination. By approaching the text in this manner, each reading of the tale and each analysis of the specific parts will stimulate fresh insight and further detail and gradually a *mise en scène* will begin to take shape in the imagination of the director. In Ingegneri’s view the variables which the director will extract and distil during this process (in a constant dialectic between the boundaries established by the poet and their potential treatment in space) will determine what the audience will see, hear, understand and believe to be true in the subsequent action; furthermore, these variables constitute the raw materials of performance which will enable the director to transform the literary into a performance text.

Character line-of-action

Following this thorough analysis of the text from the whole to the small parts, Ingegneri advises the director to chart the play’s sequence of action from the point of view of the characters in light of the events that occur between one act and another. The purpose of this study is to build a logical line of precise actions and behaviour for each character based on the indications of the primary, secondary and sub-texts. This score is meant to enable the actor to reveal the individual character in an intelligible and life-like manner from one episode to the
next and create a verisimilar impression for the spectator viewing the scenic action. In his character analysis for *Edipo tiranno* Ingegneri employs a vocabulary that is deliberately practical (emotions, intentions, desires, and the differences in temperament and behaviour between individual characters) since this emotional-behavioral score will serve as the basis for his directions to the actors in rehearsal.

In the prologue, for example, Ingegneri observes that Oedipus is impelled to leave his palace and speak with the suppliants. The impression which the actor must establish in this first entrance, through the quality and use of his voice and his gestural behaviour, is that of a good man and a benevolent king who is warm and affectionate yet serious and noble; the tone of his first speech must be gentle and caring. Similarly the verbal and gestural tone of the Priest in this unit is amiable and affectionate yet serious and reverential. He must move Edipo with efficacious grace yet indicate through the tone of his voice, the gaze of his eyes and the language of his body that he is addressing a saviour king, as Oedipus is described in the secondary text.¹⁰

Between acts one and two, the director must imagine that Oedipus has given thought to the news delivered by Creon in the prologue and has resolved to bring the murderer to light, and to this end he has sent for Teiresias. During this lapse of time Oedipus grows anxious and impatient as he awaits the arrival of the seer and this impels him to leave his palace and speak with
the chorus which initiates act two. The director must note that this state of anxiety and impatience shifts to shock and frenzy during the episode with Teiresias and that this represents the first significant outburst of the play that will establish the emotional momentum that will build gradually from this point on to the reversal and recognition ["la revoluzione"] in act four.

Between acts two and three, the director must imagine that the even temperament which Creon displays in act one has been considerably altered ["magnanimamente alterato"]. Creon is hurt and bewildered ["e pieno di meraviglia e di sdegno"] by the accusation pronounced by Oedipus and this impels Creon to enter the scene and speak with the chorus. When Oedipus appears on the scene he is enraged with Creon ["e continuamente colmo di rabbia e di malissima volunta."] and they engage in a quarrel in the presence of the chorus, which is played out at a pitch that would ostensibly motivate Jocasta to enter the scene and intervene.

Between acts three and four Oedipus is in a state of profound disharmony ["è tutto dubbio e paura di gran male"], and Jocasta is caught between anxiety and fear based on the information that is revealed in act three. Jocasta's concern for her husband as well as her latent anxiety initiates her appearance on the scene where she will pray to Apollo for guidance with an offering of garlands and incense. Jocasta's appearance at the altar precipitates the entrance of the
Messenger and this initiates act four.\textsuperscript{15}

In preparation for the emotional impact that must be created in the fifth and final act, the director must imagine that Jocasta is overwhelmed with silent grief in act four. This psychic state must be expressed visibly, through the body language of the actor, and sustained throughout the sequence in order that her furious exit ['partita furiosamente'] off stage appears to be a logical and convincing behavioural response to the reversal and final recognition. Similarly the exit of Oedipus into the palace in act four necessitates a visible shock of recognition in the moment when his true identity is revealed. The entire sequence must shift gradually from latent fear to climatic horror in order for the spectator to be affectively moved by the suicide and blinding that will occur off stage and be revealed in the fifth and final act.\textsuperscript{16}

Based on this character line-of-action, the director will emerge with a thorough understanding of the actions and behaviour of each character in the drama from one episode to the next as well as an operative vocabulary that will enable him to articulate this understanding in practical terms to the actors (and the other collaborative artists). This process of instruction will include the director's articulation of the action of the play as a whole, the specific actions within each episode, the individual lines of action in terms of character intentions, desires, points of view, and shifts in perception of the events as they occur, and, finally, the points in the
progression of the events where these variables collide (which will inform the rhythm of the scenic action in its entirety).17

Ingegneri’s (Aristotelian) understanding of Oedipus the King presupposes that the action of the play (the narrative line) assimilates the action of the character (the emotional line); Oedipus’s climactic recognition in act four is, in Ingegneri’s view, an emotional perception arrived at and released cathartically through its execution.18 Thus his emphasis on causality, sequential logic, character motivations and objectives from scene to scene. Ingegneri claims it is the duty of the director to illuminate such intricacies of the play-script to the actors to enable them to translate actions into concrete and verisimilar vocal and gestural behaviour on stage. In his treatment of azione, Ingegneri discusses the (rhetorical) techniques which the actor will employ to achieve this end.19

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of the preparation of the play-script by proposing his anatomy of Oedipus the King, that is, its distillation from the whole to the small parts, as a model that can, and in his opinion should ["devrassi"] be applied to play-scripts of all genres.20 While he does not articulate this as such, Ingegneri’s approach to the play-text presupposes that each play, whether tragedy, comedy or pastoral is what Richard Hornby refers to as an individual system of associative parts,21 and that the raw materials of performance are a hidden function of the text which the director must discover and bring into relief in his own particular style, which in the case of
Ingegneri is mannerist. This view can be equated with the *disegno interno* of Renaissance art theory, which presumes that a work of art is informed by an internal rhythm or spirit that is hidden from view. Thus Ingegneri’s "anatomy" functions as a process of discovery by the director in service to the eventual release of the essential spirit of the tale in performance. The final vision, the *mise en scène* in its totality, is informed by the individual’s imaginative powers, his intelligence and taste, by the aspect of the play that he chooses to emphasize, the materials at his disposal, the input of the other collaborative artists and the conventions of the period including the taste and expectations of the audience.\(^{22}\)

**Application**

Based on his anatomy of *Edipo tiranno* Ingegneri determines that the subject of the story concerns the tragic descent of an illustrious hero from happiness and fortune to misery and despair set against the trials of a great city traumatized by hunger and despair. Ingegneri understands Oedipus to be a good man, "un uomo dabene e valoroso" (demonstrated by his initial flight from Corinth to escape the curse) and a great king (evident in his efforts to seek out a solution to the plague and identify the murderer) who walks undeservedly into his own fate.\(^{23}\)
As both the accused and the accusor ["il giudice e il condannato"], Oedipus embodies the tragic effects of horror and pity. The horror derives from the sudden and overwhelming turn of events and the collision of opposite states ["dall'estrema mutazione delli stati contrari"]—good versus bad and guilt versus innocence, and the pity from his undeserved fate. Furthermore the rhythm of the psychic-emotional journey that Oedipus undertakes in the drama defines the rhythm of the performance which is intended to create a visceral impact on Ingegneri's modern audience. The spectator is meant to feel compassion for Edipo and throughout the course of the performance come to understand that no man, regardless of his stature or social standing, is immune to disaster.

To this end, everything in Ingegneri's mise en scène supplements this (neo-classic) view of Oedipus as a great tragic hero who is pitted against forces which are larger than life, and who consequently becomes larger because of dealing with the magnitude of these forces: grand processionals, supernumeraries, elegant costumes, evocative colours, music, fragrance, and the presence of an entire city just beyond the scenic facade.

In Ingegneri's view the tale of Oedipus represents a possibility of an emotional, intellectual and physical reaction in the (modern) spectator. In his anatomical distillation of the literary text he attempts to extract the (ideal) essence of Edipo tiranno and in performance bring it into relief in a scenic form.
that best recalls the (ideal) ancient effects as he understands them and in his own particular style.

Theatre historian Cesare Molinari refers to Ingegneri’s transfiguration of Edipo tiranno into spectacle and observes that Ingegneri manipulates the raw materials of performance into an "ideality" analogous to classical occasion and ritual (as he understands it) in a conscious attempt to create a universal experience for the audience of his day. In so doing Ingegneri creates a mise en scène that is operatic in scope.26

In classical antiquity the civil-cultural occasion of performance culminated with the dramatic representation; similarly in Vicenza the occasion of Edipo tiranno began at noon with a viewing of the Olimpico followed by a festive banquet of refreshing wines and fruits. Audience accounts reveal that no efforts were spared to make the inauguration of the Olimpico ("nel piú famoso teatro nel mondo") and the opening of Edipo tiranno ("la piú nobile tragedia che fosse composta giamai") an event perfect in every way.27

Ingegneri begins the performance of Edipo tiranno before the fall of the curtain (which deliberately masked the stage picture in order to elicit a gasp of surprise from the spectator) with a concert of "distant" voices and woodwinds coming from behind the scenic façade, and the sweet smell of perfume (incense) which, according to one eye-witness, made itself felt to indicate that in the city of Thebes according to ancient legend, incense was burned to placate the wrath of the gods.28 Ingegneri then
introduces a fanfare of trumpets and drums followed by a hissing and explosion of four small squibs which would indicate to the audience that the curtain was about to descend in a twinkle of an eye. Eye-witness accounts reveal that the spectators responded with stunned surprise at the stage picture and that the powerful impact of the lighting and the other visual elements on the eyes and senses was such that the scene surpassed nature with its splendid artifice."

Ingegneri's scene depicted the seven streets of Thebes in perspective converging into a central square (the stage proper) which represented the heart and sacred centre of Thebes. The central archway, flanked by two lesser doorways, represented the palace gate of the house of Oedipus. Perspective vistas of beautiful houses, temples and altars were painted behind each opening in the style of antiquity and were intended to create a visual sense of a city square. The stage floor was painted in geometrically-shaped blocks that resembled marble, and two altars were placed on stage right and left respectively. The whole picture was framed by a beautifully ornamented scenic facade.

According to his anatomy of *Edipo tiranno*, the impression that Ingegneri attempts to depict in the opening picture is that of an entire city in mourning. The spectator is to understand that famine and pestilence (indicated by the primary text) is widespread and extends to the boundaries of Thebes, and he is to imagine that the children and elders have proceeded from the city's outskirts and have arrived in the sacred centre (the
altars of Bacchus and Oedipus and the gates of the palace of Oedipus) to hold vigil. In order to depict a continuum of movement between city and centre and to create an illusion that crowds are also forming beyond the scene (within the confines of an indoor theatre), Ingegneri has the children entering the scene in procession from the stage right and left "streets" (archways) in the instant that the curtain is dropped.\textsuperscript{30}

As the children file in from the "streets" (wearing mourning attire and carrying olive branches in their right hands) they are directed to cross to the stage right altar and bow down in reverence, and then seat themselves on the graduated steps that lead up to the altar. Ingegneri positions their bodies out toward the audience so that their faces are in full view and here they remain seated with their right hands placed at their cheeks with the olives branches folding down toward the ground. Ingegneri has the Priest enter the scene behind the group of children. He advances towards the two altars, bows down in reverence, and then crosses to the stage right altar of Bacchus where he seats himself with the children. Ingegneri sees to it that the Priest is placed on the step closest to centre stage which will enable the actor to quickly rise to his feet and cross towards the centre for his scene with Oedipus without masking his face from the spectator. When the Priest has crossed to his seated position, Ingegneri has six priests (supernumeraries) enter the scene who are directed to cross to the stage left altar, bow, and then accommodate themselves on the altar steps.
When the actors are in their respective positions, Ingegneri directs them to remain in tableaux as the smells of incense emanate from the altars and the sounds of prayers crescendo in the background.\textsuperscript{31} The overall effect is an atmosphere that is "dolente" and which represents a sixteenth century equivalent of the classical \textit{parados}.

This ceremonial mood is enhanced by Ingegneri's attention to the sensual aspects of the \textit{mise en scene}: music, fragrance, colour, superb and elegant costumes, and an emphasis on the physical eloquence of the individual characters - their carriage, demeanour and aspect, the specific placement of the figures within the scene, and the manner in which they engage in their actions and interact with the other figures in the scene.\textsuperscript{32} The children for example are to appear noble in aspect and the Priests, solemn and dignified. The children are uniformly dressed in white robes and leather boots, blond wigs and solid-coloured belts. The Priest wears a white silk robe with a gold-trimmed sea-blue cap over long white hair and beard and a blue leather belt. In contrast, the priests are dressed in robes and caps each of a different colour pertaining to their particular god of worship (yellow for Apollo, red for Athena, and so on).\textsuperscript{33}

Each actor is directed to maintain a suitable distance between himself and the other actors in the scene, since this will serve to reveal the relationships and differences in the rank or status of the characters. High ranking figures such as the Priest are made to enter the scene alone with the lower
ranking figures, the priests, following behind him. The entrance of Edipo is signalled by a hush in the music and the children are directed to anticipate his arrival with a slight turn of the head towards the central archway. The Priest and the priests are directed to rise up quickly from their seats in order to acknowledge the appearance of the royal personage. Ingegneri directs the actor portraying Oedipus to enter the scene alone from the central archway with an entourage following behind him in measured rhythm. Oedipus is directed to enter, "take" centre stage, pause momentarily and then move slightly to stage right where he will engage in the scene with the Priest. The actor portraying the Priest is directed to bow before Oedipus with reverence and grace (and with a warm gaze of the eyes) using only the upper part of his body, that is, the head and shoulders, and to observe the distance between himself and Oedipus throughout the dialogue."

What Ingegneri attempts to establish in this opening sequence is an external form of ritualized behaviour, and he achieves this by choreographing every gesture and movement of the body of the actors, and every turn of the head and gaze of the eyes with mathematical precision and which, in combination with the music, colour, fragrance, opulent costumes, and highly mannered blocking of the action within the scene, will set the tone for the subsequent action. In its entirety, Ingegneri’s *mise en scène* is a conscious manipulation of the raw materials of performance that enhances the magnitude of the tragic event and
the stature of the tragic hero in an idealized scenic form, and which purposely recalls ancient rites in order to produce an affective response in the eyes and ears of the modern spectator.

Production

In phase one of directorial practice, the preparation, the director distils the literary text in order to extract the implicit raw materials of performance. In phase two, production, the director will synthesize these materials in collaboration with actors, designers, technicians and create a *mise en scène* which, in its totality, and in the presence of an audience is the final expression of the soul or substance ["sostanza"] of the drama. Ingegneri formalizes phase two of directorial practice with a three-part schema composed of *apparato*, *azione* and *musica*.

In his discussion of *apparato*, the visual elements of the production, Ingegneri distinguishes between, on one hand, the setting, which includes the decor, the auditorium and the physical theatre itself, and, on the other hand, the actor from the point of view of the visual impression that he will create in light of the surrounding physical setting. Ingegneri’s criterion in treating the visual elements of production is *rassomiglianza* - the likeness of the actors and setting to the characters and place that they represent on stage.35 In his discussion of the
azione he will treat the work of the actor in greater detail.

According to Ingegneri, the stage setting, in its totality, must resemble the place where the action of the play unfolds as set down by the poet and must be distinguished by an identifying landmark peculiar to the city where the tale occurs. For example if a tragedy takes place in Rome then the stage must represent one of the main attractions of the city so that it can be recognized as such - *il Campidoglio, il Palazzo Maggiore*, or one of the various Roman temples or major architectural sites. If the play is a comedy, the stage must represent *il Pantheon* or *il Tevere* and (Serlio’s) streets with houses in perspective that would represent the particular dwelling places of the characters involved in the action. The pastoral genre necessitates an elaborate rustic treatment; however, as in comedy and tragedy, the action must be set in a locale which is specific and immediately recognizable to the spectator. The director must see to it that the set pieces and perspectives (representing mountains, rivers, fountains, forests and temples) are treated with charm and grace ["grazia maravigliosa"] in order to create an aesthetically pleasing picture that this genre requires.36

Ingegneri states his preference for the use of two altars in the setting of tragedy (one which is dedicated to Bacchus on stage right and another which was generally dedicated to the protector of the city on stage left) in accordance with the conventions of classical antiquity. In Ingegneri’s view the altars should be employed in all settings for tragedy, whether
they are actually used by the actors during the course of the action or not, and in those tales set in a location outside of Greece. His reason for this is that in such cases the altars serve a decorative function in the production, and this is verisimilar, in his view, on the grounds that such antique monuments are characteristic of the architectural landscape of most modern cities. Furthermore the altars will assist the director in creating the appropriate ambience which this genre requires both on the stage and in the auditorium. This is achieved by having incense emanating from the set pieces, which indicates to the spectator that a grave and serious event is about to unfold."

Ingegneri maintains that the physical design of the theatre itself and in particular the auditorium, must be laid out in such a way that the spectators, especially the ladies, are comfortable in their seats. The ladies should be assigned the best seats in the house, and the designer should ensure that nothing will obstruct their view of the stage or interrupt their enjoyment of the production."

By this Ingegneri presumably means that lights must illuminate efficiently, without smoke emitting from the lamps or wax dribbling from the candles, which was a common occurrence during this period as we have seen in De Sommi. Ingegneri's particular regard for the comfort of the female spectators was a convention peculiar to the period and is codified in Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri by Sabbattini, who claims
that this seating arrangement can serve to the director's advantage: if the most beautiful ladies are in the orchestra, the actors will be inspired to perform their parts with greater zest.39

The men in the audience must be placed in the seats behind the ladies but the designer must ensure that this arrangement does not obstruct their view of the stage. Ingegneri states his preference for a seating arrangement that is raked and semi-elliptical, as exemplified by the Teatro Olimpico which Ingegneri praises as a monument to the splendour of Vicenza and the magnanimity of its Academicians.40

In the Olimpico thirteen raised tiers of seats are built on an incline which provides a good view of the stage from almost every seat. The ceiling of the auditorium is flat and extends without interruption over the stage which produces acoustical ease. The stage itself, a rectangle, is raised with a raked floor upstage of the facade and the orchestra is sunk and separates the playing area from the house. The frons scaena is an architecturally elaborate three-storey structure of Corinthian columns, panels in relief framed niches and projecting pedestals supporting heroic statues. A central archway with two lesser doorways face the audience and there are two doorways at right angles on stage left and right respectively; on the second storey two similar doorways are protected by balustrades. Seven streets painted in perspective converge providing each spectator with a visual sense of a city square.41
Ingegneri observes that the Olimpico was built purposely for the staging of classical works and as such the frons scaena is perhaps most suitable for the representation of tragic works. However, in his view, the setting can be adapted for both comedy and the pastoral with minimal difficulty; the imaginative director will note that the archways and facade can ostensibly stand for a number of different locales.\(^2\)

**Lighting**

In his discussion of lighting, Ingegneri advises the designer to consider illumination from the points of view of the actor and the spectator and to consider the arrangement of the equipment both on the stage and in the auditorium.

According to Ingegneri, the visual magnificence of a production derives in great part from the evocative effects created by the lighting. The lighting in the theatre must be pleasing and clear ["bella e chiara"] with the instruments placed in such way that the spectator’s view of the stage is not obstructed. By this Ingegneri means that lamps and chandeliers which are suspended from the ceiling must be raised well above the sightlines of the spectators. Ingegneri cautions the designer to consider the safety of both the spectator in the auditorium and the actors on stage or in the wings. The spectators must not be placed in any fear of wax or oil dripping
upon them from the overhead sources of light, and care must be taken to see that there are no unpleasant smells emitting from the lamps and no danger of their causing a fire on stage or in the wings. Similarly, the designer must ensure that dripping wax, excessive smoke and the positioning of the equipment do not interfere in any way with the actor during his performance or with his mobility behind the scenes as he enters and exits the stage.\textsuperscript{43}

Ingegneri advises the designer to conceal the sources of the lighting from the spectator who must be able to "see" the magical effects rather than the source of the lighting because this will serve to enhance the splendour of the mise en scène.\textsuperscript{44} The designer must also see to it that the light is evenly distributed and that the faces of the actors ["i volti degli’istrioni"] are illuminated - a direction which represents an innovation in the history of lighting in the theatre and a radical shift in the conception of the actor on stage since, for the first time, the artist and his facial expressions during his performance of a role are being accentuated.\textsuperscript{45}

The designer can achieve this result with the use of a lighting bridge or grid that is suspended above and behind the proscenium arch, from which the lamps are secured. The lamps should be equipped with reflectors that will direct the light towards the actors involved in the scenic action. The lamps on the grid must be firmly secured and lit before being drawn up to their position (presumably by a crew who would carry this out
behind the curtain just before the beginning of the performance). Ingegneri claims that the grid itself can be assembled without much difficulty or expense to the producer. However, should the designer or (director) choose to suspend the equipment on individual poles or hooks for one reason or another, he must ensure that the wash of light falls on the stage setting and proscenium and that it does not spill over into the orchestra or auditorium.

Like de Sommi, Ingegneri prefers a darkened auditorium which causes the lighting of the stage to appear brighter. In Ingegneri’s view a bright auditorium will confuse the spectator’s view of the stage, since the scenic action which ought to be distinctly and easily seen will be rendered obscure and therefore less pleasing. To this end Ingegneri recommends that every lamp in the auditorium be extinguished as soon as the last spectator is ushered to his or her seat. In his Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne’ teatri Sabbattini discusses the method by which this can be done as quickly as possible in order to avoid restlessness on the part of the audience. He advises assigning three reliable technicians to every lamp, who would reach the top of the candles with a pole on which was attached a tin bowl. Alternatively, the chandelier could be let down, extinguished and then quickly raised back up to its place."

Naturally, Ingegneri observes, the less illumination placed in the auditorium the better it will be, for when the curtain is finally dropped into the pit, the lighting on stage will seem
that more powerful, and this will serve to produce a more pleasing effect for the spectator."

The Actors

Ingeneri distinguishes between stature ["abitudine naturale"] and costumes ["vestimenti"] with respect to the actors and the visual impression that they create on the stage. His approach in this discussion reflects a neo-classical bias based on the premise that the outward signs, the physical impression in its totality, reflect the inward nature of the character being portrayed."

Ingegneri favours the use of cothurni in tragedy because in his view the added height which these platforms provide helps create an impression of grandeur and stature among the principal characters, and in particular the great kings and princes associated with this genre. Ingegneri claims that the kings of tragedy must be the tallest and the most splendidly dressed as well as the most physically attractive of the characters on stage ("il più bello, il più alto e 'l meglio formato di tutti"). This is verisimilar on the grounds that a man fit to rule would, in the opinion of Ingegneri, be the most attractive and intelligent as well as the most noble and virtuous figure in the community; thus his outward appearance would naturally harmonize with his
divine nature. Therefore Ingegneri favours (type) casting this role with an actor who has the appropriate physical attributes and, if possible, with facial features that are particularly appealing. 4 "

Ingegneri advises against the use of the classical mask for all genres, and his reason for this is that they tend to impede the actor in his pronunciation of the text as well as create an impression of a walking statue ["quasi statue parlanti"] on stage, a concern that we also found in De Sommi. Furthermore the mask hides the natural expressiveness of the face of the actor, which Ingegneri considers to be of utmost importance. Like De Sommi, Ingegneri holds the work of the actor in high regard; thus when the director is confronted with an actor who has histrionic ability but lacks the appropriate physical attributes for playing a particular role, Ingegneri advises the director to employ the more talented actor and "mask" the imperfections with art which, in his view, remedies nature. 50 By "art" Ingegneri refers to make-up, hair pieces, cothurni and other such means. With respect to (male) actors portraying female roles, Ingegneri claims that as long as the actors have facial features that are feminine in aspect the "imperfections" can be masked by similar means. 51 Ingegneri advises against the use of padding under costumes, which was used in antiquity to increase the size of the body and the limbs of the actors. His reason for this is that the heavily padded body next to the natural size of the head of the actor would disfigure the overall impression which the
director wishes to create.52

Like De Sommi, Ingegneri advises the director to (visibly) distinguish between the characters that will be represented on the stage on the basis of class and rank in all genres. The director must take into account not only the nobility of the characters but also their ignobility.53 Thus high-ranking characters of the society being represented, such as Edipo and Jocasta in Edipo tiranno, must be the tallest figures on the stage and the humble characters the shortest. Ingegneri suggests the use of shoes, boots and slippers that vary in height and design in order to achieve this distinction.

In the case of the pastoral, the director must see to it that the shepherds and the nymphs are the shortest figures on the stage ["le più basse persone"] because they are the lowest in rank and share this status among each other.54 The actors portraying these figures should be assigned flat slippers to wear with their costumes. Ingegneri advises the director to seek out the shortest actors available to him when assigning these parts however he must bear in mind that magnificent sets and perspectives can easily deform the appearance of the on-stage figures by making them appear smaller than they actually are. The director can compensate for this variance by paying attention to the blocking of the action, the specific placement of the figures within the setting, as well as the movement and gestural behaviour of the individual actors as they move within the scene.
Costumes

With respect to the costumes worn by the actors, Ingegneri considers the rules of Pollux to be restrictive for the dramatic works of modern times and urges the designer-director to adapt the rules to modern taste and conventions (based on the specific requirements of the play being represented) and to look to contemporary painting ["pittori eccellenti"] as a source of study for their designs.\(^5\)

As a general rule, the director should distinguish between characters based on their age, gender, profession and rank. He must see to it that the highest-ranking characters in the drama wear the longest and most ample cloaks made of the most exquisite fabrics, the most expensive looking accessories, and the longest hair pieces. The costumes will also differ according to the customs and styles of the specific city or country in which the play takes place and the director must see to it that this is faithfully represented on stage.

For example, the toga would be fitting for plays set in ancient Rome and the pallio for those set in classical Greece. Ingegneri observes that in modern plays the French and Spanish make use of short, thigh-length cloaks in contrast to the longer knee-length robes worn in Poland and Hungary. According to Italian custom, ample robes with billowing sleeves cut to the elbow are appropriate to Venice; il lucco to Lucca and Fiorenza; la cappa corta to Genoa; and il robbone for Bologna.\(^5\)
Ingegneri advises the director to see to it that the treatment of costumes is distinguished according to genre. For example, in tragedy the costumes must be superb and expensive looking ["riccamente e superbamente"], in comedy, civil but unadorned ["civilmente ma pulitamente"], and in the pastoral, pleasant and humble ["umilmente ma con garbo e delicatezza che voglia quanto la pompa"]. In Ingegneri’s view, each costume, from superb to humble, must be characterized by a certain aristocratic elegance in design and construction - an approach that we encounter in De Sommi. The theoretical premise behind this approach (which was characteristic of court as well as academic theatre) is that the stage is a reflection of the elegance and sophistication of the modern spectator. To this end, the costumes of all low-ranking characters including the shepherds and nymphs (and, in De Sommi, the animals that appear in the pastoral) are treated with taste and elegance.

With respect to the tragic genre, Ingegneri cites his treatment of Edipo tiranno as an appropriate model for the conception and treatment of costumes. In this production, Oedipus was distinguished by a golden regal crown, a beautifully moulded sceptre, a golden-coloured robe draped over an underslip in the Greek style, a purple brocade mantle finished at the edges with embroidery, and tall cothurni. In Ingegneri’s view, the director must see to it that crown and sceptre are employed for the kings and princes in all tragic plays since he considers these properties to be the principal (visual) symbols of
empowerment." In Edipo tiranno Ingegneri’s choice of colour for Oedipus’s robe and mantle derives specifically from his study of the secondary text which indicates that Edipo is a Saviour figure. Ingegneri literalizes this image by employing the colour gold which was associated with the depiction of religious figures in the paintings of the period.

Ingegneri favours the use of a monochromatic colour scheme in order to distinguish and particularize each character that enters the scene as well as to enhance the overall visual splendour of the mise en scène. For example, Jocasta is dressed in a gold-coloured underslip, a dark long-sleeved robe finished with cuffs and gold-coloured buttons, tall cothurni, long hair adorned with veils, and a gold crown. Creon is dressed predominantly in black with a hat trimmed in gold and silver, and his entourage of six are dressed in bright blue robes trimmed with white leather sashes around the waist. The chorus wear robes each of a different colour with either red or blue caps which serve to visually unify the group in the scene. The Priest is dressed predominantly in white in contrast to the various coloured robes of the priests. Teiresias wears a simple earth-coloured wool robe and the youth that leads him into the scene is dressed in a simple green-coloured robe in the Greek style. The First Messenger wears a short dark-green robe with a grey mantle and collar and a golden-coloured "travelling" cap. The Herdsman wears a dark gold-coloured robe cut to the knees and "rough" leather boots."
Ingegneri also pays attention to visual uniformity in the choice of colour for the wigs and hair pieces for each character. For example the Priest sports long grey-white hair and beard, Teiresias, the Herdsman, the priests and the older gentlemen in Oedipus's entourage wear grey-white hair pieces, the children in the prologue and the Pages in Jocasta's entourage have curly golden hair, the female servants wear simple braids gathered at the back, and the male servants sport short cropped hair under simple caps. Ingegneri proposes that the kings and queens of the tragic genre should be distinguished by an entourage of guards and men or women-in waiting, and in Edipo tiranno he assigns a guard of twenty-four Archers dressed in Turkish fashion, Pages and Courtiers to Edipo and a retinue of eighteen ladies-in-waiting, Pages and Servants to Jocasta. As a general rule, Ingegneri favours the employment of supernumeraries in tragedy because, in his view, these retinues are appropriate reflections of the stature of the principal characters. In addition, they serve to enhance the magnitude of the tragic event that will unfold in the scene.

The use of supernumeraries to enhance the overall splendour of the *mise en scène* was common practice in the sixteenth century treatment of tragedy. In the 1562 production of Sofonisba in Vicenza, over sixty supernumeraries were employed to visually support the twelve principal roles. In Edipo tiranno Ingegneri employs over one hundred supernumeraries. However, as Cesare Molinari observes, these extra non-speaking roles were not
conceived as an indiscriminate mass but rather as individual characters who were particularized by class, rank and profession, and who were (visually) differentiated from the principal characters by the colour, cut and design of their wardrobe and accessories.  

In *Edipo tiranno*, Jocasta’s retinue consists of: eight youthful Pages dressed in black and silver-coloured livery with neatly coiffed blond curls, with the most handsome of the youths ["il più bello"] assigned to the task of carrying the train of Jocasta’s robe; two elderly Gentlemen dressed in black cloaks worn to knee length with oriental swords ["scimitarre"] hanging from the waist belts, necklaces, black velvet caps and varying tones of greyish-white hair pieces; three distinguished looking Matrons elegantly dressed each in a different coloured gown with veils and long pony-tails; four Maids dressed in gowns similar to the Matrons but with less detail and finish, and shorter hair pieces; and three Servants in simple black and gold coloured livery with short hair worn under simple caps.  

Ingegneri’s detailed attention to the wardrobe of each figure in this retinue (above) is characteristic of his treatment for each of the principal and non-speaking characters in his *mise en scène*. In Ingegneri’s view, dynamic, colourful costumes and accessories that are beautifully designed and expertly constructed, will provide a visual feast for the spectator viewing the scene.  

Ingegneri concludes his discussion on costumes by observing
that the expense associated with creating a spectacular visual impact and with providing a particularized wardrobe for each figure in the scene need not deter the director from creating evocative designs. In his view an imaginative and highly skilled designer can create a dynamic impression in this regard by his selection of colours and textures and his expert handling of the fabrics and the accessories as his disposal. According to Ingegneri, the costumes for his production of *Edipo tiranno* were so beautifully conceived and so expertly constructed that after the performance several members of the audience requested to view and touch the costumes because, from a distance, they appeared so exquisite that it seemed impossible that they were not worth a fortune.63

Blocking Actors

Ingegneri’s discussion on the blocking of the actors in the scene presupposes that line, form, rhythm and space are raw materials that enable the director to fashion a visual feast for the spectator, which, set against dynamic scenery, evocative music and elegant costumes, will enhance the affective potential of the mise en scène. As a general rule, Ingegneri advises the director who is blocking productions with large casts of characters and supernumeraries, to see to it that the actors enter the scene, find their positions and exit into the wings in
a manner that is organized and expedient and that causes the least amount of confusion on the stage and behind the scenic facade.  

With respect to the chorus in tragedy, the figures should be positioned in the scene in one of two basic formations pertaining to their dramatic function in the specific episode, that is, singing the choral odes or listening to and interacting in the dramatic action. Ingegneri maintains that these formations will enable the director to produce marvellous visual effects for the spectator. For example, in his treatment of the musical odes in Edipo tiranno, Ingegneri directs the actors to enter the scene from the stage left archway in a highly mannered style and in measured rhythm as they form a half circle that covers the breadth of the stage. This configuration as well as the high style is replicated in the subsequent odes.  

When required to listen to and interact in the dialogue, Ingegneri positions the ensemble in such a way that the figures create an informal and life-like impression that invokes the harmony and proportion of contemporary painting and sculpture. He achieves this by emphasizing the form, line and shape of the bodies within the scene, the spatial relationship between one actor and another, the relation of the actors to the perspective scenery, and the carriage and gestural behaviour of the individual actors. With respect to the blocking of entourages, Ingegneri advises the director to exercise caution with the entrances of these figures from the streets and the manner in which they "take" their final
positions in the scene. As a general rule, the director must see to it that the face of each figure in the retinue is visible to the audience at all times and that the impression as a whole depicts pictorial motion, that is, a continuous movement of figures from archways and into the scene. Ingegneri illustrates the pleasing visual effects that can be created in this regard by citing his marvellous treatment ["era una meraviglia"] of the retinues of Edipo, Jocasta and Creon (twenty-eight, twenty-five and six figures respectively) in Edipo tiranno, and he attributes the success of these sequences in the production to his firm direction and "good instruction" of the actors."

One of the tools that Ingegneri made use of in blocking the actors in Edipo tiranno was the stage floor itself, which was marked out into parts of geometrical formations and painted in various colours complementary to the stage decor and resembling marble. In this way, the actors could be directed to specific areas of the stage, knowing how many feet to move one way or the other without bumping into one another or destroying the harmony and proportion of the overall picture. Ingegneri observes that the choreography of the actors via "blocks" ["marmi di diversi colori"] serves more than a functional service since, if the movement is skilfully executed, it can provide marvellous visual effects for the spectator. Naturally, Ingegneri oberves, each actor must be well instructed in rehearsals in order to carry out these movements with a sense of precision and grace." In his Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne’ teatri, Sabbattini
describes how to design and paint the floor in the manner described by Ingegneri. He maintains that, on account of the rehearsals, the painting of the floor should be one of the last tasks of the pre-production phase:

With actors and stage workers walking to and fro the painting and principal marks might be easily wiped out; thus the floor must be painted only shortly before the time of the performance and care must be taken when it is finished, not to let anyone walk on it."

Ghosts and other infernal creatures on stage

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of the visual aspects of production with an examination of the treatment of ghosts and other infernal creatures on stage which, he observes, have become increasingly popular in the works of modern dramatists. However, in the opinion of Ingegneri, these apparitions are generally rendered ridiculous in performance, and this, "per l’obligo", impels him to discuss the best methods of achieving more desirable effects."

The first principal that the director must consider is the placement of the infernal creature on the stage. In Ingegneri’s view the up-stage area is best because when positioned next to the perspectives (which diminish in size and finally becoming very small up-stage) the ghost will appear to be enormous in
stature and thus more horrifying to the spectator. Furthermore, since the rear of the stage is the darkest area, a veil made of dark fabric can easily be suspended between the perspective screens behind which the ghost will be able to move about. This positioning will enable the audience to view the apparition indistinctly through the veil thus producing a greater realistic effect.

Ingegneri advises the director to see to it that the ghost is completely draped in black silk or other light material which will flow easily while in motion. The arms and legs of the creature should not be visible or distinguished and it must appear to be a shapeless, inhuman figure ["una cosa informe"]. He should not move by formal steps or appear to walk like a human being but rather glide on a small device with wheels that can produce an impression of continuous motion.

The creature must be made to speak in shrill, rough, harsh and horrible inhuman tones ["in conclusione orribile e non naturale"] that are maintained at the same pitch at all times. While it speaks it should be in continuous motion, and it should be made to disappear in the instant that it ceases to speak. As the creature vanishes, the veil must be consumed by fire and this is achieved by soaking the veil beforehand with aqua-vita so that there is no danger of the fire causing harm in any way. The fire will increase the horror of the spectacle ["accresce l’orrore"] and dazzle the spectator as it masks the trick of the sudden disappearance. To this end, Ingegneri claims it is better to
carry this out this effect at the extreme end of the set where it will be further removed from the eyes of the spectator.\textsuperscript{71}

Depending on the play or intermezzo being represented and the specific effect that he wishes to produce, the sixteenth century director would have two options for the portrayal of the ghost. He could employ an actor to impersonate him directly, which Ingegneri seems to favour, or he could construct the ghost out of wood and fabric in conformity to the specific needs of the play and the theatre where the performance is to take place. In his treatise, Sabbattini describes both options. The feigned ghost is constructed out of various cuts of fabric on the back of which are attached several pieces of wood according to the dimensions required by the director. These wooden pieces are then nailed to a centre pole that is held below the stage (in a trap door) by the technician operating the ghost. At the appropriate moment in the action, the trap door would be opened quickly to make the ghost suddenly appear. The ghost would be made to twist, bend down and move about in the scene by means of cords which are attached to the creature’s body and which are operated by a second and third technician. The ghost would be made to speak by means of a speaking tube which was run from the face (a mask of some sort) down to the mouth of the operator who would be made to speak into it with the required text at the proper time.

The second method, the preferred choice of Ingegneri, would involve the impersonation of the ghost by an actor who would be
wheeled on to the stage from the side wings on Ingegneri’s device with wheels ["picciole ruote"], a wooden dolly with castors. This was probably operated by one or two technicians who would presumably sit on, or perhaps behind, the dolly and execute the appropriate tricks. The actor-ghost would be dressed in a garment of long flowing fabrics which, according to Sabbattini, could be made to increase and diminish in size by means of a wooden hoop or umbrella of ribs attached underneath the dress. A small cord would be attached to the lower end of each rib and these cords would be tied together and fastened to the wooden hoop, and then raised and lowered to increase the size of the creature. To increase the height of the ghost a centre wooden pole would be attached to the waist-belt of the actor and then raised and lowered as desired."

In his anatomical distillation of the literary text (above) Ingegneri distinguishes between the narrative and the character lines of action. By approaching the study of the text in this manner, the director will emerge with an understanding of what the actors must say and do ["dire e fare"] in the scene based on the ‘why’ which is provided by the poet in the form of given circumstances." Ingegneri claims it is the function of the
director to instruct the actors in this regard, and in this discussion, azione, Ingegneri describes the methods (derived from the rhetorical works of classical antiquity) which will enable the actor to translate words and actions into concrete vocal and gestural behaviour.

Ingegneri divides azione into two categories, voice and gesture - the vocal delivery of the words of the play and their expression in appropriate gestural behaviour by the actors on stage. In Ingegneri’s view words and gestures, which correspond to what the spectator will see and hear ["l’una riguarda l’udire e l’altra il vedere"], have intrinsic eloquence, which, in their totality, represent the potential poetic expression and efficacy of the final performance." To this end, the director must develop a command of the grammar of the actor in order to instruct and direct his actors in rehearsals and facilitate excellence in performance.

As we have seen in De Sommi, acting in the Renaissance was subsumed under the rubric of rhetoric, or the art of oratory, which was generally divided into five parts: inventione, dispositio, elocutio, memoria and pronuntiato or actio. Memoria and pronuntiato, memory and delivery, were directly applicable to acting and most performers would have rudimentary training in these arts. Ingegneri appropriates these "parts" in his discussion of azione.

Memory was classified as either natural or artificial. The artificial type was developed using one of the memory theatre
methods which were common since antiquity. This consisted of associating visual scenes or loci with specific arguments or points and imprinting these on the memory. The most common memory theatre was the architectural type and this consisted of moving through a memory building while making a speech and drawing the images from the rooms which the actor had placed in them. The order of the speech or argument would be informed by the sequence of the places or rooms in the building. Delivery was divided into two parts, voice and gesture: the training of the voice and the development of various voices for different occasions, and the cultivation of an elaborate catalogue of body positions.75

Ingegneri classifies voice into quantitative and qualitative parts. The quantitative parts correspond to pitch ["grave, acuta"] and volume ["grande o picciola"]. The qualitative parts consist of clarity, flexibility, and endurance. Each of these parts, qualitative and quantitative, will differ depending on the mode and subject matter being expressed in the particular scene or speech. For example, the voice of prosperity would be full, simple and light, whereas the voice of rage and contention would be atrocious, interruptive and raspy. If the speech is intended to please, then the voice must be soft and pleasant, to promise or comfort, firm and gentle, to sympathize with, yielding and mournful, and to demonstrate affection, grandiose and full.76

Ingegneri continues his discussion by observing that gesture consists of the overall expressiveness or movement of the
(actor’s) body in the scene. The director must consider the carriage and comportment of the actor, the placement of the feet and overall distribution of the actor’s weight in the body, the use and placement of the hands, and finally, the gaze of the eyes.” Appropriate gestural behaviour is dependent on the style and the office of the particular speech or scene which is being performed. The three offices which Ingegneri refers to, based on Cicero and Quintilian, consist of: to instruct or teach (docere), to please (delectare), and to move (movere). Style, which is subdivided into plain, tempered and ornate, is the means for carrying out these three offices.

With respect to the integration of voice and gesture, the director must see to it that the actor relates word to gesture and in turn that voice and gesture correspond to the subject of the speech (the more important the subject, the higher or ornate the style will be), the diction (the quality of the speech and use of figurative language), the syntax (the texture and arrangement of the composition), the progression of the thought (the extent to which the process of discursive thought is followed), and finally, the effects which the actor wishes to achieve (grand style would have the greater emotional effects on the audience).” In their totality, these parameters constitute the grammar of the actor which, in rehearsal, will enable the director to instruct the actor in the development of the character which he will portray in the scene.

We have no substantive information with respect to the
rehearsals for *Edipo tiranno*, their organization, frequency, or whether the actors were provided with the entire text or simply their own "parts". However, from the Zigiotti manuscript we know that the entire rehearsal process spanned a year and that the principals were incorporated up to four months prior to the opening. We also know that Ingegnri instructed his actors thoroughly on the play’s action as well as on the individual roles. Thus, while Ingegnri does not describe it as such in this discussion, his method of working with the actor would proceed along these lines. One, the director would illuminate the intricacies of the text from the whole to the small parts. Two, the director and the actor would discuss the "substance" of the character, that is, his emotional make-up, history, desires, objectives and range of potential responses beginning with the circumstances that incite the action in act one and the sequential shifts that occur scene by scene and between acts. Three, the outer aspect of the character would be considered - his age and physical peculiarities, his carriage and gestural behaviour, his physical relationship with the other characters on stage based on his status, rank and profession. Four, the actor would explore the outward expression of this inner life and history through gestural behaviour and the qualitative and quantitative parts of the voice. Five, under the guidance of the director, the actor would begin to integrate the inner and outer aspects of the character and their revelation scene by scene based on sequential logic provided by the poet’s score. Implicit
in this method is the ability of the actor as well as the director to study the primary text and extract the clues to characterization from the invisible sub-text, as well as an understanding that building a character is a collaborative undertaking between the actor and the director. In addition, Ingegneri’s approach presumes that the director walks into the rehearsal hall prepared (with his written "anatomy") and able to facilitate the creation of a convincing character with his solid grasp of the language of the actor.

Ingegneri concludes his discussion on the work of the actor with a cautionary note on affectation in performance. In his view artificial posturing and rhetorical "ranting" must be strictly avoided by the actor, particularly when working with ornate language and a high style, because this generally produces a displeasing effect on the eyes and ears of the spectator. Ingegneri observes that a controlled voice and suitable gestures constitute a decorous and verisimilar expression on stage and as such both the director and the actor must be aware of the potent force ["forza"] of decorum and verisimilitude and the danger of deviating from these doctrines. The director must see to it that the outer (gesture) and inner (emotions) aspects of the character being portrayed are perfectly synchronized, and that the facial expressions of the actor are life-like and potentially affective. Ingegneri closes his discussion of azione by citing Horace's dictum "Before you can move me to tears, you must grieve yourself; and only then will your words distress me."

In
Ingegneri's view, this is the ultimate measure of excellence in performance.\textsuperscript{82}

Music

In this section, \textit{musica}, Ingegneri outlines a number of rudimentary principles on the integration of music in performance which are intended for all genres. However, a good part of Ingegneri's discussion is devoted to the treatment of the choral odes in tragedy.

Ingegneri begins by stating that in the pastoral and the comedy, genres which do not generally require a formal chorus, the director can employ music at his discretion, that is, either as a musical interlude between episodes or as an accompaniment to the scenic action. In these cases, the director must see to it that the placement of the instrumental ensemble is coincident with the dimensions and the lay-out of the theatre itself (open or enclosed, indoor or outdoor) and that the ensemble is positioned in relation to the acting area. In this way the director will facilitate acoustical ease for the spectator. According to Ingegneri, the contrapuntal texture of polyphonic music performed with instrumental accompaniment will produce delightful effects for the spectator, however, he states his preference for compositions that consist solely of human voices.
since this will enable the spectator to better comprehend the poetic text word for word. When musical interludes are employed between one act and another, in order to relieve the minds of the spectator from the intensity of the scenic action, Ingegneri claims that the compositions should be sweet, soothing and refreshing and this will enable the spectator to better enjoy the action that is to follow.

With respect to the choral odes of tragedy, they must be treated in a manner which is distinguished from that of the verse spoken during the episodes, and which implies ordinary speech ("parlare ordinario"). By this Ingegneri means that the odes must be conceived in terms of verisimilar musical dialogue whose purpose is to enhance and illuminate aspects of the narrative without hindering the sequential logic of the scenic action. If the odes are performed with instrumental accompaniment, then the director must ensure that the verse is delivered in such a way that the words of the composition are intelligible to each member in the audience. The director, or choir-master, must see to it that the pitch, volume and register of the choral voices are effectively harmonized in order to ensure a clear expression of the text. In addition, the director must see to it that the odes are synchronized with the (strategically placed) musical instruments in order that the instrumentalists and the singers do not appear to belong to two separate ensembles. If the odes are presented without instrumental accompaniment, they must be treated with arte maggiore, and by this Ingegneri presumably
means that the odes must be sung in a grand, solemn manner in keeping with the serious subject matter of the tragic genre. With or without instrumental accompaniment, the director must see to it that the final impression created in performance is an affective expression of the dramatic narrative."

Ingegneri continues his discussion of the tragic chorus by observing that in classical antiquity this ensemble consisted of fifty actors. In his view, this number emerged from the fact that a large group of performers would produce an attractive visual effect in performance, and that the odes themselves would be better heard and understood by the spectator. Furthermore, since this ensemble represents the collective voice of an entire community in classical tragedy, a large gathering from the off-stage outskirts of the city into the scene would be logical and verisimilar.

Ingegneri observes that Sophocles reduced the number of the chorus from fifty to fifteen actors, who were made to enter the scene from the streets in processions comprised of three rows of five or five rows of three. As Ingegneri understands it, the ancient chorus recited the tragic odes while executing expressive dance-like movements which were intended to mirror the ideas of the tragic poem. To this end the classical odes were conceived as strophic structures, and the rhythm of these sequences as a whole would be driven by the arrangement of the text. Thus in the opinion of Ingegneri, these sequences were "active", affective expressions of the narrative which were intended to
arouse the emotional responsiveness of the spectator.

In Edipo tiranno Ingegneri attempts to reconcile the dance component of antiquity with the physical limitations of an indoor theatre as well as sixteenth century tastes and conventions. He describes the manner and quality of the movement of the chorus in his production as solemn and sombre with gravi giri and periodic pauses. By this Ingegneri refers to a style of movement positioned between simple walking ["semplice caminare"] and the expressive dances of classical antiquity. According to a critique of the production by Antonio Riccoboni, Ingegneri "defrauded" Sophocles in this regard. In addition, in the opinion of Riccoboni, the text was not always intelligible and the intended effects which Sophocles wished to convey with his tragic chorus were conspicuously absent in Ingegneri's treatment. However, according to accounts by Pigafetta and Dolfin, Ingegneri's conception succeeded in recalling the "ideal" effects that he set out to achieve.

Ingegneri cites Pier Vittorio who claims that the poets of antiquity positioned the chorus in the orchestra of the amphitheatre and in this way it could retire between odes without interrupting the scenic action. In Ingegneri's view, it is preferable, in modern, indoor productions, to keep the chorus on the stage throughout the action, following its first entrance in the prologue, on the grounds of verisimilitude. In Ingegneri's Aristotelian view, the chorus is an integral participant of the tragic action through song and speech, and thus it is preferable
to position the group on the stage still and waiting throughout the drama as "good" participants, rather than moving them on and off the stage as Signor Vittorio suggests. In addition, the director must see to it that the chorus is placed in carefully choreographed standing, rather than seated, positions within the scene. His reason for this is that accommodating up to fifteen seats in the setting for these actors would compromise the visual splendour of the *mise en scène.*

When the chorus is required to sing the tragic odes, the director must see to it that the other characters in the scene are made to exit to their respective houses or streets in order that the chorus appears alone on stage. In this way, in keeping with Ingegneri's understanding of the chorus as conceived by Sophocles, the chorus will fulfil its dual function in accordance with classical convention and will be rendered noble, serious and good participants.

Ingegneri dismisses an observation made by Francesco Robortello that Sophocles erred in his conception of the first ode of *Oedipus the King,* and as such this sequence should be performed by the Priest and the children in the prologue. In the opinion of Ingegneri, based on his treatment of *Edipo tiranno,* it is crucial that the *parode* be performed by the chorus. His reason for this is that the emotional state of the chorus ("Trema la mente in me stupida et tutta/Per timor sbigottita:/ Da sollecita tema/Scuoter il cor mi sento.") will set the tone for the subsequent action in act two. Ingegneri's Aristotelian
understanding of the tale presumes that the chorus contributes to the oratorical progression of the drama by imploring through song and speech. To this end, in Giustiniani's translation, the choral ode in act four, corresponding to Sophocles' third episode, and the final ode, Sophocles' exode, are written to be spoken rather than sung. The remaining four odes are written as musical stasiman. In addition, in Ingegneri's view, the final ode is better served by speech rather than song because the depth and scope of Edipo's misfortune necessitates an articulation that will produce an affective closure for the spectator viewing the production.\(^9\)

According to Ingegneri, it was the custom of the poets of antiquity to accompany the voices of the chorus with instrumental music in order to mask potential (singing) errors in performance, as well as to enhance the overall dramatic effect of these sequences. Ingegneri states his preference for the use of human voices without accompaniment; however, should the modern director choose to employ instruments, he must see to it that the selection of the instruments and their specific placement in the scene coincides with the collective vocal power of the singers, as well as the acoustical capacity and architectural peculiarities of the theatre space itself.\(^5\)

Generally speaking, in court theatres throughout the Renaissance, instrumental ensembles were positioned either behind the backdrops, in the wings, or at the sides of the stage. The orchestra which separated viewing and playing area was
traditionally reserved for the ladies. Instrumentalists placed in front of the stage were considered to be obtrusive to the stage illusion. In his treatise, Sabbattini discusses the placement of the musicians in the traditional locations referred to by Ingegneri. He cautions against placing the instrumentalists within the setting because they would interfere with the periaktoi and machines employed for special effects. He advises placing the ensemble on the sides of the stage on wooden balconies that are built into the walls of the temporary stage. (In Vicenza, the balconies were built into the second storey of the sides of the stage walls of the Olimpico). However, should the director require the musicians placed within the scene, then their positions should be fixed in advance of the construction of the setting. He suggests the use of wooden scaffolds, built high above the stage floor one on each side of the scene (running between the first house and the wall behind the back shutter) which are fixed partly to the wall and partly to the floor of the hall or theatre. The supporting beams should pass through a hole in the stage floor so that the scaffolds make no direct contact with the stage. In this way the dances and movement of the actors will not upset the instruments and the musicians may be placed comfortably within the scene without being seen by the spectators. In his production of Edipo tiranno, Ingegneri placed the musicians behind the perspectives. We have little information on the make-up of the ensemble, however, accounts by Dolfin, Pigafetta and Zigiotti indicate that among the musicians
were the Pellizzari sisters of Mantua, famous throughout the late Renaissance for their musical abilities and in particular their performance on the cornetto and trombone.”

Ingegneri concludes his discussion of musica by reiterating his preference for a tragic chorus comprised of solely human voices without instrumental accompaniment. In his view, the function of these sequences is to heighten the tragic action in light of the effects which the poet wishes to convey. To this end the musical framework of the composition must support and facilitate the perfect enunciation of the words of the poem in such a way that even the shortest syllable will be clearly understood by the spectator. In this way not only will the audience be transported by what the chorus is expressing, but the poet will have achieved his goal of moving the spectator to horror and pity, thereby effecting purgation as is the task of tragedy.”

In Edipo tiranno, Gabrieli’s music for the choral odes, based on the strophic structure employed in Giustiniani’s translation, was composed in deference to Ingegneri’s vision as outlined in Progetto. The production of Edipo tiranno was conceived as a theatrical rather than a musical performance. To this end, there were no musical interludes during the performance of Edipo tiranno and the chorus consisted of solely human voices who sang their odes when alone in the scene. The premise behind the unadorned, homophonic texture of Gabrieli’s composition was to enable the modern spectator to comprehend the poetic text
phrase by phrase and syllable by syllable, thereby invoking the "ideal" effects of classical antiquity as Ingegneri understood them to be.

According to Leo Schrade, Gabrieli was restricted technically by Ingegneri’s vision of ideality. The rigid texture of the composition, scored in such a way that all the voice sing each syllable together with no vocal or instrumental embellishments whatsoever, can be termed syllabic declamation. In performance, musical colour and variety was achieved through pitch (the high or low register of the voices) and harmonic variety and the rhythm of the odes was driven soley by the oratorical progression of the poetic text.

According to Pigafetta, the chorus spoke in "pleasing unison", so that almost all the words were clearly understood. Ingegneri succeeded in what he set out to achieve, that is the "calm, serious [and] mournful" odes enhanced the calamitous tone of the scenic action to great effect. Riccoboni maintains that the odes were un-Sophoclean, that is, in his opinion the poetry was un-intelligible, the voices lacked passion, and the "muted" choreography, Ingegneri’s half-moon configuration, was aesthetically displeasing. Dolfin provides us with a middling assessment of the effects achieved in production. He notes the declamatory style of delivery and the simple, rigid musical texture of the composition but adds that "almost every word" was comprehensible and that, in his view, Ingegneri had succeeded in honouring the ancient master, Sophocles."
Conclusion

According to the Zigiotti manuscript, the Accademia Olimpica functioned as a collective body with respect to the planning and organization of its theatrical endeavors. Society members would form committees to take charge of various tasks from selecting the text and distributing the parts to the actors, to designing costumes, constructing scenery, guarding the scena during rehearsals, and ushering the guests to their seats at the final performance - an organizational model that would characterize the creation of Edipo tiranno. However, in the Academy’s formative years, the theatrical performances were generally directed by committees.

For the production of Sofonisba in 1562, for example, two committees of three were struck to distribute the parts to the actors and direct the chorus with Andrea Palladio supervising the scenic matters. For the production of L’Amor costante in the same year, Palladio, who oversaw the design and construction of the scene, supervised the production in partnership with fellow academician Barbarano. For the production of Andria in 1557, a committee of four was assigned to supervise the production under the charge of academician Girolamo da Schio. However, until Ingegneri’s production of Edipo tiranno, there is no evidence of a directorial figure in Academy productions whose authority prevailed and whose vision overruled committee suggestions.

In Gallo’s La prima rappresentazione al Teatro Olimpico, we
have evidence that the *Edipo tiranno* production team, in a spirit of collectivity, put forth ideas with respect to the treatment of the costumes, the music and the lighting of the scene. In his dedication to the Progetto, Ingegneri expresses gratitude to fellow academician Paolo Teggia for his assistance in the development of his conception for *Edipo tiranno*, which suggests that some sort of dialogue between these two gentlemen took place in the pre-production phase. However, based on Academy transcripts, the various critiques of the production, and the final mise en scène which Ingegneri refers to in *Della poesia rappresentativa*, Ingegneri's directorial authority prevailed throughout the creation of *Edipo tiranno*, and his vision (with respect to the conception of the characters, the treatment of the setting, costumes and lighting effects, the coordination of the supernumeraries and the blocking of the actors, and the beginning of the performance) was carried out in accordance with his plan of action.

In the Progetto, Ingegneri approaches the "anatomy" of *Edipo tiranno* from the whole to the small parts, that is, he scores the narrative and emotional lines of action from the principal movements to the minor beats. He pays particular attention to the character line-of-action, which is in keeping with his understanding of the tale as a series of collisions between the perceptions and perspectives of the individual characters. In addition, as a document, Progetto is characterized by a pointed self-referentiality which we have seen in *Della poesia*
rappresentativa. In modern directorial practice the unique style and spirit which the individual director brings to his understanding of the tale to be represented, and to his art and craft in general, is held in high regard because it is considered to be a point of access in understanding the director’s "thought". In Della poesia rappresentativa Ingegneri infuses his rules on play-writing and production with amusing anecdotes based on his observations of contemporary production. In Progetto he anatomizes Edipo tiranno while meditating randomly on performance and directorial practice.

I propose that Ingegneri’s ‘spirit’, in both Della poesia rappresentativa and in the Progetto, reflects an individual who is not only aware of his own virtuosity but who advocates the right of the director to display his virtuosity through representation. We encounter this in Della poesia rappresentativa in which he argues for the rights of writers to explore new literary forms and style. In the Progetto, he encourages the director to use his own judgement and taste when exploring the text and developing his mise en scène. In Ingegneri’s view, exploration, or, the calculated audacity of the artist, although he does not define it as such, must be encouraged by theorists and practitioners alike because it reflects the maturation of a cultured and progressive society. Ingegneri’s point of view in this regard is informed directly by the spirit of late-Renaissance Italy which promoted l’uomo universale to unruly genius. Ingegneri presumes that the source of the creative act
is non-linear and non-formulaic. In Ingegneri's view, the "rules" of creating a *mise en scène*, directing a performance, composing a play or building a character represent the methods and means of artistic expression but it is the spirit or genius of the individual that transfigures prescription into vision.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Della poesia rappresentativa 23.

2. Della poesia rappresentativa 25.

3. Hornby 25.


5. Della poesia rappresentativa 24.

6. "Con tali presupposti dinnanzi a tutta la favola e fra l’un atto a l’altro di quella, si verra possedendo perfettissimamente l’intelligenza di quanto hanno a dire e fare d’atto in atto sulla scena gl’istrioni, onde si potranno drittamente ammaestrare."
   Della poesia rappresentativa 25.


8. Della poesia rappresentativa 24. See also Progetto 9-10, 15.

9. "il re, eccitato da questo bisbiglio e mosso dalla sua novità e invitato dalla vicinanza del luoco e molto più dalla cura di buon principe, determini d’uscire in persona e dimandar la cagione di tale movimento." Della poesia rappresentativa 24,

11. "Laonde tanto impaziente d'aspettarlo in casa, quanto ansioso di dare qualche buon ordine al negozio, se ne viene fuori e ritrova il coro, con cui si pone a ragionare insin che arriva Tiresia." 

Della poesia rappresentativa 25.


17. Della poesia rappresentativa 25.

18. Herbert Blau, "Politics and the Theatre," Wascana Review Vol. 2, No. 2. (1976): 25. Blau makes no reference to Ingegneri in this essay, however his thoughts on Greek tragedy and in particular the Greek notion of fate are interesting in light of what Ingegneri attempts to achieve in his mise en scène. Blau posits fate as a geographical or spatial concept, that is, that the destiny of Oedipus unfolds on an allotted "plot" of ground and that deviations from this physical-psychological place result in tragic consequences. These concepts are implied in Ingegneri's preoccupation with establishing an evocative physical-psychological "place" on stage.
19. "Con tali presupposti dinnanzi a tutta la favola e fra l’un atto e l’altro di quella, si verrà possedendo perfettissimamente l’intelligenza di quanto hanno a dire e fare d’atto in atto sulla scena gl’istrioni, onde si potranno drittamente ammaestrare. E la seconda cura di chi attendera alla lor istruzione devrà essere il cercare che siano anche’essi capaci dei medisimi imaginati discorsi, a fine che, meglio intendendo ciò ch’essi dicono, il proferiscano più acconciamente e in quella guisa a punto ch’è richiesta al decoro e alla verisimilitudine dell’azione. Della poesia rappresentativa 25.

20. "E questa quasi anatomia che s’è fatta dell’Edipo tiranno, o più tosto distillazione a parte a parte di tutta la sostanza sua, si potrà fare, e devrassi, d’ogni altra tragedia, commedia over pastorale che l’uom si pigli a rappresentare. Della poesia rappresentativa 25.

21. For further discussion see Hornby 10-39.

22. Ingegneri’s anatomical distillation of the (soul of the ) play-script via the given circumstances corresponds with Stanislavski’s formulation which presumes that the text is the starting point that enables the actor or director to access the essence or hidden meaning which the author wishes to convey. Directors such as Reinhardt and Craig employ the text as the "master plan" for stylistic elaborations that depart noticeably from the text. In
Ingegneri’s view the director works in collaboration with the text, and the sign of individual genius in the director derives from the elaborations that accentuate the boundaries established by the poet. Further information on Reinhardt and Craig may be found in Cole and Chinoy 147-163, 296-310. See also Stanislavsky, An Actor Prepares.


27. "the most famous theatre in the world...the world’s most excellent tragedy." Pigafetta 54. Nagler, Source Book 84.


29. Dolfin 33.


32. In Progetto Ingegneri discusses the evocative effects that can be achieved by emphasizing the physical differences between the characters within the scene. In act one for example Creon and Edipo speak in a gentle and familiar tone which in Ingegneri’s view must be sustained through to the end of the act. Ingegneri proposes that they exit the scene together to (visually) substantiate their ease with one another. Ingegneri considers this picture to be important because it will contrast effectively with their heated argument in act three which results in Creon’s "furious" exit off stage. Similarly, in the first episode between Edipo and Tiresia, Edipo is warm and gracious and the Seer frightened as well as reluctant to reveal his news. Ingegneri observes that the relationship must visually shift as Edipo grows increasingly sanguine and Tiresia increasingly "quiet and unmoved", and that the physical-visual contrast between fury and stillness will result in an affecting impression for the spectator. Progetto 22-5.

33. Progetto 11, 15.

34. Progetto 20-22.


37. "oltrachè mentre dura la rappresentazione si possono far fumare
d’odorì preziosi, dilettando in questa guisa un sentimento di piu." 
Della poesia rappresentativa 26.

38. "Il teatro... ha ad essere adattato in maniera che le donne principalmente stieno le meglio agiate di tutti, né cosa vi sia che loro toglia la vista." Della poesia rappresentativa 26.

39. Nicola Sabbattini, Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne’ teatri, in The Renaissance Stage: Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini and Furtenbach, ed. Barnard Hewitt (Florida: U of Miami P, 1958) 96, henceforth Sabbattini. As Hewitt explains in his introduction, Sabbattini (1574-1654) was an architect as well as an engineer. His Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne’ teatri (1638) was intended as a manual of practical instruction for the architect and designer. He did not invent the machines, scenic, lighting and special effects which he describes, however, they were well-known and had long been employed throughout the late-Renaissance.


41. For further discussion on the Teatro Olimpico see Oosting.

42. "tuttavia con mutazioni e aggiunte a proposito potrebbe tornar bene a tutte le cose." Della poesia rappresentativa 26-7. See Figures 7 to 10 in Appendix.

43. Della poesia rappresentativa 27.
44. "tale illuminazione, chi potesse accommodarla in modi che solo ne vedesse lo splendore e se n'avesse il servigio del lume, senza che si potesse dal teatro scorgere donde, né come ei si venisse, accrescerebbe allo spettacolo grande ornamento." Della poesia rappresentativa 27.

45. Della poesia rappresentativa 27.

46. Sabbattini 97.

47. "il qual lume ancora, quanto sin a quel punto fosse stato più debole, tanto meglio fora, perché, calate le tele poscia, parrebbe l'illuminazione molto maggiore e farebbe assai più bello effetto." Della poesia rappresentativa 27. See Figure 11 in Appendix.

48. Della poesia rappresentativa 27.

49. Della poesia rappresentativa 27.

50. Della poesia rappresentativa 28.

51. Throughout the Renaissance the skillful impersonation of women on stage by male actors was held in high regard.

52. "la faccia rimarrebbe sempre deformi e troppo picciola e 'l collo eccessivamente corto, il che farebbe sozza e mostruosa vista." Della poesia rappresentativa 28. Like De Sommi, Ingegneri advocates "pleasant pretence": that the actor must create an
illusion of the character on stage in order to convince the spectator that he is witnessing real characters engaged in a real series of events; thus the audience must identify the persona rather than the actor. Ingegneri’s concern with masking the identity of the actor through mask and padding can be attributed to his belief that the body and face of the actor is an expressive instrument and that the personality and virtuosity of the individual actor can serve to enhance the overall characterization; thus the persona (illusion) and the actor (truth) relate to each other in constant dialectic.

53. Della poesia rappresentativa 28.

54. Della poesia rappresentativa 28.

55. Progetto 14. It is interesting to note that Manganza was a painter and poet as well as a costume designer; in fact his costume sketches for Edipo tiranno almost resemble paintings. This crossover from one medium to the next characterizes Ingegneri’s mise en scène - he emphasizes the relationship and harmony between voice and gesture, voice and instruments, instruments and space, principals and supernumeraries, line and colour, and so on. Manganza’s sketches may be found in the Appendix.

56. Della poesia rappresentativa 29.

57. Della poesia rappresentativa 29.
58. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 29.

59. **Progetto** 15, 16, 17.

60. **Progetto** 15-7.


62. **Progetto** 16-7.

63. "E gli abiti, che tuttavia costarono parecchie centinaia di scudi, ne facero mostra di molte e molte migliaia; e vi furano dei signori, i quali dopo la tragedia cercarano di mirargli da presso, non potendo essi credere che non valesser un tesoro, come gli avevano stimati in vedendogli da lontano." *Della poesia rappresentativa* 29. See Figures 12 to 16 in Appendix

64. "e venendo a schiera a schiera in scena e partendosene similemente, givano così bene ordinate e disposte che ognuna d'esse, senza una minima confusione od intrico, ritrovava il luoco suo." *Della poesia rappresentativa* 29.

65. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 29, 32.

66. "E nell'andarsene ora questa troppa, ora quella, sempre coloro che rimanevano si vedevano nel loro primiero sito e far la figura di prima; ch'era una maraviglia come tutti fossero così bene ammaestrati e riconoscessero si perfettamente i luochi loro e ne
partissero tanto acconciamente...ognuno era bene istruito a quale altra fila e colore di mattoni gli conveniva ridursi; talché senza nulla difficoltà appresero tutti a far la parte loro e la fecero in modo che non vi si scorse punto errore." Della poesia rappresentativa 29-30. Ingegneri's conception of the "crowd" on stage can be compared to the experiments of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen (1826-1914) who maintained that, "the stage must always depict movement, the continuous unfolding of a story... When the impression of a great crowd is desired, one should place the groups so that the people on the sides are lost in the shadows of the wings. No one in the audience can be permitted to see where the grouping stops. The grouping must give the illusion that other crowds are also forming behind the scene." Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, "Pictorial Motion" in Cole and Chinoy 81, 88.

67. Della poesia rappresentativa 29.

68. Sabbattini 86.

69. Della poesia rappresentativa 30.

70. Della poesia rappresentativa 30.

71. Della poesia rappresentativa 30.

72. Sabbattini 89-90.

73. Della poesia rappresentativa 25.
74. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 30.


76. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 30-1.

77. Ingegneri maintains that the face of the actor is the most potent means of expressing emotion, or the inner life of the character. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 31.

78. Lanham 175.

79. Lanham 175.

80. We know from Pigafetta that Ingegneri assigned understudies for the principal roles, which suggests that understudy rehearsals were held over and above regular rehearsals. The Zigiotti manuscript also suggests that the rehearsals were held in the theatre itself.


82. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 31. In *Edipo tiranno*, Ingegneri employed both dilettantes and professional actors; however, in the sixteenth century the dilettante (from *dilettare*, to delight in) was not a derogatory classification. For example, Nicola Rossi,
who played the Priest, was regarded as a highly skilled actor as well as a brilliant scholar (and student of Robortello) noted for his Discorso intorno alla Tragedia. Giambattista Veratto, who played Teiresias, and his daughter Signorina Veratto, who played Jocasta, were renowned professionals, recommended to Ingegneri by Guarini. In the critiques of the production, both these actors were singled out for the extraordinary emotional depth and power which they brought to their performances, although Riccoboni claimed that Signorina Veratto was far too young and beautiful to portray Jocasta. It is notable that Ingegneri diverged from his original conception of Jocasta in Progetto in which he states that she should be visibly older than Oedipus. It is highly probable that Verati was cast because of her histrionic abilities, which is in keeping with Ingegneri’s opinion that the innate talent of the actor outweighs surface appearances. It is also interesting to note that the role of Teiresias, on the recommendation of Manganza, was originally offered to Luigi Grotto a dilettante who, according to the sources, was blind but whose "gentle" aspect and demeanour was in keeping with Ingegneri’s conception of the role. While Grotto declined the offer, it is interesting that Ingegneri considered this potential touch of naturalism.

83. "questo per aventurà sembrera il più soave di tutti gli altri, purché le parole vengano bene intese, né se ne perde sillaba nelle fughe e nelle tante diminuazioni che s’usano al giorno d’oggi." Della poesia rappresentativa 31.
84. "essendosi data la musica alle rappresentazioni fra l’un atto a l’altro per porger alquanto di riposo agli intelletti affaticati nell’attenzione prestata alla favola sin allora, conviene ch’ella sia tale ch’in lei le menti ritrovino quiete e dolcezza e non che, per trarne il desiderato gusto, lor faccia di mestieri affannarsi altrettanto quanto nel capir l’azione." Della poesia rappresentativa 31.

85. Della poesia rappresentativa 31.

86. "che tutti insieme facciano un corpo solo di musica e non paiano due cori, overo l’uno simili l’eco dell’altro." Della poesia rappresentativa 31. This illustrates further Ingegneri’s concern with harmony in all areas of production - voices with the accompanying instruments, instruments with the theatre space, and so on.

87. Della poesia rappresentativa 31.

88. Della poesia rappresentativa 31, 33. Ingegneri implies that the sixteenth century actor-singer would require a rudimentary knowledge of acting and a facility for text portrayal in order to relate the music to the words and feelings of the poetry as he prescribes. Similarly, the director would be required to have a general knowledge of the language of musical performance in order to direct his actor-singers or choirmaster in rehearsal. For the most part, based on the instruction manuals for singers that date
back to the late 1500’s, good vocal production in the late Renaissance consisted of: singing from the front of the mouth and avoiding throat and nasal sounds for passages with text, singing with the mouth open only as wide as in casual conversation and refraining from opening it too wide or closing the teeth, avoiding excessive body motion, clear articulation; never forcing or straining the voice, and, maintaining a steady, light and agile tone that could capture the nuances and rhythms of the text. Further information and a bibliography on musical performance in the Renaissance may be found in Timothy J. McGee, *Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Performer’s Guide* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985).

89. *Della poesia rappresentativa* 32.

90. Antonio Riccoboni, "Lettera di Antonio Riccoboni," in Gallo 39-51. Riccoboni maintains that the verse was delivered as if it were prose (throughout the entire performance) and he sees this as a defect. However this style of delivery was directly informed by Giustiniani’s versification with its deliberate employment of enjambment. Dolfin 33-7. Pigafetta 53-8.

91. In *Progetto Ingegneri* observes that the chorus may be seated (24). In *Della Poesia rappresentativa* he states his preference for standing positions only (32).
92. "grave, nobile e bene accomodato intermedio della tragedia."  
Della poesia rappresentativa 32.

93. Orsatto Giustiniani, Edipo tiranno di Sofocle in Schrade, La 
Représentation 100.

94. "in quel punto le cose sono ridotte a tanta miseria ch’è venuto 
meno il canto e il pianto e ogni alta dimostrazione delle passioni 
altrui."  
Della poesia rappresentativa 33.

95. "la musica...vuole essere intensa o rimessa, conforme alla 
capacità del teatro."  
Della poesia rappresentativa 33.

96. Sabbattini 89-90. Further information on the Pellizzari 
ensemble may be found in Ian Fenlon, Music and Patronage in 

97. "E sopratutto che le parole sieno così chiaramente esplicate, 
che il teatro le intende tutte, senza perdene una minima sillaba; 
sì che, ricevend’egli nell’animo la sentenza loro, che deve essere 
orribile e miserabile, ei si vada disponendo a quegli affetti che 
sono propi del tragico; e alla fine, per mezzo loro, ne riceva la 
purgazione ch’il poeta s’è proposto di conseguire."  
Della poesia 
rappresentativa 33. Ingegneri’s understanding of purgation in 
tragedy corresponds to the theories espoused by Lorenzo Giacomini, 
Girolamo Mei, Giovanni Bardi, Ottavio Rinuccini, and other scholars 
and practitioners with a particular interest in Greek tragedy and
the nature and function of the classical chorus. Further information and an extensive bibliography may be found in Claude V. Palisca, "The Alterati of Florence," in New Looks at Italian Opera, ed. and Introd. William W. Austin (New York: Cornell UP, 1968); Claude V. Palisca, "Girolamo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata," in Musical Quarterly Vol. XL.

98. Schrade, La Représentation 65-77. It is interesting that composer Filippo de Monte declined the commission for Edipo before it was offered to Gabrieli because he felt that Ingegneri's concept was musically restrictive. Nino Pirotta, "I Cori per L'<<Edipo Tiranno>>" in Andrea Gabrieli e il suo Tempo, ed. Francesco Degrada (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1987). Stefan Kunze suggests that Gabrieli's commission may have been connected with his experiments with the "new practice" (that is, of simplifying the contrapuntal texture in polyphonic music) which Ingegneri was presumably aware of. Kunze cites Gabrieli's 1583 dedication to his Penitential Psalms in which Gabrieli makes it clear that his psalms, polyphonic motets on psalm texts, represent a new style in imitation of the ancient prophets. These pieces are composed in the contrapuntal tradition but the texture is changed for the purpose of text declamation. Kunze shows, with examples, that Gabrieli developed a kind of simplified vocal counterpoint in combination with chordal texture in deference to the Renaissance ideal of serving antiquity. "Ideality" was Ingegneri's problematic in Edipo: how to move the affections in a form that accommodated

Il Corago o vero alcune osservazioni per mettere bene in scena le composizioni drammatiche (c 1628) is an anonymous treatise by a director of the early baroque theatre, discovered in 1975 and published in 1983. Except for a few pages in English translation, this edition, by Paolo Fabbri and Angelo Pompilio, is the only one in existence, a fact that fully explains why a work of this calibre has received virtually no attention by theatre historians. In their introduction, Fabbri and Pompilio suggest that the treatise was written by Pierfrancesco Rinuccini, son of the renowned poet Ottavio Rinuccini of Florence, but they are obviously not convinced of this since they have published it as anonymous.¹

The word corago is the author’s term for director. In classical Greece, the term choregos described the individual, presumably a wealthy citizen, who supplied the funds for hiring and outfitting the comic or tragic chorus and the accompanying musicians. Although his name meant chorus leader, the choregos did not direct the performers. This function was fulfilled by the chorus trainer or chorodidaskalos; the on-stage leader of the chorus was called the coryphæos. In classical Rome, the term
choragus signified the individual who organized and maintained the costumes and scenic apparatus for a theatrical production. The choragus sometimes extended his function to include planning performances and directing the chorus.² According to the author of our treatise, both the term and the art of the ancient corago, as a "vital support for dramatic poetry" were lost in modern times:

...così quelle arti che a ciò particolarmente servivano si sono o affatto o in gran parte perdute. Tra queste l'arte del corago antico, necessario sussidio della poesia drammatica, è di modo spente che o noi [ = non] ha più neanche nome proprio appresso l'italiani o, se ritiene quel antico, egli è comunemente ignoto alla maggior parte.³

Although the term corago was lost, the art itself was actually not lost, since we had directors such as De Sommi, Ingegneri, Emilio De' Cavalieri, Marco Da Gagliano, the directors of the commedia dell'arte, and others.⁴ Clearly, the author of Il Corago sees this art in a different perspective because, unlike his predecessors, he focuses on musical drama as well as spoken drama.

The author's purpose in writing this treatise is to define the art of the modern corago in all of its parts. The treatise is divided into twenty-three chapters, the first of which is devoted to an explication of the role and function of the director in theatrical representation, which he defines as a composite of ten or twelve arts including poetry, music, dance, painting and architecture. This discussion is followed by instructions to the director on scenography, dramatic and musical
composition, directing actors and choral ensembles, dance and combat choreography, designing costumes, the use of stage machinery, stage illumination, and the organization of performance. The instructions are detailed, highly technical (in his notes to the composer, for example, he deals with metrics, scales, melodic arrangements, and so on), and they are typically prefaced by a comparison between modern and ancient practice.

The author devotes eight of the twenty-three chapters to musical drama, which suggests that by the time *Il corago* was written, about 1628, opera had achieved a sufficient recognition as an independent theatrical genre, to warrant a more detailed treatment than traditional spoken drama. The range of the author’s discussion of musical drama is impressive. He deals with the theoretical premise behind its first emergence in Florence, the composition of the musical score and the libretto, the musical instruments most suitable to this sort of drama, the placement of the orchestra in the theatre, the advantages and disadvantages of employing a conductor in performance, acting in musical drama, and the corago’s role in the realization of the final performance. At times, the author treats the theory of musical drama rather than the theory of directing as such. However, he seems to look at issues of theory from the perspective of potential audience response to a performance.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyze the author’s conception of what is involved in the director’s art, and to appraise this conception in the context of sixteenth and
seventeenth century directorial practice in Italy. Unlike De Sommi and Ingegneri, the author of *Il corago* does not distinguish between theory and practice. His point of departure is representation, and his divisions, or chapters, signify the various duties of the director and the "parts" of representation. Furthermore, there is no implicit or explicit qualification for what *Il corago* aims to achieve or the status which the author confers on the director. The author presumes that theatrical representation is a creative collaboration between poet, director, actors, musicians and scenic artists under the strict command of the *corago* who guides the ensemble through the production.
The Role and Function of the Director

In chapter one of Il corago, the author provides an extensive definition of the duties and function of the corago. He observes that the art of the ancient corago, as a vital support for dramatic poetry, has been "lost" in modern times, that to Italians it no longer even has a name of its own, or if it does keep the old one, most people do not know what it means. In antiquity, the author continues, the corago was the individual whose task it was to secure, maintain and organize the scenic decor, the devices, and the equipment pertaining to the theatrical representation, and he notes parenthetically that Vetravus refers to the corago as the designated hall or room where the scenery and equipment was stored. According to the author, keeping pace with the abilities of the individual who held the office and arising from specific needs, the corago extended his function to include the planning and coordination of the performance, including the choreography of the chorus.

Savage and Sansone observe that the term corago was not invented by the author but appears in a number of earlier sixteenth-century critical works on literature, drama and architecture including a treatise on Vitruvius by Cesare Cesariano in 1521, who defines choragus as the controller of theatricals, Robortello's treatise on The Poetics of 1548, who defines choregoi as the individuals who arranged the theatrical space and organized the scenery for theatrical productions, the
Poetics libri septum of 1560 by Scaligero, who refers to the choregoi as the individual who organized the theatrical paraphernalia, and the Arte poetica of 1564 by Minturno who refers to the chorago as the individual responsible for the arrangement of the scenic apparatus as well as seeking out the actors for the chorus. The sources of these various definitions derived from classical works which most Humanist students and scholars would have been familiar with such as Plato’s Laws, Aristotle’s Poetics, the Persa, Captivi and Curculio by Plautus, the De architectura by Vitruvius, and the Onomasticon by Pollux.

In Il corago, the author defines the art of the modern corago as that faculty or competence ["quello facolta mendiante"] that enables an individual, utilizing the available means and methods, to transform the poetic text into a staged performance with the perfection it requires. The end of theatrical representation, the author maintains, is to arouse admiration and delight in the spectator in order to instill a fruitful moral utility which is the task of poetry." In the view of the author, the director is the servant of the poem, that is to say, the performance on the stage must be coincident with the meaning which the poet wishes to convey as set down in the literary text. In order to achieve this end, the corago requires the assistance of the following arts: i) the arts of carpentry and masonry to oversee the design and construction of the stage, ii) the art of architecture for the design of the scenic houses, palaces,
temples and the like, iii) the art of perspective painting for the scenery and perspective vistas, iv) the art of dressmakers and tailors to provide the performers with beautifully designed costumes, v) the art of acting in order to instruct and guide the actors in the scenic action, vi) the art of music, whether instrumental or vocal, vii) the art of dance for the choreography of balli, processions and choral formations, viii) the arts of combat and fencing for tourneys and scenes of warfare, ix) the art of mechanics for the display of marvellous effects on land, sea and in the heavens and, x) the art of lighting for basic illumination as well as the creation of special effects.

By way of this extensive definition, the author concludes that the corago must have a general knowledge of these various arts in order that he may guide and exercise command over the designers, machinists, painters, architects, actors, in short, all of the collaborative artists throughout the production. However, the author maintains that it is essential that the director be accomplished in the arts of the actor and the machinist, on the grounds that these are the arts that he will call upon most frequently in modern productions. The director must be trained in the design and construction of various stage machines, finding ways to raise, lower and make vanish clouds, sea monsters, celestial deities, infernal creatures and the like on land, sea and in the heavens in order to display the most with the least effort ["facendo con il poco mostra d’assai"]. With respect to the actor’s craft, the director must be expert in the
rudiments of voice, gesture, movement, singing, and building a characterization, and he must possess a method of training and guiding individual actors as well as choral ensembles and supernumeraries throughout the rehearsal process.

Like Ingegneri, the author of *Il corago* views representation, whether comedy, tragedy, pastoral or the sung drama, as an art form with its own values, a composite of disparate elements, each with its own guiding principles and language. It is the task of the director to gain proficiency in each of these languages in order to facilitate the discourse of performance. The author observes that each of the ten or twelve independent arts is sufficient in itself to create pleasure and delight in the spectator viewing the performance. A well-written tragedy arouses pleasure simply in the reading. Listening to and watching an actor on the stage performing his role with noble presence, good voice, graceful beauty and manners, provokes applause. Beautifully designed and constructed costumes, handsome stage architecture, excellent singing, and a display of scenic marvels arouse the passionate curiosity ["impetuosa curiosità"] of the spectator. If the impact of each of these arts on its own is enough to captivate the spectator, then una *opera mista*, that is, a composite of all these artifices in a theatrical performance, creates a heightened overall impression which affectively moves the spectator:

...non è meraviglia che una opera mesta [mista] e fatta con tutti le altre ne l’apportare diletto, ammirazione e moto persuasivo delli animi, concorrendo ad una sola azione
In chapter two, Di alcuni avvertimenti per il poeta ordinati all’uffizio del corago, the author observes that it is the task of the director to interpret the poem that will be represented on the stage based on a scrupulous examination of the literary text. He must decode its essential meaning and extract "that which the poem requires", or the raw materials of performance, to the best of his ability. To this end, the poet is advised to compose a dramatic text that is stage-worthy, that is, which can be easily and naturally translated by the director and the other collaborative artists into the language of performance. Both the poet and the director, on composing the work and creating the mise en scène, must also bear in mind the context of the theatrical representation (that is, whether the performance will be the centrepiece of a wedding or other courtly ceremony, a private entertainment for members of the Academy, or an interlude for a comedy, tragedy or pastoral), and the financial limitations imposed on the production by the Prince or patron. The available means will influence the subject matter, the types and numbers of characters in the action, the actors and singers that may be commissioned, the sophistication of the machines and special effects, the lay-out of the theatre space, and the quality and abundance of the materials for the design and construction of the scenic decor and costumes.
According to the author, dramatic poems that call for extravagant costumes, magnificent visual effects and fantastical characters and subjects (and he cites *The Creation of the Universe, Noah and the Deluge, The Burning of Troy, and The Destruction of Carthage*) are potentially superior entertainments. However, like his predecessors De Sommi and Ingegneri, the author is conscious of the expense associated with producing such splendid theatricals. Thus when the director is commissioned to direct a play which, in his opinion, necessitates extravagant production values that cannot be produced within the means made available by the patron, he must either decline the commission or insist on changes in the text in order that the technical requirements reflect what can and cannot be effectively accomplished in performance.

With respect to the composition of the play-text itself, the author advises the poet to approach the tale by envisioning the scenic action in his mind’s eye, a precept which we have encountered in Ingegneri. In this way, the appropriate adjustments can be made by the poet with respect to the setting, the characters and the dialogue before the rehearsal phase of the production commences. With respect to the style and texture of the poem, the poet is advised to avoid lengthy soliloquies, excessive ornamentation and rhetorical ranting since, in the opinion of the author, an oratorical style of presentation is inappropriate on the stage. The poet must seek to effectively captivate rather than bore the spectator with a text
characterized by perpetual motion and variety ["varietà perpetus e movimento"]'). The action of the tale must not be excessively drawn out; the performance in its entirety must take place within a three to five-hour time frame.

The author distinguishes between the function of the poet and that of the director by advising the poet to make clear his intentions in order to enable the director to transpose the text into a valid performance. He advocates a close collaboration between the poet and the director throughout the production phase of the representation. The poet is encouraged to partake in the rehearsal process with the actors, even if he is unfamiliar with their art. The author views the participation of the poet during this phase as beneficial to the success of the final performance, and his reason for this is that the poet will have the opportunity to clarify meaning and intentions, and illuminate hidden aspects of the text to both the director and the performers as necessary. In addition the poet can ensure that the development of the work as a whole is proceeding in a direction coincident with the vision which he has set out in the literary text.

Theatrical Architecture

Discussing theatrical architecture, the author compares the
merits and drawbacks of designing theatres in the classical and modern styles. He observes that in antiquity, according to Vitruvius, the theatres were erected outdoors on inclines that welded into the natural landscape of the chosen site with the playing area located at the foot of the hill and the spectators seated on tiered banks. In this way, the ancients were able to exploit the length and breadth of the playing area in order to enhance the scenic illusion for the spectator.

However, in modern theatrical practice, the illusion of depth and perspective is produced artificially ["con sommo artificio"] through the art of perspective painting. One of the drawbacks of this style is the need to place the acting area in closer proximity to the auditorium and above the natural sightlines of the spectator. This position forces the actor to perform at the foot of the stage in order to create a verisimilar impression against the perspective vista, which the author considers to be too constrictive. The modern style also poses problems for the director blocking choral ensembles, supernumeraries, and regal entourages. These figures are generally positioned in the upstage area behind the principal performers, which results in a notable variance between the size of the actors and the dimensions of the stage houses. The author considers this arrangement to be displeasing from an aesthetic point of view.

The author observes that modern perspective scenery is problematic with respect to the blocking of more intimate scenes.
For example, when two principal characters are engaged in dialogue at the foot of the stage, it would not be verisimilar to have two or three characters positioned behind them in close physical proximity. This arrangement would force the two groups of actors to pretend that they neither see nor hear one another which results in what the author considers to be a ridiculous effect. The integration of interior scenes on the modern stage is equally problematic and the author advises the poet to refrain from employing them in his compositions where possible. In antiquity, the interior scenes took place in the up-stage area behind the doors of the house, which were opened at the appropriate moment in the drama to reveal the inner scene. The author maintains that this effect is impossible to produce on the modern stage on the grounds of verisimilitude. The dimensions of the palaces, gates and windows, painted in perspective and diminishing in size in the up-stage area, would produce an unnatural and displeasing visual impression.

With respect to the staging of balli, tourneys and military jousts, the author states his preference for playing areas that are built from natural sandstone or tile rather than from wooden boards. His reason for this is that the modern wooden stage-floor produces an inordinate amount of dust in the theatre, which is disturbing to both the actors and the spectators. In addition, wooden floors generate a great deal of noise during the execution of these elaborate scenes, both on the stage and in the wings, which may interfere with the music, vocal as well as
instrumental.

With respect to the painting of stage houses in perspective - and he considers four to be the optimum number - the author maintains that this is an art which requires great skill and invention, and which may shatter the illusion of the stage picture if it is not expertly treated. The director must see to it that the houses are painted in such a way that the overall effect is verisimilar, that is to say, that they are balanced and symmetrical on both sides of the stage and that they diminish in proportion as the spectator directs his gaze towards the rear of the stage. The visual impact created by the perspectives are served by an imaginative use of lighting in the scene. The author observes that stage lighting can assist the director in creating attractive stage pictures; however, a poorly conceived lighting scheme can amplify artistic defects in the decor. The author proposes that the perspectives be flooded with a bright wash at the foot of the stage which is made to decrease in intensity as the houses diminish in proportion at the rear of the stage.24

The author concludes this portion of his discussion by reiterating his concern with what he considers to be the principal defect of the modern stage, the placement of the actor against the perspective scenery. When the "real" figure of the actor is juxtaposed with the "artificial" setting, the contrast disfigures the scenic picture and shatters the illusion of the mise en scène in its entirety. The author claims that the modern
stage is in fact most appealing from a visual point of view without the "disfiguring" presence of the actor.25 However, in production, the director may minimize the variance in proportion between the actor and the scenery by positioning the actors towards the front of the playing area and, when blocking the entrances and exits of the characters, by encouraging the actors to enter and exit the scene swiftly ["con il presto partirsi"].26

Turning to the merits of the modern stage, the author begins by defining his classical understanding of representation as a realistic rather than naturalistic imitation of a human action realized on the stage by means of invention and artifice [‘sottile artificio e di ingegnosa finzione'].27 The director’s vision is subordinate to the meaning of the literary text, and thus his selection and arrangement of the raw materials of performance must serve to bring this meaning into relief in a credible fashion.28 The author observes that the recreation of a spectacular marine or military battle, or the depiction of cleverly designed and painted "artificial" trees, hills and valleys for an elaborate sylvan setting, arouses the delight and admiration of the spectator as a result of their ingenious artificial nature. Thus, in the opinion of the author, the modern stage, with its extravagant visual decor, allows for more colour, variety and invention than its classical counterpart.

With respect to the playing area itself, the author praises the convenience of the modern wooden stage because itan c
accommodate stage machines in hidden rooms below the stage floor, which allow the director to create a variety of scenic effects. In addition, in contrast to the permanent structures of antiquity, the modern stage permits swift and magical scene changes that take place in full view of the spectator by means of movable triangular and quadrangular wings. According to the author, multiple scene changes are a charming and delightful addition to modern theatrical productions as well as useful and necessary components in the successful integration of intermedii. The author maintains that the modern stage is better served by a playing area which is raked in order to provide each spectator in the auditorium with a satisfactory view of the scenic action, as well as to prevent masking those performers who are positioned in the upstage area by the figures playing at the foot of the stage.

The modern stage is more convenient, mobile, and less costly to construct than the classical stage, and it permits more variety with respect to the lay-out of the acting area itself. Temporary structures can be erected within hours or days of the performance and adapted to suit the size and dimensions of the particular hall or playing area where the performance will take place. The author observes that the Duke may receive guests in the performance hall for affairs of state in the morning, and four or five hours later enjoy a performance in the newly created theatre.

The author maintains that the intimate relationship between
the spectator in the auditorium and the actor on stage in modern theatrical practice is, in some respects, superior to the classical model. The close proximity between the view and the viewer increases the impact of the performance since the spectator will be more easily convinced that the characters and the action which the actors are engaged in are true. According to the author, the spectator seated in the back of the amphitheatres of antiquity were not always able to distinguish clearly the actors in the scene. To remedy this defect, the actors were assigned masks which increased their stature, a convention which the author maintains impedes the actor's pronunciation of the text. In addition, the classical theatre was restricted with respect to the choice of musical instruments, with the musicians employing simple reeds such as the aulos (rather than the singularly charming and subtle strings used in modern times) whose penetrating sound could carry the distance between the stage and the auditorium. The author praises the merits of artificial lighting employed in modern productions in contrast to the natural lighting of classical antiquity. His principal reason for this, apart from the decorative effects that can be produced with modern lighting systems, is that artificial lighting can serve to obscure artistic defects ["copre i difetti"] of the costumes or the scenic decor. The author concludes this section with a comparison between the classical and modern theatre from the point of view of patronage. In contrast to the architectural splendour of the classical
amphitheatre, funded by the state and designed for civil-cultural activities for the entire populace, modern theatrical practice is, in the view of the author, a more exclusive enterprise which relies on the generosity of the nobility, and as such, the modern director must endeavour to compromise between the classical ideal and modern invention within the means made available by the Prince or patron."

Scene Design and Construction

In this section, the author discusses the design and construction of the stage and scenery as it pertains to the art of carpentry. This area of production entails more than a rudimentary knowledge of calculating dimensions and inclines but requires a thorough understanding of the principles of perspective. The playing area and scenery must be harmonized with the scale and structure of the theatre as a whole, since this will determine the height, length and width of the stage, the size and dimensions of the scenery, the depth which can be achieved with the perspective painting, the director’s placement of the actors within the scene, and the sightlines of the spectator in performance. Since each stage will vary according to the specific dimensions of the performance space, the author provides a series of guidelines for what he considers to be an
average-size playing area that can be adapted by the director and designer accordingly."

Beginning with the height of the playing area from the ground to the stage, the author recommends a measurement of no more than five feet to ensure reasonable sightlines for each spectator, and in particular those individuals seated in the first rows of the auditorium who would otherwise be forced to strain themselves or rise to their feet to view the action on the platform. The stage should be raked at a two degree angle since this will permit the spectator to view the perspective and the figures in the scene with optimum visibility. The width of the playing area should measure twenty-four feet, and the depth, from fore-stage to the houses, fifty-six or fifty-seven feet (including the seven or eight feet required for the positioning of the periaktai) which amounts to a playing area that measures twenty-four by forty-two feet.

The stage houses, two on either side of the stage, should be designed in such a way that they create a unified and symmetrical visual impression which diminishes in proportion as the view extends towards the rear of the stage. The two houses closest to the spectator should measure thirty-four feet in height and twenty-four feet in length, with the houses at the rear of the stage designed in proportion to these measurements. The streets between the houses should measure four feet in width, and the backcloth, measuring twenty by twenty feet, must be cut into two pieces at the middle to facilitate swift entrances, exits and
changes in scenery."

The floor of the stage should provide secure and solid ["fermo e sicuro"] support for the actor. The author suggests the use of sprung wood since this will permit ease of movement for the actors in scenes where dancing or stage combat is required. In addition the director must see to it that the floor is smoothly sanded and finished and that nails and other attachments are firmly secured into the wooden planks to ensure that the actors are not endangered in any way during the performance."

In the following section, the author turns to the treatment of the perspective scenery in relation to the art of painting. He begins with instructions on the location of the vanishing point ["punto del concorso"] which the author maintains must be marked neither too high or too low since this will result in a disproportionate visual impression. The vanishing point must be marked at the mid-point of the backcloth in accordance with the depth of the stage. The designer must then locate the point of distance and run a length of rope between these two points in order to determine the positioning of the houses. The designer is instructed to stand on the left side of the stage in order to determine the positioning of the houses on the right. He may do this on sight or by means of a lit torch ["una torcia accesa"] which is raised and lowered until a shadow cast by the rope coincides with the edge of the first house. A line is then drawn based on the shadow on the right side. The designer will then
repeat this procedure for the stage left houses by standing on the right side of the stage.”

In order to create an illusion of depth and height, the designer is advised to paint a number of storeys in perspective. For example, if the first house has three storeys, then the second house would have four, and so on. Similarly, the backcloth must be painted in accordance with the established perspective. However, the designer should ensure that the scene at the rear of the stage does not diminish to such a degree that the actors entering and leaving the scene appear larger in stature than the painted doorways and houses. This variance can be adjusted by the depiction of a central archway at the rear of the stage representing the city walls, or if the director so chooses, by the addition of a second exit and vanishing point in the perspective. In both cases the vista beyond the central archway(s) must depict a garden or a courtyard that would (visually) blend in with the established scene on the stage proper.”

If the theatre space does not allow ample room for the placement of periaktoi employed for the execution of swift scene changes from the central drama into the interludes (usually in sylvan settings), the author recommends painting the perspective in such a way as to create a visual sense of continuity between ‘city’ and ‘country’. This is accomplished by the incorporation of greenery in the main perspective; that is, the houses may be depicted with balconies containing trees and potted plants and
the like. In this way, throughout the performance, the spectator will understand that the action of the *intermedii* is occurring in the same general locale as the main drama.  

With respect to the treatment of the heavens ["il cielo"], the designer must ensure that they are depicted in a manner which corresponds to the sky painted over the stage houses, in order to ensure visual continuity in the scene between foot and fore-stage. The author recommends a deep blue backcloth for the vista which is painted with variously coloured and shaped clouds ["qualche nuvolone"] in order to create a verisimilar effect.

The author provides a cautionary note with respect to the depiction of staircases of temples, churches and houses - additions that can enhance the visual splendour of the *mise-en-scene* when treated with great skill. However, if the director does not have expert painters ["pittori eccellenti"] on his creative team, then he is advised to omit these details entirely from the scene.

With respect to the depiction of light and shadow in the perspective, the designer must determine the source, intensity and distribution of the light in relation to the scene being depicted. For example in scenes set in bright daylight, the designer must bear in mind the position of the sun in relation to the scene, the intensity of the beams of light, and the corresponding shadows created as the beams spill onto the houses and scenic decor. Similarly, in scenes set in the late afternoon or evening, the designer must determine the position and number
of street lamps in the scene, and the intensity of the emanating light as it splashes onto the pavement, houses and streets. The designer must also distinguish between the source, the quality and the intensity of the illumination, whether natural or artificial, falling on the actor both in the streets and in the piazza or main playing area. If the director requires the actor to enter the scene from a darkened street then the lighting in that area of the perspective must be adjusted accordingly. Finally, in order to create a verisimilar overall effect, the designer is advised to acquaint himself with the lighting apparatus which will be employed in the production since this will influence the choice of colours, the tone and the texture of the perspective vista."

The author concludes this chapter with a discussion of the merits of the three standardized scenes for comedies, tragedies and pastoral plays as set down by Vitruvius, and observes that each of the scenes must be treated with charm, grace and elegance. He cites the pastoral and tragic scenes seen in Florence, Mantua, Ferrara and Parma, and the comic scenes created by the Accademia delli Intronati in Siena as illustrations of excellence in this regard." He adds a final cautionary note to the director with respect to the depiction of the tragic scene which is distinguished by stately palaces and temples, with multiple storeys, ornate pillars and colonnades. The director must see to it that the dimensions of the palaces and the colonnades are coincident with the dimensions of the performance
space. If the space is unusually small or narrow, then he must avoid the depiction of several storeys in the perspective on the grounds that the effect would be ridiculous rather than majestic.\textsuperscript{45}

Modes of Representation

In chapter six, \textit{Delli tre manieri di recitare}, the author distinguishes between three modes of representing a dramatic work: i) drama that is spoken, the imitation of human actions ["azioni umani"] by means of the voice and gesture of the actor without instrumental accompaniment, ii) drama to music or the \textit{stile recitativo},\textsuperscript{49} the representation of human actions by way of sung speech with instrumental accompaniment, and iii) pantomime, the imitation of human actions through movement and gesture accompanied by instrumental music. The first mode requires facility in the art of histrionics, the second in the art of singing, and the third in the art of gesture and movement.\textsuperscript{49} The author observes that musical drama is the mode which is held in high regard in modern theatrical productions and he devotes the following eight chapters to a thorough examination of the \textit{stile recitativo}, including the theoretical premise behind its first emergence in Florence and its subsequent impact on musical as well as theatrical practice, general guidelines for both the poet and the composer of the sung drama, and the role
and function of the director in the realization of this mode of representation.

Musical Drama

The author begins this discussion by distinguishing between *ripiena armonia*, complex harmony for multiple voices, and *aggiustata modulazione*, arrangements for the solo voice that permit the singer to modulate or raise and lower the pitch of the voice following the rhythms and accents of the poem according to the affections which the poet wishes to express.

The author states his preference for *aggiustata modulazione* and maintains that the *stile recitativo* is better served by the simplicity of texture of this compositional style. His reason for this is that tonal modulation facilitates the imitation of "natural speech", and this results in a clear expression of the meaning of the poem which penetrates the soul and stirs the corresponding states of emotion in the spectator."

In instances where several voices are required, the author advises the *corago* to see to it that the performers sing in a homorhythmic style; that is, that they declame each syllable together, rather than in the more complex rhythmic style of Renaissance polyphony. The author considers this precept to be of the utmost importance and observes that, in performance, sloppy articulation, displaced accents and improper lengthening
of syllables will obscure the meaning of the poem, boring or confusing the listener, and compromising the efficacy of the performance in its entirety."

According to the author, the principal aim of the poet-musicians of classical antiquity was a clear expression of the poem that targeted the emotional responsiveness of the spectator. When chordal support was required, the classical musicians followed the rhythms of the poem to the accompaniment of the lyre or aulos to ensure that the meaning of the verses being sung was not lost or spoiled with excessive ornamentation."

In the view of the author, the affective ideal of the classical poet-musicians accounts for the minimal chordal capacity of the instruments that were employed, and he maintains that in ancient Rome, Nero, who was considered to be an expert singer and musician, made use of a seven or eight-chord Aeolian harp and cithara. Similarly, in the new age, "expert" musicians prefer the simplicity of the gravicembalo (harpsichord) or the theorbo (bass lute), since these instruments permit the singer-musician to "pluck" one or two chords at strategic moments in the composition in order to bring into relief a particular word or emotion."

The author maintains that this stylistic approach, that is, the emphasis on the solo voice and the reduction in instrumental accompaniment, was perfected in Florence by theorists and practitioners associated with various learned societies, who, in their cumulative attempts to recover the elusive effects of
classical tragedy in modern theatrical production, created the style recitativo.\textsuperscript{52}

While the author makes no direct reference to the various treatises of the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods that probed the role and function of music in classical antiquity, his formulations suggest a familiarity with the theoretical premises of figures such as Lorenzo Giacomini, Giovanni Bardi, Vincenzo Galilei, Jacopo Peri and Claudio Monteverdi, and with the practical application of these premises in productions such as Euridice, Dafne, Orfeo as well as various intermedii and pastorals performed throughout the courts of Northern Italy.

In order to appreciate more fully the author’s instructions on directing musical drama, I shall provide a brief overview of the emergence of early opera, and examine some of the salient issues peculiar to this mode of representation.

At the heart of the search for an ancient model for modern theatrical productions were the members of the Florentine Camerata whose activities proceeded under the patronage of Count Giovanni Bardi in the 1580s and, after 1592, Jacopo Corsi. The members included Bardi’s proteges Vincenzo Galilei and Girolamo Mei, and in the second phase of the society’s activities, Ottavio Rinuccini, Emilio De Cavalieri, Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini.\textsuperscript{53}

In the early phase of the Camerata’s existence, Bardi and Galilei were responsible for the formulation of the circle’s aesthetic principles: that the monodic style was the key to
recreating the affective potential of ancient tragedy in modern performance, and that the music was subservient to the poetic text:

the ancient musicians...did not think so much about teasing the ears like the moderns do as to impress the intellect, the most noble part of man, according to the subject, cheerfulness, pain, or other passion. And this happened because musicians followed the verses of the poet with respect to rhythm, and accompanied them by the sound of the voice and instrument with such dexterity and sweetness that no word of the poem was lost. They thought of nothing but to make themselves understood, not as is customary today, to spoil the verse with passagi and other unbecoming manners, called by modern musicians ornaments of singing."

According to Palisca, the stimulus and principal source of Galilei and Bardi's ideas on Greek music was the scholarship of Girolamo Mei (familiar to students of the theatre as the figure who re-discovered the Electra of Euripides and who restored the previously incomplete Agamemnon of Aeschylus). It was Mei's contention that the powerful effects created by the poet-musicians of classical antiquity could not be attained through modern contrapuntal music on the grounds that it lacked a legitimate theoretical foundation. Based on his study of the ancient practice, Mei determined that Greek music, choral as well as solo, was monodic in nature and that only a single melody could have aroused the affections in the manner described in the ancient accounts. The essential feature of Greek tonal practice was the use of transpositions of the entire system up and down (Palisca), which permitted raising and lowering the pitch of a single melody according to the feelings to be
expressed in the poem. The emotional power of the effects revolved about the distinct qualities of the voice, whether high, intermediate or low:

Now, nature gave the voice to animals and especially to man for the expression of inner feelings. Therefore it was logical that, the various qualities of the voice being distinct, each should be appropriate for expressing the affection of certain determinate states and that each furthermore should express easily its own but not those of another. Thus the high voice could not properly express the affections of the intermediate and far less those of the high or low. Rather, the quality of one ought naturally to impede the operation of the other, the two being opposites.

According to Mei, the tones of the high voice are signs of an excited and aroused spirit, the very low, signs of abject and humble thoughts, and the tones of the intermediate, signs of a quiet and moderate disposition. However, when these characteristic signs are mixed together, that is combining bass, tenor, contralto and soprano voices as in polyphonic music, the affective potential of the composition is compromised because the melodies and tones are pulling in different directions thereby causing a cancellation of the effects being produced.

The basis of Mei’s monodic theory, according to Palisca, was his understanding of the Greek tonoi, that the Greek scale system was founded on the recognition of the diverse effects of intensio and remissio, the tension and relaxation of the voice, and that the human voice naturally fluctuated between these two contrary qualities according to the relative states of calm or excitement of the singer. According to Mei, the Greek method of musical
composition took these qualities of the voice and the correspondence between pitch and affections into account. However, modern composers writing in counterpoint overlooked the various and distinct qualities which the voice could convey and were careless about suiting the rhythm and tempo of the arrangement to the desired affections. In addition, in Mei’s view, modern instrumentalists played in harmony adding diminutions, passaggi, and other extraneous ornaments which interfered with the declamation of the poetic text."

It was Mei’s understanding that musical meaning is inseparable from its dramatic context, and this view is made explicit in chapter seven of Il corago, in which the author states that tonal modulation can be employed to express subtle shifts in verbal meaning according to the feelings which the poet wishes to convey. In other words, the poetic text implies a musical equivalent.

Peri makes a similar observation in his Foreword to Euridice (1601) in which he describes the new style of text declamation as an intermediary between the swift and rapid movements of speech and the slow and suspended movements of song. Peri was associated with the Camerata when the society was under the patronage of Corsi, who, along with Cavalieri, Caccini and Rinuccini, were concerned with the practical application of the new developments in musical and theatrical practice. As we are told by Peri, Cavalieri was the first to make use of "our kind of music upon the stage."

In 1595 Cavalieri set to music the
Gioco della cieca from Guarini’s Pastor fido. In 1598, Dafne (libretto by Rinuccini and music by Peri and Corsi) was performed before a private audience at Corsi’s palace. The action of Dafne revolves about Apollo and Orpheus, the famed musicians of classical mythology, a subject which permitted Peri, Corsi and Rinuccini to explore the nature and power of music in a theatrical form. In accounts written in 1600 and 1601 respectively, Rinuccini and Peri make reference to the experimental nature of Dafne and claim that it was "a simple trial of what the music of our age could do". Rinuccini observes that:

...the ancient Greeks and Romans, in representing their tragedies upon the stage, sang them throughout. But until now this noble manner of recitation has been neither revived not (to my knowledge) even attempted by anyone, and I used to believe that this was due to the imperfection of the modern music, by far inferior to the ancient. But the opinion thus formed was wholly driven from my mind by Messer Jacopo Peri, who, hearing of the intention of Signor Jacopo Corsi and myself, set to music with so much grace the fable of Dafne.

Most musical scholars agree that the first composer to fully realize the theatrical possibilities of musical drama was Claudio Monteverdi with his Orfeo (libretto by Allesandro Striggio), a reinterpretation of Peri’s Euridice, performed in Mantua in 1608. As Iain Fenlon observes, Dafne, Peri’s Euridice, a second version by Caccini in 1600, and Cavalieri’s Rappresentazione de Anima, et di Corpo, represent the earliest experimental phase of the sung drama. These works are all similar in that they consist of airs, choral arrangements, dances and recitative sections, and
they reflect the Humanist preoccupation with the recovery of classical tragedy in modern performance.⁶³

According to Denis Arnold, *Orfeo* is significant in the development of the early opera because it represents the first successful application of the new style.⁶⁴ Fenlon maintains that it heralds the spread of the new *stile recitativo* outside of Florence. In addition, as a musical-dramatic form, *Orfeo* represents a synthesis of elements drawn from the new recitative style, the sixteenth-century madrigal, the pastoral, the *intermedio* as well as classical tragedy. This is evident in the use of a mythological subject matter, allegorical figures and the classical chorus, a sylvan setting including two underworld scenes, an Aristotelian division of the action into five episodes performed as one continuous action, an imitation of classical instruments, colourful harmonic accompaniment that enhances the dramatic situation, recitative duets and ariosos, and recurrent choruses and ritornelli for continuity and uniformity of musical texture.⁶⁵

According to Leo Schrade’s study, *Orfeo* stands apart from all the traditional structures and embodies a new aesthetic in musical-dramatic practice - "to make the word the mistress of the harmony and not the servant"⁶⁶ - and Schrade examines the score in detail to illustrate the ways in which Monteverdi synthesizes musical and dramatic intensities, recitative and arioso, with no clear separation of one form of discourse from the other. Schrade maintains that Monteverdi was preoccupied with capturing
the inner, hidden meaning of the poetic text and the pure expression of the depth and range of human qualities, or passions, that music can convey in performance:"

Truly every word is animated in the canto. It is a transfiguration, within pure sound, from speaking to melody, a recreation of the life of the word, and is not limited by verbal sonority and practical significance but reveals the possibility of going beyond the physical and reaching the roots of its spiritual essence."

In reference to l'Arianna of 1608, Da Gagliano observes that Monteverdi "composed the songs in so exquisite a way that one can truthfully say the excellence of ancient music was revived. It visibly moved the whole theatre to tears." However, Schrade maintains that it was the pregio (the value or the effect) of ancient music that had been restored by Monteverdi in modern productions not a specific form of Greek music.

In chapter seven of Il corago, in his closing remarks to the composer of the stile recitativo, the author alludes to the aesthetic principles advanced by Monteverdi and his contemporaries in modern theatrical production. He maintains that it is the task of the composer to reconcile the musical score with the intended sentiments of the poem to be represented. In other words, the relationship between words, music and affects must serve as the foundation of the compositional structure. The composer is advised to bear in mind the various and distinct qualities that the voice can convey through tonal modulazione, to avoid extraneous ornaments in the harmonic accompaniment in order to support the declamation of the text, and above all, to
emphasize simplicity and clarity in the form and style of the composition as a whole. The author emphasizes the significance of these principles by comparing the new aesthetic with a beautiful new garment designed to enhance the figure of the specific individual, which permits a freedom of movement unencumbered by garish ornamentation. According to the author, excellence in the composition of the stile recitativo is achieved through a perfect synthesis of its essential "parts", word and tone. If one of the "parts" is less than perfect, it will disfigure the perfection of the whole composition."

In chapter seven, the author makes a cursory reference to the system of scales and metrics employed by the poet-musicians of classical antiquity which supported the voice and poetic text in order to produce powerful effects in the performance of tragedy. In chapters eight and nine, the author treats these aspects of musical composition in a detailed comparison between ancient and modern practice. With respect to the scale system, the author considers the ancient practice to be more comprehensive than its modern counterpart and he illustrates his argument with a detailed examination of the modes, genera, and in particular the genera of tetrachords. However, the author considers the metrical system employed by modern composers to be superior to that of the ancients on the grounds that it permits a more expressive musical texture, and argues that the suppleness and variety of the modern system "liberates" the composition in the same manner as the introduction of the vernacular has
liberated modern poetry from its Latin constraints.\textsuperscript{74}

In the next section, \textit{Di tre maniere da mettere in musica l'azione dramatich}, the author distinguishes between three modes of setting the drama to music: i) accompanying the poetic text with instrumental music throughout without singing, ii) aria-settings in accordance with the theme of the poetic text (for example, a cheerful setting for comical subjects and a stirring setting for subjects that are grave and melancholy) and, iii) \textit{musica recitativa}, recitation in song whereby the affects of the poetic text are imitated line by line and word for word.

In the view of the author, the first mode is the least desirable and his reason for this is that, in performance, the simple speaking voice is not as colourful as the recitative, which permits an intense expression of the poetic text through tonal modulation. In addition, the incongruity between the inflections and accents of the spoken word and the musical tempo of the arrangement may compromise the progression of the dramatic action. The second mode, the aria-setting, enables the composer to imitate the 'personality' of the poem, that is to say, its emotional tone and rhythm, and the author cites the Florentine aria as an exemplary model, however, the director must bear in mind that this mode restricts the composer to a "generalized imitation" of the affects which the poem expresses.\textsuperscript{75}

The author states his preference for the third mode, \textit{musica recitativa}, because it permits the singers and instrumentalists to imitate the particular sentiment which the poet wishes to
convey, line by line and word for word simply, naturally, and with abundant colour and variation." The author cautions the composer against what he views as the principal defect of the *musica recitativa*, uniformity of style. This mode does not permit sudden leaps in intensity and pitch, and it lacks the grace and lightness of the aria style as well as the *passaggi*, trills and other pleasing ornaments."

The Libretto

In chapters eleven and twelve, the author outlines a series of guidelines which will enable the poet and the composer to collaborate with one another in the creation of a performance text for the *stile recitativo*. According to the author, the composer must have the complete libretto in hand before composing the music, in order to create a musical score which reflects faithfully the intentions that the poet wishes to convey. Similarly, the poet must ensure that the treatment of the subject of the tale, the characters, the setting and scenic effects, the form and style of the verse, and the arrangement of the action is probable, verisimilar, and above all, suitable for translation by the composer, the singer-actors, the scenic artists, and the director into the language of performance.

With respect to the characters, the poet must see to it that
the figures are appropriate and fitting to the grave subject matters which this genre usually depicts. Thus heroic characters, gods and goddesses, and allegorical figures drawn from classical myths and legend are most appropriate on the grounds of verisimilitude. The author observes that the audience will readily accept the incongruity of the recitativo in performance on the grounds that it is probable that characters of this stature would express themselves in a mode that is sublime and fanciful. Evocative effects can also be achieved with musical speech in the sacred opera on the grounds that it would be "natural" for divine characters to employ a mode of speech that is out of the ordinary. In addition, these fantastical figures permit the designers of the stile recitativo to create marvellous visual effects with respect to costumes and scenic decor."

The author cautions against the depiction of common characters drawn from everyday life alongside extraordinary personages on the grounds of probability. However, "ordinary men" are permissible in treatments of comical or farcical subject matters, and the reason for this is that it would be logical for buffoons and other ridiculous figures to express themselves in a mode and manner that is peculiar and nonsensical. As a general guideline, the author recommends prudence with respect to the choice and use of characters in the stile recitativo, but maintains that "con il tempo il popolo s’avvezzarebbe a gustar ogni cosa rappresentata in musica"."
With respect to the subject of the tale to be represented, the author observes that actions depicting grave and serious events are most appropriate to the stile recitativo. The subject must be treated with propriety, verisimilitude and with a grandeur coincident with the fantastical figures that characterize this genre. Subjects which are drawn from classical mythology or familiar to the public are satisfactory. However, it would be praiseworthy if the poet could deviate from the original story in an imaginative way. For example, he might add an unusual twist to the plot or perhaps an unexpected turn of events in the final scene, inventions which would enhance the pleasure and delight of the spectator as well as bring the poet much praise.

The poet is advised to allow for the introduction of scenic machines on land, sea and in the air from time to time, if not always ["di quando in quando, se non sempre"]. Sudden appearances of exotic gardens, caverns, moving rocks and other phenomena, choral ensembles, and choreographed balli and skirmishes will enhance the visual splendour of the performance as well as break up the tedium of the narrative. In addition, these effects will lend further credence to the appearance of the sublime and fantastical protagonists.

With respect to the texture and arrangement of the "parts" of the tale, the author advocates variety and colour in form and style. He cautions against the use of lengthy narration and tedious soliloquies because they tend to bore the modern
spectator as well as restrict the composer to a uniform musical style which the author considers to be displeasing in performance. The poet may add variety to the narrative by integrating solos and recitative sections with choral exclamations, interrogatives and strophic airs interspersed after four to six verses."

In the treatment of the lament, a traditionally lengthy form which permits one of the principal characters to portray a momentary affection (and which corresponds to the monologue in the spoken drama), the poet must see to it that the verse is suitably ornamented with figures and other rhetorical effects in order to capture and sustain the attention of the spectator."

On occasion, musical instruments may be used by any of the characters in the scene to accompany a song or dance or to create a special effect in performance. For example, in act three of Orfeo, Orpheus gains entry into the underworld by lulling Charon to sleep with a virtuosic aria accompanied by his magical lyre.

In Rappresentazione de Anima, et di Corpo:

Pleasure, with his two companions, have instruments in their hands, playing while they sing, and also playing their Ritornello. One can have a chitarrone, another a chitarrone alla spagnuola, and the third a small cymbal with bells in the Spanish style, which makes a little sound. They will go off while they are playing the last ritornello."

In his Preface to Dafne, Da Gagliano describes the trompe l’oeil that must occur after the transformation of Dafne:

...when Apollo sings the terzetti "Non curi la mia pianta o fiamme, o gelo" he should hold his lyre against his chest
(which should be done in a fine attitude). It is necessary that it should appear to the audience that the extraordinary melody comes from Apollo’s lyre, so place four viol players (a braccio or gamba, it matters not) in one of the rear exits in a place where, unseen by the audience, they can see Apollo, and when he applies his bow to his lyre they can play the three written notes, taking care to draw their bows together so it will seem to be only one bow. This trick cannot be detected except in the imagination of some hearer, and gives great pleasure."

Scenes depicting violent and disturbing events such as deaths and transformations of characters (for example, Daphne’s transformation into a laurel tree and Apollo’s slaying of the hydra in Dafne) must be strictly avoided on the stage. In keeping with classical rules of propriety, these events must be narrated by one of the interlocutors in the form of a spectacular monologue interspersed with a variety of vocal exclamations from the chorus. In this way, the audience will not be forced to witness inappropriate and disturbing events and the poet can exploit a variety of musical-dramatic forms to enhance the impact of the scenic action."

According to the author, the poet must see to it that the prologue is the most beautifully rendered scene in the sung drama. Its principal function is to capture the interest and curiosity of the spectator and to set the tone for the events which are about to take place. Traditionally, the prologue in the stile recitativo was assigned to an actor representing an allegorical figure who would pay homage to the Duke or patron of the performance as well as introduce the subject of the tale to be represented, a convention we encounter in other genres of the
period. This precept reflects the author's Humanist preoccupation with honouring classical rules in this emerging theatrical form.  

The author cautions the poet against introducing all of the principal characters in act one, a convention which we have encountered in both De Sommi and Ingegneri, because the spectator delights in the excitement of seeing new characters enter the scene. Each character must be distinguished by the particular quality of the voice and the manner of delivery. When an actor is required to portray more than one role in the production, the poet must see to it that each character expresses himself in a manner that is distinct in order to prevent confusion among the spectators. The chorus must be employed according to classical convention, that is as a collective body which intervenes in the action by way of interrogatives and responses. However each member of the ensemble must be particularized by the mode and manner of his or her vocal expression. In scenes with two or more characters, the texture of the verse and the manner of delivery must be differentiated to ensure that the spectator can discern the individual voices of the interlocutors in the scene.  

According to the author, the stile recitativo, which deals with grave subjects and exalted characters, is better served by the stature of verse rather than prose. The verse must be treated with simplicity, clarity and in context of its intended effects and performability. The poet should avoid unnatural stresses and
accents, displaced nouns and verbs, and frequent end-stops because these irregularities interfere with the rhythmical harmony that characterizes verse as well as disorient the spectator attempting to comprehend the meaning of the verse as it progresses from one sequence to the next. In addition, an over-wrought style inhibits the composer, who must support the sense of the words, the shifts in tone, and the overall rhythmical pattern of the verse with a suitable musical framework.

The author favours the frequent use of rhyme in the stile recitativo on the grounds that it is pleasing to the ear of the spectator in performance. Various and abundant figures, conceits and other rhetorical effects are permissible but they must be set in an orderly fashion. They must serve to create a pleasant rather than a tedious musical effect, which enhances the rhythmical progression of the verse as well as illuminates the meaning of the poem. With respect to choral passages or episodes that require two or more actors to speak in unison, the author reiterates his call for clarity, simplicity and brevity to ensure that the sense of the verse is conveyed effortlessly and naturally."

As a general rule, the poetic metre of stile recitativo should comply with the scheme established in other genres, blank verse which allows a relative freedom of accentuation (except in the case of the final stress on penultimate syllables which renders the text more intelligible) and which facilitates the approximation of prose declamation. He suggests the use of
canzonette, and diverse strophic ariette in measured verse (which correspond to the literary forms ottava, terza rima, quatrain and canzone) to create a colourful texture." To supplement his guidelines for the use of poetic meter and rhyme, the author makes reference to the metrical innovations introduced by the poet Gabriello Chiabrera and cites various passages from Le Rime by Francesco Balducci as illustrations of excellence in this regard."

According to the author, the stile recitativo permits the poet (as well as the composer) to exploit a diverse range of expressive literary (and musical) forms to articulate meaning in performance, and this, in his view, sets the musical apart from the spoken drama. It is the task of the modern poet to familiarize himself with these various forms in order to fully realize the dramatic-musical potential of the genre. However, in instances where the poet runs into difficulty scoring the material with the perfect (metrical and rhythmical) symmetry which this genre requires, he must seek the assistance of the composer, who may be able to bring into relief specific effects (the accentuation of a particular word or syllable, for example) which the poet wishes to convey through a musical equivalent. However, the author cautions, this collaboration between poet and composer must be undertaken with discretion ["in ogni cosa vuol discrezione"] to ensure that the integrity of the poetic text, that is to say, the specific effects to be expressed as well as the overall shape of the poem, is not compromised."

The Musical Score

In this discussion, Di alcune cose che deve osservare il compositore musicò per esprimere bene la poesia, the author provides a series of guidelines for the composer of the stile recitativo. The author reiterates that the composer must have the complete libretto in hand before composing the music in order to familiarize himself with the overall shape and structure of the poem, and to extract the essential meaning which the poet wishes to convey in performance. Following this initial encounter with the text, the composer must then analyze the various "parts" ["tutte le parte"] of the poem, scene by scene, taking into account the arrangement and progression of the action, the characters, the rhythmical pattern and texture of the verse, the overall mood and the shifts in emotional tone, the scenes and soliloquies which require particular emphasis, the intention of the poet, and the sorts and numbers of instruments required in order to create a musical score which the director and other artists can translate into the discourse of performance.

The author maintains that it is advisable to have the poet listen to the score before the rehearsal phase of theatrical production begins, to ensure that the composer has grasped the essence of the poem and has articulated its meaning in appropriate musical terms. In the same vein, this pre-production
collaboration allows the composer to solidify his understanding of the poem and revise the score in view of the requirements of performance."

The author conceives the stile recitativo as a theatrical rather than a strictly musical form, which, like the spoken drama, is based on solid structural and thematic principles and which is intended for performance on the stage. To this end, both the poet and the composer require sufficient time to develop and refine the libretto and the score before it is passed on to the director of the performance, who will assess its merits and determine what can and cannot be successfully realized on the stage.

While the author does not refer to these documents, the letters of Claudio Monteverdi provide an illuminating look into the difficulties associated with composing for the stile recitativo with a libretto which is dramaturgically unsound and with a production schedule that does not allow sufficient time for the composer to develop the score in the manner that the author of Il corago strongly advocates. In a letter written in 1616, in reference to a libretto on a favola maritima, Monteverdi writes:

...I have seen the interlocutors to be Winds, Cupids, Zephyrs, and Sirens; consequently there will be many sopranos needed. And it is added that the winds have to sing, that is, the Zephyrs and Boreal Winds. How, dear Signore, can I imitate the speech of winds if they do not speak? and how can I move the affections by their means? Arianna moved [the audience] because she was a woman, and likewise Orfeo, being a man and not a wind; the harmonies imitate their own natures and not through words - the uproar
of the winds and the bleating of the sheep, the neighing of the horses and so on - but they do not imitate the speech of the winds because there is none. The dances also that come into such a favola are few because they do not have the character of dances. The whole story, then, according to my not small ignorance, does not move me one bit, and also I understand it with difficulty, nor do I feel that it carries me in a natural way to an ending that moves me. Arianna led me to a true lament, and Orfeo to a true prayer; but this, to I don’t know what kind of an ending. So what does Your Illustrious Highness wish the music to do in it?"

In a letter written in 1620 addressed to Alessandro Striggio, Monteverdi discusses a setting for Andromeda:

...I am having to do a bad job through being obliged to finish it in a hurry, so too I am thinking that it will be badly performed and badly played because of the acute shortage of time. I am also greatly surprised that Signor Marigliani wished to involve himself in such a dubious enterprise, since even if it had been begun before Christmas, there would hardly be time to rehearse it, let alone learn it. Now Consider Your Lordship: what do you think can be done when more than four hundred lines, which have to be set to music, are still lacking? I can envisage no other result that bad singing of the poetry, bad playing of the instruments, and bad musical ensemble. These are not things to be done hastily, as it were,; and you know from Arianna that after it was finished and learned by heart, five months of strenuous rehearsal took place.\textsuperscript{100}

The author continues his discussion with a consideration of the "parts" of the musical score. In scenes where two or more characters are singing together, the composer must harmonize all of the voices, that is to say, he must arrange the voices in such a way that the poetic text is rendered intelligible for the listener.\textsuperscript{101} The author notes that in orazione and ecclesiastical music this rule is not generally observed on the grounds that, in performance, specific words and phrases in the composition will be ostensibly 'understood' by the listener.
However, in the opinion of the author, contrapuntal singing is abstract and inaccessible and it entangles the meaning of the poetic text which confuses and bores the listener. For these reasons this style of composition should be strictly avoided in the stile recitativo which requires a clearly enunciated text in order to produce its effects. However, if contrapuntal music is required for a specific dramatic effect, in scenes where the chorus intervenes in the action, for example, it is advisable to assign the first word or phrase of the song to one singer followed by a repetition of the word or phrase by the rest of the singers. In this way, the words of the poem will be understood by the listeners and the perfection of contrapuntal music will be fully realized.\textsuperscript{102}

According to the author, arias and other solo songs, or monodies, must be suitably ornamented with various figures and conceits that follow the rhythmical pattern of the verse, and he cites the solo songs perfected in the courts of Florence, Mantua and Ferrara as illustrations of excellence in this regard. In \textit{Baroque Music}, Palisca explains that the secular solo song of this period can be classified as strophic (the Renaissance \textit{aria}) and through-composed (the sixteenth century madrigal), and that both airs and madrigals were eventually infused with the recitative style. The technique of the Renaissance air derived from the court poet-singers who improvised on standard tunes but rarely recorded the settings. However some of the extant tunes are designated with terms such as \textit{aria di terza rima}, \textit{di sonetti},
and di ottava rima which indicates that the tune would be
suitable for singing any poem that follows a certain literary
form. According to Palisca, the stile recitativo is a direct
descendant of this improvised singing of poetry.¹⁰³

Palisca observes that the new style of solo music was not
created solely by the composers of the period; it emerged in
response to the demands of the virtuoso singer and the taste and
expectation of patrons and public, who were eager to be moved by
brilliant technique and music which they could understand.
Caccini and Peri were among the successful singers-turned-
composers who created for themselves a repertory for the shift in
musical style and technique. Only after the new style became
popular did figures such as Monteverdi imitate and refine the new
practice. According to Palisca, the rise of the solo singer had
its precedence in the poet-lutanist of the Middle Ages. However,
the professional solo singer emerged as an important figure in
musical-theatrical activity about 1570.¹⁰⁴ Vincenzo Giustiniani
describes the solo technique of Tarquinia Molza, Lucrezia
Bendidio and Laura Peperara in a musical recital at the Court of
Ferrara:

...they moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft,
heavy or light, according to the demands of the piece they
were singing; now slow, breaking off with sometimes a gentle
sigh, now singing long passages legato or detached, now
groups, now leaps, now with long trills, now with short, and
again with sweet running passages sung softly, to which
sometimes one heard an echo answer unexpectedly. They
accompanied the music and the sentiment with appropriate
facial expressions, glances and gestures, with no awkward
movements of the mouth or hands or body which might not
express the feeling of the song. They made the words clear
in such a way that one could hear even the last syllables of every word, which was never interrupted or repressed by passages and other embellishments.106

In Preface to Dafne, Da Gagliano describes the effects of the new solo style in musical drama:

...I shall not tire myself by praising him [Jacopo Peri], since there is no one who fails to give him infinite praise, and no lover of music who does not have always before him the songs of Orpheus. I will say that no one can fully appreciate the sweetness and the power of his airs who has not heard them sung by Peri himself, because he gave them such a grace and style that he so impressed in others the emotion of the words that one was forced to weep or rejoice as the singer wished.106

In Il corago the author maintains that excellence in the composition of the solo song is distinguished by the extent to which the composer determines to move the affections in performance. He encourages the composer to take advantage of the range and variety of potential effects which this musical style affords, and to synthesize the music with the verse in such a way that the desired effects are produced effortlessly. The author presumes that sung dialogue is an equivalent to spoken discourse. To this end, the composer is advised to score the text in such a way that in performance the verse approximates prose utterance.107 He observes that the intrinsic vitality of the stile recitativo requires virtuosic singer-actors who have a natural or developed facility for text interpretation and a technique to imitate these effects in musical-histrionic terms. The composer is advised to acquaint himself with the singer-actors that have been commissioned to perform while developing
the composition, taking into account the range and quality of the voices, and the experience and level of proficiency of each individual singer, in order to create a score that is fitting to the talent and resources available to him.¹⁰⁸

With respect to the instruments most suitable to the stile recitativo, the author maintains that gravicembali and violone are satisfactory to serve as basso continuo. Generally speaking, the composer should refrain from employing a large ensemble of instruments in this genre, and the reason for this is that, in performance, full harmonic accompaniment may overpower the voices of the singers and obscure the meaning of the verse. However, when multiple instruments are required, the director should see to it that the ensemble is positioned in the theatre in such a way that the volume of the accompaniment does not stupefy the listener. As a general rule, solo songs require minimal instrumental accompaniment; however, additional instruments may be employed for choral songs in order to balance and harmonize with the several voices in the scene.¹⁰⁹

When the singer is declaiming in pure recitative, the accompaniment must be neither too loud or too quick, and the musician(s) must refrain from intruding on the singer by plucking several strings at once. According to the author, the musician must accompany rather than compete with the singer with extraneous chordal embellishments, and he emphasizes that each individual note that is played must always serve to enhance the subtle intricacies of the poem. The musician is advised to
support the voice and the text by plucking a string of the instrument at strategic moments, before or after a particular word or phrase or during a break in the verse, to bring into relief the desired effect. If the voice of the individual singer is particularly strong, then the instrument can be plucked at full volume. If the performer is singing a bass part, then the musician must harmonize with the voice using a chord in a higher register to ensure clarity of text declamation.\footnote{110}

If the performer on stage is far removed from the musicians, it is advisable to begin the song (and this is of particular importance with songs at the beginning of the performance) with a resounding introductory flourish in order to establish the tone (key) for the singer. However once the performance of the song is underway, the instrumentalists must quickly reduce the volume of the music, or the number of instruments employed, in order to facilitate acoustical ease for the spectator as well as the performer.\footnote{111}

Finally, with respect to the choice and use of instruments, the composer must allow for the elaborate stage machinery and scenic effects which the author considers to be a fundamental aesthetic requirement of the \textit{stile recitativo}. The composer is advised to consider the extent to which the noise generated by the machines and the spatial arrangement of the clouds and other devices in the scene will effect the singers (who may be required to sing while the machines are rising and descending), the choice of instruments and their placement in the theatre, the volume of
the singing and the playing, the acoustical ease of the listener, and the ways in which these logistical details will inform the nature of the accompaniment as a whole. As a general rule, the author advocates discretion, harmony, and proportion, and in subsequent chapters he will examine the specific problems associated with the staging of this genre in greater depth.\textsuperscript{112}

Instrumentation and the Placement of the Musicians in the Theatre

The author begins this discussion by comparing the merits of employing woodwinds and string instruments in the stile recitativo. He argues that the former, woodwinds, are preferable on the grounds that they were employed by the poet-musicians of ancient Greece and Rome to accompany the singers in theatrical performances (with the name of the composer and the specific instrument being employed generally indicated on the frontispiece of the play-script with "tibiis paribus et imparibus,"\textsuperscript{113} and that string ensembles are cumbersome to position in the theatre to best advantage. When placed backstage, the sound of the instruments is obscured and this hinders the acoustical ease of the spectators seated in the back of the auditorium. This position causes grave difficulties for the singer who requires close contact with the accompanying instrumentalists in order to produce the subtle emotional-musical
effects that characterize this style of performance. When placed in closer proximity to the spectator, behind a partition at the foot of the playing area, the instrumentalists are forced to play at a level that is soft and subdued, that is, which harmonizes with the singers on the stage but which does not overpower the spectators seated in the first few rows of the auditorium. According to the author, this position is equally troublesome because the spectators seated at the sides and back of the theatre will be forced to strain themselves to hear the music and follow the dramatic action at a level of comprehension.114 Finally, in the view of the author, large string ensembles, whether positioned in the wings or behind the perspectives, can interfere with the placement and operation of the stage machines as well as the movement of the actors as they enter and exit the scene during the performance.

The author states his preference for the use of the organ to accompany the singers in the *stile recitativo* because it imparts a pleasing, evocative tone well suited to the natural expressiveness of the human voice; the organ is employed in ecclesiastic music for this reason. The organ provides a "stable* basso continuo* - supporting the voice of the singer without distracting reverberations ["ribattimento"], which can occur with string instruments (that generally require constant tuning by the instrumentalist).115 In addition, the organ sustains an even sound and a firm tone in contrast with an ensemble of independent strings which, in performance, produces striking shifts in pitch.
and tonal inflections. This effect adds much colour and variety to choral songs and sinfonias however, in the performance of the pure recitative, it intrudes on the tonal modulation of the voice of the singer and the intelligibility of the poetic text.  

The author continues this discussion with a consideration of the merits of employing string instruments in the stile recitativo. Compared with ecclesiastic music, musica recitativa is intrinsically vivace and thus the constant sound of the organ may be unsuitable for scenes depicting choreographed dances and ballets which require vital rhythmic support. Balli are better served by the use of the harp (which he describes as the queen of the strings) or any other string instrument which can sustain or enhance the dramatic action with the necessary spirit and vitality. The musician can 'control' the string instrument to best advantage, that is to say, he can stop the playing suddenly at strategic moments in the drama with minimal reverberation, and by plucking one of the chords, he can "walk" with the actor, accompanying his movements step by step, an effect which enhances the dramatic impact of the scene being played out. For example, in act four of Orfeo (which relies heavily on string accompaniment), in which Orfeo begins his journey back to earth from the underworld, Monteverdi employs the rhythmic ostinato bass to accompany Orfeo as he walks back toward the earth's surface; this walking bass falls silent in the instant when Orfeo comes to a halt overcome by doubt as to whether Euridice is behind him. In the view of the author,
this plucking technique and the capacity of the strings to depict the inner thoughts and feelings of the characters in the scene, sets the string instruments apart from the organ and other reed instruments.\textsuperscript{120}

Organs and reeds are, in some instances, advantageous in that they can serve to mask the natural defects ["qualche difetto"] of the singing voice and the unexpected errors made by the singer in performance. However, these instruments, and the organ in particular, are difficult to position in the scene or backstage to best advantage. As a universal rule, the \textit{stile recitativo} requires close contact between the singer and the instrumentalist. The musician must be positioned in such a way as to enable him to see the faces of the actors in order to execute the specific musical effects required in the scene.\textsuperscript{121}

One of the common problems associated with the placement of the organ backstage is that the organist is unable to hear the actor performing on the stage; consequently, the singer is forced to accompany the rhythmical pattern set by the organist which may be in conflict with the rhythm of the dramatic action or the intensity of the particular emotion being depicted. For this reason, the author observes, modern directors of the \textit{stile recitativo} make use of \textit{loggias} at the sides of the stage to accommodate the organ and any other instruments being employed - a position which permits the vocalist and the musician to effectively harmonize with one another, and which does not interfere with the operation of the stage machinery and the
The author concludes this section with a reiteration of the salient principles which the director must take into account in the stile recitativo with respect to instrumentation. The organ may be employed in scenes depicting sad and solemn actions but it is unsuitable for balli or other scenes that require a staccato rhythm to accompany the (emotional-physical) movements of the actors. The musicians playing string instruments must see to it that the sound is directed up and out towards the spectator at the back of the theatre. In this way the actors in the scene and the spectators in the first rows of the auditorium will not be overpowered with the volume of the music. In addition, it is advisable to assign the staccato effects to one of the instrumentalists.

String instruments should not be placed behind the perspectives or in the wings because they will interfere with the machines and the entrances and exits of the actors during the performance. Depending on the size of the theatre, this position will obscure the sound of the music for the spectators seated towards the back of the auditorium. The ensemble must be placed at a strategic locale where the performers and the musicians can see and hear one another in order to play together in harmony, and this precept is critical in the performance of solo-songs. For these reasons, some directors choose to position the ensemble is specially built balustrades within the scene, however, this position can disfigure the scenic picture as well as compromise
the harmony between the voices and accompaniment. Other directors choose to position the ensemble at the foot of the stage behind a partition that separates the stage and the auditorium. However this position is visually displeasing and it obstructs the view of the stage for the spectator. The actor is forced to play his scenes at the foot of the stage in order to see the musicians, and the volume of the music will overpower the spectators seated in the first rows of the auditorium.\textsuperscript{123}

The most suitable locale for the instrumentalists is at the sides of the stage in specially built boxes thrusting out towards the auditorium, with exits leading to the backstage area. In this way, the view of the stage is rendered clear for the spectator, and both the performers and the musicians are able to see one another to best advantage. In addition, those musicians playing string instruments will be able to retire to the backstage area as necessary in order to tune the instruments out of the hearing distance of the audience.\textsuperscript{124}

The Conductor

In this section, the author discusses the merits and drawbacks of employing a conductor to set the tempo and beat the time for the performers and instrumentalists during the performance of musical drama. The author begins by stating that
certain modern practitioners working in this genre favour the employment of the conductor in performance on the following grounds: i) his presence provides a modicum of comfort ["maggior sicurezza"] for the anxious performers, ii) he can function as an intermediary between the orchestra and the playing area, marking the time for those instrumentalists unable to see the actors on the stage from their box or loggia, and iii) he can 'conduct' scenes and passages that are especially difficult to execute in performance.\textsuperscript{125}

However, in the view of the author, the director should refrain from employing the conductor in the sung drama on the grounds of verisimilitude. The perfection of the stile recitativo depends on convincing the spectator that the action being represented on the stage is true, thus it stands to reason that any artificial thing ["ogni cosa che dimostra manifesto artificio"] will shatter the fragile illusion of the mise en scène. In addition, in order to serve as an intermediary between the actors and the musicians, the conductor would be forced to rise up and down ["soliscendo"] from his chair constantly in full view of the spectator throughout the progression of the action, which the author considers to be an unnecessary and displeasing distraction.\textsuperscript{126}

Finally, the visible presence of the conductor marking the tempo may intrude on the performance of the vocalist 'playing' with the affetti from moment to moment, should he choose to pause or break off a particular word with a sigh, or hold a note for a
moment longer. The author maintains that the actor must be free to improvise spontaneously without constraints in order to fully exploit the affective potential which this style of performance permits.¹²⁷ To this end it is advisable that the musicians follow directly the tempo and rhythm set by the actor in the scene. If the musicians can see and hear the actor there is no danger that the flow of the action will be interrupted.¹²⁸

However, if on occasion there is a strong need for direction during an especially difficult aria or choral passage, then it is permissible to have the conductor appear for these numbers and then quickly retreat backstage; he must not be seen during the rest of the performance.¹²⁹ The author does not elaborate on the execution of this sudden appearance of the conductor but presumably, if the ensemble is positioned in boxes at the side of the stage, he would enter and exit to the backstage area. If positioned on the loggia in the scene or behind the partition at the foot of the stage, then he would rise from his chair, conduct the passage and then quickly take his seat alongside the rest of the musicians.¹³⁰

Acting

In the following section, the author treats the art of acting which, he argues, is based on a foundation of sound technique with respect to voice, gesture, and movement. In
chapter fifteen, *Del modo di recitare in musica*, the author deals specifically with acting in the recitative style, and observes that in order to be a good actor-singer one must be, above all, a good speaking actor.\textsuperscript{131}

Since acting in music moves at a slower pace ["piu adagio"] than in the spoken drama, it is necessary that the gestures of the actor likewise move more slowly so that the hand does not stop before the voice. To this end, the actor must be made to move the hands slowly and at an even tempo from the start of the phrase and to employ broad gestures. As a general rule, the singing should be natural, that is to say, with spontaneous interruptions and pauses even when they are not indicated in the musical score. These natural breaks in the verse will be determined by the sense or intent of the words and the shifts of meaning that occur as the verse progresses from one phrase to the next. The instrumentalist is advised to support the singer by pausing at these strategic moments or perhaps lingering on the same note in order to enhance the emotional-dramatic effects of the song. However, the author cautions, the director must ensure that these effects between the singer and the player are rehearsed ["provati"] thoroughly in advance of the performance.\textsuperscript{132}

The author observes that in the spoken drama, the actor must refrain from walking while he is speaking; similarly, in the sung drama the singer-actor must avoid walking while singing since the voice is noticeably altered and spoiled by motion which will
diffuse the meaning of the text. However, when the affetti are meant to convey motion, in scenes of flight and other physical actions, it will be necessary for the actor to break this rule and move while singing in order for the song to express the poet's intention.  

From time to time, to break up the tedium of the recitative, the actor may break up the singing by walking at appropriate pauses in the verse, at periods or end-stops, at which point the instrumentalist may play a ritornello or improvise spontaneously to cover the singer's movement. When singing a solo passage, the actor should refrain from staying fixed at the centre of the playing area. He should attempt to move his body without affectation ["con naturalezza"], shifting his weight from one leg to the next in a natural manner and which harmonizes with the rhythm and affetto of the music. This rule is especially important in scenes where the soloist will be vocally supported by other performers. In Preface to Dafne, in his directions to the actor playing Ovid, Da Gagliano provides a vivid description of some of these principles in action:

At the fifteenth or twentieth measure the Prologue should enter, that is, Ovid, taking care to regulate his steps to the sound of the orchestra; not affectedly, as if he were dancing, but gravely, in such a way that his tread shall not be discordant with the sound. When he reaches the spot where it seems to him most appropriate to begin, without further ado let him begin. Above all, his singing and gestures should be full of majesty, more or less in accordance with the loftiness of the music. He must take care that every gesture and step follow the beat of the music and singing. When the first four lines are finished, let him take a breath, walking two or three steps during the ritornello, always observing the beat. He should be careful
to begin his walking on the tenuto of the next to the last syllable, and should begin again in the place where he happens to be.\textsuperscript{135}

When the chorus is required to function as speaking actors in the scene, they must employ more natural and frequent gestures and movements than when they follow the vocalists. When several characters enter the scene singing in unison expressing the same \textit{affetto}, the movements should be similar in order to create a visible harmony of gestural behaviour and sentiment.\textsuperscript{136}

The author maintains that to be a good singer-actor, one should above all be a good speaking actor, and he strongly urges the director of the sung drama to cast a perfect actor over an excellent singer with little or no talent for acting.\textsuperscript{137} Like De Sommi and Ingegneri, the author holds the work of the actor in high regard and observes that while some connoisseurs of music appreciate excellent singers, however cold their acting ["quantunque freddi nel recitamento"], the common spectator derives most satisfaction from watching highly skilled actors ["perfetti istrioni"] with mediocre vocal and musical skills.\textsuperscript{138}

The director must see to it that the roles in the sung drama are distributed in such a way as to permit the director to bring the natural skills of the actors and singers at his disposal into relief. For example, a singer who has superior singing skills but lacks the physical vigour or histrionic flare of a seasoned actor may be cast in roles which can be played on clouds and other machines where there is little call for physical movement or rhetorical posturing.\textsuperscript{139}
With respect to singing on machines, clouds and chariots that rise to the heavens and descend to the ground, the director must see to it that the movement of the machine conforms to the tempo of the music, and that the cloud or chariot is moved through the air slowly, with a proper smoothness in order to minimize the bumps and starts that sometimes occur. The author considers this precept to be of utmost importance and acknowledges the challenge these machines present to the performer who must sustain the intensity of the affetti while being precariously moved through the air. When the actor is required to portray a celestial deity on a cloud or chariot, or a marine or an infernal god on a chariot carried by monsters, it is not unbecoming or indecorous to gesticulate a little more frequently ["esprimere maggiormente"] and subtly according to the subject of the song or speech and the affetti being expressed.¹⁴⁰

When the actor first enters the scene, the director must see to it that he does not begin singing immediately; rather, he must move towards the playing area at a modest and slow pace, and take his position according to the rank of the person he represents. If the actor is portraying a king, for example, he must move toward the centre of the stage at a pace and rhythm which allows his retinue and the other interlocutors sufficient time to take their positions in an orderly fashion. However, when a character must enter the scene in flight or uttering passionate cries ["fuggendo o gridando"], then the director must adjust the
movements of the actor accordingly.\textsuperscript{141}

Like de Sommi and Ingegneri, the author maintains that the actor must never fully turn his back to the audience, whether leaving the scene or crossing from one position on the stage to another. Similarly, when the actor is engaged in dialogue, he must refrain from turning his face directly towards the other interlocutor. His face must be visible at all times to ensure that the words will be heard by the spectators. It is essential that the poetic text be heard distinctly, especially the last syllables of words, and cautions that sloppy articulation much offends the ears of the listener.\textsuperscript{142} Finally, the singer-actor must accompany the song with gestures that conform to the variety of emotions [''varietà degli affetti''] which the poet wishes to express, in the same way as does the actor in the spoken drama, always respecting the difference required by singing.\textsuperscript{143}

In chapter sixteen, \textit{Del modo di recitare semplice}, the author discusses a number of techniques for 'simple acting' that are equally relevant to both the sung and the spoken drama. Like his predecessors, De Sommi and Ingegneri, the author derives his precepts from the rhetorical works of classical antiquity. The author distinguishes between \textit{voce} (voice) and \textit{gesto} (gesture), and throughout the discussion he presupposes a familiarity with the fundamentals of voice production, the mechanics of speech, stage movement, delivery, memory, and the psychology of humours.

With respect to \textit{gesto}, the author observes that it is essential that the delivery of the poetic text, whether verse or
prose, is accompanied by decorous and verisimilar gestural behaviour which corresponds to the sentiment or affetto which the poet wishes to convey. In the view of the author, a harmony of voice and gesture creates a heightened poetic impression which enhances the affective potential of the performance and which is superior to the effects created by a simple and unadorned (vocal) reading. To this end, the actor must see to it that the tonal shifts of the voice coincide with the rhythmical progression of the verse and that he pauses with the end of the thought or sentiment being expressed. Similarly, the rhythm and tempo of the physical gestures must conform to the manner in which the verse is pronounced, and the author substantiates this direction by citing Book One of Quintillian and De natura decorum by Cicero.\(^5\)

Each genre, whether comedy, tragedy or "mise" (the tragicomedy) must be distinguished by the gestural behaviour and the style of delivery of the individual characters in the scene, and the intended effects which the poet wishes to produce in performance.\(^5\) In the representation of a tragedy, for example, it would be decorous for the actor portraying a great king or other heroic figure to deliver the verse in a manner that is grave and purposeful, to carry his body with dignity and grace and to employ eloquent physical gestures (in contrast to the languorous demeanour and sonorous delivery of a pining lover in the pastoral, or the animated vocal and gestural behaviour of a trickster in comedy). It is the duty of the director ["si
aspettera al corago" to advise the actors on what gestures accord with the characteristics of the person portrayed, and to ensure that each individual character on stage, whether prince, lover or lady-in-waiting, is differentiated by carriage, delivery and comportment in order to create an impression which is decorous, varied and above all verisimilar."

With respect to the gestures themselves, the author maintains that each physical action on stage, that is the movement of the body and limbs, must emerge from the dramatic circumstances of the scene being played out (a direction which we have encountered in both De Sommi and Ingegneri). As a general rule, the actor must see to it that he gesticulates with the hand which is closest to the other interlocutor in the scene. For example, if an actor on stage right is speaking with an actor on stage left, it would be appropriate (as well as visually pleasing) for the actor to use the left hand to enhance the impact of his verbal argument.

The author states his preference for right-handed gestures: when the actor is made to enter the scene carrying a stage prop such as a walking stick in his right hand, the actor must transfer the stick to his left hand as he begins his speech. However, he maintains that left handed gestures are also allowed: in the representation of tragedy, for example, the actor depicting the king must be made to carry the sceptre in his right hand and to gesticulate with his left. Both hands may be used to create specific dramatic effects: the act of prayer, for example,
is far more expressive when, at a strategic moment in the verse, the actor brings his hands together at chest level while gazing up the heavens in supplication.\textsuperscript{147}

In scenes depicting sacrifice or worship, or when one of the characters must acknowledge the arrival of a royal personage in the scene, the movement and the gestures must be treated with "great reverence and submission" (a direction which we have seen in Ingegneri). The actor may either bow down gracefully using the upper part of his body, head and shoulders, or kneel in front of the altar or royal personage on one knee using the upstage leg to ensure that his face is visible to the spectator.\textsuperscript{148}

When depicting scenes of fury, the actor must execute the gestures with violent intensity ["fiero e concitato"] employing one hand to emphasize particular words and phrases in the speech and directing his impassioned outburst towards his adversary in the scene. However, when depicting grievous actions, the actor may gesture with both arms, moving the hands gently from the heart to the brow and then allowing the arms to collapse against the sides of his body in sorrowful abandonment to suit the emotions being expressed in the verse.\textsuperscript{149}

In messenger-scenes, that is to say, when the actor must describe the death of a great hero or a violent battle which has just occurred off stage, the actor may use a variety of expressive gestures and rhetorical postures to re-create the tragic occurrence for the other interlocutors.\textsuperscript{150} When the soliloquy describes a joyous event, the actor must radiate
"happiness" in the instant that he enters the scene. The accompanying gestures must be light, relaxed, swift (quick tempo) and, at strategic moments in the verse, he may introduce a short expressive pause or he may look up to the heavens with a joyous gaze of the eyes.

In scenes depicting acts of desperation, the actor may employ a variety of carefully choreographed gestures ["regolatamente sregolato"] and rhetorical postures. For example, the actor may clench his fists, beat his chest furiously, wipe tears from his eyes, drop his hands to the side of his body in a sudden fit of grief, or fling his arms up to the heavens or towards the other characters in the scene in an outburst of accusation or menace. However, these movements and postures must always be executed with great control and finesse. Furthermore they must emerge directly from the dramatic circumstances and the specific affetti in the poet’s score in order to create an impression that is decorous and verisimilar. This is a common concern in this period which we have seen in both De Sommi and Ingegneri. In musical drama, Da Gagliano urges the actor to suit the gesture to the requirement of the plot; in Preface to Dafne, he describes many of the effects which the author advocates.151

In the representation of soliloquies and lengthy narrative passages, the gestures and rhetorical postures must be selected with great care. Superfluous movements of the body should be strictly avoided since this will distract the spectator from the
meaning of the poetic text. The actor must suit the action to the word and the word to the action. The gesture must stop or shift with the end of the thought being expressed. The rhythm and tempo of the gestures must conform to the rhythm and tempo of the verbal expression in order to create a harmonious overall impression.

When one of the principals must address a crowd of characters in the scene, the chorus in tragedy, for example, the actor must direct his speech and accompanying gestures to each character on the stage, and he may employ a variety of physical gestures and postures to enhance the argument at hand. However, the actor must remain firmly planted in one position throughout his delivery of the speech avoiding superfluous movements of the hands and constant shifts in body weight from one foot to the other, actions which the author considers to be distracting for the spectator.¹⁵²

With respect to voce, the author recommends that the verbal expression of the actor conform to the sentiment ["secondo la varietà delli affetti"] which the poet wishes to convey as set down in the literary text. The seasoned actor who can carry this out effectively will delight and move the spectator. However the actor who lacks the facility to achieve this end will greatly offend the ears of the spectator ["grandamente offende l’orecchie di chi l’ascolta"]).¹⁵³ According to the author excellence in verbal expression requires innate talent as well as solid technique in vocal production and the mechanics of speech.
Furthermore, in the opinion of the author and based on his observations of contemporary productions, the failure of the naturally gifted actor to achieve superior results in performance can usually be attributed to a lack of technique and poor instruction from the director. The author observes that the discerning spectator can easily distinguish between a pleasing and displeasing performance. However, it is the task of the director to understand why this is so and to familiarize himself with the nature of voice and speech in the theatre in order to guide and instruct the actor in rehearsals and facilitate an affective delivery in performance.

As a general rule, when the play being presented is written in verse, the director must see to it that the poetic text is delivered in a manner which is natural or life-like and which approximates prose utterance. Affectation and a sing-song delivery ["quella cantilena"] must be strictly avoided. The actor must be instructed to pause at the end of the thoughts being expressed, to modulate the tone, which is the carrier of the emotion, as the meaning of the verse shifts from one phrase to the next. In addition the shifts in affetti must always occur at the beginning, rather than in the middle, of the word, and sustained through to the end of the phrase: if the actor is required to utter a phrase such as "O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia" from Il pastor fido, he must, in one expulsion of breath, connect the "O" with "Mir", the first syllable of "Mirtillo", and sustain this sentiment by controlling the breath, through to the
final syllable of the last word, the "a" of "mia". If the actor pauses or breathes between "O" and "Mir", the tonal emphasis will fall on "til", and this will result in a sing-song delivery which the author maintains is displeasing in performance.\textsuperscript{156}

The Chorus

In this section, the author turns to the treatment of the chorus in modern theatrical productions of tragedies, pastorals, and the sung drama in which the chorus represent crowds of nymphs, shepherds, satyrs, citizens or soldiers who either intervene in the dramatic action through the chorus leader or sing together as the representative body of the community being depicted.\textsuperscript{157}

The author observes that two or four chorus members may be introduced into scenes in which an event of some magnitude, which has occurred off stage, is related to the interlocutors by a Messenger. The use of several chorus members in this way is intended to enhance the emotional impact of the tragic or joyous news. For example in \textit{Dafne}, when the shepherd enters the scene to bring news of Dafne's transformation, Da Gagliano directs the chorus to retreat to the sides and back of the playing area with the chorus leaders positioned in front of the others, so that they can face the messenger directly and "show pity and sorrow"
as they hear the sad news. However, according to the author, the chorus is generally employed as a representative body who rejoices or laments in song. This function has an added advantage in performance in that it permits the director to choreograph various processings and interlacings that add much colour to the mise en scène.

According to the author, the chorus members who take part in the action, as in the case of Messenger scenes, must observe the rules for speech and gesture as set down in chapter sixteen. It is advisable to have these figures enter the scene from the streets closest to the spectators because this allows the director to integrate them into the action with minimal difficulty.

Singing choruses must also follow the rules for gesture and delivery as given above ["le regole dette"], however, the director must take great care with the choreography of the movements and interlacings. The group must always employ the same gestures and execute them simultaneously in order to create an harmonious overall impression. The author considers this precept to be of utmost importance and observes that it is very disturbing to see someone move a hand upward and another downward, or someone finish a gesture before another has started.

With respect to entrances and exits, it is the duty of the corago to ensure that the members of the chorus do not always enter and leave the scene from the same street. He can have them
appear from the centre archway, each person following the other while singing, in small groups from several entrances, or, he may have them enter en masse as the scene is revealed. The choice of entrance will also be determined by the nature of the configurations and processions required in the scene and the size of the ensemble (not less than twelve or more than twenty-four is recommended unless performing on a very large stage).

With respect to the choral formations themselves, the director may employ a variety of figures, either of animals, the coat-of-arms of the Duke, letters, and so on, that conform to the dimensions of the performance space, the occasion of the performance, as well as the nature of the representation. The formations must be choreographed in such a way that the figures are comprehensible and that the faces of the singers are made visible to the spectator at all times. To this end, the director must see to it that the chorus moves into position and takes a brief pause before singing. In order to ensure that the formations are executed in an orderly fashion, the author recommends the use of markings on the stage floor ["nel pavimento della scena"]. In this way, the chorus will not only form the figures simultaneously, but also find itself centred on the stage at the same distance from each other.

The author concludes this discussion by recommending that the rhythm and tempo of the configurations conform to the affetti being expressed in the song. In addition, he observes that the most desirable figures are those in which the greatest number of
actors can be seen by the audience. He refers the director to illustrations of various choric processings and figures (no longer extant) which he recommends but maintains that the director or dance-master may devise new ones according to the specific requirements of the play to be performed.165

Dance and Combat

In chapters eighteen and nineteen, the author discusses the treatment of stage dances, promenades, military battles, jousts and duels, which must always be visually striking. As a general rule the director must be conscious of the pictures being presented to the spectator, that is to say, the specific patterns made by the bodies of the actors and the overall shape of the movements in the scene. The director must create a variety of positions and moves blocked in such a way that they are not hidden or viewed from the wrong angle by the spectator in order to exert their greatest effect.

With respect to balli, the author states his preference for sequences which make use of a large number of dancers in the scene because this adds much to the visual splendour of the mise en scène.166 The director is advised to distinguish between balli executed in the playing area ["in scena"] and those which spill out onto the floor of the auditorium ["in terra"], since
the distance between stage and spectator will determine the overall shape of the routines, the specific gestures, moves and footwork, and the placement of the actors in the theatre space.\footnote{167}

When the dance is executed on the stage platform, the figures and configurations must be distinct and intelligible. To this end, the gestures must be expansive and the footwork, the positioning of the arms, the hands and the heads, and the overall carriage and demeanour of the figures must be orchestrated with great care. In addition, the tempo and rhythm of the choreography must permit the dancers to execute the movements with relative ease in order to produce a unified and harmonious visual impression. It is upsetting, the author cautions, to witness one dancer in the scene leaping or turning before the rest of the dancers have started.

The director must also ensure that the execution of the movements conforms to the sentiment of the accompanying music or song. For example, if the music is lively then the choreography must be allegro with appropriate turns, twirls and leaps ["salti, capriole, giravolte e simile"]. If the music is melancholy, then the movements must be arranged at a moderate or measured pace with gestures that are suitably spezzate or "disjointed".\footnote{168} The author concludes this discussion by observing that these general guidelines apply equally to the treatment of the chorus, and maintains that it is the duty and function of the director ["spettera all’uffizio del corago"] to
oversee the Dance-Master throughout the rehearsals to ensure that the balli are staged in the manner prescribed.¹⁶⁹

Like the balli, the military battles and jousts must be visually extravagant and above all exciting in order to induce an affective emotional response in the spectator. As a universal rule, the combat routines themselves should be coordinated by the Fence Master under the strict supervision of the director to ensure that the sequences are scenically effective but above all accident-proof, for the safety of the players must come before all else. In addition the director must see to it that sufficient time is set aside during the production to rehearse these sequences thoroughly ["bene studiate e provate innanzi"] to ensure that the actors feel confident and in control of the mechanics of the routines that they will be required to execute in performance.¹⁷⁰

The recreation of mass battles on the stage require great skill and invention. It is essential that the director create an illusion of a large group of soldiers apparently engaged in mortal combat, appearing from the wings and battling their way across the length of the stage, and each stage-battle must be unique with its own (visual) story to tell. The director must determine the action, that is, the dramatic circumstances out of which the battle emerges, the types and numbers of characters involved, and the dimensions of the space where the action will unfold. The individual pictures in the scene - soldiers advancing, groups of combatants retreating, and so on - must be
selected with great care, and all the pieces of the picture must be perfectly timed and synchronized in order to create a harmonious and verisimilar impression.\textsuperscript{171}

In scenes depicting mass assaults on cities, it is essential that the routines be choreographed in such a way that the spectator will be able to distinguish between the two opposing factions, that is, the group that is advancing and the group that is retreating. Each faction must be particularized with respect to formations, manoeuvres, weapons and costumes, and the individual combatants within each squad must be distinguished with respect to rank and function. In scenes depicting ancient battle scenes, the director is advised to provide the performers with appropriate weaponry, shields, lances, slings, arrows and the like in order to create a verisimilar impression.\textsuperscript{172}

Although the author does not articulate this as such, every period in history will require different combat techniques according to the weapons that are used. The director must consider how this will effect the stance and overall demeanour of the actors, the grip of the individual weapons, and the various methods of attack and defense.\textsuperscript{173} It is essential that the men carrying the larger weapons are positioned towards the back and sides of the scene and behind the infantry to avoid obscuring the sightlines for the spectator and to ensure that there is no danger of injury to the actors during the action from unexpected thrusts of the spades, swords and other hazardous armaments.\textsuperscript{174}

In scenes depicting the siege and destruction of city walls,
the director must pay strict attention to the timing, arrangement and progression of the individual pictures unfolding in the scene in order to create a sense of perpetual movement from one moment in the action to the next. These scenes, like the ancient precedents, require the formation of several testuggine - protective screens formed by squads of seven or eight soldiers armed with shields and visors that move toward the target in unison. In order to create the effect of perpetual motion, the director must see to it that there are no gaps in the action. As the first squad arrives at their predetermined position and initiates the assault, the soldiers in the rear must follow suit in an orderly fashion in order to link one screen formation with another.\footnote{175}

In order to enhance the emotional impact of these various military sequences for the spectator, the director may integrate ["deve procurare il coragou"] musical sound effects into the action. Trumpets and drums may be played at strategic moments to indicate advances, retreats and victories. In addition, the sounds of clashing swords and other weapons and the vocal reactions from the actors themselves will add greatly to the excitement of the scene.\footnote{176}

Fencing duels and combat sequences between three or four characters must be orchestrated with a variety of positions and moves (lunges, turns, thrusts and so on) in order to maintain the interest of the spectator. For example, two combatants may initiate the bout in a low key at a slow tempo with gradual
crescendo in momentum and pitch. The sequence may suddenly shift when a third or fourth character joins the combat and the first character retreats. Naturally, the footwork must be synchronized with the various positions. For example, when one character takes a movement forward the opponent must take a corresponding move back and so on. [177]

The director is encouraged to accentuate the (simulated) danger of the dramatic situation for the spectator with vivid choreography, however he must see to it that the movements are appropriate from the point of view of safety. The actors must be provided with shields and visors to protect them from potential accidents in performance ["per evitare il pericolo de’ colpi"]. In addition, the director must ensure ["avera bene avvertenza il corago"] that the sequences have been well-rehearsed under the supervision of the Fence Master. [178] This is of particular importance for scenes that require the actors to extend the sword-play from the acting area into the pit of the auditorium. These sequences are well served by the addition of scenic accoutrements such as wooden dividers to define the combat area, trumpet and drum players, and maestri di campo to ensure that the playing area remains unobstructed throughout the sequence. [179]
Costumes

In chapter twenty, *Degli abiti*, the author discusses the treatment of costumes in both the sung and the spoken drama, and maintains that beautifully designed and constructed costumes add much to the visual splendour of modern theatrical productions. He begins his discussion with a detailed review of the ancient treatment of costumes for young and elderly men and women, servants, shepherds, satirical figures, comical characters, ruffians and parasites, and he discusses the merits and drawbacks of employing the classical mask in modern performance. He argues that in genres such as the commedia dell'arte, codified masks and costumes can be scenically effective, however, as a general rule, masks should be employed with discretion in other genres on the grounds that they inhibit the enunciation of the poetic text as well as obscure the variety of affetti conveyed through the facial expressions of the actors. Like Ingegneri and de Sommi, the author recommends the use of beards, wigs, and facial make-up to enhance the visual expression of the characters in the scene.

The author advises the director to familiarize himself with the ancient precedents since these traditional costumes are appropriate for the representation of comedies and pastorals. However, in the sung drama, the author advocates the classicist ideal, elegant and attractive designs that correspond to the stature of the characters which this genre depicts. To this end,
the designs for kings, deities, personifications and other illustrious characters must feature long flowing robes with mantles, variously shaped caps and other head gear, beautifully finished with pearls, jewels and embroidery, soft leather boots and a variety of accessories equally adorned. He advises against the use of plumes and feathers for these heroic figures with the exception of scenes depicting military battles in which helmets with feathers are necessary. However, in these cases, the director must see to it that the feathers are not unusually large on the grounds that they may impede the movements of the actors ["darebbono fastidio a recitare"].

Generally speaking, in all genres, the director must see to it that the costumes conform to the customs and traditions of the country in which the play is set. In the case of deities and personifications, the designs must adhere to the indications provided by the poet in the secondary text. Shepherds and other rustic characters must be dressed in humble yet elegant skins, variously shaped caps, wigs, leather boots and accessories such as walking sticks. Similarly, nymphs must be elegantly dressed in flowing robes, ornamented veils, long tresses with laurel, and beautifully finished boots and slippers.

The chorus must be uniformly dressed in elegant robes, matching caps and neatly coiffed hair or wigs. The colour of the individual robes may vary, and it would not be inappropriate to employ colours that conform to the coat-of-arms peculiar to the House or city in which the performance is taking place. However,
the director must ensure that the selected colours are carefully coordinated in order to create a visually harmonious impression. Similarly, the costumes of pages, servants, members of regal entourages, and soldiers must be colour-coordinated. Dancers must be dressed in clothing that permits free and easy movement, and armed soldiers must be equipped with suits of armour, breast plates, arm bracelets, visors, gauntlets, and high-cut boots *alla spagnola*. If an entire squadron is required in the scene, then the men must be dressed in an uniform design. Like de Sommi, the author considers hats to be an especially useful accessory to distinguish between individual characters, and maintains that modern drawings, engravings and other iconographic materials provide an invaluable source for innovative ideas in this regard.

The author brings this discussion to a close with a number of general recommendations to the director with respect to the conception of costume. He begins by advocating *invenzione*, that is, creating the most splendid wardrobe for the entire cast with the least amount of capital funds ("minore la spessa e la bellezza maggiore"). The director is advised to consider the time of the performance and the nature of the lighting which will be employed, since these factors will determine the colours and textures of the fabrics. Artificial lighting permits the director to create evocative effects with less expensive materials. Daylight, however, will amplify the defects in the cut, the construction, or the quality of the fabrics and the
accessories.

As a general rule, the director must take into account the colour, the cut and the finish of the costumes, what the author considers to be the three criteria of excellence in the conception of costume. The author states his preference for vibrant, primary colours, appropriately coordinated and ornamented with sequins, pearls, and other evocative jewellery to create a pleasing visual effect. The director must also distinguish between costumes and basic street apparel, since each involve different functions and criteria for their design and construction. He emphasizes this precept by observing that an actress depicting a noblewoman wearing a black underslip with a white or yellow robe, or a red dress with a green cape, may appear elegant and attractive on the stage under artificial lights. However, as street apparel this bold combination of colours would be inappropriate ["parebbe cosa molto scionca"].

In closing, the author observes that one cannot provide hard and fast rules for this area of production, since excellence in design is informed by a certain "capriccio di arteficio" as well as practical experience in the theatre. However, it is the duty of the director to provide the designer, tailors and other artisans with concrete ideas with respect to the visual impression which he wishes to convey in order that these individuals may realize his vision under his guiding hand to the best of their ability.
In this section, the author turns to the wonders of modern stage machinery which he considers to be the most efficacious means of captivating the modern spectator ["rapischino gli animi delli spettatori"], who delights in witnessing "supernatural" phenomena that "trick" the eye and the senses: fantastical characters appearing suddenly from the depths of the earth, soaring through the air and up to the heavens, radiant clouds carrying celestial deities across the scene, depictions of a scenic tempest or any other natural phenomenon which is transformed, in an instant, into a rural landscape and then suddenly into a marine scene depicting billowing waves with moving ships and sirens, Tritons and other creatures of the deep striding from reef to reef.194

The author argues that the power of these illusions derives, in part, from the voluntary credulousness and natural curiosity of the spectator.195 In reference to the production of Aminta (1628), eye-witness Luigi Inghirami observes that five machines were simultaneously in motion, and he finds it extraordinary that the clouds not only travelled parallel to the footlights but could also be maneuvered downstage. In reference to the final intermezzo of Il giudizio di Paride (1608), Gabriele Bertazzuolo marvels at the nine machines in simultaneous operation. Marcello Buttigli observes that the stunning transformations of scenery in Mercurio e Marte (1628) was accomplished "in an instant", and
that the spectators could not ascertain whether the scenic elements rose from the earth, descended from the heavens, or had been pushed in from the sides. One spectator, Abbé Folchi, confesses to growing apprehensive during the final scene of this production, in which the character of Neptune decrees that the billows of the sea should surge (into the pit of the theatre), whereupon water suddenly rushed in through the sides of the auditorium: "I was afraid to sit in such a large hall overloaded with thousands of spectators and many machines. Moreover, the same hall later had to sustain the weight of the water which rose to a height of more than half a braccio."\(^{196}\)

Before turning to the various machines whereby the director can create these splendid effects, the author considers the various ways of raising and lowering the front curtain, the methods of scene-changing, and the treatment of the stage heavens and floor. The author’s principal concern throughout this chapter is that the changes in scenery, the entrances of the machines as well as the shifts in lighting occur simultaneously in order to create the magical effects which the modern stage admits. Naturally, the speed with which the changes in scenery and lights and the sudden appearance of wondrous machines occur in performance would determine the ‘success’ of the illusion.

With respect to the opening of the front curtain, convention dictated that it hide the stage picture as the audience assembled into the theatre (with scene changes always occurring in full view of the spectator). The author observes that at the
beginning of the performance the director may employ one of five methods to reveal the scene. The curtain may be divided into two sections that are drawn open from the middle to stage left and right respectively. It may be drawn open entirely to one side of the stage, a method which the author maintains creates a pleasing visual impression but which is awkward to execute smoothly, particularly if the curtain is unusually large or heavy. It may be dropped into a pit at the foot of the stage however, the weight of the curtain may produce an inordinate amount of dust ["gran polvere"] on the stage and in the auditorium. The entire curtain may be raised up to the ceiling of the theatre but this method is equally problematic in theatres that are large and where the curtain is particularly heavy.¹⁹⁷

According to the author, the most convenient and expedient method of revealing the scene involves raising the curtain up to the stage-ceiling by means of a system of cords, rings and counterweights (which the author claims is the preferred choice of Bernardo Buontalenti, esteemed inventor of changeable scenery and other scenic machines).¹⁹⁸ This method entails securing a number of decorative rings onto the front of the curtain spaced proportionately every three or four feet through which cords are run, which permit the technicians to hoist the curtain up into place simultaneously.

With respect to the scene-changes, the author observes that the director has a variety of methods at his disposal. The first, which the author considers to be the least desirable,
involves the use of variously painted telari cut to correspond with the dimensions of the stage houses that are stretched over the perspectives faces by one or two technicians at the appropriate moment in the action, a method that is also described by Sabbattini in his Pratica di fabbricare scene. The second method involves painting a different scene on each side of the back-cloth and folding it over rapidly at the appropriate cue. This method is relatively simple to execute as well as being cost efficient; however, the director is discouraged from employing this method on the grounds that it permits only one scene change. The third method entails raising a series of flats depicting the new scene, four on each side of the stage, into position from underneath the stage - a method employed in the production of Mercurio e Marte which the author attended in 1628 at the Teatro Farnese in Parma. However, the director is advised to refrain from employing this method on the grounds that the effect may offend the eye of the spectator ["offenda non poco l'occhio"]. As the new scene is raised into place, the old scene is still in view, an effect which the author considers to be displeasing from an aesthetic point of view.

The author states his preference for the use of periaiktoi, triangular wings painted with different scenes on each side, attached to a central pivot that passes through a hole in the stage floor. Cords are attached on the pivots of each triangle that are wound and unwound in a single motion to change the scene. This method allows the director to obtain an infinite
number of scene changes swiftly and efficiently. In addition, these set pieces may be easily adapted to suit the height, length, and width of the dimensions of the performance space.\textsuperscript{203}

The author observes that some modern directors have taken to employing the rhombus, or the diamond-shaped wing-flat system that had been introduced by German architect Joseph Furtenbach (1591-1667), constructed along the same lines as the periaktoi. This method involves placing two periaktoi close to each other in such a manner that they form a corner which can be made to separate and turn instantaneously. However, in the view of the author, these devices are impractical from the point of view of illumination.\textsuperscript{204}

The author praises the sliding wing-flat system introduced by Giovanni Battista Aleotti. It consists of five flats positioned on either side of the stage which could be made to glide in and out of the scene in grooves parallel to the footlights or the edge of the stage. This method is inexpensive (in light of the multiple changes that can be produced), can be illuminated with minimal difficulty since the lamps may be positioned behind the flats, requires less stage space than periaktoi, and adds more charm to the scene by increasing the illusion of depth. The singular drawback to this system is that, in theatres of more than average height, the size and dimensions of the wings may not always conform to those of the stage houses, and this may result in the impression of an asymmetrical place of performance.\textsuperscript{205}
The stage-heavens do not ordinarily require changes of scene. However delightful effects can be produced by transforming the sky from broad daylight into darkness, or by having the sky grow cloudy or break into a storm, with thunder and lightening striking in the auditorium. To achieve these effects, the designer must 'cut' the heavens into several sections of cloud formations that can be run in and out of the scene on tracks fixed firmly on the beams of the ceiling of the theatre. In this way there will be ample room in the heavens to accommodate the entrances of descending clouds, celestial chariots and the like with minimal difficulty. On this question the author is in complete agreement with Sabbattini, who maintains that it is necessary to have the heavens divided into "sections" for the convenience of the operator of the machines, and for the delight and wonder of the spectator, particularly those seated on the first rows near the front of the stage, who cannot see how the machines are hidden as they suddenly appear and descend from the heavens.\textsuperscript{206} In scenes depicting the underworld, the director must ensure that the heavens are suitably transformed to harmonize with the perspectives and the stage decor. The author maintains that it is displeasing to witness a scene depicting a grotto at the foot of the stage billowing smoke and flames while calm skies and fanciful clouds are suspended in the heavens.\textsuperscript{207}

The author claims that it is unnecessary to change the stage floor during the performance unless a special effect such as a
marine battle is being represented, in which case the director would require ample room in the orchestra of the theatre in order to produce the desired results. The author describes what he considers to be the two optimum methods of representing marine scenes. The first involves the construction of waves, made from wooden planks, cut in accordance with the size and dimensions of the theatre space and the specific requirements of the scene. The waves, which are maneuvered by technicians positioned underneath the stage, are raised and lowered or moved forward and backward in sections to represent the undulations of the sea.

The second method involves constructing a sea covering the length and breath of the playing area by means of undulated cylinders, made of strips of board as wide as the required sea, shaped like waves and covered with painted cloth. The cylinders are attached to wooden cranks running the depth of the sea which permit the technicians to turn over the waves to set the sea in motion. However, the author cautions, it is essential that the waves be set as far apart as possible in order to allow sea monsters to emerge and submerge, and vessels and marine chariots to travel across the sea as required.

The author continues this discussion by itemizing what he considers to be the representative scenic effects which the modern director may make use of in production. He refers the reader to a series of plates (no longer extant) illustrating the machines whereby these effects can be produced. I will describe the various machines in the order in which they are presented by
the author and, where possible, direct the reader to either an illustration or a description of these or similar machines based on accounts of various productions of the period: i) Tritons and other marine deities travelling across the sea in chariots pulled by marine monsters (the author observes that this effect is enhanced by painting sea vessels in the distance of the perspective). Monsters of this type were used by Buontalenti in his design of Il rapimento di Cefalo (1600) and by Parigi in his production of Mascherate (1611). ii) Underworld scenes depicting infernal creatures (the author advocates discretion with the use of chariots in these scenes on the grounds that such machines are generally associated with celestial creatures; however, if the action involves figures such as Pluto or Persephone, then these machines are allowed). These machines were used by Buontalenti in his design of The Inferno, Fourth Intermezzo for La pellegrina (1589), by Parigi in his design of Eros and Anteros (1613), and by Francesco Guitti in his production of Assembly of the Pagan Gods, Fifth Intermezzo for Aminta (1628). iii) Descending clouds and chariots travelling in mid-air, iv) Illustrious characters descending from the heavens to the earth. This machine was used in the production Mercurio a Marte in 1628:

Mercury then rushed in from an opening in the "finto cielo". So artful was the device which sustained him in flight that the spectators fancied he kept himself aloft merely by beating the wings on his sandals. Flying in from the left, he first appeared in profile. He then described a circle, coming to rest in the middle of the stage.
v) Furies rising from the depths of the earth and flying in mid-air, vi) Celestial choirs and assemblies suspended in the heavens such as those used in Assembly of the Gods, Sixth Intermezzo for La pelligrina (1589), and Dispute of the Olympians, Third Intermezzo for Aminta (1628), vii) cavalieri celesti, knights on horses descending from the heavens as in the production of Assembly of the Pagan Gods (1628), viii) An eagle with monstrous wings and claws flying in mid-air and descending to earth to attack a small boy and other prey. I was unable to locate a description or an illustration of an eagle clawing "a small boy", however, eagles appear consistently in actions which involve the character of Jupiter, who generally appears sitting astride the creature and commands him to execute various tasks. For example, in act five of La flora (1628), Jupiter’s eagle swoops down to earth to return a leaden arrow to Cupid (which had been stolen from him by Venus and cast into the sea), ix) Feigned (wooden) horses and other animals that pull celestial carriages, x) the "fall" of Lucifer and forty or fifty of his disciples, xi) celestial wagons drawn by animals. In rapimento de Cefalo (1600) Night’s chariot is drawn by two owls. In Il giudizio di Paride (1608), Tranquilita’s chariot is drawn by two seals, Cybele’s by lions, Pluto’s by black horses, Neptune’s by white horses, and Bellona’s by elephants, xii) The personification of Inconstancy on a carriage that moves on castors, xiii) A shell-car for the figure of Fortuna, ixv) Characters transforming into animals, monsters and trees. In La
Liberazione di Ruggiero dall’isola d’Alcina (1625):

the witch Alcina "weary of her admirers ... transformed them into trees... Alcina [then] appeared on a monstrous bark ("una mostruoso barca contesta di ossi de Balena"), surrounded by her nymphs, who had now assumed demonic shapes. She herself was transformed into a winged demonic monster, and after singing an aria of revenge, she plunged into the inferno."

As Nagler observes, these transformations are typically mannerist. In the first intermezzo of Aminta (1628), a cloud was made to appear in the heavens, which transformed from a pyramid to a rhomboid to a bird to a human figure, and, in the Third Intermezzo of L’Idropica, "grotesque dream figures" were made to appear,²²⁰ xv) Seven-headed monsters who sprout seven heads when one is cut off,²²¹ xvi) Giants, xvii) Ghosts, xviii) Caverns and grottos rising from the earth,²²² xix) Crumbling city walls for military scene, xx) Earthquakes and tremors, xxi) Tempests, lightning, thunder and hail, effects which, as we are told by Furtenbach, were very successful in Italy.²²³

The author concludes this chapter by advising the director to familiarize himself with the design, construction, and method of operation of as many of these machines as possible in order to fully exploit the affective potential which these inventions admit in performance. However, the director is not restricted to the machines and effects prescribed; he may "invent" new marvels as he sees fit.²²⁴
Stage Illumination

In chapter twenty-two, the author deals with what he considers to be one of the more difficult aspects of modern theatrical production, the general illumination of the playing area. In previous chapters we have encountered the author's ideas with respect to decorative lighting. In this chapter, the author's principal concern revolves about the placement of the instruments in the playing area to best advantage; unlike De Sommi and Ingegneri, he does not deal with the lighting of the auditorium. The author presumes that he is addressing the seasoned director who would have a rudimentary knowledge of illumination techniques as well as the various modern lighting systems available.

As a general rule, the director is advised to position the lighting apparatus in such a way that it permits an even distribution of the light in the scene. To this end, the director must exploit the length and breadth of the performance space to conceal his sources of light - in the wings, at the foot of the stage, behind the scenic facade and in the 'heavens'. In addition, the director must ensure that the placement of the apparatus does not obscure or interfere with the movements of the actors or the operation of the stage machinery during the performance, since evocative effects are created by the simultaneous play of lights, scene transformations and sudden entrances of wondrous machines. The lamps which are placed
in the wings as well as those suspended in the heavens and behind the facade must be firmly fixed between the rails and pulleys of the machinery. The lamps at the sides and at the foot of the stage must be positioned in such a way that the spectator is not endangered by the oil and wax dripping from the apparatus.

If the director makes use of periaktoi, then he must see to it that the lamps which illuminate the perspective wings are placed in such a way that they do not interfere with the swift rotations of the wings from one scene to the next. Similarly lamps that are positioned upright must be made to turn in an instant, accomplished by setting the lamps on castors, in order to darken the stage or create other mood-inducing effects as required. However, if the director so chooses, he may execute these effects by means of tin cylinders that descend over the lamps to be darkened at the appropriate moment in the action. This method is described by Sabbattini:

...as many cylinders of soldered tin are made as there are lamps to be darkened. These are at least an half-a-foot high,a little less in diameter, and at the top they are open. This done, you adjust each cylinder over its lamp, as in the figure below, in such a manner that by one motion at the side of the stage, the cords with the cylinders descend over the lamps and so darken them. When the cords are again raised to their places, the stag is illuminated. It is necessary to take care in placing these lamps, so that they offer no impediment to scene changes.227

With respect to the apparatus itself, the author cautions the director against employing the transparencies and concealed reflectors introduced by Serlio (glass vessels filled with variously coloured liquids that are illuminated from behind).
While this system produces specific decorative effects, it does not distribute the light in the scene evenly. In addition, the intense beams of light produced by these reflectors tend to strain the vision of the actors during the performance ["offendono troppo gli occhi de' recitanti"]. The author states his preference for the use of wax candles rather than oil lamps for general illumination because they yield the clearest and most constant light. However the author observes that this method of illumination is costly and advises the director to employ a good quality oil if he requires an inordinate number of lamps in the production. In productions which are set in outdoor theatres, in courtyards and other such locales, illumination by camphorated oil and other saline solutions is permissable however in indoor theatres this method must be strictly avoided. As a general rule, whether the director employs wax or oil lamps, the director must see to it that indoor theatres are well ventilated to prevent the emission of excessive smoke on the stage and in the auditorium. The author concludes this discussion by encouraging the director to assess carefully the requirements of the production in this regard and to experiment with various systems of illumination during the rehearsal process in order to determine what can and cannot be achieved within the means at his disposal.
Organization of the Final Performance

The author concludes *Il corago* with general guidelines intended to assist the director with the organization of the final performance. As we have seen throughout the treatise, the production phase of theatrical representation proceeds under the strict command of the *corago* whose function includes supervising the refinement of the performance text with the poet (and the score with the composer for the musical drama), overseeing the design and construction of the playing area, the scenic decor, the costumes and the stage machinery, supervising the choreography of the *balli* and combat sequences, coordinating the placement of the orchestra and lighting apparatus, instructing and guiding the actors, and, finally, synthesizing all of these elements in an attractive form on the stage.

The author does not provide substantive information with respect to the frequency or length of the rehearsals themselves, however, productions of both the sung and the spoken drama would have required several months of preparation. Monteverdi observes: "These are not things to be done hastily, as it were; and you know from *Arianna* that after it was finished and learned by heart, five months of strenuous rehearsal took place". The production of *Edipo tiranno* in Vicenza in 1585 was prepared over a period of one year, with up to four months devoted to rehearsals with the entire cast. In *Il corago*, the author's emphasis on harmony, clarity and ensemble playing (recitation,
singing, music, colour, movement), suggest the kind of rigorous rehearsals that would be necessary to create a theatrical performance which would affectively "penetrate the soul" of the modern spectator.233

According to the author, the opera mista is a composite art form which depends on the synthesis of diverse talents both on and off the stage. Before the final performance commences, the director 'completes' his function by ensuring that both the cast and the crew are properly assembled and prepared to play their parts. The director is advised to see to it that all of the actors are situated backstage at their respective entrances fully dressed in their costumes and prepared to enter the scene as required. The crew assigned to operate the stage machinery must be located at their respective stations, not leaving them without the permission of the director. Tailors and dressers must be located at the appropriate entrances of the playing area to assist the performers with quick changes of costumes.234

The musicians must have their instruments tuned before the curtain goes up because, according to the author, it is unpleasant to hear an instrument being tuned once the action on the stage has begun. The director must ensure that the machines have been well oiled or soaped to prevent distracting noises as they ascend or descend. The author observes that it is annoying to witness a technician enter the scene in order to adjust the machinery during the performance, and he cites an incident at the 1628 performance at Parma where this occurred.235
The director must check in advance all the ropes and pulleys of the machines:

perché si trova alle volte alcuni tanto maligni che senza rispetto alcuno del principe e per malignità o invidia che portono al corago o architetto tagliano le corde o altrementi guastano quelli ordigni acciò le macchine non si possino alzare o rovinino.\textsuperscript{236}

The author maintains that he has himself witnessed this outright sabotage in performances held in Florence. To prevent such occurrences, the director is advised to assign trustworthy technicians to supervise the operation of each machine.\textsuperscript{237}

With respect to the movements of the actors and crew backstage, the author maintains that it is essential that performers and personnel alike avoid leaning out of the perspectives at any time during the performance to gaze out into the auditorium. This inappropriate conduct is not only visually displeasing but it may hinder the movements of the \textit{perikto} and stage machinery. The author acknowledges that this may be a very difficult rule to enforce and observes that the Grand Duke Cosimo was only able to prevent this conduct by keeping two dwarves who would shoot with crossbows at anyone leaning out.\textsuperscript{238}

Finally, the director must ensure that the lighting crew is stationed at their respective positions behind the perspectives and in the wings, again assigning this area of production to trustworthy individuals who do nothing but control the lights, keeping them alight and remedying any fault ["ogni male"] which might occur during the performance. By "ogni male" the author is
referring to the outbreak of fire in the theatre, which was a common concern through this period, remedied by vessels of water positioned in strategic locales backstage.239 Federigo Zuccari provides a vivid description of the activity backstage during the performance of Guarini’s L’Idropica in Mantua (1608):

It was delightful to see the windlasses mounted over the machines, the cables of optimum strength, the ropes and lines by which the machines were moved and guided, and the many stagehands who were needed to keep the apparatus in operation. Every man was at his station, and at a signal the machinery could be raised, lowered, moved, or held in a particular position. More than three hundred workers were engaged and had to be directed, which required no less experience and skill that it did foresight and reason; it must be realized that in such a situation anything might go awry and unforseen incidents must be prevented, since one fiery spark could put an end to everything. It was really amazing that not a mishap occurred. There were special guards with large vessels and buckets, kettles, and pots all filled with water which stood prepared for any contingency.240
Conclusion

This completes the author’s discussion on directing musical and spoken drama. In closing, he refers the reader to a second treatise, unfortunately no longer extant, in which the author examines the art of directing pantomime:

Resta ora che trattiamo del terzo modo di rappresentare a noi del tutto incognito chiamato il pantomimo, usatissimo dagli antichi, che altro non era che il rappresentare l’azioni senza favellare ma solamente con i gesti: però nel seguente trattato diremo in qual modo fessi usato dagli antichi e come da noi potrebbe mettere in uso.241

One of the distinguishing features of Il corago, compared to the treatises of his predecessors, is the scope of the author’s instructions. He deals with virtually every aspect of directorial theory and practice, and with the staging problems peculiar to each theatrical genre (with the exception of improvised theatre). The author pays considerable attention to the treatment of balli, promenades, simulated stage-battles, the integration of music in performance, and the creation of special effects with modern stage machines, which, by the middle of the seventeenth century, was a requisite feature of Baroque staging. The author also provides us with an exhaustive treatment of musical drama, which he formalizes as an independent theatrical genre, and which, to a certain extent, is comparable to Ingegneri’s legitimization of the pastoral.

However, the author’s instructions are not entirely original, since we have encountered many of his ideas (on the
work of the actor, creating a *mise en scène*, and organizing the final performance) in both De Sommi and Ingegneri. For example, in the last chapter of *Il corago*, the author identifies eight areas of production which the *corago* must supervise before the beginning of the final performance. De Sommi made use of various lists, compiled in a Director’s Notebook, to organize both the cast and the crew backstage. With respect to approaching the text (or libretto), the author of *Il corago* urges the director to search for the hidden meaning which the author wishes to convey, in order to create an appropriate spatial expression of the literary in performance. Similarly, Ingegneri distils the text "anatomically" in order to uncover its essential spirit and extract the raw materials of performance. With respect to musical drama, the author’s contemporary, Da Gagliano, describes the essential features of opera in a manner which is not considerably different than the author’s conception. Da Gagliano also provides us with a brief yet highly detailed treatment of a musical-dramatic performance from a directorial point of view in Preface to *Dafne* (1608). However, originality is not, necessarily, a criterion of excellence; these crosscurrents point to an established tradition in directorial practice, which *Il corago* reflects.

Compared to De Sommi, Ingegneri, and his contemporaries in musical drama, *Il corago* is an important work because it provides us with a comprehensive summary of directorial (as well as musical-dramatic) practice in the late Renaissance and early
Baroque periods in Italy. Perhaps the most important aspect of the treatise is that the author formalizes the role and function of the corago in concrete terms, which suggests that by the time Il corago was written, directing had achieved a certain recognition as an independent art. In this respect, Il corago is a logical consequence of the work of both De Sommi and Ingegneri.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. This edition is far from perfect since the editors were unable to decipher various passages in the manuscript, including: "torcie agude [?]", p. 39, "Nucciano [= Facciamo?] di cio chiaro [= chiara]", p. 43, "prima perché pare moralmente [?]", p. 57, "partorisce inesti [?] pi[u] belli", p. 81, "molto piu viva [= vivo] e quasi arieggiante [?] e l’istromento di corde", p. 85, "prourera per quanto si mostrera possibile di imitar li eccellenti cantori ma [mettendo quelli] esangui et in eta nel recitare in part che non siano molto attuosi", p. 91-2. Extracts in English translation may be found in Roger Savage and Matteo Sansone, "Il Corago and the staging of early opera: four chapters from an anonymous treatise circa 1630," Early Music Vol XVII No 4 (November 1989): 495-511, henceforth Savage and Sansone.


3. "the art of the ancient corago, as a vital support for dramatic poetry, is so obliterated that to Italians it no longer even has a name of its own, or if it does keep the old one, most people do not know what it means." Il corago 21.
4. Emilio De' Cavalieri (1550-1602) was a composer as well as the director of musical activities at the Medici court in Florence in the 1580s. In 1600 his sacred opera *Rappresentazione de Anima, et di Corpo* was produced in Rome. In the *Preface* to this work, Cavalieri provides instructions to the director wishing to perform "this present work or others like it", Emilio De’Cavalieri, *Preface to Rappresentazione de Anima, et di Corpo* in Carol MacClintock, ed. *Readings in the History of Music in Performance* selected, translated and edited by Carol MacClintock (Blomington and London: Indiana UP, 1979), henceforth Cavalieri. Marco Da Gagliano (1575-1642), considered to be one of the most prolific composers of the period, served as a director of musical theatre in Florence in the early 1600’s. In 1608 he directed his opera *Dafne* at the Court of Mantua. In the *Preface* to this work, Da Gagliano provides a thorough account of the production from a directorial point of view, Marco Da Gagliano in MacClintock. Directors of the *commedia dell’arte* include Pier Maria Cecchini, Virginia Ramponi, Vittoria Pissimi and Diane De Ponti. See K. and L. Richards *The Commedia dell’arte* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).


7. Savage and Sansone 496.

8. "noi per l’arte del corago intenderemo qui quello facolta mendiane la quale l’uomo sa prescrivere tutti quie mezzi e modi che sono necassarii acciò che una azione drammatica gia composta dal poeta sia portata in scena con la perfezione che si richiede per insinuare con ammirazione e diletto quella utilita e frutto anche morale che la poesia rechiederia. Il corago 21. This definition reflects the author’s Humanist preoccupation with emulating classical excellence in modern productions, and in particular the sung drama. However, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, this view overlaps with the aesthetic premises of the Baroque period - the intense expression of the text by the grand maniera, the spectacle as the focus of the entertainment and effetti meravigliosi as symbols of the ability of the moderns to surpass the ancients. See Maniates.

9. In chapter twenty the author claims that modern stage machinery is the most persuasive means of producing intense, immediate emotional responses in the spectator. Il corago 116.

10. Il corago 22.

11. Il corago 23.
12. "[it] goes beyond all others in being the occasion of delight, admiration and spiritual persuasion, since this one piece brings together carpenters, dressmakers, architects, perspective-painters, singers, instrumentalists, dancers, actors, fencers, jousters, tourneyers, inventors of wonderful machines and poets of the most sublime kind of poetry." **Il corago** 23. It is interesting to compare this with Da Gagliano’s definition of the new sung drama in *Preface to Dafne*: "Such is the origin of musical performances, a truly princely spectacle and very pleasing to other people also, being one in which are united every noble pleasure, such as the arrangement and invention of the plot, the opinions, the style, the sweetness of the rhyme, the expertness of the music, the agreement of the voices and the instruments, the exquisiteness of the singing, the lightness of the dancing, and the gestures. One can also say that painting has a great part because of the scenery and the costumes. In such manner together with the intellect, is flattered every noble feeling about the most delightful of the arts that human ingenuity has discovered." Da Gagliano 189-90.

13. "Perché l’offizio del corago è fare che l’azione composta dal poeta venghi da tutti le sopradetti facolta portatà in scena nel migliore modo che si può, deve prima de tutte le cose intender benissimo et aver in possesso la composizione poetica che si deve recitare, sapendo tutto quello che ad essa si richiede." **Il corago** 23.
14. "Ora accomodatasi a vicenda il poeta et il corago, per venire ad un grossa pratica dell’esecuzione del tutto notaremo per ciascun delli arti necessaria alla recitazione alcune pocche osservazioni le quali con giudicio si potranno applicare piu o meno secondo il bisogno della azione e capacità del luogo e della spesa." Il corago 26.

15. The author does not identify the authors of these works.

16. "se al corago da una parte verrà posta in mano azione che richiede suprema ornorificenza a dall’altra si accorderà il luogo dove quello si deve rappresentare esser angusto et incommodo e l’altre cose non proporzionate, deve ritirarsi da tal maneggion procurando che si muti in ogni modo la poesia." Il corago 24. In Preface to Dafne, Da Gagliano observes that the sung drama "will at some time or other reach much greater perfection, perhaps such that they will some day approach the celebrated Greek and Latin tragedies. And that could happen if more of the great masters of poetry and music set their hands to it; and if the Princes, without whose aid any art has difficulty in attaining perfection, should also be favourable." Da Gagliano 188.

17. "prima d’ogni cosa gioverà molto al poeta mentre compone l’azione aver nella mente anche le scene et i recitanti nella quale e con i quali si dovra o potra mai recitare, perché altrimenti potrà avvenire che poi bisogni tagliare e mutare molte cose." Il
18. **Il corago** 25.


20. "dovrà tal ora assistere ai recitanti et attendere all’opera in quanto anche si appartiene all’offizio del corago, perché questo servirà almeno per veder se il corago con i recitanti averà ben compreso l’intenzione e mente dello stesso poeta." **Il corago** 25.


24. **Il corago** 29.
25. "si confonde il finto et il vero con mescolamento sconvenevole, imperoehé i corpi de' recitanti sono veri e di giusta statura, e tuuto l'altro delineamento delle scene seguite con profilo de prospettiva che è una aperta finzione...si raccoglie che le scene moderne allora fanno la sua perfetta comparenza quando si vedono da per se sole prive de recitanti." Il corago 29. This reflects the author's understanding that the modern stage is no longer illustrative as in Serlio's conception, and that all of the visual components of the mise en scène, the decor, the figures of the actor and so on, must serve to create a compelling but above all unified 'environment' which is closer to reality.

26. Il corago 32.

27. Il corago 33.

28. "la perfezione della poesia drammatica non consiste in apportare la nuda verità delle azione umane ma nell'imitazione de esse per mezzo de traccia composta a forza d'ingegno, onde la somma dote del poeta...è la coamentazione della favola, cioè l'invenzione di avvenimenti disposti et intrecciati con ricamo verissimile su il fondo di qualche verità, così l'arte di rappresentare l'azione poetica in scena che in tutto è subbordinata a quella poesia, quanto più con maniere finte meglio adorna et esprime la verita." Il corago 30.
29. In chapter twenty-one, on stage machines, the author will devote considerable attention to the treatment of the stage floor and the ceiling of the modern stage. The advances in stage machinery during this period precipitated the extension of the stage-space to the height, width and depth of the performance area - a characteristic feature of Baroque staging. See Per Bjurström, Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1961). For a discussion of the theoretical premise of 'space' in Baroque theatrical and visual art see John Rupert Martin, Baroque (New York: Harper and Row, 1977c).

30. Il corago 32.

31. Il corago 33.

32. Il corago 34.

33. Il corago 34.

34. The size and dimensions of the theatres varied from court to court. Orfeo was performed at the ducal palace of the Gonzaga in Mantua in a space which, at thirty meters long and seven meters wide, was considered to be disproportionate. Both the Great Hall of the Uffizi, the sala delle comedie, and the Pitti Palace in Florence could accommodate thousands of spectators.

35. periaktoi are three-sided triangular wings, with a different
scene painted on each side, attached to a central pivot which is rotated for a change in scenery.


37. *Il corago* 36.

38. See also Sabbattini 49-50.

39. *Il corago* 38.


41. *Il corago* 39.

42. *Il corago* 39.

43. See also Sabbattini's "How to Place the Highlights and Shadows in Painting the Scene," in Sabbattini 59-61.

44. *Il corago* 40.

45. "la loro picciolezza le rende più tosto ridicole che maestose." *Il corago* 40.

46. The term *stile recitativo* also describes the vivid, emotional and affective recitative style of the "new music". However, throughout the treatise our author uses *stile recitativo* to describe musical drama as a genre.
47. **Il corago 40.** The author observes that the art of pantomime was passed down to Renaissance artists through the works of Macrobi; he treats this mode in a non-extant Book Two.

48. "cercando nello stile recitativo de esprimere piu al naturale che si può il commun parlare della uomini, noi vediamo che nei colloquii umani uno solo è quello che parla, a cui poi è risposto seco dagli altri che seco ragionano...meglio si conseguisce il fine della rappresentazione stessa, quale e che per mezo delle parole bene intese l’auditore penetra il fatto che si rappresenta, e per mezzo di quella insinuata con il canto si mouvi agli effetti [= affetti] dell’animo corrispondenti." **Il corago 43.** In a number of places in the treatise, our author writes effetti, which the editors correctly translate as affetti or passions. The author here articulates what was considered to be the principal objective of poetry and music in the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods, the arousal of the affections, whereby the spectator is relieved and harmonized by experiencing the passions represented on the stage by the singer-actor; see Lorenzo Giacomini’s conception of catharsis in *On Purgation in Tragedy* in Michael J. Sidnell, *Sources of Dramatic Theory: Plato to Congreve* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge UP, 1991). See also Maniates and Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, 1968), henceforth Baroque Music.

49. **Il corago 43.**
50. Il corago 43.

51. Il corago 44.

52. We have encountered this preoccupation with recovering the affective ideal of classical tragedy in Ingegneri’s production of Edipo tiranno in Vicenza. In his treatment of the chorus, Ingegneri strove for a clearly enunciated poetic text which would move the spectator to the passions which Sophocles wished to convey (as Ingegneri understood them). Ingegneri’s approach was based on an understanding that the affective potential of the choral odes lay in the fusion of words and music. This formulation was reflected in the music composed by Gabrieli, intended to support an intelligible delivery of the text by following closely the rhythmical arrangement of the verse.

53. Biographical information on Galilei (c.1521-1591), Mei (1519-1594), Peri (1561-1633), Caccini (1550-1618), Corsi (1561-1602) and Rinuccini (1562-1621) may be found in Stanley Sadie, ed. New Grove Dictionary of Opera (London: MacMillan, 1992), henceforth Sadie.


55. Baroque Music 29. See also Claude V. Palisca, "Girolomo Mei: Mentor to the Florentine Camerata," The Musical Quarterly XL No. 1
(January 1954), henceforth Palisca, *MQ*.


58. Palisca, *MQ* 12, 15, 16.


60. Peri 373.

61. None of the music from these early works survive.


69. Da Gagliano 189.


71. Like others in the period, the author understands *modulazione* to mean a general melodic sense, rather than the tonal sense of the modern-day English equivalent.

72. "Segno anche d'aver accertata la modulazione a proposito della poesia è quando le persone che hanno senso di poetica e di musica domandano con la medesima biasma [= brama] e disiderio la musica e le parole, e non vogliono l'una senza l'altra...dovendo essere sì strettamente incorporate l'una con l'altra che il tutto composto apparisca più perfetto e nobile di qualunque parte, come nei corpi naturali, allora è segno che un composto è di quelli che i filosofi chiamono unum per se, cioè che vien fatto da una parte perfettibile e dal suo proprio perfettivo, quando levata una delle parti si perde la perfezione del tutto, che era il sommo esperibile in quel genere." *Il corago* 46.

73. *Il corago* 44.

74. *Il corago* 52.
75. **Il corago** 61.

76. "richiede...un affettuoso instinto et energia di esprimere i sensi simile al naturale con abondanza di varietà, che è quello che in questo genere è molto necessario." **Il corago** 62.

77. **Il corago** 62.

78. **Il corago** 64. Cavalieri observes that "the variety of personages enriches the scene with beauty." Cavalieri 185.

79. "in time, the spectator will learn to appreciate anything and everything represented in music." **Il corago** 64.

80. Cesare Molinari observes that the subjects of the early operas were typically bucolic; as the century progressed, natural phenomenon, architecture, cosmology as well as stage machinery itself became popular themes. For example in *La flora*, performed in Florence in 1638, the climax of the show was the blossoming of flowers in spring. In *Le nozze degli dei* in 1637, the subject revolved about the love affairs of the deities in which the audience was led through the various kingdoms of the universe. Molinari 148-50. Bianconi notes that the subjects of the early works derived mostly from Ovid (in particular the transformational myths of Apollo and Dafne) and that the myths of ancient Greece were conspicuously absent, contrary to the intentions of the poets who presumed to revive ancient theatrical drama. Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge:
Cambridge UP, 1987) 175, henceforth Bianconi. In an account of the production of *Il rapimento di Cefalo* in 1600, eye-witness Buonarotti observes that "[the work] could be confidently compared to the spectacles of ancient Rome". Nagler, *Theatre Festivals* 100. Naturally these Roman subjects would influence the treatment of costumes and scenic decor.

81. *Il corago* 65.

82. Bianconi 176.

83. *Il corago* 65.

84. "altrimenti in brevissimo tempo apporteranno dispiacimento" *Il corago* 66. Cavalieri recommends: "...in the dialogue the proposals and responses should not be long; and narrative by a single person as short as possible...changing from one affetto to another that is contrasting - as from sadness to happiness, ferocity to gentleness, and the like, greatly moves [an audience]. When a soloist has sung for some time it is good to have the chorus sing, and to vary the key often. And let now the soprano, now the bass, then the contralto, and tenor sing; and see that the airs and music are not similar, but varied with many [rhythmic] proportions, that is triple, sextuple, and binary...this enlivens as much as possible the representation, as has been the opinion of all the spectators". Cavalieri 184-5. Da Gagliano cautions against excessive ornamentation: "In this respect many persons are deceived, for they
wear themselves out making gruppi, trilli, passagi and exclamazioni with no regard for their purpose or whether or not the are apropos. I certainly do not intend to deprive myself of these adornments, but I want them to be used in the right time and place." Da Gagliano 188. The prototype lament is seen in Monteverdi’s L’Arianna (1608). See also Monteverdi’s treatment of the lament in L’Incoronazione di Poppea (1642) in Schrade, Monteverdi 236-243.


86. Cavalieri 186.

87. Da Gagliano 193.

88. Il corago 66.

89. Precedence is found in Orfeo by Poliziano (1472), considered to be a precursor to the early opera as well as the tragicomedy, in which the personification of Mercury calls attention to the audience with "Be silent and attend" followed by a synopsis of the action, Tasso’s Aminta of 1573, and Il Pastor Fido (1598) by Guarini. In the sung drama, Prudence and Reason introduce the didactic nature of the action of Rappresentazione di Anima, et di
Corpo (1600). In Orfeo (1607) Music (which is thematically and structurally central to the action) begs for silent attention from the spectator in order to "calm troubled hearts" and "kindle the most frigid minds." In Daphne (1608), Ovid warns the lardiest and ladies in the audience to never underestimate the power of love.

90. Il corago 67.

91. Il corago 67.

92. "bisongerà particolarmente avertire d’usar parole chiare, brevi e che stringhino il senso con facilità e naturalezza, perché in questi casi è pericolo che si perdino le parole et il senso." Il corago 70.

93. See Bianconi 176-177. Cavalieri recommends that "The poem should not exceed 700 lines, and it is suitable that it be simple and full of short lines, not only of seven syllables but of five and eight, and at times sdrucciole, and with close rhymes, for the beauty of the music, as it makes a pretty effect." Cavalieri 185.

94. Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638) was a librettist and poet associated with the Accademia degli Alterati of Florence. His works include one of the first opera librettos, Il rapimento di Cefalo (1600). For further information see Sadie. Francesco Balducci (1579-1642) was a poet and a composer associated with various literary academies throughout Italy, including the Umoristi and the Fantastici of Rome. His works include Rime del Sig.
Balducci: parte I: Rime Amorose in due libri; parte II: Rime Amorose, Eroiche, Lugubri, Sacre (1630, 1646). Part II includes two oratorio, La Fede o Il Sacrificio di Abramo and Il Trionfo o Incoronazione di Maria V.. For further discussion see Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963) Vol 5. The author cites additional verses in this section which Fabbri and Pompilio were unable to identify. See their introductory essay in Il corago 8.

95. "Ma perché a tutte le parole usare questa simmetria parera troppo difficile al poeta e che possa impedire la vaghezza di qualche epiteto e concetto significante, vedrà il compositore musico di suplire al bisogno del poeta con il mettere o levare punti alle note musicali rispondenti alle parole." Il corago 79.

96. "Prima procurerà di avere in mano tutta l'azione se sarà finita, intenderla bene in quanto all'universale invenzione et anche verso per verso nell'elocuzione." Il corago 80.

97. Il corago 80.

98. Il corago 80.


100. Stevens 159-161.
101. "bisognerà fare che tutti nel medesimo tempo le medesime parole pronunzino." Il corago 81.

102. "e s'interenderanno le parole distintamente del primo e si goderà dell'artificio musicale dell'altri cantanti." Il corago 81.

103. Baroque Music 22.


105. Giustiniani in Baroque Music 17.

106. Da Gagliano 189.

107. "perché non essendo altro questa musica recitativa che una imitazione modulata del commun recitare." Il corago 82.

108. Il corago 82.

109. Il corago 82-3.

110. Il corago 83.

111. Il corago 83.

112. Il corago 83.

113. Il corago 84. The author does not name his source.

114. Il corago 85. Cavalieri recommends: "The instruments also should be well played, and their numbers according to the place - theatre or hall - which, to be proportionate to this recitation in
music should not seat more than a thousand people, who can be comfortably seated for their satisfaction and silence. For if it is presented in very large halls it is not possible to hear all the words; and the singer would have to force his voice, which lessens the emotional effect; also, so much music with the words not being audible becomes tiresome."
Cavalieri 183-4.

115. Il corago 85.

116. Il corago 86. Da Gagliano recommends: "Take care that the harmony is not too much or too little, but such that it supports the singing without obscuring the understanding of the words [however] before the falling of the curtain, in order to get the attention of the audience, a piece should be played by different instruments [standard practice in the Renaissance], which serve to accompany the choruses and play the ritornelli". Da Gagliano 190.

117. Il corago 85.

118. "per assecondare il gusto e moto quale è proprio dell’azione cantate, non è sì buono il tener fermo dell’organo quanto l’arpeggiare con grazia su l’strumento de corde, perché sì come l’attor si muove, così il suono, e benché si muova e quel non sentirsi sempre il suono dell’istromento ma come di salto de grazia con delicatezza e ricerca arte particolare perché non tuuti quelli che sanno con l’organo assecondare chi canta sanno per questo con l’istromenti di corda accompagnar graziosamente il cantante: onde
119. The dramatic significance which Monteverdi attaches to the instrumentation in this "walking" scene is characteristic of the entire score, which aims to synthesize text, music and action. In the central song of act three, "Possente Spirto", he underscores the drama of the piece with what is considered to be a ground-breaking use of instrumental accompaniment. For example, in the first and fourth stanzas, the pathos of Orfeo's grief is heightened by the sound of violins, when he speaks of death in the second stanza, we hear the cornetti, associated with the underworld, when he speaks of paradise in the third stanza, we hear the harp, associated with heaven and so on. See Schrade, Monteverdi.

120. "onde essendo il suono spiccato dell'istromenti di corde affetto di più arte e forza che apparti maggior dilettamento per questo capo." Il corago 86. With respect to the instruments themselves, the author states his preference for the gravicembalo, the harp and the theorbo or chitarone alongside the flute for laments and the organ as basso continuo; Cavalieri claims the instruments may be changed according to the effetti of the performer but he does not elaborate. Cavalieri 184. The author implies this in his instructions to the composer of the stile recitativo in which he urges him to compose the score bearing in
mind the effetti which the poet wishes to express and the performers at his disposal. Il corago 81-2.

121. Il corago 87. Da Gagliano advises: "make sure that the instruments that are to accompany the solo voices are located so that they can see the faces of the performers, in order that by hearing each other better they may perform together." Da Gagliano 190.

122. Il corago 87.

123. Il corago 87-8. The author is referring to what today we call the orchestra pit. Pirotta suggests this arrangement was tried for the first time in Mantua in 1608 for the production of Orfeo which was performed in a long narrow hall which impeded the lateral placement of the musicians behind the scenes and forced the creation of an intermediate area between the stage and auditorium. This arrangement was used in 1628 and in 1638 for the productions of Mercurio e Marte and Andromeda respectively in Parma staged by Francesco Giutti who, in reference to the latter, writes: "The space before the stage was then entirely filled with a most beautiful and majestic staircase, which formed a noble ornament and enclose a most capacious area for the instrumentalists who played the continua armonia that accompanied the singers. These players, although unseen by the eyes of the spectators, could nevertheless see [the stage] perfectly and were seen by the singers who acted in the representation; moreover, in very commodious areas on the sides
of the stage, platforms for infinitely more instrumentalists were put up, so that the latter united with the former, who were in front of the stage, played a grand sinfonia at the conclusion of each part of the representation." Pirrota, *Music and Culture* 214-215.

124. "si raccoglie che volendosi adoprare gli istrumenti di corda, bisogna che dal palchetto de' musici sia passaggio per dreto le scene acciò che possi tal uno andare lontano ad accordar l'istrumenti perché quell'accordare, massimo a lungo vicino alli uditori, apporta molestia." *Il corago* 88.

125. *Il corago* 89.

126. *Il corago* 89.

127. "non deve essere legato da regola altrui ma liberamente assecondare l'impeto dell'affetto, il che è di molto importanza per il recitar bene." *Il corago* 90.

128. *Il corago* 90.

129. *Il corago* 90.

130. Based on my research, the earliest record of time-beating in a performance of opera is an engraving of Lully's *Alceste* (1674) which shows a man standing among the instrumentalists facing the stage and beating the time with a rolled up sheaf of music. While time-beating was established in choral singing (a number of
treatises exist which describe the manner of marking the beat with
the hand) there seem to be no records of time-beating in opera in
seventeenth-century Italy. There is no evidence of a conductor
being employed in operas such as Orfeo which required a small
orchestra, and it is probable that the musicians followed the
singers directly. However the author implies that a conductor may
in fact have been employed in some of these works? See the entry
on "The Conductor" in Sadie for further discussion.

131. "Sopra tutto per esser buon recitante cantando bisognerebbe
esser anche buono recitante parlando." Il corago 91.

132. "Non si deverà cantare seguitamente ancorché nella parte
musicale non vi pausa ma ogni fine di senso si deve il cantare
fermare alquanto et il sonatore potrà alcune volte fermarsi ancora
lui. alcune volte tempeggiare su la medisima corda, altre volte
sonare particolarmente e distinta purché prima si siano provati
molto bene insieme." Il corago 90-1.

133. Il corago 91.

134. Il corago 91.

135. Da Gagliano 190.

136. Il corago 91. The author here is referring to the importance
of ensemble acting, a concern which we have encountered in both De
Sommi and Ingegneri.
137. "Sopra tutto per esser buon cantante bisognerebbe esser anche buono recitante parlando, onde aviamo veduto che alcuni che hanno avuto particolare grazia in recitare hanno fatto meraviglie quando insieme hanno saputo cantare." *Il corago* 91.

138. *Il corago* 91.

139. As Savage and Sansone observe, this translation of this passage is problematic. Fabbri and Pompilio's edition reads "to invite excellent but weak and aged singers to take non-active roles". Savage and Sansone translate this as "to limit excellent but weak and aged singers to non-active roles". Savage and Sansone, 509 ftn. Both are equally valid concepts since the author's concern is that the director draw out the natural gifts which each actor brings to the production. While he does not state this directly, roles were often divided between performers in the sung drama in order to execute scenes which required special skills such as dancing or stage combat. In *Dafne* for example, the role of Apollo required expertise at singing, acting, dancing and stage combat. Da Gagliano observes that "very often a singer is not capable of this attack on the serpent, needing for this effect agility, leaps, and wielding of the bow with the appropriate poses, traits that appear in a good fencer and dancer as well as a fine singer. So, finding himself having to combine both these aspects, it would be difficult to sing after the combat because of fatigue from the previous action. So let two Apollos be dressed alike, and
the one who sings shall enter in the place of the other one after the death of the Python, with the same bow in his hand or another like it, and he sings as we have described above. This exchange works so well that no one even perceived the deceit during the many times it played". Da Gagliano 192.

140. *Il corago* 92.

141. *Il corago* 92.

142. Both Ingegenri and De Sommi emphasize that the face of the actor must be visible to the spectator at all times, a common concern in this period on pragmatic as well as aesthetic grounds: the visible face enhances the audibility of the voice; Da Gagliano recommends: "try to pronounce every syllable distinctly so the words are understood, and let this be the principal aim of every singer whenever he sings, especially in performing on the stage, and let him be persuaded that the real pleasure is increased by understanding the words." Da Gagliano, 188 See Cavalieri’s directions in Cavalieri 183.

143. *Il corago* 92.

144. *Il corago* 93.

145. *Il corago* 93.

146. "Però si aspetterà al corago l’avvertire quali e come devino essere i gesti secondo la diversità della persona che in scena si
rappresenta."

147. Il corago 94

148. L’atto di orare o di pregare un nume o una deità, come accade nei sacrificii, vorrà essere fatto con maggior sommissione e riverenza." Il corago 94. See Ingegneri’s blocking of the Sacerdote in act one of Edipo tiranno in my Chapter Three.

149. Il corago 95.

150. Compare to Da Gagliano’s instructions for Dafne in Da Gagliano 190-2.

151. Da Gagliano 191. See Ingegneri’s instructions on depicting acts of desperation in the pastoral in my Chapter Two.

152. Il corago 95-6.

153. Il corago 96.

154. "uno che reciti bene sommamente diletta e muove gli aspettatori, e per il contrario uno che non abbia punta di grazia grandemente offende l’orecchie di chi l’ascolta...La cagione che pochi se ne trovino di simili talento dotati, credo sia non solo dalla naturalezza che a ciò si richiede avere, ma ancora da non ritrovarsi chi sappia loro insegnare il modo di ben recitare." Il corago 96.
155. The combination of talent and technique represents the authors understanding of the nature of excellence in acting in general. Like De Sommi, the author observes that the virtuosic talent in the theatre is rare but maintains that the art of acting can be mastered. Furthermore, if the actor-singer of the stile recitativo can develop his skills in tonal modulation and in the production of trills, passaggi, diminuendo, crescendo and other musical-dramatic effects, then it is logical that the actor of the spoken drama can develop his skills under the tutelage of a learned teacher or corago. Il corago 96-7.

156. Il corago 97.

157. "Appresso di noi, che aviamo imitato lo stile de' latini, non s'introducano se non nelle tragedie, pastorali o azioni drammatiche, rappresentando in esse moltitudine o di ninfe o di pastori o di satiri o di cittadini o di soldati o d' altri simili. Il corago 98. In the early sung dramas such as Dafne and Orfeo the chorus is typically made up of nymphs and shepherds. Later productions such as Liberazione di Tirreno e d'Arnea (1617) featured several choruses of witches, sorcerers, celestial deities and personifications and infernal creatures. By mid-century the chorus will have all but disappeared in the sung drama. Donald Jay Grout with Hermine Weigel Williams, A Short History of Opera, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 89. See also Patrick J. Smith, The Tenth Muse: An Historical Study of the Opera Libretto (New
York: Knopf, 1970) 18-23. Ingegneri maintains that the classical chorus is unsuitable for the pastoral genre. See my Chapter Two.

158. Da Gagliano 192.

159. See Ingegneri’s treatment of the chorus in Edipo in my Chapter Three.

160. Il corago 98.

161. "deve il corago a questo molto bene avvertire essendo cosa di non poca importanza." Il corago 98.

162. Il corago 98. The author is presumably referring to the prologue. See Ingegneri’s opening scene of Edipo in my Chapter Three.

163. Fifteen chorus members were employed in Edipo tiranno, sixteen in Dafne, and eight in Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo.

164. Il corago 99. Compare to the instructions of Sabbattini and Ingegneri in Sabbattini 86-7 and my Chapter Three.

165. "però in quelle si potrà vedere il modo et inventare sempre delle nuove conforme più piacerà al corago o ad altri maestri di ballo a lui sottoposti." Il corago 99. The illustrative plates are not extant. See Figure 20 in Appendix.

167. **Balletti** (and choreographed *abbattimenti*) in which the action spilled over into the pit were generally associated with the *intermedii* such as the *Ballo delle ingrate* (Mantua 1608) by Rinuccini and Monteverdi, and *Liberazione di Tirreno* (Florence 1617) by Andrea Salvadori and Marco Da Gagliano. The performers on stage tended to be separated from those in the pit by class distinction. For example in *Ballo delle ingrate* the performers in the pit were "the Duke and the betrothed prince, together with six cavaliers and eight ladies, chosen from among the most prominent of the city on the basis of nobility, beauty, and grace in dancing.". In *Liberazione di Tirreno*, eye-witness Gioseffo Casato describes:

"a most beautiful ballet danced by twelve gentlemen, first on the stage and then by the same twelve dancers and by twelve richly apparelled ladies in the centre of the auditorium. The Grand Duke danced among the gentlemen, and the Archduchess among the ladies... with gestures and movements and placements that were always differentiated from those of the others, so that even though they all followed the same music, the masters were always recognized as such". Pirotta 212-213. M. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1964) 133, henceforth Nagler, *Theatre Festivals*. The moment described by Casato is captured in an etching by Callot. See Figure 21 in Appendix.

168. *Il coraao* 102. The difficulty of blending the dance with the *effetti* gracefully are discussed in Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in sixteenth-century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP,
Note Guarini’s letter to Gonzaga with respect to the dance sequence in *Pastor Fido* p. 150, Annibale Chieppio’s letter to Vincenzo Gonzaga regarding the *Gioco della cieca* p. 152, and the description of the balletto which describes the effect of these sequences in performance. p. 156. Cavalieri describes the importance of invention in the dance because this "enlivens as much as possible the representation, as has been the opinion of all the spectators. The dances will be more attractive and novel if they are a little out of the ordinary, as for example, the moresca as a battle, the ballo as a game; and let them be playful, as in the Pastoral of *Fileno*, where three satyrs come to do battle and sing while fighting and dancing to a moresca melody. And in the game of Blind Man’s Bluff [*Gioco della Cieca*] four nymphs dance and sing while they play around the blindfolded Amarilli, obeying the rules of the game." Cavalieri 184.

"spetterà all’uffizio del corago il vedere che il maestro di ballo si confaccia con il canto come anco nelle figure e intrecciamenti osservi le medisime regole. *Il corago* 102.

*Il corago* 104.


*Il corago* 102-3.
173. For further discussion see "Historical Accuracy" in Hobbs 70.

174. See Alfonso Parigi’s engraving *The Huns attacking Cologne* reproduced in Figure 22 in Appendix. Notice that the lances are placed at back of the main action to prevent injury to the actors.

175. Compare to Ingegenri’s instructions on blocking supernumeraries in my Chapter Three. See Figures 23 to 27 in Appendix.

176. "muovono a fierezza gli animi delli spettatori"] *Il corago*

103. While the author considers the staging of the individual routines to be in the domain of the Fence Master, he considers it the domain of the director to ensure that the movements of the bodies and the clashes of swords adhere to the rhythm of the music, which in some cases would determine the speed which the fight is set. For example in *Dafne*, Apollo is required to fight the Dragon in five movements set to music: i) Apollo soars down from the heavens with bow and arrow and scans the terrain, ii) Apollo antagonizes the Dragon, iii) the fight begins in iambic rhythm, iv) it proceeds in spondaic rhythm, v) Apollo executes a victory dance. Da Gagliano describes the effect created in performance: "Apollo moves toward the Python with light and proud step, shaking his bow, brandishing his arrows in his hand, regulating every step, every gesture to the singing of the chorus. He should be careful to let fly with his bow at the exact time when the words O benedetto stral occur. Thus, when he shoots his second arrow, he should take care
in the same way that it be at the very moment the chorus continues 
*O glorioso Arciero*. The third arrow may be shot while *Vola, vola pungente* is being sung." Da Gagliano 191. See Figures 28 to 31 in Appendix.

177. See Hobbs for further discussion on fencing routines and illustrations of basic movements.

178. *Il corago* 104.

179. *Il corago* 104. Illustrations of various *abbattimenti* may be found in Nagler, *Theatre Festivals*. See Plate 104 "The Huns attacking Cologne" for *Regina Sant’Orsolo* (1624), Plate 92, a battle from *Guerra d’Amore* (1616) etching by Callot, Plate 53, Buontalenti’s sketch for Apollo and Python in the third intermezzo of 1589.

180. The author’s sources are Pollux, Plautus and Terence.

181. *Il corago* 105.

182. In *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (1600), the incarnation of Poetry was dressed in a robe of veils of four colours, an allusion to the four most noble arts of poetry; on one foot she wore a sock, and on another a cothurnas; she had long hair cascading to her shoulders, a laurel crown and held a lyre in one hand and an ivory quill in the other. Dame Night wore a robe of black veils wreathed with poppies and a blue mantle spangles with stars. Black wings
sprouted from her shoulders. In *Eros and Anteros* (1613), Jupiter was dressed in a red satin doublet under a cloak embroidered with flowers and streaks of lightening, he carried a bolt of lightening and wore a crown over flowing blond hair. In *Le nozze degli dei* (1637) Jupiter is dressed in gold brocade, carrying a bolt of lightening in his left hand and a sceptre in his right. Hymen wore a white velvet costume with silver tassels that reached to the knees, a cloak of gold brocade, long fair tresses, and carried a torch in one hand and a golden noose in the other. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals* 96, 98, 122, 165. See also del Cavalieri’s instructions for costumes for *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* in Cavalieri 184, 186.

183. *Il corago* 113.

184. In musical drama, the predominantly Roman subject matters dictated Roman dress. De Sommi dismisses Pollux on the grounds that his treatment was too restrictive, however, throughout the Baroque period Roman dress was the preferred choice in most genres.

185. The costumes of Personifications were treated consistently from production to production with slight variations in cut and colour. Cupid usually appeared in flesh coloured tights, a loincloth ornamented with jewels, blue wings edged in gold, blond hair wreathed in laurel, a blindfold, and he carried golden arrows sheathed in a silver quiver, Mercury was dressed in a winged helmet and sandals and was accompanied by an eagle, Venus and the
Graces appeared on sea shells, and Apollo always carried a lyre. Monsters and sea creatures were also treated in a consistent fashion. Cyclops for example, usually appeared in flesh-coloured tights, cloaks appliqued with steaks of lightning and carried a hammer in one hand. Sea monsters usually wore Bluish-green tights ornamented with fins and sea-shells with algae and sea moss imbedded in their hair pieces. Satanic imps often wore costumes that were half human and half animal, (accomplished by means of exotic face-masks depicting serpents, birds and other creatures), and Vulcans wore flesh-coloured tights and carried hammers and tongs. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals* 98, 103, 146, 166, 167.

186. These directions correspond to those of De Sommi and Ingegneri. In Scena giardino de Venere in Le nozze degli dei, "Venus's costume was of flowered gold brocade, over which she wore a flesh-coloured cloak embroidered in silver. Her hair was adorned with pearls, roses and myrtle. With her were the three Graces in white silver brocade...garbed as a shepherd. His trousers and jerkin were of dark blue material interwoven with gold, and his white stockings were adorned with roses and golden bows. Across his chest a sable was slung, and his hat of grey beaver was trimmed with white feathers and a band of diamonds. At his side he wore a rapier...Six shepherds in green garb edged in white ermine were his escorts. Nagler, *Theatre Festivals* 168.
Sources for costumes drawings included compendiums by Buontalenti, Vasari, Callot, Pariqi, Vecellio and others. Marcello Buttigli provides a source list in Descrizione dell’apparato fatto per honorare la prima e solenne entrata in Parma della srenissima principessa Margherita de Toscana, duchessa di Parma, Piacenza (Parma, 1629) 286-87. The designs for hats in the sung drama were often out of the ordinary. For example, in Eros and Anteros, the Cavalier of Immortal Passion wore a helmet sprouting a rose bush with a bird of paradise towering several feet, Song wore a nightingale for a headpiece, Repose, a stork’s nest, Laughter a garland of roses with ostrich feathers, and Hope, a silver anchor. Disdain of Love wore a hat made from the head of a bear, and his six Egyptian knights wore helmets shaped like the heads of dragons. In Le nozze degli dei, a sphinx adorned the helmet of Medusa, and the muse of Astronomy wore a constellation for her headpiece. Nagler, Theatre Festivals 122, 211, 167.

"Tre cose pare a me che faccino la bellezza de l’abito: il taglio delle veste, l’increspature e finimenti che sopra si vi mettono, et il concerto de’ colori." Il corago 115.

We have seen this fascination with vibrant, monochrome colours in both De sommi and Ingegneri. Part of the challenge for the
designer was coordinating the colours so that they created an harmonious visual impression. In Scena di Diana in Le nozze degli dei, Jupiter is dressed in shimmering gold, Mercury in a cloak of iridescent material, Diana in white taffeta embellished with gold lace with golden netting in her hair, and Diana’s nymphs in white silk robes finished with dark blue brocade. Nagler, Theatre Festivals 165-6.

192. *Il corago* 115.

193. "Non si può in questa materia dare regole più particolare per essere cosa che depende più da una certa pratica e capriccio de l’artefice che abbia genio particolare in questa professione: però il giudizio del corago che sappia o inventare o scerre i meglio disegni, sarà quello che potrà dare le regole migliori et agli abiti particolari delle persone che di mano in mano s’hanno a vestire appropriati." *Il corago* 115.

194. "Fra l’altre cose che nelle scene si rappresentono non pare a me che alcuna ve ne sia che più delle machine rapischino gli animi deli spettatori...dove l’occhio rimane ingannato, reca infinito diletto." *Il corago* 116.


198. *Il corago* 117.

199. Sabbattini 100-1.

200. The author illustrates this method in a non-extant plate. I find this passage troubling since the author does not explain the manner or direction in which the cloth is turned; Sabbattini proposes that the back-scene frame be divided into two parts so that the halves could be drawn away or pushed forward as required. Sabbattini 117.

201. See description of the production in Nagler, *Theatre Festivals* 157-9. The author refers to this production throughout this chapter.

202. *Il corago* 118.

203. The author devotes considerable attention to this method of scene-change throughout the treatise, however by the mid-1600s the popularity of this method had been surpassed by the wing flat system introduced by Aleotti (1546-1632).


205. *Il corago* 119.

206. Sabbattini 147-153. See also Sabbattini’s "How to Imitate Wind, Lightening and Thunder" in Sabbattini 179-153. Furtenbach in
Hewitt 229-232. For effects of these transformations in performance see Il rapimento di Cefalo and Mercurio e Marte in Nagler, Theatre Festivals 99, 155.

207. The author claims that he witnessed such a sight at a recent (unnamed) production which sorely offended the audience. Il corago 119.

208. Sabbattini also describes the technical aspects in Sabbattini 131-2. The author attributes the invention of this method to Bernardo Buontalenti.

209. See "How to Make the Sea Rise, Swell, Get Tempestuous and Change Colour" and "How to Make Ships or Galleys or Other Vessels Seem to Move Over the Sea" in Sabbattini 134-6. For effects in performance see Scena di mare, Le nozze degli dei and Mercurio e Marte in Nagler, Theatre Festivals 169-70, 155-156.

210. "the whale was a "grandissima bestia" with silver scales and an uneven back, on which, precariously balanced, was the aged Oceanus, his bristly beard streaked with moss, wearing a royal crown...and on his shoulders, a soft cape decorated with marine ornamentation. Not only did the whale have quills which it could thrust out and retract again, but it could flap its ears, roll its great yellow eyes, and submerge its head and raise it dripping to the surface, spouting jets of water. White fangs projected from red gums over its wrinkled lips, crunching the gleaming fish which
leapt from the waves. Tritons swam about the whale, rough creatures of the deep with scaly bluish-green skin, blowing their conches and lashing the water with their forked tails."


211. Nagler, Theatre Festivals 84-7, 119-25, 150-152. See also Parigi’s design for The Forge of the Vulcan, fifth intermezzo of Il giudizio di Paride (1608), etching by Remeigio Cantagallina, Hell Scene designed by Giulio Parigi for Regina Sant’Orsola (1624), Vulcan’s Cave, designed by Alfonso Parigi for Le nozze degli dei (1637), etching by Stefano della Bella in Nagler, plates 73, 102, 124. See Figures 34 and 35 in Appendix.


213. The author acknowledges the difficulty of executing this effect in performance and makes reference to the production of
Mercurio e Marte which he attended at Parma in 1628. Nagler provides us with this description: "Flames shot up in the background, signalling the appearance of three underworld figures, Discordia and two Eumenidies. Although independent of one another, the three Furies...executed the same movements: they first rose slowly upward, as though in flight, and then moved horizontally toward the front, halting at centre stage. All of this was accomplished with "occulte machine". Following a trio, Discord ascended into the heavens "per retta linea", while the two Eumenedies flew off "per obliqua", one to the right, the other to the left." Nagler, Theatre Festivals 154. See Figure 36 in Appendix.


216. Nagler, Theatre Festivals 142. See Plate 41 in Nagler, Theatre Festivals.

217. See Figure 39 in Appendix.


220. Nagler, Theatre Festivals 103, 146.

221. See Figure 40 in Appendix.

222. Sabbattini describes this effect in Sabbattini 109-10.

223. See Furtenbach 170-2. According to Furtenbach, "fresh interest and wonder is created in the audiences, especially on a warm day, by producing a splendid rain of water perfumed with rose and the odours, dripping through many holes bored through the upper floor but only over the heads of the most prominent ladies and their sons. Such effects are held in high esteem by the Italians, and of course are not accomplished without cost. Or, instead of rain, a sugared hail can be produced of sugared confections of coriander, almond, cinnamon, etc., to bring the play to a happy close." in Furtenbach 231.

224. "però dovrà il corago aver cognizione e intelligenza delle maccaniche e particolarmente dell’equiponderanti. Da queste macchine delle quali qui si pone il disegno potrassi altre di mano in mano inventare secondo il bisogno e capriccio del corago o d’altro artefice." Il corago 123.

225. The first mention of footlights appears in Michelangelo Buonarroti's description of the setting for La Pellegrina (1589) at the Uffizi Theatre in Florence: "a balustrade ran along its edge [the stage] with lamps built into the balusters to illuminate the stage floor." in Nagler, Theatre Festivals 73. See The Triumph of
the Martyr in Regina Sant'Orsola (1624), Figure 41 in Appendix. The shadows cast on the stage floor, by the sidewings and by the dancers are consistent with the probable concentration of light sources at the sides of the stage and behind the set units. Notice the pattern of highlights and shadows cast on the columns by this arrangement.

226. *Il corago* 123.

227. Sabbattini 111-112.

228. *Il corago* 124.

229. *Il corago* 124.

230. We have seen how this was accomplished in indoor theatres in De Sommi.


233. *Il corago* 43.

234. *Il corago* 125.

235. *Il corago* 125.
236. "there are sometimes malicious people who, without any respect for the prince and out of malice and envy for the director or the architect, cut or damage the ropes and pulleys so that the machines cannot be raised or they crash down." Il corago 125.

237. The author does not specify the performance or malfunctioning machine. Savage and Sansone suggest it was the machine in Mercurio e Marte, which raised three Furies from below the stage and which the author refers to as "dangerous" in chapter twenty-one. For further discussion see Savage and Sansone 510, footnote 52. Outright sabotage seems to have been a common concern for directors in the theatre throughout this period. Sabbattini recommends that "great care" be taken to designate trustworthy and sincere men to the operation of the machinery and periaktoi, Sabbattini 105. A humorous treatment of this problem is found in Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Impresario (Untitled), Translation, Introduction and Notes by Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1985).

238. Il corago 125. Savage and Sansone maintain that the author is referring to Cosimo II de’ Medici who was associated with production of Il giudizio di Paride (1608) and Liberazione de Tirreno (1617). Savage and Sansone Foonoote 56.

239. Sabbattini prescribes the manner in which the lighting apparatus may be safely lit and recommends that plenty of water be kept backstage at all times for potential outbreaks of fire.

241. "It remains now for us to deal with the third mode of representation, pantomime, totally unknown to us but much used by the ancients. This was nothing other than the performance of plays without speaking but simply with gestures; so in the following treatise we shall say in what way it was used by the ancients and how its use could be revived by us. Il corago 126.
The two most obvious conclusions which can be drawn from a close reading of De Sommi, Ingegneri and *Il corago* are that the art of direction had achieved a certain recognition as an independent profession in late Renaissance and early Baroque Italy, and, secondly, that the director was positioned as the dominant artist in theatrical production.

Each of these texts is a manual of practical instruction for experienced and aspirant directors. In his introduction, De Sommi states clearly that his dialogues are a point of departure for both the novice and the seasoned director, to which new advances in theatrical production and in the director’s art should be added by the reader. Ingegneri’s instructions are intended as general guidelines that the individual director can utilize to create a unique vision in a theatrical form. The author of *Il corago* devotes his opening chapter to a detailed description of the role and function of the director, and urges the reader to expand his practical knowledge of every aspect of theatrical production, in order to fulfil his "office".

Each of these documents is the fruit of practical study and experimentation rather than abstract theory or criticism, and each author supplements his instructions with examples from productions of the period, which he has either attended or directed himself. Together, these texts deal with virtually every aspect of the director’s art, and introduce a number of
innovations in theatrical practice - the use of a director's workbook or "guide" to organize production, a methodical approach to textual analysis (Ingegenri's "anatomical distillation"), the practice of a first reading of the play with the entire cast, an approach to casting, conducting rehearsals and integrating music, psychological considerations in the placement and use of lighting equipment, and a clearly articulated concept of the director or corago.

Our authors agree that representation is a fusion of disparate languages, "ten or twelve arts" according to Il corago, which requires the guiding hand of the director to shape into a meaningful external form on stage. The director himself is described as a multi-talented individual whose role presupposes a knowledge of dramatic theory and play construction, theatre architecture and scenography, textual analysis, costume design, acting, singing, working with supernumeraries, integrating music and other scenic effects, and organizing both the pre-production and production phases of representation - a conception which is not significantly different in modern theatrical practice. Naturally, as we are told in Il corago, the more familiar he is with each language, the better able the director will be to fulfil his function - to create a mise en scène that best expresses the meaning which the poet wishes to convey.

According to our authors, the director's art also necessitates ongoing research and development, a familiarity with contemporary performance and production techniques, a knowledge
of the audience (its taste and expectations) as well as a sober assessment of individual strengths and weaknesses. De Sommi, for example, views himself as an innovator in the areas of costume design and theatre illumination, yet concedes to the expertise of the scenic painter and theatre architect in his discussion of "How to Set a Stage". The author of Il corago demonstrates a thorough command of the principles of staging musical drama, yet he concedes to the Fence and Dance Master in rehearsals to choreograph elaborate routines which may prove difficult for the performers.

In their discussions of dramatic theory and play-construction, our authors provide us with what may be described as a practical theory. That is, the authors conceive the literary text as a basis of a performance text; their principal concern is the implication of the rules for performance. Each of our authors conceives the play-text as the starting point for representation, and the director's mise en scène as the spatial expression of the poet's meaning. To this effect, each author instructs the poet to ensure that both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the play (character, plot, thought, diction, music, and spectacle) are always treated in the context of performance. The poet is also encouraged to become acquainted with all types of production problems in order to determine what can and cannot be achieved in performance. This is obvious in De Sommi, where Veridico discusses the poorly conceived production of Boccaccio's Calandrino, and in Ingegneri's
discussion of play construction and in his criticism of a contemporary production of a tragedy. The author of *Il corago* places the director in a strategic position by instructing him to insist on changes in the text or to turn down the commission to direct if he determines, after a careful assessment of the script, that the poet's vision will not translate suitably into the language of performance.

Each of our authors views the primary function of the director in terms of the playwright. The director is consistently described as the servant of the poem, and, as such, he must have a concrete approach in assessing the merits of the literary text and a method to extract and distil from it the raw materials of performance. While this is perhaps most obvious in Ingegneri, each of our authors distinguishes between two phases of the director's art - the preparation of the performance text and the production. Each author considers the first encounter with the literary text to be the most significant phase of the director's art. During this time the director will study the requirements of the text, or the "given circumstances" according to Ingegenri (always bearing in mind the secondary indications provided by the poet), develop a point of view and determine what aspects of the play will be emphasized in performance.

Each author distinguishes between visible and invisible parts of the play, and each views the invisible as a necessary component of the performance text. We see this in both De Sommi and *Il corago*, in which the director is instructed to collaborate
closely with the (living) author or librettist in rehearsals, in order that he might make clear to both the actors and the director aspects of production which are not apparent in the "body" of the text. Ingegneri advocates the use of a written blueprint or "anatomy" of the text, which embodies the ideas that are meant to be carried out in collaboration with the other artists in the theatre in service to the poet. De Sommi walks into the first rehearsal with a concept of the "soul" (the theme) of the play and concrete ideas on characterization which will be explored in subsequent rehearsals under his strict supervision. We may conclude that the "substance" (Ingegneri) or "soul" (De Sommi) of the play is, in fact, the most important information which the director must grasp in order to fulfil his function, which, according to our authors, is essentially interpretative, akin to that of a modern-day conductor of an orchestra.

In their respective treatment of the scenic elements (sets, costumes, lighting, music, and stage machines), our authors emphasize a bold use of colours and textures, an evocative use of illumination, and spectacular visual effects which, in their totality, provide a veritable feast for the senses. Perfect artifice is defined as a fundamental criterion of excellence in performance, a view informed directly by the Humanist preoccupation with re-capturing the scenic splendour of classical antiquity in contemporary performance. This is obvious in both De Sommi and in Ingegenri, who advocate looking to classical painting and sculpture for inspiration, and in Il corago, who
makes exhaustive comparisons between ancient and modern practice in virtually every area of production. However, underlying our authors' instructions is a fundamental concern with harmonizing the "ideal" with modern tastes and conventions. While we see a radical shift in artistic approaches, in context of the dominant styles of the period, namely classicism, mannerism and baroque, each author is concerned with the manipulation of the scenic elements to best advantage. Thus the virtuosity of the director may be measured by the specific choices he makes, the manner in which he fashions his materials (colour, line, texture, form and intensity) and the extent to which they are harmonized into a unified and meaningful whole.

De Sommi, for example, reduces the number of lamps in the auditorium to separate clearly acting and viewing areas. He emphasizes psychological realism in his use and placement of the lights on the stage. He argues that colour and intensity can influence the mood of the actor as well as that of the spectator. To this effect, he advocates treating comedies with joyous lighting, and tragedies with a brightly lit stage that gradually transforms into the semi-darkness suggestive of melancholy. His principal concern is the way in which light, colour, depth and perspective can enhance the inner meaning of the play to be represented.

Ingegneri carries De Sommi's psychological realism further in his mise en scène for Edipo tiranno by emphasizing atmosphere. He achieves this with a brightly lit stage and darkened
auditorium, diffusing fragrant perfume in the entire theatre, and the sound of (off-stage) sorrowful prayer, which begins before the fall of the front curtain. He also heightens the sense of urgency in the play by carefully choreographing the movements of the actors in the opening sequence, which sets the tone for the subsequent action.

In *Il corago* the author's primary concern is making use of the entire theatre space (the stage ceiling, the trap doors underneath the stage, the wings and the orchestra) to best advantage, taking into account advances in scenography and stage machinery, in order to create magical effects that elicit a gasp of surprise in the spectator. In his treatment of spectacles such as *balli* and marine battles, the audience is literally drawn into the *mise en scène* with little or no separation between stage and auditorium, an effect intended to further delight and astonish the spectator.

*Il corago* makes clear the organizational problems associated with setting highly complex productions. The challenge for the director would be to synthesize the various scenic elements in such a way that they contribute meaningfully to the whole, which the author, like his predecessors De Sommi and Ingegneri, sees as the primary function of the director. Each author agrees that staging complex genres is an area where the director could display dynamic leadership as well as organizational abilities. In fact, our authors describe the director as the instructor, leader and guide, who supervises the designers and technicians to
ensure that his orders are carried out and that unity of impression is maintained at all times.

While the director is uniformly described as the figure who shapes the final expression of the play on stage, the director’s vision is nevertheless subject to parameters in the form of secondary directions provided by the poet, as well as the resources provided by the patron. However, each of the authors agree that the director can display his personal creativity through the powers of imagination and invention. In the area of costume design, De Sommi dismisses the "restrictive" rules of Pollux and privileges exotica and fanciful accessories made from "borrowed" tassels and other household linens. He also states his preference for tragedies that include scenes with gladiators and soldiers because they provide an opportunity for the director to display "beautiful" military gear. Both Ingegenri and the author of Il corago make use of a bold monochromatic colour scheme, (which are also employed as organizational tools to choreograph the performers on stage). Each author distinguishes between street clothing and stage costumes on the grounds that they are conditioned by different criteria. Each advocates masking the identity of the actor, since costumes must reveal the character rather than display the actor, a fact which provides us with further evidence of the director’s dominant position in the selection and shaping of the various scenic elements.

Finally, in their respective approaches to the scenic elements in production, each author is uniformly preoccupied with
the revelation and expression of character, relationship, situation, meaning and feeling as set down by the poet. Thus the *mise en scene* may be described as something which is active, which "occurs" viscerally in virtual time and space. Here we have an operative definition of the art of direction, which, according to our authors, is more than the mere blocking of the actors, but a complex process involving calculated choices which best represents the living essence that the poet wishes to convey. Naturally this presupposes the necessary presence of a controlling eye, the director, to assess, refine and synthesize the various elements into a meaningful whole.

As for the question of how to work with the actors, our authors agree that the art of acting is based on a foundation of sound principles, with which both the director and the actors must be familiar, in order to achieve a certain standard of excellence in performance (and in rehearsals in the case of De Sommi). The author of *Il corago* distinguishes between acting in spoken and sung drama, however, he is in agreement with both De Sommi and Ingegenri that certain basic "laws" apply to all modes of performance. Excellence in performance can be measured by the extent to which the actor draws the audience into the illusion on stage and convinces the spectator that the events in which the character is engaged are probable or true.

Our authors refer to the director as the instructor and guide of the actors, a conception not significantly different from that of Molière as illustrated in his *Impromptu at*
Versailles (1663). They all conceive the development of the character in rehearsal as a creative negotiation between the actor and the director, beginning with the director’s concept of how each character should be portrayed. This is evident in De Sommi, who walks into the first rehearsal with an idea of the play and the essence of the characters, and in Ingegneri who describes his conception of character in his production plan for Edipo tiranno. According to our authors, the principles of voice, gesture and movement, drawn heavily from classical rhetoric, represent the vocabulary which serves as the basis for discussion between the actor and the director in rehearsals. For example, the actor would be instructed to take the stage with the proper stance and demeanour, to project the voice to the spectators at the back of the house without artificiality, and to harmonize speech and gesture. The director would carefully monitor the gestures and movements of the actors to ensure that they always derive from the circumstances of the text, and that they always express and reveal both character and situation. As we are told by De Sommi, the director would also advise the actor to avoid empty rhetorical posturing, to flesh out the character with life-like details, and to sustain a certain vivacity at all times. In the case of Ingegneri, the director would require a thorough grasp of the circumstances that precipitate the dramatic action in act one, as well as the events that occur between each act, in order to ensure that the revelation of character proceeds in a logical sequence of emotional and gestural behaviour.
We can conclude that the actor was not the dominant artist in production throughout this period in Italy, nor did he work in isolation. The director played a decisive role in both the initial conception and subsequent refinement of the parts. As the figure with the strategic view of the whole, the director would be required to observe, assess, and guide critically, in order to ensure that, in performance, the actor contributes to the revelation of character, situation and meaning with an effective delivery. This is perhaps most obvious in Ingegentri, since we have a record of what he aimed to achieve with his actors in Edipo tiranno and sufficient evidence to prove that his directions were carried out as planned.

Naturally this strategic position imposes a tremendous responsibility on the director, who requires a thorough command of the actor’s art as well as sound judgement in order to facilitate excellence in the performer. This is made clear in Il corago in which the author makes the startling observation that the naturally gifted actor can be "stifled" and in some cases "ruined" by poor instruction from the director. This potential peril is, to a certain extent, a function of the actor-director relationship itself, which is the only transaction in theatrical production which proceeds without an intermediary (such as the paint and canvas of the scenic designer, and the textiles of the costume designer, and so on). The actor’s raw materials are his body, his voice and his emotions, a fact which suggests that "good" instructions are the fruit of a cultivated sensibility on
the part of the director as well as a certain attitude towards the work. In modern theatrical practice this is the essence of professionalism. That in itself is further proof that acting as well as directing had achieved a certain professional recognition in this period of theatre history. In fact, our authors make no distinction between the courtier and the professional player in their respective discussions. Each performer was required to sustain a standard of excellence, or what De Sommi describes as "co-operation" - a willingness to concede to the authority of both the director and the poet.

In their respective approaches to the organization of production, each author distinguishes between pre-production and production phases of theatrical representation. In the pre-production phase, the director assesses the merits of the literary text, insisting on changes where necessary, and begins to transform the literary into a performance text. During this phase he also chooses the actors most suitable to the roles, and in the case of De Sommi provides "side ws"hich are distributed to the actors at the first reading. Ingegneri documents his vision in a written "anatomy", which serves as a basis for his directions in rehearsals. In musical drama, as we are told in Il corago, the director conducts pre-production meetings with both the composer and librettist to ensure that the musical score and the poetic text are perfectly harmonized in advance of the rehearsals. Thus, each of our authors walks into the rehearsal hall fully prepared with a plan of action and a grammar at his
command to articulate his vision in concrete directions to actors, singers, designers, technicians, in short to each of the collaborative artists involved in the production.

With respect to the rehearsals themselves, our three documents provide us with sufficient evidence to prove that both acting and technical rehearsals proceeded under the strict supervision and guidance of the director, who was the final authority on virtually all matters. In the dialogues of De Sommi, Veridico schedules, organizes and conducts acting and technical rehearsals, supervises his design and technical crew, and has the authority to bar visitors from the rehearsal hall. In Il corago the author makes reference to rehearsals in which the Dance and Fence Masters choreograph complex routines with the actors, rehearsals for instrumentalists and singers devoted to the sorting out of difficult passages in solo songs, and technical rehearsals in which the lighting equipment and the stage machinery is tested. As a general rule, the acting rehearsals always included the presence of the poet, who would make clear aspects of the text to both the director and the actors.

With respect to the organization of the final performance, De Sommi makes use of a director’s guide, which organizes the exits and entrances of the actors on and off the stage, and describes the costumes and stage properties assigned to each actor, so as to ensure that the final performance will proceed in an orderly fashion. Ingegneri makes use of his production plan
to organize both cast and crew. The author of *Il corago* makes no reference to a director's guide or workbook, however, he provides the director with a final checklist to ensure that both actors and crew-members are at their respective positions backstage, that the musicians have tuned their instruments, and that the lights, the moveable scenery and the stage machines are fully functioning in order to prevent unforeseen interruptions in the course of the performance.

What we are lacking mention of in this area of production is the nature of the signal system employed to cue the performers, the musicians and the technicians from behind the perspectives and the wings and under the trap doors on the stage. The checklist provided by the author of *Il corago* suggests that the director physically walked from one entrance and piece of technical apparatus to the next to ensure that the actors and crew-members were positioned at their respective entrance or stage machine - a function which in modern theatrical practice is generally assigned to the stage manger and his assistants. However, whether the director remained backstage during the entire performance to cue technicians and literally conduct the movements of the actors (and animals, in the case of De Sommi) or simply retired to a seat in the auditorium once the performance began, cannot be determined. However, as a general rule throughout this period, the beginning of the final performance itself was generally signalled with an instrumental flourish, which would indicate to the cast, the crew and the spectator that
the curtain was about to fall. During the performance of musical drama, as we are told in *Il corago*, the musicians generally followed the rhythm and tempo set by the singers on stage. In instrumental passages, the musicians would generally take their cue from the musician playing the *basso continuo*, or the conductor. In the case of spoken drama, it is noteworthy that none of our authors makes mention of a bookholder or prompter, which suggests that once the performance was underway, the rhythm and tempo of the drama was in the control of the actors themselves. Naturally this places a tremendous burden on the director throughout the rehearsal process and suggests the kind of careful pre-planning and rigorous rehearsals that would be required to "instruct" both actors and technicians on their interpretations of the roles, on the timing and coordination of exits and entrances, on scene changes, and on special effects, all in order to ensure that each element was perfectly integrated into a coherent whole.

As we have seen throughout this work, each of our authors considers harmony of production to be the chief criterion of excellence in performance as well as the primary function of the director in the theatre. His task is to interpret the poetic text, to articulate his understanding in concrete directions to his collaborators, to instruct and supervise his cast and crew, and, finally, to synthesize all of the scenic elements into a coherent and homogenous work which best expresses the meaning that the author wishes to convey to the spectators. Each of our
authors provides us with a practical methodology whereby the
director can fulfil this ideal.

According to most histories of the theatre, the modern
director emerged in the twentieth century in direct response to
an absence of homogenous values in theatrical production.
However, I hope to have made clear that homogeneity, or harmony of
impression was the central goal and function of the director
throughout the late Renaissance and early Baroque periods in
Italy. This is perhaps most obvious in *Il corago*, which defines
the "office" of the director in very concrete terms. However,
the aspect which, in my view, positions these authors in the
ranks of modern directors, is their commanding "presence" as
directors in the theatre of their time and their self-
understanding as leaders and innovators in theatrical practice.

Antoine, André. *Behind the Fourth Wall* in Cole and Chinoy.


Copeau, Jacques. *Dramatic Economy* in Cole and Chinoy *Directors on Directing.*


Torino: Eramanno Loescher, 1891.


Il Polifilio, 1982.

---. *Quattro dialoghi in materia di rappresentazioni sceniche.*


Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, George II. "Pictorial Motion." in Cole and Chinoy.


Furtenbach the Elder, J. "Recreational Architecture." in Hewitt.


Giustiniani, Orsatto. "Al Clarissimo Signor Luigi Veniero." in Schrade La Réappresentation.


Gundersheimer, Werner L. "Popular Spectacle and the Theatre in Renaissance Ferrara." in De Pannizza Il teatro.


MacClintock, Carol. Ed. *Readings in the History of Music in*


Monteverdi, Claudio. Il Quinto Libro de’ madrigali in MacClintock.


"I Cori per L'<Edipo Tiranno>," in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo..."


Riccoboni, Antonio. Lettera. in Gallo.


Rinuccini, Ottavio. "Dedication to Euridice." in Strunk.


Sabbattini, Nicola. Pratica de fabricar scene e machine ne'
teatri. in Hewitt.

Sackler, Howard. "Interview." in Funke.


APPENDIX

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Il Pastor fido Act One
2. Aminta
3. Ancient Greek chorus leader
4. Stage director with baton and production book
5. Herald and stage director with promptbook
6. Stage director of Valenciennes
7. Sketch of the Teatro Olimpico
8. Ground plan for Teatro Olimpico
9. Teatro Olimpico frons-scenae
10. Teatro Olimpico Interior
11. Lighting equipment from the Teatro Olimpico
12. Edipo tiranno Fresco
13. Costume sketch for Creon
14. Costume sketch for Shepherd and Messenger
15. Costume sketch for Priest and Second Messenger
16. Costume sketch for Oedipus and Attendants
17. Title page of Giustiniani’s Edipo tiranno
18. Title page of Gabrieli’s score for choral odes
19. Gabrieli’s music for first choral ode
20. Notation of ‘figures’
21. La liberazione di Tirreno e d’Arnea
22. Huns attacking Cologne
23. Mostra della Guerra d’Amore
24. Battle scene from *Guerra d’Amore*
25. Battle scene from *Guerra di Bellezza*
26. Chariots and Warriors
27. Helmeted Warriors
28. Apollo
29. Python
30. Apollo and Python
31. Apollo and Python
32. Seascape
33. Sea chariots
34. Inferno
35. Forge of Vulcan
36. Infernal ballet
37. Celestial choir
38. *Harmony of the Spheres*
39. Lucifer and Demons
40. Demons and 7-headed monster
41. Triumph of Sant’ Orsola
IL PASTOR FIDO Act One
Engraving by Francesco Valesio
Reproduced in Assaph: Studies in Theatre Second C No 3
Stage Director with baton and promptbook
Jean Fouquet's Miniature of Le Martyre de Sainte Apolline (c1460)
Reproduced in Nagler Source Book
Herald and Stage Director with promptbook of Jakob Ruf's *Von des Herren Weingarten*
Zurich, 1539
Reproduced in Nagler *Source Book*

Stage Director of Valenciennes Miniature by Jacques Callot (1547)
Reproduced in Nagler *Source Book*
Sketch of the Teatro Olimpico
Scamozzi?
Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana
Reproduced in Gallo
Teatro Olimpico, frons scenae
Reproduced in Gallo
Teatro Olimpico interior
Reproduced in Rigon
Preserved lighting equipment from the Teatro Olimpico
Reproduced in Rigon
Edipo tiranno
Fresco, Vicenza, Odeo Olimpico
(1595)
Reproduced in Gallo
Costume sketch for Creon for *Edipo tiranno*  
G B Maganza, 1585  
Geneva, Yacovleff Collection  
Reproduced in Gallo  
This design is described by Ingegneri in *Progetto* and was used in the final production.
Costume sketch for Old Shepherd and Messenger for *Edipo tiranno*
G B Maganza, 1585
New York, Scholz Collection
Reproduced in Gallo
These designs were used in the production and are described in *Progetto*
Costume sketch for Priest and 2nd Messenger for Edipo tiranno
G B Maganza, 1585
New York, Scholz Collection
Reproduced in Blumenthal
These designs are described by Ingegneri in Progetto
Costume sketch for Oedipus and Attendants for *Edipo tiranno*
G B Maganza, 1585
New York, Scholz Collection
Reproduced in Blumenthal
These costumes are described by Ingegneri in *Progetto*; however, the horse was not used in the production.
EDIPO TIRANNO
DISOFOCLE
TRAGEDIA.

In lingua volgare ridotta dal Clariss. Signor
Orsatto Giustiniano, Patritio Veneto.

Et in Vicenza con fontuolissimo apparato
da quei Signori Academicci recitata
l'anno 1585.

CON PRIVILEGIO.

IN VENETIA,
Appresso Francesco Ziletti. 1585.
CANTO CHORI IN MUSICA
COMPOSTI DA M. ANDREA
GABRIELLI SOPRA L'CHORI
RECITATI IN VICENZA L'ANNO M.D.LXXV.
In Venezia Appresso Angelo Gardano
M. D. LXXXVIII.
Fig. 20

Notation of "figures" choreographed by Giacomo Spiardo for the final ballet of Delizie di Posilipo (1620)
Reproduced in Early Music Vol XVII No 4 (Nov 1989)
La Liberazione di Tirreno e d'Arnea (1617)
Uffizi Theatre
Scenery by Giulio Parigi
Etching by Jacques Callot
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
BATTAGLIA FRA ROMANI E VNNI
ATTO SECONDO

Alfonso Parigi

Fig. 22

The Huns attacking Cologne for Regina Sant'Orsola (1624)
Scenery by Giulio (Alfonso?) Parigi
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Mostra della Guerra d'Amore (1616)
Piazza Santa Croce, Florence
Etching by Jacques Callot
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Battle scene from *Guerra d'Amore* (1616)
Etching by Jacques Callot
Reproduced in Nagler *Theatre Festivals*
Battle scene from Guerra di Bellezza (1616)
Piazza Santa Croce, Florence
Etching by Jacques Callot
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Helmeted Warriors possibly for *La Pellegrina* (1589)
Bernardo Buontalenti
New York, Scholz Collection
Reproduced in Blumenthal
Costume sketch for Apollo
Bernardo Buontalenti, 1589
Reproduced in Nagler *Theatre Festivals*
Apollo and Python in Third Intermezzo of La Pellegrina (1589)
Bernardo Buontalenti
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Setting for Third Intermezzo of La Pellegrina (1589)
Bernardo Buontalenti
Engraving by Agostino Caracci
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Reproduced in Wagner, The Art of the Theatre, Preziosi, "Opera".

Painting by Pietro da Albano, designed by Bernardo Buontalenti, set design for the Opera Intermesso (1589).
Sea chariots from *La Sbarra* (1579)
Pitti Palace, Florence
Reproduced in Jacquot
Forge of Vulcan from *Il Giudizio di Paride* (1608)
Designed by Giulio Parigi
Etching by Remiglio Cantagallina
Reproduced in Nagler *Theatre Festivals*
Infernal Ballet from *Le Nozze degli Dei* (1637)
Designed by Alfonso Parigi
Etching by Stefano della Bella
Reproduced in Nagler *Theatre Festivals*
Celestial Choir from Sixth Intermezzo (1589)
Designed by Bernardo Buontalenti
Engraving by Epifanio d'Alfiano
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Harmony of the Spheres *First Intermezzo* from *La Pellegrina* (1589)
Bernardo Buontalenti
Engraving by Agostino Caracci
Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
**Lucifer and Demons from Regina Sant'Orsola (1624)**

Designed by Alfonso Parigi

Reproduced in Nagler Theatre Festivals
Fig. 40

Demons and 7-headed Monster from *Regina Sant'Orsola* (1624)
Designed by Alfonso Parigi
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Triumph of Sant'Orsola from Regina Sant'Orsola (1624)
Designed by Alfonso Parigi
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