



**MAPPING THE CINE-METROPOLIS:  
RE-DEFINING FESTIVAL IN EARLY MODERN FLORENCE**

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Thesis submitted to Maynooth University for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy

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January 2018

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*For Rita and Laurence*

## ABSTRACT

Festivals were politically complex events that achieved remarkable feats of artistic virtuosity and scenographic engineering on the early modern stage. Creating a sophisticated system of cultural codes and symbols, they became the most effective vehicle for the expression of imperial and civic ideology and self-fashioned cultural politics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

While this genre has received great scholarly attention in the last decade—most prolifically in the field of art history—this thesis transgresses the traditional perception of the festival as a primarily visual genre. Instead, it presents an argument for the need to explore the temporal (musical), haptic and emotional phenomena that connect festivals not only to the history of the past, but to the present. It will show that the festival was a mobile practice that mapped pathways within the city and shaped the way that citizens interacted with the urban fabric. In understanding its cultural impact, one must look beyond the static visual artefact and begin to analyse how the festival constructed an (e)motional relationship with public and private space (and place) through musico-visual, experiential and performative interactions.

Presenting the 1539 Florentine wedding festival of Duke Cosimo de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo as a case study, and contributing historically informed reconstructions of architectural and theatrical ephemera, this thesis shows how a co-cultural theoretical analysis of festivals can enrich our understanding of the cultural politics of the early modern period, and can reveal the deeply entrenched philosophical motivations behind festivals and their unique performance programmes.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The people who have aided both my professional and personal development over the course of this thesis are almost too many to name, but their unbound generosity of spirit and support deserves my most sincere gratitude. Foremost among them is my dedicated supervisor, Dr Antonio Cascelli, whose guidance has been constant and invaluable throughout the course of my doctoral research. At times when my scholarly erring carried me off on theoretical journeys somewhat removed from what lies bound in these final pages, Antonio remained committed to steering me back on course toward an organised erudition of thought, while allowing me the space to grow philosophically. Secondly, sincere thanks are due to my Head of Department, Professor Christopher Morris, for his continued professional support. In addition thanks are due to all the faculty of the Music Department at Maynooth University, but most especially the always-obliging and ever-smiling Marie Breen, without whose support this thesis would fall short. Financial support must also be acknowledged, firstly from the Institute of Maynooth University for the award of the John and Pat Hume Research Scholarship (2010-2012) and secondly to the Irish Research Council for the Award of the Postgraduate Research Scholarship (2012-2014). Finally, thanks are extended to the staff of the various institutes in which I carried out my research, including the Archivio di Stato di Firenze, the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence.

On a very personal note, I reserve my warmest thanks for my parents Rita and Laurence, for their unwavering belief in their youngest daughter and her research pursuits, and for passing on their passion and love of life, which has found its expression in the following pages. To my siblings Lisa, Pamela, Laura-Jayne and Lorcan, each of whom played an active role in bringing my thesis to fruition, as sounding boards and as artists; to my beloved friends, many of whom I met through the course of my PhD: Catherine Bergin, Bronagh Ann McShane, Fearghal Duffy, Gráinne Ní Bhreithiun, Liz Meade, Deirdre Quinn, Barbara Strahan and Miriam Hurley; to my oldest and dearest friends Brenda Tuite, Sinéad Diskin, Shane Cassidy and Gráinne Conaty; to my brothers-in-law Gavin Blake and Ronan O'Brien; and finally to my unwitting mentor Michael Fitzgerald and all the staff at the Divine Word School of English in Maynooth, my heartfelt thanks are most sincerely extended.

Finally, last but not least. A very special thank you to Professor Barra Boydell whose inspirational pedagogy instilled in me a love for the sights and sounds of renaissance Florence.

*ARS LONGA, VITA BREVIS*

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### Credits

|                                 |   |
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| <b>3D Model Building</b>        | Conor Maguire (BArch)   |
| <b>Renderings and Animation</b> | Nassim Bensedick (BArch)  |
| <b>Opening Graphics</b>         | Jennifer Halton (MA, BA)  |
| <b>Voiceover</b>                | Jennifer Halton   |
| <b>Audio Recording</b>          | Corteccia, Francesco, et al. <i>Firenze 1539, Musiche fatte nelle nozze dello illustrissimo duca di Firenze</i> . Centre de Musique Ancienne de Geneva, Studio di Musica Rinascimentale di Palermo, and Schola Jacopo da Bologna. Conducted by Gabriel Garrido. Tactus TC.500301. 2000. CD. |
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| <b>ASF</b>   | Archivio di Stato di Firenze                 |
| <b>CNRS</b>  | Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique |
| <b>GDSU</b>  | Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi      |
| <b>MdP</b>   | Mediceo del Principato Inventory (ASF)       |
| <b>Misc.</b> | La Miscellanea Inventory (ASF)               |
| <b>MAP</b>   | Medici Archive Project                       |
| <b>BIA</b>   | Online Database (MAP)                        |
| <b>BNCF</b>  | Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze     |

## **PREFACE**

Between the urban spectacle and the spectator exists a space that is in motion. Embodying sensorial experience through the act of movement, perceived or physical, the spectator and the space undergo an (e)motional transformation. They become participatory agents of the urban stage. This is the space of the Cine-Metropolis: the city in motion.



## **Introduction**

## Introduction

### Background to the Study

The episteme ‘early modern’ has been purposefully employed in the title of this thesis, and throughout its pages, to capture the essence of a vast period that embarked on an ambitious scientific, philosophical and artistic exploration of the new world. The explorations of the new humanist age reflect a period of geographic and cultural discovery and an enlightened moral civility that sought the Neo-Platonic pursuit of Truth. To the examined mind of this progressive period, the world was already modern in its expression of economic, cultural and political evolution, and in the increasingly globalised relations between the East and West. Indeed, the notion of ‘early modern’ would have been foreign to citizens of the period, who saw and understood their own time, *ipso facto*, as the age of modernity.<sup>1</sup>

Over the course of the sixteenth century, Europe witnessed a period of rapid change. As Giulio Ongaro writes, ‘an informed observer in the year 1520 could have hardly foreseen some of the political developments that were to take place by 1560’.<sup>2</sup> Some of the most pivotal socio-political events of this period were the Catholic reformation, the imperial sack of Rome, the 1559 peace treaty of Câteau-Cambrésis and the ensuing sanction of imperial and Spanish dominance over Italian affairs and stately

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of ‘modernity’ is clearly expressed in the *Vite* of Giorgio Vasari in which he distinguishes often between the ancients (*gli antichi*) the old (*I vecchi*) and the moderns (*I moderni*), and refers to the true style (*maniera*) of ‘the moderns’ throughout his writing. He begins his tome, for example, with the following: ‘*La qual cosa piu volte meco stesso considerando, et conoscendo non solo con l’esempio degli antichi, ma de moderni ancora, che I nomi di moltissimi Vecchi, et Moderni Architetti, Scultori, et Pittori insieme con infinite bellissime opera loro [...]’*. See Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, vol. 2, part 3 (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Giulio M. Ongaro, “Italy, i: 1520-1560”, in *European Music 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2006), 58.

hierarchies.<sup>3</sup> The repercussions of religious reform and autocratic politics had an immediate effect on the arts. Ongaro continues,

As the balance of power shifted, courts were created and destroyed, political influence and wealth were absorbed by the struggle for survival (or for expansion), and the cultivated and tolerant ideals of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* were sacrificed to the harsh realities of political and religious strife, becoming increasingly detached from reality.<sup>4</sup>

Yet amidst a milieu of political friction, war, religious dissent and divisive power struggles, court and civic culture was flourishing across Europe. The period between 1450-1600 witnessed the transformation of the medieval spectacle into a display of artistic virtuosity and theatrical innovation that stressed court and civic power over religious conservatism. Pageants, triumphs, processions and *feste* adopted novel identities as constituents of a very complex and magnificent event: the early modern festival.<sup>5</sup> Creating a sophisticated system of symbolic codes, the festival became the most effective vehicle for the expression of monarchical and civic ideology in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Indeed, the carnal desire for ritual reached a peak in early modern Europe through the medium of the festival. Fuelling antagonistic courtly relations, the ritual was most ostentatiously welcomed in Italy where the dynamic of rival statesmanship was ubiquitous and princely posturing was a dramatically enacted pastime.

With a multiplicity of performance programmes spanning the musical, visual, literary, architectural and theatrical arts, the festival was an immense catalyst for artistic

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 58.

<sup>5</sup> I employ the term *festa* interchangeably to mean both sacred and secular *rappresentazione*.

production and innovation in this period. The study of festivals over the recent decade has revealed the complex and idiosyncratic history of this enigmatic genre, which evolved according to the aesthetic and political interests of different monarchs and geographic regions. The festival shaped a culture of collaborative artistic practice that enabled the individualisation of spectacles and bestowed on them a unique court or civic identity. Some of the most spectacular festivals included the English and Italian *naumachie* (water-borne pageants) and the Ferrarese *tournée* (choreographed jousts) which mastered the art of *mise-en-scène* and theatrical mechanics. The festival also exerted considerable influence over the genre of the *intermedio* (musico-theatrical interludes) with major developments throughout the cinquecento culminating in the most elaborate and virtuosic performances on the Florentine stage at the end of the sixteenth century (*La Pellegrina*, 1589). Innovations in consort music and in the secular madrigal and motet were also advanced under the auspices of festival patronage.

In theatre and architecture, prolific innovations in mechanical engineering, scenography and prop design produced dramatic and illusory effects that were designed to marvel the spectator. These included kinetic tableaux (moving sets), cloud machines, flooded courtyards (for mock navy battles), and experimental perspectives (*trompe-l'oeil*). By the end of the sixteenth century, the spatial and technical demands of these elaborate dramatizations necessitated new spaces, and led to the concept of the permanent theatre house (such as the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza and the Teatro Farnese in Parma). This diverse artistic ingenuity has provided a rich archival platform for festival research across myriad disciplines, for which a considered literature review will follow.

While the festival existed as a composite structure composed of a multiplicity of theatrical genres (comedy, tragedy, *intermedii*, *canti carnascialeschi*, pageants, masks, processions, *commedia dell'arte*), it was also a performative entity in and of itself. Behind the façade of each ritual a much bigger performance was at play: the performance of identity. As will be shown in Chapter One, each European city or state patented its own unique festival culture. The annual marriage of the Doge to the sea set Venetian festival practices apart from all other Italian states, just as the waterborne pageants on the Thames did for London and England. Indeed, the ritual enacted on the Doge's boat, the *Bucintoro*, off the shore of Saint Mark's square defined in many ways what it meant to be Venetian. The festival as such contributed to the metanarrative of a complex political and social history. From this perspective, the artistic practices involved in its production are but a series of micronarratives within a larger whole. The practice, or more adequately, the performance of 'festivaling' contributed to the conscious embodiment of identity on many levels: the identity of Self (monarch); of place (state); and of power (wealth). Effectively, the festival "engineered" identity, and was therefore intimately related to the practice of renaissance image-making and self-fashioning.

The cityscape was also a key player in the dynamics of image-making. The city as a seat of power was essential to monarchical authority, for there is no king without kingdom. The city's topography became an acoustic arena whose surfaces absorbed and reverberated sounds and whose spaces became the festival stage. The city was simultaneously a recipient of its monarch's performance and a complicit part of it. For the occasion of the 1539 Medici-Toledo festival (the case study of this thesis), the city

of Florence featured not only as the backdrop for the festival, but as the central character of the banquet performances. Florence was personified as Flora, the Goddess of Spring. Her appearance was wrought with symbols of *Fiorentinitá*, with the icons of the lion (strength, valour and royalty), the mechanical and liberal arts (Medici patronage of the arts and academia) and various military armaments (fortitude). Indeed, one would be entirely forgiven for mistaking her identity as that of Minerva, the Roman Goddess of wisdom, the arts and of war.<sup>6</sup> The city of Florence, and her deification as Flora, were integral to the cultural politics and Medici self-fashioning of the entire festival.

The festival audience included spectators from the local province from all social classes—workers, traders, merchants and nobles—as well as the spectatorship of *cortigiani* from foreign (even rival) courts. Of course, the private components were reserved exclusively for those of noble ranking. News of the festival, with its success and failures, spread beyond the court via the dissemination of the festival book, a material object that was simply an extension of the performative act and not at all to be taken as an unbiased commentary of events. With its penchant for encomiastic language and hyperbolic descriptions, the festival book was a politically infused medium of communication *par excellence*. As such, the festival was a formidable tool for courtly propaganda and was used strategically to bolster the reputation and popularity of its sovereign. While providing regular escapism for those who participated from all social classes, the festival was ultimately contrived for the socio-political profiteering of its benefactor.

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<sup>6</sup> Sincere thanks to Dr Tim Shepherd who brought this to my attention at the 2013 Medieval-Renaissance Music Conference in Certaldo, Italy.

The marriage of Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539 set an important precedent in festival innovation and political self-fashioning in early modern Florence, and reflected the practice of courtly, ceremonial culture across wider Europe. During the ongoing Italian wars which began in 1494, Florence's commercial and financial success hinged on the support of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, who supported the reinstatement of the Medici in 1532 after a period of exile, and who agreed to the succession of Cosimo I as Duke in 1537 upon the assassination of Alessandro de' Medici, in return for military support against the French. In late 1538, it was agreed that Cosimo would marry Eleonora—the youngest daughter of the Spanish Viceroy of Naples—and their union was commemorated with a programme of public and private performances from Pisa to Florence (outlined in Chapter Two). After a month-long journey from Naples to Florence, Eleonora, along with a troupe of Spanish Imperial diplomats arrived at the gate of her new city and was greeted by a host of beguiling decorations and inscriptions which adorned the triumphal arch erected for her entrance. Each relief and statue carried symbolic messages, but the arch was governed by three dominant figures that would weave a unifying thematic thread throughout the festival. These were the themes of Fecundity, Eternity and Security, which are explored in detail in Chapter Four.

The main events of the 1539 festival for which we have considerable documentary evidence include a royal *entrata* with entrance motet, and a procession for the new Duchess into Florence; a wedding banquet with eight musico-theatrical performances contributed by five Florentine composers (Francesco Corteccia, Costanzo Festa, Matteo Rampollini, Baccio Moschini and Giovan-Pietro Masaconi); and a comedy (*Il Commodo* by Antonio Landi) with seven *intermedii* composed by Corteccia. The

costume design and mise-en-scène for the entire festival were devised by Giovan Battista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo, and the literary texts and devices were penned by Giambattista Gelli. Chapter Two of this thesis presents the hypothesis that the Florentine humanist and academician, Cosimo Bartoli, may have been responsible for the *invenzione* of the festival—the renaissance art of devising unified iconographic themes or ideas.

While the comedy and *intermedii* will not feature in the main analysis of this study for reasons that will be outlined below, they nonetheless contributed a significant part of the festival entertainment. The *intermedii* have received wide (but not exhaustive) scholarly attention, most notably by Andrew Minor, Bonner Mitchell, Nino Pirrotta and Howard Mayer Brown, but the play is regrettably undervalued in the scholarship of renaissance comedies. With a minor literary output and a vague biographical profile, little information is known about its writer, Antonio Landi. He was born in 1506 into a noble family, members of which had served as priors of the Republic on thirteen occasions over the quattro-cinquecento.<sup>7</sup> He was however a close friend of his festival collaborator, Giovan Battista Strozzi, being a year apart in age and having studied together in Padua during the 1529 siege of Florence.<sup>8</sup> It is apposite then that the two authors should have worked so closely together in 1539 on the comedy and intermittent madrigals, the latter of which were designed and staged by Strozzi in collaboration with Tribolo. In 1546, Landi was elected twelfth consul of the *Accademia fiorentina*, indicating his important role within the academy. Despite his obvious integration into

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<sup>7</sup> These members are cited in Salvino Salvini's *Fasti consolari dell'Accademia fiorentina* (Firenze: Tartini & Franchi, 1717), cited in Andrew Minor and Bonner Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence in 1539*, (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968), 30-31.

<sup>8</sup> Benedetto Varchi, *Storia fiorentina con aggiunte e correzioni. Tratte dagli autografi e corredata di note*, ed. Lelio Arbib. Vol. 2. (Firenze: Nardi & Varchi, 1843), 200.



academic life in early sixteenth-century Florence, he never published a literary work after *Il Commodo*.

The play itself, *Il Commodo* (or *La Commodity*, depending on the spectator's preference for the feminine or masculine),<sup>9</sup> is an interesting example of Italian comedy in the sixteenth century; the so-called *commedia erudita*. Erudite is perhaps a superfluous term for this post-Plautine genre, more abundant in frivolous middle-class trivialities than serious intellectual discourse. However, one can most certainly learn from the textured social exchanges in these comedies and gain valuable insight into the codified social dynamics between the Italian bourgeoisie and their lower-class servants. Additionally, we learn of the socio-political mechanics of religion, gender, tradition and language in middle class societies. As in Plautus, the dialectics of the master-servant dualism remains a central fixture of Landi's plot, with the comic stereotype of the *servus callidus* playing an instrumental role in the protagonist's fate. The comedy does quite match the literary virtuosity of contemporary repertoires from Ariosto, Machiavelli or Bibbiena, but it is an edifying overture on the social dynamics of everyday Florentine life.

The *intermedii* totalled seven in number, with a prologue performed before the start of the comedy by Dawn, an interlude between each of the five acts (performed by shepherds, mermaids, Silenus, huntress nymphs and Night respectively) and a *ballo*

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<sup>9</sup> The etymology of the play's title is outlined by the narrator in the prologue: 'Ritornando per hora a la nostra Favola, la quale si chiama il Commodo, parola veramente da dilettere a ciascuno, Ne vi curate di ricercare molto adentro la cagione di questo nome, ma contentatevi che cosi si chiama; come ancora io mi contenterei di molte cose, senza ricercarne la Etimologia. Puo [si] anchora chiamare la Commodity: et questo si lascia a vostra e lettione di chiamarla o Commodo, o Commodity: l'uno è nome di maschio, et l'altro di femmina: prenda ciascuno quell che gli calza meglio, et piu l'accomoda'. Antonio Landi, *Il Commodo: Commedia D'Antonio Landi, con I suoi Intermedii, Recitata nelle nozze de l'Illustrissima et Eccellentissima Signor il Suo Duca di Firenze l'Anno 1539. Novamente Ristampata*. (Firenze: Giunti, 1566), 5-6.

with satyrs and bacchantes at the close of the final act. Though they did not express a cohesive narrative, the interludes were unified by the theme of ‘chronos’, and served to identify the time of day in which each act of the play was set. This was further illuminated by the innovative stage design of the architect Aristotile da San Gallo who devised a mechanical sun that moved across the stage from East to West to denote the passing of time during the play. Corteccia set the texts as four, five and six-voice madrigals with varied arrangements between voices and instruments. Howard Mayer Brown has deliberated on the probable instrumentation of each interlude, based on the detailed account of the instruments and staging of each *intermedio* furnished in the 1539 festival book.<sup>10</sup> In addition, Nino Pirrotta has analysed the music and mise-en-scène of select *intermedii* from 1539, proposing the theory that they (and the genre in general) created the illusion of temporal perspective. Pirrotta characterises the temporal sphere as the frame of unreality, describing how the interludes departed from the realism contained on the stage of the play proper.<sup>11</sup> He writes:

We must conclude then that one of the reasons for having an unrealistic frame was to justify singing, but that this was neither the sole reason nor even the main one. In my opinion more important was the fact that by its unreality and its music the frame helped to create what we might call the illusion of a temporal perspective.<sup>12</sup>

This illusory device was employed particularly well in 1539 where the juxtaposition of linear time in Landi’s play and the temporal continuum of the musical interludes created an immersive audience experience through music, myth and a cleverly

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<sup>10</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

<sup>11</sup> Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo. *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 128-29.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

choreographed *mise-en-scène*. Many of the interludes in 1539 used the entire auditorium as their stage, breaking away from San Gallo's prospect scenery, which was the setting for Landi's comedy. As such, the genres of the *intermedii* and of erudite comedy set an early modern precedent for the later development of the theatre of attractions.<sup>13</sup>

### **Aims of the Study**

There is a vast literature on the early modern festival spanning the early work of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique to the more recent studies of the Society for European Festivals Research. However, with the exception of some prolific monographs on the music of early modern festivals, research in the field has been largely led by the disciplines of art and architectural history. Methodologies have as such prioritised the visual image or object as an approach to studying festivals, engendering the primacy of the visual artefact as scientific evidence.<sup>14</sup> The superiority of the visual image stems from a long history of ocularcentrism that has its roots in early modernity. Juhanni Pallasmaa writes that the Renaissance brought with it a hierarchical system of the senses that positioned sight as the first and most important sense, followed by hearing, smell, taste and touch. This system was related to the image of the cosmic body in which 'vision was correlated to fire and light, hearing to air, smell to vapour, taste to water, and touch to earth', stemming from the revival of Platonic doctrine on music, medicine and cosmology (a subject that will return in

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<sup>13</sup> The theatre of "attractions" reached its zenith in the early twentieth century. The attraction, according to Russian theorist Sergei Eisenstein, is any aggressive element of the theatre that subjects the spectator to sensorial and psychological impact, that is, impact that directly affects the spectator's sense of immediate reality. See Eisenstein, "Montage of Attractions: For 'Enough Stupidity in Every Wiseman'." *The Drama Review: TDR* 8, 1 (1974): 77-85. doi: 10.2307/1144865.

<sup>14</sup> See Marion G. Muller, "Iconography and Iconology as a Visual method and Approach," in *The Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, ed. Eric Margolis and Luc Pauwels (Los Angeles: Sage, 2011), 283-97.

Chapter Five).<sup>15</sup> The re-emergence of humanist ideologies inspired philosophers to seek scientific answers from above in the celestial realm. The dominance of the ‘seeing’ sense was further engendered in the development of perspectival representation, specifically linear perspective, which made ‘the eye the centre point of the perceptual world, as well as of the concept of the self. Perspectival representation itself turned into a symbolic form, one which not only describes, but also conditions perception’.<sup>16</sup> Perspective is hence seen by Pallasmaa and indeed other theorists such as Erwin Panofsky as a decisive agent in the promulgation of ocularcentrism, or in Panofsky’s oft quoted phrase, of a Western ‘will to form’, which links our cultural determination to visualise the world through the eyes alone with our need to organise our societies into integrated, visible wholes. Thus, the design of performance programmes for early modern festivals are far more cognitively and psychologically rooted than what is presented on the surface.

Challenging this long-held ocular bias, this thesis aims to re-define the festival within a theoretical frame that centralises the primacy of the body and the haptic senses as a method of understanding the festival and its perceptual phenomenology. It does not exclude the sense of sight within this framework, but rather decommissions the hierarchy of the senses in favour of an analytic method that considers all the senses together (including extra-sensory experiences such as proprioception). The study contributes a new perspective and methodological approach to the field of festival studies, focussing on the impact of the genre in early modern Florence. While issues of periodisation remain problematic in the historiography of this period, the following

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<sup>15</sup> Juhanni Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the senses*, (Sussex: Wiley Academy, 2005), 16.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

chapters aim to transgress the limitations of teleological history.<sup>17</sup> Instead, they position the early modern festival within a trans-historical framework, which departs from traditional analytic methods in the field (iconography; iconology; critical musicology), and approaches the study of festivals (and their historical and cultural impact) using a co-cultural theoretical framework grounded in film and cultural theory.

The primary objectives of the study are to:

- 1) Trace the evolution of the festival in Europe between 1450-1600, establishing a cultural context for the 1539 Medici-Toledo festivities.
- 2) Present a new methodology for reading festival as proto-cinema using theories grounded in film and cultural theory.
- 3) Apply the theory of reading festival as proto-cinema to the 1539 festival from three theoretical perspectives: music, architecture and *vedutismo*.
- 4) Contribute 3D digital models of the architectural and theatrical ephemera of the 1539 festival, and a series of interpretive illustrations that reconstruct Giovan Battista Strozzi's costumes.

Part One outlines in length the cultural evolution of the festival between 1450-1600, and the court politics associated with it. Part Two moves toward a more integrated understanding of the festival as a cultural phenomenon which constructed an emotional relationship with public and private space (and place) through musico-visual, experiential and performative interactions. As Tim Shepherd writes:

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<sup>17</sup> See Jill Burke's discussion of periodization in her essay "Inventing the High Renaissance, from Wincklemann to Wikipedia: An introductory Essay," in *Re-thinking the High Renaissance: The Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, ed. Jill Burke (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 1-26.

The musical and the visual form important, complementary components of the vocabulary through which spaces are assembled as texts to be “read” and experienced.<sup>18</sup>

Part Three applies the theory presented in Chapter Three to a case study of the 1539 Florentine festival, demonstrating how the genre came to define the very boundaries of urbanism and shaped the interactions of urban dwellers with their built environment in the early modern city. It is in this part of the study that the concept of the Cine-Metropolis unfolds, as the reader begins to see the festival as a mobile practice that relies on the act of movement in and through the city. The study shows how the festival has come to shape not only the ornamentation of European courts and cities but the very landscape itself. These imprints are identifiable today across Europe in the form of triumphal arches, statuary, amphitheatres and even in the urban plan of the streetscape. The city came to be defined by an urban plan that expressly accommodated the ritual of festival, influencing the way in which people traversed and interacted with its pathways.

### **Research Questions**

The principal research questions posed in this thesis consider the relationship between the festival and the city, the festival and power, the festival and identity, and the festival and meaning (emotional, cultural and philosophical). Interpolating these questions into the fabric of each chapter, the thesis seeks to map how these relationships contribute to the concept of the cine-metropolis. The cine-metropolis is defined by the author as a network of “live” spaces that are in motion and that construct

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<sup>18</sup> Tim Shephard, “Musical Spaces: The Politics of Space in Renaissance Italy,” in *The Routledge Companion to Music and Visual Culture*, ed. Tim Shephard and Anne Leonard (New York: Routledge, 2014), 274-280: 279.

a unique relationship with the inhabitant/spectator. To recall the preface of this thesis, the term is defined there as the space that exists between the spectacle and the spectator. The cine-metropolis coerces a sensorial experience that is embodied through the act of movement, perceived or physical, wherein the spectator (and the space they inhabit) undergoes an (e)motional transformation. They become participatory agents of the urban stage. This theoretical thread underlies the following research questions:

### **Secondary Research Questions**

1. What was the form and function of festival in early modern Florence and Europe? (Chapter One)
2. What are the primary sources pertaining to the 1539 festival, and what do they tell us about the narrative of events, the people involved, and the politics and poetics of festivals? (Chapter Two)

### **Main Research Questions**

3. How can we re-define festival such that its definition embraces (rather than delimits) the multidimensionality of, and complex phenomena embodied in the genre? (Chapter Three)
4. How does the festival engage the spectator in a haptic and sensorial interaction with space and place? What affect does this have? (Chapter Four)
5. What can a close reading of the music and mise-en-scène of the 1539 festival tell us about the relationship between festivals, place, power and emotions? (Chapter Five)

## Literature Overview

Given the parameters of the thesis, the literature it reviews is categorised by and cross-references several disciplines, including art history, architectural history, musicology, theatre history and scenography. Chapter One presents a historical overview of the early modern festival and functions as a systematic review of the most significant literature in the field. Some of the most important source studies have been conducted and disseminated vis-à-vis the Society for Early Modern Festivals Research at the University of Warwick, whose outputs include an edited series by leading researchers in the field. Influential texts include *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J.R. Mulryne and Elizabeth Goldring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Helen Wantanabe-O’Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); *Waterborne Pageants and Festivities in the Renaissance: Essays in Honour of J. R. Mulryne*, edited by Margaret Shewring (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, edited by Laura Fernández–González and Fernando Checa Cremades (Surrey: Ashgate 2015); and *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, edited by J. R. Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti and Anna Maria Testaverde (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

Contributions to festival studies that focus on or incorporate musicological perspectives are much fewer in number than those in the disciplines of art and architectural history. However, publications that have influenced the present study, both formatively and contextually, include D. P. Walker’s *Les Fêtes du mariage de Ferdinand de Médicis et de Christine de Lorraine, Florence, 1589. Vol. I: Musique des Intermèdes de ‘La Pellegrina’* (Paris: Editions de CNRS, 1963), whose



reconstruction of the Florentine *intermedii* of 1589 awoke in me a passionate interest in Florentine festivals and musical theatre in the early modern period. Howard Mayer Brown's *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), presents a considered reading of instruments and their arrangements for the most elaborate Florentine festivals of the sixteenth century, for which there are preserved scores and archival documentation (1518, 1539, 1565 and 1589). Iain Fenlon's essay on 'Theories of Decorum: Music and the Italian Renaissance Entry' (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015) assesses the role of music in the royal entry (*entrata*), and his monograph *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) considers how music functioned as ceremonial decorum in Venice. Flora Dennis ('Music in Ferrarese Festivals: Harmony and Chaos,' [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003]) and Alessandro Marcigliano (*Chivalric Festivals at the Ferrarese Court of Alfonso II d'Este* [Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003]) have contributed to the literature on music and the Ferrarese *tourneo* (or *cavallerie*) in the late sixteenth century, taking the most elaborate *tournée* staged by Duke Alfonso II d'Este between 1561-1570 as their focus. Laurie Stras has looked at music during the Italian tour of King Henri III in 1574 in her essay 'Onde havrà 'l mond'esempio et vera historia': Musical Echoes of Henri III's Progress Through Italy,' (*Acta Musicologica*, 2000), which assesses the public and private musical and processional spectacles performed for Henri III throughout his tour of northern Italy.

Nina Treadwell's *Music and Wonder at the Medici Court: The 1589 Interludes for La Pellegrina (Musical Meaning and Interpretation)* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008) offers a discerning analysis of the 1589 grand-ducal wedding of

Ferdinand I and Christine of Lorraine. Her historiography of the occasion is informed not only by a musico-visual perspective, but by the philosophical, literary and socio-political fabric of the period, which makes for a rich and informative study. Anne MacNeil touches on the Medici interludes of 1589 in *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Kelley Harness briefly discusses the 1539 and 1589 Medici performances in her 2006 publication, *Echoes of Women's Voices: Music, Art and Female Patronage in Early Modern Florence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). Additionally, in her essays 'Pageantry,' (New York: Routledge, 2014) and 'Chaste Warriors and Virgin Martyrs in Florentine Musical Spectacle,' (New York: Routledge, 2002), Harness critiques themes of femininity, virtue and chastity in the Florentine musical spectacles and operas of the 1620s, a time that correlates as the only period in Florentine history when women governed the city.

In the literature that is specific to the cultural politics of Cosimo I de' Medici, landmark studies include Claudia Rousseau's doctoral study *Cosimo I de' Medici and Astrology: The Symbolism of Prophecy* (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1983) has inspired much of the recent work of art historians Janet Cox-Rearick and Henk Th. van Veen on the subject of Cosimo de' Medici and the recurring theme of prophecy and power in the cultural programmes he commissioned. Rousseau's study lends considerable support to the analysis of the visual programme of the 1539 banquet performances in Chapter Five, in which the Duke's preoccupation with astrology and prophecy is visually and musically embedded. The themes of astrology and prophecy re-emerge a year later in Janet Cox-Rearick's formative art historical study on destiny and dynasty in the art and architecture of the House of Medici, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art:*

*Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984). In this work, Cox-Rearick conducts advanced studies of the iconography of dynastic power and astrological destiny in the iconographic programme of the Palazzo Vecchio, and contributes minor discussions on the visual programme for the 1539 festival. Expanding on the work of both scholars, Henk Th. van Veen delves into the practice of image-making as a political device and as a tool of self-fashioning during Cosimo's long reign as Duke of Florence and Grand Duke of Tuscany in *Cosimo I de' Medici and his Self-Representation in Art and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013). He looks to the architecture of the Duke's residences from Palazzo Vecchio to Palazzo Pitti, as well as the art and ephemera of the Duke's festivals (particularly 1565). Mary A. Watt has contributed an essay on the 1539 wedding festival ('Veni, sponsa: Love and Politics at the Wedding of Eleonora di Toledo') in one of the only edited publications dedicated to Eleonora of Toledo: *The Cultural World of Eleonora di Toledo: Duchess of Florence and Siena*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). In *Theatre Festivals of the Medici, 1539-1637* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1976), Alois M. Nagler presents an important reference text on Medici festivals in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but is more expedient for the study of the later festivals which receive greater attention than 1539.

Chapter Two of this thesis focusses on the narrative and historical details of the 1539 Medici-Toledo festival, and in so doing, it presents an extensive literature review of the primary sources that have informed our present knowledge of the festival. The most significant finding of the review of primary sources is the new discovery of the iconographic origins of the frontispiece for Bartoli's translation of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Architectura*. Through a close reading of the frontispiece and its

compositional description within Bartoli's *Ragionamenti Accademici* of 1567, this study has revealed close links between the frontispiece and the costumes and props for the 1539 festival, and proposes the hypothesis that Bartoli may have been the primary inventor of the iconographic themes (*invenzione*) for the festival's visual programme.

Finally, the texts that have provided the most comprehensive information on the 1539 festival, and upon which this thesis has immeasurably relied, include the festival book of Pierfrancesco Giambullari, published in 1539 as a letter to the Florentine court envoy Giovanni Bandini who was positioned at the Viceroy's court in Naples (*Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, et Intermedi in quelle recitati* [Florence: 1539]). This document meticulously details the decoration of the city for the wedding festivities, including those at the city gate and triumphal arches, the ornamentation of the streets, and the ornamentation of the Palazzo Medici where the wedding banquet and entertainments took place. Secondly, the collaborative and interdisciplinary study of Andrew Minor and Bonner Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), offers a complete translation of Giambullari's festival book including the literary texts, the comedy and a modern edition of the music for Coreteccia's entrance motet and *intermedii* and the eight banquet performances. Their translation is prefaced with supplementary commentaries on the political background of the period; the art history and musicological backgrounds; and a compendium of biographical entries on the individuals involved in the creation of the festival. Their publication remains the only dedicated monograph on the 1539 festival, the fact of which has been a significant catalyst for the research

presented in this thesis. Lastly, the Alfredston musical edition of the original scores from 1539, edited by Martin Grayson, George Bates, and Rosemary Bates, is used in this thesis: *Musiche Fatte Nella Nozze* (Oxon: Alfredston Music, 1994).<sup>19</sup>

## **Methodology**

As stated above, the methodology applied in this thesis is formed from a co-cultural theoretical approach that borrows from the disciplines of film studies and cultural theory. As the methodology proposed is new, it will be the focus of Chapter Three, where a detailed discussion of the theoretical motivations of the thesis will be presented. Chapter Three is informed by the writings of phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, cultural theorist Giuliana Bruno, and Russian filmmaker and theorist Sergei Eisenstein. Collectively, these writers acknowledge the importance of the senses and the emotions in reading history, and moreover, they ground their work in the idea of a spherical history wherein distinct historical epistemes yield to the ontological notion that everything exists within a continuum of repetitive cycles: the ‘always already’. The theory of reading festival as proto-cinema is prefaced by a definition of the term itself (proto-cinema), which is grounded in the concept of a ‘cinematic imagination’. At times, the thesis will use the terms proto-cinema and proto-filmic interchangeably, and although the etymological roots of the words differ (‘cinema’ denotes movement [*kine*], and ‘film’ denotes a skin or membrane), the terms are used within the same context (and meaning) in this thesis.

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<sup>19</sup> There are two modern editions of the 1539 festival music available in print, the Alfredston edition by Grayson, Bates and Bates, and the 1968 edition in Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*. It was therefore decided that the creation of a new edition was beyond the scope of this study.

The following works are key references within Chapter Three: Giuliana Bruno's *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film*. (New York: Verso, 2007); *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993); and her essay 'Site-seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image,' (*Wide Angle* 19, 1997). Sergei Eisenstein's *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977); and his essays 'Montage and Architecture,' (*Assemblage* 10, 1989), and 'Montage of Attractions: For 'Enough Stupidity in Every Wiseman', ' (*The Drama Review* 1, 1974). And finally, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of perception in *The Visible and the Invisible* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968) underlies the phenomenological discourse in this chapter.

The analytic framework applied to the 1539 music and the study of sixteenth century modality is informed chiefly by Harold S. Powers and Frans Wiering. Powers' essays 'Tonal Types and Modal Categories in renaissance Polyphony,' (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1981); 'Is Mode Real? Pietro Aron, the Octenary System and Polyphony,' (*Basler Jahrbuch Für Historisches Musikpraxis*, 1992); and 'Music as Text and Text as Music,' in *Musik als Text* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), have been most influential to the reading of mode in Chapters Four and Five. While Wiering's *The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality* (New York: Routledge, 2001) has contributed significantly to an understanding of renaissance modal theory.

Sixteenth century philosophical theory is also fundamental to the theoretical framework of this study, most especially in Chapter Four in which contemporary

discourse on modal ethos (*musica mundana*) is interpreted in the reading of Corteccia's entrance motet. In Chapter Five, discourse on modal ethos and renaissance musical magic is applied to the analysis of the banquet madrigals, and is used to assess musico-visual unity in these spectacles. The primary sources that have informed these discussions include Francino Gafori's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518); Stefano Vanneus's *Recanetum de musica aurea* (Rome, 1533); and Marsilio Ficino's *De vita libri tres* (Basel: Oporinum, 1576). The secondary sources which have supported the readings in these chapters include Gary Tomlinson's *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993); and Cristile Collins Judd, 'Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional, and Editorial Perspectives,' in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

### **Rationale for the Study**

The rationale for the present study arises from a pervasive gap in the literature on the 1539 Florentine festival. Since Minor and Mitchell's translation of and commentary on Giambullari's festival book in 1968, no comprehensive attempt at a close reading of the performances has been made to the author's knowledge, and any study that has been conducted does not fully reflect the multidisciplinary scope of the festival. Precedents for multidisciplinary research in the field have been progressed by such scholars as Nina Treadwell (*Music and Wonder*), and by Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti whose co-authored project on architecture, music and acoustics has carved an important place for collaborative research in the wider field of early modern studies: *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Music, Acoustics* (London: Yale University Press, 2010). Indeed, some five decades ago, Minor and Mitchell (an

art historian and musicologist respectively) acknowledged how multidisciplinary perspectives can enrich our understanding of festivals, a belief that motivated their very project. This thesis responds to the precedent set by these scholars by exploring the musical, visual, spatial and sensorial phenomena embedded in the performance programme of the 1539 festival, and by advancing the methodological and analytical framework with which festival “texts” (and their contexts) can be read. In so doing, it extends the scope of the present literature on 1539, and advocates methodological diversity in the field.

Secondly, the thesis is motivated by new models of practice-led collaborative research in the field of early modern festival studies. The way in which research is disseminated is adapting to reflect a more technological and interactive interface between the reader and the historical subject/object. This is evident in projects such as *Recreating Early Modern Festivals*, convened by Laura Fernández-González, in which the architectural ephemera and cityscapes of European festivals are reconstructed in material and digital forms.<sup>20</sup> Fernández-González has most recently worked on an extensive 3D digital modelling project to recreate the cityscape of renaissance Lisbon in collaboration with researchers Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Kate Lowe.<sup>21</sup> This thesis contributes two 3D digital models of ephemera from the 1539 festival which have been reconstructed from the written sources. The first is a model of Niccolò il Tribolo’s triumphal arch, designed for the royal *entrata* of the Duchess, and the second is a model of the theatre stage and *apparato*, designed by Aristotile de San Gallo and

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<sup>20</sup> For more on Laura Fernández-González’ work in reconstructing festivals, see her publication ‘Virtual Worlds: Visualizing Early Modern Festivals in the Iberian World,’ *Newsletter of the Association of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, 7 ( 2016): 6-13.

<sup>21</sup> See Annemarie Jordan Gschwend and Kate Lowe, eds, *A Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2015). This project exhibited in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon in February 2017 under the title ‘The Global City: Lisbon in the Renaissance’.



Tribolo and built within the second courtyard of the Medici Place on Via Larga. In addition, interpretive illustrations of the elaborate costumes designed by Giovan Battista Strozzi were also created to accompany the analyses of the banquet performances in Chapter Five. Once again, these illustrations are reconstructed from the written sources and from a comparative study of Giorgio Vasari's costume designs for the 1565 festival for the wedding of Grand Duke Francesco I de' Medici and Joanna of Austria. To make this possible, the author collaborated with a design team that included an architect, graphic illustrator and an artist.

### **Delimitations of the Study**

This study is delimited by the same factors that underlie its rationale: a) multidisciplinary scope, b) methodology and c) collaboration. Firstly, the multidisciplinary scope of the thesis presents a challenge that necessitates a vast literature review and a familiarity with the methodologies and practices of the various disciplines: musicology, art history, architectural history, theatre history and film and cultural theory. The author has made a concerted effort to reflect her knowledge of the areas outside her musicological expertise, but acknowledges that the thesis has had to navigate between a specialised analysis of the music and a visual and textual exegesis of the complex symbolism of all other aspects of the festival. As a result, certain linguistic terms or concepts may fall short of their precise application within their appropriate discipline.

Moreover, the scope of the 1539 festival itself has posed a considerable challenge for the study. Comprising three significant events (royal *entrata*, wedding banquet and comedy with *intermedii*)—which are themselves divisible into several

performances—it was not possible within the project’s timeframe to examine all sixteen performances and the comedy together. The thesis sets out to achieve an integrated analytic approach that takes account of the music, visuals, text and staging, and as such, the author has chosen to apply a qualitative analysis of select parts of the performance programme. The choice of performances was informed by existing research on the festival which has focussed largely on the *intermedii*, and which lacks considered discourse on the banquet performances. The analyses will thus focus on the *entrata* and entrance motet, and the post-banquet spectacles.

Secondly, the theoretical framework extends the scope of the thesis beyond the conventional boundaries of festival studies, and the author acknowledges that the hybrid nature of the methodology, namely amalgamating film and cultural theory to read festival as proto-cinema, departs radically from traditional historiographical views and approaches within the field. However, a thorough vindication for the theory has been presented in Chapter Three, and its considered application to the festival is subsequently constructed in Chapters Four and Five.

Finally, the model of practice-led collaboration has been both a motivational factor in this thesis, and one that has delimited its outputs. Collaborative projects in the field such as Fernández-González’ *A Global City*, and Howard and Moretti’s *Sound and Space*, have been well-resourced and have consisted of large multidisciplinary teams with diverse expertise. The author acknowledges that the digital and illustrative reconstructions presented here are limited by access to a complete team of practitioners, and by the funding to realise 3D modelling on a large scale. The reconstructions are therefore preliminary in nature, and serve to demonstrate the

potential for reconstructing the festival on a more comprehensive and experimental scale in a future project.

### **Notes to the Reader**

The 3D digital reconstructions presented with this thesis feature the musical recordings of the Centre de Musique Ancienne de Geneva in collaboration with the Studio di Musica Rinascimentale di Palermo and the Schola Jacopo da Bologna, conducted by Gabriel Garrido (Tactus, 2000). The compositions are chosen for their correlation to the performance setting depicted in the reconstructions. Audiovisual One features a recording of the motet that was originally performed at the triumphal archway in 1539. Audiovisual Two features a recording of one of the madrigals performed at the wedding banquet in 1539. The relationship between the musical compositions and the visual setting will be discussed in detail in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

## **Chapter One**

## The Cultural Evolution of the Festival in Early Modern Europe: 1450-1600

While the 1539 festival is the focus of this thesis, a systematic contextualisation of festivals at large in this period will a) highlight the cultural milieu that shaped the Medici-Toledo celebrations in 1539, and b) show how Florentine festival practice linked with and differed from the rest of Italy and wider Europe.<sup>1</sup> Exploring this context will deepen our understanding of the artistic modes and political nuances embedded in the festival of 1539 and provide a strong foundation for Parts Two and Three of this thesis.

Festivals had both public and private components, the order of which depended upon the nature of the festival and whether it was innately courtly or civic. The 1539 festival was a courtly occasion celebrating the nuptial vows of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo and as such followed the etiquette associated with the court, the structure of which will be discussed below in greater detail. Festivals could also be innately civic occasions involving governance (or pseudo-governance), where political acts were performed to a public audience as a form of spectacle. Such an act was common during the Florentine Republic when the city consuls would gather publically outside the civic palace in Piazza della Signoria. A raised platform or *ringhiera* was constructed around the civic palace to seat executive council members and the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (the highest office of the state) during public meetings about civic mandates. These meetings constituted acts of public spectacle and as such the visual decoration of the *ringhiera* was a prime focus. Anabel Thomas writes about a large tapestry called a *spalliera* made by the

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<sup>1</sup> Europe is employed as a governing term to describe a network of politically and ideologically fragmented republics, oligarchies, monarchies and Imperial states within the cartographic boundaries of present day Europe.

workshop of Neri di Bicci that hung as a backdrop to government officials seated on the *ringhiera* outside the Palazzo dei Priori.<sup>2</sup> Serving as visual propaganda, the tapestry reflected particular ideals of civic rule and was used as a tool to propagate republican ideology.

As such, the festival was an irrefutably powerful instrument for political indoctrination. On a more innovative level however, festival politicking yielded the most extensive patronal programme Europe had ever witnessed. Enormous financial and material resources were invested in the creation of organisational networks for festivals, and the most experienced and promising artists were employed to sit on the collaborative teams that orchestrated them. The Medici-Toledo festivities of 1539 are an apt example as some of the most notable names in Florentine art and architectural history were involved in their creation, including Niccolò Tribolo (known as Il Tribolo), Agnolo di Bronzino and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.<sup>3</sup> Bronzino went on to become a Florentine court artist renowned for his mannerist portraiture, and contributed to the iconographic programme of the Medici Palace at Piazza della Signoria. Il Tribolo was one of the first specialists of early modern landscaping and went on to design the gardens for the Medici villa at Castello and subsequently draft plans for the Boboli gardens at the Pitti Palace in Florence.<sup>4</sup> Is it evident therefore that investing in festivals, culturally and financially, resulted in the patronage of

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<sup>2</sup> Currently known as Palazzo Vecchio. See Anabel Thomas, “The Workshop as the Space of Collaborative Artistic Production”, in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, ed. Roger J. Crum et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 419.

<sup>3</sup> Giorgio Vasari provides a comprehensive list of the artists involved in the 1539 festival in his *Vite* of 1568. The list includes sculptors (Niccolò il Tribolo, Sandro Buglioni), Scenographers (Aristotile da San Gallo, Giovanni Battista Strozzi) and painters (Battista Franco of Venice, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Agnolo di Bronzino, Pier Francesco di Sandro, Francesco Bachiacca, Dominico Conti and Antonio di Domenico). See Appendix B for Vasari’s full biographical entry, *Vita di Niccolò detto Il Tribolo*, (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 410.

<sup>4</sup> Leonardo Benevolo, *The Architecture of the Renaissance, Volume 1*, trans. Judith Landry (London: Routledge, 2002), 483.

several Florentine artists and created a wide network of collaboration in workshops and guilds across the city.<sup>5</sup>

As Thomas highlights above, court and civic spectacles promoted political, artistic and economic benefits through collaboration in the art world. Indeed, in many ways the festival would not have been possible without the collaborative input of all the art forms. Festival collaborations involved a matrix of skills across the liberal and mechanical arts: literature and philosophy (poetry, *imprese*, *stanze*, comedy, tragedy); music (instrumental, fanfare, banquet music, madrigals, motets, masses); performing arts (acting, oration, dance); plastic arts (scenography, architecture, costume design); and technology (lighting inventions, stage machines, illusory devices). As such, festivals are fascinating exemplars of interdisciplinary practice in the early modern world. This chapter proceeds to draw upon further examples of court and civic culture across Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in order to show the evolution of the festival at large between 1450-1650, and to place the 1539 festival in context. By placing the 1539 festival in context, we will later see its value as a landmark occasion in Florentine and indeed European history, and how it stands out as a triumph of innovation in the grand tapestry of courtly spectacle that characterises this epoch.

### **The Form and Function of Festivals**

Roy Strong writes that ‘renaissance festivals were enormously inventive and fertile in their sheer variety of construction’, but to help us understand the form and function of festivals he endorses a permissible oversimplification of their complex

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<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed study of collaborative networks see Thomas, “The Workshop”, 415-430, and Thomas B. Campbell, “Patronage and Production in Italy, 1380-1510”, in *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 85-130.

themes.<sup>6</sup> In so doing, Strong proposes three determinants between 1450-1650 that radically altered existing festival forms. The first was the transformation of the royal entry into an absolutist triumph, emulating imperial Rome; second was the revival of chivalry, or rather a post-medieval chivalrous rhetoric that ideated the mythologies and behaviours associated with it; and third was the gradual creation of permanent court theatres to house spectacles with moving emblematic tableaux.<sup>7</sup> He stresses the role of the past as well as the present in its evolution, suggesting the reciprocal workings of an embodied dialogue between that which was ancient and which was modern. This dialogue was crucial in shaping the festival as an osmotic device, receptive to the assimilation of existing cultural tropes and the formation of new ones. The third and final development of the festival as illustrated by Strong marks the pinnacle of this great phenomenon, for upon the introduction of permanent theatre architecture at the end of the sixteenth century, the demand for ephemeral constructions lessened and site-specific genres such as opera and *ballets de cour* began to flourish. With particular reference to *ballets de cour*, Roy argues that these site-specific genres were

the most essentially reflective of renaissance ideals, the evocation by means of art – visual symbol, allegory, music and movement – of the macrocosm-microcosm analogy and through that the tuning of the aspirations of earth to the harmonies of heaven.<sup>8</sup>

Understanding how the festival became a powerful tool for expressing renaissance ideals of cosmic harmony necessitates further analysis of its representative forms. In her article “Early Modern European Festivals - Politics and Performance, Event and

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<sup>6</sup> Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 42.

<sup>7</sup> Strong, *Art and Power*, 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 43.



Record”, Helen Wantanabe-O’Kelly divides the festival into two main types of event: ceremonies and spectacles. The former refers to events in which a power structure is brought into being in and through the act of the festival. Examples of such ceremonies include coronations, marriages or events representing dynastic continuity or succession. Through ritualising and witnessing the act, its legitimacy becomes binding, as the very essence of these public ceremonies resides in their being public and in the fact that the people witness them. ‘The monarch must be seen to be crowned, the bride must be exhibited to her husband’s people, the heir must be seen to walk behind the father’s coffin’.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, she characterises the spectacle as a theatrical performance, to include opera, *ballets de cour*, the *carrousel* or the firework drama to name but a few. In short:

While ceremonies create power structures, therefore, spectacles act them out and present them symbolically, often showing how they can better operate. This is not to say that ceremonies do not resemble performances, but rather that they are not performances in the same way that operas, ballets, carrousels and firework dramas are.<sup>10</sup>

The ceremony and spectacle could appear successively on the same day or over the course of a protracted period, with the first stage of the festival being characterised by the public ceremony and subsequent stages by the private or semi-private spectacle. There was no strict festival etiquette that determined a fixed structure of events. Rather, the elements that constituted the festival were often interchangeable. The ceremony was always performed in the public sphere but the spectacle could be witnessed by either private (noble) or public audiences, depending on the circumstances of the court. While O’Kelly’s division of festivals into two main parts provides us with a framework to understand their form and function, it is nonetheless

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<sup>9</sup> Helen Wantanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern Festivals – Politics and Performance, Event and Record”, in *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance: Art, Politics and Performance*, edited by J. R. Mulryne et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 16.

a meta-structure that governs a myriad of other parts. This structure evolved from the medieval traditions of the quattrocento, which were inextricably linked to religious ideology.

The early roots of European festivals were grounded in religious rituals based on the calendar of saints and Lenten *carnevale*, and in the more pagan rituals of the *calendimaggio* or May Day celebrations. In Florence for example, the feast of the patron saint *San Giovanni* was celebrated each year on June 24 with a succession of vibrant festivities that included music making, masking and dancing; a festival that still continues today. By the close of the fifteenth century the festival had become formally detached from religious sentimentality and was rebranded as a secular, politicised phenomenon. It became an honorific motif for celebrating marriages, coronations, births and baptisms (court festivals), and for the entrance of dignitaries into a city (civic festivals). Influenced radically by the humanist revival, classical traditions such as the triumphal procession became a focal point of the civic ceremony, as noted by Strong above. The procession entailed a parade that celebrated noble status or military, political and ecclesiastical victories, during which a number of minutely ornamented allegorical floats called *carri trionfale*, or simply *trionfi*, would typically proceed through a given route of the city.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the most illustrious iconographic example of these carriages is that of the German artist Albrecht Dürer, commissioned by the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I in 1512 and executed between 1518-22 (Figure 1.1). Planned primarily as Imperial propaganda, the carriage's design is of prodigious iconographic importance to the history of festivals and early modern cultural politics. The carving of the enormous

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<sup>11</sup> For a detailed study of triumphal carriages, see Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, *Mostra di disegni vasariani : carri trionfali e costumi per la genealogia degli dei (1565) / Introduzione e catalogo a cura di Anna Maria Petrioli* (Florence: Olschki, 1966).



**Figure 1.1** Albrecht Dürer, detail of 'The Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I', 1518-22. Woodcut, plate 1 of 8. Victory decorates the Emperor with a laurel wreath, commemorating his military victories on the feathers of her wings. Behind the Emperor stand two of the cardinal virtues: Justice and Temperance. (Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington).

woodcut required eight wood blocks, the first of which is featured in Figure 1.1. Panels 3-8 feature texts in German that explain the history of the car and the allegorical meaning of the twenty-two virtues.<sup>12</sup> These eight panels were planned as the central part of a fifty-four-metre-long illustration depicting the ‘Triumph of Maximilian’ in procession with his court entourage. Dürer’s work is a dualistic reminder of the unbridled extravagance and the political posturing of renaissance festivals, which were not only realised in life but were eternalised in art, preserving their significance for posterity.

Triumphal carriages were also used in Medici festivals such as the festival of 1513 which celebrated the election of Giovanni de’ Medici as Pope Leo X in Rome, and the *feste carnivale* of the same year in Florence.<sup>13</sup> In his book *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals 1512 – 1537*, Anthony M. Cummings outlines the festivities organised for the newly elected pope Leo X, including the programme for the procession and the allegories involved in the display. The Florentine historian Bartolomeo Cerretani recorded the ceremonial pomp that ensued. His account testifies to the artistic innovation and visual magnificence of the procession in question.

The first night there were two *carri*, one representing Discord and the other Peace, with appropriate explanatory songs, and trumpet fanfares and torches. Finally the *trionfo* representing Discord was burned. The next night there was a *trionfo* representing Peace and the other representing War, with songs, trumpet fanfares, torches, and fireworks; finally they burned the *trionfo* representing War. The third night there was a *trionfo* representing Suspicion and Fear, and trumpet fanfares, torches, and artillery, and in another was Tranquillity, and having sung, they burned the *trionfo* representing Suspicion and Fear with such a popular clamor that Florence

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<sup>12</sup> Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (Dover: Dover Publications, 1963), 37.

<sup>13</sup> For a detailed account of festivities for the papal investiture of Giovanni de’ Medici, see Anthony M. Cummings, “The election of Leo X”, in *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals 1512 – 1537* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 42-52. For an account of the Florentine carnival of 1513, see also A. M. Cummings, *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 127-130.

was turned upside down, and it seemed that the entire city was ablaze because there was a bonfire at each campanile, tower and house. And thus the city was engaged in the greatest of celebrations for several days.<sup>14</sup>

Evolving from the static *tableaux vivants* they once engendered, court iconographers now privileged the act of movement embodied in the procession and its *trionfi*. This fundamental transition meant that the royal entry not only represented power but actively mobilised it. In the words of Roy Strong, the procession turned the festival (quite literally) into ‘a highly symbolic vehicle’.<sup>15</sup> The procession is arguably one of the most significant features of the early modern festival, for it defined the symbolic and rhetorical tone of succeeding ceremonies and spectacles while also delineating spatial, geographic and social power within the city. By the turn of the sixteenth century the procession had become, as Strong writes, the ultimate *instrumentum regni*.<sup>16</sup>

A number of spectacles followed the royal entry and procession, but the choice of spectacle depended on a) the occasion, b) the patron’s generosity and c) the cultural identity of the court. Spectacles could include *canti carnascialeschi*, *rappresentazione* (sacred or secular), masques, comedies and tragedies, banquet pageants, *intermedii* (visible or invisible), informal instrumental performances such as fanfare or improvisations, and firework dramas. Toward the late sixteenth century additional technological advancements enabled the production of the impressive *naumachie* (waterborne pageants) and large-scale mobile tableaux like those designed by Bernardo Buontalenti for the Medici-Lorraine wedding festival of 1589. Each court favoured certain festival forms over others as will be discussed below, but

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<sup>14</sup> Bartolomeo Cerretani, MS II. IV. 19, fol. 21 [verso], quoted in Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 43, with Italian, note 4, 189.

<sup>15</sup> Strong, *Art and Power*, 44.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 48.

the function of the festival remained the same: to curate a visual, musical and literary programme that best represented the patron, the host and their political campaigns.

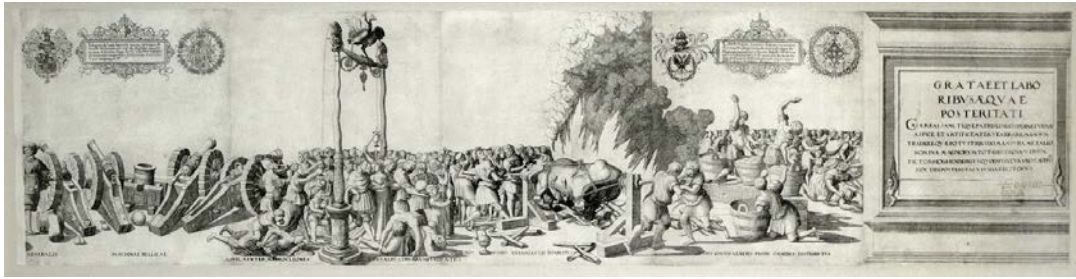
Locating the meaning behind the allegories, the art and the music, and even the ritual of celebration itself can become a much more challenging exercise. Cummings believes that such an investigation pivots upon the political motivations of the host, and that the Medici family in particular used music and festival culture to facilitate their transition toward an elevated ducal and eventually grand ducal status. This motive was not of course unique to the Medici. Following in the footsteps of his grandfather Maximilian I, Charles V ordered the recreation of a processional scene similar to that depicted in Dürer's triumphal carriage of 1518 for his Coronation in Bologna in 1530. Like his grandfather, he understood the power of the festival in consecrating his coronation and thus his power. In order for news of the celebrations to spread rapidly throughout and beyond Europe, and in particular to reach his lifelong adversary Francis I, he patronised forty woodcuts to illustrate his procession and its iconographic programme to the public (Figures 1.2-1.7).<sup>17</sup>

### **Iconographic Programmes**

Designed by a court propagandist, iconographic programmes featured a cohesive theme proliferated by surreptitious references to classical mythology and figures of historical import, each carrying significant symbolic stories that their patrons wished to be associated with, such as heroism, wealth, dynasty, military conquest, fertility and loyalty. These themes were carefully carved, painted, sculpted and composed within both civic and private spaces, starting at the main city gate. In harmony with the royal entry (*entrata*), a triumphal arch was usually erected with statuary, family

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<sup>17</sup> Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, "The Two Coronations of Charles V at Bologna, 1530", in *Court festivals of the European Renaissance*, 137-152.



**Figures 1.2-1.7** Nicolaus Hogenberg, 'Post-Coronation Cavalcade of Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII', 1540. Antwerp, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, with cartouches by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau. Engraving, Plates 1-30 of 40, plates c. 36 x 29 cm. (Images courtesy of the W. Graham Arader Collection, New York).

arms and literary inscriptions with thematic symbolism. The *entrata*, the ephemera and the musical performances were linked very closely with each other, especially when festivities were commissioned for dignitaries entering the city. In this instance the iconographic programme had to be conveyed to the dignitary with immediate impact upon their arrival.

To reinforce this impact, entrance music was often performed at the gate of the city in front of or beside the triumphal arch. This music was predominantly composed in the style of a ceremonial motet.<sup>18</sup> A preference for motets over other compositional styles was, I believe, owing to stylistic and practical reasons. Stylistically, the homogenously imitative textures of ceremonial motets organically preserve the integrity of the text and its symbolic value, which is of the utmost importance to ceremonial music. From a practical point of view, the ceremonial motet's largely syllabic declamation lends itself well to the instrumental doubling of vocal parts, making it especially adaptable for an outdoor performance setting. Collectively, the relatively uncomplicated melodic textures and syllabic structures of ceremonial motets created an ideal aural environment that was acoustically amplified within the architectural setting of the triumphal arch, building the motet toward a deliberately sonorous performance.<sup>19</sup>

This synopsis of the motet in ceremonial practice does however encounter a caveat.

As Iain Fenlon highlights, the gravity of the text in the ceremonial entry is

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<sup>18</sup> Iain Fenlon presents an interesting argument for the use of the motet during royal entries as an expression of musical decorum. See "Theories of Decorum: Music and the Italian Renaissance Entry", in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. J. R. Mulryne et al. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 135-148.

<sup>19</sup> Literature on ceremonial motets in the specific context of early modern festivals is fragmented. However, studies of individual composers of the motet are useful here, to include Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum"; Patrick Macey, ed., *Savonarolan laude, motets, and anthems, Volume 116* (Wisconsin: A-R Editions, 1999), xvi-xx; Christine Suzanne Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-century Milan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 123-156; and Dolores Pesce, ed., *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).



theoretically enforced, but in performance it becomes weakened by two factors. The first is intelligibility: the text of the motet was invariably in Latin, which automatically eliminated a large proportion of the audience from accessing its literal or symbolic meaning. The second is clarity: performances of ceremonial motets had to compete with a complex acoustic score of artillery fire from the local garrison, cheering and chatter from a large crowd, and the sonic interjections of the moving entourage, most especially the trotting and braying of horses. These imagined discrepancies in the performance and reception of the ceremonial motet contribute to Fenlon's theory of decorum, which proposes that motets were chosen for their hierarchical arrangement of language and musical style and thus played yet another role in the politics of spectacle.<sup>20</sup> These considerations will feed into the discussion of the ceremonial entry of 1539 in Chapter Four of this thesis.

After entering through the triumphal arch and having been greeted with celestial song, the procession thus began. While we have talked about the *carri trionfale* above, it is pertinent to clarify that the procession could also take place without them. On such an occasion, the dignitary and their entourage would proceed along a programmed route, usually traversing the most poignant municipalities, monuments and palaces of the city. The route may also have featured additional architectural ephemera where groups of choristers often awaited, ready to perform commissioned compositions with text that once again served to convey the messages visible in the iconography of the arches.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum", 148.

<sup>21</sup> See the account by Jacopo Penni, *Cronica delle magnifiche et honorate pompe fatte in Roma per la creatione et incoronatione di papa Leone X, pont. opt. max.*, quoted in Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 191. There are also references to musical performances at arches during Giuliano de' Medici's Capitoline investiture in 1513. See Cummings, "Giuliano de' Medici's Capitoline Investiture" in *The Politicized Muse*, 55-60.

A crowd of spectators was always present to witness the procession. The significance of their presence was twofold: it served to sanctify the act of ceremony being carried out and reverberated a lively din that added to the soundscape of the event. As Wantanabe O’Kelly writes, ‘an audience is essential to all court festivals, whether ceremonies or spectacles; indeed, the point of the festival *is* the audience’.<sup>22</sup> In the case of Pope Leo X’s 1515 *entrata* and procession in Florence, the iconographic theme accentuated historical and cultural relations between Florence and Rome. This relationship was made sacrosanct throughout the Medici’s papal campaign and the investiture of Giuliano de’ Medici with his Roman citizenship in 1513. This in turn symbolised a degree of security for the Florentines as although the Medici restoration of 1512 failed to displace the memory of their republican ideals, civic unrest was quietened in the realisation that having strong links with Rome was a positive asset and would accrue financial gain via trading and commerce through the influence of Papa Leone. The festival was thus used to coerce citizens into acquiescence with political doctrine. It provided an opportunity to simultaneously reward the people for their allegiance and divert their attention away from political controversy. Renaissance princes were after all well versed in the poignant words of Machiavelli: *Il vulgo ne va sempre preso con quello che pare, e con lo evento della cosa: e nel mundo non é se non vulgo.*<sup>23</sup>

From the beginning of the royal entry up to the dismounting of the entering figure at their appointed residence, the festival is innately public. If the festival does not entail a royal entry, it still holds the same public function where the performance of music

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<sup>22</sup> Wantanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern Festivals”, 16.

<sup>23</sup> ‘The vulgar are always taken by what a thing seems to be and by what comes of it; and in the world there are only the vulgar.’ Italian edition: Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe, e Discorse sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1857), 53. English edition: Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. W. K. Marriott (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1908). Ebook edition. Last modified September 18, 2016. <http://www.constitution.org/mac/prince.pdf>.

or the display of *carri* can be enjoyed by the people. To witness such an event was to experience the power and wealth of the nobility, without whom such festivals could not be so lavishly orchestrated. As the public part of the festival came to a close and the private festivities began within the confines of the palace, there was a sense of intrigue about the aristocratic rituals that would follow within the private realm. Festivals were highly socialised events which further distinguished the sharp levels of social status through the distinction between the private ‘elite’ and the public ‘other’, echoing Pierre Bourdieu’s idea of a cultural binary: *cognoscenti* versus barbarians, or ‘high’ (cultivated) culture versus ‘popular’ (vulgar) culture.<sup>24</sup> This demarcation or *distinction* of social status filtered through the sophisticated festival programme for there was always a conceptual and literal divide between the aristocracy and the vulgar crowd. As Bourdieu writes, ‘art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences’.<sup>25</sup>

However, on occasion, efforts were made by patrons to demystify the public/private dichotomy. One such example came from Florence at the 1518 wedding festival of Lorenzo II to Madeleine de la Tour d’Auvergne. On this occasion, a large stage was erected outside the Palazzo Medici stretching the width of the Via Larga. Here the ducal couple and their noble guests enjoyed a comedy with dancing and singing in to the late hours of the evening while the public participated as spectators, albeit from the margins. At the time of his nuptials Lorenzo was in a position of disfavour with the Florentines. Relentless in his pursuit for power, he had recently convinced Leo X to appoint him as Duke of Urbino and then appointed himself as General of the

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<sup>24</sup> Bourdieu outlines the concept of cultural and social distinction in his chapter “The Aristocracy of Culture” in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 11-17.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

Florentine militia, against the edict of the *Signoria*. A contemporary account highlights the contentious reception of his actions: ‘he [Lorenzo] has become the ruler of Florence; he orders and is obeyed. [...] Accordingly, the power of this House of Medici is displeasing to the majority of the Florentines’.<sup>26</sup> Such precarious behaviour indicates that Lorenzo did indeed need to regain favour with the Florentines and it seems that he used the festival to assuage them, potentially influenced by the previous and better liked Lorenzo de’ Medici (Il Magnifico) and his ability to impress the public.

A later example of public participation in a private space is the Versailles festival of May 1664, organised by Louis XIV. An engraving by Israel Sylvester shows the King and his courtiers waiting for a firework opera to begin, while being watched from behind the scenery of the stage by the common people, as if the court itself constituted the drama.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, even when the audience was principally private and noble there was always the exception of a number of intrigued servants and workmen who caught glimpses of the proceedings from surrounding loggias, arches or windows around the stage apparatus. Nevertheless, on all such occasions where the public entered the court arena, there was never a blending of the social strata. The crowd always stood at a symbolic distance from the monarch and his/her elevated guests so that everyone was aware of their social position. What appears then as a dichotomy between public and private in the festival is arguably better described as a triune composition involving public ceremonies/ spectacles; semi-public ceremonies/ spectacles; and exclusively private spectacles, each involving different layers of decorum.

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<sup>26</sup> Marino Sanuto, *I diarii* (Venice, 1879), 530-531, quoted in Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 94.

<sup>27</sup> Wantanabe-O’Kelly, “Early Modern European Festivals”, 16.

In the private sphere, etiquette decreed that the host should present his/her guests with a lavish banquet and a series of musical and dramatic performances. The arrangement of performances depended on the court's individual customs as well as the spaces it provided, but they invariably included comedies. From the late fifteenth century, comedies began to feature *intermedii*, musical spectacles that communicated mythological and allegorical narratives usually dedicated to the host.<sup>28</sup> In the early cinquecento, these interludes were both visible and invisible. The latter were referred to as *intermedii non apparente* and featured the performance of music that could be heard by the audience but not seen. Despite its oxymoronic terminology, Nino Pirrotta suggests that invisible music was simply a practical device used to delineate the play proper from the musical interludes in early-sixteenth century comedies.<sup>29</sup> In some early comedies such as Baldassare Taccone's *Danae* (Milan, 1496), efforts were made to hide the source of the music behind other devices on the stage.<sup>30</sup> Four decades later we see the emergence of invisible music again in the *intermedii* of 1539, particularly *intermedio* three in which Silenus appears in his cave playing a bass viol disguised as a tortoise shell, which will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis. Ultimately, a preference for *intermedii apparenti*, or visible interludes prevailed into the sixteenth century.

Pirrotta argues that the development of the *intermedio* in the sixteenth century served to emphasise an important feature of the new classical style of theatrical performance: the division of a comedy into five acts. Prior to this, quattrocento

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<sup>28</sup> Nino Pirrotta notes that early Ferrarese chroniclers refer repeatedly to the *Intermedii as feste* and that dramatic spectacles in general whether a comedy or tragedy could also be referred to as *feste*. This, he states is a further indication of how the term was interchangeable between sacred (*rappresentazione*) and secular roles. See Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, trans. Karen Eales (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-48.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

performances were ostensibly concerned with issues of time.<sup>31</sup> Each play often ran for up to four and five hours during which the audience was crowded into small theatrical spaces and had to sit or stand silently for the duration of the performance.<sup>32</sup> In addition to addressing concerns with concentration and inevitable boredom, the *intermedii* also satisfied, in Pirrotta's words, 'a basic psychological need: they gave rhythm and order to the audience's perception of events', a point that will be of considerable importance in Chapter Five of this thesis.<sup>33</sup> Here Pirrotta means that the provision of musical entertainment which is by nature less dense than the spoken recitation of a complex and lengthy plot, offered cognitive respite for the audience who could enjoy the visual and aural aesthetics of the interludes, and then return to the drama with renewed concentration and an ordered perception of the events.

In the early sixteenth century, *intermedii* were not unified contextually but instead stood as independent performances loosely connected to the play they accompanied. They could however share an overarching theme, which in 1539 expressed 'chronos' or the 'passing of time', revealing to the audience the time of day in each scene of the comedy, thus strengthening the relationship between the literary and musical components. Over time however, the interludes became increasingly integrated with the plot of the play proper. By the late sixteenth century, they were unified both thematically and contextually and presented a cohesive story that could exist independently or correlate with the drama being staged. Developments within the genre meant that the *intermedii* no longer relied on a literary performance.

Thus far, this chapter has presented an overview of the political, artistic, and stylistic aspects of the early modern festival, describing the nuances of their form and

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

function. From Helen Wantanabe O’Kelly’s portrayal of festival as a marriage of spectacle and ceremony, to Roy Strong’s classification of the transition of festivals from ephemeral urban tableaux to permanent architectural structures, it is clear that the festival is a phenomenon of colourful complexity. The next section of this chapter will construct a geographic view of the festival by mapping the unique courtly and civic identities of Italy, England and France. Taking Italy as the starting point on our map, it is pertinent to emphasise the nature of the country’s territorial and political fragmentation at this time. As J. R. Mulryne writes, Italy’s geo-political division was ‘further complicated by the military and political presence in the peninsula of foreign powers, including Spain, France and the Empire, and the related pageantry they generated’.<sup>34</sup> Festival practice differed quite substantially throughout the peninsula, with each state bolstering its own unique interpretation of events. Our map will then take us beyond Italy to the home of its greatest friends and adversaries, further enhancing our awareness of the diversity from region to region.

## **Mapping the Early Modern Festival: Italy and Beyond**

### **I. Ferrara**

Before the duchy was established, the festivals that were organised by the Medici during the years of the Republic are of notable fame, but both allied and rival courts outside of Florence maintained equal reputations of pomp and grandeur. As a rival court, the Este of Ferrara remained in competition with the Medici throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As avid patrons of both music and art, they staged several festivals that featured the early model of literary drama without interludes, and later incorporated the new style of dramas with musical interludes. Two early

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<sup>34</sup> J. R. Mulryne, “Festivals in Italy”, in *British Library Online*, accessed October 10, 2015, <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/italy.html>.

examples of such festivals include the comedy *I Menechini* of 1486, and the carnival of 1499 which included the performance of four spectacles and sixteen *intermedii*. In an account of the former, one chronicler wrote:

In the new courtyard of the ducal court the comedy of *I Menechini* was recited, which was most beautiful and pleasing ... And it lasted until Vespers, that is, four hours; and at the end they lit a tree, or Roman candle, which threw many rockets of fire into the air, all together, very high, with great noise and a most stupendous flame. And thus, with joy, applause and praise, the comedy ended, having been attended by ten thousand people who watched in silence.<sup>35</sup>

On the carnival of 1499, Pirrotta states that the performances of that year are testament to the popularity of *intermedii* even before the turn of the century.

At the request of the Duke, Ercole I, the entire theatrical series had a prelude; that is, 'first there was a parade along the stage of all those who were to perform in all the comedies, and they were one hundred and thirty-three, all dressed in new costumes, specially made ... After these appeared those of the *tramezzi*, who were one hundred and forty-four, similarly dressed with all new costumes, some as peasants, some as pages, nymphs, fools and spongers.'<sup>36</sup>

With a well practised background in the organisation of comedies and *intermedii*, the Este also exceeded in the staging of festivals of the 'courtly' variety, such as the festival of 1528 that celebrated the wedding of Duke Ercole II and Renée of France, the proceedings of which were recorded in a festival book that same year. Finally, the most idiosyncratic output of the Ferrarese festival tradition was the *tourneo*, on which Alessandro Marcigliano has spoken at length.<sup>37</sup> The *tourneo* featured a

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<sup>35</sup> Bernardino Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, ed. Giuseppe Pardi, quoted in Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 38.

<sup>36</sup> Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 49.

<sup>37</sup> Alessandro Marcigliano, *Chivalric Festivals at the Ferrarese Court of Alfonso II d'Este* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003).



choreographed joust that grew exceedingly dramatic and theatrical over the course of the sixteenth century. Highlighting the technical skills of combat—a combined mastering of arms and horsemanship—the spectacle of the joust combined theatrical and mechanical *meraviglie* (pyrotechnics, dancing, singing, mobile scenic) to create a unique event that became the cultural highlight of Alfonso's reign. The Ferrarese duke commissioned five of these festivals, also known as *cavallerie*, culminating with two of the most technically and scenographically ambitious, *L'Isola Beata* (1569) and *Mago Rilucente* (1570).

## II. Mantua

In the Mantuan court, similar celebrations were also witnessed. In 1501, an elaborate account of a festival made its way to the court at Ferrara by a Ferrarese envoy who presumably attended the events. Francesco Gonzaga, then marquis of Mantua, tried to outdo the festivities of his father-in-law (Ercole I d'Este), by staging four theatrical works over four days in the February carnival of that year. The document states that 'the [theatrical] apparatus ordered by this most illustrious marquis [was] most sumptuous and deserving to be put on an equal level with any ancient or modern temporary theatre whatsoever'.<sup>38</sup> Much later in the century, the Mantuan court would also stage some of the most famed comedies and *intermedii* of the century such as Giovanbattista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1598), and Claudio Monteverdi's early operas *Orfeo* (1607) and *Arianna*, and his ballet *Il ballo delle ingrate* (1609). The Duchess of Mantua at this time, Eleonora de' Medici, who married Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1584, undoubtedly brought her experience of Florentine festivals with her to Mantua and may as a result have influenced the proceedings of the above performances while overseeing their organisation.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>39</sup> Anne MacNeil refers to Medici influence over music and theatre at the Gonzaga court upon the arrival of Eleonora de' Medici in 1584. See MacNeil, *Music and Women of the Commedia dell'Arte in*

### III. Venice

In Venice, festivals were predominantly categorised by the Christian calendar, and were often used to foster communal participation at pivotal times of the agricultural year such as the harvest feast and the winter famine. According to Edward Muir, there was an evident consistency in the way public rituals strengthened communal stability in Venice.<sup>40</sup> Of the vast catalogue of spectacles performed in the city, some of the most notable were: the feast of Saint Mark (April 25); the feast of Saint Nicholas (December 6); The feast of the Marys (Santa Maria Formosa, January 25); *Giovedì Grasso* or 'Fat Thursday' (carnival season); and the Marriage of the Sea (Ascension Day).<sup>41</sup> Each festival boasts a unique and spectacular programme of sacred and secular performances, but The Marriage of the Sea is perhaps the most unique of Venetian and indeed Italian festivals.

Celebrated annually on Ascension Day, the Marriage of the Sea featured a nautical procession led by the doge's ceremonial galley, the *Bucintoro*. Decorated with figures of Justice and the insignia of the Republic, the *Bucintoro* was attended by the doge, high magistrates and foreign ambassadors. According to Muir, as the procession sailed out onto the lagoon the chapel choir of San Marco sang motets and the bells of the churches under the patronage of the doge began ringing.<sup>42</sup> By the sixteenth century, the procession was joined by thousands of private gondolas as well

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*the late Sixteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3. In addition, a letter in the the Mediceo del Principato inventory of the Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter referred to in this thesis as MdP and ASF respectively) dated August 24, 1584, written by Eleonora and sent to Grand Duke Francesco I, requests for the court musician Jacopo Peri to be loaned as a gift to the Gonzaga court for ten days. Even with a host of musicians under Gonzaga patronage at Ferrara, Eleonora wished to bring a Florentine to her court to entertain the Duke, showing a keenness to assimilate Medicean styles within her new home. See ASF, MdP, vol. 2939, MAP doc id, 4441.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 76.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed account of each of these festivals, see Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 92-184.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

the barges of the Guilds and the official galleys of the Arsenal. It was sanctified through the singing of the benediction from the Patriarch's boat to bless the waters of the Adriatic and to ask for its allegiance to all who sailed upon them, as well as a blessing of the ducal *Bucintoro* and the doge. After this, the actual wedding ceremony took place at the point where the lagoon meets the Adriatic, whereby the patriarch's boat released gallons of holy water into the sea and the doge dropped his gold ring overboard to symbolise the perpetual union of the two entities. The feast then culminated in further prayer and a banquet that lasted until the evening at San Nicolò al Lido.<sup>43</sup>

Festivals presenting comedies with music were also a feature of the Venetian renaissance but were initially slower to develop compared to those of Florence, Mantua or Ferrara. Elena Povoledo writes that in the first half of the sixteenth century, while professional companies were continually being established to provide the public with their beloved spectacles, the Venetian theatre still lacked a major school of scenography. A number of factors were causal to this architectural void, but most predominantly, 'without a court theatre, all the elements were lacking which favoured the development of a coherent tradition by means of a centralized management and a continuity of experience'.<sup>44</sup> As a result, old theatre sets from the mainland were transported to the *piazze* of Venice for the reconstruction of comedies. Povoledo states that the comedies of Andrea Calmo, Gigio Artemio Giancarli, and Ludovico Dolce were popular models mid-century, and were staged by professional companies whose members included merchants, musicians, lawyers and *litterati* 'who loved to meet in 'virtuous academies', in palaces or in the shops of

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Elena Povoledo, *Music and Theatre*, 331.

Francesco Berettaio or Gaspare Gioielliere, to discuss every discipline'.<sup>45</sup> The work of these *compagne* along with the annual, elaborate festivals outlined above, are vibrant paradigms of the energetic spectacles that adorned the streets and waters of Renaissance Venice.

#### **IV. Rome**

The festival in papal Rome during the late fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries embodied the sine qua non of early modern cultural politics where religious spectacle was cultivated as the definitive expression of power. The Masters of Ceremonies and the jurists in charge of papal festivals upheld the Christocentric value that 'ceremony is nothing else than the honour due to God or to man for God's sake'.<sup>46</sup> Irene Fosi writes that this formula adequately sums up 'both the deeply felt value and the twofold meaning, political and religious, of the complex of rules they [Romans] followed, in public and in private, on all solemn occasions'.<sup>47</sup> Fosi's work views the intricate system of papal ceremonies as part of a comprehensive political language in which ceremony plays an important role in formulating the image of the papal court throughout the sixteenth century.

One particular example of an ecclesiastical procession should be given distinction here, namely the Lateran *possesso* that took place upon the election of a new pope. This tradition dates back to the ninth century and involves the march of the newly crowned pope and his distinguished retinue along a tailored route to the St. John Lateran Cathedral Church located outside the boundaries of the Vatican city, as he

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> 'Cerimonia nihil aliud est quam honor debitus Deo aut hominibus propter Deum'. Irene Fosi, "Court and City in the Ceremony of the *Possesso* in the Sixteenth Century", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, ed. Gianvittorio Signorotto et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

literally ‘takes possession’ of his papal ordinance. Charles L. Stinger writes that the *possesso* became increasingly aggrandised throughout the Middle Ages and reached extremes of pomp and splendour in the coronations of Innocent III (1198), Boniface VIII (1295) and Leo X (1515) whence it became ‘even more elaborate in its pageantry and more purposeful in articulating the ideals, expectations and intentions of individual popes’.<sup>48</sup> The route traversed by the pope’s entourage was of great significance to the ancient Roman and Christian worlds, invariably passing through the Capitoline Hill and the Roman Forum. Here the history of religious brutality contrasted greatly with ‘the colourful garb of men and horses, the fluttering standards, the glittering gold of the processional cross and thuribles, and the dazzling jewels of the papal triple tiara’.<sup>49</sup>

Many individual spectacles punctuated the procession along the route of the *possesso*. One such spectacle included a curious performance involving the pope and leaders of the Jewish community at Monte Giordano. During this performance a Jewish leader offered the Torah to the pope, asking him to accept and adore it. The pope refused to accept the holy book on the grounds of the Jewish observance of the Hebrew text and its refusal to recognise Jesus as the Son of God, after which he let the book fall to the ground.<sup>50</sup> The pope then continued on his way toward the Lateran while his officials threw coins into the crowd, an act that is linked to the ceremonial of ancient Roman emperors. During this particular spectacle, the pope began to chant: ‘gold and silver are not mine; what I have I give to you’, a chant that would

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<sup>48</sup> Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, USA: Indiana University Press, 1998), 53.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 53-54.

undoubtedly have proven unpopular amongst the more secular and parsimonious Roman authorities.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to these lavish religious festivals, Rome also hosted a number of notable secular festivals. A late-sixteenth century example was the coronation of Cosimo I de' Medici as Grand Duke of Tuscany. Performed in February 1570, the investiture ceremony began with a procession of 150 cavalrymen in the entourage of Pope Pius V, presumably moving in the direction of St. Peter's square. Pope Pius was seated in a litter carried by four slaves dressed in green and wearing heavy neck irons, ('portata da 4 stiavi vestiti di verdi con ferri grossissimi al collo').<sup>52</sup> The pope received the new grand duke at the Vatican palace where, the following day, Cosimo was invested with his grand ducal crown, reportedly worth 100,000 Florentine scudi, at an official ceremony.<sup>53</sup> The public nature of these ceremonies reminds us once more of Wantanabe O'Kelly's theory that the power structure is brought into being in and through the act of the festival. The act of witnessing the investiture in a public setting officiated the coronation, for 'the very efficacy of these public ceremonies resides in their being public, in the fact that they are witnessed by the people'.<sup>54</sup> While the majority of festivals in papal Rome had to adhere closely to the book of ceremonies and to Christian etiquette approved by the Masters of Ceremonies, their function differed very little to the festivals of wider Renaissance Europe in their intricate portrayal of cultural politics.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>52</sup> See letter from Cosimo Bartoli to Francesco di Cosimo I de' Medici, 25 February, 1570, ASF, MdP, vol. 3080, f. 702, MAP doc id, 22041.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Wantanabe O'Kelly, "Early Modern Festivals", 15.

## V. Naples, France and England

By the mid-sixteenth century, Spanish Naples was one of the largest growing European cities economically and residentially, with a population that jumped from 80,000 to 289,000 between 1550 and 1600.<sup>55</sup> Its wealth and growth flourished after the conquest of Alfonso I (Alfonso V of Aragon) in 1442, after which a steady flow of aristocrats into the city brought with it new demands on national and international trade and hence a steady economy.<sup>56</sup> Alfonso reunified the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily as dependencies of Aragon during his reign, making the city its capital, but this would change in the early sixteenth century. Continuing Angevin-Aragonese conflicts at the turn of the cinquecento led to the loss of the city's title as capital in 1503, reducing it instead to the seat of Spanish power in Italy governed by a viceroy, one of whom, Don Pedro de Toledo, was the father of the new Florentine Duchess Eleonora of Toledo. Although the loss of its capital status did not seem to affect the economy in a major way, the scholar Dinko Fabris notes that it did affect the city culturally. He states that the new Neapolitan festival structure of the sixteenth century 'had characteristics that stemmed from the city's specific situation as a capital lacking a resident court'.<sup>57</sup>

What occurred then in the form of courtly entertainments were 'events organised by the vice-regal government, by the church at various levels and by independent groups from the complex world of urban society'.<sup>58</sup> Fabris also notes that whether Neapolitan festivals were rooted in the palace, the church, the theatre or the civic hall, they spilled out into the urban network into squares, streets and alleys, and on

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<sup>55</sup> Chris Cook and Philip Broadhead, *The Routledge Companion to Early Modern Europe 1453-1763* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 185.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Goldthwaite, *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 36-37.

<sup>57</sup> Dinko Fabris, "Musical Festivals at a Capital without a Court: Spanish Naples from Charles V (1535) to Philip V (1702)", trans. Anna Teicher, in *Court Festivals*, 270.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

the sea, encouraging open public participation.<sup>59</sup> As such, the festival in Naples was more socially integrated than other Italian cities such as Rome where enclosed locations were increasingly prioritised over public performance spaces.<sup>60</sup>

The festival calendar in Naples was especially frenzied owing to its eight patron saints (increasing to twenty two over the course of the seventeenth century) as well as numerous occasions dedicated to the city's sovereigns and royal family.<sup>61</sup> The form of their civic and religious festivals followed the spectacle-ceremony structure featuring processions with ephemeral architecture, festival music (trumpets, cornets and shawms as in the case of Charles V's entry to the city in 1535), statuary exalting intricate iconographic programmes, artillery displays and comedies with intermittent musical performances.<sup>62</sup> Some of the most notable civic festivals during the early sixteenth century included the *entrata* of Ferdinand of Aragon in 1506, Charles V's *entrata* in 1535, and the wedding festival of Alessandro de' Medici and Margaret of Austria in 1536.

A gap in court festivities occurred in the latter part of the century after the fall of Ferrante Sanseverino, prince of Salerno, in 1547, whose fervent interest and patronage of festivals and musical entertainments displeased the conservative viceroys who henceforth prohibited the production of spectacles in the palaces of the nobility until the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, as a result of lacking a resident court from the early cinquecento, Naples, like Venice, adapted and shaped that their festivals to fit a distinct Neapolitan agenda of programming, urban planning, and vigilance. It is apparent through the examples of these two cities that

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 271.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 274 - 277.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 277.



the presence (or absence) of a dynastic court and the patronage of its sovereign greatly influenced the growth and direction of the early modern festival.

In France, the festival scene was shaped once again around the location of the court. However, up to the mid-sixteenth century, the French court continued to lack a fixed residence. It upheld a peripatetic existence that by the time of Francis I moved constantly between the urban and rural topography of the countryside. Despite this *ville en marche* (town on the move), as it was contemporarily described, the festival remained an important part of cultural life.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, under the reign of Francis I, reports of French festivals speak of elaborate visual embellishment, musical spectacles, masquerades and tournaments that prompted responses such as ‘for riches and for pomp, this is the queen of all the courts’, and ‘anyone who has not seen the court of France does not know true grandeur’.<sup>65</sup> The royal entrance, *entrée* as it was known in France, was a particularly important aspect of festival ceremonial from the beginning of the Middle Ages up to the renaissance, especially during the coronation of a new king. Nicolas Russell and H  l  ne Visentin describe the twofold importance of this part of the festival: ‘the entry is a political ritual, but above all an ephemeral performance that constructs the power and identity of the king and the city’.<sup>66</sup> The act of riding into and claiming a city vindicates the king’s authority on one hand, and renews or reaffirms the city’s privileged status on the other.<sup>67</sup>

Henry II was a renowned advocate of the royal entry, which became a distinguished feature of his tour of France between 1547-1550, including entries into Reims in

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<sup>64</sup> Monique Chatenet, “Etiquette and Architecture at the Court of the Last Valois”, trans. Valerie Worth-Stylianou, in *Court Festivals*, 78.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 79. These sayings refer respectively to the wedding of the Duc de Nevers in 1539 and the baptism of Francis II in 1544.

<sup>66</sup> Nicolas Russell and H  l  ne Visentin, “The Multilayered Production of Meaning in Sixteenth-Century French Ceremonial Entries”, in *French Ceremonial Entries in the Sixteenth Century: Event, Image, Text* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 18.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 16-17.

1547 for his coronation, Lyons in 1548, Paris in 1549 and Rouen in 1550. Richard Cooper elaborates on the triple purpose of the king's protracted tour: firstly, it symbolised taking possession of his kingdom; secondly, it affirmed to the European public France's image as a military and cultural power; and thirdly, it doubled up as an opportunity to extract money from the municipalities in return for confirmation of their privileges.<sup>68</sup> Henry II, much more than his predecessor Francis, took advantage of the printing house in documenting and publishing the court's efforts in organising these festivals. This meant that rival courts could read all about the lavish ceremonies and spectacles of the king and hence of his prestige.

Cooper notes that Henry II brought about a new formalised festival structure, but that this systematisation was incidental rather than intentional. It was a practical answer to the king's infamous tendencies to spring the news of his arrival into a city with as little as a week's notice.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, a unified structure allowed the principal organisers to prepare festivities within a shorter time frame. Although a consequence of the King's spontaneity, this new festival format was an important advancement of the French renaissance festival that evolved further throughout and after his reign.<sup>70</sup>

Across the English Channel, the Tudors were making their mark on the festival. Theodor Dumitrescu argues that the international affairs of Henry VII and Henry VIII were 'bound up inextricably with the artistic cultures of their courts; no artificial separation of politics and music can do justice to the vital roles of spectacle and

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<sup>68</sup> Richard Cooper, "Court Festival and Triumphal Entries under Henri II", in *Court Festivals*, 51.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>70</sup> For further reading on music in French festivals see Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000). For an account of French festival music in Italy, see Laurie Stras, "'Onde avrà 'l mond'eseempio et vera historia': Musical Echoes of Henri III's Progress Through Italy," *Acta Musicologica*, 72, fasc. 1 (2000): 7-41. Doi: 10.2307/93283.

image-making at the Tudor court'.<sup>71</sup> With this in mind, Alison Weir paints a vivid picture of the types of festivities that took place at the Tudor court:

A rigid code of etiquette was observed at court, especially in the King's presence. Entertainments and festivals were organised with the maximum ceremony, and during the reign [of Henry VIII] there were six occasions of state: two coronations, one near-legendary summit meeting, two royal visits and a reception for a future queen. Then there were public processions and the solemnities attendant upon royal births, betrothals, marriages and deaths, receptions of ambassadors and the rituals observed on the creation of peers. Court ceremonies and functions were usually organised by the Lord Chamberlain and/or Garter King of Arms, assisted by the Vice Chamberlain.<sup>72</sup>

During the establishment of the early Tudor dynasty, the kings fostered imperative Habsburg-Valois relations that were fundamental to the formation of festival culture in England. Through the arrangement of inter-familial marriages, they were exposed to many festival occasions in mainland Europe from which they borrowed cultural traditions and incorporated them into their own court. On the occasion of the marriage of Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon in 1501, it is reported that cultural exchange happened by way of persuading foreign musicians who had come from Spain to remain in the Tudor court as performers and teachers, such as the trumpeter John de Cecil.<sup>73</sup>

Many English festivals took place in London where visiting royals and nobles made their entrance by way of the Thames, shifting the locus of festivities away from the physical court toward the riverbanks. This was to be a distinguishing feature of the

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<sup>71</sup> Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 32.

<sup>72</sup> Alison Weir, *Henry VIII: King and Court* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), 77.

<sup>73</sup> Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court*, 33-34. For a more detailed study of cultural exchange in music theatre between Italy and England, see Marie-Claude Canova-Green and Francesca Chiarelli, *The Influence of Italian Entertainments on Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Music Theatre in France, Savoy and England* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).

English festival as it gave rise to the long-standing tradition of the waterborne pageant, a tradition that continues even today for various monarchical celebrations. As the century progressed and English rule moved into the Elizabethan era, festivals remained just as powerful, politically and culturally, but new cultural programmes were also developed within the court, such as the permanent structure of the Elizabethan theatre and the development of the 'masque' genre, both of which strongly characterised court culture throughout the remaining sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A powerful representation of the success of the last Tudor monarch in strengthening and expanding the British Empire and in cultivating its golden age through a religious, cultural and political programme can be seen in the dramatic festivities of the 1590 Ascension Day Tournament.

At the Ascension Day Tournament of 1590, the British *Virgo* and her growing empire found dramatic expression in the erection within the Tiltyard of Whitehall Palace of the Temple of the Roman Vestal Virgins. ... Before the temple stood a pillar bearing a crown embraced by an eglantine tree. On this hung a Latin prayer, ecstatic in its Eliza worship, stating that the Queen had moved one of the pillars of Hercules, and that now her mighty empire stretched into the New World.<sup>74</sup>

The symbolic Herculean references aligned the kingdom with none other than the most powerful man in Europe in the early sixteenth century, the Emperor Charles V. The personal motto of the Emperor, *plus ultra*, meaning 'go beyond', was a direct reference to the myth of the pillars of Hercules. According to Greek mythology, on his way back from exploring the depths of the Mediterranean, Hercules 'is believed to have erected his celebrated columns at the straits of Gibraltar in order – Diodorus says – to commemorate his campaign' just as, when in Scythia he left the mark of his

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<sup>74</sup> Strong, *Art and Power*, 69-70.

foot on a rock'.<sup>75</sup> The pillars were supposed to mark the Western limits of the then inhabited world and were a warning to ambitious explorers to turn back, as what lay beyond 'neither wise men nor fools can tread'.<sup>76</sup> The adoption of the motto *plus ultra* with the symbol of the pillars was symbolic of Charles V's expansionist campaign to extend his empire and push beyond the boundaries of the known world. As such, Queen Elizabeth's association with the myth and with the emperor is a very powerful one indeed.

### **The Festival as Journey**

Tracing the evolution of the festival in early modern Europe from geo-political and cultural perspectives reveals to me a distinct pattern: the festival takes its hosts and its audience on a journey. This journey began at the entrance to the city, passing important architectural landmarks and symbolic devices and continued into the courtyards of the royal residence. As mentioned above, the festival was innately mobile until permanent theatre structures were introduced in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, making the act of procession or movement from one fixed point to another the unique cornerstone of the early modern festival from 1450-1600. The spectators and the host, as participants of the procession, were thus journeying together. The art, architecture and music of each spectacle—and their symbolic codes—propelled the concept of journeying even further, as musico-visual programmes were artfully curated to transport the audience from the physical world to an ideological utopia, where they emerged morally (the Venetian Festival of the Marys), spiritually

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<sup>75</sup> Natalia Agapiou, "The Pillars of Hercules: An Analysis of the 'Impresa' of Charles V", paper presented at the workshop *The Mediterranean and its Seas: Natural, Social, Political Landscapes and Environments*, organized by the University of Athens and the University of Minnesota, Athens, October 1-3, 2009, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

(the Roman *possesso*) or patriotically transformed (the Ascension Day Tournament of 1590 in honour of Queen Elizabeth).

In each example that we have seen in this chapter, it is clear that the festival became a performative entity in and of itself during this period, shaped by the spectacles and ceremonies of Greek and Roman history and mythology. Once inside the boundaries of the festival arena, whether public or private, the spectator was circuitously linked to the narrative being performed therein, for upon witnessing the acts of ceremony they became part of its symbolic capital. This theory will be more rigorously developed in Chapter Four when analysing Eleonora of Toledo's entrance into Florence in 1539, looking at the particular symbolic codes embedded in the triumphal arch and the ceremonial motet of this occasion. Following on from our current chapter in which we have traced the evolution of the festival as a pan-European practice, the next chapter narrows from a macro view of early modern Europe to the cultural landscape of early sixteenth century Florence.

## **Chapter Two**

## Between Poetics and Politics: The 1539 Festival in Detail

This chapter takes a narrative approach to piecing the Medici-Toledo festival together, yielding to a more thorough and critical analysis in Chapters Four and Five. Its aim is to equip the reader with a chronology of events and a discussion of the sources that have been essential to its reconstruction. Chapter One has highlighted the programmatic complexities of early modern festivals, and the Medici-Toledo festival of 1539 was no exception. On this occasion, a permutation of symbolic musico-visual performances projected a twofold narrative. The first plot introduced the Florentine duchy as a personification of Flora, the goddess of spring awakenings or new beginnings. Flora is likened to Rome for her ancient Etruscan history, a message that is musically rendered at the close of the banquet pageantry with a commanding axiom: ‘like the Tiber and Rome, the fame of the Arno and Flora may now go up to heaven’.<sup>1</sup> The second plot was enriched with the masculine imagery of Flora’s commander Duke Cosimo I de’ Medici, depicted throughout the festival as a representation of Apollo. These gendered plots converged in a program of outstanding artistry and technical innovation channelling the Apollonian virtues of art, music and poetry.

Simultaneously, the festival constructed a conceptual blueprint for the Duke’s expansionist plans and his impending grand ducal campaign. Thus looking from the outside in, our perception of this festival is conditioned in equal measure by poetics and politics, and must navigate between them at every analytic turn. This ideological discord, identifiable in all festivals, was not novel to the early moderns. Rather it reflected a retrospective imitation of ancient Roman imperial propaganda, specifically

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Onde al pari del Tebro, et Roma, ancora vada la fama al Ciel’ d’Arno et di Flora’. Giovanbattista Gelli, “Il Tebro”, in *Apparato et Feste nelle noze del’lo Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua Consorte*, Pier Francesco Giambullari (Florence: Benedetto Giunta, 1539), 63.



that of the Augustan age. As noted by Roy Strong, ‘it was ironical [*sic*] that the art of festival was to give its most exuberant expression in the first half of the sixteenth century less to nascent nationalism than to glorifying a dramatic and unexpected revival of the phantom of universal empire’.<sup>2</sup> While Cosimo was not alone in his Augustan self-fashioning, it was nonetheless a defining feature of his ducal iconography.<sup>3</sup> His Apollonian identity invoked direct links with the Roman Augustus who shared in the symbolic capital of this deity. Apollo featured strongly in the new dialectic of poetics and politics in ancient Rome for his image ‘offers to Augustan poets a symbolic site at which literary and political discourse can intersect’.<sup>4</sup> He served as both divine patron of music and literature and as the adopted patron of Augustus - a dualistic model that Cosimo used to craft his own monarchical identity.

In the sixteenth century, identity was only determined in part by monetary value and ancestral legacy, for as Stephen Greenblatt notes, an entirely new phenomenon came into vogue: ‘an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process’.<sup>5</sup> Greenblatt acknowledges that the phenomenon of self-fashioning was popularised in the classical world, but that Christianity had intermittently ‘brought a growing suspicion of man’s power to shape identity: “Hands off yourself”, Augustine declared. “Try to build up yourself and you build a ruin”’.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Strong, *Art and Power*, 75.

<sup>3</sup> Strong writes about Roman Imperial imagery in the House of Habsburg, specifically during the reign of Charles V. See Chapter Four, “Images of Empire: Charles V and the Imperial Progress” in *Art and Power*, 75-96. Additionally, the iconography of the 1539 festival reinforced Charles V’s Augustan image. Upon entering the interior of the arch, the spectator witnessed an image of Charles V as Augustus sitting on a rock and surrounded by his territorial conquests. One could read the following Virgilian inscription beneath this image: AUGUSTUS CAESAR DIVUM GENUS AUREA CONDIT SAECULA (‘Augustus Caesar, the offspring of gods, founds a Golden Age’), in Giambullari, *Apparato et Feste*, 15. However, this thesis finds exception with Strong’s interpretation of the 1539 triumphal arch, which will be addressed in Chapter Four.

<sup>4</sup> John F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus and the Poets* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 298.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

Augustine's quote poignantly outlines the hostile conservatism of the Middle Ages, but such doctrine eventually capitulated to the excess of the early modern world. By the time Cosimo was elected Duke of Florence in 1537, the desire to plasticise one's image in and through the architecture, art, statuary and music of the court had become a fixation amongst the elite. The musico-visual program of 1539 created a prototype for the image Cosimo wanted to build and exhibit throughout his thirty-seven year reign. The following narrative will begin to reveal how the festival became the perfect stage to experiment with and develop the Duke's self-fashioning campaign.

### **The Wedding Festival of 1539: A Narrative Journey**

In November 1538, it was agreed that the new Duke of Florence would marry the daughter of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, having received the consent of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. This union was of great importance as it allied the duke with the presiding European power at that time, the Spanish Habsburgs, while also aligning the Medici dynasty—which was not of royal blood—to the ancestral hierarchy of the Spanish Kings.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the proceeding weeks, work began within the Palazzo Medici on Via Larga and in surrounding Florentine artisan workshops to create an iconographic programme of sculpture, tapestries, art, music, costume and theatrical ephemera which would befit the entrance of the regal bride into Tuscany and her procession through Florence. With the counsel of his mother Maria Salviati, Cosimo instructed two representatives to travel to Naples in March 1539 to deliver the engagement ring to his future bride, thus officiating the marriage by proxy.<sup>8</sup> These representatives, Luigi Ridolfi and Jacopo de' Medici, remained in the

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<sup>7</sup> Eleonora of Toledo was a descendant of the House of Alba.

<sup>8</sup> See letters from Cosimo I de' Medici to Giovanni Bandini, 10 March, 1539, and from Maria di Iacopo Salviati de' Medici to Cosimo I, 27 February, 1539, ASF, MdP, vol. 2, f. 128, MAP doc id, 19991; and vol. 5926, f. 3, MAP doc id, 3594.

Neapolitan court until the Duchess's departure for Florence in June, during which time they performed ceremonies and gave gifts to Eleonora, her siblings, and the high official Ferdinando Ruiz de Alcarón who served in the court of the Viceroy.<sup>9</sup> The untimely death of the Empress Isabel de Aviz von Habsburg in May 1539 and the subsequent mourning period delayed the departure of the Duchess and her retinue. Eager to have the festivities underway so as not to interfere with the Florentine feast of San Giovanni, Cosimo sent a letter to his representatives ordering them to press the Viceroy for permission to depart, and soon after it was granted.<sup>10</sup> The journey which ensued began in Naples on 11 June, where Eleonora departed with seven galleys of Spanish and Neapolitan noble men and women, including her brother Don García of Toledo, bound for Livorno on the west coast of Tuscany whence they arrived on 22 June.<sup>11</sup> In Livorno the Archbishop of Pisa received the Duchess with her noble entourage. She then proceeded from the city later that day to meet with her husband on route to Pisa where she was greeted by many noble Florentines and the entire ducal court. Giambullari suggests that Eleonora first engaged with the festival's iconographic programme upon her entrance to Pisa, as erected there were 'Archi Trionfali et altri sontuosi apparati, da Fiorentini et Pisani, che con somma allegrezza la riceverono' ('triumphal arches and other sumptuous decorations ... made by Florentines and Pisans, who received her with the greatest joy').<sup>12</sup> On 24 June, the ducal couple departed Pisa, staying one more night in Empoli and arriving the

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<sup>9</sup> See letter from Iacopo di Chiarissimo de' Medici to Pier Francesco Riccio, 2 April, 1539. ASF, MdP, vol. 1169, insert 4, f. 110, MAP doc id, 5441.

<sup>10</sup> See letter from Cosimo I de' Medici to Luigi di Piero Ridolfi, 26 May, 1539. ASF, MdP, vol. 2, f. 188, MAP doc id, 19998.

<sup>11</sup> Here and herein, Italian quotations are taken from Pier Francesco Giambullari and English translations are taken from Andrew Minor and Bonner Mitchell. See Giambullari, *Apparato et Feste*, 3-4, and Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence in 1539* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968), 97-98.

<sup>12</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato et Feste*, 4; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 98.

following morning, 25 June, at the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano where they stayed until 29 June (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1** Giovanni Stradano, “Eleonora arrives at Poggio a Caiano,” 1556, fresco. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Cosimo I. The fresco depicts the arrival of Eleonora and her retinue to the Medici Villa on 25 June, 1539. (Photograph by Raffaello Bencini, c.1998, reproduced with permission by Alinari Archives, Florence).

Finally, on the morning of 29 June, the bridegroom departed Poggio and were greeted about a mile outside of Florence by a host of Florentine citizens on horseback ‘con abiti si ricci et varii di piu sorti drapperie che ben’mostravano l’antica magnificentia della generosa Citta loro’, (‘with dress so rich and varied with many kinds of cloth that they demonstrated well the ancient magnificence of their generous city’).<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 5; 99.

These citizens came in order of rank with many servants on foot in various fashions and liveries, and together with Cosimo and Eleonora, and her Spanish and Neapolitan consort, they proceeded to the Prato Gate of the city. Giambullari recounts that four trumpeters dressed in rich livery led the procession, followed by the lieutenant Signor Ridolfo Baglioni and his light horses. After them marched the pages of his Excellency, dressed in ‘vestiti riccamente di Liurea in su cavalli Giannetti, addobbati di ricchissimi fornimenti d’Ori et argenti tirati’, (‘rich livery and mounting jennet horses, which were decorated with very rich harnesses of spun gold and silver’).<sup>14</sup> Following the pages came young noble Florentines with ‘belle et ricche Liuree’ (‘beautiful and fine livery’), and all the rest of their nobility.<sup>15</sup>

Eleonora followed the aforementioned ceremonial surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting and many Florentine noble women, accompanied by a large number of gentlemen from the house of Medici and Florentine prelates and nobles. Giambullari describes the ceremonial dress of the Duchess as ‘di rasi chermisi riccamente per tutto ricamati d’Oro battuto’, (‘in crimson satin, richly embroidered all over with beaten gold’).<sup>16</sup> Upon entering the Prato gate, the trumpeters were interrupted by an artillery salute from the garrison of the *Fortezza da Basso*, which was so impressive that Giambullari preferred to ‘stay silent rather than to say too little’ about its magnificence.<sup>17</sup> At this point, the Duke departed from his bride in order to make his way to the palace via a shorter route, and left the Duchess in the company of his courtiers to experience the royal entrance and procession which had been prepared for his new Spanish bride.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 6; 99.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

Eleonora was greeted by a great entranceway of Doric composition taking the form of a Roman triumphal arch featuring allegorical and historical iconography in its decoration. The main gate and its ante port were transformed by Niccolò Tribolo into an ephemeral edifice, which was subsequently adorned with paintings and statuary by Tribolo, Battista Franco, and Ridolfo and Michele Ghirlandaio. The frontispiece, which was immediately visible to the Duchess and her retinue, featured an allegory of Fecundity with five children, symbolising the reproductive expectations of the bride.<sup>18</sup> Fecundity was also flanked by allegories of Security on the right and Eternity on the left which further extended the metaphor that the union of Cosimo and Eleonora would secure future Medici heirs and ensure the stability, prosperity and power of the dynasty. The iconographic programme affords us an insight into the socio-political background of the occasion, which will be analysed in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five.

Beyond the pilasters which ended the ephemeral construction, two boxes were arranged for musicians and singers who sang a Latin motet composed by Francesco Corteccia entitled 'Ingredere, Ingredere', the text of which was also inscribed in the main frieze of the arch. The text mirrored the iconography of the archway, conveying once again the importance of Fecundity, Security and Eternity. When Eleonora had passed through the entrance way, there were thirty six young men from among the principal nobles of the city, dressed in 'd'una Liurea di rasi ragonazi, Giubboni chermisi, Calze lucchesine et scarpe et tocchi di velluto, con tante dorure et piume', ('a livery of purple satin, crimson cloaks, red stockings, and velvet shoes and toques'), and with a myriad of gildings and feathers that were so impressive, Giambullari affirms

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 6-7; 99-100.

that so many had never been seen together in such a show.<sup>19</sup> These noblemen escorted the Duchess to the Palazzo Medici by way of Ognissanti and along the river Arno as far as Palazzo Spini.

They then proceeded to the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore via Tornaquinci, Carnesecchi and San Giovanni, although reportedly, the streets were so full of spectators that there was hardly room for the procession to pass.<sup>20</sup> The procession was thus confined to two of the city's quarters, Santa Maria Novella and San Giovanni.<sup>21</sup> As the procession travelled from Piazza San Marco to the palace in Via Larga (the present day Via Cavour), Giambullari remarks that the streets were lined on either side by gentlemen who formed a guard of honour for the regal bride as she approached her new home (Figure 2.2).<sup>22</sup> As Eleonora advanced, she would have seen that above the entrance to the palace hung a large coat of arms of the Houses of Medici and Toledo, joined together and *abbracciate* (embraced) by the Imperial Eagle.<sup>23</sup> This adaptation of the coat of arms symbolises the support of the Emperor in the union of the young couple and thus pays deliberate homage to Imperial auspices.

Upon entering into the palace, the Duchess dismounted in the first *cortile* (courtyard) where the Duke and his mother Maria Salviati received her, after which she was accompanied to her lodgings and rested there until 6 July. Here ended the ceremonial *entrata* which made up the first part of the festival, and which was followed, no less

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 16; 121.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> The division of Florence into four main quarters dates from the fourteenth century. The quarters include Santa Maria Novella, San Giovanni, Santa Croce and Santo Spirito. Each quarter is in turn subdivided into four *gonfaloni* that collectively make up the sixteen administrative districts of the city, each identified by different heraldic flags.

<sup>22</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato et Feste*, 18; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 123.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 18; 124.



**Figure 2.2** Giovanni Stradano, “Jousting Tournament in Via Larga,” 1561-62, fresco. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala di Gualdrada. Stradano’s fresco depicts the type of procession and salutation that Eleonora would have received outside the Palazzo Medici on the occasion of her wedding in 1539. This is the earliest image of the palace’s original facade before its extension in the seventeenth century. (Photograph by Raffaello Bencini, c.1998, reproduced with permission by Alinari Archives, Florence).

lavishly, by the wedding banquet with triumphal parade and Antonio Landi’s comedy with *Intermedii*. The wedding banquet took place on the aforementioned date, 6 July, within the second *cortile* of the Palazzo Medici, which was decorated with drapes of varying textures and a regal colour palate of ochre, crimson, gold and blue.<sup>24</sup> The ducal couple were positioned beneath the loggia opposite the stage, to the South of the courtyard, and were accompanied by ‘oltre a cento delle prime Gentil’ Donne di tutta la nobilita’, (‘more than one hundred of the first gentlewomen of the entire nobility’) whose tables extended the length of the courtyard on both the East and West sides.<sup>25</sup> Here the court was entertained by a series of eight allegorical performances with texts by Giambattista Gelli and music composed by five contributors, Francesco Corteccia,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 22-30; 127-136.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 30; 136.



Costanzo Festa, Matteo Rampollini, Giovanni Pietro Masaconi and Baccio Moschini. These performances are of great importance in understanding the significance of the festival, socially and culturally, and will be analysed further in Chapter Five. When the eight performances were over, the couple together with their noble guests retired to the first courtyard to dance according to the tradition of marriage festivities, thus bringing the second stage of the festival to a lively close.<sup>26</sup>

The following Wednesday evening, 9 July, the couple together with ‘tutto lo stato co’l fiore della bella della città’, (‘the whole state, with the flower of the beauties of the city’) dined in the first courtyard of the palace.<sup>27</sup> When the banquet was finished, they moved into the second courtyard, the space in which the previous banquet and spectacles took place, which bore the same decorative appearance except for the addition of a number of suspended cupids from the ceiling of the apparatus, which was made to look like the sky, with bows and arrows and a lighted torch in each of their hands.<sup>28</sup> After the guests settled in front of the stage setting, they saw the figure of Dawn appear slowly in the eastern sky of the stage. Dawn then sang a madrigal by Corteccia, the first interlude of the evening, which was followed by the performance of Landi’s comedy *Il Commodo*, supplemented between each act by six *intermedii*, all of which were composed by Corteccia to texts written by Giovanbattista Strozzi. These performances culminated with a lively dance of bacchantes, including ten ladies and ten satyrs, which as Giambullari describes, awoke the audience from the *fatica*, (fatigue) of watching and listening for so long, with refreshments of cool wines and sweetmeats.<sup>29</sup> Cosimo, Eleonora and their noble guests then retired to their lodgings

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 64; 223.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 64; 224.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 64-65; 224.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 170; 353.

to sleep, thus bringing the third stage of the festival to a close. Giambullari further describes a fireworks display which was set off a couple of days after 9 July, and which continued until 3 August, 'quando per uno occasione, et quando per un'altra', ('for one occasion and another').<sup>30</sup> Written around the display were words from the fourth ode of Horace's Book III, VIS CONSILII EXPERS MOLE RUIT SUA, ('Force without intelligence always falls of itself'), which conveyed a poignant message to any of the duke's subjects who may have harboured anti-Medicean sentiments.<sup>31</sup>

From Eleonora's entrance at the Prato gate through to the procession, the banquet with triumphal parade, and the theatrical performance of Landi's comedy with *intermedii*, each stage of the festival brings the host and the spectator on a journey through Medici Florence. On this journey they are privileged with an insight into the art, literature, iconography and music of the most significant festival organised by the Florentine duke. The festival of 1539 firmly established the way in which Cosimo I de' Medici would conduct his cultural politics throughout the rest of his reign as Duke of Florence (1537-1569) and Grand Duke of Tuscany (1569-1574).

As mentioned above, the main source from which we find details about the 1539 festival is Pier Francesco Giambullari's *Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze*. There are, in addition, other sources that tell us information about the festival, some of which are known and cited by scholars and others that have remained heretofore unconnected with the event. In an effort to determine the degree to which Giambullari's source is accurate, a cross comparison of texts has proved a useful way of assessing dates, locations, the artists involved and other details that have

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

contributed to our knowledge of the occasion. As stated in Chapter One, festival books from this period are works of textual performance, composed of part fiction and part fact. They are situated at the apex of poetics and politics, for they served a function that necessitated artistic expression, factual narration and political purpose. With this in mind, it is necessary to take a closer look at the sources that are known to us about the 1539 festival, written contemporarily and posteriorly, and at the concerns that arise from them.

### **Reconstructing the Festival: Sources and Concerns**

The following documents have been preserved recording various details pertaining to the Medici-Toledo wedding festival. In order of quantitative importance they are:

- 1) The festival book of Pierfrancesco Giambullari, *Apparato et feste nelle nozze del illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, et Intermedii, in quelle recitati* (Florence: Giunti, 1539), which was published as a letter to the Florentine ambassador at the Spanish and Imperial court, Giovanni Bandini. The festival book was published together with the music for the ceremonial entrance motet composed by Francesco Corteccia, the eight wedding madrigals composed by Corteccia, Costanzo Festa, Matteo Rampolini, Bacchio Moschini, and Giovanni Pietro Masaconi, and the seven *intermedii* also composed by Corteccia.
- 2) An account of Eleonora's royal entry to Livorno, Pisa, Empoli and Poggio a Caiano, and a summary of festival proceedings in Florence. This account was published in Rome on 8 July, 1539 (before the festival had ended in Florence), but its authorship is under question for it is ambiguously signed

‘Il tutto vostro GE.MA’. The account is titled *La solenne et triomphante entrata della illustrissima S. duchessa di Firenze, dapoi la partita sua di Napoli, in Liuorno, Pisa, Empoli, Poggio [et] Firenze, con li superbi apparati & Archi Trionphali con tutte le Historie, pitture & motti che in essi erano, con l’ordine delle sontuose & splendide Noze & Conviti & alter Allegrezze & feste fatte in la citta di Firenze in la entrata di sua Eccelentia* (Rome, [publisher unknown], 1539).<sup>32</sup>

- 3) Select accounts written by Giorgio Vasari in *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), particularly Volume II in which he recounts certain aspects of the festival in his discussion of the lives of Niccolò Tribolo (1500-1550) and Bastiano da Sangallo (called Aristotile, 1481-1551), both of whom contributed architectural, sculptural, and scenographic ephemera for the occasion.
- 4) A collection of letters from the ‘Minute di Lettere e Registri’ and the ‘Miscellanea Medicea’ collections within the Mediceo del Principato inventory at the Florentine State Archives. I located these records both in situ and online via the Bía database curated by the Medici Archive Project. A list of the letters of principal importance and their content is furnished in Appendix A.
- 5) Finally, I have discerned an interesting source relating to the festival in an essay by James Haar, ‘Cosimo Bartoli on Music’.<sup>33</sup> In his *Ragionamenti Accademici* of 1567,<sup>34</sup> Cosimo Bartoli describes the *invenzione* (themes)

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<sup>32</sup> The translation of *La Solenne* in this thesis is the author’s own. This document can be accessed through the British Library’s Renaissance Festival Books Online: <http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0188>.

<sup>33</sup> James Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul Corneilson (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 38–75.

<sup>34</sup> Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante, con alcune inventioni e significati* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1567).

of a painting he commissioned, elements of which subsequently appeared on the frontispiece of his translation of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Architectura*. One of the central figures matches the precise description of a costume designed nearly thirty years previous by Giovanbattista Strozzi for the 1539 festival. This brings the authenticity of Bartoli's authorship into question, and also suggests that Strozzi's designs enjoyed a reputation and prestige far beyond the Medici Palace in 1539, so much so that they attracted the attention (and imitation) of the well-esteemed academician.

#### **D) Giambullari and the Anonymous Author**

The translation of Giambullari's book and the inclusion of modern editions of the 1539 festival music by Bonner Mitchell and Andrew Minor in 1968 opened the gateway for scholarly inquiry into this prestigious event.<sup>35</sup> Prior to this publication, the Medici-Toledo wedding was overshadowed by the more popular and richly documented Medici-Lorraine festival of 1589, due largely to the scholarly attention it received by the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in the early 1960s.<sup>36</sup> While acknowledging the wealth of material that was contemporarily written about the 1589 festival, Minor and Mitchell draw attention to the special significance of Giambullari's festival book of 1539, stating that it preserved for posterity a full account of the very first wedding festival in Early Modern history for which the music has survived in its entirety and for which its descriptions are of the most detailed and most interesting of the entire century.<sup>37</sup> While I would concur with Minor and Mitchell's appraisal of Giambullari's book, one must exercise caution when investigating a festival book of

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<sup>35</sup> Unless otherwise specified, I will hereafter use Minor and Mitchell's English translation, but will additionally reference the original Italian descriptions by Giambullari.

<sup>36</sup> See in particular D. P. Walker's study, *Les Fêtes du mariage de Ferdinand de Médicis et de Christine de Lorraine, Florence, 1589* (Paris: CNRS, 1963).

<sup>37</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, vii.

any kind, asking two crucial questions from the outset: 1) who was writing the book, and 2) who was it written for?

As one grows familiar with the literary codes embedded in the *libri feste*, flamboyant propagandist etiquette becomes apparent and at times problematic. When cross-referencing festival books with other documentary sources (where available), one will often identify discrepancies in details and have to decide upon a mean appropriation of the truth. For example, when we examine Table 2.1 below, it is apparent that Giambullari's renderings of dates and figures are more ambiguous than those of the anonymous author of *La solenne*. Yet despite their hyperbolic propensities, festival books provide the greatest insight to the range of performances and rituals involved in court and civic events. In answering the questions posited above of *who* wrote these books and *why*, let us turn to the case of our 1539 author. Pierfrancesco Giambullari was a noted member of the Accademia degli Umidi, an academy of Florentine literary figures who established themselves as reformers of the Tuscan and specifically Florentine vernacular in 1540. The academy was rebranded as the Accademia Fiorentina in 1541 under the duke's patronage, and Giambullari went on to publish many volumes of historical and literary works with them, including a history of Europe commissioned personally by Cosimo that was published a year after the author's death in 1556.<sup>38</sup> Giambullari's literary influence and his strong humanistic education, including instruction in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, led to his appointment as Director of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in 1550, where he worked on compiling an index of its contents.<sup>39</sup> The curation of the extensive repository of manuscripts and early printed

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 24-25, 85.

<sup>39</sup> A letter written by Pagni Cristiano to Cosimo's Maggiordomo Maggiore, Pierfrancesco Riccio, on 31 March 1550, acknowledges receipt of this index. See ASF, MdP, vol. 1176, insert 3, f. 38, MAP doc id, 3089.

**Table 2.1** Comparative Study of Sources for 1539.

| <b>Page</b> | <b><i>Apparato et feste nelle nozze</i></b>  | <b>Page</b> | <b><i>La solenne et triomphante entrata</i></b>  |
|-------------|--|-------------|--|
| 3           | Eleonora left Naples 11 June   | 2           | Eleonora left Naples 15 June   |
| 4           | In Livorno, the Duke and the Most Reverend Archbishop met Eleonora with a noble company. She was waited upon and honoured to the extent that the place allowed.  | 2           | Upon her arrival in Livorno, Eleonora was met by the Archbishop and the Duke, as well as 4 Florentine noblewomen in sumptuous dress.   |
| 4           | His Lordship was accompanied by many noble Florentines and by his whole court.   | 2           | In Pisa, Eleonora was met with 300 horsemen & 200 young Florentine gentlemen in the company of the Illustrious Duke, her husband.  |
| 5           | The couple arrived at the Prato entrance on the 29 June, with the heat of the day being past (no specific mention of time, but the reference to coolness infers evening time). The noblest citizens of Florence came on horseback to greet the couple with rich and varied dress, accompanied by many foot servants in various fashions and liveries (unspecified amount). | 3           | The ducal couple arrived at the Prato entrance to Florence at 21 hours. They were greeted by 2,500 Florentine noblemen dressed in superbly ornamented clothing. The duchess was accompanied in procession by 200 young Florentines, all making their way toward the city gate. |
| 7           | Three statues were on top of the arch representing Fecundity, Security and Eternity.   | 4           | Three female statues were significantly positioned on top of the triumphal arch: Peace, Caritas and Fortitude.   |

books in the Laurentian library may have been privileged to him as an extension of his canonship at San Lorenzo where the library was built.<sup>40</sup> Giambullari had much contact

<sup>40</sup> Several documents in the MdP inventory mention Giambullari's work in the Laurentian library at San Lorenzo. See vol. 1171, insert 1, f. 20, doc id, 2431; vol. 1173, insert 8, f. 385, MAP doc id, 8245; vol. 3719, f. 58, MAP doc id, 23699; vol. 397, f. 15, MAP doc id, 6303; and vol. 397, f. 111, MAP doc id, 12771. There is currently only one letter documented on the Bía database in the hand of Giambullari himself (vol. 1169, insert 5, f. 193, MAP doc id, 2349).

with another ecclesiastical figure, Pierfrancesco Riccio, who was Canon of the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in 1538 and was a very important administrative figure for the Medici family.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, very little is known about the addressee of Giambullari's festival book, the Florentine envoy to the Imperial Court, Giovanni Bandini. Few letters have been preserved in the Medici archives either written by him or that mention him, and secondary material is scant.<sup>42</sup> The purpose of the festival book was to convey the magnificence of the occasion to the emperor who could not attend. It pays homage to the Imperial court by referencing the presence of Habsburg iconography on the triumphal arch and in the heraldic devices that ornamented the palace.

However, discrepancies do exist between Giambullari's *Apparato et feste* and the anonymous text *La solenne*. As Table 2.1 shows, Giambullari's account shies away from statistical specificity. Yet, in all other aspects, the author is meticulous. He describes the decoration of the city for the festivities, including Tribolo's arch, the ornamentation of the public spaces, Giambattista Strozzi's costume designs and the interior loggias and courtyards of the Palazzo Medici where the wedding banquet and entertainments took place. Giambullari held favour with the Medici court and was evidently entrusted with the great task of documenting the minutiae of this festival. While it would be expected of the author to aggrandize certain elements, it strikes as unusual that he would misconstrue the chronology of the festival, or indeed the

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<sup>41</sup> Riccio was appointed secretary to Cosimo I in 1537, serving also as his tutor for a period. His tutelage was noted by Bono Cappelli to be comparable with Cicero and Nestor. Cappelli stated in a Latin letter to Riccio that he was to the duke as 'Aristotle was to Alexander the Great'. See ASF, MdP, vol. 1169, insert 3, f. 72, MAP doc id 5435.

<sup>42</sup> A letter written by the duke and sent to Roberto di Antonio Pucci in October 1543 states that Bandini had been arrested on a charge of sodomy. "... havendo da poi che fu fatta questa santa legge mandato per il mede[si]mo conto della sodomia meglio che XII poveri huomini in galera non posso né debbo irritare Dio con non gastigar ancora li nobili et richi sammi male insino al anima, che sia tocco a V.S. R. et a me questa mala sorte per trovarci sì nel mede[si]mo errore ancora Giovanni Bandini servitor mio che è stato ne' luoghi che V.S.R. sa pure [...]". ASF, MdP, vol. 5, f. 355, MAP doc id, 18850.



iconographic programme. As such I believe the anonymous author of *La Solenne* to be mistaken in his reading of the allegorical deities on Tribolo's arch (proposed as Peace, Caritas and Fortitude) and also in his proposed departure date of the Duchess from Naples.<sup>43</sup>

If Giambullari were wrong in documenting this or other dates, it could be justified as a reasonable transcription error. On the contrary, mistaking the identity of the most important statues on Tribolo's triumphal arch as three entirely different allegories would be a far more egregious error. While *La Solenne* proposes the statues to be representations of Peace, Caritas and Fortitude, Giorgio Vasari reaffirms Giambullari's erudition of the deities as Fecundity, Security and Eternity (Appendix B).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Vasari and Giambullari's reading is consolidated in the epitaph that was carved beneath the statues on Tribolo's arch, the text of which was sung by Cortecchia's singers. The text clearly identifies the effigies as Fecundity, Security and Eternity.

*Ingredere, ingredere foeliciss.  
Auspiciis urbem tuam Helionora ac  
optimae prolis foecunda ita domi  
simile patri foris avo sobolem  
producas ut mediceo nomini eiusque  
devotiss. Civibus securitatem praestes  
aeternam.*

Come in, come in, under the most favourable auspices, Eleonora, to your city. And, fruitful in excellent offspring, may you produce descendants similar in quality to your father and forebears abroad, so that you may guarantee eternal security for the Medici name and its most devoted citizenry.

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<sup>43</sup> In *La Solenne* it is written that Eleonora left Naples on 15 June 1539 while Giambullari writes 11 June. A letter in the Florentine State Archives, written by the duke and dated 11 June 1539, states that he is awaiting the arrival of his new bride. See ASF, MdP, vol. 2, f. 111, MAP doc id 7418. There is a palaeographer's note with this letter that casts a shadow of doubt over the accuracy of the date. The draft version of the letter states 21 June, which would accord with Eleonora's arrival to Livorno on 22 June. Nonetheless, it does weigh in favour of Giambullari's date being more accurate than the author of *La Solenne*.

<sup>44</sup> Vasari describes certain details of the 1539 triumphal arch in his biography of the sculptor Niccolò Tribolo. See 'Vita di Niccolò detto il Tribolo', in *Le vite*, vol. 2, part 3, 410. For an English translation of the biographical entry, see Appendix B in this thesis.

Nonetheless, *La Solenne* is useful for visualising the processional journey Eleonora undertook from Livorno to Florence as Giambullari does not afford us such an insight. The author describes the presence of musico-visual salutations at every city. Upon Eleonora's arrival in Pisa, she was greeted with a visual display of sumptuous arches and *apparati*. The city resounded with great artillery salutations and proclamations of bells, while drums, trumpets, *piffari* and other musical instruments were also performed.<sup>45</sup> The following day was marked with a modest matrimonial mass, after which the couple returned to 'consummate their holy marriage'. This union was celebrated with the presence of Juno, Hymen and the Graces, perhaps indicating a theatrical representation or performance.

*Finita de dire la messa entrorno in letto insieme non currandosi piu spettare la notte, dove fu consumato el santo matrimonio di si leggiadri giovani et gentili spiriti, Al qual' matrimonio supresente lunone con Himeneo accompagnati dale gratie.*<sup>46</sup>

Immediately after the mass they went to lie together, without waiting for nightfall, where the sacred wedding of those graceful and kind souls was consummated, a wedding blessed by the presence of Hymen, accompanied by the Charites.<sup>47</sup>

Immediately after the consecration of the marriage in Pisa, the matrimonial festivities were disturbed by a thunderous and clamoring artillery at the port of Livorno.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> *La Solenne*, 1. A document in the ASF dated speculatively as August 1539 (most likely earlier, c. June 1539) confirms an order for these devices and decorations in Pisa, given by Cosimo I de' Medici. 'Essendosene fatto per V. Ex'. et tutta la nobilità et università di questa sua città et stato tanti extriseci segni et demonstrationi di exuberantia et gaudio et letitia con tanti ornatissimi apparati, admirabili expettaculi, inestimabili, splendidissimi et ordinatissimi conviti et altri piacevoli et honestissimi trattienimenti, et finalmente celebratosi tutto quello che all'ornato et gloria del mondo si potessi maggiormente desiderar et excogitar'. See ASF, MdP, vol. 183, f. 289, MAP doc id 845.

<sup>46</sup> *La Solenne*. 3.

<sup>47</sup> The author acknowledges Christina Sirbu for her translation of this excerpt.

<sup>48</sup> Threatening invasions from the Turks and Ottomans contemporarily plagued the Tyrrhenian seas. A letter in the ASF dated June 1538 indicates an attack of piracy at the port of Livorno with a besiegement by the Turks. This type of incident was not isolated, and a similar attack must have occurred on this occasion in 1539. See ASF, MdP, vol. 1169, insert 3, f. 40, MAP doc id 5422.

*Appena, non credo fusse consumato il matrimonio che si senti Livorno subissare dal tuono et rumor d'artiglierie, el che causo l'arrivata del Principe doria horror delli Infideli et scudo di Christo et di sua fede, el quale era con la sua armata, andato facendo scorta alla, novella sposa, per rispetto della insolentia delli Infideli Corsari che sogliono in quei tempi in quelli mari scorer, el quale ricevuto in la sua armata et custodia lo Illustrissimo Fratello della Duchessa sposa el quale fino a li havea ditta sua sorella accompagnata, si partirono alla volta di Napoli, Ne prima del Porto di Livorno uscirno, chel S.Duca Cosimo, essa liberalita de tal dono di denari a tutti capitani et Patroni delle ditte galere, che tutti lieti et contenti si partimo.<sup>49</sup>*

Immediately after the consummation of the marriage, the city of Livorno was overwhelmed by the clamour and thunder of artillery, causing the Prince, being the shield of Christ and its faith, to arrive and witness the horror of the Infidels. And with his army he escorted the new bride from the insolence of the Infidels who used to navigate those seas in those times, having received in his custody the very prestigious brother of the new bride, the Duchess, who had accompanied his sister until then. Before leaving the harbour of Livorno, Duke Cosimo bestowed onto the captains and Patrons of the galleys the gift of money, and they thus departed for Naples glad and happy.<sup>50</sup>

On the third day, 24 June, the couple departed Pisa in the company of the city's most splendid citizens and proceeded to the castle at Empoli. Awaiting them was a display of sumptuous architectural ephemera and a host of splendid *feste* arranged by the duke's devoted subjects. They were received by the townspeople of Empoli who formed a display of elaborate 'segni di allegrezza' (joyful celebrations).<sup>51</sup> The final leg of the journey toward Florence brought the Duchess to the Medici Villa at Poggio a Caiano, a large fortified house designed by the architect Giuliano da Sangallo in the late 1400s at the bequest of Lorenzo 'Il Magnifico' de' Medici. An impressive array of ornate ephemera was constructed at the entrance to the villa and adjacent to the old walls, where people had been jointly celebrating the feast day of Saint Peter.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> *La Solenne*, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Translation by Christina Sirbu.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

From Poggio a Caiano, the ducal couple and their entourage made their way to Florence, but *La Solenne* cedes to any great usefulness after this point, for Giambullari provides much more detail about the Florentine proceedings. Perhaps the purpose of *La Solenne* was to concentrate on the former part of the festival, and return a swift account of it to Rome as soon as it had passed. Indeed, because the book is signed off on 8 July, before the performance of the comedy, interludes and numerous firework spectacles had taken place, I suspect that the author may not have been present at the Florentine celebrations at all. Considering the expediency of his descriptions of the ephemera and iconography in the city, and his erroneous description of Tribolo's arch, it appears likely that he was conveying second-hand information, thus losing accuracy in the process. As such, in creating a narrative of the festival from whence Eleonora approached the Prato gate in Florence, this thesis relies predominantly on Giambullari's source.

## **II) Giovanbattista Strozzi, Cosimo Bartoli and the Question of Authorship**

Designed primarily by Giovanbattista Strozzi, the costumes for the 1539 festival were opulent, mesmerising and symbolically laden. Like with Tribolo's arch and Sangallo's stage perspective, we have no surviving preparatory drawings of them, but Giambullari's book enriches our imaginations with very vivid descriptions of each one. Chapter Five will focus on the visual and symbolic significance of each of the costumes designed for a post-banquet triumphal parade on 6 July, which figured Apollo as musical narrator accompanied by the Muses and representations of Cosimo's empire. However, our attention here concerns one particular costume that featured in the triumphal parade: Flora.

Representing Florence, Flora was executed with very precise imagery intended to exalt her ancient Etruscan heritage, her formidable links with Rome, and her patronage of the liberal and mechanical arts. Rather than depicting the Goddess of Spring in the antique manner found in Botticelli's *Primavera*, Strozzi chose to dress her in a far more commanding and masculine uniform. Around Flora's neck was a steel gorget; her arms and breast were armoured in gilded steel and on her shoulders were placed the heads of lions, depicting fortitude; her belt was also of gilded steel and lay above an embossed frieze portraying the instruments of the liberal and mechanical arts.<sup>53</sup> She came forth to the audience carrying a rod in her right hand, and wearing an elaborate headpiece composed of the ducal beret and an Imperial eagle, symbolising the Medici alliance with Charles V. As Minor and Mitchell pointed out, the festival of 1539 was (and remains) of little interest to art historians since no works of art from the festival have survived and Giambullari's description, though of great cultural interest, does not allow for critical or technical evaluation. However, James Haar's discussion of Cosimo Bartoli's *Ragionamenti Accademici* has revealed to me the existence of an illustration of great value to Flora's contemporary rendering.<sup>54</sup>

Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572) was a Florentine academician, ecclesiast and diplomat, whose membership of the prestigious Florentine Academy (alongside our writer, Giambullari) was made sacrosanct by his devout political allegiance to Cosimo I de' Medici throughout the sixteenth century. As Judith Bryce writes, his life spanned the transition period between the Florentine Republic and the Principate, and he played an important role in this political transition through his advocacy for the Medici and in

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<sup>53</sup> A more detailed description of sources will be provided in Chapter Five.

<sup>54</sup> Cosimo Bartoli, *Ragionamenti Accademici di Cosimo Bartoli Gentil'huomo et Accademico Fiorentino, sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante. Con alcuni inventioni & significati, & la Tavola di piu cose notabili* (Venice, n.p., 1567).

his cultural and literary pursuits.<sup>55</sup> His professional involvements varied from the co-creation and early development of the Florentine Academy, to ecclesiastical life as Provost of the Florentine Baptistery (appointed on 20 April 1540), and a career in diplomacy as a Medici agent in Venice (1562-1572) in the period leading up to the Battle of Lepanto.

Bartoli's contribution to literature on prose, art, mathematics and music is rich, but again served the agenda of the Florentine Academy (and ostensibly the agenda of the Medici at large) to extol the Florentine vernacular and to promote it as a means for scientific research.<sup>56</sup> In addition to his own works, he also published several translations of key art and architectural treatises, including the work of Albrecht Dürer and Leon Battista Alberti. He held a long and close relationship with the painter and art historian, Giorgio Vasari, and was privy to intimate details about the art and architecture of Florence. His contemporary reputation was held to be that of a 'virtuoso', but a minority of his peers held the more polarised opinion of him as an unoriginal, imprudent academician.<sup>57</sup> In Bryce's estimation, although he cannot be thought of as unique or original, he nonetheless represents a class, a culture and a period of early modern Florentine history, and as such is worthy of scholarly attention.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Judith Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572): The Career of a Florentine Polymath* (Geneva: Librairie Droz S. A, 1983), 11.

<sup>56</sup> Bartoli's main publications include *Del modo di misurare le distantie* (Venice: Sebastiano Combi, 1564); *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante, con alcune inventioni e significati* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1567); and *Discorsi storici universali* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1569).

<sup>57</sup> Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 11.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

Indeed, Bartoli's writings on Florentine music and musicians caught the particular attention of musicologists Edward Lowinsky, Alfred Einstein and James Haar.<sup>59</sup> In his essay 'Cosimo Bartoli on Music', Haar focuses primarily on the musical discourse in the 'Ragionamento terzo' (third dialogue) of Bartoli's *Ragionamenti Accademici*. The principal subject of the *Ragionamenti* dialogues is the oeuvre of Dante, but the author also appended a series of conversations about music, architecture, sculpture, art and *invenzione* - 'the "soul" of painting extolled as superior to its bodily execution'.<sup>60</sup> In the third dialogue, Lorenzo Antinori and Pierfrancesco Giambullari discuss the most eminent musicians and composers of the day. Haar however, also explores the 'Ragionamento secondo' in which the composition of a painting is described baring uncanny similarities with the costume designs for the 1539 wedding. Bartoli begins the second dialogue with a conversation held by three interlocutors: Lionardo Doffi, Lodovico di Masi and Ferrante Pandolfini. The three men recount the *invenzione* of a painting located in a house on Via del Cocomero whose iconographic programme is attributed to Bartoli. Haar debates whether or not the painting really existed, suggesting that it was simply a preparatory sketch for a smaller work.<sup>61</sup> However, the interlocutors speak about its symbolic programme with a great degree of verisimilitude to the point that the existence of a painting seems likely to me.

In her detailed study of Bartoli's life and work, Judith Bryce noted that the painting's description fits that of the title page of his 1550 translation of Leon Battista Alberti's

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<sup>59</sup> See Edward Lowinsky, ed., *The Medici Codex of 1518, 3 vols, Monuments of Renaissance Music* 3-5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 64-65; and Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 21-22.

<sup>60</sup> Haar, 'Cosimo Bartoli', in *The Science and Art*, 42.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, 68, n. 22.



**Figure 2.3** Title page of Cosimo Bartoli, *L'Architettura di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550). Woodcut, 351 x 228 mm. Allegories include on the right: Flora; on the left: Minerva; and centre bottom: Arno. (Image reproduced from digitised edition of Bartoli's *L'Architettura*, <http://tinyurl.com/gqmuwbe>).



architectural treatise, *De Re Aedificatoria* (Figure 2.3).<sup>62</sup> Importantly, Bartoli's purported invention for the goddess Flora, described in the second dialogue and pictorialised in the woodcut of 1550, indisputably correlates with Giambullari's account of Giovanbattista Strozzi's costume design for 1539. A comparison of Bartoli's descriptions of the painting and of Giambullari's descriptions from 1539, furnished in Appendix C, demonstrates that there are further similarities. Most notably, the figure of the Arno in the centre foreground correlates exactly as Giambullari describes the allegory of the Arno during a performance at the 1539 wedding banquet. In addition, the female figure, identified as Immortality in Bartoli's dialogue, aligns with one of the principal statues on Tribolo's triumphal arch in 1539, described by Giambullari with marginal difference and identified as Eternity (Appendix C). Interestingly, Bartoli and Giambullari were close friends and were both professional members of the Florentine Academy. Thus, Bartoli had the privilege of acquiring Giambullari's direct knowledge of Strozzi's costume designs.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, it is entirely plausible that Bartoli was present at the wedding festival in 1539 for he was in Florence at this time and would officially enter the service of the Duke in April 1540 as Provost of the Baptistry.<sup>64</sup> Thus, we come to a very important juncture regarding the intellectual ownership of these *invenzione*.

The 'Inventions' or Iconographic programmes of art works were a frequent topic of conversation amongst the artists and academics of this period, and as such, determining

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<sup>62</sup> Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 274. See also Bartoli, *L'Architettura di Leon Battista Alberti, Tradotta in lingua Fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli, Gentilhuomo & Accademico Fiorentino, con la aggiunta de Disegni* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550). The same title page was used for later editions of Bartoli's translation of Alberti's treatise but with Flora and Minerva reversed (in the 1565 edition, Flora is on the left of the frame and Minerva on the right).

<sup>63</sup> For an outline of Bartoli's involvement in the *Accademia Fiorentina* and his friendship with Giambullari, see Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 40-44.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 35.

the ownership of ideas traverses a very grey area.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, we can piece together the evidence we do have to make an attempt. We are told by Giambullari and by Vasari that the designer for the wedding costumes of 1539 was Giovanbattista Strozzi, the nephew of the republican (anti-Medicean) Filippo Strozzi and member of the main branch of the prestigious Florentine family. Author of one of the first learned comedies performed in Florence in the early cinquecento, *Commedia in versi*, Strozzi was a prolific writer but lived a modest life, quietly declining official duties and prestigious titles during his career.<sup>66</sup> These included his election as consul for the Florentine Academy in 1547 and as senator for the Florentine State, appointed directly by the duke in 1561.<sup>67</sup> Giambullari writes that Strozzi was responsible for the words, the inventions and the clothes of all the *intermedii* of Antonio Landi's comedy.<sup>68</sup> Vasari's biography of Tribolo supports this contention, saying that the *intermedii* were all the work of Strozzi who also took charge of the entire comedy.<sup>69</sup> He adds only that Tribolo contributed the more technical aspects of the costumes, including inventions of clothes, footwear, headdresses, and other articles of dress (Appendix B). Unfortunately, neither author specifies that Strozzi was also the designer for the costumes on the first night of festivities at the Palace, during the triumphal parade in which Flora and Arno performed.

Scholars have heretofore acknowledged the costume designer for the festival at large as Strozzi, with the aid of Tribolo, but while this is most likely, it cannot be verified. This creates a predicament: on one hand it allows room to postulate that Bartoli may

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<sup>65</sup> For a detailed analysis of the role and meaning of *Invenzione* in renaissance art, see Sharon Bailin, 'Invenzione e Fantasia: The (Re)Birth of Imagination in Renaissance Art', *Interchange* 6, no. 3 (September 2005): 257-273, doi: 10.1007/s10780-005-6865-3; in particular, 267-272.

<sup>66</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 28.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 29.

<sup>68</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 66.

<sup>69</sup> Vasari, 'Vita di Niccolò detto il Tribolo', in *Le vite*, 410.

have contributed the inventions for the triumphal parade on 6 July, but on the other it suggests that his claims of authorship in the *Ragionamenti Accademici* were fraudulent. For the present, we cannot rule out the possibility that the inventions are indeed Bartoli's, but the following details leave me in doubt. Firstly, Giambullari and Bartoli were close friends, and it was common practice amongst men of letters to use opportunities of privilege to bolster one another's reputation.<sup>70</sup> It thus seems unorthodox that Giambullari would not specify Bartoli's involvement in the festival if it had been so. Secondly, Bartoli completely transforms the secularity of Flora's costume in the *Ragionamenti*, assigning sacred meanings to each element of her dress. For example, speaking of the Imperial eagle on her headpiece, the interlocutors refer to the significance of the Emperor, but argue for its sacrosanct connotations:

**Ves** Una Aquila è certo

**M. L.** Questa sarà per favor dello Imperadore.

**Ves** Non è mal significato questo vostro, ma io mi ricordo d'havere letto ch'gli Egizii quando dipingevano, una Aquila il piu delle volte la intendevano per Dio.

**Ca** Si, ma che harebbe voluto dire per questo il Bartoli?

**Ves** O che noi ci ricordassimo di havere sempre Dio sopra del capo nostro, ò che noi lo pregassimo, che venisse à posare sopra di noi.<sup>71</sup>

**Ves** It is an Eagle for sure.

**M. L.** It is probably for the favour of the Emperor.

**Ves** This is not a bad interpretation but I remember reading that the Egyptians, when painting an Eagle, were most often evoking God.

**Ca** Yes, but what would Bartoli have wanted to say with this?

**Ves** For us to remember to always have God with us, or that he may come to be with us when we pray.

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<sup>70</sup> Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 40-44.

<sup>71</sup> See Appendix C for the extended conversation. Cosimo Bartoli, 'Il Cavaliere, o vero Ragionamento Secondo', in *Ragionamenti accademici*, with English translation by Jennifer Halton and Cristina Sirbu.

It is known that Bartoli was involved in the reform of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1541-42, advocating its Christocentric policies, and that the academy was kept in line with papal censorship during the Inquisition.<sup>72</sup> However, a sacred reading of the costumes for 1539 does not make sense for it was long before the Inquisition and their *invenzione* were certainly not designed for the cause of Christian piety. Finally, the likeness of the female figure representing Immortality in Bartoli's painting to Tribolo's design for Eternity on the triumphal arch of 1539 lends distinctly to a charge of imitation. Having assessed the sources at hand, both primary and secondary, there is nothing concrete enough to suggest that Bartoli was the authentic ideator of either the figures in the alleged painting or of the costumes for 1539. I believe that Bartoli was not officially involved in the festival but that it is possible his ideas were transferred to Strozzi or Tribolo through conversation in literary circles. While the question of authorship is an important one, what is most revealing here is that Bartoli has helped to preserve the only known visual artefact relating to the Medici-Toledo festival, and while it is not an exacted representation of how Flora or Arno appeared in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici on 6 July 1539, it is the closest we as scholars may come to it.

### **III) Tribolo, Sangallo and Reconstructing the Festival Ephemera**

Finally, we come to our last source, the *Vite* of Giorgio Vasari. His biographies of Niccolò Tribolo and Bastiano 'Aristotile' Sangallo are very useful supplements to Giambullari's *Apparato et feste* for they add additional details to the minutiae of Tribolo's triumphal arch and the apparatus he built within the second courtyard of the Palazzo Medici in 1539. For Sangallo he provides the more crucial details of the proscenium and innovative machinery for Antonio Landi's comedy and Francesco Corteccia's *intermedii*. Giambullari unfortunately omitted such details saying, 'I don't

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<sup>72</sup> Bryce, *Cosimo Bartoli*, 46-47.

want to say anymore about the stage setting for the comedy in order not to take away its beauty with my inappropriate words. Even those who saw it can hardly imagine it'.<sup>73</sup>

Elena Povoledo reminds us that Vasari wrote his *Vite* many years after the events in 1539.<sup>74</sup> Thus while his descriptions are helpful in aiding a visual reconstruction of the festival, they must be understood in a retrospective context. Povoledo has noted for example that in his 'Vita' of Tribolo, Vasari's description of the stairs in front of the stage designed for Antonio Landi's comedy may not have been correct.

This [Vasari's] excerpt can be variously interpreted. The most obvious explanation is that Vasari, writing many years later, misremembered: the stairway could have been there, and could have been real, to enable the actors and those involved in the *intermedi* to climb onto the stage. It might have had a simple structure, with two small flights of stairs apparently complicated because of the decoration which simulated eight sides. [...] Alternatively seeing that Giambullari does not mention them, we may conclude that the stairs did not exist at all, and Vasari was confusing Sangallo's set with a different one.<sup>75</sup>

Vasari's descriptions are, nonetheless, the only surviving account from which we can reconstruct the ingenious details of Sangallo's stage. Thus far, a systematic reconstruction of this festival has not been attempted visually or theatrically. The most significant visual study of which I am aware was constructed in 1980 by Florentine scenographer Ferdinando Ghelli, who made an interpretive model of the apparatus and proscenium (Figure 2.4). In assessing the scale and detail, Ghelli studied the spatial dimensions of the Medici courtyard where the apparatus was built (Figure 2.5),

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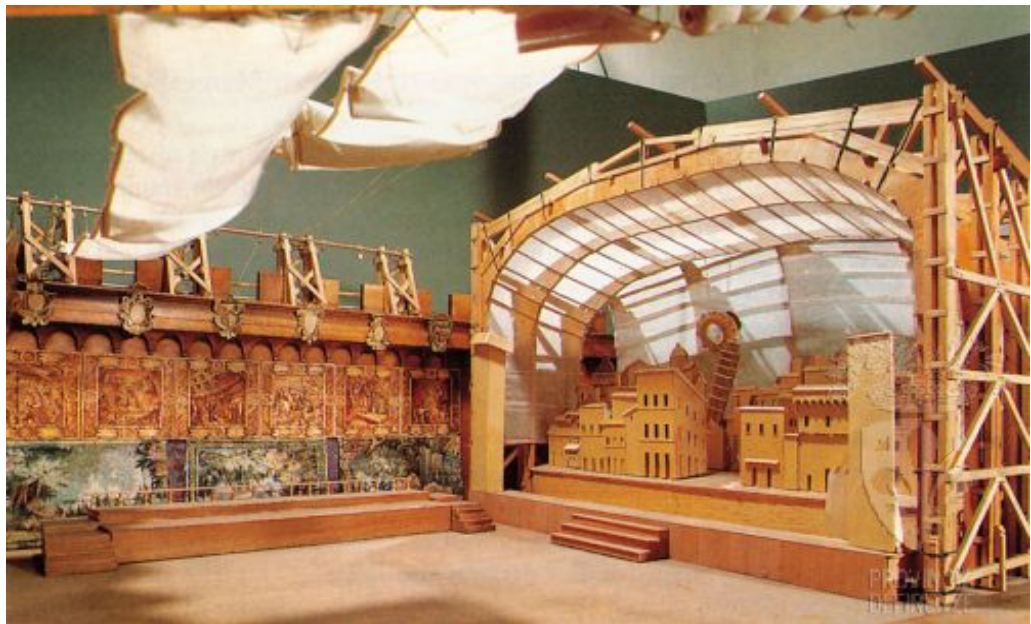
<sup>73</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 30; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 135.

<sup>74</sup> Elena Povoledo, "'Visible' *Intermedi* and movable sets', in *Music and Theatre*, ed. Pirrotta and Povoledo, trans. Karen Eales, 345.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

alongside Vasari's biographies of Tribolo (Appendix B) and Sangallo (Appendix D). The following extract describes the scenery used in Ghelli's model, the perspective of which represented the city of Pisa (see Appendix D, paragraphs 1-6, for extended extract).

And he [Aristotile] depicted there, besides all this, the leaning tower of the Duomo, the Cupola, and the round temple of the Temple of San Giovanni, with other features of that city [...] He then arranged with much ingenuity a lantern of wood in the manner of an arch, behind all the buildings, with a sun one braccio high, in the form of a ball of crystal filled with distilled water, behind which were two lighted torches, which rendered the sky of the scenery and prospect-view so luminous, that it had the appearance of the real and natural sun.<sup>76</sup>



**Figure 2.4** Ferdinando Ghelli, Scale model of Aristotile Sangallo's proscenium and Niccolò Tribolo's apparatus for the 1539 Medici-Toledo wedding, 1980. Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi Museum. (Photograph courtesy of Mediateca Palazzo Medici-Riccardi).

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<sup>76</sup> Vasari: *Lives of the most eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, vol. 2, part 3, trans. Gaston du C. de Vere (London: Everyman's Library, 1996), 434-36.



**Figure 2.5** Michelozzo di Bartolomeo, Palazzo Medici External Courtyard, built c.1444-84. Location for Tribolo's apparatus and Sangallo's proscenium in 1539. (Photograph by Jennifer Halton, 2012).

While Ghelli's model has contributed a great deal to our visual and technical understanding of Sangallo's stage, it preserves a static quality that does not quite encapsulate the kinetic virtues of spectacle and space. As part of the research for this thesis, which is concerned with mapping the musical, geospatial and visual fabric of the 1539 Florentine festival, one of the aims was to bring a more dynamic interpretation of Sangallo's stage and Tribolo's apparatus to life.

Thus, in collaboration with an architect and animator, a digital reconstruction of a transverse section of the proscenium and apparatus was undertaken. Assimilating the primary sources from Giambullari and Vasari as well as Ghelli's physical model, the architect produced a working design of the apparatus and proscenium from an interpretive perspective. Figure 2.6 presents a sketch of the transverse section of the stage that the architect created as a preliminary study. Visible in the background are the wedding guests seated along the Western side of the courtyard, and to the South the ducal couple are depicted under their loggia. Behind the guests are figured three large tapestries and six paintings, the imagery of which is immaculately described by

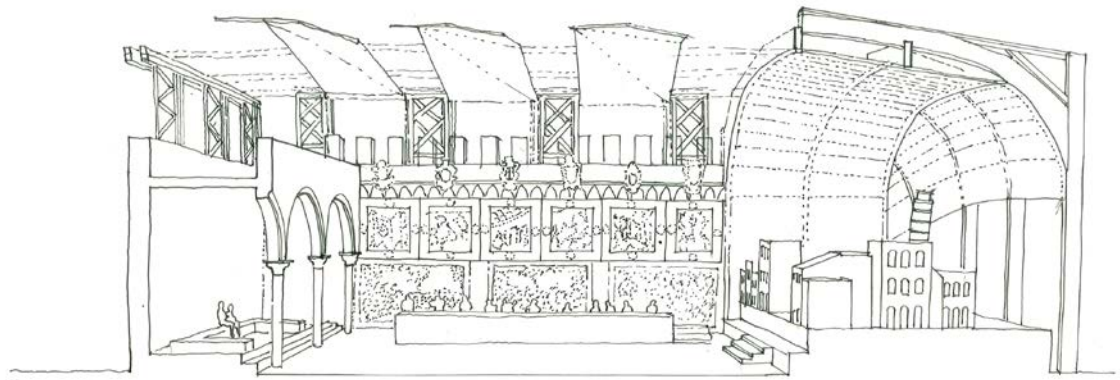
Vasari (Appendix D). Additionally, the coats of arms of the most illustrious houses of the Medici and the Emperor hung above the cornice of the apparatus (Appendix E).

The architect, in collaboration with an animator, built and rendered the design in a 3D continuum, bringing to life the material and textural details of the 1539 stage (Figure 2.7). Similarly, the artists worked in the same way to reconstruct Tribolo's triumphal arch, taking as their precedent the description from Giambullari's festival book. Giambullari describes both the architectural and iconographic details of the arch, allowing the modern observer to reconstruct an interpretive appearance. The architect focused on making the technical details as precise as possible, but a full and accurate rendering of the artistic minutiae would require the input of an artist trained in the diligences of renaissance painting and sculpture. The reconstruction is therefore not an attempt at artistic verisimilitude, but one that renders as accurately as possible the innovative structural qualities of Tribolo's architectural aesthetic. The reconstruction (Figure 2.8) is intended as a springboard for a future, larger-scale collaboration that could pave the way to a more detailed and theatrically representative visualisation of the arch. In addition, the digital renderings were further animated to create short filmic representations of Sangallo and Tribolo's designs, with the aim of transitioning toward an experiential historical representation of the 1539 festival (Audiovisual One). This model of interdisciplinary and collaborative research can, I believe, transform the field of early modern festival studies by creating a more verisimilar and interactive contextualisation of the historical content.<sup>77</sup> The short film in Audiovisual One, and the potential it engenders for future large-scale projects, attempts to capture the kinetic

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<sup>77</sup> Recent projects of note include the 3D digitisation of the *Pianta della catena* by 'Studio 3D Design Firenze' (2010); the 'Florence in the Roman Age' digital project by Simonetta Fiamminghi, Giuseppe Bartolini, Deskspace and Emiliano Scampoli (2008); and the 3D digital animation project at the Folgar Elizabethan Theatre in Washington D.C by K5 Studios (2010).





**Figure 2.6** Conor Maguire, Transverse section of apparatus and proscenium for the 1539 Medici-Toledo festival, 2015, pen sketch (artwork © Jennifer Halton, 2015).



**Figure 2.7** Conor Maguire and Nassim Bensedik, 3D Render of apparatus and proscenium for the 1539 Medici-Toledo festival, 2015 (artwork © Jennifer Halton, 2015).



**Figure 2.8** Conor Maguire and Nassim Bensedik, 3D Interpretive render of Niccolò Tribolo's triumphal arch for the 1539 Medici-Toledo festival, 2015 (artwork © Jennifer Halton, 2015).

embodiment of the early modern festival and the phenomenon of spectacle. Digital reconstructions can instil a sense of liveness in the archaic record and give voice to the silent archive whose innate performativity lies dormant until otherwise mobilised.

In assessing all available sources describing the 1539 Florentine celebrations, we arrive at a very detailed picture of the Medici-Toledo festival. The extant sources are comprehensive enough to effectively visualise this colourful occasion, owing to the careful observations of Vasari, Giambullari and the anonymous author of *La Solenne*. We are also privileged with the ability to aurally reconstruct the festival, in formal performance at least, owing to the preservation of the original scores of the wedding banquet and *intermedii*. However, even when taken collectively, these sources do not form a complete picture of the totality of musico-visual opulence and extravagant festivity that would inevitably have taken place on the streets of Florence and within the ducal palace between 24 June and 9 July. For this, we must resort to our scholarly imagining. As we progress to Parts Two and Three of this thesis, it is worth recapitulating the nature of early modern sources, most particularly the festival book, as works of textual performance comprised of obsequiously deliberated details. We can be sure that the content was based in fact, but that it was additionally, to some degree, coated with propagandistic intent. What remains therefore is a representative image of the past, upon which we can place a scholarly lens for further examination. In order to explore new perspectives on the musical, visual and socio-cultural occasion of festivals, we can interject the historical narrative with methodological enquiry in the hope of unfolding an alternative way of “seeing” the festival as an early modern cultural phenomenon. In so doing, this thesis now turns from the historical lens to the theoretical, and will place our definition of festival under the microscope, aiming to reassess and redefine its meaning, both past and present.

## **Chapter Three**

**Towards a Phenomenology of the Early Modern Festival: Reading Festival  
(Backwards) as Proto-Cinema**

*He who looks must not himself be foreign to the world that he looks at.*<sup>1</sup>

Part One of this thesis explored the historical and cultural tropes of festivals in the early modern world in order to lay the foundations for a detailed study of the 1539 festival, and to set a context for a theoretical reading of the festival as a cultural practice in Part Two. As outlined in the Introduction, the reading of festivals in this period has traditionally been conducted through a standard art-historical framework, using a Cartesian methodology based on the visual artefact. However, there is a need, I think, for a theoretical turn in the field and for the re-conceptualisation of the early modern festival as a cultural phenomenon connected not only to the history of the past, but to the present. Employing a retrospective historiographical approach, the theory proposed in this chapter argues for a re-definition of the festival as a musico-visual, spatial and mobile culture with a distinct proto-cinematic imagination. In so doing, it explores how festival can be seen to mirror the phenomenological values of cinema through a close study of the interrelation of their shared phenomena: a) spatiality, sound and movement; b) motion and projection and c) cognitive exchange.

In early modern Florence, the festival constructed a relationship with the urban environment, traversing its streets, squares and private halls, transforming space from something static to something kinetic—lived space. Additionally, the act of moving

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “The Intertwining: The Chiasm”, in *The Visible and the Invisible*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 134.

through the spatial fabric of the city transformed the spectator from voyeur to voyageur, an analogy made by Giuliana Bruno in her preliminary study of architecture and the moving image.<sup>2</sup> Bruno decommissions the privileging of sight in her study of moving picture cultures, erecting instead the geo-spatial fulcrum of *site*, allowing sensory perception to move away from the optic, and toward a haptic experience of filmic cultures. It will be argued herein that a haptic encounter of space also involves the assimilation of music and sound through proprioception, and that the significance of music in both formal and informal contexts is an important factor in reading festival as a multi-sensorial rather than an exclusively visual phenomenon. Bruno calls this approach to the moving image ‘siteseeing’, and seeks to make ‘a cartography of film’s position in the terrain of spatial arts and practices’.<sup>3</sup> She sees film as a mobile map, leading the voyageur through their subjective experience of space, and thus equating film to modern cartography.<sup>4</sup>

Festival takes a similar course of action for it maps the metropolis as both a physical site and as a temporal site of consciousness. This is evident in the royal entry and procession where the monarch travels in and through landmark sites within the city, marking off the most important architectural coordinates of the cityscape. However, the monarch’s map quite saliently motivates structures of consciousness that promote power, identity, wealth, masculinities, femininities and familial lineage. There are two types of topography at play here, one literal and one abstract: a) the physical, geographic topography of the city, and b) the psychological topography of the spectator. The space that exists between these two topographies and which mediates

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<sup>2</sup> Giuliana Bruno, “Site-seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image,” *Wide Angle* 19, 4 (1997): 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

the flow of consciousness is what Maurice Merleau-Ponty calls the ‘flesh’, which will be explored later in this chapter. Embarking on a journey, the festival traverses the terrain of the metropolis, and so too the terrain of the body, for the city is at once inhabited and travelled, and the occupant is at once a dweller-voyager.<sup>5</sup>

A dweller-voyager moving through space drives the architectural itinerary of the city, the activity of travel, and film. All involve motion through culturally conceived space—a form of *transito*. Not necessarily physical motion, the epistemology of *transito* is circulation which includes migrations, passages, traversals, transitions, transitory states, spatial erotics and (e)motion.<sup>6</sup>

The early modern festival was, as such, a journey of *emotion*, encountering movement in and through space, and movement in the more metaphysical abstraction of sensory awareness, akin to the humanistic philosophy of *musica mundana*, the movement of souls. Moreover, festival was a journey of cultural consciousness that over time propagated the thoughts and practices that made the pictures move some four centuries later. With the arrival of the cinematic apparatus in the late nineteenth century, the topographies of festival remained the same—the surface of the city and of the spectator—but to them could be added a third layer: the surface of the screen. Festival occupies a live multidimensional space whereas film, that is early film, occupies a reproduction of life in two-dimensional space. Despite this, while the forms they assume remain distinctly disparate, festival and film become united in their shared phenomenological consciousness, that is, in their mirroring of the world and their worldview. In this way, festival and film can be understood as two embodiments of the same phenomenon, separated only by the veil of mechanical projection. As Vivian

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

Sobchack reminds us, we cannot assume that the cinematic object (presented to us in images) is unreal, simply because it is absent.<sup>7</sup> Just as we experience the spectacle of imagery in real time at a festival, we also experience cinematic imagery through our own personal and cultural knowledge of an object's existential position as it relates to our own. 'Our consciousness is neither disembodied, nor impersonal, nor "empty" when we go to the movies—which is to say that, from the first, our personal embodied existence and knowledge give our consciousness an existential "attitude" or "bias" toward what is given for us to see on the screen and how we will take it up'.<sup>8</sup> This philosophical principle is the foundation upon which we can read festival as proto-cinema.

Methodologically, this chapter is informed by the writings of phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty, cultural theorist Giuliana Bruno, and Russian filmmaker and theorist Sergei Eisenstein. Each author takes a spherical approach to his or her sense perception of history and culture, reading events and phenomena as part of a greater whole, or to use another musical analogy, a greater perfect system. Incidentally, the proposed reading presents a conundrum. It asks that the reader subvert the orthodoxy of teleological reading and adopt instead an antithetical approach to the study of festivals. The proposed historiography functions retroactively, wherein history, as Christopher Morris writes, becomes what it already was. 'Key to the structure of retroactive historicity is a backwards teleology in which history becomes what it already was: the "not-yet" (the ontologically incomplete) becomes the "always

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<sup>7</sup> Vivian Sobchack, "Toward a Phenomenology of Nonfictional Film Experience", in *Collecting Visible Evidence*, ed. Jane M. Gaines and Michael Renov (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 242.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

already”, bypassing any middle stage of fulfilment in a mythical present’.<sup>9</sup> Morris’s words establish the boundaries within which festival can be read as proto-cinema, where the phenomena of festival can be seen to prophesise the ontologically incomplete phenomena of film, and likewise, cinematic practice can be retroactively understood as the ‘always already’ of its cultural past.

It is important to outline that I am not concerned with positing notions of causality whereby cinema is argued as a direct or indirect product of early modern cultural practices. Rather, this reading echoes Eisenstein’s argument that cinema is part of a synthesis of moving picture cultures, each one informing the other in both conscious and latent ways through a sort of cultural osmosis.

Cinema is not altogether without parents and without pedigree, without a past, without the traditions and rich cultural heritage of the past epochs. It is only very thoughtless and presumptuous people who can erect laws and an esthetic [sic.] for cinema, proceeding from premises of some incredible virgin-birth of this art! Let Dickens and the whole ancestral array, going as far back as the Greeks and Shakespeare, be superfluous reminders that both [D.W.] Griffith and our cinema prove our origins to be not solely as of Edison and his fellow inventors, but as based on an enormous cultured past; each part of this past in its own moment of world history has moved forward the great art of cinematography.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter thus explores the hypothesis that if codified as a trans-historical phenomenon, the early modern festival can be seen to reflect—and be reflected in—the practice of cinema, most particularly that of fin-de-siècle Europe. Thus, the study of one practice can greatly inform our understanding of another. Reevaluating the

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<sup>9</sup> Christopher Morris, “Songs of the Living Dead,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 27, 1 (2003): 92.

<sup>10</sup> Sergei Eisenstein, “Dickens, Griffith, and the Film Today,” in *Film Form: Essays in Film Theory*, ed. and trans. Jay Leyda (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 232-233. D.W. Griffith (1875-1948), to whom Eisenstein refers, was a prolific American Film Director in the early twentieth century.



cultural content of festivals can enrich our understanding of their role in early modern society and their impact on interstate relations. Just as cinema altered the way in which the masses viewed the world, so too did the festival. Before assessing the phenomenology of festival in more detail, an understanding of what can be constituted as ‘proto-cinema’ will help to consolidate this theory.

A precise definition of the term proto-cinema is difficult to underpin as it has received varying applications within film and art studies at large.<sup>11</sup> As Bruno and Eisenstein employ it, proto-cinema refers to spatial arts and practices that represent a cinematic imagination. Such practices often concern a traversal of space, where space is understood to be a conscious, living object, such as the practice of urban streetwalking or flânerie; museum walking; architectural explorations; carnival; and any other art or cultural practice that can be defined in and/or through the urban fabric. As presented in this chapter, proto-cinema lies midway between urban theatre and cinema, occupying a performative arena that shares values with both fields but cannot be fully defined as either. At times, Bruno uses the terms theatre and cinema interchangeably, where both practices pertain to a site of performance within the metropolis; ‘The movie theatre housed the city, which was itself a movie house, a theatre of modernity’s

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<sup>11</sup> As an auxiliary area of research within the field of film studies, proto-cinema has received sparse attention. Indeed, its inclusion is neglected altogether in both the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Early Cinema* and the *Oxford Dictionary of Film Studies*. See Richard Abel, ed., *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 2005); and Annette Kuhn and Guy Westwell, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of Film Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Laurent Mannoni equates proto-cinema with pre-cinema, something entirely disagreeable within the present discourse in this thesis; see Mannoni, “The Archaeology of Cinema/ Pre-Cinema,” in *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema*, 34. In other instances the term is taken to mean that which configures ‘motion and cognition’ and captures a sense of movement, not necessarily involving a machine or apparatus. Finally, proto-cinema is used to describe an early mode of photography as something that embodies an accurate reflection of reality, or ‘reflecting the truth’, in Aaron Gerow, “From Misemono to Zigomar: A discursive History of Early Japanese Cinema,” in *Silent Cinema and the Politics of Space*, ed. Jennifer M. Bean, Anupama Kapse and Laura Horak (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2014), 162.

journeys'.<sup>12</sup> Here we encounter the concept of a journey, wherein the city acts as a theatre that houses the playing out of modernities, and the spectator, who Bruno defines as a dweller-voyager, takes on the role of the performer in that journey. I write modernities as a plural noun recognizing that all ages of humanity have thought themselves to be living 'modernity's journey', and as such conceived themselves to be writing the future. This is quite pertinent to our discourse on festival and film, which were both concerned with the process of writing or *graphein*.<sup>13</sup> By evoking the past and writing the future, they both informed a new impression of "the now", that is to say the present of their own day, or as Morris writes above, their 'mythical present'.

Dictated by its inherent opacity, the term proto-cinema is malleable in its connotation and usage and can be applied to isolated practices that emulate what is best described as a 'cinematic imagination'. This interpretation has become embedded within public and academic discourse, popularised in part by the German filmmaker Werner Herzog, whose view of proto-cinema as cinematic imagination—as art in motion—is presented in his essay film *Cave of Forgotten Dreams*.<sup>14</sup> At first glance, two principles come to bare in Herzog's dialogue on proto-cinematic art: 1) motion and 2) projection (the projection of thoughts *or* images), neither of which necessitates a mechanical

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<sup>12</sup> Bruno, "Site-seeing," 13.

<sup>13</sup> The term *graphein* was locked into the early nomenclature of cinema along with the concept of movement that is engendered in the term *kinesis*. Fin-de-siècle terminology of cinema included 'Cinémato-graphe', 'Kineto-scope', 'Bio-graph', 'Vita-scope', 'Animato-graph', connoting what film scholar Thomas Elsaesser has deemed 'a mode of writing with images'. See Elsaesser, 'Is Nothing New? Turn-of-the-Century Epistemes in Film History', in *A Companion to Early Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, Nicolas Dulac, and Santiago Hidalgo (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 587.

<sup>14</sup> For select academic discourse on Herzog and proto-cinema see Lutz Koepnick, *On Slowness: Toward an Aesthetic of the Contemporary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Felicity Colman, "Affective Animal: Bataille, Lascaux, and the Mediatization of the Sacred," in *Beyond Animal: From Animality to Transhumanism*, ed. Charlie Blake, Claire Molloy, and Steven Shakespeare (London: Continuum, 2012), 145-166; and Mark Pizzato, "Cave Rituals and the Brain's Theatre," in *Theatre Symposium, Vol. 21: Ritual, Religion and Theater*, ed. E. Bert Wallace (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 2013), 116-136.

apparatus or a literal movement in space. In addressing the first factor, Herzog believes that one can instil images or visual displays with the perception of liveness without a literal transference of motion, producing instead a *sense* of mobilised visual space. Herzog's second principle of proto-cinema, projection, can refer to the process of casting images on a surface in its most primitive form: the manipulation of shadows. In the French Chauvet caves, the subject of Herzog's documentary, the strategic positioning of charcoal fires projected the shadow of the Palaeolithic painter onto the wall, inscribing the body into the process of image-making and almost ritualising the projection of the Self as an intrinsic part of the artistic process.<sup>15</sup> Here we encounter a reading of proto-cinematic projection—as opposed to mechanical projection—as the projection of the Self; the projection of higher consciousness into and onto space. These qualities of proto-cinematic projection are engendered in the early modern festival, where the complex relationship between image and identity is ameliorated by projecting the image of the Self (in this case the *de facto* ruler) onto the physical and psychological structures of power and governance that dominated the early modern landscape. This is evident throughout Duke Cosimo de' Medici's reign of the Florentine Principate in his emboldening of the liberal and mechanical arts for his encomiastic self-fashioning.

To Herzog's principles of proto-cinema, we can add a third to our definition: cognition. The search for and embodiment of cognition in the process of image making refers to an intrinsic desire to write knowledge with images. To the practice of image making, we can also add musicking, dance, and any form of performance art or ritual making.

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<sup>15</sup> For further discussion on Herzog's interpretation of motion and shadow-play in the Chauvet caves, see Werner Herzog and Zach Zorich. "An Interview with Werner Herzog on the Birth of Art," *Archaeology* 64, no. 2 (2011). <http://tinyurl.com/zkt5gf4>.

Cognition is a multiway thoroughfare of understanding between the spectacle maker, the spectacle itself and the spectator, and thus cognitive exchange is also part of the proto-cinematic framework. Susan Buck-Morss writes that ‘cognition is a physical as well as an intellectual function’, and cinema enhances this function by providing a prosthetic organ (the screen) through which we can perceive and experience knowledge.<sup>16</sup> For her, ‘It is the everyday experience of cinema that gives us to “see”, quite unpretentiously, the apodictically reduced, phenomenological object of cognition’.<sup>17</sup> Again, this cognitive exchange is evident in the early modern festival where the spectacle maker sets out to evoke a reaction within the spectator through a series of object based (visual) and musical (temporal) performances—the spectacle itself. The screen of cinema (film), or the imagined screen of proto-cinema (festival) is thus a prosthetically functioning, reversible tissue through which ideas, thought-objects and consciousness flow. This idea can be explained further through Merleau-Ponty’s ontology of the flesh, which he explains through the analogy of a chiasm.

In his essay ‘The Intertwining—The Chiasm’, Merleau-Ponty writes of the chiasm in both a physiological and literary sense, whereby it connotes the intertwining or interweaving of anatomical structures such as the optical nerves, and also the circular chiasmic patterns of a literary text (AB:BA, for example). The chiasm is not a barrier or an obstacle that the subject or object must circumvent, but rather it is a permeable and reversible membrane through which we communicate with the world via mediated interrelationships. As Ted Toadvine elucidates it, ‘chiasm is ... a crisscrossing or a bi-directional becoming or exchange between the body and things that justifies speaking

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<sup>16</sup> Susan Buck-Morss, “The Cinema Screen as Prosthesis of Perception: A Historical Account,” in *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, ed. Nadia Seremetakis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 55.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

of a “flesh” of things, a kinship between the sensing body and sensed things that makes their communication possible’.<sup>18</sup> Merleau-Ponty writes that the flesh—that is, the space between the perceiver and the perceived/ the subject and object—functions as a reversible, circular chiasm that both separates and connects the body and the world around it.<sup>19</sup> The flesh exists between visible things (sensible things), where visible is ‘a quality pregnant with a texture, the surface of a depth, a cross section upon a massive being, a grain or corpuscle borne by a wave of Being’; and also between invisible things, what he calls the flesh of ideas (involving the realm of art, music, literature and the passions).<sup>20</sup> At its core, his ontology of the flesh aims to write the *body* back into the frame of phenomenological philosophy as the locus of consciousness and conscious thought, instilling in the field the primacy of the sensible-sentient body in our perceptual experience of the world. The objects of consciousness (visible and invisible) can only be perceived if they are first felt by, or pass through the sensing body. His approach contrasts to that of Husserl and Heidegger who prioritised a transcendental consciousness and the role of the abstract intellect in our ‘knowing’ of the world.

Merleau-Ponty’s writings on perception and being are central to the theoretical gamut of this chapter and of this thesis at large, for they support the argument that the festival (like cinema) engages the spectator through their bodily participation in the act of spectacle and in the act of movement. In festival, the spectator participates through the act of voyage (a literal movement in space) as they follow the procession of the spectacle through the city. Even when the kinetic spectacle becomes static at given

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<sup>18</sup> Ted Toadvine, “Maurice Merleau-Ponty,” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/merleau-ponty/>.

<sup>19</sup> Merleau-Ponty, “The Intertwining”, 130-155.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 136 and 149.

points, the spectator continues to move freely through bodily gesture. In cinema, movement is subtle and is conducted through what Merleau-Ponty calls ‘the look’, where the eyes become the point of sensible-sentient perception. Cinema transgresses the need for physical bodily motion, allowing the movement of images to catapult the viewer into a state of sentient voyage, through the mind. The sensible-sentient body receives and processes the sounds, sights, and sites of the festival or cinema, and it is through these physical and temporal objects (the visible and invisible flesh) that they experience the subliminal relationships with those objects or ideas. It is during this passage of cognitive exchange that the extraneous becomes intrinsic through social, political, and spiritual means. The iconographer knows what s/he is doing when they strategically position heraldic devices so that they will be seen by a monarch at a specific time and place; the composer knows that s/he can amplify the affects of a sacred motet by using the reverberant spaces of the basilica to bestir a heightened existential experience; the cinematographer knows that s/he can use devices to shock the spectator by distorting the space-time continuum through the cinematic object.

Through the language of Merleau-Ponty’s flesh and chiasm, we can come to know the meaning of the above statement, that the screen of cinema (film), or the imagined screen of proto-cinema (festival) is a prosthetically functioning, reversible tissue through which ideas, thought-objects and consciousness flow. This moves us toward a definition of proto-cinema where the principles of motion, projection and cognition can be taken to underpin its deixis. I posit that any practice which embodies an overt cinematic consciousness through the principles of motion, projection and cognition, can be assigned a proto-cinematic identity, independent of its teleology or its ordination in the timeline of cinema’s epistemic genealogy. It is with this belief that I

advance my reading of festival as proto-cinema, seeking to demonstrate how the festival manifests a cinematic imagination. This will be done under three principal investigative headings: music and sound, architecture, and *vedutismo*.

## **I: Music and Sound**

Music, as Christopher Small mediates it, is a perceptual process that involves a multiplicity of phenomena. Moreover, music is a live temporal process, it is not static or objective, and as such can be more easily expressed as a set of relationships pertaining to the act of performance, or any relational participation in that performance. Both the mediation of music and the act of musicking can be thought of as a multimodal composite comprising acts of listening, performing, dancing, remembering (music as a mnemonic device), composing, staging, and so on.<sup>21</sup> It is this understanding of music as a composite process that defines its role and impact in early modern festivals. As stated in Chapter One, festivals were performances with a complex musico-visual programme, and involved a cast of players who participated in various ways in the musical setting, formally and informally. Informal music within the festival soundscape consisted of a cacophony of human chatter, applause, cheering, carnival song, fanfare, artillery, church bells, natural sounds (flowing rivers, wind), and triumphal bands.<sup>22</sup> Collectively these sounds contributed to the spectator's perceptual experience of the festival. As has been established within the field of soundscape studies, seemingly peripheral sounds within our environment are in fact

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<sup>21</sup> For more on the theory of musicking, see Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1998). For an application of the theory of musicking and musical consciousness to early modern music, see Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed study on Florentine soundscapes in everyday life, see Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture and Florentine Urban Life* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University, 2016). For a discussion of soundscapes and the early modern festival, see Flora Dennis, "Music in Ferrarese Festivals: Harmony and Chaos," in *Court Festivals*, 287-93.

intrinsic to our experience of space and place. As Pauline Oliveros exclaims, ‘the ear is a faithful collector of all sounds that can be gathered within its limits of frequency and amplitude. Sounds beyond the limits of the ear may be gathered by other sensory systems of the body’.<sup>23</sup>

One such sensory system that can expand our auditory receptive channels is the physiological process of proprioception, a sense that works closely with the vestibular and auditory systems to coordinate bodily relationships in the process of movement. Alicia Peñalba Acitores argues further that proprioception allows us to connect our two levels of consciousness—primary consciousness (mental awareness of things in the world) and higher-order consciousness (awareness of the self through actions and affections)—and to engage in the process of cognitive exchange.<sup>24</sup> As she asserts, ‘musical consciousness is a difficult concept to define for a number of reasons. Not only is music a very broad and inclusive term comprising a number of activities ... but consciousness also presents different levels of awareness’.<sup>25</sup> She continues to express this complexity in the fact that one’s perception of music (when the music is ongoing or *in performance*) is led by both physical and emotional factors. On one hand, our consciousness leads us to recognise rhythm, melody and musical structures, and on the other it evokes visual metaphors, feelings and memories pertaining to the idiomatic Self. It is at this junction that proprioception facilitates the mediation between our two levels of musical consciousness.

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<sup>23</sup> Pauline Oliveros, *Deep Listening: A Composer’s Sound Practice* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005), 19.

<sup>24</sup> Alicia Peñalba Acitores, “Towards a Theory of Proprioception as a Bodily Basis for Consciousness in Music,” in *Music and Consciousness: Philosophical, Psychological, and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. David Clarke and Eric Clarke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 215-230.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.



Without entering into the technical linguistics of neurophysics or perceptual psychology, both Oliveros's discourse on our relationship to the sonic environment in her tome *Deep Listening*, and Acitores's proposition that we can relate to music—or more specifically, our subjective musical consciousness—through bodily awareness (proprioception), feed into our understanding of the early modern festival as a multi-sensorial phenomenon in which musical and image-based schemata played complimentary and equally central roles in the expression of political statements and the portrayal of civic and courtly identities. Music can achieve this through its ability to inform the structures of cognitive exchange. For example, the arrangement of concentrated natural and synthetic sounds in a close-knit ritualised and festivalistic environment induces a reaction from the spectator by not only engaging their physical senses, but by evoking certain imagery, emotions, memories and opinions of the external world. The forces of informal temporal sounds worked alongside the role of formal music, which was much more evolved (or indeed targeted) in its structures of consciousness and cognitive exchange. Formal music contributed a deeply subliminal narrative that was driven by modal ethos and consolidated by the visual programme that appeared with it. In curating a series of informal soundscapes and formal performances, festival programmers produced or coerced a musical consciousness that was driven by an artful understanding of early modern musical psychology.

The principles of this pseudo-psychology have been interpreted by Gary Tomlinson as part of the paradigm of Hellenic and Neo-Platonic occult discourse in the early modern world.<sup>26</sup> Such discourse is manifest in the theory of musical ethos and cosmic harmony

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<sup>26</sup> Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).

(*musica mundana*), which proliferated music and even architectural treatises of the middle ages and renaissance.<sup>27</sup> The first half of the sixteenth century was still predominantly concerned with speech making, image making and musicking in a distinctly humanist light, advocating Neo-Platonic ideals of cosmic harmony, poetic furor and metaphysicality. These were elemental and cosmological attributes stemming from the Pythagorean classification of intervals and the music of the spheres. Any discourse concerning the notion of *musica mundana* at this time is inextricably connected to an idiosyncratic system of spiritual, philosophical, medical and humanistic beliefs based on a revival and re-appropriation of the ancient Greek genera and their associated hierarchy. It was not until the turn of the sixteenth century, Tomlinson notes, that that theory of cosmic harmony became united with *musica humana* in a meaningful way.<sup>28</sup> The emergence of convergent theories that more systematically integrated Boethius' musical triad of *mundana-humana-instrumentalis* came from Ramos de Pareia (*Musica Practica*, 1482), Franchino Gafori (*De harmonia musicorum intrumentorum*, 1518), and Marsilio Ficino (*De vita*, 1489). These theorists began to consider the interrelation of human music with the music of the spheres, and the ensuing affects music had (or could have) on the human soul. The alliance of music with occult philosophy, medicine and astrology resulted in the ideology that music could either move man's soul, or suppress it, depending on the affect produced by intervallic and modal gestures on the bodily humors. This contemporary sensorial understanding of music, albeit within a strict modal arrangement, and its affect on

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<sup>27</sup> For select treatises, see Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (c. 20 BC); Boethius, *De institutione musica* (c. 6<sup>th</sup> century); Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis commentarii* (c. 9<sup>th</sup> century); Johannes Tinctoris, *De inventione et usu musice* (c. 1480s); Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia, *Musica Practica* (1482); Franchino Gafori, *De harmonia musicorum intrumentorum* (1518); and Stefano Vanneo, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (1533). For an overview of the references to *musica mundana* in these and other treatises, see Tomlinson, "Modes in Planetary Song: The Musical Alliance of Ethics and Cosmology," in *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 67-100.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

bodily and psychological behaviour feeds into the argument that festival is primarily an (e)motional construct for it moves the spectator to experience an affect or multiple affects. Together with a complex visual programme, music helped to move the spectator through the city and in turn moved his or her emotions in a preordained way. This approach to the analysis of the formal musical components of the 1539 festival will be applied in Part Three of this thesis.

More immediately however, it is necessary to first bridge the role of music and sound in festival with its relationship to the visual object. For this, we can turn once again to cinema, and to the Russian film theorist Sergei Eisenstein. In his essay, *A Dialectic Approach to Film*, Eisenstein writes of the role of music in the art of audio-vision.

With only one step from visual vibrations to acoustic vibrations, we find ourselves in the field of music. From the domain of the spatial-pictorial to the domain of the temporal-pictorial where the same law rules [*conflict*]. For counterpoint is to music not only a form of composition, but is altogether the basic factor for the possibility of tone perception and tone differentiation.<sup>29</sup>

Before the transition to sound cinema in the late 1920s (or ‘talkies’, as they became known), silent films utilised live and mechanised sound in their performance to achieve a fully integrated audio-visual cinematic experience. Cinematographers and theatre owners came to know the great void that silent film espoused without the presence of sound in formal or informal manifestations, thus creating a desire for mechanisms that could produce live recorded sound (such as Edison’s kinetophone) amidst the wave of mechanical innovation in the late nineteenth century. It is an oft-

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<sup>29</sup> Eisenstein, “A Dialectic Approach to Film Form,” in *Film Form*, 52.

overlooked fact in cinema history that sound was present and indeed important in the emergence of the early film industry, and although Eisenstein made his first foray into film making at the cusp of the transition from silent to sound in the 1920s, he understood the integrity and essentiality of music in film; he understood what Rick Altman has more recently expressed: ‘with sound, cinema is granted a new hearing’.<sup>30</sup> Composer and audio-visual theoretician Michel Chion writes that sound unifies shots within a montage, acting as an adhesive that affixes the sequence together.<sup>31</sup> Chion describes the presence of music as *added value*, an expressive and informative value, where ‘a sound enriches a given image so as to create the definite impression [...] that this information or expression “naturally” comes from what is seen, and is already contained in the image itself’.<sup>32</sup> I don’t believe that Chion employs the term ‘added value’ in a way that means to diminish the autonomy of music or sound in film, but rather that he wants to express the heightened potential of music and image *together* to intensify the filmic experience. By proxy of their shared phenomenological value, the musico-visual relationship manifests in a similar way in festival.

I perceive Eisenstein and Chion’s views—that is, their view of music/sound as a temporal agent that compounds the effect of the visual image—as a phenomenological analysis of film and the cinematic object. This analysis highlights the complex interrelationship of music, sound and image, and the role of this interrelationship in the mediation of cognitive exchange during the cinematic experience. In the very same way that music and the image create a compound of visuo-acoustic and visuo-spatial vibrations in film, music and the image do so in festival, with the exception that it is

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<sup>30</sup> Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 7.

<sup>31</sup> Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, ed. and trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

through a live performance medium and pursuant interactions with the spectator/audience necessarily involves a multiplicity of stimuli from the real world, awakening at once all the bodily and sentient senses. We will return to this theory in Chapter Four for it holds an interesting significance to our 1539 case study concerning Niccolò il Tribolo's triumphal arch. The archway can be analysed through a proto-cinematic reading of festival using the music-sound-image paradigm. In order to fully comprehend this paradigm and its application to the festival of 1539, we must further expand its reach into the realm of space and architecture.

## **II: Architecture as Montage**

Acknowledging the ability of the film camera to 'fix the total representation of a phenomenon in its full visual multidimensionality', Sergei Eisenstein reverts his focus back in time to the camera's 'undoubted ancestor': architecture.<sup>33</sup> The second way we can read festival as proto-cinema is in its filmic presentation of architecture, for the early moderns understood that materially and rhetorically, architecture is a performance. With a fabric woven of physical and emotional psychologies, architectural performances arrest time, identity, power, and place within a grand tectonic melodrama. An awareness of the narrative import of architecture was evident in ancient and early modern civilisations. It is palpable in the world's most recognisable historic structures; the Pyramids of Giza, the Acropolis of Athens, the Coliseum of Rome, the Angkor Temples of Cambodia, the Basilica Vaticana. Standing as silent storytellers, each site enacts a dramatic testimonial of a once vibrant culture

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<sup>33</sup> Eisenstein, "Montage and Architecture," trans. Michael Glenny, *Assemblage* 10 (1989): 117.

and mythology. It is through reflecting on these structures and their individual stories that the blurred lines of history begin to come into focus.

For Eisenstein, the beauty of architecture lies in the concept that a materially static phenomenon can involve a dynamic function. As German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling reflected, ‘architecture, in general, is frozen music [...] it is a concrete music’.<sup>34</sup> Schelling’s metaphor, later famously reiterated by Goethe, was inspired by the cornerstone of ancient architectural treatises, Vitruvius’s *De Architectura*, in which the architect wrote about the relationship between architecture, music, and the harmonic order of the universe.<sup>35</sup> This organic interplay of form and harmony began to shape the Roman cityscape during the reign of Augustus, and was further influenced by the performative role of architecture. Ancient Roman ceremonial cultivated a particular verve for extravagant arches of triumph—a utopian storytelling device that received renewed interest and appreciation in early modern Europe. In mirroring its ancient ceremonial function, the triumphal arch was the focal point of the early modern festival, being the site of the first and most important musico-visual spectacle the monarch would encounter upon entering the city. This was most certainly the case in 1539 when Eleonora and her Spanish-Neapolitan entourage approached the extolled city of Florence via an elaborate ephemeral display of iconographic and musical symbolism. An exploration of Eisenstein’s theoretical writings on architecture and film montage suggests a valuable interpretive framework for understanding these great tectonic melodramas: a) his theory of montage, and b) his theory of shot design.

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<sup>34</sup> ‘Wenn die Architektur überhaupt die erstarrte Musik ist’. Friedrich W. J. von Schelling, *Werke: Auswahl in drei Bänden*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Fritz Ekardt Verlag, 1907), 241.

<sup>35</sup> For more on this topic, see Daniel K.S. Walden, “Frozen Music: Music and Architecture in Vitruvius’ *De Architectura*,” *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 2 (2014): 124-145, doi: 10.1163/22129758-12341255.

## **Eisenstein's Theory of Montage**

Montage has in some contemporary respects acquired pejorative connotations. This is largely due to its ideation as a clichéd filmic nuance employed to evoke the dramatic passing of time. The 'modern montage' is familiar to viewers of screen cinema as a sequence of events juxtaposed with a voice-over or musical score, at the end of which the viewer emerges to an evolved narrative in future space and time. This however, does not accurately represent its original function in cinematography. Montage, in its initial inception, was literally the assemblage or organisation of shots, whereby film negatives would be spliced and reassembled in an organised manner. It was employed experimentally by Russian avant-garde filmmakers to break up time and space, liberating film 'from more static, theatre-based forms of presentation'.<sup>36</sup> As part of the theoretical fabric in which we can read festival as proto-cinema, this thesis proposes to re-contextualise early modern festival architecture as a representation of filmic montage, using a theory advanced by Eisenstein.

Sergei Eisenstein wrote prolifically on the art of film practice, theory and aesthetics, producing a large anthology of work between the years 1920 and 1947. During this period he yielded in particular three major but unfinished projects, 'The Spherical Book' (1929), 'Montage' (1937-40), and 'Method' (1939-47), which generated some of the most important theoretical ideas in film studies. The second of these is of particular interest to us, for in this collection of essays he presents his evolving ideas on the art of montage. The foundations of his theoretical musings were built on more than a drive to perfect his own art, but rather as a mission to read the practice of cinema

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<sup>36</sup> Andrew Dix, *Beginning Film Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 59.

back into a long history of visual culture. Writing of the polymathic nature of his work, Oksana Bulgakowa frames how his ideas have formed a timeless paradigm within and beyond the sphere of media and visual culture, stating that he ‘aligned his theoretical systems to offer a multifaceted model that could describe and analyse the heterogeneous phenomena of all the arts’.<sup>37</sup> In this respect, he was one of the most important trans-disciplinary theoreticians of the twentieth century.

Throughout his career, Eisenstein fervently expressed the necessity of experiencing film and cinema in wider historico-cultural contexts. Amongst his historically cultivated views on film, he wrote that for one to understand the true art of montage, they must first look to architecture.<sup>38</sup> He believed architecture to be capable of expressing the totality of multidimensional visual phenomena, a feat uncommon to any other art until the advent of film. For a masterclass in the art of montage, he looks to Athens.

The Greeks have left us the most perfect examples of shot design, change of shot, and shot length (that is the duration of a particular impression). Victor Hugo called the medieval cathedrals ‘books in stone’ ... The Acropolis of Athens has an equal right to be called the perfect example of one of the most ancient films.<sup>39</sup>

When viewing the Acropolis, Eisenstein looks beyond a series of static objects in stone and sees before him an ancient film, unfolding scene by scene in a dramatic montage

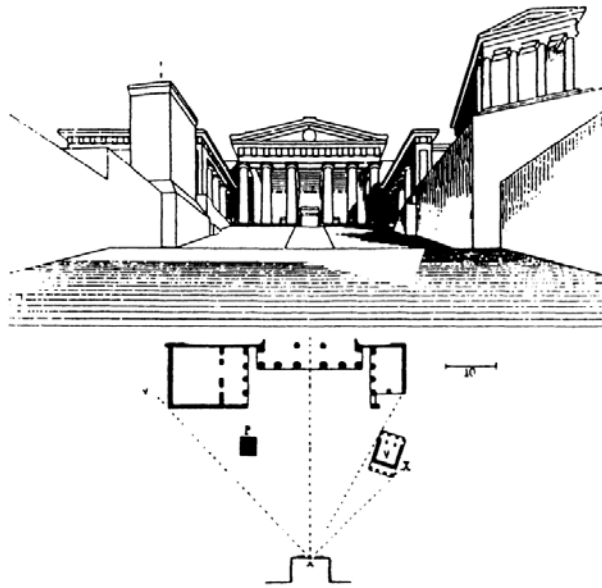
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<sup>37</sup> Oksana Bulgakowa, “The Evolving Eisenstein: Three Theoretical Constructs of Sergei Eisenstein,” in *Eisenstein at 100: A Reconsideration*, ed. Albert J. LaValley and Barry P. Scherr (New Jersey: Rutgers, 2001), 38.

<sup>38</sup> Eisenstein, “Montage and Architecture,” 129.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.





**Figure 3.1** (Top) View of the Propylaeum; (below) Plan of the Acropolis. The plan outlines the Propylaeum (A), Statue of Athene Promakhos (P), and the Parthenon (V). The building North-West of Athene Promakhos is the Erechtheion. The dotted lines illustrate the visual trajectory of the montage sequence. (Image reproduced from Sergei Eisenstein, “Montage and Architecture,” *Assemblage*, 10 (1989): 118, fig. 3).

sequence. As one approaches the sacred hill upon which the Acropolis sits, one is greeted with a series of panoramas, the first of which is the magnificent Propylaeum. Facing the entrance to the Acropolis, the viewer encounters the first filmic shot. Initially, the proportions of the whole structure appear asymmetrical to the viewer, with the right wing appearing broader than the left, and thus inharmonious in perspective (Figure 3.1). However, it was this exact illusion that the architects intended to create, as once the viewer emerges from the Propylaeum, each view therein reveals a perfectly synchronised perspective in relation to each successive panorama, or filmic shot. As the plan of the Acropolis in Figure 3.1 outlines, the eye-line pans successively from left to right in an intervallic sequence. For Eisenstein, these individual shots compartmentalise the panorama into segments of impeccable optical symmetry, revealing a ‘completely balanced whole in which the general symmetry of the masses

is accompanied by a subtle diversity in the details'.<sup>40</sup> Each landmark of the acropolis acquires precise significance in relation to its position within the whole. For instance, the Parthenon only assumes significance once the viewer loses sight of the gargantuan Athena, stepping into a new visual field within the architectural arena. It has been argued that the Parthenon and the Acropolis at large tectonically reflect the proportions of the golden mean (*phi*).<sup>41</sup> With this view, the campus as a whole can be compartmentalised into a map of geometrical symmetry, reflecting a part-is-to-whole montage composition. It is thus possible that the architects were cognisant of the interrelationship of each aspect of the citadel,<sup>42</sup> creating a filmic map that made sense both at individual intersections of the Acropolis, and as a unified sequence of panoramic shots.<sup>43</sup> It is this abstraction that remains important for our case study of the architecture of 1539.

### **Shots and Intra-shots: Perfecting Architectural Montage**

Eisenstein believed that montage was more than the sum of intricately juxtaposed shots, something he criticised in the work of his contemporaries Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893-1953) and Lev Kuleshov (1899-1970), who thought of montage as a series of building blocks. Rather, montage encompassed what he called *intra*-shots, a micro montage that exists within the space of a singular frame, riven by graphic, volumetric

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>41</sup> See Peter F. Smith, *The Dynamics of Delight: Architecture and Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2003), 83-7; Emily Verba, "The Golden Ratio in Time-Based Media," *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2012): 57; Anjan Chatterjee, *The Aesthetic Brain: How we Evolved to Desire Beauty and Enjoy Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 56; and David Gries and Fred B. Schneider, *A Logical Approach to Discreet Math* (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 1993), 225.

<sup>42</sup> The architects behind the Acropolis include Phidias (490 – 430 BC), Ictinus (C5 BC), Callicrates (C5 BC) and Mnesicles (C5 BC), among others.

<sup>43</sup> For Eisenstein's detailed analysis of the Acropolis, see "Montage and Architecture," 117-121.

and kinetic clashes.<sup>44</sup> He critiques montage as an explosion of internal narratives driving forward the total film.

If montage is to be compared with something, then a phalanx of montage pieces, of shots, should be compared to the series of explosions of an internal combustion engine, driving forward its automobile or tractor: for, similarly, the dynamics of montage serve as impulses driving forward the total film.<sup>45</sup>

As stated above, he believed that the process of montage was exemplified in architecture before it was made manifest in the practice of cinema, endorsing the ancients and early moderns as exemplars of this art form.<sup>46</sup> In addition to his analysis of the Acropolis, he cites the *Baldacchino* of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome as an exemplar of architectural montage, paying close attention to the *mise-en-cadre* of its iconographic programme (the pictorial composition of mutually independent shots).<sup>47</sup>

Figure 3.2 illuminates Bernini's 11.5 metre-high *Baldacchino* and Figure 3.3 illustrates a map of the Barberini plinths, showing the way in which Eisenstein viewed the montage unfolding. He travels slowly around the *Baldacchino* behind a figurative camera, viewing the structure through a moving lens that brings the various elements of the design into focus at specific intervals. Starting at point 1 (Figure 3.3), the camera encircles the emblazoned columns at the base, moving through all consecutive plinths until it eventually arrives at point 8. The distance between each plinth as demonstrated

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<sup>44</sup> Dix, *Beginning Film Studies*, 60.

<sup>45</sup> Eisenstein, "The Cinematographic Principle and the Ideogram," in *Film Form*, 36.

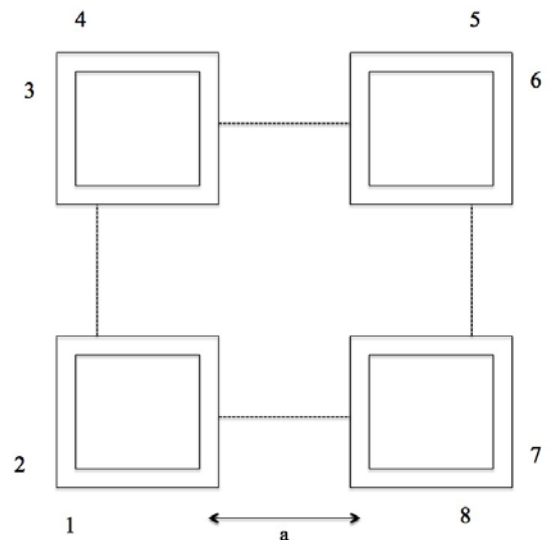
<sup>46</sup> Eisenstein, "Montage and Architecture," 117.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-28. For Eisenstein, *mise-en-cadre* and *mise-en-scene* are not mutually exclusive in film, but occupy different roles in the frame. See "Through Theatre to Cinema," in *Film Form*, 16.

by point A in Figure 3.3 is approximately six meters. On each outer side of the four plinths is the coat of arms of the Barberini family in honour of Pope Urban VIII, by whom the altar was commissioned in 1633. At first glance, these eight arms are cursorily identical. They are seemingly mundane iconographic relics of early modern political etiquette. At a closer glance however, each *mise-en-cadre* reveals several anomalies that collectively illustrate an intriguing interior narrative.



**Figure 3.2** Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The bronze canopy of the *Baldacchino* in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. (Photograph by Anderson, c.1880, Fratelli Alinari Museum Collections, Favrod Collection, Florence. Reproduced with permission by Alinari Educational Photolibrary).



**Figure 3.3** Map of Sergei Eisenstein's interpretive montage of Bernini's plinths. Orientation: 1 = SE/E; 2 = SE/S; 3 = SW/S; 4 = SW/W; 5 = NW/W; 6 = NW/N; 7 = NE/N; 8 = NE/E. (Illustration by the author).

Embedded within the heraldry and its ornamented curlicues is the story of a woman in labour. The sculpted reliefs animate a female figure in great physical anguish. Her anatomy is figured in three distinctive aspects: head, body and genital organs

(Appendix F).<sup>48</sup> The heraldic field features the illustrious Barberini bees, two on top, and one on the bottom. Bernini carved the shield in imitation of an impregnated torso (Appendix F, plate 2), growing increasingly convex as the montage progresses, until finally relaxing in the penultimate and ultimate shots. On the eighth and final relief (NE pilaster, E façade), the woman's head is replaced with that of a curly-haired winged *putto*, representing the birth of new life (Appendix F, plate 1). Above the shield (or torso) was figured the head, and below it the ominous relief of a satyr-like grotesque, or as is alternatively interpreted, the female genitals (Appendix F, plate 3).<sup>49</sup>

In this interpretation, Eisenstein reads the baldachin like a film, akin to his reading of the Acropolis. The interior narrative of the Bernini plinths is made intelligible to the viewer through carefully executed shot-design. Each motif is constructed of evocative intra shots while simultaneously contextualised in sequence to the next scene, creating a complete and affective montage. If we adopt this perspective, we can position architectural montage in the wider context of reading festival as proto-cinema. Let us be reminded here of that crucial third dimension expressed in architecture. It is within the depth of field shaped by three-dimensional space that stories come to life in a way

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<sup>48</sup> It is significant to note that the head and torso of each relief are proportionate to human scale. In addition, G. J. Witkowski wrote in his illustrated guide to profane art in European churches, *L'Art Profane a l'Église* (1908) that the anatomical features of the so-called female genitals adhere correctly to the changes that occur throughout the stages of parturition. See Witkowski, *L'Art Profane a l'Église: Ses Licenses Symboliques, Satiriques et Fantaisistes*, Book I (Paris: Jean Schemit Libraire, 1908), 252-56. Witkowski was likely aware of G. E. Curatolo's 1901 obstetrical analysis of the grotesques in which he physiologically confirmed the birthing sequence displayed on the pedestals. See Eisenstein, "Montage and Architecture," 124.

<sup>49</sup> Eisenstein cites a number of art historians who analysed the Bernini sequence in the early-twentieth century, including Gaetano Dossi, G. E. Curatolo, P. Noury, G. J. Witkowski and Guillermo Dellhora in "Montage and Architecture," 122. Keith Miller has more recently discussed the marble decoration of the baldachin, referring to the genitalia-like grotesque on the coat of arms as a 'suggestively frilled and pleated ornament', see Miller, *St. Peter's* (London: Profile Books, 2007), 107. The significance of the Bernini pedestals has been much contested by scholars. The most detailed modern study appears to be Irving Lavin's "Footsteps on the Way to Redemption: The Pedestals of Bernini's Baldacchino in St. Peter's," in *La Basilica di San Pietro: Fortuna e Immagine*, ed. Giovanni Morello (Rome: Gangemi, 2013), 245-313, in which he moves away from controversial interpretations of profanity to a more decorous, spiritual reading of their genesis.

that begins to impress upon us the idea of motion. This theory will be applied to the analysis of Tribolo's triumphal arch of 1539 in Chapter Four. In moving from the public domain of architectural montage, the next part of the early modern festival enters the private realm of the renaissance city, moving from civic space to courtly space, and hence into a new dimension of .

### **III: *Vedutismo***

The third way we can read the festival as proto-cinema is in its treatment of the personification and mobilisation of place. This is visible in the part of the festival that concerned the private or semi-private spectacle, which was treated in 1539 in a particularly interesting way. One might even claim that the treatment of spectacle in this festival was uniquely Medicean. In this argument, we can look to Giuliana Bruno to help clarify its theoretical apparatus.

If we look beyond perspectivism [...] we can set the invention of film against a different panorama [...] We can see it as a form of mapping, inscribed in a movement in perspectival space that tends away from perspectivism and toward a tactile view of space. "Viewed" as this particular architectonics – a spatial navigation—the motion of moving pictures is revealed as an embodiment of space that approaches the feeling of the haptic.<sup>50</sup>

Here Giuliana Bruno explores the idea that moving images can be seen to reflect, and be reflected in the proto-filmic practice of spatial navigation. She posits that modern film can be viewed as a form of mapping; the type of mapping that is animated by an emotional embodiment of space. In her consideration of filmic space and its inherent

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<sup>50</sup> Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film* (New York: Verso, 2007), 180.

hapticity, she encounters the early modern tradition of *vedutismo*, a multimedia *site*-seeing practice that encapsulated urban and rural views through mapping, paintings, illustrations and woodcuts.<sup>51</sup> This tradition was familiar to early modern patrons of the arts who often advanced the genre for their self-fashioning agendas, chief among them Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. Chapter Five will focus on how the new Florentine duke adapted the *vedutismo* tradition in a uniquely innovative way during his wedding festivities in 1539. A week after the formal *entrata* of the Duchess Eleonora into Florence, the Palazzo Medici was transformed into an interactive theatre of flamboyant scenographic display for the official wedding banquet of the new ducal couple. A feast of sumptuous food and wine was followed by a sequence of non-continuity (non-narrative) spectacles that allegorised the expansive Medici pseudo-empire. These spectacles have presented a classificational conundrum to musicologists and art historians alike, for they do not emphatically fit within the boundaries of any particular genre. One may recognise in them facets of allegorical pageantry, musical *trionfi* (triumphs), parades, or masques, yet none of these genres can adequately describe their unique aestheticism. While acknowledging tacit compliance with courtly performance practice of the time, my argument suggests that these spectacles bridged the non-temporal visual tradition of *vedutismo* with the temporal audio-visual tradition of musical allegory. These performances focused on the importance of place. To refer back to Bruno's passage above, their intrinsic material motivation was to inscribe movement in perspectival space. In so doing, they took the form of the static *veduta* and mobilised it. The form and function of mobilised image making in this specific

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<sup>51</sup> While *vedutismo* has become synonymous with the seventeenth-century tradition of Grand Touring, and is associated with the sei-settecento urban views of Gaspar van Wittel (1653-1736) or Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768), it will be elaborated below how the tradition began in Europe, particularly Italy much earlier than this, culminating in a number of topographical views which have come to enduringly define the image of prominent Italian cities.

context will thus feature as the primary discursive departure of this application of proto-cinematic theory. Following on from this, it will address the non-narrative spectacle; a phenomenon employed in early modern theatre, most notably in the performance practice of *commedia dell'arte* and *intermedii*. As the name betrays, these spectacles are characterised by a non-continuous narrative, or may evade any notion of narrative entirely, embracing instead the affecting impact of separate visual attractions. Thus, when we align the structural phenomena of *vedutismo* with that of the non-narrative spectacle, a pattern of an overtly proto-cinematic imagination is revealed. In addition to the proposal of viewing ceremonial architecture as montage, this reading shows that the continued festivities of the Medici-Toledo wedding celebrations further influence our redefinition of the early modern festival as proto-cinema.

### **The *Vedutismo* Tradition**

“The image of the city” offered by *vedutismo* is the product of a gaze for the most part positioned at a high point, often looking down or, at times, an aerial gaze. The codes of landscape painting and urban topography merge in creating such a view. *Vedutismo* strives to see a different landscape from that observed by a walker, that is, to see another aspect of the city, looking differently. These representations could not always be seen in actuality, not even if one went to the highest point of the city to look. The painter attempts to make the city visible by creating, with a new point of view, a new visuality.<sup>52</sup>

*Vedutismo* occupies an important place in Italy’s visual history. The urban panorama is most often how we visualise the prominent *vedute* of its illustrious cities. Florence,

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<sup>52</sup> Giuliana Bruno, *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), 211.



for example, is immediately associated with a panorama of rustic roof-tops, crenulating in a counterpoint of church towers, *palazzi*, and civic buildings, all of which seem to lead the eye toward the piece-de-résistance of Florentine architecture, Brunelleschi's dome (Figure 3.4). As Giuliana Bruno identifies above, the views encapsulated by *vedutismo* do not necessarily offer cartographic or topographic realism. In fact, they often evade 'cognitive mapping' in search of diverse observational routing, and the creation of imaginative representational maps.<sup>53</sup> The practice of *vedutismo* gained popular status in the late seventeenth century, coinciding with the golden epoch of European travel known as the Grand Tour. Travel agents realised the commercial potential of mapping, and of advertising urban attractions *vis-à-vis* the *veduta*. However, the importance of (and arguable human need for) cultural and topographic mapping can be traced back millennia to the caves of prehistory. In the caves of Chauvet-Pont-d'arc in Southern France, the subject of Werner Herzog's *Cave of Forgotten Dreams* and the locus of his discourse on proto-cinema, a map of palm prints dating from approximately 32,000 years ago adorns the façade of the cave's main entrance.

The cartographer in this instance was a six-foot-tall male bearing a trademark in his work: the imprint of a crooked small finger. This trademark reveals his identity throughout the rest of the cave where his palm-prints continue to be found, mapping not only the entrance to the cave, but perhaps its entire geospatial fabric.<sup>54</sup> The

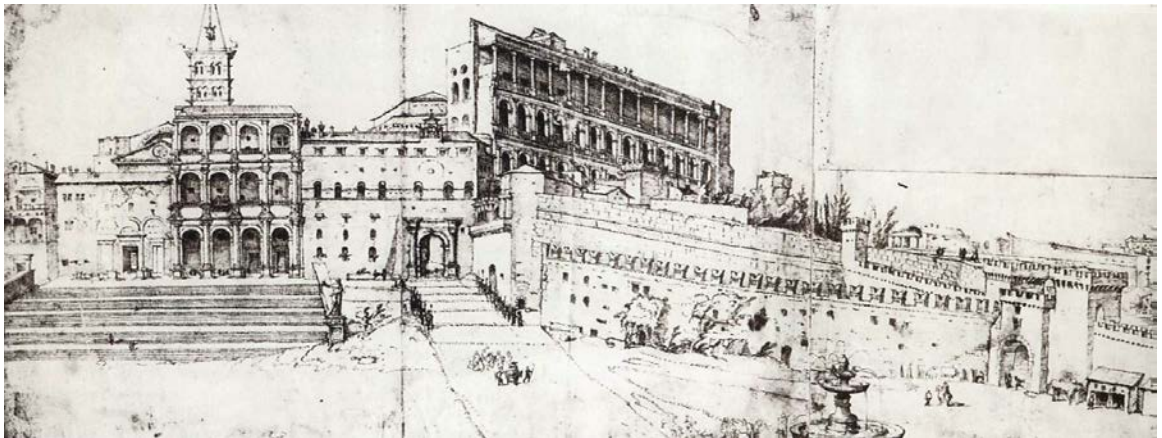
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<sup>53</sup> Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotions*, 174. Urban historian Lucia Nuti has noted that maps and urban imaging sought to capture truthfulness, 'a true relationship with the world seen', toward the end of the quattrocento and into the cinquecento. See Nuti, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 86, no. 1 (1994): 107. However, 'truthfulness' did not guarantee perspectival or scientific accuracy, hence the prevalent use of the word 'representation' in discourse about *vedutismo*.

<sup>54</sup> See Palaeolithic archaeologist Dominique Baffler's discussion of this panel (c.32.30-34.16 mins) in Werner Herzog, *Cave of Forgotten Dreams*, directed by W. Herzog (2010; France: IFC Films, Sundance Selects, 2012), DVD.



**Figure 3.4:** 19<sup>th</sup> Century copy of Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli's *Veduta della Catena* (1470). Museo di Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (Image reproduced with permission by Alinari Archives, Florence).



**Figure 3.5:** Maarten van Heemskerck, *San Pietro e le Logge Vaticane*, 1533. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna. Brown pen on paper. 10.87" x 24.53" (Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. "Maarten van Heemskerck 014.jpg." *Wikimedia Commons*, last modified 18 December 2014. <http://tinyurl.com/zxyjw7u>).



**Figure 3.6:** Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli, *Tavola Strozzi (Veduta di Napoli)*, 1472. Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples. Oil on canvas. 8.2" x 24.5" (Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons. "Tavola Strozzi-Napoli.jpg." *Wikipedia*, last modified 1 July 2016. <http://tinyurl.com/hsa3ehz>).

function of this map, if indeed there was one, is unclear to present historians, but it most certainly reflects a pre-historic identification with the interconnectivity of *topos* and the Self. The artist explored these connections, as abstract as their perspective appears to us today, through literally writing themselves onto space and thus *into* place. This proto-mapping imagery is perhaps the first tangible example we have of an early form of *topographia*.

As we move from the pre-historic to the early modern world, multimedia mapping becomes a much more expressive and categorical practice. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *veduta* offered more than a visualisation of space, it offered a way of writing the meaning of *place* into pictorial history (Figs 3.4-3.6). A three-dimensional digitisation of Francesco di Lorenzo Rosselli's 1470 chain map of Florence illuminates a magnified view of how the cartographer dynamically captured Florentine life in the late-fifteenth century.<sup>55</sup> As the camera pans in on the intricacies of the cityscape, as well as the portraiture of fishermen in the Arno, builders constructing scaffolding, and an artist (Rosselli himself?) drawing on the riverbank overlooking the panoramic Florentine *veduta*, the pictorial map begins to take on a new dimension: time. It appears that Rosselli has captured a freeze frame of the city in motion, and if one pressed play, the inhabitants would proceed about their daily rituals like characters in a filmic montage. He also appears to arrest time through the temporality of sound. One can virtually hear the soundscape of flowing water, the hammering of steel, the banging of wood, the tolling of church bells, the echo of vernacular conversations across the city. In animating the Florentine urban fabric,

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<sup>55</sup> See "Omaggio a Florens 2010 | Homage to Florence", YouTube video, 4:45, posted by 'TheFlorens2010', November 2010. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fn4XT5R29C0#t=10>.

Rosselli took advantage of cartographic license, creating what Bruno calls ‘a new point of view’ or ‘a new visuality’ of the city. ‘In pinpointing the location of the landmarks, and showing them as prominent in the thick urban fabric, the draftsman [Rosselli] turned some façades toward the observer and artificially raised the visual angle slightly’.<sup>56</sup> In so doing, Rosselli created not just a passive artistic impression of his native Florence, but a cultural, sociological, architectural, and anthropological one; an impression visible also in the rendering of a Neapolitan *veduta* attributed to him (Figure 3.6).

Like Rosselli, other artists of the *vedutismo* tradition sought to inscribe the interconnectivity of life-in-motion into panoramic imaging. Jim Tice writes that Dutch cartographer Marteen van Heemskerck (Figure 3.5) ‘was not content to show important buildings as isolated objects, but made a point of showing them in their surrounding urban context as well’.<sup>57</sup> After all, ‘conceiving architecture within its urban setting is the fundamental principle of the *vedute* and explains why this tradition continues to have special significance for the study of architecture and urbanism as a phenomenon inextricably linked to place’.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in 1473, Genovese humanist Antonio Ivani wrote about the *veduta* as a story-telling device. In a letter to a Florentine friend written in 1473, he described one of his own cityscapes saying that ‘the [representation] shows not the whole city, but only parts which meet the need of writers, with the sites [shown] in such a manner as occur [to one] in connection with a narration’.<sup>59</sup> This culture of visual didacticism was particularly prevalent in quattro-

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<sup>56</sup> Nuti, “The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century,” 115.

<sup>57</sup> Jim Tice, Erik Steiner, Allan Ceen, and Dennis Beyer, “The *Vedutismo* Tradition,” *Imago Urbis: Giuseppe Vasi’s Grand Tour of Rome*, accessed 7 May 2015. <http://vasi.uoregon.edu/vedutismo.html>.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Juergen Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500,” *The Art Bulletin* 60, 3 (1978): 458, doi. 10.2307/3049817.

cinquecento Italian urban image making. Bruno writes that the Italian *veduta* ‘tended toward a narrative dramatization of sites, characterised by a heightened and tactile texture of place’, an approach that portrayed a ‘haptically lived city and presented it for further *transito* and spectatorial inhabitation, for there is always more than one embedded story in “the naked city”’.<sup>60</sup>

### **Site, Sight and Sound: The Architectonics of Kinetic *Vedute***

The technological and cognitive practice of *vedutismo* can be located within the circular genealogy of cinema history. The manifold apparatuses used in its creative process, from Leon Battista Alberti’s *orrizonte* and *radius* to Giambattista della Porta’s *camera obscura*, mirror the modern technologies responsible for mobilising space and place.<sup>61</sup> They are both built on the architectonics of sight and site. The *veduta* mobilised the observational gaze through ‘drawing distant objects closer and pushing back close ones’, filmically analysing space by ‘separating it into parts to be read as a whole’.<sup>62</sup> Duke Cosimo de’ Medici took advantage of the proto-filmic nature and narrative function of *vedutismo* at his wedding banquet on 6 July 1539, expanding its two-dimensional architectonics to incorporate a third temporal layer: sound. On this occasion, Cosimo’s team of audio-visual programmers edited a montage of moving scenics that portrayed the various *vedute* of the Cosmos, Tuscany and Rome conveying a metanarrative of place and power. Eight views were “painted” by a team of artists and sculptors in the form of elaborate costuming and set design, and animated by a troupe of actors and musicians. With their inherent liberation of movement through

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<sup>60</sup> Bruno, *Atlas of Emotions*, 175.

<sup>61</sup> For details of Alberti’s perspectival tools for mapping, see Mark Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50-55.

<sup>62</sup> Bruno, *Atlas of Emotions*, 181.

the performance of space in action (*lived space*), we can call these panoramic scenics ‘performance *vedute*’. These performances were inherently proto-filmic in their kinetic and kinesthetic embodiment of site. They did not simply personify geographic identities, a recognisable mannerism of propagandistic iconography; they actively mobilised them. These kinetic *vedute* animated and intersected geographic space creating a new geo-spatial perspective. They were thus anchored to the same basic function of the static *veduta*—the creation of a new visuality. While these performances share a common socio-political function with all courtly performance of this period, they are most unique in their form. It would be nearly a century later before an adaptation of the genre appeared again in Florentine courtly or civic festivities.<sup>63</sup> In this light, they are not only uniquely Medicean, but unique to the cultural output of Florence’s first and most prolific duke.

These eight *vedute* presented interactive representational views (from a distinctly Medicean perspective) of the Cosmos (represented by the Muses),<sup>64</sup> Florence (Represented by Flora), Pisa, Volterra, Arezzo, Cortona, Pistoia and Rome (represented by Tiber). The complex audio-visual programme was narrated throughout the evening by the sun god Apollo whose poetic insertions served to translate the symbolism involved in the intricate costumes. While this programme was the result of

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<sup>63</sup> In 1637, a *favola* with musical interludes was staged in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti for the wedding festival of Ferdinand II de’ Medici and Vittoria della Rovere. The first interlude represented Florence as Flora, accompanied by Hymen, Honesty and Fecundity. Designed by Stefano della Bella, this interlude did not mirror the same urban *veduta* of Florence that appeared in 1539, taking instead a traditional iconographic approach to her personification as the goddess of Spring, akin to Botticelli’s Flora in his *Primavera* (c.1480). The scene painted by della Bella is described in the commemorative festival book as ‘una prospettiva boschereccia rappresentante le campagne di Toscana’; in other words, a pastoral scene. See Giovanni Carlo Coppola, *Le nozze degli Dei/ Favola dell’Ab Gio. Carlo Coppola/ Rappresentata in Musica in Firenze nelle Reali nozze De serenis. Gran Duchi di Toschana/ Ferdinando II e Vittoria/ Principessa D’Urbino* (Firenze: Amadore Massi & Lorenzo Landi, 1637).

<sup>64</sup> A *veduta* of Parnassus governs the overall performance of the Muses, but their costuming is much more iconographically complex. Astrological and cosmological symbolism is also abundant, and will feature in the discussion of this performance in Chapter Five.

an eruditely preconceived audio-visual plan, it most likely demanded a level of improvisation, although presumably within strict thematic boundaries. This is evidenced by the role of Apollo who is described by Giambullari throughout his account as ‘singing’ and ‘sweetly playing’. Yet, there is no surviving music for such interludes, or evidence that it was ever pre-scored to begin with. Apollo improvising on his lyre is an obvious humanistic nod to ancient ideals of musical virtue. There is no doubt that the musician cast in this demanding role would have been highly trained in order to portray the god of music and poetry with verisimilitude and convincing musicianship. As he sang and played his lyre between each of the eight performances, his rhetoric was intended to decode the complex visual appearance of each allegory and to lend meaning to their overall function. This function was undemanding, even explicit: to construct the new *identità* of the duke. Individually each *veduta* represents a facet of Cosimo’s power. Collectively, they represent his empire and the imperial self-fashioning with which he became known. These eight *vedute* and their Medicean symbolism will constitute the focus of Chapter Five.

As we arrive at the end of this theoretical assessment of the early modern festival, we see before us a tapestry of phenomena that can be seen to reflect and be reflected in the practice of cinema. Each of the components in the early modern festival consist of a complex amalgam of visual, textual and musical signposts that collectively portray a trans-cultural and trans-historical phenomenology connected intimately to the practices of moving picture cultures, or what we have termed the ‘cinematic imagination’. I believe that the festival transcends the limited and limiting borders of Western teleological time and exists as a *timeless* cultural phenomenon. The author acknowledges that the retrospective historicity used to frame this reading of festival as

proto-cinema departs radically from the traditional art-historical methodology, one nurtured by the conditions of ocular-centric historiography. In doing so, it serves to reframe our understanding of the festival as more than a renaissance entertainment. Indeed, it shows how the festival is deeply embedded within the human consciousness as an artistic expression of the Self. In Part Three of this thesis, the theory of reading festival as proto-cinema under the headings of music and sound, architecture and *vedutismo* will be applied systematically to our case study of the Medici-Toledo festival of 1539. Part Three will commence with a study of the most visible and participatory construct of proto-cinema within the early modern festival programme: the royal *entrata*.



## **Chapter Four**

## Music and Montage: Entering the Early Modern Cine City

*No sooner had her Excellency arrived at the Gate of the City than the Fort saluted her with so much artillery that I, not knowing how to describe it or to what to compare it, prefer to be silent rather than to say too little.<sup>1</sup>*

This chapter will apply Eisenstein's theory of architectural montage to Eleonora di Toledo's royal entry and procession into and through Florence in 1539. These public spectacles vividly embodied and extended the concept of the festival as a journey, traversing the most iconic sites of the early modern city through a minutely focussed proto-cinematic lens. The royal entry and procession marked the definitive transformation of the city from passive space to cine-metropolis. Performing the role of the cinematographer, Niccolò il Tribolo designed an intimate *mise-en-cadre* (interrelation of shots) for this occasion that reached a visual apex in an elaborate triumphal arch at the north-western gate of the city. Either side of the arch were positioned ephemeral auditoriums to house the musicians and singers who accompanied the filmic sequence with a polyphonic score. Additional displays punctuated the processional route from the Prato gate to the Medici quarter of San Lorenzo, creating an interactive spectatorial experience for the Duchess-voyageuse and her audience. As the spectators approached the arch they viewed each independent shot in a deliberate montage sequence that unfolded scene by scene to reveal a metanarrative. This narrative extolled the future of the new House of Medici, headed by the young Cosimo, through a glorification of its past—but not the past that a Florentine observer might expect. While overtly patriarchal, Tribolo's visual program was not dominated by Cosimo il Vecchio, Pater Patriae, or by the

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ne così presto arrivò sua Eccellentia alla Porta della Città, che con tanta artiglieria le fece reverentia il Castello, che io per non sapere a che degnamente agguagliarlo, vò più presto tacere, che dirne poco'. Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 6; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 99.

banking branch of the family, but was fashioned in the image of Duke Cosimo's father Giovanni de' Medici, *condottiero* (mercenary) par excellence and leader of the Black Band army. Thus the montage presented a narrative of military and political conquest, and territorial expansion, as will be seen below.

This chapter will draw upon the digital reconstruction of Tribolo's arch as a visual and kinetic aid to understanding the montage. Recalling that the iconographic minutiae of the arch have not been rendered in the reconstruction, the viewer's imagination is called upon to pictorialise the elaborate ornamentation described by Pierfrancesco Giambullari in his *Apparato et feste nelle nozze* (Appendix G).<sup>2</sup> The reconstruction invites the reader to alter their role momentarily; it invites them to become a spectator at Eleonora's royal entry on 29 June 1539. They are encouraged to imagine the celebrations at the Porta al Prato with a crowd of animated Florentines, eagerly awaiting the arrival of the Duchess. Indeed, they are invited to experience the performance of the triumphal arch as a montage sequence through the eyes of the Duchess herself. With a nod to the Aristotelian principle that the intellect cannot know anything that is not first received by the senses, this chapter works toward an integrated historical experience allowing for a greater sense of place and meaning.<sup>3</sup> Rather than leaving the reader at the threshold of the historic occasion as an extraneous voyeur, it aims at situating them within the theatre of proto-cinema, immersing them audio-visually in the event as a participatory flâneur of the early modern cine city.

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<sup>2</sup> All subsequent footnotes relating to the analysis of Tribolo's archway in this chapter will refer to Giambullari's description in Appendix G, with English translations by Minor and Mitchell, and will quote the relevant line numbers in App. G as appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> Claude V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 47.

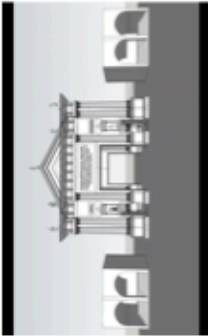








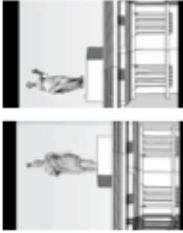
### **Shot Design in Tribolo's Triumphal Arch (The Exterior)**

The triumphal arch was arguably the most important challenge for the festival iconographer whose role necessitated the ability to merge architecture and spectacle as one and the same phenomenon. They were charged with the dual responsibility of paying homage to the entering monarch while surreptitiously aggrandising the host through an intricate visual program. In addition, they collaborated with composers and musicians to create a musical program that would enhance the iconographic design, achieving what Eisenstein termed audio-visual counterpoint. Moreover, the triumphal arch played a role in centralising the importance of place during the festival. Usually positioned at the main gate of the city, it occupied a site of both geographic and political significance for it acted as the literal ingress to the city and a symbolic access point for understanding the cultural, political and historical codes of the festival narrative. Thus, analysing Tribolo's arch and its iconography shot by shot allows us to spatially, visually and textually map the architectural montage embedded in its design. As a prelude to this analysis, the reader is invited to view the second audio-visual reconstruction of the montage sequence that I believe Tribolo intended the audience to view (Audiovisual Two).

#### **I. Shot 1**

Approaching the Porta al Prato, the viewer had in their field of vision a panorama of the Florentine skyline with its sandstone towers and turrets visible over the city walls that rose to meet the central gateway. In front of this gateway was constructed a spectacular antiporto that culminated in a façade in the shape of an arch of triumph (Table 4.1, Shot 1). The arch was designed in the Doric style with central columns framing the main door of the antiporto and double pilasters at each end, all of which

**Table 4.1** Proposed architectural montage and shot design for Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 Triumphal Arch.

|   |   |  |  |  |  |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| <p><b>Shot 1</b></p> <p>A panoramic view of Tribolo's arch with singers, musicians and fanfare, framed by the city walls of Florence.</p>  | <p><b>Shot 2</b></p> <p>Three statues framing the fronton at the tallest part of the arch with the following hierarchy: 1) Fecundity, 2) Security, 3) Eternity.</p>  | <p><b>Shot 3</b></p> <p>A close-up shot of the central frontispiece showing a battle scene with Lord Giovanni leading the Black band army over the river Adda, soon to conquer Milan from the French.</p>  | <p><b>Shots 4 &amp; 5</b></p> <p>Two smaller paintings framing Lord Giovanni on the fronton: a) An armed Pallas with helmet and lance; b) Victory with a laurel branch in her hand. Beneath them was written <b>IAM GALEAM PALLAS ET AEGIDA/ CURRUSQUE ET LAURUM PARAT VICTORIA.</b></p>  | <p><b>Shot 6</b></p> <p>Below Pallas between the inner column of the portico and the outer plaster, a panel depicted the rescue of San Secondo with Lord Giovanni and his black band army. The inscription read: <b>IAM FULGOR ARMORUM FUGACES TERRET EQUOS.</b></p>  | <p><b>Shot 6</b></p> <p>Below the panel of Lord Giovanni was a tabernacle niche with a statue of a Military Virtue. The inscription read: <b>PALMAE PRAECIUM VICTORIBUS.</b></p>  | <p><b>Shot 7</b></p> <p>At the same level as San Secondo but on the opposite side of the arch, a panel depicted Lord Giovanni and his military camp preparing to take Milan under siege in 1526. Under his feet was the inscription: <b>SI FRACTUS ILLABATUR ORBIS.</b></p>  | <p><b>Shot 8</b></p> <p>Below Lord Giovanni at Milan was a tabernacle niche with a statue of Fame dressed as the antiques figured her. The socle on which she stood had the inscription: <b>HOC VIRTUS OPUS.</b></p>  | <p><b>Shot 9</b></p> <p>Beneath the fronton, a large rectangular frieze was positioned centrally above the architrave between the centre columns with carved antique letters: <b>'Ingrede're, Ingrede're ...'</b></p>  | <p><b>Shots 10 &amp; 11</b></p> <p>The final shot of the façade montage incorporated two final statues positioned on the exterior flanks of the arch. On the right was Slaughter and on the left Mars, appearing to offer his sword to Lord Giovanni in the central frontispiece.</p>  |
|---|---|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|

supported an architrave, frieze and cornice that went ‘solidly around the whole’.<sup>4</sup> The antiporto was joined to the main gate by a portico with four supporting columns and between each were suspended tapestries of ‘rich beauty’.<sup>5</sup> Moving steadily toward the archway, the observer’s gaze was directed toward the principal relief panels that were designed by Tribolo to be read in a specific sequence. This sequence is revealed to us by Giambullari who describes the arch in detail ‘beginning with that part which was first visible to a person arriving’.<sup>6</sup> In this sentence Giambullari confirms that there is indeed a preconceived order which the eye should follow. Giambullari proceeds to describe the ‘shots’ in an order that he deems most important, and thus provides us with a written framework of how to read Tribolo’s architectural montage. Moving closer, the viewer encounters the second shot.

## II. Shot 2

Panning in on the tallest part of the arch, the eye encountered a triangular fronton framed by three statues (Table 4.1, Shot 2). The first of these was positioned on the apex of the fronton. She was figured as a lady in ancient dress surrounded by five nude children, one on her shoulder, one on her lap and three around her legs.<sup>7</sup> ‘She was put there to represent Fecundity’.<sup>8</sup> Eleonora would not have escaped the meaning of the statue, for it was soon to be reiterated musically in Francesco

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<sup>4</sup> App. G, lines 50-55.

<sup>5</sup> App. G, line 213.

<sup>6</sup> App. G, lines 57-58.

<sup>7</sup> App. G, lines 62-63. Minor and Mitchell have translated the original word *grembo* as ‘lap’ which would indicate that the figure of the lady was in a seated position. But *grembo* might also be interpreted as the area around the woman’s womb, in which case she could be holding the infant around her waist. Professor Laurie Strass has suggested that *grembo* could also mean ‘breastfeeding’. This suggestion would align with a similar depiction of Fecundity in the Eastern panel of the famous Roman altar, Ara Pacis Augustae, in which the female figure (proposed as Tellus Mater or Pax) is seated with two infants, one of whom is reaching for the deity’s breast. For a discussion of this panel, see Nancy de Grummond, “Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 94 (1990): 663–677. doi:10.2307/505125.

<sup>8</sup> App. G, lines 64-65.

Corteccia's motet, and was additionally clarified in the text carved into the frieze below the statue. Of course, the fecundity of the bride would ensure security for the Medici name, and thus it followed that she was accompanied on the left eave of the fronton by Security resting against a column with a small branch in her hand, reminiscent of ancient medals with the same iconography.<sup>9</sup> Finally, on the opposite eave, Fecundity and Security were accompanied by Eternity. She was figured with a large ball in her arms, and she was seen trampling on an old man bearing the sun and moon around his neck, signifying her immortal defeat over Time.<sup>10</sup> As outlined in Chapter Two, this particular statue bears a resemblance to Cosimo Bartoli's invention for Immortality in his *Ragionamento secondo* and in the title page for Alberti's treatise, with some minor variations. In Bartoli's rendering, Time bears an hourglass in his hand, and Immortality is holding a laurel branch in addition to the large globe. The laurel branch is another convincing connection linking the inventions of Bartoli's title page (and the alleged painting) to the Medici family and conceivably to the 1539 festival, for the symbol of the laurel was commonly chosen to identify the family within the visual culture they patronised, and was the *impresa* (emblem) of choice for Duke Cosimo I.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, Bartoli's Immortality and Tribolo's Eternity both resemble a late fifteenth-century personification of Florence, presented as *Florentia* with a ball and laurel branch on the obverse side of a medal honouring Cosimo de' Medici *Pater Patriae* (Figure 4.1).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> App. G, lines 73-78.

<sup>10</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 100.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the symbolism of the laurel in Medici art, see Liana de Girolami Cheney, *Giorgio Vasari's Teachers: Sacred and Profane Art* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 76-8.

<sup>12</sup> The honorific medal was cast after the death of Cosimo *il Vecchio*, very likely under the sponsorship of his son Piero who was an avid antiquarian coin collector. The coin figures Cosimo in contemplative side profile, akin to the medals of Cicero, with *Florentia* on the reverse. 'The implication is that Cosimo, assiduously serving Florence, is himself a personification of the city'. See Robyn Asleson, Carla Brenner, and Debra Pincus, "The Special Case of the Medici: Experts in Self-Promotion," *Italian Renaissance Resources*, accessed 25 November 2015. <http://tinyurl.com/juql2sd>.



**Figure 4.1 Plate 1:** Florence Holding an Orb and Triple Olive Branch, c. 1465-69. Coin, bronze, diameter 7.5 cm. (Image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington). **Plate 2:** Detail of Immortality from the title page of Cosimo Bartoli, *L'Architettura* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550).

To the casual observer, this shot presented three isolated figures, aesthetically appealing and redolent on a very basic level of future prophecy, most apparent in the image of Fecundity. To the educated eye, it delivered a much more consolidated message of dependency on the Duchess to secure the future of ducal Florence and to immortalise the monarchy, extinguishing any flicker of republicanism that remained within the city. After this shot, symbolic references to the Duchess soon become overshadowed by illusions to a masculine Medicean narrative.

### III. Shot 3

As the eye travelled just below Fecundity, the viewer could see a frontispiece with a military scene in relief (Table 4.1, Shot 3). The scene depicted a military encampment on the banks of the River Adda near Milan with Lord Giovanni and his army preparing to lay siege on the city. Also figured was Cardinal Medici (later Pope Clement VII) 'with many lords and captains' who seemed to be 'extraordinarily



amazed at the ferocious animosity' of Giovanni.<sup>13</sup> It appears that the painter partly personified the Adda, for Giambullari writes that the river itself was astonished at the bravery of Lord Giovanni crossing its waters to the enemy side, for the viewer saw it pointing at the river Po, 'indicating almost fearfully how the ever victorious Lord Giovanni would enter Milan as conqueror'.<sup>14</sup> This shot introduced the viewer to the true narrative of the montage, one laden with Medicean legends that glorified lineage and conquest. As the eye encountered the proceeding shots one by one it became clear that the arch was not paying homage to the subject of the royal entry, the regal Duchess Eleonora, nor the Duke's patron Charles V, but rather to the Duke's father, the *condottiero* Giovanni de' Medici, a man the duke knew only through contemporary legend.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the message being communicated was a patriarchal one, pertaining to the illustrious male lineage of the House of Medici, but it was also overtly paternalistic, as if Cosimo wished to establish roots with his absent father who had died when he was merely seven years old. Cosimo's relationship to and knowledge of his father was mythical for it was built on a concept of fatherhood passively conveyed to him through words and stories. Thus, this present shot, presenting one of the most celebrated exploits of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere against the French in 1521, was a pictorial hagiography that attempted to construct ideals of fatherhood, family and fortitude. As if to strengthen this message, the central scene of the frontispiece was framed by two roundels reinforcing the symbolism of the siege at Milan.

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<sup>13</sup> App. G, lines 80-85.

<sup>14</sup> App. G, lines 90-94.

<sup>15</sup> Cosimo was raised under the auspices of his mother Maria Salviati while his father was engaged in mercenary pursuits with the French and Imperial armies. For a detailed study of the life of Giovanni de Medici and the condottieri known as 'The Black Bands', see Maurizio Arfaioli, *The Black Bands of Giovanni: Infantry and Diplomacy During the Italian Wars (1526-1528)* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2005).

#### IV. Shots 4 and 5

To the right of the scene of the Adda, there was a roundel with a painting of Pallas, the Goddess of wisdom and warfare clad traditionally with helmet and lance ‘as though she was offering them’, and under her feet was the inscription *Iam galeam pallas et aegida* (‘Already Pallas prepares her helmet and aegis’) (Table 4.1, Shots 4-5).<sup>16</sup> Mirroring Pallas, a Victory could be seen in an additional roundel to the left of the central scene, completing the frame of the triangular fronton. She was figured with a laurel branch in her right hand ‘as the ancients showed her’,<sup>17</sup> and she bore the inscription *currusque et laurum parat Victoria* (‘Victory makes ready her chariot and laurel’).<sup>18</sup> Minor and Mitchell have sourced the combined inscriptions of Pallas and Victory from the fifteenth ode of Horace’s Book I, which originally read *Iam galeam Pallas et aegida currusque et rabiem parat* (‘already Pallas makes ready her helmet, her aegis, her rage’).<sup>19</sup> The paraphrase was chosen to aggrandise the image of Lord Giovanni as protector of state and a facilitator in the building of the Medici Empire.

The viewer may well have been intrigued by the idea that it was perhaps Lord Giovanni who was being painted in the image of Augustus, or more accurately as the guardian of Augustus.<sup>20</sup> This may be decoded by looking at the sources on which the iconographer based the literary program of the arch. Horace’s Odes were a collection

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<sup>16</sup> App. G, lines 95-100.

<sup>17</sup> App. G, line 103. The laurel was an important symbol of victory and empire in ancient Rome. In the Renaissance, ‘the coronation [of laurel] symbolised the revival of the lofty aspirations and immortal glories of ancient Rome, and the creation of a new empire of intellectual and aesthetic culture’. See Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman influences on Western Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 88.

<sup>18</sup> Author’s own translation.

<sup>19</sup> To this translation, I would add ‘chariot’. See alternative translation by John Conington, “Pallas trims her aegis and her helm, her chariot and her ire,” in *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1882), accessed 25 November 2015, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0025%3Abook%3D1%3Apoem%3D15>.

<sup>20</sup> I do not intend to undermine the argument I presented in Chapter Two that Duke Cosimo self-fashioned his identity in the image of Augustus, but it is apparent that the imagery of the arch is reinforcing the foundations of his “Imperial” lineage, showing Lord Giovanni to be the guardian of his success.

of lyric poems imitating the style of Greek poets such as Sappho and Pindar and whose thematic content encapsulated the social values and morals of Augustan Rome.<sup>21</sup> Book I, Ode XV, from which the inscriptions above are taken, offers an interesting interpretation of the role of Lord Giovanni within the montage. The ode presents the story of ‘The Prophecy of Nereus’ in which he foretells of the fall of Troy. In conversation with Paris, he predicts the coming of Odysseus with the Achaeans to Troy, and the siege they will lay upon the city for the vain deeds of Paris in his taking of Helen. Athena readies her chariot and helmet, her aegis and her rage to fight with Odysseus and the Greeks against the Trojans. It is entirely plausible that the iconographer was portraying Lord Giovanni as an Odyssean leader fighting under the divine auspices of Pallas Athena to achieve Victory against (in this instance) the French. If Giovanni—the central character of the arch’s montage and narrative—is being presented as Odysseus, it further extends the metaphor of the festival as a journey. Although Nereus’s prophecy recounts the years prior to the warrior’s odyssey around the Tyrrhenian and Ionian Seas, the concept of embarking on a journey was deeply embedded in battle, for the combatants adopted a nomadic, travelling lifestyle during protracted periods of war. This most especially applied to Lord Giovanni who moved peripatetically from camp to camp during his years as military captain; never static, always in motion. Indeed, from the moment Odysseus left Ithaca to fight the Trojan War, he too lived peripatetically for more than ten years.

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<sup>21</sup> Michèle Lowrie shares an interesting view of Horace’s Odes as works that span the genres of lyric and narrative, espousing the didactic nature of the lyric but also telling stories and embellishing myth. As such, they navigate the past to express the present, making them an ideal literary medium to elucidate the iconography of the 1539 festival. See Lowrie, *Horace’s Narrative Odes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1-2.

Thus, at an underlying level there is a foundational message of the importance of voyage and voyager in this festival. The voyage undertaken by the Duchess from whence she left Naples up to her arrival in Florence is being invoked in the imagery of the arch through the figure of Lord Giovanni. Thus, shots 4 and 5 leave the viewer with an image of military conquest and Medici self-promotion, but brewing beneath the surface was a host of complex symbolism that brought the imagination on a journey from Florence to mythical Troy.

## V. Shot 6

Moving below the position of Pallas, the sixth shot moves to a panel within the cornice of the façade, between the inner column and the outer pilaster (Table 4.1, Shot 6).<sup>22</sup> This panel presented another scene from the military history of Lord Giovanni, depicting the rescue of San Secondo. In 1522, the Lord's faction of mercenaries, The Black Bands, defended the widow of Troilo dei Rossi from losing her fiefdom in Emilia-Romagna to Bernardo dei Rossi. This act seems to symbolise family loyalty and the defence of female honour.<sup>23</sup> Giambullari describes Rossi's army scattering over the countryside near Parma upon the arrival of Giovanni and his 'small but choice troop', saying that 'no sooner had he [Giovanni] shown himself in the place than the enemy army, overcome by his formidable name, turned its disgraced banners to cowardly flight'.<sup>24</sup> The inscription beneath the panel read *Iam fulgor armorum fugaces terret equos* ('Already the flash of arms terrifies the fleeing horses'), obtained once again from Horace, Book II, Ode 1.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Architecturally, a column is an independent (load-bearing) structure, whilst a pilaster is an ornament used to give the appearance of a supporting column.

<sup>23</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, note 7, 101.

<sup>24</sup> App. G, lines 110-15.

<sup>25</sup> Minor and Mitchell, note 8, 101.

The subject of the Ode in question brings to light civic discourse in the age of Augustan Rome and in particular the history of civil war, which the poet describes as Fortune's game.<sup>26</sup> Both the ode and quote are quite aptly themed to represent the battle scene at San Secondo, but can once again prompt the viewer to question the context in which it was chosen. Horace is here lamenting on the devastation riven by war and the mindless death and tragedy that come from heroic leaders such as Asinius Pollio (the addressee of the Ode) or in the present case, Lord Giovanni. As such, the latter's identity was being fashioned as valorous on one hand, and notorious on the other, and thus we find ourselves questioning the motives of the Horatian lyric: was the arch's iconographic program lauding or lamenting the ferocious reputation of the duke's father? The succeeding shot may shed some light on the divisive symbolism.

## VI. Shot 7

Moving just below the Rescue of San Secondo panel, the eye settled upon a tabernacle niche embedded in the wall of the arch to the right of the central column (Table 4.1, Shot 7). Standing inside was a statue of a Military Virtue dressed as 'shown on medals' with a Latin inscription written on its base: *Palmae praeclium victoribus* ('Palm branches, prize for the victors').<sup>27</sup> Minor and Mitchell have shown that the lyric was on this occasion a Virgilian reference from Book V of the *Aeneid*, steering the viewer directly toward the discourse of journeying, but this time with the Trojan Aeneas and his crew. On the surface the parallel seems to merely compare Lord Giovanni and his 'choice troop' with Aeneas and his small company who were

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<sup>26</sup> Conington, "Book II, Ode I", in *The Odes*, accessed 25 November 2015, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0025%3Abook%3D2%3Apoem%3D1>.

<sup>27</sup> App. G, lines 121-25.

highly venerated within the literature of the Augustan age. However, the pairing of this motto with a Military Virtue seems unusual, for the Virgilian passage in question is not about war but about sporting games between the young Trojan warriors of Aeneas and Acestes on the island of Sicily, with palm branches (*palmae*) being among the prizes (*praetium*) for the winners (*victoribus*).<sup>28</sup> Perhaps the inscription was arbitrarily chosen for this shot, wishing to simply paint Giovanni in the same golden hue as Aeneas who was much loved in Roman culture, believed to be the ancestor of Romulus and Remus and the original founder of Rome.<sup>29</sup> They were perhaps paralleling how both men, through their military prowess, secured the foundations of empire; that of Rome and of Florence. In this interpretation, Giovanni is being extolled as a Florentine incarnation of *vir* with its associated ideals of masculinity, military virtue and political power. The ideals of ‘virtue’ are further communicated later in the montage.

## VII. Shots 8 and 9

On the opposite side of the arch to San Secondo, the panel depicted yet another military exploit by the Medici captain (Table 4.1, Shot 8). The scene depicted Lord Giovanni and the Black Bands preparing to lay siege on Milan, based on the actual event of 1526. Their attempts were halted by the defeatist ruse of his allies who were seen ‘departing suddenly, leaving the said lord with his valiant company when he expected to fight the next morning’.<sup>30</sup> The inscription that accompanied the scene returned to Horace as its source (Book III, Ode 3): *Si fractus illabatur orbis* (‘If the

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<sup>28</sup> Latin and English references are here sourced respectively from Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book V, ed. John Henderson (Toronto: The Copp, Clarke Co., 1888), and Howard Felperin, *Virgil’s Aeneid in Modern Verse* (Indiana: Author House, 2014), 164-200.

<sup>29</sup> Cristina Mazzoni, *She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.

<sup>30</sup> App. G, lines 130-35.

world should fall into ruins’), which was followed in the original ode by ‘its debris would strike him without frightening him’.<sup>31</sup> Minor and Mitchell describe the ode in question as a paean for stoicism and disdain for misfortune, which makes a straightforward link to the scene painted above. Below the aforementioned panel and opposite the statue of Military Virtue was a statue of Fame in a similar tabernacle niche (Table 4.1, Shot 9). Dressed in the attire ‘attributed to her by poets and on medals’, she stood on a socle that read *Hoc virtutis opus*, which Minor and Mitchell translate as ‘This is the work of strength’.<sup>32</sup> I don’t believe that the word *virtutis* should be taken out of its contemporary Latin context as they have done here, for I believe it is exactly the attributes of virtue already seen in shot 7 that the iconographer intended to convey. Perhaps a reason for the authors’ mistranslation is that they could not identify the original source of the inscription.<sup>33</sup> The source is in fact from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, Book X, line 469. The full passage reads,

Audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo corde permit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis. Tum Genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis: “Stat sua cique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus omnibus est vitae: sed famam extendere factis, hoc virtutis opus”.<sup>34</sup>

Hercules heard the youth [Pallas] and gave from the deepest heart a great sigh and poured out his tears. Then the father [Jupiter] addressed his son with loving speech: “to each their day comes; life is brief and time is irretrievable; but, to extend one’s fame through deeds, this is the work of virtue.”<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Minor and Mitchell, note 11, 103.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, note 12, 103.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Virgil, *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil* [sic.] ed. J. B. Greenough (Boston: Ginn & CO, 1900) accessed 25 November 2015, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0055%3Abook%3D10%3Acard%3D439>.

<sup>35</sup> Author’s own translation.

Upon hearing of Hercules's despair at being unable to help the young Pallas on the battlefield, Jupiter consoles his son in the knowledge that everyone will have their day of death, gods and mortals alike, but while life is short and time unrecoverable, one can ensure their fame by meeting difficult challenges if in possession of *virtutis*. Here the term virtue is invoked to mean martial valour, masculinity and strength, thus appropriating such traits to Lord Giovanni.<sup>36</sup> In his case study of the *Aeneid*, Owen Lee writes that the passage from which this inscription is taken symbolically represents 'within its small compass the design of the entire poem'.<sup>37</sup> I similarly believe that the entire narrative design of Tribolo's montage can be unlocked in the words "*hoc virtutis opus*", a theory that will be explained upon the close of this montage analysis.

### **VIII. Shots 10, 11 and 12**

After viewing the montage of the archway in nine comprehensive shots, the eye came to rest on a focal point above the doorway that presented a large frieze with a Latin verse (Table 4.1, Shot 10). The verse cordially invites the bride to enter her new city under the most favourable auspices of the Medici duke. It goes on however to define her role in the festival and her duties as duchess within restrictive parameters. In the remaining text, Eleonora's role in the new marriage is quickly defined by, and delimited within the boundaries of her reproductive organs: 'fruitful in excellent offspring, may you produce descendants similar in quality to your fathers and forebears abroad'.<sup>38</sup> Her entry to Florence as matriarch is made contingent upon the liveness of her womb, and her ability to secure the eternity of the

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<sup>36</sup> Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: "Virtus" and the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 44.

<sup>37</sup> M. Owen Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid: Tum Genitor Natum* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979), 1.

<sup>38</sup> App. G, lines 150-58.



House of Medici. What starts as an innocuous provocation becomes prescriptive and demanding, publicly declaring the expectations placed upon the young bride by her husband and his court. The very practical foundation of this message was further consolidated in the performance of Francesco Corteccia's motet, which musically rendered the same text in an eight-part motet sung by twenty-four singers positioned either side of the arch (as seen in Audiovisual Two).

At the point in which the viewer was introduced to shot 10, the choir began to sing, creating a counterpoint between the audio and visual components. The motet served to heighten the impact of the montage as the viewer scanned the final two shots in the sequence. Shots 11 and 12 panned in on the remaining two statues designed by Tribolo: Slaughter on the eastern eave, and Mars on the western eave (Table 4.1, Shots 11 and 12). Slaughter 'with her extended left hand, seemed to be offering her dishevelled hair to Lord Giovanni', while Mars seemed to offer him his sword.<sup>39</sup> There were no Latin inscriptions accompanying these statues, but their presence and positioning on the arch served to close off the entire sequence of shots in a rounded conclusion. Representing war and vanquish, the deities are guardians of Lord Giovanni. They are seen to bring him aid in battle, and to unify the entire visual program through their associations once again with the founding of empire, specifically imperial Rome. Certain myths declare that Mars was the father of Romulus and as such a descendent founder of Rome.<sup>40</sup> His presence also serves to reinforce the themes of patriarchy and paternity that govern the visual program. Indeed, when read as a metanarrative, it can be argued that patriarchy and paternity

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<sup>39</sup> App. G, lines 158-165.

<sup>40</sup> Flavio Conti, *A Profile of Ancient Rome* (California: Getty Publications, 2003), 81.

constitute the unifying thread that links the visual and literary propaganda of the entire montage sequence.

### **Tum Genitor Natum: A Paean to Fathers and Sons**

*Tum Genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis: "Stat sua cuique dies".*<sup>41</sup>

While providing supplementary material on the historical background of Lord Giovanni's military conquests and translations of the accompanying Latin inscriptions, Minor and Mitchell do not attempt a more detailed analysis of the significance of the iconography (part or whole) beyond its face value, claiming that 'in most cases, there is no really close parallel between the context of the Latin quotation and the recent event of the painting'.<sup>42</sup> I believe, however, that they have greatly overlooked the advent of creative storytelling that is at play in the arch's *mise-en-cadre*. Having mapped the symbolic rhetoric engendered in Tribolo's architectural montage, it seems that we are being presented with an encomiastic tableau of the relationship, both real and imagined, between fathers and sons. This relationship is symbolic, and conveys a desire on the part of the duke to form a posthumous bond with his father and the theme of fatherhood, albeit through a refractive lens. The father-son relationship being conveyed is constructed through a revisionist history where factual events and myth meet to form an illusory and hagiographic narrative. As such, this filial relationship is not to be interpreted literally.

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<sup>41</sup> 'Then the father addressed his son with loving speech: "to each their day comes",' Virgil, "Book X," *Aeneid*, line 466.

<sup>42</sup> Minor and Mitchell, note 11, 103.

The father-son tableau is a trans-generational performance of the relationships between Cosimo and Giovanni (of the Black Bands); Giovanni and his father (also Giovanni); and of all the father-son couplings within the House of Medici. This interpretation is facilitated by Owen Lee's study of father-son relationships in Virgil's *Aeneid*, with which the Medici montage has close links.<sup>43</sup> The parallels between the Medici narrative and Graeco-Roman literature have been teased out shot-by-shot in the above analyses, but the significance of the juxtaposition comes into focus in shot nine when the iconographer links the whole montage to the inscription *Hoc virtutis opus*. This in turn links the montage to Book X of the *Aeneid* in which relationships between fathers and sons are most abundantly explored. Moreover, many of the deities figured on the arch make an appearance in Virgil's tenth book; including Pallas (son of Evander, Pallas Athena's male counterpart), Fame, Military Virtue, Mars and Slaughter.

In his discussion of Virgil's father-son leitmotif, Lee makes a statement that is pertinent to our present argument. 'No fixed identifications can or should be made. That is not the way Virgil writes. His poem is allusive, but not allegorical. We view its succession of events as a large-scaled, generalised reflection of the history of Rome'.<sup>44</sup> I believe a similar approach needs to be taken when attempting to understand Tribolo's montage. The principal male couplings under comparison between the *Aeneid* and Tribolo's arch are: Aeneas and Ascanius, Anchises and Aeneas, Evander and Pallas, and Giovanni and Cosimo—fathers and sons respectively. At the outset of Virgil's epic, Aeneas leaves Troy to embark upon a

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<sup>43</sup> Lee, *Fathers and Sons*.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

journey with his father Anchises on his shoulders, and with his son Ascanius at his side, imprinting a cyclical image of patriarchy, family and duty into Roman values, and through the iconography of the arch, into the values of Medici Florence. When we identify the characteristic tropes and virtues of Virgil's male figures with those of Cosimo and Lord Giovanni, it is apparent that they overlap.

At first observance, Giovanni and Cosimo adopt the persona of Aeneas and Ascanius most authoritatively, but there are momentary reversals in which Cosimo too can be seen to reflect Aeneas's qualities. Lee once again provides a fitting framework for the transpositions between the characters. 'Together they lead the fallen people—one as commander of the fleet, the other as prophet and patriarch—to a new land'.<sup>45</sup> The commander to which the author refers is Aeneas, and his father Anchises is prophet and patriarch. Lee then transposes their roles contemporarily to Virgil's homeland, and cites Augustus as commander and Julius Caesar as the father/seer.<sup>46</sup> I transpose this dynamic once again to posit that both Giovanni and Cosimo adopted roles as commanders, prophets and patriarchs, for they were made of the same genetic mould. They were reflections of one and the same typology, in the way that Virgil created his character types throughout the *Aeneid*.<sup>47</sup> In its inter-changeability, the father-son relationship is symbiotic, giving and taking in equal measure. Contrastingly, it is also fractious and totally imperfect. 'Aeneas is the loving, suffering son and also the unavailable father in the epic named for him. And for all his *pietas* his father cannot help him in his final moment of need, nor is he of avail

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>46</sup> We must be reminded that the *Aeneid* was a feat of literary propaganda extolling Augustus and Rome. It is hence on a par with the propagandist nature of the festival iconography.

<sup>47</sup> Hercules is moulded as a mythic typology of Aeneas, and in turn as a pattern for Augustus. Lee, *Fathers and Sons*, 6.

when his many surrogate sons fall to their fates.’<sup>48</sup> Aeneas’s shortcomings as father and as son are passed over in Virgil’s epic and neutralised by his portrayal of the hero figure. Consequently, the hero figure of Tribolo’s arch—Lord Giovanni—is lauded for his military exploits, subsequently neutralising his paternal absenteeism throughout Cosimo’s childhood. Thus, when we transgress an *ad literam* appraisal, the montage can be read as a literary and visual exploration of the universal filial bond between fathers and sons, and as a personalised commemoration of the life of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere who, although not part of the duke’s upbringing, enabled through his bloodline the “bringing up” of Florence into the golden age of empire.

## **From the Visual to the Temporal: Exploring Corteccia’s Entrance Motet**


### **I. Performance Context**


Corteccia’s motet portrays a syllabic text setting in a contrapuntal style that was performed by a choir of singers and accompanied by four cornetts and four trombones. This setting was inextricably tied to the context of Tribolo’s triumphal arch and the grand entranceway of the duchess, and as such will be analysed as a site-specific composition and performance. *Ingretere* is a work composed for the public sphere. It is an ambitious piece musically and contextually for it served a primary role in the festival as the first and most publically exposed musical composition performed for the duchess. It was written in eight parts for twenty-four singers, allowing for three singers per part with accompanying wind and brass instrumentation. Figure 4.2 shows Howard Mayer Brown’s interpretation of the probable disposition of voices and instruments. At first glance, there is nothing beyond the renaissance or modern imagination that is particularly unique about the

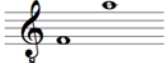
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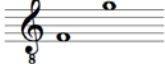
<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 7.


arrangement of voices or doubling of the instruments. However, as Brown writes, the success of theatre music, whether privately performed interludes or public performances, lies in its relative simplicity, homophonic texture and lack of dissonance, allowing it to ‘project its intended effect across the footlights’.<sup>49</sup> The ensuing analysis of Corteccia’s motet will therefore engage the more subtle and concealed tropes within the music, that is, within its modal fabric, beginning with an assessment of the mode itself and its organisational properties.

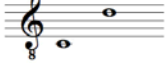
SI  *Soprano I (3 singers) and cornet I*

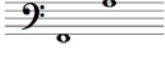
SII  *Soprano II (3 singers) and cornet II*

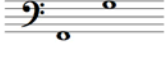
AI  *Alto I (3 singers) and tenor cornet I*

AII  *Alto II (3 singers) and tenor cornet II*

5<sup>a</sup>  *Tenor I (3 singers) and tenor trombone I*

T  *Tenor II (3 singers) and tenor trombone II*

BI  *Bass I (3 singers) and tenor trombone III*

BII  *Bass II (3 singers) and tenor trombone IV*

**Figure 4.2** Howard Mayer Brown’s disposition of voices and instruments in Francesco Corteccia’s motet, *Ingredere* (1539). (Reproduced from H. M. Brown, *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: Music for the Florentine Intermedii*, American Institute of Musicology, 1973, 88).

<sup>49</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Sixteenth-Century Instrumentation: Music for the Florentine Intermedii* (American Institute of Musicology, 1973), 82.

Studying the motet's internal and external structure, I classify *Ingrederere* to be representative of mode six, the plagal Hypolydian (see Appendix K for full score). The tonal type (c1- ♭ -F), the lower clef system and the arrangement of the interval species in the tenor and cantus all accord with the rudiments of the Hypolydian, with authentic-plagal pairings throughout. Moving to the interior of the motet, its cadential centres also function within the circumference of the Hypolydian, building on F throughout. The introductory incantation 'Ingrederere, Ingrederere', which involves an etymological invitation to walk—or to move inward or toward—musically imitates the semantics of the text with each voice entering step by step toward the cadence in measure 4. The first steps of this musical journey are taken by the CI who leaps forward by a fifth, followed chronologically by each voice in leaping patterns: 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> (Example 4.1). This musical gesture strengthens the textual invitation to enter and affirms that Florence is ready to receive her new duchess.

The voices do not affirmatively come to rest until measures 81-86, where the motet ends in an extended *cadenza perfetta*. The continual interplay of musical and textual counterpoint throughout the motet, interspersed with cadential coloration creates a tension that propels a sense of continual motion (and emotion, as will be seen in the discussion of its affectual properties). An example of such coloration occurs in measures 27-28 (Example 4.2). A cadence on the word 'fecunda' (m. 27) exerts a symbolic action as the AII pushes through the cadence, emerging into triple meter in measure 28 in a manner which is suggestively fecund. At the same time, the BII in measure 27 travels upward in a rhythmic sequence on the syllables 'fe' and 'cun', and resolves down a fourth on the final and resolute syllable 'da', in a pattern which can be interpreted as both musically and symbolically fertile. The rising base grows

♩ = 50

Cantus I C1  
 In - gre - de - re In - gre - de - re  
 Cantus II C1  
 In - gre  
 Altus I C3  
 In - gre - de - re In - gre - de - re  
 Altus II C3  
 In - gre - de - re In - gre - de  
 Tenor C4  
 In - gre - de - re In - gre  
 Quinta pars C4  
 In - gre - de - re In - gre - de - re In - gre  
 Bassus I F4  
 In  
 Bassus II F4  
 In - gre - de

**Example 4.1** Francesco Corteccia, *Ingrede* (1539), mm. 1-4. (Reproduced from Martin Grayson, George Bate and Rosemary Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding: Musiche Fatte Nella Nozze (1539)* (Oxon: Alfredston Music, 1994), 2).

♩ = 50

C1  
 i - ta do  
 C2  
 cun - da  
 A1  
 i - ta do - mi  
 A2  
 lis fe - cun - da i - ta  
 T1  
 - da i - ta do  
 Q  
 i - ta do  
 B1  
 cun - da  
 B2  
 - cun - da

**Example 4.2** Corteccia, *Ingrede*, mm. 27-28. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 4).



increasingly convex from B  $\flat$  to F, and its resolution on C comes to a suggestive semibreve rest in measure 28, eventually restoring its quadruple meter in measure 29. This sequence can be interpreted as a bodily metaphor: the rising melody in measure 27 impregnates the base, and the resolution in measure 28 restores bodily form. This fecund gesture can be compared to the sculptural narrative on Bernini's Baldachino, which was outlined in Chapter Three (Appendix F).

Elsewhere, the music flirts with cadences at measures 41-42 and 60-61, until coming to the final *cadenza perfetta* at measure 81 constructed firmly in the CII and TII, which is extended through to the final measure at 86 over the words 'securitatem praestes aeternam', (guarantee eternal security). The repetition of these words—and the elongation of 'aeternam' in particular—serves to rhetorically heighten their meaning and dramatises the eternal legacy of the Medici name. With these examples of musico-textual symbolism, the motet places the words front and centre stage, which as Iain Fenlon has pointed out, was a common practice of decorum within festival motets.<sup>50</sup> Overall, Corteccia's musical structure meets the conditions of (outdoor) site-specific performances with its uncomplicated polyphony, its lack of dissonance, and its adaptability for instrumental doubling, all the while preserving the integrity of the text.

By virtue of these features, it is apparent that Corteccia was conscious of the performance conditions amongst which the motet was staged, and of the external soundscape that would have competed with its attention. As outlined in Chapter Two, Eleonora's entourage consisted of a consort of Neapolitan gentlemen and

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<sup>50</sup> Fenlon, "Theories of Decorum," 135-148.

handmaidens; a host of Florentine nobles on horseback and their servants on foot; members of the Florentine military with a procession of horses; the pages of the duke and many young noble Florentines; all of whom were led in procession by four trumpeters. This gathering of the Florentine and Neapolitan elite, as well as a host of local spectators, would have amassed a considerable cacophony of footfall, horse hooves and fanfare. This presented Corteccia with a challenge to balance the audibility of the motet with the competing vociferous backdrop. Presumably, the strategic positioning of the choir stalls either side of Tribolo's archway were not merely decorative architectural features. Nor were they solely for the purpose of shading the singers and instrumentalists from the Florentine sun, for as the author of *La solenne* informs us, the performance took place around five in the evening (21 hours), long after the mid-day sun had waned. I conjecture that these auditorium-like ephemera were a collaborative concept devised by Tribolo—with possible input from Corteccia—to act as naturally acoustic platforms that would amplify the sounds of the musicians, and insulate against excessive sound loss from the open-air performance.

The principles of acoustic design that had come down from the fifth book of Vitruvius's *De architectura* to theorists of the renaissance such as Leon Battista Alberti (*De re aedificatoria*, 1452) and Leonardo da Vinci (*Paragone*, c. 1500) were very likely known to Tribolo through his architectural training. Certainly, da Vinci's polymathic interests in the art of music and painting may have directly influenced the

musical theorists of his time, specifically Franchino Gafori.<sup>51</sup> It would not, therefore, be an arbitrary stretch to posit that the inventor's writings and ideas on architecture and acoustics, influenced greatly by Vitruvius, made their way into the humanistic studies of Tribolo and his collaborators at the 1539 festival. In writing of Vitruvius's principles of theatre design, Daniel Walden notes that the architect fundamentally understood that 'acoustical design relies on the principles of musical composition to enhance auditory experiences'.<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, Giambullari does not describe the material details of the arch, and Tribolo's preparatory sketches (if any have been preserved) are not known to us, but it is a very real possibility that the choir stalls were designed with the appropriate material and structural properties to create the ideal acoustic environment. Opening a door onto these possibilities can shed light on the compositional choices that Corteccia effects in this motet. On a structural level, the modal choice may have been directly informed by the restrictive range of the wind consort; the uncomplicated polyphonic design a practical conduit for instrumental doubling, vocal texturisation, and auditory impact; and the pulsing, perpetual movement within the motet—propelled through the interweaving voice parts and the withheld *cadenza perfetta*—appears to be engineered to facilitate the movement of the duchess's mobile entourage, as she journeys into her new city. These effects bind the work within a utilitarian frame, but upon closer inspection, its internal modal affects reflect a more emotional correlation to Tribolo's archway.

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<sup>51</sup> Edward Lowinsky and Emanuel Winternitz have placed Gafori and da Vinci in the same social and professional Milanese circles in the late fifteenth century, and have noted the likely influence of da Vinci's art theories on Gafori's theory of counterpoint in his *Angelicum ac divinum opus musice* of 1518. See Edward Lowinsky, "The Concept of Physical and Musical Space in the Renaissance: A preliminary Sketch," *Papers of the American Musicological Society* (1941), 72-3; and Emanuel Winternitz, *Leonardo da Vinci as a Musician* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 6-8.

<sup>52</sup> Walden, "Frozen Music," 134.

## II. Theoretical Context

In assessing modal affects and cosmic harmony in Corteccia's motet (and the music of the 1539 festival at large), it is necessary to place it within the wider theoretical paradigm of *musica mundana* in that period. Among the music treatises which address the topic of modal ethos in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, two are of particular interest: Franchino Gafori's *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (1518), and Steffano Vanneus's *Recanetum de musica aurea* (1533). Despite the gap in their respective dates of publication, these texts do not exist arbitrarily for as Cristle Collins Judd has determined, Vanneus was greatly influenced by Gafori's understanding of mode.<sup>53</sup> She writes,

In the period 1525-45, side by side with the traditional viewpoint articulated by Vanneus and the influence of humanistic interest in Greek modal theory as represented by the writings of Gaffurio, clear evidence surfaces of overt compositional, theoretical and editorial association of traditional eight-mode theory with polyphonic composition.<sup>54</sup>

Gary Tomlinson has noted that Gafori's discourse on the music of the spheres relied greatly on Ramos de Pareia, whose mode and planet alignments correlate directly with that seen in Gafori.<sup>55</sup> This correlation is visually rendered in the woodcut of the title page to Gafori's 1496 treatise, *Practica musicae*, which shows the alignment of modes, planets and Muses that Ramos presented in his *Musica practica* (Figure

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<sup>53</sup> Cristle Collins Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory: Theoretical, Compositional and Editorial Perspectives," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 365.

<sup>54</sup> Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory", 376.

<sup>55</sup> Gafori read and annotated Ramos's *Musica practica* in the early 1490s, from which Tomlinson traces influences in Gafori's later work. Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 89-90.

4.3).<sup>56</sup> Vanneus later drew upon Gafori's Neoplatonic ideation of the Greek modes and their corresponding affects, and represented them accordingly in the *Recanetum* (Table 4.2). One cannot make a definitive claim regarding Corteccia's familiarity with Vanneus's classification of the modes or modal ethos, but there is evidence to suggest that Vanneus was linked to some of the most prolific theorists of the cinquecento, from Gafori to Zarlino.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that his work was not only contemporarily known, but was an important contribution to thought on modal ethos in the early sixteenth century. From this standpoint, this analysis proceeds to apply both authors' writings on ethos to Corteccia's motet.

According to Vanneus, mode six, the Hypolydian, is a mode that is pious and devoted.

The sixth mode, the third of the Plagals, is most suitably given all words of piety that move [one] to tears, especially from devotion, or from pity and joy, and not without justice do musicians call it the devoted, tearful, and most pious mode, in distinction to the second mode, which we have called the dirgelike and grief-stricken.<sup>58</sup>

In a world of post-medieval Christian doctrine, the patriarchal mould would have dictated that the woman remain pious and devoted to her husband, which the text of Corteccia's motet makes abundantly clear. The subject of the motet who is being invited to "enter", Eleonora di Toledo, is also the object of its modal affect.

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<sup>56</sup> James Haar, "The Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica Musicae* (1496)," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 27, 1 (1974): 14.

<sup>57</sup> Judd outlines that the *Recanetum* was originally bound with Zarlino's copy of Boethius, indicating Zarlino's knowledge of Vanneus; see Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory", 370. Moreover, Zarlino's description of modal ethos in his *Le istitutione Harmoniche* of 1558 is reflective of Vanneus's descriptions in his *Recanetum* of 1533; see Frans Wiering, *The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 14.

<sup>58</sup> Steffano Vanneus, *Recanetum de musica aurea* (Rome, 1533), cited in Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory," 375.

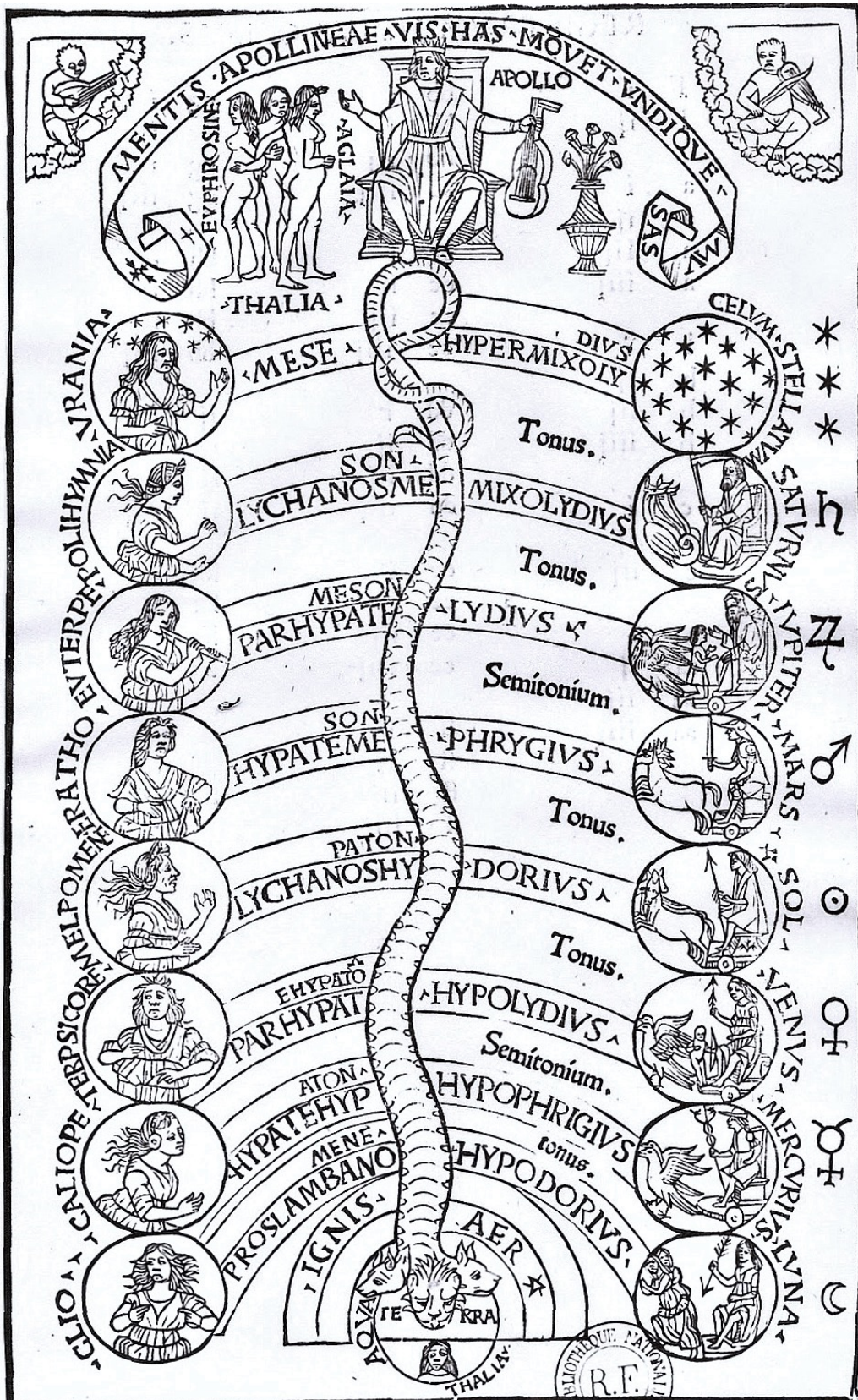


Figure 4.3 Title Page of Franchino Gafori, *Practica musicae* (1496). Woodcut (Image reproduced from James Haar, "The Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica Musicae* (1496)," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 27, 1 (1974): 9).

**Table 4.2** Steffano Vanneus’s listing of Modal Ethos in the *Recanetum* (1533). List reproduced from Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory,” 374-5.

| <b>Mode</b> | <b>Summary</b>                                  | <b>Description</b>   |
|-------------|---|--|
| 1           | The first tone is cheerful.                     | Since, then, the first tone, an Authentic, is naturally tuneful, jocund, cheerful, and especially apt to excite the emotions of the soul, this mode demands that words, either in the vernacular or in the Latin, be coupled with it; and since it is adaptable to these words, it is called by musicians the adaptable tone.  |
| 2           | The second tone is woeful.                      | Words that carry with them sadness, weeping, cares, woes, captivity, and all sorts of miseries agree with the second tone, the first of the Plagals, which by its nature is tearful, serious, and humble, and for that very reason, is called by the musicians the humble and deprecatory.   |
| 3           | The third tone is sharp and harsh.              | The third tone, second in the series of Authentics, is considered sharp, vehement, blazing, provocative of anger and bile, spirited, harsh and cruel. For that reason it properly embraces bellicose, threatening words, and other things of that sort like itself, and it has for that reason been given the name harsh.  |
| 4           | The fourth tone is given to love and adulation. | The fourth tone, second among the Plagals, is completely unlike the third that precedes it, wherefore all words either of love, leisure, rest, tranquillity, adulation, deceit, and detraction can properly be fitted to it, and from this effect it is called the adulatory mode.   |
| 5           | The fifth tone is moderate.                     | The fifth tone, third of the Authentics, when sung brings delight, moderation, and joy, relieves the soul of every trouble, and matters that concern victory particularly become this mode, hence it is deservedly called jocund, moderate and delightful.   |
| 6           | The sixth mode is pious and devoted.            | The sixth mode, the third of the Plagals, is most suitably given all words of piety that move [one] to tears, especially from devotion, or from pity and joy, and not without justice do musicians call it the devoted, tearful, and most pious mode, in distinction to the second mode, which we have called the dirgelike and grief-stricken.  |
| 7           | The seventh mode is mixed and with complaint.   | The seventh tone, fourth in the complement of the Authentics, is especially suited to lascivious words mixed in with moderate and pleasant ones, but then also to excited, angry and threatening ones; and for this reason it is called the querulous mode.  |
| 8           | The eighth mode is mild and sweet.              | The eighth, the last of all modes, affects all who hear it with joy, pleasure, and sweetness, and it is completely alien to lasciviousness and to every vice. To it by right musicians have dedicated speech that is mild, unhurried, serious, that contains profound matter, or philosophical, or theological, since they concern heavenly happiness and glory, nor do words shrink from this mode that are attempted for the sake of asking favour. Its name follows the facts, since it is called sweet and mild. |

Thus, Vanneus's and consequently Gafori's classification of modal ethos suggests a femino-centric reading. In addition to their presentation of the Hypolydian as the progenitor of piety and devotion—capable of moving one to tears—their combined writings on ethos engender divine femininity within the sixth mode that is ruled, as Gafori declares, by Venus. As Figure 4.3 illustrates above, Gafori's correlation between the planets and modes associates the Hypolydian with the virtues of Venus and inextricably with her mirror image Jupiter. The following extracts, selectively taken from Chapters Twelve and Thirteen of Book IV of *De harmonia*, outline Gafori's interpretation of mode-planet-muse alignments.

**Chapter 12: That the Muses, Stars, Modes and Strings Correspond to one Another**<sup>59</sup>

There are those who believe that the Muses follow the order of the stars and the modes. [...] Callimachus, a poet of no mean authority among the Greeks, proclaimed the gifts of the Muses in this epigram:

Calliope invented the wisdom of heroic song,  
Clio the sweet song of lovely dance and lyre,  
Euterpe the resounding voice of tragic chorus;  
Melpomene gave the sweet knowledge of the lyre to mortals;  
\*Terpsichore, obligingly, offered skilfully made pipes;  
Erato discovered the most delightful hymns to immortals;  
Erudite Polyhymnia found out the pleasures of dance and gave  
harmony to every song;  
Urania revealed the heavens and the dance of the celestial stars;  
Thalia invented comedy and renowned mores.

In addition to all this, we believe (and most others concur) that the Muses themselves correspond to the stars and modes such that we may assign them to the strings that began the modes, one by one. [...]

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<sup>59</sup> Cited in Gary Tomlinson, trans. and ed., "Franchino Gafori: From *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (1518)," in *Strunk's Source Readings in Music Theory: The Renaissance*, general ed. Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1998), 112-15.



To the third string, called *parhypate hypaton*, Terpsichore consecrated to the hypolydian and to Venus in the houses of Libra and Taurus; whence the verses:

The third string reveals the start of the hypolydian;  
Terpsichore dances to it and kind Paphos<sup>60</sup> rules it.

### **Chapter 13: Among Heavenly Bodies, Some Form Masculine Sounds, Some Feminine, and Some are Common**<sup>61</sup>

Aristides has said that the sounds which generate motion in celestial bodies, some are masculine in nature, some feminine, and others common, according to the property of each sphere. A masculine sound in a celestial body is sharp and firm, suitable for action and work; a feminine sound is weak and quiet, unsuitable for industry and labour. From these characteristics, individually established or mixed, a variety of sounds occur.

For although the moon is weak and every source of corporeal movement emits a feminine sound, it is drawn for a little while to a masculine nature; since it receives the downward flow of other bodies, its feminine nature is set free and it participates with the masculine, because the force of generating and nourishing bodies flows into lower bodies. Sacrificial priests and ministers believe this to indicate its masculine and feminine nature (I say more feminine) in invoking a goddess.

As the orb of Mercury is mostly dry because of its proximity to the sun, if ever it is separated from it because of its size (although it has little humidity), it rarely delights in nocturnal appearances, but more often daytime [ones], and is believed to produce a mixture of a masculine and a feminine sound, with the masculine participation greater than the feminine.

Since the orb of Venus, delightful to view and most clear and pleasant, is humid, it is said to be pleasing at night and to emit a feminine sound.

Because the orb of the sun is dry it mostly burns up in heat and energy; it is said to produce a masculine sound.

The orb of Mars, warm and violent, takes pleasure in humid and nocturnal figures; it produces a sound that participates in both natures, but leaning more to the masculine.

The orb of Jove,<sup>62</sup> pleasant in all respects, is called the close rival of the orb of Venus; it is believed inferior in warmth to Mars and is thought to allay the coldness of Saturn. Like the orb of Venus it has a tempered mixture of both,

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<sup>60</sup> The mythical birthplace of Aphrodite, and hence Venus.

<sup>61</sup> Cited in Joscelyn Godwin, *The Harmony of the Spheres: A Source Book of the Pythagorean Tradition in Music* (Vermont: Inner Traditions International, 1993), 177-184.

<sup>62</sup> Jupiter.

since it is appropriate for producing the daily breath of life and procreating children. It is the author of marriage and is said to produce a feminine sound.

Since Saturn is sharp, dry, and laborious, Aristides Quintillianus says it forms a masculine sound.

We do not think it incongruous to agree with the conception of Pythagoras and Plato, who said that celestial sounds are produced according to a certain order of instrumental sounds. [...]

In Chapter Twelve of *De harmonia*, Gafori situates the Muse Terpsichore on the third string, sonorously incarnated on the pitch of F, that of the Hypolydian. Both she and the sixth mode are ruled by Venus. Moving to Chapter Thirteen, Gafori's description of the masculine and feminine properties of each planetary sphere further clarify the feminine qualities of the Hypolydian, described as having a 'humid' and 'tempered' cosmic constitution, and thus being clear and pleasant, it is pleasing at night. Moreover, in his discussion of the sphere of Jupiter whom he Latinises as Jove, Gafori describes the male qualities of this planet as being "like" Venus. 'Like the orb of Venus it has a tempered mixture of both [natures], since it is appropriate for producing the daily breath of life and procreating children. It is the author of marriage and is said to produce a feminine sound'.<sup>63</sup> Although he masculinises the qualities of procreation and marriage, engendering them in the fifth mode (the authentic Lydian), they are, according to the science of binary opposites, applicable also to Venus, Jupiter's 'close rival'. This can be further clarified by drawing from the author's description of the moon. He writes that those planets that are lower and 'heavier' can receive the 'nourishing bodies' from the planets that lie above them (see again Figure 4.3). 'Since it [the moon] receives the downward flow of other bodies, its feminine nature is set free and it participates with the masculine, because

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<sup>63</sup> Godwin, *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 181.

the force of generating and nourishing bodies flows into lower bodies'.<sup>64</sup> By this principle, it is understood that Venus can embody the traits of her dominant and male opposite. She as such is also capable of procreation and to produce the daily breath of life. It appears that Cortecchia chose to associate the very appropriate qualities of the Hypolydian, with its rulership in Venus and fecundity, to the words inscribed on the triumphal arch that greeted Eleonora, an arch capped quite concretely with the same message, a statue of Fecundity with five children—an exemplar of procreation par excellence.

### **III. Pathways of Audio-Visual Counterpoint: Mode, Matriarchy and Meaning**

Upon closer examination of the musical propaganda of Eleonora's *entrata*, the paternal theme woven into the visual and literary components yields to a subtle counterpoint of feminine symbolism within the modal texture of Cortecchia's entrance motet. As noted above, the patriarchal narrative that is seen in the façade of the archway culminates in an apex of Fecundity, Security and Eternity. At the core of this frontispiece is a contrasting narrative of feminine decorum, turning our attention away from father-son relationships and toward the maternal vein of the Medici genealogical tree. This maternal theme is made visible in the rendering of the central female figure surrounded by five children, and in the text of the central frieze which was musically rendered in *Ingedere*.

Come in, come in, under the most favorable auspices, Eleonora, to your city.  
And, fruitful in excellent offspring, may you produce descendants similar in  
quality to your father and forebears abroad, so that you may guarantee eternal  
security for the Medici name and its most devoted citizenry.<sup>65</sup>

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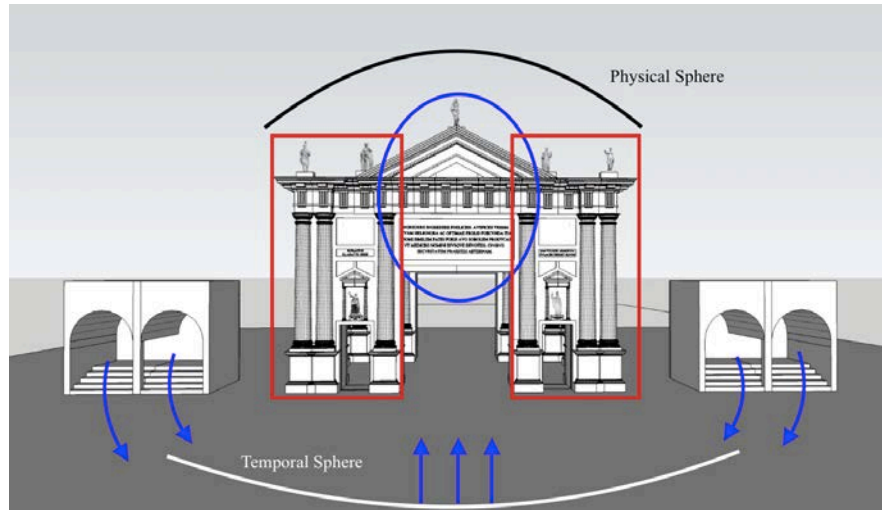
<sup>64</sup> Godwin (1993), p. 181.

<sup>65</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 103.

The association of Duchess Eleonora with the Hypolydian, and in turn with the musico-theoretical semantics of the cosmic Venus with her soft and humid nature, presents an interesting audio-visual counterpoint with the iconography of power and masculinity embedded in the façade of Tribolo's archway. The myriad battle scenes of Lord Giovanni and his army depicted by Tribolo in each sequence of the proto-cinematic montage, presents an image of physical— even violent—masculinity. The violence is assuaged by the subtle inflections of the father-son narrative which is underscored by the concept of familial love (in a distinctly post-medieval context).<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, the motet further tempers the sharply defined nodes of masculinity and paternity by virtue of its text, imagery and musical symbolism. Cortecchia has enshrined the virtues of femininity in the motet by assigning the duchess as both its subject and its object; she is the subject of the text that incites her to 'enter' her new city, and she is the object of the musical ethos of piety and devotion. Thus, what emerges is a contrapuntal interrelationship between the physical and the temporal spheres of the royal *entrata*: one constructing a masculine narrative (physical sphere), and the other a feminine one (temporal sphere). Figure 4.4 outlines the pathways of audio-visual counterpoint that define the spatial parameters of the *entrata*, a performance that activated both the physical and temporal space surrounding the Porta al Prato.

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<sup>66</sup> The concept of familial love in the renaissance was contingent on socio-economic and legal paradigms that placed legitimacy, inheritance, gender and paternalism at the forefront of family bonds. Familial love, as such, was based on a tradition of respect, obedience and kinship. For a discussion of family structures in the renaissance, see Thomas Kuehn, *Family and Gender in Renaissance Italy, 1300-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).



**Figure 4.4** Pathways of Audio-visual Counterpoint between Tribolo's Triumphal Arch and the Performance of Cortecchia's Entrance Motet in 1539. (Illustration by the author).

The external panels of the archway highlighted in red in Figure 4.4 indicate the location of the battle scenes with Lord Giovanni and the Black Band army; the statues of Military Virtue, Pallas, Victory, Fame, Slaughter and Mars; and the accompanying Latin inscriptions which, when taken together, construct the metanarrative of patriarchy within the physical sphere. As the reader will note however, the central panel of the arch, encircled in blue, demarcates the beginning of the matriarchal theme. Standing on the apex of the archway's fronton is Fecundity, and she commands her presence over the feminine (and core) region of the arch. She is accompanied by Security and Eternity on each flank, and presides over the frontispiece below depicting the female figure with five children. This central panel is symbolically representative of the architectural womb of the arch, pregnant with feminine imagery. The archway and musical auditoriums, as well as the symbolic space surrounding these structures, can be understood as a complex performance arena, composed of both physical and temporal space. The physical sphere and its symbolic content projects itself into the performance arena where it meets with the temporal sphere, and it is here where Sergei Eisenstein's theory of audio-visual

counterpoint in cinematic montage can be rigorously observed. To return to the theorist's interpretation of this phenomenon in Chapter Three, he states that

with only one step from visual vibrations to acoustic vibrations, we find ourselves in the field of music. From the domain of the spatial-pictorial to the domain of the temporal-pictorial where the same law rules [*conflict*]. For counterpoint is to music not only a form of composition, but is altogether the basic factor for the possibility of tone perception and tone differentiation.<sup>67</sup>

In the example of Figure 4.4, the auditoriums each side of the archway are the primary source of sonic phenomena, for it is here where the (formal) music emanates, and as such, they activate the temporal sphere. The performance of the motet produces a field of soundwaves that moves outward amongst the spectators. These soundwaves carry the symbolic and emotional content of the music being performed and its associations of cosmic harmony: femininity, piety and devotion. As stated in Chapter Three, when paired with a complex visual programme, music helped to move the spectator through the city and in turn moved his or her emotions in a preordained way. The internal motion produced by the musical fabric of the motet helped to rhythmically propel the procession of the ducal couple and their entourage who were journeying steadily toward the archway. In turn, the modal ethos was working on a subliminal level, as discussed in Chapter Three, to bestir the emotional consciousness of the spectator. Thus, a sentient musico-visual experience immersed the spectator within the physical and temporal spheres of the performance arena, and facilitated their perception of the contrapuntal themes of masculine and feminine virtues that greeted them.

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<sup>67</sup> Eisenstein, "A Dialectic Approach to Film Form", 52.

Rather than creating a discordant experience however, this audio-visual counterpoint was ultimately one of a harmonious nature. If we return to Gafori's description of the masculine-feminine dichotomy of the Hypolydian, he states that the conflicting rivalry between Venus and Jupiter is ameliorated by their common ground: they both produce the daily breath of life and serve to procreate children. Thus, the audio-visual counterpoint created by Corteccia and Tribolo cadences harmoniously at the finale of the performance, by returning to the apex of the arch and its three principal figures: Fecundity (procreation), Security and Eternity (creating the daily breath of life). 'Ac optimae prolis Foecunda ita domi similem patri foris avo sobolem producas ut Mediceo nomini eiusque devotiss civibus Securitatem praestes Aeternam'.<sup>68</sup> Through this action, Corteccia and Tribolo succeeded in creating the definite impression that what was heard by the spectator was already contained in the image itself.<sup>69</sup> This complex cognitive experience of visual and auditory story-telling was a feat of proto-cinematic performance.

On the surface, *Ingedere* is an uncomplicated exercise in counterpoint, an art driven by rules. Beneath the surface however, it appears to orchestrate a clever musico-textual and philosophical architecture that presents a narrative of feminine decorum in counterpoint to the visual program of Tribolo's archway. The marriage of *musica practica* and *musica mundana* works to subtly reinforce the visual program, or at least that part of the arch that Giambullari considered to be first visible to the person arriving: the personifications of Fecundity, Security and Eternity. Whether Corteccia consciously applied the rudiments of *musica mundana*, influenced by Gafori and Vanneus, when composing this motet is, as yet, unknowable—a position that will

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<sup>68</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 6.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter Three of this thesis for the theory of audio-vision put forth by Michel Chion.

only change upon the discovery of archival evidence. However, one can refer to the words of Vanneus himself in debating the possibility. The value of Gafori's treatise and that of all discourse on *musica mundana* in the sixteenth century is zealously outlined in Vanneus's *Recanetum*.

These are things that should least escape the notice of a good composer, so that he will know how to join same with same and like with like. And if you should scorn them, you will be a laughing-stock to the learned, and will be regarded as an unmusical musician by all. So watch yourself!<sup>70</sup>

### **Entering the Cine City: Procession and Place**

The reader will recall from Audiovisual Two that there were two parts to the royal entry: the journey into Florence via Tribolo's archway, and the journey through Florence in a symbolic navigation of space and place. As Eleonora moved in procession with her noble entourage under Tribolo's symbolic archway amidst the performance of Corteccia's motet, she would have been aware that her migration from the entranceway into the interior of Florence embodied a public metamorphosis. Witnessed by an audience of Florentine spectators, Eleonora's arrival into the city marked her official inauguration as the Duchess of Florence and her metamorphosis from the foreign Other to Florentine citizen, inheriting a new *fiorentinitá*. If we recall Wantanabe-O'Kelly's words in Chapter One, the ceremonial contract became legally binding through the act of being spectated.

From the Prato Gate, Giambullari describes the route taken by Eleonora and her consort on their procession through the city, indicating the depth and breadth of

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<sup>70</sup> Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory," 374.



celebration and ornamentation which enveloped the city on her arrival. Their route progressed from the Prato Gate to the Arno River, and from there they travelled along the riverbank to Via Tornabuoni, moving strategically through the quarter of San Giovanni (the centre of religious and civic power), eventually arriving at the Baptistery and Cathedral. After a brief repose in the Baptistery for religious conferrals, they later continued away from the river in the direction of Piazza San Marco, retracing part of the way toward the Cathedral until finally arriving at the Palazzo Medici.<sup>71</sup>

Inside the aforesaid entrance way were thirty-six young men from among the principal nobles of the city, all afoot. ... As soon as the Duke had left, these young men placed the mount of the Duchess in their midst, and kept her handsome, respectful company as far as the Palace of Your Excellency, going by way of the Ognissanti quarter and then along the Arno as far as the Spini. From there, having turned back by way of Tornaquinci and Carnesecchi, by San Giovanni, they proceeded to the Cathedral in aforementioned formation, though the streets were so full of spectators that there was hardly room to pass.<sup>72</sup>

The gathering of spectators throughout the city would have contributed greatly to a lively carnivalesque soundscape, providing the Duchess with a welcoming prelude to the wedding music that would be later performed in the private quarters of the Medici Palace. The route traversed by the Duchess was part of a larger symbolic arena where musico-visual performances and architectural ephemera played a seminal role in the ceremonial of the event. It was at this very junction in the early

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<sup>71</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, n. 30, 121-122.

<sup>72</sup> 'Nello antiporto predetto erano XXXVI Giovani de principali nobili della Citta, tutti a piedi ... Questi subito che il Duca si fu partito mettendo in mezzo la Acchinea della illustrissima Signora Duchessa, le fecero bella et honorata compagnia fino al Palazzo di sua Eccellentia, facendo il lor viaggio per borgo Ognisanti et quindi per lungo Arno fino a gli Spinni. Donde rivoltisi per il canto de Tornaquinci et de Carnesecchi, da San Giovanni, alla Chiesa Catedrale, con la gia detta ordinanza si condussero beche si piene fussino le strade di spettatori, ch'appena ni fussi luogo donde passare', *Ibid.*, 16.

modern cine city—between buildings and bodies—that the spectator entered a dialogue with their city. Speaking of the theatricality of architecture and spatial acoustics in renaissance Florence, Niall Atkinson writes that ‘the curiosity and inventiveness of users [spectators] ... could transform architecture into a series of ephemeral performances, demonstrating how the experience of the built environment ... was located precisely at the points where architecture intersected with the body’s sensorial apparatus’.<sup>73</sup> For Atkinson, this sensorial exchange marks the point at which architecture is transformed from static object to theatrical stage. Similarly, it is at this point that the cinematic imagination comes alive and that architecture, through the act of spectatorship and sensorial exchange, is instilled with a sense of liveness and emotion, and becomes the object of proto-cinema. And thus, the royal entry and procession of the 1539 wedding festival came to a dramatic close, facilitated throughout by a proto-cinematic montage of architectural and musical spectacle, transforming the streets of Florence into an early modern cine city.

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<sup>73</sup> Atkinson, “Introduction: Journey into the Noisy Renaissance,” in *The Noisy Renaissance*, kindle edition.

## Chapter Five

## **Beyond the Metropolis: Performing *Vedutismo* and Mapping Empire at the Wedding Banquet of 1539**

The third phenomenon of proto-cinematic consciousness in the festival of 1539 was the staging of *vedutismo*, an artistic practice that personified and mobilised space and place through theatrical performance. As stated in Chapter Three, the *veduta* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries offered more than a visualisation of space—it offered a way of writing the meaning of place into pictorial history. This was exemplified in the banquet of 1539 where an image of Cosimo’s emerging Tuscan empire was musico-visually and spatially mapped onto eight performance *vedute*. These hybrid panoramics represented the geographic dominions of the new duke, including Florence, Pisa, Volterra, Arezzo, Cortona and Pistoia. Two additional performances extended the symbolic capital of Cosimo’s empire to Rome (*veduta* of the Tiber), and even to the cosmos (*veduta* of the Muses). These latter *vedute* showed that the Medici empire was not curtailed by the microcosm of the sublunar world, but extended into the macrocosm of the planetary spheres, painting Cosimo as a powerful patriarch. The texts for these performances were written by Giambattista Gelli and the music was composed by Francesco Corteccia, Costanzo Festa, Giovanni Pietro Masaconi, Baccio Moschini and Matteo Rampollini. We are not definitively informed by Giambullari of who executed the innovative costumes and headpieces for the banquet spectacles, but it can be posited that Giovan Battista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo had important roles to play.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Giambullari and Vasari both report that Strozzi and Tribolo were the authors of the costumes for the Intermedii of Antonio Landi’s play, performed the week after the wedding banquet. They were, as such, likely to have taken charge of the costumes for the banquet performances. As stated in Chapter Two, there is room to postulate that Cosimo Bartoli contributed the all-important *invenzione* for these and subsequent costumes at the festival.

The present chapter embarks on an analytic excursion of four of the eight performances that exemplify the multidimensional practice of *vedutismo*, and proceeds to decode their complex musical, literary, visual and philosophical programme. In the previous chapter we assessed the *mise-en-cadre* of Eleonora's royal entry to Florence by analysing the audio-visual design of Tribolo's architectural montage and Corteccia's motet. Chapter Five will move from a preoccupation with *mise-en-cadre* to an interpretation of the *mise-en-scène* of the banquet performances. That is, it will explore the interrelation of people, costume, music, text and theatrical setting—all the elements that worked together to produce musico-visual cohesion and symbolic unity within each spectacle. Reading the *mise-en-scène* as a composite experience reveals how the meaning of place and power was interweaved throughout the performance programme. The costumes will be a focal point of the analytic framework, for they were crucial in unifying the context of each performance. Unfortunately, the preparatory drawings of the costumes for 1539 have not been preserved, but Giambullari mediates this loss by describing each one in vibrant and intricate detail. To aid our analysis of them, this thesis commissioned the reconstruction of interpretive illustrations for the banquet costumes, and they will serve to illuminate the discussion of each performance.

Table 5.1 presents the performance programme and the order in which the *vedute* appeared in 1539. From this list, *veduta* I has been chosen for its unique representation of music and magic in the hermetic tradition; *vedute* II and III have been chosen for their portrayal of cultural politics, constructions of identity, and imperial self-fashioning; and finally *veduta* VIII has been chosen for its unique musical setting that stands apart from all other musical arrangements within the banquet programme.

**Table 5.1** Programme of Performance *Vedute* at the Wedding Banquet of 1539.

| No. | <i>Veduta</i> | Principal Personification(s) | Accompanying Personifications  | Total Number of Performers |
|-----|---------------|------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1   | Cosmos        | The Muses                    | (Thalia, Euterpe, Erato, Melpomene, Clio, Terpsichore, Polymnia, Urania, Calliope)   | 9                          |
| 2   | Fiorenza      | Flora                        | <b>5 Nymphs, 2 rivers representing Florentine territories:</b><br>Prato<br>Mugello<br>Fiesole<br>Incisa<br>Certaldo<br>Arno<br>Mognone                                   | 8                          |
| 3   | Pisa          | Idem                         | <b>3 Nymphs, 2 marine deities, representing Pisan territories:</b><br>Verrucola<br>Maremma<br>Collina<br>Triton<br>Tethys  | 6                          |
| 4   | Volterra      | Idem                         | <b>5 Nymphs representing the rich mines around Volterra:</b><br>Sulphate<br>Copper<br>Gold & Silver (portrayed by same actor)<br>Sulpher<br>Salt                         | 6                          |
| 5   | Arezzo        | Idem                         | <b>4 Nymphs representing territories of Arezzo:</b><br>Laterina<br>Casentino<br>Pratomagno<br>Chianti  | 5                          |
| 6   | Cortona       | Idem                         | <b>3 Nymphs representing territories of Cortona:</b><br>Fertile plains (unspecified, but likely the South-eastern region of Valdichiana)<br>Montepulciano<br>Castiglione | 4                          |
| 7   | Pistoia       | Idem                         | <b>2 Nymphs, 1 river deity, 1 mountain deity representing territories of Pistoia:</b><br>Oreada<br>Pescia<br>Ombrone<br>Montemurlo                                       | 5                          |
| 8   | Tiber         | Idem                         | <b>5 Nymphs representing the Toscana-Romagna territories around the River Tiber:</b><br>Falterona<br>Vernia<br>Seamstress nymph<br>Wine nymph<br>Romagna                 | 6                          |

From the outset, performance *vedutismo* was linked with musical considerations of *musica practica* and *musica mundana* as well as the textual power politics associated with the spectacle of festival.

Giambattista Gelli's banquet texts are part of the propagandist tradition of power and politics within festival culture, and as such, they represent a very different vein of authorship for the writer.<sup>2</sup> They are neither definitively moralistic nor philosophical, yet their function was not altogether different, for there is an underlying social didacticism that interestingly reflects the narrative of Tribolo's triumphal arch. Similar to the narratives of patriarchy and feminine decorum discussed in Chapter Four, Gelli's verses construct themes of obedience, servitude and devotion. They confer moral instruction through advocating compliance with social hierarchy and the importance of playing one's proper role within the renaissance civic system by serving the common good—that is, serving monarch and monarchy. A cursory glance at each of the eight verses in Appendix I reveals the repetition of words to this effect, such as *servire* (service or to serve), *dare* (to give), *porgere* (to offer), *mostrare* (to show), *Ancella* (handmaiden or servant), and most recurrently, *honorare* (to honour). These performances can as such be viewed as a social commentary of regional politics in the period. When read collectively, Gelli's texts and their performance contexts reflect the fractious conditions of sixteenth century Florentine-Tuscan relations. Indeed, Cosimo's ducal campaign hinged on the alliance of all the Tuscan states with the new Florentine monarchy. This reading will be crucial to our understanding of the performances as we move toward their individual analysis.

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<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction to this thesis for a discussion of the life and works of Giambattista Gelli.

### **Behold the Star of the Sun: Apollo as Prophet, Narrator and Performer**

On the evening of 6 July, the ducal couple and the pride of the Florentine nobility were seated in the second courtyard of the Medici Palace on Via Larga for a grand banquet. In addition to his feats of ephemeral architecture at the Prato gate and along the processional route of the city, Tribolo designed a wooden apparatus within the courtyard to house the theatrical entertainments of the banquet spectacles, comedy and *Intermedii*. As seen in the digital reconstruction in Audiovisual One, Tribolo built a loggia for the ducal couple on the southern end, and two long table extensions that ran the length of the eastern and western sides for the attendant guests (Figure 5.1).<sup>3</sup>



**Figure 5.1** Conor Maguire and Nassim Bensedick, Digital reconstruction of Tribolo's apparatus in the courtyard of Palazzo Medici. (2015).

<sup>3</sup> Giambullari estimates that there were more than one hundred of the first gentlewomen of the nobility with 'those dresses and adornments appropriate for such wedding celebrations'. (Oltre a cento delle prime Gentil' Donne di tutta la nobilitade con queglii l'abiti et abbigliamenti, che s'appartenevano à tante Noze'.) Giambullari, *Aprato et feste*, 30; with English translation from Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 136. Giambullari neglects to specify those in attendance from the male Florentine or Neapolitan courts, but it is possible to estimate from the courtyard dimensions that the space could comfortably hold 100-150 guests, with the potential to accommodate more within restrictive seating arrangements. (Calculations are made by the author based on a standing crowd density of 1-1.5 people per square meter, at an approximate given space of 100msq).



The stage at the northern side was open to the view of the stage in anticipation of the comedy that would take place a few days later. Here the hosts and guests dined for the evening with a banquet of numerous courses.<sup>4</sup> Giambullari refrains from describing the details of this banquet ‘so as not to lose time for such an unimportant thing’, and sufficed to say that ‘there lacked nothing appropriate for such a high prince’.<sup>5</sup> When the banquet was over and the guests had enjoyed their feast of Tuscan cuisine and wines, the performances began.

First to emerge in the middle of the courtyard was Apollo (Figure 5.2). According to Giambullari, he was:

dressed in crimson taffeta covered with golden *tocca*, with a belt almost of rainbow hue. He had an ancient mantle of the same cloth, gathered above the left shoulder. He had a bow on his shoulder and a quiver at his flank. His shoes were of crimson satin, with an ingenious ancient-style knot of golden tassels in the form of two lion’s heads. He was crowned with green laurel, above very long golden hair. Holding a lyre in his left hand and a little bow in his right, he came, in the midst of a choir of Muses.<sup>6</sup>

Apollo’s role is integral to the entire programme, for he served to introduce each *veduta* and to explain the meaning of each geographical personification as they entered the performance arena, which was not positioned on the stage at the Northern side as might be expected, but in the middle of the courtyard amongst the spectators. He explained the complex symbolism of their costumes, furnishing the reader with the knowledge that they needed to understand the spectacle. He did not simply orate this

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<sup>4</sup> Giambullari (1539), 30; Minor and Mitchell (1968), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 5.2** *Apollo*. Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design. Sketch modelled from the description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. (Illustration by Laura Jayne Halton. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper. 2015).

in spoken word, but performed his narrative role through song, sweetly playing on his lyre, which Howard Mayer Brown determined to be a *lira da braccio*.<sup>7</sup> It is likely that Apollo's performances were improvised for there is no music accompanying the texts that he sang in the Gardane printed edition of 1539. While Brown was accurate in saying that 'one can learn almost as much about performance practice by studying descriptions of music that no longer exists as one can from studying the preserved examples', one cannot help but be intrigued about the performance conditions of Apollo's role.<sup>8</sup> If the musical settings had existed and were merely overlooked by the printers, they would indeed tell us something about the principles of early monody and instrumental improvisation. I reserve doubts over their existence however, for there was little overlooked when it came to the publication and dissemination of festival propaganda. Considering no stone was left unturned in the written evidence that has been preserved, it is unlikely that eight compositions were simply discarded by either Cortecchia or the printers. It appears more likely that the musician playing the role of Apollo was indeed improvising. His assumed skilful improvisations would have combined to emulate the divinity of Apollo who had come to the epicentre of Cosimo's empire—Florence—to impart the prophecy of his divine apotheosis as duke. This prophecy was realised in the duke's propagandist iconography some years later within the Palazzo Vecchio where Giorgio Vasari executed the apotheosis of Duke Cosimo de' Medici in the central ceiling vault of the *Salone dei Cinquecento* (Figure 5.3).

Moreover, the presence of Apollo in the performance of 1539 had wider significance for the Duke's long-term strategy of cultural politics. Cosimo was continually

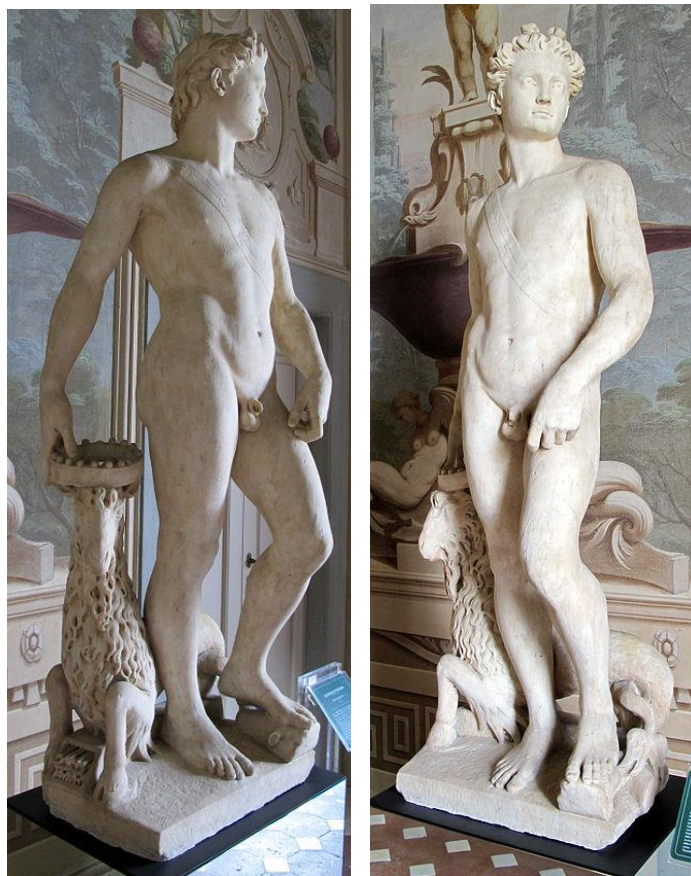
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<sup>7</sup> Giambullari states that Apollo sang and played each introduction: '*Apollo, suavemente sonando, cantò le seguenti stanze*'. Giambullari, *Apparato*, 36. Brown interpreted from this that 'Apollo sang *ottave rime*, accompanying himself on a *lira da braccio*', the texts of which are published in Giambullari's festival book. Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation*, 88.

<sup>8</sup> Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation*, 14.



**Figure 5.3** Giorgio Vasari, *The Apotheosis of Cosimo I*, 1563-65. Florence: Salone dei Cinquecento, Palazzo Vecchio (Photograph by George Tatge, 2003, courtesy of Alinari Archives, Florence).



**Figure 5.4** Domenico Poggini, *Apollo with Capricorn*, 1559. Florence: Giardini di Boboli, Palazzo Pitti. (Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons). Accessed December 2016. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Apollo\\_with\\_the\\_Capricorn\\_by\\_Domenico\\_Poggini#/media/File:Domenico\\_poggini,\\_apollo\\_col\\_capricorno,\\_1559,\\_03.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Apollo_with_the_Capricorn_by_Domenico_Poggini#/media/File:Domenico_poggini,_apollo_col_capricorno,_1559,_03.JPG).

mythologised as Apollo within the art and literature he cultivated, reflecting his preoccupation with aggrandised visual self-fashioning. Examples of this can be seen in Aldobrando Cerretani's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* of 1559, where he prophesises that Cosimo will outshine Augustus in 'an age of perfect happiness and virtue', a ruler who 'shall reign like Apollo rules the cosmos, his very name'.<sup>9</sup> Cerretani's homage to his patron appears as an appendage to his vernacular translation of the epic, embodying the sort of obsequiousness that secured one's status within the Medici fold. Another Apollonian allegory sits in the *Giardini di Boboli* of Palazzo Pitti in the form of a sculpture by Domenico Poggini (Figure 5.4). Here, Cosimo is figured as Apollo accompanied by the Capricorn and crowned with the ducal coronet. The symbol of the Capricorn also populated Cosimo's iconic portfolio about which Claudia Rousseau has spoken at length.<sup>10</sup> According to Henk Th van Veen, 'Poggini's Apollo/Cosimo was the quintessential representation of the Duke as an exalted cosmic ruler'.<sup>11</sup>

Elsewhere, more subtle symbols of Apollonian myth emerge within the duke's personal imagery. For one, Cosimo adopted and upheld the *broncone* device from the family's album of *imprese* (emblems), as mentioned in Chapter Four. The Medici *broncone* depicted a laurel tree in two forms, the first of which was a new shoot emerging from the stump of a dead laurel tree to represent dynastic continuity, and the second was a laurel tree with a broken branch, but Cosimo adopted the former. He used the image of the laurel shoot to symbolise his renewal of the duchy after the death of his cousin Alessandro de' Medici, thus imparting the dictum that from death springs

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<sup>9</sup> Cited in Henk Th. van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici and His Self-Representation in Florentine Art and Culture*, 31.

<sup>10</sup> Claudia Rousseau, *Cosimo I de' Medici and Astrology: The Symbolism of Prophecy*, (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1983). See in particular Chapter One, 'The Origins, Purpose and Significance of Astrological Symbolism in the Personal Imagery of Cosimo I de' Medici', 1-116.

<sup>11</sup> Van Veen, *Cosimo I*, 31.

new life. The concept of renewal was overtly demonstrated in the first performance given by the Muses in which Gelli's text proclaims: 'Offer to Heaven and to them your sweet aid, with which one may be reborn a plant like the ancestral trunk, ornate and precious. In its shade may both Arno and Flora graze in a quieter life' (Appendix I).<sup>12</sup> In addition, Giambullari confirms that the concept of renewal was integrated within the iconographic programme of the Palazzo Medici for the festival, saying there was a device with 'a broken laurel tree, its summit so bent toward the earth that it seemed entirely lost, but an exuberant new shoot was coming out of the old stump completely renewing the tree'.<sup>13</sup> With the political overtones of the Apollonian metaphor in mind, we return to Apollo himself, the interlocutor of the banquet spectacles of 1539. Apollo mastered the roles of prophet, narrator and performer as he sang and sweetly played his prefatory verses. His first recitation, preceding the performance of the Muses, was a long encomiastic paean to the House of Medici, glorifying each member from Cosimo *il Vecchio* to Cosimo I, and in which he imparts the prophecy of the new golden age of the Medici name.

Seeing how eager every man is to hear what time is to bring him, I will tell you a part of what Heaven wishes to issue from you and from your seed.

Inside the beautiful breast of Flora [Florence] the kingly stock of which you were born had its origin from another Cosimo, to whom she owes not a little because he enriched her with a thousand exalted trophies. [...] From him was born then that holy laurel<sup>14</sup> [...] and from] this sacred plant many other branches. [...] But because the terrestrial ground boasts nothing eternal, however rare, when the Fate decided to break her thread, she took every high branch from this plant.<sup>15</sup> But now, thanks to you, beautiful couple, there arises from such a great stock a new sprout that renews the lost leaves and gives life to infirm parts. It, like the other one, has Cosimo as beginning, but with rather

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<sup>12</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 144; Giambullari, *Apparato*, 40-41.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 124; *Ibid.*, 19-20.

<sup>14</sup> *Lorenzo il Magnifico*.

<sup>15</sup> An allegory of Atropos cutting the thread of human life, indicating that the main Medici branch was lost with the death of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and the illegitimate branch with the death of Alessandro. Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 144.

more solid and firm roots, and it will grow with all the more energy because its Cosimo is greater than the other.<sup>16</sup>

In this opening recitation, Apollo pays homage to the matrimony of the duke and his new Spanish-Neapolitan bride. Whilst bestowing praise on the Medici-Toledo union, he also alludes to another matrimony: that of Heaven and Earth, or more accurately, of Apollo and Flora—one the divine realm of the Sun and the other the seat of Cosimo's empire.

This is the sacred rank of the Muses, who always fire generous hearts to glorious enterprises and who are the guides of anyone who wishes, through fame, to conquer death. / And today, seeing sacred matrimony celebrated here in amorous zeal and wishing to make you happy by seeing me, I have left my steeds free in the sky; and I have come with the Muses to honour you under this mortal, aerial veil and with my light, which sustains you, to offer you everything good that I possibly can'.<sup>17</sup>

Upon the close of Apollo's song, the Muses came forward 'sweetly singing a canzone for nine'.<sup>18</sup>

The first *veduta* of the Muses can be interpreted as representing paradise *ne plus ultra*, for in holding up a mirror to the Tuscan personifications that followed it, it reflected an image of socio-political and cultural utopianism. This utopia was presented as the heavenly Cosmos, the realm of gods and goddesses; literature and art; philosophy and rhetoric; music and poetry. Perhaps most poignantly, it was the divine countenance of Cosimo's very name (Cosmos/Cosimo). Conforming to an inherent hierarchy within

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 143-144; Giambullari, *Apparato*, 38-39.

<sup>17</sup> Minor and Mitchell, 143; Giambullari, 37.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 144; Ibid., 40.

the performance programme, the spectacle of the Cosmos was represented by the Muses, each of whom sung a part in Francesco Corteccia's madrigal for nine voices. It is the most allegorically and symbolically allusive tableau of the entire programme, with layers of musical and visual complexities veiling each aspect of the performance. We can however arrive at an understanding of its significance through a close look at the musico-visual *meraviglie*, starting with the costumes and working toward a musico-textual exegesis.

Giambullari describes the visual appearance of the Muses in minute detail. These descriptions are reproduced in full in Appendix H to encourage a closer reading, for which they are most worthy. Like all costumes in this allegorical pageant, each character was emblematically dressed, transformed completely from their classical iconographic appearance. The Muses are laden with abundant exotic paraphernalia from the *guardaroba* of Cosimo I. The Medici *guardaroba* contained items of family inheritance of significant monetary or historical value. Their private collection included works of prestigious art, literature, maps, silverware, collections of prints, notarial and inventorial documents, private letters, military relics, hunting trophies, exotic memorabilia and ambassadorial gifts, to name but some of the items held there.<sup>19</sup> Many of the more unusual items of the collection were incorporated into the costumes to marvel the spectators with the rich and rare spoils in the possession of the Medici court. These included a lizard, exotic jewels and precious stones, monkey-skins, a horned beetle, a string of pearls, crabs, goatskin, rabbits' heads, the skin of a lion-cub, lynx-skin, leopard-skin, wolf-skin, stag-skin and small tortoises (Figure 5.5). These are merely a small selection of the whimsical inventions for the Muses,

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<sup>19</sup> For a more thorough introduction to the Medici Guardaroba, see Chapters Three through Seven in Rosen, *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).





**Figure 5.5** Laura Jayne Halton, *Euterpe*. Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolo il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.

representing their outlandish yet masterly iconographic programme that grew exceedingly otherworldly from first to last, journeying from the microcosm to the macrocosm of the celestial universe (see in particular the costume of Calliope in Appendix H). After Apollo's lyrical introduction, the Muses appeared holding a musical instrument. They also held a *taninera*, an object like an artist's palette with their names carved in antique letters on them as a mode of identification. In order of their appearance, there was: Thalia (Muse of festivals and of pastoral and comic poetry) holding a *trombone*;<sup>20</sup> Euterpe (Muse of music) holding a *dolzaina*;<sup>21</sup> Erato (Muse of Lyric Poetry) holding a *violone*;<sup>22</sup> Melpomene (Muse of tragedy) holding a *piffero*;<sup>23</sup> Clio (Muse of history) holding a *flauto*;<sup>24</sup> Terpsichore (Muse of dancing) holding a *leuto*;<sup>25</sup> Polymnia (Muse of singing and rhetoric) holding a *storta*;<sup>26</sup> Urania (Muse of astronomy) holding a *cornetta*;<sup>27</sup> and finally there was Calliope (Muse of eloquence and heroic poetry) holding a *ribechino*.<sup>28</sup> It is noteworthy that they all carried musical instruments rather than the respective mechanical or literary objects of their art form.<sup>29</sup> Scholars such as Minor, Mitchell and Brown have debated if these

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<sup>20</sup> An instrument similar to the modern trumpet in shape and appearance, but with a softer tone that blended more smoothly with the polyphonic music. Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 65.

<sup>21</sup> One of the more ambiguous instruments of the renaissance consort. Referred to by Lodovico Zacconi in 1592 as being a wind-capped instrument. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>22</sup> This term was applied to the viol family in general during the early sixteenth century, but appears to have meant a bass viol in this instance, for this instrument was also used in the instrumentation of the *Intermedii*, and would likely have been borrowed to complete the mise-en-scène of the banquet spectacles. *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>23</sup> A double-reed instrument; likely the treble shawm. Sources of the period are however inconsistent, where the term *piffero* is used interchangeably to mean treble shawm or transverse flute. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Flauto* on its own was a recorder. *Flauto traverso*, used in full, would have indicated the transverse, modern flute. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>25</sup> The lute; a popular string instrument of the renaissance. It was fretted with eleven to thirteen strings, was plucked with the fingers and was used as a melodic instrument. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>26</sup> The crumhorn; a narrow, cylindrical double-reed instrument. *Storta* means curved to indicate the instrument's shape. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>27</sup> A lip-vibrated instrument with a wooden tube and expanding bore, unrelated to the modern cornet. *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>28</sup> The violin. *Ibid.*, 64-5.

<sup>29</sup> For the history of the iconographic representation of the Muses in classical art, see Sheramy Bunderick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 51-60.

instruments were played, for Giambullari only writes that the Muses ‘sweetly sang’ the madrigal by Corteccia.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, it would prove challenging to sing and play their respective instruments at the same time.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, in the early sixteenth century the practice of instrumental playing in theatrical settings was often executed behind the stage or in areas hidden from the audience, preserving the frame of illusion in the performance arena.<sup>32</sup> In this instance, I interpret their instruments to be symbolic objects that form an important part of the *mise-en-scène* of this *veduta*. The *mise-en-scène* cleverly wove together a narrative of astrology, music and magic, with each costume depicting the astrological and alchemical correlation between man and music, and relationally, between the earth and the heavens. As such, this *veduta* can be read as an image of the Music of the Spheres, ruled by Apollo, or more precisely, by his allegorical representative, Duke Cosimo de’ Medici.

From this perspective, the Muses depart from iconographic convention and from their normative appearance in classical art. Instead, they begin to build a Medicean narrative that brings together the worlds of Cosimo’s earthly empire (Florence and Tuscany) and his cosmic apotheosis, the latter positioning him amongst the highest stars spoken of by Apollo in his introduction. Indeed, we have already seen Aldobrando Cerretani’s preface to the *Aeneid* in which he states that the play of words between ‘Cosimo’ and ‘cosmos’ was entirely deliberate. Cosimo, he says, ‘shall reign like Apollo rules the cosmos, his very name’.<sup>33</sup> The path connecting the two worlds is ingeniously mapped in the costumes of each Muse, navigating the cosmos from the elemental Earth to the

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<sup>30</sup> ‘Le Muse allora soavissimamente cantando dissero la seguente Canzone a nove’. Giambullari, 40; Minor and Mitchell, 144.

<sup>31</sup> There is no mention of any musician sitting in any of the performances.

<sup>32</sup> See Brown, *Sixteenth Century Instrumentation*, 18-19; and Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre*, 47-48.

<sup>33</sup> See note 9 above. For an erudite perspective on the Cosimo/cosmos analogy, see Roger J. Crum, “Cosmos: The World of Cosimo: The Iconography of the Uffizzi Façade,” *The Art Bulletin* 71, 2 (1989): 237-253.

**Table 5.2** The Muses as Representations of the Planetary Spheres. Table Ordered after Giambullari, according to the appearance of each Muse on stage in 1539.

| No. | Muse        | Artistic Sphere                                     | Planetary Sphere                               | Key Visual Symbols  |
|-----|-------------|---|--|---|
| 1   | Thalia      | Muse of festivals, and of pastoral and comic poetry | Moon   | Chameleon as crest; bee; crab; horned beetle  |
| 2   | Euterpe     | Muse of music                                       | Mercury  | Parrot as crest; nightingale; hyena skin; yellow-green glass; groundsel tree  |
| 3   | Erato       | Muse of Lyric Poetry                                | Venus  | Red coral as crest; girdle of Venus; white goatskin; damask roses; myrtle flowers; rabbit skin  |
| 4   | Melpomene   | Muse of Tragedy                                     | Sun  | Jewelled turban as crest; gold-sewn crimson silk; heliotrope; chrysolite; sun's eye; skin of lion cub; a golden frieze with all the musical instruments depicted; lynx-skin; beetles  |
| 5   | Clio        | Muse of history                                     | Mars   | Woodpecker as crest; Crimson satin; gold, red and rust coloured tocca; scammony; aconite; red hair; red satin helmet; raised iron visor; wolf-skin  |
| 6   | Terpsichore | Muse of dancing                                     | Jupiter  | Eagle as crest; Yellow cloth; Moorish knots sewn with pure silver; vine branch; old stag-skin; oak; lamb's skin   |
| 7   | Polyhymnia  | Muse of singing and rhetoric                        | Saturn   | A pyramid as crest, with 3 rows of putti in successive size, culminating with a rich chair of fire and gold; gold embroidered cloth sewn with black silk, like burning lead; black jaspers; hare-skin; lead boots; tortoises;           |
| 8   | Urania      | Muse of astronomy                                   | Fixed Celestial Sphere / The highest firmament | A cupid as crest, with his face in his hand, peering through with his eyes; dressed all in blue with golden embroidered stars; various figures of the 48 celestial images; a zodiac; blue hair, sewn with golden stars                  |
| 9   | Calliope    | Muse of eloquence and heroic poetry                 | Cosimo/ Cosmos                                 | A 'very white' Capricorn as crest; pure white dress, sewn with celestial stars and the divine letters of the first letters, according to the Cabalists; silver tocca; mazzocho embroidered with 15 characters of the first fixed stars; |

highest firmament and leading ultimately to the sun god, Apollo. Disguised in the elaborate headpieces of the Muses and the intricate ornamentation of their dress are the key coordinates to reading this map. The complex iconographic programme necessitates a concerted excavation of layers of meaning, for each individual costume carries a multitude of symbolic connotations that inform the allegorical reading. To begin, a descriptive overview of the costumes of the Muses is presented in Table 5.2 with full descriptions of each costume in Appendix H.

### **Music, Magic and Mise-en-scène: Reading the *Veduta* of the Muses as a Multi-textual Map of the Planetary and Musical Spheres**

The *veduta* of the Muses has been long overlooked in both musicological and art historical studies due to a) a perceived lack of compositional virtuosity in Francesco Corteccia's madrigal and b) the lack of visual and artefactual evidence preserved within the Medici festival archive. This analysis will show that a great deal of virtuosity was showcased in the coordination of the musical and visual mise-en-scène of this performance, which worked harmoniously to build a philosophical narrative with a distinctly esoteric theme at its core. With undertones of musical and religious mysticism, and a unique dramatic and theatrical imagination, this analysis will argue for the recognition of the *veduta* of the Muses as a marvel of the early modern stage. Given the complexity of the staging, the analysis will be broken up into two components, commencing with a detailed investigation of the costumes worn by each Muse. It will then look at the modal and textual language of the madrigal sung by the Muses, and end with showing how the text, costume and musical setting worked together to build a representational map of the cosmos that placed the Duke as the star coordinate.

As Table 5.2 highlights above, the order in which Giambullari describes the Muses does not accord with the Neoplatonic hierarchy that is presented in the frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica Musicae*, previously discussed in Chapter Four (reproduced here as Figure 5.6). Up until the late-sixteenth century, Gafori's hierarchy was accepted as the perceived scientific order of the heavenly spheres, with the earth understood to be the immovable centre of the universe, following the geocentric or Ptolemaic model of universal order. Revolving outward from the earth in geocentric ratios were the seven spheres, comprising the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The ninth sphere was the fixed celestial firmament. Such doctrine, as James Haar writes, was known to all who followed the Boethian tradition which cited Cicero's planetary order from the *Somnium Scipionis*, a text which greatly proliferated philosophical thought from Macrobius to the renaissance.<sup>34</sup> The planet-mode-muse alignment presented by Gafori was additionally informed by a host of classical writers to include Hesiod, Ovid and Quintilianus, with his exact erudition in the frontispiece stemming from Martianus Capella's hierarchy of the musical scale (Urania sounding a high note, Melpomene a medium one, and Clio the lowest).<sup>35</sup> In addition to the classical sources, Haar and Tomlinson have determined that Gafori's principal source for the frontispiece was in fact more contemporary, aligning almost identically with the discourse of universal harmony outlined in the *Practica* of Ramos de Pareia (1482), a known rival of the Italian theorist.<sup>36</sup> Suffice to say, the order presented in his frontispiece was ingrained in the humanistic language of philosophical and musical theory in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.

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<sup>34</sup> Haar, "The Frontispiece", 10.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 12-13.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 14-16. See also Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*, 78-84.

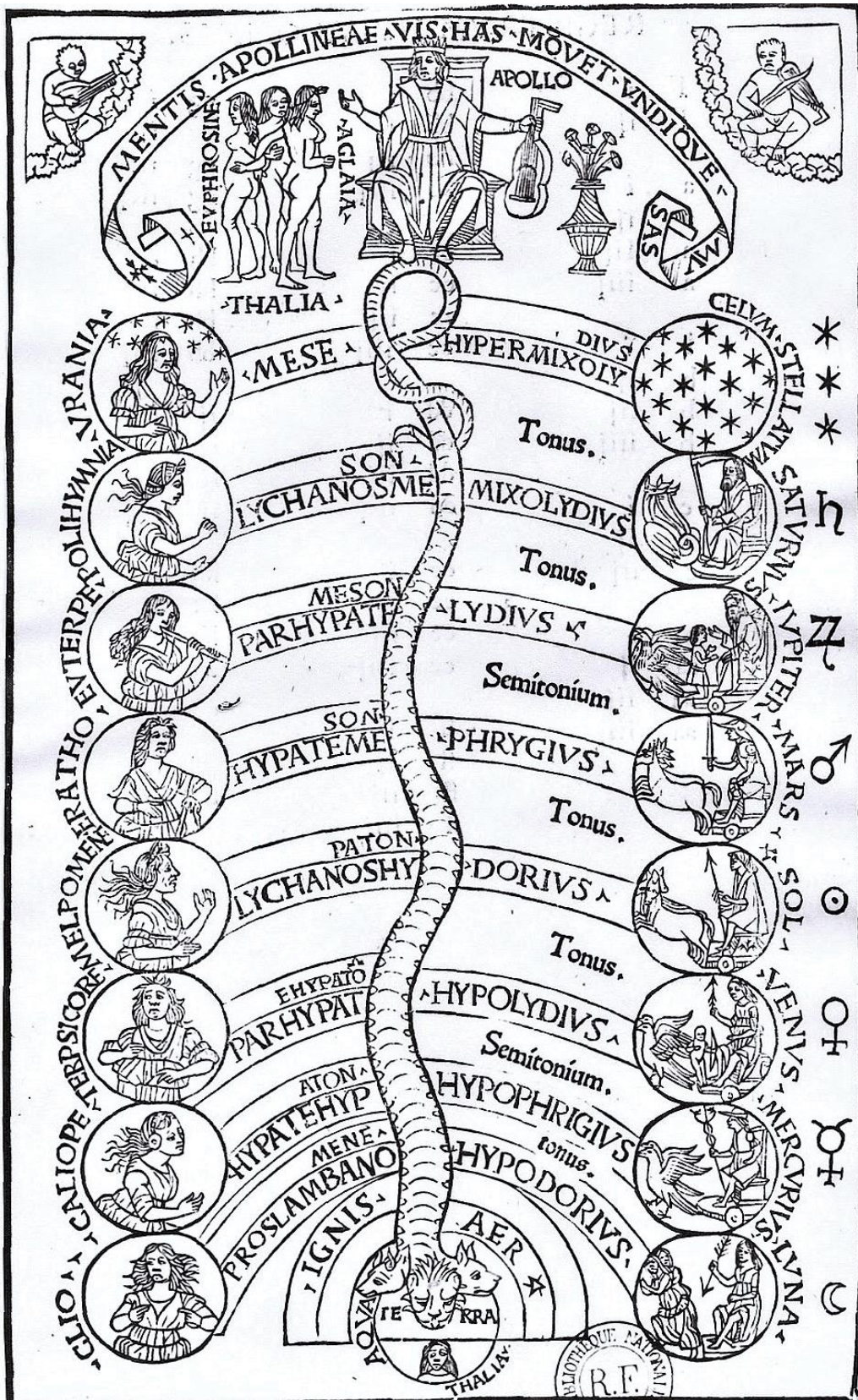


Figure 5.6 Title Page of Franchino Gafori, *Practica musicae* (1496). Woodcut (Image reproduced from James Haar, "The Frontispiece of Gafori's *Practica Musicae* (1496)," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 27, 1 (1974): 9).

It is interesting then, that this musico-theoretical discourse is interlinked with a much more esoteric and occultist approach. Indeed, the *invenzione* for this *veduta* comprised a multi-textual reading of the Neoplatonic signs and symbols that can be read in the frontispiece of Gafori, as well as the esoteric, alchemical and magical philosophy of the renaissance *Hermetica*, a tradition revived by Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola within the cinque-seicento humanistic repertory. A close reading of the costumes will show that Giambullari's order of the Muses correlates with the Ptolemaic model in that it places Earth at the centre and ascends through the spheres from the Moon to the Celestial Firmament. However, the muse-planet alignments depart from the Neoplatonic doctrine presented by Gafori and follow instead the order of Lilio Gregorio Giraldi presented in his *Syntagma de Musis* of 1511.<sup>37</sup> The *Syntagma* was re-published as part of the author's later work, *Herculis Vita*, in 1539, placing the text within the printed humanistic repertory available to the festival iconographers.<sup>38</sup> Although not prolifically cited as a major humanist of the period, Giraldi was privy to the inner academic circles of his day, spending time in the service of Pico della Mirandola between 1503-07, and meeting with Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoletto—to name but a few contemporaries—during his time in Rome.<sup>39</sup> He was additionally well connected to the two Medici Popes, Leo X and Clement VII, receiving benefices from them and consolidating a connection with the influential family. Giraldi's erudition of the Muses is informed by his collective reading of the classical writers Hesiod, Horace, Homer and Quintilianus, but importantly, he does not expound on the modal correlation with the planetary spheres, nor does he offer a

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<sup>37</sup> This observation is indebted to Claudia Rousseau who first made the connection to Giraldi in her doctoral thesis, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 360-64.

<sup>38</sup> See Giraldi, *Herculis Vita, eiusdem de Musis Syntagma, denuo. Reconcinatum et. au.tum* (Basel: Michael Isingrin, 1539), 88-9.

<sup>39</sup> John Grant, "Introduction", in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Modern Poets* (Florence: Torrentino, 1551), ed. and trans. John Grant (Massachusetts: I Tatti Renaissance Library, Harvard University Press, 2011), viii-x.



discussion of *musica humana*. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the iconographers were acquainted with Giraldi's work, and chose to follow his order of the muses and planets to visually represent the pageant.<sup>40</sup>

Rather than beginning with the Earth as the first representation, the iconographer(s) counted the Moon as the first planetary sphere and culminated on the sphere above the celestial firmament (proposed as the tenth sphere by Ptolemy): that of the *Primum mobile*, or the Prime Mover, which represented the heavens as the sky of the purest light where all cosmic energy resides.<sup>41</sup> The final Muse described by Giambullari was Calliope, who was paired with the Prime Mover. Her visual representation served to place the Duke and the Medici name at the top of the cosmological hierarchy, lauding their divine ascendancy as Florentine nobles, and completing the map of the cosmos with a striking coordinate that led the spectator back to the site of the very performance itself: Florence.

Neoplatonic symbolism combines with Hermetic influences in the pageant through the esoteric and cosmological adornments of each costume. In addition to their opulent fabrics, animal skins, gemstones and botanical symbols, each Muse wore a hat on top of a *mazzocchio* that was capped with a crest and served as their principal identifier, as outlined in Table 5.2 above.<sup>42</sup> Beginning with Giambullari's first Muse, Thalia, one

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<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, Giraldi's order of the muses and their planetary spheres would subsequently be taken up by Francesco Patrizi, a late sixteenth-century humanist and successor of Marsilio Ficino. Patrizi presents the same order for the muses and planets in his *L'amorosa filosofia* of 1577. For a brief discussion of Patrizi's organisation of the nine muse-planet orations, see Jocomien Prins, *Echoes of an Invisible World: Marsilio Ficino and Francesco Patrizi on Cosmic Order and Music Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 375.

<sup>41</sup> For an outline of the Ptolemaic order of the spheres, see Giuseppe Bezza, "Representation of the Skies and the Astrological Chart," in *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*, ed. Brendan Dooley (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 59-86.

<sup>42</sup> The *mazzocchio* was the base of the headdress on which the crest sat. It went around the crown of the head.

can read within her description the attributes of the Moon. Firstly, the colour of her ‘very blonde’ garments reveals her visual composition as a brightly emanating light, concordant with the properties of the planet in Ficino’s hermetic manual, *De vita coelitus comparanda* (On Obtaining Life from the Heavens) of 1489.<sup>43</sup> A chameleon was figured as her crest, which tells us that her art lies in the supreme abilities of transformation as the Muse of festivals. The chameleon, traditionally green, correlates with the planet’s associated colour according to Ficino’s esoteric philosophy.<sup>44</sup> Next, the bees scattered amongst her coiffure symbolise death and resurrection (dark and light) within Egyptian mythology.<sup>45</sup> The revival of Egyptian mythology in the Renaissance (influenced by the resurgence of the *Hermetica*) re-imagined the bee as the divine origin of the Sun, which is figured in Egyptian folklore as the sun god Re, ‘whose tears fell to earth and were transformed into bees’.<sup>46</sup> Just as Apollo’s sphere found its opposite in the moon, so too was Re’s binary opposite figured with a lunar counterpart: ‘His right eye was the sun, his left the moon, and when he opened his eyes there was light’.<sup>47</sup>

To further consolidate the lunar symbolism of the bee, it was strongly associated with the goddess Artemis in Greek mythology, and later with Diana—the Moon goddess—in the Roman tradition. The bee’s Latin etymology, *Hymenoptera*, means ‘veil-winged’, ‘recalling the *hymen* or veil that covered the inner shrine of the Goddess’s temple, and the officiating high priestess who bore the title Hymen and presided over

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<sup>43</sup> In the *De vita coelitus comparanda*, Ficino lists the properties of each planet and their related stones, plants, animals and colours, particularly in Chapters One and Two. For a translation of these chapters, see Angela Voss, ed., *Marsilio Ficino* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2006), 111-120.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>45</sup> Udo Becker, ed., *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols* (New York and London: Continuum, 2000), 38.

<sup>46</sup> Hope Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in World Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006), 38.

<sup>47</sup> Hilda M. Ransome, *The Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004), 33.

marriage rituals and the *honey-moon* [own italicisation]'.<sup>48</sup> "Hymen", "Honey(*bee*)" and "moon" are the operative word-symbols here for they are all intricately linked in Gelli's text, sung by the Muses. We recall that the poem of the Muses is an incantation to Hymen to bless the marriage of Cosimo and Eleonora endearing him to 'take the torch and veil, the one to light up and the other to cover love [...] come thus, O *sweet* god, O Hymen, Hymen, Io' (see full text below). Finally, the crabs on Thalia's feet represent the Moon's zodiacal domicile in Cancer, and the horned beetle that hung from her breast symbolised the element of Earth, the sublunar sphere, through its association with Egyptian and Greek mythology. Thus, Thalia coming forth with a trumpet in her hand represented the sphere of the Moon.

Next in Giambullari's description is Euterpe, the Muse of music, with a parrot as crest. Her primary symbols point toward the art form she represents—that is the parrot on her crest and the nightingale on her *taninera* are both indicative symbols of music.<sup>49</sup> Her planetary correlation can be deciphered in the entwined serpents she wears as a belt and the winged hat beneath her *mazzocho*, both evocative of the Caduceus of Mercury. The alchemical and gemmological composition of the costume are also significant, with a dominant colouration of greenish-yellow figured in glass, gemstones and cloth which in the hermetic doctrine were all associated with Mercury. Ficino writes that 'Mercurial things [...] include: tin, silver, especially quicksilver, silver marcasite, agate, glass—both porphyritic and those kinds which mix yellow with green—emerald, lac, animals which are sagacious and clever and at the same time active such as monkeys and dogs'.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the hyena skin on her shoulder and the monkey skins on her knees both accord with Ficino's 'sagacious and clever' Mercurial

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<sup>48</sup> Werness, *The Continuum*, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Simona Cohen, *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 47-8.

<sup>50</sup> Voss, *Marsilio Ficino*, 117.

animals. Interestingly, Mercury was an important symbol within the *Hermetica*, for he was a guide and inspiration for alchemists. In her discussion of the *Sala degli Elementi* in Palazzo della Signoria, in which the hermetic overtones of Duke Cosimo's residential iconographic programme are most profound, Claudia Rousseau writes:

Of the planetary deities, Mercury, the alchemist's guide, inspiration, and goal (whom the alchemists called Mercurius noster), is given special prominence. [...] In the ceiling [*Sala degli Elementi*], whose allegories correspond to the element of Air, the personification identified as Fame appears carrying the Caduceus of Mercury, an attribute which, as we have seen, also symbolizes Fate. Here, as stated by Vasari, the figure represents the "virtù Mercuriale" which Duke Cosimo, who is said to be "mercurialissimo," possessed in great abundance.<sup>51</sup>

Next appeared Erato whose appearance boldly proclaims a Venerial identity. Her costume is dominated by a crest of red coral, emblematic of the muse's maritime affiliation. The source of her material iconography can once again be found in Ficino who links coral and red-copper with the planet Venus.<sup>52</sup> The more discernible aspects of her costume include the girdle of Venus (as belt); the scattering of myrtle flowers in her golden tresses; the garland of roses as her *mazzocho*; and the animals found on her feet and near her *taninera*: the wagtail and rabbit.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, Giambullari describes this muse as appearing more *lascivetta* than the others, and accompanied by a many *odori* (aromas/ perfumes).<sup>54</sup> Minor and Mitchell translate *lascivetta* as playful, but one could more accurately translate her countenance as 'lascivious' in accordance with mythological connotations of the goddess. It will be argued that Venus played a

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 324-25.

<sup>52</sup> Wayne Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), 125. Shumaker cites Ficino's list of Venerial objects, animals and colours from Chapter Two of the *De vita coelitus comparanda* as including the wagtail; cornelian; sapphire; lapis lazuli; copper of a saffron or red colour; coral; all colours and flowers which are beautiful, variegated or green; harmonious sounds and agreeable odors and tastes.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> 'La terza piu lascivetta che l'altre, e da molti odori accompagnata'. Giambullari, *Apparato*, 32.

prominent role in this *veduta*, evidenced in the words used by Giambullari to describe her appearance and countenance, as well as her representation within Corteccia's compositional setting.

Moving to Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy, one can identify in her headdress and crest the symbols and objects of the Sun. Giambullari's description offers a number of key representations that indicate this planet-muse alignment. The sphere of the sun governs the mode of the Dorian and was believed in the Boethian tradition to hold superiority over the other tones.

Hence to the sun may Dorian rightly be compared—Dorian, which placed in the middle among those seven first modes, is the link between the tetrachords; for the star of the sun, holding a middle place among the seven planets, confers on the others through its rays, either light or heat. Hence, the poet sang, "Stationed in the midst, Phoebus embraces all things".<sup>55</sup>

Melpomene's costume displays an embroidered dress of gold-sewn crimson silk with all the musical instruments depicted on a band of gold around the hem (referencing Sol as Apollo); gemstones and minerals associated with the sun, such as chrysolite, sun's eye, eagle-stone and jasper; the skin of a lion cub across her shoulder; beetles on her feet; and a crest constituting a jewelled accordion-shaped turban. These symbols are allegorically discernible, and can again be found in Ficino's *De vita coelitus comparanda*.<sup>56</sup>

The fifth muse, Clio, came forth representing history and wore as a crest a woodpecker on top of a raised iron visor on a helmet of red satin. Her hair was red and her garments

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<sup>55</sup> Gafori, *De harmonia*, IV, 9, fol. lxxxviii, translated by and cited in Haar, "The Frontispiece," 11.

<sup>56</sup> Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences*, 124.

were crimson with golden, red and rust coloured tocca. The foreboding coloration and the military overtones of her iron visor augur Clio's link to the red planet, Mars. The presence of the woodpecker confirms this alignment, as it is a sacred symbol of the god of war.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Clio's identity is consolidated in her militant mode of dress.

Terpsichore is presented as the sixth muse by Giambullari, and was figured with an eagle as a crest. The eagle betrays the Muse's identity as that of Jupiter, given the frequent appearance of this animal within Jovial mythology. In addition to the eagle, Terpsichore is dressed in yellow cloth sewn with pure silver and strewn with sapphires and hyacinths. She is ornamented with a vine branch as a belt, an old stag-skin (over her shoulders), a garland of oak beneath her *mazzocho*, white lamb's skins as stockings, and two partridges inside a garland of grain and corn (on her *taninera*). This imagery suggests a Jovial theme, with the lamb skins alluding to sacrificial rituals associated with Jupiter during various festivals of the *ides* in ancient Rome.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, the vine branch and garland of grain and corn appears to reference the god's influence over viniculture and agriculture.

The final three Muses, Polyhymnia, Urania and Calliope, arguably contribute the most interesting part of the iconographic programme in this *veduta* from the perspective of renaissance alchemy and magic. Firstly, Polyhymnia's dress, headpiece and shoes were collectively designed to give the appearance of burning lead. Lead is the metal associated with Saturn, and is, as such, the defining feature of Polyhymnia's identity with the planet. Other symbols include black jaspers; a crest designed as a rich chair of fire and gold sitting on a pyramid; hare-skin slung over her shoulder; tortoises on

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<sup>57</sup> Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopaedia*, 438.

<sup>58</sup> See Robert Turcan, *The Gods of Ancient Rome: Religion in Everyday Life from Archaic to Imperial Times*, trans. Antonia Nevill (New York: Routledge, 2001), 64-5.

her feet; and finally, garlands of pine branches on her *taninera*. The presence of the hare and tortoise feed directly into the iconography of Duke Cosimo de' Medici, who employed the turtle and sail with the motto *Festina lente* (make haste slowly) in his self-representation in art. The emblem adorns the ceiling frieze of the *Sala degli Elementi* within Palazzo Medici, whose iconographic programme was executed by Vasari under the auspices of the duke.<sup>59</sup> Its inclusion in Polyhymnia's costume in the context of Saternine symbolism can be argued as an iconographic nod toward the hermetic tradition and its alchemical practices. Hope Werness writes that the hermetic philosophers regarded the tortoise as the epitome of the alchemical work.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Dennis Merritt attributes the tortoise to the symbol of lead. This stems from the myth of Hermes (as Mercury) turning the tortoise into a lyre and giving it to Apollo for the creation of sublime music. This metamorphosis in turn epitomised the alchemical process.<sup>61</sup> The Apollonian and musical attributes of the tortoise turns back to the art form of Polyhymnia's domain, that of singing and rhetoric. As such, her artful costume is therefore fashioned in the ideal image of renaissance musical magic.

The eighth Muse was Urania who was figured as the sphere of the fixed celestial firmament. She is described by Giambullari as wearing an elaborate headdress with a *mazzochio* and hat of blue taffeta sewn with golden stars, and topped with a crest depicting a Cupid holding his face in his hands, but with his eyes revealed. Her dress was masterly embroidered with golden stars on blue taffeta and various figures of the forty-eight celestial images, and a zodiac hung over her shoulder with what Giambullari describes as *private immagini* matching the rest of her dress. These 'secret

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<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of Vasari's programme in the *Sala degli Elementi*, see van Veen, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 22-6.

<sup>60</sup> Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia*, 416.

<sup>61</sup> Dennis Merritt, *Hermes, Ecopsychology and Complexity Theory, Volume 3* (California: Fisher King Press, 2012), 10.

images' were most likely depicting the zodiacal constellations. Urania is therefore properly juxtaposed with the highest heavenly sphere, as it appears in both Gafori's frontispiece and Giraldi's *Syntagma*.

The ninth and final Muse, Calliope, is figured in a fascinating culmination of hermetic symbolism, and is cited by Giambullari as being fashioned in the way of the Cabalists. Her representation is congruent with the tenth and highest cosmic sphere, the Heavens or *Primum mobile*, but her appearance also portrays a unique convergence of ancient mythology and self-fashioned Medicean myth. To begin, the headdress that governed her appearance had as a crest a very white Capricorn on top of a white *mazzochio* with fifteen embroidered figures of the first fixed stars.<sup>62</sup> The Capricorn in this instance is invoked as a direct symbol of Cosimo I's divine apotheosis, and accords with the pervasive astrological imagery of the duke already established in the visual programme of the Palazzo Medici for the wedding festivities, also described by Giambullari.<sup>63</sup> These interconnections across the different musical, theatrical and visual platforms of the festival highlight the extent to which the programme was meticulously preordained and coordinated in preparation for the festival. In the context of Calliope, we learn that her alignment with the Duke was an important part of Cosimo's visual self-representation throughout his reign, and thus the *invenzione* of her costume in this

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<sup>62</sup> According to Hermetic philosophy, the 15 first fixed stars were: *Oculi Tauri* (The Eye of the Bull), The Pleiades, *Caput Algol* (Algol), Alhayhoch, *Canis Major* (The Greater Dog Star), *Canis Minor* (Lesser Dog Star), *Cor Leonis* (The Heart of Leo), *Ala Corvis* (The Wing of the Crow), Spica, Arcturus, Tail of the Great Bear, *Corona Borealis* (Northern Crown / The Crown of Ariadne), *Cor Scorpionis* (The Heart of the Scorpio), The Falling Vulture, *Cauda Capricornis*. See Appendix G in Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York: Dover, 1976), 246-49.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter Two in this thesis. In particular, the costume alludes to a painting that hung in the first cortile of the Palazzo Medici during the 1539 festivities, which depicts an overtly Cabalist theme. Giambullari describes the painting as a representation of the stars of Capricorn surrounded by the eight stars of the Crown of Ariadne (one of the first fixed constellations). The motto accompanying this impression, 'Fiducia Fati' (Trust in fate/destiny) illuminates the duke's astrological destiny as Florentine monarch. 'Nella quinta [lunetta] si vedeva il celeste Capricorno, con le VIII stelle della Corona di Ariadna, et era il suo motto, FIDUCIA FATI'. Giambullari, *Apparato*, 20. Claudia Rousseau has spoken about this painting within the context of Cosimo's self-representation in art. See Rousseau, *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 23-4.



*veduta* establishes a Medicean narrative of the divine will and destiny, *ex deo*, of Cosimo's ascendancy to the throne and to his leadership of Florence and the Tuscan empire.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, the map created in this *veduta* completes a circular narrative that begins in the Palazzo Medici, transcends the Earthly sphere into the cosmos, and returns once again to the seat of this mythopoeic empire: Florence. This representational map was illuminated by the vocal harmonies of Cortecchia's madrigal, and gained further meaning through a cohesive musico-visual relationship.

### **Musico-visual Unity in Cortecchia's Madrigal for the Muses**

In Cortecchia's madrigal for the Muses, *Sacro et santo Hymeneo*, there is a distinct modal consciousness at play which works with the visual *mise-en-scène* of the costumes to produce a cohesive and emotive musico-visual programme. Cortecchia used a musical language that transcends the earthly microcosm and extends out to the cosmos, reflecting the very function of the spectacle itself, the ordination of Duke Cosimo's divine apotheosis. I will also argue that through his musical setting, Cortecchia payed homage to another important character on the Florentine stage: Duchess Eleonora di Toledo.

Example 5.1 shows the opening measures of the madrigal and the range of each voice. As is readily visible, Bassus I and II lie between C-c; Tenor I and II between G-g; Altus I and II between A-a; Cantus III between e-e'; and Cantus I and II between f-f' (see Appendix L for complete score). When studying the language of the madrigal,

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<sup>64</sup> For a thorough discussion of astrological symbolism in the iconography of Duke Cosimo, see Rousseau, 'Astrological Content in the Art of Cosimo I', in *Cosimo I de' Medici*, 280-396.

♩ = 55

The image shows a musical score for a polyphonic setting of a hymn. It consists of nine staves, each representing a different vocal part. The parts are labeled on the left: Cantus I G2, Cantus II G2, Cantus III G2, Altus I C3, Altus II C3, Tenor I C3, Tenor II C3, Quinta pars C4, and Bassus C4. The music is in 4/4 time, as indicated by the time signature. A tempo marking '♩ = 55' is placed at the top. The lyrics are written below the notes. The lyrics are: 'Sacro et san - to Hi - men - e - o'. The score shows the first three measures of the piece.

**Example 5.1** Francesco Corteccia, *Sacro et santo Hymeneo* (1539), mm. 1-3. (Reproduced from Martin Grayson, George Bate and Rosemary Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding: Musiche Fatte Nella Nozze* (1539) (Oxon: Alfredston Music, 1994), 9).

which is framed within the *cantus durus* system, one identifies the dominance of C in its triadic structure—especially audible in the *clausula vera* of Parts One and Two (Examples 5.2-5.3).<sup>65</sup> Observing the musical syntax, as well as the range of the soprano voices which is anchored to the higher ambitus of “g<sub>2</sub>” throughout, it appears that the madrigal is composed within the *cantus durus* Hypolydian. As stated throughout this thesis, the musical language is never excessively technical in the madrigals of 1539, and *Sacro et santo* is no exception to this. Indeed, the success of festival music relies on simplicity and the ease with which it can be adapted to the propagandist and obsequious nature of the literary texts. Where this music truly comes

<sup>65</sup> Harold S. Powers has spoken at length of the relationship between ambitus, pitch and *finalis* in his essay “Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34, 3 (1981): 428-470. Doi: 10.2307/831189.

♩ = 55

C1  
o i - o.

C2  
o Hi - men - e o i - o i - o

C3  
i - o o Hi - men - e o i - o

A1  
Hi - men - e o i - o i - o

A2  
o o Hi - men - e o i - o

T1  
e - o i - o.

T2  
o Hi - men - e o i - o i - o

Q  
Hi - men - e o o Hi - men - e o i - o i - o

B  
i - o o Hi - men - e o i - o.

**Example 5.2** Francesco Cortecchia, *Sacro et santo Hymeneo* (1539), mm. 30-34. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 11).

♩ = 55

C1  
Hi - men - e o o i - o.

C2  
o.

C3  
o Hi - men - e o i - o

A1  
o i - o i - o

A2  
Hi - men - e o i - o.

T1  
Hi - men - e o i - o.

T2  
o.

Q  
o Hi - men - e o i - o.

B  
o o Hi - men - e o i - o. i - o.

**Example 5.3** Francesco Cortecchia, *Sacro et santo Hymeneo* (1539), mm. 96-99. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 16).

alive, and can be particularly edifying, is in the affective qualities of the mode and in the performance context. By looking at the performance setting and staging of the Muses, we can begin to understand why Corteccia chose to set Gelli's text in this way. In this discussion, we can look back to Corteccia's entrance motet already discussed in Chapter Four. There, I identified the meaning of the ethos associated with the Hypolydian according to the theoretical writings of Gafori and Vanneus. I would like to draw on those readings again to substantiate the meaning of the present madrigal.

The costumes of the Muses have revealed to us a map of the cosmos with its planetary and musical spheres beginning with the Moon, the lowest of the spheres, and moving upward to the top of the planetary hierarchy, the realm of Heaven and of the Duke himself. Chief amongst these spheres was Venus, which the motet, *Ingretere*, proved to evoke within its compositional fabric. Venus in turn was an allegory for Eleonora, the Viceregal bride and the personification of fecundity—an image that governed much of the 1539 festival. Thus, the (e)motional affects (piety, devotion) and the cosmological context (Venus and Venerial properties) of the Hypolydian can facilitate our reading of musico-visual unity in the spectacle of the Muses.

The ethos of mode six is that of piety and devotion, which we have identified as a construction of feminine decorum relating to renaissance discourse on virtuosity. I thus read the Hypolydian as a representation of the divine feminine, and in the case of *Sacro et santo Hymeneo*, as an homage to Eleonora and the virtues of matrimonial love. As outlined in Chapter Four, Gafori writes of the 'orb of Venus' as being 'delightful to view and most clear and pleasant', and since it is humid, he deems it to be pleasing at

night and to emit a feminine sound'.<sup>66</sup> He assigns Venus to the sixth mode, the Hypolydian, and to the Muse Terpsichore.<sup>67</sup> Alternatively, in Giraldi's order and in the *veduta* of the Muses, it was Erato who governed Venus and the third superlunary sphere. It seems contradictory to proclaim that there could be musico-visual unity where the authors have cited two different interpretations of the classical readings of the Muses. However, the core humanistic values were preserved by both Gafori and Giraldi, namely the planetary hierarchy and the associated sounds of each planetary sphere are identical in both authors' readings, with Earth shown to be immovable and at the centre of the universe, and the Heavens proclaimed as the highest and most venerable sphere; the seat of Apollo whose music illuminates the heavenly skies. Although they diverge on the naming of the Muses with each planet, there is indeed theoretical and musico-visual unity in this *veduta*. It is important to note that the costumes of the Muses depict their planetary identity, and not their mythological identity, denoting the superiority of their cosmological significance. The Muses received subjective and heterogeneous interpretations in early modernity. Gafori himself describes the Muses according to Callimachus, who assigns his own reading of their art forms, different to those which have become established as the literary norm.<sup>68</sup> As such, the important elements were those that pertained to a scientific and fixed reading of the universe, as opposed to the mythic which was changeable.

Ficino also weighed in on the debate of *musica mundana* and the universal relationship between motion, emotion and the *anima mundi*, which can be invoked by humans through the stars and through music. While Ficino does not use the language of the

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<sup>66</sup> Gafori, 'Among Heavenly Bodies,' in *De harmonia*, cited in Godwin, *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 178.

<sup>67</sup> Tomlinson, trans., *Strunk's Source Readings*, 115.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter Twelve in Gafori, *De harmonia*, cited in Tomlinson, *Strunk's Source Readings*, 112.

modes to express his esoteric philosophy, he does write about the musical affects of the planets, stating that all merry music belongs to Venus. He writes:

Always remember that through a given affect and pursuit of our mind and through the very quality of our spirit we are easily and quickly exposed to those planets which signify the same affect, quality and pursuit. [...] Hence, we come under the influence of [...] Venus by gaiety and music and festivity; [...] But keep in mind this difference between them: the more public and grand exercise of one's wits pertains to the Sun, the more private and that given over to skill and ingenuity rather to Mercury. Likewise, solemn music belongs to Jupiter and the Sun, merry music to Venus, the middle sort to Mercury. There is a similar system with regard to the fixed stars. This is the rule common to the human species.<sup>69</sup>

Lastly, Stefano Vanneus accords that the sixth mode should be pious and devoted 'and move one to tears, especially from devotion, or from pity and joy'.<sup>70</sup> The text of this madrigal is indeed devotional, and seeks to move its patrons, Cosimo and Eleonora, and the wider audience to feel the joy of the occasion: the coming together of the ducal couple, blessed by Hymen.

*Sacro & santo Hymeneo*  
*Il Ciel ti chiama, Arno ti pregha, & Flora*  
*Alle Noze di COSMO & LEONORA:*  
*Vien dunque ò dolce Dio,*  
*Vieni Hymeneo, ò Hymeneo, Io.*

Sacred and Holy Hymen, Heaven calls you, Arno entreats you and Flora to the wedding of COSIMO and ELEONORA: come thus, o sweet god, come Hymen, O Hymen, Io.

*Vien desiato bene, al santo offitio,*  
*Prendi la face, e'l velo,*  
*Che l'un' accenda, & l'altro copra Amore:*  
*Fa segno hoggi col Cielo*  
*Che te lieto dimostri, & sì propitio*  
*Che dentro ad ambi duoi si regga un Core.*

Come, desired good, to the holy office, take the torch and the veil, the one to light up and the other to cover love. Make a sign today with Heaven that will show yourself happy and so favourable that one heart will reign in both.

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<sup>69</sup> Ficino, Chapter Two, "On the harmony of the world," *De vita coelitus comparanda*, trans. Angela Voss, *Marsilio Ficino*, 119. For the original, see Ficino, *De vita libri tres*, Book III, *De vita coelitus comparanda* (Basel: Oporinum, 1576), 127-28.

<sup>70</sup> Judd, "Renaissance Modal Theory," 374-5. See Table 4.2 in Chapter Four of this thesis for the full citation of Vanneus's modal affects.

*Celeste alto vapore  
Al tuo santo spirar quinci esca fuora  
Amor lascivio, et Nemesi, & Pandora.  
Vien dunque ò dolce Dio  
O Hymeneo, Hymeneo Io.*

High celestial emanation, at your holy sighing let there now depart lascivious Love, Nemesis, and Pandora. Come thus, O sweet god, O Hymen, Hymen, Io.

*Deh porgi al Ciel, è a lor tua dolce aita;  
Onde Pianta rinasca  
Simile al tronco Avito, ornata & rara  
All'ombra cui si pasca  
Et Arno, & Flora in piu quieta vita;  
Dolce appagando ogni lor doglia amara.  
Fate gelosi a gara  
Chi di piu alta Prole orna & ristora  
Quella stirpe, che'l Cielo, e'l mondo  
honora.  
Vien dunque, ò dolce Dio  
Vien Hymeneo, ò Hymeneo, Io.*

Offer to Heaven and to them your sweet aid, with which one may be reborn a plant like the ancestral trunk, ornate and precious. In its shade may both Arno and Flora graze in a quieter life, it sweetly appeasing their every bitter pain. Make people compete jealousy to see who can adorn and restore this stock with higher offspring – this stock that honours Heaven and the world. Come thus, o sweet god, come Hymen, O Hymen, Io.

The association of Venus with the sixth mode can be related back to the visual mise-en-scène of the performance. If we recall Giambullari's description of the Muse Erato (Venus), he introduces her as being more *lascivetta* than the others, and as coming forth with many *odori*. There are multiple staging possibilities inferred in Giambullari's description. Erato may have come forth amidst a cloud of perfumes that were omitted from a machine at the side of the stage. Alternatively, these *odori* may have been personified and figured as pastoral Nymphs who accompanied the Muse as she entered the stage. In either case, it is evident that Erato made an impact on the stage with her 'lascivious' or 'playful' character. Additionally, as shown in the discussion of the visual programme above, Calliope's ethereal and celestial appearance, capped with Duke Cosimo's Capricorn, also created a distinct impression. It seems plausible that Corteccia consciously chose to the Hypolydian for its appropriate ethos which he manipulated, in collaboration with the costume designers and iconographers, to complement and enrich the visual narrative.

Looking back to Table 5.2, we observe that the Muses are introduced chronologically according to the planetary hierarchy, beginning with the Moon and ascending to the Heavens. If we transpose this hierarchy to Corteccia’s madrigal, it fits that each Muse was assigned to a corresponding voice part. Beginning with the lowest sounding sphere, Thalia would have been assigned to the Bassus; Calliope, the highest sounding sphere, to Cantus I; and Erato to the third sphere, Tenor II. Thus, the musico-visual relationships in Table 5.3 below present what might have resembled a unified musico-visual *mise-en-scène*. I believe that the distinct vocal ranges—high (Cantus I–III), mid (Altus I–Tenor II) and low (Quinta Part and Bassus)—were programmatically devised by Corteccia to portray the planetary and musical spheres (Table 5.3). The performance implications for this arrangement suggest that the Muses participated as singers, as opposed to “acting” in the role while a hidden chorus performed off stage.

**Table 5.3** Correlation of Muses, Planets and Voice Parts in the *Veduta* of the Muses.

| <b>Sphere</b>  | <b>Muse</b> | <b>Planet</b>           | <b>Voice Part</b> | <b>Ambitus</b> | <b>Instrument held</b> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| Ninth Sphere   | Calliope    | Heavens (Cosimo/Cosmos) | Cantus I          | G2             | Ribechino              |
| Eighth Sphere  | Urania      | Celestial Firmament     | Cantus II         | G2             | Cornetta               |
| Seventh Sphere | Polyhymnia  | Saturn                  | Cantus III        | C1             | Storta                 |
| Sixth Sphere   | Terpsichore | Jupiter                 | Altus I           | C3             | Leuto                  |
| Fifth Sphere   | Clio        | Mars                    | Altus II          | C3             | Flauto                 |
| Fourth Sphere  | Melpomene   | Sol/ Sun                | Tenor I           | C3             | Piffero                |
| Third Sphere   | Erato       | Venus                   | Tenor II          | C3             | Violone                |
| Second Sphere  | Euterpe     | Mercury                 | Quinta Pars       | C4             | Dolzaina               |
| First Sphere   | Thalia      | Moon                    | Bassus            | C4             | Trombone               |



Whether they were accompanied by an instrumental consort remains unknown, but if so, it was not documented by Giambullari. The harmonic structure would imply that instrumental doubling was entirely possible and would have given meaning to the instruments that each of the Muses held.

Having investigated the interior workings of the *veduta* of the Muses from visual and musical perspectives, one can see that beyond its humble exterior lies a spectacle of complex symbolism that conveys a coherent image of renaissance musical magic. The performance is wrought with meditations on esoteric philosophy and is pregnant with prophetic ideologies, for it quite literally looks to the stars to read the future. While it has been necessary to focus on the introspective minutiae of the performance, this analysis has diverted away from the metanarrative of the meaning of the *vedutismo* tradition in early modern theatre, and how this relates to the proto-cinematic imagination. Here it is pertinent to recall the words of the Genovese humanist and cartographer, Antonio Ivani, as outlined in Chapter Three. Writing about his own representational cityscapes, Ivani states that ‘the [representation] shows not the whole city, but only parts which meet the need of writers, with the sites [shown] in such a manner as occur [to one] in connection with a narration’.<sup>71</sup> Ivani’s words describe a distinct early modern cartographic culture wherein the process of mapping produces a narrative dramatization of sites—that is, they create conscious networks of space, place and meaning. The *veduta* mobilised the observational gaze through ‘drawing distant objects closer and pushing back close ones’, filmically analysing space by ‘separating it into parts to be read as a whole’.<sup>72</sup> Duke Cosimo de’ Medici understood the proto-filmic nature and narrative function of *vedutismo* (albeit within a decidedly

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<sup>71</sup> Schulz, “Jacopo de’ Barbari’s View of Venice,” 458.

<sup>72</sup> Bruno, *Atlas of Emotions*, 181.

early modern lexicon) with its unique ability to link two-dimensional mapping with a third temporal layer: sound. Although the current *veduta* does not depict a familiar topographical architecture or traditional cityscape, it nonetheless takes advantage of the same functionality: it creates a subjective narrative of the divine ascendancy of Duke Cosimo to the ducal throne. The Duke's political and dramatic motivations are ultimately facilitated by a cogent and (e)motional musico-visual programme.

### **Flora: Building Identity and Power in the *Veduta* of Florence**

In the second of the banquet spectacles, we move from the realm of the cosmos back to Tuscany, and to the seat of Cosimo's earthly empire. With an entirely bespoke appearance to that of her classical counterpart, the goddess Flora enters the stage after the performance of the nine Muses, accompanied by five Nymphs and her two Rivers, Arno and Mugnone. Representing Florence, she sang the canzonetta, *Più che mai vaga et bella*, (Prettier and more beautiful than ever), composed by the famed Italian madrigalist Costanzo Festa. Giambullari describes her beguiling costume with the same attention to detail as the Muses. As above, the sketch of her original costume has not been preserved, but several later drawings by Giorgio Vasari for the costumes of the 1565 *Intermedii*, performed for the wedding of Francesco I de' Medici and Joanna of Austria, allow us to recreate how the various features of Flora's costume may have appeared. Giambullari's description is reproduced here in full, as a close reading greatly illuminates the details of the interpretive illustration presented in Figure 5.7.

There appeared the beautiful Flora, with five Nymphs around her and two Rivers for her company, and behind her a large cortege. She was dressed with rich brocade and, under her gilded belt, was adorned with a wide frieze, in which were seen figured the instruments of each liberal and mechanical art. These were divided in learned order, between very beautiful fringes of gold that accompanied the frieze above and below. Under her armoured arms,

covered with a silver veil, fell turned-back sleeves used as a mantle, all in golden cloth with Red Balls in relief, expertly distributed over it.

Above each of her shoulders was a Lion's head, from whose mouth issued, besides the arm, that silver veil which covered the gilded steel. Her neck and throat were adorned with a very rich lady's gorget,<sup>73</sup> and above the long hair, sewn with flowers, which hung about her shoulders, was the ducal beret. Its *mazocchio*<sup>74</sup> was adorned with very rich jewels and with gilded spiral points, which appeared above and outside. And she had as a crest, above a gilded little vase, the Imperial Eagle, with its wings partially stretched out as though it wished to hatch the Red Balls, which were visible, gathered under its feathers.<sup>75</sup>

It was a common perception in early modern humanism that the outstretched wings of an eagle indicated the bearer's role as a protector, which would adequately explain the symbolism of its inclusion here.<sup>76</sup> The Neapolitan nobility present in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici would not have escaped the message inherent in the eagle's rhetorical and literal crowning of the ducal beret and the Medici *palle*, a message that would have pleasingly made its way to the ambassadorial circles of the Emperor, Charles V, through Giambullari's festival book.<sup>77</sup>

Her *buskins* were of gold-sewn silk next to the skin, with ancient mask buttons among various clusters and bows arranged up each shoe. And as Lady of the

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<sup>73</sup> A steel or leather collar/neckpiece.

<sup>74</sup> A headdress shaped like a ring, which could be worn with or without a cap in the middle.

<sup>75</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 166. 'Compare la bella Flora, con cinque Ninfe d'intorno, et duoi fiumi per sua compagnia, con lunga comitiva alle spalle, come distintamente si vedrà disotto ne luoghiloro. Questa di broccato riccio vestita, sotto la dorata cintura s'ornava di un largo fregio, nel quale figurati si vedevono gli instrumenti di ciascuna Arte liberale et meccanica, con dotto ordine compartiti, tra bellissime frange d'oro, che sotto et sopra l'accompagnavano: et sotto le armate braccia coperte di velo argentato, le cadeva un rovescio di manica à uso di mantellina, tutto di tela d'oro, con rilevate Palle rosse, maestre, volmente in quel compartite. Et era sopra riascuna sua spalla, una testa di Leone, dalla bocca della quale usciva insieme col braccio quello argentato velo, che le copriva il dorato acciaio: havena il collo et la gola adornata di ricchissima gorgiera da Donna: et sopra i lunghi capelli che di fiori feminati le pendevano dopo le spalle, era la Ducal berretta, co'l mazocchio di ricchissime Gioie adorno, con ritorte punte dorate, che sopra et fuori del mazzocchio apparivano. Et havena per cimiero sopra un dorato vaseto, l'Aquila Imperiale, con l'Ali alquanto inclinate, come s'ella volessi covare le rosse Palle, che sotto le sue penne, raccolte si dimostravano'. Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 41-2.

<sup>76</sup> Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, trans. Timothy J. Hallett (Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 192.

<sup>77</sup> Pertaining to the fact of Charles V's agreement to the Medici-Toledo union and of his alliance with Florence and the Medici more generally.



**Figure 5.7** Laura Jayne Halton, *Flora*. Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, (2013).

others, with a rod in her right hand, she came before all of them, between two Old Men<sup>78</sup> [...] having gone up in front of His Excellency, and with her Nymphs, sang the following canzone.<sup>79</sup>

There is an overtly socio-political narrative at play in Flora's costume. During the ongoing Italian wars which began in 1494, Florence's commercial and financial success hinged on the support of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who aided the reinstatement of the Medici in 1532 after a period of exile, and who agreed to the succession of Cosimo as Duke in 1537 upon the assassination of Alessandro, in return for military support against the French. This alliance is central to our reading of Flora's performance.

As she traversed the banquet hall filling the audience with acoustic reveries, the ceremonial space of the spectator became adapted as an interactive stage where Flora's performance was received and experienced mutually between the eyes and the ears. What is interesting here is that the addition of Flora's performance adds a Northern European layer of exchange to this festival, musically at least, diversifying an otherwise Italo-centric cultural practice. The composer of this madrigal, Costanzo Festa, had spent almost thirty years in the papal choir in Rome, which was at that time dominated by musicians of the eminent Burgundian and Franco-Flemish schools of composition.<sup>80</sup> Such interactions influenced Festa's style immensely. *Più che mai vaga et bella* is a four-voice madrigal composed in the early madrigal style of which

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<sup>78</sup> Arno and Mugnone.

<sup>79</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 166. 'Calzavasi di Tocca d'oro in sul vivo, con antiche mascherine, tra varii gruppi et nodi su per ogni calzare, scompartite. Et come Donna di quell'altre, con una bacchetta nella destra, veniva dinanzi à tutte, nel mezo di duoi Vecchioni [...] et Flora con le sue Nymfe avanti a sua Eccellentia condottasi, cantò la seguente Canzone'. Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 41-2, and 46.

<sup>80</sup> Festa's tenure at the papal choir commenced in 1517 and ceased in 1545 upon his death. His predecessors and peers in Rome included DuFay, Ockeghem, Josquin, Verdelot and Arcadelt, who have perhaps received greater scholarly recognition due to their music-historical canonisation.

Festa was an important contributor (Appendix M).<sup>81</sup> Characteristics of the madrigal style are identifiable in Festa's setting for Flora, with its syllabic declamation, contrapuntal texture and imitation. Phrasal turns requiring emphasis are musically heightened, such as the coloration of the words *sicura posa* ("rests securely") in line five of Gelli's verse; *Flora la bella che sicura posa* (Flora, the Beautiful, who rests securely') (Example 5.4, mm. 16-18). In line five, musical emphasis on the affirmation that Florence "rests securely" in Cosimo's quiet shadow almost naturalises Cosimo's position as hereditary leader and guardian of the city. In the succeeding lyrics, Gelli prophesises the return of Flora's golden age, one previously experienced under the auspices of the elder Medici line.

Such propaganda is an example of how mutually inclusive the music and visual components of early modern festivals were, and highlights how the function of the music was as practical as it was aesthetic. Other typical word painting occurs in mm. 29 and 45 on the word *Ciel* ('Heaven'), where the Cantus leaps upward by a 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> respectively to heighten the celestial reverence of the cosmos (Example 5.5-5.6). This happens once more in the final line where Festa intensifies the word "above" in order to stress that Flora's fame would not simply reach every *alta stella*, but surpass it (mm. 56-57). Looking at *Più che mai* from this perspective, the musico-textual symbolism certainly conveys a message of a powerful Florence, prettier and more beautiful than ever, who will burn in sweet hope for a long and fulfilled future. But once again, these images are capped quite literally with the dominating presence of the Imperial eagle, accepting that while the relationship between the Florentine Duke

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<sup>81</sup> For elaborations on Festa's contribution to the early madrigal, see James Haar, 'The Libro Primo of Costanzo Festa', in *AM* 52, 2 (1980): 147-155; and Justin Flosi, 'On Locating the Courtesan in Italian Lyric: Distance and the Madrigal Texts of Costanzo Festa', in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. by Martha Feldman and Bonnie Gordon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 133-143.

♩ = 50

C Flo - ra - la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

A Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

T Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

B Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

**Example 5.4** Costanzo Festa, *Più che mai vaga et bella* (1539), mm. 13-18. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 17).

♩ = 50

C sa rend' - al ciel

A rend' - al ciel

T spo - sa rend' - al ciel

B spo - sa rend' - al ciel

**Example 5.5** Costanzo Festa, *Più che mai*, mm. 28-29. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 18).

♩ = 50

C ch'el - la al ciel

A ch'el - la al ciel

T ch'el - la al ciel

B ch'el - la al ciel

**Example 5.6** Costanzo Festa, *Più che mai*, mm. 44-45. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 19).

and the Holy Roman Emperor grew from a mutually beneficial agreement, a duchy in exchange for military support, the empire ultimately crowns and presides over the power of Florence. Yet as seen in the costumes of the Muses, beneath this superficial homage to the House of Hapsburg lies an altogether different narrative in which Cosimo reclaims the authority of the spectacle and the supremacy of the House of Medici.

If we observe the intricacies of Flora's costume once again, we can see these hidden tropes. Flora adopts a distinctly masculine and militaristic identity that starkly contrasts with her classical image of femininity and pastoral softness. In the *veduta* for 1539 her robust Romanesque armour contrasts with the rich renaissance brocade of the dress, which contrasts with her softly flowing hair sewn with flowers. Her image is wrought with symbolic dichotomies between duke and emperor; Masculine and Feminine; and ancient and modern. It also betrays a dialectic between Florence and Rome, seen in the Roman imagery of the armour, buskins and the eagle, the emblem of Charles V and the Roman war standard. What is being depicted here is a powerful allusion to the history between Rome and Florence, which is continually reinforced throughout the festival. In case the audience missed the pervading notions of empire in the iconography of the palace interior or in the ephemeral architecture of the royal entry, Flora's performance represents Cosimo's attempt to remake the image of his ducal city in the model of Imperial Rome, which is verbally articulated in the final madrigal of the banquet sung by a personification of the River Tiber. As we will read later, the final line of Tiber's poem reads: 'So that, like the Tiber and Rome, the fame of the Arno and of Flora may now go up to Heaven'.



In tying all these elements together, it is ostensible that the banquet spectacles and their propagandist cultural politics are commenting on the key socio-political changes of the period. As aforementioned, Cosimo was playing out a very strategic programme of power and prestige that can perhaps be best summarised by the art historian Henk T.H. van Veen who states succinctly that Cosimo ‘had been summoned to orchestrate the Republic’s metamorphosis into a princely, territorial and dynastic state’.<sup>82</sup> Some thirty years later, this successful metamorphosis was acknowledged at his investiture as Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1570. This visual self-fashioning shows how Cosimo manipulated his powerful position as Duke of Florence from the very beginning of his reign through a sycophantic cultural politics. There is, as such, a prophetic consciousness being constructed within Flora’s performance of geo-political conquest, mapping out the continued metaphor of empire previously seen in the performance of the Muses, but this time within the territory of Florence. Although we have looked at the way in which Festa interpreted the visual and textual components of the madrigal, a more thorough exploration of its modal language and performance setting reveals an additional symbolic layer that adds to the narrative.

### **Performance Context and Modal Language in Festa’s Madrigal for Flora**

*Più che mai* constructs a cadential relationship with the G Dorian, presenting a low ambitus in the *cantus durus* system and a G finalis (Appendix M). The upper voices are anchored in the C4 clef, making the work suitable for male voices in the lower octave. It is probable that the two River deities described by Giambullari as ‘duoi Vecchio’ sung in the lower octave, and were accompanied later by Flora’s Nymphs in the higher octave. Although Giambullari’s description indicates that Flora herself was

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<sup>82</sup> Van Veen, *Cosimo I de’ Medici*, 16.

singing, ('Flora con le sue Nymfe avanti a sua Eccellentia condottasi, cantò la seguente Canzone'), the linguistic indications in Gelli's text support a different reading in which Flora did not sing, but rather enacted a gestural performance where she moved amongst the audience and approached the Duke and Duchess in the Southern loggia.<sup>83</sup> This is inferred by Giambullari when he writes that Flora stood or moved in front of his Excellency ('avanti a sua Eccellentia condottasi'). Gelli's text employs the third person pronoun throughout, such that Flora is never animated as the orator, but rather as the subject of the performance.

*Più che mai vaga & bella  
Ardendo in dolce spene  
COSMO, Flora hoggi vieve  
Ad honorarti come fida Ancella.*

Prettier and more beautiful than ever,  
burning in sweet hope, COSIMO,  
Flora comes to honour you today as a  
faithful handmaiden.

*Flora la bella che sicura posa  
All'ombra tua quieta,  
Hoggi più che mai lieta  
Della novella sposa  
Rende al Ciel gratie, et à te sommo honore:  
Et l'eterno motore  
Prega con humil core,  
Che di voi sorga anchor' tal Prole, ch'ella  
Al Ciel' co'l suo valore  
S'alzi per fama sovr'ogn'alta stella.*

Flora the Beautiful, who rests  
securely in your quiet shadow, today  
happier than ever because of the new  
bride, thanks Heaven and gives  
greatest honour to you. And she prays  
the Eternal Mover with a humble  
heart that there may spring from you  
again such seed that she, through her  
value, will rise to Heaven in fame,  
above every high star.

It is probable that the singers were the five Nymphs and two Rivers, with the Rivers appropriated to the Tenor and Bassus, and the Nymphs to the Cantus and Altus.<sup>84</sup> It is still inconclusive whether female performers participated publically in theatrical

<sup>83</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato*, 46.

<sup>84</sup> In the Gabriel Garrido recording of this madrigal in 2000, the arrangement features male singers alone (the River deities) from measures 1-12 for the first phrase of the text 'Prettier and more beautiful than ever, burning in sweet hope, COSIMO, Flora comes to honour you today as a faithful handmaiden'. For the remainder of the performance, the Nymphs join with the Rivers, singing an octave above. See Francesco Corteccia et al, *Firenze 1539, Musiche fatte nelle nozze dello illustrissimo duca di Firenze*, Centre de Musique Ancienne de Geneva, Studio di Musica Rinascimentale di Palermo, and Schola Jacopo da Bologna, conducted by Gabriel Garrido, Tactus TC.500301, 2000, CD.

performance at this time, and as such, the Nymphs may have been male castrati from the choirs of the Baptistery and Cathedral. The distribution of parts may have resembled two male singers in the Bassus (Arno and Mugnone); one male singer in the Tenor line (performing as a Nymph); 2 Nymphs in the Altus (female singers, or castrati); and two Nymphs in the Cantus (female singers, or castrati). It may have also been possible that the singers performing the Tenor and Altus parts interchanged octave ranges. Once again, the instrumental arrangement—if indeed there was one—is left undocumented by Giambullari.

In setting Gelli's text, Festa invokes the solemnity of the opening phrase *Più che mai vaga et bella* ('prettier and more beautiful than ever') by rendering these words in the outer voices alone, until all four voices enter together in measure 4 on the words *ardendo in dolce spene*, ('burning in sweet hope'), leading to the first cadence in measure 5 on G (Appendix M). The four voices move toward the next cadential point in measure 12, painting the word *ancella* ('handmaiden') with a suspended cadence on G. Moving to measures 19-21 which sets the phrase *a l'ombra tua quieta* ('in your quiet shadow'), one hears a perceptible musical metaphor through which Festa conveys Flora's reverence for the Duke. The voices descend to cadence on A in measure 21, with the descending stepwise motives in the Altus and Bassus further highlighting this downward motion. This motif conjures an image of Flora bowing in a reverent gesture to her patron as the Nymphs and Rivers sang the phrase.

For the remainder of the performance, an intimate musico-visual and textual relationship binds the technical aspects of the composition with the modal ethos of the Dorian. In returning to theoretical accounts of modal ethos, we know that Vanneus

held the first mode to be cheerful and to facilitate the excitement of the emotions of the soul.

Since, then, the first tone, an Authentic, is naturally tuneful, jocund, cheerful, and especially apt to excite the emotions of the soul, the mode demands that words, either in the vernacular or in the Latin, be coupled with it; and since it is adaptable to these words, it is called by musicians the adaptable tone.<sup>85</sup>

Gafori believed the Dorian produced a masculine sound according to the properties of its planetary sphere—the Sun.<sup>86</sup> For Ficino, we come under the influence of the Sun in the pursuit of eloquence, of song, of truth, of glory and of skill.<sup>87</sup> ‘The more public and grand exercise of one’s wits pertains to the Sun’, and all solemn music belong to it.<sup>88</sup> There are some performative references within Gelli’s text that link to the Dorian’s planetary and affective correlations. Flora, for example, arrives on stage ‘burning in sweet hope’ (*ardendo in dolce spene*) to honour Cosimo as his faithful handmaiden. This Solar reference does not have an obvious political context, and could therefore be a performative reference to the madrigal’s emotional (modal) context. Additionally, in line eight, Flora prays to the ‘Eternal Mover’ (*eterno motore*) for the seed of Cosimo and Eleonora’s offspring, so that she may rise to Fame above every high star (*sovr’ogn’alta stella*). These astrological references connect the performance to the *veduta* of the Muses in which Cosimo appears as the *primum mobile*. The cosmological theme is musico-visually adapted to the present *veduta* of Flora, linking a unified thematic thread between them. It is conceivable therefore, that Festa was deliberately manipulating the emotions of the Dorian to evoke this thematic thread.

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<sup>85</sup> Cited in Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory,” 374-5.

<sup>86</sup> Godwin, *The Harmony of the Spheres*, 178.

<sup>87</sup> Voss, *Marsilio Ficino*, 119.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

In concluding our reading of the spectacle of Flora, and of Festa's contribution to its mise-en-scène, we have highlighted several idiosyncrasies that betray the narrative role. The narrative of place and power once again emerges as the dominant motivation underlying the performance, feeding into the theme of mapping empire already envisaged in the performance of the Muses. When the Nymphs and Rivers performed the *clausula vera* in the closing measure of Festa's madrigal, they took their leave with Flora from the performance arena, allowing Apollo to introduce the next *veduta*, Flora's neighbour and political adversary, Pisa.

### **Pisa: Performing Identity and Concealing Conflict**

Entering the banquet hall with her accompanying territorial allegories, Pisa came forth figured in a more rustic appearance than that of her Florentine neighbour (Figure 5.8).

Giambullari describes her thus:

There came forward Pisa, dressed in red velvet that was adorned with many streamers and clusters. She had an antique coiffure, with a *mazocchio* and a little hat on which sat a fox with a shield under his paw. Upon this shield was the white cross on its usual red field ... When Apollo's singing was finished, Pisa, with her Nymphs, began the following *canzonetta* [...].<sup>89</sup>

This *canzonetta* was the four-voice madrigal *Lieta per honorarte*, composed by Matteo Rampollini. Although today overshadowed by his better-known contemporaries, Rampollini was a lauded musician and composer within the Florentine music circles of his day. Moreover, his prestige was not only acknowledged by his Medici patrons, but endorsed by them. Pope Leo X himself is believed to have procured Rampollini's position as the first teacher of polyphony in

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<sup>89</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato*, 46; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 176.



**Figure 5.8** Laura Jayne Halton, *Pisa*. Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.

the family church of San Lorenzo in 1515.<sup>90</sup> His musical career advanced in the 1520s upon his appointment as chapel master in Santa Maria del Fiore and in the San Giovanni Baptistery, where he worked alongside degli Organi, Pisano and Verdelot, amongst others.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, the diplomat Cosimo Bartoli in the *Libro Terzo* of his *Ragionamenti accademici* stated: ‘his compositions, I give you my word, have earned him a marvellous reputation, especially among foreigners’.<sup>92</sup>

However, despite a fruitful and promising career, Rampollini disappears from musical records after 1534, reappearing only once more in Florentine public life before his death in 1553. This occasion was the 1539 wedding of his patron and monarch, Duke Cosimo. Rampollini contributed two madrigals to the banquet spectacles, the first of which was the *veduta* performed by Pisa with her pastoral Nymphs and Marine Deities. This analysis will address the hermeneutics of Gelli’s verse for *Lieta per honorarte*—the third of the eight *vedute*—and how Rampollini’s musical setting elicits and manipulates its subtext. Throughout Pisa’s performance, the metaphor of Imperialism that features strongly in the banquet program is sustained, reinforcing the Duke’s self-fashioned identity as Tuscan Emperor.

The rhetoric invoked in this madrigal performs an interesting dialogue with peace and conflict. Pisa opens with the following stanza: ‘Happy to honour you here, my Lord, is ancient noble Pisa. That I am your friend as well as your servant, I now long to show you’. Tensions between the two Tuscan states had long been wrought out of a decade and a half of war and rebellion between 1494 and 1509, long after Pisa was first

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<sup>90</sup> Frank A. D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and His Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” *Musica Disciplina*, 27 (1973): 65-106; 73.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 68-9.

<sup>92</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 51.

conquered by Florence in 1406. How relevant these tensions are to Rampollini's setting of this text should not be underestimated. Firstly, it gives meaning to the affects associated with his chosen mode: the F Lydian. Drawing once again on Vanneus, the modal ethos of the Lydian can be summarised as follows:

‘The fifth tone, third of the Authentics, when sung brings delight, moderation, and joy, relieves the soul of every trouble, and matters that concern victory particularly become this mode; hence it is deservedly called jocund, moderate and delightful’.<sup>93</sup>

The operative words here are ‘matters that concern victory’, for it is most certainly the aim of Gelli's text to highlight Florence's military victory over Pisa. If we look once again at the lyrics of Gelli's text, other key indications of its ‘delightful and jocund’ mood stand out.

*Lieta per honorarte,  
Ecco Signor' la nobil Pisa antica:  
Et ch'io ti sono amica  
Non men che serva, bramo hor' di  
mostrarte.*

*Queste Nynfe che meco hò, la cura hanno  
De miei cari vicini:  
Questi son Dei Marini,  
Che sicuro il Tyrren' solcar' ne fanno:  
Et per letitia il piu che ponno & sanno  
Di tue Noze felici,  
Pregan' che vi sien' sempre i Celi amici.  
Et prompti siam' (com'hor' si vede) à  
darte.  
Di quel, che può ciascun, più larga parte.*

Happy to honour you, here, Milord, is ancient noble Pisa. That I am your friend as well as your servant I now long to show you.

These nymphs I have with me care for my dear neighbours. These are sea gods, who make the Tyrrhenian's lanes safe for us. Through happiness at your fortunate wedding, they pray the best they can that Heaven will always be friendly to you. And we are ready, as you see now, each to give you in great measure of what he has.

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<sup>93</sup> Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory,” 375.



In contrast to the third person relationship established in Gelli's text for Flora, the narrative here presents Pisa in the first person (*ch'io ti sono amica / De miei cari vicini / Queste Nynfe che meco hò*), implying that she participated vocally. The allocation of the phrase *Queste Nynfe che meco hò* to the Tenor in measures 15-19 makes a convincing argument that Pisa performed the Tenor voice. The madrigal opens in the upper three voices, exposing us immediately to the textual declamation that prevails throughout (Example 5.7). A sense of continuous motion is propelled by a rhythm that is smooth but subtly pulsated by the syllabic text setting. It appears that this palpable motion will come to a fleeting rest in measure 3 as the upper voices break for a beat, but the rhythmic baton is passed to the Bassus to keep the momentum before all 4 voices take a momentary pause on the first beat of measure 6.

♩ = 50

Cantus C1  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig -

Altus C2  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig -

Tenor C3  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig -

Bassus F4  
Ec - co sig -

4  
nor la nob - il Pi - saan - ti - ca et ch'io  
nor la nob - il Pi - saan - ti - ca et ch'io  
nor la nob - il Pi - saan - ti - ca et ch'io  
nor la nob - il Pi - saan - ti - ca et ch'io

**Example 5.7** Matteo Rampollini, *Lieta per honorarte* (1539), mm. 1-6. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 20).

The texture begins to break away from its homophonic roots in measure 8, preparing us for the motif that closes Part One in measure 14, which Rampollini constructs with *clausula* formulae in their respective voice parts (Appendix N). One further observation is significant here. The division of the madrigal into two parts is arguably a twofold device employed by Rampollini. It appears that he intended Part One to act as a rhetorical prologue; an opening oration that announces Pisa's friendship and servitude to the Duke ('That I am your friend as well as your servant I now long to show you'). Additionally, the division of parts allows for the identity of the performers to be distinguished, and very possibly for the role of Pisa (as the Tenor) to dominate. The listener is moved to feel the compassion of Pisa and her deities in offering their protection to the Duke through a very simple musical language that Frank D'Accone describes thus:

Rampollini's musical language is basically a diatonic one, which relies for its effect not so much on the sudden introduction of single chromatic tones or of unrelated chords, but rather on a logical progression of harmonies and a network of cadences that bear a clear relationship to the basic mode of the piece.<sup>94</sup>

Pisa presents her Nymphs as sea Gods who will protect the Duke and his galleys during their Tyrrhenian voyages and promises him a great many gifts from her fertile lands (*Et prompti siam' com'hor' si vede à darte. Di quel, che può ciascun, più larga parte*). Maritime activities were a crucial part of Pisan life given its proximity to the coast. Access to such a vital form of transportation and trade, coupled with the city's proximity to Florence via the River Arno made Pisa's regeneration a worthwhile development. The Medici understood the wealth of a Florentine-Pisan alliance and

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<sup>94</sup> D'Accone, "Matteo Rampollini," 84-85.

invested in the city's cultural development through their involvement with the Studio Pisano and their acquisition of Pisan property.<sup>95</sup> Duke Cosimo planned to revive Pisa from the plagued, poverty-stricken shadow of its former eminence to a bustling nucleus second only to the Florentine capital in economy and demography, serving as the second arm of his Tuscan empire.<sup>96</sup> Michael Mallett notes that Pisa was by far the most important of Florence's subject cities, writing that 'she was Florence's gateway to the sea, the artery through which her life blood, her commerce flowed. She was also a home for many of Florence's wealthiest citizens and a centre for the Medici court'.<sup>97</sup>

As the meeting place of two main rivers, the Arno and the Serchia, with an opening to the Tyrrhenian sea, the Pisan port was once a bustling hub of marine and trade activity from its ancient Etruscan, Ligurian and Roman routes, through to the Middle ages.<sup>98</sup> Its complex system of waterways made the city easy to fortify and protect, and its precedence as a Genoese trade route made the city a perfunctory municipality within the Roman Empire c.100-70 BC.<sup>99</sup> The reference to Pisa in this madrigal as ancient and noble (*la nobil Pisa antica*) is thus referencing its classical roots, and ties in perfectly with the overarching metaphor of "empire" that Cosimo developed throughout the festival, and most particularly during the banquet spectacles. His imperial self-fashioning is once again not only visually ubiquitous in performer's costumes, but musically and textually too.

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<sup>95</sup> For a comprehensive study of academic relations and the politics of education in Florence and Pisa during the sixteenth century, see Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power: Tuscany and its Universities 1537-1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>96</sup> Michael E. Mallett, "Pisa and Florence in the Fifteenth Century: Aspects of the Period of the first Florentine Domination," in *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 403-441.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 440.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 403-05.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

Embedded in this performance is an indication of Cosimo's plans to restore Pisa and her *contado* as a seminal subject city within his empire. Of course, Cosimo's motives were to be economically lucrative. Pisa was a land of uncultivated potential in the industries of agriculture, communications, defence and trade, all of which were represented in the pageant. Agriculture is represented by the pastoral Nymphs Maremma, Collina and Calci, collectively representing the fertile lands of Pisa's coastal region and outlying valleys; communications by the Marine Deities Triton, Tethys and Galatea (all three collectively represent the Tyrrhenian sea and hence transport); defence by the personification of Verrucola (the fortification at Monte Pisano which was initially used to defend against Florentine invasion, but was subsequently controlled by Florentine troops after successfully subduing the city); and finally trade is represented by Tethys and her "holy stone", a resource of marble quarries outlying the North Pisan town of Pietra Santa.<sup>100</sup> Trading is also inferred in the references to agricultural resources and to Pisa's hydro structure that supported trade routes with other important European ports, as well as offering direct links to Florence via the Arno.

Rampollini's madrigal and Strozzi's costumes for the *veduta* of Pisa exemplify how music contributed to identity and power within the early modern festival, and how text, music and visuals were inextricably linked. Staged with an inherently conservative and rustic dress when compared to her counterpart Flora, the image of Pisa and her nymphs was perceptively subservient to Florence. This alternative 'visuality' betrays the performative function of the *veduta*, wherein the image/map maker can distort or re-

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<sup>100</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 178-179.

invent the imagery and ideology of place. From Pisa, we move to the final geo-cultural coordinate on Cosimo's Imperial map: Rome.

### **Tiber: Echoing Forth the Prophecy of Fame**

With its source believed to be in the hills East of Florence, the final *veduta* represented at the banquet spectacle was Tiber, the lifeline of Rome and brother to the Tuscan Arno. The Tiber came forth with a company of five Nymphs representing Falterona, Vernia and the bordering territories of Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna. Falterona personifies the Apennine mountain from which the source of the Tiber and the Arno can be found.<sup>101</sup> The additional Nymphs served to expand the map of Cosimo's Tuscan dominion toward the areas of Romagna and Emilia, stretching his pseudo-empire as far North and East of Florence as could be claimed. Giambullari yet again immerses our imagination into the visual world of this *veduta*, describing Tiber's costume in the following way.

There appeared finally another company, led by a tall old man, who, shod with reeds and canes, wore over his nude body an adapted mantle of faded blue taffeta. And over his long hair, which fell onto his breast and over his shoulders, he wore a garland of oak, with a big trophy as crest. And he held in his right hand a horn, generously pouring out water, on the extreme rim of which could be read in antique golden capitals: TIBER.<sup>102</sup>

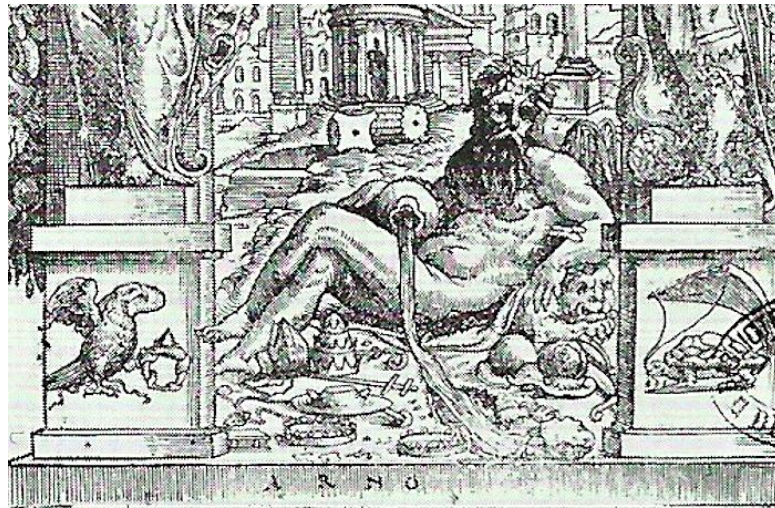
More than any other character in the banquet spectacles, the image of the river god is figured within the traditions of his classical iconography. Looking at the title page of Cosimo Bartoli's *L'Architettura*, one will note a similar depiction of a river god to that

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<sup>101</sup> This is geographically imprecise, for the Tiber has its origins in Mount Fumaiolo in the East toward Emilia. As Minor and Mitchell write however, calling the rivers sons and Falterona their mother 'does not stretch the point too far'. Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, n. 151, 216.

<sup>102</sup> Giambullari, *Apparato*, 60; Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 215.

described by Giambullari in 1539 (Figure 5.9). Here, the river deity is reclining with a vase pouring out water and with a generous white beard betraying his mature age. The various objects lying at his feet represent important historical and dynastic events in the archives of the Medici family.



**Figure 5.9** Detail from the Title page of Cosimo Bartoli, *L'Architettura di Leon Battista Alberti* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550), depicting the Arno as a River god. Woodcut, 351 x 228 mm.

These objects represent what Giambullari terms a ‘trophy as crest’ in the costume of the Tiber in 1539 (Figure 5.10). The ornamental trophy originates in the rituals of Roman warfare, wherein the victors of a battle would take the shields, swords and various armaments of the subjugated armies as ‘spoils’ to symbolise and celebrate their victory and their rival’s defeat.<sup>103</sup> We can interpret the large trophy on Tiber’s head to mean objects of battle, akin to the theme of conquest in the iconography of Tribolo’s triumphal arch discussed in Chapter Four. Gelli’s text for Tiber presents an interesting play on words in its opening recitation of the ‘Echo’, which Moschini brings to life colourfully in his musical setting.

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<sup>103</sup> Philip Sabin, Hans Van Wees, and Michael Whitby, eds., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, Volume 1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 173-174.



**Figure 5.10** Laura Jayne Halton, *Tiber*, Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, (2015).

Here, Milord, is the Tiber, here is the Tiber,  
Milady, come to honour you, COSIMO &  
ELEONORA.

If my noble daughter put reign and bridle on  
the earth for as far as the sun turns with its  
sphere, this lady, who was born from her,  
hopes through you, no less than she, to adorn  
herself with rich spoils and, proud and  
haughty, to rise above the others. So that, like  
the Tiber and Rome, the fame of the Arno and  
of Flora may now go up to Heaven.

*Ecco Signore il Tebro,  
Ecco il Tebro, Signora,  
Ad honorarvi, COSMO & LEONORA.*

*Se la mia nobil figlia  
A quanto gira il sol con la sua spera  
Pose il freno & la briglia:  
Questa, che di lei nacque, per voi spera  
Non men' di lei, di ricche spoglie ornarse:  
Et superba et altèra  
Sovra l'altre innalzarse:  
Onde al pari del Tebro, et Roma, ancora  
Vada la fama al Ciel' d'Arno et di Flora.*

Moschini was musically active in Florence in the early sixteenth century, serving as an organist in Santa Maria del Fiore from 1539 to 1552.<sup>104</sup> According to the interlocutors of one of Bartoli's *Ragionamenti*, he was a well-respected and dedicated musician within the employ of the Duke. In the third book of the *Ragionamenti* Piero Darica contributes an extensive passage about Moschini's 'unrivalled' skills in instrumental virtuosity. 'Moschino' [sic.], he says,

plays either organs or other instruments with such grace, facility, and grandeur joined to such knowledge of music that I believe (rather, I am absolutely certain) that he has few equals; and if I were to say perhaps none, I do not know whether I would be making a mistake but I do not think so – and this in addition to his other parts, which are gifts by Heaven to few, for, as we [earlier] said, he has sung and still sings delightfully and has composed many very beautiful things. But what has left me marvelling in his playing is that I have heard him play sometimes for his own pleasure without many listeners, only for his own desire, and for an hour take up a manner of playing in counterpoint, which makes me put aside every annoyance, every displeasure, and every bitterness, however great, which I might have in my spirit; and I hold for certain that in this style there are few who might approach him'.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 57.

<sup>105</sup> Piero Darica in conversation with Lorenzo Altinori and Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Bartoli, *Ragionamenti accademici*, Book III, cited in Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 53.



Darica's appraisal of Moschini suggests that he was well received within the academic circles of Florence which may have influenced his appointment as organist at the Florentine Cathedral in 1539, as well as his involvement with the wedding festival. Indeed, his musical treatment of the *Veduta* for Tiber confirms the composer's technical musical ability. *Ecco Signor il Tebro* is animated with an effective musical device that cleverly unifies the visual, textual and philosophical theme of the entire banquet programme. The device in question is the echo which manipulates mimetic rhythmic patterns in a deliberate and thoughtful interplay of sound and space.<sup>106</sup> When we look a little closer at the literary, modal and mythological devices of the madrigal, the musical and affective motivations of the composer begin to emerge. Example 5.8 illustrates the opening motif of the madrigal (mm. 1-6) which features the echo device.

On a surface level, the musico-textual interplay imitates the acoustic echo of the mountains from which the Tiber springs, while simultaneously playing on the linguistic connotation of the word *ecco* (here). The myth of Echo is however much more symbolically rooted within classical and renaissance discourse. In his comprehensive study of the figure of Echo from classical literature, John Hollander traces the allegory back to pre-Ovidian mythologies where it is heard in Homer as 'reverberations and amplifications of battle noise', or in Hesiod as the re-echoing of the earth (particularly mountains) to the Muses.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Some key texts on the echo device in early modern music include: Mauro Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010); Ljubica Ilic, 'Mirrors and Echoes: Beyond the Confines of Theatrical Space,' in *Music and the Modern Condition: Investigating the Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Ljubica Ilic, "Echo and Narcissus: Labyrinths of the Self in Early Modern Music," in *Power and Image in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jessica Goethals, Valerie McGuire and Gaoheng Zhang (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 43-56; Isabelle His, "Italianism and Claude Le Jeun," in *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 149-170; and Christopher Marsh, 'Echoes, resonances and sympathies', in *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 10-15.

<sup>107</sup> John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (California: University of California Press, 1981), 6-7.

♩ = 75

Cantus I C1  
Ec - co ec - co sig - nor il

Cantus II C1  
Ec - co

Altus C3  
Ec - co ec - co ec - co sig - nor il

Tenor C4  
Ec - co ec - co ec - co sig - nor il

Bassus F4  
Ec - co ec - co sig - nor il

4  
Te - bro ec - co ec - co il

Te - bro ec - co ec - co ec'

Te - bro ec - co ec - co ec - co

Te - bro ec - - - co ec' - il

**Example 5.8** Baccio Moschini, *Ecco Signor il Tebro* (1539), mm. 1-6. (Reproduced from Grayson, Bate and Bate, eds., *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 34).

The Echo can be embodied in both mountain Nymphs and in the mountains themselves, both of whom can cast and receive the sonic reflections of sound. Thus Hollander writes that ‘any mythology of echoing must deal with such aspects of the acoustical phenomenon as the fragmentary repetition, the decrescendo, and the presence of disembodied voice’.<sup>108</sup> It is not until Ovid that Echo becomes engendered in the realm of the rocky cave, immortalised in stone where she is ‘never seen but ever heard’.<sup>109</sup> Ovid’s myth of Echo circulated recurrently during the humanist revival

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 6.

making it a frequently studied literary and iconographic trope. Yet its significance was also innately musical, pertaining to the allegorical tradition of Macrobius. The Roman philosopher allegorises Echo as ‘celestial harmony, married to Pan who, as creator of the sevenfold pipe, is also thereby creator of the sevenfold planetary music; she is invisible to human sight, and an apt symbol of the *harmonia coeliae* which cannot be perceived by our senses’.<sup>110</sup> Thus, we have a tangible connection linking Moschini’s echo device to the music of the spheres, and thus to the modal affects.

### **Between Affect and Illusion**

The echo was employed within early modern music as a device for evoking sensory perception through manipulated acoustic reverberations that momentarily altered the space-time continuum within the performance arena. Speaking about the device, Ljubica Ilic highlights the performance implications that the echo engenders within a theatrical work.

The early modern love of echo rhetoric was influenced by the popularity of mimetic representation in music. Within this framework, the effect of sound reflection was very often used to depict physical space—not only the resounding of mythical meadows where Echo and Narcissus supposedly met, or the spatial settings of other mythical, biblical, and historical stories, but also the actual physical space of the performing venue. The evocation of space through the juxtaposition of multiple sources of sound and an emphasis on the material distance between them is crucial for the effect of echoing. In performances like these, the players or singers who imitate the resounding voice respond from behind the scene or from the opposite side of the performing venue, sonically simulating the acoustics of a pastoral landscape.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>111</sup> Ljubica Ilic, *Music and the Modern Condition: Investigating the Boundaries* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 24.

Here, Ilic underpins the dialectic of the echo which navigates between the object of the spectator's affections and dramatic illusion, as well as the implications of the performance setting on the successful delivery of the echo, and hence the authenticity of the illusion. With these implications in mind, we can assess how the echo device and the modal fabric evolve throughout Moschini's madrigal for Tiber (see Appendix O for full score).

*Ecco Signore il Tebro* is set in two parts which culminate on F finals. Set within the *cantus durus* system and anchored to a lower ambitus (C<sub>1</sub>), the madrigal reflects the modal language of the F Hypolydian—the pious and devoted mode, ‘most suitably given to all words of piety that move one to tears, especially from devotion’.<sup>112</sup> These affects complement Gelli's text, which can be read as a paean to Medici Fame, shared between the golden age of Rome's past, and the prophesised golden age of Florence's future. The first stanza is delivered in the third person, *Ecco Signor il' Tebro, Ecco il Tebro, Signora, Ad honorarvi, Cosimo et Leonora*, which Moschini treats as Part One of the madrigal. Dominating the musical character of Part One, I read the echo device as an intrinsic feature of the performance *mise-en-scène*. The echo serves to transfer the spectator to the pastoral setting of the Apennine mountains—the geographic setting for this *veduta*. On a basic level, the *mise-en-scène* is musically and visually imitating the natural landscape of the Apennines, and the musical setting reflects an imagined echo chamber high up in the Falterona. Hollander writes:

complex conformations of reflecting surfaces – in rocks, caves, forests, and spacious, intricate interiors of stone and masonry – can produce serial echoes. [...] Mountains provide sufficiently distant reflecting surfaces, and caves, sufficiently varied concave ones, so that echoes seem, as disembodied voices, to inhabit such regions.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Vanneus, *Recanetum*, cited in Judd, “Renaissance Modal Theory,” 375.

<sup>113</sup> Hollander, *The Figure of Echo*, 1.

As formerly highlighted by Ilic, the evocation of space through juxtaposed sound sources necessitates a material distance between the resounding voices. Thus, the location of the musicians and singers becomes intrinsic to the performance. The setting of the courtyard in the Palazzo Medici would not have functioned spatially or acoustically as an echo chamber. The source of the echo must therefore have emanated from a hidden sound source side of stage. The echo device disappears after the first eight measures yielding to a syllabic and well-tempered meter in Part Two from measures 16-57. Hollander points out that echoes are affected by overly complicated sound sources such as voices and music, and thus short darts of sound at rhythmic intervals are more apposite for the return of an echo, which is why the echo device is most effective, linguistically and acoustically, on the short and syllabically succinct word '*ecco*' in measures 1-8.

It is pertinent that echoes can have a profound and uplifting resonance within a space associated with the concept of transcendence, especially when immersed in natural or in spiritual environments. Such provocations can be associated with the realm of sound and spirituality. Just as the acoustics of a church are apposite for the performance of sacred polyphony, the natural world can produce similar effects, a concept that pervades the art and literature of the Enlightenment. Through the powerful echo of the Tiber, Moschini's madrigal is ultimately delivering a divine message to its patrons Cosimo and Eleonora, wishing for them and the city of Florence the success bestowed upon the City of Rome and the Tiber. Thus, just as the echo at the beginning of the madrigal brings one's thoughts symbolically upwards, so the piece finishes with this metaphor:

*Onde al pari del Tebro, et Roma, ancora Vada la fama al Ciel' d'Arno et di Flora.*

So, like the Tiber and Rome, the fame of the Arno and of Flora may now go up to Heaven.

Fittingly, this metaphor completes the cartographic map of the performance programme by bringing the spectator's imagination back to the sphere in which it began: the cosmos. Nowhere else in the compositional portfolio of the festival is there such a deliberate use of "audio imagery" and a distinct acoustic consciousness. In this sense, Moschini's *Il Tebro* is a type of cultural artefact, a work that offers an important insight into the awareness renaissance composers had of their sonic environment and how they manipulated sound, acoustics, and space creatively to form specific listening environments and to evoke mythological subtexts. We can view the symbolic import of this madrigal and *veduta* as a figurative and literal echo of prophecy that would steer Cosimo and Florence toward immortal fame.

### **Mapping Empire, Mapping Destiny**

This chapter has shown how the performance of *vedutismo* at the wedding banquet of 1539 served to map the coordinates of Cosimo's empire. It has presented a close reading of four of these spectacles, but these select *vedute* account for only half of the Duke's dominion. As shown, the map begins in the cosmos in the highest superlunar sphere and the realm of the *Primum Mobile*, and navigates back to the sublunar sphere and to the seat of the Duke's Earthly empire, Florence and her rich contado. From here it moves West to Flora's ancient and devoted neighbour, Pisa, before moving South East to Volterra and her resourceful lands rich in minerals and precious metals (represented by five aptly dressed Nymphs). From Volterra, the map moves inland to

the East and the agriculturally and geologically rich contado of Arezzo and its four principal territories, Chianti chief amongst them. Moving directly South from Arezzo, the map showcases Cortona and the fertile territories of the Valdichiana region, inclusive of Montepulciano and Castiglione. The penultimate coordinate of the map leads the spectator back to the North West of Tuscany, bypassing Florence, to Pistoia and her defensive highlands (Montemurlo), accompanied with the Marine Deity, Ombrone. Visual reconstructions of the central personifications are produced in Appendix J in order to visualise the descriptions that have been preserved by Giambullari of their vivid costumes. These performances were equally captivating in their musico-visual and textual interplay, set to the compositional arrangements of Masacone (Volterra), Festa (Arezzo), Moschini (Cortona) and Rampollini (Pistoia). Lastly, the final coordinate of Cosimo's Imperial map leads the spectator to the source of Italy's most powerful Marine Deity and the source of Rome's ancient history and culture, the River Tiber. This image of Rome served to prophesise the model of Imperial governance that the Duke would adopt throughout his reign, and as Moschini helped to convey through his musical device, the golden age of Rome was echoed forth as the destiny of Florence.

The reader will recall from the introduction of this chapter that the *veduta* offered more than a passive cartography of place: it offered a way of writing the meaning of place into pictorial history. The genre of *vedutismo* created a new medium for narrating spaces, and animating them with a sense of liveness. It achieved this through altered perspectival lines that lead the eye to prescribed focal points; enhanced and distorted geometries; and spatial plans of landscapes and cityscapes that turned the spectator toward the view of the artist and the new visuality they wished to create. The concept of *vedutismo* and the process of (alternative) mapping is argued in Chapter Three, and

applied here, as an integral phenomenon of the cinematic imagination, and in turn, as a phenomenological constituent of proto-cinema. It is apposite to return to the words of Giuliana Bruno who sets the framework for this argument:

If we look beyond perspectivism [...] we can set the invention of film against a different panorama [...] We can see it as a form of mapping, inscribed in a movement in perspectival space that tends away from perspectivism and toward a tactile view of space. “Viewed” as this particular architectonics – a spatial navigation—the motion of moving pictures is revealed as an embodiment of space that approaches the feeling of the haptic.<sup>114</sup>

While Bruno’s definition here applies to the inscription of movement in the static image or map, the *vedute* of 1539 inscribed a literal movement in perspectival space through the act of performed (and performative) mapping. They mapped an alternative panorama of the Tuscan landscape and shaped this panorama through a tactile view of the space within its frame. The entire programme on this occasion (from banquet to spectacle) influenced the viewer’s experience of space (the imagined topography of Cosimo’s empire) through a totalising assimilation of the senses. As well as the more obvious sensorial immersion of sight and sound, the senses of taste and smell were awoken during the banquet feast and in the performance programme (the *odori* of Venus in the *veduta* of the Muses). The sense of touch was integrated through the haptic experience which Bruno speaks of above. The image in motion, or in this instance the image in performance (where image is a multi-mediated construct) produces a textured perception of space where the spectator interprets that space through the extrasensory process of haptic experience. Bruno defines the meaning of this term as it is used in the present context.

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<sup>114</sup> Giuliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion*, 180.



As the Greek etymology tells us, haptic means “able to come into contact with.” As a function of the skin, then, the haptic—the sense of touch—constitutes the reciprocal *contact* [sic.] between us and the environment, both housing and extending communicative interface. [...] Haptic (is) an agent in the formation of space—both geographic and cultural—and, by extension, in the articulation of the spatial arts themselves, which include motion pictures.<sup>115</sup>

As argued in Chapter Three of this thesis, a haptic encounter of space also involves the assimilation of music and sound through proprioception. Working closely with the vestibular and auditory systems to coordinate bodily relationships in the process of movement, proprioception also facilitates the mediation between our two levels of musical and spatial consciousness. Thus, the senses work on two levels during the spectatorial experience: a physiological level and an emotional level. These complex processes are embedded in Bruno’s reading of film as a form of mapping, or *vedutismo*, and underpin the author’s quote above, where she writes that ‘the motion of moving pictures is revealed as an embodiment of space that approaches the feeling of the haptic’. She calls this approach to the moving image ‘siteseeing’, and seeks to make ‘a cartography of film’s position in the terrain of spatial arts and practices’.<sup>116</sup> She sees film as a mobile map, leading the voyageur through their subjective experience of space, and thus equating film to modern cartography.

The programme for the 1539 wedding banquet inherently reflects the desire to shape identity and power through the creation of a mobile map—a moving cartography—that was unique to the Duke. This map was not one of geographic specificity, nor was it intended as such. Rather, it was rooted in the psychology of place-making and in the

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>116</sup> Bruno, “Site-seeing: Architecture and the Moving Image,” 9-10.

powerful connection between motion, emotion and the perception of meaning. It is in this way that these unique performances can be set within the phenomenological framework of reading festival as proto-cinema and in which—in the words of Giuliana Bruno—we can set the invention of film against a different panorama.

## **Conclusion**

## **The Early Modern Festival Re-Defined**

This study set out to re-define the festival in early modern Florence by first assessing the genre's historical evolution in wider Europe from 1450-1600—a period in which the festival witnessed prolific developments in musical, literary, mechanical and scenographic innovation. With the festival set within its historical and cultural context, the study moved toward a theory of reading festival as proto-cinema, where it argued that the phenomenology of festival can be seen to mirror—and be mirrored in—the phenomenology of cinema, particularly that of the *fin-de-siècle*. Finally, Part Three applied this reading to the case study of the Florentine festival of 1539, demonstrating how the festival manifested a cinematic imagination under three investigative headings: music and sound, architecture, and *vedutismo*.

### **Answering the Secondary Research Questions**

#### **I. Research Question One**

Part One of this thesis has provided a historical background to festivals, and contains within its two chapters the secondary research questions. Chapter One sought to investigate the form and function of festivals in early modern Florence and Europe with the aim of highlighting a) the cultural milieu that shaped the Medici-Toledo celebrations in 1539, and b) showing how Florentine festival practice linked with and differed from the rest of Italy and wider Europe. It achieved this through an assessment of the analogous and nuanced attributes of festival culture in Northern Italy, the Kingdom of Naples, France and England. The findings of this research question show that festivals had a dichotomous impact: 1) they were an irrefutably powerful instrument for political indoctrination, and 2) they yielded the most extensive patronal

programme Europe had ever witnessed. Court and civic spectacles promoted political, artistic and economic benefits through collaboration in the art world. Collaborations involved input from the liberal and mechanical arts, and influenced the creation of organisational networks of the most experienced and promising artists. The festival was divided into two primary forms: ceremony and spectacle. The former refers to events in which a power structure was brought into being in and through the act of the festival, such as coronations or royal marriages. The spectacle on the other hand, was characterised by a theatrical performance such as opera, *ballets de cour*, the *carrousel* or the firework drama. The function of the festival was simple: to curate a visual, musical and literary programme that best represented the patron, the host and their individual campaign of cultural politics. From the Ferrarese *tourneo* or the English *naumachia* to the Marriage of the Sea in Venice or the *possesso* in Rome, the festival was unique to the taste of the court or civic customs of its host city or state. However, the form and function remained ubiquitous and consistent throughout the period between 1450-1600. Finally, an assessment of the festival's form and function has revealed a pattern where it takes its hosts and its audience on a journey. The art, architecture and music of each spectacle—and their symbolic codes—propelled the concept of journeying on a subliminal level, but the concept of the journey was most overtly felt in the characteristic *entrata* and procession, which was an important theme in the festival of 1539.

## **II. Research Question Two**

Chapter Two began with a research question that asked what were the primary sources pertaining to the 1539 festival, and what could they tell us about the narrative of events, the people involved, and the politics and poetics of the event. Firstly, the research

determined that our perception of the festival is conditioned in equal measure by poetics and politics, for any study of this event must account for its programmatic complexities and the mythopoeic narratives underlying its performance, as well as the political motivations propelling these narratives. Key to the narrative of 1539 was the figure of Apollo and his associated virtues (truth, prophesy, sun and light, musical and poetic virtuosity). The elicitation of Apollonian myth constructed an ideal dialectic in which literary and political discourse could intersect. This discourse evoked the ancient past (particularly ancient Rome) to construct an image of the present (1539), upon which Cosimo projected his expansionist plans for the Medici grand duchy. The musico-visual program of 1539 created an archetype for the political and cultural image Cosimo wished to build and exhibit throughout his thirty-seven-year reign.

Five primary sources of fundamental importance to the festival's reconstruction were identified in this chapter. These were inclusive of Pierfrancesco Giambullari's festival book; the anonymously authored text *La Solenne*; Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*; a collection of letters from the Mediceo del Principato inventory at the Florentine State Archives; and finally, a newly discovered source with extant connections to the festival, namely the frontispiece of Cosimo Bartoli's translation of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Architectura*, and its description within his *Ragionamenti Accademici* of 1567. Bartoli's purported invention for the goddess Flora in the frontispiece, described in the second dialogue of the *Ragionamenti* and pictorialised in the woodcut of 1550, indisputably correlates with Giambullari's account of Giovanbattista Strozzi's costume design for 1539. A comparison of Bartoli's descriptions of the painting and of Giambullari's descriptions from 1539 demonstrated that there are further similarities. Most notably, the figure of the Arno in the centre foreground correlates exactly with Giambullari's description of the Arno for 1539, and the female figure

identified as Immortality in Bartoli's dialogue aligns with the statue of Eternity on Tribolo's triumphal arch. While it cannot be conclusively proven that Bartoli was involved in the festival, this study has not discounted the possibility that he was present at the festivities, for he was in Florence at the time and officially entered the employ of the Duke in April 1540. The outcomes of the research argue that Bartoli was not officially involved in the festival but that it is possible his ideas were transferred to Strozzi or Tribolo through conversation in literary circles. While the question of authorship is an important one, what is most revealing is that Bartoli has helped to preserve the only known visual artefact relating to the Medici-Toledo festival, and while it is not an exacted representation, it is the closest we as scholars may come to a contemporary historical rendering.

A comparative study of the written sources was also undertaken. The findings here proved that Giambullari's account is the most complete survey of events for this occasion. It was posited that the purpose of the anonymously authored *La Solenne* was to concentrate on the former part of the festival, and return a swift account of it to Rome as soon as it had passed. Indeed, because the book was signed off on 8 July, before the performance of the comedy, interludes and numerous firework spectacles had taken place, the author was likely absent from the celebrations that took place after the wedding banquet in Palazzo Medici. However, *La Solenne* can be useful for visualising the processional journey Eleonora undertook from Livorno to Florence as Giambullari does not afford us such an insight. The two documents function as complementary sources for reconstructing the festival from the port of Livorno to the city of Florence, with archival material from the Mediceo del Principato inventory filling additional anecdotal evidence of the chronology and sequence of events.

## **Answering the Main Research Questions**

### **III. Research Question Three**

Parts Two and Three of this thesis developed the main research questions of the study. Chapter Three embarked on a theoretical analysis of the meaning of festival from a phenomenological perspective. It began by asking the question of how can we re-define festival such that its definition embraces (rather than delimits) the multidimensionality of, and complex phenomena embodied in the genre. Applying what Christopher Morris has called a retroactive historicity, the chapter proposed a theory of reading festival (backwards) as proto-cinema. This approach considers historical phenomena within a spherical continuum, where circular time is preferred over linear teleology. Within this understanding, ‘history becomes what it already was: the “not-yet” (the ontologically incomplete) becomes the “always already”’.<sup>1</sup> Re-defining festival from this methodological perspective removes the barrier of ontological relationism, where historical events or episteme are typically thought of in relation to their evolution in linear time. Thus, this chapter established early in its discourse that it was not intending to argue that cinema was a direct or indirect product of early modern cultural practices. Rather, its reading of festival as proto-cinema echoed Sergei Eisenstein’s thesis that cinema is part of a synthesis of moving picture cultures, each one informing the other through a process of cultural osmosis.

Proto-cinema was defined in this reading as an embodiment of cinematic imagination. Advancing this definition, the chapter argued that any practice which embodies an overt cinematic consciousness through the principles of motion, projection (where

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter Three, note 9. Morris, “Songs of the Living Dead,” 92.



projection is not necessarily mechanical, but can be the projection of the Self or the projection of higher consciousness into and onto space) and cognition, can be assigned a proto-cinematic identity, independent of its teleology or its ordination in the timeline of cinema's epistemic genealogy. It demonstrated that festival (particularly that of 1539) manifests a cinematic imagination under three principal investigative headings: music and sound, architecture, and *vedutismo*.

The chapter established that festival can be read as proto-cinema through its arrangement of music and sound, arguing that we can relate to music and our subjective musical consciousness through bodily awareness (proprioception). This in turn supports an understanding of the early modern festival as a multi-sensorial phenomenon in which musical and image-based schemata played complimentary and equally central roles in the expression of political statements and the portrayal of civic and courtly identities. Music could achieve this through its ability to inform the structures of cognitive exchange. The arrangement of formal and informal sounds in a closely-knit ritualised environment induced a reaction from the spectator by not only engaging their physical senses, but by evoking certain imagery, emotions, memories and opinions of the external world. Thus, music and sound affected both temporal and subliminal perception, appealing to the proto-cinematic functions of cognition (the desire to write knowledge [and meaning] with images/music/ritual), and motion (the movement or evocation of emotional affects through formal music making). In curating a programme of formal music juxtaposed with informal soundscapes, festival makers produced or coerced a musical consciousness that was driven by an artful understanding of early modern musical psychology.

Architecture was also argued as a factor in reading festival as proto-cinema for it engenders the principles of motion, projection and cognition. When read as a tectonic performance, ancient and early modern architectural structures reveal a metanarrative that was designed to be interpreted in a sequence of shots (*cadre*). This reading used Eisenstein's theory of architectural montage to demonstrate the filmic qualities of the art form. Eisenstein believed that for one to understand the true art of montage, they must first look to architecture, the beauty of which lies in its ability to animate a materially static structure with a dynamic function. He believed architecture to be capable of expressing the totality of multidimensional visual phenomena, a feat uncommon to any other art until the advent of film. Drawing on the filmmaker's study of architectural montage within the design of the Acropolis, the theory compared shot design in ancient architecture with the design of triumphal arches in early modern Florence (and Europe). It argued that as the strategic point of entry into the early modern city, the triumphal arch contained within it the most important themes of the entire festival programme. Once the design of the arch is decoded, it can be assembled into a sequence of shots that project a filmic narrative. This theory shaped the framework for Chapter Four's analysis of Tribolo's archway in 1539.

The final component in the theory of reading festival as proto-cinema is the practice of *vedutismo*, a multimedia genre that encapsulated urban and rural views through mapping, paintings, illustrations and woodcuts. The *veduta* had the express purpose of presenting an alternative view of space and place, often from the image maker's (or their patron's) perspective. It was identified that the views encapsulated by *vedutismo* did not necessarily offer cartographic or topographic realism, and often evaded what Giuliana Bruno termed 'cognitive mapping' in search of diverse observational routing, and the creation of imaginative representational maps. *Vedutismo* most effectively

engenders the principles of cognition and cognitive exchange in its practice, for it offered a way of writing the meaning of *place* into pictorial history, using visual imaging (and musico-visual imaging, as per 1539). Chapter Three outlined how artists such as Lorenzo Roselli and Marteen van Heemskerck sought to inscribe the interconnectivity of life-in-motion into panoramic imaging, for as Jim Tice wrote, they were ‘not content to show important buildings as isolated objects, but made a point of showing them in their surrounding urban context as well’.<sup>2</sup> The genre was also an exemplary story-telling device, which Genovese humanist Antonio Ivani understood and took advantage of in his own *vedute*. He wrote of his own cityscapes that they showed not the whole city, but only the parts that met the need of the writer (Ivani himself), with the sites shown in such a manner that they occurred in connection with a narration.

Finally, the theory concluded that the technological and cognitive practice of *vedutismo* can be located within the circular genealogy of cinema history. The manifold apparatuses used in its creative process, from Leon Battista Alberti’s *orizzonte* and *radius* to Giambattista della Porta’s *camera obscura*, mirror the modern technologies responsible for mobilising space and place. It was argued that Duke Cosimo de’ Medici took advantage of the proto-filmic nature and narrative function of *vedutismo* in 1539, expanding its two-dimensional architectonics to incorporate a third temporal layer: sound. After the wedding banquet, a programme of moving scenics portraying the various *vedute* of the Cosmos, Tuscany and Rome conveyed a metanarrative of place and power. With their inherent liberation of movement through the performance of space in action (*lived space*), it was proposed that these panoramic

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<sup>2</sup> Jim Tice, “The *Vedutismo* Tradition,” accessed 7 May 2015.

scenics could be called ‘performance *vedute*’, for they were inherently proto-filmic in their kinetic and kinesthetic embodiment of site. They did not simply personify geographic identities, but they actively mobilised them. Chapter Three began with the research question: how can we re-define festival such that its definition embraces (rather than delimits) the multidimensionality of, and complex phenomena embodied in the genre. It has answered this question with a rigorous theoretical framework that, in the author’s view, allows for a multidimensional analysis of the festival and its complex (proto-cinematic) phenomena.

#### **IV. Research Question Four**

Chapter Four set out to answer the question of how the festival engaged the spectator in a haptic and sensorial interaction with space and place, and what affect this had. It proceeded to investigate the royal entry and procession of Eleonora di Toledo in this light, applying the theory of architectural montage to its analysis. It showed that the royal entry and procession marked the definitive transformation of the city from passive space to cine-metropolis, for it created an interactive spectatorial experience for the Duchess and her audience as they moved amongst the sites and sounds of the Florentine city. The triumphal arch posed a challenge for the architect, whose role required the immersion of architecture and spectacle as one and the same phenomenon. A convergence of artistic ingenuity with an intellectual thematic programme resulted in a successful performance, and engaged the audience in a haptic and sensorial interaction with the space around the archway, which acted as an urban stage and transformed passive space into meaningful place. It achieved this vis-à-vis a unified musico-visual experience.

As the spectators approached Tribolo's triumphal arch at the Porta al Prato in Florence, they viewed each independent shot in a deliberate montage sequence that unfolded scene by scene to reveal a metanarrative that extolled the House of Medici and their military, political, and territorial conquests. A considered reading of the architectural montage revealed an encomiastic tableau of the relationship, both real and imagined, between fathers and sons—particularly, between Cosimo and his father Lord Giovanni. The father-son tableau was a trans-generational performance of the relationships between Cosimo and Giovanni (of the Black Bands); Giovanni and his father (also Giovanni); and of all the father-son couplings within the House of Medici. However, in the final scene of Tribolo's montage sequence, a convergence of female and feminine symbolism presided over the archway in the positioning of Security, Eternity and Fecundity above the apex of the arch. This maternal theme was mirrored in the internal modal affects of Corteccia's entrance motet which was performed in two auditoriums at entrance to the arch's portico, propelling the sense of movement (and mimicking the act of journeying) as the Duchess and her entourage passed through it.

A close examination of the musical language of Corteccia's motet revealed how the paternal theme woven into the visual and literary components yielded to a subtle counterpoint of feminine symbolism within the modal texture of the motet. The montage thus constructed a contrasting narrative of feminine decorum and paternal lineage. The evocation of feminine decorum within the musical semantics of the motet created audio-visual counterpoint with the iconography of power and masculinity embedded in the façade of Tribolo's archway. The motet further tempered the sharply defined nodes of masculinity and paternity in its text, imagery and musical symbolism. Thus, what emerged was a contrapuntal interrelationship between the physical and the

temporal spheres of the royal *entrata*: one constructing a masculine narrative (physical sphere), and the other a feminine one (temporal sphere). Having assessed the intricate design of the archway and the musical programme of the *entrata*, Chapter Four concluded that the festival engaged the spectator in a haptic and sensorial interaction with space and place through audio-visual immersion within the performance arena, which began at the triumphal arch and expanded into and around the city. The *entrata* demarcated two distinct spatial spheres, one temporal and one physical. The physical sphere and its symbolic content projects itself into the performance arena where it meets with the temporal sphere, and it is here where Sergei Eisenstein's theory of audio-visual counterpoint in cinematic montage can be rigorously observed. A sentient musico-visual experience immersed the spectator within the physical and temporal spheres of the performance arena, and facilitated their perception of the contrapuntal themes that greeted them in the architectural montage.

## **V. Research Question Five**

The fifth and final research question of this study sought to investigate what a close reading of the music and *mise-en-scène* of the 1539 festival could tell us about the relationship between festivals, place, power and emotions. This question motivated the research within Chapter Five, where it was applied to the analysis of the banquet *vedute* performed within the second courtyard of the Palazzo Medici. Indeed, this question can be modestly answered by saying that festivals were inextricably linked with—and formed their meaning from—place, power and emotions. This chapter began with this understanding, and proceeded to investigate these principles on a deeper level, looking at how the relationship between text, music, visuals and space created an emotional experience for the spectator, and contributed to the ideology of power on the part of the monarch.

This investigation embarked on an analysis of four of the eight performances that exemplified the multidimensional practice of *vedutismo*, and proceeded to decode their musical, literary, visual and philosophical programme. In order of their appearance in this analysis, the *vedute* included the Muses, Flora (Florence), Pisa and Tiber (Rome). These four *vedute* were interpolated in the original programme with four additional mobile panoramas of Volterra, Arezzo, Cortona and Pistoia. Collectively, these *vedute* inscribed a literal movement in perspectival space through the act of performed (and performative) mapping. They created a cartography of Cosimo de' Medici's empire which extended beyond the boundaries of Tuscany and upward to the celestial realm. Exploring the interrelation of people, costume, music, text and theatrical setting, the study identified all the elements that worked together to produce musico-visual cohesion and symbolic unity within each spectacle. Reading the *mise-en-scène* as a composite experience in this way revealed how the meaning of place and power was interwoven throughout the performance programme.

Starting with the Muses, this *veduta* was read as a multi-textual map of the planetary and musical spheres. The costumes of the Muses revealed a map of the cosmos beginning with the Moon, the lowest of the spheres, and moving upward to the top of the planetary hierarchy, the realm of Heaven and of the Duke himself. This representational map was illuminated by the vocal harmonies of Cortecchia's madrigal, and gained further meaning through a cohesive musico-visual relationship. Neoplatonic symbolism combined with Hermetic influences through the esoteric and cosmological adornments of each costume, which were laden with exotic paraphernalia from the Medici *guardaroba*, and grew exceedingly otherworldly from first to last. Last to appear in the hierarchy was Calliope who held significant

iconographic importance. Her representation was congruent with the sphere of the *Primum mobile* but her appearance also portrayed a unique convergence of ancient mythology and self-fashioned Medicean myth. Calliope's alignment with the symbol of the Capricorn was an important part of Duke Cosimo's visual self-representation throughout his reign, and the *invenzione* of her costume in this *veduta* established a Medicean narrative of the divine will and destiny, *ex deo*, of Cosimo's ascendancy to the throne and to his leadership of Florence and the Tuscan empire, weaving the themes of place and power together.

The analysis then argued that in addition to the dialectic of place within the *vedute*, the element of music impressed upon the spectator an emotional relationship with the spectacle being performed. This was achieved through musico-visual unity in the performances and through the philosophical pursuit of musical magic. Sixteenth century discourse on *musica mundana* and on the universal relationship between motion, emotion and the *anima mundi* sourced from Marsilio Ficino, Francino Gafori and Steffano Vanneus contributed to this analysis. An interpretation of the emotional impact of music based on their theory of cosmic harmony underscored the analysis of each of the madrigals in this chapter, and a reading of the modal affects of each composition accompanied its textual exegesis. From the cosmos to Florence, and from Pisa to Rome, each performance musically rendered Giambattista Gelli's texts such that their words moved the spectator to feel piety and devotion, moving the spectator to tears (the Muses and Tiber); to feel cheer and the excitement of the emotions of the soul (Flora); to feel delight, moderation and joy, and to feel the relief of the soul from every trouble (Pisa).



As evidenced in these readings, the banquet performances in 1539 reflect a distinct early modern cartographic culture wherein the process of mapping produced a narrative dramatization of sites—that is, they created conscious networks of space, place and meaning. The *veduta* mobilised the observational gaze by filmically analysing space and separating it into parts to be read as a whole, very often categorised by the themes of place, power and emotion. The *veduta* also offered more than a passive cartography: it offered a way of writing the meaning of place into pictorial history, and etching upon it an emotional relationship to the image presented. Indeed, this chapter concluded that the entire programme for the 1539 wedding banquet inherently reflected the desire to shape identity and power through the creation of a mobile map—a moving cartography—that was unique to Duke Cosimo de' Medici. This map was rooted in the psychology of place-making and in the powerful connection between motion, emotion and the perception of meaning.

This study aimed to fill a lacuna in the extant secondary literature on the 1539 festival and to bridge the methodological divide between the fields of festival studies and cultural theory. It has transgressed the traditional perception of the festival as a primarily visual genre, and has presented an argument for the need to explore the temporal (musical), haptic and emotional phenomena that connect festivals not only to the history of the past, but to the present. It has shown that the festival was a mobile practice that mapped pathways within the city and shaped the way that citizens interacted with the urban fabric. In understanding its cultural impact, it has argued and demonstrated that we must look beyond the static visual artefact and begin to analyse how the festival constructed an (e)motional relationship with public and private space (and place) through musico-visual, experiential and performative interactions.

### **Pathways for Future Research**

This thesis has made strides in advancing the theoretical and methodological parameters with which we can study festivals and their historic performances. It is hoped that the findings within this study will contribute to the field of historically informed performance practice in future projects. The methodological framework presented in these pages has shown how a more dynamic approach to the study of festivals can enrich our understanding of the genre, and encourage a multidisciplinary and collaborative approach to their reconstruction. The findings of this thesis can assist in the reconstruction of architectural, musical and theatrical ephemera from the 1539 festival programme, and can inform innovative directorial approaches to their performance on the modern stage. It is the express hope of the author to bring this project to the next phase in which the unique spectacles of 1539 will experience a re-birth on the stage some five centuries after their Florentine debut. Their re-creation has never been attempted in modern performance at full scale, entailing all sixteen performances and an adaptation of Antonio Landi's comedy. A study of this nature would facilitate the development of a working methodology for collaborative research practice that works toward an integrated and systematic understanding of research as a form of art, and art as a form of research.

## **Appendices**

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## Appendix A

### Letters of Principal Interest to the 1539 Medici-Toledo Festival

*Source: Florentine State Archives (ASF) & MAP Online Database (Bía)<sup>1</sup>*

#### Abbreviations

ASF = Archivio di Stato di Firenze

MAP = Medici Archive Project

MdP = Mediceo del Principato

| No. | Inventory/<br>Volume/ Insert/<br>Folio | MAP<br>Doc ID | Correspondents   | Date              | Content  |
|-----|--|---------------|--|-------------------|--|
| 1   | MdP, vol. 5926,<br>f. 3                | 3594          | <b>From:</b> Maria de Salviati (Florence)<br><b>To:</b> Cosimo I de' Medici (Pisa)                         | February 27, 1539 | Maria Salviati gives notices on the journey of Cosimo I's proxies, Luigi Ridolfi and Jacopo de' Medici, to Naples for the Duke's marriage to Eleonora di Toledo. She offers advice and evaluates the costs of preparations to be made for the subsequent arrival of Eleonora in Florence.  |
| 2   | MdP, vol. 2, f. 128                    | 19991         | <b>From:</b> Cosimo I de' Medici (Florence)<br><b>To:</b> Giovanni Bandini (Toledo, Castilla-La Mancha[?]) | March 10, 1539    | Cosimo I de' Medici informs Giovanni Bandini that he is sending Luigi Ridolfi and Iacopo di Chiarissimo de' Medici to Naples in order to bring the engagement ring to his future wife Eleonora de Toledo. The duke comments on the requests made by his future parents-in-law regarding the dimensions of their daughter's retinue. Among the criticisms, he points out how Eleonora has requested far too many ladies-in-waiting and has decided to appoint a "cameriera maggiore" without considering the role of Cosimo's mother, Maria Salviati, in the Florentine court. Above all, Cosimo refuses to accept Eleonora's "maestro di casa", a certain Marsilla, because of his connections with the rival city of Lucca. |
| 3   | MdP, vol. 1169,<br>insert 4, f. 110    | 5441          | <b>From:</b> Iacopo di Chiarissimio de' Medici (Naples)<br><b>To:</b> Pier Francesco Riccio (Florence)     | April 2, 1539     | Following a difference of opinion with co-proxy Luigi Ridolfi, Iacopo de' Medici requests advice regarding ceremonies to be performed and gifts to be given to the siblings of Eleonora di Toledo (Isabella, Federigo and García), and Ferdinando Ruiz de Alarcón, a high official in the court of Pedro de Toledo, during the festivities   |

<sup>1</sup> Where indicated, the MAP Doc ID reference number can be used to locate any letter cited here via the Medici Archive Project online database, [www.bia.medici.org](http://www.bia.medici.org).

|   |                                 |       |   |               |   |
|---|---------------------------------|-------|---|---------------|---|
|   |                                 |       |   |               | surrounding the proxy marriage of Eleonora to Cosimo I.   |
| 4 | MdP, vol. 2, f. 188             | 19998 | <b>From:</b> Cosimo I de' Medici (Florence)<br><b>To:</b> Luigi di Piero Ridolfi (Naples) | May 26, 1539  | Cosimo I de' Medici instructs his ambassadors in Naples to put pressure on Viceroy Pedro de Toledo in order to allow Eleonora de Toledo to leave Naples as soon as possible. The mourning period following the death of Empress Isabel de Aviz-von Habsburg has caused an unexpected delay. Cosimo also remarks that the celebrations of his wedding with Eleonora do not interfere with the principal Florentine festivity, the Feast of San Giovanni.   |
| 5 | MdP, vol. 2, f. 111             | 7418  | <b>From:</b> Cosimo I de' Medici (Livorno)<br><b>To:</b> Unidentified                     | June 11, 1539 | Cosimo I is awaiting the arrival of the "Signora Duchessa" [Eleonora de Toledo] in Tuscany. (This is the day Eleonora and her cohort left Naples with 7 galleys, on route to Pisa for her marriage celebrations).   |
| 6 | MdP, vol. 3262, insert 2, f. 81 | 18856 | <b>From:</b> Agnolo di Matteo Niccolini (Rome)<br><b>To:</b> Ugolino Grifoni (Florence)   | July 9, 1539  | Reference to a dispensation order to allow Eleonora de Toledo to eat meat. Niccolini was unable to meet with Pope Paul III Farnese to grant this order. (The 9 <sup>th</sup> July was the day of the banquet supper followed by Landi's comedy with interludes. The dispensation must have been intended for this occasion, but presumably was not granted on time).  |
| 7 | MdP, vol. 3262, insert 2, f. 85 | 18858 | <b>From:</b> Agnolo di Matteo Niccolini (Rome)<br><b>To:</b> Ugolino Grifoni (Florence)   | July 12, 1539 | Niccolini informs Grifoni that while the public festivities (perhaps in relation to Cosimo I and Eleonora de Toledo's wedding) have ceased, the private festivities will be ongoing for some days. [These festivities appear to have been happening in Rome]  |
| 8 | MdP, vol. 3262, insert 2, f. 94 | 19087 | <b>From:</b> Agnolo di Matteo Niccolini (Rome)<br><b>To:</b> Ugolino Grifoni (Florence)   | July 15, 1539 | Niccolini promises to send the expensive "entrata" of Eleonora di Toledo. (This may be referring to the festival account that was published in Rome on July 8, 1539, <i>La solenne et triomphante entrata della illustrissima S. duchessa di Firenze</i> , whose author remains unidentified. If so, Niccolini gives only the following information toward deciphering the genesis of the book: <i>Mandovi l'entrata della Signora Duchessa [Eleonora de' Toledo] impressa qua che ha assassinato infinitamente li ordinatori et ministri di coteste feste et noi altri [...]</i> ) |

|    |                                      |      |  |   |  |
|----|--------------------------------------|------|--|---|--|
| 9  | MdP, vol. 183,<br>f. 289             | 845  | <b>From:</b> Cosimo I<br>de' Medici<br>(Florence)<br><b>To:</b> Unidentified                     | August<br>1539<br>(MAP note<br>the date as<br>'unsure'. It<br>must<br>necessarily<br>be earlier,<br>c. June,<br>when<br>Eleonora<br>arrived to<br>Pisa) | Cosimo I orders ceremonial<br>displays and religious observances<br>associated with the arrival of<br>Eleonora di Toledo in the Florentine<br>state on the occasion of their<br>marriage. [The document perhaps<br>refers to Pisa, where Eleonora<br>disembarked].                                 |
| 10 | MdP, vol. 1176a,<br>insert 2, f. 146 | 3267 | <b>From:</b> Agnolo di<br>Matteo Niccolini<br>(Rome)<br><b>To:</b> Ugolino<br>Grifoni (Florence) | December<br>23, 1539  | Ambassador Agnolo Niccolini<br>describes preparations for the entry,<br>reception and entertainment of<br>Charles V by François Ier in Paris.<br>He finds the festive apparatus crude<br>in comparison with those in<br>Florence for the triumphal entries of<br>Eleonora di Toledo and Charles V. |

## Appendix B

### Extract from Giorgio Vasari's Biography of the Florentine Sculptor and Architect Niccolò Tribolo<sup>1</sup>

Preparations were made in Florence for the nuptials, and Tribolo was given the charge of constructing a triumphal arch at the Porta al Prato through which the bride, coming from Poggio, was to enter; which arch he made a thing of beauty, very ornate with columns, pilasters, architraves, great cornices, and pediments. That arch was to be all covered with figures and scenes, in addition to the statues by the hand of Tribolo; and all those paintings were executed by Battista Franco of Venice, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and Michele his disciple. Now the principal figure that Tribolo made for this work, which was placed at the highest point in the centre of the pediment, on a dado wrought in relief, was a woman five braccia high, representing Fecundity, with five little boys, three clinging to her legs, one on her lap, and another in her arms;

And beside her, where the pediment sloped away, were two figures of the same size, one on either side. Of these figures, which were lying down, one was Security, leaning on a column with a light wand in her hand, and the other was Eternity, with a globe in her arms, and below her feet a white-haired old man representing Time, and holding in his arms the Sun and Moon. I shall say nothing as to the works of painting that were on that arch, because everyone may read about them for himself in the description of the festive preparations for those nuptials. And since Tribolo had particular charge of all decorations for the Place of the Medici, he caused many devices to be executed in the lunettes of the vaulting of the court, with mottoes appropriate to the nuptials, and all those of the most illustrious members of the house of Medici. Besides this, he had a most sumptuous decoration made in the great open court, all full of stories; on one side of the Greeks and Romans, and on the other sides of deeds done by illustrious men of that house of Medici, which were all executed under the direction of Tribolo by the most excellent young painters that there were in Florence at that time – Bronzino, Pier

Nel farsi in Fiorenza l'apparato delle nozze, fu dato cura al Tribolo di fare alla porta al Prato, per la quale doveva la sposa entrare, venendo dal Poggio, un Arco trionfale; il quale egli fece bellissimo, e molto ornato di colonne, pilastri, architravi, cornicioni, e frontispizii. E perche il detto arco andava tutto pieno di storie, e di figure; oltre alle statue, che furono di man[o] del Tribolo, fecero tutte le dette pitture Battista Franco Viniziano, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, e Michele suo discepolo. La principal figura dunque che fece il Tribolo in quest'opera, la quale fu posta sopra il frontespizio nella punta del mezzo sopra un dado fatto di rilievo, fu una femina di cinque braccia, fatta per la Fecondità, con cinque putti, tre avolti alle gambe, uno in grembo, e altro al collo.

E questa, dove cala il frontespizio era messa in mezzo da due figure della medesima grandezza una da ogni banda. Dalle quali figure, che stavano a giacere, una era la Sicurtà, che s'appoggiava sopra una Colonna con una verga sottile in mano; e l'altra era l'Eternità con una palla nelle braccia, e sotto a i piedi un vecchio canuto figurato per lo tempo, col Sole, e Luna in collo. Non diro quali fussero l'opere di pittura, che furono in questo Arco, perche puo vedersi ciascuno nelle descrizione dell'apparato di quelle nozze. E perche il Tribolo hebbe particolar cura degli'ornamenti del Palazzo de'Medici egli fece fare nelle lunette delle volte del cortile, molte imprese con motti a proposito a quelle nozze, e tutte quelle de' piu illustri di casa Medici. Oltre cio nel cortile grande scoperto fece un sontosissimo apparato pieno di storie, cio è da una parte, di Romani, e Greci, e dall'altre di cose state fatte da huomini illustri di detta casa Medici. Che tutte furono condotte da i piu eccellenti giovani pittori, che allora fussero in Fiorenza di ordine del Tribolo, Bronzino, Pierfrancesco di Sandro, Francesco Bacchiacca, Domenico Conti, Antonio di

<sup>1</sup> Giorgio Vasari, 'Vita di Niccolò, detto il Tribolo, Scultore et Architetto', in *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, vol. 2, part 3 (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 409-410. English edition by Gaston du C. de Vere, trans., *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (London: Everyman's Library, 1996), 245-247.



Francesco di Sandro, Francesco Il Bacchiacca, Domenico Conti, Antonio di Domenico, and Battista Franco of Venice.

On the Piazza di S. Marco, also, upon a vast pedestal ten braccia in height (in which Bronzino had painted two very beautiful scenes of the colour of bronze on the socle that was above the cornices), Tribolo erected a horse of twelve braccia, with the fore-legs in the air, and upon it an armed figure large in proportion; and this figure, which had below it men dead and wounded, represented the most valorous Signor Giovanni de' Medici, the father of his Excellency. This work was executed by Tribolo with so much art and judgement, that it was admired by all who saw it, and what caused even greater marvel was the speed with which he finished it; among his assistants being the sculptor Santi Buglioni, who was crippled for ever in one leg by a fall, and came very near dying.

Under the direction of Tribolo, likewise, for the comedy that was performed, Aristotile da San Gallo executed marvellous scenery, being truly most excellent in such things, as will be told in his Life; and for the costumes in his interludes, which were the work of Giovan Battista Strozzi, who had charge of the whole comedy, Tribolo himself made the most pleasing and beautiful inventions that it is possible to imagine in the way of vestments, buskins, head-dresses, and other wearing apparel. These things were the reason that the Duke afterwards availed himself of Tribolo's ingenuity in many fantastic masquerades, as in that of the bears, in a race of buffaloes, in the masquerade of the ravens, and in others.

Domenico, e Battista Franco Viniziano.

Fece anco il Tribolo in sulla piazza di san Marco, sopra un grandissimo basamento, alto braccia dieci (nel quale il Bronzino haveva dipinte di color di bronzo due bellissime storie) nel zoccolo, che era sopra le cornice, un cavallo di braccia dodici, con le gambe dinanzi in alto, e sopra quello una figura armata, e grande a proporzione, la quale figura havea sotto genti ferite, e morte, rappresentava il valorosissimo signor Giovanni de' Medici padre di sua Eccellenza. Fu quest'opera con tanto giudizio e arte condotta dal Tribolo, ch'ella fu ammirata da chiunque la vide, e quello che piu fece maravigliare, fu la prestezza nella quale egli la fece, aiutato fra gl'altri da Santi Buglioni scultore, il quale cadendo, rimase storpiato d'una gamba, e poco mancò, che non si mori.

Di ordine similmente del Tribolo fece, per la comedia, che si recitò Aristotile da san Gallo (in questa veramente eccellentissimo come si dira nella vita sua) una maravigliosa prospettiva. E esso Tribolo fece per gli habiti degli intermedii, che furono opera di Giovambattista Strozzi, il quale hebbe carico di tutta la comedia, le piu vaghe, e belle invenzioni di vestiri, di calzari, d'acconciature di capo, e di altri abbigliamenti, che sia possibile immaginarsi. Le quali cose furono cagione che il Duca si servi poi in molte capricciose mascherate dell'ingegno del Tribolo come in quella degli Orsi, per un palio di Bufole, in quella de'Corbi, e in altre.

## Appendix C

### Comparative Study of Costume Descriptions from Cosimo Bartoli (1567)<sup>1</sup> and Pierfrancesco Giambullari (1539)<sup>2</sup>

| 1. Flora   |   |           |   |
|------------|---|-----------|---|
| Folio      | Costimo Bartoli   | Page      | Pierfrancesco Giambullari   |
| 23-<br>24r | <p><b>M.L</b> <i>Diteca per vostra fede quel che egli intese per quella Donna, che io veddi de una delle Bande molto della; laquale posandosi sopra del pie destro, pareva, che riguardasse verso il cielo; &amp; haveva quei fiori nella destra, &amp; quello Scettro nella sinistra?</i></p> <p>Tell us on your word, who did he recognise in that woman, which I have seen from one of the frames, while she was standing on her right foot, and seemed to look at the sky, keeping flowers in the right hand and a sceptre in the left?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Quella intese egli per Flora.</i></p> <p>He recognised in her Flora.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Et perche ha ella le Braccia armate?</i></p> <p>And why were her arms armoured?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Flora come voi sapete si intende qui per la Città di Firenze, &amp; le harà fatto le braccia armate per dimostrare la Fortezza di questa città, &amp; di questo fatto; percioche per il braccio destro, si intende la fortezza del Corpo: &amp; per il braccio sinistro la forza dello animo; volendo mostrare, che gli huomini di questo stato, sono valorosi di Corpo, &amp; intrepidi di animo.</i></p> | 41-<br>42 | <p><i>Finito il soave cantare delle Muse, comparse la bella Flora, con cinque nynfe d'intorno, et duoi fiumi per sua compagnia, con lunga comitiva alle spalle, come distintamente si vedrà disotto ne luoghi loro. Questa di broccato riccio vestita, sotto la dorata antura s'ornava di un largo fregio, nel quale figurati si vedevano gli instrumenti di riascuna Arte liberale et meccanica, con dotto ordine compartiti, tra bellissime frange d'oro, che sotto et sopra l'accompagnavano: Et sotto le armate braccia coperte di velo argentato, le cadeva un rovescio di manica à uso di mantellina, tutto di tela d'oro con rilevate Palle rosse, maestre, volmente in quel compartite.</i></p> <p><i>Et era sopra ciascuna sua spalla, una testa di Leone, dalla bocca della quale usciva insieme col braccia quello argentato velo, che le copriva il dorato acciaio: haveva il collo et la gola adornato di ricchissima gorgiera da Donna: et sopra i lunghi capelli che di fiori seminati le pendevano dopo le spalle, era la Ducal beretta, co'l mazocchio di ricchissime Gioie adorno, con ritorte punte dorate, che sopra et fuori del mazocchio apparivano.</i></p> <p>Et haveva per cimiero sopra un' dorato vaseto, l'Aquila Imperiale, con l'Ali alquanto inclinate, come s'ella volessi</p> |

<sup>1</sup> Cosimo Bartoli, 'Il Cavaliere, o vero Ragionamento Secondo', in *Ragionamenti accademici sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante, con alcune inventioni e significati* (Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi Senese, 1567), with English translation by Jennifer Halton and Cristina Sirbu.

<sup>2</sup> Pierfrancesco Giambullari, *Apparato et Feste nelle noze del 1o Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua Consorte* (Florence: Benedetto Giunta, 1539), with English translation of Flora by Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968); and translations of Arno and *Eternità* by Jennifer Halton and Cristina Sirbu.

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| <p>As you know, Flora here is intended as the City of Florence, and her arms are likely armoured to demonstrate the strength of this city; so the right arm represents the strength of the body, while the left arm, the power of the soul; therefore the purpose is to demonstrate that the men of this city are valiant in their bodies and intrepid in their souls.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>E' quei Fiori, che ella pare che con la destra porgha verso il Cielo Perche?</i></p> <p>And why does she seem to be offering those flowers to Heaven?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Io credo che egli habbia finto che ella guardi inverso il Cielo, quasi pregando Dio, che imprima nel cuore di chi la governa, virtu et Animo tale, che ella possa lietamente mostrare I fiori delle opera sue, circha la giustitia inverso I popoli; laquale si denota per lo Scetto, che ella tiene nella sinistra piu basso che la destra; alludendo che le azioni et le opera di chi ben governa in terra, sono quasi come fiori pieni di suavissimi odori, in Cielo nel conspetto di Dio.</i></p> <p>I think that he figured her looking toward Heaven, almost praying to God and joyfully showing her flowers, to impress virtuousness and Soul in the hearts of the rulers. Her work of justice toward the people is represented by the sceptre that she keeps in her left hand, lower than the right one. All of this insinuates that the actions and the works of those who govern the Earth are almost like perfumed flowers, at the presence of God in Heaven.</p> <p><b>M. L.</b> <i>Non mi dispiace questa espositione, ma ditemi per vostra fede, credete voi che il posare sopra del pie destro di questa figura, piu che sopra il sinistro, habbia significato alcuno?</i></p> <p>I am not against this explanation, but tell me, do you think that her having the right foot placed higher than the left one</p> | <p><i>covare le rosse Palle, che sotto le sue penne, raccolte si dimostravano. Calza vasi di Tocca d'oro in sul vivo, con antiche mascherine, tra vari gruppi et nodi su per ogni calzare, scompartite. Et come Donna di quell'altre con una bacchetta nella destra, veniva dinanzi a tutte, nel mezzo di duoi Vecchioni cosi figurati [...]</i></p> <p>There appeared the beautiful Flora, with five nymphs around her and two rivers for her company, and behind her a large cortege, as you will see below in the proper places. She was dressed with rich brocade and, under her gilded belt, was adorned with a wide frieze, in which were seen figured the instruments of each liberal and mechanical art. These were divided in learned order, between very beautiful fringes of gold that accompanied the frieze above and below. Under her armoured arms, covered with a silver veil, fell turned-back sleeves used as a mantle, all in golden cloth with Red Balls* in relief, expertly distributed over it.</p> <p>Above each of her shoulders was a Lion's head, from whose mouth issued, besides the arm, that silver veil which covered the gilded steel. Her neck and throat were adorned with a very rich lady's gorget and above the long hair, sewn with flowers, which hung about her shoulders, was the ducal beret. Its <i>mazocchio</i> was adorned with very rich jewels and with gilded spiral points, which appeared above and outside.</p> <p>And she had as a crest, above a gilded little vase, the Imperial Eagle, with its wings partially stretched out as though it wished to hatch the Red Balls, which were visible, gathered under its feathers. Her buskins were of gold-sewn silk next to the skin, with ancient mask buttons among various clusters and bows arranged up each shoe. And as Lady of the others, with a rod in her right hand,</p> |
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| <p>has any meaning?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Il posare il pie destro credo che significhi la constantia che ella potrà avere in Dio, ogni volta, che gli porterà la debita Reverenzia si come pare, che ne dimostri, il pie sinistro, facendo quasi segno di reverire non toccando si come voi vedesti terra, se non con le punta delle dita: &amp; questo ad amaestramento nostro, perche, se noi reveriremo, come doviamo Dio, poseremo sicuramente &amp; costantemente con il pie destro, sopra una stabile Piestra quadrata; come voi vedeste, che posava essa Flora; la quale pietra cosi fatta si piglia per la stabilità.</i></p> <p>I think that the position of the right foot represents the constancy that she has in God, any time that she reveres him as she looks to be doing now. The left foot, seeming reverent by touching the ground only with the tip of the toes, teaches us that if we revere God, as we should do, we will surely place the right foot, not the left, on the steady squared stone, as you see that Flora herself is doing, since a stone like this is chosen for its steadiness.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>O quanto mi diletta questo ragionamento, però diteci di grazia Monsignore, se e' non vi pare fatica, che cintura è quell ache ella ha intorno?</i></p> <p>Oh how marvellous is this reasoning, but please Sir, if it is not too tiring for you, tell us what kind of belt she is wearing?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>A me parvono quegli Instrumenti che gl'Antichi appropriarono alie sette arti liberali, I quali non è nessuno di voi che non sappia meglio di me; &amp; il significato, credo che sia per dimostrare, che noi altri ci doviamo cingere di esse arti liberali, per diventare mediante quelle piu prudenti, &amp; piu grati a Dio.</i></p> <p>They seem to me those instruments which the Ancients linked to the seven</p> | <p>she came before all of them, between two Old Men.</p> |
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| <p>liberal arts, which none of you know better than me; the intention I think is to demonstrate that we should surround ourselves with those liberal arts, to become more cautious and grateful to God.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Et quell velo argento che uscina di sotto à quelle due teste del Leone sopra delle spalle?</i></p> <p>And that silver veil that appears from under the two lion heads positioned above her shoulders?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Il bianco è sempre inteso per la fede.</i></p> <p>The white colour is always a symbol of faith.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Mi piace, ma quello drappo del quale io la veddi si riccamente vestita, che sembrava quasi che un broccato d'oro, che vuole inferire?</i></p> <p>I like this explanation, but that drape that so richly wraps her, which seems almost a golden brocade, what does it suggest?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Parlando esteriormente, io credo, che egli habbia inteso, che Flora, cio e Fiorenza fra delle Terre di Toschana la piu ricca, &amp; il Capo quasi di essa Provincia, &amp; parlando interiormente direi forse, che questa Ricchezza significasse la vivacita, &amp; la grandezza de gli animi nostri.</i></p> <p>On the surface, I believe that he meant that Flora is Florence, the richest of the lands of Tuscany and the chief city of the Province, while beneath the surface, I would say that this Richness represented the vivacity and greatness of our souls.</p> <p><b>M. L.</b> <i>Piacevole son certo questi significati, &amp; molto utili, &amp; dilettevoli, pero non vi parra fatica di dirci il significato, &amp; che cosa era quella, che noi le vedemo in Testa?</i></p> |  |  |
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| <p>These meanings are pleasant and very useful and delightful, but I hope it will not be a too much effort for you to explain the meaning of what we saw on her head?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>A me parve un Berrettone alla antica Ducale col Mazzocchio a torno.</i></p> <p>To me it seemed like the ancient Ducal beret with a <i>Mazzocchio</i> encircling it.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Si ma e vi era pure ancora sopra non sò se una Aquila ò altra cosa simile.</i></p> <p>Yes, but above it there was something, of which I am not sure if it was an eagle or something similar.</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Una Aquila è certo.</i></p> <p>It is and Eagle for sure.</p> <p><b>M. L.</b> <i>Questa sarà per favor dello Imperadore.</i></p> <p>It is probably for the favour of the Emperor.</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Non è mal significato questo vostro, ma io mi ricordo d'havere letto ch'gli Egizii quando dipignevano, una Aquila il piu delle volte la intendevano per Dio.</i></p> <p>Yours is not a bad interpretation but I remember reading that the Egyptians, when painting an Eagle, most of the time were suggesting it for God.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Si, ma che harebbe voluto dire per questo il Bartoli?</i></p> <p>Yes, but what would Bartoli have wanted to say with this?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>O che noi ci ricordassimo di havere sempre Dio sopra del capo nostro, ò che noi lo pregassimo, che venisse à posare sopra di noi.</i></p> <p>For us to remember to always have God above us, or for us to pray to him to</p> |  |  |
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|                | <p>come to us.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Se io non credessi parere ò M. Lionardo a Monsignore troppo discortese, io lo pregherei, che ei fusse contento, di dichiararci ancora i significati di quell'altra Donna, che armata, le era al dirimpetto; la quale ancor che comunemente si intenda per una Minerva; [...]</i></p> <p>If I would not believe it to be too rude, I would beg Sir Lionardo to tell us the meanings of the armoured woman on the opposite side to Flora, which is usually agreed to be a Minerva; [...]</p>   |           |   |
| <b>2. Arno</b> |   |           |   |
| <b>23r</b>     | <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Quella Figura ignuda che voi vedeste adiacere, laqual pareva, che con il braccio destro si riposasse sopra quella testa del Leone, et che nella mano destra havesse un Giglio, et con la sinistra tenesse il vaso, onde usciva quell'acqua, et il corno della dovitia, come voi potete da voi stessi facilmente giudicare, e inteso da Bartoli per il fiume di Arno</i></p> <p>That naked figure that you had seen lying, which seemed to rest his right arm on the head of the lion and had a <i>fleur-de-lis</i> in its right hand while keeping a vase in the left, with water pouring from it, and a cornucopia, as you could easily guess is intended by Bartoli to be the River Arno.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Deh diteci Monsignore perche cagione fanno sempre costore I Fiumi vecchi, et con la barba lungha, et allucignolata?</i></p> <p>Well, tell us Sir, why are Rivers always represented as old, with a long and curly beard?</p> | <b>42</b> | <p><i>Haveva quel da man destra, i capelli &amp; la barba molto lunga &amp; folta, et quasi che allucignolata, con una gran ghirlanda di quercia: &amp; era nudo per tutto, con un manto al traverso di taffetta sbiadato: Cinto di alberi, &amp; calzato di giunchi: Et portava un gran corno di dovitia, versante acqua copiosamente, et nella maggior bocca di quello era scritto ARNO.</i></p> <p>That person on the right side had long hair and a long, thick and curly beard, and wore a great garland of oak; and he was completely naked, having only a faded taffeta mantle. He was wrapped in trees and had bulrushes as shoes, and he held a big cornucopia, copiously pouring water, on the biggest part of which there was written: ARNO.</p> |

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| <p><b>Ves</b> <i>I fiumi si fanno vecchi, perche essi nacquono immediate doppo il Diluvio; et con la Barba lunga, et allucignolata per significare non solo la antichità loro, ma le varie, et diverse acque, che di diversi luoghi con giri torti, et avolti in loro stessi si raccolgono.</i></p> <p>Rivers are old people because they appeared after the Great Flood, and their long and curly beards indicate not only their antiquity, but also the different waters that gather from different places, convoluted in themselves.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Et quel Corno di dovitia?</i></p> <p>And that cornucopia?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Voi sapete, che mediante le inondationi de fiumi, portando essi a basso la Grassezza del terreno; le Campagne, ch'essi hanno allo intorno si ingrassano; onde ne nasce di poi la dovitia, et la abbondantia di tutte le cose.</i></p> <p>We all know that due to their floods, the Rivers bring out the fertility of the soil. Therefore, the fields around them get nourished, which brings great wealth and abundance.</p> <p><b>M. L.</b> <i>Et quella Ghirlanda di quercia, ch'ame parve, che egli avesse in testa, che vuol dire?</i></p> <p>And of that garland of oak which I believe I have seen on his head, what do you say?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Io credo, che per la testa si pigli il principio, &amp; il Nascimento de' fiumi, &amp; che il Bartoli habbia volute, mostrare per questo, che Arno ha il suo nascimento ne Boschi alti della Falterona pieni di Quercie.</i></p> <p>I think that the head represents the beginning and the source of the river, and that Bartoli wished to suggest through it that the River Arno originates</p> |  |  |
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|  | <p>in the high woods of Falterona, which are full of oaks.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Et quel ramo di albero, che nel mezzo lo cingneva quasi a guise di cintura?</i></p> <p>And that branch, which wrapped around him at the waist, almost like a belt?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Voi sapete, ch'intorno: ad Arno sono infiniti Alberi.</i></p> <p>You know that there are infinite trees surrounding the Arno.</p> <p><b>Ca</b> <i>Et quel poco del Manto sbiadato ch'egli si vedeva atorno?</i></p> <p>And that little faded Mantle in which he was wrapped?</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Quello significava il Colore delle Acque, &amp; quei calzaretti, che voi vedeste di giunchi, mostrano, che le ripe di esso Fiume, giu basso dove egli quasi mette nel Mare, son piene di Giunchi; ne vi dirò altrimenti il significato della Testa del Leone, perche voi sapete, che ella e la insegna antica della Città nostra.</i></p> <p>This represented the colour of the waters, and those shoes that you have seen made of bulrushes, which adorn the banks of the river where it almost meets the Sea. And I will not tell you the meaning of the Lion Head, as you surely know it is the emblem of our City.</p> |                 |  |
| <p><b>3. Immortalità/ Eternità</b></p> |   |                 |  |
| <p><b>25v</b></p>                      | <p><b>M. L.</b> <i>Deh passiamo hora mai questo ragionamento et diteci il significato di quella altra donna, che sedendo sopra quell cumolo delle armi, et di libri aperti, piu elevata che le altre, aveva nella destra mano, una palla descrittovi dentro il mondo, et nella sinistra un ramo di Lauro, et in dosso una vesta di un colore cangiante simile a quel' rosato splendore che alcuna volta mostra di se la Aurora quando piu bella</i></p>   | <p><b>7</b></p> | <p>Al pari della sicurtà, ma dalla sinistra, in fu l'altra sgocciolatura, si vedeva l'Eternitade, con una gran palla nelle braccia, et sotto I piedi un' canuto Vecchio, co'l Sole et con la Luna in collo, manifesto segno del Tempo, dalla eternità conculcato.</p> <p>At the same level as Security, but on the left, on another pedestal, you could see Eternity, with a big sphere in her arms,</p> |

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| <p><i>che mai si dimostra a mortali.</i></p> <p>Let's now move forward from this reasoning and explain to us the meaning of that other woman, sitting on a pile of weapons and open books, higher than the others, keeping in her right hand a sphere depicting the world in it, and in the left hand, a laurel branch, and wearing an iridescent dress, with a colour similar to that extraordinary pink shown to us by the Aurora when it wants to let the mortals see its beauty.</p> <p><b>Ves</b> <i>Questa è intesa per la immortalità, e che cio sia il vero, voi vi ricordate, che sedendo sopra le armi, et i libri ella premeva con il destro piede le spalle, et il collo ad un antico vecchione, il quale pareva, che dimostrasse di stare mal volentieri sotto a detti libri, et alle dette armi, calcato massimo dal piede, et dal peso della immortalità, che altro non è che il Tempo, volendo dimostrare che due solamente sono I mezzi principali, che conducono le cose de mortali alla Immortalità, cio è le armi, et gli scritti.</i></p> <p>This is intended as Immortality, and for this to be true, I beg you to remember that, while sitting on the weapons and books, with her right foot she was pushing an ancient old man, who seemed unhappy under the books and weapons, trampled by the right foot and the weight of Immortality. And he was none other than Time, wishing to demonstrate that there are only two things that can bring mortals to Immortality, these being weapons and writing.</p> | <p>and under her feet there was a grey old man, with the Sun and the Moon adorning his neck, symbolising Time oppressed by Eternity.</p> |
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## Appendix D

### Extract from Giorgio Vasari's Biography of the Florentine Painter and Sculptor, Bastiano da San Gallo, called Aristotile<sup>1</sup>

For the nuptials which took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June in the year 1539, Aristotile made in the great court of the Medici Palace, where the fountain is, another scenic setting that represented Pisa, in which he surpassed himself, ever improving and achieving variety; wherefore it will never be possible put together a more varied arrangement of doors and windows, or facades of palaces more fantastic and bizarre, or streets and distant views that recede more beautifully and comply more perfectly with the rules of perspective. And he depicted there, besides all this, the Leaning Tower of the Duomo, the Cupola, and the round Temple of S. Giovanni, with other features of that city.

Of the flights of steps that he made in the work, and how everyone was deceived by them, I shall say nothing, lest I should appear to be saying the same that has been said at other times; save only this, that the flight of steps which appeared to rise from the ground to the stage was octagonal in the centre and quadrangular at the sides – an artifice extraordinary in its simplicity, which gave such grace to the prospect-view above, that it would not be possible to find anything better of that kind. He then arranged, with much ingenuity, a lantern of wood in the manner of an arch, behind all the buildings, with a sun one braccio high, in the form of a ball or crystal filled with distilled water, behind which were two lighted torches, which rendered the sky of the scenery and prospect-view so luminous, that it had the appearance of the real and natural sun. This sun, which had around it and ornament of golden rays that covered the curtain, was drawn little by little by means of a small windlass that was there, in such a manner that at the beginning of the performance the sun appeared to be rising, and then, having climbed to the centre of the arch, it so descended that at the end of the piece it was setting and sinking below the horizon.

Nelle nozze, che si fecero a di 27. Di Giugno l'anno 1539 fece Aristotile nel cortile del palazzo de' Medici, dove è la fonte un'altra scena, che rappresentò Pisa, nella quale vinse se stesso, sempre migliorando, e variando onde non è possibile mettere insieme mai ne la piu variata sorte di finestre, e porte, ne facciate di palazzo piu bizarre, e capricciose, ne strade ò lontani, che meglio sfuggano, e facciano tutto quello, che l'ordine vuole della prospettiva, vi fece oltra di questo il Campanile torto del Duomo, la Cupola, & il Tempio tondo di s. Giovanni con altre cose di quella città.

Delle scale, che fece in questa non dirò altro, ne quanto rimanessero ingannati: per non parere di dire il medesimo, che s'è detto altre volte: dirò bene, che questa, laquale mostrava salire da terra in fu quel piano, era nel mezzo a otto faccie, e dalle bande quadra, con artificio nella sua semplicità grandissimo. Perche diede tanta grazia alla prospettiva sopra, che non è possibile in quel genere veder meglio. Appresso ordinò con molto ingegno una lanterna di legname a uso d'arco, dietro a tutti i casamenti, con un Sole alto un braccio fatto con una palla di christallo piena d'acqua stillata, dietro la quale erano due torchi accesi, che la facevano in modo risplendere, che ella rendeva luminoso il cielo della scena, e la prospettiva in guise che pareva veramente il Sole vivo, e naturale. E questo Sole dico havendo intorno un'ornamento di razzi d'oro, che coprivano la Cortina, era di mano in mano per via d'un arganetto, che era tirato con si fatt'ordine; che a principio della comedia pareva, che si lavasse il Sole, e che salito infino al mezzo dell'arco, scendesse in quisa, che al fine della comedia entrasse sotto, e tramontasse.

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<sup>1</sup> Giorgio Vasari, 'Vita di Bastiano detto Aristotile da san Gallo pittore, et Architetto Fiorentino', in *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, et architettori*, vol. 2, part 3 (Florence: Giunti, 1568), 540-42. English edition by Gaston du C. de Vere, trans., *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (London: Everyman's Library, 1996), 434-36.

The author of the piece was Antonio Landi, a gentleman of Florence, and the interludes and music were in the hands of Giovan Battista Strozzi, a man of very beautiful genius, who was then very young. But since enough was written at that time about the other things that adorned the performance, such as the interludes and music I shall do not more than mention who they were who executed certain pictures, and it must suffice for the present to know that the other things were carried out by the above-named Giovan Battista Strozzi, Tribolo, and Aristotile.

Below the scenery of the comedy, the walls at the sides were divided into six painted pictures, each eight braccia in height and five in breadth, and each having around it an ornamental border one braccio and two-thirds in width, which formed a frieze about it and was moulded on the side next the picture, containing four medallions in the form of a cross, with two Latin mottoes for each scene, and in the rest were suitable devices. Over all, right round, ran a frieze of blue baize, save where the scene was, above which was the canopy, likewise of baize, which covered the whole court. On that frieze of baize, above every painted story, were the arms of some of the most illustrious families with which the house of Medici had kinship.

Beginning with the Eastern side, then, next to the stage, in the first picture, which was by the hand of Francesco Ubertini, called Il Bacchiacca, was the Return from Exile of the Magnificent Cosimo de' Medici; the device consisted of two Doves on a Golden Bough [Golden fleece], and the arms in the frieze were those of Duke Cosimo. In the second, which was by the same hand, was the journey of the Magnificent Lorenzo to Naples; the device a Pelican, and the arms those of Duke Lorenzo – namely, Medici and Savoy. In the third picture, painted by Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Sandro, was Pope Leo X on his visit to Florence, being carried by his fellow citizens under the Baldachin; the device was an Upright Arm, and the arms those of Duke Giuliano – Medici and Savoy. In the fourth picture, by the same hand, was Biagrassa taken by Signor Giovanni, who was to be seen issuing, victorious from that city; the device was Jove's Thunderbolt, and the arms in the frieze were those of Duke Alessandro – Austria and Medici. In the fifth, Pope Clement was crowning Charles V at Bologna; the device was a Serpent that was biting its own tail, and the arms were those of France and Medici. That picture was by the hand of Domenico

Compositore della comedia fu Antonio Landi gentil'huomo Fiorentino; & sopra gli'intermedii, e la Musica fu Giovan Batista Strozzi allora giovane, e di bellissimo ingengo. Ma perche dell'altre cose che adornarono questa comedia, gl'intermedii, e le Musiche, fu scritto allora a bastanza, non dire altro se non chi furono coloro, che fecero alcune pitture, bastando per hora fa perche l'altre cose condussero il detto Giovan'Batista Strozzi, il Tribolo, & Aristotile.

Erano sotto la scena della comedia le facciate dalle bande spartite in sei quadri di piu, e grandi braccio otto l'uno, & larghi 5: ciascuno de'quali haveva intorno un'ornamento largo un braccio e due terzi, il quale faceva fregiatura intorno, & era scorniciato verso le pitture, facendo 4 tondi in croce con due motti latini per ciascuna storia, e nel resto erano imprese a proposito sopra girava un fregio di rovesci azurri a torno a torno, salvo che dove era la prospettiva, e sopra questo era un cielo pur di rovesci, che copriva tutto il corule. Nel quale fregio di rovesci, sopra ogni quadro di storia era l'arme d'alcuna delle famiglie piu illustri, con le quali havevano havuto parentado la casa de' Medici.

Cominciandomi dunque dale parte di Levante a canto alla scena nella prima storia, la quale era di mano di Franco Ubertini, detto il Bachiacca, era la tornata d'Esilio del Mag. Cosimo de' Medici; l'impresa erano due Colombe sopra un ramo d'oro, e l'arme, che era nel fregio era quella del Duca Cosimo. Nell'altro, il quale era di mano del medesimo era l'andata a Napoli del Mag. Lorenzo; l'impresa un Pellicano, e l'arme quella del Duca Lorenzo, cio è Medici, e Savoia. Nel terzo quadro stato dipinto da Pierfrancesco di Iacopo di Sandro era la venuta di Papa Leone X a Fiorenza, portato da I suoi cittadini sotto il Baldacchino: l'impresa era un Braccio ritto, e l'arme quella del Duca Giuliano, cio è Medici, e Savoia. Nel 4 quadro di mano del medesimo era Biagrassa presa dal S. Giovanni, che di quella si vedeva uscire vettorioso: l'impresa era il Fulmine di Giove, e l'arme del fregio, era quella del Duca Alessandro, cio è Austria, e Medici. Nel quinto Pp. Clemente coronava in Bologna Carlo V; l'impresa era un Serpe, che si mordeva la coda, e l'arme era di Francia, e Medici. E questa era di mano di Domenico Conti,

Conti, the disciple of Andrea del Sarto, who proved that he had no great ability, being deprived of the assistance of certain young men whose services he had thought to use, since all, both good and bad, ...were employed; wherefore he was laughed at, who, much presuming, at other times with little discretion had laughed at others. In the sixth scene, the last of that side, by the hand of Bronzino, was the Dispute that took place at Naples, before the Emperor, between Duke Alessandro and the Florentine exiles, with the River Sebeto and many figures, and this was a most beautiful picture, and better than any of the others; the device was a Palm, and the arms those of Spain.

Opposite to the Return of Cosimo the Magnificent (that is, on the other side), was the happy day of the birth of Duke Cosimo; the device was a Phoenix, and the arms those of the city of Florence – namely, a Red Lily. Beside this was the Creation, or rather, Election of the same Cosimo to the dignity of Duke; the device was the Caduceus of Mercury, and in the frieze were the arms of the Castellan of the Fortress; and this scene, which was designed by Francesco Salviati, who had to depart in those days from Florence, was finished excellently well by Carlo Portelli of Loro. In the third were the three proud Campanian envoys, driven out of the Roman Senate for their presumptuous demand, as Titus Livius related in the twentieth book of his history; and in that place they represented three Cardinals who had come to Duke Cosimo, but in vain, with the intention of removing him from the government; the device was a Winged Horse, and the arms those of the Salviati and the Medici. In the fourth was the head of Pyrrhus, and the arms those of the houses of Sforza and Medici; in which scene, painted by Antonio di Donnino, a bold painter of things in motion, might be seen in the distance a skirmish of horsemen, which was so beautiful that this picture, by the hand of a person reputed to be feeble, proved to be much better than the works of some others who were able men only by report. In the fifth could be seen Duke Alessandro being invested by his Imperial Majesty with all the devices and insignia of a Duke; the device was a Magpie, with leaves of laurel in its beak, and in the frieze were the arms of the Medici and of Toledo; and that picture was by the hand of Battista Franco the Venetian. In the last of all those pictures were the Espousals of the same Duke Alessandro, which took place at Naples; the devices were two Crows, the ancient symbols of marriage, and in the frieze were the arms of Don

discepolo d'Andrea del Sarto, il quale mostrò non valere molto; mancato gli l'aiuto d'alcuni giovani de quali pensava servirsi, perche tutti buoni, e cattivi erano in opera onde fu riso di lui, che molto presumendosi, si era altre volte con poco giudizio riso d'altri. Nella VI storia, & ultima da quella banda era di mano del Bronzino la disputa che hebbono tra loro in Napoli, e innanzi all'Imperatore, il Duca Alessandro & i fuoriusciti Fiorentini; col fiume Sebeto, & molte figure, e questo fu bellissimo quadro, e migliore di tutti gli'altri: l'impresa era una Palma, e l'arme quella di Spagna.

Di rispetto alla tornata del Mag. Cosimo, cio è dall'altra banda, era il felicissimo Natale del Duca Cosimo: l'impresa era una Fenice, e l'arme quella della città di Fiorenza, cio è un Giglio rosso. A canto questo era la creazione ò vero elezione del medesimo alla degnità del Ducato: l'impresa il Caduceo di Mercurio, e nel fregio l'arme del Castellano della fortezza. E questa storia, essendo stata disegnata da Francesco Salviati: perche hebbe a partirsi I que'giorni di Fiorenza fu finita eccellentemente da Carlo Portelli da loro. Nella terza erano i tre superbi oratori Campani, cacciati del senato Romano, per la loro temeraria dimanda, secondo che racconta Tito Livio nel ventesimo libro della sua storia i quali in questo luogo figura [?] si cavano tre Cardinali venuti invano al Duca Cosimo con animo di levarlo del governo: l'impresa era un Cavallo a lato, e l'arme quella de'Salviati, e Medici. Nel altro era la presa di monte Murlo, l'impresa un Assivolo Egizzio sopra la testa di Pirro, & l'arme quella di casa Sforza, e Medici. Nella quale storia, che u dipinta da Antonio di Domenico pittore fiero nelle movenze, si vedeva nel lontano una scaramuccia di cavalla tanto bella, che quell quadro, di mano di persona riputata debole, rivsci molto migliore, che l'opere d'alcuni altri, che erano valent'huomini solamente in openione. Nell'altro si vedeva il Duca Cosimo essere in vestito dalla Maesta Cesarea di tutte l'insegne, & imprese Ducali: l'impresa era una Pica con foglie d'alloro in bocca, & nel fregio era l'arme de'Medici, e di Tolledo: e questa era di mano di Battista Franco Viniziano. Nell ultimo di tutti questi quadri erano le nozze del medesimo Duca Cosimo fatte in Napoli; l'impresa erano due Cornici, Simbolo antico delle nozze, & nel fregio era l'arme di Don Petro di Tolledo Vicere di Napoli.

Pedro di Toledo, Viceroy of Naples; and that picture, which was by the hand of Bronzino, was executed with such grace, that, like the first-named, it surpassed the scenes of all the others. By the same Aristotile, likewise, there was executed over the loggia a frieze with other little scenes and arms, which was much extolled, and which pleased his Excellency, who rewarded him liberally for the whole work.

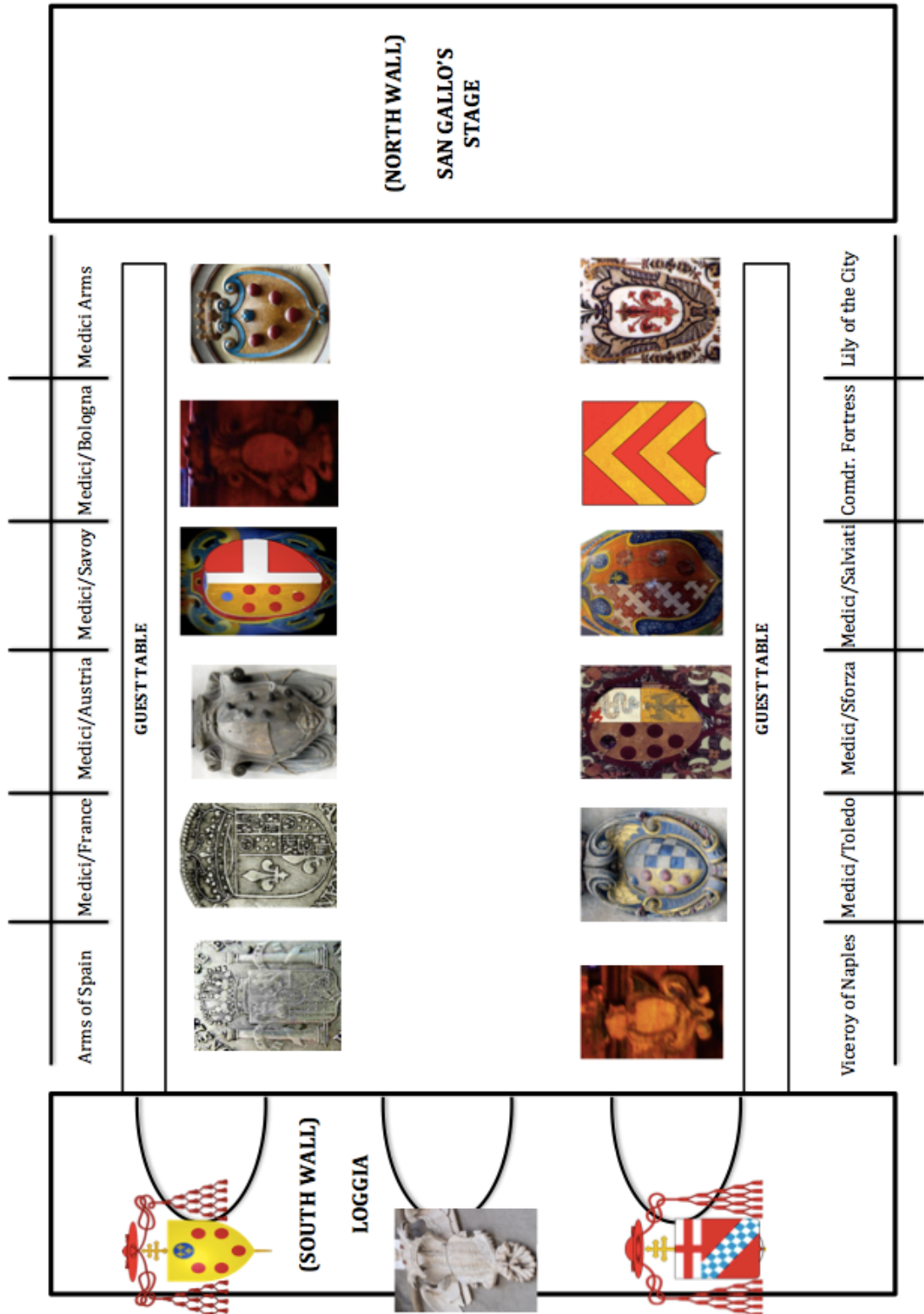
Afterwards, almost every year, he executed scenery and prospect-views for the comedies that were performed at Carnival time; and he had in that manner of painting such assistance from nature and such practice, that he had determined that he would write of it and teach others; but this he abandoned, because the undertaking proved to be more difficult than he had expected, but particularly because afterwards commissions to execute prospect-views were given by new men in authority at the Palace to Bronzino and Francesco Salviati, as will be related in the proper place.

E questa, che era di mano del Bronzino era fatta con tanta grazia, che superò come la prima tutte l'altre storie. Fu similmente ordinate dal medesimo Aristotile, sopra la loggia un fregio con altre storiette, & arme, che fu molto lodato, e pacque a sua Eccellentissimo che di tutto il remunerò largamente.

E dopo, quasi ogni anno, fece qualche scena, & prospettiva per le comedie, che si facevano per carnevale, havendo in quella maniera di pitture tanta pratica, e aiuto dalla natura, che haveva disegnato volere scriverne, & insegnare: ma perche la cosa gli riuscì piu difficile, che non s'haveva pensato, se ne tolse giu; & massimamente, essendo poi stato da altri che governarono il palazzo fatto fare prospettive dal Bronzino, e Francesco Salviati, come si dira suo luogo.

## Appendix E

The arms of the illustrious Houses of Medici reproduced in the order in which they appeared on Niccolò il Tribolo's Apparatus in Palazzo Medici for the wedding festival of 1539. Figure reconstructed by the author based on the written account in Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*, 22-30.



Appendix F



**Plate 1** Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *Baldacchino*. The eight heads of the Barberini pilasters. Rome, St. Peter's Basilica (Photograph by Roberto Piperno, 2015).



**Plate 2** Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *Baldacchino*. Rome, St. Peter's Basilica. Side profile of Bernini's heraldic reliefs showing the impregnated torso of the female figure (Image: Roberto Piperno, 2015).





**Plate 3** Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *Baldacchino*. Rome, St. Peter's Basilica. The satyr-like grotesques (or female genitals) featured below the heraldic field of the Barberini reliefs (Image: Roberto Piperno, 2015).

## Appendix G

**Extended extract from Pierfrancesco Giambullari, *Apparato et feste nelle nozze* (Florence: Giunti, 1539), with English translation from Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1968).**

1 On the aforesaid Sunday, which was the  
twenty-ninth, Their Excellencies left the  
Poggio. And from Florence came on horseback  
the noblest citizens, with dress so rich and  
5 varied with many kinds of cloth that they  
demonstrated well the ancient magnificence of  
their generous city. Each came according to his  
rank, with many servants on foot, in various  
fashions and liveries. Having come out of the  
10 Prato Gate for a mile, they met his Excellency,  
who, having lunched that morning at Peretola,  
three miles distant from the city, and the heat of  
the day being past, was joyously proceeding  
with the most Illustrious Consort. There, after  
15 the due reverences and usual ceremonies, all  
having arranged themselves in pairs, they  
started toward the Gate in this order.

First came the four trumpeters of His  
Excellency, dressed in rich livery, and after  
20 them the lieutenant of Signor Ridolfo Baglioni,  
with his light horses. After, the pages of his  
Excellency, richly dressed in livery and  
mounting jennet horses, which were decorated  
with very rich harnesses of spun gold and  
25 silver. After these came many noble young  
Florentines, with beautiful and fine livery, and  
all the rest of our nobility. Then came the Most  
Illustrious Lady the Duchess, with her ladies-  
in-waiting and with many very noble Florentine  
30 ladies. They were accompanied by a large  
number of gentlemen, principally from the  
house of His Excellency, with a number of  
prelates and nobles. At the entry of the gate,  
where His Excellency left his wife in order to  
35 go to the palace by a shorter way, they placed  
Her Ladyship, the Duchess in their midst and  
kept her pleasant and courteous company as far  
as the residence that (as we shall tell below)  
had been prepared for her. Her Excellency was  
40 dressed that day in crimson satin, richly  
embroidered all over with beaten gold.

No sooner had Her Excellency arrived  
at the Gate of the City than the Fort saluted her  
with so much artillery that I, not knowing how  
45 to describe it or to what to compare it, prefer to  
be silent than to say too little.

There was in front of the Gate a  
graceful and rich entranceway, of entirely Doric  
composition. It was outlined by a base of piers,  
50 pilasters, an architrave, a frieze, and a cornice.  
It connected the second gate to the first, each of  
these being contained between two columns of  
the same kind and style. And above the fine  
cornice, which went solidly around the whole,  
55 there rose up a great frontispiece, with various  
stories, represented on it. We shall describe  
these in detail, beginning with that part which  
was first visible to a person arriving.

La Domenica sopradetta che fummo alli xxix, si  
partirono loro Eccellentie dal Poggio. Et di Firenze  
cavalcarono i piu nobili Cittadini, con habiti si  
ricchi et vari di piu sorti drapperie, che  
ben'mostravano l'antica magnificientia, della  
generosa Città loro, ciascuno secondo il suo grado  
con molti servidori a piedi, con diverse soggie et  
Livree. Et usciti fuor della porta al Prato per un  
miglio, si scontrarono in sua Eccellentia, che  
havendo quella mattina desinato a Peretola, tre  
miglia lontano alla terra: et essendo gia di  
gran'peza passato il caldo, con la sua Illustrissima  
Consorte, lietamente se ne veniva. Dove dopo le  
debite reverentie et solite cerimonie, tutti di coppia  
in coppia affettatisi, mossono in verso la Porta con  
questo ordine.

Primieramente venivano li quattro trombetti di sua  
Eccellentia, vestiti di rica Livrea, et dopo loro il  
luogo tenente del Signor Ridolfo Baglioni con li  
suoi cavallileggieri. Apresso, i Paggi di sua  
Eccellentia, vestiti riccamente di Livrea in su  
cavalli Giannetti, addobbati di ricchissimi  
fornimenti d'ori et Argenti tirati. Et dopo questi,  
molti nobili giovani Fiorentini con belle et ricche  
Livree, con tutto il resto della nostra Nobilità.  
Veniva poi la Illustrissima Signora Duchessa, con  
le sue Donzelle, et con molte nobilissime  
Fiorentine, accompagnate da gran'numero di  
gentil'huomini, et principalmente della Casa di sua  
Eccellentissimo con assai Prelati et signori, che  
allo entrare della Porta, dove il Signor Duca  
lasciando la sposa, per cammino piu corto se  
n'andò al palazzo, messono [mettono] in mezo la  
Signora Duchessa, vestita quel'giorno di rasi  
chermisi riccamente per tutto ricamati d'Oro  
battuto, et le tennero piacevole et honorata  
compagnia fino alla habitatione per sua Eccellentia  
preparata come di sotto si dirà.

Ne cosi presto arrivò sua Eccellentia alla Porta  
della Città, che con tanta artiglieria le fece  
reverentia il Castello, che io per non sapere a che  
degnamente agguagliarlo, iò piu presto tacere, che  
dirne poco.

Era dinanzi alla Porta, un leggiadro et ricco  
Antiporto, di compositione tutta Dorica, il quale  
riquadrate con uno imbasamento di Palamidoni,  
Pilastri, Architrave, fregio et Cornice, univa la  
seconda Porta alla prima, tenendo ciascuna di loro  
tra due Colonne del medesimo genere et modo. Et  
di sopra alla bella Cornice, che salda lo rigirava  
d'intorno, s[o]rgeva un'gran'frontispitio, con  
diverse historie in lui figurate, come appresso  
distingueremo, cominciandoci da quella parte, che  
prima si offriva a gli occhi di chi veniva.

60 This part, in the shape of an Arch of Triumph,  
had in the highest part of its *fronton* a great  
figure of a lady, quite isolated, girded in ancient  
dress, with five beautiful nude children about  
her – one on her shoulders, one on her lap, and  
65 three others around her legs. She was put there  
to represent Fecundity, as will be clearer below  
from the letters of the frieze of the arch.

On her right hand, this lady had another as  
large as she, Security, posed on the last eave of  
the *fronton*. With her flank and an arm, she was  
70 leaning against a column. She held a small  
branch in her hand, as we still see her figured in  
ancient medals.

Like Security, but on the left, on the  
other eave, was seen Eternity, with a big ball in  
her arms and, under her feet, a hairy old man,  
75 wearing the sun and the moon around his neck.  
This plainly represented Time trampled by  
Eternity.

In the face of the frontispiece was seen  
80 to be figured the great flood of the Adda, on  
whose lower bank the Most Reverend Cardinal  
Medici, later Pope Clement VII, with many  
lords and captains, seemed to be extraordinarily  
amazed at the ferocious animosity of Lord  
85 Giovanni, who, having gone out into the  
dangerous river, with his valiant company  
surrounding him in good order, was heading for  
the enemy side. Not only men seemed to be  
astonished at this; the vanquished river itself  
90 (which could be seen painted a little below,  
strangely pointing to the Royal Po) was  
indicating almost fearfully how the ever-  
victorious Lord Giovanni would enter Milan as  
conqueror.

95 To the right of this painting was seen  
in a smaller picture an armed Pallas, with  
helmet and lance in her hands, as though she  
were offering them. The following inscription  
was under her feet: IAM GALEAM PALLAS  
100 ET AEGIDA.

On the left was a Victory, in similar  
posture, with a laurel branch in her right hand,  
as the ancients showed her, and with these  
words: CURRUSQUE ET LAUREM PARAT  
105 VICTORIA.<sup>1</sup>

Questa in figura di Trionfale arco situata, nella  
maggiore altezza del suo frontone, haveva una  
gran'figura di donna, tutta isolata, socanta in  
habito antico, con cinque bei figlioletti nudi  
d'intorno, uno alla spalla, uno al grembo, et tre  
altri intorno alle gambe, cosi posta per la  
Fecundita, come piu manifesto si vedrà di sotto per  
le lettere del fregio dello arco.

Et haveva costei dalla sua destra mano, d'una a sé  
pari forme grandezza la Sicurta, posata in su  
l'ultima sgocciolatura del frontone, la quale col  
fianco et braccio appoggiata al tronco d'una  
Colonna. Teneva una sottil'verga nella mano,  
come nelle antiche medaglie la veggiamo  
ancor'essere figurata.

Al pari della sicurtà, ma della sinistra, in su l'altra  
sgocciolatura, si vedeva l'Eternitade, con una gran  
palla nelle braccia, et sotto i piedi un'canuto  
Vecchio, con il Sole et con la Luna in collo,  
manifesto segno del tempo, dalla eternita  
conculcato.

Nella faccia del frontispitio si vedeva figurata la  
gran'fiuma[n]a della Adda, in fu la men'superba  
ripa della quale, pareva che il Reverendissimo  
Cardinale de Medici che poi su Clemente VII, con  
molti Signori et Capitani, oltre a modo si  
meravigliassi della feroce animosità del  
gran'Signore Giovanni, il quale nel periglioso  
fiume sospintosi, con la valorosa compagnia  
arditamente rucidendolo, su la nimica riva si  
conduceva. Di che non solamente parevano stupirsi  
gli huomini, ma il medesimo vinto fiume, che poco  
si sotto con il Real'Po dipinto si vedeva,  
(stranamente questo accennando) quasi pauroso  
dimostrava come finalmente vincitore era per  
entrare in Milano il sempre vittorioso Signor  
Giovanni.

Alla destra si questa Pittura, si mostrava in  
un' minore quadro, una armata Pallade, con lo  
elmetto et hasta nelle mani, a guisa che porgere le  
volessi, et con il motto sotto a suoi Piedi, IAM  
GALEAM PALLAS ET AEGIDA.

Et alla sinistra, una vittoria, con la Laurea nella  
destra come la figuravano gli antichi, in simile  
attitudine, et con queste parole: CURRUSQUE ET  
LAURUM PARAT VICTORIA.

<sup>1</sup> Already Pallas makes ready her helmet, her aegis/ and Victory secures the laurel'. Paraphrased from Horace, Book I, Ode XV, lines 11-12. Minor and Mitchell, 101.

Under the figure of Pallas, but within the general cornice of the arch, between the column of the Gate and the pilaster of the corner, was to be seen the rescue of San Secondo. Lord Giovanni having been called to help this lady, had arrived with a small but choice troop. No sooner had he shown himself in the place than the enemy army, overcome by his formidable name, turned its disgraced banners to cowardly flight. These banners were scattering over the spacious countryside with such fury that that Lord could well say: VENIENS VICI, as the saying under this illustrious story plainly declares: IAM FULGOR ARMORUM FUGACES TERRET EQUOS.<sup>2</sup>

Under this, in a little tabernacle niche placed on the base, stood a Military Virtue, as shown on medals, and on the socle were these words: PALMAE PRAECIUM VICTORIBUS.<sup>3</sup>

On the other side of the arch, under the figure of Victory and at the same level as San Secondo, was seen the city of Milan, with the military camp of the League around it. Telling nothing of their plans to Lord Giovanni, his allies were departing suddenly, leaving the said Lord with his valiant company, when he expected to fight the next morning. He was not at all frightened or dismayed by this, as was shown by the spirited saying of Horace, carved under his feet: SI FRACTUS ILLABATUR ORBIS.<sup>4</sup>

In the tabernacle niche under this was Fame, with all the dress attributed to her by poets and on medals. On the socle could be read: HOC VIRTUTIS OPUS.<sup>5</sup>

Sotto la figura di Pallade, mediante per la general' Cornice dello Arco tra la Colonna della Porta, e'l pilastro del cantone, si vedeva il riscatto di San'Secondo: dove chiamato il Signor Giovanni, al soccorso di quella signora, con piccolo ma fiorito drappello sopraggiunto, non si tosto alla terra si rappresenta: che l'inimico esercito dal formidabil'nome sorpreso, rivolge vilmente in su gale male accompagnate bandiere, le quali per la spatiosa campagna con tal'furia si dileguano, che ben'puo dire quel Signore VENIENS VICI, come apertamente dichiara il motto sotto quella historia descritto cioe, IAM FULGOR ARMORUM FUGACES TERRET EQUOS.

Sotto questo in un Tabernacololetto à zana, posato in su lo imbasamento, stava una Virtù militare come nelle medaglie ci si dimostra, et haveva nel zoccolo queste parole, PALMAE PRAECIUM VICTORIBUS.

Dalla altra parte dello Arco, sotto la figura della vittoria, et alla altezza di San Secondo, si vedeva la Città di Milano con il campo della lega dintorno, che senza alcuna cosa farne sentire al Signore Giovanni, subitamente con la sua valorosa compagnia, quando egli piu si credeva la seguente mattina combattere. Diche non punto invilito, o smarrito lo dimostrava l'animoso detto di Horatio, intagliatoli sotto i piedi, SI FRACTUS ILLABATUR ORBIS.

Nel tabernacolo sotto questo, era la Fama, con tutti quegli abbigliamenti che ne i Poèti et nelle medaglie ci sono dimostri: et nel zoccolo si leggeva, HOC VIRTUTIS OPUS.

<sup>2</sup> Minor and Mitchell suggest that 'Veniens vici' is likely a paraphrase of Caesar's famous 'Veni, vidi, vici'. 'IAM ... EQUOS': 'Already the flash of arms terrifies the fleeing horses'. Horace, Book II, Ode I, lines 19-20. Minor and Mitchell, 101.

<sup>3</sup> 'Palm branches, prize for the victors'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book V, line 111. Minor and Mitchell, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> 'If the world should fall into ruins / [its debris would strike him without frightening him]'. Horace, Book III, Ode III. Minor and Mitchell, 103.

<sup>5</sup> 'This is the work of strength'. Source unknown. Minor and Mitchell, 103.

Beyond the double pilasters that ended the whole construction on the outside corners, there was arranged on each side a box for musicians and singers, who, at the arrival of Her Excellency, sang as a motet these words, which could be read in carved antique letters in the main frieze of the arch, under the big picture of the Adda, between the architrave and the cornice of the big door: INGREDERE INGREDERE FOELICISS. AUSPICIIS URBEM TUAM HELIONORA AC OPTIMAE PROLIS FOECUNDA ITA DOMI SIMILEM PATRI FORIS AVO SOBOLEM PRODUCAS UT MEDICEO NOMINI EIUSQUE DEVOTISS. CIVIBUS SECURITATEM PRAESTES AETERNAM.<sup>6</sup>

The same message, though in briefer form, was enclosed by the three isolated figures in the highest part of the *fronton* already described by me. On the right flank of this arch was Slaughter, who, with her extended left hand, seemed to be offering her dishevelled hair to Lord Giovanni. On the other flank was a Mars, who seemed to be offering him a sword.

Entering then into the interior of the arch, one saw on their right, between the base and that cornice on which the vault rests, the fearsome Lord Giovanni mounted and armed, on the rustic bridge between Ticino and Biagrassa. Almost as though he were a new Horatio confronting an infinite number of enemies, he could be seen defending it against them so valiantly that they could well presume to pass into the next life but not to pass to the other side of the bridge. There was this inscription: REBUS ANGUSTIS ANIMOSUS ATQUE FORTIS.<sup>7</sup>

Above this cornice, between it and the top of the arch, within a great oval of porphyry, could be seen Garlasco, taken by Lord Giovanni with only a company of four squads. And around a circle of trophy ornamentation that accompanied it could be read: MARTI VICTORI.

Dopo il pilastro doppio che in sul vivo canto finiva il tutto, era da ciascuna banda, uno accomodato palchetto per i sonatori et Cantori che nella arrivata di sua Eccellentia, Cantarono per mottetto quelle Parole che nel maggior fregio dello Arco, sotto al gran quadro della Adda, tra l'architrave et la Cornice del portone, in antiche lettere intagliate cosi si leggevano. INGREDERE INGREDERE FOELICISS. AUSPICIIS URBEM TUAM HELIONORA AC OPTIMAE PROLIS FOECUNDA ITA DOMI SIMILEM PATRI FORIS AVO SOBOLEM PRODUCAS UT MEDICEO NOMINI EIUSQUE DEVOTISS. CIVIBUS SECURITATEM PRAESTES AETERNAM.

Questa medesima sententia, ma con maggior brevità, conchiudevano le tre figure isolate, nel piu alto del frontone da me disopra descritte. Nel destro fianchetto di questo arco, era l'occasione che con la sinistra distesa, pareva porgere avanti al Signor Giovanni i suoi disciolti capelli; et nel altro un Marte, ch'al medesimo anche mostrava porgere la spada.

Entrando poi sotto al vano del arco, si vedeva dalla sua destra tra lo imbasamento et quella Cornice su la quale si posa la volta, Il temuto Signor Giovanni a cavallo et armato, su il rozo ponte fra il Tesino et Biagrassa, quasi uno Horatio novello contra infiniti nimici, difenderlo mal pro di loro cosi valorosamente che ben si potevano quei gloriare di passare nella altra vita, ma non gia nella altra riva, et era vi questo motto. REBUS ANGUSTIS ANIMOSUS ATQUE FORTIS.

Sopra questa Cornice tra la Colmaatura dello arco et lei, et dentro a un grande aovato di Porfido, si vedeva Garlasco, preso dal Signor Giovanni con una sola compagnia di quattro bandiere, et intorno ad un tondo di Troferie che l'accompagnava, si leggeva, MARTI VICTORI.

<sup>6</sup> 'Come in, come in, under the most favorable auspices, Eleonora, to your city. And, fruitful in excellent offspring, may you produce descendants similar in quality to your father and forebears abroad, so that you may guarantee eternal security for the Medici name and its most devoted citizenry'. Minor and Mitchell, 103.

<sup>7</sup> '[Present] a strong and resolved front to difficult situations'. Horace, Book II, Ode X, line 21. Minor and Mitchell, 118.

On the other side, in an oval similar to the first one, was the Bastion of Milan, taken from enemies by Lord Giovanni, and with letters around a circle similar to the first, saying:  
190 MARTI PROPULSATORI.

In the middle of these two ovals, in the very top of the arch, was a coat of arms of His Illustrious house, with letters above and below: IOANNES MEDICES.

195 Under the aforementioned oval, but within the cornice, opposite the bridge mentioned before, one saw on the left of the arch the capture of Caravaggio. As the great Lord Giovanni was passing victoriously amid iron and fire, he made it plain to everyone that  
200 neither iron nor fire could daunt courage. This was proclaimed broadly by the inscription: DANT TELA LOCUM FLAMMAEQUE RECEDUNT.<sup>8</sup>

205 On the lower base a river could be seen on each side, as the ancients show them, and in all the other parts, trophy ornamentations of various spoils.

210 I have already told you of the ornament between the two gates. I wish to add only that, in the four empty panels remaining above the base between two pilasters on each side, there were hanging tapestries, which with their rich beauty accompanied and filled up the  
215 whole. And the fringe decoration, which was continued all around, figured military spoils and weapons, some scattered and some gathered in different trophy ornamentations.

220 In the remaining *fronton*, which was behind people as they entered, was Lord Giovanni on horseback. Under the walls of Milan, having been challenged to single combat, he was going back and forth with his lance, past the armed knight who had come  
225 voluntarily to the dangerous joust with him. And the unvanquished courage of this Lord on the ferocious horse, with his long lance broken off in his hand nearly up to the handle, seemed almost disdainfully to be uttering the motto that  
230 could be read below: SIC NUNC METUENDE IACE.<sup>9</sup>

Dalla altra banda nello ovato simile a questo, era il Bastion di Milano, tolto dal Signor Giovanni a nimici, et le lettere intorno a un tondo simile a quell'altro che dicevano, MARTI PROPULSATORI.

Nel mezo di questi duoi uovali, nella istessa colmatura dello arco era una arme di sua Illustrissimo Casa con lettere sopra et sotto, IOANNES MEDICES.

Sotto lo ovato predetto, mediante pero la Cornice rincontro al ponte sopradetto si vedeva nella sinistra dello Arco la Presa di Caravaggio, et come il gran Signor Giovanni tra ferro et fuoco vittoriosamente passando, ben faceva conoscere a ciascuno, che ne ferro ne fuoco a virtu nuoce. Il che largamente spianava il motto, DANT TELA LOCUM FLAMMAEQUE RECEDUNT.

Nello imbasamento da basso si vedeva sa ogni banda un fiume, nel modo che da gli antichi si figura, et in tutte l'altre Base, Troferie di varie spoglie.

Qual si fussi lo adornamento tra Porta et Porta, gia ve l'ho descritto disopra, et pero solamente vi aggiungo, che nei quattro quadri vani che sopra lo imbasamento tra Pilastro et Pilastro da ogni banda rimanevano, erano posti Panni d'arazo, che con bella et ricca veduta accompagnavano et riempievano il tutto. Et la fregiatura che d'ognintorno continuata lo rigirava, era tutta figurata di militari spoglie et armadure, parte sparse et parte raccolte con diverse Troferie.

Nel frontone che rimaneva alle spalle di chi entrava, era il Signor Giovanni a cavallo, che sotto le mura di Milano, a singular battaglia sfidato, passava di banda in banda con 'l haste, lo armato Cavaliero che seco alla perigliosa giostra volontariamente si era condotto. Et vedeva si la in vitta virtu di quel Signore sopra il feroce cavallo col troncone della smisurata lancia in mano fin quasi nel Calce fracassato, quasi che disdegnosa dire il motto che sotto vi si leggeva, cioe ISTIC NUNC METUENDE IACE.

<sup>8</sup> 'The weapons give way and the flames draw back'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book II, line 633. Minor and Mitchell, 119.

<sup>9</sup> 'So lie there, fearful one'. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book X, line 585. Minor and Mitchell, 119.

235 Under the architrave of this arch, also behind  
those entering its sides were adorned with two  
particular companions of the Lord in question:  
Liberality and Good Faith, as they were figured  
in medals.

240 In the Gate of the City, which was  
connected to the arch by the aforementioned  
ornamentation, there was, above the continued  
cornice, another big frontispiece. In it the  
Emperor was figured sitting upon a rock,  
crowned with laurel and with the sceptre in his  
right hand. Under this hand, at the feet of His  
Majesty, lay the great river Betis leaning on a  
245 vase with two mouths, pouring out a great  
quantity of water. Under the left hand of  
Augustus was the mighty Danube, which,  
because it enters the Black Sea with seven  
mouths, was shown here by a vase seeming to  
250 pour out its water through several openings.

On the right of the Emperor began a  
circle of three figures. The first of these was  
Spain, dressed as a lady, with the garments and  
ornaments she shows in medals.

255 She was followed, also on the right, by  
another lady, this one nude, with a simple cord  
around her waist, from which hung down in  
front a string to cover that which is always  
better covered. She had her right hand placed  
260 on her head, holding the knot of the headdress  
which, winding around the temples, pulled the  
hair up into a topknot according to the custom  
of that country. And in her other hand she held  
a pine cone. She showed by this costume that  
265 she was the first part of the Western Mainland  
submitted to the Empire.<sup>10</sup> After her, also in a  
circle, appeared the new Peru, figured as a lady  
draped in a sort of cloth without sleeves, tied  
above the shoulder, open and overlapping on  
270 the left side and held over the flesh with a belt  
two inches wide. She had a kind of towel on her  
neck, with her hair loose. She had with her, tied  
through the ears, a sheep with a long neck, the  
animal which flourishes best in that region.<sup>11</sup>

Sotto lo architrave di questo Arco alle spalle pur  
degli entranti, Ornavano i suoi fianchetti due  
particolari compagne di detto Signore, la Liberalita  
et la Fede, come nelle medaglie si figurano.

Nella porta della Città che al Arco sopradetto col  
gia dichiarato ornamento si congiugneva [sic]; era  
sopra la continuata Cornice, un altro gran  
frontispitio, figuratovi dentro lo Imperatore sedente  
sopra uno scoglio, Coronato di Lauro et con lo  
sceptro nella man'destra, sotto la quale et a pie[d]i  
di sua Maesta, Giaceva il gran' fiume Betis  
appoggiato sopra un vaso di due bocche, spargente  
gran copia d'acqua, et sotto la sinistra di Augusto,  
il grandissimo Danubio che per entrare con VII  
bocche nel Mar maggiore, figurato era quivi con  
un vaso che per tante aperture pareva che spargessi  
sue acque.

Alla destra dello Imperadore cominciava  
un'cerchio di piu figure, la prima delle quali, era la  
Spagna in habito d'una Donna, con gli  
abbigliamenti et adornamenti, ch'ella si dimostra  
nelle medaglie.

Seguiva la pur dalla destra un'altra Donna ma  
ignuda, cinta d'una semplice cordella, dalla quale  
giu dinanzi pendeva un filo per coprirle cio che  
sempre sta bene ascoso, et teneva si costei con la  
destra posata in su'l capo, il nodo della  
acconciatura, la quale dalle tempie rigirandosi,  
riduceva i capegli al sommo alla usanza di quel  
paese, et haveva nella altra mano una Pigna:  
mostrando per questo habito cosi fatto ch'ella era  
la prima Occidental'Terra ferma sotto posta allo  
Imperio. Dopo lei pure in cerchio appariva il  
nuovo Perù figurato per una Donna involta come in  
un telo senza maniche, legato sopra alle spalle,  
aperto et sopra posto dal lato manco et fermato  
sopra le carni con cintura larga due dita, et uno  
quasi che sciugatoio in su'l collo, con i suoi  
capegli sciolti: haveva costei seco legata per gli  
orecchi una pecora del collo lungo, che sopra gli  
animali, belle si producono in quella regione.

<sup>10</sup> The figure represents Mexico. Taken by Cortez in 1521. Minor and Mitchell, 120.

<sup>11</sup> Pizzaro had conquered Peru in 1532. The animal mentioned refers to the Peruvian llama. Minor and Mitchell, 120.

275 After her followed Neptune on a chariot in the  
shape of a boat, drawn by two horses, with a  
trident in his hand. This demonstrated that the  
Western Ocean is dominated by His Majesty.  
280 The lively river Betis seemed to want to dip his  
feet into the ocean's waters.

To the left of the Emperor, behind and  
above the Danube, was a lady with a lance and  
a shield, representing Germany, as she is shown  
in ancient medals.

285 Beside her, honest and demure,  
appeared beautiful Italy, portrayed as by the  
ancients, with only this in addition – that under  
her left foot was figured the horrible monster  
Scylla, eternal terror of the Tyrrhenian Sea.  
290 Next to her was Sicily, with a triangular crown  
of ears of grain. But the air around her was  
more turbid because of the excessive fumes of  
the burnt Mount Etna. And she had in her right  
hand a three-pronged scythe, such as is still  
295 seen in the medals of the famous Marcellus.  
And besides standing on a triangular space,  
with many ears of grain under the left foot, she  
held her right foot on the head of the fierce old  
Charybdis, still crowned with the cow's head in  
300 memory of her ancient theft.

In the last place was Africa, garlanded  
with serpents, a scorpion in her hand and a vase  
of fire at her feet, all this showing the nature of  
the country.

305 Under so beautiful a *fronton* could be  
read in antique capital letters this motto:  
AUGUSTUS CAESAR DIVUM GENUS  
AUREA CONDIT SAECULA.<sup>12</sup> On the sides  
of the arch above the door, for the true glory of  
310 His Majesty, were, on the right side,  
Providence, and, on the left, Peace, both copied  
from the ancient style.

315 On the top side, just at the peak of the  
frontispiece, appeared a very large Imperial  
Eagle with all the glorious insignia of His  
Majesty.

Seguiva dopo questa Neptunno sopra un'Carro  
auso di barca tirato da duoi cavalli, col tridente  
nella mano, dimostrante lo Occidentale Oceano  
esser dominato da sua Maesta: Et pareva che nella  
spumosa acqua sua volesse pur intingere i piedi, lo  
animoso fiume Betis.

Alla sinistra dello Imperadore, dietro & sopra al  
Danubio stava una donna con hasta & scudo,  
figurata per la Germania, come nelle antiche  
medaglie si dimostra.

Allato a costei, honesta & vergognosa appariva la  
bella Italia, secondo gli antichi contrassegnata, con  
questo solamente di piu, che sotto al sinistro piede,  
figurato haveva l'horribil' monstro di Scylla,  
spavento eterno del mar Tyrreno. Accanto le era la  
Sicilia con triangolato corona di spighe in capo, ma  
in una aria piu torba, per i Soverchi fummi dello  
arsicciato monte di Etna. Et haveva costei nella  
destra mano quel falcato triangoletto che si vede  
ancor nelle medaglie del famoso Marcellus. Et oltre  
al esser ferma sopra un Triangolato spatium, con  
molte spighe sotto al pie sinistro, teneva anche il  
destro piede sopra la testa della furace vecchia  
Cariddi coronata ancor del capo dela vacca per  
memoria dello antico suo furto.

Seguiva nel ultimo luogo l'Africa, in ghirlandata di  
Serpi con uno Scorpione in mano, et un vaso di  
fuoco a piedi, Tutto dimostrante la natura del  
Paese.

Sotto cosi bel frontone si leggeva in antiche  
maiuscole questo motto. AUGUSTUS CAESAR  
DIVUM GENUS AUREA CONDIT SAECULA.  
Ne fianchetti dello Arco sopra la porta per vera  
gloria di sua Maesta, era dalla destra la  
providentia, et dalla sinistra la Pace, ambe due  
tratte dallo antico.

Dalla banda disopra nel colmo appunto del  
frontispicio, appariva una grandissima Aquila  
Imperiale con tutte le gloriose insegne di sua  
Maesta.

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<sup>12</sup> 'Augustus Caesar, the offspring of Gods, founds a golden age', or 'Augustus Caesar, a divine offspring, founds a golden age'. Paraphrased from Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, lines 792 – 793. Minor and Mitchell, 121.



320 Behind this, but on the side facing Prato, was in  
an antique tablet, this saying: SPARGE  
ROSAS,<sup>13</sup> which invited Florence to all  
celebration and joy.

325 Inside the aforesaid entrance way were  
thirty-six young men from among the principle  
nobles of the city, all afoot, dressed in a livery  
of purple satin, crimson cloaks, red stockings,  
and velvet shoes and toques, with perhaps as  
many gildings and feathers as were never seen  
together at another time. As soon as the Duke  
had left, these young men placed the mount of  
the Duchess in their midst and kept her  
330 handsome, respectful company as far as the  
Palace, going by way of the Ognissanti quarter  
and then along the Arno as far as the Spini.  
From there, having turned back by way of  
Tornaquinci and Carnesecchi, by San Giovanni,  
335 they proceeded to the Cathedral in  
aforementioned formation, though the streets  
were so full of spectators that there was hardly  
room to pass.

Dietro a questa, ma nella faccia che vede il Prato,  
era in una antica tavola questo motto. SPARGE  
ROSAS. Che invitava Fiorenza a tutta festa &  
allegrezza.

Nello antiporto predetto erano XXXVI Giovani de  
principali nobili della Città, tutti a piedi, vestiti  
d'una Livrea di rasi pagonazi [paonazzi?],  
Giubboni chermisi, Calze Lucchesine et scarpe et  
tocchi di velluto, con tante dorure [dorature] &  
piume, quante mai forse altra volta se ne  
vedessi[m]o insieme. Questi subito che il Duca si  
fu partito mettendo in mezzo la Acchinea della  
Illustrissima Signora Duchessa, le fecero bella et  
onorata compagnia fino al Palazzo di sua  
Eccellentia, facendo il lor viaggio per borgo  
Ognisanti et quindi per lungo Arno fino a gli Spini.  
Donde rivoltisi per il canto de Tornaquinci, et de  
Carnesecchi, da San Giovanni, alla Chiesa  
Catedrale, con la gia detta ordinanza si condussero,  
ben che si piene fussino le strade di spettatori,  
ch' appena vi fussi luogo donde passare.

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<sup>13</sup> 'Scatter roses'. Horace, Book III, Ode XIX, line 22. Minor and Mitchell, 121.

## Appendix H

**Giambullari's account of the costumes of the Muses in 1539, taken from *Apparato et feste*, 31-36.  
English translation by Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 136-140.**

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <b>Thalia</b>    | The first was in very blond cloth, girded with a green olive branch and having a number of clusters and streamers. Her curly hair was scattered with thyme flowers, with a few bees around them, and she wore a hat of the same cloth but in an old-fashioned style, adorned with crystals, and beryls and with garlands of chaste tree, with chameleon as a crest. From her neck hung a string of pearls. There was a horned beetle on her breast, which was draped with the skin of a panther. Her Buskins were of the ancient style, covered with catskin, with a crab on each foot. She had in her right hand a <i>trombone</i> and, in the other, a <i>taninera</i> , as painters say, where, in a blue field, could be read in gold letters: THALIA. And at the top there was a red ball, as in the <i>taninere</i> of all the others.  |
| <b>Euterpe</b>   | The second was dressed in greenish-yellow cloth, having two entwined serpents as a belt and a hyena's skin slung across her shoulder. Her long hair, scattered with marjoram flowers, hung from under a winged hat, rich with agates a topazes, garlanded with lesser burnet, with a parrot as crest. There hung from her neck a number of finely worked pieces of yellowish-green glass, and she had old-fashioned buskins made of monkey-skins, with the heads of the animals under her knees. In her right hand she held a <i>dolzaina</i> and in the left the <i>taninera</i> , in which many dogwood berry leaves, a groundsel tree, and a nightingale accompanied her gilded name EUTERPE in the blue field.  |
| <b>Erato</b>     | The third, more playful than the others and accompanied by many <i>odori</i> [aromatic herbs], was dressed in splendid cloth, with a number of streamers of tocca. On the cloth was a white goatskin, and she had as a belt the famous girdle of Venus, as described by lapidarians. Her golden tresses were arranged by a master hand, scattered with myrtle flowers, below an attractive hat in the ancient style, of tan satin with gold and emeralds, crowned with roses and with a red branch of coral for its crest. She had buskins of rabbit-skin on her nude flesh, with the rabbits' heads on her feet. The skins were bound around her legs by the paws under the knees and at the ankles. She held in her right hand a <i>violone</i> and in the left the <i>taninera</i> , with swallows and wagtails, on which in the midst of pomegranate flowers and damask roses, on a blue field, one could read: ERATO, in gold letters. |
| <b>Melpomene</b> | The fourth, pompous in a richer dress, was attired in gold-sewn crimson silk, belted with fresh heliotrope. The dress was decorated with various precious stones, that is, chrysolite, sun's eye, eaglestone, oriental jasper, <i>pantaura</i> . She had the little skin of a lion cub across her breast and at the bottom of her dress a flounce of gold with all the musical instruments marvellously depicted. Above her loose hair, strewn with jessamines and having a well-composed garland of cedar, this lady constituted the ornament and basis of five layers of organetti [accordians], which, put together, provided her with a hat and crest. Her pretty buskins were of lynxskin and had on each foot a bright beetle. She carried in her right hand a <i>piffero</i> and in the other the <i>taninera</i> , adorned with peonies and verbenas, with two cynocephali, having between them the name: MELPOMENE.                |
| <b>Clio</b>      | The fifth was dressed in crimson satin, with many streamers of gold tocca, red and rust-coloured. Her belt was of scammony and aconite, above the leopard-skin. Her red hair was under a sort of helmet of red  |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
|                    | <p>satin, with a raised iron visor, sewn all over with amethysts and diamonds and, above this, serving as a crest, a woodpecker. Her ancient-style buskins were of wolfskin, with a small artificial head on the back of each foot. She had in her right hand a <i>flauto</i> and in the other the <i>taninera</i>, with the gilded name CLIO in the blue field, crowned with butcher's broom.</p>   |
| <b>Terpsichore</b> | <p>The sixth was in a splendid yellow cloth, designed with a number of clusters and Moorish knots of cloth sewn with pure silver. Her belt was a slender vine branch. There hung from her shoulders an old stagskin. Her hair was loose under an ancient-style helmet made of yellow cloth, strewn with sapphires and hyacinths, crowned with oak, with an eagle as crest. Her very white stockings were of lambs' skins, with their little gilded heads on the calf of the legs, bound together in front with clever weavers' knots of gold tocca. She had in her right hand a <i>leuto</i> and in the left the <i>taninera</i>, on which one read TERPSICHORE, between two partridges inside a garland of ears of grain and corn.</p>  |
| <b>Polymnia</b>    | <p>The seventh was dressed in gold embroidered cloth sewn with black silk, so that it seemed to be burning lead. The cloth was strewn with <i>camoioni</i> and black jaspers, and a sort of knapsack of hare-skin was slung over her shoulders, crowned with mandragora leaves, under a pyramid-shaped hat, which was covered with the same cloth found in her dress and which had, in a well-designed upper part, three rows of angelic countenances with wings. These seemed to be successively smaller. Between one row and the other were seen whirls of little spangles gathered in Moorish knots, with numerous but small golden tassels. There was a rich chair of fire and gold on the crest of the pyramid. Her boots seemed to be of lead, and they had on each foot a little tortoise fixed in such a way that it made a fine buskin. In her right hand she carried a <i>storta</i> and in the other the <i>taninera</i>, with two little pine branches dressing the blue space in which was written: POLYMNIA.</p> |
| <b>Urania</b>      | <p>The eight was all blue, dressed in a beautiful taffeta sewn with golden stars, with various figures of the forty-eight celestial images, each in the proper place, adorned with its particular stars. She had slung over her shoulders a zodiac, with its secret images, properly matching the rest of the dress. Her hair was blue, as were the <i>mazocchio</i> and hat on her hair. These were sewn with golden stars, with, for crest, a Cupid holding his face in his hand but with the eyes revealed. She had a <i>cornetta</i> in her right hand and in the left the <i>taninera</i>, with the name: URANIA.</p>   |
| <b>Calliope</b>    | <p>The last was completely white, dressed in snowy Rheims linen, which was sewn all over with celestial characters and divine writing of reddish black colour, as the Cabalists say the first letters were. Upon this was an outer dress of very fine silver tocca that, next to the white below, seemed a true crystal. The hair and ornaments of this lady were of the same colour and tocca. A little ancient hat had, embroidered on its <i>mazocchio</i> fifteen characters of the first fixed stars, these standing out in the same reddish black colour. Above was a very white Capricorn as a crest. The buskins were of the same cloth, with other letters and figures, different from those mentioned above. This one, I say, had a <i>ribechino</i> in her right hand and, in the other, the <i>taninera</i> with her name: CALLIOPE.</p>   |

Appendix I

Giambattista Gelli, Texts for the Banquet Madrigals of 1539. Italian text cited in Giambullari, *Apparato et feste*. English Translations by Minor and Mitchell, *A Renaissance Entertainment*.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Sacro et santo Hymeneo (Muses)</b></p> <p><i>Sacro &amp; santo Hymeneo<br/>Il Ciel ti chiama, Arno ti pregha, &amp; Flora Alle<br/>Noze di COSMO &amp; LEONORA:<br/>Vien dunque ò dolce Dio,<br/>Vieni Hymeneo, ò Hymeneo, Io.</i></p> <p><i>Vien desiato bene, al santo offitio,<br/>Prendi la face, e'l velo,<br/>Che l'un' accenda, &amp; l'altro copra Amore:<br/>Fa segno hoggi col Cielo<br/>Che te lieto dimostri, &amp; sì propitio<br/>Che dentro ad ambi duoi si regga un Core.<br/>Celeste alto vapore<br/>Al tuo santo spirar quinci esca fuora<br/>Amor lascivio, et Nemesi, &amp; Pandora.<br/>Vien dunque ò dolce Dio<br/>O Hymeneo, Hymeneo Io.<br/>Deh porgi al Ciel, è a lor tua dolce aita;<br/>Onde Pianta rinasca<br/>Simile al tronco Avito, ornata &amp; rara<br/>All'ombra cui si pasca<br/>Et Arno, &amp; Flora in piu quieta vita;<br/>Dolce appagando ogni lor doglia amara.<br/>Fate gelosi a gara<br/>Chi di piu alta Prole orna &amp; ristora<br/>Quella stirpe, che'l Cielo, e'l mondo honora.<br/>Vien dunque, ò dolce Dio<br/>Vien Hymeneo, ò Hymeneo, Io.</i></p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Sacro et santo Hymeneo</b></p> <p>Sacred and Holy Hymen, Heaven calls you, Arno entreats you and Flora to the wedding of COSIMO and ELEONORA: come thus, o sweet god, come Hymen, O Hymen, Io.</p> <p>Come, desired good, to the holy office, take the torch and the veil, the one to light up and the other to cover love. Make a sign today with Heaven that will show yourself happy and so favourable that one heart will reign in both. High celestial emanation, at your holy sighing let there now depart lascivious Love, Nemesis, and Pandora. Come thus, O sweet god, O Hymen, Hymen, Io. / offer to Heaven and to them your sweet aid, with which one may be reborn a plant like the ancestral trunk, ornate and precious. In its shade may both Arno and Flora graze in a quieter life, it sweetly appeasing their every bitter pain. Make people compete jealousy to see who can adorn and restore this stock with higher offspring – this stock that honours Heaven and the world. Come thus, o sweet god, come Hymen, O Hymen, Io.</p> |
| <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Più che mai vaga &amp; bella (Flora)</b></p> <p><i>Più che mai vaga &amp; bella<br/>Ardendo in dolce spene<br/>COSMO, Flora hoggi vieve<br/>Ad honorarti come fida Ancella.</i></p> <p><i>Flora la bella che sicura posa<br/>All'ombra tua quieta,<br/>Hoggi più che mai lieta<br/>Della novella sposa</i></p> <p><i>Rende al Ciel gratie, et à te sommo honore:<br/>Et l'eterno motore<br/>Prega con humil core,<br/>Che di voi sorga anchor' tal Prole, ch'ella<br/>Al Ciel' co'l suo valore<br/>S'alzi per fama sovr'ogn'alta stella.</i></p>  | <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Più che mai vaga &amp; bella</b></p> <p>Prettier and more beautiful than ever, burning in sweet hope, COSIMO, Flora comes to honour you today as a faithful handmaiden.</p> <p>Flora the Beautiful, who rests securely in your quiet shadow, today happier than ever because of the new bride,</p> <p>thanks Heaven and gives greatest honour to you. And she prays the Eternal Mover with a humble heart that there may spring from you again such seed that she, through her value, will rise to Heaven in fame, above every high star.</p>   |

**Lieta per honorarte (Pisa)**

*Lieta per honorarte,  
Ecco Signor' la nobil Pisa antica:  
Et ch'io ti sono amica  
Non men che serva, bramo hor' di mostrarte.*

*Queste Nynfe che meco hò, la cura hanno  
De miei cari vicini:  
Questi son Dei Marini,  
Che sicuro il Tyrren' solcar' ne fanno:  
Et per letitia il piu che ponno & sanno  
Di tue Noze felici,  
Pregan' che vi sien' sempre i Celi amici.  
Et prompti siam' (com'hor' si vede) à darte  
Di quel, che può ciascun, più larga parte.*

**Ecco Signor' Voltera (Volterra)**

*Ecco Signor' Volterra;  
Ecco le Ninfe mie, ch'ad hora ad hora  
Gareggiano à chi piu v'ama, & vi honora.  
De vostre Noze allegre in sì bel giorno  
V'apron' lor ricche vene;  
Et ne dan' ciochè l'hanno entro ed intorno.  
Et questa, che si gaggia et lieta viene  
Pien' del suo bianco sal' ne porge il corno.  
Et con sicura spene  
Prega ciascuna il Cielo, et sempre adora,  
Ch'eterno viva COSMO & LEONORA.*

**Come Lieta si mostra (Arezzo)**

*Come lieta si mostra  
Di così bella sposa, Arezo vostra?  
Quant' hogg'io colma sia d'amore & speme  
Di Nodo si felice,  
Con le mie Ninfe insieme,  
Cantando appena dimostrar' ne lice.  
Ogni sorte infelice  
Sia da voi lunge, ò bella coppia et cara:  
Che in vostra luce chiara  
Speriam' secure haver' la vita nostra.*

**Non men' ch'ogn'altra (Cortona)**

*Non men' ch'ogn'altra, lieta hoggi Cortona  
COSMO, le sante Noze  
Antico Amor'ad honorar' ne sprona.  
Me come potrò mai con le parole  
Mostrarti à pieno il Core?  
Et far' quanto d'honore  
Desio ne scorge à così bella Prole?  
Prendi dunque il desio, prendil' Signore;  
Che non piccolo è il don', di chi'l Cor' dona.*

**Lieta per honorarte**

Happy to honour you, here, Milord, is ancient noble Pisa. That I am your friend as well as your servant I now long to show you.

These nymphs I have with me care for my dear neighbours. These are sea gods, who make the Tyrrhenian's lanes safe for us. Through happiness at your fortunate wedding, they pray the best they can that Heaven will always be friendly to you. And we are ready, as you see now, each to give you in great measure of what he has.

**Ecco Signor' Voltera**

Here, Milord, is Volterra. Here are my nymphs, who are ever competing to show who loves you and honours you most. / Happy about your marriage on such a fine day, they open to you their rich veins and give of what they have inside and around themselves. And this one, who comes so modest and joyful, offers to us her horn, full of her white salt. With confident hope each one worships Heaven always and prays that the union of COSIMO and ELEONORA may live eternally.

**Come Lieta si mostra**

How joyful does your Arezzo show herself for such a beautiful bride? / How overcome I and my nymphs are today with love and hope for such a happy marriage we can hardly show by singing. May every unhappy bit of luck be far from you, O beautiful and dear couple, because we hope to live our lives safely in your clear light.

**Non men' ch'ogn'altra**

No less than any other, COSIMO, happy Cortona is spurred today by ancient love to honour the holy marriage. / But how shall I ever be able to show my heart fully to you with words? Or to do as much honour as I desire to such handsome offspring? Take, then, my wish, take it. Milord, for not small is the gift of her who gives her heart.

**Ecco la fida Ancella (Pistoia)**

*Ecco la fida Ancella,  
Che stanca un tempo da si ria tempesta  
(Tua mercè) fuor dell'onde alza la testa.  
O pietoso Nettuno, ò saggio Dio,  
Che co'l tuo bel tridente,  
Fra così altera gente,  
Fatto hai queto ogni affetto acerbo, et rio:  
Siatì accetto il desio,  
Ch'assai vince il saver di ringratiarte,  
Et di sempre honorarte,  
Con la tua sposa, et mia sicura stella.*

**Ecco Signore il Tebro (Tiber)**

*Ecco Signore il Tebro,  
Ecco il Tebro, Signora,  
Ad honorarvi, COSMO & Leonora.*

*Se la mia nobil figlia  
A quanto gira il sol con la sua spera  
Pose il freno & la briglia:  
Questa, che di lei nacque, per voi spera  
Non men' di lei, di ricche spoglie ornarse:  
Et superba et altèra  
Sovra l'altre innalzarse:  
Onde al pari del Tebro, et Roma, ancora Vada la  
fama al Ciel' d'Arno et di Flora.*

**Ecco la fida Ancella**

Here is the faithful handmaiden, who having been tired some time from such an evil storm, now, thanks to you, raises her head out of the waves. / O charitable Neptune, O wise god, who with your fine trident have calmed all bitter and evil feelings among such proud people, please accept the desire, which is greater than my ability, to thank you and to honour you, with your wife and my secure star.

**Ecco Signore il Tebro**

Here, Milord, is the Tiber, here is the Tiber, Milady, come to honour you, COSIMO & ELEONORA.

If my noble daughter put reign and Bridle on the earth for as far as the sun turns with its sphere, this lady, who was born from her, hopes through you, no less than she, to adorn herself with rich spoils and, proud and haughty, to rise above the others. So that, like the Tiber and Rome, the fame of the Arno and of Flora may now go up to Heaven.

Appendix N

Laura Jayne Halton. *Interpretive Illustrations of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume designs for Volterra, Arezzo, Cortona and Pistoia.* 2014.



**Plate 1** Laura Jayne Halton, *Volterra*, Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.



**Plate 2** Laura Jayne Halton, *Arezzo*, Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolo il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.





**Plate 3** Laura Jayne Halton, *Cortona*, Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolo il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.



**Plate 4** Laura Jayne Halton, *Pistoia*, Interpretive Illustration of Giovanbattista Strozzi and Niccolò il Tribolo's 1539 costume design, modelled from the written description of Pierfrancesco Giambullari. Pencil, charcoal and gauche on paper, 2014.

**Appendices K-O: Music Scores and Commentary**

## Commentary

### Edition Cited

*Musiche Fatte Nella Nozze*. Edited by Martin Grayson, George Bate and Rosemary Bate. Oxon: Alfredston Music, 1994.

This edition by Alfredston Music is a modern playing edition edited from the original compositions of Francesco Corteccia, Costanzo Festa, Matteo Rampollini, Baccio Moschini, and Giovanni Pietro Masaconi, published by Antonio Gardane in 1540, and re-printed in 1547.

### Alfredston Critical Commentary

The editors make the following comments on the note values, text underlay, and performance setting of their edition:

The original note values have been retained. Performers should take care not to be misled by this into pieces too slowly. In most instances the basic pulse is the semi-breve. Editorial metronome marks have been provided to give an indication of the appropriate tempi.

Text underlay in the source is approximate and the detailed setting to the notes in our edition is largely editorial. Singers should feel free, as did their 16<sup>th</sup> century predecessors, to vary the settings to their taste. The Italian has not been modernised.<sup>1</sup>

The editors suggest the following instrumentations for whole consort performance:

| Composition                      | Recorders       | Viols        |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Ingredere</i>                 | SSAATTBB        | TrTrTTTTBB   |
| <i>Sacro et santo Hymeneo</i>    | SSSAATTT(B)T(B) | TrTrTrTTTTTT |
| <i>Più che mai vaga et bella</i> | TTTB            | TTTB         |
| <i>Lieta per honorarte</i>       | AATB            | TrTr(T)TB    |
| <i>Ecco signor il Tebro</i>      | AATB            | TrTrTTB      |

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<sup>1</sup> Grayson, Bate and Bate, *Music for a Medici Wedding*, 4.

Appendix K

# Ingredere felicissimis

Florentine Wedding Music 1539 : Motet

Francesco Corteccia

♩ = 50

Cantus I C1  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in -

Cantus II C1  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de -

Altus I C3  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re

Altus II C3  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de -

Tenor C4  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re

Quinta pars C4  
In - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in - gre - de - re in -

Bassus I F4  
In - gre - de - re in - gre -

Bassus II F4

7  
gre - de - re fe - li - cis - si - mis au - spi - ci - is

re fe - li - cis - si - mis fe - li - cis - si - mis

fe - li - cis - si - mis fe - li - cis - si - mis au -

re fe - li - cis - si - mis fe - li - cis - si - mis au - spi -

fe - li - cis - si - mis au - spi - ci - is fe -

gre - de - re fe - li - cis - si - mis fe - li -

de - re fe - li - cis - si - mis au - spi - ci - is fe - li - cis -

gre - de - re fe - li - cis - si - mis fe - li - cis - si -

Ingredere felicissimis

13

ur - be tu - a ur - be tua He - li - o - no - ra ur - be tu -  
 au - spi - ci - is ur - bem tu - am He - li - o - no - ra ur - bem tu -  
 spi - ci - is ur - be tu - a ur - be tu - a ur - bem tuam  
 ci - is ur - be tua ur - be tua He - li - o - no - ra He - li - o - no - ra  
 li - cis - si - mis au - spi - ci - is ur - be tu - a ur - be tua He - li - o -  
 cis - si - mis au - spi - ci - is ur - bem tu - am ur - bem tu - am He -  
 si - mis au - spi - ci - is ur - be tu - a ur - be tua  
 mis au - spi - ci - is ur - be tu - a He - li - o - no - ra ur -

19

a He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cu - da ac op - ti -  
 am He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun -  
 He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cu - da  
 ur - bem tu - am He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun -  
 no - ra He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cu - da  
 li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis ac op - ti - me pro -  
 He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun - da ac  
 be tu - a He - li - o - no - ra ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun -

Ingredere felicissimis

25

me pro - lis fe - cu - da i - ta do - mi si - mi - le pa - tri i -  
 da ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun - da i - ta do - mi si -  
 pro - lis fe - cu - da i - ta do - mi i - ta do -  
 da ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun - da i - ta do - mi i - ta do -  
 ac op - tie pro - lis fe - cu - da i - ta do - mi si - mi - lem pa - tri i -  
 lis fe - cu - da i - ta do - mi  
 op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun - da i -  
 da ac op - ti - me pro - lis fe - cun - da i - ta do - mi si -

31

ta do - mi si - mi - lem pa - tri fo - ris a - vo fo -  
 mi - le pa - tri si - mi - lem pa - tri fo - ris a - vo fo - ris  
 mi i - ta do - mi si - mi - le pa - tri fo - ris a -  
 mi si - mi - lem pa - tri fo - ris a - vo  
 ta do - mi si - mi - lem pa - tri fo - ris a - vo  
 i - ta do - mi si - mi - le pa - tri fo - ris a - vo  
 ta do - mi si - mi - le pa - tri fo - ris a -  
 mi - lem pa - tri si - mi - lem pa - tri fo - ris a -

Ingrede re felicissimis

37

ris a - vo so - bo - le pro - du - cas so - bo - le pro - du - cas  
a - vo so - bo - lem pro - du - cas ut me -  
vo fo - ris a - vo so - bo - le pro - du - cas so - bo - le pro - du - cas  
fo - ris a - vo so - bo - le pro - du - cas ut  
so - bo - le pro - du - cas so - bo - le pro - du - cas ut  
fo - ris a - vo so - bo - lem pro - du - cas ut me -  
vo so - bo - lem pro - du - cas so - bo - lem pro - du - cas  
vo so - bo - lem pro - du - cas so - bo - lem pro - du - cas ut me - di - ce -

43

ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis -  
di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus  
ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us -  
me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis  
me - di - ce - o ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei -  
di - ce - o no - mi - ni ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo -  
ut ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo -  
o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis -



Ingretere felicissimis

49

si - mis ciu - bus se - cu - ri - ta - te pres - tes e - ter - nam  
 ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres -  
 que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - te pres - tes e -  
 ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - te pres - tes e - ter - na se - cu - ri -  
 us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e -  
 tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter -  
 tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter - nam  
 si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter - nam

55

se - cu - ri - ta - te pre - stes e - ter - nam pres -  
 tes e - ter - nam se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter -  
 ter - na se - cu - ri - ta - te pres - tes e - ter - na pres - tes e -  
 ta - te pres - tes e - ter - na se - cu - ri - ta - te pres - tes e - ter - na  
 ter - nam pres - tes e - ter - nam pres - tes e - ter -  
 nam se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter - nam pres - tes e - ter -  
 se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter -  
 se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres - tes e - ter - nam

Ingredere felicissimis

61

tes e - ter - nam ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni  
 nam ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo -  
 ter - na ut me - di - ce - o no - mi -  
 ut ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni no - mi - ni ei - us - que  
 nam ut me - di - ce - o ut me - di - ce -  
 nam ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ut me - di - ce - o no -  
 nam ut ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni  
 ut ut me - di - ce - o no - mi - ni ei -

67

ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - te pres -  
 tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i -  
 ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se -  
 de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem pres -  
 o no - mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se -  
 mi - ni ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - te  
 ei - us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ci - u - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem  
 us - que de - vo - tis - si - mis ciu - i - bus se - cu - ri - ta - tem



Appendix L

# Sacro et santo Himeneo

Florentine Wedding Music 1539 : Madrigal

Francesco Corteccia

♩ = 55

Cantus I G2  
Sacr'et san - to Hi - men - e - o il

Cantus II G2  
Sacro\_et san - to Hi - men - e - o Sacro\_et san - to

Cantus III C1  
Sacro\_et san - to Hi - men - e - o il ciel ti

Altus I C3  
Sacro\_et san - to Hi -

Altus II C3  
Sacr'et san - t'Hi - men - e - o

Tenor I C3  
Sacro\_et san - to Hi - men - e - o sacro\_et san - to Hi -

Tenor II C3  
Sac - ro et san - to Hi - men - e - o

Quinta pars C4  
Sacr'et san - to

Bassus C4  
Sacro\_et san - to Hi - men - e - o il ciel ti

6  
ciel ti chi - a - ma Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra  
Hi - men - e - o il ciel ti chia - ma Ar -  
chia - ma il ciel ti chia - ma Ar - no ti prie -  
men - e - o il ciel ti chia - ma Ar - no ti prie - ga  
il ciel ti chia - ma Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra  
men - e - o il ciel ti chi - a - ma Ar - no ti prie - ga  
il ciel ti chi - a - ma il ciel ti chi - a - ma ti chi - a - ma Ar -  
Hi - men - e - o il ciel ti chi - a - ma  
chi - a - ma Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo -

Sacro et santo Himeneo

12

ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o -  
 no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra  
 ga et Flo - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo  
 Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra  
 Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o -  
 Ar - no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et  
 no ti prie - ga et Flo - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o -  
 Ar - no ti prie - g'et Flo - ra  
 ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o -

18

no - ra vien dun - que o dol - ce Di -  
 a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra vien dun - que o dol - ce  
 a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra  
 a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra vien du - que o dol - ce  
 no - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra vie du - que  
 Le - o - no - ra vien dun - que o dol -  
 no - ra a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra  
 a le noz - ze di Cos - mo et Le - o - no - ra vie du - qu'o dol - ce  
 no - ra vien dun - que o dol - ce

\* low A better? (Ed.)

Sacro et santo Himeneo

24

o o i - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e -  
 Di - o o i - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o  
 o i - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o  
 Di - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o o  
 o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o vie Hi - men - e -  
 ce - Di - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men -  
 vien du - que\_ o dol - ce Di - o o i - o  
 Di - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o vien  
 Di - o o i - o o i - o vien Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o

30

o o i - o.  
 o Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.  
 i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.  
 o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 e - o i - o.  
 o Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.  
 Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.  
 i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 Vien de - si - a - to  
 Vien de - si - a - to  
 Vien de - si -  
 Vien de - si - a - to  
 Vien des - i - a - to  
 Vien des - i - a - to  
 Vien des - i - a - to

Sacro et santo Himeneo

37

be - ne al san - t'of - fit - io pren - di la fa - c'el - ve - lo et  
 be - ne al san - t'of - fic - io che lun a - ccen - da  
 Pren - di la fac - ce el ve - lo che lun a -  
 a - to be - ne al san - t'of - fic - io che lun a - ccen - da et  
 be - ne al san - to\_of - fit - io pren - di la fac' - el ve - lo che lun a - ccen - da et  
 Pren - di la fac' - el ve - lo che lun a - ccen - da et  
 be - ne al san - t'of - fic - io che lun a - ccen - da  
 be - ne al san - to\_of - fic - io pren - di la fac - ce\_el ve - lo  
 be - ne al san - to\_of - fic - io che lun ac - cen - da

43

lal - tro cop - ra am - or - e fa segn' - hog - gi col cie - lo fa  
 et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa segn' - hog - gi  
 ccen - da et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e  
 lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa segn' - hog - gi col cie -  
 lal - tro cuop - ra am - or - e et lal - tro cuop - ra am - or - e fa se - gno hog - gi col - cie - lo  
 lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa se - gn' - hog - gi col cie - lo fa  
 et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa se - gn' - hog - gi  
 et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa se - gn' - hog - gi col  
 et lal - tro cuop - r'am - or - e fa

Sacro et santo Himeneo

49

segn' - hog - gi col cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri et si pro -  
 col cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri che te lie - to di mos - tri  
 che te lie - to di mos - tri che te lie - to di mos - tri  
 lo che te lie - to di mos - tri che te lie - to di mos - tri  
 fa se - gno\_hog - gi col cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri lie - to di mos -  
 se - gn'hog - gi col cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri che te lie - to di mos - tri et  
 gi col cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri  
 cie - lo che te lie - to di mos - tri  
 se - gn'hog - gi col cie - lo che te lie - to di

55

pi - tio che den - tr'ad am - bi dvoi si reg - g'un co - re  
 et si pro - pi - tio che den - tr'ad am - bi dvoi si reg - g'un co -  
 et si pro - pi - tio si  
 et si pro - pi - tio si reg - g'un co -  
 tri et si pro - pi - tio che den - tr'ad am - bi dvoi si reg - ga un co -  
 si pro - pi - tio che de - tr'ad am - bi dvo - i si reg - ga\_un co - re  
 et si pro - pi - tio che den - tr'ad am - bi dvo - i si reg - ga\_un co -  
 che den - tr'ad am - bi dvo - i si reg - ga\_un co -  
 mos - tri\_et si pro - pit - io si reg - ga\_un co - re



Sacro et santo Himeneo

61

ce - les - t'al - to vap - o - re al tuo san - to spi - rar quin  
 re ce - les - te\_al - to vap - o - re  
 reg - g'un co - re ce - les - te\_al - to vap - o - re al tuo san - to spi -  
 re ce - les - te\_al - to vap - o - re al tuo san - to spi - rar  
 re ce - les - te\_al - to vap - o - re al tuo san - to spi - rar quin  
 ce - les - te\_al - to va - po - re  
 re ce - les - te\_al - to va - po - re al tuo san - to spi - rar quin c'es - ca  
 re ce - les - te al - to va - po - re re al tuo sa - to spi -  
 ce - les - te al - to va - po - re al tuo san - to spi - rar quin

67

c'es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am - or las - ciu - o  
 quin ci\_es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am -  
 rar am - or las - ciu - o am - or las - ciu - o  
 quin ci es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am -  
 c'es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am - or las - ciu - o  
 quin c'es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am - or las -  
 fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am - or las - ciu - o  
 rar quin c'es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am -  
 c'es - ca fo - ra am - or las - ciu - o am - or las - ciu - o

Sacro et santo Himeneo

73

o et ne - me - si et Pan - dor - a vien dun - que o dol - ce Di -  
 or las - ciu - o et ne - me - si et Pan - dor - a vien du - que o dol -  
 et ne - me - si et Pan - dor - a vien du - que o dol - ce  
 or las - ciu - o et ne - me - si et Pan - dor - a vien du - que vien  
 am - or las - ciu - o et ne - me - si et Pan - do - ra vie du - que o  
 ciu - o et ne - me - si et ne - me - si et Pan - do - ra  
 et Pan - do - ra vien du - que vien du - que  
 or las - ciu - o et ne - me - si et Pan - do - ra vien du - que o  
 o et ne - me - si et Pan - do - ra vien du - que o dol -

79

o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o o  
 ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o  
 Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o  
 du - que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o  
 dol - ce Di - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o  
 vien dun - que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o  
 o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o o  
 dol - ce Di - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men -  
 ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o

Sacro et santo Himeneo

86

i - o vien dun-que\_o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o  
 vien du - que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men -  
 vien dun - que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men -  
 vien du - que vien du-que\_o dol - ce Di - o o i - o  
 i - o vie du-que vien du-que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i -  
 o i - o vien du - que vien du-que\_o dol - ce Di - o o i - o  
 i - o vien dun-que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o Hi - men -  
 e - o i - o vien du - qu'o dol - ce Di - o o i - o o i - o o Hi - men -  
 i - o vien dun-que o dol - ce Di - o o i - o

93

o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o o i - o.  
 e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.  
 o o Hi - men - e - o i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o.  
 o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o o Hi - men - e - o i - o i - o.

Appendix M

# Flora: Piu che mai

Florentine Wedding Music 1539 : Madrigal

Constanzo Festa

$\text{♩} = 50$

Cantus C4  
 Piu che mai vagh' - et bel - la ar - den - do in dol - ce spe - ne Flo - ra og - gi

Altus C4  
 Ar - den - d'in dol - ce spe - ne Flo - ra og - gi Cos -

Tenor C4  
 Ar - den - do in dol - ce spe - ne Flo - ra og -

Bassus F4  
 Piu che mai vagh' - et bel - la ar - den - d'in dol - ce spe - ne Flo - ra oggi -

7

Cos - mo vie - ne ad hon - or - ar - te co - me fi - da an - cel - la

mo vie - ne ad hon - or - ar - te co - me fi - da an - cel - la

gi Cos - mo vie - ne ad hon - or - ar - te co - me fi - da an - cel - la

Cos - mo - vi - ene ad hon - or - ar - te co - me fi - da an - cel la

13

Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

Flo - ra la bel - la che se - cu - ra po - sa

Piu che mai

19

al' - om - bra tu - a qui - e - ta hog - gi piu che mai li - e'

25

e - ta del - la nou - vel - la spo - sa rend' - al ciel gra - tie'

31

et a te so - mo hon - o - re et l'et - er -

37

no mo - to - re prieg - a con hu - mil co - re che di voi sor - ga\_anchor

Piu che mai

43

tal pro - le ch'el - la al ciel col su - o va - lo - re

chor tal prole ch'el la al ciel col suo va - lo - re

tal pro - le ch'el la al ciel col suo va - lo - re

tal pro - le ch'el - la al ciel col su - o va - lo - re

48

re s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' - al - ta stel - la

re s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' - al - ta stel - la s'al -

s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - a ogn' al - ta stel -

re s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' - al - ta stel - la

53

s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' - al - ta stel - la.

zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' al - ta stel - la.

la sour - a ogn' al - ta stel - la.

s'al - zi per fa - ma sour' - ogn' - al - ta stel - la.

## Pisa: Lieta per honorarte

Florentine Wedding Music 1539 : Madrigal

Matteo Rampollini

$\text{♩} = 75$

Cantus C1  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig - nor la nob - il Pi - sa - an - ti - ca et ch'io

Altus C2  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig - nor la nob - il Pi - sa - an - ti - ca et ch'io

Tenor C3  
Lie - ta per hon - or - ar - te ec - co sig - nor la nob - il Pi - sa - an - ti - ca et ch'io

Bassus F4  
Ec - co sig - nor la nob - il Pi - sa - an - ti - ca et ch'io

7

ti son - o'am - i - ca non men che ser - va bram - o hor di mos - trar -

ti son - o'am - i - ca non men che ser - va bram - o hor di mos - trar -

ti son - o'am - i - ca non men che ser - va bram - o hor di mos - trar -

ti son - o'am - i - ca non men che ser - va bram - o hor di mos - trar -

13

te

te

te que - ste nim - phe che me - co la cu -

te que - ste nim - phe che me - co la cu - ra

Lieta per honorate

19

de miei car - i ui - ci - ni ques - ti son dei mar - i - ni che

de miei car - i ui - ci - ni ques - ti son dei mar - i - ni che

ra han - no de miei car - i ui - ci - ni ques - ti son dei mar - i - ni che

han - no de miei car - i ui - ci - ni che

25

secur' - il tir - ren sol - car ne fan no et per le - tic - ia

secur' - il tir - ren sol - car ne fan no et per le - tic - ia

secur' - il tir - ren sol - car ne fan no et per le - tic - ia

se - cur' - il tir - ren et per le - tic - ia

31

il piu che pon - no et san - no di tue noz - ze fel - i - ci

il piu che pon - no et san - no di tue noz - ze fel - i - ci

il piu che pon - no et san - no di tue noz - ze fel - i - ci preg -

il piu che pon - no et san - no di tue noz - ze fel - i - ci preg -

37

preg - an che ti sian semp - re'i ciel - i'a - mi - ci et pron - ti

preg - an che ti sian semp - re'i ciel - i'a - mi - ci et pron - ti

an preg - an che ti sian semp - re'i ciel - i'a - mi - ci et pron - ti

an preg - an che ti sian semp - re'i ciel - i'a - mi - ci et pron - ti



Lieta per honorarte

43

siam com' - hor si ve - di a dar - te di quel che puo cias - cun - piu\_l - \*

siam com' - hor si ve - di\_a dar - te di quel che puo cias - cun - piu

siam com' - hor si ue - di a dar - te di quel che puo cias - cun -

siam com' - hor si ve - di a dar - te di quel che puo cias - cun

\* f in original

49

ar - ga par - te di quel che puo cias - cun - piu\_l - ar - ga par -

lar - ga par - te di quel che puo cias - cun - piu\_l ar - ga par -

pi - u lar - ga par - te di quel che puo cias - cun - pi - u lar - ga

piu lar - ga par - te di quel che puo cias - cun piu lar - ga

\* f in original

54

te.

te piu lar - ga par - te.

par - te piu lar - ga par - te.

par - te piu lar - ga par - te.

## Tiber: Ecco Signor il tebro

Florentine Wedding Music 1539 : Madrigal

♩ = 75

Baccio Moschini

Cantus I C1  
Cantus II C1  
Altus C3  
Tenor C4  
Bassus F4

Ec - co ec - co sig - nor il Te - bro ec - co ec - co il

Ec - co ec - co ec - co sig - nor il Te - bro ec - co ec - co ec' -

Ec - co ec - co ec - co sig - nor il Te - bro ec - co ec - co ec - co

Ec - co ec - co ec - co sig - nor il Te - bro ec - co ec - co ec' - il

7

Te - bro si - gno - ra ad hon - or - ar - vi Cos - mo et Le - o - no -

ad hon - or - ar - vi Cos - mo et Le - o - no -

il Te - bro si - gno - ra ad hon - or - ar - vi Cos - mo et Le - o - no -

il Te - bro si - gno - ra ad hon - or - ar - vi Cos - mo et Le - o - no -

Te - bro si - gno - ra ad hon - or - ar - vi Cos - mo et Le - o - no -

13

ra et Le - o - no - ra Se la mia no - bil

ra et Le - o - no - ra Se la mia no - bil

ra et Le - o - no - ra Se la mia no - bil

ra et Le - o - no - ra Se la mia no - bil

ra et Le - o - no - ra Se la mia no - bil

Ecco Signor il tebro

19

fi - glia a quan - to gi - ra il sol con la sua sphe - ra po -

fi - glia a quan - to gi - ra il sol con la sua sphe - ra po -

fi - glia a quan - to gi - ra il sol con la sua sphe - ra po -

fi - glia a quan - to gi - ra il sol con la sua sphe - ra po -

fi - glia a quan - to gi - ra il sol con la sua sphe - ra po -

25

se il fren' - et la bri - glia ques - ta che di lei nac - que

se il fren' - et la bri - glia ques - ta che di lei nac - que

se il fren' - et la bri - glia ques - ta che di lei nac - que

se il fren' - et la bri - glia ques - ta che di lei nac - que

se il fren' - et la bri - glia ques - ta che di lei nac - que

31

per voi spe - ra non men di le - i di ric - che spo -

per voi spe - ra non men di le - i di ric - che

per voi spe - ra non men di lei di ric - che

per voi spe - ra non men di lei di ric - che

per voi spe - ra non men di lei di ric - che

Ecco Signor il tebro

37

glie di ric - che spo - glie horn - ar - se et su - per - ba et al - te - ra sou - ra l'al -  
 et su - per - ba et al - te - ra sou - ra l'al -  
 spo - glie horn - ar - se et su - per - ba et al - te - ra sou - ra l'al -  
 spo - glie horn - ar - se et su - per - ba et al - te - ra sou - ra l'al - tr' in -  
 et su - per - ba et al - te - ra sou - ra l'al -

44

tr' in - al - zar - se et Rom' an - cho -  
 tr' in - al - zar - se on - d' al pa - ri del Te - bro et Rom' an - cho -  
 al - zar - se on - d' al pa - ri del Te - bro et Ro - m' an - cho -  
 tr' in - al - zar - se on - d' al pa - ri del Te - bro et Ro - m' an - cho -

51

ra n' an - dra la fam' - al ciel d' Am' - et di Flo - ra d' Am' - et di Flo - ra.  
 n' an - dra la fam' - al ciel d' Am' - et di Flo - ra d' Am' - et di Flo - ra.  
 ra n' an - dra la fam' - al ciel d' Ar - n' et di Flo - ra d' Am' - et di Flo - ra.  
 ra n' an - dra la fam' - al ciel d' Ar - n' et di Flo - ra d' Am' - et di Flo - ra.  
 ra n' an - dra la fam' - al ciel d' Ar - n' et di Flo - ra d' Am' - et di Flo - ra.

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