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The Commedia dell'Arte: New Perspectives and New Documents

M. A. Katritzky
Open University, Milton Keynes, m.a.katritzky@open.ac.uk

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Issues in Review

M.A. Katritzky, Maria Ines Aliverti, Rosalind Kerr, Erith Jaffe-Berg, Stefano Mengarelli, and Robert Henke

New Developments in Commedia Research

The Commedia dell'Arte: New Perspectives and New Documents

The launch of a new journal on the commedia dell'arte, the first exclusively dedicated to this subject, marks an auspicious time to assess this exceptionally productive field, and to introduce the new, exciting findings presented in the following five articles. This introduction considers them in the context of current developments in commedia research. It reviews the annual, peer-reviewed journal *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale*'s 2008 inaugural issue (ISSN: 1974-1294) and key commedia dell'arte-related publications postdating the period covered by its bibliography (from 2000 to 2006).[1] This substantial bibliography amply reflects the field's traditional strengths in archival researches into visual as well as textual documents. Despite an emphasis necessarily on Italian publications and Italian performances, it also reflects the field's increasingly healthy productivity in multidisciplinary transnational and comparative studies. Already from its second entry — Frances Barasch on 'Italian Actresses in Shakespeare's World' — it reminds early British theatre scholars of the rich relevance of commedia dell'arte studies to their interests.

Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale's editors are two of Italy's most respected theatre historians, Siro Ferrone (University of Florence) and Anna Maria Testaverde (University of Bergamo). Ferrone's latest monograph, *Arlecchino: vita e avventure di Tristano Martinelli attore,* engagingly summarizes his monumental documentary researches into the creator of the Harlequin stage role, Tristano Martinelli (1557–1630).[2] An initial chapter outlines Martinelli's extensive early tours in Europe with the mixed gender troupe of his brother Drusiano Martinelli, which may have put the first actresses on the London stage in 1578. Three further chapters, examining Tristano's mid

1580s creation of, and meteoric success as, Harlequin, and final years, complete a book that all serious scholars and students of the commedia dell'arte will want to own. To the iconographic documents of Harlequin considered by Ferrone may now be added three of a series of four painted panels identified by Alicia Álvarez Sellers, catalogued since at least 1746 in Spain, where Martinelli's troupe are documented in 1587–88.[3] *Harlequin Disguised* (Plate 1) *The Serenade* (Figure 1), and *Zany, Harlequin, Francisquina* (Figure 2) are variants of woodcuts in the well-known *Recueil Fossard* series. *Lilia, Leandro, Pantalon, Zany* has no known close compositional variants (Figure 3). The theme of Italian troupes in late sixteenth-century Spain is also addressed by Bernardo José García García, Maria Grazia Profeti, and María Del Valle Ojeda Calvo, three of the eleven contributors to Testaverde's invaluable edited collection on the commedia dell'arte's generic comic male servant role Zanni, and magisterially revisited in Ojeda Calvo's monograph.[4] Important outputs of Testaverde's project, 'Il patrimonio teatrale: atlante storico, metodiche e strumenti multimediali di valorizzazione', include her own co-edited collection of commedia dell'arte scenarios, and Alessandra Mignatti's monograph on Zanni's origins.[5]

Ines Aliverti, who in the 1990s, with Shearer West, redefined our understanding of eighteenth-century British theatrical portraiture, has contrib-

Fig. 1. *The Serenade*, oil on panel, 38 x 47.5 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia (11981). © Patrimonio Nacional Madrid

Fig. 2. *Zany, Harlequin, Francisquina*, oil on panel, 38 x 47.5 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia (11978). © Patrimonio Nacional Madrid

Fig. 3. *Lilia, Leandro, Pantalon, Zany*, oil on panel, 38 x 47.5 cm. Palacio Real de la Granja de San Ildefonso, Segovia (11980). © Patrimonio Nacional Madrid

uted to both the present issue of *Early Theatre* and *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale.* For the new journal, she repeats a notable success of 1998, identifying the unknown theatrical mask-holding sitter of an early seventeenth-century portrait as another prominent commedia dell'arte actor, in this instance Francesco Gabrielli.[6] 'An Icon for a New Woman: A Previously Unidentified Portrait of Isabella Andreini by Paolo Veronese' takes Aliverti's groundbreaking inquiries to a new level, with her stunning identification, in one of the Venetian painter's greatest portraits, of the commedia dell'arte's most famous performer. Whereas with portraits of male *comici,* the sitters' connection to the theatre is clearly iconographically signaled through their held face-masks, artists had to explore less obvious strategies for signalling the status of the unmasked prima donna. Aliverti's nuanced treatment of Veronese's sitter's costume advances many theatre-historical avenues. Her considerations of its annexing of the male doublet and allusions to cross-class dressing contribute importantly to debates on aspects of cross-dressing with extensive implications for the English stage.[7] They illuminate Varholy's suggestion that 'female cross-class dressing was perceived as a telltale sign of whoredom', and add further weight to the possibility that, in an age when dress so rigidly defined perceptions of social status, quite apart from any offstage behaviour, actresses may have been habitually linked with prostitutes not least because of their shared transgression of sumptuary laws.[8] Of high art- and theatre-historical significance in themselves, Aliverti's masterly discussions of Veronese's sitter, her dog, book, and dress, and above all her creative interaction with Veronese in the formation of this outstanding portrait, build a compelling case for her identification as the young Isabella Andreini.

Rosalind Kerr's considerations of Andreini, equally attentive to 'the consummate attention that she puts into preparing and delivering her stage roles', emphasize her creative interaction with great literature: 'rather than regarding her recycling of Petrarch as simply imitative, it should be interpreted as a sign of her virtuosic skill'.[9] The case study at the heart of her current research project considers Andreini in the light of the introduction of actresses onto the Italian stage. Here Kerr progresses the investigations into the emergence of female performers detailed in her influential doctoral thesis and commedia-related publications.[10] Within a robust, thoughtful theoretical framework, and in the light of detailed considerations of anti-theatrical Church condemnation, she achieves a sensitive critical appraisal of sixteenth-century perceptions of Italian actresses, on mountebank and other stages. Kerr's insightful

identification of these women as an early form of commodity fetish offers a genuinely fresh perspective on the mechanisms underlying the acceptance of female performers on all-male stages.

Erith Jaffe-Berg's researches into language use in commedia performance contribute to one of the field's most fruitful current perspectives, its vibrant ongoing debate over literary and oral inter-dynamics.[11] Spear-headed by Louise George Clubb, Richard Andrews, and Robert Henke, this debate continues to radically transform and expand the canon of commedia-relevant textual documentation. One document with an uncontested place in that canon, despite being published only in 1699, is Andrea Perrucci's theatrical treatise, 'the first', as Jaffe-Berg notes, 'to seriously study the languages of the commedia dell'arte'. Long accessible in English only in brief unreliable excerpts, Natalie Schmitt's perceptively high praise for its 'value … as a contemporary comment on commedia dell'arte performance' inspired Francesco Cotticelli, Anne Goodrich Heck, and Thomas F. Heck to make this remarkable source for the theory and practice of commedia orality fully available to scholars for the first time.[12] *A Treatise on Acting from Memory and by Improvisation (1699) by Andrea Perrucci: Bilingual edition in English and Italian,* their complete annotated Italian-English edition, joins this reliable team's essential volumes for commedia specialists and practitioners.[13]

Jaffe-Berg's recognition of multilingualism as a pivotal under-researched aspect of commedia language underpins her telling explorations of Isabella and Francesco Andreini's contrasting performative use of multilingualism in their stage roles of Inamorata and Capitano Spavento, and the fêted 1589 performances by Isabella Andreini (as 'La Pazzia') and Vittoria Piisimi (as 'La Zingana'). The spectacular 1589 rivalry is receiving renewed scholarly attention in inquiries into *Hamlet* and Ophelia, and Andreini's performance is at the centre of Sebastian Hauck's inquiry into the role of insanity on the commedia stage.[14] Domnica Radulescu's examination of Piisimi's performance, contextualized within '*Gypsies' in European Literature and Culture,* an indispensable volume for scholars concerned with Roma and Sinti literary and cultural representations, significantly compares commedia actresses with the independent, sexually free, stereotypical image of female gypsies.[15] Perrucci's discussion of 'virtuous and learned' actresses underlines Andreini's exceptional status, by naming only her, with merely a fleeting nod to the 'countless others … engaged in this profession with good repute, virtue and decorum'.[16] As well as contributing to our understanding of on-stage multi-

lingualism, Jaffe-Berg's timely exploration of Piisimi augments a long overdue trend of rehabilitating undeservedly lesser known actresses.

While the status of Perrucci's treatise as a foundational document for verbal aspects of commedia performances is secure, that of the 100 Corsini images as a source for their visual aspects remains controversial. Stefano Mengarelli establishes and applies reliable new methodologies for addressing these canonical commedia documents. His innovative independent analysis of fore- and backgrounds facilitates reference to the differing iconographic traditions of academic and courtly amateur troupes in book illustrations and professional troupes in images (such as the *Recueil Fossard* prints), thought to have been produced at their initiative. And his scrupulous attention to image-text relationships forces the enigmatic Corsini pictures to yield further secrets. The decisive new direction in which Mengarelli's careful considerations steer the longstanding debate on their documentary status will be welcomed by those concerned with the treacherous, challenging field of early modern theatre iconography, and inform all future studies of the Corsini manuscript. Mengarelli's doctoral researches contribute to the major University of Bern commedia research project directed by Stefan Hulfeld, whose own significant theatre-iconographical contributions include a co-authored article on a notable compendium of commedia-related images, discovered in the New York Public Library by Louise George Clubb.[17] Hulfeld's recognition of the longstanding neglect and central theatre-historical importance of transnational approaches acutely informs his invigorating take on theatre historiography. His comprehensive reformulation of this promising field starts by re-examining early modern travelling troupes, and theatrical descriptions by travellers such as Montaigne, Thomas Platter, and Fynes Moryson.[18]

The transnational perspective in commedia studies, where it is increasingly recognized as crucial, is receiving input from various fields. Julie Campbell, Rachel Poulsen, and Melinda Gough offer persuasive insights into the influence of Italian professional actresses on London's performing noblewomen and Shakespearean drama.[19] While they examine amateur court productions, David Gentilcore, in *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy,* focuses on the most commercial of all performers, fairground mountebanks. Noting his aim to create a publicly available 'Charlatans Database', he draws on impressive researches in some dozen Italian archives that have identified around 1600 Italian licences, authorizing, regulating, and shaping the activities of over 1200 charlatans during the period 1540–1800. Gentilcore's adoption of the 1632 definition of charlatans and mountebanks by one of the Ital-

ian physicians responsible for licensing them, as 'those people who appear in the square and sell a few things with entertainments and buffoonery', is a reminder of their pivotal theatre-historical significance.[20] The first of his monograph's three sections, investigating the charlatan's image, ends with a case study of Buonafede Vitali, now the subject of a monograph by Giorgio Cosmacini.[21] Two further sections focus on charlatan goods and services and charlatan self-promotion, through travel, performative, and printed means. Gentilcore's meticulous social history offers theatre historians vital perceptions into the healing and commercial activities of charlatans, whose creative combinations of such practice with public performance, typically including the selling of a patent remedy, Rosalind Kerr discriminatingly reappraises below.

Both Kerr and Gentilcore draw on an exceptionally important document in this respect, the extensive description of medical, commercial, and theatrical activity in Avignon in late 1598 by Zan Bragetta's Italian mountebank troupe in the travel account of the Swiss physician Thomas Platter. Even before publication of the authoritative German edition, Séan Jennett laudably achieved a readable, creditably brief English-language précis of highlights of Platter's 1600 folio manuscript.[22] Gentilcore's chapter on mountebank performance rightly confirms Platter's description in the mainstream of scholarly discourse, while relying extensively on Jennett's chatty paraphrases. Gentilcore furthermore makes no reference to the pioneering breakthroughs of Katrin Kröll, whose innovative quantitative and statistical analyses of data collected during archival researches into Strasbourg quack licences have been radically transforming methodological approaches in this field since the 1980s.[23] Such disappointments apart, this book goes some way towards fulfilling its ambitious aim of bridging the gaps created by disciplinary restrictions dividing responsibility for researching specific aspects of charlatan activity between 'historians of medicine, of theatre, of peddling' (117). A considerable achievement in its own field, it merits the serious attention of theatre historians concerned with commedia's transnational perspective. Accepting that 'Italian charlatans made a significant contribution towards taking the commedia dell'arte beyond Italy' (328), Gentilcore augments our imperfect understanding of the identities, stage names, performance practice, and transregional movements of Italian charlatans with a teeming mosaic of samples from the wealth of important evidence that theatre historians look forward to from his online 'Charlatans Database'.

Transnational issues, alluded to in *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale*'s very title, are topics many of its contributors, including Cristina Grazioli and Otto Schindler, two prominent members of the 'Proggetto Herla', address.[24] Founded in 1999, this admirable international research project co-ordinates the identification, databasing, and interpretation of archival documents dating from 1480 to 1630, relating to Gonzaga-sponsored theatre, festival culture, and commedia dell'arte. Its first publication is dedicated to Grazioli's co-editor Umberto Artioli (1939–2004), creator of the project's sponsoring foundation, 'Mantova Capitale Europea dello Spettacolo'.[25] This substantial, comprehensively indexed, 568-page volume presents articles by twelve scholars on aspects of Gonzaga theatrical connections, spread across mainland Europe by the transnational marriages of the Gonzaga daughters. It provides overviews of eleven groups selected from the several thousand archival documents relating to specific court festivities and actors catalogued by the project, whose basic details are fully searchable on the accompanying CD. Schindler's contribution to this volume, on Italian performers in sixteenth-century Vienna, focuses on Giovanni Tabarino, whose highly interesting brief manuscript miscellany relating to his stage practice, in the National Library of Hungary, Budapest, was discovered and published by Eszter Draskóczy.[26] Schindler's recent publications on the transnational perspective include several entries on well-known commedia dell'arte performers to an encyclopedia of theatrical practitioners in Prague. Its forty authors confirm the Czech capital's status as a profitable theatrical venue at the cross-roads of early modern Europe, which drew performers, playwrights and impresarios of many nations.[27] Schindler's introduction to his guest-edited 2005 commedia dell'arte issue of the journal *Maske und Kothurn* provides an accomplished overview of the transnational movements of early modern commedia troupes, a theme he revisits in entries on early modern theatre for an encyclopedia of migration in Europe.[28]

Robert Henke has made fundamental contributions to transnationalism, and, like Aliverti, writes for both *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale* and this issue of *Early Theatre.*[29] Henke progresses Schindler's work in a masterly survey of commedia dell'arte border crossings, for the first collaborative publication of 'Theater Without Borders', the multi-disciplinary international working group of early modern scholars co-chaired by Henke, Susanne Wofford and Pamela Allen Brown.[30] Addressing aspects of the material, systemic and historical factors contributing to *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater,* this landmark volume 'attempts to link

material/archival work (eg, Katritzky) with various theoretical approaches (eg, Lezra), and to acknowledge the degree to which theater and "theatergrams" are conditioned by precise cultural coordinates'.[31] Its thirteen essays include profound insights by Wofford, Henke's co-editor Eric Nicholson, and others in a field immeasurably enriched by Henke's own seminal work, commedia dell'arte-Shakespeare intertextualities.[32] This work includes acute comparative considerations of Ruzante and Shakespeare, and commedia and *Hamlet,* the latter in a collection of seventeen considerations of Italian influences on early modern British drama.[33] Edited by Michele Marrapodi, *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* impressively inaugurates 'Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies', the series he edits with Henke and Keir Elam, whose aim is 'to place early modern English drama within the context of the European Renaissance and, more specifically, within the context of Italian cultural, dramatic, and literary traditions, with reference to the impact and influence of both classical and contemporary culture'.[34] Marrapodi's volume further enhances commedia-Shakespeare studies with essays by two giants in the field. The continuing rehabilitation of Italian pastoral drama receives a significant impetus from Louise George Clubb's exemplary analysis of Shakespeare's creative reworking of its 'theatergrams', and Frances Barasch detects Harlequin's demonic mask behind Mistress Quickly's 'harlotry players'.[35] Like the volume edited by Henke and Nicholson, and Brown and Parolin's *Women Players,* Marrapodi's collection is an excellent contribution to theatre studies in its own right.[36] Taken as a whole, these three Ashgate volumes complement each other to magnificently advance the cutting edge of inquiry in transnational, commedia dell'arte, and commedia-Shakespeare studies.

For *Early Theatre,* Henke surveys over a century of landmark achievements in commedia-Shakespeare studies in an insightful review that draws deeply on his exceptional understanding of European languages, comparative literature, and stage theory and practice. Undertaken not at the level of simple one-way influences, but of complex theatrical intertextuality, it offers an informed rehabilitation of the contribution of many scholars, not least the great Kathleen Lea, and its synthetic observations provide illuminating pointers for future research. This issue of *Early Theatre* offers new perspectives on the commedia dell'arte's vital textual and iconographic documents and orality, and on two signature breakthroughs of the Italian professional troupes — actresses and transnationalism. It also offers the groundbreaking identification of a new document, a major portrait of the professional

Italian troupes' most revered performer, Isabella Andreini. Henke's rich and informed overview of commedia-Shakespeare studies underlines the significance of commedia dell'arte studies for early modern British theatre, and its vital comparative perspective fittingly concludes these essays.

M.A. Katritzky

Notes

My thanks to the Patrimonio Nacional (Madrid), and to my Open University colleagues Andrew Tinson for IT support, and Bob Owens, Cath King, and Dennis Walder for helpful discussions.

1 Maria Alberti and Anna Evangelista, 'Rassegna bibliografica 2000–2006', *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale* 1 (2008), 229–42. The journal is published on behalf of the Università degli studi di Bergamo, Facoltà di Scienze Umanistiche, Dipartimento di Lettere Arti e Multimedialità. English language summaries are provided for Italian articles.

2 Siro Ferrone, Arlecchino: vita e avventure di Tristano Martinelli attore (Roma: Laterza, 2006). Relatively unencumbered with formal academic apparatus, twenty pages of 'Nota bibliografica' replace footnotes and bibliography, and the index is limited to proper names.

3 Alicia Álvarez Sellers, *Del texto a la iconografía: aproximación al documento teatral del siglo XVII* (Valéncia, 2007). Figs. 6, 9, 11, 12 are here reproduced as Figures 1–3 and Plate 1. See also M.A. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560–1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (Amsterdam, 2006), for engraved and painted variants to Plate 1 (plates 8, 44, 49, 51), Figure 1 (plate 7), Figure 2 (plates 6, 48), a Madrid archival reference of 1625 to six commedia dell'arte paintings (21), and a discussion of Harlequin iconography including an uncut reproduction of Ferrone's cover woodcut (226–41, plate 310b).

4 Bernardo José García García, 'L'esperienza di Zan Ganassa in Spagna tra il 1574 e il 1584', 131–55; Maria Grazia Profeti, 'Ganassa, Bottarga e Trastullo in Spagna', 178–97; María Del Valle Ojeda Calvo, 'Stefanelo Bottarga: un pirata della letteratura', 156–77. All in Anna Maria Testaverde, *Zani mercenario della piazza europea*

(Bergamo, 2003). María Del Valle Ojeda Calvo, *Stefanelo Botarga e Zan Ganassa. Scenari e zibaldoni di comici italiani nella Spagna del Cinquecento* (Roma, 2007).

5 Anna Maria Testaverde and A Evangelista (eds), *I canovacci della commedia dell'arte. Trascrizione dei testi e note di Anna Evangelista* (Torino, 2007); Alessandra Mignatti, *La maschera e il viaggio. Sull'origine dello Zanni* (Bergamo, 2007).

6 Maria Ines Aliverti, 'An unknown portrait of Tiberio Fiorilli', *Theatre Research International* 23.2 (1998), 127–32; Alberto Ambrosini and Maria Ines Aliverti, 'Sopra un ritratto d'attore inedito', *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale* 1 (2008), 3–27.

7 Ronnie Mirkin, 'The portrait of Elizabeth Cary in the Ashmolean Museum: "Cross-dressing" in the English Renaissance' in *The Renaissance Theatre. Texts, Performance, Design,* 1: *English and Italian Theatre,* Christopher Cairns (ed.) (Aldershot, 1999), 77–106; Cristine M. Varholy, 'Cross-class dressing in the brothels and theatres of early modern London', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 8.1 (2008), 4–34.

8 Varholy, 'Cross-class dressing', 8.

9 Rosalind Kerr, 'Isabella Andreini (Comica Gelosa 1560–1604): Petrarchism for the Theatre Public', *Quaderni d'italianistica* 27.2 (2006), 79, 90.

10 Rosalind Kerr, 'The Actress as Androgyne in the Commedia dell'Arte Scenarios of Flaminio Scala' (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1993).

11 For a valuable perspective on this dynamic on the English stage, see Karen Kettnich, '"Now mark that fellow; he speaks Extempore": Scripted Improvisation in *The Antipodes*', *Early Theatre* 10.2 (2007), 129–39.

12 Natalie Crohn Schmitt, 'Commedia dell'Arte: Characters, Scenarios, and Rhetoric', *Text and Performance Quarterly* 24.1 (2004), 61.

13 Francesco Cotticelli, Anne Goodrich Heck, Thomas F. Heck, *A Treatise on Acting from Memory and by Improvisation (1699) by Andrea Perrucci: Bilingual Edition in English and Italian* (Lanham MD, 2007). A companion website, hosted by the Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, is planned at <http://digitale.bnnonline.it/perrucci/indice.htm>. See also Francesco Cotticelli, Anne Goodrich Heck, Thomas F. Heck, *The Commedia dell'Arte In Naples: A Bilingual Edition of the 176 Casamarciano Scenarios,* 2 vols (Lanham MD, 2001).

14 Robert Henke, 'Virtuosity and Mimesis in the Commedia dell'Arte and *Hamlet*', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare* (Aldershot, 2007), 69–81; Eric Nicholson, 'Ophelia Sings Like a Prima Donna Innamorata: Ophelia's Mad Scene and the Italian Female Performer' (81–98), in Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (eds), *Transnational Exchange in Early Modern Theater* (Aldershot, 2007). On Hauck, see Stefano Mengarelli's article below.

15 Domnica Radulescu, 'Performing the Female "Gypsy": Commedia dell'Arte's "Tricks" for Finding Freedom', in Valentina Glajar and Domnica Radulescu (eds), '*Gypsies' in European Literature and Culture* (New York and Basingstoke, 2008). The volume's eleven essays are an essential source for transnational and gendered aspects of 'Gypsies' in post-1800 British and comparative literature and film. See also Radulescu's article on Caterina Biancolelli, the first essay-length study of this gifted actress ('Caterina's Colombina: The Birth of a Female Trickster in Seventeenth-Century France', *Theatre Journal* 60 (2008), 87–113).

16 Cotticelli, Heck and Heck, *A Treatise on Acting,* 7.

17 Andreas Kotte and Stefan Hulfeld, 'Ein Buch mit fünf Siegeln. Überlegungen zum Bildcodex Ms.180 der Spencer Collection', in *Buchkultur im Mittelalter: Schriften-Bild-Kommunikation,* Michael Stolz and Adrian Mettauer (eds) (Berlin, 2005), 295–312.

18 Stefan Hulfeld, *Theatergeschichtsschreibung als kulturelle Praxis. Wie wissen über Theater entsteht* (Zürich, 2007).

19 Julie D Campbell, 'Merry, nimble stirring spirit[s]: academic, salon and commedia dell'arte influences on the *innamorate* of *Love's Labour's Lost*', 145–70; Rachel Poulsen, 'Women performing homoerotic desire in English and Italian comedy: *La Calandria, Gl'Ingannati,* and *Twelfth Night*', 171–91; Melinda J. Gough, 'Courtly *Comédiantes:* Henrietta Maria and Amateur Women's Stage Plays in France and England', 193–215. All in *Women Players in England, 1500–1660: Beyond the All-Male Stage,* Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (eds) (Aldershot, 2005).

20 David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford, 2006), 2. The companion website, hosted by the University of Essex, is planned at <http://www.data-archive.ac.uk>.

21 Giorgio Cosmacini, *Il medico saltimbanco. Vita e avventure di Buonafede Vitali, giramondo instancabile, chimico di talento, istrione di buona creanza* (Rome, 2008).

22 Séan Jennett, *Journal of a Younger Brother: The Life of Thomas Platter as a Medical Student in Montpellier at the Close of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1961); Rut Keiser, *Thomas Platter d. J. Beschreibung der Reisen durch Frankreich, Spanien, England und die Niederlande 1595–1600,* 2 vols (Basle and Stuttgart, 1968). This latter is not acknowledged by Gentilcore, and neither are the first scholarly English translations of the relevant passages (in M.A. Katritzky, 'Was *Commedia dell'Arte* Performed by Mountebanks? *Album amicorum* Illustrations and Thomas Platter's Description of 1598', *Theatre research international* 23.2 (1998), 104–25).

23 See, for example, Katrin Kröll, '"Theatrum Mundi" versus Mundus Theatri. A Study of the History of Fairground Arts in Early Modern Times', *Nordic Theatre Studies* 2/3 (1989), 55–90 and 'Spectacles de foire à Strasbourg de 1539 à 1618' in *Théâtre et*

spectacles hier et aujourd'hui. Moyen Âge et Renaissance (Actes du 115e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Avignon 1990 (Paris, 1991), 245–59.

24 Cristina Grazioli, 'Note per un'indagine su Giovan Paolo Agucchia, il Dottore da Bologna, a partire dall'Archivio Herla', 97–139; Otto G. Schindler, 'Domenico Biancolelli e la rappresentazione del "Convitato di pietra" a Vienna (1660)', 161–80; both in *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale* 1 (2008).

25 Umberto Artioli and Cristina Grazioli (eds), *I Gonzaga e l'Impero: Itinerari dello spettacolo. Con una selezione di materiali dall'Archivio informatico Herla (1560–1630)* (Firenze, 2005), with CD (for on-line update, see <http://www.capitalespettacolo.it>). Many scholars and theatre practitioners have their own special memories of Umberto's infectious and engaging enthusiasm for all things theatrical. How can I ever forget being smuggled out of a conference session in 1999, for a personal guided tour of the highly important sixteenth-century commedia frescos (five illustrated in colour in *I Gonzaga e l'Impero*), he had recently discovered behind the whitewashed walls of the Jewish quarter's Palazzo Berla, now the Mantuan headquaters of the Collegio Notarile?

26 Otto G. Schindler, 'Viaggi teatrali tra l'Inquisizione e il Sacco. Comici dell'arte di Mantova alle corti degli Asburgo d'Austria', in *I Gonzaga e l'Impero,* 107–60; Eszter Draskóczy, 'Tra ludo zannesco e commedia dell'arte: lo spettacolo del veneziano Giovanni Tabarino nell'Ungheria cinquecentesca', *Verbum: Analecta Neolatina* 9.2 (2007), 293–313.

27 Otto G. Schindler, 'Battista Amorevoli', 'Pier Maria Cecchini', 'Barbara Flaminia', 'Alberto Naselli', 'Giulio Pasquati', 'Antonio Soldino', 'Giovanni Tabarino', in Alena Jakubcová et al, *Starší divadlo v českych zemích do konce 18. století, osobnosti a díla* (Prague, 2007). My thanks to Jiri Cerný for transporting this 760 page volume to Wolfenbüttel for me.

28 Otto G. Schindler, 'Comici dell'arte bereisen Europa. Ein Abriss', *Maske und Kothurn* 50.3 (2005), 7–17 and 'Comici dell'arte in Europa in der frühen Neuzeit', in Klaus J. Bade et al (eds), *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München, 2007), 454–8. Schindler's publications are essential for an understanding of early modern travelling performers (for complete bibliographical details, see www.getcited.org).

29 Robert Henke, 'Representations of Poverty in the Commedia dell'Arte', *Commedia dell'Arte, Annuario internazionale* 1 (2008), 141–60.

30 Robert Henke, 'Border-Crossing in the Commedia dell'Arte', in Henke and Nicholson (eds), *Transnational Exchange,*19–34.

31 Robert Henke, 'Introduction', in Henke and Nicholson (eds), *Transnational exchange,* 3–4.

32 Nicholson, 'Ophelia Sings'; Susanne Wofford, 'Foreign Emotions on the Stage of "Twelfth Night"', 141–57; both in Henke and Nicholson (eds), *Transnational exchange.*

33 Robert Henke, 'Comparing Poverty: Fictions of a "Poor Theater" in Ruzante and Shakespeare', *Comparative Drama* 41.2 (2007), 193–217; Henke, 'Virtuosity and mimesis', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *Italian Culture.*

34 Marrapodi, *Italian Culture,* front matter.

35 Louis George Clubb, 'Pastoral Jazz from the Writ to the Liberty', in Marrapodi (ed.), *Italian Culture.* Also fundamentally important in this respect are Robert Henke, *Pastoral Transformations: Italian Tragicomedy and Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Newark/London, 1997); Maria Galli Stampino, *Staging the pastoral, Tasso's "Aminta" and the emergence of modern western theatre* (Tempe, 2005). Frances K Barasch, 'Harlequin/harlotry in *Henry IV, Part One*', in Marrapodi (ed.), *Italian Culture.*

36 Henke and Nicholson (eds), *Transnational Exchange;* Brown and Parolin (eds), *Women players in England, 1500–1660.*