

The reign of Grand Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici from 1587 until his death in 1609 was marked by three prominent weddings: his own to Christine of Lorraine in May 1589; that of his niece Maria de' Medici to King Henri IV of France in October 1600; and that of his son Prince Cosimo de' Medici (later Grand Duke Cosimo II) to Archduchess Maria Magdalena of Austria in October 1608. The festivities celebrating the 1589 and 1608 weddings culminated in the performance of a comedy (Girolamo Bargagli's *La pellegrina* and Michelangelo Buonarroti's *il giovane's Il giudizio di Paride*) with spectacular *intermedi* before, between, and after the five acts of the play: indeed, the six *intermedi* to *La pellegrina* (1589) are widely regarded as a pinnacle of the genre, and the epitome of Medici court entertainments as political propaganda.

Something quite different occurred in 1600, however. Here the noble guests saw not a play with lavish *intermedi* but, rather, two through-composed "plays in music" – *favole in musica* (what we now call operas): *Euridice*, with words by Ottavio Rinuccini (1563–1621) and music in the main by Jacopo Peri (1561–1633); and *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, to a text by Gabriello Chiabrera (1552–1638) and music by Giulio Caccini (1551–1618) and others. For the Medici to celebrate a wedding of one of their own with a comedy and *intermedi* was to be expected: Duke Cosimo I (he became grand duke only in 1569) established the precedent with his wedding to Eleonora of Toledo in 1539, and the pattern continued through the celebration of the marriages of his son Francesco to Johanna of Austria (1565), and his daughter, Virginia, to Cesare d'Este (1586).¹ Opera, however, was different, and also confusing enough that at least one visitor to Florence in 1600 thought that *Il rapimento di Cefalo* somehow belonged to the older genre – though clearly it did not in terms of its structure and musical setting – perhaps by virtue of its mythological content and spectacular staging.² *Euridice*

¹ The literature on the Florentine *intermedi* is large, but one can start with Nagler, *Theatre Festivals of the Medici*; Pirrotta, *Li due Orfei* (translated as *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*); and M. Fabbri et al. (eds.), *Il luogo teatrale a Firenze*.

² Carter, "Rediscovering *Il rapimento di Cefalo*," para. 4.3.

drew on Classical myth, too, but here, at least, there could be no doubt: something new was definitely in the air.

Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane* (1568–1646) had to tread a fine line in his official description of the 1600 festivities to place them at the apogee of this long tradition of Medici wedding celebrations.³ But the grand duke and grand duchess (or their advisers) may have cultivated such novelty to mark the great political significance of a marriage (with the King of France, no less) that also marked an important shift in Medici foreign policy. Such novelty also suited the ambitions of the relatively young Florentine patrician, Jacopo Corsi (1561–1602), who was involved in putting *Euridice* on the stage. It was the culmination of a decade of theatrical experimentation in Florence, in which Corsi and others had been actively, and sometimes competitively, involved. They, in turn, built on theoretical investigations into ancient Greek and Roman music and drama going back several decades on the part of Florentine groups such as the “Camerata” sponsored by Giovanni de’ Bardi (1534–1612), also involving Vincenzo Galilei (1520–1591), Giulio Caccini, and Piero di Matteo Strozzi (1551–1614).⁴ The Accademia degli Alterati in Florence had a role to play here, too: it was founded in 1569 and included a significant number of intellectuals and poets, such as Giovanni de’ Bardi, Lorenzo Giacomini, Girolamo Mei, and Giovanni Battista Strozzi *il giovane*, among many others. Although the academy barely met during the 1590s, it was briefly revived under the influence of Don Giovanni de’ Medici in late 1599–1600 (and again in 1604): Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*, Jacopo Corsi, Piero di Matteo Strozzi, Alessandro Rinuccini, and Ottavio Rinuccini were among those who attended a session on 24 January 1599/1600.⁵ Both Peri and Rinuccini made the connection with such humanist endeavor – as did Buonarroti for *Il rapimento di Cefalo* in his account of the festivities (he associates it with a

³ Michelangelo Buonarroti (*il giovane*), *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze . . . della Cristianissima Maestà di Madama Maria Medici, Regina di Francia e di Navarra* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600); it is also included in Buonarroti, *Opere varie in versi ed in prosa*, ed. Fanfani, 403–54. The 1600 edition lacks page numbers; in subsequent citations we follow the numbering added in pencil to the copy now digitized at www.cinquecentine-crusca.org/scheda2.asp?es=0&radice=000111569_1.

⁴ Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata*. Care must be taken not to confuse this Piero Strozzi (baptized as Piero Vincenzo di Matteo Strozzi) with other members of this extended family with the same first name; for the most current information, see Fantappiè, “Strozzi, Piero Vincenzo.”

⁵ Palisca, “The Alterati of Florence”; Blocker, “The Accademia degli Alterati and the Invention of a New Form of Dramatic Experience.” Girolamo Mei (mostly in Rome) was in correspondence with members of the Camerata and also had a significant influence on their thinking. For the January 1600 meeting of the Alterati, see Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 558.2 (Diary of the Accademia degli Alterati, vol. 2), fol. 105.

revival of the power of ancient music to arouse the emotions of its listeners)⁶ – although they also hedged their bets on the fidelity of *Euridice* to any Classical model.

That hedging was inevitable when squaring theoretical investigation with practical exigency. It also reflected a problem of genre. Peri and Rinuccini may have referred to ancient tragedy in their statements on *Euridice*, but they knew full well that they were also working within the more modern context of the pastoral play on the model of Tasso's *Aminta* (1573) and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590), a genre that also gained considerable favor in Florence (and elsewhere) in the 1590s as a suitable medium for princely entertainment.⁷ As Guarini discovered to his cost, the pastoral "tragicomedy" was controversial given its lack of Classical precedent and its apparent hybridity. But it had the further advantages of being relatively easy to stage (with fewer demands for complex scenery), and, still more, of offering a more conducive and plausible environment for music by virtue of its location in an idealized Arcadia where songs were naturally in the air. Various theatrical entertainments staged in Florence in the early 1590s inhabited the same mythological–pastoral world, including three (now lost) entertainments with texts by Laura Guidiccioni Lucchesini and music by Emilio de' Cavalieri: *Il satiro* and *La disperazione di Fileno* in 1590 (or early 1591) and *Il giuoco della cieca* (based on an episode in *Il pastor fido*) in 1595. Grand Duchess Christine of Lorraine also seems to have favored pastorals as appropriate for women in her circles, whether as creators (for example, an untitled *tragicommedia* by Leonora Bernardi performed *in villa* in 1591, and Laura Guidiccioni's collaborations with Cavalieri) or in terms of audience.⁸ Thus although the first "opera," *Dafne* – to verse by Ottavio Rinuccini and music by Jacopo Corsi and Jacopo Peri – was performed at Corsi's residence in Florence in the presence of Don Giovanni de' Medici in early 1598, it was repeated in the Palazzo Pitti

⁶ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 22, praises Giulio Caccini for offering a true demonstration of what many might have thought was just unbelievable hyperbole on the part of the ancients in terms of music's ability to arouse the emotions (*Il perché in questa impresa tutto intendendo a si fatto termine ei la condusse, che in rappresentandosi, quello, che quasi incredibile, et iperbole dell'antica musica da alcuno saria credutosi, tutti gli affetti movente; egli, per la chiara esplicazion degli articoli, e degli accenti, per verissimo ne fè conoscere, svegliandone con efficacia movimenti veraci ne gli uditori*).

⁷ Fenlon, "A Golden Age Restored."

⁸ Cox, *The Prodigious Muse*, 97 (Bernardi); Riccò, *Dalla zampogna all'aurea cetra*, 55–131 (Guidiccioni and Cavalieri). Both Bernardi and Guidiccioni were singers taken into Medici service in August 1588; Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, 1: 272 (doc. 67). The issue also has a bearing on the projected performance of Tasso's *Aminta* in Florence in Carnival 1589/90 by *le principesse e le dame di palazzo*; see Riccò, "Ben mille pastorali", 264–67.

before the grand duchess and Cardinals Francesco Maria del Monte and Alessandro Damasceni Peretti di Montalto on 21 January 1598/99.⁹ That performance followed a revival of Cavalieri's *Il giuoco della cieca* on 5 January (or, more likely, on the 4th).¹⁰ *Dafne* may also have been staged at least once in 1600, if not necessarily with Peri's music (see later in this chapter). Both events in Carnival 1598/99 took place in the Sala delle Statue, which, we shall see, had an impact on the preparations for the production of *Euridice* during the 1600 wedding festivities. The grand duchess and Don Giovanni de' Medici made their influence felt here as well, the latter by being placed in some kind of charge of the celebrations as a whole.

These interconnections between the Medici and Florentine patricians were made particularly apparent in 1600 because of the political and other

⁹ For *Dafne*, see most recently Fantappiè, "Una primizia rinucciniana," discussing the newly discovered "original" version of Rinuccini's libretto (with 212 lines of verse rather than 445). In the preface to *Le musiche . . . sopra L'Euridice* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600 [= 1601]), Jacopo Peri dates the inception of *Dafne* back to 1594, but some difficulty over the year of the first performance is caused by his subsequent comment that it was performed in three successive carnivals (*E per tre Anni continui, che nel Carnovale si rappresentò . . .*). This is commonly agreed to be Carnivals 1597/98, 1598/99, and 1599/1600, but it is possible that the entire sequence should be shifted back by one year, beginning with Carnival 1596/97. In the dedication to Maria de' Medici of his *L'Euridice . . . rappresentata nello sponsalio della Christianiss. Regina di Francia, e di Navarra* (Florence: Cosimo Giunti, 1600), Rinuccini refers to the early version of *Dafne*, then notes that it was given a better form and performed at Corsi's residence, and was not only favored by the Florentine nobility but was heard and praised by Grand Duchess Christine and Cardinals del Monte and Montalto (*onde preso animo, e dato miglior forma alla stessa favola, e di nuovo rappresentandola in casa il Sig. Iacopo, fu ella non solo dalla nobiltà di tutta questa Patria favorita, ma dalla Serenissima Gran Duchessa, e g'illustrissimi Cardinali Dal Monte e Montalto udita, e commendata*). However, he seems to be conflating performances of that "better" version of *Dafne* in two successive years, one in Carnival 1597/98 in Corsi's residence before Don Giovanni de' Medici, as noted later by Marco da Gagliano (*KirkCM*, 195), and one before the grand duchess and the two cardinals in the Sala delle Statue in the Palazzo Pitti on 21 January 1598/99 (*GM*, *Diari d'etichetta* 2, p. 95: *Adi 21 si fece nella sala delle statue la pastorella in musica del signor Jacopo Corsi*). The evidence of a performance in Carnival 1599/1600 is scant: an entry in Corsi's financial accounts dated 28 January 1599/1600 refers to purchasing *rimesse e ferri per la commedia* (*KirkCM*, 197), although this could refer to anything theatrical. In early April 1600, Emilio de' Cavalieri complained about comparisons being made between *Dafne* and *Il giuoco della cieca*; *KirkCM*, 197–98, uses this in further support of a performance of *Dafne* being held earlier that year, but it need not be so. Only portions of the music for the work survive; see Porter, "Peri and Corsi's *Dafne*."

¹⁰ *GM*, *Diari d'etichetta* 2, p. 94, notes the performance on 5 January 1598/99, and a comedy by zanni the next day (*Adi 5 detto se li fece nel salone delle statue la pastorella in musica dal signor Emilio de' Cavalieri che vi furono 60 gentildonne fiorentine. Adi 6 nella medesima sala e le stesse donne se li fece una commedia di zanni*). However, Belisario Vinta refers to the performance in palazzo of *una commedia pastorale molto vaga et piacevole con bellissima musica* that had been given "today" in his letter to Alessandro Beccheria (the Florentine resident in Milan), 4 (*sic*) January 1598/99; *MdP* 3135, fols. 679–80.

circumstances leading up to the wedding. But they also reflect a typical strategy of the Medici as a whole: although their rule as grand dukes of Florence was now undisputed, they were careful to foster patrician involvement in affairs of state, and were eager, of course, to showcase the intellectual and cultural vitality of their extraordinary city. Don Giovanni de' Medici (1567–1621) served a particularly useful function in this light. He was the illegitimate son of Duke Cosimo I and Eleonora degli Albizzi, and was thus in a somewhat similar position to Don Antonio de' Medici (1576–1621), born to Grand Duke Francesco and Bianca Cappello prior to their marriage in 1579. Both Don Giovanni and Don Antonio were subsequently legitimized within limits (and without rights of succession), and Grand Duke Ferdinando I tended to use them in various diplomatic capacities on ambassadorial missions abroad – Don Giovanni was often at the Spanish court – and as intermediaries to act in his interests in Florence and elsewhere. Don Giovanni had a distinguished military career (serving in Flanders, Hungary, and, later, on behalf of Venice), but when not abroad, he was active in Florentine intellectual and social circles such as the Accademia Fiorentina and the Alterati, given his own interests in the arts and sciences, as well as in the theatre. In addition he was an architect who played a leading role in designing military fortifications (for example, in Livorno and for the Fortezza del Belvedere in Florence) and churches (in Livorno, Pisa, and, somewhat controversially, the Cappella dei Principi in S. Lorenzo in Florence). In terms of his Florentine networks of associates and even friends, Don Giovanni was particularly close to, and cultivated by, Jacopo Corsi and Ottavio Rinuccini (they were roughly six and four years older than him, respectively). This created connections that would have a significant impact on the 1600 festivities.¹¹

Don Giovanni's role in the celebrations appears to have generated some bad feeling between him and the venerable architect and stage designer, Bernardo Buontalenti, on the one hand, and, on the other, with Emilio de' Cavalieri, who was notionally in charge of the court musicians but felt distinctly sidelined by the whole proceedings. Giulio Caccini also used the festivities to secure his reappointment to Medici service (on 1 October 1600) following his somewhat ignominious dismissal in 1593 (because of a dispute with Antonio Salviati over one of Caccini's female students),¹²

¹¹ For Don Giovanni de' Medici, see Dooley, *A Mattress Maker's Daughter*. His connections with Rinuccini and Corsi are discussed in Fantappiè, "Una primizia rinucciniana," 211–14.

¹² *KirkCM*, 131–36; Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 109–10. However, in the interim Caccini had continued to be supported by Florentine patrons, including Jacopo Corsi and Piero di Matteo Strozzi.

chiefly by way of *Il rapimento di Cefalo* but also, if to a lesser degree, by his involvement in *Euridice*. Meanwhile, Emilio de' Cavalieri was becoming increasingly isolated from events in Florence, and the issues surrounding them, despite his supposed authority over the court artists and musicians. Not everything seems to have gone smoothly, but that might well be said of the wedding arrangements as a whole, however much Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane* tried to put a positive spin on things in his official *Descrizione* of the festivities, as he was required to do.

The Marriage Negotiations

Don Giovanni de' Medici finds his typical place in the background of the well-known painting by Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli (1551–1640) of Maria de' Medici's wedding, or more properly, the ceremonial giving of the ring (see Fig. 1.1). This has all the hallmarks of such nuptial representations, and the absence of the groom, Henri IV, is not at all surprising: royal etiquette required the bride to meet him first on his terrain rather than hers. Thus Maria's uncle, Grand Duke Ferdinando I (wearing the robe of the *gran maestro* of the Cavalieri di S. Stefano), stood as proxy for the king in the ceremony: Chimenti shows them standing to the left and right of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini (nephew of Pope Clement VIII), the papal legate sent from Rome to officiate. They are bounded on either side by other members of the Medici family who, strangely enough, have consistently been misidentified in most scholarly accounts of this image.

Chimenti did the painting before, rather than after, the event: it was prominently displayed in the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio during the banquet on the evening of the ceremony, on the south wall (toward the Uffizi) and to the left of the baldachin over the head table at which was seated Maria de' Medici, her immediate family, and the cardinal.¹³ To the right was Chimenti's representation (a mirror image, as it were) of the other royal "French" wedding involving the Medici, that of Caterina de' Medici to Prince Henri, Duke of Orléans (later King Henri II) in 1533. To have yet another Medici as Queen of France was indeed a sign of greatness, so Grand Duke Ferdinando and Grand Duchess Christine must have thought.¹⁴

¹³ Compare Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 13. He situates the painting *à man destra* of the baldachin, i.e., on Maria's right-hand side as she faced the hall.

¹⁴ As part of the pro-French Medici policy (and for the improving of relations between the Lorraines and the Bourbons), the grand duchess's brother, Henri II of Lorraine, had married King Henri IV's sister, Catherine de Bourbon, on 31 January 1599.



Fig. 1.1: Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli, *The Wedding of Maria de' Medici and Henri IV of France* (1600). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (Inv. 1890/10304). By permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo della Repubblica Italiana/ Gallerie degli Uffizi.

For that earlier wedding, Chimenti had to draw on his imagination, but in his invoice for the two paintings submitted on 30 September 1600 (the week before the festivities), he made it clear that in the case of the current one he was representing those involved as they would indeed appear in the ceremony itself.¹⁵ Buonarroti likewise wrote that the painting represented the ceremony

¹⁵ GM 1152 (*Affari diversi* of the Guardaroba, 1575–1739), fol. 449: *Una Storia dello spozalizio dela regina quando il serenissimo Gran Duca in nome del Re li dà l'anello presente il Cardinale Aldobrandino figure intere di b. 3½ ritratte a natural coli altri ritratti appresso ci[o]è Il Gran Principe, Madama[,] la Duchessa di Mantova e la di [sic] Bracciano. Il signor Don Giovanni, il signor Don Virginio e Don Antonio con li abiti ritratti et osservati li proprii che in tal cirimonia avevo da servire.* Chimenti charged sc.200 for the two paintings and was paid sc.110. This

officiated by Cardinal Aldobrandini “in the presence of those princes who had found themselves there that day.”¹⁶ The one person that Chimenti could not paint from life, as it were, was the cardinal himself.

Chimenti listed in his invoice almost all the other persons shown, if not quite in the order they appear. Those he names, save Cardinal Aldobrandini, were Maria’s close family members, with women on the left and men on the right (Chimenti switched their positions in his “mirror” representation of the 1533 wedding). The viewer looking leftward from Maria de’ Medici sees, in order, the Duchess of Bracciano (Flavia Peretti-Orsini, peeping from behind Maria), Grand Duchess Christine, Prince Cosimo de’ Medici (he was ten years old), and the Duchess of Mantua (Eleonora de’ Medici, Maria’s elder sister). In the rear, between Maria de’ Medici and Cardinal Aldobrandini, is what seems to be a young nun, perhaps Passitea Crogi (from Siena), who acted as a spiritual adviser to the Medici women and, so it is sometimes reported, had prophesied Maria’s wedding to the King of France.¹⁷ Looking rightward, the sequence is Don Antonio de’ Medici (Maria’s stepbrother, between the cardinal and the grand duke), Don Giovanni de’ Medici (her uncle), and the Duke of Bracciano (Virginio Orsini, her cousin).¹⁸ The apparent prominence given to Virginio Orsini (on the far right) might seem strange, but of the three noblemen shown in this portion of the painting he was the only legitimate son of a Medici: he was Ferdinando I’s nephew by way of the grand duke’s sister, the ill-fated Isabella, who was murdered (most assume) by her husband, Paolo

document is also transcribed in De Luca, *Le nozze di Maria de’ Medici con Enrico IV*, 29, but *Madama la Duchessa di Mantova* is misconstrued as a reference to one person rather than two, prompting surprise at the “omission” of the grand duchess from the list. A prior sketch by Chimenti for the painting (De Luca, *ibid.*, 19) had other figures, including, perhaps, French representatives. His representation of the wedding of Maria became the model for several subsequent ones, including a later version by Chimenti himself (c. 1627) in which the Duchess of Bracciano appears more clearly (*ibid.*, 29).

¹⁶ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 17: *alla presenza di quei principi i quali il giorno vi si erano ritrovati*. However, they stood in somewhat different positions during the actual ceremony, according to Buonarroti’s account in *ibid.*, 5–6.

¹⁷ De Luca (*Le nozze di Maria de’ Medici con Enrico IV*, 21) does not identify the figure but refers to a sketch by Chimenti of an unidentified older nun (perhaps Maria Salviati). Another nun associated with Maria was Francesca Baglioni-Orsini (1538–1626), her governess from 1587 to 1596 (and who professed in 1593 after she was widowed), but her age does not match. For Passitea Crogi (1564–1615), see Formichetti, “Crogi, Passitea,” and Tabacchi, *Maria de’ Medici*, 25–26, 31–32.

¹⁸ For the most part, we follow the identifications in De Luca, *Le nozze di Maria de’ Medici con Enrico IV*, 29, 33, based on secure evidence from other portraits. Others have wrongly presumed the male figure on the far right (Virginio Orsini) to be Don Antonio, and the one between the cardinal and the grand duke (Don Antonio) to be Don Giovanni.

Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano.¹⁹ Chimenti's "family" group – plus Eleonora de' Medici's husband, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua – acted as a cohesive unit throughout the wedding festivities, standing close by Maria during the ceremony in the Duomo, taking key positions in the banquet, and lunching together privately in the Sala delle Statue (or its antechamber) in the Palazzo Pitti on Sunday 8 October prior to the entertainment in the gardens of the Palazzo Riccardi in Via Gualfonda.²⁰

The typical need to present a unified front at the wedding also helped counter the fact that the negotiations leading up to it had been both long and difficult. Maria de' Medici was born to Grand Duke Francesco and Johanna of Austria on 26 April 1575 and was now moving beyond the typical age for a dynastic wedding:²¹ her sister Eleonora (born in 1567) was seventeen when she married Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga on 29 April 1584. Indeed, the first steps toward Maria's union appear to have been taken when she herself was seventeen, as part of Cardinal Piero Gondi's efforts to have Henri IV return to Catholicism; Gondi (the archbishop of Paris) traveled to Italy in 1592 to explore the possibilities with the Pope, stopping in Florence to arrange an incentive to aid the French king's finances by way of the first of several large loans from Grand Duke Ferdinando I (made between 1592 and 1596, and repayable with interest) negotiated via the cardinal's cousin, the Florentine banker Girolamo Gondi. This sowed the seeds of a further alliance, even though Henri was currently married to (if long estranged from) Marguerite de Valois, the daughter of Henri II of France and Caterina de' Medici. Grand Duchess Christine also had her own family reasons for taking an active interest in favoring Henri IV as a means of ending the religious wars in France and neutralizing the increasing influence of the Duke of Savoy and his Spanish allies, a strategy brought

¹⁹ The other "legitimate" Medici son, Grand Duke Ferdinando's younger brother, Don Pietro (1554–1604), was currently in Spain, and out of favor because of his ongoing dispute with Ferdinando over his rightful inheritance from Grand Duke Cosimo I. Also absent from the festivities was Maria's aunt, Virginia, Duchess of Modena.

²⁰ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 5–6 (wedding ceremony), 14 (seating, etc. at the banquet). For 8 October, see the records of Giovanni del Maestro, the *maestro di casa*, in ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27, fol. 42: *Il dì 8 in domenica desinorno tutti insieme nel salotto delle statue e tutti da un un lato, la Regina in mezo, alla sua man dritta la Duchessa di Mantova, la Gran Duchessa, la Duchessa di Bracciano, da mano sinistra il cardinale legato Aldobrandino, il Duca di Mantova, il Granduca, il Duca di Bracciano, il signor Don Giovanni Medici e il signor Don Antonio Medici.*

²¹ For Maria de' Medici's birth (and baptism the following day), see Florence, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Battesimi femmine, Registro 235, fol. 71v (http://archivio.operaduomo.fi.it/battesimi/visualizza_carta.asp?id=235&p=135&ricdir=a&Submit=Visualizza); compare Dubost, *Marie de Médicis*, 48–49; Tabacchi, *Maria de' Medici*, 19. For the persistent error that she was born on 26 April 1573, see Assonitis, "The Birth of Maria de' Medici."

to a head in the successful Florentine efforts to seize the Château d'If (off the coast of Marseilles) for Henri, in which Don Giovanni de' Medici played a leading role. The king (re)converted to Catholicism in 1595, and his marriage to Marguerite de Valois was officially annulled in December 1599 following an agreement reached with her after the death of the king's longtime mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées, the previous April. Instrumental in that annulment were the pro-Florentine Cardinals del Monte and Montalto (the latter the brother of Flavia Peretti-Orsini, Duchess of Bracciano), bringing yet more Medici supporters into the fray. Meanwhile, for as long as Maria de' Medici remained a pawn in this game of political chess, the grand duke resisted offers for her hand from Archduke Mattias of Austria and even from Emperor Rudolph II, as well as another that he considered derisory from Theodore, Duke of Braganza.²²

The grand duke and grand duchess clearly had broader political goals in mind by pursuing stronger relationships with France, not least as a counter-balance to Spanish influence on the Italian peninsula. But some significant pressure may also have come from Florentine patricians on more economic grounds, given that the French Wars of Religion, coupled with the death of Caterina de' Medici in 1589, threatened their access to the lucrative financial and commercial markets there: the Gondi family's extensive interests in Lyons were just one of many cases in point.²³ This is probably the reason why Jacopo Corsi, himself a prominent businessman, intervened personally with the grand duke on behalf of his fellow citizens to halt the arguments over the amount of Maria's dowry and to offer their own financial support for it.²⁴ Henri asked for sc.1,000,000 whereas the grand duke was prepared to offer only sc.600,000. The negotiations were conducted by the Florentine ambassador to France, Baccio Giovannini (the grand duke feared that Girolamo Gondi was too partial to the French king), and in the end the Florentines paid only sc.350,000 in coin, with the remaining sc.250,000 deemed as credit for expenses incurred over Château d'If (sc.200,000) plus the unpaid remainder of a loan made to the French crown by Grand Duke Cosimo I. That coin was delivered on Maria's arrival in Marseilles on 13 November 1600 by Bardo Corsi, Jacopo's brother.²⁵

²² Tabacchi, *Maria de' Medici*, 37.

²³ Milstein, *The Gondi*, 58–65; compare Orlando, *Le Grand Parti*, and Tognetti, *I Gondi di Lione*.

²⁴ So the eighteenth-century historian of the Medici, Riguccio Galluzzi, recounted, as cited in Malanima, "Corsi, Iacopo": *informato delle pendenti contestazioni sulla quantità della dote, ebbe il coraggio di supplicare il Gran Duca a nome dei suoi concittadini di desistere dalle opposizioni e offerire le ricchezze di ciascheduno per contribuire alla dote richiesta.*

²⁵ Giovannini's dispatches concerning the negotiations (including his criticisms of Gondi) survive in *MdP* 4615, fols. 5–283 (from 24 November 1599 to 24 April 1600). For the distribution of the

It seems clear that Ottavio Rinuccini was no less motivated by self-interest in securing his involvement in the wedding celebrations. Scholars have tended to associated it with an attempt to gain a position at the French court (Henri IV later named Rinuccini a *gentilhomme du roi*), although the poet had more pressing financial concerns in mind: in 1555, the Rinuccini bank had lent some sc.120,000 to Henri II (Caterina de' Medici's husband) – as part of a much larger loan negotiated with a consortium of European bankers – but the capital and much of the interest was never repaid and had more or less been written off. Ottavio Rinuccini made several trips to France between 1600 and 1605 (staying at Girolamo Gondi's residence in Paris) and eventually managed to negotiate restitution to the tune of sc.53,000, which was considered more than satisfactory given the general difficulties faced by Florentines when dealing with French debtors.²⁶

The marriage negotiations still dragged on. Henri IV's agreement to have Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery, his counselor of state and the French ambassador to Rome, conclude the marriage contract was sealed in Paris on 6 January 1600, but he only arrived in Florence in April, and in the meantime the French and Florentines were still arguing over the amount of the dowry.²⁷ The contract was signed in the presence of the grand duke, Virginio Orsini, Belisario Vinta (the grand duke's *primo segretario*), and the archbishop of Pisa, Carlo Antonio Dal Pozzo, in the Palazzo Pitti on 25 April, the day before Maria's twenty-fifth birthday. It was announced officially on 30 April, the eleventh anniversary of Grand Duchess Christine's entrance into Florence: the grand duke met with the Florentine senate and leading patricians in his rooms in the Pitti, while cannon fire and bells sounded through the city. Events that day also included a procession to the church of SS. Annunziata to render thanks before the image of the Blessed Virgin, returning via the Corso toward S. Trinita and stopping at the residence of Jacopo Corsi, where "many gentlemen" engaged in tilting at the

sc.600,000 between coin and credits, see Belisario Vinta to Alessandro Beccheria (in Milan), Florence, 23 May 1600, in *MdP* 3135, fol. 734. Bardo Corsi was named the grand duke's *tesoriero maggiore* for the transaction; ASF, Guicciardini-Corsi-Salviati (Versamento 1992), 1218, ins. 2 (the patent granting the title given to him in Livorno on 16 October 1600). For the transaction itself, see ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27 (the *memorie* of Giovanni del Maestro), fol. 56; Carter, "Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," 66 (and n. 44).

²⁶ "Relazione di Ottavio di Francesco Rinuccini," in Aiazzi, *Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini dal 1282 al 1460*, 266–69. Here Rinuccini claims that the sum owed was sc.95,000, but his uncle, Tommaso, said in 1564 that it was sc.120,000; see Orlando, *Le Grand Parti*, 26–33. Rinuccini also notes the presence in Paris of Don Garzia Montalvo (who was involved in the performance of *Euridice*).

²⁷ Various of these official documents associated with the wedding are in *MM* 18, ins. 5.

ring.²⁸ There was also a banquet in the Sala delle Statue for the grand duke and grand duchess, Don Giovanni and Don Antonio de' Medici, and the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano, where Maria was granted ceremonial recognition according to her new status as a queen.²⁹

That same day (30 April), the grand duke wrote to Eleonora de' Medici, Duchess of Mantua, that his intention was to hold the Florentine festivities, and hence Maria's departure for France, before the season was too hot and bothersome (*stagione troppo calda e noiosa*) – that is, before the summer – and on 10 May the grand duke appointed five *deputati* to oversee the planning in terms of providing lodgings, servants, and stables for the most important visitors and their retinues: the *deputati* were required to meet daily, and to submit regular reports.³⁰ However, Baccio Giovannini's voluminous correspondence reveals that the grand duke's intentions were misplaced. Between the end of April and mid-May, Giovannini wrote repeatedly to convey Henri IV's different plans in mind: a spring wedding was not possible given the king's efforts to resolve his conflict with Carlo Emanuele I, Duke of Savoy, over the Marquisate of Saluzzo (eventually decided in the duke's favor by the Peace of Lyons in 1601); Grand Duchess Christine was pregnant (with Maria Maddalena, born in late June); Maria could not travel in the hot summer months, and therefore she could not arrive in Marseilles before September, which Henri then started pushing back to October. It also becomes clear that Henri considered the Florentine announcement of Maria's elevation premature on the somewhat dubious grounds that he might die in battle or by some other means in the interim, at which point she could not become Queen of France.³¹ The grand duke may have won the battle over the dowry, but the king had the upper hand over the schedule. News of these delays was withheld in Florence until 22

²⁸ ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27 (the *memorie* of Giovanni del Maestro), fol. 19: *se ne tornorno per il Corso verso Santa Trinita e sbarcorno in casa del signor Jacopo Corsi. Et il Granduca dirimpetto a cavallo, e quivi si corsono le lancie con la niza al anello da molti signori gentilhomini.*

²⁹ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 6; ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27, fol. 14.

³⁰ Ferdinando's letter to Eleonora is in ASF, Capponi 313, fol. 247. For the appointment of the *deputati*, see ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27, fol. 11v. They were *cavaliere* Raffaello de' Medici, Giulio de' Nobili, Ridolfo Altoviti, Donato dell'Antella, and Vincenzo Medici (*depositario generale*).

³¹ Giovannini's letter of 24 April 1600 conveys the information about Saluzzo and Henri's understanding that as for Maria's arrival, *che non sia per seguir prima che al settembre et per rispetti della stagione calda et per rispetto ancora della gravidanza di Madama*; MDP 4165, fol. 282. Subsequent letters (3, 12, 19 May, in *ibid.*, fols. 284–310) reveal Henri's displeasure at the marriage announcement, and the shift of schedule from September to October. For additional information on this stage of the marriage negotiations and the reports on them made by various ambassadors, see Cormier, "Marie de Médicis vue par les observateurs italiens," 44–94.

May, however, and even then it was suggested that the wedding would likely take place in August, given that the king could not meet Maria in Marseilles before the end of that month: in fact, he never did (the king received her in Lyons in early December).³² Even in September, the exact date of the Florentine festivities remained unclear, this time because Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini was delaying his departure from Rome.³³

Those involved in planning the 1600 wedding entertainments may have been glad of the delay: *Euridice* was probably well in hand by April 1600 and may even have had some kind of performance in the Palazzo Pitti in late May, although some significant questions remain over that (we shall see). Plans for the principal entertainment for the celebrations to be given in the Teatro degli Uffizi appear to have changed. Bernardo Buontalenti designed a set of six *intermedi* for which he built a model of the stage: the sets included a cityscape, an amphitheatre, the burning of Troy, a maritime scene, a garden (for the wedding of Hercules, presumably to Hebe), and as the last *intermedio*, an eagle giving birth to the Virtues.³⁴ There is no indication of which play was intended to be performed with these *intermedi*,³⁵ though as we have seen, the format would have fit the typical

³² According to Giovanni del Maestro (writing on 22 May 1600), *Questo di si è saputo per Valerio corriere che hiersera arrivò di Francia come il Re Christianissimo non può per degni rispetti essere a Marsilia per ricevere la sposa prima che verso la fine d'agosto prossimo a venire*; ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27, fol. 26. Belisario Vinta noted to Alessandro Beccheria (in Milan) on 9 June 1600 that the wedding celebrations were being postponed until September; *MdP* 3135, fol. 744v.

³³ See the various reports in *MdP* 899, fols. 231, 290, 359.

³⁴ *GM* 245 (*Filza di conti*, 1599–1609), ins. 4 includes an inventory dated 28 May 1608 of items held by Bernardo Buontalenti that needed to be returned to the Guardaroba and other official bodies; the model is detailed on fol. 436r–v. The document, or collection of documents, in this *inserto* (fols. 425–55) is extremely difficult to read. It seems to have derived from the need for Buontalenti's daughter, Eufemia, to close out her father's accounts just before he died (on 6 June 1608); an equivalent list of items delivered to the Fortezza da Basso is in ASF, Magistrato de' Nove Conservatori del Dominio e della Giurisdizione Fiorentina 3680 (*Quadernaccio . . . per diverse occorrenze per servizio del Castello di Firenze*, beginning in 1598), fol. 58. Eufemia's petition to have these transfers acknowledged is in SS 37 (*Atti degli Officiali di Monte e Soprassindaci*, 1606–9), no. 71 (approved on 5 June 1608). The last *intermedio* described here seems to be the basis for the sketch by Buontalenti in GDSU, 7059 F, that has sometimes been associated with the first *intermedio* for Giovanni de' Bardi's *L'amico fido* (staged for the wedding of Virginia de' Medici and Cesare d'Este in 1586) but more recently with *Il rapimento di Cefalo*; see Garbero Zorzi and Sperenzi (eds.), *Teatro e spettacolo nella Firenze dei Medici*, 188–89. However, the latter association now seems erroneous: while Act V of *Il rapimento* includes the appearance of Giove (Jupiter) on an eagle flying through the air (see Carter, "Rediscovering *Il rapimento di Cefalo*," appendix), Buontalenti's sketch does not match the action here (in contrast to the sketch now in London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E1187/1931, which was previously associated with the second of the 1589 *intermedi* but which more probably relates to the prologue for *Il rapimento* given the presence of Pegasus).

³⁵ Although a comment made by Cavalieri suggests that it may have been by Guarini; Carter, "Rediscovering *Il rapimento di Cefalo*," para. 2.6.

pattern of Medici wedding entertainments. However, Don Giovanni de' Medici seems to have intervened to force a change to a quite different type of work: Gabriello Chiabrera's *Il rapimento di Cefalo* was not a set of *intermedi* (despite persistent scholarly attempts to read it as such) but, rather, an opera sung to music throughout. Don Giovanni had tussled with Buontalenti in other contexts, too, and he would continue to do so (for example, over the construction of the Cappella dei Principi in S. Lorenzo), although in the case of *Il rapimento*, he eventually forced Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane* to remove any reference to himself in connection with the work.³⁶

The order to prepare *Il rapimento di Cefalo* appears to have been given only in early July 1600, which meant working to a very tight schedule, even for Florentine artists and artisans accustomed to the format of such festivities.³⁷ In the case of Girolamo Bargagli's *La pellegrina* and its spectacular *intermedi* staged on 2 May 1589 for the marriage of Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine, the detailed notes left by Girolamo Seriacopi (*provveditore delle fortezze*) on the construction of the sets date back eight months, to 31 August 1588.³⁸ Emilio de' Cavalieri and Giovanni de' Bardi, who had been directly involved in the 1589 festivities but were marginalized in 1600 (Bardi had moved to Rome in 1592) under pressure from younger figures now close to Grand Duke Ferdinando, certainly felt that the 1600 entertainments did not reach their level. In several letters written from Rome in November 1600, a somewhat embittered Cavalieri wrote that the banquet and its decorations were held in high regard: he was biased, given that he had provided the music for the entertainment staged within it, a dialogue between Giunone (Juno) and Minerva, to a text by Battista Guarini. But in the case of *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, he said, few felt that the scenery, machines, and music had made any great effect, and as for *Euridice*, the music had not given satisfaction – though other reports say that it did – and the scenery was “unfinished” (*per non esser terminate*).³⁹

³⁶ Carter, “Rediscovering *Il rapimento di Cefalo*,” para. 4.5.

³⁷ On 13 July 1600, Giovanbattista Cresci requested additional funds given that on the order of the grand duke *si fece dar' principio di lavorar' alla Commedia da farsi nel' salone nuovo del consiglio sopra gli uffizzij*; SFF 122 (*Memoriale e ricordanze*, 1598–1604), fol. 65. There are some references in GM 1152 from late June that might relate to a production in the Teatro degli Uffizi, but they are unclear.

³⁸ Testaverde, *L'officina delle nuvole*.

³⁹ See, for example, Emilio de' Cavalieri's angry letter from Rome, probably sent to Marcello Accolti, in *MdP* 899, fols. 416–17 (extracts in *KirkCM*, 140–41); it is dated 7 October 1600, though this is generally assumed to be a mistake for 7 November on the basis of internal evidence (summarized in Palisca, “Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri,” 402 n. 53). Among the comments he reports is the claim that *la musica della*

Likewise, Giovanni de' Bardi complained to Cavalieri about the "tragic texts and objectionable subjects" of the 1600 entertainments, and when he was later given the task of arranging the festivities for the marriage of Prince Cosimo de' Medici and Maria Magdalena of Austria in 1608, he reverted to the typical model of a comedy with *intermedi*, and he insisted on the need for adequate rehearsal specifically to avoid things turning out as they had done eight years before.⁴⁰ Cavalieri's public response to those negative reports, he said, was to blame the shortage of time. But both he and Bardi clearly felt they would have done better.

The 1600 Festivities

Princely wedding festivities necessarily had certain fixed elements embracing both the sacred and the secular; they also tended to combine "public" events for the general populace with those for a more restricted audience (including distinguished guests) as well as "private" ones for closer family members. But even the family was on public display – Jacopo Chimenti's painting of the wedding makes the point clear – and those entertainments to which the public did not have access were later published, as it were, by way of printed descriptions, librettos, musical scores, and other such sources.⁴¹ Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane's* official *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze . . . della Cristianissima Maestà di Madama Maria Medici, Regina di Francia e di Navarra* appeared some six weeks after the festivities (the dedication to Maria de' Medici is dated 20 November 1600), and only after it had been carefully vetted by court officials and revised accordingly.⁴² But it provides a day-by-day account of the celebrations up to Maria de' Medici's

comedia fatta da me che non ha data sodisfazione, come ancho per non esser terminate le prospettive et altre cose; in questo ho risposto che la brevità del tempo lo ha portato. Most scholars agree that this refers to *Euridice* (for which Cavalieri claims ownership), although Kirkendale suggests *Il rapimento di Cefalo*.

⁴⁰ For Bardi's comment on the 1600 festivities (complaining about *parole tragiche* and *soggetti da potervi opporre*), see Palisca, "Musical Asides in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Emilio de' Cavalieri," 404. His letter to Curzio Picchena, Florence, 31 July 1608, in *MdP* 6068, fol. 386, is given in Carter, "A Florentine Wedding of 1608," 92: *Mi occorre ancora dire che io non posso cominciare à provar le musiche in sul palco, per che vi sono huomini al lagoro nella sala e le macchine sono imperfette et convien provar assai, che non vuole che riesca come alle nozze della Regina.*

⁴¹ We use the term "libretto" (meaning a dramatic text intended for music) out of convenience, if remaining aware of its anachronism; see the remarks in Bianconi, "Il libretto d'opera." The same is true of the term "opera."

⁴² Carter, "Non occorre nominare tanti musici."

embarkation from Livorno (by ship to Marseilles), plus a list of the patricians who played a role in the ceremonies, and the text of the *Dialogo di Giunone e Minerva* performed at the banquet.

Buonarroti begins his account of the festivities themselves with the entry into the city on 4 October (a Wednesday) of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, who conducted the wedding ceremony in the Duomo the next day, then the ceremonial baptisms of Grand Duke Ferdinando and Christine of Lorraine's most recently born sons, Filippo and Lorenzo.⁴³ That evening there was a banquet in the Salone dei Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, rich with additional decorations for the occasion. The banquet was preceded by dancing, and also included at its end the dialogue of Giunone and Minerva, who emerged on ceremonial chariots from grottoes built into the room.⁴⁴ On the evening of Friday 6 October, Jacopo Corsi's offering for the festivities, *Euridice*, was staged in the Palazzo Pitti; the next day saw a *palio* run through the streets of Florence (and in the evening, an open rehearsal of *Il rapimento di Cefalo*);⁴⁵ and on Sunday 8 October, the court paid a visit to the famous gardens in the Palazzo Riccardi (in Via Gualfonda) for another entertainment arranged by a prominent patrician.⁴⁶ On Monday

⁴³ For the baptisms, *SolMBD*, 24, is wrong to say that they concerned Lorenzo (born on 1 August 1599) and Maria Maddalena (late June 1600); Buonarroti's description is clear that it was Lorenzo and Filippo (born on 9 April 1598). Filippo and Lorenzo had already been baptized privately (*in casa*); Florence, Archivio dell'Opera del Duomo, Battesimi maschi, Registro 23, fols. 25v (Filippo, http://archivio.operaduomo.fi.it/battesimi/visualizza_carta.asp?id=23&p=41&ricdir=a&Submit=Visualizza), 53v (Lorenzo, http://archivio.operaduomo.fi.it/battesimi/visualizza_carta.asp?id=23&p=93&ricdir=a&Submit=Visualizza). The same was probably true of Maria Maddalena. It was not at all uncommon for members of the Medici family to hold a ceremonial baptism quite some time after the birth of a child, although the actual baptism always needed to be held immediately for fear of neonatal death.

⁴⁴ For the banquet, see Giusti and Spinelli (eds.), *Dolci trionfi e finissime piegature*. Pierre Victor Cayet's account in *Chronologie septénaire de l'histoire de la paix entre les roys de France et d'Espagne* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1605), based on second-hand reports, says (fol. 179v) that two large clouds arose, one containing a young Florentine girl representing Diana (*sic*, confusing the *fiesta* in the Riccardi gardens?) and the other, a castrato. The two sang most pleasingly one after the other (*Voicy que d'en haut des deux costez de la sale deux nuées s'esleverent: sur l'une d'elles estoit une fille Florentine, faisant le personnage de Diane, sur l'autre estoit assis un Eunuque, lesquels tous deux, l'un apres l'autre par respons remplissoient la sale d'un doux chant de Musique et d'airs poussez avec un plaisir admirable*).

⁴⁵ For the open rehearsal, see *SolMBD*, 26–27 n. 2. According to the Modenese ambassador, this could be attended *per una parte di quelli che desiderano udirla, et un'altro giorno si farà per i principi*.

⁴⁶ The texts were by Riccardo Riccardi (1558–1612), Lorenzo Franceschi, and Adamo Bertozzi (even though some sources suggest Gabriello Chiabrera); they were printed as *Rime cantate nel giardino del Signor Riccardo Riccardi con l'occasione d'una festa fatta quivi per la reina* (Florence: Domenico Manzani, 1600), given in *SolMBD*, 239–59. The music (now lost) was by Piero di Matteo Strozzi.

9 October, the court visited the Uffizi Gallery and watched an acrobat walk a tightrope across the Piazza della Signoria from the tower of the Palazzo Vecchio to the statue of Grand Duke Cosimo I.⁴⁷ Then at sunset (*le 24 hore*) began the performance in the Teatro degli Uffizi of Gabriello Chiabrera's *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, with music in the main by Giulio Caccini, although some polyphonic choruses were provided by other of the city's musicians, including Stefano Venturi del Nibbio, Piero di Matteo Strozzi, and the *maestro di cappella* of the Duomo and S. Giovanni Battista, Luca Bati.⁴⁸

Buonarroti inevitably devoted most space in his description to the banquet (some ten pages) and *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (nineteen), whereas the entertainments provided by Florentine patricians were given far less (just over one page in the case of *Euridice*). In terms of the banquet, the Salone dei Cinquecento was the principal civic space for such celebrations, while the Teatro degli Uffizi was the typical location for grand theatrical entertainments for Medici celebrations: designed by Bernardo Buontalenti, it was inaugurated in February 1586 with the performance of Giovanni de' Bardi's comedy *L'amico fido* and its spectacular *intermedi* during the festivities for the wedding of Virginia de' Medici and Cesare d'Este, and it was remodeled for *La pellegrina* and its *intermedi* in 1589. Otherwise, however, the theatre was used very infrequently: for more routine entertainments (for example, during Carnival), the Medici tended to prefer more intimate, private spaces, whether in the Palazzo Pitti or, by the early seventeenth century, in the accommodations elsewhere in the city allocated to Medici princes, including the Palazzo del Parione, occupied by Don Giovanni de' Medici, and the Casino di San Marco, the official residence of Don Antonio de' Medici from 1598.⁴⁹ This was a matter of function on the one hand, and decorum on the other: the Medici grand dukes were careful to separate the "private" and "public" aspects of their ceremonial lives. It also raises broader, and important, questions about how the Medici configured and used different indoor and outdoor locations available to them for courtly and related functions, as well as matters of financing such pastimes from public or private funds.

⁴⁷ *SolMBD*, 26. Buonarroti does not mention this in his description.

⁴⁸ The libretto and associated documents are given in Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 3: 9–58; the music is mostly lost save for some extracts included in Giulio Caccini's *Le nuove musiche* (Florence: I Marescotti, 1601 [= 1602]).

⁴⁹ Relatively little is known about theatrical spaces (and performances therein) in the residences of Don Giovanni (who had a significant interest in the *commedia dell'arte*) and Don Antonio. For the former, see Landolfi, "Su un teatrino mediceo e sull'Accademia degli Incostanti a Firenze nel primo Seicento."

Some tricky matters of protocol ensued. It was by no means unusual for Florentine patricians to contribute to Medici celebrations, whether individually or as part of a group such as the Accademia degli Alterati: indeed, it was a smart tactic enabling them to secure, and to demonstrate, grand-ducal favor. Some of them (including Jacopo Corsi) paid a share of the costs of the *sbarra* held in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti on 11 May 1589, during the festivities for the wedding of Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine, and the practice continued on less formal occasions during the 1590s.⁵⁰ Both *Euridice* and the *fiesta* held in the gardens of the Palazzo Riccardi during the 1600 festivities were par for the course. However, a counter-example reveals some of the issues. The Accademia degli Spensierati (associated at other times with theatrical activity in Florence) wished to stage an entertainment for the wedding, and one of its members, Francesco Vinta (a nephew of Belisario Vinta, the grand duke's powerful *primo segretario*), pursued plans to mount a performance of the *tragicommedia*, *L'amicizia costante*, by Vincenzo Panciatichi (a *cavaliere di S. Stefano*). The play was printed by Filippo Giunti with a title page saying that it was dedicated to Maria de' Medici on the occasion of her wedding to Henri IV, although there is no actual dedication in the print (see CWFig. 1.8): the license for the printing is dated 26 April 1600.⁵¹ In August 1600, however, Vinta was still searching for a location for a possible performance, and was distinctly unhappy with the offer of the Teatro della Dogana, the "public" theatre in Florence used by the *comici dell'arte*, because the academy considered it undignified.⁵² In November 1600, the Giunti press printed a new first signature (A) of Panciatichi's play that replaced the one in the first state of the edition: it had a different title page, this time stating

⁵⁰ Carter, "Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence," 75–76.

⁵¹ Ottavio Rinuccini also used the Giunti press (in this case, Cosimo Giunti) for his edition of the libretto of *Euridice* (although the 1600 edition of *Dafne* was printed by Giorgio Marescotti). It may be significant that in the case of the texts for the 1600 festivities, only Buonarroti's *Descrizione* and Chiabrera's *Il rapimento di Cefalo* were issued by Marescotti, who by then regarded himself as the chief printer for the Medici, although he was never granted any such title; compare Carter, "Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Florence," 42–44, 51–52.

⁵² For *L'amicizia costante*, see Riccò, *Dalla zampogna all'aurea cetra*, 138 n. 7, 156–68 (which does not recognize the two states of the edition); Giazzon, "Vincenzo Panciatichi da *L'amicizia costante* (1600) a *Gli amorosi affanni* (1605)." Panciatichi published a reworked version of the play as *Gli amorosi affanni* in early 1606. On 31 August 1600, Grand Duke Ferdinando notified Donato dell'Antella of the intention to perform the play *dove habbin recitato istrioni mercenarii* (MdP 295, fol. 36), but Francesco Vinta had already complained about the Teatro della Dogana (*facendo eglino scrupolosa difficoltà di recitare in quella stanza, dove dalli publici comici mercenari si recita ogn'anno*); see his letter to Belisario Vinta, 30 August 1600, in MdP 898, fol. 493.

that the play was indeed staged during the wedding festivities, plus a dedication from Panciatichi to Vinta (dated 4 November) noting that it was performed in the presence of Maria de' Medici and of other principal guests foreign and domestic (see CWFig. 1.9).⁵³ However, there is no mention of any such performance in Buonarroti's description of the festivities, nor in any other court record to be found.⁵⁴

The surprising thing about *Euridice*, then, is not so much that Jacopo Corsi was allowed to present it as part of the festivities, but that he could do so within, rather than outside, the Palazzo Pitti. Clearly Corsi had more clout with the Medici (or at least, with the grand duchess and Don Giovanni) than Francesco Vinta, whether because of his contribution to the marriage negotiations or given his previous track record of providing entertainments within the palace (including, of course, his *Dafne* during Carnival 1598/99). Buonarroti tried to keep the record straight, however, in his account of *Euridice*, wording matters quite punctiliously: Jacopo Corsi had it set to music with great learning (*con grande studio*); very rich and beautiful costumes were prepared; the work was offered to, and accepted by, the grand duke and grand duchess; and a noble stage was constructed in the Pitti.⁵⁵ Even so, the seemingly unusual circumstances created confusion among court officials who one might expect (perhaps wrongly) to have known better. For example, Cesare Tinghi, the grand duke's *aiutante di*

⁵³ The dedication to Francesco Vinta also says that the play was staged at his great expense and effort by young noblemen of the city, and with *intermedi* devised by Vinta and staged by Jacopo Pagnini (*havendola voi con tanta spesa, e fatica vostra in queste Serenissime Nozze fatta recitare alla Presenza di Sua Maestà Christianissima, et di tutti gl'altri Principi, e Principesse cosi di Italia come di Francia che in Fiorenza si ritrovavano, e procurato che con l'industria, ingegno, e diligenza di messer Iacopo Pagnini giovane in queste et in altre simili cose esercitatissimo la fosse arricchita d'Intermedij da voi industriosamente inventati*). For Pagnini and a comedy performed in the Casino di S. Marco on 16 May 1602, see *SolMBD*, 28.

⁵⁴ Palisca, "The First Performance of *Euridice*," 437 n. 28, notes a French report of the festivities saying that on the Sunday there would be a "superb comedy" and on the Monday, a pastoral (*une Pastorelle*) costing more than sc.60,000. Palisca identifies the former as *L'amicizia costante*, but it seems more likely that the visitor was confused in terms both of the dates (so the *Pastorelle* was the entertainment in the Riccardi gardens) and of which entertainment cost what we shall see is in any case an impossible figure. According to the diarist Pierre de L'Estoile (Palisca's source), this report was written on 7 October (Saturday) – although it refers to the wedding ceremony and banquet "yesterday" – and he had received a copy from a "friend." But for the Sunday evening following the Riccardi entertainment, Giovanni del Maestro says that the Medici spent the time dancing in the Pitti; see *SolMBD*, 26 n. 1. And in general, French reports of the Florentine festivities tended to be somewhat vague; see Deutsch, "Jamais il n'y eut Musique si harmonieuse."

⁵⁵ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 18: *Là onde avendo il Signor Iacopo Corsi fatta mettere in musica con grande studio la Euridice affettuosa, e gentilissima favola del Signor Ottavio Rinuccini, e per li personaggi, ricchissimi, e belli vestimenti apprestati; offertala a loro Altezze; fu ricevuta, e preparatale nobile scena nel Palazzo de' Pitti . . .*

camera, called *Euridice* “a pastoral comedy in music done by Signor Emilio de’ Cavalieri” (*una comedia pastorale in musica fatta dal signor Emilio del Cavaliere*).⁵⁶ This was an understandable mistake. Cavalieri was a musician who had been brought to Florence from Rome in 1588 to serve as the superintendent of the grand duke’s Galleria dei Lavori (Gallery of Works, covering a range of artistic and similar enterprises), and who had overseen almost all the theatrical entertainments held in the Palazzo Pitti and the Medici villas in the 1590s. He certainly had some indirect involvement in *Euridice*, but nowhere near as much as those working in the grand-ducal administration apparently assumed.

Buonarroti’s carefully worded account of the genesis of *Euridice* also reflects how it was funded, so far as we can tell. The common assumption that Corsi’s provision of the work for the 1600 festivities meant that he also paid for it is not, in fact, borne out by the sporadic references to it in his own account books, such as they survive. Certainly he was responsible for the music (in the sense of commissioning it), and probably also for the singers and instrumentalists (he was one of the latter), although whether he or anyone else actually paid them any money is another matter.⁵⁷ He also seems to have covered at least some costs of the costumes, as would have been typical of any patrician involved in Florentine entertainments: an inventory of Corsi’s effects prepared after his early death (on 29 December 1602) includes, among items for entertainments and *mascherate*, costumes for Orpheus and for Pluto, as well as ten for nymphs (and three for Furies, who do not appear in *Euridice* unless they are generic characters of the Underworld).⁵⁸ As for the stage constructed in the Pitti, however, this fell

⁵⁶ For Cavalieri’s own claim of ownership of *Euridice*, see note 39. A similar line to Tinghi, with what may or may not be an important difference, was taken in the compiler of the court’s *Diari d’etichetta* (vol. 4, in *GM*), where *Euridice* was a “pastoral . . . set to music by Signor Emilio de’ Cavalieri” (*pastorale . . . messa in musica dal signor Emilio de’ Cavalieri*); see *SolMBD*, 25; *KirkCM*, 204. However, the *Diari d’etichetta* and other such chronicles were later compilations (from Tinghi and other sources), so such shifts of wording may not be significant, and even Tinghi was sometimes prone to relying on reports rather than first-hand experience; compare Fantappiè, “La celebrazione memorabile,” 209–10.

⁵⁷ Some kind of *mancia* (in coin or in kind) would have been normal: for example, the singers in the performance of *Euridice* directed by Giulio Caccini in December 1602 were given a large boar, presumably to eat; see Enea Vaini’s letter to Grand Duchess Christine, 3 January 1602/3, in *MdP* 5885, fol. 299. But performing in the 1600 festivities may have been deemed enough of an honor not to warrant it, or may have gained favors in ways that would not enter any financial accounts.

⁵⁸ Pegazzano, *Committenza e collezionismo nel Cinquecento*, 59 (see also Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 112 n. 170); the inventory was prepared on 28 June 1603. The largest item (£1,685.15s.9d.) in Jacopo Corsi’s accounts relating to *Euridice* does indeed concern costumes; see Carter, “Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence,” 102–3 n. 111.

to the Medici household, which paid for the scenery and covered other costs associated with the sets.⁵⁹

The Medici's financial accounts for *Euridice*, and for the wedding banquet held in the Palazzo Vecchio, were very carefully kept separate from those for the more public celebrations of the 1600 wedding festivities (*Il rapimento di Cefalo*, the triumphal arches for processions through the streets, and so forth), and the grand duke ordered that they be kept secret (*et non si pubblici questa spesa*, see Fig. 1.2).⁶⁰ In part, one assumes, this was because he did not wish to be accused of extravagance. But it was also a question of the source of the funds supporting these various events, whether from the privy purse (the grand duke's *camera*) or the public treasury.⁶¹ As is typical of the grand-ducal administration – and the funding streams that supported it – affairs of state were one thing, and “private” matters another, even when it came to seemingly official entertainments.

Whether the funding was kept so strictly separate in actuality (that is, in terms of disbursements) is a separate matter; accounting is one thing and the real world another. However, the well-known Florentine obsession with keeping proper account books (which had significant legal status in Tuscan law) brings with it several distinct advantages. The surviving *giornali*, *libri di entrata ed uscita* and *di debitori e creditori*, and the like that now fill the archives offer an unparalleled view of life at all levels of Florentine society. Many more, of course, are lost, or were destroyed once they had fulfilled their purpose: this is particularly true of low-level accounts and supporting documents intended to be subsumed in higher-level ones. Indeed, the survival of the materials presented in this book seems to be more a matter of chance than design. But they enable a close reconstruction of *Euridice* as it was conceived and performed.

⁵⁹ Likewise, the Medici made some contribution to the cost of the performance of *Dafne* in the Palazzo Pitti on 21 January 1598/99, including sc.33 for a carpenter, tailor, materials, and other expenses; see Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 111. This is a small amount, but the state of the Guardaroba accounts is not always such that one can clearly identify expenses charged to it (as would be true also for *Euridice* if we did not have the low-level accounts, etc. discussed in this book).

⁶⁰ SS 279 (copies of reports, 1574–1608), fol. 144v. This is a note added to the top-level review of the accounts of the 1600 festivities, completed on 28 February 1601/2.

⁶¹ There is a great deal of work still to be done to unpick the various operations of the grand-ducal finances during Medici rule. For some broader issues, albeit at higher accounting levels than pertain here, see Litchfield, *The Emergence of a Bureaucracy*, 99–107; Parigino, *Il tesoro del principe*. There are also some useful remarks in Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 229–30.

of devotion, reverence, and joy.⁶² Other officials were temporarily appointed to take charge of specific aspects of the festivities. But three others also played leading roles by virtue of their position as permanent heads of particular administrative bodies: Donato dell'Antella, superintendent of the grand-ducal fortresses and buildings (*soprintendente delle fortezze e fabbriche*); Vincenzo Giugni, keeper of the Guardaroba (he was usually styled the *guardaroba maggiore* or *guardaroba generale*); and Vincenzo Medici, head of the Depositeria Generale (the office in charge of grand-ducal finances). Broadly speaking, dell'Antella's office had charge of all manner of construction and maintenance concerning the grand-ducal buildings, while the Guardaroba (the "wardrobe") was responsible for everything they contained: furniture, utensils, clothing, etc., as well as works of art. Both offices kept detailed accounts from the day-to-day level up – as, of course, did the Depositeria Generale – in addition to making regular inventories of their holdings both for monitoring purposes and as needed for the succession from one head administrator (or grand duke) to another.

Understanding such administrative structures is important given that it enables one to navigate the various archival *fondi* that survive (although some do not) as witness to the operations of these various offices. The strict record-keeping typically required of them in Florence further aids the archival historian, given that particular actions can usually be tracked through the various branches of the system. However, events or actions outside the norm of the regular activities or responsibilities of such offices – or that involved more complex interactions between them – tended to fall between the archival cracks as it would not be clear which office should end up with what in its files. Wedding festivities certainly met that "outside the norm" standard: they were *straordinari* rather than *ordinari*. They also involved more directly the leading members of the Medici family, which could lead to lines of communication becoming crossed or confused: hence the rather shadowy presence of Don Giovanni de' Medici in the 1600 festivities without any clear statement apparent in the archives about his precise role. Thus

⁶² For these actions of the *deputati*, see the records of their meetings in *MM* 483 (a bound book of notes), plus the loose items in *MM* 18, ins. 4, and *MM* 695, ins. 4. For the boys for the *baldacchini*, see, e.g., *MM* 18, ins. 4, pp. 1–2, and for the ten-day holiday, see *ibid.*, p. 225. Their total costs for the guests came to *sc.*2,236 £4.12*s.*4*d.*, so the *deputati* informed the grand duke on 30 December 1600, also noting that another *sc.*10 or *sc.*12 of payment requests were still to be received; *MM* 483, fol. 62. Other ceremonial expenses for the festivities (trumpeters, bell ringers, torches, etc.) are in ASF, Camera dell'arme granducale 9 (accounts concerning trumpeters, etc., 1600), fol. 116.

the documents concerning *Euridice* and the banquet discussed here were placed among the records of the Guardaroba once their original purpose had been fulfilled, but the Guardaroba administrators did not quite know what to do with them, which is probably why they ended up (much later) in a somewhat haphazard miscellany of materials from 1575 to 1739 (GM 1152) labeled *Affari diversi*. These documents were originally part of a file (*filza*) of 229 receipts (*ricevute*) collated and numbered on 28 November 1601 and connected with the “book of the banquet and royal wedding of the Most Christian Queen of France.”⁶³ This “book” – presumably of accounts – does not survive, so far as we know. Nor do we have the other account books to which cross-references are made here, including a *stracciafoglio de’ Pitti*, a *quaderno delle feste* (and a *libro delle feste*, if that is not the same item), a *libro della reale commedia (Il rapimento di Cefalo)*, and what would probably have been a master ledger covering the whole festivities (identified as “A”):⁶⁴ these kinds of documents are typical of Florentine accounting systems, ranging from a low-level waste book (the *stracciafoglio*, recording daily transactions) to higher-level records in more summary form. However, the cross-references in these receipts are sometimes useful to determine which item was allocated to which purpose (the banquet, *Euridice*, or some other heading).

A significant number of the *ricevute* are just slips of paper acknowledging the delivery of construction materials (timber, canvas, hardware, etc.) to carpenters and other artisans working in the Palazzo Pitti. Most of the timber came from the Fortezza da Basso, the principal storehouse of construction materials for military or civil use, and so was under the control of *capitano* Gianbattista Cresci, the chief provisioner of the fortress(es) – he is variously styled *provveditore della fortezza*, *provveditore del castello*, and *provveditore delle fortezze* – who reported to Donato

⁶³ The *filza* is now incorporated as a sequence in GM 1152, fols. 96–464; the first page, bearing the title, is now at fol. 433[bis] (*Addi 28 di novembre 1601. Filza attenente al libro del banchetto e nozze reale della Cristianissima Regina di Francia fatto adì 5 d’ottobre 1600 numerata da n.° 1 a n.° 229*). Receipt no. 1 refers to a delivery made on 13 May 1600 (fol. 96), and no. 229 is dated 28 November 1601 (fol. 434); their current ordering does not quite reflect the original numbering. For these documents, see Testaverde, “Nuovi documenti sulle scenografie di Ludovico Cigoli per l’*Euridice* di Ottavio Rinuccini”; Spinelli, “Feste e cerimonie tenutesi a Firenze per le ‘felicissime nozze’”; Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 111–18.

⁶⁴ Cresci’s inventory opens with a reference to a *libro della reale comedia fattasi l’anno passato d’ottobre nell Salone sopra gli Ufizi per le feste e nozze della Cristianissima Regina di Francia* which now appears lost. Likewise, documents in GM 1152, fols. 96–99, refer to a *quaderno delle feste* and a *stracciafoglio de’ Pitti*, which would have been lower-level records of expenses, etc. For the problems, see “Money, Accounts, Measurements, Dates, and Time.”

dell'Antella.⁶⁵ Cresci further supplied laborers (carpenters, plasterers, etc.) when needed. This made sense: the Fortezza da Basso was the obvious source for such materials and labor, and Cresci's predecessor, Girolamo Seriacopi, had fulfilled the same function for the 1589 wedding festivities, leaving records rich in information on them. Cresci also needed funds to cover his costs. Thus, on 13 May 1600, Donato dell'Antella submitted an order (*mandato*) that the administrators of the Fortezza da Basso be allocated a sum of money for day-to-day expenses in preparing the festivities, to be kept in a separate account: the grand duke approved sc.1,000 on 14 May, and the money was assigned from the Michelozzi & Ricci bank on 16 May; additional money was requested on 22 June (another sc.1,000 were allocated on 26 June), and further advances were made once the order was given on or about 13 July to prepare *Il rapimento di Cefalo*.⁶⁶ All this money was drawn down by Simone Paganucci, Cresci's treasurer (*camerlengo del castello*).

Cresci, in turn, assigned these materials to his subordinate, Michele Caccini (no relation to the singer, Giulio), who had been seconded from his position as *provveditore* of the Fortezza del Belvedere to take charge of the banquet and of what became known as the *commedia de' Pitti*, that is, *Euridice*.⁶⁷ Caccini was therefore required to keep detailed accounts both of any financial transactions and of the receipt or disbursement of materials. He was also the direct point of contact for the artists and artisans involved in the construction of whatever was needed for these two events. It was to Caccini that the painter Lodovico Cardi *detto* "Il Cigoli" submitted his invoice for designing and painting the stage and scenery for the opera, on 14 October 1600 (see Fig. 1.3).⁶⁸ The invoice is transcribed and translated in Appendix I.A.

Lodovico Cardi was commonly known as "Cigoli" after his birthplace in Tuscany, near San Miniato al Tedesco. His involvement as stage designer for *Euridice* has been known for some time through surviving documents and some sketches by him that appear related to it (discussed in Chapter 2),

⁶⁵ For the connection between the Fortezza da Basso (also known as the Fortezza – or Castello – di S. Giovanni Battista), the Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, and the Depositeria Generale, see Testaverde, "San Lorenzo 'cantiere teatrale,'" 76, 78–79.

⁶⁶ SFF 122 (*Memoriale e ricordanze*, 1598–1604), fols. 58v (16 May), 63 (26 June), 65 (the *Commedia da farsi nel salone nuovo del consiglio sopra gli uffizii*, i.e., *Il rapimento di Cefalo*).

⁶⁷ Michele (di Giulio di Biagio) Caccini appears in Florentine documents at least from 1585, and he worked on the wedding festivities for Grand Duke Ferdinando I and Christine of Lorraine in 1589; see Testaverde, *L'officina delle nuvole*, 224. His family was styled the "Caccini di S. Maria Novella"; his testament, dated 3 July 1621, is in ASF, Notarile moderno, Protocolli 11533, fols. 121–26.

⁶⁸ The complete document is shown in CWFig. 1.3.

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G. S. no. Granduca

De dare a me Gio: Ciardi detto il Cigoli questo dì 14 d' Ottobre 1600 per le Arie cose descritte et tutto, e' venuto per la scena de pittij servite alle feste della Regina

Il qual conto, e' dato, a braccia quadre fuori del Arme et de' 6 alberi tutti di ornati et de' 6 pezzi di trauate che ricorrono infra luna et l'altra trauate

225 - Et imprima tutta la Centina del Cielo ay 2 lib.^o somma y 450 cioè sud 64-2

257 - Et di più la scena degli Alberi non contando gli Alberi di ornati pezzi 17 ay 6 lib.^o a somma in tutto y 1542 cioè 220-2

52 1/2 - Il parapetto della scena tocha doro, et argento, et me rivolve ay 5 lib.^o a somma y 262-10 cioè 37-3-10

104 1/2 - Il piano del palcho ay 1 lib.^o a somma y 104-10 14-6-10

16 3/4 - I Masti nicholi sopra il palcho sono pezzi 5. e tochi doro, et argento ay 5 a somma y 20-12 cioè 10-3-12

257 - I Masti Grandi tochi doro, et argento sono pezzi diciasette ay 5 a somma y 1285 cioè 103-4

228 1/2 - Tutta la facciata (fuori del Arme, et ibe pezzi che sono fra le trauate) cioè fuori delaj degli angoli nei quali e' finto i festoni et aria con alquanto di rouina. i duoi pezzi di centina nei quali e' finto In panno di lino fine et tocho doro. et sotto duoi pilastri con due femine l'una rappresentando la poesia, et nel altra la pittura e prospettiva et sotto a ciascuna un ballo ribiano, et pilastri nel muro y finimento della scena altre 24 lib.^o a somma y 912-13-4 cioè 130-2-13-4

662-3-5

Fig. 1.3: GM 1152, fol. 445; Lodovico Cigoli's invoice (first page) for creating the set for *Euridice*, 14 October 1600. By permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo della Repubblica Italiana/Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

but not to the extent discussed here.⁶⁹ He had studied first in Empoli and, from 1574 to 1578, was apprenticed to the artist Alessandro Allori in Florence, with whom he collaborated on decorations for the Galleria degli Uffizi. After a period in the early 1580s back in the provinces, Cigoli returned to Florence to work under the architect (and stage designer) Bernardo Buontalenti; he also studied with Santi di Tito. Typically for his profession he was both an architect and an artist. His subsequent output included architectural designs for the facade of S. Maria del Fiore, decorations for the Uffizi and the Palazzo Pitti, and a large number of works commissioned by the Medici as well as by other private individuals and religious institutions across Tuscany.⁷⁰ From 1604 he was based largely in Rome (in part under the patronage of Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano), where he received numerous other commissions, although he returned at times to Florence. He is considered to be one of the more significant painters of the Florentine early Baroque school.

The purpose of Cigoli's invoice is obvious enough: he sought payment for work done, itemized in eleven entries (*Cigl-11*) and amounting to a total of *sc.758 £3.5s.4d.*, including *sc.25* because of a change of rooms for the performance (as we shall see). Cigoli submitted it on Saturday 14 October. This appears to have been a typical day of the week for Medici officials to reckon their accounts, so Michele Caccini met with Cigoli there and then to go over the document. He agreed on the extent of the work listed in it, as he wrote in a comment added at its end, but he clearly had concerns over Cigoli's prices. There was a typically Florentine game being played here, where artists and artisans inflated their costs, in part to take account of the reduction in price (as a result of the *tara*) that the Medici conventionally expected for products or materials procured from those who regularly worked for

⁶⁹ Cigoli's involvement in the 1600 festivities is noted in general in the biography (1628) by his nephew, Giovan Battista Cardi, in a manuscript now in GDSU, 2660 A, prefacing a copy of Lodovico Cigoli's manuscript treatise *Prospettiva pratica . . . dimostrata con tre regole, e la descrizione di dua strumenti da tirare in prospettiva e modo di adoperarli, et i cinque ordini di architettura con le loro misure*. The biography is available in Battelli (ed.), *Vita di Lodovico Cardi Cigoli*, but has most recently been transcribed in Camerota, *Linear Perspective in the Age of Galileo*, 99–113. According to the biography, Cigoli also designed all the costumes and masks for the comedy performed in the 1600 festivities (*tutti gli abiti e maschere di personaggi che nella commedia si rappresentavano*), of which many sketches survive; Battelli (ed.), *Vita di Lodovico Cardi Cigoli*, 27; Camerota, *Linear Perspective in the Age of Galileo*, 106. However, the drawings to which Battelli refers in a footnote (as GDSU 8825, 8942, "etc."), while perhaps linked to the 1600 wedding, seem not to relate to *Euridice*.

⁷⁰ Chappell, "Lodovico Cigoli"; Gambuti, "Lodovico Cigoli architetto"; Bevilacqua, *I progetti per la facciata di Santa Maria del Fiore*, 25–27, 163–64.

them.⁷¹ Administrators were obliged to query such charges, and, usually, a compromise was reached by some manner of negotiation. The rules were well enough understood on both sides, to the extent that Medici officials could be sympathetic enough to compensate those who somehow neglected to apply them. This seems to have been the case with Jacopo Ligozzi, whose invoice for creating the gigantic lily (*giglio*) as decoration for the banquet was deemed by Gianbattista Cresci and Donato dell'Antella to be too low (*sc.*329 rather than the expected *sc.*370, down by 12.5 percent), prompting payment of the additional *sc.*41 in addition to a one-time “gift” (*donativo*) of *sc.*200 for his services.⁷² But in Cigoli's case, Michele Caccini was not going to authorize payment to Cigoli without some further investigation, and he commissioned five other Florentine painters to provide costings for the same work, item by item (see *CWFig.* 1.10).⁷³ This was his standard practice in such circumstances: it also raises important questions about how the market worked in terms of the value assigned to artists and their output.⁷⁴ From those five estimates, Caccini took an average of the lowest four that enabled him to negotiate downward: on 19 February 1600/1, Cigoli was credited with *sc.*379 £3.9s.8*d.*, which is almost exactly half of what he originally requested. The fact that this sum was calculated down to the level of *soldi* and *denari*, however it might have been achieved, is surely a nicety to do more with appearances than with reality. But those appearances mattered, as did the well-tuned system which produced them. The fact that Cigoli accepted the lesser amount, as did other artists in similar situations, suggests that

⁷¹ For the *tara*, see “Money, Accounts, Measurements, Dates, and Time.”

⁷² As documented in *GM* 1152, fols. 439–44. Dell'Antella said that Ligozzi was perhaps unaccustomed to dealing with officialdom (*huomo forse non pratico con simili ministri*). His lily was certainly one of the great successes of the festivities.

⁷³ The estimates by Alessandro Allori (*sc.*319 £0.2s.8*d.*), Giovanni Maria Butteri (*sc.*587 £4.3s.), Bernardino Poccetti (*sc.*290 £6.12s.8*d.*), Alessandro Portelli (*sc.*293 £0.17s.), and Luca Ranfi (*sc.*514 £6.6s.) were itemized by Caccini in a table in *GM* 1152, fols. 446–47; they did not include the *sc.*25 for the change of room. Allori and Poccetti are, of course, well known (and their estimates were significantly lower than Cigoli's). Butteri, Portelli, and Ranfi were lesser artists, but they appear frequently enough in other records. Cigoli would likely have worked with all of them on decorations for the Palazzo Pitti and other Medici buildings.

⁷⁴ Caccini did a similar exercise for Gabriello Ughi's claim for painting and similar work done by him and his assistant for the banquet (including the scenery for the *Dialogo di Giunone e Minerva*) and elsewhere, which was thereby reduced from *sc.*1,433 £3.8s.8*d.* to *sc.*848 £3.4s. (and he was paid on the same day as was Cigoli); *GM* 1152, fols. 451–55. The reduction of Jacopo Chimenti's fee for his paintings of the weddings of Caterina and Maria de' Medici (from *sc.*200 to *sc.*110) was achieved by the same means.

everyone knew how to play the game so as to achieve a (mostly) fair result, satisfactory to all sides.

It is important to remember that all these sums are calculated in terms of moneys of account: how they translated into actual payments in coin, in kind, or by some form of credit, is a separate issue. Nevertheless, such conscientious reckoning was expected of any administrator. It also contradicts the common image of spendthrift rulers engaging willy-nilly in luxury consumption without regard for the consequences: the Medici grand dukes certainly spent money on luxuries befitting their station and duties, but did so with some care on the part of their officials.

Michele Caccini had other obligations as well, given that all the materials he procured for the banquet and *Euridice* were credited to his account. In effect, they became a “debt” that needed to be “repaid” or somehow written off. After the dust had settled on the 1600 festivities, Caccini was therefore required to close his account by transferring the materials he had received – or what had been made of them – to another account not within his present domain (even if it might have stayed under his control under a different heading). This is the reason for the second document concerning *Euridice* presented here (Appendix I.B): an inventory, dated 18 September 1601, of the stage and its sets as placed in storage in space next to Teatro degli Uffizi, and therefore moved both literally, from one place to another, and figuratively within the accounting system. Whereas Cigoli’s invoice covers only those elements of the stage and sets for *Euridice* with which he was directly involved, this later inventory of the materials used for the staging is more comprehensive, at least in terms of what remained a year after the production, or that had not already been used for other purposes.

This inventory was prepared on behalf of, and signed by, Gianbattista Cresci, although it was written out by a scribe in his office, Matteo Chelli (see CWFig. 1.11).⁷⁵ But its forty-two entries (*Cres1–42*) were compiled on the basis of a (now lost) document completed by Caccini himself on 4 September listing the materials that he had deposited in storage. He identified them in quite precise terms even down to the different types and forms of timber used to construct the stage. The aim was to transfer these materials to the account of the administration of the “royal comedy” of the 1600 festivities (*Il rapimento di Cefalo*). Thus the inventory is, in effect, an annotated copy of Caccini’s list, or perhaps even a copy of a copy (that had been entered into the new account). But Cresci needed to arrange

⁷⁵ GM 1152, fols. 370, 456, are documents signed by Chelli, which allow us to identify his distinctive hand. Cresci’s is much less neat.

an audit of those materials to confirm that Caccini's list was correct (or to note discrepancies therein), and to provide Caccini with a version of it that would act as written confirmation of his deposit, canceling his "debt."

Not everything used for *Euridice* was moved to the Uffizi. Items that had been "borrowed" from the Guardaroba (some boards and trestles) were sent back there, while the large coat of arms that Cigoli placed at the center of the proscenium arch had now been mounted above a staircase in the Palazzo Pitti. Cresci noted everything accordingly, both to keep the record straight and as a reminder in case items needed to be retrieved should the grand duke wish to restage the opera (*per ricordo di ritornare dette robe se mai Sua Altezza Serenissima volesse fare rimettere insieme detta prospettiva per recitare detta comedia*). Some of the construction materials suitable for other purposes had already gone elsewhere, as in the case of the wood from the ceiling and other parts of the temporary stage, which had been used to build a *stanzino* in one of the grand duchess's rooms in the Palazzo Pitti (this wood therefore entered a different account relating to the palace). Other items were missing or damaged beyond repair, something which Cresci appears to have accepted as normal, given that he wrote them off rather than pursuing Caccini to remedy matters. As for the rest of the stage and sets, should Caccini or anyone else have needed them again (we shall see in Chapter 4 that someone did), a new account would have had to be opened operating in similar ways.

All this paper-pushing was laborious, but it had the advantage – at least in principle – of knowing not just where everything was at any given moment, but also who was responsible for it. To judge by Cresci's inventory, Caccini's original list had also been fairly methodical in its sequence of different elements of the stage. But how the line-items in any such accounts otherwise squared with reality both before and after the fact is another matter altogether. For example, there was no way for Cresci to ascertain that Caccini's list included absolutely everything he had originally procured for *Euridice*. In other words, there may have been other materials for the production that Caccini chose not to include, or that got diverted elsewhere in ways not otherwise recorded in surviving documents: this has a bearing on whether Cresci's inventory (relying on the list) identifies everything needed to reconstruct the staging. However, the fact that Caccini deposited at least some damaged items suggests that he was extremely conscientious, as would be expected of any good administrator.

The invoice and the inventory needed to be accurate enough to serve their purposes and to meet appropriate standards of verification. Such accuracy was needed for some details more than others, however: a case

in point is items listed in bulk, such as Cigoli's claim for painting the stage floor, measuring 104.5 *b.q.*, although he did so by way of painting an unspecified number of separate pieces of canvas (that may or may not then have been stitched together) amounting to that total area (not all of which survived, according to Cresci's inventory). For Cigoli's purposes that level of specificity did not matter (he painted what he painted), just as any eventual loss of the material was not his concern (Cigoli had done the work and needed credit for it). Nor would Cresci necessarily have been aware of the discrepancy unless he were to go back and check an invoice that by then was probably kept in a different place. But it would hardly have mattered if he had: Cigoli was paid in February 1601, whereas Cresci's inventory was made seven months later.

Similar circumstances and caveats apply to the other invoice considered here. Cigoli's charges included the cost of some materials (the colors, gold leaf, and other manufacture pertaining to the painter, so he noted at the end of the invoice), but not all of them. The canvas on which he painted the proscenium and sets was included within a long invoice submitted by Francesco Ricoveri *materassaio* (mattress maker) reflecting his contribution to the festivities since 20 May 1600 (see CWFig. 1.12).⁷⁶ Large amounts of canvas were delivered to the Palazzo Pitti, some "old" from the Fortezza da Basso and the Teatro degli Uffizi, and some newly procured from other sources. In both cases this canvas then needed to be sewn (*cucito*), that is, with strips joined together or hemmed (or both). A great deal was needed for the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento for the wedding banquet: in addition to new figurative paintings and the scenic elements created for the banquet itself, the walls of that room were almost entirely covered by temporary hangings that concealed the large frescoes by Giorgio Vasari and his assistants done in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, presumably because their subjects – the victories of Florence over Pisa and Siena – were considered indelicate for the occasion. However, Ricoveri also sewed canvas and performed other tasks that can be associated specifically with *Euridice*; the relevant entries (*Ric1-17*) are given in Appendix I.C. The invoice itself is undated (as are its separate items), but it was prepared sometime shortly after the wedding: the account was settled on 10 November 1600.

⁷⁶ GM 1152, fols. 425–29. This list was clearly prepared in a single sitting late in the course of events – based on (now lost) prior lists – with items grouped by their purpose rather than by the date of delivery.

Not all the canvas used for *Euridice* passed through Ricoveri's firm: for example, on 25 August, Michele Caccini received 110 *b.q.* per *servitio della commedia de' Pitti* from storage in the Teatro degli Uffizi, possibly intended for the stage floor (measured by Cigoli at 104.5 *b.q.*).⁷⁷ Moreover, items in Ricoveri's invoice do not always square precisely with what was delivered: for example, the receipt (dated 11 September 1600) for the 150 *b.a.* of canvas for the "sky" (*tela pagliola . . . per il cielo della prospettiva della commedia de' Pitti*) says that it was made up of four pieces, whereas Ricoveri's invoice lists eight.⁷⁸ Nor do we know whether that canvas delivered on 11 September had already been painted by Cigoli (it did not matter so far as Ricoveri was concerned), although the relatively late date would suggest that it had. But the relatively close correlation, as regards the canvas, between Ricoveri's invoice and Cigoli's (and what survived according to Cresci's inventory) suggests that Ricoveri was working with materials that had already been fashioned with the measurements of Cigoli's design in mind. Like Cigoli, he, too, needed to accommodate the change of room for the performance of *Euridice*, sewing the additional canvas needed to cover the enlarging of the stage, and the widening of the proscenium. And he was one of two artisans present in the Palazzo Pitti on the day of the performance on 6 October (the other, we shall see in Chapter 2, was the *lanternaio*, responsible for the lighting), probably in case his services were needed for any urgent repairs.

Although Ricoveri's measurements are given in what he calls *braccia*, it seems that his charges for sewing canvas were calculated by the *braccia andante*, that is, a cumulative series of lengths (for example, the four sides of a rectangle added together): he charged a fixed rate of £1 per 10 *b.a.* (2s. per *b.a.*), and, for any other labor in his shop, £3.10s. per person per workday (though he himself charged £7 for attending the performance of *Euridice*). A single piece of canvas (a *telo*) could be sewn together with other such pieces (to produce a *tela*). If needed (for example, for vertical scenery), the *tela* could then be mounted on a frame (a *telaio*). Thus, when Ricoveri sewed together eight pieces of canvas (eight *teli*) for the "sky" of the stage to produce what Cresci identified as a single *tela* measuring 17 *b.* long and 13.5 *b.* wide "on average" (*ragguagliata, Cres8*) – and assuming

⁷⁷ GM 1152, fol. 247. Similar problems arise with smaller batches of "old" canvas, such as the 8 *b.* of *tela vecchia* delivered by Ricoveri's *garzone* for the *commedia de' Pitti* on 20 July (ibid., fol. 185), or the 26 *b.q.* of *tela vecchia* from an unnamed source on 16 September (fol. 305, also *per la comedi[a] de' Pitti*). This could have been for anything to do with the stage, as could other canvas, the purpose of which is unspecified.

⁷⁸ The receipt is at GM 1152, fol. 283; compare *Ric6*.

that those eight *teli* created the total width (so each *telo* was some 1.7 *b.* wide) – he hemmed two lengths at 17 *b.* each and two at 13.5 *b.* each, and sewed seven joins: this gives a total of 155 *b.a.* The fact that Ricoveri charged for 150 *b.a.* (*Ric6*) is a relatively minor discrepancy on a par with the one between Cresci's measurements ($17 \times 13.5 = 229.5$ *b.q.*) and Cigoli's (he measured the sky at 225 *b.q.*, *Cig1*); indeed, the differences are negligible bearing in mind that Cresci's measurements here were "on average." Other discrepancies in Ricoveri's invoice are probably due to his sometimes sewing more canvas than was needed (in case of wastage) or adding an allowance for construction purposes: for example, *tele* mounted to a *telaio* needed some extra length and width so that their edges could be wrapped around the frame.⁷⁹

The elements of Ricoveri's invoice pertaining to *Euridice* amounted to £294.12s., representing just under 40 percent of his total for the festivities (£755.4s.), although the *tara* brought that final total down by over half to £361.16s.⁸⁰ The sums credited to Cigoli (eventually) and claimed by Ricoveri amount to *sc.*421 £5.1s.8d. (*sc.*379 £3.9s.8d. + £294.12s.), although Ricoveri would have received less as a result of the *tara*. The final cost of those elements of *Euridice* that fell under the jurisdiction of Michele Caccini (and hence the Fortezza da Basso) was reported by Gianbattista Cresci to be *sc.*678 £0.16s.: the difference is presumably due to other costs for materials and labor, although there is scant reckoning of them in the surviving documents.

Cresci submitted a final accounting of his total expenditure for the 1600 festivities in February 1601/2 to the administrators of the Ufficio di Monte e Soprasindaci – the office in charge of auditing all official and public expenditures – which they reported to the grand duke on 28 February (see Fig. 1.4).⁸¹ Cresci's total for the banquet and *Euridice* together was *sc.*5,361 £0.8s.4d. – he also provided a breakdown, including a separate line *per la commedia et prospettiva fatta nel Pitti* – and for *Il rapimento di*

⁷⁹ For example, Ricoveri said that the fourteen pastoral flats at 6 *b.* high (though we shall see that they varied in length) each required 18 *b.* of sewing, i.e., either he sewed two 1.5 *b.* strips of canvas together and hemmed the outer vertical edges, or he hemmed the vertical and horizontal edges of two 1.5 *b.* strips of canvas that had already been stitched together (both scenarios required 18 *b.* of linear sewing).

⁸⁰ So it seems from the summary figures provided on a separate sheet interleaved in Ricoveri's invoice; *GM* 1152, fol. 428.

⁸¹ *SS* 279, fols. 144 (*Il rapimento di Cefalo*), 144v (banquet and *Euridice*), 145 (breakdown of the costs for the banquet and *Euridice*). The figures vary slightly in different portions of these documents because of adjustments being made to them depending in part on the accounts to which they were to be charged, and in part on a few items that had been sold and therefore counted as credit, reducing the total sum. Of the total cost for *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, *sc.*5,800 or thereabouts were the responsibility of the Depositeria Generale.

Cefalo, sc.5,925 £5.3s.4d.⁸² The grand duke approved this reckoning on 27 March 1602, and that approval was conveyed to Cresci on 16–17 April.⁸³ The cost to Cresci of *Euridice* (sc.678 £0.16s.) presumably does not represent the entire amount of the opera: for example, as we have seen, the costumes were probably covered by Jacopo Corsi, and there is no evidence of direct payment to the singers. However, the total somewhat palls in comparison with the sc.1,781 £6.9s.4d. spent on decorating the royal table and its surrounds at the head of the banquet in the Salone dei Cinquecento

1602	
Distensione delle spese fatte nell'Apparato di Banquetta y le nelle della Casa di Regina di Francia, et y la Comedia fatta ne detto	
Spese di pitture di storie fatte nella sala di pinta	9300.6.10
Spese y le statue di Giunone, Minerva, Pallas et altro	9100.5.10
Spese y formare figure di Quattro	921.6.10
Spese y il giardino della Casa di Palla	9100.19.4
Spese y il Giglio et eroder la fitta nella Vestibola della sala	9099.6.20
Spese per fare il palco nel vestibolo y l'ambandino del Banquet	912.19.0
Spese y la tavola della Casa di Palla dove si fece la tavola Regia 1581.6.9.0 che 900 lire. In pitture, il palco y spese di tutto	91701.6.9.0
Spese generali y diurne occorrente y di servizio	9017.9.0
Spese y la Comedia et prospettiva fatta nel Palazzo de' Medici	9670.16.0
Summa fatta	95061.8.0

Fig. 1.4: SS 279, fol. 145 (top half); the breakdown of the costs for the banquet and *Euridice* audited by the Ufficio di Monte e Soprassindaci, 28 February 1601/2. By permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo della Repubblica Italiana/Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

⁸² As with *Euridice*, the expenses for *Il rapimento di Cefalo* devolving to Cresci did not represent the total cost of the production, although here it seems to have included at least some costumes (*abiti* are mentioned on SS 279, fol. 144). Some important details of other costumes for *Il rapimento di Cefalo* survive in GM 453 (*Affari diversi*, 1577–1685), ins. 6 (*Spese per le commedia rappresentata alle nozze di Maria de' Medici*).

⁸³ Cresci made sure that the matter was recorded in SFF 122, fol. 125.

(including around *sc.*800 for paintings), plus *sc.*1,099 £6.3s.8*d.* for its *giglio*, *credenza*, and other decorations, and *sc.*134 £0.19s.4*d.* for its centerpiece.

This final accounting came quite late in the day, and it took a while to grind through the system. Clearly there was no urgency in closing out the paperwork; nor need there have been, so long as it was done properly in the end. But Cresci was not left waiting until April 1602 for reimbursement of (or credit for) his expenditures. As we have seen, he was given two allocations each of *sc.*1,000, the first in mid-May 1600 and the second in late June. He kept a weekly tally of expenses on the banquet and *Euridice* that would draw down this sum, beginning with the week ending on Saturday 20 May; on 1 September, he reported to one of the court secretaries, Marcello Accolti, that according to this tally up to 26 August (he enclosed a copy broken down by week and heading), the original *sc.*2,000 had been over-spent (by just over *sc.*145), meaning that additional money was needed.⁸⁴ Cresci also noted that significant payment requests were still to come in because most of the artists and artisans involved would submit invoices only after their work had been completed. The total spent on *Euridice* by 26 August was *sc.*309 £2, which had increased to *sc.*450 by 13 September 1600, so Cresci wrote to Accolti that day. Cresci's principle concern, however, was the cost overrun for the various scenic and other elements of the banquet: he had already transferred *sc.*220 of the total money allocated for *Euridice* to pay some of those bills, although this needed to be reimbursed, given that his juggling of the books contravened the order given by Don Giovanni de' Medici that money budgeted for the opera should not be used for other purposes.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *MdP* 899, fols. 1–2 (Cresci to the grand-ducal secretary, Marcello Accolti, 1 September 1600). The weekly payments for *Euridice* in the attached list were: (week ending Saturday 20 May) *sc.*11 £2.11s.; (27 May), *sc.*28 £6.16s.; (3 June) *sc.*17 £2.10s.; (10 June) *sc.*31 £0.6s.; (17 June) *sc.*41 £0.18s.; (Thursday 22 June [because of S. Giovanni Battista]), *sc.*25 £6.13s.4*d.*; (Saturday 1 July), *sc.*19 £4.5s.; (8 July), *sc.*19 £2.19s.8*d.*; (15 July), *sc.*34 £4.10s.4*d.*; (22 July) *sc.*22 £1.3s.; (29 July), *sc.*16 £5.15s.; (5 August) *sc.*11 £2.16s.; (12 August), *sc.*6 £5.15s.; (19 August), *sc.*12 £3.2s.8*d.*; (26 August) *sc.*10 £0.19s. In addition, for the three weeks ending 20 May, 27 May, and 3 June, a total of *sc.*120 £0.11s.4*d.* was paid for *Statue e altro ne' Pitti*, which seems to have at least partly involved the performance of Jacopo Corsi's "comedy" on or around 28 May 1600.

⁸⁵ *MdP* 899, fol. 159 (13 September 1600): Cresci notes that *il sabato passato bisognò pagare du.220 che li feci pagare al Camarlingo di Castello di quelli della commedia* (i.e., *Euridice*), and therefore that he was faced with having to stop work on the banquet, although *non vor[ei] dare disgusto a levar mano, senza licenzia, et ancora di spendere del assegnatione della commedia il signor Don Giovanni non par lo voglia*. Don Giovanni de' Medici's instruction about not touching the money for *Euridice* was also noted in Cresci's letter to Accolti of 1 September (*MdP* 899, fols. 1–2). The total sum allocated for *Euridice* therefore seems to have been *sc.*670 (*sc.*450 + *sc.*220), which is close enough to its final cost as noted above (*sc.*678 £0.16s.).

Francesco Ricoveri was paid only on 10 November 1600, but it seems from Cresci's figures (and from the eventual total cost to him of *Euridice* at sc.678 £0.16s.) that Cigoli received some payments, or at least credits, in advance for his work. This is also apparent in upper-level accounts held by the Guardaroba: Cigoli was allocated sc.18 on 9 June 1600, then near-regular weekly credits (calculated at what seems to have been sc.15 per week) from 21 July to 9 September, adding up to sc.138.⁸⁶ The purpose of these payments is not specified here, although some can be squared with other Guardaroba accounts: the 9 June payment was for *pitture fatte a carrozze* (presumably, for carriages), while the ones on 21 July (sc.20) and 25 August (sc.15) were for other "pictures."⁸⁷ Cigoli was working for the Palazzo Pitti on items other than just for *Euridice*; he also did at least one of the paintings used to decorate the walls of the Salone dei Cinquecento for the wedding banquet.⁸⁸ It seems reasonable to assume, however, that at least some of these payments represented advances on the costs of the design and painting of the sets for the opera. Thus, when Cigoli was "paid" sc.379 £3.9s.8d. on 19 February 1600/1, there would have been some reckoning of what he had already received by way of a different account.

Finally, it is important to keep in mind one key difference between the three main documents discussed here. Cigoli's and Ricoveri's invoices reflect work done, or materials delivered, up to the point where that work or those deliveries ceased. Ricoveri's last day on the job was 6 October 1600 (he was present at the performance). Cigoli's, however, was presumably sometime sooner: as the performance approached, it was left to Matteo *imbiancatore* (an artisan who often painted walls, etc. in the Palazzo Pitti) to provide for "the blue part of the sky," which probably means touching it up in places.⁸⁹ Cresci's inventory, on the other hand, reflects what was actually used for and in the 6 October performance, in whatever state it survived once the stage had been dismantled, including items not covered

⁸⁶ GM 179 (records of *mandati*, 1594–1606), by date. The *mandati* were sent (usually on a Friday) to Vincenzo Medici, *depositario generale*, asking him to transfer funds to Matteo Mattei, *cassiere* of the Guardaroba, so that Mattei could allocate payments.

⁸⁷ GM 204 (*Entrata ed uscita*, 1599–1600), fols. 29 (*a buon conto di pitture*), 30v (*a conto di pitture*). Other payments to Cigoli here are less specific.

⁸⁸ GM 1152, fol. 460. The painting (8 b. high and 12 b. wide) represented *quando Il Gran Duca, è creato dalla repubblica*. Cigoli asked for sc.170 and was paid sc.110. Obviously he was able to raise his charges for a figurative painting: the sc.170 represents roughly £12.8s. per b.q., compared with his £6 per b.q. for painting trees for *Euridice*, or £5 for boulders.

⁸⁹ GM 1152, fol. 422v: *E per avere dato alla chomedia a Pitti parte lazuro all cielo cioue [sic] nostra manifattura alla meta dell cielo monta lire tre*. This is the last item in a long list (dated 5 October 1600) of work done by Matteo in the Palazzo Pitti and Palazzo Vecchio since 5 April. It is not clear what the *meta dell cielo* might mean.

by Cigoli and Ricoveri. To recreate the original staging of *Euridice*, the inventory is more useful than those invoices, even if the latter sometimes help explain what the inventory contains.

The Performance of “A Comedy by Signor Jacopo Corsi” (Spring 1600)

The payments for what Cresci tended to call the *commedia de’ Pitti*, beginning in the week ending 20 May 1600, are part of a broader pattern as the Medici set plans into action for the forthcoming festivities once the marriage was officially announced on 30 April. Rumors about Corsi’s “new pastoral” had in fact been circulating for several weeks: on 7 April, Emilio de’ Cavalieri (then in Rome) grumbled to Marcello Accolti about his having heard of many Florentines being told that it would be something “heavenly” (*si è dato conto già a molti fiorentini di una pastorale nuova che fa il signor Jacomo Corsi, che dicono che sarrà cosa celeste*), although Cavalieri, no friend of Corsi and his collaborators, was distinctly unimpressed by the hyperbole, feeling that the heavens and angels were being done a severe injustice (*poveri cieli et angeli*).⁹⁰ It was a particularly bitter pill to swallow because just two days earlier Cavalieri had complained to Accolti about the unfavorable comparisons being made between his *Il giuoco della cieca* and Rinuccini’s *Dafne* (both performed in the Pitti in January 1598/99), and between the Easter celebrations held in 1600 against those of the previous year (in which Cavalieri had been more directly involved); he was also annoyed by the praise now being given to Giulio Caccini (as “the god of music”) and other comments being made in favor of musicians other than those supported by him.⁹¹

As for Rinuccini, and in the context of what was becoming a heated competition between various Florentine literary and musical figures, the poet was anxious to assert the prominence of *Dafne* as moving beyond

⁹⁰ *MdP* 1691, fol. 17; Carter, *Jacopo Peri*, 1: 301; *KirkCM*, 202–3; Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 112–13. Cavalieri does not name the new pastoral, nor does he mention the wedding.

⁹¹ Cavalieri’s letter to Accolti of 5 April 1600 (*MdP* 3622, fol. 177; given in *KirkCM*, 198) complains about *Il sentir dir: che la Portia, et la monacha, canti meglio de Vittoria; la pastorale del Corsi sia piaciuta più della Cieca; che Giulio Romano sia il dio della musica; che siano state migliori le lamentationi questo anno a Pisa dell’anno passato . . .* Cavalieri had provided the music for the Lamentations in 1599; in 1600, Easter Sunday was on 2 April. Both *Il giuoco della cieca* and *Dafne* were performed in the Sala delle Statue in January 1598/99. The singer “Vittoria” was Vittoria Archilei; *KirkCM*, 262–76.

Cavaliere's pastoral experiments toward a more plausible reconstruction of ancient theatrical practice in terms of structure and delivery. A libretto had already been printed, probably in relation to the Carnival 1598/99 performance (the revised prologue refers to the grand duchess, who was present), but with a poorly typeset title page and some errors in the text (and, it seems, without the *licenza* from the religious authorities that would normally be required for anything made "public").⁹² The Marescotti press then produced a more elegant edition of *La Dafne d'Ottavio Rinuccini rappresentata alla Serenissima Gran Duchessa di Toscana dal Signor Iacopo Corsi* dated 1600 (after 25 March, given that Marescotti used *stile fiorentino* dating in his prints): it bears the arms of Christine of Lorraine on the title page (but otherwise lacks any prefatory material) and ends with an ode in praise of Corsi ("Qual novo altero canto").⁹³ Rinuccini associated this edition of *Dafne* with the one of *Euridice* issued by Cosimo Giunti in anticipation of the performance during the 1600 wedding festivities, although the date of its dedication to Maria de' Medici is left incomplete (it specifies the month – October – but the day is left blank) as if the date of the performance itself was still unclear at the time of printing (probably because of the uncertain schedule for the wedding, for reasons already noted).⁹⁴ In that dedication, Rinuccini refers to his having published both librettos because of the warm welcome being granted to such musical productions (*Là onde, cominciando io a conoscere quanto simili rappresentazioni in musica siano gradite, ho voluto recare in luce queste due . . .*); this might further suggest that the librettos came out in relatively close proximity. As we shall see, he also made a direct connection between *Dafne* and *Euridice* by way of the latter's final chorus. But by this time, Rinuccini's account in the dedication of *Euridice* to Maria de' Medici of the creation of both operas may also have been intended to counter the claims for priority in

⁹² This early edition (*Rappresentazione di Dafne favola pastorale composta dal signor Ottavio Rinuccini. Et fatta recitare in musica dal Signor Iacopo Corsi*), which lacks any indication of the printer or date, is discussed in Sternfeld, "The First Opera Libretto," on the basis of a copy in the New York Public Library (<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/9635f75d-ff6e-6929-e040-e00a18061b4b>). The font of this edition appears in other prints by both the Giunti press (such as Vincenzo Panciatichi's *L'amicizia costante* of 1600) and the Marescotti one (Giovanni Agnolo Lottini's *Il dannoso piacere* of 1602). The woodblock capital "D" matches the one used in one of Marescotti's two editions of *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (1600), but this is not strong enough evidence to identify Marescotti as the printer of the first *Dafne* edition with any certainty.

⁹³ A number of copies survive; see, e.g., <http://corago.unibo.it/eseemplare/BUB0000406/DOE0000379>. It was printed *Con Licenza de' Superiori*.

⁹⁴ Persistent claims that the dedication of the 1600 edition of Rinuccini's libretto is dated 4 October are not borne out by any surviving copies we have seen, *pace* Palisca, "The First Performance of *Euridice*," 445–46; KirkCM, 210.

the “invention” of opera being made (by Alessandro Guidotti) in the dedication to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini of Emilio de’ Cavalieri’s sacred opera, *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo*, published in Rome by Nicolò Mutii in early September (the dedication is dated the 3rd) following its performance there the previous February. Cavalieri certainly read Rinuccini’s comments in that competitive light.⁹⁵

That 1600 edition of *Dafne* acknowledges some performance of the opera before the grand duchess – as occurred during Carnival 1598/99 – but does not say when that was. It also commemorates her role (by virtue of the title page) and gives credit to Jacopo Corsi (the ode) in ways not possible in the printed libretto of *Euridice*, which was performed dedicated to Maria de’ Medici. But the uncertainties surrounding the *Dafne* edition add to a number of problems in interpreting an important document concerning the 1600 festivities in the file of *ricevute* kept by Michele Caccini. On 9 June 1600, one of the Palazzo Pitti’s carpenters, Camillo di Benedetto Pieroni, issued a request to debit the grand duke a total of £30.10s. for work on the construction of a “stage” that the grand duchess had requested be built in the *salone* of the Duchess of Bracciano in the Pitti, and which had served “to perform a comedy by Signor Jacopo Corsi” on 28 May (a Sunday).⁹⁶ (It is not clear whether 28 May was the date of the performance, as the wording suggests, or of the grand duchess’s order to prepare for it.) Pieroni charged for two days of labor – a Monday and a Tuesday – for him and three *garzoni* (one of whom worked just for a single day) for erecting the stage, and for half a day for him and two *garzoni* to take it down on 6 June (a Tuesday). The wood could have been drawn from the consignment Pieroni had received on Saturday 13 May to adjust the

⁹⁵ In his letter to Marcello Accolti, 10 November 1600, *MdP* 3622, fol. 185, given in *KirkCM*, 210. Peri attempted to calm the waters by way of his own remarks in the printed score of *Euridice*; Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 256–57.

⁹⁶ *GM* 1152, fol. 148, dated 9 June 1600: *Serenissimo Gran Duchessa de’ dare a Camillo legnauolo a Pitti per un paicho [sic] fatto e ne palazzo de’ Pitti e ne salone della Duchessa di Braciano con comessione di Madama Serenissima servì per recitare [a correction of recitate] una comedia del signor Jachopo Corsi sotto di 28 >di maggio< sopra detto . . .* That *sotto di 28 sopra detto* was incorrect given that the document is dated 9 June, which is why *di maggio* was inserted as a correction; presumably Camillo Pieroni was initially copying some written instruction he had received dated in May. Camillo is not otherwise identified in this document, but his full name is given in other accounts associated with work in the Palazzo Pitti, such as *SFF* 72 (*Quaderno di robe per la fabbrica de’ Pitti*, 1600–1603), fols. 15v–16. He was the brother of the painter and architect Alessandro Pieroni, who also worked on the 1600 festivities (and see *KirkCM*, 629). Both Pieronis were involved in different capacities in the 1589 festivities as well; Testaverde, *L’officina delle nuvole*, 201 (Camillo and five *garzoni* for the sixth *intermedio* for *La pellegrina*), 220, 222, 248 (Alessandro). For further information, see Bastogi, “Per una ricostruzione della biografia e dell’attività pittorica di Alessandro Pieroni.”

height of various statues in the Pitti and for other purposes (*per servizio di calare figure a Pitti, et altri affari*),⁹⁷ or the one obtained on Tuesday 16 May to make a *residenza*, probably in the Sala delle Statue.⁹⁸ But if we accept 28 May as the date of the performance, Pieroni's invoice suggests that the stage went up on 22 and 23 May, and was left standing for two weeks.⁹⁹

Adapting spaces in the Palazzo Pitti for multiple purposes, including theatrical ones, was typical of the flexible ways in which many rooms were used in the palace: it made better sense than restricting them to a single function, and labor came cheap. Bernardo Buontalenti also created a model for a temporary theatrical stage that could be installed and dismantled as required within the palace.¹⁰⁰ In the present case, there are two obvious problems to be solved: identifying Corsi's "comedy," and the location of the performance. For the former, the question is whether we are dealing with another performance of *Dafne* or, instead, some manner of preview of *Euridice* that the grand duchess wished to vet for the festivities.¹⁰¹ For the latter, the issue concerns the rooms in the Palazzo Pitti occupied by the Duchess of Bracciano, and therefore the position of any *salone* that Camillo Pieroni would have associated with her.

The fact that the court diaries and similar documents are silent on any theatrical performances or similar events in late May or early June does not help matters. In fact, this was a fairly quiet time in the Palazzo Pitti. Grand Duke Ferdinando I was away from Florence *in villa*, leaving the grand duchess behind, and as was customary she kept him abreast of things by way of regular letters. She and Maria de' Medici also seem to have reserved that last weekend in May for some manner of planning for the wedding festivities, which Grand Duchess Christine may further have intended as a

⁹⁷ GM 1152, fols. 96–97, dated 24 May 1600.

⁹⁸ GM 1152, fol. 99, detailing large amounts of wood, some of which (fol. 99v) *servirno per Camillo Pieroni per fare la residenza nell Salone*. This was probably a platform for a throne, but the terms are typically confusing: anyone creating such a delivery note might or might not have known the precise purpose of such materials (or cared about it so long as the entries were accurate enough in general terms).

⁹⁹ If, on the other hand, 28 May was the date of the grand duchess's order, the stage was mounted on 29–30 May, with the performance on some day prior to 6 June (tying up the room for a shorter period of time). It is also worth noting that during Carnival 1598/99 a stage seems to have remained in the Sala delle Statue at least from 4 or 5 January (the performance of *Il giuoco della cieca*) to 21 January (*Dafne*).

¹⁰⁰ GM 245, ins. 4 (inventory of items held by Buontalenti), fol. 437: *Un modello di una sciena per fare apparire nella sala dove magna lor Altezze che fa paramento e prospettiva all'improvviso lungo b. 1¼ e largo b. 1¼ e alto ⅔ tutto dipinto d'albero*.

¹⁰¹ Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 113, assumes *Euridice*; and compare Durante and Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano*, 193. But we are more cautious here.

distraction from the stressful circumstances around the marriage negotiations and their repeated delays: indeed, on 28 May the grand duke emphasized that Maria was not to be kept informed of those circumstances precisely because they might cause her too much anxiety.¹⁰² Thus on Saturday 27 May the grand duchess wrote to her husband that the previous evening she had spent some time with Maria discussing the color scheme of the livery for the pages, footmen, guards, and carriages attending her at the wedding, deciding in the end, she says, for what was known in French as *orange, bleu, celeste, et blanc*. The grand duchess included in that letter a sample of Maria’s favorite color (presumably in cloth) that Ferdinando was to pass on to the King of France.¹⁰³ It then emerges from the grand duchess’s next letter, written the following day, that the poet Battista Guarini was in attendance (she writes that he would leave “tomorrow” – Monday), which would have allowed some discussion of the proposed entertainment for the wedding banquet (Guarini wrote the text for the *Dialogo di Giunone e Minerva*).¹⁰⁴ However, there was also a rather tricky diplomatic issue to be resolved. As the grand duchess wrote in her Saturday letter, the papal nuncio had appeared at the Palazzo Pitti earlier on Friday bearing a *breve* from the Pope and letters from Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. The nuncio was requesting an audience with Maria de’ Medici, but the grand duchess was uncertain about the etiquette for allowing it, given that she was unclear as to what the Pope’s *breve* contained: presumably the lack of such knowledge threatened to put the women in a compromising position if some quick response were needed. Ferdinando must have replied immediately, because in her Sunday letter the grand duchess said that she would indeed arrange an audience for the nuncio “today.” It is not clear how this might have affected any performance of Corsi’s “comedy” taking place that same day, if it did (Christine does not mention it in any letter).

¹⁰² Grand Duke Ferdinando I (in Ambrogiana) to Christine of Lorraine, 28 May 1600, *MdP* 5961, fol. 522: *Alla Regina non me pare che se le possa mostrare nulla, et per rispetto di quella cagione, che tanto allegano della gravidanza di Vostra Altezza, et per rispetto di Saluzzo che dicono di voler disbrigar prima, acciò che la non facesse mille comenti di pericoli et di perturbatione per questo indugio nel suo animo et tanto più . . .*

¹⁰³ The two letters from the grand duchess discussed here are in *MdP* 5962, fols. 521, 522.

¹⁰⁴ Guarini was well enough known to Florence – he received what was in effect an honorarium of sc.20 per month as a *segretario*, from 1 April 1599 into the early 1600s (*KirkCM*, 603) – and he was a member of the Accademia della Crusca. His departure on 29 May was to take care of personal matters: on 9 June he was in Venice (letter to Belisario Vinta; *MdP* 897, fol. 655); on 7 July, he was in Mantua (letter to Vinta; *MdP* 898, fol. 18); and on 27 July or thereabouts he was leaving Ferrara for Florence (noted in a letter from Marchesa Bentivoglio; *MdP* 899, fol. 171).

Jacopo Corsi seems to have been even busier at the end of May: his household accounts include an entry for the 30th referring to expenses involved in hosting guests for four days at his villa in Sesto Fiorentino.¹⁰⁵ This may or may not be connected to a visit to Florence made by the Benedictine monk, Angelo Grillo, sometime between late April and early June as he traveled from the *capitolo generale* of his order in Parma, which began on 24 April, back to the Monastero di S. Scolastica in Subiaco, east of Rome (he was its abbot from 1599 to 1602). Grillo was a prolific poet of both spiritual and secular verse (he published the latter under the name Livio Celiano), and his voluminous correspondence reveals extensive connections with a wide range of *litterati* and musicians.¹⁰⁶ During what he called his *lungo passaggio* in Florence, Grillo was able to renew acquaintances with the poets Giovanni Battista Strozzi *il giovane* (who also played a leading role in the Accademia degli Alterati) and Ottavio Rinuccini, and with the musician Giulio Caccini, as is clear from letters he wrote to them after his return to Subiaco (where he arrived on 15 June); this sequence further includes a letter to Jacopo Corsi, whom Grillo seems to have met in Florence for the first time.¹⁰⁷ His Florentine encounters appear to have

¹⁰⁵ ASF, Guicciardini–Corsi–Salviati 409 (*giornale* of Jacopo Corsi, 1593–1603), fol. 130right (30 May 1600): *Al nostro signor Jacopo Corsi per le spese di casa £106.9s.4d. contanti resi a Romolo spenditore disse avere spesi a Sesto in 4 giorni per esservi forestieri.*

¹⁰⁶ Various editions of Grillo's letters were published in 1602, 1608, 1612, and 1616; some to Giovanni Battista Strozzi *il giovane* also survive in BNCF, Magl. VIII.1399. The most relevant edition for present purposes is the first: *Lettere . . . raccolte dall'illust. et Eccellentissimo Signor Ottavio Menini* (Venice: Gio. Battista Ciotti, 1602; the dedication is dated 1 May 1602, and the *licenza*, 20 June). The letters here generally lack dates, but in contrast to the later editions (with letters arranged by theme as epistolary models), these seem to be in rough chronological order (if with some exceptions) from 1594 to Easter 1601, although the sequence apparently from 1596–97 contains one letter to Leonardo Sanudo from 2 January(?) 1602 (at 244), and another to Marino from 13 February that same year (at 246). Precise dates for some of the letters can be confirmed by those to Strozzi in BNCF, and by others given in the first two parts of Bartolomeo Zucchi, *L'idea del segretario* (Venice: Compagnia Minima, 1606; the first part was published in 1600), while other of Grillo's letters can be dated more approximately by way of internal references to events or seasons (and to each other).

¹⁰⁷ Grillo mentions Strozzi and Caccini in a letter to Rinuccini probably dating from mid-1595 (*Lettere* [1602], 166); he met Rinuccini and Caccini in Ferrara in early May 1598 (Durante and Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano*, 197). Durante and Martellotti (*ibid.*, 193) briefly discuss his visit to Florence; see also Rossini, "Corrispondenti strozziani," 199–205. Grillo notes his *lungo passaggio* with Strozzi and Rinuccini in his letter to Nicolò Tucci in Lucca; Grillo, *Lettere* (1602), 480. His letter to Corsi is in *ibid.*, 407. Despite the lack of dates in the letters, a significant sequence of them can be identified on the basis of internal evidence as coming from summer 1600 (and the letters to Caccini, Corsi, Rinuccini, and Strozzi may have been sent in the same mail). Another of Grillo's Florentine correspondents around this time, the friar and *litterato* Matteo Baccellini, would later (in 1604) become Maria de' Medici's confessor in Paris.

extended to other members of the Alterati – or at least, to their works – and his visit also led to several requests for him to write poetry in honor of Maria de' Medici's wedding, although Grillo gracefully declined, claiming not to be able to set his mind to it.¹⁰⁸

That letter to Corsi offers a general expression of gratitude and obligation; however, those to Rinuccini and to Caccini are more specific. Grillo asks Rinuccini to write about his latest work and, in particular, about "the outcome [*evento*] of that graceful pastoral which with the music of Signor Giulio Caccini carried our ears to heaven on the very great wings of those angelic voices." Those "angelic voices" seem to be a reference to Caccini's famous *donne*, the female singers under his control, including his second wife, Margherita di Agostino Benevoli della Scala, and two daughters by his first, Francesca (b. 1587) and Settimia (b. 1591).¹⁰⁹ It also seems clear from the continuation of this letter that the *evento* refers to the forthcoming performance of the pastoral in the wedding festivities, although Grillo claims less interest in those future festivities as a whole than in Rinuccini's specific contribution to them.¹¹⁰ As for Caccini, Grillo praises him as the father of "a new manner of music," a form of sung recitation (*cantar recitativo*) that is noble rather than popular and that does not mangle the words but gives them life and spirit. Moreover, the notion of Caccini being the inventor of this style, or perhaps of his having rediscovered something from the ancients lost in the passage of time, has been confirmed to Grillo following "the performance in this your manner of the beautiful pastoral by Signor Ottavio Rinuccini." That performance also demonstrated how the ancients used choruses and how important to they are to such works, contrary to the opinion of those who think that they are inessential. Finally, Grillo notes that this "new music" (*nuova Musica*) has

¹⁰⁸ For Grillo not writing poetry for the wedding, see his *Lettere* (1602), 408–10 (to Caccini: *Son fatto sterile da un pezzo in quà*), 462–63 (Baccellini), 465 (to Strozzi, datable to 12 August 1600 – not 15 August as given in Rossini, "Corrispondenti strozziani," 202 – from the copy in BNCF, Magl. VIII.1399, fol. 357), 482–83 (Baccellini). In his letter to Nicolò Tucci from summer 1600 (*ibid.*, 480), Grillo refers to reading Raffaello Gualterotti's *poema eroico, L'universo, ovvero Il Polemidoro* (published in January 1600/1), which had been discussed in the Accademia degli Alterati on 24 January 1599/1600 at a meeting in which Rinuccini, Buonarroti, and others were present (as was Corsi as a guest); see the diary of the Alterati in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 558.2, fol. 105.

¹⁰⁹ In a later letter (after July 1602), Grillo asks Caccini for news of *quel suo Choro Angelico*; see Durante and Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano*, 454.

¹¹⁰ Grillo, *Lettere* (1602), 407–8: *mi scriva dello stato de' suoi studi, et in particolare dell'evento di quella sua gratiosa pastorale, che sotto la musica del Signor Giulio Caccini portava le nostre orecchie sopra il Cielo con l'ali massime di quelle voci Angeliche. Non passo alla notizia delle pompe reali, degli spettacoli regii, né della Regina medesima. Vo' solamente vedere, et udire Vostra Signoria parlar di se stessa, et delle cose sue.*

been universally embraced by all those with good ears, and has moved beyond the Italian courts to those of Spain, France, and other parts of Europe, so Grillo has been told.¹¹¹

That final claim about the geographical spread of Caccini's "new music" seems an exaggeration for 1600: Caccini's first collection of solo songs, *Le nuove musiche*, was due to be published in February 1601/2 but only appeared in the following July, that is, long after the apparent date of the final letter in Grillo's 1602 collection (which itself was published in June). But the songs it contained had been in circulation for a fair while, and Grillo's other comments about Caccini's style, including the term *cantar recitativo* and the reference to reviving the practice of the ancients, certainly square with hot topics in Florence in spring 1600. Clearly Grillo paid attention to these issues during his visit – there is no other way he could have engaged with them in such detail – and particularly, it seems, in multiple conversations with Caccini.¹¹² The obvious question, however, is what might have been the unnamed pastoral by Rinuccini in which Grillo took such musical delight, and which he knew, or thought, would be performed during the wedding celebrations.

Peri says in the preface to his score of *Euridice* (published in February 1600/1) that some of Caccini's music was used in the performance of the opera on 6 October 1600 – including the "arias" for Euridice, "some" of the same for a shepherd and nymph, and three of the choruses marking the end of each episode in the action – because it involved singers "dependent" on him.¹¹³ Caccini then published a complete setting of Rinuccini's libretto in

¹¹¹ Grillo, *Lettere* (1602), 408–10: *Dico senza fargli torto; perché ella è padre di nuova maniera di Musica, d'un cantar senza canto, ò più tosto d'un cantar recitativo nobile, et non popolare, che non tronca, non mangia, non toglie la vita alle parole, non l'affetto, anzi glielo accresce, raddoppiando in loro spirito, et forza. È dunque invention sua questa bellissima maniera di cantare, ò forse ella è novo ritrovatore di quella forma antica perduta già tanto tempo fà nel vario costume d'infinite genti, et sepolta nell'oscura caligine di tanti secoli. Il che mi si v'ha più confermando doppo l'essersi recitata sotto cotal sua maniera la bella pastorale del Signor Ottavio Rinuccini. Nella quale coloro che stimano nella poesia drammatica, et rappresentativa il choro cosa otiose, possono, per quanto mi hà detto esso Signor Ottavio medesimo, benissimo chiarirsi à che se ne servivano gli antichi, et di quanto rilievo sia in simili componimenti. In somma questa nuova Musica hoggidi viene abbracciata universalmente dalle buone orecchie, et dalle corti de' principi Italiani è passata à quelle di Spagna, et di Francia, et d'altre parti d'Europa come hò da fedel relatione.* In this and other letters to Caccini, Grillo also refers to the composer having set his poetry to music, although there are no known settings of Grillo/Celiano by Caccini.

¹¹² In this same letter to Caccini, Grillo notes how he had bothered him many times during his visit to Florence (*Non sarò neanco sterile in servirla, se vorrà valersi di me con quella fede, con la quale io l'hò nel mio passar per costà più volte incommodata, et annoiata*).

¹¹³ Peri, *Le musiche . . . sopra L'Euridice* (1600 [= 1601]): *Non dimeno Giulio Caccini (detto Romano) il cui sommo valore è noto al Mondo, fece l'arie d'Euridice, et alcune del Pastore,*

December 1600, although Peri noted that it had been composed and printed "after" his own was performed. However, we shall see (in Chapter 3) that Caccini's score, unlike Peri's, does not take advantage of improvements to the libretto that were made during the preparations for the performance in October. Peri, too, staked his claim for writing "new" music in his dedication to Maria de' Medici of his score (*Poiché Le [sic] nuove Musiche fatte da me, nello sponsalizio della Maestà Vostra . . .*), and he would probably have felt that Grillo's claim for the wonders of, and intent behind, Caccini's *cantar recitativo* applied even more to him. If Grillo heard a complete performance of Rinuccini's pastoral in spring 1600 somewhere in Florence, and if that pastoral was *Euridice*, then it cannot have been with Caccini's music alone, at least if we trust Peri's later remark (*composta . . . pur dopo*), even if Grillo was unaware of that fact. However, it is also possible that Grillo heard only portions of *Euridice* – those composed by Caccini for "his" singers – and assumed (when asking Rinuccini to send him news of the performance during the wedding festivities) that the rest would be by Caccini as well. This also fits with Grillo's reference to Caccini's *donne*, and his claim about the new-found efficacy of dramatic choruses (given that Caccini provided the music for three of them in the *Euridice* performed in October 1600).

The fact that the singer Ginevra di Piero *mazziere* was being taught the music of the prologue to *Euridice* by Caccini's son, Pompeo, probably in late April or early May (see Chapter 3) suggests that at least some of the opera was composed by then, whether by Caccini or Peri (or both). However, there is another possibility: that what Grillo heard in Florence in spring 1600 was a complete setting by Caccini of the libretto that had previously been performed to music by Corsi and Peri (at least, so Peri says): Rinuccini's *Dafne*. There is some evidence for Caccini having produced such a setting at some point, although it has tended to be dismissed by scholars. During the visit of Caccini and his *donne* to Paris in 1604–5, Maria de' Medici proposed a performance of *Dafne* given the impending arrival of Rinuccini there.¹¹⁴ Caccini himself said in the preface to his *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (1614) that his early

e Ninfa del Coro, e de' Cori, "Al canto, al ballo," "Sospirate," e "Poi che gli eterni imperi." E questo, perché dovevano esser cantate da persone dipendenti da lui, le quali Arie si leggono nella sua composta, e stampata pur dopo, che questa mia fu rappresentata a sua Maestà Cristianissima. Caccini published his *L'Euridice composta in musica in stile rappresentativo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1600) some three months after the festivities (the dedication to Giovanni de' Bardi is dated 20 December), whereas Peri's came out six weeks later (dedicated to Maria de' Medici on 6 February 1600/1).

¹¹⁴ KirkCM, 149–50. However, Caccini says that the performance did not take place.

achievements included his music for *Dafne*, performed before “their most serene highnesses” of Tuscany and other princes in the residence of Jacopo Corsi.¹¹⁵ And in Rinuccini’s libretto for *Narciso* (never set to music, it seems), Caccini, delivering a biographical prologue addressed to Grand Duchess Christine, notes his music for *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, *Euridice*, and *Dafne* (in that order).¹¹⁶ Peri’s own statement on *Dafne* in his preface to *Euridice* – that his setting was presented in three successive Carnival seasons (including the performance before the grand duchess and Cardinals del Monte and Montalto on 21 January 1598/99) – would seem to exclude any *Dafne* produced by Caccini. But if we accept that Caccini did indeed compose a setting of *Dafne*, and that it was performed in Corsi’s residence in the presence of the Medici, then two options follow. First, Peri was not telling the whole story: what happened with *Dafne* was the same as with *Euridice* – Caccini had “his” singers perform his own music and then produced a complete setting. Or second, Corsi had two separate complete settings of *Dafne* in hand, one by Peri (if with some music by Corsi himself) performed in those successive Carnivals, and one by Caccini performed in Corsi’s residence (so Caccini says in 1614) on some other occasion. The latter could have been what Angelo Grillo heard on his visit to Florence in spring 1600, although there is no evidence that “their highnesses” were present in Corsi’s residence then. If so, Grillo was almost certainly mistaken that this “graceful pastoral” that so delighted his ears was the one that would be attached to the forthcoming wedding celebrations: it seems unlikely that Corsi intended to present at the festivities a work (with or without new music) that had been done so often before, especially given that his *pastorale nuova* was already on the cards in early April 1600. Or perhaps Grillo was just as confused as modern scholars have been (and we still to some degree remain) about what was done when within the highly competitive environment surrounding early opera in Florence.

¹¹⁵ Giulio Caccini, *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence: Zanobi Pignoni & Co., 1614): *la musica, che io feci nella favola della Dafne del Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, rappresentata in casa del Sig. Iacopo Corsi d'onorata memoria à quest'Altezze Serenissime, et altri Prencipi.*

¹¹⁶ Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 2: 191–92: *Colmo d'alto stupor le scene aurate / de la bell'Alba allor le voci udiro, / allor gli abissi al gran cantor s'apriro / e pianse Apollo su le fronde amate.* This prologue in effect outlines Caccini’s biography delivered in retrospect by the singer in old age (*benché dagli anni stanco*). That same quatrain, however, also appears in a prologue written by Rinuccini (delivered by La Musica) for a performance of *Dafne* in the residence of Don Giovanni de’ Medici, presumed to be the one given on 9 February 1610/11 (*SolMBD*, 60–61); see Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 2: 103–4. Another version of this *Dafne* prologue replaces the reference to *Il rapimento di Cefalo* with one to *Arianna*, therefore mentioning all three of Rinuccini’s opera librettos to date. Scholars have tended to assume that the 1611 *Dafne* was the setting by Marco da Gagliano, first performed in Mantua in early 1608.

These ambiguities may also have been a result of the shifting timetable of the wedding festivities, which were originally intended to take place before the summer but then were repeatedly postponed to August (so Giovanni del Maestro noted on 22 May) and then September, before being fixed for early October. This further raises questions about the *comedia* presented by Corsi in the Palazzo Pitti on the order of the grand duchess in late May or early June. The label itself does not aid in any identification; Corsi applied it to both *Dafne* and *Euridice* in his own account books. But if we assume that Grillo is unlikely to have had access to the Pitti, then the performance here cannot be the one where he heard Caccini’s music, which is not to say that he did not hear the same music in a different location. The fact that Camillo Pieroni erected his stage in the *salone della Duchessa di Bracciano* is somewhat odd, however. Navigating one’s way around the Palazzo Pitti as it was at the time is not always an easy task: the palace was still a work in progress in terms of its overall footprint and its separate floor plans for the *piano terreno*, the *piano nobile*, and what was sometimes called the *piano della terza habitazione* (the top floor), also with various mezzanines and attic space in different parts of the roof (the *piano a tetto*).¹¹⁷ Their layout also changed over time as additions were made and spaces altered, as can clearly be seen in the two plans most relevant to our inquiry: the ones of the *piano terreno* and *piano nobile* included in the appendix to Joseph Furttenbach the Elder’s *Architectura civilis* (Ulm: Saur, 1628) – which contains some surprisingly precise measurements – and those of all three floors by Giacinto (Iacinto) Maria di Francesco Marmi, prepared early in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the names applied to the various spaces in the palace changed according to their use, if with some time lag and depending on the custom (or error) of individual

¹¹⁷ We seek to label the floors carefully, also given the potential confusion in modern usage in terms of what constitutes the “first” floor of a building. As for the orientation of the Palazzo Pitti, it is positioned longitudinally from southwest to northeast, but for convenience we treat the facade as “north” and the central courtyard (leading to the Boboli Gardens) as “south,” bounded by north–south wings on the “west” and “east” sides.

¹¹⁸ Furttenbach’s two volumes, one of text and one of engravings, can be seen at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/furttenbach1628a> and <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/furttenbach1628>; his plans of the two lower floors of the Palazzo Pitti square with Justus Utens’s painting of the palace which was included in his series of representations of Medici residences done in 1599–1602 (see www.wga.hu/html_m/u/utens/pitti.html). Marmi’s *Norma per il guardarobba del gran palazzo della città di Fiorenza dove habita il Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana*, in BNCF, Magliabechiano II.I.284, covers all three main floors; there are reproductions in Bertelli, “Palazzo Pitti dai Medici ai Savoia,” 77–92. Furttenbach’s and Marmi’s plans more or less match, save that the former’s do not include the lateral wings added to the Pitti beginning in 1618.

administrators. Likewise, a number of rooms varied in their function (and frequency of occupation) according to the season, and even on a day-to-day basis – or a day-to-night one, as beds were rolled out for all residents save those who had permanent quarters.¹¹⁹

Flavia Peretti-Orsini (1574–1606), Duchess of Bracciano, fell into that latter category. The grand duchess does not mention her in those letters to Grand Duke Ferdinando written on 27 and 28 May, but she was a close companion to Maria de' Medici (they were one year apart in age). She had married Virginio Orsini, Grand Duke Ferdinando's nephew, in 1589, and they had separate suites of rooms in the Pitti, Virginio on the west end of the *piano terreno*, on the north side facing the piazza, and Flavia directly above on the *piano nobile* and possibly the next floor up as well (in the latter case, next door to Maria's suite on the top floor of the palace in the middle of its north side), as well as having access to the mezzanine spaces between both floors.¹²⁰ Furttenbach's plan of the *piano nobile* makes the location of Flavia's rooms there clear (see Fig. 1.5): they were what he identified as two *camere* at the bottom right (the northwest corner in our orientation of the Pitti), each with one window on the north facade. By the time Giacinto Marmi drew his own plan of the *piano nobile* early in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, those two rooms had been converted into one (two windows on the north facade), in part as a result of additional construction extending the palace on either side. But if we stick to Furttenbach's plan, it is not clear which of Flavia's two rooms on the *piano nobile* were used as a *salone*.

According to Furttenbach, each room was roughly 13 *b.* long on the west–east axis, and 18 *b.* wide (7.5 m by 10.4 m). A stage located across its width (north–south) could have been the same size as the one often mounted for theatrical performances in the much longer room next door, which Furttenbach calls the *Sala maggiore* (that is, the Sala delle Statue). However, there would have been limited room for any audience.

¹¹⁹ For the broader issues, see Bertelli, "Palazzo Pitti dai Medici ai Savoia"; the roll-out beds are discussed in *ibid.*, 26–29.

¹²⁰ For Flavia Peretti-Orsini's rooms (and the allocation of others in the palace, if with some errors), see Facchinetti, "Le vicende costruttive," 35; Facchinetti draws on the two partial inventories of the Palazzo Pitti (1597, 1607) in GM 422, which also provide details of the mezzanine rooms between the main floors. The catalog entry in Giusti and Spinelli (eds.), *Dolci trionfi e finissime piegature*, 116, associates Flavia with rooms on the top floor of the palace, behind the *Salone delle commedie* (but they were occupied by Emilio de' Cavalieri instead). It is true that the 1597 inventory in GM 422 lists (fol. 16) *stanze della Duchessa di Bracciano al secondo piano* (i.e., the top floor), but if anything, these were probably directly above her rooms on the *piano nobile* (see Marmi's plan in Fig. 1.7), next door to Maria de' Medici's suite.

A somewhat cryptic, undated note included in a set of documents associated with Bernardo Buontalenti around the time of his death (1608) says that he had spent two days working on *Dafne* for a performance in the Palazzo Pitti, and that he had heard it said that work needed to begin on the “big” comedy (for the 1600 festivities, it seems): this latter comedy cannot have been *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (which was decided upon only in early July), but it may have been the work originally intended to stand in its place for which Buontalenti designed a set of *intermedi* (so we have seen).¹²¹ Buontalenti could have been mistaken, or perhaps misled (if Corsi had not yet made public the subject of his *pastorale nuova*). But if we take his comment at face value, it would seem that Corsi’s *comedia* was another performance of *Dafne*. The same might be suggested by an entry dated 25 August 1600 in Corsi’s personal accounts, referring to payment for gloves, including ten pairs used “in the comedy of *Dafne*.”¹²² The construction of a “stage” by Pieroni in the *salone* of the Duchess of Bracciano would also seem strongly to imply the presence of some manner of scenery, which presumably survived for *Dafne* (given the performance in the Pitti in Carnival 1598/99) but was not yet ready for *Euridice* as Cigoli would design it. However, assuming that some form of the *Dafne* set could have been made to fit the Duchess of Bracciano’s *salone*, it could also have sufficed as a temporary option for at least the pastoral elements of *Euridice* – the reverse occurred in the later performance of *Dafne* in October 1604 (see Chapter 4).

Of course, it is very tempting to suggest that the grand duchess wanted to see some or all of Corsi’s *pastorale nuova* in its present state in order to approve its performance in the wedding festivities. Michele Caccini certainly made a connection between Corsi’s *comedia* and the one to be done in October 1600 by virtue of filing Pieroni’s document with others pertaining to his work for the wedding (on the banquet and what turned out to be *Euridice*). Nor would this have been the first time that the grand duchess had informally previewed an entertainment planned for subsequent production: she did the same with an (unknown) *commedia pastorale* rehearsed in the Villa Petraia in June 1598, then advising the grand duke that it needed to be done in a different room there, and supporting the

¹²¹ GM 245, ins. 4, fol. 439: *Io feci lavorare alla commedia due giorni per la commedia di Daffene per a Pitti e si diceva che se havea a coninciar la grande . . .* For the contents of this *inserto*, see note 34. This somewhat illegible paragraph seems to be in the manner of a *copialettera*, i.e., a record of a letter sent to unknown recipient. No date is given.

¹²² Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 1: 63: *serviti per la commedia di Dafane (sic)*. This was clearly a late payment, and it, too, may reflect some misprision.

actors’ request that they be given new costumes for its *intermedi*.¹²³ For the moment, however, the question must remain moot.

As we have seen, Corsi was significantly involved both in the negotiations over the marriage of Maria de’ Medici and Henri IV, and in the celebrations in Florence on the day of its official announcement (30 April), gaining much favor from the Medici as a result. He also variously supported Caccini and Peri in their musical and other ventures.¹²⁴ Like Rinuccini, he may also have been sympathetic to Caccini’s clear (and successful) attempt to use the 1600 festivities to regain his salaried position among the Medici musicians. In spring 1600, it was not yet clear that the main theatrical performance in the festivities would be *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, in which Caccini as composer and his *donne* as performers featured much more prominently. The decision to stage *Il rapimento* – made in July 1600, it seems – may also have cleared the way for Peri to play a bigger role as composer and performer in *Euridice*.

Whatever the case, any *salone* of the Duchess of Bracciano was never going to be the location of a theatrical performance in the Palazzo Pitti during the wedding festivities themselves. The performances of *Il giuoco della cieca* and of *Dafne* in Carnival 1598/99 had taken place in the room that Furttenbach identified as the *Sala maggiore*, next to the rooms on the *piano nobile* occupied by the duchess. This was the so-called Sala delle Statue, named after the fact that during the reign of (Grand) Duke Cosimo I, it had housed a prominent collection of antique statues both in niches in the walls and freestanding, as well as other artworks, and although some of them had now been moved to the corridors of the Uffizi, other statues took their place, at least in the niches.¹²⁵ It served as one of the principal reception rooms in the palace: the banquet celebrating the announcement of Maria de’ Medici’s impending marriage took place here on 30 April

¹²³ See her letter to the grand duke, 1 June 1598, from Villa Petraia, *MdP* 5962, fol. 485: *Hieri si provò alla mia presenza la commedia pastorale, la quale crede che donerà gusto, ma bisognerà che Vostra Altezza la lasci fare nella sua sala, perché nell’altre non si sentirebbe . . .* This was done at Petraia by the boys of the Compagnia di S. Alberto Bianco, noted in a document from 1602 as having performed four years earlier; *GM* 236 (orders concerning theatrical costumes, 1600–1602), fol. 127.

¹²⁴ Corsi’s connections with Peri are discussed extensively in Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*; for Corsi and Caccini, see *ibid.*, 109.

¹²⁵ The label *Sala delle statue* was the one most commonly used in our period, although the 1597 inventory of the Palazzo Pitti in *GM* 422 refers to it (fol. 4) as the *Salone grande detto delle Nicchie* (and nowadays the room is called the Sala delle Nicchie). It is not to be confused with what is currently called the Galleria delle Statue, a room (formerly a loggia) next to, and parallel to, the Sala delle Statue but facing the courtyard (see Fig. 1.5). For all these spaces, see Fantappiè, “Sale per lo spettacolo a Pitti.”

1600, and there was a similar gathering for Cesare d'Este, Duke of Modena (husband of Ferdinando I's stepsister, Virginia), with the grand duke, grand duchess, and Maria de' Medici on 21 May.¹²⁶ The court diaries are silent on any events immediately thereafter, although there was a significant amount of repair work being done in the Sala delle Statue from late May on, in terms of its wall coverings and fixtures – including rehangings its three sets of doors and adding windows to them – with the costs charged to the account of the wedding festivities.¹²⁷ Therefore, the room may not have been available for use, which could also be why the grand duchess turned to the *salone* of the Duchess of Bracciano for Corsi's *comedia*.

The Sala delle Statue would have been a prestigious location for any performance of *Euridice*, and it is clear that so far as Lodovico Cigoli was concerned when starting out on the design and construction of its stage and sets, this was indeed originally intended to be its location during the festivities. The room remains today in something close to its original form, save for a different decorative scheme adopted in the eighteenth century (see Fig. 2.3). According to Furttentbach's plan, it was 39 *b.* long on its west–east axis (along the facade) and 18 *b.* wide, which is very close to the room's current measurements at 22.8 m by 10.4 m (39.3 *b.* by 17.9 *b.*).¹²⁸ We shall see (in Chapter 2) that the width matches Cigoli's original design for the stage (the room's height works as well), and his proscenium picked up on other architectural elements within the room. It was the later decision to move the opera to a different location in the palace that caused Cigoli some difficulties in terms of reconfiguring his design and then of adding new elements to it.

How much of the stage for *Euridice* to be used in the Sala delle Statue was actually constructed prior to that move remains unclear. The 229 *ricevute* kept by Michele Caccini and linked to the “book of the banquet and royal wedding of the Most Christian Queen of France” begin on 13 May 1600, and the earliest ones concern planks of wood being consigned

¹²⁶ GM, Diari d'etichetta 2, p. 115.

¹²⁷ On 2 June 1600, Cosimo Latini, *Ministro della Galleria di Sua Altezza Serenissima*, received 300 *occhi di vetro da finistre* to add to the 276 previously delivered, *e son serviti a fare 6 sportelli a 3 portoni della sala delle statue, rasente li archi che v[']era impannate di commissione di Sua Altezza Serenissima*; SFF 72, fol. 2. Their cost, and that of the metal fixtures (*ferrì*) needed to hold them, were charged to the festivities. Camillo Pieroni included rehangings the doors (because they had dropped on their hinges) in his invoice of 31 May 1600 (reflecting work done from 8 to 29 May); GM 1152, fol. 139 (and compare SFF 72, fol. 15v, a list of work done from 21 March 1599/1600 to 5 January 1600/1).

¹²⁸ These current measurements were done on site by hand with a laser measuring tool, so one needs to allow a small margin of error.

to Caccini from the Fortezza da Basso and thence to various carpenters, including one batch given to Matteo Nigetti for work in the Palazzo Pitti for the wedding (*per far lavori costì a Pitti per le noze [sic]*); by 9 June, Nigetti was also procuring hardware (nails, etc.) allocated to the account of what was now identified as the *commedia de’ Pitti*, and he is the carpenter who seems to have supervised construction of the actual stage.¹²⁹ Some of the elements of Cigoli’s design were clearly manufactured early on; otherwise they would not have been altered, and additional ones added, following the decision to move *Euridice* to a different room. Moreover, materials relating to the opera received by Michele Caccini in the second week of July still seem intended for (or measured for) the Sala delle Statue.¹³⁰ However, we do not know whether they were ever mounted in place.

But the switch of rooms was part of a broader pattern in the Palazzo Pitti of refurbishing or otherwise preparing different spaces as they would be needed for the festivities to accommodate guests and so forth (this is documented extensively in the accounts considered here). The postponement of the ceremonies to early October also affected matters, given that the palace’s rooms tended to be occupied differently according to the season: the upper floors were not preferred in the summer (it was cooler on the *piano terreno*), whereas they could be heated more easily when temperatures started to fall.¹³¹ During the festivities themselves, foreign guests were accommodated on the *piano terreno* (Roger de Bellegarde, also known as Monsieur le Grand) and *piano nobile* (Cardinal Aldobrandini; Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery), whereas the Duke and

¹²⁹ GM 1152, fols. 101 (15 May), 298 (a list of purchases for *Il lavoro dela chomedia de’ Pitti* beginning on 9 June). Matteo di Dionigi Nigetti (in this period, generally styled just Matteo di Nigi *legnaiolo*) was also involved in the construction of the Cappella dei Principi in S. Lorenzo, working alongside Bernardo Buontalenti and then Don Giovanni de’ Medici; he rose in status to become an important architect (see Rinaldi, “Nigetti, Matteo”). His father was the master carpenter Dionigi di Matteo alla Neghittosa, who had earlier worked with Giorgio Vasari on the Uffizi; see also Fantappiè, “La chiesa di San Lorenzo tra due dinastie,” 546, 560 n. 27.

¹³⁰ See, for example, Caccini’s receipt on 10 July of *una tela dipinta per la comedia de’ Pitti* measuring 9.5 *b.* by 4.5 *b.*, which looks suspiciously like one of the backdrops painted by Cigoli with measurements intended for the Sala delle Statue; GM 1152, fol. 174. Likewise, the sewn canvas for the “sky” of the stage was delivered surprisingly late (on 11 September; GM 1152, fol. 283), perhaps because the new room altered its dimensions.

¹³¹ Marmi’s plans for the Palazzo Pitti distinguish the *piano terreno* and *piano nobile* as where the grand duke (etc.) lived in the summer and winter respectively (whereas the top floor was for the princes and princesses). Testaverde, “Nuovi documenti sulle scenografie di Ludovico Cigoli per l’*Euridice* di Ottavio Rinuccini,” 314, also uses the season as an argument for shifting the performance of *Euridice*.

Duchess of Mantua were in a suite on the top floor (next to Maria de' Medici).¹³² Shifting *Euridice* may have been caused by these arrangements, or just by the need to keep the Sala delle Statue free for other uses (such as the family meal before the *fiesta* in the Riccardi gardens on 8 October). However, Michele Caccini and his colleagues could have become aware of other issues as well. *Euridice* required a more complex stage than normally used in the Pitti (for example, for *Dafne*) precisely because of its change of scene from a pastoral setting to the Underworld and back. Moreover, the lighting effects needed for the Underworld increased the ever-present risk of fire in any theatrical endeavor. But Cigoli was left with the problem of reconfiguring his stage for a room lower in height and wider than the one originally intended (*Cig11: in altro salone più basso et più largo che per dove era fatta*). He charged an additional *sc.25* for the inconvenience.

The Performance of *Euridice* on 6 October 1600

Switching rooms for the production of *Euridice* during the wedding festivities was just one of a number of changes made to the work in the course of its creation, from the drafting of the libretto and of Peri's score through the rehearsals to the performance. Some of them reflected creative decisions made in light of experience, while others were determined by circumstance. For example, it seems clear that the intended casting of the opera changed in the course of the summer, with a consequent impact on the work itself. One surviving copy of the first printing of Rinuccini's libretto contains handwritten annotations adding the names of performers alongside the printed list of "Interlocutori" (see Fig. 1.6 and Table 3.1). These annotations appear to have been made by Michelangelo Buonarroti *il giovane*.¹³³ The names do not quite square with those who Peri says (in his preface to the score) played those roles on 6 October 1600, given the presence of local performers instead of the two "outside" singers named by him, the tenor Francesco Rasi (Aminta), employed by Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua, and the Roman bass Melchiorre Palantrotti (Plutone). Rasi came to Florence in mid-August and also performed in *Il rapimento di*

¹³² ASF, Carte Stroziane I, 27 (the *memorie* of Giovanni del Maestro), fols. 27v–28v, 30v, 38[bis], 39v, 41. The Duchess of Mantua (Eleonora de' Medici) had been there since mid-June; the duke arrived on 29 September.

¹³³ We are grateful to Janie Cole for aid with this identification of the handwriting.

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INTERLOCUTORI.

La Tragedia.	—	Simonino	Stygio
Euridice.	—	Cast. di Giulio	
Orfeo.	—	Callisto	
Arcetiro.	—	Brandino	
Tirsi.	—	Pastori	
Aminta.	—	Pompeo di Giulio	
Dafne Nuntia.	—	Jacopo Luachio	
Venere.	—	Carlo di Giulio	
Choro di Ninfe, e Pastori.			
Platone.	—	Becala	
Proserpina.	—	quell'Alfon. Venere	
Radamanto.	—	M. Pico	
Caronte.	—	frate della Huerata	
Choro di ombre, e Deità d' inferno.			

Fig. 1.6: Ottavio Rinuccini, *L'Euridice . . . rappresentata nello sponsalio della Christianiss. Regina di Francia, e di Navarra* (Florence: Cosimo Giunti, 1600), fol. [A4]r; the cast list of *Euridice* annotated (by Michelangelo Buonarroti il giovane?) with the names of performers. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Italian Plays 0520.

Cefalo, as did Palantrotti, who may have arrived in July.¹³⁴ Thus the annotations do not relate to the performance of *Euridice* during the festivities: scholars have assumed that they were intended for a second one shortly after, though there is no other evidence for it, nor any obvious occasion on which it might have been done.¹³⁵ Clearly these annotations were made after the libretto of *Euridice* was first printed (but not in its second state; see Chapter 3). However, one of them is in the past tense, with Proserpina sung by *quel che fece Venere*.¹³⁶ It seems at least possible that Buonarroti was seeking information on the cast that would be used in the performance of *Euridice* during the festivities

¹³⁴ KirkCM, 565 n. 83 (Palantrotti), 566 (Rasi).

¹³⁵ We shall see (in Chapter 3) that the other assumption – that this was the cast for the performance of *Euridice* directed by Giulio Caccini in December 1602 – is also implausible.

¹³⁶ In other words, the roles in *Euridice* of Venere and Proserpina were doubled, although it is just possible that the reference to Venere is to the character in *Dafne*.

for the purpose of his description, but he had not been made aware of Rasi's and Palantrotti's involvement; if so, that information must have been gained on the basis of some prior plan from earlier in the summer, whether or not related to any possible preview performance in late May or early June.

So far as Lodovico Cigoli was concerned, however, it was the change of venue for *Euridice* to a differently sized space that most affected his work on the opera. Michele Caccini noted that it was moved to a room higher up within the palace, with the result that the stage had to be enlarged and altered (*per havere mutato la sciena dalla sala da basso alla sala da alto de' Pitti che s'ebbe a crescere e variare*).¹³⁷ Precisely which room this was has been a matter of some confusion in the literature. So it was also at the time. For example, Gianbattista Cresci noted in September 1601 that the opera was done in the *salone grande delle stanze de' forestieri*, which most nowadays would take to mean the large room on the *piano nobile* in the west wing facing the central courtyard, known in the period as the Sala (Grande) dei Forestieri, and today called the Sala Bianca (the name changed in the eighteenth century). This room was next to the so-called *stanze dei forestieri*, allocated to guests (*forestieri*) staying in the palace – Cardinal Aldobrandini was accommodated there in October 1600 – and it was used for larger-scale receptions, *balli*, and so forth.¹³⁸ However, Cresci made a mistake: in early 1601, a payment was made to Matteo di Domenico *e compagni (imbiancatori)* for work that include painting the walls of the room on Maria de' Medici's floor – one higher – “where the comedy was done.”¹³⁹ Other documents also make it clear that the 6 October performance of *Euridice* was indeed in the so-called *salone di sopra* on the top floor of the west wing of the palace.

¹³⁷ GM 1152, fol. 448, in the note that Caccini made approving the revised payment to Cigoli (based on the five estimates) while still allowing the *sc.25* fee that Cigoli added to his invoice because of the change of rooms.

¹³⁸ Fantappiè, “Sale per lo spettacolo a Pitti,” 150–56.

¹³⁹ SFF 72, fol.15: *per avere inbiancato su al piano della regina el salone dove se fatto la commedia tutto quello che si vede di brachi [q.] 630*. This is in a list of work done since 17 September 1600, for which payment was made on 5 January 1600/1. Matteo di Domenico and/or his employees painted the walls of the room that were visible (so, minus the stage), and presumably those (upper, it seems) portions not covered by other decoration. His company was often used for such services in the Palazzo Pitti, moving through rooms on a regular cycle, although the work increased as rooms were smartened up for the wedding festivities. Compare the similar entry in SFF 72, fol. 28v, noting payment on 2 January 1601/2 *per havere inbiancato su alto il salone quondam Don Antonio quando teneva la commedia insino al palcho*. This is in a set of entries relates to work done since 17 February 1600/1, so if it refers to *Euridice* (as the *quando* suggests), it is some kind of back payment which Matteo di Domenico forgot to put in an earlier invoice.

Giacinto Marmi's later plan of that floor of the Pitti makes the location clear (see Fig. 1.7, rooms "S" and "T" on the right), although the room had been divided into two unequal parts by the time it was made. This *salone di sopra* was in the area of the Pitti that had formerly been occupied by Don Antonio de' Medici; the west wing also contained rooms at the rear, two of which were allocated to Emilio de' Cavalieri. Don Antonio's suite was

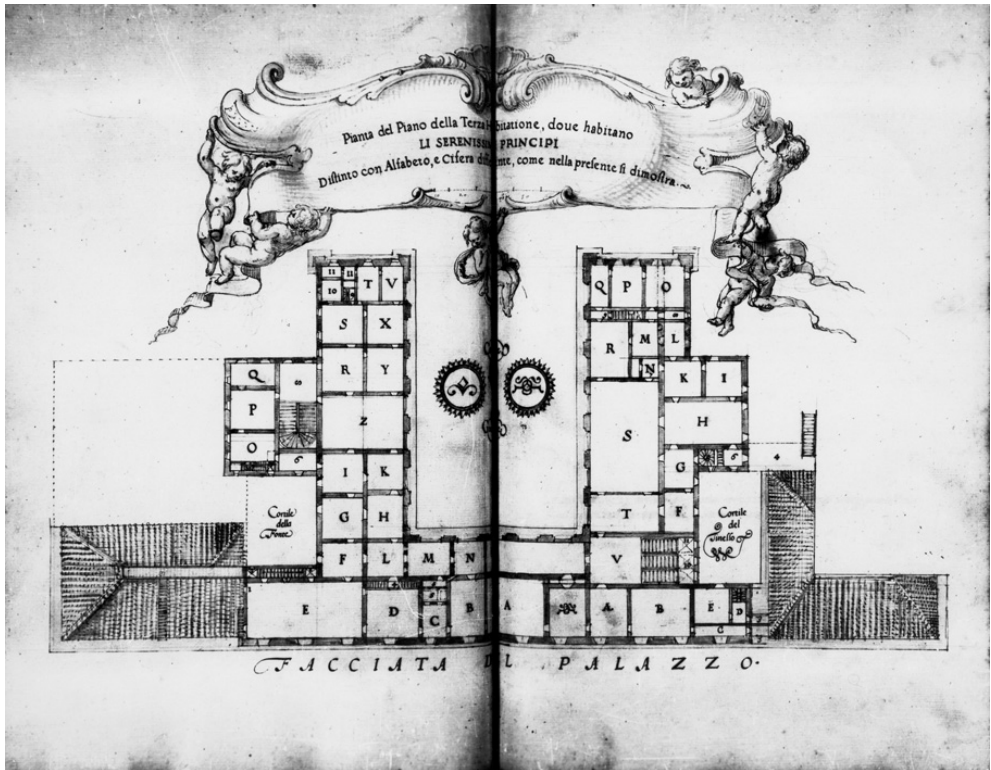


Fig. 1.7: Giacinto Maria di Francesco Marmi, *Norma per il guardaroba del gran palazzo della città di Fiorenza dove habita il Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana*, BNCF, Magliabechiano II.I.284, fol. 154; the top floor of the Palazzo Pitti. The orientation is the same as Furtenbach's plan of the *piano nobile* (Fig. 1.5). The wall separating rooms "S" and "T" on the right (the west wing) facing the courtyard subdivided what was variously known as the "Sala di Don Antonio [de' Medici]," the "Salone di sopra," the "Sala della veglia," and the "Sala delle commedie." By permission of the Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali e per il turismo della Repubblica Italiana/Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze. No further reproduction permitted.

around the corner from the one allocated to Maria de' Medici, who treated him affectionately as her stepbrother (he was one year younger), and even though he had moved out of the Palazzo Pitti to his own residence, the Casino di S. Marco, in February 1598 – in part because of a fire in the attic above his rooms – that section of the palace remained linked to his name.¹⁴⁰ This helps explain why Cesare Tinghi referred to *Euridice* as “a pastoral comedy in music done by Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri up in the rooms of Signor Don Antonio de' Medici in the Pitti” (*una comedia pastorale in musica fatta dal signor Emilio del Cavaliere su alle stanze del signor Don Antonio Medici a Pitti*).¹⁴¹

The *salone di sopra* was of a similar length and width to the one directly beneath it on the *piano nobile* (the Sala dei Forestieri), which according to Furtenbach (see Fig. 1.5, on the right, labeled *Sala grande*), was 46 *b.* (26.7 m) long extending along four windows of the west wing facing the courtyard, and 23 *b.* (13.4 m) wide. It was indeed wider than the Sala delle Statue (23 *b.* rather than 18 *b.*), as Cigoli noted, and longer (46 *b.* versus 39 *b.*). It remained in use for theatrical performances at least into the 1620s: it was briefly known as the Sala della Veglia and then more commonly as the Sala delle Commedie, although even in 1608 it could still be styled the *sala di sopra nominata di Don Antonio*.¹⁴² The fluid terms indicated its variable functions, given that any stage and associated furniture (audience seating, etc.) could be put up or taken down according to need rather than being kept in place. But the Sala delle Commedie was also convenient in other ways: unlike the Sala delle Statue, some rooms behind it were now occupied by court officials, including Emilio de' Cavalieri, rather than the grand-ducal family (so performers had easier “backstage” access); it had separate sets of stairs linking it to the *piano nobile* and *piano terreno* (so performers did not need to encumber the main staircase); and, given the

¹⁴⁰ For Don Antonio's residing in the Palazzo Pitti until February 1598, see Covoni, *Don Antonio de' Medici al Casino di San Marco*, 96. Luti, *Don Antonio de' Medici e i suoi tempi*, 126, says that he moved out in 1597, although this may reflect a confusion over Florentine-style dating.

¹⁴¹ For the various contemporary mentions of the location of the 6 October performance of *Euridice*, see the extracts given in *SolMBD*, 25; *KirkCM*, 203–6. Giovanni del Maestro, the *maestro di casa*, referred to *una comedia nel palazzo de' Pitti sul salone di sopra*; the Modenese ambassador also said that *Euridice* was done *in una saletta nella parte di sopra del palazzo a Pitti*. Palisca, “The First Performance of *Euridice*,” 433, opts for the Sala dei Forestieri, presumably on the basis of M. Fabbri *et al.* (eds.), *Il luogo teatrale a Firenze*, 144, which wrongly labels the Sala dei Forestieri as “la ‘Sala di Don Antonio’ detta attualmente Sala Bianca.” Baldini Giusti (“Il salone da ballo e la sala della musica,” 15–16), and Fantappiè (“Sale per lo spettacolo a Pitti,” 136–38) were the first to identify the upstairs room as the proper location.

¹⁴² See Cesare Tinghi's comment on Francesco Cini's *veglia, Notte d'Amore*, in *SolMBD*, 45. For the shifting terminology, see Fantappiè, “Sale per lo spettacolo a Pitti,” 140–50.

risk of fire, a room on an upper floor posed less of a threat to an entire building.

Unlike the Sala delle Statue, the Sala delle Commedie no longer survives intact: by the third quarter of the seventeenth century it had already been divided into two rooms at a quarter of its length (just after the first window) – as seen in Marmi’s plan – and it now survives as three, with ceilings of different heights. As a result, it is impossible to verify how the measurements of Cigoli’s revised stage conformed exactly to the room. However, the evidence is clear on how Cigoli needed to adjust his overall design to accommodate the new location, reducing the height of the stage to accommodate the lower ceiling, and adding additional elements on either side to extend its width (see Chapter 2).

We have relatively little information on the actual performance of *Euridice* on 6 October. In the preface to his score published in early 1601, Jacopo Peri listed some of the singers and the four instrumentalists who accompanied them (including Jacopo Corsi on the harpsichord). He also noted the presence of music by Giulio Caccini in the performance, which, he said, could be found in Caccini’s own score composed and published after Peri’s had been performed.¹⁴³ Scholars have tended to assume that Caccini’s involvement was a later, somewhat malicious, intervention, given the competition surrounding the “invention” of opera in Florence, although our previous discussion of events in spring 1600 suggests that it may have been in effect early on. There is also a more charitable reading of Caccini’s actions in terms of how singers were taught their musical roles for theatrical productions (see Chapter 3). By printing his score first, Caccini also ended up letting Peri have the last word, as it were, and Peri took full advantage, making it clear in a note at the end of his score that it was an indeed accurate representation of the performance (*E con questo ordine, che s’è descritta, fu rappresentata*), even though it was not, at least in terms of the music included by Peri in place of Caccini’s contributions.

Although the Sala delle Commedie was larger than the Sala delle Statue, the audience for *Euridice* seems to have been very restricted in number: Giulio Thiene, the Modenese ambassador, said that few gained admission other than the *principi*, some noblewomen, and a few guests.¹⁴⁴ The *principi* would have included Maria de’ Medici, the grand duke and

¹⁴³ See note 113.

¹⁴⁴ Given in *SolMBD*, 26–27 n. 2, and *KirkCM*, 204: *hierì fu fatta una pastorale rappresentata in musica, dove non entrorno se non pochissimi oltre ai principi, alcune gentildonne e qualche forestiere*. The other reports cited here are taken from *KirkCM*, 204–6. Kirkendale errs, however, in reading the Modenese ambassador’s report as recording additional performances

grand duchess, the Duke and Duchess of Mantua, and the Duke and Duchess of Bracciano. Among the guests were the ambassadors from Modena, Parma, and Venice (Niccolò Molino), and, one assumes, Cardinal Aldobrandini and the leading French representatives, Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery and Roger de Bellegarde (Monsieur le Grand); the papal nuncio and resident ambassadors also watched from a doorway.¹⁴⁵ Other French visitors were excluded, however.¹⁴⁶ The performance lasted two hours according to Cesare Tinghi, or one and a half according to the Farnese ambassador, who also noted that it was followed by more than two hours of dancing involving the queen, princesses, and noblewomen.¹⁴⁷ It is not clear where the dancing took place, whether in the Sala delle Commedie or one floor down, where there would have been more room in the Sala dei Forestieri, although this might not have been convenient given that Cardinal Aldobrandini was lodging in rooms nearby.

Those ambassadors gave favorable accounts of *Euridice*: it succeeded very well (Modena: *riuscì molto bene*), was performed entirely by musicians with sweetest songs (Venice: *una comedia recitata tutta da musici in suavissimi canti*), and it was most beautiful, albeit simple in terms of its stage machines (Parma: *fu cosa bellissima, seben semplice in quanto alle*

of *Euridice* on 7 and 9 October (i.e., the open rehearsal of *Il rapimento di Cefalo* and the production itself).

¹⁴⁵ SolMBD, 25: *dove entrorno tutti questi principi et ambasciatori* (to which Tinghi adds a marginal note: *Nuntio et ambasciatori residenti stetero su in una porta di una camera a vedere*). That doorway was presumably the one leading to room G on Marmi's plan in Fig. 1.7. Something similar happened for the seating arrangements for Cini's *Notte d'Amore* in October 1608, where the grand duke watched from one door (because of the heat) and the Venetian ambassador and the papal nuncio from another; see Cesare Tinghi's *Diario di Ferdinando I e Cosimo II granduca di Toscana* (22 July 1600 to 12 September 1615), BNCF, Capponi 261/1, fol. 230 (*Sua Altezza stava ritirato in s'una porta di una camera per il rispetto del caldo*).

¹⁴⁶ For example, Cayet's second-hand *Chronologie septénaire de l'histoire de la paix entre les roys de France et d'Espagne* (1605) could only note (fol. 179v) that the three days between the banquet and *Il rapimento di Cefalo* were taken up with hunts, jousts, tilting at the ring, and other such princely exercises (*Les trois iours suivans furent employez en chasses et en ioustes, courses de bagues et autres exercices de Rois et Princes en telles solemnitez accoustumees*). The same report was given in the anonymous *Traicté du mariage de Henri III, Roy de France e de Navarre avec la Serenissime Princesse de Florence* (Honfleur: Jean Petit, 1606), 17; see Palisca, "The First Performance of *Euridice*," 439 (but citing a 1601 edition that appears not to exist).

¹⁴⁷ Modern performances of *Euridice* tend to come in at around 1h45m. For the Farnese ambassador's comment on the dancing, see SolMBD, 25 n. 1: *poi si ballò più di doi ore, mesticate la Regina e l'altre principesse con le private*. Buonarroti does not mention it in his description, just as he does not note the dancing in the Palazzo Pitti on the Sunday evening after the *festa* in the Riccardi gardens (reported by Giovanni del Maestro; see SolMBD, 26 n. 1). Nor would one expect him to. However, it was a standard way of framing an entertainment; compare Carter, "New Light on Monteverdi's *Ballo delle ingrato*," 86, 89, and the comments on the genre of the *veglia* in Carter and Goldthwaite, *Orpheus in the Marketplace*, 250–52.

machine). As we have seen, however, Emilio de' Cavalieri offered more negative reports circulating in Rome about the theatrical entertainments as a whole during the festivities, including scenery being incomplete or failing to operate properly, and music not giving satisfaction. The fact that Maria de' Medici seems to have preferred *Dafne* over *Euridice* – to the extent of proposing a performance of it by Caccini and his *donne* in Paris in early 1605 – may also be revealing. But in general most of the criticisms seem to have been directed at *Il rapimento di Cefalo*, which as the main entertainment of the festivities was clearly meant to make more of an impact than it did: its seeming to last some five hours in performance may not have helped.¹⁴⁸ The eighteenth-century diarist Francesco Settimanni repeated the more extravagant claims about that production made at its time: it was done before 3,000 gentlemen and 800 ladies (so Buonarroti also says in his description of the festivities); there were more than a hundred musicians, and more than a thousand stagehands operating the machines; and the whole entertainment cost sc.60,000. These numbers are wholly improbable given the likely seating capacity of the Teatro degli Uffizi and, indeed, the money that we have seen was spent by Gianbattista Cresci if just on part of the production costs.¹⁴⁹

Buonarroti had every reason to exaggerate matters when it came to *Il rapimento di Cefalo*. There was far less need to do so when it came to

¹⁴⁸ Various contemporary comments on *Il rapimento di Cefalo* (some positive) are given in *KirkCM*, 137–42. Emilio de' Cavalieri later said that people felt that *Il rapimento di Cefalo* lasted five hours, although in fact it was just short of three; *KirkCM*, 141. It is clear, however, that the performance was in some sense incomplete. In a letter to Giovanni Battista Concini of 31 October 1600, Buonarroti wondered about removing from his description (of *Il rapimento*) *quelle cose che poi nella commedia non si feciono per mancamento di tempo*, but he was instructed to retain them; see Cole, *Music, Spectacle and Cultural Brokerage in Early Modern Italy*, 1: 189–90. Compare also Cavalieri's letter of 7 October (recte November) 1600, given in *KirkCM*, 140, where he says that in the case of *Il rapimento*, if Don Giovanni de' Medici and Bernardo Buontalenti had followed his advice *ogni cosa saria restate terminato, et finito*.

¹⁴⁹ There is no firm documentation for the capacity of the Teatro degli Uffizi, but Anna Maria Testaverde has confirmed to us her view that it must have held fewer than a thousand spectators. Two later Florentine theatres constructed in the seventeenth century, with boxes, held 800 (Teatro della Pergola) and 408 (Teatro del Cocomero); see Garbero Zorzi and Zangheri (eds.), *I teatri storici della Toscana*, 8: *Firenze*, 93, 123. When Florence was the capital of the Kingdom of Italy (1865–71), the senate (numbering 320 senators) met in the former Teatro degli Uffizi; see the image at https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senatori_della_IX_legislatura_del_Regno_d%27Italia; the Camera dei Deputati, which met in the Salone dei Cinquecento, had around 500 members. The sc.60,000 figure was certainly in circulation in 1600; see the French report cited in Palisca, "The First Performance of *Euridice*," 437 n. 28. However, such numbers (as with those for the audience given by Buonarroti) tend to be conventional hyperbole, and they are rightly considered suspect in Mamone, *Firenze e Parigi*, 144 n. 26.

Euridice: indeed, as the grand duke's officials reviewed the draft of his description prior to publication he was required to slim down his comments on it, removing a reference to Peri and Caccini.¹⁵⁰ As a result, his one-page account of the opera tends to stick to the facts. As we have seen, he begins by properly – and very carefully – describing the circumstances of Corsi's offering it to the court. He then gives a concise summary of the plot:

While Orfeo and Euridice, married and in love, enjoy a tranquil life, she dies, bitten by a snake hiding in the grass. Orfeo weeps for her, and following the advice of Venere, from the mouth of the Inferno (led there by her) he calls for her, singing lamentingly. Wherefore, moved to pity by the sweetness of his singing, and on the advice of Proserpina, Plutone returns her to him more beautiful than ever. As a result, they rejoice, being in love once more.¹⁵¹

He continues:

The magnificent scenery in a worthy room, behind the curtains, between the view of a large arch – with two niches on its sides within which Poetry and Painting, by the good judgment of the inventor, were represented as statues – showed most beautiful woods, both in relief and painted, accommodated there with fine design, and by way of the lamps well placed there, full of light as if it were day. But since there was then to be seen the Inferno, those [woods] having changed, horrendous and frightening boulders revealed themselves which seemed real, upon which appeared leafless trees and ash-colored grass. And there in addition through the gap in a large cliff one saw the city of Dis burning, with tongues of flames licking through openings in its towers, the air around flaring in a color like copper. After this single change, the initial scene returned; nor was any other change seen.¹⁵²

The whole was done with honor by all those involved in whatever capacity (*con onore di chi à condurla in qualunque parte vi intervenne*), and it

¹⁵⁰ Carter, "Non occorre nominare tanti musici," 92–93 n. 8.

¹⁵¹ Buonarroti, *Descrizione delle felicissime nozze*, 18–19: *Mentre che Orfeo, e Euridice sposi, e amanti godono vita tranquilla; muore ella ferita da serpe tra l'erba ascosa. Piangela Orfeo, e per consiglio di Venere dalla bocca dello 'nferno (da lei condottovi) la richiama lamentevolmente cantando. Onde mossosi alla suavità del canto, e per lo consiglio di Proserpina Plutone a pietà, gliele rende più che mai bella. Il perché essi amando di nuovo gioiscono.*

¹⁵² *Il magnifico apparato in degna sala dopo le cortine fra l'aspetto di un grand'arco, e di due nicchie da fianchi suoi, entro le quali la Poesia, e la Pittura con bell'avviso dello inventore vi erano per istatue; mostrava selve vaghissime, e rilevate, e dipinte, accomodatevi con bel disegno, e per i lumi ben dispostivi piene di una luce come di giorno. Ma dovendosi poscia veder lo 'nferno, quelle mutatesi, orridi massi si scorsero, e spaventevoli, che parean veri, sopra de' quali sfrondati li sterpi, e livide l'erbe apparivano. E là più ad entro per la rottura d'una gran rupe la Città di Dite ardere vi si conobbe, vibrando lingue di fiamme per le aperture delle sue torri, l'aere d'intorno avvampanzovi di un colore come di rame. Dopo questa mutazion sola la scena di prima tornò, ne più si vide mutare.*

brought varied pleasure to both the mind and the senses of the spectators (*e con piacer vario, e di mente, e di senso in chi vi fù spettatore*).

Buonarroti's account of the staging of *Euridice* matters most for present purposes. It remains unclear whether he was describing the actual performance on 6 October 1600 or some plan for it created beforehand (whether or not for the Sala delle Statue); likewise we do not know to what extent he exaggerated its effects. But in general, he provides a clear impression of what the audience saw, or at least was meant to see, during the performance of the opera. The documents we present here provide much further information on how that was achieved.