"Baroque Venetian Theatre: Dialectics of Excess and Discipline in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

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DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the theatre practice of Angelo Beolco (aka Ruzzante) and the pedagogical strategies of the Society of Jesus (aka the Jesuits) in order to forward a theory of the Baroque as a space of critical tension produced by the clash of disciplinary regimes of governance and excessive artistic expressions. I read Venice through a sceno-historiographical lens and theorize it as a staging area from which acts of Baroque composition unfolded. With a dialectical and philosophical-historical methodology (derived from the work of Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Michel Foucault), I assemble archival traces of Venetian theatre prior to the construction of permanent theatre buildings in order to contribute to the writing focused on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Venetian theatre, of which currently little exists. Theatre, then, appears in this dissertation as more than mere entertainment; it becomes an active political practice embedded within an epicenter of cultural production in early modern Europe.

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Introduction

Overview

The question motivating the research and writing of this dissertation has been and continues to be, "What is Baroque Venetian Theatre?"

The investigation begins by analyzing diverse contexts of theatrical practice in and around sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venice to investigate how theater produced, contested, sanctioned, and undermined political authority. In doing so, I move beyond a consideration of the Baroque as a period of history or as an aesthetic style; rather, I assess it as a force produced by a tension between excessive artistic expressions and governmental regimes of discipline. I interpret the Baroque as a force-field of critical tensions erupting from theatrical practices and responsible for reshaping the political and religious landscapes of the Veneto.[1] Through detailed, archival research with a broad range of sources—plays and letters by playwright and performer Angelo Beolco (aka Ruzzante), Jesuit anti-theatrical treatises, and documentation of executions and Inquisitorial trials—this dissertation participates in the debates about the political uses and abuses of theatrical performance by religious and political institutions seeking to create individual subjectivities capable of thinking with the Church and the state. It also contributes to an understanding of the ways in which theatre constituted a domain of expression in which individuals attempted to thwart or maneuver through disciplinary apparatuses.

This investigation into political, Venetian theatre unfolds through three avenues of inquiry. First, I attempt to locate the qualities of a specifically Venetian political

aesthetic. To do this, I highlight the theatrical, literary, and legislative acts in and around the Venetian Republic from the mid-1500s that shaped the cultural landscape of one of Europe's strongest powers. Second, I diverge from a purely visualist critique of Baroque art in order to parse its theatrical and structural dimensions. Third, I supply the disciplines of theater studies and theatre history with a fuller and more multidisciplinary picture of this crucial but neglected moment of politically volatile experimentation by examining specific flashpoints of theatrical performance, which I describe below. Each theatrical practice I discuss reveals a disjunctive synthesis of aggressive and emotional political rhetoric and highly stylized artistic forms, occurring on private stages, inside churches, and throughout the streets of Venice.

A survey of the field

The research on pre-18th century Italian theater has focused almost exclusively on the formal development of the *commedia dell'arte* in order to better understand the emergence of theatrical realism and its champion, Carlo Goldoni, onto the Venetian scene at the end of the 1700s.[2] As a result, considerations of this theater's political logic have yet to find expression in the field of theater studies. Similarly, the decadence of Baroque art has received great attention from art historians interested in assessing the evolution of artistic form, but few scholars have delved into the political motivations for creating a theatrical form of visual art capable of gaining mass public support and of furthering specific governmental agendas.[3]

Thus, the image of Baroque Venetian theatre projected by scholars in the fields of theatre history and theatre studies does not satisfy me completely. The purpose of

sketching that image here is to present a perspective of Baroque theatre in and around Venice that is valuable as much for what it fails to make visible as for what it proposes. Interpreting the interplay of the visible and the invisible is in fact a crucial component of answering the question, "What is Baroque Venetian theatre?"

The following core sample from the field of Baroque theatre studies consists of four works, written between 1961 and 2008. The first study is Per Bjurström's *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* and it presents Torelli's (1608-1678) contribution to opera by proceeding chronologically through the artist's life work.[4] Bjurström finds Torelli's main influence in Vitruvius's four books on architecture printed in Venice c.1511. Vitruvius, Bjurström claims, became the model from which all stage designers drew, and his influence appeared not only in the scenographic treatises of the day but also in the background of many notable paintings by Tiziano and Tintoretto.[5] Torelli's fame resulted from his interpretation of Vitruvius's works and his ability to realize the theoretical material in three-dimensions within Venetian opera houses. Ultimately, Bjurström asserts that the "Baroque" aspect of Torelli's designs exists in the movement of his scenery. By creating machinery capable of moving set pieces, Torelli allowed for multiple settings to appear in any given performance and thereby transformed the static stage picture into a dynamic, mutable environment.

Torelli's ability to realize and adapt Vitruvius's theoretical works on scenic architecture was rivaled in his time by another notable scenographer, Fernando Galli-Bibiena (1657-1743). Studies of Bibiena's work and translations of his treatises appear in Dunbar Ogden's 1978 publication, *The Italian Baroque Stage: documents*.[6] Ogden's collection and translation of primary source materials cites Bibiena's *L'architettura civile*

(*Civic Architecture*, 1711) in which the Italian designer first formulated his *scena per angolo*.[7] With this invention Bibiena supplemented the traditional single-point perspective backdrop of Vitruvian origin with additional lines of sight. The *scena per angolo* thus enhanced the illusion of coextensiveness between the stage space and the audience by opening multiple avenues of sight for the eyes of the spectators to traverse. Ogden recognizes this visual enhancement created by Bibiena's scenography as the "Baroque" element of his work.

The sceno-architectural dimension of Baroque theatre is addressed from a different perspective by Margarete Baur-Heinhold's *The Baroque Theatre: A Cultural History of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, in which the author offers a detailed index of the courts of European monarchies, plays, stage designs, and theatre buildings.[8] For her, the Baroque is a *theme* that she delimits "in chronological terms by reference to the history of architecture."[9] For her, Baroque theatre begins with the building of the *Teatro Olimpico* in Vicenza (1580-1584) and ends with the building of *Teatro La Fenice* in Venice (1790-1792). Unlike Bjurström and Ogden, Baur-Heinhold extends her research of the Baroque into the realm of performance. Specifically, she features Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793) and Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806) as the sole contributors to Venetian comedy in the Baroque era. Even the comedies penned by those Venetians, however, take a back seat to opera, which, for the author, constitutes the ultimate Baroque form due to its spectacular combination of music, poetry, and the plastic arts. Thus, her study comes full circle back to theatre architecture and a visualist interpretation of the Baroque.

The fourth and final study relevant to my driving question is Philip Freund's *Stage by Stage, Laughter and Grandeur: Theatre in the Age of Baroque*.[10] This work

treats the Baroque in a manner similar to that of Baur-Heinhold as a period in history spanning "from the mid seventeenth century to some decades after the end of the eighteenth."[11] In this book, Baroque is seldom more than an adjective that derives from "the pervasive decorative style" of the period in question. Only one of ten chapters focuses on Italy, and that chapter splits its focus between Goldoni, Gozzi, Count Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), and a general discussion of opera in the eighteenth century. The only relation between these foci and the Baroque is their correspondence in time; in other words, they fit into the period Freund locates between the Renaissance and French Neo-Classicism.

Using these four sources as an entrée into the field of Baroque theatre in and around Venice, the Baroque itself appears as a period in history that unfolded from approximately 1650 to 1800; it was marked most vividly by advances in scenography and stage technology; it constitutes a brand of performance, whether comedies, tragedies, or operas, that occurred inside theatre buildings; it tends toward a synaesthesia of artistic forms that makes it difficult to distinguish between Baroque architecture, Baroque scenography, Baroque painting, and Baroque performance; it has no specific geographical origin. If, in other words, these four works present architecture, scenography, and late eighteenth-century Venetian comedy as the most visible facets of Baroque theatre, then questions arise about what these visible facets occlude from vision.

To begin peering beyond the façade of Baroque theatre constructed by these studies in the field of theatre history, it is helpful to stray to the border disciplines of art history and cultural studies. Two works in particular install windows in the façade of Baroque theatre history and offer a glimpse of the social, economic, political, and

epistemological workings going on behind the scenes of theatre understood traditionally as a either a live stage performance and/or a building constructed to house such a performance. The first of these two works in John Rupert Martin's *Baroque*.[12]

Martin analyzes certain epistemological shifts that he sees tied to specific aesthetic qualities that are now identified as specifically Baroque. One such shift came from Giordano Bruno's theories on the plurality of solar systems in 1584.[13] "It is not too much to say," writes Martin, "that the sense of the infinite pervaded the entire Baroque age and coloured all its products." This was the case because "[t]he ancient distinction between the celestial and terrestrial spheres had now to be abandoned: for the heavenly bodies were shown to be subject to the same law of gravitation and the same laws of motion as the earth itself."[14] In Martin's view, Bruno's theories led to Italian and French painters' experiments with depth and their desire to make paintings that could break the barrier between the artwork and the spectator. This broken barrier recalls the effect produced by Bibiena's *scena per angolo*, but, by citing Bruno, Martin's theories of the Baroque lead back to the sixteenth century and suggest a link between Baroque aesthetics and changes in the way individuals viewed and understood the mechanics of the universe.

Martin's views are important because they force a distinction between the Baroque understood as a historical period and the Baroque understood as a historically specific movement, one keyed to changes in perception as well as to changes in the expression of those changes through artistic media. This distinction reveals something that Bjurström, Ogden, Baur-Heinhold, and Freund only point to obliquely; namely, that Baroque aesthetic elements, whether architectural, painterly, or produced through performance, contain within them traces of epistemological shifts. This same notion is

examined at length in José Antonio Maravall's *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*.[15]

Excavating the Baroque as a historical structure allows Maravall to show how a complex interplay of economic crises, monetary upheavals, credit insecurity, economic wars, and a prevailing sense of uncertainty in seventeenth-century Spain created a generative matrix from which specific plays, artworks, philosophical texts, political treatises, and theological tracts erupted. The Baroque structure, then, appears through Maravall as a type of motivating force that pervaded individuals' understandings of time, space, and social collectivity under a monarchical governmental order. The Baroque force shaped individual perceptions into paradigms such as "life as stage,"[16] "life as labyrinth,"[17] and "life as dream"[18] that Maravall sees as the foundational concepts shaping theatrical expression in that time. Though Maravall's studies focus primarily on Spain, and though Martin centers his attention on painting, the idea of the Baroque as a socially grounded phenomenon embedded within aesthetic expressions and as a type of thinking tied intimately to the limits of the knowable provides a helpful theoretical frame for my study of Baroque Venetian theatre.

The intricate details of Baroque Venetian theatre come into focus through a philosophical lens and by way of a critical, dialectical methodology applied to the objects and ideas forwarded by the four theatre-specific studies cited above, as well as those of Martin and Maravall. Before adding those details to the sketch of Baroque Venetian theatre, and before explicating my methodological apparatus, I want to create a collage from the fragments of the six studies I have just referenced. As suggested by research into Torelli and Bibiena, the Baroque contains a spectacular scenographic dimension that

erupts from "moving scenery" and "tricks of the eye." Mobile *trompe l'oeil* scenery, however, does not appear in my study as a visual effect. Rather, I seek to understand it as type of social architecture imbued with a tremendous affective force. Can the term scenography refer to fields of vision occupied by performers and audience members alike and in which dominant points of view were presented and contested off stage as well as on stage? These fields of vision might become intelligible by deconstructing the sites in which these performers and audiences gathered, the political structures buttressing those sites, the legal strategies employed in order to legitimize those sites and to delegitimize others, and the modes of thinking practiced by the individuals occupying those fields of vision that allowed a performance to read as acceptable or unacceptable, as correct or incorrect.

These methods of deconstruction may, as did Baur-Heinholds methods of analysis, present the *Teatro Olympico* as a Baroque theatre, but they will also investigate the social classes of that theatre's audiences, the types of performances that were allowed there, and the counter-performances that may have existed in tension with that theatre. These methods may also present theatres that escaped Baun-Heinhold's scope. If Baroque theatre appeared as early as the sixteenth century, as Martin's citation of Giordano Bruno suggested, then considerations of Baroque theatre would have to include performances outside of traditional theatre venues. Permanent buildings designed specifically to hold theatrical performances did not come into existence in Venice until the 1580s; rather, sixteenth-century Venetian theatre performances unfolded in private homes, or *stanze*, where wealthy individuals employed performers for special dinners and festive occasions. Beyond even those rooms, the fields of vision produced by Baroque

scenographies opened in public fora, such as *piazze* and city streets. Those fields of vision contained public spectacles such as parades, bull fights, and public executions and should be included in a study of Baroque Venetian theatre.

While this collage of Baroque theatre may slice across multiple disciplines and point out the gaps in English-language studies of pre eighteenth-century Venetian Baroque theatre, it presents an image that appears more regularly in the work of Italian scholars. There are many more studies on the socio-cultural dimensions of theatre spaces and performances deemed Baroque in Italian literature than in English literature. Specifically, there are a handful of studies that helped me to narrow my scope and to add to the historical picture of Baroque Venetian theatre started by my research in English and American archives.

Gaetano Cozzi's *Venezia Barocca* excavates the Republic of Saint Mark in the sixteenth century when years of war had stunted the growth of the territory and forced its governors to develop new strategies for retaining political autonomy:

> Venice was a city in political crises, constrained by the unhappy outcomes of thirty years of war to renounce her programs of expansion and her hegemony of the Mediterranean that had driven the preceding century, and to accept, in front of the sovereign powers of the grand European monarchies and that of the Ottomans, the fate of a minor prince. But it was a city that demanded more than ever the attention of all, from the East to the West, a rich city, full of people of various languages and fashions and religions, a city that had a reputation for tolerance—a tolerance that came with a great exuberance of spiritual life.[19]

The Baroque appears in Cozzi's account as a multiplicity of crises—territorial, military, political, economic, spiritual—undergirding the reconstruction of the Republic of Saint Mark that began in 1509 after their defeat to the League of Cambrai.

The image of Baroque Venice that erupts from Cozzi's historical excavation portrays a territory inhabited by a teeming multitude of individuals and governed by a weakened state apparatus. The "great exuberance of spiritual life" brought on by the period of reconstruction foreshadows the emergence of another governmental authority on the scene that would utilize the weakness of the state officials to advance a new order. This governmental authority was the Society of Jesus, and a large portion of Cozzi's scholarship, both in *Venezia Barocca* and in his numerous other studies, avers that the complexities of political and social reconstruction in sixteenth-century Venice cannot be understood without a study of this militant, Catholic organization.[20] Specifically, Cozzi suggests that Baroque Venice is a time-space of crises that becomes visible by attending to the governmental regulations adopted by the state and the spiritual regulations enforced by the Society of Jesus.

From 1535 to 1606, the Jesuits inhabited Venice and its mainland territories and infiltrated the highest branches of the Venetian government by playing the role of spiritual advisers. During this time, theatrical performance began to express the ideologies of the state, the Church, the burgeoning professional theatre, and the aristocratic tier of the wealthiest civic class. Since Venice did not build permanent theatre buildings until the 1580s, it is very difficult to find records of these theatrical performances and, by extension, to research the various ways in which Baroque Venice expresses itself through theatre. Thankfully, the series *I teatri del Veneto* offers a point of

entry into that field of research and a study of Baroque Venetian theatre would not be possible without the images and primary source material culled in those volumes.

Edited by Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, and Elena Povoledo, this series brings together traces of theatrical performances that have been buried in the *Archivio di Stato*, *Venezia*, the *Fondazione di Giorgio Cini*, and other archives. The first volume, *Venezia, Teatri Effimeri E Nobili Imprenditori*, uses that information to trace the rise of public, professional theatre and the various rules that sought to govern its performance. "1508 is the date in which the public theatres were initiated in Venice; from that time the Theatre was ruled by restrictive laws, though they were frequently disregarded, and became an increasingly active profession, sometimes in upper-class environs, sometimes in taverns."[21]

Maps of Venice rendered from Jacopo di Barbari's 1501 woodblock print of the floating city identify the locations of those upper-class environs and taverns. Throughout the five volume series, the editors of *I teatri del Veneto* also draw from Marin Sanuto's personal diaries, which act as one of the only detailed eye-witness accounts of the performances that unfolded in these locales. Reading Cozzi's studies alongside *I teatri del Veneto*, it is possible to lay a foundation for a study of Baroque Venice, its diverse theatre practices, the socio-economic conditions that made that practice possible, the rules and regulations seeking to control that practice, and the politics of space that shaped all theatre productions before the advent of buildings designed specifically to house the theatrical arts.

The benefit of this series is also its downfall, since the accumulation of so much data would seem to present a complete picture of a time and space in Venetian theatre

history from which very little information remains. This picture is certainly valuable, but it is not complete. What of the individual performers weaving their ways through the streets of Venice, Treviso, Padua, and the other mainland territories of the Veneto whose lives as theatre artists only pop into the pages of *I teatri del Veneto* briefly before disappearing from view? These individual performers belong to the patchwork of Baroque Venice as much as the upper-class environs and taverns, the public spectacles of *Carnevale*, the religious events organized by the Jesuits, and the civic rituals practiced throughout the year by the state. Two individuals in particular have garnered attention from Italian scholars, Andrea Calmo and Angelo Beolco (aka Ruzzante).

Calmo was a sixteenth-century performer who has been credited with the creation of the character *Il Magnifico* that continued to have a life in *commedia* theatre performances throughout the eighteenth century. The image of Calmo presented by Vittorio Rossi in his compilation of Calmo's letters sets the individual performer in the heart of the field of crises that Cozzi writes so much about.[22] A valuable historic resource, Calmo's letters present the playwright and performer engaged in conversations with the most powerful politicians and religious authorities of his time. Additionally, each letter in the fourth book of Calmo's correspondences is addressed to a prostitute or a famous actress of the day. In total, as Rossi shows, Calmo's letters suggest that Venetian comedies took up the most controversial issues of the day for its subject material. The prostitutes of Calmo's letters were most likely actresses, a fact corroborated by many Jesuit anti-theatrical treatises that dealt voluminously with the dangerous presence of women on the stage. Though outwith the scope of this dissertation, the role of women on the sixteenth-century Italian stage, and the identity of actress-prostitute frequently

assigned to female performers at the time, inspires a brief digression. In particular I would like to mention how Calmo's letters might intervene in the research of female performers in sixteenth-century Italy.

In her article "Women and Performance: The Development of Improvisation by the Sixteenth-Century *Commedia dell'Arte*," Kathleen McGill writes that,

> while the potential significance attached to the role of women in the commedia is substantial, critics have shown more fascination with women's presence than analysis of its performative effect. This substitution of personal for critical interest thus necessitates a double effort in retrieving the salient performance history of sixteenth-century women.[23]

McGill's own substitution of critical interest for the personal and obfuscating interests of theatre historians deploys a two-step analytic methodology. In the first, she underscores the predominance of repertory improvisation within the extant archival traces of female commedia performers, thereby foregrounding the performative effectiveness of the actresses and downplaying the scopophilic fascination of the female body upon the sixteenth-century stage. Specifically, she points to the fact that, "the development of repertory improvisation in the theater occurred simultaneously with the appearance of women performers on the stage," a fact that shifts attention onto the scenarios of commedia performances and the snapshots of everyday life featured in those scenarios. In the second, she combs the scant archival traces for "evidence of mediation, submersion, and appropriation on the part of critics and historians" in order to reveal a tendency in theatre scholarship to relate all female achievement on the Italian commedia stage to secret male tutelage. More often than not, McGill suggests, scholars intimate that this

tutelage happened in the bedroom where the actresses, moonlighting as courtesans, learned performance techniques from their clients. Any agency on the part of the actress thus necessitates the recapitulation of the standard trope of the actress-as-whore.

Calmo's letters to his female friends functions as a kind of window onto the development of repertory improvisation in sixteenth-century Italy and thus provides ways to rethink the actress-prostitute trope.[24] The form of the "letter" provides the most intriguing avenue of study, since the letter infers a *correspondence* over and above a one-way transmission of knowledge. For McGill, whose inquiry into the performative effectiveness of women onstage seeks to undermine the oft-theorized transmission of acting talent from male clients to female prostitutes, the notion of correspondence offers a two-way-street for scholars to navigate. One should think of Calmo's correspondences as comedic monologues culled from mundane dialogues between him and his female acquaintances. If, as McGill argues in her essay, scholars should focus more on the affect of repertory improvisation performed by women, a repertory that consisted of dramatized scenes from everyday life tinted with the point of view of women, then Calmo's letters begin to appear as oblique perspectives into the lives of actresses working professionally at the dawn of *commedia dell'arte*. Rather than privilege his own male point of view, Calmo's letters cite imagined (or perhaps actual) conversations with numerous prostitutes whose knowledge of the social landscape and the tactics required specifically by women to navigate that landscape yields an untapped reservoir of archival material with which to test McGill's analytic procedure. The figure of the actress-prostitute in Calmo's letters appears as a knowledgeable and crafty tactician of the performances of everyday life rather than as an opportunistic exploiter of bedroom secrets.

Calmo's theatrical career was indebted in large part to Ruzzante from whom Calmo took most of the storylines for his full-length plays. It was through Calmo's letters that I first discovered this innovative and influential performer. Ruzzante's works have been compiled in their original Paduan dialect and with a contemporary Italian translation by Ludovico Zorzi whose notes to the texts greatly illuminate the life of this unique performer. Unlike Calmo who seems never to have left the city of Venice itself, Ruzzante appeared in Venetian homes and in Padua where he performed for wealthy audiences. The content of his performances, however, was frequently framed through economic and political issues afflicting the farmers and peasant landholders of his native Padua, groups of people who constituted the Venetian lower classes. This fact has motivated American scholar Robert Henke to write that "Ruzante's [*sic*] visceral and embodied theater continually counterpoints raw material reality with fictional and metatheatrical responses to it," and to declare Ruzzante's body of work to be a veritable "poor theatre" engaged in a type of "immaterial but real labor" that begs further study.[25]

Supplementing the studies of Baroque theatre and Baroque visual art undertaken by English-speaking authors with those of Italian scholars has helped me to developing a socially aware analysis of Baroque Venetian theatre. Specifically, there are four points that this coupling of English and Italian sources makes clear. First, theatre architecture and performance cannot be separated from the specific time and place of sixteenth-century Venice. Second, the Jesuit presence in Venice reveals a provocative paradox about the regulation and instrumental use of theatre in the vibrant Republic of Saint Mark. Third, the spaces in which theatre unfolded were as important as the content featured in the performances. Fourth, Ruzzante's status as an individual maneuvering

through the regulations set by Church and state officials must be positioned beside the spectacular public performances in order to assess the full scope of Baroque Venetian theatre.

Theoretical Methodology: sorting and not sorting the complexities of the field

This survey of the field is not in and of itself a map to my dissertation. The sources discussed above present the Baroque, Venice, and Baroque Venetian theatre each as a complex multiplicity of terrains and events. Taking a cue from complexity theorists John Law and Annemarie Mol, I intend to let the paths outlined by the field of Baroque theatre studies, art history, cultural studies, and Italian studies *not* add up. As such, Baroque Venetian theatre will not appear in this dissertation as only a period in history, a phenomenon marked in large part by advances in scenography, a specific brand of performance, a site-specific event unfolding in theatre buildings, a synaesthesia of artistic forms, a movement with a specific geographical origin, *or* a political concept. Instead, Baroque Venetian theatre will appear as a multiplicity infused with all and each of those ideas.

Law and Mol write, "[m]ultiplicity is thus about coexistences at a single moment. To make sense of multiplicity we need to think and write in topological ways, discovering methods for laying out a space, for laying out spaces, and for defining paths to walk through these."[26] To allow for the multiplicity to exist outside of a rigid order of codification is to open complexity itself as an object of study. More than just acknowledging the complexity of the Baroque, this allowance is the first step of a Baroque methodology that Law describes elsewhere as an "act of looking down," which

requires "an imagination that discovers complexity in detail or (better) in specificity, rather than in the emergence of higher level order."[27]

Developing Baroque Venetian theatre topologically presents a historiographic challenge. It requires mapping the geographical, social, political, and theatrical terrains of sixteenth and seventeenth-century while remaining cognizant of the fact that these terrains exist virtually, as a composite of writings and interpretations superimposed on the objects themselves. In addition to Mol and Law, I have created a philosophical-historical methodological procedure in order to deal with the Baroque as a multiplicity. The questions driving this methodology are as follows: What does Baroque Venetian theatre look like from the viewpoint of specific scraps of historical texts and objects? How might thinking scenographically, rather than linearly, help to arrange the primary and secondary source materials found in my archival visits? Can Baroque tropes such as "gardens within gardens" and "theatre of the world" function as lenses through which lives of individuals such as Ruzzante pop into focus? What is the relationship between power, knowledge, and self that comes into view when looking through those lenses? Can any understanding of that relationship exist given the dearth of historical evidence linked to individuals belonging to the lower classes? To answer those questions, I have drawn from the work of Walter Benjamin, Theodor W. Adorno, Gilles Deleuze, and Michel Foucault. Here is a brief explication of the key ideas from those theorists at work in this dissertation.

For Walter Benjamin, it is possible to perceive the world through historical objects but the person engaged in historical inquiry must reject totality in order to

develop that worldview. For him, historical materialism leads not only to the images embedded in objects but also to an awareness of all that those objects fail to show:

> [W]hatever the historical materialist would survey in art or science has a lineage which cannot be contemplated without dread. The products of art and science owe their existence not merely to the effort of the great geniuses that created them, but also to the unnamed drudgery of their contemporaries. There is no document of culture which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. No cultural history has yet done justice to this fundamental state of affairs, and it can hardly hope to do so.[28]

Each historical object is itself the writing of history. With this knowledge, Benjamin criticized what he called "cultural historians" for marketing fragments as complete wholes. Rather than posit a general vision of Baroque Venetian theatre from a few names, dates, and facts, a historical materialist would collect multiple images of Baroque Venetian theatre from multiple historical objects and then hold those images beside one another in order to acknowledge the contradictions as well as the commonalities.[29]

Benjamin attempted a dialectical materialist study of the Baroque in his work on the *Trauerspiel* (lamentation play). His attempt to view the world through the historical traces of German tragic drama hinged on a critical difference between reading those traces as allegories rather than as symbols. The symbol, he argued, belonged to the tradition of cultural history and the attempt at deducing the whole from the part. By contrast, the allegory formed a dialectical image in which, as Adorno would later suggest, the whole becomes the untrue. By juxtaposing such images assembled from close-readings of historical texts, Benjamin formed a constellation of the Baroque. Illuminated

by numerous distinct objects, each of which had its own monadic complexity, the Baroque became visible as a mosaic of diverse fragments:

> Just as mosaics preserve their majesty despite their fragmentation into capricious particles, so philosophical contemplation is not lacking in momentum […] The value of the fragment of thought is all the greater the less direct their relationship to the underlying idea, and the brilliance of the representation depends as much on this value as the brilliance of the mosaic does on the quality of the glass paste.[30]

My visits to *l'archivio di stato, Venezia*, *il Fondazione Giorgio Cini*, *la biblioteca del Museo civico Correr*, *la biblioteca nazionale di Marciana*, and my walks through the streets of Venice yielded many such fragments, which I have arranged into a mosaic of Baroque Venetian theatre while attempting to retain the brilliance of each document, diagram, and work of art.

Thinking scenographically instead of linearly is another way of thinking through Benjamin's mosaic. Baroque Venetian theatre has been noted for its scenographic advances, but what if scenography consists of multiple moving parts of the social environment in Venice in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? What if Venice becomes the stage on which Baroque theatre unfolds? To develop the value of each fragment, each moving part of the social landscape, I have drawn from Adorno's dialectical anti-system that targeted discontinuity, irreconcilability, and sites of historical rupture. Inspired in no small part by Benjamin's method of thinking, Adorno's dialectical procedure provides a model for holding disparate ideas in tension with one another to create a critical landcape. The tenacity of Adorno's dialectical movement mixed with Benjamin's specific interest in the Baroque infuses my scenographic read of theatre

performances held in the homes of wealthy Venetians, in Paduan villas, and in the *piazze* of Venice itself.[31]

Of particular importance to my research methodology is Adorno's dialectical theory of aesthetics in which "the art work is socially impenetrable not because it represents society but because it acquires its social content through resistance to society and is thus the unconscious writing of history."[32] Where I dissect Ruzzante's performances in Venetian homes I attempt to evince the social content of the performance by reconstructing the act of resistance the performance was enacting. Since Venetian theatre prior to 1580 occurred most frequently in the homes of the elite and for the benefit of the upper classes, Ruzzante's appeals on behalf of the lower-classes for improved living conditions and his direct assault on Venetian politicians brought the outside of rural Padua into conflict with the privileged interiors of Venice's oligarchy. The social content of Ruzzante's performances existed in this clash between inside and outside, and insofar as the traces of his performances embody that clash between upper and lower classes the traces of those performances form a writing of history from Ruzzante's point of view.

I develop a view of Baroque Venice through Ruzzante's theatre practice by analyzing the social content of his performances and also by pairing his theatre practice with Baroque aesthetic tropes. One such trope is the notion that the Baroque is a landscape of gardens within gardens: within each molecule of the Baroque world exists another ornate world; within the molecules of that world, another, and another, etc. The complex cartography of the Baroque proposed by this trope of gardens within gardens relates to the complex cartography that forms by mapping the specific locations where

Ruzzante performed his plays. The language of gardening appears in his texts to describe the complexities not of the natural world but of the social world. The "unweeded garden,"[33] for example, stands in for the Venetian houses littering the once pristine Paduan countryside. By viewing Ruzzante's theatre practice as a method of planting gardens within gardens, I seek to unearth the social consequences of his theatrical works and the political gestures motivating his unique mode of expression.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz first posited this trope of gardens within gardens in the early eighteenth century. Already at that time, Leibniz used the horticultural topography to explain the complexities of the individual soul. In his book, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, Gilles Deleuze explores Leibniz's cosmology through the operation of folding. "The Baroque fold unfurls all the way to infinity. First, the Baroque differentiates its folds in two ways, by moving along two infinities, as if infinity were composed of two stages or floors: the pleats of matter, and the folds in the soul."[34] The pleats of matter correspond to the gardens within gardens of the physical world while the folds in the soul correspond to the infinite interior of the monad, or the Baroque individual. Shifting his analysis between the pleats of matter and the folds in the soul, Deleuze constructs an image of the Baroque through Leibniz's spiritual and mathematical writings and, in the process, exposes a dialectical tension between interior emotional landscapes and the environments of cities. I borrow from Deleuze's operation in *The Fold* in order to work through the relationship of Church and state in Venice.

As an example, in my discussion of the public execution of Pietro Leon da Valcamonica, which occurred 10 November 1561, I investigate the relationship between the architecture of *Piazza San Marco* and the spectacle of the execution. The theatrical

setting between the two pillars outside the *Palazzo Ducale* (Ducal Palace) rendered the execution as two diverse types of performance unfolding simultaneously. From one side, under the eyes of the governors of state watching the execution from seats above the scaffold, the outward manifestation of atonement for Valcamonica's criminal acts extended from the inner workings of the Venetian state. Both the action of the execution and the governmental mechanisms leading up to it followed a meticulous script, with each move calibrated so as to produce a desired effect. For the state, that effect was the reassertion of governmental order after the perpetration of Valcamonica's crimes. From another side, however, that of the Jesuit community in Venice at that time, the execution of Valcamonica was a pastoral play intended to instruct the spectators as to how to repent for their sins. Valcamonica's sexual crimes, committed behind closed doors of a monastery under his charge, led to his role as allegorical shepherd whose death would depict the paradox of pastoral power as it existed in the Veneto at that time.

The theme of pastoral power shows up again in my study of Jesuit Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli's tract, *Della Christiana del Theatro Moderatione*.[35] In that work, Ottonelli offers a guide to "virtuous acting" draped in anti-theatrical rhetoric. Attempting to remove the drapery requires penetrating the pastoral power dynamics flowing beneath the historical ground from which Ottonelli's theory of virtuous acting emerged. My analysis of the pastoral draws from Michel Foucault's work on the subject. In particular, Foucault's lectures from the Collége de France help me to explicate the ambiguities of pastoral power, the multiple meanings expressed through writings on Jesuit discipline, and the construction of a Jesuit subject within the Church of Ottonelli's time. More generally, with Ottonelli's work and elsewhere in the dissertation, Foucault's theories of

the care of the self help to situate Jesuit theatrical treatises and practices within a wider discussion of knowledge, power, and the self. The nexus of these three flows acts as the point from which many of Foucault's historical analyses emerge and those analyses have provided a framework for my own glimpse into the construction of Baroque subjectivities.

Foucault's late works on ethics and the care of the self help me to return in the final chapter to Ruzzante in order to theorize his remarkable transformation from Angelo Beolco into the stage persona for which he is now known. Ruzzante began as a fictitious character but eventually became a real person. Angelo Beolco seems to have assumed Ruzzante as his own identity, but what in fact does that mean, how was it possible and what are the stakes of understanding that transformation of subjectivity? To interrogate that journey from Beolco to Ruzzante, it is necessary to understand the various tactics through which Ruzzante constituted himself. The act of becoming-Ruzzante marked, I believe, an important emergence of the care of the self as Foucault understood it. "It seems to me," Foucault wrote, "that the stake, the challenge for any history of thought, is precisely that of grasping when a cultural phenomenon of a determinate scale actually constitutes within the history of thought a decisive moment that is still significant for our modern mode of being subjects."[36] Does Ruzzante's act of subject formation, viewed through Foucault's theoretical apparatus, exemplify one such decisive moment? The answer, I believe, is yes. To support this claim and to develop it further, I fold the theories of Foucault, Deleuze, Adorno, and Benjamin into each other and read Ruzzante and Jesuit theatre practices through the philosophical mosaic formed in part by those four thinkers.

Ultimately, I attempt to locate within the Baroque itself a historiographic strategy that will illuminate Baroque Venetian theatre with the light of numerous primary and secondary source materials. Ruzzante's texts, eye-witness transcripts of Valcamonica's execution, Ottonelli's tract, Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, architectural studies of Piazza San Marco, emblems belonging to Ruzzante's theatre troupe, and floor plans of Paduan villas come together with philosophical concepts and historical accounts of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venice to create a field of Baroque Venetian theatre stretching from the 1500s into the present. Sustaining that connection requires keeping in mind Benjamin's pronouncement that "The true method of making things present is to represent them in our space (not to represent ourselves in their space)."[37] There is no one Baroque Venetian theatre to discover; rather, the goal of this dissertation is to compose Baroque Venetian theatre scenographically through a juxtaposition of historical objects and writings and the explication of those objects and writings with a historical-philosophical methodology.

Chapter Breakdown

Each of my four chapters excavates the field of disciplinary practices regulating sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Venetian theatre and the movements of historical subjects that aimed at eluding those practices. Moreover, in each chapter I locate a critical tension between excess and discipline; however, instead of identifying the excess, or that which escapes the disciplinary practices, as a binary antithesis to discipline, I seek to diagram the complex nonidentical field of Venice as it appears within the historical events of Ruzzantian and Jesuit theatre praxis. The term "nonidentity" delimits a field of

relations in which two seemingly disparate subjects or objects express themselves through similar practices. Distinct from identity, which names what a subject or object *is* or seems *to be,* nonidentity fuses distinct objects and subjects disjunctively into a force-field of critical tension. Whereas the term "difference" describes the qualities or expressions that makes one subject or object unique from another, nonidentity describes an elective affinity between disparate subjects and objects. An analyis of the nonidentical relation between Ruzzante and Ignatius Loyola exposes contradictions within each individual as it simultaneously maps the contradictions between them thereby preparing a critical landscape for scholarly investigation.

Chapter one maps Ruzzante's procedures for *taking place*, that is, his ability to produce a political stage within private spaces controlled by various civic and religious authorities from which he could challenge those authorities and the laws they upheld. Reading transversally through Ruzzante's numerous texts, I extract a method of spatial occupation he honed throughout his life and then display it as an innovative political scenography. This way of thinking diverges from the small body of work on Ruzzante, which reads his role as a theatre artist through an anthropological and humanist theoretical lens. Analyses from Ruzzante scholars such as Linda Carroll and Nancy Dersofi tend toward reconstructions and interpretations of either his Paduan dialect or his status as a Renaissance performer.[38] Moving away from biographical and philological studies of that kind, I am interested in the politics and performance of Ruzzante's theatre spaces.

From Ruzzante's political dissent and his rebellion against authority discussed in the first chapter, the second and third chapters transition to an analysis of disciplinary

strategies and tactics. Specifically, I trace the deployment of theatricality by the Society of Jesus and the various ways it utilized public spectacle in its Counter Reformation struggle against deviant religious sects. Chapter two offers a new perspective on pastoral theater, which I understand not as a genre based on bucolic themes centered on the redeeming power of Love but, rather, as a technology of governance key to the implementation of pastoral power during the sixteenth century. I structure this chapter around the public execution of Father Pietro Leon da Valcamonica: set in *Piazza San Marco* beneath the windows of the library that functioned as box seats from which Venetian nobles viewed the event, this execution epitomized the instrumental use of spectacle deployed by the Society of Jesus in its bid to gain influence over the city's populace. By scrutinizing the dramaturgy of the event, I show how the Jesuits entered onto the political stage of the Republic and quickly asserted their authority on all ecclesiastical matters.

Picking up from there, chapter three deconstructs the Baroque theme of *teatro del mondo* (theater of the world) in order to theorize how the Jesuits utilized the notion of the world as stage to consolidate Church power. Against the grain of existing scholarship, I read a supposedly anti-theatrical tract by Jesuit Domenico Ottonelli as the instruction book for how precisely to construct a theater of the world, the goal of which was to establish a new type of acting based on a pure representation of the laws of God.[39] In both the second and third chapters, I explore the pedagogical techniques expressed through a Jesuit theatre of everyday life. Whereas numerous scholars have traced the history of the Society's school theatre in order to understand the role of Roman and Greek theatrical

texts in primary and secondary schools opened by the Order, few have attempted to chart the quotidian manifestations of Jesuit pedagogy in Venice.[40]

In the final chapter, I return to Ruzzante and offer a nuanced schematic of his ethical engagement with political dissent by reading his seemingly grotesque and scatological aesthetic as the development of an ascetic practice, which he exercised in order to carry his theatrical mode of protest off the stage and into his performance of everyday life. For example, instead of reading Ruzzante's attempt to eat himself to death as an absurd or ironic jest, I analyze the monologue in which that moment unfolds as Ruzzante's response to the oppression of Paduan peasants. I collect multiple instances such as this in order to argue that Ruzzante's excessive gestures of suicide and mutilation reveal the production of a regimented practice of self-discipline that allows him to overcome daily hunger and misery.

There are nonidentical relationships within the chief nonidentical relationship of Ruzzante and Loyola (i.e., gardens within gardens) that deserve scholarly inquiry but that fall outside the scope of this dissertation. The theme of trade, for example, does not receive attention here. And yet, Ruzzante and Loyola do lend themselves to discussions on that theme. For Ruzzante, for whom the world was no bigger than the Veneto, the space between Venice and Ferrara comprised the entire world. His fascination with horses comes into play in this respect, since, on the back of the fasted mode of conveyance in sixteenth-century Italy, Ruzzante could traverse his whole world in a couple of days. Here, then, the trade routes etched into the earth by Ruzzante as he pedaled his wares across northern Italy reveal themselves as crossroads where the global meets the local. How did Ruzzante's trade routes resonate with the roads into and out of

Venice, which at the time of Ruzzante's life was one of the liveliest economic centers in all of Europe?

The Jesuit army under Loyola's command sparks a similar (yet different) question. Namely, how did the Society of Jesus balance its mandate to convert the entire world back into the fold of the Church with its preference for working at the local level, through the practice of the spiritual exercises? Moreover, how does this twin procedure of global territorialization and local domination compare to the procedures of nascent capitalism that were beginning to transpire at the start of the seventeenth century? Can one even refer to the Jesuit mission at all, or compare it to machinery of capitalism, if their goal was the creation of a *universal* subject within God (*ecclesia universalis*) as opposed to a global subject? Pairing Loyola and the Society of Jesus with the world of early capitalist and late mercantile systems of trade leads to the formulation of the nonidentical pair between global and universal. Add Ruzzante to the mix and create a triangular schema—Jesuits-Capitalism-Ruzzante—and the nonidentical pair of global/universal clashes with the nonidentical pair of global/local. An analysis of this schema and all the questions it raises in terms of a Baroque economy, however, will have to wait until another time.[41]

I access my research sites through documents that survive in the Venetian Archive of State, the library of the Correr Civic Museum, and the National Library Marciana. Each chapter works to elucidate the dynamic flux of Venetian activity in which these performances arose by drawing attention to a specific tension between excess and discipline that motivates and underpins them. My research reveals a dimension of

scenography grounded in the socio-political fabric of everyday life and theorizes the role of this political scenography in the lives of lower-class Venetian citizens. By foregrounding the disciplinary practices established during the Counter Reformation and some of the artistic modes of expression that aimed at producing a means of counter-conduct capable of circumventing the systematicity of disciplinary bodies, such as the Jesuits, I develop a concept of the Baroque that goes beyond historical periodization to build a socially conscious understanding of 16th and 17th century theatrical practices. With such a historical perspective, my work opens the conversation of the theatrical arts up to the field of cultural studies and other humanities disciplines, thereby infusing theater studies with new ways of thinking and discussing Baroque works of art.

A Note on Translation

I translated the majority of Italian literature and Italian archival documents that appear in English in this dissertation. Where I have relied on other translators' efforts I have made the appropriate citation in an endnote. Above all else, Ruzzante's texts presented a singular difficulty. I attribute their difficulty to the author's original Paduan dialect, the arcane language used by the author, the neologisms he created, the subsequent editorial alterations made to the original scripts, and the scarcity of Ruzzante's theatrical contributions in the field of American theatre history studies. The task of translating Ruzzante's monologues, dialogues, poems, and plays would have been nearly impossible without Ludovico Zorzi's Italian translation from the original Paduan replete with hundreds of endnotes explaining word origins, historical context, and other scholars' previous attempts at understanding the peculiar mind of Angelo Beolco.

My translations were not accomplished with Zorzi's help alone. Lodovico Pizzati's Venetian-English dictionary was a surprisingly helpful resource since many words in the Venetian dialect appear as the punchlines of Ruzzante's jokes.[42] Nancy Dersofi's essay, "Translating Ruzante's Obscenities,"[43] her translation of *The Woman from Ancona*,[44] and Antonio Franceschetti and Kenneth R. Bartlett's translation of the *Moschetta*[45] were equally valuable. Imagine a table covered with those sources alongside three dictionaries and you can recreate my workspace for much of the dissertation project.

Even with the helpful sources mentioned above, I decided to brave my own translation at times in order to cultivate an English version of Ruzzante's texts as they resonated with me. The name "Ruzzante," for example, appears in this dissertation with two zs (zz). The reason for this is neither to side with the scholarship on Angelo Beolco that perceives him from the point of view of Venice, with its propensity to double consonants, nor from that of the dominate form of Tuscan Italian that began to establish its authority in the early 1500s; nor is it to shun the native *Padova* and its dialect with which the playwright and actor crafted his comedies, the dialect that preserves the name of the playwright as "Ruzante." Instead, I argue, the name "Ruzzante" necessitates two zs so that as a reader one can remain attuned to the pernicious sound linked etymologically to the stage name Beolco eventually adopted as his own. The verb "*ruzzare*" connoted a buzzing sound, like that produced by a quickly moving object, or by something gyrating with great intensity.[46]

This sound: an audience would have heard it coming from a ways away, but they would not have known what exactly what it was. It could have been a hornet or a swarm

of bees, but when the audience eventually recognized the source of the sound in the body of a tall, lanky *villano*, they would have understood that the sound meant trouble. They were in store for harsh joking, beatings with words, backhanded compliments, double entendres, and lewd references to peasant life. A discussion of Ruzzante and his diverse brand of theatrical performance should begin with this linguistic distinction, just as his prologues frequently introduced the preferred tonality of the language from the *Pavan*.

Beyond Ruzzante's works appearing in the following pages, there is also an idiosyncratic cloak dressing the translations of archival documents. The transcription of Valcamonica's last words and the records of that priest's appearance before the Venetian judiciary exist in Venetian archives. After four hundred and fifty years, the ink on those pages has blended with the velum and paper to produce smudges and each smudge required an archaeological inspection. Where words were indiscernible I have inserted an ellipsis. The Venetian government used a mixed Venetian-Florentine dialect in their written records and this dialect also surfaces in Jesuit orations in the sixteenth-century. Since many colloquial expressions have fallen into silence, I have attempted to translate some Venetian-Florentine phrases by cross-referencing the archival documents with secondary source materials and the dictionaries mentioned above.

In the translator's introduction to Adorno's *Aesthetic Theory*, Robert Hullot-Kentor compares his translation to a snowman made from whatever was handy: "a carrot for the nose, lightbulbs for the eyes, some feathers for the mustache."[47] He goes on to insert the following disclaimer: "Propped on a bench in the distance with its back to the sunset, perhaps it even looks alive. But it is not to be leaned against and neither will it bear much scrutiny."[48] If Hullot-Kentor's translation is a fragile figure melting in the

snow, my translations in this dissertation are a child's drawing of that snowman that has been faxed to his grandmother on low-grade paper. This is particularly the case for Ruzzante's texts in which a vivacity screams out in garbled prose. Let me simply draw from Hullot-Kentor and confess, by way of closing, that "for the many sentences that were each finally accepted as not really but sort of what it means, I can only say, it was not for lack of trying."[49]

Chapter 1: "Ruzzante Takes Place"

This analysis of Ruzzante, aka Angelo Beolco (1496-1542), begins with his resumé. Ruzzante labored both onstage and off. As a working actor, he belonged to the *Compagnie della Calza* (literally, "Companies of the Sock") in Venice, the forerunners to professional theatre artists.[50] Within the worlds of his plays, monologues, dialogues, and skits he appeared as an official spokesperson for the Paduan lower classes, as a religious reformer, as a soldier conscripted into the Venetian army, and as a swindler.[51] Outside of his theatre creations, Ruzzante worked on behalf of his patron, Alvise Cornaro (1484-1566), to complete land transactions and to sign legal paperwork when Cornaro was unavailable. Any of these jobs could function as the entry point into this analysis of Ruzzante's political theatre practice, but there is one job that subsumes all the rest, one job that offers an entrance into the full complexity of this historical figure whose practices onstage and off provide a point of view through which to understand what was thinkable and doable politically within the Veneto in the first half of the sixteenth century. Ruzzante was, above all else, a skillful gardener.

All of Ruzzante's various labors lead back to that of gardener. But what kind of gardener was he exactly, and what is the benefit of mapping his botanical labor? Does Ruzzante's profession as gardener shed light on his theatre practice, of which scholars know little more than dates of performances, locations of manuscripts, and the names of venues in which the performances unfolded? When it appeared in the emblems and banners worn and carried by the *compagni Ortolani* (company of Gardeners), Ruzzante and his fellow actors seem to have used the garden aesthetically to attract attention and to

signify the bawdy humor preferred by their troupe. The garden was in this sense an almost pornographic sign of fecundity. At other times, however, gardening seems to have functioned metonymically within the world of the plays to address contested social issues obliquely, e.g., the world appeared to Ruzzante as an unweeded garden. Metonymy was an allegorical device that was prevalent in the representational systems of the Baroque. More than a metaphor that would function floridly within the narrative of a play or monologue to enhance its literary merit, the metonym of the garden pointed beyond the world of the stage into the social environment in the city streets and the rural farms where unweeded gardens meant low-yield harvests and unhappy peasants. Analyzing Ruzzante's labor as gardener, the multiple valences of the bawdy aesthetic, and the metonymic deployment of gardens within his performances forms a more detailed understanding of the blurring between theatre and real life that was so integral to Ruzzante's work. By understanding Ruzzante's theatrical praxis as an extension of his everyday life among the lower strata of social classes in the Veneto, the political stakes of that praxis come into focus.

From the early stages of his career in Venice, all the way to his last performance in Padua, Ruzzante's theatrical works drew upon the labor of the gardener and the materiality of gardens to constructed vivid images of life's hardships. In his very last monologue, *Lettera all'Alvarotto* (*Letter to Alvarotto*, 1536), he recounted a vision in which he saw an earthly paradise inhabited by the figures Goodness, Charity, Peace, and Friendship. Ruzzante mentioned that one kind of Love (i.e., Lust) was absent. In a garden of earthly delights such as the one in his vision, Love like that "alone would do more damage to lives than seven goats in a garden."[52] Even when the subject matter dealt with

real life and not phantasmatic visions, the garden appeared as a perfected state of being toward which to strive. In the *Seconda Orazione* (*Second Oration*, c.1528), for example, after recounting hardships wrought by unjust religious laws, Ruzzante ended his address by commenting that "this world has become like an untended garden. Look around and see if you see any lovers. I can tell you that hunger has fucked love up the ass. Nobody dares to love anymore, since no one can handle the cost."[53] In another instance, and speaking in a more nuanced tone, Ruzzante offered this thought in a short Eclogue: "Because I'm telling you, this world is like a vine, and what is natural is the stake: while the stake stands, the vine gives fruit; when the stake doesn't hold, the vine falls on its ass on the ground."[54]

Ruzzante planted figurative gardens within the gardens that functioned as performance spaces. The labor of the gardener, the state of the perfect garden, and the measures taken to protect that state all appeared in Ruzzante's theatre practice as efforts linked to navigating through and surviving in a world in which he did not make the laws. The performance spaces in which he appeared were gardens in his sense: they were territories fenced off and controlled by governmental authorities seeking to privatize lands that Ruzzante wanted to liberate and return to the peasants. Ruzzante's theatre was invested in restoring nature, but this nature had many valences. It was a drive that pushed Ruzzante to procreate, or at least to try repeatedly. It was the generative matrix from which vegetables and other foods appeared. It was a social construction that sometimes appeared to Ruzzante as a state of equality between members of the various classes that one must strive to conserve at all costs; at other times Ruzzante saw this natural state of society's interpersonal relationships as a barren field that nobody could hope to cultivate.

This paradox of society as a type of second nature was actively present in his job as Alvise Cornaro's agent in land transaction. In such a role, Ruzzante had to help members of the lower classes sign over their land to Cornaro for a fraction of the land's value, just so that they could survive.[55] Ruzzante's work thus brought him face to face with an act of injustice, but it enabled him to eat at Cornaro's table and to build friendships with other artists under Cornaro's patronage. This job, then, though complicated, was the means that allowed Ruzzante to tend to his own garden, as it were.

To explicate how the aesthetic and social gardens fused together in Ruzzante's work, I turn to a treatise that several scholars link to the world of the Baroque: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's *La Monadologie* (*The Monadology*, 1714). The methodological considerations provoked by this work aid my assessment of Ruzzante's gardening practice. Twentieth-century thinkers such as John Law and Gilles Deleuze have recognized Leibniz's philosophical treatise as nothing less than a manifesto of the Baroque. At the center of Leibniz's theories lay the topographical schema of gardens within gardens. Leibniz developed that schema as a map to the world in all of its complexity: "Each portion of matter may be conceived as like a garden full of plants and like a pond full of fishes. But each branch of every plant, each member of every animal, each drop of its liquid parts is also some such garden or pond."[56] More than a formal description of the world, *The Monadology* commenced an analysis of the Baroque world. Law has suggested that Leibniz's map reveals "an imagination that discovers complexity in detail or (better) in specificity, rather than in the emergence of higher level order…It is an imagination that looks down rather than up."[57] Deleuze's work on Leibniz has showed how this operation of looking down helped Leibniz to discover the inner complexity of

the soul, the monad, that metaphysical point of view from which the confusion of the world became ordered in harmony.[58]

Looking down is also an operation that can lead to an altogether different understanding of Ruzzante's theatre practice as a labor of producing gardens within gardens, which, in his case, was an act of social disruption and political intervention. At stake here is the deployment of a Baroque methodology in order to consider Ruzzante's theatre practice as a radical scenography: quite literally a *rooting* (from the Italian verb *radicare*) and *uprooting* that constituted an act of *taking place*. The methodological procedure of looking down presents Ruzzante as a compilation of his life's work, as opposed to a person deserving a biographical narrative. Law's reference to a "higher level order" is an acknowledgement of the desire to make sense out of historical phenomena. Ruzzante's theatre practice will make sense if I present him in a chronological genealogy of actors that became famous for playing certain character types. In this light, his antics foreshadow eighteenth century *commedia dell'arte* and its pantheon of personalities such as Pantalone, Truffaldino, Arlecchino, etc. Ruzzante then becomes a precursor to later innovations. Ignoring this higher-level order, this tendency to make sense of things, allows another line of analysis to emerge. Looking down inverts the situation so that, instead of searching for formal or stylistic origins of *commedia* within Ruzzante's fictional life-as-character, it becomes possible to discern the political gestures alive in Ruzzante's direct confrontation with civic and religious authorities, thereby acknowledging not only his unique signature as a theatre artist but also the slow evacuation of political agitation from Venetian theatre between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

This methodological procedure has three steps. First, the Baroque maneuver of looking down will locate the figure of Ruzzante by way of the very ground on which he stood. Ruzzante's theatre practice relied on that ground as the source of theatre's dual nature prior to the first permanent theatre buildings in and around Venice. That dual nature constituted theatre as, on the one hand, a mixture of gestures and words that came together to create a performance for an audience, and, on the other hand, a production of the very space upon and in which that performance could take place. Ruzzante's signature words and gestures erupted directly from his name itself, which referred to a menacing sound and the act of bestiality.[59]

Second, the analysis of the ground produced by Ruzzante will reveal connection between that theatrical practice of *taking place* and the acts of territorial domination performed by the Venetian Republic on the cities in the Veneto. The irreversible damage to the environment of his native Padua surfaced as a repeating refrain that oscillated throughout Ruzzante's stage performances, and, in turn, that refrain spoke up for the peasants who made their living from tending to that environment.

Third, looking down will lead to a certain noncoherence that must undergird this analysis. This step functions as a type of self-reflexive, historiographical awareness that keeps Ruzzante from becoming a useful object through which all of Baroque Venetian theatre becomes intelligible as a play between various flows of power and the counterinsurgencies that dam up those flows. As John Law suggests, the noncoherence of the local and specific site of analysis made visible by the Baroque act of looking down never becomes completely clear:

> The implication is that there is no possibility whatsoever of an emergent overview, and this is not simply because it is neither possible nor necessary to make what is known fully explicit—though this is the case. In addition, it is because there *is* no final coherence. There *is* no system, global order, or network. These are, at best, partially enacted romantic aspirations. Instead there are local complexities and local globalities, and the relations between them are uncertain.[60]

Each of Ruzzante's performances was a local complexity: a multilayered response to specific socio-political configurations in Padua and Venice. Each was also a local globality: a fragment of a political theatre practice that appeared in other forms during the same time (such as the Jesuit theatre we will see in chapters two and three).

From Ruzzante to Leibniz and back again, the fact is this: Ruzzante's performance-*cum*-gardening practice was fundamentally engaged in the production of alternative viewpoints, and in that way Ruzzante's acts of *taking place* were part of a larger Baroque scenography unfolding in the Veneto in the sixteenth century. Ultimately, Ruzzante's scenography prepares two scenes. One was created for the benefit of his audiences and had the function of making visible the world of the peasants that had been rendered invisible by those audiences who had no wish to alleviate the struggling of the lower classes. Palatial estates and tall villa walls functioned as blinders to block out the struggles of the everyday. The second is a point of view that opens in the present. By detaching Ruzzante from his function in the discipline of theatre studies as an innovator for the eighteenth-century *commedia dell'arte* practices of other Venetians such as Carlo Goldoni or Carlo Gozzi and by constructing around his theatre practice another historical system, one built on the art of making scenes and taking place, the historiographic

strategy of looking down illuminates a Baroque politics lodged within an early sixteenth century theatrical practice. This historiographic procedure proposes a palimpsestual field of multiplicity through which a fragmented picture of Ruzzante's theatre practice offers a different approach to the archive. Rather than policing the truant facts that have evaded archivists' grasps and their efforts to understand Ruzzante's life in its entirety, this chapter constructs a mobile, deconstructable, and ultimately impermanent scene of his theatrical practice just like the scenes he constructed for his audiences.

Baroque Scenography and Ruzzante's Scenogardening

Theatre scholars trace the boom of Italian Baroque scenographic practices back to the eighteenth century with the appearance Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena's section on theatrical scenery in *L'architettura civile* (*Civil Architecture*, Parma, 1711). In this work, Bibiena outlined the building principles behind the *scene teatrali vedute per angolo*: "scenes viewed at a forty-five degree angle" rather than "the traditional stage picture, conceived as an extension of the axis of the theatre and as running to a central vanishing point."[61] Others point to the scenographic practices to Giacomo Torelli and his development of moving scenery, which allowed for multiple scenes to appear in one theatrical representation.[62] In both cases, the Baroque element of the stage designs appears within a surface effect produced by scenery attached to a stage inside a permanent theatre building. Thus, that which makes scenography Baroque is a visual quality linked to traits identified in other artistic disciplines. Bibiena's 45-degree angle within the *scena per angolo* calls to mind the introduction of oblique perspective in

Tintoretto's paintings. The movement of Torelli's scenery evokes the movement within Michelangelo's sculptures.

This disciplinary overlap is confusing since the specificity of each artistic medium blurs into one set of formalistic traits, and the temporal reach of the Baroque brackets a long duration from the early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. Moving away from traditional studies of Baroque scenography, I argue that Ruzzante's theatrical practice of taking place—of planting gardens within private territory, of holding audiences hostage instead of merely entertaining them—figures prominently within the social terrain of Baroque aesthetics. Reading the warps and wefts of this terrain requires a shift in the historical gaze away from theatrical representations conducted in permanent theatre buildings post-1600 and toward the performances within temporary sites, erected for certain times of the year in the sixteenth century, for which there tends to be less historical documentation. This discussion of Baroque scenography, then, attempts to locate a link between theatrical performance and the production of space. Ruzzante used theatre as a means to create a point of view, a window onto a state of affairs that his audiences most frequently wanted nothing to do with. Ruzzante brought the outside inside. He brought the world of the Paduan peasant into the urban space of Venice and into the privileged space of the *palazzo* or villa, a space reserved for the upper classes. To look at all of this in more detail, I return to Ruzzante's career as a gardener in the *compagni Ortolani*.

There were two distinct locations of Ruzzante's scenogardening. The first was in Venice where the actor performed with the *Compagnie di Calza*. In that locale, the content of Ruzzante's plays, skits, and monologues tended toward the lewd and

lascivious, but the lasciviousness frequently distracts historical attention from the type of scenography that I discuss below. For example, the eschatological commentary running through *Dialogo facetissimo* (*Witty dialogue*, 1529) may attract a Bakhtinian framework of the body's lower stratum and the upending of order into disorder during *Carnevale*. This framework, however, obscures the specificity of the scene Ruzzante set with his graphic depictions. When the character Menego proposed an end to his hunger by plugging-up his anus in order to keep the food from exiting his body, a standard read of grotesque carnival themes misses the everyday, real life scenario that Menego presented to his audiences. Carnival came and went, but Menego's hunger was permanent. It was not the jokes about shit that Ruzzante forwarded with that dialogue; rather, he showcased the extreme discomfort of peasants and the extreme measures they considered for soothing the pains of permanent starvation. Ruzzante offered this depiction for the (dis)pleasure of Venetians who treated the mainland territories as a place for vacation. That Venetian audiences read Ruzzante's performances as something more unpleasant to swallow than the usual fare of grotesque farces appears in the fact that Ruzzante eventually left Venice under a cloud of controversy never to perform there again. I discuss this controversy in some detail below.

The second location of scenogardening was Padua. There, Ruzzante's performances took on an entirely different character. In his native countryside, the radical nature of Ruzzante's theatre rose to the fore. The radicality of those theatre practices was not linked to a liberal politics like those of the nineteenth century; radical was not a keyword of political rhetoric as it would come to be post-Marx. Instead, Ruzzante's radicality was an actual rooting. Ruzzante infiltrated certain homes in order to reclaim the

land on which they stood in the name of Padua, a territory dominated by the Venetian Republic. More than just homes, those sites were conglomerations of multiple interior spaces, each kept separate from the other, and each one distinguished from the exterior wilderness by a large wall. The privacy of those homes, then, was constructed around the detachment between an inner sanctum and the outer world. Those homes were different forms of gardens within gardens.

Glimpses of Ruzzante's Venetian exploits appeared in the diary entries of Marin Sanuto, a member of the rich Venetian upper classes whose diaries have greatly aided Venetian historians in creating a picture of all that went on there. In compiling Ruzzante's texts, Ludovico Zorzi has gathered several of these diary entries, like snapshots from a camera, and the picture he has formed appears as follows. Sanuto's narrative captured Ruzzante for the first time on 16 February 1520, when he performed with the *compagni Zardinieri* (company of Farmers) before a crowd gathered in the home of Domenico Trevisan. Sanuto wrote that before dinner he saw "a comedy by Paduans in the style of the peasants, one [actor] had the last name Ruzante and one Menato and it was done well."[63] In January 1521, Ruzzante and Menato appeared again at a "sumptuous feast sponsored by the [company of] Gardeners in Ca' Pesaro."[64] The same pair of Paduans appeared once more in Ca' Contarini da Londra where they performed a "comedy in the rustic style with the *compagni Zardinieri*."[65] But on 5 May 1523, at "a solemn feast offered by the *compagni Ortolani* in the Ducal Palace for the wedding of doge Antonio Grimani's nephew," Sanuto recorded that Ruzzante performed a comedy "*molto discoreta*," that is to say an unacceptable comedy for such a high-profile crowd.[66]

The montage formed from these brief entries brings several specific characteristics of Ruzzante's Venetian performances to the fore. First, from his earliest appearance in Venice, Ruzzante was performing in front of wealthy and powerful members of the Republic's elite governing class. The places for those performances were the homes (Ca') of very powerful people. Trevisan, Pisaro, and Contarini da Londra held ambassadorships to England and France and rotated through the highest ranks of the Venetian government. The *Palazzo Ducale* (Ducal Palace) was the seat of government wherein dwelt the doge, the highest-ranking leader of them all. Second, these performances were always "*a la villana*," or done in the style of rural Padua. Ruzzante and Menato spoke their own dialect, which would have immediately marked them as outsiders to their audiences. This would not have been the case with all the members of the *Zardineri* or the *Ortolani* since, as with all the *Compagnie di Calza*, many men in those companies would have been sons of wealthy Venetian patricians. The performances inside homes of notable Venetian governors and ambassadors did not fall to peasants, but rather to the sons of nobles who headed the various acting troupes. Third, Ruzzante began his Venetian acting career as a Gardener (*Ortolani*) and a Farmer (*Zardinieri*), and the companies that bore those names had woven into the troupe's identities a lewd aura that preceded them. This aura emanated from the banner that the troupe carried with them as they marched through Venice during *Carnevale*. Fourth, because the Paduan dialect and rustic themes, especially when paired with the licentious Gardeners and Farmers, frequently entailed the raunchiest of dialogue, there was always a chance that the comedies would receive a negative response, as was the case for the performance at the Ducal Palace on 5 May 1523. The reason for the affirmative accolades garnered by the

other performances in Sanuto's diary may have stemmed from the fact that those comedies appeared during *Carnevale*—when tolerance for obscenity was higher—while the performance at the Ducal Palace did not. Thus, it appears that Ruzzante performed during the high season of Venetian comedy but also during the off-season, and that he did not bother to change the tone of his performances in that off-season.

From these brief diary entries, then, one learns that Ruzzante had multiple identities as an actor in sixteenth-century Venice. He was sometimes a gardener, sometimes a farmer, and always a Paduan peasant—at least in the eyes of Sanuto, whose status in Venetian society mirrored that of Ruzzante's other audience members. Some of Sanuto's diary entries offer a quite vivid image of Ruzzante and his cohorts during the season of *Carnevale* when theatrical performances abounded within the homes of senior officials, ambassadors, and other people of high status. Here is a particularly descriptive passage from Sanuto, from 4 February 1524, that helps to deepen the analysis of Ruzzante and to zoom in, as it were, to the interiors of the homes and palaces where his theatre took place:

> All were dressed in clothes of crimson velvet like that of the doge and of brightly colored silk, and hats on their heads some of which were satin and others were velvet; masks with noses. And each had two servants in front of them with a torch in each hand, dressed as rustics. There was one of them with a gold vest, and they all had great charisma [*virtù*]: first came the clowns, Zuan Polo and others; of note: Ruzante the Paduan; others dressed like villagers jumped and danced around quite well; and six dressed like rural children that sang horrendously, and each of them had some sort of rustic object in hand, like hoes, shovels, etc., stakes,

> spades, rakes etc., of note: trumpets, pipes, and off-key trumpets. These people made the rounds, through the Piazza, and then at night with lit torches they went through the grounds and at one in the night they came to the Palace of the Doge, into the court, to show off their virtues. Then they went into the *Procuratia* of Sir Marco da Molin, the Procurator, who had a party, then in diverse locations, at the end came a dinner and then great drunkenness.[67]

This is a depiction of a traditional Venetian event, *Carnevale*, and the genre of performance created by the *Compagnie della Calza*. Sanuto's image portrays a raucous parade that begins outside in the urban landscape, weaves its way through Venice, and culminates in a formal presentation within the *Palazzo Ducale*, the central seat of the Republic's government and home to the doge. Just as vibrant as the images of the clothes worn by the company members are the sounds emitted from musical instruments and atonal cantors. Both the visual and aural resonances of the event trapped in Sanuto's diary offer a hint of the theatrical fare brought by the yearly festival season.[68]

This parade, however, was quite harmless, caught as it was in the tightly woven net of Venetian governance. The Council of Ten, Venice's most influential governing body, strictly controlled the time of *Carnevale* that heralded such parades as that of Ruzzante and his fellow Gardeners. The performances that unfolded in Venice during the months leading up to Lent were officially sanctioned entertainments, some of which were meant for the public and others of which were intended for private audiences only. For the public there were violent spectacles such as cow and bear baiting, while, for the upper classes, there were theatrical performances, all of which unfolded in the homes and palaces of the wealthy.

The parade itself, as a mode of conveyance and mode of performance, was not an unusual sight by any means. Edward Muir's work on civic festivity has made it clear that the procession was a typical occurrence that, more often than not, had entirely to do with re-asserting the power of the extensive government hierarchy.[69] Sanuto's description of the parade above dates its occurrence as 4 February. Two days prior to that, for the feast of Santa Maria Formosa, the doge and the eleven principle bodies of government would have paraded over the same ground covered by the *Ortolani*. That feast and parade in honor of Santa Maria Formosa happened yearly, dating from 1273 CE, and would have packed a spectacular punch as hundreds of immaculately dressed men walked single-file through the city streets. There were many parades like that one throughout the year. Ruzzante and his friends may have attracted attention to themselves, but they were not engaged in any sort of unusual activity. Overall, the temporal and spatial grid placed over the entirety of Venice's territory on the day of Ruzzante's parade was constructed and maintained by the legislators and the doge. Nowhere would that have been more distinct visually and aurally than in the *Piazza San Marco* where Ruzzante's parade culminated before entering the *Palazzo Ducale* for the lavish dinner.

This temporal and spatial grid becomes visible in Eleanor Selfridge-Field's description of the sight and sound produced by the *Orologio* in the *Piazza* and the meaning produced by its massive size and perpetual sounding-off:

> The *Orologio* tower was architecturally organized in four tiers. Metaphorically, it was designed to be read from top to bottom. The uppermost tier represented the dominion of the Venetian Republic in the Christian view of the world. The two "Moors" or "Saracens" on top represented slaves captured in the Holy Land

> during a religious crusade. Since heathens were condemned to do manual labor, they were apt subjects to strike the hours. The tier below represented the temporal authority of the doge, who knelt before the Winged Lion (a symbol of the Evangelist Mark, who was the chief patron saint of the Republic). The doge was depicted with his symbol of power—a flag, a ball, a cross. In the realm of religious authority, which was depicted on the third tier, the Three Magi, led by a herald angel, passed before Our Lady who held the infant Jesus in her lap, while four angels guarded her from above. Celestial domination was signified on the bottom tier, which contained the clock-face itself.[70]

As the parade of Ruzzante, Zuan Polo, and the others neared its final destination, there is little likelihood that it represented an eruption of disorder or the establishment of an upside-down hierarchy of power, even amidst the festive and raucous period of *Carnevale*. The top position of the two slaves on the upper tier of the *Orologio* signified nothing other than domination of Christian Venice over all heathens, up there for all to see, and so was the case with the parading *Ortolani* whose display of farming equipment served only to mark members in the group as belonging to the laboring classes. Ruzzante was just another rustic. Not even the dissonance of the troupe's singing and screaming would have been that powerful, since the bells all over Venice bathed the entire island in a sonic soup from morning to night. Again, Selfridge-Field:

> The cacophony of civic bells, parish bells, and monastic bells has to have left few moments of the day completely silent. Bells not only rang out the time but also conveyed alerts about fires, earthquakes, and the deaths of important personages.

> On paramount feasts they rang for hours on end as a sort of override to the customary signals for work and recess.[71]

Pipes, whistles, and off-key trumpets, like those blown by the *Ortolani*, would have become one more layer of sound, a layer that many people may have ignored as, instead, they stayed attuned to the bells in their home parishes that notified them of the events of the day.

From a wide angle, then, the *Ortolani* and other *Calze* troupes around the city appear as parts within the larger civic machinery of Venice, acting as entertainment for the richest members of the society. This scale, however, this wide-angle view of the historical scene, is not the only perspective from which to view Ruzzante's performances. By looking down, an act of micro-territorialization emerges. This perspective becomes available by moving from the *Piazza San Marco*, where the shadow of the *Orologio* overpowers the antics of the parading performers, into the room where Ruzzante separates himself from the pack by performing his monologue known as *Lettera giocosa* (*Playful letter*, 1524).

The name does not do it justice, and it was probably affixed to the work after Ruzzante's death, perhaps by his patron, who collected and edited Ruzzante's works into a compilation. Still, as Zorzi has pointed out, this "letter" is more than it appears to be at first glance. "More than a letter in the normal sense, it was a humorous diversion, composed on the model of a '*sprolico*,' namely a theatrical monologue."[72] This monologue provides one of the clearest examples of Ruzzante-as-gardener, and it functions in the present analysis as the portal through which the act of *taking place* becomes visible. Taking place is the primary component of Ruzzante's theatre practice,

and from this particular scenario there erupts a proliferation of gardens within gardens: spaces concealed within other spaces, each of which is more private and privileged than the space that envelops it.

In brief, the *Lettera giocosa* was Ruzzante's attempt to insinuate himself into an extremely secure location, that of the bed belonging to a daughter of an extremely important man in Venetian politics, Francesco Donà. The specificity of the addressee was ambiguous, but the letter/monologue concluded with what Zorzi called an "irreverent salute" to Donà who would himself become doge in 1545.[73] While the addressee remained subtly unidentifiable, the content of the monologue was explicit. Draped in double-entendre, Ruzzante introduced himself as a Paduan who proudly spoke his native tongue because the Florentine language was for pretentious sorts. When he reached the business at hand, he singled out a young woman in the audience and referenced a recent conversation between her and himself: "And so as not to ramble on too much, I want to come immediately to the matter of your possession, that thing you said you wanted to give me the other day, when I was there with you, in your house, in your room..."[74] This "thing" was disguised rhetorically as a plot of land or a garden, but certainly referred implicitly to the woman's virginity. To play up the double meaning, Ruzzante forwarded his credentials as a gardener:

> I'm sure that you'll be content, because I am well provided with tools for cleaning. I'm good at stabbing, and for digging ditches I have a good shovel, very firm in the handle, that, the more I use it, the more firm it gets and capable of driving into the flowerbed, with no pulling out [i.e., in one stroke] or any hesitation. So I am sure that, if I use it for a harvest, it will make the most for you

> and pull a better harvest and a more pleasing one, from which you will no longer need other workers at hand.[75]

In terms of the text, the allusions are not difficult to grasp. If the text was all that existed of this performance, then the complexity of Ruzzante's spatial operation would remain invisible, but by infusing the words with the image of the *Ortolani* in *Piazza San Marco* provided by Sanuto's descriptions and a knowledge of the interior of the *Palazzo Ducale* we can better understand the specificity of the performance.

Backing out, then, and returning to the parade as it ambled toward the *Palazzo Ducale*, I want to add a feature of the *Ortolani*'s clothing that Sanuto neglected to mention. Each of the *Calze* troupes wore badges embroidered to the back of their cloaks and cloth hoods, or else on their sleeves, that distinguished one from another. These badges bore simple images, sometimes designed by noted artists of the day. Such was the case with the *Ortolani* whose insignia consisted of three pictorial components: a circular design of pearls resembling a sun with its rays protruding from the circle's circumference; the sun encloses a representation of a fence made from osiers; above the fence but still within the sun, a scroll in the process of unfurling. In Pompeo Molmenti's early twentieth century study of the life and works of Vittorio Carpaccio, the author located this same insignia on the sleeves of numerous characters in the Venetian painter's oeuvre and identified it as belonging to the *Ortolani* by comparing it to two other insignias.[76] The collection of three badges helps here to connect the symbol of the *Ortolani* with Ruzzante's mission of infiltrating the most intimate spaces of the Venetian government.

Molmenti placed the symbol of the *Ortolani* next to a depiction of St. Catherine of Siena in the Garden and the Coat of Arms of the Counts of Orti of Verona. In the first is an illuminated letter G, such as those drawn by cloistered monks of the Middle Ages, that frames St. Catherine of Siena, with her arms held up, as if in ecstasy, while rays of light emanating from a vision of Christ on the cross pierce her hands, ribs, and feet. The location of the piercings corresponds to the wounds of the stigmata, which the Saint endured as part of her ascetic and holy lifestyle. Of interest here is not the reference to stigmata but the location of the scene itself. In this image, it is clear that Saint Catherine is in the garden because of the presence of a low fence made from twigs that encircle a bed of blooming flowers.

In the second image, from the coat of arms belonging to the Counts of Orti, the fence appears once again, this time encircling one tall and sturdy tree. *Orti*, the Italian word for garden, links the Veronese Counts to their heritage as landed noblemen. When looking at all three images side-by-side, the unifying symbol, that which contains the concept of garden, is the image of the fence made from osiers (or twigs taken from willow trees), which were flexible enough to mold into architectonic structures. The fence was the necessary boundary demarcating the flourishing plant life of a manmade garden from the flora of nature, and thus it was enough to signify the presence of a garden (*Ortolani*), a history of horticultural occupations (Counts of Orti), or the site-specific stage upon which mystical events played out (Catherine of Sienna). Molmenti's juxtaposition of the three images reveals an allegory of the garden as a sight for both mystical and noble deeds.

But where precisely was the garden of the *Ortolani* and Ruzzante and what sorts of deeds occurred within it? First, that garden appeared on the backs and sleeves of the parading troupe. Second, and more importantly, the garden was the site to which the *Ortolani* paraded. It was their destination. It was what drove them. As Zorzi has suggested, "[t]he agricultural symbols of the *Compagnie della Calza* referred generally to the *hortus conclusus* of refined delights and 'virtue,' into which they intended to withdrawl and with which they would distinguish themselves from the profane crowd."[77] This "*hortus conclusus*," or enclosed garden, was the kernel of Ruzzante's double-entendre.

Historically, the hidden garden was an actual site and a holy metaphor. It referred to the enclosed gardens within monasteries from which monks would harvest their fruits and vegetables, but it also referred to the Virgin Mary and the mystical birth that brought Jesus into the world. The secular valence of this trope attached to the miraculous ability of all women to give birth, and perhaps derived from Song of Solomon, verse 12, "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse: a spring shut up, a fountain sealed."[78] For Ruzzante and the rest of the *Ortolani*, however, this sanctity was ripe for satirical reinvention. Once turned on its head, the *hortus conclusus* became the virginity of all young women, such as she who Ruzzante addressed in his *Lettera giocosa*. The fertility of a garden that bore fruit to satiate the appetites of men existed within the image of the "flowerbed" that Ruzzante's "shovel" could ably penetrate. It is possible that the name *Ortolani*, along with its appended significance, was Ruzzante's invention, though there is no hard evidence to support that.[79]

Ruzzante's garden was more than a lascivious joke about virginity. In addition to the visual moniker of the insignia and the metaphorical fertility of virgin women, there was a third garden packed within the Ruzzante's performance as a member of the *Ortolani*. The key characteristic of that garden was its privacy, which it could promise by merit of its seclusion from the populace behind numerous walled enclosures. These secluded gardens belonged to the wealthiest of people and establishments. The closer to the garden one could get, the higher status one had. Ruzzante identified that secluded place of great privacy as not only the virginity of Donà's daughter, but also the room in which he delivered the *Lettera giocosa*.

When Angelo Beolco entered Venice and began his career as Ruzzante with the *Compagnie della Calza*, at which point he was between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-six, the city would have represented at least two things to him. First, it was a place in which he could make money, which he needed since he was an illegitimate child with a meager allowance from his family. Second, Venice was enemy territory. Padua, Beolco's birthplace, had by 1524 undergone numerous violent acts of colonization. In that year, Padua was a Venetian territory, but only fifteen years previously it had been won by the League of Cambrai after the coalition of forces— France, the Holy Roman Empire, Mantua, Ferrara, the Papacy, and Spain—handed Venice its most crushing defeat ever in the battle of Agnadello, in 1509.[80] After the wars of Cambrai, Padua belonged to Emperor Maximilian I. That situation suited many in Padua just fine, including the Beolco family who, upon Venice's reconquest of Padua six weeks later, sacrificed two sons to the Emperor's cause. The young men were arrested, held captive, and would have been present in the jails adjoining the *Palazzo Ducale* until their deaths. To some extent,

then, Angelo Beolco's entry into Venice was a risky venture. Even after several years of employment with the *Compagnie*, each house Beolco entered under the auspices of Ruzzante the performer would have introduced him to more and more wealthy patricians and a number of private homes, the interiors of which few members of the Paduan middle and lower classes would have ever seen.

Returning to the performance of the *Lettera giocosa* with these insights, a notion of Ruzzante's tactical spatial operations begins to form. These operations all happened under the guise of Ruzzante-as-gardener, and the proliferation of gardens outlined above creates a topographical map of the scene. First garden: the embroidered insignia on the clothes of the *Ortolani* that would have distinguished them from the other stocking troupes parading around Venice at the time. Second garden: the *hortus conclusus* of the virgin Venetian women, one of which Ruzzante addressed specifically in his performance. Third garden: the secluded garden, or *giardino segreto*, represented by the interior of the *Palazzo Ducale*.

There was one more garden present, the most intimate of them all. This was the garden that Ruzzante rolled out during the performance of his monologue. Ruzzante's act of taking place consisted in a trans-planting of Paduan identity into a strictly Venetian space. One dimension of the trans-plant appeared in the vulgar joke made by Ruzzante in which he vowed to tend to the Venetian virgin's garden. In a sense, were Ruzzante capable of sowing his oats in the noble family lineage of any of the Venetian's present, the performer would succeed in rooting himself in the *Palazzo Ducale* permanently, since he would acquire the right to access the palace on a normal basis as a member of the invited audience instead of an occasional visitor as carnivalesque entertainer. But this

trans-planting, rooting, and taking place required more than rude quips. The trans-plant relied upon a sonorous territorialization that unfolded through the sonic transmission of Ruzzante's Paduan dialect into the ears of his Venetian audience.

The sonority of Ruzzante's dialect constructed his identity in the eyes and ears of Venetians. Even in the minute reference of Sanuto's above—"of note: Ruzzante the Paduan"—it is possible to recognize the most powerful tool in Ruzzante's bag: his voice. Look, for example, at the introduction Ruzzante offered in his brief performance of the *Lettera giocosa*:

> Because I have never liked the way the show-offs in this world talk, I don't want to be like those assholes, those people who show how smart they are and that they've been to school, like when writing a letter to someone or whatever, they talk like they do in Florence, or else in Spanish, like the Napolese, or Hungarian like the soldiers, like they do in the army.[81]

He immediately set himself apart from his audience and carved out a separate space from which to address them. Diplomatically, perhaps, he did not single-out the Venetian dialect, but the barb would still have been sharp. At that time, Venetians in the government were instructed to speak to each other in the Venetian dialect, but all of their official records—i.e., the words they wrote down like one might write down a letter—were kept in Latin or Florentine Italian.[82] Additionally, the reference to the Spanish speaking people of Naples would have drawn attention to the threat of the Spanish forces in the south of Italy. And, since Ruzzante himself knew what it was like to be colonized by a foreign army, he threw in a mention of the Hungarian forces and their language that was painfully familiar to Venetians because of the presence of that army in the Veneto

since 1509. All of the places mentioned in these opening lines were aligned with the League of Cambrai and thus linked by association with Venice's eroding political autonomy. All in all, the note sounded by this opening blast would have been off-key to the ears of the audience.

He followed that harangue by trying his own tongue at the Florentine dialect, which he garbled badly before breaking into his defense of the Paduan language: "I wanted, and it always pleases me, to talk in Paduan, like one does in the Pavan, of course, because it is the most alive and frank talk that Italy know of, this."[83] That Paduan was a type of frank talk, nobody in that room could deny. Ruzzante followed this promise of direct speech with his promise to tend to the "garden" of the anonymous woman in the audience. By the time he enacted the irreverent salute to Francesco Donà, Ruzzante's final words may have even sounded a little threatening: "Well, I thank you all, and I bow to all of you and to Mister Francesco Donà, you hear me."[84]

Lettera giocosa was an early attempt by Ruzzante to root himself in a place where nobody wanted him. His position as a gardener among the *Ortolani* gained him access to the private chambers of the *Palazzo Ducale* where, by way of verbal suggestion, he was able to imaginatively insinuate himself into the sheets of one of the women who were present, perhaps Francesco Donà's daughter. Unlike the visual and aural force of the parading troupe outside the palace in the *Piazza San Marco*, where the historical dominance of the Republic overshadowed the square in the form of architectonic symbolism and where the atonality of the city's bells diffused the cackles and instrumentation that Sanuto captured in his diary, the physical presence and sonority of the Paduan dialect within the *Palazzo Ducale* had more chance of affronting the crowd of

Venetian upperclassmen and women. Within the private room inside the Ducal Palace, which sat within the grand *Piazza San Marco* that was itself one quadrant of the island of Venice, Ruzzante attempted to take back some territory in the name of Padua.

Ruzzante's Departure from Venice

In that particular performance, however, Ruzzante's attempt to trans-plant himself in the various gardens of Venetian society did not take root. In fact, Ruzzante's entire Venetian career was a series of unsuccessful plantings. His theatre practice was not yet radical enough.

Sanuto, always present at big events, wrote about a performance during the season of *Carnevale*, 1526. In Ca' Trevisan on the isle of Giudecca, which sits in the Basin of Saint Mark, directly south of *Piazza San Marco*, there was an entire night of performance planned for visiting ambassadors. Ruzzante and his friend Menato were on the bill. According to Sanuto, and as retold by several Venetian scholars, the clamor of dialects was particularly fierce that evening because of the foreign tongues possessed by ambassadors from different locales. The commotion led to a hectic service of the dinner, and at one point, on the dinner table, someone let loose a plucked chicken with its crest cut off. The symbolism of the bird was lost on no one. It was an allusion to the French King, Francis I, whose crest bore the symbol of the Cock. That had been the year, however, when Francis I was defeated and captured in Pavia. Outraged, the French ambassadors erupted and the dinner dissolved into unmanageable chaos. Edward Muir concluded his read of the event with the following postscript: "Although Ruzante's

involvement was uncertain…Ruzante never performed in Venice again [after that date] and he retired to the circle of Alvise Cornaro in Padua."[85]

By following Sanuto's diary into the parade of *Ortolani*, and then by tuning in to the sonority of his performance inside the *Palazzo Ducale*, the scenographic dimension of Ruzzante's theatre practice unfolds. His scenography reveals an image of the Venetian world in the sixteenth century. Without permanent theatre buildings, the art of *taking place* was a prerequisite of theatrical performance. In order to perform, Ruzzante had to carve out a space for himself. In the *Lettera giocosa*, he accomplished this with his Paduan dialect. The dialect had a dual function. It was simultaneously constructive and deconstructive. Constructive insofar as it built up Ruzzante's identity as a member of the rural peasantry, an identity that allowed him to invade the private space of the palace and insinuate himself into the personal life of his letter's addressee. Deconstructive insofar as the jokes that disguised the irreverent assault on the audience members' ears stripped away the privilege that normally accompanied the act of belonging in that palace. Instead of governmental officials and members of the most elite patrician families, there stood Ruzzante who attracted attention to himself for the brief duration of his monologue and used that span of time to ruffle the feathers of the very people who helped him make his living. These constructive and deconstructive elements embedded within the sound of Ruzzante's monologue mirrored acts of territorialization and deterritorialization occurring on the mainland outside of Venice proper: the autonomy of Padua and other cities in the Veneto crumbled beneath the military weight of the Republic. Ruzzante's presence inside the palace constituted a kind of paramilitary operation. His Paduan dialect and the derision it piled upon the Venetian audience became a weapon capable of

reclaiming a small swath of land in the name of Padua, as the performer declared in his praises of his native tongue.

Ruzzantian scenography

Ruzzantian scenographic performance had the following characteristics. It was first of all a political scenography. Ruzzante produced an unsavory image of the noble Venetian classes invaded by a member of the lower classes. When in Venice, the character of Ruzzante could not exist separately from his membership in a non-noble class of people, and as such any performance in which Ruzzante appeared required the pretense of class separation. Second, the scenography depicted an illusory environment. The laughability of the jokes during the time of the monologue's recital relied upon the untruth of the situation. Ruzzante's quips that alluded to his forced entry into the lives of noble families by way of unmarried daughters were only tolerated because they were not true. When the truth of the scenario depicted in the jokes became undeniable, the mood of the audience changed from tolerant to intolerant. This occurred during Ruzzante's last documented Venetian performance at the Ca' Trevisan where the plucked chicken ran amok, the resemblance of the chicken's naked and vulnerable state to the actual situation of the French King's recent capture and defeat made the joke not funny. And it was sufficiently not funny to merit Ruzzante's retirement from the theatre scene in the city of Venice. Third, the settings erected temporarily for the duration of Ruzzante's performances were necessarily mobile. Ruzzante *took place*, that is to say he produced his own theatrical space in which to perform, but then he packed it up and moved on.

When the performance of the *Lettera giocosa* was over, the site regained its status as an official room inside the palace and the likes of Ruzzante were not allowed in.

A Return To Padua

No matter where he performed, Ruzzante always attached himself to Padua. His native town was fused into his identity. This means that when he entered into Venice, he brought Padua with him. When he performed in Padua he still needed to bring his own understanding of Padua to the scene. The Padua that Ruzzante cherished had eroded under Venetian political domination. Thus, Ruzzante's scenography would display that erosion for the eyes of the very people whose presence damaged Ruzzante's homeland. Additionally, there is a fascinating noncoherence that the texts of Ruzzante's plays alone do not hint at. Could the average Venetian have understood everything Ruzzante chirped in his native tongue? That would be unlikely. Therefore, no matter how clear a picture one assembles of Ruzzante's performances, there will always be a certain unintelligibility of what took place. This helps, however, to understand the act of rooting and uprooting that lay at the heart of Ruzzante's *radical* theatre.

Every attempt Ruzzante made to put his root down, to lodge himself in place, to plant or to re-sew a notion of Padua as autonomous, proud, luscious, etc., reveals the extent to which Padua was yoked, spoiled, and tied not to the earth but to the Republic. By extension, since Ruzzante's own identity relied upon his strong connection with Padua, Ruzzante's stage presence was simultaneously an undoing. This registers the most in his final piece, the *Lettera all'Alvarotto*, which he never performed himself. He sent the letter in his place, for Alvarotto, his friend and colleague, to read. In that

performance, Ruzzante's present absence mimicked the slow erosion of Padua as Ruzzante imagined it to be. Padua was there, and it was gone. Ruzzante's was there, by merit of his written work, but his body was absent.

Ruzzante's theatre blipped on and off the archival radar, appearing at one house for a wedding and then not again until the following year. This reflects Ruzzante's inability to remain rooted in Venice, and, by extension, the inability for him to plant Paduan soil permanently inside the Republic. The territorial domination of Padua was not reversible. From the portion of Ruzzante's career in Venice his theatre practice constituted territorial battles and reflected class strife within the Republic's capital and its dominions.

Some changes in his scenographic practice emerge when following Ruzzante out of Venice and back into Padua where he would stay for the majority of his life. He made these changes, or so it seems, in order to salvage what he could of his town. The political nature of his theatre remained intact, but rather than representing some miscellaneous other belonging to a world of rustics like he did in Venice, Ruzzante would become a spokesperson for a specific way of life. His Paduan performances frequently presented him as the official representative of the working classes, most frequently farmers, gardeners, and people who worked directly with the land. Second, his scenography would no longer depict illusory scenarios. When Ruzzante attempted to root himself inside the villas of Padua and in front of high-ranking religious officials, the environment he would construct for them would bear a very close resemblance to the world outside of the villas' walls. In the place of jokes about sexual conquests that had no merit in reality, Ruzzante would use humor to point out the severity of the lives led by those workers he was there

to represent. Whereas in Venice, Ruzzante's audiences could laugh because his jokes had no basis in reality and thus caused no real threat, the laughter at his jokes in Padua, if indeed there were any laughs, would take on an altogether different tone. Ruzzante's humor became unfunny and the images he produced with them were so severe that they were laughable.

Such was the case with the *Prima Orazione* (*First Oration*, c.1521). The topography of this performance offers another set of gardens within gardens. The largest territory was Padua itself, within that was the area called Asolo wherein sat the Villa Barco of Caterina Cornaro. The Villa Barco was built in the Veneto around the turn of the sixteenth century. It enacted a domination of the natural setting upon which it was built. Saskia de Wit's description of Late Renaissance villas offers a good starting point for an analysis of this villa in particular:

> The spatial composition of the Late Renaissance villas consists usually of a principal axis slung off which are a number of autonomous interior and exterior spaces. Placing parts separately so that they cannot be taken in from one vantage point encourages movement on the part of the observer. As a result the route takes its place in the plan's organization as a structuring element. The polarities of the hortus conclusus return in an ambiguity active on various levels. Thus, wilderness and order are made to relate by bringing the wilderness (the barco, or bosco) within the garden boundaries.[86]

The villa at Asolo included all those elements. On its 100 hectares of land and bound by a massive wall, the estate boasted a giant castle, a fountain, a park and a *barchessa*, or a type of enclosed barn in which peasants worked. Each feature constituted the autonomous

exterior spaces typical of villas at that time. Becoming pliable once enclosed behind the massive wall, the wilderness was sculpted into gardens offering contemplative bucolic scenes.[87]

It was within that villa, in 1521, that Ruzzante held court with his *Prima Orazione*. The scenographic component to the Oration appeared as a stark contrast to the architecture of the villa itself. Whereas the villa's autonomous interior and exterior spaces suggested a route through which guests could travel and acquire multiple viewpoints of the estate, Ruzzante attempted to root himself in front of the Oration's addressee, Cardinal Marco Cornaro, the Bishop of Padua, thus stabilizing the audience and offering only one viewpoint from which to look at the world. That view of the world would reveal exactly what the wall around the villa blocked from sight: famine, hunger, and overall poor living conditions.

Ruzzante's oration had three parts. In the first part he introduced himself as the spokesperson for the territory of Padua and offered the Cardinal a long list of Padua's many bounties. His function as spokesperson required an apology for the Paduan dialect: "[W]e did not want to send a priest or a scholar, those people who speak according to the grammar of the Florentine language, those people, you know, that they call doctors…And, just to say it, I wouldn't change my Paduan tongue for 200 Florentine ones."[88] As was the case with the *Lettera giocosa*, the establishment of the Paduan dialect as dominant made explicit Ruzzante's tie to the land of his birth. Whereas in Venice, however, his dialect chaffed against the Venetian and Florentine dialects of his audiences, Ruzzante's privileging of the Paduan dialect and the introduction to his performance through a description of all that made Padua great was part of a larger agenda. Ruzzante's

introduction led to his demands for change, and even though the tone of the introduction was light he was not there simply to be nice or to crack jokes.

Part two of the address made the agenda more clear by focusing all eyes on the Cardinal, in whom rested the power to make changes to the disciplinary systems governing the conduct of the working classes. To shift the focus, Ruzzante landed a direct and unequivocal blow: "And then I almost shit from laughing, when they said that you are a great man. But they don't see you…You're just a small man, right? You are a great small man, and not a great man."[89] This crack about the short stature of the most powerful man in the room was brusque, and without the pretense of *Carnevale* we can presume that the barb was meant to sting. As if that was not enough, Ruzzante continued to belittle the man in purple as well as his ecclesiastical office:

> So they say you are Cardinal, and that as Cardinal you are one of those who guards the gates to Heaven, but I don't think that's right. I think those people have never seen it, Heaven, or the gates...Now, I'll tell you: Cardinal means a great rich man, that in this world can do as he likes, and when he dies (because we all die), even if you haven't been all that good, you can go straight to Heaven, and if the gate is barred, you 'unhinge' it [*la scardinate*], and you enter straight by any means and every hole.[90]

Ruzzante's addition of the prosthetic "s" before the word "cardinal" enacted a clever, biting pun. By emphasizing the etymological similarities between Cardinal and "scardinate" (literally, "to unhinge"), Ruzzante interpellated the Paduan Bishop as a duplicitous gatekeeper who would use his status in the Church hierarchy for his own salvation. This oration, then, was not an eclogue or a poem that would entertain the

Cardinal and celebrate his rise through the ranks of the Church. It was, rather, a profane prayer offered up to a man whose purple uniform could not hide the fact that he was flesh and blood, capable of overlooking the class distinction between himself and the man insulting him in public.

At least, this must have been Ruzzante's hope since part three of the oration consisted of a direct request for changes in the laws of the Church governing the bodies and souls of the good people of Padua. In total, there were seven requests that ranged from changing the regulations for working on holy feast days and permitting one to eat before Sunday mass, to a demand for higher powers to castrate all philandering priests and to establish the right to take multiple spouses. Ruzzante accompanied each request with a brief rationale. For example, when lobbying for a dispensation from fasting for all peasants Ruzzante explained that it is tiring to digest stone, inferring that peasants have resorted to eating rocks as a means for staving off hunger.[91] In the case of castrating priests, he explained that it was not entirely the priests' fault. The flesh is fragile, he suggested, so who can blame them, but the children that come of the sexual encounter become an economic burden to the cuckolded father and that weight was too much to bear.

Ruzzante's *Prima Orazione* was an expression of concern related to the plights of the people outside the villa walls offered to the only person who could feasibly make changes. By rooting himself in front of the Cardinal and taking up several minutes of his time, first to berate him and then to demand changes to religious law, Ruzzante developed a picture of the enforced sobriety inflicted upon the rural Paduans that he had come to represent. Requests three, four, and six especially made visible the ways in

which the protocols of Catholic religious practice attempted to regulate the bodies of its most crucial laborers. Request three singled out the practice of working during feast days, which was not permitted at that time. Request four challenged the sin of eating before morning mass. Request six was the call for castration. In total, the image of the peasant that came into focus for the Cardinal was of a malnourished laboring body whose economic means of subsistence was preempted or directly caused by the demands of the Church.

Overall, the *Prima Orazione* offered a picture of stark contradictions: The great Cardinal was really just a little man; with all the bounties offered by Padua, the peasants who cultivated those bounties were eating stones; the feast days of the Church were days of aggravated hunger for the lowest classes; the religious institution responsible for the well being of all men and women not only failed to do its job but the priests themselves contributed to the overall misery of the time by fathering more mouths that nobody could feed. Ruzzante's painting was made dramatic by this socially conscious chiaroscuro.

The effect of the image, however, was not potent enough. No changes came from the tenure of Cardinal Marco Cornaro. Not to be ignored, Ruzzante appeared in the same room a few years later in front of Marco's brother, Francesco, who had taken his place. That time around, in the *Seconda Orazione*, Ruzzante's tone was harsher and the jokes almost completely absent. In their place appeared a concern not with the bodies of the people suffering outside in the fields but with the affective forces of the universe. The world, for Ruzzante, was falling apart and the cause was the neglect of even the most basic of personal needs on the part of the religious authorities.

Ruzzante opened with an ambiguous statement: "For that which is given by nature, just try to do otherwise; after all, when something must be, it seems that men and women and all the reversal world [*el roverso mondo*] get down and help make it be...that when something must freeze, it'll freeze in August."[92] "Nature" in this sentence signified the driving force of life. While Ruzzante's introductory words seemed to vouch for the power of nature to keep the world spinning, the rest of the oration offered a counter argument to that opening claim. The proof: all of life's fun has disappeared. There were no more bounties in Padua. The paucity of food had even degraded love and copulation, thus proving that nature's powers had a limit: "In conclusion, this world has become like an untended garden. Look around and see if you see any lovers. I can tell you that hunger has fucked love up the ass. Nobody dares to love anymore, since no one can handle the cost."

If the *Prima Orazione* depicted a scene of violent contradictions, the *Seconda Orazione* portended complete existential despair. The frankness of Ruzzante's speech and the lack of any story, characters, or organizing fictitious scenario set these two theatre pieces outside of the typical genres of theatrical performances of the time. If they were not plays, what were they? Similarly to the *Lettera giocosa*, the Orations were primarily scenographic. That scenographic dimension becomes visible by assembling the images produced by the two events, the landscape of the Villa Barco, and the fact that Ruzzante's ability to root himself in front of two powerful figures ultimately had no effect. The resulting assemblage suggests that *taking place* was at the core of Ruzzante's theatre practice, and in the case of these specific performances the place he was trying to take, or even to take back, was the Padua to which he swore his allegiance. By the end of 1528,

that Padua had become uninhabitable because of the homesteading of the Venetian patricians whose villas and palaces transformed the territory into an organ of industry serving the elite landowners at the expense of those who worked the land.

In other words, Ruzzante's Orations were a scenography of uninhabitable home. This becomes clear by looking at the conditions leading to the construction of the Villa Barco in the first place. The villa became the refuge of Caterina Cornaro who, prior to 1489, had been the Queen of Cyprus. It was in that year that Venice took control of Cyprus outright, thus relieving the Queen of her duties. After she had the villa created at Asolo, it quickly became a fashionable court for artists and members of the Venetian elite. The villa's construction coincided with the rush of building on the Venetian mainland. As such, the site of Ruzzante's two Orations was produced through an act of colonization and quickly became a home away from home for the displaced Queen. The villa wall divided the exterior wilderness from the cultivated interior, as the quotation above illustrated.

Among the poets in Queen Cornaro's court was Pietro Bembo who set his *Asolani* in the villa's gardens. In that play, the famed Venetian poet constructed three dialogues that analyzed the merits and powers of love. The final dialogue touted the Platonic love of ideal and eternal beauty over all other kinds of love. This fact would not have been lost on Ruzzante, whose two Orations subtly dismantled Bembo's idealism. The first act of deconstruction appeared in the *Prima Orazione* when Ruzzante, attempting to prove the legitimacy of Padua over all other lands, claimed that Petrarch may have lived in Florence but he had gone to Padua to die. This ironic remark upended the traditional emphasis given to the great poet's birthplace by suggesting that his final resting place

marked his true home, the home he would remain (entombed) in forever. Bembo's play and much of his poetry had been modeled on the style of Petrarch. Less subtle was the closing remarks of the *Seconda Orazione* in which Ruzzante declared love to have been "fucked up the ass by hunger." Ruzzante's first scenographic component, then, was to dismantle the literary aura of the Villa Barco by replacing Bembo's poetry with a crass demand for new religious laws. By calling for reform, Ruzzante negated Bembo's claim in the third dialogue of the *Asolani* that good love would reign eternal.

Having dispelled the literary aura, Ruzzante set to some more architectonic deconstruction. By painting such abrasive imagery with his words, Ruzzante chipped away at the wall around the compound that neatly distinguished the cultivated interior from the wiles of the countryside. The resulting holes were windows that served two purposes. They created a view of the hardships experienced by the peasants and also allowed for the famine, pestilence, and unhappiness to enter inside. This architectural renovation may primarily have been an effect of Ruzzante's speech, but it was not simply metaphoric.

Several miles away, at the home of Alvise Cornaro, there existed a Loggia and Odeon where Ruzzante performed for his patron and where audiences gathered to listen to music. Both structures were created for Alvise Cornaro by Giovanni Maria Falconetto and decorated, much like the Villa Barco, to display allegorical and mythological imagery from Ancient Greece and Rome. Ruzzante's installation of windows within the Villa Barco would have been similar to Falconetto's illustrated windows on the interior of the Odeon. Since the acoustic demands of the Odeon required solid walls, Falconetto painted *tromp-l'oeil* scenes of pastoral lakes and quiet countrysides to sooth the eyes of

the audiences while the musicians stimulated their ears. Ruzzante's windows did just the opposite. Through a verbal *tromp-l'oeil*, the crass talk, vulgar jokes, and tales of despair opened a viewpoint onto the exterior, thus breaking the sanctity of the manicured interior. If nobody was going to help make the outside more livable for the peasants who inhabited it, then Ruzzante could at least make the Villa Barco less hospitable for its honored guests for the duration of his performance.

Other than a couple of wood-block prints from his time and a couple of paintings that may contain his likeness, there are no images of Ruzzante. From his entire theatre practice, there is in fact only one diagram that one might call properly scenographic. That image, as Ludovico Zorzi has suggested, belonged to Ruzzante's most infamous play, *Betía*, and depicted three houses standing side by side on a public street. While Zorzi recognized its importance for dating the innovations within the evolution of Renaissance Venetian scenic design and its classical and medieval perspectival elements, the image also constitutes yet another fragment in the incomplete mosaic of Ruzzante's performances. The image from *Betía*, as well as the composite imagery we stitched together from the performance of the *Lettera giocosa* and the *tromp-l'oiel* of the *Prima* and *Seconda Orazione*, presents the private home as a key element in Ruzzante's scenographic creations.

This is not surprising given the fact that the private home was the ground floor of Venetian theatre at this time. Prior to the construction of permanent theatre buildings, which did not occur in Venice proper until the 1580s, the site where theatre unfolded was a result of its politicized nature. As the analysis of the *Lettera giocosa* determined, the time of the year known as *Carnevale* was first and foremost a *permitted* period of lax

legislation against events that might otherwise constitute disturbances of the peace. *Carnevale* never began until the Council of Ten declared its opening. The act of opening authorized the spatial dimensions of the temporal period known as *Carnevale* insofar as, during that season, the urban space of Venice opened itself up to public displays such as the parades of the *Ortolani*. There were a handful of public events, intended for the general public, but the vast majority of entertainments existed for privileged audiences. That is to say, most parades terminated inside the private homes of Venetian officials, thus giving way to performances by the most notable performers of the period. Outside of *Carnevale*, theatrical performances retained a public/private duality. Numerous processions and public spectacles on religious feast days captivated the attention of public audience made up of Venetian citizens and foreign visitors. Performances such as Ruzzante's, however, continued to unfold within the homes of the elite.

Outside of the city in places like Asolo, the symbol of private and privileged space presented by the villa was even more pronounced. In rural spaces, villas were sites of retreat. Giuseppe Mazzotti has referred to the Villa Barco as a "pleasure resort" and that sentiment applies equally well to the other villas dotting the Paduan countryside.[93] At the turn of the sixteenth century, wealthy Venetians retired to their homes in the country during the hot summer months and would remain there until the heat dissipated. In the case of Caterina Cornaro (Cardinal Marco Cornaro's sister), the Villa Barco was carved out of the wilderness specifically to function as a home away from home after the termination of her reign over Cyprus. Only after the battle of Agnadello when Venice had to turn to agriculture after losing dominance in the spice trade did members of the Venetian classes begin to live permanently on the mainland. Such was the case with

Ruzzante's patron, Alvise Cornaro (who was not related to either Marco or Caterina). But even in his case, the move to Padua was a result of political eviction. The complicated and insular governmental system edged Cornaro out of the running for political office so he turned to Padua, but only as Plan B. In any event, the interior space of private homes marked out an area where wealthy, politically attached, dominant men and women dwelt. Theatre within those areas was only permissible by explicit invitation.

In the case of Ruzzante, then, to say that his theatre *unfolded* within these private spaces is accurate. By merit of its temporariness, his theatre did not belong to that private space; rather, it appeared within it, and when it was over it disappeared. Ruzzante popped in and out of many homes in Venice, Padua, and even in Ferrara where he became a favorite performer of the Duke. Historical awareness of Ruzzante is linked directly to these blips into and out of private homes where diarists recorded his presence or where traces of his whereabouts linger in didascalia.

As a sort of spatio-temporal anomaly, Ruzzante's theatre always required modes of entrance and exit. In the textual fragments above, the entrance was linked to the prologue or preamble in which Ruzzante established himself as proudly Paduan. The exit was prepared through his irreverent salute. The exit in particular always left the possibility open that Ruzzante could return. By calling out Donà in the *Lettera giocoso*, Ruzzante put a proper name in the place of the ambiguous addressee of his monologue and thus foreshadowed a future in which Ruzzante would return as Donà's son-in-law, i.e., married to his daughter.

In *Prima Orazione*, the departure was similarly open-ended: "Give me your hand and promise that I will come again to take the edict. God help you."[94] Spoken to the

Cardinal, the "edict" referred to the authorization of the changes in religious law demanded by Ruzzante. Acting presumptuously, the performer/reformer intended the edict to pass into motion at some point in the near future, at which time he could return and see the new law written in its official form. The "God help you," added an ambiguous phrase. Was it a command that God should help the Cardinal to do what was right and pass Ruzzante's reforms? Was it a derogatory comment on the fact that the Cardinal, despite his place in the religious hierarchy, was in need of God's help? Whatever the intention, the closing line left the door open for a quick return in front of the powerful audience member. When he did return, however, there was no edict to see since no changes in the religious laws occurred.

In the monologue that made up the *Seconda Orazione*, Ruzzante's harsh critique of the new Cardinal and bleak outlook offered of Padua as the unweeded garden ended with an ironical twist. Instead of storming out or offering an ambiguous farewell as in the *Prima Orazione*, Ruzzante ended with "something [he] hasn't been able to do it more than a year:" sing and dance and party "like they do in Heaven."[95] Far from a joyous and entertaining display, the singing and dancing that followed would have clashed within the supremely unhappy state of the peasants outside the space of the performance. The clash was one more deconstructive gesture capable, perhaps, of producing a view of the sad exterior, as if through a window, for the happy and carefree Cardinal to ponder. The singing ended with Ruzzante's offer to the Cardinal that, should he ever need someone to do a day's work for him, he would be his man, thus leaving room for a return performance. It is not likely, however, that the Cardinal ever thought of Ruzzante again.

This unfolding of performance accentuated by the production of entrances and exits into and out of the private homes in which Ruzzante appeared underscored the profoundly territorial nature of his theatre practice. For the brief temporal span of his performances, such as those in *Lettera giocosa* and *Prima* and *Seconda Orazione*, Ruzzante worked to reclaim territory for his native Padua, which the Republic of Venice had subsumed into its interior. To take place in such a way, Ruzzante acted scenographically. That is to say, he produced a scene within the private homes, but a scene that would effectively act as counterpoint to the scene of the private homes themselves.

Territorialization

At this point, the thinking on territory-as-production developed by Gilles Delezue and Félix Guattari becomes helpful in mapping Ruzzante's mode of theatre. Through that lens, I want to consider "the manner in which [the expressive qualities constituting Ruzzante's theatre] constitute points in the territory that place the circumstances of the external milieu in counterpoint."[96] Taking the *Prima Orazione* as an example, the "circumstances of the external milieu" appear at first as the conditions of life produced by unjust religious laws. The "points in the territory" would then be the windows or view*points* opened by Ruzzante's performance, through which the conditions of life exterior to the privileged space of the villa became visible for and tangible to the Cardinal. The complex of interior spaces produced by the wall surrounding the Villa at Asolo appeared to Ruzzante as an act of domination that sublimated nature to the confines of human law. This was the case on at least two levels. First, as the quotation on

the Renaissance Villa above makes explicit, the Villa Barco produced a garden within a garden when it separated its ordered and cultivated garden from the garden of nature's bounties. Second, for the peasants who worked the land and based their lives on their relationship with that land, the multiple blockades erected by religious law that exacerbated a period of starvation linked to inclement weather were completely nonsensical. Eviction from the heart of "Mister Jesus God" if one ate before mass; sin acquired by working on Sundays; splitting already thin rations into the most meager of portions in order to feed children born from predatory priests. These were all signs of the religious authority figures barring access to the most immediate of resources: the land. Because the problem was man made, Ruzzante figured that men could correct it and so he pitched his plan to Cardinal Marco Cornaro. From this perspective, the room inside the Villa Barco where Ruzzante planted himself for the address was the dominant territory, insofar as the dominating figure of the Cardinal occupied it on that special occasion. Ruzzante's performance, then, became the territorial counterpoint.

Deleuze and Guattari have suggested that territorial counterpoints produced melodic landscapes. Such a product is not "a melody associated with a landscape; the melody itself is a sonorous landscape in counterpoint to the virtual landscape."[97] The virtual landscape in this case was the Villa Barco. We can therefore unravel another paradox of Ruzzante's theatre: the scenographic function of his dialect and frank, direct speech. How does the sonority of his speaking construct a visual field? How can his singing at the end of the *Seconda Orazione* display the unweeded garden that Padua had become? By proposing a territorial counterpoint to the rhythm of life mandated by religious laws, Ruzzante's monologues and other modes of address unveiled the

landscape that the walls around the Villa Barco, or the *Palazzo Ducale* for that matter, kept hidden from view.

Ruzzante's act of taking place was the production of his own territory within a privileged site. When he addressed the audience with his *Lettera giocosa*, the territory of Ruzzante's theatre constructed a critical distance between himself and the audience. "Critical distance is a relation based on matters of expression. It is a question of keeping at a distance the forces of chaos knocking at the door."[98] The form chaos took was not natural, it came rather from the agents of the Venetian Republic or the Catholic Church whose various systems of order produced the exact opposite effect for the lives of the Paduan peasantry. As Deleuze and Guattari have said, "How very important it is, when chaos threatens, to draw an inflatable, portable territory."[99] Such were those monologues, dialogues, and letters that seem to thwart the fictitious plots of a farcical theatre built around Terence's Roman comedies or Boccaccio's *Decammeron*. Works such as *Lettera giocosa* and the two *Orazioni* were portable territories that Ruzzante could inflate by haranguing audience members in his dialect and then deflate and carry over to the next house where he would perform. Each individual performance was a passage from Ruzzante's refrain, an "*aggregate of matters of expression that draws a territory and develops into territorial motifs and landscapes* (there are optical, gestural, motor, etc., refrain)."[100]

Was this theatre practice, the aggregate of acts of taking place, a territorialization, a deterritorialization, or a reterritorialization? As much as Ruzzante took place, he also worked to take back place, to reclaim territory that had already been dominated. Padua, at one time, had been an autonomous city. It eventually fell to the Venetians and then to the

Emperor Maximilian and then back to the Venetians. As such, we might see the performances in Venice especially as acts of *sviamento* (Fr. *Detournement*; Eng. Re-use) whereby the territorially dominated Padua was deterritorialized. Or, likewise, if in Padua the territory conquered by the Venetian Republic had already been deterritorialized by the modes of governance emplaced on the lives of the peasants, then perhaps Ruzzante's performances were attempts to reterritorialize Padua and reinstate a way of life that preempted both the civic dominance of Venice and the religious dominance of Rome.

In the end, all of these scenarios are accurate. What Ruzzante's theatre practice makes visible is the complex superimposition of multiple modes of governance in the Veneto in the first half of the sixteenth century. Chapters two, three, and four will explore this superimposition by mapping the *ragione di stato*, which sought to conserve an image of the Republic of Saint Mark as an expansive territory, the pastoral power exercised by the Jesuits, which favored the consolidation of individual people over the domination of land, and the various methods of counter-conduct, which motivated certain individuals to chart their own path through the obstacle ridden path of the everyday. Ruzzante himself belonged to this third category.

For now, though, I will conclude this chapter by racking focus back to the organizing aesthetic of the home and the act of rooting.

The radical and the uprooted

Both the visual appearance of dwellings and the notion of home abound in Ruzzante's theatre practice. Frequently, Ruzzante's dialogues, and even some of his works that might register as more traditional plays (with a plot, multiple characters, etc.),

featured a character who had been displaced from his home. In the *Moschetta*, Ruzzante fought to win back the heart of his lover whose empty stomach has led her to other men. Unfortunately, he ends up locked out of his own house while his lover and one of those other men have sex and mock him. As a soldier in *Parlamento*, Ruzzante's conscription into the army destroys any semblance of a stable life and, even when he finally returns to his house, the scars of the horrible scenes from the battlefield leave him with a permanent sense of disorientation. Then there is the one remaining sketch from *Betía* that features three houses standing side by side, thus drawing attention to the ways in which the plays scrutinized the intersections between the private and public lives of married individuals. The exterior façades of the houses, which dominate the surface of the cloth backdrop acting as scenery, hint at the public acts of cuckoldry that destroy any sanctity of marriage, or at least any notion of it is a private, internal affair between two people.

In addition to these formal attributes that run through Ruzzante's works there were the *Palazzo Ducale*, *Ca' Trevisan*, and Villa Barco, all of which are actual homes into which Ruzzante storms and takes place. The merger of the aesthetic dimension of the home, which appears repeatedly as an insecure interiority left open to the exterior not only by windows but by social crises, and the historical dimension of the private house, which became the locale for the act of taking place, produces a tension between Ruzzante's mobility and his rootedness. The mobility was stimulated by a lack of permanent theatre buildings in which to set up shop, and yet, in his long career as a kind of gardener, Ruzzante also worked to root himself and thrive in the various places where he inflated his portable territory. To phrase it as a question: is there anything radical about Ruzzante's theatre practice? Was this Paduan performer, whose obscure works

elude the mainstream of theatre scholarship, a kind of dissident? Did his theatre practice have any impact on the numerous social injustices plaguing his constituents?

The idea of radicality is itself a problem. In the present day, the radical is one who flings him or herself to the fringes of the acceptable. The radical is the avant-garde, the marching frontlines of a politically conscious art movement. But, as Raymond Williams has dutifully researched, the radical was once something entirely different. Its earliest usage was linked to its etymological grounding: thus, in Italian (via Latin), *radicare* was (and still is) to root. In that framework, dogma can be radical because it is the set of foundational beliefs that grounds a religious sect to its Faith, but an innovator or "liminoid individual" carving out new means of expression is something altogether different. Instead of grounding anything, those innovators clash with dogma and seek to set a new course for whatever practice they engage in. I argue that, in a peculiar way, Ruzzante belongs to the oldest meaning of radical. He roots; thereby setting foundations that will support a domicile in which he can dwell. In the scenographic dimension of his theatre practice, we see Ruzzante tie himself to the land of his birth, Padua. Thus, when Ruzzante took place, he rooted himself and inflated around himself his portable territory thereby reclaiming either land for Padua or a freedom of movement that belonged to a way of life that Padua had once extolled.

Yet, proceeding dialectically, this rooting that made Ruzzante radical, in the sense of *radicare*, was a gesture that registered the uprooting of all that Ruzzante held sacred. Here we find the central dilemma of the world-turned-upside-down, an image that appeared frequently in the Paduan's theatre. It appeared in the *Prima Orazione* when Ruzzante told the Cardinal that, even if he had the power to choose, he would never take

the job of Pope since he would not want to be the master of this "whole reversal world."[101] Ruzzante invoked the phrase again in the *Second Orazione* when he explained that, no matter what, man, woman, and "all the reversal world" would collaborate to ensure that all necessary natural events come to fruition, even when the event seemed unnatural like the onset of freezing weather in the middle of August.[102] In the prologue to his play *L'Anconitana*, Ruzzante told his audience that in times of war it was especially important that people try to love each other because without love no animal in "the whole upside-down world" would ever be fruitful, and therefore everything would disappear.[103] And the phrase appeared in its most insidious invocation coming from the mouth of Bilora, the character from the dialogue of the same name whose anger as a cuckold drove him to murder a Venetian upperclassman onstage. In that performance, perhaps the only one to display a murder onstage at any time during the sixteenth century, the main character worried that his lover and his nemesis had conspired to turn everything upside down on him and eventually descended into a mad rage that led to the murder.[104] Whenever it appeared, the image of the world-turned-upside-down designated a state of affairs that caused any certainty to become uncertain, any permanence to become impermanent, and every rooted belief to fall out of the very ground in which it was lodged.

According to José Antonio Maravall, this image of the upside down world lay at the heart of the culture of the Baroque. For him, the Baroque was the very transition from certainty to uncertainty. The image was important because "if one [could] speak of the world upside down it [was] because it [could] be right-side up."[105] The view of the world arose with a type of historical consciousness that Maravall found in the world of

seventeenth-century Spain where social disturbances "certain groups underwent in their position and function created a feeling of instability, which translated into a view of a staggering disorder."[106] This makes sense when thinking of Ruzzante's affinity to the peasants that became displaced in the first few decades of the 1500s when Venetian merchants shifted their attentions from sea routes to land holdings and began to acquire land in the Veneto at extremely low cost because famine and drought forced the laborers who owned that land to sell. The peasants who had built their identities on the land itself lost those identities when they sold the land. Ruzzante's peculiar act of taking place that simultaneously enacted a rooting within the innermost private spaces and registered an uprooting of a rural way of life was a Baroque phenomenon.

Baroque it was, but in the case of Ruzzante and the view of the world his theatre practice makes visible, Maravall's thesis does not go far enough. It was not simply the case that Ruzzante could speak of the world as upside down because he was aware of the correct orientation, or of the world as potentially right side up. Instead, the upside down world was the new order of things and that new order obliterated any notion of a world right side up. The images of the reversal world offered by Ruzzante stemmed from an even more complicated and topsy-turvy concept of *snaturale*. Ruzzante's neologism, formed by affixing a prosthetic *s* to the adjective *naturale* (natural), negated the return to a peaceful and happy Padua where the gardens could bloom once again in order to show that the peaceful and happy Padua no longer existed. *Snaturale* described the world as an unweeded garden, but more than that it described the world as a garden in which all that was planted fell out. *Snaturale* was a rejection from the earth of everything that was meant to exist there. This included Ruzzante himself because he and his theatre practice

were linked inextricably to the Paduan territory. In Ruzzante's scenography of the world-turned-upside-down, the more permanent and necessary one's link to the land, the more tenuous and superfluous that link became.[107]

As Maravall's theory suggested, it is possible that the appearance of the upside-down-world throughout Ruzzante's works registered a type of budding historical consciousness in the performer. Following Theodor W. Adorno, we could define that consciousness as that which was "concentrated in the indispensable reflection on what [was] and what [was] no longer possible, on the clear insight into techniques and materials and how they fit together."[108] Those techniques were the specific disciplinary practices enforced by ecclesiastical law that Ruzzante pointed out and attempted to reform in the *Prima Orazione*, and the materials were the lives and bodies of a specific swath of the population on whose behalf Ruzzante addressed the Cardinal. More importantly, though, by analyzing Ruzzante's theatre practice as a scenographic territorialization that always began with an act of taking place Ruzzante's theatre becomes something specifically Baroque.

What makes his theatre Baroque is not the visual schema one can evince from his scenography per se; rather, the Baroque dimension of Ruzzante's performances emerges by thinking through his entire theatre practice as a historical *objectile*. A distinction between object and *objectile* is central to this hypothesis. As a static object, sutured in place by the collated and bound texts of all his works, Ruzzante runs the risk of becoming stable. Though his rhetorical strategies reflect his knowledge of Desiderus Erasmus and Thomas More, and though his full-length plays contain discernable elements from Terence's brand of Roman comedy, it is important to avoid the trap of situating Ruzzante

within a humanist literary tradition or within the rectilinear march of theatre history that jumps from Greece to Rome to mystery plays to Shakespeare. To excavate the complex spatial multiplicity of theatres within theatres and gardens within gardens, and to understand Ruzzante's signature method of acting out, one must look beyond the texts to the fragmented image of the world in which Ruzzante worked that forms by bringing together loose historical traces. By collecting the first-person accounts of *Carnevale* parades, the clothes on the marching performers, the patches on sleeves, the spatial layouts of palaces and villas, and the gestures of reform produced by Ruzzante's letters and orations, it is possible to inject movement back into Ruzzante-as-historical-subject. That moving subject, who is also the object of analysis here, becomes the Baroque *objectile*.

Deleuze theorized the *objectile* as the dense point from which erupted the Baroque point of view:

> The new status of the object no longer refers its condition to a spatial mold—in other words, to a relation of form-matter—but to a temporal modulation that implies as much the beginnings of a continuous variation of matter as a continuous development of form...The object here is manneristic, not essentializing: it becomes an event.[109]

To triangulate these moving objects that have become free of their spatial molds, Deleuze implemented a type of thinking akin to historical calculus that lead him to the formula "something = x (anamorphosis)."[110] That is, any "point" of view becomes "a place, a position, a site, a 'linear focus'."[111] or a space of unfolding. The Baroque point of view is not something that someone possesses but rather an active *milieu* to which one arrives.

"The point of view is not what varies with the subject, at least in the first instance; it is, to the contrary, the condition in which an eventual subject apprehends a variation (metamorphosis)."[112]

This metamorphosis is Ruzzante's scenographic territorialization. After Ruzzante marched into the *Palazzo Ducale* or into the Villa Barco, he put his root down. Once planted, by way of the Paduan dialect, Ruzzante delimited a separate space for himself within the private space of the home in which performed. This spatial production was an unfolding of a viewpoint that, frankly, no member of his audience wanted to see. The point he occupied within that space became an entire territory, a melodic landscape that produced a dissonant counterpoint for the benefit or discomfort (depending on how one perceives it) of those in attendance. Through his direct addresses, a line of sight or linear focus opened out onto the world beyond the urban space of Venice proper or the massive wall surrounding Caterina Cornaro's villa. The images produced through that line of sight were not points of view possessed by any one person, neither Ruzzante nor any one of his audience members. Rather, the image of the world that his works produced were of a world engaged in metamorphoses.

From Ruzzante's subject position, the transfiguration of the world was an upending that ejected peasants from the land they worked and produced a life of enforced sobriety in which even the permitted times for eating were prescribed by authority figures that very few people ever laid eyes on. Instead of simply opening that viewpoint, Ruzzante attempted to intervene and even went as far as to outline seven points of reform. Of course, the reformation never occurred because, from the subject position of

Cardinal Marco Cornaro, the transfiguration of the world proposed by Ruzzante was equally upside down. From both positions, the world = x (anamorphosis).

Defining anamorphosis as the creation of a new organism from a preexisting organism of another kind or as a distorted perspective amounts to the same thing. Ruzzante perceived a new world, the unweeded garden, in which weeds became all that one could reap in a harvest. The Cardinal or Messer Donà and his daughter in Venice perceived a temporary disturbance that, should it take hold, would make the world "*molto discoreto*," as Marin Sanuto would have it. Taking the *Prima Orazione* as the supreme example, Ruzzante's mode of performance was a Baroque scenography in which existed an image of a world that was entirely inhospitable. The only difference was that the proprietors of the palaces and villas would remain ensconced within their houses while Ruzzante would return to the world outside that was becoming increasingly unlivable. Whether in the *Palazzo Ducale*, the *Piazza San Marco*, Ca' Trevisan, the Villa Barco or the Paduan countryside, Ruzzante was never properly at home. His most permanent dwelling was the multiplicity of inflatable territories that he erected and deconstructed for his performances.

What is the event that these performances make visible? The event marked by Ruzzante-as-*objectile* was the sum total of the encounters between Ruzzante and his audiences. The encounters extended for short durations, and unfolded in short bursts, but they never fully dissipated because of the entrances and exits that Ruzzante used as levers to keep the spaces of encounter open, at least potentially. The event of Ruzzante taking place appears in the present as a collage of all these durations of encounter. That collage is the now of Ruzzante's encounters, which one cannot pinpoint exactly because the

present moments in which the encounters unfolded were ruptures between the conditions that made the performances possible—injustice, inequality, abuse—and the possible futures that Ruzzante depicted—alternative landscapes of reformed Padua. The event's name could be "to-produce-alternate-viewpoints," or simply "to-take-place." The content of the event was the *topos* created by de/re/territorializations and the form of the event was the *procedure* of de/re/territorialization. The infinitive "To Baroque" might encapsulate both the form and content of the event. Ruzzante did not make the event, he did not consciously make Baroque art. The event made him. That is to say, he was not a Baroque artist. He was an artist that Baroqued by making visible the irrevocable upside-downness of his contemporary state of affairs.

The fact that the world appeared from an oblique or anamorphic perspective to both Ruzzante and to his audience members leads to the final point. More important than establishing Ruzzante as a new type of Baroque artist, thus challenging the temporal frame of the Baroque period as something encompassing the seventeenth century with a new sixteenth century determination, I want to forward the use of a Baroque methodology to rethink Ruzzante's theatre practice all together. Linda Carroll, via Victor Turner, has appraised Ruzzante as a quintessentially liminoid individual whose innovative style of performance enabled him to participate in the struggle between civic and religious powers in sixteenth-century Venice, thereby suspending the rules during his performances and injecting disorder into every well-disciplined environment he entered. Against that view, I propose reading Ruzzante's theatre as a type of Baroque scenography (a scenography that Baroques) established through a life-long practice of constructing dissonant viewpoints for his audiences thereby rendering a view of sixteenth-century

Venice as a world-turned-upside-down. In that world, there was no right-side-up, instead there was an ongoing procedure of spatial acquisition through which the chaos of external forces, whether they were economic troubles leading to the exodus of Venetian patricians to the mainland or the religious reformation challenging Papal authority, found its anodyne in the construction of secure internal spaces.

Those internal spaces appeared as gardens within gardens—sometimes literal and other times figurative—that reflected a slow cultivation of disciplinary force with which to manage the chaos of the exterior. By attempting to bring the chaos of the exterior with him as he insinuated himself into those secure interior spaces, Ruzzante confounded a spatial logic of order prevalent at the time. Neither Ruzzante's internal-exterior nor the progressive ordering of the Church or the Venetian Republic dominated. Rather, as the continual rooting and uprooting in Ruzzante's performances demonstrated, the viewpoint of that time that opens in the present moment revealed a perpetual process of folding and unfolding. The great fluctuation of Baroque complexity arises in the present from disparate archival scraps stitched together to make a semblance of Ruzzante and the proliferation of gardens he left in his wake.

Chapter 2: "Another Pastoral Theatre: The Jesuits and the Execution of Pietro Leon da Valcamonica."

"[A]nd he turned to the Executioner, and kissed him, and placing his head on his knee he said to the people he advises us to pray, and to him was given the Axe 8 times…[his head] wouldn't come off until finally it was cut off with a knife…and then it was placed outside under the loft[ed area of the scaffold], where it was burned, and like that it was the end of his life, and as has been said, *his sins were overcome*."[113]

The "he" in that quotation referred to Father Pietro Leon da Valcamonica,[114] executed publicly in *Piazza San Marco* on 10 November 1561. The *Consiglio dei Dieci* (Council of Ten), Venice's most powerful branch of government at the time, found him guilty of pimping out several prostitutes with which he himself engaged in sexual relations many times over while also, purportedly, drowning the children born of the encounters. To make matters worse, those prostitutes were newly rescued and troubled youths sequestered behind the walls of the *Convertite (*The House of the Converted, aka *Santa Maria Maddalena*) on the Venetian island of Giudecca, a house for at-risk girls of which Valcamonica was rector. This house was among the first such "homes for the converted" in Venice, each of which had as its purpose the salvation of young girls who without family support or guidance of any kind would otherwise turn to the trade of prostitution.

Why did this priest receive such spectacular treatment at a time when Venetian justice frequently handed out banishment and steep fines to perpetrators of blasphemy (*bestemmie*), even to priests who fathered illegitimate children?[115] This question leads

into a warren populated by other questions, the variety and scope of which fragments the event into many pieces. What specifically concerned the Venetian Republic about Valcamonica's crimes? Who initiated the criminal proceedings? What was the significance of the execution's location between the two columns in the *piazza*? Does the fact that the criminal was a priest speak to a cumbersome relationship between the Church and the state in the Republic? What did people see when they watched the executioner saw off Valcamonica's head? What is one to make of the priest's speech upon the scaffold during which he confessed to his sins but also accused the crowd gathered in front of him of committing sins equally as grievous as his own?

In this chapter, I attempt to provide answers to these questions from two different perspectives. At first glance, the execution appears entangled with judiciary concerns of the state. The priest committed a crime; he was brought before the Council of Ten, tried, sentenced, and beheaded in the *piazza*. From the perspective of the state, Valcamonica presented an intolerable disruption to the moral economy of the Republic. To iron out the blemish on the Republic's good name as the *Serenissima* (The Most Serene), the heads of state deployed a highly visible gesture of justice that recalibrated Venice's inner tranquility. At the same time, however, the criminal was a priest. His transgressions upset civil law, but also ecclesiastical law. In 1561, this meant that in addition to the state the Jesuits, as the vanguard of pastoral care and agents of pastoral power, would have taken notice of Valcamonica's actions and could have dropped upon the deviant priest the full pressure of the Church's moral authority. From the Jesuit perspective, the execution appeared as a corrective measure but also as an opportunity to display the discipline of

the Church's militant arm and the Jesuits' willingness to sacrifice a priest for the good of the multitude.

Beyond the surface of the event where it appears as a state-sanctioned act, my analysis of the execution frames Valcamonica as a shepherd interpreting a complex role within the framework of Jesuit pastoral power. After interrogating that role, I will propose that the execution as a whole takes the form of an intriguing type of pastoral theatre. Unlike the traditional pastoral theatre in which shepherds roam the countryside interpreting the signs of nature in order to reveal the redeeming power of Love, I argue that Valcamonica's theatrical performance represented the pastoral shepherd as a figure whose sole function was to bring wandering souls back into the flock of the Church.

By mapping the differences between the traditional pastoral theatre genre, exemplified in this chapter by Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, and this other pastoral theatre visible in Valcamonica's execution, I want to tease out the consequences of the Jesuit presence in Venice in the late sixteenth century. The Republic of Saint Mark had historically walked a fine line between autonomous state, on the one hand, and inhabitant of the Papacy's dominion, on the other. With the entry of the Jesuits in the mid-1500s, the authority of the second identity gained strength. Once on the scene, the Jesuits began to undermine the civic order of the Republic with theatrical means, one example of which appears in the execution of Valcamonica. While Valcamonica would appear to be the star of the Jesuit pastoral theatre, the audience gathered in the *piazza* was the real protagonist. Schematizing the dramaturgy of the event with the audience in that leading role presents a complex act of "subjectivation" that I will analyze in the conclusion.

Gilles Deleuze develops the term subjectivation in his analysis of Michel Foucault's numerous studies on the relationship between knowledge, power, and self. It is a term that delimits a social process through which an individual becomes a subject. Through this process, the subject forms an interior—modes of seeing the world, ethical coordination, epistemological limits—by folding the exterior—truths perceived or learned from external stimuli, social relationships validated by legal constructs and political frameworks—into his or herself. "If the inside is constituted by the folding of the outside," writes Deleuze, "between them there is a topological relation: the relation to oneself is homologous to the relation with the outside and the two are in contact, through the intermediary of the strata which are relatively external environments (and therefore relatively internal)."[116] I want to peer beyond the shimmering appearance of Valcamonica's spectacular execution to assess the structure of the outside environment that determines this homologous relation.

In a final consideration, peering beyond appearances requires an inspection of the mimetic impulse that drives that act of subjectivation. By reading the *Aminta* and the execution as two different yet connected sides of pastoral theatre, I argue that the factor that unites them is a mimetic mechanism that has little to do with Aristotle's or Plato's concepts of mimesis. Plato defines mimesis in book ten of the *Republic* as "an imitation of things" that exists "at third remove from nature."[117] Aristotle removes the pejorative dimension from Plato's definition and defines mimesis in the *Poetics* as a simulated representation through which humans recreate scenes from nature in order to learn from those natural occurrences and to improve one's being human.[118] Instead of elaborating on either of these conceptions, I suggest that the mimesis present in pastoral theatre relies on

a relation between the interior states of characters, both fictional and nonfictional, and the exterior landscape in which those characters find themselves. By understanding this relationship between interior and exterior, the lie of the cosmological unity preached by the Jesuits and proffered by Tasso rises to the surface. I will conclude this chapter by considering what the subject is within the Venetian state and the Catholic Church in the 16th century. Who was watching the execution? Who precisely was performing the lead role in that elaborate Jesuit allegory?

Ragione di stato: an act of justice

In 1598, a Venetian press published Giovanni Botero's *Ragione di stato* (*Reason of State*). In that document, the last edition which the author himself revised, Botero opened with the following definition: "State is a stable rule over a people and Reason of State is the knowledge of the means by which such a dominion may be founded, preserved, and extended…[I]t is concerned most nearly with preservation, and more nearly with extensions than with foundations."[119] Somewhat enigmatically, then, the text functioned as a guide to the practice of extending a state's domination but also as a portrait of the ideal state, a territory that has been perfectly preserved from internal and external danger. The internal homeostasis was a means to procuring the end of the ideal state, but the exterior expansion was equally as important insofar as those extensions of state lead to successful preservation. The sovereign's virtuosity propelled this dialectic of interior conservation and exterior expansion. Such virtuosity arose from the sovereign's recognition of his subjects as material and of himself as artificer capable of manipulating those materials like so many pieces on a chessboard.

The size of one's territory was of utmost importance. "[A] small dominion," wrote Botero, "is one that cannot stand by itself, but needs the protection and support of others…A middle-sized dominion has sufficient strength and authority to stand on its own…Those dominions are large which have a distinct superiority over their neighbors."[120] Of these three sizes, Botero thought medium the best since it was those medium states which were "exposed neither to violence by their weakness nor to envy by their greatness, and their wealth and power being moderate, passions are less violent, ambition finds less support and license less provocation."[121] The best example of such a state: Venice.

For Botero, the Venetian state maintained the necessary peace and tranquility required to make it strong. Their rulers exercised those special "arts" which won for those rulers the love and admiration of their people. The Republic of Saint Mark understood the two aspects of royal justice: justice between the ruler and the subjects and justice between subjects themselves. Though peace was the goal, Botero believed that both types of justice frequently relied on violent means capable of countering violent turbulence. "Violence," he wrote, "is the work of outlaws, robbers, assassins and murderers, who must be held in check by fear and by severe legislation; for what is the use of keeping out foreign armies if a worse danger prevails at home?"[122] Of what did the sovereign's violent response consist? The answer lay in the coupling of "fear" and "severe legislation."

This coupling existed in what Michel Foucault called the *coup d'état* (Italian: *soffito di stato)*. In his genealogy of reason of state, Foucault identified the *coup d'état* as the *masterstroke* of government, as that which constituted the most violent but also the most theatrical gesture of a sovereign ruler.[123] When did a ruler perform this

masterstroke? Foucault cited Botero's own thoughts on the matter: "A public misfortune is the very best of opportunities for a prince to win the hearts of his subjects" since it is in those moments of misfortune and disarray that the presence of the sovereign can set things straight and reestablish a rightful order of things. Thus, the violent interior threats of criminals had always to dissolve beneath the violent and swift response of the ruler. Such responses took on spectacular forms, such as public executions and civic performances that demonstrated the legitimacy of the government.

Botero's frequent adoption of Venice as the model of reason of state was, however, distorted. Venice did not have a sovereign. The government had a head figure, the doge, but the administrative and legislative duties fell to multiple branches, each with its own particular duty. Additionally, in 1561, the year of Valcamonica's execution and also around the time that Botero would have witnessed Venetian governance in action, the smooth functioning of the Republic's government was experiencing a shift. The Council of Ten, which for so many years held the most power, was beginning to lose its absolute grasp. Whereas that Council once consolidated many duties within itself, the last decades of the sixteenth century saw the creation of new councils aimed at taking over matters of blasphemy, civic peace, and heretical inquisitions, thereby diffusing the Council of Ten's authority.[124] Therefore, Botero's metaphorical pronouncement that "[t]he more intricate and complex the mechanisms of a watch the more likely that it is to go wrong," which he offered as a counter-example to the efficiency of the Venetian state, was misplaced. The Venetian government was an intricate and complex mechanism if ever there was one. What accounts for Botero's misreading?

The other dimensions of Venetian governmental theatricality may have distorted Botero's perception, as was the case for many cultural critics and historians of Venice who followed in his wake. As Edward Muir has suggested, "[t]he fundamental problem of the historians of Venice…has been to separate outward appearance from reality, to uncover from the veneer of propaganda and mythology the actual social and political structure of the city."[125] This veneer was generated by numerous annual demonstrations, parades, and galas all of which were used by the Venetian state to tend to its own complex clockwork. These civic rituals, including the demonstrations of might exemplified in the *soffito di stato*, were all a part of "the Venetians' perpetual encomium to their city." Botero was not wrong to suggest that Venice epitomized the coupling of fear and severe legislation, or that the state knew when to deploy theatrical gestures to stabilize and sustain its civic life. He simply failed to realize that in addition to the *soffito di stato*, the Venetian Republic was equipped with many theatrical gestures that were aimed at producing a complex unity out of Venice's numerous governmental limbs.

To give just one example of these civic performances, the annual marriage to the sea (*La Sensa*) acted to support the unified Venetian identity as master of the sea.[126] As Muir has pointed out, *La Sensa* provided an opportunity for the state to order the temporal and spatial dimensions of the Republic within a civic grid. The annual marriage fell on the feast day of the Ascension, and the civic ceremony was therefore a strategic act of overwriting the Church's authority. The event followed a well worn groove in the city's geography that led from the *Palazzo Ducale* to the Basin of St. Mark where the doge boarded the giant *Bucintoro*, a giant boat plated with gold. The boat, powered by numerous rowers stowed below the decks, took the doge to the sea of Venice where he

threw a wedding ring overboard and discharged gallons of holy water into the surf. With the symbolic marriage and consummation thus complete, Venice demonstrated its authority over the sea in a highly masculine manner. This ceremony was particularly important after 1509 when, because of Venice's defeat under the League of Cambrai and the increased dominance of Portugal in the spice trade, the Republic required a renewed sense of confidence in order to maintain its political drive and autonomy. *La Sensa*, along with the other civic festivals, was a means of annually strengthening Venice's faith in itself through theatrical means.

From the perspective of reason of state, the execution of Valcamonica appears in a similar light. The execution was a governmental display of security that reestablished inner tranquility. It was embedded within a highly theatrical landscape and was part of a larger and more sustained effort to keep Venice intact as a political entity. In Botero's terms, the gruesome nature of the priest's crimes constituted a great "public misfortune." That the very person designated to oversee the lives of endangered girls became the purveyor of that danger was a problem. What other state funded facilities hid such men from view? Since reason of state suggested that "public misfortune is the very best of opportunities for a prince to win the hearts of his subjects," Valcamonica's transgressions demanded a swift and lethal response. Instead of banning the priest from the Republic for life or just dropping him in the sea in the middle of the night, the state displayed its ability to cauterize such wounds as soon as they occurred.

Viewed as such, Valcamonica's execution bore a resemblance to the surgeries performed within the anatomy theatres of the sixteenth century. Instead of medical professionals removing organs in front of medical students, however, it was the state that

sutured the wounds opened by the priest's ignominious activities at the *Convertite*. Anatomy theatres had a theatrical architecture consisting of steeply raked seats that encircled the stage upon which the body of the patient opened up to the audience's inquisitive gaze. The *Piazza San Marco* had a similarly theatrical architecture that positioned spectators around the scaffold that was raised between the two columns and on which stood the body of the priest, which, through the act of beheading and the subsequent incineration of the corpse, was reduced to the primary object in a civic anatomy lesson.

The most explicitly theatrical components of the *Piazza San Marco* were the windows on the second storey of the newly constructed library. Those windows became private viewing posts from which the Republic's noblemen and governors could watch the state operate. As such, these windows functioned like the box seats from which the richest patrons watched theatrical production unfolding upon the stages of the first permanent theatres in Venice, built around 1580. In the *piazza*, the pink brickwork of the façade of the *Palazzo Ducale* replaced the need for any painted backdrop.[127] Between the two pillars, outside the legislative center of the city, Valcamonica lost his head in Venice's most cherished scenographic locale.

Looking at the execution from the perspective of *ragione di stato*, the multiple blows of the axe to Valcamonica's neck were folded within the one masterstroke of a government that utilized the opportunity of a public misfortune to reveal its own power and capability of securing the Republic from any interior threat. As Botero conceded, the act of securing the interior was essential for the preservation of the state, and the virtuosity of the Venetian government lay in its ability to deploy a highly visible gesture

of authority. The executioner's axe, the gazes of the nobles in their box seats looking down, and those of the masses gathered on ground level looking up to the scaffold all vivisected Valcamonica's body thereby turning him into the object of state power as well as an instrument of the state. This act, like the multitude of annual performances organized by the doge and other administers of the state, was a macabre civic festival doubling as an act of justice necessary to the smooth running of the Republic of Saint Mark.

Pastoral Power: An Act of Salvation

The Council of Ten handed the death sentence down to Father Pietro Leon da Valcamonica, but there is evidence to suggests that a Jesuit brought the case of the wicked priest to the Council's attention in the first place. Historian Mario Scaduto, S.J., offered a piece of that evidence in his study on Giacomo Lainez, the General of the Jesuit Order in 1561:

> In the December of '60 some of the converted left the convent [i.e., the *Convertite*] and one of them revealed that sometimes she had been touched and kissed by [a priest named] Giampietro. [Benedetto] Palmio involved various persons in an inquest: Agostino Barbarigo, Tommaso and Giustiniano Contarini.[128]

Scaduto's information leads to the criminal sentencing records of the Council of Ten, 1561-1564, where there exists support for this connection between Palmio, the head of the Jesuit enclave in Venice, Barbarigo and the Contarini brothers, each of who were members of the Council. Valcamonica's name appears three times in the pages of those

records. The first was an introduction of Valcamonica to the court during which the ministers of state identified him as "chaplain and confessor of the converted on Giudecca."[129] The second time the court decreed that, "this Fr. Zuan Piero is confined for the rest of his life in prison […] until he is [brought] between the two columns in S. Marco [and] beheaded."[130] Finally, the day before the execution, the Council declared one last time that, "tomorrow morning this priest Zuanpiero will be beheaded by an executioner between the two columns of S. Marco and after his death his body will be burned […] and converted into ash."[131] The names of Agostino Barbarigo and Giustiniano Contarini appear in the margins of those pages as witnesses of the sentencing and members of the judicial committee.

An understanding of how precisely Palmio could instigate these criminal proceedings and why he would choose to do so begins to form by reading the benediction given by the Jesuit at a new house dedicated to the conversion of prostitutes in 1558. This house, known colloquially as the *Zitelle* (Spinsters), was the *Santa Maria della Presentazione* (The Presentation of Mary) on the island of Giudecca, directly southwest of *Piazza San Marco* in the Basin of St. Mark. The *Zitelle* and the *Convertite* were situated in close proximity, and their primary function was identical. Palmio, renowned for his oratory ability, announced this function and its inspiration with the following words:

> God, our Master, stamped in my soul an ardent desire to procure and to found in this Illustrious City of Venice the House of the Maidens (*Citelle*) in order to liberate from the danger of eternal damnation Virgins who, though very beautiful

> and full of grace...were too swiftly following the way into the profound abyss of that abominable life that is so contrary to good health.[132]

After the benediction, Palmio thanked a long list of noble men and women without whose help the *Zitelle* would not have been built. The list was a veritable who's who of sixteenth-century Venice and included numerous doges, members of the Council of Ten, and those men's wives. Among the names were those of "*Signori Protettori* M[.] Thomaso Contarino [*sic*.]" and "*il Magnifico* M. Agostin Barbarigo." The presence of so many important figures from the Venetian government attests to the social mobility of the Venetian Jesuits and provides a link between Palmio and the governmental system.

The roots of this link had been planted twenty years earlier when Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuit Order, and his earliest followers had begun their service of caring for souls of the dying in Venetian hospitals. Brian Pullan's study of the Venetian poor has revealed that the Jesuit desire to care for the sick coincided with a crucial twenty-year period in which Venetian philanthropy boomed and provided a great influx of money for charitable works. Loyola and the others not only gained visibility from their presence in the hospitals but also made connections with the benefactors whose money helped build Venice's largest charitable institutions.[133]

By the time of Palmio's arrival, then, there was a strong connection between the Jesuit Order and the wealthy upperclassmen and women dedicated to using their wealth for charitable means. Over the course of that twenty-year period, though, the Jesuit involvement in such charities had extended from a hands-on care of the sick to a properly administrative function. The Jesuits began to use their connections to acquire property

and to open houses in which they could guide lost souls. Several of these houses focused their services on young female prostitutes.

The Society's predilection for building homes for troubled youth was not arbitrary. The Jesuit mission was primarily to shepherd lost souls back into the Catholic flock. By Pope Paul III's decree in the *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* (On the government of the Church militant), dated 27 September 1540, the Society of Jesus became an official entity of the Church. These "soldiers of God" were "to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, and specifically by the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity."[134] Houses like the *Zitelle* were centers of operation in the Jesuit mission of pastoral care. The *Convertite*, while not expressly under Jesuit command, was connected to the network of charitable institutions and housed numerous souls belonging to uneducated and illiterate children. The Society's interest in salvaging the poorest members of Venetian society, its specific interest in the moral challenge presented by prostitution, and Palmio's connections with numerous financiers and high-ranking government officials all help explain how Palmio could have gained access to Valcamonica's case.

As for why Palmio would concern himself with Valcamonica's crimes, I turn to a passage from *The First Jesuits*, by John O'Malley, S.J. in which the author cites one of the first Jesuits' journals:

> 'The Society has the care of those souls for whom either there is nobody to care or, if somebody ought to care, the care is negligent. This is the reason for the founding of the Society. This is its dignity in the Church.' For [Father Nadal] the

> Jesuit task par excellence was to search for the 'lost sheep'—whether pagan, Muslim, heretic, or Catholic.[135]

Prostitutes and the poor, illiterate youth were targets of Jesuit care, but so was Valcamonica. Valcamonica was a lost sheep. More than that, he was a lost shepherd and the Jesuit mission could not be successful if the very people who were helping to herd the masses were themselves running amok. For Palmio, the wanton priest who defiled the young prostitutes under his care was an embodiment of the paradox of the shepherd, which lay at the core of pastoral power.

In the same set of lectures in which he analyzed reason of state, Foucault outlined this paradox and presented the scope of the problem it posed for Christian pastoral power:

> On the one hand, the shepherd must keep his eye on all and each, *omnes et singulatim*, which will be the great problem…of the techniques of power in Christian pastoralship…And then, in an even more intense manner, the second form taken by the paradox of the shepherd is the problem of the sacrifice of the shepherd for his flock, the sacrifice of himself for the whole of his flock, and the sacrifice of the whole of his flock for each of the sheep.[136]

Foucault's delineation of the paradox is crucial to the case of the priest form the *Convertite*. From Palmio's point of view, Valcamonica had failed to keep his eye on all and each of his sheep, and this required the bad shepherd to atone for his faults by sacrificing himself for the whole of his flock.

While it is true that the objects of the Society's governance were souls, it is important to note that these souls were terrestrial substances. Palmio and the Jesuits struggled with the discipleship of souls on earth. This raised the stakes of their mission

since any extraterrestrial life in Heaven would become possible only if they could establish themselves as the very road that conveyed souls from this world into the next. This is why the original Formula of the Society described the nature of the Jesuit "Institute" as the "pathway to God."[137] As a result of this terrestrial dimension to pastoral care, the Jesuits had to develop methods for dealing with stray sheep beyond private confession and rhetorical orations during Mass. The execution of Valcamonica would act as an embodied display of the transition of the soul from earth to heaven, and the spectacle of it was sure to draw a large audience.

Like a congregation assembled for Mass, the audience at the execution would become a focus of Jesuit guidance. This guidance was primarily a mode of governance capable of conducting wandering souls back into the flock. To be more specific, Jesuit guidance and its function on the day of the execution was "psychagogical." *Pace* Foucault, the term psychagogy refers to "the transmission of a truth whose function is not to endow any subject whomsoever with abilities, etcetera, but whose function is to modify the mode of being of the subject."[138] That is, if pedagogy seeks "to endow any subject whatever with aptitudes, capabilities, knowledges, and so on, that he did not possess before and that he should possess at the end of the pedagogical relationship," the psychagogical dimension of Valcamonica's execution aimed at modifying the spatial location of the stray souls from outside the fold back inside the fold.[139]

This act of folding was an example of subjectivation, or the mode of transformation through which an individual became a subject of the Church by interiorizing a model of behavior and specific ways of thinking about the world. Far from

being an act of freedom, this subjectivation was an act of subjection. Gilles Deleuze has distilled Foucault's concept of subjectivation into a two-fold procedure:

> On the one hand [subjectivation] involves being 'subject to someone else by control and dependence,' with all the processes of individuation and modulation which power installs, acting on the daily life and the interiority of those it calls its subjects; on the other it makes the subject 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge,' through all the techniques of moral and human sciences that go to make up a knowledge of the subject.[140]

The execution of Valcamonica from the perspective of pastoral power became an opportunity to exploit the paradox of the shepherd, the goal of which was to present the priest as a psychagogical object capable of subjectivizing the spectators and enfolding them within the embrace of the Church.

The complex and paradoxical full-distribution of the shepherd/sheep relationship has four principles; the elaboration of each one sheds additional light on the execution of Valcamonica viewed from the perspective of pastoral power as well as the mechanism of subjectivation. Foucault named these four principles as follows. One, the "principle of analytic responsibility." With this, the pastor does not only have to account for each sheep as a numerical quantity, but also for each of the acts that each sheep commits, "everything good and evil they may have done at any time." The analytic responsibility, then, "is not just a responsibility defined by a numerical and individual distribution, but also a responsibility defined by a qualitative and factual distribution." Two, "the principle of exhaustive and instantaneous transfer." That is, on the Day of Judgment, not only does

the pastor have to account for every good and evil act committed by any sheep at any time but also the pastor will acquire each of those acts as if it was his own. Three, the principle of "sacrificial reversal." If a pastor is lost along with his sheep, then "he must also lose himself for his sheep, and in their place. That is to say, the pastor must be prepared to die [body and soul] to save his sheep." Four, and finally, the principle Foucault called that of "alternate correspondence." "[J]ust as on one side the pastor's merit and salvation are due to the weaknesses of his sheep, so too the pastor's faults and weaknesses contribute to the edification of his sheep and are part of the movement, the process, of guiding them towards salvation."[141]

As the head of the Jesuits in Venice, Palmio was a shepherd of shepherds as well as a shepherd involved in the herding of stray sheep. The execution of Valcamonica presented Palmio with an opportunity to display to all present, in a highly theatrical way, the extent of the discipline instilled in the Society of Jesus. He would display this discipline by sacrificing one of his own shepherds on the principles of pastoral power that underpinned the entire Jesuit mission. There is no evidence to confirm that Valcamonica was a Jesuit, but in these early years of the Society there were priests of other orders under the Society's command, even temporal adjutors who were not ordained. To say that Valcamonica was one of Palmio's own is to suggest that the former labored within and on behalf of the Catholic Church and that the latter occupied a higher rank in the Church hierarchy.

Since the Jesuits sought to guide souls specifically through the establishment of houses like the *Zitelle*, it is reasonable to suggest that the smooth functioning of all such houses, including the *Convertite*, was desirable to the Society. As the instigator of the

project to construct a home for girls lost in the "profound abyss of that abominable life that is so contrary to good health," as illustrated by his benediction of the *Zittele*, Palmio was qualitatively responsible for the horrendous acts of Valcamonica (analytic responsibility). As such, Palmio had to take those sins as his own before the eyes of his God (exhaustive and instantaneous transfer).

The few scraps of information that remain in the archives present the possibility that Palmio found an instrumental use for Valcamonica's crimes. After he confessed to his crimes in front of the Council of Ten, the scene was set for Valcamonica to become the embodiment of the sacrificial reversal. The climax of that scene would unfold in *Piazza San Marco* in order to contribute to the edification of the souls in attendance (alternate correspondence). To guide Venetians to salvation, Palmio could display Valcamonica in the act of sacrificing himself for his sheep. Everyone present in the *Piazza* that day, from Palmio's point of view, would bear witness to the commitment of the pastoral shepherd that accepted death and self-sacrifice when the occasion called for it.

All of this helps to explain an aspect of the execution that did not make sense within the logic of reason of state. While it is true that the state had, at times, to display authority with the *soffito di stato*, it is not clear why, in the case of Valcamonica, that blow had to result in death. In the folio of records where Valcamonica appeared three times before the Council of Ten, there were numerous other names of criminals that received sentences. One priest was banned for life from the lands of the Republic for committing unspecified crimes within a monastery. Another man was conducted between the two columns in *Piazza San Marco*, but only his right hand was cut off.

In addition to these records, the scholar Gaetanno Cozzi has discovered that criminals indicted with crimes of blasphemy sometimes suffered the amputation of their tongue or they were conducted onto a scaffold between the two columns wearing an "ignominious miter on their head" and bearing signs around their neck informing the public of the crime that had lead to such a punishment. In severe cases where criminals lost their tongue, an eye, a hand, or received beatings from the public gathered as spectators, those criminals would have to bear the expense of any medicine used to treat their injuries.[142] All of these punishments were gruesome and extreme, all of them deployed theatrical means of punishing the criminals, but none of them were as gruesome or extreme as the punishment of Valcamonica that consisted of a brutal, botched beheading and the burning of his dismembered corpse. To stage the paradox of the pastoral shepherd in its most profound dimension, however, Valcamonica had necessarily to sacrifice his life. No other punishment was possible. Beneath the gazes of the nobles seated in their boxes and up above the Venetians crowded into the *Piazza*, Valcamonica ended his life as a shepherd willing to sacrifice himself on behalf of his flock, or at least to be sacrificed by the shepherd of shepherds.

The full psychagogic spectrum of the execution becomes visible by revisiting the sacrificial priest's final speech to the gathered masses. After recounting his life and deeds prior to arriving in Venice, much in the way that one would look back over his or her life during a general confession with a priest, Valcamonica brought his audience's attention to the present moment:

> I was placed as the governor [rector] at the Monastery of the *Convertite*, in which I committed many errors and sins with a great city-wide scandal, the city in which all of you were born, and it is in this respect, because we are all subject to this fragility, that it is also the seeing and knowing that major errors are being committed by others, like those that I was making…well, it seems to me that my errors are very much inferior to those…so I confess sincerely that in the three years while I gave the sainted Eucharist that I administered it unworthily. It pleases God that the intervention of these wise sirs makes me recognize my great errors and leads me to this pass…however, my blessed public, I exhort all of you to make this blessed confession sincerely, and purely so that we can all reconcile ourselves with our master God, and to make this confession frequently for the health of our souls; so, I believe in eternal life, and in the resignation to death, and I stop hoping [insofar as] I now am certain, and in this way I confess most honestly in order to rediscover the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, so that this morning I make way for salvation of my soul, and so I confess the truth, in order to partake in the infinity of Your Mercy, and in death I voluntarily bear my sins, forgive my grave errors, and reveal Paradise to me.

The condemned priest's disjunctive syllogism uttered on the scaffold is difficult to navigate but it ultimately resolved into one masterful rhetorical maneuver.

Valcamonica, after confessing his sins, suggested that the only thing worse than his actions was the feigned ignorance of those same actions by others in the community. His suggestion that members of society knew but remained silent about the sexual misconduct behind the *Convertite*'s walls turned the framework of the confession around

to make the audience the very sinners in need of confession, thus positioning Valcamonica as the priest to hear and absolve their sins. After that reversal, Valcamonica embodied the position of sinner and confessor, just as he, within the complexities of pastoral power, embodied both shepherd and sacrificial lamb. By making confession and guiding his sheep to confession at the same time, Valcamonica believed he could secure a place in heaven, that "Paradise" to which he sought to send his soul.

Finally, the lens of pastoral power reveals a crucial difference between the goal of Jesuit care and that of the reason of state. With the latter, the *soffito di stato* is a tool for preserving the inner tranquility of the state understood as a geographical entity. It was a governmental instrument, but the type of government it revealed was one concerned with preserving political cohesion. Pastoral power revealed a more expansive "semantic domain" of governance. It understood "to govern" to refer to "movement in space, material subsistence…the control one may exercise over oneself and others, over someone's body, soul, and behavior." As Foucault has suggested, this wide array of meanings revealed that, for pastoral power, "one never governs a state, a territory, or a political structure. Those whom one governs are people, individuals, or groups."[143]

Valcamonica's exchange with the audience gathered to watch him die presented the specific type of intercourse that was crucial to the Jesuits and to the mission of pastoral care more generally; namely, an interpersonal process of exchange that constructed an economy of merit and fault between the shepherd and the sheep. God may decide in the end the value of those merits and faults, but as the militant arm of the Church in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits inserted themselves as God's chosen interlocutors in charge of facilitating the subjectivation of all souls. Viewed through the

lens of pastoral power, the execution makes visible that economy of merit and fault as well as the Jesuit mode of governance in all its semantic permutations.

From Pastoral Power to Pastoral Theatre

As the agent of pastoral power, Benedetto Palmio staged an elaborate performance event for the inhabitants of Venice. Valcamonica was both the protagonist of this performance and the antagonist. By repenting and accepting the sentence placed upon him, the priest modeled the behavior of the good shepherd; at the same time, the wicked deeds that led him to the scaffold had to remain visible, since those deeds produced the conditions that rendered his character of the good shepherd possible. That is, it is important not to read Valcamonica as *either* a criminal—bereft of any merit and goodness—*or* a savior—capable of guiding the flock by his model of repentance. Rather, I argue that Valcamonica was both at the same time. He presents a parallax view of the convergence of the sacred and the profane within the paradoxical figure of the shepherd in Venice near the end of the sixteenth century.

This merger yields a new perspective on pastoral theatre. As a genre of poetry and theatrical performance, the pastoral poem or play was an expression of a particular worldview, one in which the diversity of earthly phenomena cohered through an epistemic system of similitude.[144] The logic of a similitude-oriented system of knowledge comprehended the world as a closed circuit in which the great chain of being linked the lowliest organisms with the most divine powers.[145] The median point on the chain was man/woman, who represented the merger of the sacred and the profane. This logic manifested itself in the three primary characteristics of pastoral plays. By enumerating

and elaborating on these characteristics, I want to present this new perspective on pastoral theatre that becomes visible after recognizing the presence of pastoral power in and around the execution of Valcamonica.

First, nature appeared in the pastoral as a screen on which the author or poet projected the inner states of the play's characters. Nature was therefore a literary device, but it also served the metatheatrical purpose of portraying the inner life of the author/poet. Second, characters closest to nature, usually the shepherds, were in the best position to understand the secret workings of the world. The shepherds read the landscape, as it were, and thus discerned the movements of the universe. Again, the shepherds were metonyms for the author/poet himself who, by merit of constructing such a microcosm, revealed through the poetry of the play that he understood the workings of the universe on a macrocosmic scale. Third, the motive force of the pastoral was Love. Love above all else had the power to affect the characters. It was the affective motive force that made change possible, which is to say that Love bestirred the emotional life of the characters and allowed change in their perceptions of each other. Love was the alchemical catalyst that instigated revelation. In total then, Love dominated the fictional characters' emotional lives; their inner lives appeared written into the fabric of the play's landscape; the pastoral testified to the poet's grasp of the complexities of the world. Richard Cody has summarized the genre as a "poetic theology of love, beauty, and the soul—the counterpart, mode for mode, of medieval allegorical romance."[146]

The new dimension of pastoral theatre emerged with the same characteristics, but the Jesuits' Catholic militancy modified the architecture of the traditional pastoral genre. Instead of the great chain of being, Jesuits believed in a transcendental separation

between the most divine power—God—and the lowliest life forms. This belief did not remove God's presence from the terrestrial sphere, but it did bar direct access to God. In a similitude-oriented system of knowledge, anyone could access God as long as he or she could decipher the signs written in nature. In the Catholic worldview, God chose people to communicate with and only those people could decipher His code. As a result of this transcendental modification, nature solidified into one sign that pointed to the omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience of God. The shepherd—i.e, the pastor—retained his ability to read the signs and, in the form of the priest, the shepherd interpreted the signs for humanity's edification. Likewise, Love continued to play a vital role in Jesuit pastoral theatre, acting as a stimulant that could guide humans toward the celestial life beyond the earth.

The difference between traditional pastoral drama and the Jesuit pastoral theatre infused with pastoral power are not as unbridgeable as they may appear at first glance. Though the former portrays a world of similitude, mythical creatures, and a pantheon of gods, my analysis suggests that the Jesuit substitution of a transcendental celestial terrain, a profane world of the flesh, and a monotheistic insistence on the power of the One actually develops a hidden dimension of the traditional pastoral genre. By taking a quintessential example of pastoral drama, Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (c.1573), developing its aesthetic complexities, and pairing it with the execution of Valcamonica the two events appear as different sides of the same coin. The absence of a Catholic worldview from the *Aminta* will in fact mark an important shift away from early Christian Neo-Platonism toward the Tridentine reform of the Catholic Faith that had as its ultimate end the defeat of Protestantism. In turn, an analysis of the pantheistic medieval worldview

embedded in the *Aminta* helps to reveal the allegorical dramaturgy of Valcamonica's execution. By rendering the theatricality of the execution in the specific framework of this (revised) pastoral theatre, the figure of Valcamonica reveals more details in the Jesuit practice of pastoral care.

The Venetian bookseller Aldo Manuzio published Tasso's play some time around 1581, though the famous *Compagnia dei Gelosi* had performed the play as early as 1573.[147] The play has come to epitomize the pastoral genre with its heavy emphasis on the relation between nature and Love. Within the world of the pastoral, the mediator of this relationship was frequently the character of the shepherd. The *Aminta* in particular utilizes this triangular scheme nature-shepherd-Love to allegorize the complex intertwining of Love and Death. This allegory plays out between numerous characters, though Aminta, a human, and Sylvia, a nymph, appear in Tasso's story as the two main figures. The triangular scheme nature-shepherd-Love in the *Aminta*, however, contains a dialectical counterpart that, once developed, presents the shepherd as the linchpin of communication between the gods and other humans, reveals nature's implicit cultural construction, and manifests an inextricable link between Love and Death.

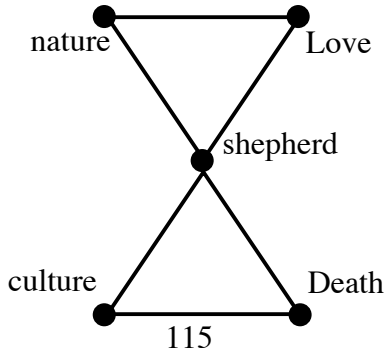
Nature: to suggest that nature is a screen on which Tasso projects the inner states of his characters is to suggest that there can be no nature as such. Nature mediates the inner lives of the characters as well as the poet himself, therefore making nature a cultural or man-made construct. This means that the inner lives of Tasso's characters find external expression in the landscape, but it is also the case that the externalized representation of those interior states influences and guides the actions of the characters. This presents a

hermeneutic cycle in which a character reads his or her emotions in the landscape, internalizes that which he or she reads, and then modifies his or her behavior before repeating the cycle again.

Love: this affective force functions in the *Aminta* as something one can only understand through experiencing its opposite counterpart. In this pastoral world, however, this counterpart is not Hatred but Death. Love and Death are not types of knowledge that one can possess; rather, Love and Death are practices. All human characters will only learn how to practice Love, and by extension to live a fulfilling life, by actually enacting Death. All human characters, that is, except for the shepherd.

The shepherd: the only character that can possess this knowledge without practicing it. To say that in the *Aminta* the shepherd, Elpino, understands nature because he is closest to it is to say that the shepherd most accurately comprehends the inner lives of the other characters. Elpino has the ability to act as a guide through the world because he is attuned to human nature, that is, to the fact that Love drives everything and that those who never realize that are liable to end up out of luck. He reads this on the landscape and in the actions of the other characters.

Thus, what appears in the *Aminta* at first as the triangle nature-shepherd-Love becomes doubled and transformed into the following diagram:



Note that the shepherd mediates the upper realm of nature-Love and the lower realm of culture-Death, acting as a nodal processing center or a portal between both realms. This portal is the vortex of the closed circuit of the world. The action of the play presents an allegory of how an individual should maneuver through this world.

Appropriately, the play begins with Love himself disguised as a shepherd uttering these words:

> Who wou'd believe, that under an human Form, and under these pastoral Spoils, should be conceal'd a God? and that not one of the Sylvan Deities, or of the vulgar Rank of Gods; but amongst the Superior, and the Heavenly Ones the most Powerful: who often causes the bloody Sword to fall from the Hand of Mars and from Neptune, the Shaker of the Earth, the great Trident, and the eternal Thunders from Supreme Jove.[148]

Love, disguised as the human character most knowledgeable of Love's ways, appears within a bucolic setting. Love is quick to point out that he is not just a god of the forest ("Sylvan"); he is the most powerful of all gods. Love's power manifests itself by disarming all the other gods. Stronger than Neptune's trident and Jove's thunderbolts, Love's arrows carry on their tips a venom capable of inflicting exquisite agony. Love's dual nature is already present in this opening monologue: it has both a violent and an anodyne power. Its dual character is also present: Love is judge and guide, the latter role appearing in the disguise of the shepherd (pastor).

The rest of Love's soliloquy presents the plot of the story. Sylvia, a nymph, actually a personification of the forest itself, prefers hunting to all human affairs. This

predilection causes Aminta great pain since he loves Sylvia beyond all else. His unrequited love sends Aminta into somersaults as he contemplates, repeatedly, whether or not to kill himself. In act two, Aminta consults with his companion, Thyrsis, and explains his rationale: "[B]efore I pine away into nothing, I'll kill myself before the Eyes of the Cruel Maid [i.e., Sylvia]. She, who is so well pleas'd at the Wound of my Heart, struck by her beautiful Eyes, will certainly be pleas'd no less at the Wound of my Breast, struck by my own Hand."[149] But Thyrsis, being a good companion, convinces Aminta to stay alive because, together with Sylvia's companion, Daphne, he has arranged for Sylvia to bathe naked at her favorite pond. By seeing Sylvia in all her glory, Thyrsis believes that Aminta will break out of the stultification caused by his unrequited love and convince the nymph to see things his way. This, however, does not work out as planned and Aminta drops further into desolation as the play continues.

The allegorical dramaturgy presents some complications to the reader of this play from the very start. Sylvia, as the personification of nature's forests, is the character least capable of understanding Love. The reason she gives is that her pride supersedes the desires of Love and that, on top of that, she has no need for Aminta's affection. As a personification of the landscape, however, should Sylvia's attitude not be reversed? Why, if she is part of the universe dominated by Love, does she not understand the very force that drives all life? This is where the pastoral dialectic begins to spin. Aminta's love for Sylvia disguises a yearning to become one with nature. Since nature, however, is an externalization of Aminta's own interior state, Aminta's yearning is actually narcissistic. He desires to become one with himself and Sylvia is a foil in this exchange.

This narcissism has a dual character. The underlying Platonic, dualist philosophy of the genre creates a true knowing-of-oneself and a false knowing-of-oneself. Aminta's character represents the search for Truth. Each brave step he takes toward flinging himself fully into Love, despite and really because of the fact that it is unrequited, is also a step closer to the Socratic dictum of Know Thyself. Here is the squaring of the circle: Aminta's interior state, riddled with contradictory emotions of "should I, or shouldn't I" and "I can't, but I must," appears in the environment of the play, which, on the one hand seems to compel Aminta's movement toward Sylvia by its natural beauty, but, on the other hand, seems to deflect his advances through the daggers shooting from Sylvia's eyes; Sylvia, appearing at first as a nymph, as part of nature itself, becomes by this formula an embodiment of Aminta's interior state; if Aminta succeeds in becoming one with Sylvia through Love, then he really succeeds in becoming one with himself and in knowing himself more fully. Thus, subject (Aminta) and object (Sylvia/nature) combine into a single whole.

This "knowledge" is not strictly analytical. It is primarily bound up with the care of oneself, the *epimeleia heautou* that Cartesian rationalism ejected from the Socratic/Platonic formula of *gnothi seauton*.[150] This schema presents itself in a dialogue from act one when, hesitant to confide in Thyrsis his secret love of Sylvia, Aminta finally capitulates and describes his secret as "the Care of my Life."[151] He entrusts the Care of his Life to his friend Thyrsis who, as a good companion, responds, "I'll take the Care upon me."

On the other end of the spectrum, in the domain of the false knowing-of-oneself, are Sylvia and her infatuation with her own reflection. At one point in the play, Daphne

stumbles upon Sylvia gazing intently at herself in her favorite pond. Even after she discovers that Daphne has spied her, Sylvia continues to steal glances at her reflection out of the corner of her eye because, despite becoming disheveled after the embarrassment of being found out, "she saw herself handsome e'en in her Undress."[152] Sylvia's self-infatuation in Tasso's play signifies human narcissism. As an externalization of Aminta's interior state, the nymph's embarrassment is really the embarrassment of human nature. This oblique reference to the misguided end of narcissism finds expression through the mirror surface of the pond into which Sylvia glances out of the sides of her eyes even while Daphne laughs at her for being so vain.

Tasso turns the screw once more when, by the same pond, a Satyr rapes Sylvia and takes from her what she would not give willingly, namely, her virginity. The addition of the Satyr to the location of Sylvia's vanity becomes a comment on the monstrous deeds to which self-infatuation might lead. As a being caught between human and animal form, the Satyr appears as the monstrous extremity of the human condition produced out of Sylvia's preference of her own (false) reflection over and instead of Aminta's (true) Love.

The news of Sylvia's rape leads to a string of mistaken reports that convinces Aminta that Sylvia has died at the feet of ravenous wolves. The last straw for Aminta, this news secures his decision to kill himself. Without Sylvia, Aminta sees his life as worthless and so he throws himself off a high cliff. Daphne carries word of this tragic event to Sylvia who, it turns out, had narrowly escaped the wolves and fled into the forest to find sanctuary. Daphne's report of Aminta's suicide disturbs Sylvia's peace in the forest, and then something remarkable happens. The proud and misguided Sylvia, never

before capable of feeling Love for another, begins to cry. She reads her own tears as pity but the other characters read them as Love awakening in her heart. Sylvia eventually realizes this to be true and, now convinced that she does Love Aminta with all her heart, decides to kill herself as a gesture of solidarity. The awakening of Love only becomes possible once Sylvia registers that Aminta's death stemmed from his devout Love for her.

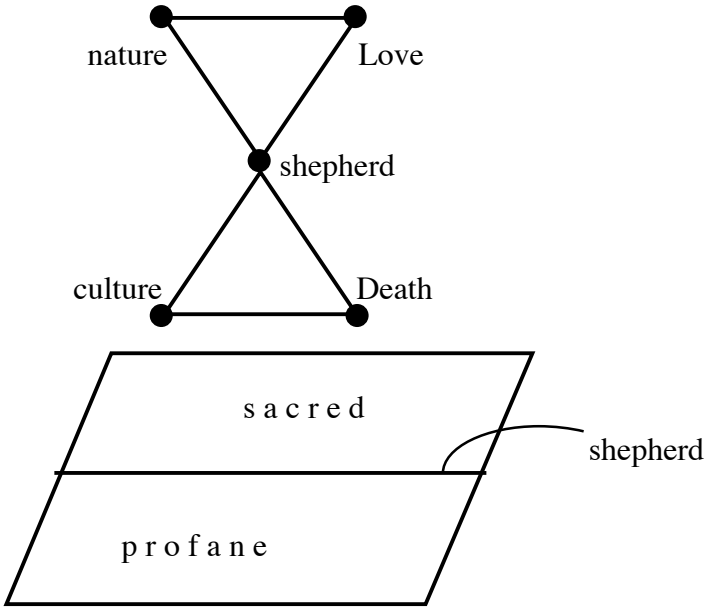
This momentum from this chain of events turns back on itself when, against all odds, Aminta is found alive. A thicket made from tufts of plants and thorns broke Aminta's fall as he plummeted to earth. In a true leap of faith, Aminta had thrown himself resolutely into Death's arms, but, by taking this last step, found inside Death's arms the Love he had long been searching for. It is through this enactment of Death that Sylvia awakens to her Love for Aminta, that Aminta and Sylvia come together, and that Aminta, the personification of the play as a whole, truly comes to know himself. All the loose ends come together into this unifying leap off the precipice.

The character who alerts the reader to this complicated realization is the shepherd, Elpino. Just prior to the discovery of Aminta's miraculous survival, the shepherd offers these thoughts:

> Doubtless the Law, whereby Love eternally governs his Empire, is neither hard nor unjust; and Men wrongfully condemn those Works of his, which are full of Providence, and Mystery. O! with what Art, and by what unknown Paths, he conducts a Man to Happiness, and places him amidst the Joys of amorous Paradise, when he thinks himself at the lowest Pitch of Misery. Behold, Aminta by his fall ascends to the Top, and Summit of all Delight.[153]

That is to say, the appearance of Sylvia's imminent demise and Aminta's suicide as the mark of the sinister and unjust Law of Love reigning in the world is untrue. It is precisely Love's Art that leads humans to happiness by the most labyrinthine paths. The sound of the lowest Pitch of Misery in fact entails the resonance of the highest joy. This appears most clearly in Aminta's leap of faith. Nobody knows this better than Elpino who lives in a (Platonic) cave at the bottom of the precipice. The shepherd bridges the world of the play and the world outside the play by interpreting the dramaturgical complexities and offering the moral that Love reigns supreme, even though Love requires Death to make its supremacy knowable.

The allegorical splendor of Tasso's *Aminta* appears intact, though distorted, within the spectacle of Valcamonica's execution. As I mentioned above, the distortion appears through a shifting in perspective created by the Jesuit mission of pastoral care. Through this shift, the previous diagram transforms.



In the new diagram, nature and Love collapse into the realm of the sacred, since all that is natural—i.e., not made by man—points to the creator whose Love sustains His creation. By contrast, culture—i.e., all that is made by man—and Death delimit the realm of the profane, of all that is finite. The shepherd becomes the link between the two realms. The shepherd is a limen, the threshold that leads from finite to infinite.

In the pastoral theatre unfolding in *Piazza San Marco* on 10 November 1561, Valcamonica plays a character similar to Elpino, there to alert the gathered audience that only through death can he (and they) find the love of God. Unlike Tasso's Elpino who, having read the signs of the world, possesses this knowledge of Death's relation to Love, Valcamonica has to enact the leap of faith himself in order to model the behavior that the audience should follow. He knows what must be done to save his soul and the souls of his flock *and* he must put that knowledge into practice by enacting the sacrificial performance.

The notion of love within the Jesuit catechism consists of a split similar to the Love operating in Tasso's play. With the former, love is a state one can obtain by moving from desolation to consolation; with the latter, Love is the obverse of Death and can only be reached through an experience with death. Jesuit love finds its best articulation in Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*.[154] In that work, Loyola defines consolation as an interior movement aroused in the soul that appears only once the soul is inflamed with the love of God. He adds,

> It is likewise consolation when one sheds tears that move to the love of God, whether it be because of sorrow for sins, or because of the sufferings of Christ our

> Lord, or for any other reason that is immediately directed to the praise and service of God. Finally, I call consolation every increase of faith, hope, and love, and all interior joy that invites and attracts to what is heavenly and to the salvation of one's soul by filling it with peace and quiet in Christ our Lord.[155]

Loyola defines desolation as a "darkness of soul, turmoil of spirit, inclination to what is low and earthly, restlessness rising from many disturbances and temptations which lead to want of faith, want of hope, want of love." The presence of desolation signifies that "[t]he soul is wholly slothful, tepid, sad, and separated, as it were, from its Creator and Lord."[156]

Consolation is an invitation and attraction *into* Christ, whereas desolation is a state of separation that leaves the soul *outside* of Christ's love. Desolation may not appear at first to fit as part of Christ's love at all, but only as a detractor. Yet, under the heading of "Reasons why we suffer desolation," Loyola explains that desolation exists because

> God wishes to give us a true knowledge and understanding of ourselves, so that we may have an intimate perception of the fact that it is not within our power to acquire and attain great devotion, intense love, tears, or any other spiritual consolation; but that all this is the gift and grace of God our Lord.[157]

With this, desolation becomes a necessary tool for finding one's way into the fold. It is akin to the Lowest Pitch in the *Aminta* that portends exactly the reverse, the highest high. Desolation should raise one's awareness of the fact that he or she requires a guide, and that guide is the shepherd.

Once on the scaffold, Valcamonica repents and admits that desolation had led him astray: "I confess sincerely that in the three years while I gave the sainted eucharist, and that I administered it unworthily. It pleases God that the intervention of these wise sirs makes me recognize my great errors and leads me to this pass..." This act of repentence propels the priest's soul out of desolation and toward the consolation of God, which he will obtain fully once he encounters death. The body of Valcamonica in this situation becomes the screen on which the spectators in the *Piazza* can read their own interior states. Like the landscape in Tasso's play, Valcamonica enters into a hermeneutic relationship with all who view him. As the priest inferred in his final speech, everyone present in the *Piazza* had sinned in some way. Each person could acknowledge that fact by seeing Valcamonica as an external expression of his or her own sins, and then take a cue from Valcamonica as to how he or she might find absolution. The priest's final words were intended to help the viewers of the spectacle to know themselves more fully and to step onto the path to God.

Valcamonica became the locus of convergence in which the sacred met the profane. His crimes against the young maidens of the *Convertite* may have been evil, but through the act of self-sacrifice the evil became a generative space in which the character of the good shepherd could appear and lead the stray sheep back into the fold. By recognizing the Jesuits as the poets who composed this entire scene, the execution begins to appear as a psychagogical demonstration of how the lowliest of sinners might pass through the world of the profane into the realm of the sacred. Valcamonica would make the transition first by atoning for his sins and relinquishing his life for the edification of the spectators. After him, however, each spectator, if he or she had been able to read the

priest's body and take the appropriate cues, could take Valcamonica's place. By doing that, each individual could transition from the torpor of desolation into the embrace of God's consolation.

This entire performance becomes a distorted partner of the tradition of pastoral theatre, epitomized in the *Aminta*. From the perspective of the Jesuits, Tasso's play would have offered a false representation of the world. As a corrective, the execution served to assert a monotheistic order in lieu of the pantheon of gods inherited from classical mythology. To do this, however, the execution had to draw upon an allegorical dramaturgy very similar to that which operated in the *Aminta* and through which the finite and profane world of sin and death became affixed to the sacred world of infinite life and the love of God. The communicating doorway that linked the two worlds was the shepherd, Valcamonica, who, like Elpino, was positioned as the guide to the spiritual dimension of the terrestrial realm. Unlike Elpino, however, who merely possessed the knowledge of Death's relation to Love, Valcamonica had to demonstrate his knowledge in order to call forth the spectators to repeat the action, to repent for their sins, and to step onto the pathway connecting this world to the next.

Baroque Allegorical Dramaturgy

How is the execution infused by an allegorical dramaturgy as opposed to, say, a symbolic dramaturgy? In Walter Benjamin's treatise on the *Trauerspiel* (Mourning Play), he describes allegory as the speculative side of the symbol, "adopted so as to provide the dark background against which the bright world of the symbol might stand out."[158] The symbol, he claims, finds its perfect application in the work and thought of the German

Romantics who understand it as a static construct through which the "beautiful is supposed to merge with the divine in an unbroken whole."[159] The Baroque allegory, by distinction, has a truth-content as well as a formal or aesthetic semblance, each of which has a subtle dialectical complexity that the Romantics evacuated in order to make room for the image of the Whole.

Benjamin offers the following analysis of the truth-content to the Baroque allegory. Within it,

> [a]ny person, any object, any relationship can mean absolutely anything else. Within this possibility a destructive, but just verdict is passed on the profane world: it is characterized as a world in which the detail is of no great importance. But it will be unmistakably apparent…that all of the things which are used to signify derive, from their very fact of pointing to something else, a power which makes them appear no longer commensurable with profane things, which raises them onto a higher plane, and which can, indeed, sanctify them. Considered in allegorical terms, then, the profane world is both elevated and devalued.[160]

First of all, this definition allows for the possibility that Valcamonica's death "can mean absolutely anything else," that is, it could indeed be the act that reveals the path to consolation. Second, in that scenario, Valcamonica stands in for the intricacies of the life-practice required to transition from desolation to consolation. As allegorical object, Valcamonica becomes the crystallized distillation of the process of repentance. By standing in as the exemplary penitent, Valcamonica is no longer commensurable with profane things, i.e., he begins the metamorphosis, the transition from earth to heaven. The execution sanctifies him, but this act does not erase his bad deeds; rather, it points out the

disparity between sacred and profane. That a priest could become so desolate reveals that no one is safe from sin, but, by extension, no sin is so great that a person cannot turn around his or her life. The truth-content of the allegory encapsulated both the processes required on the part of the profane and desolate individual to become holy and attain consolation as well as the promise of redemption and forgiveness offered to those who successfully make the transition. The dramaturgical structure of the execution presents Valcamonica, the shepherd, as the embodiment of that truth.

The formal or aesthetic correlate to the dialectic of the allegorical truth-content is the dialectic of convention and expression. As Benjamin explains, "The allegory of the seventeenth century is not convention of expression, but expression of convention. At the same time, expression of authority, which is secret in accordance with the dignity of its origin, but public in accordance with the extent of its validity."[161] For the purpose of my analysis, the authority of which Benjamin speaks is that of the Jesuits who stand in for Christ on earth. This is the meaning of their name, The Society of Jesus. They do not usurp Christ's power, but, like Valcamonica once positioned upon the scaffold, they speak or stand in for it. They speak on Christ's behalf and they carry his cross. This was in fact the vision that came to Ignatius Loyola when, in 1537, Christ appeared to him while he was on his way to Rome. Loyola's interpretation of the vision was that Christ wanted Ignatius to carry the cross for him, i.e., to do God's service on earth. Thus, the Jesuits were the servants enacting the wishes of Christ.

Jesuit authority was secret insofar as the Society concealed the true authority of Christ. Here there is a trace of pantheism and the mythical allegories of classical Greece. In those myths, no one person could see Zeus's power in all its glory; that person would

be obliterated. Thus, Zeus appeared in myths in the form of swans, stags, and other figures. This tradition continued in Judaism when God appeared in objects like the burning bush, and then Christianity subsumed this very tradition into is own history. The few people to whom God exposed himself directly, one of whom was Ignatius Loyola, became a conduit capable of transmitting God's messages to others. Via the instructions of Ignatius Loyola, the Jesuits comported themselves as Christ's emissaries on earth. They were the proprietors of Christ's secret dignity, which remained concealed in heaven. At the same time, however, this secret that the Jesuits kept was entirely public. It was out there for all to see. It was a secret that was necessarily visible: this is the formal antinomy of the allegory. Instead of the Venetian crowd gaining a straight line of sight into God's grace, they receive proof of its secret authority in the full visibility of Valcamonica, rendered through a highly theatrical performance staged by Palmio.

The power of the Baroque allegory is such that it harnesses the kinetic momentum of an event's unfolding in time while also crystallizing the entire lineage of, in this case, sacrifices modeled on that of Christ's martyrdom into one flashpoint:

> The mythical instant [*Nu*] becomes the 'now' [*Jetzt*] of contemporary actuality; the symbolic becomes distorted into the allegorical. The eternal is separated from the events of the story of salvation, and what is left is a living image open to all kinds of revision by the interpretative artist.[162]

The mythic instant, *Nu*, is that infinite instant during which Christ died on the cross. In the execution, the *Nu* became the *Jetzt* of Valcamonica's sacrifice. Valcamonica transformed from an isolated symbol of the shepherd into an allegory of all of God's shepherds who had ever made a significant sacrifice. He transformed from a static object

into an event. From the Deleuzian perspective, Valcamonica's status as allegorical object broke free of its temporal (and symbolic) mold to become "a temporal modulation that implie[d] as much the beginnings of a continuous variation of matter as a continuous development of form."[163]

This temporal modulation was a dramatic metamorphosis, the function of which was to create a unifying point of view for all the spectators in the *piazza* to inhabit. "A point of view," to quote Deleuze again, "is not what varies with the subject…it is, to the contrary, the condition in which an eventual subject apprehends a variation (metamorphosis), or: something = x (anamorphosis)."[164] For the Jesuits, all Venetians gathered to watch the execution were "eventual subjects" within the Kingdom of God. The metamorphosis unfolding in front of those spectators' eyes was the transition of Valcamonica-as-criminal into the shepherd as envisioned within the schema of pastoral power. Once converted, the shepherd became the threshold linking the domains of the profane and the sacred.

Within the composition of the allegory as a whole, Valcamonica was the "x" that marked the spot of God's presence on earth, as in Deleuze's formula "something = x (anamorphosis)." This formula inserts an important distinction in the perception of the event from the ground level in the *piazza*. Though the spectators were numerous, the allegorical frame of the event did not allow each spectator to perceive Valcamonica from his or her own perspective. The metamorphosis of Valcamonica "[was] not a variation of the truth according to the subject, but the condition in which the truth of a variation appear[ed] to the subject."[165] In other words, through the act of execution/sacrifice, Valcamonica's death opened a space for each spectator to occupy. Whoever occupied

that space would enter the fold of the Church, gain visibility within God's line of sight and have access to the sacred.

Thus, the execution does not rely on symbolic representation to persuade the multitude to return to the flock. Rather, the execution forwarded the "living image" of Valcamonica—Christ-like, but revised by the Jesuits who were the interpretive artists—as a portal or threshold through which the multitude must pass if they desired to move from the profane to the sacred. The fundamental difference between a symbolic and an allegorical dramaturgy is the movement inherent in the object around which the allegory is constructed. The symbol points to movement whereas the allegory is movement itself crystallized into a dialectical image. In terms of this execution, the movement appears on two levels. It appears on a formal level in the body of Valcamonica who, upon the scaffold, becomes penitent and transforms his subjectivity from that of a sinner to that of a purified member of God's flock. On the level of truth-content, the spectators perceiving this transformation of Valcamonica's subjectivity perceive a path that, should they follow it, will lead to their own conversion. After Valcamonica's body is converted to ash, the space left behind, the "x," awaits the next individual to inhabit it.

The falsity of the whole

The traditional genre of pastoral theatre, epitomized by the *Aminta*, and the execution of Valcamonica are two sides of the same coin. Viewed in this way, the reformed genre reveals itself as a kind of historical threshold. In the late sixteenth century, the battle between Catholicism and every other system of belief rose to a high pitch. The formation of the Society of Jesus was the line drawn in the sand that had the

effect of separating the world into an interior (within the Church) and an exterior (outside the fold). Inhabiting the exterior became, through the eyes of the Jesuits, a heretical act in the sense intended by Michel de Certeau in *The Mystic Fable*. "Heresy," he writes, "presents the *doctrinal legibility of a social conflict* and the *binary form* of the modality by which a society defines itself, excluding that which it casts in the role of the other."[166] The Jesuit mission of pastoral care imparted knowledge of this binary form through diverse forms of education. One form of this education existed within the Jesuit school system, but another form existed in the pyschagogical acts performed in confession, through the spiritual exercises, or through large-scale spectacle.

This separation between the interior and the exterior becomes visible by pairing the *Aminta* and the execution. The latter stands out in extremely sharp contrast when read as pastoral theatre and placed against the backdrop of the traditional pastoral genre, which, at first glance, seemingly has nothing to do with the Jesuits, pastoral care, or Catholicism. And yet, the two are by no means divorced. The word "pastoral" is not the only thing they have in common. Both the *Aminta* and the execution reveal a similar advocacy for an illusory mimetic instinct that reifies a kind of ratio—and, by extension, a type of rationality—with which individuals construct an identity around what they are not.

Taking the *Aminta* first, the key component of this mimetic instinct appears in the relationship between the inner lives of the characters and the landscape. As Richard Cody suggests of the pastoral genre and of the *Aminta* specifically, "the means to an effect of the lover's inner world is landscape."[167] A vivid example of this is the bush of thorns that saves Aminta's life after he jumps from the precipice. A bush of thorns, potentially

painful, becomes the cushion that allows Aminta to experience the act of Death without its fullest consequences, death as an initiation into true Love. The paradox of the thorny cushion mirrors Aminta's concept of Love as something that propels him forward while causing constant agony.

Aminta's leap of faith may appear in one light as an act of bravery of commitment, but it appears in another as act of excessive pride. The pairing of the two perspectives begins to short circuit the closed system of similitude at the core of the play. Aminta's own desire for Sylvia propels him forward and he projects that desire onto Sylvia who, insofar as she is the very spirit of the forest, is nature anthropomorphized. When he reads nature's response as negative—daggers darting from Sylvia's eyes—he decides to end his life, ultimately becoming just as prideful as Sylvia whose life finds a death-like inertia when she locks into the gaze of her own reflection.

The difference between brave leap of faith and prideful resignation exposes the asymmetry of the character's mimetic instinct. In the first scenario, the leap completes the circle of Aminta's relationship with nature and also with himself. The signs of rejection he read in Sylvia's eyes were emblematic of what Elpino revealed to be the Providence and Mystery hidden within Love. In the second scenario, however, the leap was a misstep caused by interpreting Sylvia incorrectly. The correlate of this misinterpretation is the fact that Aminta does not know himself at all. There is a hiccup in the act of projection between Aminta's interior state and the exterior world. The interior and the exterior do not match up completely, thus causing Aminta to attempt suicide. The bush of thorns becomes a *deus ex machina* of sorts, and Elpino's words of wisdom only serve to perpetuate an illusion. Elpino suggests that Aminta's suicide attempt was

necessary, offering as proof the happy consummation of Aminta and Sylvia. Of course, if that is not true, then Aminta's self-knowledge gained through his brush with death will be false, a result of the asymmetrical mimetic relationship between his inner world and the external landscape.

The importance of scrutinizing this hiccup emerges in the metatheatrical dimension woven into the genre of the pastoral. These considerations are not only concerned with aesthetic semblance, they are concerned also with a subjective comportment outside the world of the play. Cody makes this assertion by claiming that the overlooked aspect of pastoral poetry is "the manner in which all [aesthetic expression] is turned into a Platonic celebration of the poet's inner life."[168] In his read of Tasso's *Aminta*, Cody goes on to suggest that, "the use of landscape with figures [i.e., characters] in pastoral is best understood as a conscious fiction. It comes of the readiness of refined poets and their audiences to accept a life very different from their own as symbolic." He then concludes that the pastoral play, such as the *Aminta*, symbolizes a "virtuous inwardness."[169] I argue that Cody's theory is correct but that his conclusion obscures the untruth of the hermetic closed circuit presented in Tasso's play.

If the pastoral poem is endowed with the inner world or the thought processes of the playwright/poet, then the play itself becomes an important historical document revealing a mode of conduct in action in the second half of the sixteenth century. Cody identifies this mode of conduct in his claim that poets and their audiences accept a life very different from their own as symbolic. What does this mean exactly? It means that real people, Tasso and his audiences, found themselves in a situation not dissimilar from the character of Aminta. The character was locked in a dialogue with the landscape (the

external world) motivated by his own mimetic instinct, that is, his drive to project his interior state into the world, to interpret that state, and to act in accordance with the interpretation. Similarly, if Cody is correct, Tasso and his audiences were locked in a similar dialogue with a symbolic world that existed coevally with their own perceptions and that they found acceptable. If, however, that dialogue, like the one between Aminta and his surroundings, disguised an inherent asymmetry between the internal and the external, then the symbolic world to which Tasso and his audiences acquiesced was leading them astray.

Cody seems to suggest that the symbolic world with which Tasso and his audiences were interlocutors was the pastoral play itself, but what if it was also the flip side of the pastoral genre, the world revealed through the execution of Valcamonica? There is a similar mimetic instinct apparent in the subjectivation prepared by the demonstration of the paradox of the shepherd. The Jesuits would have said that Tasso's theatrical landscape was false, but they utilized a similar hermeneutics of the subject in their mission of pastoral care and conversion. The spectators were invited to project their interior lives upon the body of Valcamonica. As sinners, they could see in the priest a version of themselves. After identifying with him in this way, the sinners in the crowd could interpret Valcamonica's repentance as the right path of action for them to follow. By following that path, the distinct individuality of the spectators would then blur into a unified subject within the Kingdom of God that could live a reformed life with the knowledge that sacrifice could be required at any time. This process lay at the heart of pastoral care, which transformed multiple stray sheep into the one flock within the Church.

A possible connection between Tasso, his audiences, and the spectators of the execution in the *Piazza San Marco* lies in this circular exchange between interior and exterior. From the middle of the sixteenth century when the Jesuit mission began to intensify, the Society of Jesus enacted a binary separation of the world into profane and sacred realms. The profane was the dominion of the stray sheep, the finite, and the desolation of souls. The sacred was the home of the unified flock, the infinite and eternal life after death, and the consolation of God's love. Shepherds were the gatekeepers, the thresholds between the two realms and the Jesuit psychagogical curricula was the script one had to interiorize in order to gain access to the sacred.

This separation of inside and outside constituted a trial by identification that each individual had to pass in order to attain eternal life. An individual might identify with the shepherd, read his cues as the individual's own, and then act on those cues. As with Aminta, however, the stray sheep were taking a dramatic leap of faith. If, as Elpino suggested, the route to the highest high was embedded in Mysterious and labyrinthine designs, then Valcamonica's self-sacrifice was the necessary maneuver that would absolve him of his horrendous crimes and gain him access to Paradise. If, however, Valcamonica misread the signs, if he found in his calling an identity that did not match symmetrically with his interior state, then his self-sacrifice was simply his end. Additionally, if the spectators misidentified with Valcamonica, then they too would find no salvation.

The historical threshold presented in the parallax of pastoral theatre made visible by reading Tasso's *Aminta* and the execution together led to a future that Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer dissected in the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. In that work,

Adorno and Horkheimer located the mechanism of mimesis within the architecture of anti-Semitism. Mimesis in that context was not inherited from Platonic or Aristotelian philosophy; instead, the philosophers theorized it as a dialectical exchange between difference and sameness and it appeared in anti-Semitism much in the way it appeared in Tasso's *Aminta* and in the process of subjectivation visible in the execution of Valcamonica. In all three cases, mimesis is a function of subjectivity whereby individuals model themselves on certain exterior configurations while also projecting those interiorized models back out into the exterior where they appear as a second nature, a true geography annotated with meaningful signs.

The connection between the three fragments and its consequences emerges from the following quotation from Adorno and Horkheimer:

> If mimesis makes itself resemble its surroundings, false projection makes its surroundings resemble itself. If, for the former, the outward becomes the model to which the inward clings, so that the alien becomes the intimately known, the latter displaces the volatile inward into the outer world, branding the intimate friend as foe. Impulses which are not acknowledged by the subject and yet are his, are attributed to the object: the prospective victim…Those impelled by blind murderous lust have always seen in the victim the pursuer who has driven them to desperate self-defense, and the mightiest of the rich have experienced their weakest neighbor as an intolerable threat before falling upon him.[170]

This quotation takes aim at the process through which an individual aligned him or herself with the National Socialists in early twentieth-century Germany. There is, however, a link between the characters in that historical drama and the monstrous Satyr

in the *Aminta*. The Satyr, incapable of harmonizing with the exterior world, of which the epitome for him is Sylvia, locks himself into a violent struggle between sameness and difference. He projects his feelings of self-loathing onto the object of his desire, Sylvia, who appears to scorn his different appearance. The rape is a forced coupling through which the Satyr would like not only to acquire his object of desire but also to achieve oneness with nature. The Satyr is impelled by a blind and murderous lust that would as soon obliterate the object of desire as merge with it, and he acts in what he believes to be preservation of self-interest since to him it is Sylvia's rejection of his monstrosity that caused the rape in the first place.

Holding the Satyr's actions and all its allegorical significance up alongside Adorno and Horkheimer's mimetic mechanism presents traces of a similar mimetic impulse at work long before the rise of fascism. Adding the subjectivation of the stray sheep to the mosaic of fragments presents another disconcerting similarity. Who plays the Satyr in the allegory of the shepherd performed in the *piazza*? It is not Valcamonica, though the merger of his criminal self and his role as spiritual guide does present a frightening superimposition. The character of the Satyr, rather, appears within each individual who would make the identification with Valcamonica in order to reenter the fold. The monstrous self appears through the act of subjectivation when the individual decides that the only way to save oneself is to sacrifice oneself. This is where the unity of the flock reveals its untruth.

Once inside the fold, the ostensible unity of the flock gives way to a multitude of individuals who have nothing in common except the fact that each one had to renounce his or her self in order to gain entry to the group. The lie of the mimetic impulse reveals

itself as clearly in the pastoral theatre as it does in the Anti-Semitic machinery of Nazism. The moral of the *Aminta* is that to become happy and to truly know oneself, the subject has to be willing to suffer with the understanding that Love works in Mysterious ways. Jesuit psychagogy removes the Mystery and reveals that the only path to consolation one can take is to identify with the Church and to act in accordance with the shepherd even if that shepherd is a criminal in disguise. The disjunction between the *Aminta* and the execution becomes meaningful here. The inability for the two sides of pastoral theatre to fuse into a harmonious whole betrays the fact that fusion into a whole no longer becomes possible when the pastoral power requires the individual to renounce him/herself in order to be embraced into the flock.

Backing out and attempting an asymmetrical fusion with the reason of state that framed the execution of Valcamonica at the start of this chapter, I want to rack focus on Venice more broadly and the relationship between the Society of Jesus and the Venetian government. 1561 was still early in what would become a tenuous relationship between the two factions. Reason of state and pastoral power would never fuse together into one cohesive governmentality, but the disconnect between the two systems would not completely disintegrate until 1606.[171] In the forty five years that preceded the expulsion of the Society and the Papal interdict that effectively excommunicated the entire Republic, the Jesuits and the state would clash over issues of legislation, not least of which dealt with the sanctioning of theatre performances.[172] The group to bear the brunt of the short circuit caused by the Venetian state and pastoral power was the working poor who had no recourse to political decisions.

For the lower classes, there arose a choice of identity between two faces. One was that presented by the myth of Venice, the illusory Republic with actual existing republican values, and the other was that presented by the Jesuits. The first face created a Venetian identity out of numerous incompatible entities, from the branches of government in Venice proper to the feudal landlords of the mainland territories and the workers who labored in the fields. The identities of those laborers, however, dissolved entirely beneath the more visible appearance of spectacular Venice with its annual civic rituals and renowned *Carnevale* celebrations. The second face created a unified Catholic front to expel the Lutherans, the Jews, and all religious entities that chose to dwell outside the fold. As with the first face, the Catholic front dissolved the individual sheep into an amalgamated One marching under the banner of Christ.

What, then, did the faces of the people in the crowd look like on 10 November 1561? Who were those people? Did they participate in the allegorical structure of the event as formulated by the Jesuits? One set of answers to these questions is that those faces appear now as blank, that those people are individuals whose individuality has long since faded into anonymity, and that their reception of the theatrical event in the *piazza* remains a mystery. While correct, those answers seem unsatisfactory. But this unsatisfying correctness is in itself a rich place in which to conclude this chapter.

The representation of Valcamonica's execution that I have attempted here is something like the inverse of de Certeau's study in *The Mystic Fable*. In that book, de Certeau offered the suggestion that, "[h]istoriography is a contemporary form of mourning. Its writing is based on an absence and produces nothing but simulacra, however scientific. It offers representation in the place of bereavement."[173] He followed

that insight with a theorization of *mystics* as an historical *topos* defined by the speech acts and daily practices of figures such as Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, and Jean de Labadie. With each figure, de Certeau revealed the process by which a *mystic* created an identity for his or herself within a religious institution (usually Catholicism) by embodying the absence of any individuality.

This absence existed within the "I" present in autographs (i.e, hand-written narratives) of a *mystic*, which always represented a place from which Avila, Loyola, Labadie, etc., enacted a selfless devotion to God supported by an initial volition (the *volo*) that propelled the individual through an ascetic life. Thus, de Certeau revealed this absence that marked a place from which a *mystic* organized a self around an absolute uncertainty (of one's purpose, one's goal that, though unclear, must certainly happen as God intends it) as a mirror image of the historical event made visible through a narrative constructed by a historian out of scraps of evidence and speculation. "[T]he historian 'calms' the dead and struggles against violence by producing a reason for things (an 'explanation') that overcomes their disorder and assures permanence; the mystic does it by founding the existence on his very relationship with what escapes him."[174] De Certeau's heterological discourse becomes a space to stage a conversation with the Other that *mystics* practiced during his or her life.

De Certeau's analysis makes the interior of the Church intelligible by delimiting the absence at the core of *mystic* experience. The scene in *Piazza San Marco*, however, offers a glimpse into the effects produced by the dissemination of a mystic experience to a multitude of individuals who most likely did not possess that internal volition essential to mystic life. The Jesuits, as an organization, evolved from the *mystical* experience of

Ignatius Loyola, whose life emerged from that uncertainty that de Certeau articulated so eloquently. But once that life became the model for each and every stray sheep it became a lie. It was a lie because once the sheep were wrangled and the herd was wrapped back into the fold of the Church, the secular individual became a subject without a face. Ultimately, the subjectivity that each individual was asked to interiorize during Valcamonica's execution was a mask that portrayed Loyola's face, or some caricature of it cultivated from the myth of that personage that circulated even before his death. Becoming a subject of the Church meant acquiring an identity of another, of someone that an individual was not. This self-renunciation lay at the core of the Jesuit mission and that of the Catholic Church as a whole.

Therefore, to say that the faces of the crowd in the *piazza* are now indiscernible is to suggest that their presences remain in the background disguised behind the allegorical object of Valcamonica that attracts the historical gaze. They appear as blurry figures present at an event that's only certainty (is it even that certain?) is that it did occur. Moreover, they were the objects of the event; they were subjectivated by the Church, but the subject that each individual became dissolved into a binary entity—the converted or the unconverted. To refer to them as such, to ask whether or not they willingly participated in the allegory of Valcamonica's execution, is already to efface them and to force them to appear through the language of the Church since conversion was a Jesuit tactic. This leads back to the same set of answers posed above, but with a more forceful understanding of how the answers come to be: the faces in the crowd are blank; they belonged to individuals whose individuality has long since faded into anonymity; their reception of the theatrical event in the *piazza* remains a mystery.

Chapter 3: "Refolding into the Interior: Spiritual Exercises and the Jesuit *Teatro del Mondo*"

Out of the archives comes a peculiar form of dramatic literature: *Della Christiana Moderatione Del Theatro Libro* (*Of the Christian Moderation of Theatre*), by Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, S.J. (Florence, 1652). It is peculiar insofar as it appears at first glance as the epitome of Jesuit anti-theatrical treatises, but, as the book unfolds, it takes on the character of a theatrical apologia, or a defense of a very specific type of acting. It even appears at times as a type of acting in and of itself. Compare, for example, the following two excerpts. The first from a section titled, "*Il comico osceno merita d'esser scacciato dalle città, e dalle Terr*." ("The obscene actor deserves to be run out of the city, and from the Earth"):

> Brother, put an end to the obscene actor; because a dialogue as ugly as that [from him] has no useful end in terms of your health; indeed it is greatly injurious, to your health and the health of those around you; therefore they deserve to be driven out from each land, city, province, and kingdom.[175]

Ottonelli's tone is strong and clear. From the actor's mouth spews injurious dialogue that threatens the wellbeing of the public. Yet, in a later section titled, "*Con una breve digressione morale à conferma, che la vita humana è una comedia*" ("With a brief moral digression to confirm that human life is a play") the author writes,

> Virtuous and erudite actors are teachers of good morals, and from them you will frequently hear sentences, that can, like joys, become stored in your treasure chest of wisdom: similarly, in my opinion, there are those for whom human life was

> decided upon to be something like a scenic Representation, or a theatrical spectacle, something one might call a play.[176]

Here, actors teach good morals and dispense wisdom about the great play of life. Contradictions such as this one—actors spout filth/actors offer wisdom—run throughout the entire treatise. As the author of such contradictions, Ottonelli manufactures a polemical guidebook to a method of virtuous acting while simultaneously modeling that method for his reader.

In this chapter, I read beyond the contradictions of this treatise and reveal Ottonelli's (anti)theatrical tract as a work of dramatic literature that enacts the very performance for which it advocates. This performance has nothing to do with staged entertainments; rather, the performance Ottonelli models is a pure representation of God and a manner of acting in accordance with the Jesuit arm of the Catholic Church. Ottonelli is arguing for a specific mode of living life. He seeks to weed out the obscene actors and to cultivate virtuous ones. Additionally, I argue that Ottonelli's work is a materialization of the Baroque concept of *teatro del mondo* (theatre of the world). This concept expands the reach of Baroque theatre beyond a type of art that existed inside theatre buildings, that required elaborate painted backdrops or moving scenery, and that popped up across Italy toward the end of the sixteenth century before becoming widespread by the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Instead of an art form consisting of only those qualities, *teatro del mondo* is a mode of living. It refers to the performances of everyday life and the types of skills one needs to succeed in those performances.

The *teatro del mondo* emerges within the practice of pastoral care that I articulated in the previous chapter. Within this theatre of the world, each individual becomes a passive actor: the subject *is guided* by the shepherd; the subject *is made aware* of the path of God; the subject *is transformed* into a subject-object, acting within the pasture of the shepherd but always *beheld* by an outside eye. In the setting of Valcamonica's execution, the priest upon the scaffold, despite his crimes that brought him to that place, became the epitome of the shepherd-guide. The purpose of his performance of reconciliation was to open a portal to the sacred realm through which each spectator was to pass if he or she desired salvation. As eventual subjects within the Kingdom of God, the individuals in the *Piazza San Marco* became subjectivated, each was transformed into the subject of God, and each was made visible as an actor upon the Venetian stage set by Benedetto Palmio and the Society of Jesus. This chapter illustrates another dimension of this transformation to passive actor. Ottonelli's tract offers a window into the subjectivation process that, while still quite opaque, yields a glimpse of the subjectivated individual at the moment of transformation into what he calls the "virtuous actor."

Della Christiana Moderatione Del Theatro Libro presents *teatro del mondo* from the point of view of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Through this perspective, the theatrical dimensions of the Jesuit program of reform becomes intelligible, and, more specifically, the book illustrates the instrumental uses of the performance of the Spiritual Exercises.[177] Those Exercises, developed by Jesuit founder Ignatius Loyola some time around 1522, functioned as a script that dictated a specific type of ethical engagement with the world. That ethical engagement was tantamount to a code of conduct, a mode of

self-governance that one had to learn in order to save one's soul and, consequently, to insure that the successes one had in this world continue in the next one (or that one's shortcomings do not result in eternal damnation). Nobody could enter the Jesuit *teatro del mondo* without converting his or herself into a new kind of subject, one marked by extreme self-discipline. The Spiritual Exercises taught and enforced that discipline.

The analysis in this chapter of Ottonelli's acting manual and the conversion of the subject brought about by the Spiritual Exercises will focus on the following questions. What are the characteristics of the Jesuit *teatro del mondo*? What are its spatial parameters? What are the mechanics of the process of conversion necessary for gaining access to the Jesuit theatre of the world? How specifically do the Spiritual Exercises gain one entrance to this theatre of which the sole spectator is God? Building on the analysis of pastoral power in chapter two, I will elaborate on the interior/exterior spatial dynamics of pastoral care. I argue that the Jesuits were not anti-theatrical despite their involvement in the prohibition of theatre in Venice. On the contrary, they sought to conduct souls into the fold of the Church, the interior of which was itself a grand theatre of the world. This chapter charts the process of refolding the individual into that interior.

After detailing the practice of the Spiritual Exercises that delineated the proper means of representing one's character well, I will construct a genealogy of spiritual exercises in order to theorize the historical shift in the ethical practice of the care of the self that the Jesuits created by enforcing their mode of conversion in the world.

Models

Before arriving at the concept of *teatro del mondo* and its function within the Jesuit mission of pastoral care, I want to inspect two materializations of that concept in Venice during the last four decades of the sixteenth century. The first took the form of floating theatres called *teatri del mondo* (theatres of the world). The second was an actual island designed to float within the basin of Saint Mark on which diverse theatrical spectacles could unfold. An analysis of the aesthetic dimension of both these structures and their allegorical functions within the Venetian landscape helps pave the way to the Spiritual Exercises and Ottonelli's treatise.

Lina Padoan Urban has researched the *teatri del mondo* and the festivals on the water in Venice for which they were constructed:

> For these festivals on the water…the *Compagni* [*della calza*] presented floating machines or theatres, the so-called *teatro del mondo*, on which they had dances, serenades, dinner theatre (usually dialogues). Generally, the apparatuses were vast stages or lofts raised off the ground (*soleri*), that were adjacent to and attached to the windows of abutting homes (*palazzi*) that faced the Grand Canal or else that stood on Giudecca, and were linked in turn to the opposite bank of the canal with bridges built on [top of] boats or ships giving the capacity to cross the Grand Canal or the Giudecca Canal, and on these [actors performed], quite frequently, skits (*momarie*).[178]

These floating theatres tended to have round floor plans—mirroring the circularity of the world—as well as porches surrounding the playing spaces and balustrades on the porches to help keep people from falling into the water. The alternative appellation ascribed to

these theatres, *macchine del mondo* (machines of the world), signified that each floating structure represented a man-made microcosm of the entire universe.

These theatres were frequently used to entertain important visiting heads of state, but they were unlike other Venetian theatre spaces in the sixteenth century in that they were not always deconstructed immediately following their use. Andrea Palladio built a *teatro del mondo* in 1565 for a production of *Antigone* that remained constructed for some time until it eventually succumbed to fire, like so many other wooden structures in Venice before it. The semi-permanence of these *teatri del mondo* made them the forerunners of the Tron and Michiel theatres built around 1581. It is not surprising that in Venice, a floating city, the first theatre structures to survive beyond a one-time use were floating theatres.[179]

Writing on the aesthetic singularity of these floating theatres, Gino Damerini described the main quality of the *teatri del mondo* that set them apart from the grand architecture in Venice in the sixteenth century. "An absolutely outstanding characteristic of this dynamic architecture," he wrote, "[was] the most absolute indifference to the outside of the theaters. The theaters [were] the salt. They [did] not need, on their exteriors, either columns, or peristyles or timpani. For a long time the standard [was] definitely anti-monumental."[180] Damerini's emphasis draws attention away from the eye-catching façades to the captivating power of the floating theatres' interiors. The floating theatres promised ornate and dynamic inner worlds. The spectacles that unfolded within the *teatri del mondo* were secret. Nobody knew of them before entering the building. Once inside, however, the microcosmos unfolded. Paintings of mythological scenes and allegories from antiquity, created by such notable artists as Tintoretto and Veronese,

covered every inch of the ceilings and walls.[181] The world created through the story of *Antigone* or whatever play was featured became the only world for the spectators. Once wrapped inside, even the fantastic monuments and dramatic views of Venice faded away.

The second manifestation of the concept of the theatre of the world came from Alvise Cornaro, Ruzzante's patron and all-around intellectual dilettante. Currently tucked away within the files of *I Savi alle Acque* (the Venetian Ministry of Water), Cornaro's document, "*L'ideale d'un teatro «all'uso de' Romani»*" ("The ideal theatre 'in the style of the Romans'"), details an elaborate plan for revitalizing the entire city of Venice through the construction of a complex hydraulic system that "will easily be able to conduct pure and fresh water into fountains throughout city."[182] Cornaro's system, however, did not limit itself to the movement of water. The goal of his project was to revitalize the city in its entirety. This required not only a purification of water but also a purification of morality, of ideals, and of spirit. To revitalize all these dimensions, Cornaro presented an idea for a theatre as the capstone of his project. It would be embedded within a floating island that would sit in the Basin of St. Mark:

> The theatre will be made with large stones and it will be open for all spectacles and festivities. Entrance will be permitted to all, whereas now that is not the case. If one wants to go see some celebration by the *compagni de calza*, or to hear a play, he or she is not permitted if that person is not of a certain class. This is not in keeping with what is just and honest, it is partisan.[183]

Cornaro's project consisted of what Manfredo Tafuri has called a "moralizing scenography," the function of which was to render Venice's brilliance in its full splendor to all Venetian citizens and to visiting foreigners. Tafuri has suggested that, "[t]he theater

isolated in the water seemed an emblem for the city of Venice itself: theater and city displayed their perfection, their uniqueness...The lagoon was thus transformed into an ideal 'garden.'"[184]

The traditions on which Cornaro's project rested were primarily Roman. The architect sought to tie Venetian political life back to the dominant Roman republic of the Imperial epoch, which he planned to accomplish through a diverse program of events inside his island theatre:

> And in such a *piazza* one will be able to have bears fight with dogs, wild bulls with men, and similar spectacles: but other than that one will see [reconstructions of] wars like those this city has fought; it will be a beautiful thing to see and for visiting foreigners to see...but also in this same *piazza* we will easily be able to bring in the water and to let it out again so as to present beautiful naval battles like they did in Rome.[185]

The bear baiting and bullfighting (*caccetorri*) were signature Venetian events during the season of *Carnevale*, but the reconstruction of battles was explicitly linked to the ancient Roman Coliseum. As was the case with its classical counterpart, Venice would be able to display recreated battles for the pleasure of visiting guests thereby showcasing the power of Venice's naval fleet.

In addition to its function as a theatre, Cornaro intended his structure to stand out as a symbol for Venice's unique position in the world. What other city floated on water? What other place boasted such scenographic views? Cornaro knew how to butter-up the Council of Ten whose decision it would be to go ahead with the plan:

> This will be a great spectacle and [present] the most beautiful perspective, the widest reaching and most diverse [spectacle] that anyone has ever seen or that anyone could ever see anywhere else in the whole world...there are no other cities like this one, none as virginal...[a spectacle such as this] would nominate this city as the capital of the world for its beauty and strength that no other place could match.[186]

In the end, however, the governors did not vote for Cornaro's plan. The theatre's relatively modest price tag—50,000 ducats—could not convince the various councils to sanction either the hydraulic or the theatrical component of Cornaro's vision.

One reason for this may have stemmed from the theatre's symbolic and material redundancy. Was there any need to build a theatre embedded within an island in the middle of the basin when Venice itself was a theatre floating in the lagoon? The scenographic quality of the landscape and the number of theatrical events performed annually by the government, the various *scuole* (schools),[187] the Church, and the *Compagnie della calza* made the city a giant theatre, and its mythic claim to existence built from years of political autonomy already carved out a spot for Venice in the imaginations of many nations as a symbolic epicenter of worldly activity.

Regardless of the fact that Cornaro's plan was never actualized, the proposed theatre and its relationship to Venice as a larger floating theatre presents another instance of the *teatro del mondo* as an active concept in Venice during the later sixteenth century. Tafuri made this link when he wrote that "the edifice [proposed by Cornaro] becomes a fantastic object, a theatrical apparition that could be appreciated *commodamente* or easily from the greater 'theater' of the *Serenissima*, that is to say the *Piazzetta* [*San Marco*]."[188]

Were it built, anybody standing between the two columns in Piazza San Marco would see the floating theatre and have the opportunity to reflect on the larger floating theatre beneath his or her feet—Venice itself.

The revitalizing nature of this larger *teatro del mondo* is also important. Regardless of the Republic's actual political woes, the numerous theatrical performances in Venice throughout the year offered multiple opportunities to portray Venice as a thriving community. Cornaro mentioned the possibility of using his ideal theatre to portray this political might to visiting foreigners, but the images produced by Venetian spectacles were equally as important to Venice itself. One of the most important aspects of Cornaro's plan was that "there would be a place for everyone" in the theatre. In Tafuri's words,

> in [the theatre] 'everyone would have his place and step, as though God had given it to him and nature required that everyone should enjoy it.' The theater, a symbolic place that echoes the larger text of the universe, becomes the gathering place of all social classes and a place of reflection and representation, above all, of the 'natural and untouchable hierarchies' that govern the cosmos and the civil order based on those hierarchies.[189]

"*L'ideale del teatro*" would have facilitated a renovation of communal and interpersonal infrastructures (Cornaro's "hierarchies") in addition to plumbing and other mechanical systems.

Jesuit *Teatro del Mondo*

The Jesuit theatre of the world combined elements of both the miniature floating theatres and Cornaro's *teatro all'antica*. From the floating *macchine del mondo*, the Jesuits utilized a humble exterior to disguise a spectacular interior space where the narratives that unfolded produced a world unto itself. For example, the members of the Society frequently dressed in laymen's clothes in order to slip unnoticed into certain social settings.[190] Once inside, the Jesuits could use their rhetorical ability to attract members of high society to their mission, thus opening up a space of conversion within the infiltrated social space. The Jesuit *teatro del mondo* would also be mobile, capable of moving along with any individual, just as the floating theatres could glide along the surface of the Grand Canal. Jesuit spiritual guides endowed individuals with a system of case-based reasoning that the individual carried with him or her throughout the day. In this way, the Jesuit guides were always present inside the minds of those they guided.

Additionally, the Jesuits would tout a revitalizing effect that became available to any person willing to venture into their grand theatre. By following the path outlined by the Spiritual Exercises, any person, no matter the magnitude of one's sins committed in life, could potentially gain access to the spectacular interiority of the Church and to eternal salvation. The Jesuit theatre of the world had a place for everyone, "as though God had given it to him and nature required that everyone should enjoy it." Once inside, however, the exterior from which one came would no longer exist. Entering the great theatre of the world required vanquishing not only a secular life dominated by material possessions and personal ambition but also the subjectivity that drove one to possess worldly goods and to place a hierarchical movement through a political field over and above a spiritual elevation into the arms of God; actors in the Jesuit theatre of the world

had to destroy themselves in order to be reborn within the true theatre of life and to renounce the secular trappings of the terrestrial world.

Making these claims, however, requires negotiating the scorn for theatrical representations made visible by the deeds of the Jesuits in Venice. If the *teatro del mondo* constituted the stage on which played out the Jesuit repertoire of conversion, if theatre had such a strong place within Jesuit thinking, then how does one account for the Society's active dislike of staged performances? This dislike registered in the Society's actions immediately upon their arrival to Venice. Jesuits used their positions as spiritual guides to access the inner sanctum of Venetian governance and to influence legislation against the recitation of comedies and other theatrical representations.[191] Gaetano Cozzi writes of the time prior to the establishment of permanent theatre buildings when Father Benedetto Palmio was especially antagonistic to the public performances during *Carnivale*. In 1559, that Jesuit succeeded in convincing Venetian governors to quell the disturbances caused by those events.[192] The jubilee year of 1575 presented another opportunity to close theatres, since the moral degradation caused by theatrical performance went contrary to the spirit of the holy year. It is possible to read between the lines of the Council of Ten's decree that year and find the hand of the same Jesuit adviser:

> Having to take up with all due reverence and devotion the most holy jubilee, conceded to this city by the infinite mercy of the Lord God by means of the supreme Pontiff, according to that which was published the first of the month, it is convenient to remove all those impediments which can make the people of this city less devoted.[193]

Sometimes the Jesuit influence failed to stifle the favorite pastime of the Venetians, as was the case in the years 1568 and 1573 when the Council of Ten permitted theatrical performances.[194] Once permanent theatre buildings were established, however, the Jesuits seem to have increased their efforts to safeguard corporeal and spiritual safety.

Under these auspices of concern for public safety, Eugene J. Johnson has discovered that "[c. 1581] the Jesuits had convinced the Venetian Senate to order the destruction of the theater [in *San Cassiano*] to avoid the danger of someone's setting fire to it during a performance, thereby sending up in smoke a large part of the Venetian patriciate."[195] The Jesuits may have been concerned about the mortal lives that a fire could claim, but they were certainly concerned about the moral and spiritual depravities happening within the private boxes of those permanent theatre buildings. By 1583, according to the ambassador from France, Andrè Huralt de Maisse, "the Jesuits 'possessed' to such a degree the consciences of some of the most influential senators of the Republic that they could convince them of everything they wanted."[196]

If the Jesuits utilized their connections and their influence to prohibit theatre events, as these facts seem to show, how can one explain the Jesuit use of theatrical techniques in their evangelism, or, for that matter, the claim by Ottonelli that life is a theatrical representation? Moving beyond the surface appearance of these facts, it becomes clear that the Jesuit disdain of theatre was not categorical. The Jesuits used Latin play texts in their schools in order to teach rhetoric. They also encouraged their students to perform dialogues and monologues at the end of the school year as a way of displaying the knowledge that the student had acquired. Theatre for the Jesuits of the

sixteenth and early seventeenth century was evaluated by the effect it had on the individuals onstage and off.

In his forward to *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre*, Louis J. Oldani, S.J., notes that, "[p]rior to the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773, Jesuit school theater was a key impetus to [...] student awakening, amounting to an evolution in school education perhaps parallel to the role of contemplation in Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*."[197] While lewd dialogue, base spectacle, and stage action that encouraged sin of any kind was strictly forbidden in these schools, didactic and well-written theatrical texts sat at the core of Jesuit pedagogy. Oldani and Victor R. Yanitelli explained this in more detail in their essay, "Jesuit Theatre in Italy: Its entrances and exits," where they wrote that,

> Until 1555[,] Jesuit colleges […] regularly employed the dialogue as a specialized literary composition in which two or more characters reason about or debate an issue, a presentation sometimes dramatized in the form of a prologue, several scenes, and an epilogue. After 1555 full-blown comedies and tragedies were performed as enrichments of the curriculum […] Tragedies, or *ludi solemnes*, composed on the classical model by the professor of rhetoric and performed by upperclassmen, were staged at the beginning of the academic year or on prize distribution day at the close of the school year. *Ludi priores*, shorter plays, were performed by younger students at Carnival time or on other special occasions.[198]

Recalling Ottonelli's distinctions, then, the obscenity of performers whose mission was simply to distract audiences from contemplating life was unsalvageable; theatre capable of stirring the senses and kindling a renewed attention to one's physical and spiritual comportment, however, was a tool with many uses.

A range of such uses became visible when, thirty-five years after the inaugural stage production in a Jesuit college, the Jesuits published their official plan for education, the *Ratio Studiorum*, in which the Society drew the line between good theatre and bad theatre while also hinting at the benefits one might extract from the former. Specifically on the matter of tragedies and comedies the text stated the following: "The subject matter of the tragedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced."[199] As such, Terence's original works did not appear within a Jesuit school but some works by Horace and Martial were permitted.

Additional affinities for certain Roman and Greek authors surfaced in the section titled, "Rules for the Professor or Rhetoric," where it read,

> The grade [i.e., difficulty] of this class can not easily be defined by certain set terms, for it aims at an education in perfect eloquence, which includes two most important subjects, oratory and poetics (out of these two, however, the leading emphasis should always be given to oratory) and it does not only serve what is useful but also indulges in what is ornamental. Still, by and large, it can be said to consist in three things especially: rules for speaking, for style, and for scholarly learning. Even though the rules can be found and studied in a very wide range of sources, only Cicero's books on rhetoric and Aristotle's, both the *Rhetoric*, if it seems good, and the *Poetics* should be taught in the daily lesson.[200]

This passage highlighted more than just the subject matter and names of texts within the theatrical dimension of Jesuit pedagogy. The art of rhetoric had a particular use for the

Jesuits. It cultivated an understanding of ornamental language so as to help a speaker persuade an audience of a certain truth. This skill had immediate applications in the field of preaching, and, indeed, Jesuit preachers were known for their persuasive abilities.

These persuasive abilities were taught and, more importantly, cultivated actively by Jesuit instructors:

> Talent ought to be taken into account, [as well as] who should be granted two years of theology. For if they are average in humanistic literary studies, and they are endowed with no other talent, then they will be sent to the course in case studies as well. But if among these anyone displays real talent for preaching or administration along with distinguished virtue, then the provincial along with his consultors [*sic*.] ought to deliberate about whether that person should be given two years of theology beyond philosophy so that the Society might be able to make use of his service with greater confidence and to greater effect.[201]

Jesuit schools opened their doors to rich and poor alike. From this diverse field of students, Jesuits harvested the best and the brightest, those who were most capable of serving the Society as either preachers or administrators. The rector could funnel the most capable students into a channel of courses in which they would learn specific rhetorical, theological, and philosophical skills and, embedded within each of these disciplines, theatrical abilities of persuasion played a vital role.

The paradox of theatre within the Jesuit mission, then, was not a paradox at all. Rather, specific elements of theatre were banished and others were cultivated. The theatre as such was not the target of Jesuit scorn. Public theatre was a gathering of bodies in one space. Thus, the communication of multiple thoughts simultaneously through language's

semantic value (speech), its penchant for double meaning (rhetoric), and the body's gestural vocabulary became means of disseminating ideas that were potentially hazardous to the spiritual health of individuals. But the Jesuits knew how to turn these disadvantages into advantages. Within the framework of Jesuit pastoral care, theatre could become a site in which the polyvalent communication of dramatic language became an instrument for transmitting the complex teachings of the Catholic Faith to the minds and souls of audiences. Theatre also presented an opportunity to retrain the body of individual actors and to tune those bodies to the invisible presence of God in each person's life. "Thus, following art's way, Jesuit plays helped the audience to grasp abstraction through the senses."[202] They did this through school theatre but also in sacred representations within Churches that boasted elaborate stage sets, "scenery weighing tons, forests imitated in perspective, the sea in motion, palaces aflame reduced to smoke and ashes, tableaux and '*scenae mutae* (changing scenery),' dream scenes enhanced with music and dance, machines for deities to descend from and to disappear into clouds."[203] Audience members present at Jesuit theatre performances were drawn into the allegory of saints lives, the trials of Jesus Christ, and other didactic narratives created by Jesuit playwrights for the express purpose of overpowering the senses.

More importantly, however, the Jesuit theatre extended beyond the recitation of plays, dialogues, monologues, and elaborate spectacles. Much scholarship exists on the elaborate spectacles that unfolded in Churches during *Carnevale* to combat the licentious street performances in Venice, Rome, Naples, and other cities across Italy.204 There is also a long list of works on the particulars of school drama.[205] Yet there is not much written on the Jesuit theatre of everyday life. The schematic to the mechanics of this

practice of everyday life shows up in Ottonelli's *Della Christiana Moderatione Del Teatro*, and this is why the document deserves closer scrutiny. There, the main goal is conversion. The performance of conversion is the process by which one enters into the Jesuit theatre of the world. It is to this theatre of conversion that I now turn in order to parse the pedagogical and affective strategies deployed by the Jesuits outside of traditional school and theatre venues.

The spatial dimension of conversion is deceivingly simple. The individual is either outside the Church or within it. If the soul has strayed to the exterior, the soul must be brought back, an action that requires the shepherd to guide the way and the individual soul to refold into the interior through a process of spiritual retreat. Within this dichotomy of inside/outside, however, there is a complex repertoire of conversion that includes a role for the shepherd and a role for the stray soul. The shepherd deploys strategy, in the sense intended by Michel de Certeau: a Jesuit spiritual guide "postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats […] can be managed."[206] The *place* is the interior of the Church; it is autonomous insofar as it requires very little of the terrestrial world to exist; the "very little" it requires from the terrestrial world is for it to become other, to inhabit the banished exterior thereby validating the sanctity and solemnity of the Church as divine interior. The individual responds to this strategy by embarking on a paradoxical quest for the self that requires retraining how one sees the world, how one understands the senses, how one practices self-discipline, and how one might avoid the numerous obstacles blocking one's way to the interior of the Church. This quest is

paradoxical because the discovery of the self entails an immediate forfeiture of the self, a giving-over of the self to God. Ottonelli dramatizes the individual's part within this molecular repertoire in an extremely potent chapter of his book titled, "*Si narra la notabile conversione di uno scenico Sacerdote, per mezzo de gli esercitii spirituali di S. Ignatio Patriarca*" ("The remarkable conversion of a scenic Priest by means of the spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius the Patriarch").

In this scene, the protagonist is a priest whose love of theatre pulled him off of the path to holy devotion. Ottonelli introduces this priest negatively, as it were, by telling the reader what he is not. Namely, he is not a representation of all that is pure. To make this clear, Ottonelli references the book of Exodus, chapter twenty-eight, in which the Tribe of Levi tailors an ornate outfit garnered with precious stones for the true shepherds/priests of the tribe to wear. The allusion portrays the protagonist of Ottonelli's narrative as a man who has fashioned his life incorrectly. Unlike the Tribe of Levi's costume, the purity of which resonates in the clarity of the emeralds and other jewels affixed to the cloth, the "scenic priest," as Ottonelli calls him, has cultivated bad *costumi* (habits). He is not a good shepherd, and thus he endangers the flock that he leads. Quoting Saint Chrisostomo, Ottonelli reminds the reader that, "*Si Sacerdotes fuerint in peccatis, totus populus convertetur ad peccandum"* ("If a priest sins, the people will be converted into sin").[207] This invocation positions the priest in a similar role as that interpreted—as in, portrayed—by Valcamonica. Ottonelli's priest embodies the paradox of the shepherd. Additionally, readers first glimpse this priest as a character tinted by the Biblical verse Ottonelli references. This tint paints the priest within the scripture, the

matrix produced by the Word of God that, in turn, delimits the range of acceptable behavior and acceptable attire for characters scripted by that holy text.

Next, Ottonelli introduces the "scenic" modifier of his protagonist by distinguishing between good and bad theatrical representations. The former are those that are "intended to instruct or to note the indecency of manners," while the latter merely excite laughter "and take to vain pasture the ears of the Audience."[208] The protagonist not only attends bad theatre, he also participates in the performances. All of these qualities prepare the priest as a threshold, a man on the line between acting good (modeling purity) and acting bad (leading his flock into sin). Ottonelli's narrative introduces him at the turning point where he will have to make a decision about what type of life to lead, what mode of representation to model for his flock.

Ultimately, the decision comes to the priest from without:

> [T]ouched one day with celestial inspiration, [the priest] withdrew his soul into spiritual retreat (*piegò l'animo ad un poco di ritiramento spirituale*) and he happily began the exercises that Saint Ignatius, illumined by heaven and helped in particular with the favor of the Great Queen, the Mother of God, composed in that little book of gold, by the approval in the Bull of the Vicar of Christ, Paolo III, those exercises that, other than praising God, exhort the Faithful to devote themselves to practice and instruction, and to profit from their souls.[209]

This practice of conversion begins with the act of folding in upon oneself. Ottonelli describes this as a retreat of the soul.[210] Folding into spiritual retreat initiates the practice of the Spiritual Exercises. Once involved in the Exercises, the priest "generated in his soul an implacable hatred against this old life, with which he severely castigated his past

foolishness."[211] That is, the act of folding back upon himself brings the priest into contact with two selves. One is the priest who had strayed from his path, and the other is a new, improved subjectivity.

To vanquish the old self and become the new, the priest must manifest his realization of past foolishness to the public. "Thus settled, he put around his neck a big rope, went into the Church where many people were gathered, humbly prostrated himself on the ground, and asked for forgiveness from the People for all of his grave errors and scandalous excesses."[212] The rope is a tool for self-flagellation and doubles in Ottonelli's narrative as a noose that the priest has to wear, as if to signify that his salvation and absolution is not quite complete. Not until making a public demonstration of the knowledge gained through the enactment of the Spiritual Exercises does the mechanism of absolution begin to function.

The final stage of reconciliation is a performance of guilt. More than a simple declaration of having once sinned, the priest must regain his proper position as a shepherd capable of leading the flock:

> [W]ith ardent words, and humble prayer he asked of all the City to pardon his many, grave offenses, made in his sad, impure, and scandalous life. He completed all of this: he appeared in the pulpit in front of the eyes of the People, all spectators of the scenic Priest; and he, as in a scene on the stage, but a very different scene than the previous profane and impure one, began to make a true character (*il personaggio di vero*), extraordinarily penitent: he showed his pallid face; kept his eyes modestly toward the ground; on his neck hung a horrid noose, and each part of his humble body passed away, contrite, and greatly despising his

> old ways. That sight, without thought or hesitation, immediately drew tears from the eyes of the Spectators: and he who first moved the People to laugh now vigorously excited people to tears and compunction.[213]

Ottonelli's writing creates a performative transformation of subjectivity. The priest takes the pulpit "as in a scene on the stage." Once there he constructs a new character. The emergence of this character of truth verifies his penitence. Sapped of all life, his face appears pale and each part of his body passes away. Piece by piece, the priest dies and is reborn. All of this unfolds in front of the congregation, which, affected by the sight of the transformation, begins to cry with tears of regret, perhaps for the truth about themselves made visible through this event.

The scene plays on the tension of seeing and being seen. The priest's performance of guilt requires an audience, and by witnessing the performance the audience in fact begins to play a part in the drama as well. The tears in the eyes of audience members creates another plane within Ottonelli's narrative, a plane that reaches beyond the scene of the priest's performance into the space of the reader. The tear marks the spread of the performative subject from the priest's character to the congregation and, if Ottonelli has his way, from the congregation in the book to the readers of it.

The completion of the Spiritual Exercises endows the priest with an ability to produce a true character, thus transforming him into a "virtuoso Actor," in Ottonelli's words. As such an actor, the priest will be able to represent the true way of God, whereas before he could only enact a "Mimic Representation." For Ottonelli, mimic representation relates to the bad theatre on the stage, capable only of eliciting laughs without endowing in the laugher a sense of Truth. The virtuous acting of the reformed

priest does not mirror scenes of nature through which his congregation will learn about truth. His acting is, rather, a virtuosity linked to a new presence, a subjectivity that models the life of Christ so precisely that the priest's actions become a transparent veil through which his congregation may see the way to God. This way of thinking positions theatre as ontological. To act virtuously is *to be*, whereas the profane actor simply *is not* offered passage to God's grace, *is not* capable of achieving eternal life, *is not* to enter the holy theatre of the Church, simply *is not* in the eyes of the Church.

Ottonelli's story about the scenic priest presents the following schematic of Jesuit theatre and the process of folding into the interior (spiritual retreat) that is so crucial to the act of conversion. First, from Ottonelli's perspective, the Spiritual Exercises are the entry point into a new life. If the priest in the story becomes the model of conversion, then what one sees when reading the story is a sinner who receives inspiration that leads him into spiritual retreat. Once folded inward, the Exercises begin the process of vanquishing one's former self in order to produce a new character. Second, this is necessarily an individual experience. Each and every person may encounter it, but it will always be an individual activity. Third, the primary motor of the conversion to a new self is repentance. To repent, one must become aware of one's sins, or arrive at a certain point of view that reveals the errors of one's ways. Fourth, once transformed, the subject acts in a new way. He or she acts in accordance with the path set out by the Jesuits. The actor's manners and customs (*costumi*) are changed and the actor becomes virtuous.

All these points describe the embodied repertoire of this specific kind of Jesuit theatre, but what of its spatial parameters? Jesuit theatre is not only marked by its specific

set of gestures and modes of speech (which, in the story, become visible once the reformed priest creates his true character); it is also marked by a particular space in which this mode of acting can unfold. This space is the *teatro del mondo*. It opens within the terrestrial world, but, once opened, it presents a different perspective on one's daily actions. It cultivates within the individual actor an apperception that assembles the consequences of each deed an actor performs and transforms the totality of that assemblage into the identity of the individual. This is the Jesuit concept of casuistry, which enters into the individual's mind as that individual enters into the theatre of the world. Casuistry is the Jesuit art of case-based reasoning that aims to arrest the subject at every crucial junction of his or her life so that the individual can decide how best to act in accordance with the Church. Within the Jesuit theatre of the world, individuality is replaced with subjective apperception that cultivates an "I" through the multiplicity of cases of conscious, which, because the virtuous acting-in-accordance-with marks each and every reformed actor in this theatre, transforms the "I" immediately into a "We." The Society is the epitome of this We. Its plurality is really a complex unity: a One(ness) within God.

Once this theatre begins to unfurl it displaces the terrestrial world to a status of outside. This is the spatial dichotomy of Jesuit conversion within the framework of pastoral power. From the terrestrial world, the subject folds into oneself and through the Spiritual Exercises locates his or her place within the interior of the Church. This activity simultaneously marks the terrestrial world as exterior, as that which exists outside the belief system of the Church.

The Jesuit *teatro del mondo* thus opens through the development of a new perspective on the world and one's place in it, a world in which God's presence demands a pure and transparent mode of acting that always manifests God's presence through deeds and decisions of the individual. This perspective only becomes possible through spiritual retreat and the enactment of the Spiritual Exercises through which a new subjectivity is created within the Church. The resulting locality is a singular interiority, a dense singularity, one that encloses and produces exteriority yet has no exit and no outside for the subject. It is not a theatre *in* the world, like the floating theatres, Cornaro's ideal theatre island, or Venice itself, all of which present spectacles of the baser sort. Instead, it is a theatre *of* the world—"the theatre is the salt"—insofar as it replaces the secular world with a stage upon which each step in accordance with the teachings of the Church reveals one's identity as a virtuous actor. The Jesuit theatre of the world *is* the world from the perspective of the converted or reformed Catholic. This entire apparatus resembles the organization within Medieval monasteries through which monks learned to become virtuous actors, but there is an important difference. The Jesuits, through the application of the Spiritual Exercises, made the monastic institution portable. People no longer had to go to the monastery. The Jesuits brought the discipline of the monastery to each and every sheep in the flock.[214]

That Ottonelli packs this information into a book and not a didactic stage play is an important distinction to make. The book is itself a tool for converting stray sheep into the reformed flock (the "We"). It produces an audience of one—the reader—but this reader can exist wherever there is a copy of the book. Each reader accesses the same story of the scenic priest through the book and thus becomes linked together with other

readers by the parable. Ottonelli's story unfolds in the book, but also in this other space to which multiple readers, separated in space and time, arrive in common. Here is another glimpse of the theatre of the world: the theatre in the imagination to which disparate individuals arrive to watch the same unfolding of the scenic priest's conversion like a virtual congregation bound together by a shared identity as reader.[215]

An Affective Turn

Ottonelli's story was a fiction but the mobile institution of conversion brought by the Jesuits to Venice in the sixteenth century was not. The real-world conversion process of the Spiritual Exercises, which played a crucial role but only received a brief mention in Ottonelli's narrative, emerges from a collage of stitched-together historical records produced by different Jesuits at different times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Conversion was a process that worked by deconstructing an individual's perception of the self in the world and then reconstructing that individual via an awakening of his or her sense organs, thereby creating the possibility for a new life to emerge through a new sensational grasp of the world and the individual's place within it. As the primary motor of Jesuit conversion, the Spiritual Exercises were meditations that instigated an affective turn within those it sought to convert as it guided individuals to a new subjective orientation. Meditation had for a long time played a significant role in the individual's practice of Christianity. Augustine in the fifth century and Anselm in the eleventh utilized meditation as a means for bridging the realms of the profane (knowledge of earthly things) and the sacred (knowledge of God). Meditation was for devout early Christians a practice used to strengthen faith. For Loyola, however, the act of meditation, so crucial to

the Spiritual Exercises, became distinguished from its historical lineage. He removed meditation from the monastery and brought it to the streets; it became available not just to holy figures such as Saint Augustine and Saint Anselm but also to the common person.[216]

Ignatius Loyola defined the Spiritual Exercises in the eponymous text, written between 1522 and 1524:

> By the term "Spiritual Exercises" is meant every method of examination of conscience, of meditation, of contemplation, of vocal and mental prayer, and of other spiritual activities that will be mentioned later. For just as taking a walk, journeying on foot, and running are bodily exercises, so we call Spiritual Exercises every way of preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments, and, after their removal, of seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul.[217]

The arch-Jesuit modeled the Exercises on his own conversion, which had led him into his spiritual life and away from his early days as a soldier in Spain's Basque country. After receiving a leg wound in a battle, Loyola spent a great of deal of time in recovery and read about the lives of the Saints and the life of Jesus Christ. John O'Malley, S.J., has described the point of no return for Loyola, whose battle wounds portended a life within the Church:

> In his imagination...he debated for a long time the alternatives of continuing according to his former path, even with his limp, or of turning completely from it to the patterns exemplified especially by Saint Francis of Assisi and Saint Dominic. He found that when he entertained the first alternative he was afterward

> left dry and agitated in spirit, whereas the second brought him serenity and comfort. By thus consulting his inner experience, he gradually came to the conviction that God was speaking to him through it, and he resolved to begin an entirely new life. This process by which he arrived at his decision became a distinctive feature of the way he would continue to govern himself and became a paradigm of what he would teach to others.[218]

O'Malley's passage points to the primary importance of inner motion within the Spiritual Exercises, derived from Loyola's own interior deliberations. The phrase "to govern himself" is also important because it points to the underlying theme of the Exercises, namely, the development of a strict self-discipline that could conduct the individual to God.

By the time Loyola refined his personal experience into a technique for others to follow, the Spiritual Exercises had four parts, each part occupying roughly one week's span:

> [T]he first part, which is devoted to the consideration and contemplation of sin; the second part, which is taken up with the life of Christ our Lord up to Palm Sunday inclusive; the third part, which treats of the passions of Christ our Lord; the fourth part, which deals with the Resurrection and Ascension.[219]

Thus, the exercitant (he or she who enacted the Exercises) occupied his or herself with a deep contemplation of Christ's life. The aim was to learn how to represent this life as best one could, to consider the decisions Jesus had to make, and to learn how to make such decisions for oneself. Loyola and all his followers trained themselves how best to imitate

Christ and then became the guides who led the exercitants through the four-week program of spiritual renewal.[220]

To learn how to imitate Christ, the exercitant had to discover a new rationality by way of an emotional reawakening. It was not enough to know of Christ or to know the facts of his life. The challenge of Loyola's program was to become aware of the movements of the soul and the emotions within the body's interior. Discerning the movement of the soul would allow an individual to surmount the obstacles of "fallacious reasoning" placed within the individual by evil spirits. O'Malley writes that the text of the *Exercises*

> manifests that the engaging of powerful emotions like grief, fear, horror, compunction, compassion, contentment, admiration, gratitude, wonder, joy, and especially love is the final and foreseen outcome of its various meditations and contemplations, especially the more climactic ones. The individual should feel bestirred 'by great feeling'—and at appropriate moment moved even to tears.[221]

Tears, in fact, were crucial to the process since they became material signs of the stirring of the soul. Thus, through emotional response to specific scenes of contemplation, the individual undergoing the Exercises would begin to awaken a new sense of self and the spiritual guide could follow the process of awakening by monitoring the external signs of the exercitant's internal movement.

Proof of the emergence of a new sense of self in the many people who underwent the Exercises comes from the meticulous records kept by Juan de Polanco, S.J., Loyola's secretary and early archivist of the Jesuits' worldly deeds. His *Chronicon* yields

numerous case studies of interest to the current analysis of the affective force of the Spiritual Exercises. Here is one example, a record from the opening of a Jesuit school at Tivoli in 1550:

> There was a woman of a prestigious family and a religious [monk] of the Third Order of St. Francis who gave the Society a garden with a cottage right inside the city. Her name was Lucia Cynthia. A certain nephew of this Lucia got into a quarrel with other people, and his blood relatives wanted to get him out of town, so they brought him to Father Miguel and asked him to try to convert him and keep him at [our] house till the tumult cooled down. Miguel agreed to this proposal and decided to help him through the Spiritual Exercises. In a few days he was so changed into another person that it was regarded as a miracle.[222]

How did the Jesuits perform such miracles? What were the specific steps that led one to the creation of a new self, such as Father Miguel's exercitant in the passage above?

One procedure at the heart of such "miracles" was the "mental representation of place" that occurred throughout the four weeks of the Exercises. Loyola mentioned this for the first time in the first prelude of the first exercise:

> Attention must be called to the following point. When the contemplation or meditation is on something visible, for example, when we contemplate Christ our Lord, the representation will consist in seeing in imagination the material place where the object is that we wish to contemplate. I said the material place, for example, the temple, or the mountains where Jesus or His Mother is, according to the subject matter of the contemplation.[223]

When engaged in the mental representation of place, the exercitant practiced the skill of moving a thought or image from the interior of one's self to the exterior. He or she had to learn to make his or her thoughts materialize in the world. Once out, the thoughts produced a space of imagination (*spatium imaginarium*) populated by people and objects with which the exercitant interacted.[224] If a person was the object of the contemplation, then that person really existed. "The colloquy," as Loyola called the interaction with these material thoughts, "[was] made by speaking exactly as one friend speaks to another, or as a servant speaks to a master, now asking him for favor, now blaming himself for some misdeed, now making known his affairs to him, and seeking advice in them."[225]

These mental representations of place stimulated the eyes, ears, olfactory systems and senses of taste. In the first prelude of the fifth exercise, one had to "see in the imagination the length, breadth, and depth of hell." From there the spectator zoomed in to find "the vast fires, and the souls enclosed, as it were, in bodies of fire." The exercitant had to "hear the wailing, the howling, cries, and blasphemies against Christ our Lord and against His saints." Then, "[w]ith the sense of smell to perceive the smoke, the sulphur, the filth, and corruption." Finally, the goal was to "taste the bitterness of tears, sadness, and remorse of conscience."[226]

Polanco's *Chronicon* tallied the successes of this method of self-awakening. Commenting on the achievements of the Exercises in Valencia in 1555, he wrote

> The Spiritual Exercises were presented to so many people that our college was never without someone making them, and sometimes three or four people at the same time. When some people departed, others took their places. Of this number

> there were hardly one or two who did not set their hearts on entering a more perfect state of life.[227]

As early as 1541, he recorded that,

> Father [Pierre] Favre was at Worms and from there traveled to Speyer and finally to Regensburg, accompanying the court of Charles V. He did no preaching, but accomplished so much by the ministry of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, by holding private conversations, and, most important of all, by giving the Spiritual Exercises that Germans as well as Italians and Spaniards, even men outstanding for their authority, dignity, nobility, and learning, exerted themselves to change their lives. Some among them helped others through the same Spiritual Exercises. Among the others, [John] Cochlaeus stood preeminent for his fervor. As he used to say, he rejoiced that teachers of affectivity had been found.[228]

As "teachers of affectivity," the Jesuits gained access to numerous cities and many individuals. This was the means by which they accomplished their mission of guiding the flock back into the Church.

It is within these boundaries of affectivity and action that the theatrical dimension of the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises becomes intelligible. The four-week program begins with an entrance that the individual exercitant performs by turning in on him or herself, a spiritual retreat. The entrance deposits the subject in an abyss that begins to gain texture through a gradual refashioning of the senses. Each sense acts like a search light with which the exercitant trawls the abyss. The lights detect movements in the dark and, once illuminated, each movement reveals a type of terrain in which objects, figures, and scenarios, dance about. Through the mental representation of place, those terrains and

their inhabitants, the same terrains and inhabitants that ostensibly populated Christ's life, reveal the dark abyss as a navigable geography where the exercitant can hold conversations (the colloquy) and meditate on the new space taking shape. Each dialogue and meditation adds detail to the geography of the exercitant's interior, and by exploring that space the individual will eventually discovers a new self, one that has been locked away in the abyss and deprived of light. This discovery marks the end of the exercises and the beginning of the next trial during which the exercitant returns to the exterior in the form of the new self discovered during internal examination. If the individual becomes lost in the outer world, he or she can return to the interior theatre and reorient his or herself. The interior space of the retreat is a stage on which to rehearse exterior action in the theatre of the world.

What one does not find when charting the inner abyss is equally as important as what one finds. That is, the Spiritual Exercises reveal the superfluity of certain objects, figures, and scenarios that unfold in an individual's daily life. Those objects are superfluous if they do not also appear in the interior. This is the meaning of Ignatius Loyola's statement that the Spiritual Exercises is a way of "preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments."[229] Just as the terrestrial world becomes displaced as an exterior in relation to the interior of the Church and the interior of the theatre of the world, the spiritual retreat instigates a further displacement. When the interior of the soul has been mapped and the senses trained to all of its movements, that map is superimposed on the outer world. If the maps do not match, then the individual has to trim the excesses from the exterior map in order to make it harmonize with the

inner geography discerned through the Exercises. The theatre of the world and the theatre within the individual must at all times bear strict resemblance.

Is this what Ottonelli had in mind when he stated that, "life was decided upon to be something like a scenic Representation, or a theatrical spectacle, something one might call a play" (*la vita humana fù giudicata esser tale, che paragonar si poteva ad una scenica Rappresentatione, e spettacolo theatrale, con appellarla Comedia*)? To answer this question, it is necessary to retranslate "*Comedia*" so as to replace the more encompassing "play" with the more specific "comedy." An unintentional consequence rendered by the perspective of a virtuous actor within the theatre of the world described above is that life is a comedy. The distinction of genre does not point to a binary opposition of comedy/tragedy, but rather to a distinction between comedy and shame. Life is a comedy for those who, like his scenic priest, have confronted the error of their ways and have created for themselves a new character of truth. The man or woman who has successfully transformed his or subjectivity through the help of the Spiritual Exercises, like all of the people recorded in Polanco's *Chronicon*, can live a life free of shame knowing that he or she is acting in accordance with God.

Slavoj Žižek approaches Ottonelli's concept of comedy in his discussion of the "comedy of incarnation" in his book, *The Parallax View*:

> Thus comedy is the very opposite of shame: shame endeavors to maintain the veil, while comedy relies on the gesture of unveiling. More to the point, the comic effect proper occurs when, after the act of unveiling, we confront the ridicule of the nullity of the unveiled content: in contrast to the pathetic scene of

> encountering, behind the veil, the terrifying Thing, too traumatic for our gaze, the ultimate comical effect occurs when, after removing the mask, we confront exactly the same face as the one on the mask.[230]

Žižek's definition of comedy relies on a parallax shift in the play between difference and sameness. The properly comical occurs when, "instead of a hidden terrifying secret, we encounter the same thing behind the veil as in front of it, this very lack of difference between the two elements confronts us with the 'pure' difference that separates an element from itself."[231]

Returning one last time to the scenic priest, I argue that his production of a true character (*personaggio di vero*) is properly comical and that the moment of doubt that arises within Ottonelli's priest when he receives illumination from God and becomes aware that he has strayed from his proper path can be summarized with the question, How am I not myself? How has it come to be that I, a priest, have become something other than my true self? The process of spiritual conquest that the priest undergoes to solve this riddle reveals the "pure difference" within his own self. After he retrains his senses through the affective turn of the Exercises and lifts the veil on himself, he does not find a different person behind that veil and within the darkness of the abyss. The priest lifts the veil and finds himself, his true self, and he begins to embody his own self anew by means of the true character that appears on the pulpit in front of the congregation. After all, both before and after the experience of the Spiritual Exercises, Ottonelli refers to him as the "*Sacerdote scenico*." The realization of the difference between the scenic priest before the Exercises and the scenic priest after the Exercises is the emergence of the pure difference within the priest, the fact that the priest is and is not himself.

Herein lies the dialectic of discipline and excess within the Jesuit process of conversion epitomized in the Exercises and demonstrated in Ottonelli's parable. When the individual enacts a spiritual retreat and begins the process of charting the interior abyss and when he leaves the old self for the new, the self that is vanquished never goes away completely. Ottonelli's priest cannot completely excise his past as a lover of theatrical representations and an occasional amateur actor. Instead, the priest has to keep that part of his self on hand as an excess of self that perpetually reminds the priest the reason for his renewed self-discipline. When the priest takes to the pulpit and performs his dramatic transformation of subjectivity, he lifts off the mask as scenic priest to reveal the face beneath it as…a scenic priest. This true character is that to which the priest returns, but his virtuous acting will always prove itself by, at each moment of the day and on the occasion of each case of conscience, never lapsing into the bad, mimic representation that characterized the priest before his conversion. This is, perhaps, where the meaning of "scenic priest" emerges. Once inside the theatre of the world and once acting upon the stage as a virtuous actor, the priest performs for an audience of One. That audience member, God himself, views the priest *enscened* within the world. The priest sees himself from this perspective as an actor that's role is to walk well clear of the line between bad (mimetic, charlatan, lascivious) actor and good (virtuous, true) actor, fully ensconce within the *teatro del mondo*, knowing that he acts for the pleasure of his One audience member. The discovery of his true character is a discovery of being seen or *discerned* by God.

This is what Ottonelli means by "life is a comedy." For all those who have strayed, the Spiritual Exercises presents an opportunity to develop a true character. This

character emerges from an act of unmasking the self to reveal the (true) self, that self that can act in accordance with God instead of acting out(side) of the Jesuit *teatro del mondo*. How am I not myself? In two ways. First, realizing I am not myself is the pivotal moment that instigates the folding into retreat. Second, after conversion, I am not myself by choosing to be this true character, which includes the responsibility of keeping my old self on hand as the example of how not to act. I vanquish the self in order to cultivate the self within the theatre of the world: this is the Baroque logic, or disjunctive syllogism, supporting Jesuit conversion. The comedy unfolds within the Jesuit theatre for the benefit of its One audience member. The cast is a complex unity of virtuous actors, culled from the stray sheep that wandered away from the flock but each on its own accord has refolded into the interior of the Church. *E pluribus unum*.

Ottenlli's *Della Christiana Moderatione* reveals that Jesuit theatre is in actuality an ethical code of living in accordance with the Church: "That with which God is concerned…is that it is not the character we represent, but how we represent it and that we represent it well. This is our obligation."[232] For all the dramatic flair in the story about the scenic priest, the true character the priest discovers is less important than the life he will produce from the moment of his conversion to the moment of his death. The "excesses" that Ottonelli mentions in the subtitle to his book—*Per avvisare agni Christiano a moderarsi da gli eccessi nel recitare* (In order to advise each Christian to moderate the excesses of recitation)—refer to the excesses of the self that become visible through the enactment of the Spiritual Exercises and that one always keeps on hand as a reminder of the improper mode of life. It is the job of each Christian to moderate these excesses of the self. Far from decrying the obscenity of all theatrical representations,

Ottonelli sets guidelines for cultivating a true representation that will bring the sheep back within the flock—thus revealing the terrestrial world as literally *ob-scene* (exterior to the true scene in the theatre of the world)—each sheep acting in unison and following the Jesuit exhortation to depart from desolation in order to dwell in the Consolation of Christ's Love.

A Genealogy of Spiritual Exercises

A genealogy of spiritual exercises reveals the philosophical tradition that Ignatius Loyola stepped into when he crafted his process of spiritual reform. Understanding this tradition, in turn, helps to identify what precisely the Jesuit process of spiritual reform negates within an individual. Juan Polanco, S.J., offers a point of entry into the genealogy with his record of a public address offered by the Archbishop of Granada to his congregation in 1556:

> While giving a sermon to the people on the first Sunday of Lent, in order to commend our Spiritual Exercises to them [the archbishop] declared: 'What purpose do you think Christ had in mind when he went out into the desert, if he didn't intend to make [spiritual] exercises? It was not that Christ needed them; but he left us an example for us to imitate. These exercises are not some new invention.' At great length he demonstrated how necessary they were. The results ensuing from his sermon prove how effective it was: many people immediately pleaded for the Exercises, and others sought admission to our Society.[233]

The point of entry opens up within the disclosure that the Spiritual Exercises, that powerful tool of conversion used by the Jesuits, were by no means "some new

invention." The concept and practice of spiritual exercises, in fact, dates back farther than the time of Christ. Michel Foucault has researched the history of such exercises and the forms they have taken in his scholarship on the care of the self. Foucault's lectures at the *Collège de France*, 1981-1982, indeed verify that spiritual exercises were, from the time of Plato through the Roman Imperial era, the primary means of *epimeleia heautou*, or the practice of caring for the self that was so crucial to an individual's self-knowledge.

Foucault opened that series of lectures by articulating the stakes of his research interest. "It seems to me," he stated, "that the stake, the challenge for any history of thought, is precisely that of grasping when a cultural phenomenon of a determinate scale actually constitutes within the history of thought a decisive moment that is still significant for our modern mode of being subjects."[234] For Foucault, the "modern mode of being subjects" was hindered by a lack of any ethics of the self, which, despite its long lineage in philosophy, appeared to have ossified and then eroded within a vacuous culture of the self that replaced *epimeleia heautou* with the commodified jargon of individuality. Without any proper ethics of the self in the twentieth century, there could be no resistance to exploitative political power since, at least for Foucault, "there is no first or final point of resistance to political power other than in the relationship one has to oneself."[235]

I argue that the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises belong distinctly to the genealogy that Foucault began to trace but that they mark a decisive turn away from the possibility of individual freedom. This turn proceeded along a path that substituted a renunciation of the self for the freeing of the self, the latter being the ultimate goal for both Platonic and Stoic philosophy. With the Jesuit requirement of self-renunciation, the individual found as its end a state of servitude that privileged eternal salvation over freedom on earth.

Viewed as such, the Spiritual Exercises conceived by Loyola and utilized by the Society were a powerful disciplinary mechanism that worked at the level of the individual's subjectivity to stifle all possible deviations away from the dogma of the Catholic Church. I propose that the methods deployed by the Jesuits to convert individuals into self-policing representative of the Word of God, what Ottonelli called "virtuous actors," reveal the Jesuit mission as an important stage in the historical phenomenon of the culture of the self that Foucault mapped out in his final years. If there is an inability in the present to cultivate an active care of the self, as Foucault suggested, then the Jesuit reform movement was a "cultural phenomenon of a determinant scale" that greatly contributed to this inability.

In general, according to Foucault, the care of the self has three primary dimensions. First, it is a method of considering things, "of behaving in the world, undertaking actions, and having relations with other people. The *epimeleia heautou* is an attitude toward the self, others, and the world."[236] Second, it is a certain way of looking. To take care of the self, one must turn one's gaze away from the outside world to the self. Third, the *epimeleia* describes and designates a specific set of practices, "a number of actions exercised on the self by the self, actions by which one takes responsibility for oneself and by which one changes, purifies, transforms, and transfigures oneself."[237] From these three dimensions arises the hermeneutic operation of locating the self in the world, analyzing one's own mode of living, and deploying this knowledge of the self in the world in the form of governance.

The type of governance—whom one governs, what tactics one deploys—changes throughout time. Foucault charts a path through these historical changes, starting with the

emergence of the care of the self in Plato's *Alcibiades*, moving to the art of life articulated by the Stoics (most notably Marucus Aurelius and Seneca), and finishing with the early Christian era in the fourth century CE. Beginning with the Greeks, Foucault searches Plato for a definition of the self. What precisely is it? It must be that part of one's self that *uses* all an individual's faculties. It is the operator behind the curtain:

> What, then, is the only element that really uses the body, its parts and organs, and which consequently uses tools and finally language? It is and can only be the soul. So, the subject of all these bodily, instrumental, and linguistic actions is the soul: the soul inasmuch as it uses language, tools, and the body.[238]

In Plato's dialogue, Socrates explains to Alcibiades that the soul is the part of the self that one must care for in order to govern the city properly. Ultimately, in Plato, it is the city that benefits from knowing oneself and caring for oneself. It is the city that one governs after caring for the self.

This knowledge of the self does not correspond to a passive, contemplative life. The care of the self is an active search:

> [*E*]*pimeleisthai* does not only designate a mental attitude, a certain form of attention, a way of not forgetting something. Its etymology refers to a series of words such as *meletan*, *melete*, *meletai*, etcetera. *Meletan*, often employed and coupled with the verb *gumnazein*, means to practice and train. The *meletai* are exercises, gymnastic and military exercises, military training. *Epimeleisthai* refers to a form of vigilant, continuous, applied, regular, etcetera, activity much more than to a mental attitude.[239]

As such, in Plato's dialogue, Socrates helps Alcibiades ascertain the practical steps he must take in order to take care of himself, which, in turn will produce the ability for Alcibiades to take care of the city.

Between the time of Plato and the Roman Imperial era of the first and second centuries CE the major shift that occurs in the practice of the self has to do with the aim of such a practice. This entails a fundamental redefining of the self and of the type of government linked to this knowledge of the self. In the Imperial age, "the self appears both as the object one cares for, the thing one should be concerned about, and also, crucially, as the end one has in view when one cares for the self. Why does one care for the self? Not for the city-state, but for oneself."[240] This shift means that there is no longer an appropriate window in which one must begin to care for oneself. Alcibiades was at the decisive moment in his life, after which the care of self would not have been possible. In the Roman era, however, this decisive moment disappears. "Henceforth, the care of the self is a requirement that is not linked solely to the critical pedagogical moment between adolescence and adulthood. The care of the self is an obligation that should last for the whole of one's life."[241] Along with this modification, the type of government one cultivates becomes a self-government.

The three dimensions of *epimeleia heautou* remain the same, but the Romans widen the temporal frame and remove the polis as the beneficiary of the practice of the self:

> In short, people no longer told what Socrates told to Alcibiades: If you wish to govern others, take care of yourself. Now it is said: Take care of yourself, and

> that's the end of it…[This] means that the care of the self seems to appear as a universal principle addressed to and laid down for everyone.[242]

Foucault is quick to point out, however, that "everyone" is a misleading pronoun. The care of the self is not an ethical mandate. Indeed, it only functions for those people who have time to spend on themselves. Foucault does not raise this stipulation in order to address a class issue at the core of the care of the self, although there certainly is one; rather, Foucault points out that the care of the self cannot become an ethical mandate because, in the Classical age, it is not tied to any form of law. If the care of the self is neither an ethical mandate nor a law, then what is it? The care of the self is an art. It becomes the *tekhne tou biou*: "The art of living and the art of oneself are identical; at least they become, or tend to become, identical."[243]

Though marked by distinct differences, the care of the self as it appeared in the Greek and Roman periods have important similarities. The most important similarity emerges in the vital role played by the Other in this art of existence, or care of the self. In Greece, the Other, embodied in Plato's story within the figure of Socrates, becomes a type of master. There are three types of mastership present in the Greek care of the self. The first is mastership through example. "The other is a model of behavior that is passed on and offered to the younger person and which is indispensable for his training." The second is a mastership of competence. Here, the master is he who has the necessary skills that he can pass down to the pupil. The third and final form of mastership is undeniably present in many of Plato's works; it is the "Socratic mastership of dilemma and discovery practiced through dialogue."[244]

In Greece, the role of master played by the Other reveals an important dynamic of the care of the self, namely that it serves one person's quest of knowledge but requires a second person to act as guide. In the Hellenistic and Roman period, this dynamic remains, but the role of the Other changes due to the fact that the end goal of the care of the self in the Roman period is the self and not the city. Foucault summarizes the quest of the individual caring for himself in this period as follows:

> The individual should strive for a status as subject that he has never known at any moment in his life. He has to replace the non-subject with the status of subject defined by the fullness of the self's relationship to the self. He has to constitute himself as subject, and this is where the other comes in…Henceforth, the master is an effective agency (*opérateur*) for producing effects within the individual's reform and in his formation as a subject.[245]

Whereas Socrates can pass on skills and act as a model of behavior, Alcibiades must himself discover the proper way to care for himself. Over time, however, the master acquires a more active role and becomes as responsible for the individual's reform as the individual being guided.

In sum, the practice of the self is similar in Greece and Rome insofar as both periods deploy the practice of the self in order to locate oneself in the world more precisely, to analyze one's own mode of living, and to deploy the knowledge gained from that analysis in a practice of governance. Likewise, in both periods the practice of the self is not selfish, at least not in the pejorative sense of the word. There is always another figure involved in the practice, someone who acts as a master to guide the individual through the exercises that constitute the care of self. The differences between the two

periods emerge in the object of governance taken by the subject who engages in the practice of self, on the one hand, and the specific function of the master, on the other. In the first case, the Greeks take as the object of governance the polis. Alcibiades wants to learn from Socrates how to govern the city, and Socrates tells him that he cannot hope to govern the city until he knows himself and that remark launches Alcibiades into the care of the self. In the second case, the object of governance is the self. This is a self-governance that has as its end the regulation and cultivation of the self in the world. Other individuals may benefit from one's own care of the self, but that is no longer the point. Finally, as is clear in the case of Plato's dialogue, the master awakens the pupil's knowledge but Alcibiades must go through the practice of self on his own. In the Imperial epoch, however, this changes. The master becomes tied up in the practitioner's care of self. This shifts the relationship from a master-pupil dynamic to something more like a friendship spawned from spiritual guidance. This entire process requires rigorous upkeep. The care of the self is in fact nothing other than the series of exercises and meditations that make it up. Furthermore, these are all spiritual exercises.

Foucault's genealogy stops at the onset of the Christian era. His remarks on the care of the self in that era remain attentive to the shifts in terminological understanding but never coalesce into as detailed a study as that derived from his scrutiny of Ancient Greece and Rome. For example, he notes that the early Christians utilized a disciplined attention trained on the self in the construction of an ascetic lifestyle intended to bring the individual closer to God, but the meaning of "self," the type of *ascesis* and the specific qualities of the Christian God proposed a set of spiritual exercises greatly modified from those practiced by Seneca, Marcus Aurelius or Plato's characters. By placing the Spiritual

Exercises designed by Ignatius Loyola into Foucault's genealogy and by drawing on Foucault's commentary surrounding early Christian deviations from the type of spiritual exercise utilized in Ancient Greece and Rome, I intend to elaborate on the Archbishop of Granada's exclamation that the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises were "not some new invention" while simultaneously charting the most significant departures from the long lineage of spiritual exercises. I find three significant points of overlap between Loyola's Exercises and those analyzed by Foucault and four points of departure.

One place of overlap appears in the crucial act of turning in on oneself at the beginning of one's quest for self knowledge. For the Greeks and Romans, the individual had to "seek the point at the center of [his self] to which [he] will be fixed and in relation to which [he] will remain immobile. It is toward [his self], towards the center of [his self], in the center or [his self], that [he] must fix [his] aim." Foucault adds that this turning into oneself parallels a "turning away from what is external to [one's self]," the purpose of which is to "bring [one] closer to what we could call, perhaps anticipating a bit, the notion of conversion."[246] For the Greeks and Romans, this "conversion" referred to a spatial transformation through which the individual's turning-in-on-himself constituted a movement of subjectivity. The individual's turn enacted a type of leap in place through which the subject returned to a new place.[247] By the time the Jesuits took up this notion, however, "conversion" gained its religious connotation and indicated the spiritual act of refolding into the interior of the Church. Ottonelli illustrated this in the scenic priest's retreat into himself that led to the castigation of his past deviousness. There was still a transformation of subjectivity, but with the Jesuits that transformation was from the outside of the fold to the inside.

The second place of overlap appears through an analysis of *stultitia*. Foucault explains that for the Romans, this term designated the other pole of the practice of the care of the self.

> What is *stultitia*? The *stultus* is someone who has not cared for himself. How is the *stultus* characterized? ...[T]he *stultus* is first of all someone blown by the wind and open to the external world, that is to say someone who lets all the representations from the outside world into his mind. He accepts these representations without examining them, without knowing how to analyze what they represent…The *stultus* is someone who remembers nothing, who lets his life pass by, who does not try to restore unity to his life by recalling what is worth memorizing, and [who does not] direct his attention and will to a precise and well-determined end.[248]

The condition of *stultitia* and the figure of the *stultus* were reproduced in Ottonelli's story. The *stultus* was the priest, he who accepted the representations in the theatre as acceptable forms of entertainment. He did not properly analyze those representations and therefore never knew that they represented misguided and obscene subject matter capable of leading one into a life of sin. By indulging in such representations he forgot to care for himself and he neglected his true character, i.e., a priest who was supposed to shepherd lost souls. Prior to his conversion, the priest could not recall what was worth memorizing; namely, all the tenets of the Church that dictated his proper line of action. Thus, when the priest finally realized the error of his way, Ottonelli wrote that he "generated in his soul an implacable hatred against this old life, with which he severely castigated his past

foolishness [*stoltezze*]."[249] The Spiritual Exercises helped the priest rid himself of his *stoltezze*, the stultification that had led him astray.

Finally, the Jesuit's actively inherited the stoic practice of reviewing one's day that was crucial to the cultivation of the art of life. Foucault points to the emergence of this review in Pythagoras, the purpose of which was "to enable a purification of thought before sleep."[250] In the Imperial epoch, Seneca instituted this type of review, and explained it in his work *De Ira*. Foucault explained that, for Seneca, this practice involved "every evening, when he [had] retired for the night and there [was] silence and calm around him, going over what he [had] done during the day. He must consider his different actions. Nothing should be neglected."[251] Seneca acted as a judge to himself by scrutinizing his every move and making a type of penance in the form of acting differently in the future. Foucault recognized a link not only between Seneca and Pythagoras, but between Seneca and the type of practice found in Christianity where "penance has taken the juridical form…and when this penance is accompanied by confessional practices which do in fact involve the retrospective expression of everything you have done."[252]

A similar practice appears in the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the first week, under the subheading, "Daily Particular Examination of Conscience," Loyola calls for the following course of action:

> [The exercitant] should demand an account of himself with regard to the particular point which he has resolved to watch in order to correct himself and improve. Let him go over the single hours or periods from the time he arose to the

> hour and moment of the present examination...Then he is to renew his resolution, and strive to amend during the time till the second examination is to be made.[253]

Later in the first week, Loyola defines the second exercise as the record of one's sins. "I will call to mind all the sins of my life, reviewing year by year, and period by period. Three things will help me in this: First, to consider the place where I lived; second, my dealing with others; thirdly, the office I have held."[254]

Thus, a turning-in-on-oneself, the fight against stultification, and a rigorous examination of one's daily actions appear in the Greek and Roman lineage of care of the self as well as in the Jesuit practice of pastoral care, which finds its most visible and active materialization in the Spiritual Exercises. The Jesuit Spiritual Exercises, however, depart dramatically from the aim of the Greek spiritual exercises—to govern oneself more perfectly and by extension to govern the polis more perfectly—and from the aim of the Stoic spiritual exercises—to free oneself from the confines of worldly events, accidents, and afflictions, for no other reason than to free oneself. There are four points of departure that require analysis in order to define the parameters of the shift in the practice of care of self that appears with the birth of the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century.

First: salvation. Foucault summarizes the function of salvation in the Platonic and Stoic practice of the self:

> [S]aving yourself is an activity that takes place throughout life and that is executed solely by the subject himself. And if this activity of 'saving yourself' ultimately leads to a final effect, which is its aim and end, this consists in the fact that salvation renders you inaccessible to misfortunes, disorders, and all that external accidents and events may produce in the soul.[255]

In this context, salvation is relational but it operates within the relationship of a subject and his or her own self. Salvation in a Christian *ethos* becomes something else entirely. Instead of rendering an individual inaccessible to misfortune, disorders, and external accidents, Christian salvation sanctions the legitimacy of these things in order to reveal the true end of eternal life in Heaven. One must endure and tolerate misfortunes as necessary components to life. Salvation always awaits an individual in another place. It is a state of being that one attains after having completed a chain of events. Salvation in Christianity is an effect produced by one having endured life's misfortunes, disorders, and accidents.

The element of Christian salvation that the Jesuits accentuate the most was the fact that an individual could not attain it alone. Prior to Christianity, salvation was entwined with the forging of one's relationship to oneself. Afterwards, the relationship one cultivated was with God. The Jesuits stipulated further that the act of salvation came about through a renewed relationship with God mediated by a spiritual guide who had already located the path to salvation. More importantly, as the mental representations of place made apparent, by the sixteenth century salvation entered into a binary relationship with its opposite extreme. Damnation appeared as the only alternative.

The second point of departure lies in the complex notion of conversion that I have summoned numerous times in this chapter without fully parsing that complexity. For the Greeks, conversion was *epistrophe*. Foucault distilled from this term three characteristics: "it consists first of all in turning away from appearances;" "Second: taking stock of oneself by acknowledging one's own ignorance and by deciding precisely to care about the self, to take care of the self;" "finally, the third stage, on the basis of this reversion to

the self, which leads [one] to recollection, [one] will be able to return to [one's] homeland, the homeland of essences, truth and Being."[256] The geography presupposed by *epistrophe* consisted of two worlds, one here and one beyond. Conversion was the road that connected the two worlds. This geography changed during the Imperial era when conversion focused on nothing other than the self. For the Stoics, there was no departure or return to a world of ideas. Conversion "[did] not appear as a liberation from the body, but rather as the establishment of a complete, perfect, and adequate relationship of self to self." As such, *epistrophe* transformed into [*se*] *convertere ad se*, the essential element of which was "much more exercise, practice, and training; *askesis* rather than knowledge."[257]

Christian conversion seems to have combined elements of both *epistrophe* and [*se*] *convertere ad se*. It combined the notion of conversion as a pathway connecting this world with another, on the one hand, with a necessary repertoire of ascetic practices that facilitated the transition, on the other. Foucault points out that within this framework, the fundamental element was "renunciation of oneself, dying to oneself, and being reborn in a different self and a new form which, as it were, no longer [had] anything to do with the earlier self in its being, its mode of being, in its habits or its *ethos*."[258] This renunciation of the self was central to the Christian concept of conversion, and it reached its most defined articulation within the ascetic practices of Loyola's Spiritual Exercises. Once the exercitant was reborn, as was the case when the scenic priest discovered his true character, the old self failed to exert influence on the new subject but it always lingered as a sort of dead appendage that reminded one how not to act. This was the underside of the complete renunciation of self: the new self could only be defined by a negative

identification of what one was not. Prior to (Christian) conversion, the question "How am I not myself" initiates the retreat into oneself. After (Christian) conversion, the old self found numerous surrogates in the actions and bodies of all those yet to be converted.

Both salvation and conversion suggest a movement of the subject, which constitutes the third point of departure. This movement is a transposition and a qualitative transformation, and it appears differently in the classical periods than it does in the sixteenth century. Talking of Seneca in particular, Foucault classifies this movement of the subject as a movement of "the soul, which is thus lifted above the world and dragged from the shadows made by this world here…but which really is a movement of the subject himself."[259] This movement has three characteristics. "First, the movement is a flight, a tearing free from one's self that finishes off and completes the detachment from flaws and vices." Second, this movement brings the individual to God "but not in the form of losing oneself in God or of a movement which plunges deep into God, but in the form that allows us to find ourselves again…in a sort of co-naturalness or co-functionality with God." Third, this flight takes the individual to the highest point. The self is "borne above this world, as it were, above this universe in which [one] exist[s]...[one is] able, by virtue of this, to penetrate the innermost secret of nature."[260] Foucault identifies Seneca's thoughts on the movement of the subject as an act of stepping back from oneself in order to see the point one occupies, which differs significantly from the Greek maneuver through which the self steps back form oneself in order to gain access to the divine perspective located in the world beyond.

The movement of the subject within the Jesuit practice of the self also placed emphasis on the gaze, or on the act of seeing and being seen. This gaze, however, did not

come from the individual undergoing the exercises. Rather, as was the case with Ottonelli's priest who became *enscened* within God's view, the movement of the subject in the Jesuit tradition became an act of revelation through which one was seen fully by God. One acquired visibility by transitioning from the terrestrial world into the fold. The movement of the subject was thus an enfolding that put the virtuous actor upon the stage of life where he or she could act in accordance with God's wishes.

Acquiring visibility required a disciplined course of ascetic practices capable of establishing a circuit between self-knowledge and self-renunciation. In the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises, the exercitant cultivated a series of practices—those outlined by Loyola—in order to gain knowledge of the self as a subject of God. This knowledge fed back directly into the ascetic practices which culminated in a perpetual act of renouncing the self. This marked the fourth point of departure between Jesuit Spiritual Exercises and the practice of self and the repertoire of spiritual exercises in antiquity. As Foucault states, "the objective of *ascesis* in Antiquity is in fact the constitution of a full, perfect, and complete relationship of oneself to oneself." Through ascetic practices one "must acquire something [one] do[es] not have, rather than renounce this or that element of [oneself] that [one is or has]." "In two words," then, " ancient *ascesis* does not reduce: it equips, it provides."[261] The Jesuits inserted an authority into these practices of self on self. The subject did not equip himself with anything; rather, the Spiritual Exercises created a regiment of self-discipline that bent one's will to the authority of God.

These four focal points of departure—salvation, conversion, movement of the subject, and *ascesis*—make the following perspective possible. The Jesuits' Spiritual Exercises borrowed heavily from the spiritual exercises wrapped up in the practice of self

that appears vividly in the *Alcibiades* straight through the private writings of Seneca and Marcus Aurelius. The structure of Loyola's Exercises is remarkably similar, but the similarities are less important than the differences. The main difference is a substitution of God for Truth. In antiquity, the Truth establishes itself as a mode of being that the self can recognize through the care of the self and practice by inhabiting what Foucault calls true discourse. Inhabiting true discourse requires answering the question, "Am I the subject of these thoughts I hold to be true?" It is a question one can only answer for oneself by caring for the self. This substitution, however, causes a short circuit that effectively enslaves the self to an external authority and instigates an essential renunciation of self into the hermeneutic cycle between the self and the Other. In both Greece and Rome, the Other appeared in the master relationship, as he who led the individual to an awareness of needing to care for the self. For the Jesuits, this Other was God Himself. The guide through the Spiritual Exercises, like the shepherd herding the flock, stood in for the authority of God and acted as a more accessible model of the virtuous life.

At stake then is a relationship between the subject and the act of telling the truth or of acting faithfully. As Polanco's *Chronicon* makes explicit, the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises spread across the world as a means of subjectivating individuals as subjects in the Kingdom of God. After the Jesuits, the philosophical practice of care of self was co-opted into a procedure of speaking the truth, where the "truth" referred to one source and one source only: The Word of God. Acting faithfully meant representing God as precisely as possible by interiorizing an ascetic life practice that molded the individual into Ottonelli's scenic priest, a virtuoso actor moving about on the stage within the Jesuit

theatre of the world. This act of co-option resembled the Christian practice of subsuming pagan holidays and practices into the Christian calendar. The Christmas tree could remain, but only as an accessory to the spiritual celebration of Christ's birth. In this way, the shell of the subjectivated individual could remain as a sign of that which had been conquered, but the soul of the subject would be reconstructed and fitted with new habits. The structure and vocabulary of the care of the self remained intact, but the Jesuits completely refashioned the end to which the care of self was employed. Telling the truth became telling the truth about oneself in order to expose oneself entirely as a subject of God.

Thinking through theatre

It has been my argument in this chapter that the Jesuit care of the self produced an unbridgeable gap between the self and the "true character" of the "virtuous actor." Self-renunciation requires the convert to check his or her self at the door before entering the Church—*ecclesia universalis*. The ostensible benefit of self-renunciation is the acquisition of a new subjectivity within the Jesuit *teatro del mondo*. Once upon the stage of the Jesuit theatre of the world, the virtuous actor inhabits a new world and learns to discern the path to eternal life through the psychagogical exercises created by Ignatius Loyola. At the same time, once the virtuous actor begins to think through the Jesuit theatre, that perspective becomes naturalized as *the* mode of thinking and seeing. The Jesuit practice of the self, in other words, becomes a moral law governing the individuals inhabiting the world parallel to and seeking a guide through the turbulent world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the end, I suggest that this moral law creates a

crisis of the self. In this final section I would like to expand this idea of the crisis of self via an essay by Maaike Bleeker in which the author forwards a notion of "thinking through theatre" that she finds in the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.

For Bleeker, this mode of thinking is found in Deleuze and Guattari's shift of attention "from an understanding of thinking focused on thought-content, towards a focus on the constellation of elements through which thinking proceeds, and from which what is thought emerges in relation to an 'I' as the subject of this thought."[262] Her purpose in acknowledging this shift is to elucidate a relationship between Deleuze and Guattari and theatrical practice, in general, whereas I intend to utilize her argument to glimpse the historical emergence and instrumental use of theatrical thought in the Jesuit constellation, i.e., their *teatro del mondo*. When inquiring into the latter, it is not important to ask *what* one thinks once one is converted and placed within the *teatro del mondo*; rather, the inquiry must uncover the conditions that make possible an "I" that acts as an identity for converted individuals to occupy. The "constellation" Bleeker refers to exists in my argument as an assemblage of conceptual frames and affects that order the world for whosoever occupies the "I."

In Bleeker's words, Deleuze and Guattari's act of thinking through theatre is the recognition of thought as "an event in which a 'plane' sets the stage for the appearance of a persona, or figure of thought, as the vector of movements of thought taking shape through concepts (in the case of philosophy), compositions (in the case of art), or knowledge (in the case of science)."[263] The function of the plane in the case of philosophy is to "acquire a consistency without losing the infinite into which thought plunges;" in the case of science, "to provide chaos with reference points;" in the case of art, to express

chaos through percepts and affects that become monuments capable of "confid[ing] to the ear of the future the persistent sensations that embody the event."[264] In each case, chaos is the precondition of thought itself. Chaos is "a void that is not a nothingness but a *virtual*, containing all possible particles and drawing out all possible forms, which spring up only to disappear immediately, without consistency or reference, without consequence."[265]

Here, a necessary distinction is required. The plane of thought does not unfold *in* the world. Likewise, the plane is not thought-content produced or possessed by an individual. The plane, rather, unfolds in the "constellation of elements through which thinking proceeds." It delimits the space in and through which a subject can maneuver. The plane is *amplitude* that exists outside of the subject and acts upon the subject to provoke thought, sensation, and knowledge. In *What is Philosophy?*, as Bleeker points out, Deleuze and Guattari theorize the differences between the planes created by philosophy, art, and science. Each modality of thought inflates to a different amplitude, which means that each modality leads to a distinct understanding of the world.

At the end of their work, however, Deleuze and Guattari observe that, "there are also cases in which art, science and philosophy cannot be understood as distinct [from each other or] in relation to the chaos in which the brain plunges."[266] To understand these indistinct relations, Bleeker directs her reader to three types of interferences or zones of overlap in which the planes opened by philosophy, art, and science blur into chaos: "extrinsic interference," which appears when each discipline "remains on its own plane and utilises its own elements," like when an artist uses an artistic mode of knowledge to grasp a philosophical concept; "intrinsic interference," which appears when, for example, concepts leave a plane of immanence (i.e., the plane unique to philosophy) and slip into

an artistic sensation; and the "No," which is a non-localizable interference that is particularly difficult to perceive.[267] Bleeker's point in evoking these three interferences is to develop Deleuze and Guattari's belief that chaos does and must exist within every ordered system. Of special interest to my argument is the third type of interference, the "No," which "is to be found where the planes confront chaos."[268] Thus, the "No" and the individual coincide, though Deleuze and Guattari refer to the individual in this part of their argument as "the brain" or "the cerebral plane."

Using the plane of composition unique to art's mode of thinking as a model, the "No" can be understood as a type of interference that is "distinct in relation to the cerebral plane [i.e., the individual]" but is "no longer distinct in relation to the chaos into which the [individual] plunges."[269] It is not simply the case that the "No" is linked to the plane of composition, as the plane's shadow and dialectical counterpart; Bleeker points out that, additionally, art *needs* its "No." Art, in other words, needs non-art "as that against which [it] come[s] into being."[270] Non-art is the field of conditions that makes possible the emergence of art. Encompassing both art and non-art, the "No" is a zone of indeterminacy or of uncertainty that always accompanies the affects and percepts generated from the plane of composition through which individuals express the chaos of the world.

In this regard, the "No" rhymes with the "mutic" theorized by Jean-François Lyotard in his *Postmodern Fables*. Whereas Lyotard presents the mutic as a sonorous inaudibility that "is not heard because it surpasses the audible, and which is nonetheless […] *already* a sound," Deleuze and Guattari present the "No" as the unthinkable that is already a thought insofar as it is that which gives cohesion to the plane unfolded within

chaos.[271] Lyotard asserts that the mutic is a wind, a breath that is inaudible and yet also makes a sound: "The breath is a wind, a *flatus*, of terror: one is going to be no more." Similarly, the unthought is the determinate negation of thought, that which both entices and escapes the thinkable.

It is worth mentioning as well that Deleuze and Guattari's "No" stretches into the philosophical anti-system of Theodor W. Adorno's negative dialectics and, from this angle, appears as another articulation of *nonidentity*: "the dialectical primary of the principle of contradiction [which] makes the thought of unity the measure of heterogeneity."[272] This is important for two reasons. First, it marks a point of contact between the two distinct philosophical apparatuses of Deleuze and Guattari, on the one hand, and Adorno, on the other. Second, and more importantly, it is the practice of determinate negation alive within Adorno's theory of the nonidentical that leads the conscious subject to a reflection of thought on thought, or to a critical self-reflexivity that reveals and dismantles the unseen frames that shape the subject's understanding of the world. This reflection of thought on thought is the mandate posited by the "No." The interference of the "No" should prompt an inquiry into how thought is conditioned by that which it is not (i.e., the unthought and the unthinkable); how art is conditioned by that which it is not (non-art, life). Interference, then, is not an obstacle as much as it is a frequency into which a subject must tune if that subject is to understand the role of the outside in the constitution of subjectivity.

In the final stage of her analysis of Deleuze and Guattari's work, Bleeker reminds her reader that the "No" is not the chaos "through which each mode of thinking cuts its plane." In terms of art, philosophy, and science, "[t]his shadow is," rather, "to be found in

how that from which they distinguish themselves (as 'that which they are not') relates to this chaos through which they cut their planes." "This 'that which they are not'" is "already part of making sense of chaos; it is the 'No' these modes of thinking need at every moment of their becoming."[273] Bleeker defines this 'that which they are not' as *theatricality*. Theatricality, in this sense, is the mutic, it is the nonidentical, and it is directly opposed to theatricality understood as the visible face of a phenomenon. Bleeker's theatricality is an unseen apparatus that produces the constellation through which one thinks the world.

By defining theatricality as that which thought/art/science is not *and* as the constellation through which one thinks the world, Bleeker opens the door to an important spatial dimension within the act of thinking and the act of subject formation. With her essay as a lens, theatre becomes the machinery of the outside that conditions the inside. Theatre becomes the constellation of concepts and affects through which the world coheres ("adsorbs," in Deleuze and Guattari's words) and becomes thinkable, sensible, and knowable. Theatre, she suggests, is "constitutive of modern thinking" and operates as a generative chaos that buzzes inaudibly as a silent, sonorous interference. This complex conception of theatre is important for an understanding of the Jesuit *teatro del mondo* because it highlights the crucial role of uncertainty and nonidentity that the Jesuits attempt to remove completely from the identity of the converted.

The Jesuit *teatro del mondo* can be understood as a plane of composition produced by the Jesuits onto which converted Catholics stepped in order to become virtuous actors viewed (*enscened*) and assessed by God and his shepherds. The function of this plane of composition was to make sense of the chaos of the world. It did this first

by distinguishing itself from the outside world. Once distinguished as the *teatro del mondo*, or the stage to be inhabited by the virtuous actors, the profane world was elided with a chaos that opposed the order of the interior of the Church. By entering the upon the stage, the individual could rid his or her world of chaos, uncertainty, and indeterminacy.

By reading Ottonelli's narrative of the scenic priest against the regiment of the Spiritual Exercises, however, it becomes clear that the virtuous actor never quite left the outside completely. The outside inhered within scenic priest even after his act of self-renunciation as that which the scenic priest was not. As a second connection between the crisis of the self and Bleeker's essay, then, I believe that this lingering inherence becomes intelligible through Deleuze and Guattari's idea of the "No." The scenic priest's self prior to conversion was a "making sense" of the chaos of everything. Prior to conversion, the priest attempted to immerse himself in theatrical representations. He was attempting a form of thinking through theatre, but, according to Ottonelli, the scenic priest was misleading himself. For the Jesuit author, the fascination with profane theatrical spectacle was the source of the foolishness (*stoltezze*) that distracted the scenic priest and kept him from enlightenment. To unfetter himself, the priest embarked upon the Spiritual Exercises in an attempt to acquire a true sense of order. The Jesuit theatre of the world promised the priest a true character (*personaggio di vero*), a subject position from which the chaos of the profane world would recede from view.

I contend, however, that the crisis of the self appeared in and consisted of that tension between the scenic priest and the "No," or his inhering that-which-he-was-not that he attempted to expel. The subjectivity of the scenic priest, and, by extension, of all

Catholic converts participating in the Spiritual Exercises, is a gap within the self that opened during the regimented act of self-renunciation that led him to his public performance of repentance in front of the congregation. The subject position obtained through the Jesuit process of reform was a *theatrical* subjectivity in the sense of the word defined by Bleeker.

This gap within the convert, however, presents two faces. From Bleerker's point of view, the gap is a necessary and unavoidable condition of consciousness. From Ottonelli's point of view, this same gap appears as that which one must fill or pave over in order to gain salvation. Bleeker's perspective and the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari leads down the path set by Foucault which presents the practice of the self as the means for tuning into the interference of the "No" and integrating that frequency into one's sense of the self. Ottonelli also advocates a practice of the self, but it is the practice based on Jesuit ideology that substitutes self-renunciation for knowledge of the self. In both viewpoints, the question "How am I not myself?" plays a dominant role in navigating one's way through the chaos of the world, but, for Bleeker et al., it is a question prompting a kind of radical self-doubt capable of leading an individual to a renewed understanding of his or her self whereas for Ottonelli and the Jesuits the same question functioned as a moral law mandating perpetual self-renunciation.

Once naturalized in the form of moral law as a secure and unitary identity, the subjectivity offered by the Jesuit *teatro del mondo* broke irrevocably with the care of the self as philosophers such as Plato, Marcus Aurelius, and Seneca had practiced it. Once the quest for knowing and caring for the self was replaced by the moral exigency of self-renunciation, the individual negated the generative chaos that always existed as that

which the individual was not, as the world against which the subjectivity defined his or her self. Doing this, I suggest, rendered invisible the structures of seeing and knowing the world that shaped the subject's perceptions and affections. The ostensible benefit of the perspective presented by the Jesuit *teatro del mondo* was a removal of chaos from the subject. Chaos was framed as an element of the old self that a subject could eject by undergoing the Jesuit brand of the care of the self. Now, it was the Church that propped up the individual's subjectivity.

The Jesuits created their own theatre for individuals to think through. It became the constellation through which individuals apprehended and cognized the world. As opposed to the mode of thinking proposed by Bleeker's development of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy, in which nonidentity is forwarded as the marker of modern subjectivity, the Jesuits negated the negative, the chaos of the exterior, in the name of order. The Jesuit theatre was, in this light, an autonomous world that attempted to shut out the complexity of nonidentity with the facility of an identity crafted in large part through the Spiritual Exercises.

The crisis of the self, then, was not the knowledge that the self was truly nonidentical. The crisis did not consist in the individual's recognition that he or she was *and* was not his or her self. The crisis of the self emerged when that knowledge was labeled as an unnecessary component of thought. From the Jesuits perspective, the *teatro del mondo* was the sole path capable of slicing through the chaos of life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As Ottonelli averred, the virtuous actor was the only subjectivity capable of accurately making sense of that chaos. In Venice, the Jesuits spread the word of their theatre and their mode of virtuous acting through the

construction of various institutions. Between 1550 and 1606, the Jesuits managed to open a college for Jesuit and non-Jesuit students (1550), a Jesuit seminary (1565), and a house for the administration of the Spiritual Exercises (1568), as well as numerous facilities in nearby Padua, all of which, though eventually closed when the Jesuits were expelled from the Republic in 1606, functioned as staging areas for the Jesuit brand of self-discipline.[274] With these bases established, the Jesuits were incredibly successful in persuading rich and poor alike that the path they provided was the only viable path. Even after the Republic of Saint Mark ousted the Order in 1606, the *teatro del mondo* continued to exist in the shared subjectivity of the virtuous actor they had created through their signature regiment of reform.

In the final analysis, the virtuous actor contained a shadowy underside. "Virtuous actor" was a collective identity formed around a "No" that was sublated and replaced with the audibility of Catholic doctrine. Like Lyotard's mutic, however, a sonorous gesture that might be sought wherever its absence resounds loudest and wherever nothingness is shut out with the most bombastic music, the "No" beneath the identity of the virtuous actor can be located in the language that worked most adamantly to efface it from existence. Ottonelli's tract is a perfect example of such language. It is an example of what Michel de Certeau recognized as the construction of intelligibility through which "shards created by the selection of materials, remainders left aside by an explication[,] come back, despite everything, on the edges of discourse or in its rifts and crannies."[275] Ottonelli's narrative that constructs the black and white, before and after, foolish and enlightened character of the scenic priest also draws the eye to the lingering inherence of the "No" that the Jesuit practice of the self worked so hard to deny.

Once visible, the "shards" of Ottonelli's negation of the "No" render the ostensibly sensible and ordered Jesuit theatre of the world as nonsensical and disordered. It was precisely disorder that the Jesuits inserted into the subjectivity of their converted flock by disavowing the generative chaos that Deleuze and Guattari theorized. The *teatro del* mondo was a structure of belonging, but one that built a sense of belonging around an invisible outside that the flock would always work so hard to renounce. The disorder of the self attained through perpetual self-renunciation was enforced as an obligatory pleasure in lament. It was a peculiar pleasure taken in not knowing the self, which, as Lyotard has pointed out, was a pleasure of dread: "as long as you moan, you're not dead."[276] The converted subjectivity did not have to know his or her self because the Church assumed that labor for the individual.

Finally, I suggest that Ottonelli's tract appears in the present as a piece of dramatic literature. It acts not only as the script but also as the rehearsal of the performance of everyday life mandated by the Jesuits. As a plane of composition, Ottonelli's stage attempted to accomplish something very similar to Cornaro's ideal theatre insofar as it presented a step to which each and every individual could arrive and a space in which each individual could situate his or herself within the subjectivity of the virtuous actor. Beyond the language on the page, Ottonelli's images expressed a summons to the Church's interior through affects and percepts, the means of expression belonging to artistic praxis. The folding into spiritual retreat that Ottonelli presented with his narrative of the scenic priest should be read as a refolding into the interior of the Church, an act which attempted to pacify the chaos of the world but which only supplanted the possibility of embracing chaos as a necessary "No" within any modality of

thought. When this knowledge of nonidentity was forgotten or rejected the result was a crisis of the self. The collective subjectivity fashioned for the individual by the Jesuits presented a perspective onto the world, but the machinery facilitating that perspective was hidden from view, given intelligibility through the language of self-renunciation, and the theatre of the world became, simply, the world.

Once refolded into the interior of the Jesuit theatre, the generative matrix of the outside was muted and rendered invisible. Thus, by thinking of the Veneto through Ottonelli's tract on theatre and its moderation, a more profound method of thinking through theatre emerges. Specifically, what appears when juxtaposing Ottonelli's work with the *teatri del mondo* in Venice, the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola, and the lineage of the practice of the self articulated first by Foucault, is a type of dye for the eyes fabricated by the Jesuits and applied to the individual through the act of spiritual retreat. At the same time, the dye must be recognized as such, and not as the natural color of things. The Jesuit theatre of the world must be understood in the present as another theatre in the world, attempting to shape the opinions and beliefs of the audiences it drew to its doors.

Chapter 4: "Aesthetic Exercises and Ruzzante's Tactical Operation of the Self"

From Spiritual to Aesthetic Exercises

Against the strategy of conduct promoted by the Society of Jesus, which sought to consolidate the power of the Church by postulating (*pace* Michel de Certeau) a "*place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats…can be managed," this chapter presents the figure of Ruzzante as a subject engaged in a dynamic, life-long performance of counter-conduct.[277] The Jesuit *teatro del mondo* functioned as a stage on which subjectivated individuals acted in accordance with the Word of God. In the previous chapter I argued that this Jesuit theatre of the world was conceived as a world unfolding parallel to the secular and profane world outside the Church. This parallel position, however, was itself an optical perspective designed by the Jesuits and acquired by the converted through the process of spiritual conversion.

By distinction, Ruzzante's numerous theatres in the world appear in the following pages as staging areas on which Ruzzante exercised a tactical resistance to disciplinary strategies of subjectivation foisted upon him from without. I will develop a nonidentical relationship between the means Ruzzante utilized in his tactical resistance and those deployed through the disciplinary regiment of the Spiritual Exercises. This nonidentical relationship presents Ruzzante's resistance as a practice of aesthetic exercises enacted by the Paduan performer in order to care for himself and in order to chart a path through the obstacle-ridden world in which he lived.[278] These aesthetic exercises and the Spiritual Exercises designed by Ignatius Loyola were both practices of the self, but the different

ends sought by those distinct sets of practices positioned them against each other in a provocative tension. Ruzzante saw no parallel worlds into which he could escape, no theatres besides his own through which he could think the world. Without escape as an option, Ruzzante used his aesthetic exercises to combat the adversaries and disciplinary strategies attempting to block his attainment of the good life.

Ruzzante's resistance to subjectivation was tactical in the sense intended by de Certeau. "By contrast with a strategy," de Certeau argues,

> a *tactic* is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power.[279]

To paraphrase, in distinction to the singular interiority of the Jesuit *teatro del mondo*, Ruzzante's theatre spaces constituted a diffuse multiplicity of staging areas opening on and within a terrain organized by numerous disciplinary powers. Whereas the strategy of the Jesuits was to transform the obscene actions of profane actors into a mode of virtuous acting in accordance with the Church, Ruzzante developed a theatre practice that could help him to act out against the systems of ethical conduct imposed on him by the Church, but also by the Venetian state and by his own patron, Alvise Cornaro.

This acting out required a disciplined aesthetic sensibility. In fact, Ruzzante's tactical theatre practice cultivated an ascetic self-discipline. In this chapter, I understand the term "ascetic" in the Foucauldian sense as, "an exercise of self on self" and as "a sort of close combat of the individual with himself."[280] My analysis of Ruzzante's asceticism will position the performer in tension with the figure of Ignatius Loyola who, as

discussed in the previous chapter, intended his Spiritual Exercises as a way of "preparing and disposing the soul to rid itself of all inordinate attachments, and, after their removal, of seeking and finding the will of God in the disposition of our life for the salvation of our soul."[281] Ruzzante's aesthetic asceticism had nothing to do with detaching from the world or with finding God, and yet it did employ a kind of self-test that had as it end a refashioning of subjectivity. This self-test will become visible by analyzing Ruzzante's relationship with food and his response to the affective force pressed by starvation on his body.

Looking at the historical figure of Ruzzante in this way illuminates a movement within his theatrical performances and helps one to understand his dramatic transformation of subjectivity. This transformation was probably the most singular aspect of Ruzzante. He was literally a man of his own making. Born as Angelo Beloco and as an illegitimate child, he created a stage persona, a fictional construct, in order to gain social mobility and to make a name for himself in the arena of Venetian theatre. Unlike other actors who engaged in similar constructions in the sixteenth century, Beolco took his role-playing to the furthest limit by actually becoming his self-made character—Ruzzante—and by stepping from the stage as that character into the real world, thus becoming an aesthetic figure in the arena of the real. Beolco worked his entire life to become fully the character of Ruzzante, not by negating himself, as was the procedure for Loyola, the scenic Priest featured in chapter three, and Catholic converts in general, but by understanding that he was nobody if he was not Ruzzante.

Beolco's becoming-Ruzzante blurred the line between the aesthetic dimension of the stage and everyday life. As such, statements, expressions, and maneuvers that

appeared within the former became tenable in the latter. Thinking in this way, I read Ruzzante's texts as riddles that hide an ethical practice of the self, which I see as the foundation of his performance of counter-conduct, within a seemingly absurd, scatological, and obscene environment. Ruzzante's greatest excesses will appear in this chapter as the ascetic elements in his extremely disciplined counter-conduct, and they will also emerge as the hallmarks of his practice of self-fashioning. There is, in other words, a dialectical tension between excess and discipline motivating the creation of Ruzzante and all of his expressions.

Where the text presents attempted suicides, extreme starvation, and even excessive over-eating it opens points of view into the life of someone not in power and of a historical figure occupying the lower class strata of his day. If the aim of writing history, as Walter Benjamin suggests, is to address the standpoint of the losers over and above the standpoints of the victors, I argue that Ruzzante's texts must be deciphered and read as a script to both his aesthetic life upon the stage and his everyday existence.[282] Thus, Angelo Beolco's transformation of subjectivity, his becoming-Ruzzante, will provide a viewpoint onto the politics of truth unfolding in the Veneto in the sixteenth century, which I will unpack in the final section of this chapter by analyzing Ruzzante's last work, the *Lettera all'Alvarotto*.

Close Combat

To say that Ruzzante occupied a tactical space and that he exercised an aesthetic counter-conduct through the medium of his theatre practice and throughout the course of his life is to suggest that he was involved in a life-long battle. The battle developed along

two fronts. One front pitted Ruzzante against various dominating powers: the Church, Venetian noblemen and governors, his patron. The other front positioned Ruzzante against himself. In this section I want to focus on the first of those two fronts in order to develop a detailed image of Ruzzante's theatre spaces as staging areas in which he could learn about his position in the world and rehearse his means of intervening with the social injustices facing him.

Ruzzante had no permanent base or stronghold from which to strategize this battle. Instead, he opened up temporary territories and unleashed quick jabs against his opponents. His temporary stages were vivid depictions of the space of the tactic. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau offered an intriguing description of a tactical space, which lends itself to this analysis of Ruzzante's theatre practice. The tactical, he wrote, is that which is "[l]acking its own place, lacking a view of the whole, limited by the blindness (which may lead to perspicacity) resulting from combat at close quarters, [and] limited by the possibilities of the moment."[283] This realm of close combat corresponds to a haptic experience of life on the ground in which an understanding of the social terrain of the world, riddled with trap doors and road blocks, emerged for Ruzzante in fragmented images and at times from sensations triggered by invisible threats.

The dearth of historical evidence tied to Ruzzante's daily life would seem to preclude the possibility of exploring this haptic space, and yet this experience of close combat reveals itself in the body of Ruzzante texts. The haptic appears most vividly by setting side by side several fragments: a scene from his five-act play, *Moscheta* (c.1528), excerpts from his retelling of time spent on the front lines with the Venetian army during the Cambrai Wars in *Parlamento de Ruzante che iera vegnú de campo* (*Dialogue of*

Ruzante who just returned from the field, c.1509-1517), and the climax of his most violent dialogue, frequently referred to as *Bilora* (*Weasel*, c.1530).

Beginning with act five, scene one of the *Moscheta*, the portal to the haptic perspective opens in the portrayal of Ruzzante's blindness caused by close combat, akin to that of which de Certeau has written. The portrayal borders on the ridiculous; it presents to the reader Ruzzante and his *compare*, or best friend, Menato, wearing armor and equipped with shields and weapons in order to win back Ruzzante's lover, Betía, from a more financially stable and more handsome soldier, Tonin. The two companions have arranged to buy Betía back from Tonin, but the armor, shields and makeshift swords add a layer of protection against a man trained in military strategy.

The scene begins with Ruzzante and Menato sneaking up on Tonin in the dark of night. It is so dark, in fact, that Ruzzante is scared and incapable of seeing anything. Menato reminds Ruzzante of the stakes of the mission, namely reconciliation with his lover, which helps (somewhat) to calm the latter:

> Ruzzante: What you say is true. Are we really off, outside already? Where the hell am I supposed to go if I can't see anything? It's so dark outside. I don't even know if I can follow this wall. We should go back, dear *compare*.[284]

The environment suggested by the wall that Ruzzante tries in vain to follow in the dark positions him and Menato out of Tonin's sight. The rest of the scene is a slow movement toward the target.

Sensing that Ruzzante is having trouble with the dark, Menato tells him to act like a blind person and follow his friend's lead. Even in that configuration, however, Ruzzante's fear is audible through the sound of his chattering teeth, though Ruzzante

explains that he is simply cold. Over time, Ruzzante and Menato move closer to their target, but Ruzzante remains blind. He does not see the wall in front of him, nor does he see Tonin:

> Ruzzante: I can't even see you.
>
> Menato: I'm here, on this side.
>
> Ruzzante: Sst, sst, quiet!
>
> Menato: Can you not see anything, *compare*?
>
> Ruzzante: Sst, sst, quiet!
>
> Menato: But what is it?
>
> Ruzzante: Sst, sst, pst!
>
> Menato: What do you hear, *compare*?
>
> Ruzzante: Be quiet a second. I hear something like the creaking of armor. Run, run, *compare*.[285]

The creaking armor belongs, of course, to Ruzzante. The blindness caused by the dark and the daunting adversary awaiting him leads first to a reduced vocabulary consisting of "sst" and "pst" and then to a full-out retreat.

The retreat takes Ruzzante and Menato to a nearby alleyway where they promptly lose themselves again in the pitch-darkness:

> Menato: *Compare*, where are you?
>
> Ruzzante: I'm here. And where are you? Come closer to me because I don't know this alleyway too well.
>
> Menato: Cancerous pussy!...
>
> Ruzzante: What is it, *compare*?

Menato: I broke my face. I hit it on something but I don't know what.

Ruzzante: You hit it on my shield. But didn't you see it? I was wearing it right here on my head, you should have seen it.[286]

Here is the first combative element. In the alleyway, the darkness causes Menato to run into Ruzzante's shield, which the latter has placed on his head in order to protect against falling bricks and other projectiles that might come from the sky. This placement seems logical to Ruzzante who can't understand why his friend did not take more care. He suggests that Menato should have seen the shield, despite the fact that nobody can see anything and that the shield finds its more frequent home at waist level. Menato, in pain and unable to take Ruzzante's antics anymore, drags Ruzzante to the nearest house where he tells him to stay and to holler if he needs help.

The dark humor and peculiar logic presented by the text obscures the more profound workings of the scene, which lay embedded within the night time ambience and Ruzzante's intriguing shield placement. Those two facets depict what de Certeau referred to as blindness within the arena of tactical space caused by close combat, and they reflect a clever adaptation to an unforeseen dangerous situation. Blinded by the dark, Ruzzante resorts to a whirlwind of fretting, which acts as a defense mechanism of sorts and leads eventually to Menato's broken face. Interestingly, Ruzzante's seemingly obtuse flailing disguises a potential awareness of a threat that lurks more closely to home than that of Tonin. That is, by the end of the play the text reveals a twist. The military suitor, who had swept Betía away by promising to feed her regularly and to be more of a man than Ruzzante, is not Betía's only lover. Menato, ostensibly Ruzzante's closest companion and guide through the dark, also loves Betía and has attempted to take her away from

Ruzzante behind his friend's back. It is he with whom Ruzzante is engaged in close combat. What appears at first as flailing wildly in the dark turns out, then, to be something more. Menato gets what he deserves when he breaks his face. The ridiculous fighting style induced by Ruzzante's blindness helps him to fight off threats from enemies that he cannot see coming.

Specifically, he lands a blow to his *compare* with his shield-turned-helmet. Again, what seems to be a simple joke is actually something more. The logic of Ruzzante's shield placement reveals the perspicacity that he develops within his theatrical staging areas. Ruzzante's reasoning, that he wears his shield where he does in case a brick should drop from a window and land on his head, is not entirely unreasonable. It hints at Ruzzante's attention to another axis of potential danger, that of projectiles coming from above or from afar. In this scene in particular, the shield placement brings the added advantage of teaching his *compare* a lesson for his lecherous and deceitful activities with Betía. In its position on Ruzzante's head, the shield transforms into an unassuming weapon. In the end, Ruzzante's clown act reveals tiny hints of an adaptation to the particularity of his surroundings insofar as it reveals how he has outfitted himself to ensure survival when engaged in close combat with friends who are also enemies.

There is evidence to suggest that Ruzzante's trick with the shield came from real life experience, and that the aesthetic world of the *Moscheta* connects intimately to Ruzzante's everyday life. This evidence comes from the dialogue known as *Parlamento* that features Ruzzante and Menato engaged in a conversation about the former's recent stint as a conscripted soldier in the Venetian army. When Menato sees Ruzzante for the first time in *Parlamento* he does not recognize him on account of the pallid complexion

his *compare* acquired through his harrowing moments spent on the battlefield. Ruzzante explains the cause of his appearance with the following line:

> Ruzante: *Compare*, it's these metal helmets that make these ugly complexions. They weigh a ton and they pull down the flesh. And then, with only the sea to drink, the worst food to eat…If you had only been where I have been![287]

The phrase "If you had only been where I have been" functions as a refrain throughout the entire dialogue to express the inexpressibly miserable conditions of life on the front lines. It follows images of lice-infested bread, the loss of limbs, and soldiers robbing the valuable objects from the dead bodies of fallen comrades. When paired with the ridiculous scene from *Moscheta* quoted above, however, this piece of dialogue uttered by Ruzzante to his friend reveals a specific act of refunctioning. Having learned from the battlefield that the metal helmets "pull down the flesh," Ruzzante decided from that point on to wear his shield where his helmet belongs.

This dialogue, with its connections between the stage and Ruzzante's actual service in the Venetian army as well as its act of refunctioning that illuminates the comic bit with the shield in the *Moscheta*, illustrates the bleed between the aesthetic realm of the stage and the domain of everyday life. In chapter one I argued that Ruzzante's signature act of *taking place* made possible an act of *sviamento*, or a critical alteration of space through which the performer made explicit reference to the destruction of the peasants' way of life in order to perforate the private and privileged space of wealthy homes, thereby fashioning *tromp l'oeil* windows and dragging scenes from the outside to the interior. By acknowledging the bleed between the stage and everyday life apparent in

Parlamento, I intend to underscore my earlier argument while also accentuating these acts of refunctioning through which Ruzzante adapted himself to his surroundings.

Another moment in *Parlamento* provides an additional example of such refunctioning. In it, Ruzzante describes his tactic for avoiding unnecessary fights. His uniform in the Venetian army featured a tunic adorned with a red cross. The enemy, the Spanish-Imperial army, wore tunics bearing white crosses. In order to survive the violent terrain of close and incessant combat at the war's front lines, Ruzzante fashioned a two-sided cross with one side painted red and the other white ("*la mia crose giera da un lò rossa e da l'altro bianca*"). Able to switch the cross when the situation required it, Ruzzante could disguise himself as either a Venetian or a Spanish soldier. Proud of his maneuvering, Ruzzante titled himself "crafty" (*a' son fato scaltrío*), and when asked by Menato why he would act in such a cowardly manner he replied, "Because one person can do nothing against many."[288] Faced with a no-win situation, Ruzzante manipulated his visibility in the enemy's field of sight. By altering his uniform, he changed the win-lose dynamic of the war into a sheer game of survival in which all men on the field became potential camouflage.

Following de Certeau's extrapolation from Carl von Clausewitz's treatise, *On War*, Ruzzante's antics at the front are an execution of the art of "pulling tricks," which "involves a sense of the opportunities afforded by a particular occasion."[289] Crafty, tricky, opportunistic: these are the main adjectives that describe Ruzzante's tactics. His is a necessary trickery practiced by the weak in a world where the wars one is obliged to fight have no immediate benefits for the fighter. Eventually, though, Ruzzante's battle wisdom leads him to abandon his trickiness and simply to run away. He flees from the soldiers

without having won for himself any spoils or having acquired any rugged scars, a fact that does not impress his friends upon returning home. Instead of merely a pusillanimous act, however, I argue that Ruzzante's running away is important for another kind of blindness caused by lose combat toward which it points. It is blindness with eyes wide open, and it is the inverse of the blindness caused by pitch darkness in the *Moscheta*. Whether actually blind or simply adorned with blinders, Ruzzante compensated for his weak position in the world with a perspicacious adaptability to his surroundings. Here, the absence of sight straddles the metaphorical plane of sightlessness and accompanies the literal blindness caused by pitch darkness.

Ruzzante's adaptation to his environment brought about by the dangers of close combat against visible and invisible foes alike was not entirely defensive. The offensive maneuvering, though appearing less frequently, was provoked by the anxieties of perpetual battle. This aggressive side of Ruzzante surfaced in his dialogue known as *Bilora* (*Weasel*), in which the eponymous main character exhibits a neurotic anxiety as he hunts an elderly Venetian merchant, Andronico, who has taken from him his true love, Dina. The structure of this dialogue resembles others, but the conclusion of the action is singular. Scrutinizing this work's climax reveals one final type of blindness and develops the final component of Ruzzante's tactical space.

Having tracked Andronico back to Venice from the countryside, Bilora ponders how best to win Dina back. A friend arrives, Pitaro, but is ultimately of no help. The injustice of the situation is overwhelming, and instead of running away the main character stands riveted to the scene. Through a monologue, Bilora relays the thought pattern that leads to his final plan of action. At first, he is able to check his anger: "In any

case, what can I do? I am ruined for life. It's better if I leave everything alone and just get out of here. As angry as I am, I wouldn't want to do anything bad."[290] But the anxiety takes over: "Enough, I know what to do. When I see him [Andronico] come outside, I'll jump him right away, and I'll beat his legs, and he'll fall to the ground, that's first; and then more of the same, for a little longer!"[291] Rapidly, the anxiety leads to the formulation of murder.

Ludovico Zorzi describes the flow of ideas and the act in which it culminates in his notes to his Italian translation of the original Paduan texts:

> The homicide matures in the mind of Bilora, distressed by intoxication [possibly drunkenness] and by a delirious jealousy, the idea comes to him initially in lightning flashes...it becomes more precise in more and more substantial images...then focuses in on small details of the fight...and ends with the chilling vision of the murder.[292]

The vision of murdering Andronico by stabbing him is more like a rehearsal than a dream, since when the monologue is complete and Andronico exits from his house onto the street, Bilora weasels his way into the old man's path and enacts the assault just as he had imagined it.

Within this theatrical performance, Ruzzante is inflicted with the kind of sightlessness brought about by blind rage. The intoxication, as Zorzi has suggested, makes Bilora delirious. He cannot see beyond the chilling vision of his imagination, and eventually the potency of that vision jumps from Bilora's imagination to the domain of the other characters where it shapes the reality of the situation. This surplus of energy

yields another example of combat in close quarters, but it also illuminates the limitations of tactical mobility:

> [Tactical] mobility [is such that it] must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wind the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse.[293]

The necessity of accepting the chance offering of the moment in *Bilora* reveals the temporal dimension of Ruzzante's tactical space. That dimension belongs to the instant. It is the time of improvisation. What can Bilora do? His back is against a wall. An old man has cuckolded him. His thoughts race toward an extreme conclusion, and without delay he acts upon the impulse. The violent act poaches the life of Andronico as compensation for the woman that the old man has poached from him. Without other avenues of action to pursue, the protagonist surprises the audience with an impromptu act of murder. Nothing would be less expected. Unfortunately, for as decisive as Bilora's actions are, they also place him in the dangerous position of a criminal. The dual emotion of satisfaction, on the one hand, and fear of consequences, on the other, bubbles up through Bilora's final sounds, as the character stands over the dead body convulsing with nervous laughter.

As a mosaic of Ruzzante's tactical capabilities, the three textual fragments I have cited up to this point and the situations they depict serve to construct a portal into Ruzzante's theatrical mode of counter-conduct. This portal offers a line of sight into the

ground-level perspective of Ruzzante's performances, despite the fact that the line of sight appears paradoxically in the three forms of blindness from which Ruzzante suffered. Blindness caused from pitch-darkness, from turning his back and running away, and from blind rage are all limitations placed on Ruzzante that require him to develop alternative means of navigating his dangerous terrain. His adaptability appears in what seems at first to be meaningless jokes or excessively violent behavior: wearing his shield on his head, altering his military uniform, impulsively enacting retribution for his stolen love. Looking beyond the surface event signified by the text, these jokes and the impulsive behavior reveal a method of refunctioning. The shield and the military uniform are essentially defensive tactical maneuvers, while the murder of Andronico is a dangerously aggressive mode of offense.

Ruzzante's tactical capabilities are imbued with a formula, which, as de Certeau describes it,

> delineates the relationship of forces that is the starting point for an intellectual creativity as persistent as it is subtle, tireless, ready for every opportunity, scattered over the terrain of the dominant order and foreign to the rules laid down and imposed by a rationality founded on established rights and property.[294]

As peepholes through which to view Ruzzante's life as a perpetually combative enactment of the tactic, the texts of *Moscheta*, *Parlamento*, and *Bilora* yield a fractured perspective of his life, one that emanates from the point of view of his unique subject position.

The relationship of forces that motivates Ruzzante's intellectual creativity and that lead him to write such works might be described as administered life, a term which

denotes a rational order imposed on the individual from without; a confluence of strategies conceived by dominant powers that structures the daily life of Ruzzante.[295] Such an imposition on the life of Ruzzante is demonstrable through a brief exposition of how he arrived on the stage to begin with. Upon his birth into the world of late-fifteenth century Padua, there were no paths open to Angelo Beolco. Even his name, Angelo, one of those frequently given to illegitimate children along with Diodato (literally, God-given), branded him as a burden to be tolerated.[296] Within his family, he could live under a middle-class roof but he would not be educated on the family's dime, nor would he receive much financial support upon his father's death. The Venetian government intervened into Beolco's family life early during the battle in which they reclaimed Padua from the League of Cambrai (1509), when they arrested his two half-brothers. Appearing in such a manner immediately cast the Republic of Saint Mark in a hostile role within Beolco's life drama, and yet it was only in Venice that Beolco could possible earn a living since his talent as a performer portended a life as an entertainer.

Thus, the creation of Ruzzante was a tactical invention that freed him from his family situation and also helped him to infiltrate the Republic's most intimate chambers. Theatre in Venice was, after all, an affair that most frequently unfolded in the private homes of the wealthiest individuals. And yet, his access to Venice still positioned him within "a terrain imposed…and organized by the law of a foreign power." Each theatrical performance became for Angelo, expressing himself as Ruzzante, a means to disturb that power.

His method of disturbance took the appearance of the irrational and absurd. His method of fighting was a wild flailing-about and it occasionally landed blows. The

numerous stages that opened up, like those on which *Moscheta*, *Parlamento*, and *Bilora* appeared, were temporary camps in which Ruzzante could refine his methodology. Very few traces of those camps exist today, and yet these three textual fragments show the performer engaged in a battle with his closest friends, legitimate armies (whether ally or axis), and individuals threatening to take away what little he possessed. The worlds of Ruzzante's theatrical works were certainly aesthetic constructs, universes in which pain and suffering could be worn and stripped off like costumes, but they were by no means fully detached or distinct from the world off the stage. The border between the stage and the Venetian territory was extremely porous. Knowledge Ruzzante gained from surviving from day to day surfaced in the dialogues where it aided Ruzzante in re-staging recent, real life experiences. In this way, the real world was simply a rehearsal for the stage.

The inverse of that statement is also true, since each theatrical performance constituted a staging area from which Ruzzante could test out extreme solutions to common occurrences, such as the murder of the Venetian merchant in *Bilora*. There is no information to suggest that Ruzzante ever killed a Venetian merchant, but extant manuscripts in Modena suggest that he showcased *Bilora* to an audience of exiled Venetians in the Este court. Such an act would have gained financial support for Ruzzante from expatriates who enjoyed the depiction of an ignoble Venetian getting his comeuppance. The play served the tactical purpose of gaining patronage and extending Ruzzante's influence to the Duke of Este, Ercole II, who would summon Ruzzante to his court throughout the performer's life.[297] In sum, the aesthetic world of the stage and the domain of the real off the stage existed together in provocative tension. The entirety of Ruzzante's theatrical career was driven by that tension.

A brief theoretical excursus, via a bizarre pairing, which leads to a view of the tactical space from above

While de Certeau's definition of a tactic describes a dimension of Ruzzante's life-long performance of counter-conduct, which at the moment appears as a physical and psychological battle against external foes marked by a clever adaptation to the environment, it is also a definition that applies to another individual in the sixteenth century, Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus. At first glance, these two figures seem to have nothing whatsoever to do with one another, and yet it is their unexpected coincidence in the "absence of a proper locus" inscribed by the tactic that illuminates a crucial component of Ruzzante's counter-conduct, namely the ascetic dimension of his life work. Analyzing this bizarre pairing of Ruzzante and Ignatius Loyola will help to develop a view of Ruzzante's tactical space in more detail. Mapping their coincidence also makes possible a view of Ruzzante's tactical space from above, as it were, which aids in the historiographical pursuit of assembling the image of the world embedded within the textual fragments of his works and other traces of historical evidence.

How is it possible to reconcile Ruzzante's relative powerlessness with Loyola's position as the founder of the Catholic Church's militant arm? To begin with, Loyola acquired strength and mobility for himself and for the Jesuits through his initial tactical maneuvers within the institution of the Catholic Church, as it existed in the sixteenth century. Loyola himself was a member of the group that Michel de Certeau has named "mystics," made up of individuals who adopted an extremely disciplined posture of

devotion within the Church in order to establish a more direct link to God. The mystic posture was made possible by the creation of a tactical space that existed in opposition to the Church's strategic space; that is, mystics had one foot in the Church and one foot outside of it. They took the disciplinary regiment of the Catholic faith to its most extreme register by renouncing the self and by interpreting the dogmatic, foundational texts of the Church in their own way.

Parsing De Certeau's line of argumentation on the spatial dimension of mystic experience in *The Mystic Fable* reveals the nuance of this self-renunciation and commences the revelation of the coincidence shared by Loyola and Ruzzante. In that argument he historicizes the breakaway of mystic experience *within* the Church institution by analyzing the rewired line of communication between the mystic and God that lay at the core of Loyola's and other mystics' practice of their faith. Wanting to become a subject of God, but wary of the encumbrances of the Church hierarchy, Loyola built his religious identity on a specific understanding of "I," one that demarcated a *space of volition* instead of signifying an individuality that he alone could possess. It was to this space that, according to de Certeau, all mystics absconded, and it was from that space that each mystic instigated an "initial volition"—*volo* (I want)—that linked the mystic to God. This volition marked the beginning of the mystic's subsumption into God and subversion of the channels to the realm of the sacred controlled by the institution of the Church on earth. It was this "I" within the *volo* that initiated all mystics into a similar mystic experience.

As de Certeau explains, the mystic "I want" takes no particular object and "'clings' to *nothing*."[298] By clinging to nothing it "changes into its opposite—not to want

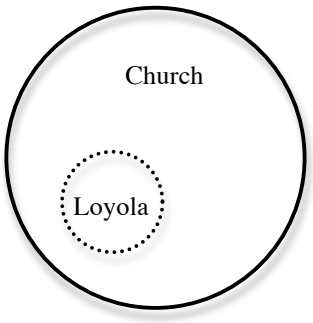
anything—and thus takes up the entire range, both negative and positive, of wanting."[299] Without the fixity of a permanent or stable object, the "I want" frees the will and allows it to "[turn] back upon itself and [identify] with its opposite."[300] Thus, "'to want all' and 'to want nothing' coincide." Once the will encompasses the positive and negative ranges of wanting, once it is no longer linked to the want of something in particular, the *volo* becomes "the act of 'renunciation of one's will.' It is a *not wanting,*" and a "giving up."[301] The space of the *volo* is the entire territory of this wanting and not wanting of anything particular, of a willingness that is also an act of renouncing the will, and it is this paradoxical act of volition that drives mystic discourse throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This territory is what de Certeau calls a "field of a different kind of knowledge." It is an "ethical postulate of a sort of freedom: 'I/you can be (re)born.'"[302] Once reborn, the renounced self that dwells within the "I" of mystic experience communicates directly with God by becoming something like an empty vessel filled by the Lord. That dwelling is not a proper place, but rather a no-place that moves along with the individual mystic. It is the mystics' utopia.

Loyola's path to rebirth appeared to him after a near fatal wound that he accrued in battle. Deciding against a return to his life as a vassal and decorated knight, Loyola cultivated his Spiritual Exercises and gained entry to the Catholic Church as a peculiar free radical within that institution. His position can be explained by diagramming the *volo* and illustrating the change in perspective that it makes possible. Since, on the one hand, the Church licensed the existence of the Society of Jesuits, the Society in general and Loyola in particular was, from a certain angle, contained; the Jesuits were a mobile front line of the post-Tridentine Church and Loyola reported back to the Pope. From another

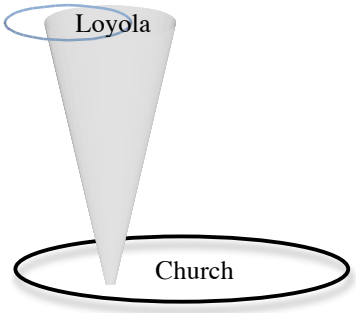
angle, however, Loyola utilized his mobility to radicalize his own practice of faith and create an independent branch of the Church. Loyola became the general of the order, a position referred to as the "black pope" by those who eyed the Jesuits as something of a threat to Papal rule, and he molded his Society into a semi-autonomous legion of soldiers.

Loyola's main tools used for constructing this mobile legion were the Spiritual Exercises, which the Society touted as a regiment of conversion practices capable of, theoretically, reclaiming each and every lost soul belonging to stray Christians. In practice, however, the Exercises were something different for the flock than they were for Loyola himself. Whereas the spiritual retreat designed by Loyola funneled him into the space of the *volo*, they poached the souls of stray sheep and led them back to pastures where they were promised to the Church. In exchange for their allegiance, the flock was offered a promissory note, redeemable only in the after life.

Here are the two angles in pictorial form:



Angle 1



Angle 2

From the first angle, Loyola appears to be contained within the boundaries of the Church. This is the vertical angle. It is to this vertical point of view that the Pope came, as the top of the Church hierarchy, and from which he oversaw the various orders under his command. From the second angle, Loyola hovers above the space controlled by the Church. This is the horizontal angle. It is this horizontal point of view that Loyola could occupy by stepping into the space of the *volo*, which, because of its extreme posture of self-discipline, pushes through the confines of the Church institution. From this point of view, the conditions of the field change. The range of movement afforded by Loyola and the earliest configuration of the Jesuits appear greater from this point of view. Eventually, however, as the Church institution became aware of the strength of the Jesuits, the mobility of Loyola's followers diminished and in 1750 the order was suppressed altogether. This suppression only lasted for approximately two decades, and by the 1780s the Jesuits were back in existence, proving that they could not easily be contained.

Now, it is not simply the case that this schema transfers evenly to Ruzzante. It cannot transfer evenly because Ruzzante was not a mystic and did not partake in the mystic experience. His theatre practice had nothing to do with the sacred; rather, it was bound up entirely with the profane. Regardless of this primary difference, I argue that Ruzzante inverted the architecture of the *volo*, or, better yet, that he exploded it from within in order to persevere within a playing space—life, in general—of a dominant institution—most notably the Venetian state and the Church. He substituted a multiplicity of temporary stages for a central emplacement. His identity was not bound up with an initial volition; instead, it was structured around a kaleidoscopic mode of vision, the *vedo*

(I see). Ruzzante's identity was stitched together through the sightlines opened within numerous *theatres*, literally "seeing places," that he occupied during the performances of his theatrical works. The *vedo* was the secular counterpart of the religious space of the *volo*. Together the *volo* and the *vedo* construct the dialectic of tactical space.

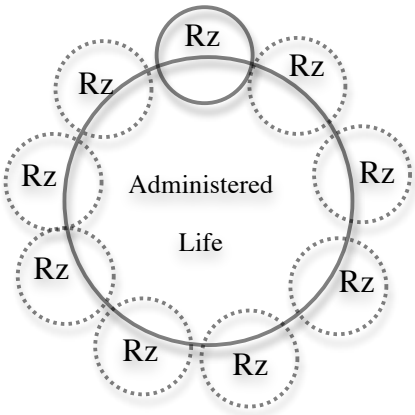
Outlining the components of the *vedo* makes explicit the differences between it and the initial volition of Loyola. The *vedo* encompasses three modal domains of the verb "to see": I see (active); I am seen (passive); I see myself (reflexive). This means that the subject and object of vision is the "I" and that the subject and object are bound together dialectically. The *vedo* is the kaleidoscopic composite of all the stages opened and occupied by Ruzzante over the course of his life. The various points of view opened from Ruzzante's numerous staging areas helped him to accomplish an alienation of the self from the self so as to stitch together a map of the world and an understanding of his place in it. In other words, the individual performances also facilitated a hermeneutics of the subject, a process through which Ruzzante coordinated himself in the world by performing in different theatrical works, reflecting on his performances, altering the quality and content of the performances with the aid of his reflections, and continuing this loop over and over again.

The three fragments of text analyzed in the previous section, however, reveal that the *vedo* is also bound up with blindness. When expressed as Ruzzante's flailing, the sight of the *vedo* becomes proprioceptive. This is the fourth modal domain of the *vedo*, the negative mode: I don't see (I sense). Proprioception is another term for the perspicacity Ruzzante developed through close combat. It is corporeal sight that functions

in the haptic field of perception (the non-optic experience of the eye—and, in this case, the "I"—in haptic space).[303]

As such, the *vedo* breaks with the *volo*. Whereas Loyola came to know himself through a process of spiritual exercises that culminated in a self-renunciation, Ruzzante gained consciousness of himself by enacting the aesthetic exercise of performing himself onstage in different environments of his own creation. Both the mystic experience of Loyola and the aesthetic experience of Ruzzante produced what de Certeau called "a field of a different kind of knowledge," and "an ethical postulate of a sort of freedom." They both entailed the possibility of "I/you can be (re)born," insofar as Loyola was reborn after recovering from his war wounds and Ruzzante was reborn repeatedly as a different incarnation of the same character in a series of plays, monologues, dialogues, etc. For Ruzzante, however, the goal was not to establish a more direct link with God; rather, it was to establish a more direct link with the self.

The diagram of the *vedo* is captured in one angle that simultaneously entails many angles:



Each stage created a distinct point of view and offered Ruzzante a unique line of sight onto the realm of everyday life, but also onto his earlier incarnations. Hints from previous performances exist within repeated jokes, and in elements of refunctioning like the shield in *Moscheta* where Ruzzante's strange adornment connects to knowledge gained from the battlefield and connects again to knowledge relayed in the *Parlamento*. Additionally, each staging area that Ruzzante opened belonged to the realm of the real, whether administered by the social systems of class in Venice and Padua that linked theatre to the inner sanctums of the wealthy or else by the laws of the Church that regulated the lives of peasants in relation to the liturgical calendar about which Ruzzante had plenty to say. At the same time, each stage belonged partially outside of administered life since it opened up as a space of protest that pointed the way to another world. I will develop the complexity of this double character of the stages in the final section by addressing Ruzzante's final work, *Lettera all'Alvarotto*.

For now, the optical perspective onto Ruzzante's staging areas helps to understand the spatial dimension of Ruzzante's subject positions from which he saw the world, was seen by the world, and saw himself operating in the world. It is a bird's eye glimpse of Ruzzante's theatres as they appear from the present moment: a multiplicity of stages popping into and out of existence at different times but summoned conceptually by the compilation of texts that exists as the most substantive trace of Ruzzante's stagecraft. The qualitative dimension of those staging areas and the aesthetic practices that unfolded within them only become visible by zooming back in to the haptic zone of Ruzzante's performances. Returning to the world of Ruzzante's performances made legible by the

texts to his plays, I intend to illustrate how Ruzzante's aesthetic exercises functioned as a means of liberating the self. As such, those exercises turn away completely from the practice of the self as executed by Loyola, the end of which was a necessary self-renunciation and a binding to the will of God. The new direction in which Ruzzante's aesthetic exercises lead is back toward the philosophical life developed by the Stoics, the aim of which was a freeing of the subject and a transformation of everyday life into an art of life.

The battle of self on self, or Ruzzante's ascetic aesthetics

Having analyzed and theorized the tactical dimension of Ruzzante's theatre practice in some detail, I will now focus on the ascetic practices unfolding within Ruzzante's staging areas. Understanding Ruzzante's brand of *ascesis* will bring into focus the second front of the life-long battle that defined Ruzzante's counter-conduct. Whereas the first front was a battle waged against others, this front pit the performer against himself. This battle of self on self once again pairs the two unlikely figures of Ruzzante and Loyola, but, as was the case above, the pairing is most intriguing for the ways in which similarities give way to key differences between the two practices of the self that emerge in the historical traces left by the Jesuit and the Paduan.

Michel Foucault has defined *ascesis* as the exercise of self on self and as the working practice entailed by a conversion to the self. The term has become synonymous with the practice of renunciation, specifically with self-renunciation, because of its place within Christian practices of repentance, but that similarity was not always present. Foucault has suggested that "the objective of *ascesis* in Antiquity [was] in fact the

constitution of a full, perfect, and complete relationship of oneself to oneself," nothing more and nothing less.[304] It was through *ascesis* that "one must acquire something [one did] not have, rather than renounce this or that element of [oneself] that [one was or had]."[305] Ignatius Loyola, though not the first, is a highly visible point of bifurcation where the classical *ascesis* diverted to the more modern practice. As I argued in the previous chapter, the many similarities between the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola and the spiritual exercises described and executed by Plato, Marcus Aurelius, and Seneca, which were the collective set of practices that enabled a caring for and knowing of oneself, were rivaled by a dramatic dissimilarity; namely, by installing God as the arbiter of one's identity and as the final will that accepts or denies one's own conversion, Loyola removed the self as the end of an ascetic life. Loyola inserted a law above and beyond the caring for and knowledge of oneself that was the end of classical *ascesis*, thus forcing the ascetic subject into a form of enslavement to a higher law.

Ruzzante, however, redirects focus back to the more classical ascetic practice. This redirection appears in his work wherever Ruzzante addresses food and the event of eating. At the same time, it is through a mastery of the self as it regards the act of eating that binds Ruzzante and Loyola together. Loyola found the control of food important enough to distinguish within the numerous self-disciplining requirements of his Spiritual Exercises. Under "Rules with Regard to Eating," he wrote the following: "Above all, let him [i.e., the exercitant] be on his guard against being wholly intent upon what he is eating, and against being carried away by his appetite so as to eat hurriedly. Let him always be master of himself, both in the manner of eating and in the amount he eats."[306] The goal of Loyola's stipulation was to force the vital substance of food into a

subordinate position beneath one's desire for God. Ruzzante's stage situations frequently present him in situations where he must master himself in regard to eating, but the goal was anything but self-renunciation.

The binding between the two figures slackens within the aesthetic realm of Ruzzante's stage creations where starvation and living on meager proportions of food becomes a tool for freeing himself from the legal structures placed on him by external forces. At the heart of Ruzzante's theatre practice exists an ascetic aesthetics, but the goal of the *ascesis* is to facilitate Ruzzante's seeing of himself. "Aesthetic" in no way entails an absolute separation between the world of the stage and the world off the stage. Where Ruzzante takes up food as a type of ascetic instrument, a connection is forged between the two worlds. In what follows, I will map the points of connection between the world of the stage and the world off the stage, those points of entry where Ruzzante's aesthetic commentary stray into the realm of the real, and vice-versa, by grappling with the horrors of hunger. This map will also provide an image of the dialectic of excess and discipline that defines Ruzzante's mode of living.

Ruzzante's choice of food as a disruptive tool is appropriate since food is a perplexing substance whenever it appears on the stage. Food is very much identified aesthetically: it emits smell, it provokes taste, it draws the eye, and it solicits touch. But these aesthetic qualities transform into something else when eating occurs and food enters the body. As the body metabolizes what it eats, the aesthetic veneer breaks away and the food is transformed into a concrete substance that provides the body with nourishment. Thus, the sensory/aesthetic qualities of food actually penetrate deep into the body of the consumer and become a vital fuel source. That is to say, audience members perceiving

food onstage understand this about food they see on some level (intuitive, proprioceptive) because of a first hand experience with the act of eating.

Onstage, however, the characters, as fictional constructs, confound this first hand experience since the characters' bodies should have no need of the nourishing components of food. Food is disruptive in this sense: its double character as aesthetic and fully concrete belies the fictional drapery that covers a stage performance. To which body is the audience supposed to pay attention? The bodies of the characters, which thrive on aesthetic constructs alone and need no real nourishment? The bodies of the actors, which exist in the same world as that of the audience? Both bodies at the same time? To which story does the audience pay attention? The story of the characters and their actions in their fictitious world, or the allegorical truth content to which the story refers?

Ruzzante utilized food as a disruptive element to complicate the procedure of watching his theatrical performances. In fact, he did this negatively. More often than not, it was not food that Ruzzante featured in his works but the utter lack of it. He could represent hunger, but the audience could have no knowledge of the experience of hunger unless its members had also experienced it. Hunger therefore distanced the audience by denying them knowledge of the characters' experiences. If the audience members had no desire to share the experience of hunger, then the point was made even more clear: the rich and wealthy members of Ruzzante's theatrical audience, those who had the ability to end the hunger of the peasants on whose labor they relied so heavily, wanted nothing to do with the world Ruzzante was creating for them onstage. Why, then, watch the play at all? Ruzzante caught his audiences in this humorous conundrum. Many of his audiences

watched plays that showed them things they did not care to see. They listened to Ruzzante say things that they did not want to hear.

Most importantly, Ruzzante turned the disruptive affect of food back on himself. This fact becomes visible by noticing the ways in which food and Ruzzante's lack of it always appeared at the confluence of multiple hardships provoked by economic, political, and societal conflicts. Women, even if they loved him, would leave in order to find someone who could consistently put food on the table (*Moscheta*); soldiers conscripted to fight for the Venetian army had to expend great amounts of energy fighting for the benefit of someone else while coping with awful nutrition (*Parlamento*); religious laws legislated the precise times of day that one could eat (*Prima Orazione*).

This complex, in which one finds food and Ruzzante's lack of it at the crossroads of various flows of power, shows itself most vividly in *Dialogo facetissimo* (*Witty Dialogue*, 1529) where Ruzzante's Paduan compatriots Menego and Duozo have the following conversation:

> Menego: You know what I've been thinking, *compare*? That if, after eating, I stop up that hole down below, the food won't be able to get out and my stomach would stay full, and this would keep me from going hungry.
>
> Duozo: What did you say, *compare*? No, damn it, that's not a hole you want to keep stopped up; in fact, it needs to be kept open, if you want to be healthy. No, damn it, don't talk about stopping it up.
>
> Menego: But, *compare*, that's what I'm looking for. I want to make myself ill, because, as I told you, *compare*, when I'm sick, I never get hungry; all I want is not to be hungry. You know what I'm trying to say, *compare*?[307]

Ruzzante's dialogue presents a complicated logical argument that he, as playwright, placed in the mouths of his friends. Hunger made Menego feel awful, and therefore stunted a happy progression through life. One might think that illness would function similarly to hunger on this account, but in this dialogue it functioned as a remedy to the unhappiness caused by hunger: when Menego was sick, he was never hungry. As such, he tried to make himself sick by keeping the food he had eaten inside of him. From his friend Duozo's point of view, this plan was all wrong. But, due to the persistent discomfort of hunger, Menego had developed something like a negative common sense in which illness trumped hunger. By extension, the ultimate panacea would be death since in death one would never be hungry, and that was the state Menego was trying to attain. In that world of Ruzzante's creation, death and living, frequently opposed, fused disjunctively in the pangs of hunger that made life miserable. This complex formulation spouted from two rural farmers served the additional function of spinning the stereotype of the uneducated, lower class worker on its head.

Later in the same work, Menego continued his clever line of thinking. Having been dumped by his lover (obviously a familiar situation), he found himself at the end of his rope with only one line of action to consider, that leading to suicide. But Duozo, having sensed his friend's despair, has left Menego without his sword and gone off to find a magician capable of curing all of life's ills. Left with ample time for a monologue, Menego concocted his plan:

> Poh, it's done, I want to kill myself. But how will I do it since I don't have my sword? [*Shouting*] Eh, *compare*, there's nothing to eat, you'll really be the ruin of me. Now that I need the sword, you take it away. What the hell I'll eat myself,

> that's all I've got! That should do the trick. And that'll make everything better, because if I eat myself, then I'll die happy, in spite of this famine.[308]

The famine to which Ruzzante referred afflicted Menego's world in the play as well as the world without. As Zorzi has explained,

> 'Recited at the hunting lodge at Fosson in the year of the Famine of 1528'. [This] postscript is extremely precious, because it certainly goes back to the author or his family (maybe Cornaro, who conserved Ruzante's works and annotated the manuscripts), and because it allows us to determine the occasion for which the text was composed, fixing one of the few secure dates in the uncertain chronology of Ruzante.[309]

Was the "occasion for which the text was composed" the annual hunting trip to Cornaro's trip to the lodge at Fosson (on the fringes of Padua), or the famine itself? Neither Zorzi nor the text specifies. What is important about this monologue is the theme to which it returned: perpetual hunger. Without practical or rational means to resolve his horrid situation, Menego invested himself in the unpractical and irrational.

If the audience laughed at this irrationality, then they missed the all-too-necessary logic undergirding the speech. Without any other road to take, Menego's seemingly ridiculous attempt at eating himself became the only option for him. As such, it was no choice at all. The jest that Ruzzante created for this scenario accomplished three things at once: it provided Menego with a way to kill himself and to end his miserable life; it provided him with food with which to end his miserable hunger; and, by making the food talk, it elided any difference between the figure of Menego and the object of sustenance, thereby suggesting that the famine equaled a means of subsistence for everyone else. Put

another way, the negative common sense permeating this final point suggests that with one less peasant mouth to feed the upper classes had more food for its members. Menego's stage persona and his real-life counterpart blended together, just as the famine in the world of the play recalled the famine off the stage. Ruzzante provided Menego as the prey for the hunters/audience at Cornaro's lodge to feast upon. Menego got the last laugh, however, by getting the first bite.

Suicide by eating oneself to death was a favorite situation of Ruzzante's. It showed up more than once in his plays. In the *Moscheta*, Ruzzante himself appeared in the same scenario that he had constructed for Menego in *Dialogo facetissimo*. His lover, Betía had left him. His friend was no help at all. Accordingly, only one path revealed itself to him:

> Oh, if I just had a knife, the whole world couldn't stop me from killing myself! Since I have no knife, I'll kill myself with punches. Take that, take that, you blockhead…I know, I'll strangle myself with my own hands so my eyes will come out and I'll scare everyone. I'll eat myself…now where shall I start eating myself from? I want to start with the feet, because if I start with the hands I won't be able to eat the rest after…I'll never be able to eat all of myself. But I'll eat so much that I'll pop off. And when I've popped off, what will you have got out of it? Please, throw down a little cord to me, dear Betìa, so I can hang myself, so I can stop suffering.[310]

Similar to Menego's monologue but presenting key nuances in the negative common sense, Ruzzante's monologue demonstrated excessive redundancy. He suggested many ways of ending his life: with a weapon, with his hands, by eating himself, and then by

hanging. The knife, probably the most painless of the options, was out. Perhaps it was too easy? He tried punching but seems to have tired of it. Strangling presented the promise of disturbing people who came upon his dead body, but that thought dissolved when Ruzzante discovered the possibility of eating himself. Where Menego's autophagy lacked method, Ruzzante's showed extreme rigor. There was an immanent logic to it. He could put himself in a bind if he started with his hands, so he chose to start with the feet. But that would be ridiculous—not because of the physical pain, or the sheer physical impossibility, but because there was too much of him to eat. He would actually die of being stuffed. And that would show Betía the error of her ways. How could she leave Ruzzante for a man with more food when Ruzzante had plenty of food, so much that he would actually die from its excess!? The irony of this monologue was that none of these methods worked. What ended up killing Ruzzante? He ended up dying by living, since living entailed suffering that inevitably killed him.

Interpreting Ruzzante's humor sometimes requires stifling the laugh in order to see the unfunny truth of the jokes he tells. The two comical situations from the *Dialogo facetissimo* and the one from the *Moscheta* that I just presented are each examples of much more than frivolous or absurd nonsense. They are tactical maneuvers of counter-conduct that allow Ruzzante to elude the constrictions placed on him by his societal position. The aesthetic worlds in which his maneuvers unfold are in fact all non-positions, brief blips in the world coordinated by living conditions imposed from without. The way that Ruzzante conducts his life onstage, and the ways in which his casts of compatriots conducted their lives, should be evaluated as attempts for Ruzzante to govern his own states of affairs. He will die as he chooses. He will eat what he pleases. In this

case, counter-conduct is synonymous with a choice to conduct one's own life as one would like, whether or not that conduct corresponds to laws established by external authorities or to a rational understanding of the laws of nature.

To develop the elements of counter-conduct in Ruzzante's jokes, particularly the jokes about food and hunger, it is instructive to employ Foucault's formulations. Foucault addressed the issue of counter-conduct as it related to government rationality, and specifically the governmentality of pastoral power around the time Ruzzante was performing, by defining the term as a self-fashioned mode of living constructed by those who seek to "escape direction by others and to define the way for each individual to conduct himself."[311] Foucault outlined five main forms of counter conduct. Framing Ruzzante's work with each of those five forms not only brings into focus his relation to the pastoral power coursing through the Veneto in the sixteenth century, and by extension brings Loyola back into Ruzzante's orbit; it also leads to a confrontation between Ruzzante and his patron, Alvise Cornaro, and, in turn, to a nuanced understanding of Ruzzante's identity as an artist dependent on a wealthy financier for his well being.

The first form of counter-conduct, according to Foucault, emerges in the construction of communities. At the core of close-knit communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as enclaves of peasants and peripheral religious sects, he suggests that there was a "counter-society aspect, a carnival aspect, overturning social relations and hierarchies."[312] Ruzzante's community appeared time and again in his staged performances where Menego, Duozo, Menato, Betía, Dina, and other peasants appeared as the protagonists. Ruzzante placed that grouping of peasants front and center.

In those constructed worlds, he developed his community's mode of seeing and understanding the world through the construction of the negative common sense that was evident in the *Dialogo facetissimo,* the *Moscheta*, and the rest of his works. The "overturning" of societal relations existed obliquely in Menego's attempt to plug up the "hole down below," and more vividly in the staged murder of Andronico in *Bilora*. With the former, the medical quackery referenced by the alternative healthcare plan flew in the face of accepted medical beliefs and routines, of which even Duozo seemed to be aware. In the latter, the premeditated murder broke with theatrical tradition by portraying death in front of the spectators' eyes at the same time as it blatantly threatened Venetian upper-class merchants for committing a social wrong that was quite familiar to peasants of the day. Ruzzante's stage communities offered a glimpse to his audiences of an entirely different political and social order.

The second form of counter-conduct that Foucault describes brings the conversation squarely into the milieu of pastoral power. Foucault links up with de Certeau here in his belief that mysticism was a form of deviance that sought to undermine or even to ignore completely the mandates pressed down upon individuals by the Church's authority. "The pastorate was the channel between the faithful and God," as he explains it. "In mysticism there [was] an immediate communication that [could take] the form of dialogue between God and the soul, of appeal and response, of the declaration of God's love of the soul, and of the soul's love of God."[313] The mystic space of the *volo* was the arena in which the dialogue with God took place. Its flipside, that of the *vedo*, was Ruzzante's domain, a sort of secular and profane mystical space from which the performer could view himself and the world from multiple angles. It is this latter space

that resonates with Foucault's pronouncement that, "[i]n mysticism the soul sees itself."[314] Ruzzante was not a mystic, but his tactical space bore more than a passing familiarity to the mystical tactical space.

Ruzzante not only shared an orbit with Loyola but also with another religious figure, that of Martin Luther. It is he who best embodied the third form of counter-conduct, one that Foucault links to "a problem of scripture." Luther's counter-conduct stemmed from his own investment in scripture. Through his studies, Luther determined that the Church had deviated from the mandates set out there. The Reformation was an attempt to drag the Church back onto the right track. For his part, Loyola also reinterpreted the scripture and determined that the Church was capable of following the Word of God more closely. By naming his company the Society of Jesus, he attempted to discipline the flock anew under the name of Christ, even though the other holy orders grumbled about Loyola's personal claim on the name of Jesus. It is comical, then, that, in a certain way, "the problem of scripture" pairs Luther and the Jesuits together as groups that caused the core institution of the Church considerable stress. The Jesuits may have sought to suppress the Lutheran Reformation, but they were each engaged in rethinking the code of conduct that the Church needed to follow on earth.

Ruzzante joins this unlikely pair to make an unruly threesome. His own interpretation of scripture appeared most vividly in the *Prima* and *Seconda Orazione* where he used his private audience with the two Cornaro Cardinals to demand distinct point of reform. The request by the orator in the first of the two performances for permission to work on Feast days, to eat whatever and whenever he wished, and to castrate philandering priests were all issues that Luther took up explicitly in the "Address

to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate."[315] Where he most resembled Loyola was in his dedication to the impoverished peasants on whose behalf he spoke. Against the riches of the Church, Ruzzante claimed superiority for the rural way of life where people took only what they needed. Zorzi has claimed that in the *Seconda Orazione*, which only took place because none of Ruzzante's requests from the *Prima Orazione* were met, the Paduan spokesperson's voice "[rose] with an unusual timbre," and that what was particularly interesting "[was] the prospect of certain evils as genuine social ills. The solution, according to Ruzante, [was] found in a return to the genuine spirit of the Gospel."[316] Like Loyola and Luther, re-cognizing the poverty preached by the Gospels was the first step toward true reform.[317] Each of these three historical figures set about articulating the "problem of scripture" in his own unique way.

Building off the sentiment of those two orations, the fourth form of counter-conduct enforced a belief that the degradation of Church integrity signaled that the end was nigh. This form is what Foucault encapsulated in the phrase "eschatological beliefs." The basic principle was that the guidance of the Church's shepherds was unnecessary because Judgment Day was close at hand. Counter-conduct amounted to abandoning the lead of the shepherds in favor of more direct supplication to the coming judge. Ruzzante embodied this belief in his own unique style by electing himself as the man to do the judging. He had neither the desire nor the need to wait for God. When he forcefully addressed the two Cardinals, he was passing judgment on the current states of affairs, and his plan of reform was the map to a new civilization.

Of all five forms, it is the fifth and final form of counter-conduct that is most important for this argument. That form is asceticism. Foucault describes asceticism as "a progression according to a scale of increasing difficulty. It is, in the strict sense of the term, an exercise, an exercise going from the easier to the more difficult, and from the more difficult to what is even more difficult."[318] Ruzzante's life work appears as this very progression. Each performance took on more and more difficult social problems. As Ruzzante's own life became more problematic, and as he became more familiar with the complexities of daily life, his theatrical works resonated more loudly with the performances offered by the common peasant every day in his or her fight to stay alive. His chosen mode of expression through which to address the day-to-day was the articulation of excess. His theatre was always extreme. Cuckoldry, murder, starvation, bestiality, defecation, and suicide were the situations in which the stage persona of Ruzzante thought through the difficulties of his life. And yet, within those extreme situations existed a rigorous self-discipline.

This discipline appeared in the *unfunniness*[319] of Ruzzante's jokes. It was folded within his acts of self-medicating and self-devouring. The situations in which those jokes appeared were experiments in self-comportment. Ruzzante's negative common sense led him to construct new regiments of discipline for himself, the practice of which entailed outrageous trials of agony that pushed life to its limits. If the *commedia dell'arte* became known for the construction of situational comedy, then Ruzzante should be discussed for his construction of situational crisis in which the actor tested the limits of the thinkable through experiments of how much one individual could endure. Unlike in *commedia* where the character types were readymade and the jokes belonged to a set collection of

witticisms, Ruzzante's character was always in flux and his jokes were always double-edged comments about the effects of administered life on his self and the bodies of his *compari*.

Again, a quotation from Foucault is illuminating: "Asceticism is a sort of exasperated and revered obedience that has become egoistic self-mastery. Let's say that in asceticism there is a specific excess that denies access to an external power."[320] If Angelo Beolco was the true personage who endured daily hardship and who watched his friends endure similar travails, then Ruzzante was that "specific excess" that denied the external powers. Through his situations of crisis, Ruzzante's unique solutions to life's problems replaced the solutions dictated by the Church and the State, which were usually no solutions at all. Instead of dying of starvation, he attempted to eat himself to death. To fight emaciation and malnourishment, his characters plugged-up their asses. These images of discomfort rhyme with the self-flagellating penitents within the structure of the Spiritual Exercises who sought to retrain their bodies to live in accordance with God. As the underside of these more traditional ascetics, however, Ruzzante respected no external authority, and the end of his ascetic aesthetic exercises was a freeing of the self. Ruzzante was the means through which Beolco freed himself. By becoming Ruzzante, Beolco embodied the specific excess that denied power to external authority.

Of the five forms of counter-conduct that Foucault theorizes, asceticism is the most productive in an analysis of Ruzzante and his theatre practice. So much of his humor might be discarded as grotesque, scatological, or immature; jokes that go too far, or that feature excesses (i.e., that which is always beyond accepted limits) in their most disturbing forms. Yet, within these excesses there is a disciplined confrontation of the

self with the self. This comes across especially where food and hunger is concerned, since starvation is a point of extreme bodily disruption. Hunger is the body feeding on itself, and Ruzzante's jokes about starvation were an ascetic confrontation with the realities of hunger that unfolded within the aesthetic realm of his constructed environments. Those environments, in turn, became extensions of the offstage environment. In the next section, I will pursue this matter further by dissecting one of the "external powers" that Ruzzante denied power to, the figure of his patron, Alvise Cornaro. By juxtaposing Cornaro's own beliefs on food and hunger it is possible to see how Ruzzante's ascetic aesthetic bout with starvation related directly to the everyday and perspicaciously bridged the gap between the aesthetic world and the Veneto in the sixteenth century.

The Sober Life

Late in his life, Alvise Cornaro (c.1484-1566) wrote a guide to long life and healthy living called, *Discourses on a Sober and Temperate Life* (c.1561). In that work, Ruzzante's patron conceived sobriety as the necessary condition for reaching old age. Old age was a worthy goal because, for Cornaro, the longer one lived the more knowledge one gained. Outlining Cornaro's argument and placing it next to Ruzzante's tactical maneuvering around food, hunger, etc., helps to elaborate further on Ruzzante's asceticism and to demonstrate more clearly how his aesthetic worlds were always directly linked to his life off the stage.

A printing of the *Sober Life* in 1791 added as an appendix a letter Cornaro wrote to the Patriarch Elect of Aquileia, the Reverend Barraro, in which the author expounded

the thesis to his guide for healthy living. "I, who can account for it," he wrote, "am bound to show, that a man may enjoy a terrestrial paradise after eighty, which I enjoy; but it is not to be obtained except by temperance and sobriety."[321] Of what did this sobriety consist? It meant measured eating and drinking, in general, and a disciplined abstinence from excessively sweet, oily, and fatty foods, more specifically. Cornaro situated his sober life against what he understood of Epicurus' philosophy. The primary stipulation he disagreed with from that philosophy was, "[t]hat whatever pleases the palate must agree with the stomach, and nourish the body."[322] In his experience, that simply was not true. Upon restricting his diet, Cornaro discovered a remarkable transformation in his daily sense of wellbeing.

He thus set about weeding-out all excesses from his diet and from his environment. He wrote,

> [I eat only] as much as my stomach can easily digest, and those things only which agree with me, I have carefully avoided heat, cold, and extraordinary fatigue, interruption of my usual hours of rest, excessive venery, any stay in bad air, and exposing myself to the wind and sun; for these, too, cause great disorders.[323]

These were the steps that led him to life after eighty, and, according to him, even protected him from physical harm. After being thrown from his carriage in the later portion of his life, he recovered quickly and confounded doctors who figured that he should easily have died. "Hence we are to infer, that whoever leads a sober and regular life, and commits no excess in his diet can suffer but very little from disorders of any kind, or external accidents."[324]

The negative course of action was explained along side a positive one. Against all that he refused to eat he listed all that was acceptable:

> …the things I eat are as follows. First, bread, panado[325] with an egg, or such other good kinds of soup, or spoon meet. Of flesh meat I eat veal, kid, and mutton. I eat poultry of every kind. I eat partridges, and other birds, such as thrushes. I likewise eat fish; for instance, the goldney and the like, amongst sea fish; and the pike, and such like, amongst fresh-water fish. All these things are fit for an old man, and therefore, he ought to be content with them; and, considering their number and variety, not hanker after others.[326]

Anyone in the world was capable of following this regiment. More than that, Cornaro understood his sober life as an ethical mandate: "I conclude, that every man is bound in duty to exert himself to obtain longevity, and that he can not promise himself such a blessing without temperance and sobriety."[327]

Oddly, of all the people who best exemplified eating habits such as those outlined in his book it was the poor that stood out in Cornaro's mind. He wrote that,

> Such old men as are too poor to allow themselves provisions of this kind, may do well with bread, panado, and eggs; things which no poor man can want, unless it be common beggars, and, as we call them, vagabonds, about whom we are not bound to make ourselves uneasy, since they have brought themselves to that pass by their indolence, and had better be dead than alive; for they are a disgrace to human nature. But, though a poor man should eat nothing but bread, panado, and eggs, there is no necessity for his eating more than his stomach can digest.[328]

Ergo, those who are most wanting of food are in a perfectly acceptable position; perhaps even a position to be envied, since they do not need to fear the constant presence of excess food as a temptation to threaten their diet.

Finally, in addition to abstaining from eat and drink, there was one more important mechanism at work in Cornaro's sobriety. He named it Regularity:

> O holy and truly happy Regularity! How holy and happy should me, in fact, deem thee, since the opposite habit is so wretched, as evidently appears to those who consider the opposite effects of both so that men should know thee by thy voice alone, and thy lovely name; for what a glorious name, what a noble thing, is an orderly and sober life.[329]

Indeed, the idea that "what we leave after making a hearty meal does us more good than what we have eat[en]" seals-up Cornaro's sober life as an ethical system of conduct and good sense.[330] To sum up that system, I would argue that it rests on the following tenets: the discipline of the sober life enabled or created the conditions of possibility for obtaining old age; excess consumption was the main adversary of the sober life; sobriety was not an option, it was an ethical mandate for all.

Re-introducing Ruzzante at this point will help to develop the dialectic of the sober life produced by the clash between the performer and his patron's perspectives. The dialectic emerges by viewing the sober life from two perspectives simultaneously. This dual-perspective has four main focal points. The first takes Cornaro's perspective of the sober life as an ethical mandate and pairs it with Ruzzante's adversarial relationship with what I have been calling administered life. It is important to note that Cornaro develops his ethical plan out of his own individual experience, much as Loyola developed the

Spiritual Exercises after his vision of God. By grafting beliefs derived from personal experiences onto a multitude of people with different experiences, both ethical systems evolved into mechanisms of capture. Loyola was more militant in his distribution of his ethical plan to the general public than was Cornaro, but Cornaro's *Sober Life*, specifically where it meets up with Ruzzante's life, reveals itself to preach an untruth just as much as the *Exercises* of Loyola. For Ruzzante, sober life is the state of affairs in which he finds himself thanks to the fact that his daily conditions are administered from without. What appears as an ethical mode of living from Cornaro's point of view can only appear as a form of administration from Ruzzante's perspective.

The second focal point opens by scrutinizing the practice of self-renunciation demanded by Cornaro's treatise. Again, in Cornaro's own words, the goal of this self-renunciation is to attain a type of paradise on earth. To phrase it as a question, Cornaro asks himself how he can possibly obtain such a terrestrial paradise. The answer is simple: to live the sober life. The question for Ruzzante is, however, something completely different. In a bizarre way, following Cornaro's logic, Ruzzante has already attained the sober life. Stories of excessive eating and elegies given to Paduan beans, grains, and bread notwithstanding, the lack of food that plagues the members of Ruzzante's community aligns them with the poor people that Cornaro portrays as having the path to sobriety open wide in front of them. Since sobriety is an administered state of affairs, and since his sober life is already a type of reality, his question becomes how to maneuver through the sober life. Or, to evoke de Certeau once again, Ruzzante needs to discover tactical methods of avoiding the pitfalls of enforced sobriety.

The answer for Cornaro's question—how do I attain the sober life—comes in his regiment of abstinence. He eats very little and achieves his paradise on earth, as he attests in his letter to the Patriarch Elect of Aquileia. Ruzzante's decision takes him in another direction. He desires to flee Cornaro's paradise and to avoid the trapping of eternal life that the paradise offers in favor of the fleeting moment. What Cornaro sees as paradise, Ruzzante sees as an agonizing life of servitude and hunger. Ruzzante chooses instead the fleeting moment within the temporal frame demanded by the theatre and opts for a life of temporary episodes over an above any kind of immortality. Zorzi adds a necessary nuance into Ruzzante's choice, namely that, "his [theatre] is not a trivial personification of the need to escape the cares and sorrows of the everyday, but the search for a balanced interior equilibrium."[331] He finds this equilibrium in the worlds of his own making, where the weight of the sober life gives way in the possibility of eating oneself to death. Against Cornaro's paradise on earth that takes the form of a long life, the length of which is obtainable only by depriving oneself of food and drink, Ruzzante opted for his temporary gardens of theatrical performance that he could unfold for a brief time and then pack up again.

This leads to the third focal point of the sober life dialectic, which exists in the Regularity/Irregularity of the two modes of life presented by Cornaro, on the one hand, and Ruzzante, on the other. Cornaro's regiment of self-renunciation is maintained by Regularity, which makes visible the necessity of excess in his plan of sober living. Production of excrement (the body's excess, what it leaves behind) becomes proof of Regularity and thus proof of a smooth functioning sober system. Ruzzante's aesthetic world is maintained instead by his irregularity, that which I have been calling his

negative common sense. Seemingly excessive means of confronting hunger, such as, for example, Menego's suggested scheme, actually requires comporting the self in new ways. This comportment is a disciplined practice of self-fashioning that becomes possible in Ruzzante's theatre spaces. These spaces are always made possible by and infused with the conditions offstage. In this way, Ruzzante's irregularity does not help him to escape the world; rather, his irregularity facilitates an encounter with the world on his own terms. Regularity: a smooth functioning of the body's digestive system leading to the creation of a permanent joy in a paradise of the world. This was the keystone of Cornaro's system. Against it, Ruzzante's irregularity: a short-circuited system of bodily comportment unfolding in temporary worlds that opened within stage performances. Both perspectives are necessary components of the so-called sober life.

Ultimately, the fourth and final focal point emerges within the two types of *ascesis* that show themselves in this comparison between Cornaro and Ruzzante. On one side, Cornaro appears in a similar light as Loyola. The disciplined program of sobriety requires excess on hand as that which the program of good living can continually negate. Cornaro enacts a plan for good living similar to that of the Jesuits when he sets out to achieve a form of immortality through a rigorous self-discipline that leads to radical self-renunciation. On the other side, Ruzzante is himself the excess of Beolco that, once assumed, blocks access to the external authorities—by failing to capitulate to enforced sobriety—and helps Ruzzante to come alive. Ruzzante's numerous stage creations emerge as necessary sites of resistance against the sober life. The more stages there are, the more opportunities there will be to create a body of knowledge about the self, about how the world works, and about how the self exists in the world. Each staging leads to

more and more complex formulations so that, by the end of his career, Ruzzante was dealing with the theme of administered life head on, with very little guise of fiction. This fact becomes apparent most clearly in Ruzzante's final work, the *Lettera all'Alvarotto*, which I will analyze in the next and final section.

What I would like to foreground with this enumeration of the four focal points is that by recognizing Ruzzante as the figure embodying a negative version of Cornaro's sober life it becomes possible to view Ruzzante as an aesthetic figure participating in a life that Foucault has called the philosophical life. Via Foucault, the philosophical life is a "life obtained thanks to a *tekhne*." It is a life that refuses to comply with "a *regula* (a rule);" rather, "it submits to a *forma* (a form). It is a style of life, a sort of form one gives to one's life."[332] In other words, by perpetually enacting Ruzzante, the historical figure who began life as Angelo Beolco treated his life as a work, an art. His art of living became the antidote to the various government rationalities attempting to administer life in the Veneto in the sixteenth century.

Ruzzante in the realm of ethics

By suggesting that Ruzzante's aesthetic realm of the stage was linked inextricably with the world offstage, I am drawing attention to four qualities expressed by Ruzzante's work. First, the notion of theatre as a fictional genre or as a site of illusion and fantasy does not cover what Ruzzante was doing. Instead of that view, I contend that his entire theatre practice was a venue for engaged and combative protest against the living conditions in which he found himself. This protest utilized theatre as its medium of expression.

Second, without political, spiritual, or ethical tracts published in his name, the historical subjectivity of Ruzzante is difficult to excavate; but, the texts to his theatrical works offer a glimpse into his mode of operating in the world. Since Ruzzante's theatrical practice did not consist solely of entertaining stories and fictitious scenarios but also of direct interventions with authorities of Church and state, the textual remnants of those theatrical works have embedded within them peepholes that expose glimpses of the field of social relationships in which Ruzzante was immersed. His mode of operating in the world was primarily ascetic, in the sense forwarded by Foucault. It is this ascetic attribute of his performances that leads to the possibility of developing his theatre practice as a form of counter-conduct. Recognizing Ruzzante's operation of counter-conduct moves him from the status of historical object to historical subject.

Third, the various strategies that ordered Ruzzante's world of sixteenth-century Padua become intelligible as the generative matrix that made Ruzzante's life on stage possible. The three most dominate powers—The Church and the Venetian state (which I discussed at more length in chapter one) and Cornaro's patronage—created for Ruzzante something like a life-as-test, to which he responded by composing a life-as-art. I call this life as art a tactical operation of the self that had as its privileged point of unfolding the stage; or, to come at it another way, I argue that Ruzzante *composed* himself in the multiple and impermanent stages he constructed throughout his life. All this is not to say that the strategies issued by dominant authorities were solely responsible for making Ruzzante what he was, or that those strategies preempted his tactical maneuvers. What Ruzzante's life-as-art asks one to consider is the dynamic of the dialectical tension derived from the antagonism between Ruzzante's stages and the world offstage.

Finally, once assembled as an ascetic mode of counter-conduct, Ruzzante's life begins to resemble the classical *ascesis* of Stoic philosophers. This, in turn, pulls Ruzzante from his historical obscurity into an interesting pairing with Ignatius Loyola. Grappling with the similarities and differences of that duo helps to render Ruzzante's theatre practice as a series of aesthetic exercises engaged in the task of freeing the self through a process of becoming-aware of his position in the world, understanding the relation of that position to the obstacles formed by the strategies of external authorities, and composing tactics of comportment capable of moving his body through the field of obstacles.

Ruzzante's final work, the *Lettera all'Alvarotto*, brings all of these considerations together and presents a tableau of his ethical engagement with the world. There are two major complexities I would like to deal with. First, if Ruzzante's counter-conduct could be considered a means of creating a presence in the world on his own terms, a self that could exist within and without the strategies of external authorities, then the *Lettera* seems to negate that effort completely. Ruzzante was not present to perform the piece. Instead, he mailed the *Lettera* to his friend and colleague Marco Alvarotto, the actor who played Menego and Menato in numerous Ruzzante works, understanding that Alvarotto would relay its contents to the audience. In doing so, Ruzzante seems to have accentuated his absence by inserting a present-absence into his patron's hunting lodge at Fosson where Alvarotto, Cornaro, and other artists were gathered. Alvarotto would have stepped into the space of this present-absence to perform the work for an audience. Thus, how could Ruzzante's counter-conduct happen without his bodily presence? How, in fact, can

this *Lettera* be considered a Ruzzantian theatrical work at all if one of the conditions of theatre is the presence of the body upon the stage?

Second, the *Lettera* would also seem to present a problem for my theory that Ruzzante shunned Cornaro's quest for long life and desire for discovering a terrestrial paradise in favor of inhabiting the temporal frame of the instant and the impermanent existence offered by the milieu of the stage space. It presents this problem directly by relaying a story in which Ruzzante attempts to search for a means of living forever because he does not want to die. His search takes him to a terrestrial paradise where Joy, Love, Friendship and other allegorical entities live and play happily together.

By employing a reversal typical of Ruzzante's own negative common sense, these complications lead to profound assertions of precisely those aspects of Ruzzante's mode of acting that the *Lettera* would seem to deny. For this final section, I will offer a brief synopsis of the *Lettera* and develop the complexities of this theatrical work in an effort to generate one final image of Ruzzante's ethical engagement with the world. Excavating the text in this way will lead back to the *vedo* and yield one final perspective of the world from Ruzzante's haptic perspective.

Ruzzante wrote his letter in Padua and signed it on the Feast day of the Epiphany, 1536 (c. 6 January). The story that it relayed was in many ways an epiphany of Ruzzante's own, which he seems to have arrived at after several years spent in Cornaro's circle. He began the letter by addressing the circle of his friends who were gathered at Cornaro's hunting lodge, explaining that he was sorry he could not be present with them but that he had recently had some fun of his own. He had experienced a strange but

illuminating journey. It started when he "entered one day into a terrible desire to live forever, or at least to be among the last men standing."[333] He remembered reading somewhere that extremely long life was indeed possible and that there was a woman, a *Madonna Temperanza* (Madam Temperance), who could grant immortality. He set about consulting his books to discover if she or any of her compatriots were still alive. The answers he found were vague and so he had to set the books aside and go out looking for the woman himself. All of this he relayed through his letter in the best Florentine dialect he could muster.

After unsuccessfully looking all over the place for this *Madonna Temperanza*, Ruzzante was confused and irritated that his books were not more help to him. Finding himself atop a mountain, relying on his dogs to find food and bring it back to him, and tired out by his search, Ruzzante became sleepy: "When I got over my anger, I was atop one of our mountains in Este, hunting, waiting alone for the hounds to return from another hill where they were chasing a hare; and they were so far away that I could no longer hear them."[334] In fact, he could no longer hear anything and the silence that enveloped him led him into a deep sleep: "sleep entered my eyes and, once inside, chained the door, and closed me out of myself."[335] This was incredibly pleasing to him since, as he expressed it, it was "the most smooth and sweet sleep that ever closed the eyes of man."[336]

Upon being shut out of himself, Ruzzante's old friend Barba Polo appeared to him out of nowhere. This was confusing to him since Polo had died a while back, and the image in front of him looked so real that he could not tell if it was a spirit or not. Encountering his friend required Ruzzante to switch from the Florentine to his native

Paduan dialect, and the conversation that ensued was quite enlightening. Polo told Ruzzante four things. First, he was completely capable of taking Ruzzante where he needed to go. Second, he had to act as a guide because books would be no help to Ruzzante at all in this situation. Third, the books would be no help in particular because Ruzzante had not remembered the correct name of the woman he needed to find. He was in fact looking for *Madonna Allegrezza* (Madam Joy), not *Madonna Temperanza*. Fourth, and most importantly, Polo told Ruzzante that he had better be sure that he really wanted to live a long time. Some people are undeserving of such a gift, and others are not even sure what life is. There are some people, he suggested, that hardly know that they are alive; you could hardly call what they are doing living. "But," at the other end of the spectrum, "if one lives only one year and knows he is alive, wouldn't that be more of a life, a longer life, than those who live a thousand years and don't ever know that they are living?"[337]

Ruzzante decided that he did know what he was looking for and that he wanted Polo to show him the way. Complying with his friend's request, Polo led Ruzzante to the house of *Madonna Allegrezza*. Upon arriving, Polo described the location and all of its bucolic beauty: lush plants, running streams, birds singing. The figures occupying the house on the territory were the company members of *Madonna Allegrezza*: Aunt Wisdom, Laughter, Party, Dance, Unison Singing, Peace, Charity, Gloria, Vigil, Silence, and others. They were all engaged in game play and in protecting the house from unwelcomed guests such as Love, that little boy with the bow and arrows, the son of Damnation and Perdition. All of this activity unfolded under Ruzzante's gaze, but he was careful not to look upon the scene directly because, as Polo had instructed, looking

directly at the figures would make them disappear. Ruzzante had to save his direct gaze for *Madonna Allegrezza* herself since simply looking upon her would lengthen his life.

But as the excitement unfolded and as Polo instructed Ruzzante on how to obtain long life, another sound of music infiltrated the scene. Ruzzante resumed the narration of the event in his Florentine dialect and told his friends gathered at Cornaro's lodge that while Polo was talking to him,

> I thought I heard some music, not from singing or from any instrument, but some kind of concert or harmony that I wouldn't know how to explain to you unless you were asleep like I was there…I wanted to fix [the image and the music] so as not to forget it (it delighted me so), but my eyes seemed impeded by some sort of weight; then, wanting so much to open them, the sleep went away, and I stayed there with eyes opened for real.[338]

Once awake, Ruzzante reflected on his vision (*alla mia visione*) and realized that the music he heard was really the sounds of the dogs barking. In other words, the reality of the world was filled with the same sorts of sights and sounds as his dreamscape, so he decided to return to the real world and leave the paradise behind. With that revelation, the narrator signed off with the signature, "Your brother Ruzzante."

Instead of interpreting this final work as either a letter or a monologue, it is instructive to read the *Lettera all'Alvarotto* as an account of a secular mystic experience. The *Lettera* is Ruzzante's most powerful attempt to blur the aesthetic realm and the domain off the stage together. It commences with a "vision," or an ecstatic (literally, *ex stasis*; from Latin, *extasis*) experience that puts him in a trance-like state. Once within the

"vision," Ruzzante occupies the space of the *vedo*, the secular counterpoint to the mystical space of the *volo* inhabited by Ignatius Loyola and articulated by de Certeau in *The Mystic Fable*. The four modal domains of the verb "to see" all reveal themselves in the letter, and, since the letter is relaying an episode of Ruzzante's life, it is important to note that the *vedo* appears simultaneously in the world beyond the stage. The active mode, "I see," unfolds in the narrative through the overarching framework of the journey that sends Ruzzante into a "vision" in order to discover a site of interest and report it back to his friends at Cornaro's hunting lodge. Ruzzante functions in this mode as a witness to the impermanence and instability of the terrestrial paradise and also of life in general.

The passive mode, "I am seen," shows itself most clearly in the theatrical architecture of Madam Joy's house where Ruzzante acts as audience member to the scene that goes on in front of him. Polo's warning to him not to look too closely at the figures in the scene hints at the ever-present state of Ruzzante's state of being seen, which has the potential to destroy the performance. This "being seen" is echoed in the theatrical architecture inferred by the performance of the letter. Alvarotto's recitation of Ruzzante's letter constructs a scenario in which Cornaro's circle gathers around as audience to watch Alvarotto relay Ruzzante's story. That recitation will eventually end and Alvarotto's performance will fade just as the performance of the allegorical figures faded for Ruzzante. As a performance, the function of the letter is "to be seen."

The reflexive mode, "I see myself," adds a layer of complexity to the entire performance event. This illuminates the philosophical dimension in which Ruzzante thinks about himself thinking. The letter as a whole is a commentary of this performance of thought on thought, since it relays knowledge that Ruzzante acquired once "shut out of

himself" by his ecstatic vision. The letter entails a seeing-himself-in-the-world, which Ruzzante accomplishes after reflecting on the experience of visiting the terrestrial paradise. That paradise, he realizes, was nothing more or less than a reconfiguration of certain sights and sounds taken from the mountaintop. The consequence of the reflexive "I see myself" in Ruzzante's narrative is that his quest of eternal life becomes less important than the letter he writes about that quest to his friends. Ruzzante recognizes his experience as an educational event that taught him about the world and that could also teach his friends about the possibility or impossibility of such a paradise really existing.

The final mode, "I don't see (I sense)," becomes the affective force that pulls Ruzzante back to himself on the mountaintop in Este and away from the realm of the vision. He expresses this in the phrase: "my eyes seemed impeded by some sort of weight; then, wanting so much to open them, the sleep went away, and I stayed there with eyes opened for real." Wrapped in this phrase is the fact that the vision of terrestrial paradise could only appear to Ruzzante when his eyes were closed and, bereft of sight, he could sense a different reality. His eyes were closed for the entire journey to the house of Madam Joy, and the blindness caused by his closed eyes was not an impediment because, first, he had Polo to guide the way, and, second, he never had the opportunity to look at anything directly. Ruzzante could not look directly at the scene unfolding in the vision because if he did it would disappear; instead, he glimpsed partial images obliquely through Polo's description and sensed the emotions of happiness, peace, silences, etc., that emanated from the earthly utopia. Additionally, the fact relayed to Ruzzante by Polo that stated all Ruzzante had to do to extend his life was to look upon Madam Joy serves

in this letter to point out that Ruzzante never obtained any extra life. He never looked upon Madam Joy. He saw nothing that could actually extend his life.

Recalling the first of two complications presented by the *Lettera* to my theories of Ruzzante's counter-conduct, it is now possible to understand how Ruzzante's physical absence actually constituted a presence. The *Lettera* provided the first opportunity for another figure to inhabit the space of the *vedo*, or, to put it another way, Ruzzante's letter allowed Alvarotto to inhabit the subject position usually occupied by Ruzzante himself. As Zorzi has argued, the letter to Alvarotto was also a monologue that placed a critique of Cornaro's sober life in the mouth of Ruzzante's friend and colleague. By reading the critique and performing the monologue at Cornaro's hunting lodge, Alvarotto became Ruzzante for the duration of the performance. Thus, if one considers Ruzzante's counter-conduct as a means of creating a presence in the world on his own terms, then the *Lettera* presents a doubling of that presence by opening Ruzzante's viewpoint to another body. Ruzzante was present in the body of his friend who interpreted the letter and in his present-absence that constituted the conditions of Alvarotto's performance.

As for the second complication, the problem is more difficult to resolve. Namely, how is a reader of this text supposed to reconcile the fact that the *Lettera* presents Ruzzante in search of eternal life? If Ruzzante was invested in the fleeting moment of the world upon the stage and not the acquisition of an earthly paradise as was his patron, then what is one to make of Ruzzante's statement at the end of the monologue that the real world contains just as many beautiful sounds and sights as the terrestrial paradise that he saw in his vision? Linda Carroll has offered a solution to this complication by suggesting that Ruzzante's letter presents a polemic not against his patron but against the Christian

religion. Having identified the thread of critique against the Church that runs throughout Ruzzante's life work, Carroll reads the imagery of the *Lettera* as a move beyond the limits of Christianity. "The letter's closing vision," she writes, "laicizes the Mystical Rose formed by the saints in Dante's vision of heaven by substituting everyday pleasures for divine ones. Beolco's is, in short, a nontheistic paradise in which the common woman and man take the place of God."[339]

This point is astute, and it calls attention to the deployment of the negative common sense that runs throughout Ruzzante's work insofar as it presents the ability of the performer to take a powerful concept—that of Christian salvation—and turn it on its head. And yet, there is something more at work in this laicizing of religious themes. That something more is the strong critique of Cornaro's ethical system. As his patron, Cornaro was the closest external authority with whom Ruzzante had to negotiate in order to survive the world. Cornaro gave Ruzzante money, paid his debts, and even smoothed out conflicts in his personal life with the parents of the wife Ruzzante had been forced to marry for economic reasons. Taking that it into account, it is important to recognize the way in which Ruzzante's final theatre piece flew in the face of his patron and what that gesture may have been.

When Ruzzante demonstrates that he can make the vision of Cornaro's good life disappear simply by opening his eyes, he is saying something along the lines of, "yeah, that paradise you have spent your life attempting to realize, I saw it and it's not that special." More than that, it was Cornaro's money that financed Ruzzante's quest, which means that Ruzzante used his patron's resources to develop an argument against the sober life and the ethical mandate of renunciation woven into Cornaro's tract on the subject. In

addition to Carroll's argument, then, an analysis of the *Lettera all'Alvarotto* also reveals a direct refutation of the ethical life designed by the person who supported Ruzzante's artistic efforts. The *Lettera* is a case of Ruzzante biting the hand that fed him. Against the temperance praised by Cornaro in the *Sober Life*, Ruzzante asserted Joy. Polo reveals to Ruzzante that his books have led him astray. There is no Madam Temperance capable of extending life. Only Madam Joy can do that. This distinction leads to another. Polo's remark about people who live a thousand years without knowing that they are alive refers to Coraro's regiment of abstinence and the pseudo-life to which it leads. Against temperance and pseudo-life, Polo, speaking Ruzzante's words, announces that the person infused with Joy need only live one day in order to truly live. This seems to be the route Ruzzante takes, since by the end of the letter he appears to give up his search in order to return to his wandering. The *Lettera* indicates that Ruzzante had transferred the impermanence of the stage to the realm of the everyday simply by discovering that the everyday was as impermanent as the stage. This insight positions the *Lettera* as a counter-argument to the *Sober Life* and opens up a perspective into Ruzzante's *ethos*.

It is worth noting that all five forms of counter-conduct that Foucault enumerated find expression in this *ethos*. Ruzzante's community of peasant characters is not present in the story. Instead, by drafting Alvarotto into his own subject position, Ruzzante reclaimed one of Cornaro's artists for himself and the typical pairing of Ruzzante and Menego appeared in real life, without the frame of the stage. By opening his subject position to Alvarotto, Ruzzante invited Alvarotto to collude in his direct dissent of Conaro's way of life thereby enacting an "ironic exaggeration in relation to the pure and simple rule of obedience" that would have undergirded the artistic circle headed by

Cornaro. The artists Cornaro paid to entertain him became dissenters against their patron's philosophy of the world.

Along with the "counter-society" aspect of the *Lettera*, Ruzzante's "vision" narrated in the *Lettera* reads plausibly as a secular mystical experience. This form of counter-conduct coalesces in a type of self-examination that happens not for the privilege of an external authority but for the individual experiencing the mystical event. In other words, though Cornaro's patronage allowed Ruzzante the mobility and opportunity needed to create his theatrical works, the experience Ruzzante recounted in the *Lettera* was important for him and him alone. Ruzzante's journey to the land of Joy helped him to discover certain truths about the world. This discovery gave Ruzzante the authority to problematize the "scripture" of Cornaro's ethical program—the third mode of counter-conduct—by refuting the truths asserted in the *Sober Life*. By arguing that some people live hundreds of years without knowing that they are alive while others live only one day but, because they know they are alive, find an eternity of value in that one day of life, Ruzzante flipped Cornaro's search for earthly paradise upside-down.

Doing this allowed Ruzzante, and by extension Alvarotto, to step into the role of judge and to declare that Cornaro's role of shepherd to be invalid. Cornaro could not lead anybody to the earthly paradise because, on the one hand, his book did not fully understand the difference between temperance and joy, and, on the other hand, the earthly paradise presupposed by sobriety was non-existent. As the judge pronouncing this verdict, Ruzzante chimed the end of times for Cornaro's ethical beliefs. The true shepherd can only be a true countryman or *compare*, someone like Barba Polo who knows the real lay of the land.

To these forms of counter-conduct expressed in the letter I add one more, that of asceticism, which surfaces in Ruzzante's refusal to buy-in to the Joy he encounters. If all he has to do is look upon *Madonna Allegrezza* in order to extend his life, but chooses instead to open his eyes and return to his finite existence, then Ruzzante's refusal of long life equates to a refusal of Cornaro's earthly paradise as the site of pure tranquility and happiness. The ability to open his eyes and leave the vision of paradise behind points to Ruzzante's own "egoistic self-mastery" underscoring his brand of asceticism that one sees in all of his theatrical works. Ruzzante returns to the mountaintop in Este, presumably to continue creating theatrical works and opening staging areas in the world from which he can continue his tactical operation of the self.

Taking all of this into consideration, a definition of Ruzzante's ethics begins to emerge. Ethics for him was the life-long practice of a tactical counter-conduct that he performed from staging areas of his own creation that he opened within spaces dominated by the strategies imposed by external authorities such as the Church, the Venetian state, and Alvise Cornaro. Ruzzante's stage spaces were planes of composition that intervened in those dominated territories. Each performance within those planes of composition was an aesthetic exercise, the point of which was to compose a path through life other than the path delimited for him by the daily conditions of sixteenth-century Padua. Those daily conditions amounted to an enforced sobriety that required the formulation of a negative common sense capable of subverting the logic of the sober life.

This ethical practice exists potently in the *Lettera all'Alvarotto* where the line between onstage and off blurs once and for all. By recounting an episode of his daily life as Ruzzante, the performer merged the world of the stage and the domain of the real. As a

merged entity, there was no outside world opposed to an inside theatre space. Ruzzante put the two worlds in communication via the communicative medium of the letter. Yet, in this final piece, it is possible to view the merger of the onstage and the off together with the creation of a truly autonomous Ruzzante by interpreting "autonomous" as "self rule." Off in the world, not to do Cornaro's bidding but to discover a question about mortality, Ruzzante took the space of the tactic out beyond the stage space. A secular mystic wandering through Padua, Ruzzante experienced the untruth of a path toward the good life expounded by his patron and then wrote the record of the experience with his own hand and related his discoveries to his companions.

The final question asked of Ruzzante's secular mystical experience, in particular, and of his tactical operation of the self, in general, should not seek a final answer as to whether or not Ruzzante managed to emancipate himself from the strictures of daily life. Instead, the final question should seek to frame Ruzzante's theatre practice historically in light of its singularity. What was Ruzzante doing? What does a study of his performance of everyday life and his theatrical presence upon the stage in this way make visible that would typically remain in the dark if one were simply to seek the meanings of his jokes or the origins of his material?

I suggest that Ruzzante embodied that which Foucault has called the "critical attitude." In a lecture given to the French Society of Philosophy in the May of 1978, Foucault forwarded an argument that this critical attitude corresponded to "the art of not being governed quite so much."[340] This art was the culmination of "a certain way of thinking, speaking and acting, a certain relationship to what exists, to what one knows, to what one does, a relationship to society," in other words, of a practice of the self that I

have referred to above and in the previous chapters.[341] It was an "art of voluntary insubordination, that of reflected intractability," which had as its aim "the desubjugation of the subject in the context of what [one] could call, in a word, the politics of truth."[342] This critical attitude arose in the sixteenth century along with the emergence of various systems of governmentalization.

By attempting to enter Ruzzante's haptic perspective through the portals of his texts and by way of a detailed analysis of his tactical maneuvers it is possible to recognize Ruzzante's theatre practice as a case study of the mode of critique that Foucault theorized in his lecture. More than that, by acknowledging the bleed between the aesthetic realm of the stage space and the terrain of sixteenth-century Padua, Ruzzante's theatre practice transforms into a life practice, and, by extension, an analysis of his theatre becomes an analysis of his performance of everyday life. In both the aesthetic and terrestrial realms, Ruzzante was an instrument through which Angelo Beolco could begin to be governed "not quite so much." That is to say, taken individually, his wild flailing, his perpetual failing, his repeated attempts to kill himself in bizarre manners, his battle against starvation, and his clever refunctioning of clothes and equipment present riddles to contemporary audiences or readers of his works. Stitched together, however, those oddities begin to transform into a provocative ascetic aesthetics that Beolco, as Ruzzante, cultivated throughout his life.

Since, as exemplified in the *Lettera all'Alvaroto*, Ruzzante exited into the real world and continued to apply his critical attitude to his own life experiences, his signature ascetic aesthetics led him to a type of self-fashioning that allowed Ruzzante a range of freedom to discover certain truths for himself. From Foucault's perspective, Ruzzante's

range of freedom helped him "not to be governed *like that*, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them."[343] The antecedents to those pronouns appear in the agencies of the Venetian state, the Catholic Church, and his patron. In this chapter I have focused on the last two of those three external authorities in order to map the connections between the elements of coercion entailed by Loyola's salvation-through-renunciation and elements of Ruzzante's self-knowledge gained through a life engaged in the creation of theatrical works; of the coercion entailed by the ethical mandate of Cornaro's sober life and Ruzzante's realizations that temperance and long life do not in fact lead to a terrestrial paradise for each person. Standing alone, Loyola's Spiritual Exercises and Cornaro's sober life appear as rational systems constructed around each individual's life experience. By adding Ruzzante to the mix, the rationality of these systems begin to appear as technologies of control. Placed within each system, Ruzzante's performances act as a counter-point that reveals the irrationality and coercive elements of his patron and the Jesuit patriarch.

Developing Ruzzante's tactical operation of the self within his life-long theatre practice reveals, as Foucault suggests, a politics of truth in which the performer was embedded. This politics reveals itself as a complex of numerous man-made systems disguising themselves as natural systems delivered from on high. Ruzzante's presence within that complex short-circuited the flows of power emanating from external authorities. As such, his own critical attitude provides a critical methodology for analyzing theatre in the Veneto at that time. The methodology is historical-philosophical insofar as it works to develop an image of the historical ground that made possible certain

theatrical expressions in the sixteenth century by excavating the subjectivity of an individual performer from the archival scraps that hint at his existence. It is a method in which "one has to make one's own history, fabricate history, as if through fiction,"[344] just as Ruzzante's method for maneuvering through the terrain of everyday life required him to make his own path and to fabricate a fictional character capable of following the path through the darkness.

Conclusion: "Baroque: Asymmetry of Nonidentical Pairs."

In *The Origin of Negative Dialectics*, Susan Buck-Morss explicates Theodor W. Adorno's complex formulations on history, thought, and society woven into the philosopher's negative dialectical procedure. For Adorno, history "was 'discontinuous,' unfolding within a multiplicity of divisions of human praxis through a dialectical process which was open-ended […] history unfolded in the spaces *between* subjects and objects, men and nature, whose very nonidentity was history's motive force."[345] Contrary to the thought of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, in which history unfolded as a continuous totality and infused mind/spirit with the ability to unify subject and object into a harmonious whole, the rupturing discontinuity of history yielded for Adorno a necessarily contradictory procedure of thinking. Buck-Morss calls this "nonreconciliatory thinking," which for Adorno was "compelled by objective conditions: because the contradictions of society could not be banished by means of thought, contradiction could not be banished within thought either."[346]

By foregrounding the irreconcilable gap between concept and substance, subject and object, man and nature, Adorno worked to demythify the "givens" of reality and to articulate the schisms in society as precisely the essence of society itself. In other words, society appeared to Adorno neither as an assemblage of disparate individuals that refused to add up to a cohesive whole, nor did it emerge in his thinking as a whole that exceeded the sum of its individual parts; rather, for Adorno, society's truth laid in the gap between those two perspectives. Through a negative dialectical movement of thought, society became intelligible as the nonidentical relationship between the individual and the mass.

With that gesture, Adorno dispelled the myth of identity as a false totality. "This demythifying process," then, "relentlessly intensified the critical tension between thought and reality instead of bringing them into harmony."[347]

Adorno called the space produced by that critical tension a force-field, which, like a magnetic field, contained within its borders the contradictory charges of nonidentical pairings. These nonidentical pairings powered the movement of Adorno's negative dialectics. In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, for example, man and nature appeared as one such nonidentical pair. The force-field keeping them in critical tension with one another was Enlightenment thought itself, which sought to dominate and overcome nature in the name of reason while it simultaneously attempted to install reason as the natural and supreme motive force of civilization. Buck-Morss finds one source of inspiration for Adorno's negative dialectical practice in Walter Benjamin's study on Baroque German lamentation plays, and she points to Benjamin's signature inductive methodological procedure as that which most inspired Adorno's work.

Induction here is not a process of building "general concepts by abstracting similarities from diverse phenomena." Instead, Benjamin's induction existed in his theory of the *Trauerspiel* where "each 'idea,' each construction out of the particular, was self-contained. As a 'monad,' each [idea] contained the totality, a 'picture of the world,' yet each differed from every other idea."[348] Each monad contained the complexity of the particular lamentation play under Benjamin's scrutiny. By holding numerous monads next to one another, Benjamin constructed a constellation of the German Baroque. By refracting the light from each monadic star in the constellation onto the historical terrain, Benjamin could elicit from that shadowy past an image of the Baroque world as viewed

through the objects of his study. At the same time, the light from the Baroque constellation revealed the need for inductive and dialectical thinking in Benjamin and Adorno's own contemporary situation to replace or at least to challenge logical positivist approaches to historical and artistic inquiry. Adorno recognized in Benjamin's dual operation an attempt to link the past and the present in their own force-field of critical tension. Adorno referred to this inductive method as the "logic of disintegration" because it constituted a type of immanent criticism that broke apart the objects of study from within and, through its doing, yielded an image of the present in which all the smooth theories of historical continuity and the harmonies between thought and reality likewise broke apart.

Taking a cue from Adorno and Benjamin, I have attempted in this dissertation to break apart the Venetian Baroque from within and to arrange its most vivid nonidentical pairings into a critical constellation. The main foci of the four dissertation chapters are not proof of a Baroque Venetian theatre; it was not my intention to create a concept of the Baroque by abstracting similarities from the diverse phenomena (*taking place*, Valcamonica's execution, Ottonelli's scenic priest, Ruzzante's tactical operations of the self). Instead, I sought to illuminate the Baroque Venetian world through the immanent criticism of multiple historical *objectiles*. Once set into motion through a dialectical analytic procedure, those mobile historical object-events align themselves in this dissertation like so many stars in the sky. The luminosity of those stars highlights sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Venetian theatre practices as epicenters of a seismic critical tension between excess and discipline. Baroque is the name I give to the force-field created by that critical tension in general. More specifically, Baroque

scenography names the acts of composition that prepare The Republic of Saint Mark as a stage on which the socio-political intervention of Ruzzante's *taking place* unfolds, on which the multiple materializations of Jesuit allegorical dramaturgy subjectivate individuals, and on which the critical tension between excessive artistic expressions and disciplinary regimes of civic and spiritual governance plays out.

Three sets of nonidentical pairs function as polestars in my constellation of the Baroque, Baroque scenography, and Baroque Venetian theatre. Star number one feeds off the coupling of Ruzzante, as he appears in chapter one, and the body of Valcamonica that appears in chapter two. In my analysis, both historical figures become the "x" in Deleuze's formula: "something = x (anamorphosis)."[349] The "x" marks a point of view that becomes "a place, a position, a site, a 'linear focus',"[350] or a space of unfolding that, when dislodged from its spatial mold and historical coordinates, becomes infused with the movement inherent in its historical becoming. Yet, while both historical *objectiles* equal "x," they do not offer the same view of the world. Each point of view opened by Ruzzante and Valcamonica offers a distinct line of sight into Baroque Venice and Baroque Venetian theatre. Neither one is more accurate than the other. The truth of Baroque Venetian theatre exists in the parallax view opened by thinking through both historical perspectives simultaneously.

From the point of view opened by Ruzzante, the world of sixteenth-century Venice appears upside down. *Rootings* and *uprootings* marked his radical theatre praxis as attempts to *take place*; that is, from his stage Ruzzante labored to stand his ground and to present to his wealthy audiences an image of the world as incorrect, ass-side-up, and dangerous for the lower classes. In a mosaic of fragment I harvested from the *Lettera*

giocosa, the *Prima Orazione*, and the *Seconda Orazione* the world appears to Ruzzante as inhospitable, and yet it also appears as Ruzzante's only home. By presenting the inhospitable outside world to his audience members within the privileged interiors of their private homes, Ruzzante tried to take back some of the territory that had been taken from him and his compatriots. As an outsider, Ruzzante always embodied the excess that his wealthy audiences sought to control and keep outside of their lines of sight. His act of *taking place* was effective insofar as it brought the excess of the outside into plain sight of those who did not wish to see it, but it was also ineffective insofar as it only claimed temporary victories in the name of the Paduan farmers and gardeners.

Plugging Valcamonica into the "x" portrays Venice from the point of view of a disciplinary apparatus. The Jesuits etched Valcamonica's body into the *Piazza San Marco* as an invitation to all sinners and stray sheep, enticing them to enter the space of the "x" where they would find access to the divine light. Valcamonica sutured the realms of the sacred and the profane. He embodied the paradox of the shepherd that undergirded pastoral power. To view the execution through the lens of pastoral power is to recognize the allegorical dramaturgy alive in the *piazza* on 10 November 1561. The movement of the subject from sinner to penitent crystallized in the body of Valcamonica and radiated outward as the "living image" of the salvation promised by the Jesuits. This disciplined procedure of folding back into the embrace of the Church presented the Baroque pastoral play of Valcamonica's execution as a simultaneously spectacular and subtle expression of the Jesuit theatre of everyday life.

The nonidentical pairing of Ruzzante and Valcamonica prepares Venice as a Baroque stage in which outside and inside fold into one another. For Ruzzante, the

outside was the milieu of daily life circumscribed by laws of Church and state. The inside was a garden of fertile soil. By attempting to plant the outside in the interior garden tilled through his acts of *rooting* and *uprooting*, Ruzzante discerned the world as *snaturale* and became aware of the fact that all that seemed natural was gone. The upside-down world no longer had a right-side-up. Faced with this truth, Ruzzante attempted to share it with those people he felt to be responsible for that unnatural orientation. Each act of sceno-gardening within Ruzzante's life-long theatre practice was an attempt to replant the unweeded garden of the world. For Valcamonica, the Church delimited the interior as the realm of consolation. As a spectacular threshold, Valcamonica's allegorical function revealed the separation of the profane from that sacred interior and linked the two domains through his final act of repentance. Looking through each point of view prepared by each historical figure at the same time presents the critical, dialectical tension between excess and discipline motivating Baroque Venetian theatre as a play of reterritorialization and deterritorialization. The objects of such a play are both terrestrial lands (Paduan countryside, Villa interiors, Venetian homes) and the realms of individual subjectivity (lost sheep, the shriven sinner).

The second nonidentical polestar ignites through an analysis of Ruzzante's tactical operation of self and Ignatius Loyola's mystic praxis within the Catholic Church. Ruzzante and Loyola both inhabited the space of the tactic, as theorized by Michel de Certeau, and yet the routes through the world paved by each figure's tactical maneuvers led in opposite directions. The perspicacious relationship to the environment developed by Ruzzante's practice of the self and Loyola's own Spiritual Exercises derived from two different views of the world gleaned from traversing these distinct routes.

Ruzzante did not desire either a terrestrial paradise or a life without end because for him the path to the good life carved out by his patron, Alvise Cornaro, and espoused by the religious authorities of his day, lead to unhappiness and uncertainty. Against a permanent dwelling in the utopian garden of terrestrial Joy and the old age promised by the sober life, Ruzzante chose a transient existence as a character upon a stage of his own creation and a critical attitude toward all external authorities that sought to lay down mandatory ethical codes of conduct. By distinction, Loyola constructed his regiment of spiritual exercises as a method of turning inwards and establishing a more direct line to God than that facilitated by the channels of communication opened up by the institution of the Church. He desired eternal life and access to the sacred realm of salvation, but he created his own life practice through which to attain them. Loyola's space of the *volo* within the Church and his disciplined regiment of the self portended a sober life of self denial and a perpetual act of self-renunciation, which he understood as the prerequisite modes of comportment for reaching God's sacred domain.

Paired beside one another, Ruzzante and Loyola enter the stage of the Baroque as two mystics bound together by a tactical progression through life *and* separated by the ends toward which their tactical progressions tended. Ruzzante was a secular mystic capable of alienating himself from himself through a lifetime of theatre performance. The goal of this alienation was to gain sight of himself in the world in order to plot a course through the obstacles set by external authorities. Loyola was a religious mystic, tied to the Church yet separated from it by that initial volition through which his individual "I" became a collective yearning for a more direct line of communication to the divine.

Analyzing the specific procedures of each mystical practice leads to an awareness of an asceticism driving both individuals through their lives in the sixteenth century. Looking through the asymmetrical lens of this pairing shapes Baroque Venetian theatre as a mode of living situated within a historical continuum of practices of the self dating back to at least the time of Plato in Ancient Greece. Ruzzante's shrewd scrutiny of the representations traipsing through the garden of Joy in his *Lettera all'Alvarotto* linked his practice of the self to that of the Stoics who cultivated knowledge of the self through a similar process of self-scrutiny. Loyola's mystic life, however, instigated a break with the classical practice of the self by installing self-renunciation as the end goal of that practice. Additionally, Loyola attempted to install his own mystical experience as a discipline into which all Catholics would have to enter in order to gain salvation, thereby charting a new direction in the practices of the self that would continue into the present moment.

Thus, Ruzzante's life and Loyola's doctrine both demanded a rigorous caring for the self. On Ruzzante's multiplicity of staging areas, his relative blindness caused by the dark of night, fear of death and pangs of rage transformed Ruzzante into a "crafty" and deviant subject of his own making. Through the haptic perspective of that subjectivity, theorized by composing constellations from fragments of text scatted throughout his body of work, the specific challenges of starvation faced by the lower-classes gains consistency and erupts into a worldview emanating from the position of the vanquished. From the other perspective, that of the external powers of the religious mystic, Loyola cared for himself through his Spiritual Exercises. His caring for the self required a hermetic theatre of the world, which was maintained by the Society of Jesus as a serene

path through the chaos of the world. For those unwilling to fashion their own lives through methods like those of Ruzzante, the Jesuit theatre of the world became a shelter from the storm and Loyola's practice of the self became the requisite life practice for all actors in that theatre.

The third and final nonidentical pairing culminated in the question "How Am I Not Myself?" as viewed from the two perspectives of Ruzzante and Ottonelli's "scenic priest." This question concerned a minimal difference embedded within each figure. From Ruzzante's point of view, that minimal difference came to light in his perpetual performance of the self, which underscored his transformation of subjectivity from Angelo Beolco to Ruzzante. From the perspective of the scenic priest, the regiment of the Spiritual Exercises exposed the minimal difference within himself and enabled the foundation of self-renunciation that Ottonelli saw as crucial to the necessary transformation from bad to virtuous actor. Looking at the question "How Am I Not Myself?" from both perspectives at the same time leads to the final dimension of the Baroque tension between discipline and excess.

The doubt and uncertainty that Ruzzante held onto throughout his life, and that I illustrated through my reading of the *Lettera all'Alvarotto* as a secular mystical experience, were precisely the two elements that the Jesuit's attempted to remove from its theatre of the world through which all subjectivated sheep would view the world. The question spawned by the coupling of Ruzzante's self doubt and the virtuous actor's ostensible lack of doubt, however, has nothing to do with whether one mode of life was more correct or more dangerous. The question, rather, is this: given the existence of two

distinct forms of subjectivity constructed by two distinct methods of thinking through theatre, what is the self produced in the force-field of Baroque Venetian theatre?

The answer I propose is that the self made visible through the lens of Baroque Venetian theatre bears within it a fracture that develops around the question, "How Am I Not Myself?" The nonidentical pair of Angelo Beolco and Ruzzante—i.e., of Ruzzante himself—portrays a perpetual self-doubt nurtured through a continual practice of counter-conduct. Ruzzante's practice of the self, then, existed as a series of aesthetic exercises and drew strength from a severe asceticism like that developed by Michel Foucault. "Asceticism," Foucault writes, "is a sort of exasperated and revered obedience that has become egoistic self-mastery. Let's say that in asceticism there is a specific excess that denies access to an external power."[351] As the specific excess of Angelo Beolco, the subjectivity of Ruzzante always worked to deny the disciplinary systems administrated by external powers such as Cardinal Cornaro, Alvise Cornaro, Leonardo Donà, and Ignatius Loyola. Since, however, the purpose of Ruzzante was to carve out space in which Beolco could maneuver and devise tactical counter-punches to disciplinary strategies imposed upon him, both Beolco and his self-made character existed together in perpetual conflict. Ruzzante was always not-himself. His identity never stabilized. As a subjectivity requiring perpetual performance, Ruzzante drove himself forward by asking, "How Am I Not Myself," though he never posited a definitive answer to that question. The Baroque self proposed by Ruzzante lived as excess, always moving outside and beyond himself, in the field of his own vision, and engaged in a never-ending practice of thinking through his own theatre praxis.

By distinction, the question "How Am I Not Myself?" drove the scenic priest into spiritual retreat and helped him to find his true character as a virtuous actor within the Jesuit *teatro del mondo*. This character, however, was not a possession that belonged to the scenic priest. It was, rather, a subjectivity to which the priest arrived and from which the priest learned to re-cognize the world in order to enact his role as shepherd capable of leading his flock to salvation. The very nature of the Spiritual Exercises, however, installed a necessary gap into the subjectivity of the priest as he passed through the threshold of the terrestrial world and into the Jesuit theatre. Once inside the Jesuit theatre of the world, the reformed scenic priest stood on one edge and looked across the abyss to the other edge where he saw the old scenic priest. Constantly aware of what he should not be and of how he should not act, the reformed scenic priest kept an eye on his old self as a reminder of the chaotic world from which he fled. At the same time, the mode of living demanded of virtuous actors filled in that gap within the self with the language of the Church and the ostensibly positive benefit of the disciplinary self-renunciation preached by Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*. The scenic priest's self, then, was always split but the split itself was removed from the constellation through which the virtuous actor thought the world.

I argue that this removal led to a crisis of the self, installed by the Jesuit theatre of subjectivation active in Venice from the middle of the sixteenth century. Ruzzante's own particular excess of the self was also a sort of crisis, since it demanded that he never rest in any stable identity and that he engage in perpetual combat throughout his life in order to carve out any life at all. The crisis of the self was the force-field that contained the dialectic of excess and discipline oscillating through the nonidentical pair of Ruzzante

and the scenic priest. Baroque Venetian theatre assembled itself through the three sets of nonidentical pairs: Ruzzante/scenic priest, Ruzzante/Loyola, Ruzzante/Valcamonica. Grinded together as a kind of tri-focal lens, those nonidentical pairs yields an image of Baroque Venetian theatre as a staging area for a mode of acting, one that occurred in formal theatre settings as well as on the street, in the city and on mountain tops. Baroque acting was a negotiation of the self that never fully resolved into a solid identity. Instead, it solidified itself in nonidentity and presented itself through dialectical images such as those presented by and through Ruzzante's theatre practice and Jesuit dramaturgy.

Those dialectical images—whether it is Valcamonica's body on the scaffold, Ruzzante's monologue in the *Lettera giocosa*, the emblem of the garden sewn to the sleeves of the *Ortolani*, or the scenic priest—form a constellation through which to view the present as much as the historical situation of Baroque Venetian theatre. In his essay about Eduard Fuchs, Benjamin wrote about the necessary intertwining between present and past through the enactment of historical inquiry:

> For the person who is concerned with works of art in a historically dialectical mode, these works integrate their pre- as well as post-history; and it is their post-history which illuminates their pre-history as a continuous process of change. Works of art teach that person how their function outlives their creator and how his intentions are left behind. They demonstrate how the reception of the work by its contemporaries becomes a component of the effect which a work of art has upon us today. They further show that this effect does not rest in an encounter with the work of art alone but in an encounter with the history which has allowed the work to come down to our own age.[352]

The history that has allowed Ruzzante's theatre practice and Jesuit processes of subjectivation to come down to the present age is as important for its silences as it is for its empirical fragments stored in archives. The core nonidentical pair of Ruzzante and the Jesuits has not been articulated in the mainstream of Baroque theatre studies. This lack of voicing is the black background against which the lit figures of my dissertation stand out. Viewed as such, the historiographical operation I have employed in constructing an analysis of Baroque scenography shares formal similarities with Baroque allegorical forms, such as those Benjamin elaborated on in his study of the *Traurspiel*.

Walter Benjamin's study of German tragic drama and Adorno's aesthetic theories both engage in this kind of historical procedure through which the writing of history sedimented in works of art and theatrical performances exposes the unsaid of the past. This procedure is also what Foucault called at one time a historical-philosophical practice. In that practice, wrote Foucault,

> one has to make one's own history, fabricate history, as if through fiction, in terms of how it would be traversed by the question of the relationships between structures of rationality which articulate true discourse and the mechanisms of subjugation which are linked to it.[353]

I suggest that these "structures of rationality" are the various subject positions to which historical actors arrive, such as the subjectivity of "the converted" in the Jesuit *teatro del mondo* to which Ottonelli invited his flock. The "mechanisms of subjugation" are, in that case, the molecular repertoire of conversion ensconced within the affective reformation of the Spiritual Exercises. Ruzzante's excesses act, likewise, as articulations of true

discourse that addressed Alvise Cornaro's *Sober Life*, on the one hand, and the territorial acquisitions of the Venetian state, on the other.

Whether the Jesuit theatre of the world or Ruzzante's theatre practice is the focus of study, Baroque theatre leads to a necessary scrutiny of the practice of the self, the foundation of societal truths, and the flows of power that underscore theatrical expression in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. More importantly, to think the present through Baroque Venetian theatre one must entertain several questions. In terms of Foucault's structures of rationality, what elements of the question "How Am I Not Myself?" remain active in the establishment of contemporary subject positions? In terms of mechanisms of subjugation, what are the theatres of the world through which present subjects think, and are the thinking subjects aware of the theatres that frame their views of the world? Thinking through theatre seems to be the connection between Baroque Venetian theatre and the present moment. Perhaps by deploying a Baroque scenographic and historical-philosophical methodology in an analysis of contemporary stages in the theatre of everyday life, the expressions of Ruzzante will emerge as a viable form of political dissent.

Or not. At the very least, by thinking the Baroque through Venetian theatre practices it is possible to view the Baroque not as a time period or an artistic style; rather, thinking through theatre evokes the Baroque as an asymmetrical coincidence of nonidentical pairs. Unfolding in the spaces between those pairs, the motive force of excess and discipline shape the contradictory perspective of reality created through practices of the self performed by such disparate individuals as Ruzzante and Ignatius Loyola. As the irreducibility of those two worldviews, "Baroque" denotes a field of

critical tensions that requires an immanent critique to expose its contradictions and irreconcilability. I have collected Ruzzante's act of *taking place*, the allegorical dramaturgy of Valcamonica's execution, and the spiritual retreat of Ottonelli's scenic priest, as historical *objectiles* capable of illuminating the field of Baroque critical tension when aligned with one another. In the future, I want to focus the light of that constellation onto contemporary performances of everyday life in order to map the Baroque expressions that continue to shape perceptions of the world, and in order to perpetuate the question, "What is Baroque Venetian Theatre?"

[1] The Veneto consists of Venice proper and all the mainland territories under the control of the Republic of Saint Mark. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these mainland territories included but were not limited to Padua, Treviso, Dalmatia, and Cyprus.

[2] The most concise guide to this literature is Thomas F. Heck, *Commedia dell'Arte: A Guide to the Primary and Secondary Literature* (Lincoln, Nebraska: iUniverse.com, Inc., 2000). For a guide to visual resources, see M.A. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the* Commedia dell'Arte*, 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (New York; Rodopi, 2006).

[3] See, for example, *The Theatrical Baroque*, ed. Larry F. Norman (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2001); *The Mask of Venice: Masking, Theatre, and Identity in the Art of Tiepolo and His Time*, ed. James Christen Steward (Berkeley, California: University of California, Berkeley Art Museum, 1996); Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance and Baroque*, trans. Kathrin Simon (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).

[4] Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm: University of Uppsala, 1961).

[5] Bjuström 102. For other information on Titian's and Tintoretto's relation to Vitruvius and architectural treatises, see Tom Nichols, *Tintoretto: Tradition and Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999).

[6] *The Italian Baroque Stage: Documents by Giulio Troili, Andrea Pozzo, Ferdinando Galli-Bibieana, Baldassare Orsini*, trans. Dunbar H. Ogden (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, c.1978).

[7] Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena, *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell' architettura civile* [*Directions to young students on the design of civil architecture*] (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe, 1731-32).

[8] Margarete Baur-Heinhold, *The Baroque Theatre; a Cultural History of the 17th and 18th Centuries* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967).

[9] Baur-Heinhold 7.

[10] Philip Freund, *Laughter and Grandeur : Theatre in the Age of Baroque* (London; Chester Springs, PA: Peter Owen, 2008).

[11] Freund 21.

[12] John Rupert Martin, *Baroque* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1977).

[13] For more on Bruno, see Dorothea Waley Singer, *Giordano Bruno: his life and thought. With annotated translation of his work,* On the infinite universe and worlds (New York, Greenwood Press, 1968); also, Frances Yate, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 124, where he discusses the link between Bruno's cosmological theories and a terrestrial morality.

[14] Martin 155.

[15] José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

[16] Maravall 154-55, 199-200.

[17] Maravall 153-54.

[18] Maravall 200-02.

[19] Gaetano Cozzi, *Venezia barocca: conflitti di uomini e idee nella crisi del Seicento veneziano* (Venezia: Il Cardo, 1995) 292. "Venezia era allora una città politicamente in crisi, costretta dell'esito per lei infelice di un trentennio di guerre a rinunciare ai programmi di espansione e di egemonia nel Mediterraneo e in Italia che l'avevano guidata nel secolo precedente, e ad accettare, di fronte alla potenza soverchiante delle grandi monarchie europee e di quella ottomana, la sorte di principe minore. Ma era città che si imponeva più che mai all'attenzione di tutti, tra Oriente e Occidente, città ricca, folta di gente varia di lingue e di costumi e di religione, città che aveva fama di tolleranza—una tollerenza che si accompagnava a un grande rigoglio di vita spirituale."

[20] By Cozzi, see specifically, "Appunti sul teatro e i teatri a Venezia agli inizi del Seicento" ["Notes on theatre and the theatres in Venice at the start of the 1600s"]. *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* [*Institutional Bulletin of the History of Venetian Society and State*], 1 (1959): 187-193; "Religione, moralità e giustizia a Venezia: vicende della magistratura degli esecutori contro la bestemmia (secc. XVI-XVII)" ["Religion, morality and justice in Venice: events in the magistracy of the executors against blasphemy (16th-17th Centuries"]. *Ateneo veneto* vol. CLXXVII (n.s. XXIX) (1991): 7-95.

[21] Franco Mancini, Maria Teresa Muraro, Elena Povoledo, eds., *I Teatri del Veneto: Venezia, Teatri Effimeri E Nobili Imprenditori*, volume primo, tomo primo (Venezia, 1995) preface. "Il 1508 è la data nella quale ebbero inizio a Venezia i Teatri pubblici; da allora il Teatro fu regolato da leggi restrittive, ma spesso disattese [disregared], e divenne sempre più un'attività professionistica, ora con scene 'honorate', ora su 'palco postizo' nelle osterie."

[22] Andrea Calmo, *Le lettere di Messer Andrea Calmo,* ed. Vittorio Rossi (Torino: Ermano Loescher, 1888.)

[23] Kathleen McGill, "Women and Performance: The Development of Improvisation by the Sixteenth-Century Commedia dell'Arte," *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Mar., 1991): 59.

[24] This notion of Calmo's letters as windows onto the social landscape of female performances in everyday life also resonates with Jane Tylus's study of the commedia actress in "Women at the Windows: 'Commedia dell'arte' and Theatrical Practice in Early Modern Italy," *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (Oct., 1997): pp. 323-342. There, Tylus studies the stage as the liminal place between public and private lives. In that liminal space, women in particular marked the boundary between public and private, frequently from the position of a windowsill where many actresses issued monologues.

[25] Robert Henke, "Comparing Poverty: Fictions of a 'Poor Theater' in Ruzante and Shakespeare," *Comparative Drama* vol. 41 No. 2 (Summer 2007): 200.

[26] *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices*, eds. John Law and Annemarie Mol (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002) 8.

[27] John Law, "And if the global were small and noncoherent? Method, complexity, and the baroque," *Enviornment and Plannin D: Society and Space* vol. 22 (2004): 19.

[28] Walter Benjamin, "Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian," *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, eds. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1978) 233.

[29] See for example, Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Cambrdige, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) 207. "It must be kept in mind that, for the collector, the world is present, and indeed ordered, in each of his objects. Ordered, however, according to a surprising and, for the profane understanding, incomprehensible connection."

[30] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (New York: Verso, 2003) 28.

[31] Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 2005).

[32] Theodor W. Adorno, *Kierkegaard: Construction of the Aesthetic*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1989) xviii. This quotation comes from Hullot-Kentor in his introduction to Adorno's work.

[33] Term comes from *Seconda Orazione* in Ruzante, *Teatro*, 2nd edition, ed. Ludovico Zorzi (Torino [Turin]: Giulio Einaudi, 1967).

[34] Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 3.

[35] Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, S.J., *Della Christiana Moderatione Del Theatro Libro, detto L'Ammonitioni A' Recitanti, Per avvisare agni Christiano a moderarsi da gli eccessi nel recitare. Sono divise in tre brevi Trattati, cioè: Il Primo, intorno a' Recitanti; il secondo, intorno al Comico Beltrame, & al suo libro; il terzo, intorno a' Ciarlatani* [*Of Christian Moderation of the Theatre, or the Admonitions to the Performer, in order to advise each Christian to moderate the excesses of peformance. Divided into three brief tracts, named: The First, of Performers; the second, of the Comic Beltrame, & his book; the third, on Charlatans*] (Firenze [Florence], 1652).

[36] Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-82*, eds. Frédéric Gros, François Ewald, Allesandro Fontana, Arnold I. Davidson. trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2005) 9.

[37] Benjamin, *Arcades* 206.

[38] Linda L Carroll: *Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante)* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990); "Dating the Woman from Ancona: Venice and Ruzante's Theater after Cambrai," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 31, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 963-985; "A Nontheistic Paradise in Renaissance Padua," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Winter, 1993): 881-898; "Ruzante's Early Adaptations from More and Erasmus," *Italica*, vol. 66, No. 1 (Spring, 1989): 29-34. Nancy Dorothy Dersofi, "Ruzante: The Paradox of *Snaturalitè,*" *Yearbook of Italian Studies* (1971): 142-155. Also, Emilio Lovarini, *Studi sul Ruzzante e la letteratura pavana*, ed. G. Folena (Padova [Padua]: Editrice Antenore, 1965); *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, vol. 4. eds. G. Billanovich, A. Campana, C. Dionisotti, P. Sambin (Padova [Padua]: Editrice Antenore, 1964).

[39] Here I am thinking specifically of Michael Zampelli, S.J., "'*Lascivi Spettacoli*': Jesuits and Theatre (from the Underside)," *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006) 552.

[40] See, Christopher Carlsmith, "Struggling toward Success: Jesuit Education in Italy, 1540-1600," *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 215-246; Louis J. Oldani and Victor R. Yanitelli, "Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exit," *Italica*, vol. 76, no. 1 (Spring, 1999):18-32; Moshe Sluhovsky, "Discernment of Difference, the Introspective Subject, and the Birth of Modernity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2006):169-200.

[41] While not framed as matters of "Baroque economy," scholars have dealt with issues of Venice, politics, and the birth of capitalism. See, J.R. Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973), specifically Alberto Tenenti, "The Sense of Space and Time in the Venetian World of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," 17-46, and Ugo Tucci, "The psychology of the Venetian merchant in the sixteenth century," 346-378.

[42] Lodovico Pizzati, *Venetian-English, English-Venetian: When in Venice do as the Venetians* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2007).

[43] Nancy Dorothy Dersofi, "Translating Ruzante's Obscenities," *Harvard University Studies in Honor of Dante Della Terza*, ed. F. Fido, P.D. Stewart, and R. Lamparska (Florence: Cadmo, 1998).

[44] Ruzante, *L'Anconitana (The Woman from Ancona)*, trans. Nancy Dersofi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

[45] Ruzzante, *La Moschetta*, trans. by Antonio Franceschetti and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1993).

[46] Ottorino Pianigiani, *Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana* (Roma [Rome]; Milano [Milan]: Società Editirice Dante Alighieri di Albrighi, Segati, 1907).

[47] Theodor W. Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006) xxi.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] For information on these troupes and Ruzzante's participation in them, see Ruzante, *Teatro* 1590. The standard reference for the *Compagnie della Calza* is Pompeo Molmenti, *Venice, its individual growth from the earliest beginnings to the fall of the republic*, trans. Horation F. Brown (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & co., 1906-1908). The "Companies of the Sock" distinguished themselves from each other in a variety of ways, one of which was by wearing stockings decorated in unique ways. They performed during *Carnevale*, the Italian festive period preceding lent. *Carne-vale*, roughly translated "meat's ok," was a time for excessive eating and celebration before the austere and contemplative weeks leading to Easter.

[51] Ruzzante appears as a spokesperson in the *Prima Orazione* (*First Oration*, c.1521). To that task he adds the function of religious reformer in the *Seconda Orazione* (*Second Oration*, c.1528). He appeared as a soldier in the *Parlamento* (*Dialogue*, c.1509-1517), the full title of which was *Parlamento de Ruzante che iera vegnú de campo* [*Dialogue of Ruzante who just returned from the field*]. This piece is also known as *The Veteran*, which relates to the topic of military service that Ruzzante addresses in the speech. The date for this piece is uncertain. For a tracing to 1520, see Emilio Lovarini, *Studi sul Ruzzante e la letteratura pavana*, a cura di [ed.] G. Folena (Padova [Padua]: Editrice Antenore, 1965). For Zorzi's disagreement of Lovarini's date, see Ruzante, *Teatro*, 2nd ed., a cura di [ed.] Ludovico Zorzi (Torino [Turin]: Giulio Einaudi, 1967) 1361; For Carroll's synthesis of Lovarini and Zorzi, plus others, see Linda L. Carroll, *Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante)* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990) 52-54. Finally, "swindler" denotes the general function Ruzzante plays in *Pastorale* (Pastoral, c.1517) and

Moschetta (c.1528). In the former, Ruzzante mischievously harasses Florentine shepherds in order to get food, but in the latter he attempts to steal back his lover who had been stolen from him by a soldier. On the title, *Moschetta*, Carroll offers the following gloss: "*moschetto* is a pejorative term for incorrect Italian of dialect speakers attempting to use the standard language based on Florentine. *Mosca* means 'fly,' explaining the *prologista*'s declaration that if he tried to speak in the Florentine way, he would have flies. The term also recalls the Italian expression, 'a fistful of flies,' that is, the results of a useless action." Carroll, *Angelo Beolco* 39. The play also appears with the title *Posh Talk* in *Three Renaissance Comedies*, trans. Christopher Cairns (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 1991), which seems to reflect an appeal to English-speaking audience rather than any linguistic tie to the Italian title. For Zorzi's notes on this subject, see Ruzante, *Teatro* 1389-1390.

[52] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1238.

[53] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1210.

[54] Ruzzante, *La Moschetta*, trans. Antonio Franceschetti and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1993) 117.

[55] For more on these land acquisitons, see Brian S. Pullan, *Rich and poor in renaissance Venice: the social institutions of a Catholic state, to 1620* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1971), especially chapter 5. For Ruzzante's involvement in Cornaro's land dealings, see E. Menegazzo and P. Sambin, "Nuove explorazioni archivistiche per Angelo Beolco e Alvise Cornaro" ["New archival explorations for Angelo Beolco and Alvise Cornaro"], *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, vol. 4, a cura di G. Billanovich, A. Campana, C. Dionisotti, P. Sambin (Padova [Padua]: Editrice Antenore, 1964) 221-251.

[56] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *The Monadology*, trans. Robert Latta (Forgotten Books, 2008), 24 July 2009 <www.forgottenbooks.org> 16.

[57] John Law, "And if the global were small and noncoherent? Method, complexity, and the baroque," *Enviornment and Plannin D: Society and Space* vol. 22 (2004): 19.

[58] Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, trans. Tom Conley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) 23-25.

[59] On the etymology of *ruzzare* as a menacing sound, see Ottorino Pianigiani, *Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana* (Roma [Rome]; Milano [Milan]: Società Editirice Dante Alighieri di Albrighi, Segati, 1907). For the link to bestiality, see Carroll, *Angelo Beolco* 100.

[60] Law, "Looking Down" 23-24.

[61] Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Italian Baroque Stage: Documents by Giulio Troili, Andrea Pozzo, Ferdinando Galli-Bibiena, Baldassare Orsini* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) 43.

[62] A good example comes from Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm: University of Uppsala, 1961).

[63] Marin Sanuto, *I diarii*, ed. J. J. Henry Scarisbrick VIII, vol. XXVIII (London: Robert W. Scribner, 1879-1903) 264, via Ruzante, *Teatro* 1590.

[64] Sanuto, I *diarii* (vol. XXIX) 536-37, via Ruzante, *Teatro* 1590.

[65] Sanuto, *I diarii* (vol. XXXIII) 9.

[66] Sanuto, *I diarii* (vol. XXXIV) 124, via Ruzante, *Teatro* 1590-91.

[67] Sanuto, I *diarii* (vol. XXXV) 393: "Tutti vestiti con veste di veludo cremexin a meneghe dogal e di altra seda e color a becheti, e berete in testa chi di raso chi di veludo; il viso con naxi. Et cadauno havea do servidori avanti con un torzo in man per uno, vestiti da vilan. Era uno di loro con una vesta d'oro, et haveano assà virtù: prima buffoni Zuan Polo e altri; item Ruzante padoan; altri vestiti a la vilanesca che saltavano e ballavano benissimo; et sei vestiti da vilani putati ['giovanotti'] che cantavano villote, et caduan havea cose rustical varie in man, come zape, badili, etc., pale, vanghe, rastelli etc., item trombe, pifari, pive et trombe squarzade. Et questi déteno una volta ['fecero un giro'] per Piaza, poi la sera con li torzi impizadi ['accesi'] andòno per la terra e a hore una di notte veneno in Palazo di Doxe, in corte, a mostrar le soe virtù. Poi andòno in Procuratia da sier Marco da Molin procurator, che feva un festin, poi in diversi luoghi, a la fin veneno a cena a l'hostaria de la Simia."

[68] A standard read of carnevalesque disorder, a la Bakhtin, might suggest that, for an allotted amount of weeks, licentious theatricality overthrows the normalcy and regimented order of the Stat. Through that lens, the parade deterritorializes the urban space of Venice as it makes its way to the *Palazzo Ducale*. The bright crimson outfits of many involved in the parade mimic the official garb of the doge, thus announcing visually to all who would lay eyes upon them that the fools are now in charge. The collection of peasant tools—hoes, shovels, stakes, spades, rakes—de-urbanize the city as those utilitarian hallmarks of the rural provinces invade the stone island, and, once there, cease to function as farming implements and begin to function as weapons. Led by flaming torches, those weapons and the people that bare them march toward the doge. The sonorous atonality of the mob scores the movement through the city and forces dissonance upon a normally well-tuned, well-policed Venice. This, however, does not seem to apply here, as my analysis shows.

[69] See Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981) especially chapters five and six.

[70] Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Song and Season: Science, Culture, and Theatrical Time in Early Modern Venice* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2007) 57.

[71] Selfridge-Field, *Song and Season* 64.

[72] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1590: "Piú di una lettera in un senso proprio, si tratta di un divertimento umoresco, composto sul modello di un 'sprolico', ossia del monologo teatrale"

[73] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1248: [Paduan] "Mo ben, a' ve priego, che m'arebute na fià, aldí, a vu e messiere Françesco Donò."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Bene, vi prego, e intanto faccio riverenza, sentite, a voi e a messer Francesco Donà." [English, my translation] "Well, I thank you all, and I bow to all of you and to Mister Francesco Donà, you hear me."

[74] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1248: [Paduan] "E per no ve sprolicare, a' ve vuò vegnire in sul fato de la façenda de la vostra pussion, ch'a' me diessi de dare l'altro diazo, quando a' iera chiveluòndena da vu, quenze con vu, in ca' vostra, in la càmbera…"; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "E per non fare troppi preamboli, voglio venir subito a parlarvi della faccenda della vostra possessione, che diceste di darmi l'altro giorno, quand'ero costà da voi, lí con voi, a casa vostra, nella vostra camera..."

[75] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1248-49: [Paduan] "A' gh'he un bon cortelazo, e da cavare fossò a' he un bon baile ben in manego, che, com pí a' 'l uòvero, d'agnora pí el sta fremo e stachente in lo tugo, e mé scantina gamba, ch'a' tegno fremamen, s'a' la laoro mi n'arcolto, che a' 'l ve renderà pí e buterà megio e pí de vuogia, che l'abia fato ancora co [o]mo laoraore che gh'abia metú man." [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Per quanto credo che voi ne resterete contenta, perché io sono ben fornito di arnesi per mondare. Ho un buon coltellaccio, e per scavare fossati ho un buon badile, ben saldo nel manico, che, quanto piú lo adopero, tanto piú sta fermo e infisso nel bocciuolo, senza scantinare un istante. Sicché sono certo che, se la lavoro io per un raccolto, essa vi renderà di piú e butterà meglio e di miglior voglia, di quanto non abbia ancora fatto con altro lavorante che vi abbia messo mano."

[76] Pompeo Molmenti and Gustav Ludwig, *The Life and Works of Vittorio Carpaccio*, trans. Robert H. Hobart Cust (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1907) 93-95.

[77] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1591: "La simbologia agricola dei soci della Calza si riferiva genericamente all'*hortus conclusus* delle raffinate delizie e «virtù», nelle quali essi intendevano appartarsi per distinguersi dal vulgo profano."

[78] This insight comes from Rob Aben and Saskia de Wit, *The Eclosed Garden: History and Development of the Hortus Conclusus and its Reintroduction into the Present-day Urban Landscape* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, c.2001) 42.

[79] Zorzi alludes to that idea when he writes that "Il sovrasenso analogico con la sfera degli atti e degli organi sessuali è probabilmente un'aggiunta del Ruzante, che si inserisce nel gusto corrente per il senso equivico." [{t}he overriding analogue between the garden

of delights and the sexual organs is probably an addition of Ruzante's, who fits it into the taste of the times for its equivocal meaning.] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1591.

[80] See Carroll, *Angelo Beolco* 4. The phrase "crushing defeat" is Carroll's, but it is the most accurate description I can think of. The defeat at Agnadello represented a major turning point in Venice's history and revealed the extent to which all other dominant powers on the Italian Peninsula and in Europe desired the land occupied by the tiny island Republic, whose size was inversely proportionate to the sway it held over that part of the world from roughly 1200 to 1500 C.E.

[81] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1246-47: [Paduan] "Perché a' no vorae mé che i solfezaore del mondo aesse che dire, a' no vuogio fare con fa çierti cogòmbari, che mostra de saere e de avere stugiò, e co' i manda na boletina o na scritura a qualcun, i ghe favela da zenoìn, i ghe favela tosco con se fa in Fiorentinaría, e da spagnaruolo, a la politana, e a la slongarina e a la soldarina, con fa i soldè." [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Perché io non vorrei mai che i mormoratori di questo mondo avessero di che dire, non voglio fare come fanno certi cogliomberli, che mostrano di sapere e di aver studiato, e quando mandano un biglietto o uno scritto a qualcuno, gli parlano ricercato, gli parlano toscano come si fa in Fiorentineria, oppure spagnuolo, o alla napoletana, all'ungherese o alla soldatesca, come fanno i soldati."

[82] Selfridge-Field, *Song and Season* 48: "Strict rules governed conduct of all members of the government. Among the most important were that nobles were required to converse with their councils in Venetian dialect (records were maintained in Latin or Italian) and that nobles were not permitted to correspond with foreign ministers or ambassadors on pain of death."

[83] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1246: [Paduan] "Mo a' ho vogiú, e sí m'ha sempre mé piasú, favelare a la pavana com se fa in sul Pavan, na bota, perché l'è el pí sbraoso favelare che zape Talia, elo." [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Ho voluto invece, e mi è sempre piaciuto, parlare alla pavana, come si fa nel Pavano, certo, perché è il piú e vivo franco parlare che sappia l'Italia, questo."

[84] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1248: [Paduan] "Mo ben, a' ve priego, che m'arebute na fià, aldí, a vu e messiere Françesco Donò." [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Bene, vi prego, e intanto faccio riverenza, sentite, a voi e a messer Francesco Donà."

[85] Edward Muir, "Manifestazioni e cerimonie nella Venezia di Andrea Gritti," *«Renovatio Urbis» Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523-1538)*, a cura di Manfredo Tafuri (Roma [Rome], 1984) 59-77: "Sebbene il coinvolgimento di Ruzante fosse incero…Qualsiasi ne fosse stata la ragione, Ruzante non rappresentò più a Venezia e si ritirò presso il circolo raccolto a Padova intorno ad Alvise Cornaro."

[86] Aben and de Wit, *The Enclosed Garden* 87.

[87] Giuseppe Mazzotti, *Palladian and other Venetian Villas* (Roma [Rome]: Carlo Besteti, 1958) 74.

[88] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1184: [Paduan] "Né gnian guardè che aóm vogiú mandare un preve, né uno de quigi da le çenture insofranè, che favela per gramego o in avogare fiorentinesco, de quigi, sáiu, che se ciama dotore..."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Né dovete far caso al fatto che non abbiamo voluto mandare un prete o uno di quei tali dalle cinture color zafferano, che parlano secondo la grammatica o in linguaggio fiorentino, di quel tali, sapete, che se chiamano dottori; perché, se essi sono do-torri, ci sono io che ne ho tre delle torri."

[89] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1194: [Paduan] "Mo a' me fagi ben po quaso cagare da riso, quando che i dise che a' si' grande omo. Mo no ve véegi, morbo i magne? A' si' vu ben pízolo omo, i no 'l sa dire? A' si' un gran pízolo, e no grand'omo."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Poi mi fan quasi cacare dal ridere, quando dicono che siete un grand'uomo. Ma non vi vedono, che il morbo li mangi? Voi siete piuttosto un piccolo uomo, non sanno dirlo? Siete un gran piccolo, e non un grand'uomo."

[90] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1196: [Paduan] "I sa se lomé dire che a' si' Sgardenale, e che a dir Sgardenale el ven a dire quigi che ten su leporte del Paraíso, che nu a' i ciamón cancari. E si gi ha mé vezú, igi, Paraíso, né le porte, né quigi che i dise ch'a' si' vu, che le ten su, che se ciama cancari, a' vorae che 'l cancaro me magnasse mi; e se mo l'ha vezú, a' vorae che 'l cancaro i magnasse igi. Deh, Sgardenale, e no el cancaro, che aéssegi cavò gi uogi...Mo a' ve 'l dirè: tanto ven a dire Sgardenale com a dire un gran segnore rico, che se dà a sto mondo piasere, e com el muore (perché tuti a' morón), se ben vu a' no aí fato meassa ben, tamentre andè de longo in Paraíso, e se la porta è passà, a' la sgardene, e intrè entro per ogne via e per ogno busco."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Essi sanno solo dire che siete Cardinale, e che dicendo Cardinale, se dice uno di quelli che tengono su le porte del Paradiso, che noi chiamiamo cancheri. Vorrei che il canchero mangiasse me, se quelli l'han mai visto, il Paradiso, o le porte, o quelli che dicono siete voi...Ora ve lo dirò: Cardinale vuol dire un gran signore ricco, che in questo mondo si dà piacere, e che quando muore (perché tutti moriamo), se pure non avete fatto troppo bene, andate diritto in Paradiso, e se la porta è sprangata, voi la scardinate, e entrate dentro per ogni via e per ogni buco."

[91] This was also a clever reversal of the parable in the Bible that tells of the Devil's attempt to break Jesus's fast in the desert by trying to convince Jesus to turn stones into bread. From Ruzzante's perspective, the Cardinal had turned bread into stone.

[92] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1208: [Paduan] "*Quod a natura dato*, el se pò assé scoezare a fare che 'l no supia; perché, con una cossa de' essere, el pare che uomeni e femene e tuto el roverso mondo se ghe a meta e aia a fare che la supie. ...che a' son vegnú a dire, che com un se de' azelare, el se azelerae de aosto."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Ciò che è dato dalla natura, si può ben cercare di fare che non sia; perché, quando una cosa deve essere, pare che uomini e donne e tutto l'universo mondo si mettano e aiutino a fare che essa sia. ...che quando uno si deve gelare, si gelerebbe d'agosto."

[93] Mazzotti, *Venetian Villas* 73.

[94] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1204: [Paduan] "Déme la man e prometíme che un'altra fià a' vignerè a tuore el spatafio. Diè v' ai'." [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Datemi la mano e promettetemi che un'altra volta verrò a prendere l'editto. Dio vi aiuti."

[95] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1219-20: [Paduan] "A' vuò ben. A' vuò fare adesso quel che n'he fato zà pí d'un ano: vuogio cantare una canzon, e fare an mi chialò zó alegrisia, con se far in Paraíso…" [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Voglio fare adesso quel che non ho fatto già da piú di un anno: voglio cantare una canzone, e fare anch'io allegria quaggiú, come lassú in Paradiso…".

[96] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987) 317.

[97] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 318.

[98] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 320.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus* 323.

[101] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1194: [Paduan]"E com a' fossè morto, vu, a' sarissi deruinò del mondo, e sí aessè scapà su quela bromba. Che vossèu mo pí fare da çingiari né de vescovè? Mi, cussí pover'om co' a' son, a' no torae de esser norto e esser stò papa. Che papa la merda! Perdonème, ampò: a' dighe che a' no torae da essere Segnore del roerso mondo."; [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "E quando foste morto, voi avreste finito di stare al mondo, e ci avreste fatto questo guadagno. Che vorreste piú faverne di cinghiali o di vescovati? Io stesso, pover'uomo come sono, non accetterei di esser morto e di esser stato papa. Che papa la merda! Perdonatemi, via, dico che non accetterei di esser Signore dell'universo mondo." [And when you die, you finish up here on earth... What would you like more, to be a wild boar or a bishop? Me, the poor man that I am, I would not accept being dead or being Pope. The Pope, shit! Oh, excuse me, I'm just saying that I wouldn't want to be the Master of this whole reversal world.]

[102] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1208: "For that which is given by nature, just try to do otherwise; after all, when something must be, it seems that men and women and all the reversal world get down and help make it be. ...that when something must freeze, it'll freeze in August." For Paduan and Italian, see note 43 above.

[103] Ruzante, *L'Anconitana (The Woman from Ancona)*, trans. Nancy Dersofi (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994) 40-41: "...E tanto pí che se ne foesse Amore; vache, piegore, scrove, cavale, né altra biestia del roverso mondo farae mé furto."

[...since if it weren't for Love neither cows, nor sheep, nor sows, nor mares, nor any other creature in the whole upside-down world would ever be fruitful.]

[104] Ruzante, *Teatro* 574.

[105] José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. Terry Cochran (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 152.

[106] Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque* 152.

[107] For a different take on *snaturale* linked more to the linguistic dimension of Ruzzante's theatre, see Nancy Dorothy Dersofi, "Ruzante: The Paradox of *Snaturalitè*," *Yearbook of Italian Studies* (1971): 142-155.

[108] Theodor W. Adorno, "On Tradtition," *Telos* (Winter) 93/94: 81.

[109] Deleuze, *The Fold* 19.

[110] Deleuze, *The Fold* 20.

[111] Deleuze, *The Fold* 19.

[112] Deleuze, *The Fold* 20.

[113] Cicogna Codex 3239, *Biblioteca di Museo Civico Correr* [The Library of the Correr Civic Museum], *Venezia* [Venice]. Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna (1789-1868) was a bibliophile and scholar whose extensive collection of documents now belongs to the Library of the Correr Civic Museum. As frequently as the 1990s, scholars have cited this document as "Cicogna 2082," but the newer numbering system identifies it as 3239.

[114] His name appears in various documents under this spelling, but also as Pietro Leon da Val Camonica and sometimes as Fra. Giovanni Pietro Leon. Records sometimes refer to him as Giampietro or, as in the Venetian dialect, Zuan Pietro.

[115] On the spectrum of punishment, see Gaetano Cozzi, "Authority and Law in Renaissance Venice," *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J.R. Hale (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973) 296-331. On the punishment of priests in particular, see Guido Ruggiero, *Binding Passions: Tales of Magic, Marriage, and Power at the end of the Renaissance* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 50-55.

[116] Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. Seán Hand (New York: Continuum, 1999) 98.

[117] Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Richard W. Sterling and William C. Scott (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996) 288.

[118] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. S.H. Butcher (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961) 44.

[119] Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State*, trans. P.J. and D.P. Waley (London: Routledge, 1956) 3.

[120] Botero 4.

[121] Botero 8.

[122] Botero 19-20.

[123] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*, eds. Michael Senellart, François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, and Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2007) 261.

[124] For a genealogy of this shift, see Cozzi, "Authority and Law" 317-18.

[125] Muir, *Civic Ritual* 13.

[126] See Part Two, Chapter Three, "The Marriage of the Sea," in Muir, *Civic Ritual* 119-135.

[127] For the link between the window seats of the library and the box seats of the Tron and Michiel theatres in Venice, see Eugene J. Johnson, "The Short, Lascivious Lives of Two Venetian Theaters, 1580-85," *Renaissance Quarterly* vol. 55, no. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 946. "[T]he utterly new boxes of the Michiel and Tron theaters," he writes, "provided elevated, separated spaces for the patricians to watch performances and in turn to be watched. Both built on an old Venetian tradition of using windows as private viewing platforms for the public spectacles." For more on the theatricality of *Piazza San Marco*, see Egle Renata Trincanato, "Rappresentatività e funzionalità di Piazza San Marco" ["Representation and functionality of the Piazza San Marco"] *Piazza San Marco: l'architettura, la storia, le funzioni* [*Piazza San Marco: the architecture, the history, the functions*], a cura di [ed.] Giuseppe Samonà (Umberto Franzoni, Padova [Padua] 1970) 87.

[128] Mario Scaduto, S.I., *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez* [*The Epoch of Giacomo Lainez*], 1556-1565. *L'Azione* (*Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* [*History of the Society of Jesus in Italy*], vol. Quarto [4], Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica" [Edition "The Catholic Civilization"], Roma [Rome], 1974) 421: "Nel dicembre del '60 alcune convertite lasciavano il convento e una di esse svelava di essere stata qualche volta toccata e baciata da [un certo sacerdote] Giampietro. Palmio interessò varie personalità a un'inchiesta: Agostino Barbarigo, Tommaso e Giustiniano Contarini."

[129] *Archivio di stato, Venzia*, *Consiglio dei Dieci, parti criminali, filza* 14 (1561-1564): "…capellono et confessor delle convertide dalla Zudeca ritenuto."

[130] Ibid: "…questo pad. Zuan Piero da […] sia confinato per tutto il tempo della sua vita in la prigion […] et gli sia fra le due colone di S. Marco tagliata la testa si dal muora."

[131] Ibid: "da matina prossimo sia al sop.to pre [prete] Zuanpiero tagliata la testa via dal bugio fra le due Colone de S. Marco si del muora et se doppo il corpo suo sia abrugiato […] ed si converti in cenera."

[132] *Constitutioni et regole della casa delle cittelle di venetia. Eretta, & fondato sotto il titolo della Presentatione della Madonna. Divisi in dieci parti* [*Constitutions and rules of the house of the maidens of Venice. Erected and founded under the name of the Presentation of Mary. Divided in ten parts*] (Venezia [Venice], 1649) 1.

[133] Pullan 372.

[134] "Formulas of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, Approved and Confirmed by Pope Paul III," *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complimentary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, ed. John W. Padberg, S.J. (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996) 3-4.

[135] John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993) 73.

[136] Foucault, *Security* 128.

[137] Padberg 4.

[138] Michel Foucault, *The Hermeneutics of the Subject. Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-82*, eds. Frédéric Gros, François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2005) 407.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Deleuze, *Foucault* 85.

[141] All four principles, including the initial elaboration on the paradox of full distribution, appear in the lecture of 22 February 1978, Foucault, *Security* 169-173.

[142] Gaetano Cozzi, "Religione, moralità e giustizia a Venezia: vicende della magistratura degli esecutori contro la bestemmia (secc. XVI-XVII) [Religion, morality and justice in Venice: events in the magistracy of the executors against blasphemy (16th-17th Centuries]," *Ateneo veneto*, vol. CLXXVII (n.s. XXIX) (1991): p. 27

[143] This and the preceding two quotations come from Foucault, *Security* 122.

[144] My reference to similitude as an epistemic system draws from "The prose of the world" in Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1994) 17-45.

[145] For more on this concept specifically, see Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambrdige, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001) 3-67.

[146] Richard Cody, *The Landscape of the Mind: Pastoralism and Platonic Theory in Tasso's* Aminta *and Shakespeare's Early Comedies* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969) 5.

[147] Malcom Hayward, "Torquato Tasso, *Aminta*, a translation," *Indiana University of Pennsylvania English Department*, 1997, 21 May 2010 < http://www.english.iup.edu/mhayward/aminta.htm >.

[148] Torquato Tasso, *L'Aminta, di Torquato Tasso, favola boschereccia. Tasso's Aminta, a pastoral comedy, in Italian and English*, 2nd edition (Oxford, c.1730), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online,* Gale, University of Minnesota, 21 October 2009 <http://find.galegroup.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multipage&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW114762424&source=gale&userGroupName=umn_wilson&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE> 5.

[149] Tasso 77.

[150] This theme of the Care of the Self left in the wake of Cartesian *cogito* is the theme of Michel Foucault's lectures at the College dé France, 1981-82. See Foucault, *Hermeneutics*, especially the lectures on 6, 13, and 20 January 1981. I discuss Foucault's ideas and their relation to Jesuit practices of pastoral care in chapter three.

[151] Tasso 49.

[152] Tasso 65.

[153] Tasso 137.

[154] The *Spiritual Exercises*, the document, and the exercises that it dictates to individuals desiring to strengthen or renew their allegiance to Christ, are extremely important objects of study in terms of Jesuit history. I look at the document and the exercises in more detail in chapter three.

[155] Ignatius de Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius*, trans. Louis J. Puhl, S.J. (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1951) 142.

[156] Loyola 143.

[157] Loyola 144.

[158] Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London; New York: Verso, 2003) 161.

[159] Benjamin 160.

[160] Benjamin 175.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Benjamin 183.

[163] Deleuze, *The Fold* 19.

[164] Deleuze, *The Fold* 20.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* vol. 1 The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) 17.

[167] Cody 44.

[168] Cody 3.

[169] Cody 49.

[170] Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2002) 154.

[171] There is a large body of literature on the Papal interdict of 1606. Some works that highlight the Jesuit involvement in the interdict are: Gaetano Cozzi, *Venezia barocca: conflitti di uomini e idée nella crisi del Seicento veneziano* [*Baroque Venice: conflicts of men and ideas in the crisis of seventeenth century Venice*] (Venezia [Venice]: Cardo, 1995), especially "Il periodo dell'Interdetto" ["The period of the Interdict"] 77-121; Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540-1630* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004), especially chapter fourteen, "The papal *potestas indirecta*" 339-366; Pietro Pirri, S.J., *L'interdetto di venezia del 1606 e i gesuiti: silloge di documenti con intoduzione* [*The Venetian Interdict of 1606 and the Jesuits*] (Roma [Rome]: Institutum Historicum S.I. [Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus], 1959).

[172] I discuss this phenomenon in more detail in chapter three. An excellent reference, however, may be found in Gaetano Cozzi, "Appunti sul teatro e i teatri a Venezia agli inizi del Seicento" ["Notes on theatre and the theatres in Venice at the start of the 1600s"], *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* [*Institutional Bulletin of the History of Venetian Society and State*], 1 (1959): 187-193.

[173] de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* 10.

[174] de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* 11.

[175] Giovanni Domenico Ottonelli, *Della Christiana Moderatione Del Theatro Libro, detto L'Ammonitioni A' Recitanti, Per avvisare agni Christiano a moderarsi da gli eccessi nel recitare. Sono divise in tre brevi Trattati, cioè: Il Primo, intorno a' Recitanti; il secondo, intorno al Comico Beltrame, & al suo libro; il terzo, intorno a' Ciarlatani* [*Of Christian Moderation of the Theatre, or the Admonitions to the Performer, in order to advise each Christian to moderate the excesses of peformance. Divided into three brief tracts, named: The First, of Performers; the second, of the Comic Beltrame, & his book; the third, on Charlatans*] (Firenze, 1652) in *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia* [National Library Marciana, Venice]: "Fratello ponete hormai fine alle comiche oscenità; perche una conversatione così brutta non è utili punto alla salute vostra; anzi è grandemente perniciosa, & à voi, & a' prossimi vostri; onde meritate d'essere scacciato lungi da ogni Terra, Città, Provincia, e Regno."

[176] Ottonelli 353. On the word, *comedia*: the word refers to a stage play. The literal translation would be "comedy," but that word now carries the connotation of "humorous." To avoid that connotation, I translate the word as "play," the ambiguity of which lies at the very heart of Ottonelli's treatise. At the same time, as I discuss later in the chapter, the term "comedy" does have its proper place in Ottonelli's scheme.

[177] In this chapter, I will capitalize the Spiritual Exercises when I speak of those create by Ignatius Loyola. *Spiritual Exercises* (in italics) will denote the book that contains the exercises. All other spellings, most frequently the lower-case "spiritual exercises," refers to the concept of these exercises in general or to the historical genealogy of these types of exercises that I explore in detail in the last section of this chapter.

[178] Lina Padoan Urban, "Le feste sull'acqua a Venezia nel secolo XVI e il potere politico" ["Venetian Water festivals in the sixteenth century and the their political power"], *Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento* [*Italian Renaissance Theatre*], ed. Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Milano [Milan]: Comunità, 1980), 488: "Per queste feste sull'acqua, oltre che di barche particolarmente ornate, i Compagni si servivano di macchine o teatri galleggianti, i cosiddetti *teatro del mondo*, sui quali avevano luogo danze, serenate, cenee rappresentazioni sceniche (generalmente *momarie*). Inoltre, apparati consueti erano vasti palchi a più piani (i soleri), che erano addossati e comunicavano attraverso le finestre con i palazzi prospicienti il Canal Grande o quello della Giudecca, collegati a loro volta all'opposta riva del canale con ponti costruiti su barche o navi, in considerazione che si dovesse attraversare il Canal Grande o il Canale della Giudecca, sui quali avevano luogo, assai di frequente, le *momarie*."

[179] For more on the Palladio theatre specifically and the semi-permanence of the *teatri del mondo* more generally, see Lina Padoan Urban, "Teatri e 'teatri del mondo' nella Venezia del Cinquecento" ["Theatres and 'theatres of the world' in sixteenth century Venice"] *Arte Veneta* vol. XX (1966): 137-146.

[180] Gino Damerini, "Il trapianto dello spettacolo teatrale veneziano del seicento nella civiltà barocca europea" ["The transplantation of Venetian theatre spectacle of the

seventeenth century into baroque European civilization"], *Barocco europeo e barocco veneziano* [*Baroque Europe and Baroque Venice*], ed. Vittore Branca (Venezia [Venice]: Sansoni, 1962) 227: "Caratteristica assolutamente eccezionale di questo dinamismo architettonico è la più assoluta indifferenza per l'aspetto esterno dei teatri. I teatri sono le sale. Non gli occorrono, fuori, né colonne, né peristili, né timpani. Per lunghissimo tempo questa norma decisamente antimonumentale"

[181] For more on the artists who participated in the design of the theatres, see Urban, "Le feste sull'acqua" 494

[182] "se potrà condurvi facilmente una fontana di acqua dolce viva e pura, et in diversi luoghi di essa..." The document exists in ASV, *Savi alle Acque*, *Busta* 986, *filza* 4, cc.23-25. It is partially reprinted in Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia* (Milano [Milan], 1974) 26-28 and then printed in its entirety (with some corrections) in Manfredo Tafuri, *Venice and the Renaissance,* trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The MIT Press, 1989) 159-160.

[183] Mangini 26: "il modo sarà con fare uno theatro di pietra grande e commodo per tutti quelli a tali spettacoli e feste: e saranno le intrate aperte a tutti, che hora non sono: e se uno vuole entrare hora a vedere qualche festa de compagni de calza, o per sentire una comedia non può entrare se non è dello populo frosso: cosa che non tiene né del giusto né dell'honesto, ma del partigiano."

[184] Tafuri, *Renaissance* 157.

[185] Mangini 26: "[E]t in tale piazza si potrà fare combattere orsi con cani: tori selvaggi con huomini, e simili spettacoli: ma oltra quelli si vederà fare la guerra come hora si fa, e si usa in questa Città; che è cosa molto bella da vedere e molto apprettata da signori forestieri...ma oltra in quella medesima piazza si potrà facilissimamente far intrare l'acqua e uscire, per poter farvi un bello navale come faceano Romani."

[186] Mangini 27: "e questo sarà un spettacolo et una prospettiva la piú bella, la piú vaga, la piú varia d'ogni altra, che mai s'habbia veduta né che si possa vedere per l'avenire in tutto 'l mondo: et è ben ragionevole: non sendo stata, né per essere mai altra Città nel mondo simile a questa, né vergine come è questa che niun'altra è in tutto 'l mondo che sia vergine: laonde si potrà nominare allora per capo del mondo per le sue belle qualità, e fortezza che mai ne fu una simile"

[187] Venetian *scuole*, or schools, were a combination of charitable institutions and artists' guilds. There were two types, the *Scuole Grandi*, such as the *Scuola Grande di San Rocco* to which Tintoretto belonged, and the *Scuole Minore*, such as that of the goldsmiths, the fishermen, etc.

[188] Tafuri, *Renaissance* 148.

[189] Tafuri, *Renaissance* 145.

[190] This was part of the Jesuit strategy from its earliest beginnings. "On their long and precarious journey on foot to Venice [1535], the nine companions wore the dress of university students and, besides some clothing, carried with them in their leather rucksacks only their Bibles and personal papers." This comes from O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 32-33. The passage describes Ignatius Loyola and his earliest companions arriving in Venice for the first time together on their way to Jerusalem.

[191] After entering the Republic of Saint Mark in the early part of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits gradually gained access to the core of the Venetian state by becoming the confessor and spiritual advisers for numerous patricians. In his study of the Venetian Baroque, Gaetano Cozzi wrote that "Ignatius of Loyola had taught the brothers what attention they would need to guide the members of the highest classes, keys for entering into the life of a society, how to gain their trust, how to arouse and reinforce devotion" ("*Ignazio di Loyola aveva insegnato ai confratelli con quale attenzione si dovesse guardare ai membri dei ceti più alti, chiave per entrare nel vivo di una società, come attrarne la fiducia, come sucitarne e rafforzarne la devozione*.") Ignatius Loyola himself acted as guide for Matteo Dandolo, the Venetian ambassador to France during some very important years in the life of the relationship between those two powers, as well as for Gasparo Contarini, one of the most influential doges in Venetian history. Achilles Gagliardi, S.J., became the broker of peace between Henry III and Venice in the first part of the sixteenth-century. Father Benedetto Palmio initiated the hospital system for the reform of young prostitutes, which, more than just becoming an important charitable institution within the Venetian governmental system, allowed Palmio to gain access to members of the powerful Council of Ten and to the wives of those men. See Gaetano Cozzi, V*enezia barocca* 295.Cozzi discusses Dandolo and Contarini in some more detail on pp. 293-95. For more on the relationship between Contarini and Loyola, see O'Malley, *First Jesuits* 35.

[192] Cozzi, *Venezia barocca* 298: "Si citava, a tale proposito, come un grande succeso del padre Palmio l'esser riuscito a far sospendere a Venezia, nel carnevale del 1559, le commedie, 'et guastar le scene etiam fatte.'" ["One such example of this was the grand success of Father Palmio who successfully suspended in Venice, for the carnival of 1559, the plays, 'to ruin the scenes this made'."]

[193] The decrees appears in *l'Archivio di Stato, Venezia* [ASV], *Consiglio de' Dieci*, *Comune*, *Raspe* 32 (1575-76), 104r. Quoted in Johnson, 941.

[194] For 1568, see ASV, *Consiglio de' Dieci, Comune*, *Raspe* 28 (1567-68), 164v., 19 January 1568. For 1573, see ASV, *Consiglio de' Dieci*, *Raspe* 31 (1573-74), 76v., 10 November 1573. Both appear in Johnson, 940-41.

[195] Johnson 938.

[196] This comes from Cozzi, *Venezia barocca* 291.

[197] William H. McCabe, S.J., *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theatre,* ed. Louis J. Oldani, S.J. (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983) vi.

[198] Louis J. Oldani and Victor R. Yanitelli, "Jesuit Theater in Italy: Its Entrances and Exits," *Italica* vol. 76, no. 1 (Spring, 1999): 18.

[199] *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education,* trans. Claude Pavur, S.J. (Saint Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005) 35, #87 under "Rules for the Rector." The restriction against women's clothing aims at eliminating any libidinal excesses.

[200] *Ratio Studiorum* 155.

[201] *Ratio Studiorum* 16, "Rules for Provincial."

[202] McCabe vi.

[203] Oldani and Yanitelli 20.

[204] One interesting anthology, in which there is an extensive bibliography, is Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe, eds., *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution (*New York: Fordham University Press, 1972). Another, which has a wider scope, is *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540-1773*, ed. John O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c.2006).

[205] See Nigel Griffin, *Jesuit School Drama, a checklist of critical literature* (London: Grant & Cutler, ltd., 1976) and Nigel Griffin, *Jesuit School Drama: a checklist of critical literature, Supplement No. 1* (London: Grant Cutler Ltd., 1986).

[206] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendell (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988) 36.

[207] Ottonelli 268.

[208] Ottonelli 269.

[209] Ibid.

[210] On the origin of "retreat" and its connection to Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, see O'Malley, *First Jesuits* 47.

[211] Ottonelli 269.

[212] Ottonelli 270.

[213] Ottonelli 271.

[214] This point also brings the dual nature of the Jesuit Order into view against the

background of the Church. The Church wanted people to go to the monastery. When the Jesuits made that step unnecessary, there were members of the Church that started viewing Loyola's descendants as usurpers of the Church's power. The Jesuits were thus radically tied to the Church under the control of the Pope, and they were a free radical organization that acquired a semi-autonomous status. I talk about this more in chapter 4.

[215] To this distinction I will add one more. While the scenic priest plays a pivotal role in Ottonelli's tract, the real virtuous actor is Ottonelli himself. This becomes clear upon scrutinizing the title page of *Della Christiana*.Who is its author? The title page reads, "*Opera, D'vn theologo religioso da fanano, Stampata ad instanza del sig. Odomenigico Lelonotti*." I.e., this is a work by very religious theologian, printed at the insistence of one "Odomenigico Lelonotti." This name is an anagram of Giovan. Domenico Ottonelli, but what is a reader to make of the anagram? Ottonelli is enacting his own type of virtuous performance. His book models virtuous behavior and outlines the means through which an individual can become a true character. He even plays a role, that of Lelonotti who is something of a scenic priest himself.

[216] For more on meditation in the lives of Augustine and Anselm, see Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003) 116-118.

[217] Loyola 1.

[218] O'Malley, *First Jesuits* 24.

[219] Loyola 2.

[220] O'Malley discusses the important of Thomas a Kempis's *The Imitation of Christ* and Erasmus's *Handbook of the Christian Soldier* to Loyola's self-fashioning in *First Jesuits* 25-27.

[221] O'Malley, *First Jesuits* 41.

[222] *Year by Year with the Early Jesuits (1537-1556): Selections from the "Chronicon" of Juan de Polanco, S.J.,* trans. John Patrick Donnelly, S.J. (Saint Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004) 119.

[223] Loyola 28.

[224] For an excellent essay on the Spatium Imaginarium within Jesuit thinking, especially as it related to Hobbes's philosophy of space and place, see Cees Leijenhorst, "Jesuit Concepts of *Spatium Imaginarium* and Thomas Hobbes's Doctrine of Space," *Early Science and Medicine*, vol. 1, no. 3, "Jesuits and the Knowledge of Nature" (Oct., 1996): 355-380.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Loyola 32.

[227] Polanco 388.

[228] Polanco 9-10.

[229] Loyola 1.

[230] Slavoj Žižek, *The Parallax View* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006) 109.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Ottonelli 356.

[233] Polanco 463.

[234] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 9.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 10.

[237] Ibid.

[238] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 55.

[239] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 84.

[240] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 83.

[241] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 87.

[242] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 111-12.

[243] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 206.

[244] This quotation and the two preceding ones appear in Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 128.

[245] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 129-30.

[246] This quotation and the two preceding ones appear in Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 207.

[247] See, *Hermeneutics* 86-87: "There are a series of expressions: withdrawing into the self, retiring in to the self, or again, descending to the depths of oneself. There are expressions that refer to the activity, to the attitude which consists in gathering oneself around oneself, of collecting oneself in the self, or again in establishing or installing oneself in the self as in a place of refuge, a well-fortified citadel, a fortress protected by walls, etcetera." Foucault summarizes this "leap in place" on 95 when he says that, "To become again what we never were is, I think, one of the most fundamental elements, one

of the most fundamental themes of this practice of the self."

[248] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 131-33.

[249] Ottonelli 270.

[250] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 480.

[251] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 481.

[252] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 482.

[253] Loyola 15.

[254] Loyola 29.

[255] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 184.

[256] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 209.

[257] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 210.

[258] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 211.

[259] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 275.

[260] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 275.

[261] This and the previous two quotations appear in Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 317.

[262] Maaike Bleeker, "Thinking Through Theatre," *Deleuze and Performance*, Deleuze Connections (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2009) 157.

[263] Ibid.

[264] The first two quotations come from Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* 42; the third from *What is Philosophy?* 176.

[265] Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* 118.

[266] Bleeker 158.

[267] Ibid. Bleeker is drawing from Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* 217-18.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid and Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, European Perspectives, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1994) 218.

[270] Bleeker 159. The quotations in the next paragraph are also from this same page.

[271] Jean-François Lyotard, "Music Mutic," *Postmodern Fables*, trans. Georges Van Den Abbeele (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997) 218.

[272] Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 2005) 5.

[273] This and the preceding quotations in this paragraph come from Bleeker 159.

[274] Mario Zanardi, "I «domicilia» o centri operativi della Compagnia di Gesù nello Stato Veneto (1542-1773) [The 'domiciles' or centers of operation of the Society of Jesus in the State of Venice)1542-1773)]," *I gesuiti e Venezia: Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù* [*The Jesuits and Venice: Momenti and problems of Venetian history in the Society of Jesus*], a cura di [ed.] Mario Zanardi (Giunta Regionale del Veneto, 1994) 95. Zanardi offers the following list for establishments opened by the Jesuits in Padua at the time in question:

1542 - *Collegio per soli studenti gesuiti* (College for Jesuits only)

1552 - *Collegio per studenti gesuiti ed esterni* (College for Jesuits and non-Jesuit students)

1582 - *Convitto dei nobili* (Boarding house for nobles)

1591 - *Collegio per soli studenti gesuiti* (College for Jesuits only)

1602-1606 - *Casa di seconda pronazione* (*noviziato*) (Seminary)

[275] de Certeau, *The Writing of History* 4.

[276] Lyotard 227.

[277] de Certeau, *Practice* 36.

[278] This notion of aesthetic exercises is inspired by Michel de Certeau's. In *The Mystic Fable*, de Certeau writes about aesthetic exercises in terms of an "art of making," which he uses to analyze and theorize *The Garden of Earthly Delights* by Hieronymus Bosch. He writes: "The art of making escapes the prestige of the message; rather, it is related to the subtleties and tricks of the trade. It is rooted in the specific circumstances of the working milieu in which an aesthetic exercise (in the sense in which one speaks of spiritual exercise) does not conform to the ideologies of schools." See, de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable* 61.

[279] de Certeau, *Practice* 37.

[280] Foucault, *Security* 206.

[281] Loyola 1.

[282] This concept appears in Benjamin's "Theses on the Philosophy of History." In thesis seven he writes, "empathy with the victor invariably benefits the rulers. Historical materialists know what that means. Whoever has emerged victorious participates to this day in the triumphal procession in which the present rulers step over those who are lying prostrate. They are called cultural treasures, and a historical materialist views them with cautious detachment. For without exception the cultural treasures he surveys have an origin which he cannot contemplated without horror…[The historical materialist] regards it as his task to brush history against the grain." In Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Hanna Arendt (New York, NY: Shocken Books, 1968) 256-57.

[283] de Certeau, *Practice* 38.

[284] Ruzante, *Teatro* 558. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Dite proprio il vero. Siamo forse al largo, fuori all'aperto? Dove canchero vorreste che corressi, se non ci vedo niente? È pur buio fuori di modo. Non so andare lungo questi muri. Torniamo indietro, caro comparo." [Paduan, 559] "Mo' a' di' vero. Che a' seón fuossi a la larga, de fuora? On' cancaro vossèvu ch'a' coresse, ch'a' no ghe vego gozo? L'è pur a scuro fuora de muò. A' no sè andar per ste muragie. Tornón indrío, caro compare."

[285] Ruzante, *Teatro* 660. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Ruz: Non vedo nemmeno voi./Men: sono qui, da queste parte./Ruz: Sst, sst, piano!/Men: Avete sentito niente, compare?/Ruz: Sst, sst, piano!/Men: Ma che c'è?/Ruz: Sst, sst, pst!/Men: Che sentite, compare?/Ruz: Tacete un po'. Sento come scricchiolare una corazzina. Scappiamo, scappiamo, compare." [Paduan, 661] "Ruz: A' no ve vego gnan vu./Men: A' son chialò, a sta man./Ruz: Icz, icz, pian!/Men: Hivu sentío gnente, compare?/Ruz: Icz, icz, pian!/Men: Mo che, an?/Ruz: Icz, icz, scc!/Men: Che sentívu, compare?/Ruz: Tasí mo. A' sento [a] muò sgrintolare na corazina. Muzón, muzón, compare!"

[286] Ruzante, *Teatro* 660, 662. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Men: Compare, dove siete?/Ruz: Sono qua. E voi dove siete? Fatevi vicino a me, perché non conosco troppo bene questi vicoli./Men: Potta del canchero!.../Ruz: Che c'é, compare?/Men: Mi sono rotto il viso. Ho dato contro non so che./Ruz: Avete dato contro il mio scudo. Ma non lo vedete? Eppure l'ho sulla testa, lo dovreste vedere." [Paduan, 661, 663] "Men: Compare, on' sivu?/Ruz: A' son chialò. On' sivu vu? Féve a pè de mi, ch'a' no so tropo be i truozi./Men: O pota del cancaro!.../Ruz: Ch'è, compare?/Men: A' m'he roto 'l viso! A' he dò in no so che/Ruz: Aí dò in la mia ruela. Mo no la vîvu? Ampò la hoge in cao, a' la dissè pur vêre."

[287] Ruzante, *Teatro* 520. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Compare, sono gli elmetti di ferro che fanno queste brutte cere. Tanto quanto pesano, tanta carne tirano giú. E poi, il mar bere, il peggio mangiare... Se voi foste stato dove sono stato io me!" [Paduan, 521] "Compare, l'è i cassiti de ferro che fa ste male çiere. Tanto che i pesa, tanta carne i tira zó. e po, el mar bere, el piezo magnare... S'a'fossè stò on' son stato io mi!"

[288] Ruzante, *Teatro* 526. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Perché uno solo non può far niente contro tanti." [Paduan, 527] "Perché un solo non pò far niente contra tanti."

[289] de Certeau, *Practice* 37.

[290] Ruzante, *Teatro* 574. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "In ogni modo, che posso fare? Sono rovinato per la vita. È meglio che lo faccia fuori, e che mi cavi d'impiccio. Per quanto, arrabbiato come sono, non vorrei che non mi andasse bene." [Paduan, 575] "Agno muò, che vuogio fare? A' son deruinò, ch'a' n'he de la vita. L'è miegio ch'a' 'l faghe fuora, e che a' m'in cave i piè. Tamentre, supiando sí arabiò, a' no vorae che la no me butasse ben."

[291] Ibid. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Basta, so ben io ciò che ho pensato. Quando lo vedrò venir fuori, gli salterò subito addosso, e gli menerò alle gambe, e lui cadrà subito in terra, alla prima; e allora dài, giú addosso, per lungo e per traverso!" [Paduan] "Taméntrena, a' sè ben zò che a' m'he pensò. Con vega che 'l vegne de fato fuora, a' ghe borirò adosso de fato; e sí a' ghe menerè su le gambe, e elo cairà in tera de fato e a la bela prima. E man zó per adosso, per longo e per traerso!"

[292] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1387.

[293] de Certeau, *Practice* 37.

[294] de Certeau, *Practice* 38.

[295] Administered life is a term developed by Theodor W. Adorno in his theories on the culture industry. An apt essay for further reading on the term developed by Adorno appears in Theodor W. Adorno, "Culture and Administration," *The Culture Industry: selected essays on mass culture*, trans. Rolf Tiedmann (New York: Routledge, 2004) 107-31.

[296] Carroll, *Ruzante* 4. It is believed that Angelo Beolco was born to his paternal grandmother's servant.

[297] This link between Ruzzante, patronage, and the Este court comes up in Carroll, *Ruzante* 57. She writes, "The *Second Dialogue* exists only in printed form. No record of performances survives, although the strongly anti-Venetian tone of the play is consonant with Cornaro's circle in Padua and the Este court at Ferrara. The latter hypothesis is supported by the existence of a modified version of the play in the archives of Modena, which house most of the Este papers (including the only known document in Beolco's hand, a letter to Ercole II)." For more on this link, see Linda L. Carroll, "'Fools of the Dukes of Ferrara': Dosso, Ruzante, and Changing Este Alliances," *MLN*, vol. 118, no. 1, Italian Issue (Jan., 2003): 60-84.

[298] de Certeau, *Mystic Fable* 169.

[299] Ibid.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Ibid.

[302] de Certeau, *Mystic Fable* 172.

[303] This brings Ruzzante into the realm of nomad art, as theorized by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus: capitalism and schizophrenia*, 492, where they write, "'Haptic' is a better word than 'tactile' since it does not establish an opposition between two sense organs but rather invites the assumption that the eye itself may fulfill this nonoptical function."

[304] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 320.

[305] Ibid.

[306] Loyola 90.

[307] Ruzante, *Teatro* 692. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Men: Ma sapete che cosa ho pensato, compare? Che se, una volta mangiato, si tappasse il buco di sotto, il mangiare non potrebbe uscir fuori e le budella resterebbero piene, e cosí non verrebbe piú tanta fame./Duo: Ma che dite, compare? No, canchero, non è buco, quello, da tenere tappato; anzi, bisogna tenerlo bene aperto, se si vuole star sani. No, canchero, non dite di tapparlo./Men: Ma, compare, questo è quello che io cerco. Cerco ben di ammalarmi, perché, vi dirò, compare, quando sono ammalato, non mi viene piú fame; e purché non mi venisse fame, non vorrei altro, io. Intendente quel che voglio dire, compare?" [Paduan, 693] "Men: Mo saí zò che a' m'he pensò, compare? Che chi se astropasse la busa de soto, con s'aesse magnò, el magnare no porae insir fuora, e le buele starae pine, e sí no vegnerae pí tanta fame./Duo: Mo che diríu, compare? No, cancaro, la no è busa, quela, da tegnire arpassà; inanzo el besogna tegnirla ben averta, chi vò star sani. No, cancarom no disí de arpassarla./Men: Mo, compare, quelo è quel che a' çerco mi. A' çerco ben de amalarme, perché, a' ve dirè mi, compare, con a' son amalò, el no me ven fame, mi; e pur che no me vegnisse fame, a' no vora' altro, mi. Intendiú con a' dighe, compare?"

[308] Ruzante, *Teatro* 708. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Poh, è fatta, mi voglio ammazzare. Ma con che cosa mi ammazzerò io, che non hom nemmeo la spada? Eh, compare, che il canchero vi mangi, siete proprio la mia rovina. Adesso che mi occorreva la spada, l'avete portata via. Che il canchero mangi me, che ve l'ho data! Ma in ogni modo mi ammazzerò senza. E sarà anche meglio, perché mi mangerò da me stesso, e cosí morirò be pasciuto, a dispetto della carestia." [Paduan] "Poh, l'è fata, a' me vuò amazare. Ma con che me amazerègie, che a' n'he gnan la storta? Deh, compare, cancaro ve magne, mo a' si' pure la mia deroína. Adesso che la storta me besognava, a' l'aí portà via. Doh, cancaro me

magne mi, che a' ve l'he dà! Mo int'agno muò a' me amazerè senza. E sí serà an miego, ché a' me magnerè da mia posta, e cossí a' morirè pur passú, a despeto de la calestia."

[309] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1435. "'Recitato a Fosson alla caccia l'anno della carestia 1528'. La postilla è preziosoa, poiché risale certamente all'autore o a un suo familiare (forse Cornaro, che ne conservava e qua e là ne annotava i monoscritti), e perché consente di determinare l'occasione per la quale il testo fu composto, fissando una delle poche date sicure dell'incerta cronologica ruzantiana."

[310] Ruzzante, *La Moschetta*, trans. Antonio Franceschetti and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions Inc., 1993) 82.

[311] Foucault, *Security* 195.

[312] Foucault, *Security* 211-12.

[313] Foucault, *Security* 213.

[314] Foucault, *Security* 212.

[315] See Martin Luther, "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate," *The Harvard Classics* vol. 36, trans. C.A. Buchheim, ed. W. Eliot (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1910) 324, especially the section titled, "Twenty-Seven Articles Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate," articles fourteen, eighteen, and nineteen.

[316] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1569. "Vi si avvere però una piú matura partecipazione alla causa dei poveri e degli oppressi...Qui la voce del Beolco si leva con un timbro inconsueto, e inconsueto per i tempi è il modo di prospettare certi mali come autentiche piaghe sociali. La soluzione, secondo Ruzante, può trovarsi in un ritorno al genuino spirito del Vangelo…"

[317] Of course, it should be noted that Loyola's take on poverty never prevented the Jesuits from receiving large sums of money from financial backers. I would say that poverty existed as a core theory in Loyola's writings and actions whereas it existed as a necessary practice in Ruzzante's life and work.

[318] Foucault, *Security* 205.

[319] The awkwardness of this word is intentional. It is intended to capture the awkwardness of the jokes themselves.

[320] Foucault, *Security* 207-08.

[321] Letter in Lewis (Alvise) Cornaro, *Discourses on a Sober and Temperate Life*, trans. Unknown (Philadelphia: T. Dobson, 1791) 179.

[322] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 32.

[323] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 37.

[324] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 45-6.

[325] *Panado* was a vegetable soup consisting mostly of tomato.

[326] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 140-41.

[327] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 119-20.

[328] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 141.

[329] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 79.

[330] Cornaro, *Sober Life* 49.

[331] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1583. "Essa non è una banale personificazione del bisogno di fuggire gli affanni e i dolori quotidiani, ma la ricerca di un armonizzante equilibrio interiore."

[332] Foucault, *Hermeneutics* 424.

[333] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1226. The full line is, "Voi dovete sapere che io, vedendo questo mondo essere il piú bel paese del mondo, entrai un dí in una voglia terribile di dovervi restare per sempre, o almeno di essere degli ultimi che se ne partissero."

[334] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1228. "Quando mi montò questa collera, io ero sopra una delle nostre montagnette di Este, a caccia, rimasto solo aspettando i bracchi che ritornassero da oltre un colle, dove avevano cacciato un lepre; ed erano tanto lontani, ch'io non li sentivo piú."

[335] Ibid. "il sonno li entrò negli occhi e, non appena fu dentro, egli mise il catenaccio all'uscio, e chiuse me fuor di me stesso."

[336] Ibid. "fu il piú soave e grazioso sonno che mai chiudesse occhi d'uomo."

[337] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1230. [Italian, trans. Zorzi] "Ma se uno vivesse sol tanto un anno solo e sapesse di esser vivo, non sarebbe piú vita la sua, e piú lunga, di quello di uno che vivesse mill'anni e non sapesse mai di esser vivo?" [Paduan, 1231] "Mo se uno vivesse mo nomé un ano solo e saesse de esser vivo, no seràve pí vita la soa, e pí longa, ca de uno che vivesse mil'agni e no saesse mé d'esser vivo?"

[338] Ruzante, *Teatro* 1242. "Mentre esso diceva queste parole, mi parve sentire una musica, non di canti o di suoni, ma di non so piú che concento [sic] o armonia, che non saprei darla a intendere se non a chi dormisse come facevo io. E poco dopo (come fa chi sogna) mi pareva vedere tutta quella gente dell'Allegrezza raccolta insieme, e di tutta farsene po una cosa sí bella, che in mille anni non si direbbe con mille lingue. Io volevo guardarla fisso per non perdere di contemplarla (tanto me pigliavano diletto), ma gli

occhi mi parevano impediti da non so che gravezza; onde, volendo sforzarmi di aprirli, il sonno se ne fuggi, ed io rimasi con gli occhi aperti per davvero."

[339] Carroll, *Ruzante* 104. For more on this theme, see Linda L. Carroll, "A Nontheistic Paradise in Renaissance Padua," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Winter, 1993): 881-898. In that article she writes, on 897: "He first tried Evangelical solutions (*Prima Oratione*, *Betía*, *Seconda Oratione*, *Reduce*); when those did not produce results, he began to experiment with Protestant ideas (*Moscheta*; see 651, par. 19, Tonin to Ruzante: 'Hush, you who are against the faith . . . baptized in a pig trough!'), then pagan ones (*Dialogo facetissimo*). When again these provide no relief, Beolco exploded in the *Bilora* against the name of God. In the comedies that followed he accepted the expedient of Nicodemism, but in the final one, the *Lettera all'Alvarotto*, God disappeared completely."

[340] Michel Foucault, "What is Critique?" *The Politics of Truth*, trans. Lysa Hochroth, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2007) 45.

[341] Foucault, "What is Critique?" 42.

[342] Foucault, "What is Critique?" 47.

[343] Foucault, "What is Critique?" 44.

[344] Foucault, "What is Critique?" 56.

[345] Susan Buck-Morss, *The Origin of Negative Dialectics* (New York: Macmillan, 1979) 47.

[346] Buck-Morss 63.

[347] Buck-Morss 49.

[348] This and the previous quotation found in Buck-Morss 94.

[349] Deleuze, *The Fold* 20.

[350] Deleuze, *The Fold* 19.

[351] Foucault, *Security* 207-08.

[352] Walter Benjamin, "Eduard Fuchs: Collector and Historian," *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, eds. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1978) 226-27.

[353] Foucault, "What is Critique?" 56.

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