

## ***La Presa di Granata and Il Triunfo de la Fama:* dance in the *farse* of Iacopo Sannazaro (1492)\***

Cecilia Nocilli

University of Valladolid (Spain)

Theatre as we know it nowadays did not exist in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, there was a ‘renaissance’ or bringing back to life of the Classic theatre through Humanist culture. Humanist theatre was closely related to experiments with rhetoric, body language, and rules of diction from classic culture. Naples provided one example of this Humanist atmosphere of aesthetic quest. Its cultural life pivoted around such figures as Iacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530), the Spanish poet called Gareth, better known as Cariteo (1450–1514), and Serafino Aquilano (1466–1500).

The encomiastic-allegorical *farsa* was greatly appreciated at the court of Aragon in Naples, to the extent that the princes were actually promoters and interpreters of it. This dramatic genre alternated music, dance, and monologues performed by allegorical and mythological characters. Nevertheless, we should make clear that these elements characterised the *farsa* as a genre only in Naples and its geographical area of influence<sup>1</sup>.

*Farse* such as *La Presa di Granata* and *Il Triunfo della Fama*, created by Iacopo Sannazaro, were very successful<sup>2</sup>. Both of these were staged, with just a two-day gap between them, to celebrate the victory of the Catholic King and Queen over the Moors in 1492. Sannazaro himself provides us with a fascinating description of these *farse* in a letter written to Isabella Del Balzo, princess of Altamura, who had not been able to attend performances since she was out of town<sup>3</sup>.

I will analyse his description before continuing with some comments.

*La Presa di Granata* was commissioned and organised by Alfonso of Aragon (1448–1495), Duke of Calabria, who put it on stage on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1492, in a large room of Castel Capuano<sup>4</sup>. A temple was built in the middle of this room ‘according to the manner of the ancients’. In order to simplify description of the plot of each of the *farse*, I have divided up the dramatic text into different scenes, marked by the appearance of allegorical characters (this division is not present in the original text).

### **First scene**

Mahoma exits the temple as if expelled by force ‘dressed in a Moorish fashion’. At the same time, a cross showing the banner of Castile is displayed in the highest part of the temple. Mahoma leaves the room for good after a sorrowful declamation. This is his only appearance on stage.

### **Second scene**

It is Faith who now exits the temple, wearing a laurel crown. She recites a text in which she expresses her pride for having achieved victory after so many struggles and such long suffering.

### **Third scene**

The goddess Laetitia comes in singing ‘from one end of the room’. Three nymphs accompany her singing with a bagpipe, a recorder, and a ‘violetta ad arco’ (a little fiddle). Once the

---

\* In order to avoid ambiguity with other similar terms, I will use the original Italian word *farsa* (pl. *farse*).

singing is over, the goddess unveils, takes her mask off, and recites her text. Right after, she throws flowers and aromatic posies around<sup>5</sup>.

#### **Fourth scene**

Trumpets begin to play and then Ferrante of Aragon, Prince of Capua, enters the room dancing. He is in the company of five mimes and some minor characters, all dressed in the colours of Castile – green and dark purple – and showing the golden emblems of the King and Queen of Castile: the yoke and the arrows.

#### **Fifth scene**

All the aforementioned characters stop dancing with each other, and go to pick six ladies from the audience to dance ‘the bassanza with its alta’. They then leave the ladies they invited to dance with them, and exit the room dancing one after another. As Sannazaro describes, «that night’s feast was over».

*Il Triunfo de la Fama* was staged on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1492, at Isabella del Balzo’s chambers in Castel Capuano two days after *La Presa di Granata*, as mentioned earlier. It was Federico of Aragon (1452–1504) who organised this second *farsa* by Iacopo Sannazaro, much more complex than the previous one. A triumphal arch was built up at one end of the room, with columns and sculptures ‘according to the manner of the ancients’. It was covered by a black cloth displaying the banners of the Catholic monarchs. All the guests seated in the stands and attending the performance were able to see a real curtain-fall effect, in an utterly Classic style. This caused tremendous amazement.

#### **First scene**

Pallas Athene or Minerva comes up to the stands, where the royal family were sitting together with all the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and delivers her speech.

#### **Second scene**

Trumpets and shawms play. Two tall giants, carrying antique weaponry, appear on scene from below the arch leading two mock elephants. The elephants are on chains and drag a high and majestic golden chariot, which is full of weapons and trophies. Fame is seated on the chariot. When her speech is over, the chariot goes back inside the arch again, to the accompaniment of trumpets and shawms.

#### **Third scene**

Apollo comes in. After delivering a speech, he takes a ‘viola’ (probably a *viola* or *lira da braccio*) and sings to honour victory. While singing, he exits<sup>6</sup>.

#### **Fourth scene**

Another cloth displaying the banners of the King and Queen of Castile, which was covering the arch, is lifted. At this moment, the fool comes in dancing to the music of a pipe and tabor. Federico of Aragon enters the scene with four of his servants. Their faces are covered in gold tincture, and they wear a small *bavera* (bib). On their heads, the crest of the house: the *rotta pennada* (winged or feathered wheel).

### Fifth scene

A woman dressed ‘alla francese’ comes in. She is wearing a skirt full of golden firecrackers, which is another emblem used by the Catholic Monarchs to evoke their victory at Granada. She carries a basket full of fruits on her head, and a cornucopia with peaches and grapes in her hands. She reaches the middle of the room dancing and pronounces a few words in Castilian, which have not been reported by Sannazaro. The *farsa* ends up with a very dangerous pyrotechnic effect: hundreds of firecrackers in the woman’s dress, cornucopia and basket, explode covering her in smoke and fire. However, as if nothing had happened, the woman, ‘unhurt’, returns dancing to the place where she came in and, in the midst of great amazement, puts an end to the feast.

Undoubtedly, the dominant colours in both *farse* are those of Castile: green and dark purple. In this same way, the yoke and the arrows, symbols of the Catholic monarchy, are always visibly present (Figure 1). The temple in *La Presa di Granata* stands as a symbol of the Catholic faith, just as the triumphal arch in *Il Triunfo de la Fama* represents victory<sup>7</sup>. *Il Triunfo de la Fama* contains more evident theatrical elements, such as the stands for the audience, specially built for the occasion, the cloth working as a curtain, the surprising effect of this cloth’s falling, the giants, the fake elephants, and the pyrotechnic end to the *farsa*<sup>8</sup>.

In *La Presa di Granata* and *Il Triunfo de la Fama* dance is used, mainly, with two functions: 1) dances in which the audience participates, and 2) theatrical or exhibition dances. The participation dances used in *La Presa di Granata* are the *bassadanza* and the *alta*, both belonging to the most widely known and performed choreographic repertoire of XV<sup>th</sup> century. I decided to consider them as such, since Ferrante of Aragon (better known as Ferrandino,

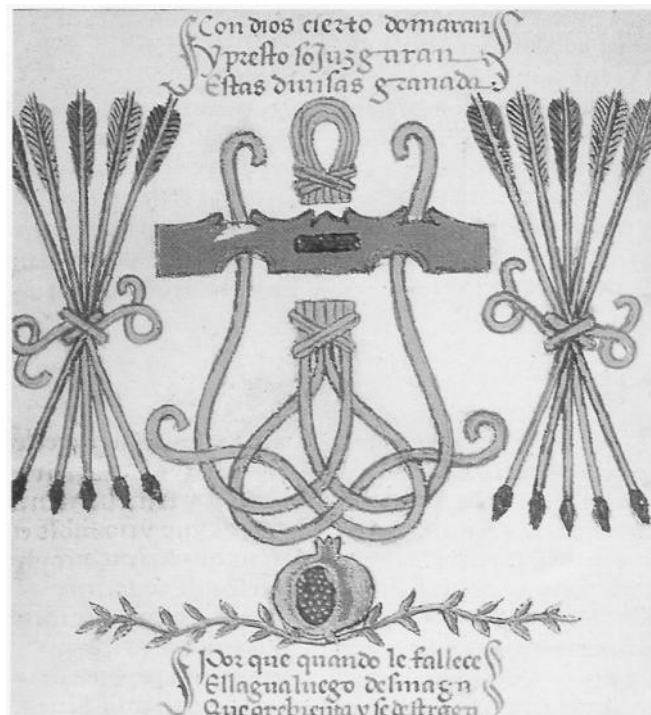


Figure 1. The yoke, the arrows, and the *granada* (pomegranate), symbols of the Catholic Monarchy in Pedro Marcuello’s *Cancionero* (1502).

1467–1496) and his mimes invite six ladies of the audience to join the dance. In this way the guests are audience and characters of the play at the same time. This was the most frequent way of dancing in the court, particularly in Spain, as could be seen, for instance, at Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo's court of Jaén (1458–1471):

... After eating they cleared the table, the shawms and the other instruments played *altas* and *bajas* very sweetly, and gentlemen and pages danced. After they had danced for a while, the lord ordered the table to be lifted and danced with the countess. And the governor of Montizón danced with his lordship's sister lady Juana, and the rest of the ladies with whomever his lordship bid them to dance for another hour or so<sup>9</sup>.

With *La Presa di Granata* the Neapolitan court wanted to pay homage to the Spanish dancing tradition. They recognised a peculiarly Spanish characteristic in the succession of *bajadanza* and *alta*. Depictions of those dances or references to them as explicit as the one cited above cannot be found elsewhere at the court of Naples, in contrast to the amount of documents and records to be found in Spain. Examples of this pair of dances are scarce in the Italian choreographic repertoire. *La Bassa di Schastiglia* from the Florentine manuscript *Antinori 13* is composed of a *bassadanza*, an *alta* and the *Gioioso*<sup>10</sup>. The same three-fold division is adopted by Fabrizio Caroso in *Nobiltà di Dame* for his choreography *Bassa et Alta*, but with a wholly different manner of performance<sup>11</sup>. While the steps of each of the three parts have nothing in common with the 15<sup>th</sup> century *Bassa di Schastiglia*, it seems likely that the earlier way of dancing is acknowledged in this triple structure. Thus, the description of the *bassadanza* and *alta* in *La Presa di Granata* has considerable significance, in recording their largely interactive character as well as the deference paid by the courtiers to the Spanish style.

The victory of the Catholic monarchy strengthened the union between Aragon and Castile, acting also as a barrier against the constant French menace of Charles VIII, which was a dangerous challenge for the Neapolitan kingdom of Ferrante I of Aragon (1423?–1494). We cannot state that ending a theatre performance with dances in which the audience participated was a novelty in Italy. We do, however, consider it a novelty in the Neapolitan court to resort to *bassadanza* and *alta* as symbols of political propaganda in favour of the Spanish power over the French menace. Moreover, modern choreology misleadingly regards both *bassadanza* and *alta* as social dances, since anyone was able to perform them as they were part of a widely known repertoire<sup>12</sup>. The six ladies chosen from among the audience had, most probably, rehearsed the pieces previously, so preparing to exhibit themselves in public without making mistakes. This choreographic repertoire was very extended among courtiers of the late Quattrocento, and could also be used for theatrical purposes, as is the case in this *farsa* by Sannazaro.

The actual art of dancing undergoes drastic change throughout the Quattrocento as regards its original notion, function and enjoyment. This change is clearly seen in its vicissitudes under the rule of the various monarchs of the house of Aragon. Alfonso I left behind diverse negative opinions about dance. Antonio Beccadelli, better known as Panormita (1394–1471), one of the most renowned humanists during the reigns of Alfonso I (1396–1458) and Ferrante I, reminds us of his personal reflections on how those who took part in dancing were regarded by the remainder. When Federico III and his niece Eleonora of Portugal came to Naples in 1452, Alfonso I, who was their host, had a wonderful and costly feast in their honour:

King Don Alfonso was reprehended because, believing himself that dancing was so detestable, he was very happy to be seen dancing in public when emperor Federico and his wife Madama Leonor came to visit. He retorted that even though he had danced, he did not approve of it, but had been obliged to honour the emperor and his wife by doing so, and had done it happily. He also said that there was a big difference depending on the way one danced because if one danced for vice and with the vain intention of pleasing women, then it was a foolish or drink-driven thing to do, whereas if one danced to honour a person who deserved it, then one had to be excused and could not be called a fool for behaving foolishly just once and in the company of princes and great noblemen<sup>13</sup>.

As late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the repulsion that Alfonso I felt for dancing was still talked of. For instance, Capriole, the disciple of Thoinot Arbeau in his work *Orchésographie* (1589), says that «when Alphonse, King of Aragon, saw the Gauls delight in dancing he reprimanded them»<sup>14</sup>. In fact, recorded as ever by Panormita, Alfonso thought that «the French, among all other people, are the most shallow and foolish, since the older they get the more they revel in dancing, which is equal to behaving foolishly»<sup>15</sup>.

The following generation, however, is not reluctant to dance at all. On the contrary, they put themselves on show by dancing in public. Although we cannot find references to dances performed by Ferrante I himself, his positive reaction to the style of Ippolita Sforza when she arrived into Naples in 1465 as wife of Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, is very well-known. Guglielmo Ebreo (*ca.* 1420–*ca.* 1481) is invited by Ferrante I to stay in Naples, so that he can teach ‘lombard style’ to Eleonora and Beatrice of Aragon. In the same way, his second wife, Juana of Aragon (1455–1517), is frequently invited to dance, together with her ladies, at the private festivities of the Neapolitan courtiers. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, dancing becomes a very important means of display for princes and noblemen. Sannazaro’s *farse* are an example of this: Ferrandino shows that he knows how to move with skill and ‘sprezzatura’, as Castiglione remarks, as much in the ‘social dances’ of *bassadanza* and *alta*, as in dancing spectacles.

Sannazaro, maybe foreseeing the scrutiny and indiscreet attention with which future dance history scholars would observe these dances, modestly confesses how he does not wish to speak about them because «it is better to keep silent than to speak almost nothing»<sup>16</sup>. Fortunately, both Sannazaro’s description and the analysis of the Cedole di Tesoreria (Treasury Records) provide us with useful information. Indeed, there are some elements that lead me to discuss possible *moresche*<sup>17</sup>: faces half covered by golden locks and the *bavera* (bib) also hiding part of the golden make-up of the performers, which was the typical covering used by courtiers when they had to dance publicly in non-official dances such as the *moresca*<sup>18</sup>. Masks allowed a greater liberty of movement as well as the chance to play a different role. They also permitted disregard of norms and rules by which everybody ordinarily abided. In spite of all that, Ferrandino and Federico of Aragon were perfectly recognised by their audiences.

It is worth mentioning another dramatic element of allegorical ornamentation that, quite often, is part of the theatrical performances of the Quattrocento and, once again, is strongly biased in a political sense. I am talking about the ‘cimera’ (crest) of the royal houses. The crest symbolised their belonging to a dynasty, but it was also very effective when used during virtuous dances. In *Il Triunfo de la Fama* Sannazaro reminds us that Federico of

Aragon and his mimes are carrying the winged wheel, the crest of the house of Aragon. As regards its dimensions and the extravagant shapes that it could adopt, we can see them in the following examples (Figure 2).

The presence of the fool in *Il Triunfo de la Fama*, a character bestowed with exaggerated movements mixed with comic and burlesque gestures, is strongly linked to the dance called *mattaccino*. Giovanni Battista Doni (1593/4–1647) in his *Trattato della musica scenica* (1633–35) states that the *mattaccino* was specially suitable for *farse*<sup>19</sup>.

Both of Sannazaro's *farse* have the same number of dancers, and it is probable that the six minor characters also participated in them. The Treasury Records mention the names of these characters, and these correspond to noblemen, and to people belonging to the retinue of the court:

...the following people taking part in the *farsa* ...: the Prince of Capua, the Earl of Ayello, Commander Requesens, Basco Spinello, Ferrante Dercia, Lanciotto Ginesi, and Nicolaos<sup>20</sup>.

A certain Nicolaos has been identified as the jester of Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria. He probably played the role of the fool in *Il Triunfo de la Fama*<sup>21</sup>.

In order to confirm my hypothesis about the performance of *moresche* and *mattaccini* I would like to mention the acquisition of a large number of bells for these *farse*:

The Neapolitan haberdasher Andrea Gallo received 12 ducats in payment for 180 pairs of bells: 100 of them were big Milanese bells at 4 'grana' per pair, and 80 of them were little Flemish bells at 10 'grana' per pair. They were handed to Paolo della Preta and are to be used by those performing the *farsa* at the Duke's party on 4<sup>th</sup> March<sup>22</sup>.

Iacopo Sannazaro provides us with a detailed account of the costumes wore by the minor characters, and there is no mention in it of these Milanese, Flemish and differently sized bells. Indeed, he does not even describe the fool. His exaggerated movements, or his extended and ridiculed steps, do not imply that we have to dismiss the idea that he was differ-



**Figure 2. Crests in the *Armorial de Gelre* (1370-95),  
Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 15652-56**

entiated from other performers in appearance. Thus, the aforementioned bells were probably used to distinguish him from among the rest.

Masks, bells, crests, and the fool accompanied by a pipe and tabor player, are all elements well known to characterise the *moresca*. Therefore, the dances performed by Ferrandino and Federico of Aragon in these *farse* can be certainly identified with the *moresche* that were so fashionable in the courts and theatre plays of the Quattrocento. This caused a transformation of the *moresca* that was acknowledged by its contemporaries. The ‘disintegration’ of this mock-battle dance began at the very same moment that it became fashionable in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>. That is, it underwent a modification and denaturalisation of its original meaning to gradually become a dramatic dance for mere entertainment.

Allegorical characters, poetic texts, music, dance, the *moresche*, ornaments, costumes, banners, crests, and masks were all a very efficient means of political propaganda, above all in encomiastic-allegorical *farse* such as *La Presa di Granata* and *Il Triunfo de la Fama*. In a court characterised by a pervasive political instability, theatre amusements were an indispensable part of life.

The court of Aragon bears the burden of some negative conclusions from contemporary scholarly research. Benedetto Croce, above all, regarded the court of Aragon’s liking of ‘less intellectual’ shows such as jousts, tournaments, *farse*, and *egloghe* as the main reason for their slower cultural development when compared with the rest of Italy. What is more, composers, poets, and musicians from Naples and the court of Aragon at the end of the Quattrocento took the risk of remaining in a secondary position in their quest for vulgar lyric and drama<sup>24</sup>. In a certain way, Sannazaro’s *farse* do not imply any dramatic innovation. Nevertheless, the author, in describing his own works, provides us with significant clues that we cannot overlook. Sannazaro’s arcadianism turns into political propaganda in music and dance. On the one hand, Apollo sings to the accompaniment of a *viola* or *lira da braccio* a text to exalt the Catholic Monarchs’ victory; and on the other, the pair formed by *bassadanza-alta*, a typically Spanish genre, is used as political claim. And finally, the use of the *rotta pennada*, the crest of Federico of Aragon, turns the *moresca* into an encomiastic dance of the royal house of Aragon.

In Sannazaro’s *farse* we find clear examples of a ‘minor’ dramatic genre created by one of the most prestigious poets of the court of Naples and the Italian Quattrocento. They were to be enjoyed, almost exclusively, by three patrons of a refined cultural calibre: Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, Ferrandino and Federico of Aragon. In Sannazaro’s *La Presa di Granata* and *Il Triunfo de la Fama* we find the seeds from which the rich Italian theatre of the following centuries would grow.

## Notes

1. We find two different kinds of *farsa* in Naples: a) comic-realistic *farsa*, with topics such as *carpe diem*, the contrast between a young lady and an old woman, etc., and b) encomiastic-allegorical *farsa*, represented by the two works by Iacopo Sannazaro analysed here. *La Presa di Granata* and *Il Triunfo de la Fama* have been the focus of study of literature scholars, who have not paid much attention to their dramatic features. Dance and music within both *farse* have never been taken into account. Bersani, M. Alla ricerca dello specifico testuale nelle ‘farse’ del Sannazaro. *Lettere Italiane*, 1982, 34 (4),

- 505–29. Bersani, M. Farsa, intermezzo, gliommero. Appunti sul teatro del regno aragonese di Napoli. *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 1983, 26, 59–77. Pieri, M. Dalla Lirica alla Festa: il caso dell’egloga nella Napoli aragonese. In: Chiabò M. and Doglio, F. (editors) *Origini del Dramma Pastorale in Europa*, Atti del Convegno di Studi, Viterbo, 31 May–3 June, 1984. Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medievale e Rinascimentale, 1985, 71–89. Pieri, M. ‘Sumptuosissime pompe’: lo spettacolo nella Napoli aragonese. In: *Studi di filologia e critica offerti dagli allievi a Lanfranco Caretti*, 2 vols. Roma: Salerno Editrice, 1985, vol. 1, 39–82. Boillet, D. La participation d’un humaniste aux spectacles de la cour des aragonais de Naples: les farces de J. Sannazaro. In: *Le Fete et l’écriture: theatre de cour, cour-theatre en Espagne et en Italie 1450–1530*, Colloque International France-Espagne-Italie, Aix-en-Provence, 6–8 December, 1985. Aix-en-Provence: Publications-Diffusion Université de Provence, 1987, 233–56.
2. The title *La Presa di Granata* is not original. Alfredo Mauro, editor of Sannazaro’s *Opere volgari*, gave the *farsa* that title according to the *incipit* of the text: “Alla grande e lieta festa, che in li di passati fu fatta in Napule per la felice e gloriosa novella della presa di Granata [...]”. Mauro, A. (editor) *Iacopo Sannazaro. Opere Volgari*. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1961, p. 276.
  3. This letter, in which the dramatic text is enclosed, is now in: München, Staatsbibliothek, It. 265 (16<sup>th</sup> century). *La Presa di Granata*, with Sannazaro’s descriptions summarized or completely elluded, can be found in other manuscripts: Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, X, C, 45; XIV, D, 14; Branc. III, a, 9; Roma, Biblioteca Vaticana, Capp. 73.
  4. Mauro, A. (editor) *Iacopo Sannazaro. Opere Volgari*. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1961, p. 277. «La farza de l’Ill.mo S.or Duca fu fatta a dì quatt[r]o de marzo, de notte, poi del convito, in la sala del castello de Capuana».
  5. At the Convegno Internazionale di Studi *Il Mito d’Arcadia. Pastori e amori nelle arti del Rinascimento* organized by Prof. Alessandro Pontremoli at the Università degli Studi di Torino, I demonstrated how the ‘capo de la sala’ conveys a clear symbolic meaning. Goddess Laetitia and her nymphs were purposely assigned different entering positions, that is, the ‘capo de la sala’, because they mark the beginning of the *farsa*’s pastoral moment. In the same way, the ‘suavissima cornamusa’ (sweet bagpipe) the little fiddle and the recorder played by the nymphs are all instruments related to a pastoral atmosphere. Nocilli, C. Danza, musica e mitologia nelle rappresentazioni teatrali della corte aragonese di Napoli (1442–1502). In: Pontremoli, A. (editor) *Il Mito d’Arcadia. Pastori e amori nelle arti del Rinascimento*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, 14–15 March 2005, Università degli Studi di Torino, Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Université Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle, Centro di Studi ‘L’Italia del Rinascimento e l’Europa’, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2006 (forthcoming).
  6. The ‘violetta ad arco’ mentioned in the third scene of *La Presa di Granata* and played by one of the three nymphs could well be a little rebec, while the instrument played by Apollo is, surely, a *viola* or *lira da braccio*, the instrument *par excellance* of the divinity of music. The former is more suitable for a pastoral context, the latter for an arcadian and mythological one. Nocilli, C. Danza, musica e mitologia nelle rappresentazioni teatrali della corte aragonese di Napoli (1442–1502). In: Pontremoli, A. (editor) *Il Mito d’Arcadia. Pastori e amori nelle arti del Rinascimento*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi,



- 14–15 March 2005, Università degli Studi di Torino, Facoltà di Scienze della Formazione, Université Paris III-Sorbonne Nouvelle, Centro di Studi ‘L’Italia del Rinascimento e l’Europa’, Centre Interuniversitaire de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 2006 (forthcoming).
7. In Francesco Colonna’s ‘romanzo d’amore’ *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), we find splendid examples of a triumph arch and a temple that are very relevant for our analysis. Ariani, M. and Gabriele, M. (editors) *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Francesco Colonna*. Milano: Adelphi, 1998.
  8. A look at the ‘Cedole di Tesoreria’ (Treasury Records) will suffice to get a rough idea of the effort that the staging of the *farse* may have implied. Barone, N. Le cedole di Tesoreria dell’Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall’anno 1460 al 1504. *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 1885, **10**, 13–15. We must bear in mind that the news about the victory of the Catholic monarchy reached Naples on 2<sup>nd</sup> January, 1492. Alfonso of Aragon chose to wait until Carnival to stage both *farse*, thereby achieving a longer time to get everything sorted out. Passero, G. *Storie in forma di Giornali pubblicati da Vincenzo Maria Altobelli*. Napoli: Vincenzo Orfino, 1785, p. 53.
  9. De Mata Carriazo, J. *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas De Iranzo*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940, p. 155. «... Y después avían comido y alçados los manteles, los chirimías y los otros ystrumentos tañían muy dulçemente, altas y baxas, y dançauan los gentiles onbres e pajes. E desque avían un rato dançado, el dicho señor mandaua leuantar la mesa y dançaua con la señora condesa, y el comendador de Montizón con doña Juana su hermana, y las otras damas con quien su señoría mandaua, y dançauan todos una ora o más».
  10. *La Bassa di Schastiglia*, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Antinori 13 (1510). Pescerelli, B. Una sconosciuta redazione del trattato di danze di Guglielmo Ebreo. *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 1974, **9**, 48–55. Smith, A. W. *Fifteenth-Century Dance and Music: twelve transcribed italian treatises and collections in the tradition of Domenico da Piacenza*. 2 vols. New York: Pendragon Press, 1995, vol. 2, p. 23–24. Wilson, D. R. *Early Renaissance Dance c. 1445 – c. 1535. A brief guide to the sources*. Cambridge: National Resource Centre for Historical Dance, 2003, p. 28–29. Also see D. R. Wilson’s argumentation on the *saltarello* of the *alta* in the *Bassa di Schastiglia*: Wilson, D. R. *The Steps Used in Court Dancing in Fifteenth-Century Italy*. Cambridge: D. R. Wilson, 2003, p. 45.
  11. *Bassa et Alta* in Fabritio Caroso. *Nobiltà di Dame*. Venetia: Il Muschio, 1600, 1605; facs. reprint 1600 ed., Bologna: Forni, 1970, p. 162–69. See also Pedro de Gracia Dei, *La criança y virtuosa doctrina* (ca. 1486): “Después desto vi andar ellertas / personas al alta con el ioyoso...”. Antonio Pérez y Gómez (editor). *Primera floresta de incunables*. Valencia: Tipografía Moderna, 1957.
  12. Within a modern definition of social dance, Ingrid Brainard also includes line and circle dances, processional dances such as the Burgundian *bassedanse* of the 15<sup>th</sup> century or the *pavana* of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as figure dances. Brainard places figure dances into two different groups: a) *Performance pieces*, which are those so complex to perform that they compulsorily need a dance master leading them, and b) *Participation pieces*, which are simple dances easy to follow by merely imitating the leading couple. Although it is a very valuable classification, I believe it is somewhat far fetched to include so

- many coreutical genres within a single definition. We must approach this question analytically in order to achieve a differentiation between the courtly social dance taught by dance masters, and the social enjoyable dance. They both develop in very different performance contexts: one is of exhibition, the other of enjoyment. Within this dramatic context, both *bassadanza* and *alta* play a role which can hardly be defined as ‘social’.
- Brainard Kahrstedt, I. Social Dance: Court and Social Dance before 1800. In: Cohen, S. J. (editor) *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, 6 vols. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, vol. 5, 619–621.
13. I have used Juan de Molina’s Spanish translation of Panormita’s Latin text. De Molina, J. (editor) *Antonio Beccadelli. Libro de los dichos y hechos del Rey don Alonso: aora nuevamente traduzido*. Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1527; facs. reprint Valencia: Artes Gráficas Vicent, 1992, Libro II, Fo. XXXIII. «Siendo reprehendido el rey Don Alonso que teniendo el como tenia tan por aborrecido el dançar y baylar porque quando vino el emperador Federico y Madama Leonor su muger el fue contento de dançar y baylar publicamente. Respondia el a esto y dezia que aunque aviesse dançado no lo aprovava ya sea verdad que por hazer honra y fiesta al emperador y su muger el avia seydo contento de dançar juntamente con ellos. Dezia tambien gran diferencia avia como se hazia este negocio porque si uno dançava por vicio y vana intencion de complazer a mugeres que era cosa de loco y embriago mas que si dançava por solo hazer honra y fiesta a persona que se le avia que podia el tal ser escusado y que no podia ser contado por loco el que una vez haze el loco en compañía de principes y grandes señores». Beccadelli, A. De Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Aragonum. In: Gruterus, J. (editor) *Thesaurus Criticus*, 4 vols. Florentiae: Sumtibus Societatis, 1739, vol. 2, 60–126. «Arguebatur aliquandam Rex, quod cum à saltatione tantopere ipse abhorreret, in adventum tamen Friderici Imperatoris tertii cum ipso Imperatore & Leonora Augusta saltitare propalam visus esset, & is quidem cum argueretur, eum se purgantem audivimus, non voluptatis gratia se saltare, imò, id sibi nequaquam probari, caeterum in honorem Imperatoris et Augustae id factum à se. Plurimum namque referre, quemadmodum res fiat. Siquidem luxuriae aut lasciviae causa qui saltet, stultum aut ebrium videri. Sin honoris alicujus gratia reprehensionem effugere, neque esse insanum, qui cum magnis viris semel insaniat».
  14. Sutton, J. (editor) *Orchesography. Thoinot Arbeau*. New York: Dover, 1967, p. 12. Arbeau, T. *Orchesographie*. Lengres: par Jehan des Preyz Imprimeur et Libraire, 1589, p. 3. «Alphonse roy d’Arragon blasmoit les gaulois parce qu’il les voioit delecter aux dances».
  15. De Molina, J. (editor) *Antonio Beccadelli. Libro de los dichos y hechos del Rey don Alonso: aora nuevamente traduzido*. Valencia: Juan Joffre, 1527; facs. reprint Valencia: Artes Gráficas Vicent, 1992, Libro I. Fol. XIII. «...Y por esso dezia que los franceses entre todos los del mundo eran los mas vanos y locos que quanto son mas viejos tanto mas se deleytan en baylar y dançar que es un ser locos».
  16. Mauro, A. (editor) *Iacopo Sannazaro. Opere Volgari*. Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1961, p. 294–95.
  17. Studies about *moresca* are numerous, I provide those regarding its 15<sup>th</sup>-century structure: Sachs, C. *Eine Weltgeschichte des Tanzes; mit zweiunddreissig Tafeln*. Berlin: D. Reimer/E. Vohsen, 1933; *Storia della Danza*. Italian translation, Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1966; reprinted 1985. Brainard, I. An exotic court dance and dance spectacle of the Renaissance: La Moresca. In: *Court Dance East and West*, Report on the XIIth Congress of the

- International Musicological Society, Berkeley, 1977, Kassel-Bärenreither/Philadelphia: American Musicological Society, 1981, 715–29. Lorenzetti, R. *La Moresca nell'area mediterranea*. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1991. Pontremoli, A. La moresca: una forma di teatro-danza del XVI secolo. In: Paino F. (editor) *Dramma medioevale europeo 1997*, Atti della II Conferenza Internazionale su 'Aspetti del dramma medioevale europeo', 2 vols., Camerino: Università degli Studi, Centro Linguistico di Ateneo, 1998, vol. 2, 79–103. Sparti, B. The Moresca and Mattaccino in Italy (circa 1450–1630). In: Dunin, E. I. (editor) *Moreška: Past and Present*, Proceedings for the Symposium, Korèula, 3–8 July, 2001. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, 2002, 1–11. Nocilli, C. La circularidad del lenguaje coréutico napolitano y aragonés en las entradas reales del reino de Nápoles (1442–1502): la 'cascarda' y la 'moresca'. In: Actas del XVIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Valencia, 9–14 September, 2004. Valencia: Universitat de València y Generalitat Valenciana, 2006 (forthcoming).
18. In Baldassarre Castiglione: «.. because masquerading carries with it a certain license and liberty, and this, among other things, allows the courtier to choose the role at which he feels himself best, to bring out its most important elements with diligence and elegance, while showing a certain nonchalance with regard to what is not essential. All of this greatly enhances the attractiveness of what he is doing...» Bull, G. (trans.) *The Book of the Courtier*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967.
  19. Doni, G. B. Trattato della musica scenica. In Solerti, A. (editor), *Le origini del melodramma*, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1903, 186-228.
  20. Barone, N. Le cedole di Tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'anno 1460 al 1504. *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 1885, **10**, 13. «...Le calze servirono alle seguenti persone che presero parte alla farsa: il principe di Capua, il Conte di Ayello, il comandante Requesens, Basco Spinello, Ferrante Dercia, Lanciotto Ginesi, e Nicolaos» (fol. 93).
  21. Bersani, M. Farsa, intermezzo, gliommero. Appunti sul teatro del regno aragonese di Napoli. *Studi e problemi di critica testuale*, 1983, **26**, 59–77.
  22. Barone, N. Le cedole di Tesoreria dell'Archivio di Stato di Napoli dall'anno 1460 al 1504. *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 1885, **10**, 13. «Andrea Gallo, merciaio napoletano, ha 12 duc. prezzo di 180 paia di sonaglie, 100 grosse milanesi, a grana 4 il paio, ed 80 piccole fiamminghe, a grana 10 il paio, che furono consegnate a Paolo della Preta, e debbono servire a quelli che rappresenteranno la farsa nella festa del Duca addi 4 marzo» (Reg. 141 fol. 83).
  23. On the 'disintegration' of *moresca* in the 15<sup>th</sup> century at the court of Aragon in Naples, see: Nocilli, C. Dance in Naples: Relations between the Aragonese Court and the Neapolitan Barons (1442–1502). In: *Dance in the City: Urban and Urbane*. Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars, XXV Annual Conference, Philadelphia, 19–23 June, 2002. Stoughton, Wisconsin: The Printing House, 2002, 90–95. Nocilli, C. La circularidad del lenguaje coréutico napolitano y aragonés en las entradas reales del reino de Nápoles (1442–1502): la 'cascarda' y la 'moresca'. In: Actas del XVIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, Valencia, 9–14 September, 2004. Valencia: Universitat de València y Generalitat Valenciana, 2006 (forthcoming). In my research I have analysed how the Court of Aragon received a language that was not their own and, in the same way, how the Neapolitans re-elaborated that language in relation to the foreign court.

The *cascarda* and the *moresca* can be regarded as *emic* dances – one for people of Naples, above all in the periphery of the kingdom – and the other for Spaniards. In any case, all dances were performed by Neapolitans and Spaniards alike, and they both underwent a necessary transformation.

24. Pieri, M. Dalla Lirica alla Festa: il caso dell'egloga nella Napoli aragonese. In: Chiabò M. and Doglio, F. (editors) *Origini del Dramma Pastorale in Europa*, Atti del Convegno di Studi, Viterbo, 31 May–3 June, 1984. Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medievale e Rinascimentale, 1985, 75. In Pieri's research we can find a dichotomy in dramatic literature of the period, which may produce a negative estimation in relation to works produced in the south of Italy.