Chapter 4

Reforming Theatre in Farnese Parma: The case of the Innominati Academy (1574-1608)

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Italian academies are well known for their strong interest in spectacle, ritual and visual symbols, drawing on earlier precedents of civic or lay religious associations, student groups and festive companies. According to Amedeo Quondam, a notable proportion of such institutions also had a specific interest in theatre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (respectively 4.2% and 4.3% of the academies listed by Maylender).[1] Indeed, this activity represents one of the most important fields of specialization at a time when academies were often multidisciplinary. Some academies still stand out today for their exceptional role in the history of theatre; most notably, the Intronati (founded between 1525 and 1527) and their local rivals Accademia (or Congrega) dei Rozzi of Siena (founded 1530). Later in the century, academies pioneered the building of permanent theatres in Italy, and theoretical and practical experimentation with dramatic genres, including early opera.[2] Theatrical production by academies also stimulated critical debates and practical questions regarding performance.[3] Such issues were particularly sensitive in the later sixteenth century, when drama – particularly if practised by professionals – had come under close scrutiny by theorists, legislators and political bodies, and religious censors. Engagement by academies with theatre,

[1] Amedeo Quondam, 'L'Accademia', in *Letteratura italiana*, I: *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), pp. 823-98 (p. 871).
[2] Stefano Mazzoni, 'Lo spettacolo delle accademie', in *Storia del teatro moderno e contemporaneo*, ed. by Roberto Alonge and Guido Davico Bonino (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), pp. 869-903.
[3] On women's roles in academy performances, see the essay by Virginia Cox in this volume; and on professional actors and academies, see Lisa Sampson, 'Amateurs meet Professionals: Theatrical activities in Late Sixteenth-Century Italian Academies', in *The Reinvention of Theatre in Sixteenth-Century Europe: Traditions, Texts and Performance*, ed. by T. F. Earle and Catarina Fouto (Oxford: Legenda, 2015), pp. 187-218.

both in performance and in print, publicly and privately, therefore represents an important gauge of their cultural choices, their institutional identity – real and desired – and, importantly, their potential for public self-expression.

To explore these questions in more detail this essay will focus on the Accademia degli Innominati of Parma, which flourished from 1574 to 1608 during the years that the Farnese Dukes were consolidating their hold over their capital. This academy is significant for its experimentation with the dramatic genres of tragedy, tragicomedy and pastoral drama, then generating much critical interest. However, much of the evidence for this activity – especially from the earlier years and regarding performance – remains in manuscript or is now no longer extant. Indeed, dramatic performances are generally difficult to trace in Parma in the years before the establishment of the grandiose Teatro Farnese (completed 1619, inaugurated 1628). This essay examines the Academy's production of drama – a highly political art form – during the 1580s, a time of significant transformation within the Farnese state, considering the institution's social permeability and its potential for maintaining creative autonomy. It will be argued that at this time the dramatic output of the Innominati suggests some freedom for exploring political, cultural and religious tensions, before the tightening of ducal control prompted reforms in its membership, and ethical and aesthetic orientation.

The Innominati Academy and its context

Before looking at the drama produced by the Innominati, it will be helpful first to outline the membership and intellectual activities of this academy, the leading cultural institution in Parma. Headed unofficially for most of its existence by Pomponio Torelli, Count of Montechiarguolo (1539-1608), a tragedian, poet, literary critic and moral philosopher, the Innominati attracted as members some of the leading and most controversial literary figures

of the day, such as Torquato Tasso and Battista Guarini (who both joined in 1581 as 'non-resident members'), and later Tommaso Stigliani and Giambattista Marino.[4] Other important literary operators within the Innominati included Muzio Manfredi, Angelo Ingegneri and Angelo Grillo, whose academic networks between them extended to Genoa, Vicenza, Padua, Mantua, Bologna, Pavia, and Rome.[5] The academy produced or was associated with numerous important print publications, including the first two complete printed editions of Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (both 1581, edited by Ingegneri), a vernacular translation of Sannazaro's *Parto della vergine* (1575), and many other works of lyric and epic verse, drama, and critical theory, as well as science, religion and philosophy.[6] Other compositions, including plays, exist only in manuscript or are now lost. Although there is no concrete evidence that the Innominati performed their plays, they nonetheless clearly played a key role in stimulating critical debate and composition, particularly within Northern Italy.

Founded in 1574, the Innominati represents the first formally constituted academy in Parma, though unfortunately, as for around 90% of such institutions, there are no surviving

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[4] See the essential study by Lucia Denarosi, *L'Accademia degli Innominati di Parma: teorie letterarie e progetti di scrittura (1574-1608)* (Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 2003); also Cornelia Bevilacqua, 'L'Accademia Degli Innominati: Un'istituzione culturale alla corte Farnesiana di Parma', *Aurea Parma* 81:1 (1997), 3-25. Maylender's entry (III, pp. 292-8) is based heavily on Ireneo Affò, *Memorie degli Scrittori e Letterati Parmigiani...*, 7 vols, IV 'Discorso Preliminare su le Accademie di Parma', pp. I-XL (Parma: Dalla Stamperia Reale, 1793) [anast. repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969].

[5] See *DBI* entries: Franco Pignatti, 'Manfredi, Muzio', 68 (2007); Anna Siekiera, 'Ingegneri, Angelo', 62 (2004); Luigi Matt, 'Grillo Angelo', 59 (2003) (all available online s.v.: http://www.treccani.it/biografie/); and entries on Manfredi and Grillo in IAD (http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/Default.aspx [accessed 10 December 2013].

[6] Torquato Tasso's complete *Gerusalemme liberata* was first printed in 1581 (Parma: Erasmo Viotti) and again almost immediately after with slight alterations (Casalmaggiore: Antonio Canacci e Erasmo Viotti, nella stamperia d'Antonio Canacci). Only the second dedicatory letter to the Casalmaggiore edition mentions Tasso's membership of the Innominati Academy and the contribution to its production by the members Eugenio Visdomini and Muzio Manfredi. However, this was not officially an academic edition, since Tasso had not yet 'dichiarato nome Academico' (Angelo Ingegneri, 'Ai Lettori', fol. +vi^{v}). Jacopo Sannazaro, *Il parto della Vergine. Fatto in ottava rima per Eugenio Visdomini nell'Academia de' signori Innominati di Parma Il Roco* (Parma: Appresso Seth Viotti, 1575).

archival records (*atti*).[7] Its relatively late appearance on the academic scene may be explained by the effects of the longstanding political turbulence in Parma before and after the city's annexation as one of the capitals of the new Farnese Duchy of Parma and Piacenza in 1545. Following the assassination by disgruntled feudal elites of the first Duke, Pier Luigi (son of Pope Paul III, Alessandro Farnese), his son Ottavio (Duke 1547-87) was faced with great political difficulties in the early decades of his rule.[8] However, by the time the Innominati academy was founded, the international status of the Farnese dynasty had been bolstered by Ottavio's marriage in 1550 to Margaret of Austria (illegitimate daughter of Emperor Charles V, and sister of Philip II of Spain), and the marriage of his son Alessandro (Duke of Parma 1586-92) to Maria of Portugal in 1565. Alessandro's recent military success at Lepanto (1571) would be followed by his victorious campaigns in Flanders and France.[9]

By the late 1560s the Farnese had also begun to make their cultural mark upon the duchy, through major urban renovation projects, including church building and the building of the ducal residence, and their patronage of the arts and music.[10] Yet, Parma still lacked a major cultural institution. Its university had been closed for some decades in the fifteenth century, when Parma was under Visconti rule, to avoid competition with Pavia. Apart from a brief resurgence brought about by Pier Luigi, it was not revived fully until 1601 when Duke

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[7] Bevilacqua, pp. 6-7; Denarosi, pp. 15-17. On an unspecified Parmense academy witnessing a performance of Giraldi's *Orbecche* in 1541, see Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinzio, *Carteggio* ed. by Susanna Villari (Messina: Sicania, 1996), p. 164.

[8] Giovanni Drei, *I Farnese: Grandezza e decadenza di una dinastia italiana* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1954); Emilio Nasalli Rocca, *I Farnese* (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1969), pp. 79-99; Albano Biondi, 'L'immagine dei primi Farnese nella storia e nella pubblicistica coeva', in *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza, 1545-1622*, 2 vols, ed. Marzio A. Romani [vol. 1] and Amedeo Quondam [vol. 2] (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), I, pp. 189-232.

[9] On Alessandro Farnese and the admiration of the Innominati for him, see Denarosi, pp. 29, 171-82, 185-90.

[10] Giuseppe Bertini, 'Center and periphery: art patronage in Renaissance Piacenza and Parma', in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy. Milan, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, Urbino, Pesaro, and Rimini*, ed. by Charles Rosenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 71-137; Claudio Gallico, 'La musica nel programma di ricerca farnesiano', in *Le corti farnesiane*, II, pp. 265-71.

Ranuccio Farnese (b. 1569, r. 1592-1622) entrusted it to the Jesuits as part of his various strategies to centralize power and education in his state.[11] The formation of an illustrious academy like the Innominati could therefore bring much needed cultural prestige to Parma, quickly and at little cost to this less wealthy dynasty. The Farnese's support for the institution may also be have been inspired by Cosimo de' Medici's involvement with the Accademia Fiorentina, which similarly functioned as a useful way of integrating and building support from local elites through intellectual and political networks.[12]

The membership of the academy, as reconstructed in detail from surviving archival and literary documents by Cornelia Bevilacqua and Lucia Denarosi, suggests the close interconnections of the Innominati with the Farnese court and state apparatus, and with civic institutions such as the colleges of lawyers and physicians, though there are less apparent connections with the University.[13] Among the members at the Academy's foundation were Duke Ottavio Farnese himself, who took the nickname 'L'Elevato', and his young grandson Ranuccio, 'L'Immutabile'. Key roles were played by court officials and employees, such as the ducal secretary and *letterato* Eugenio Visdomini (the young co-founder of the Innominati, at whose house the group may originally have met); and by prominent churchmen in Parma at

[11] Bertini, 'Center and periphery', pp. 74-75, 106, 110; Alessandro d'Alessandro, 'Materiali per la storia dello Studium di Parma (1545-1622)', in *Università, principe, gesuiti, la politica farnesiana dell'istruzione a Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622)*, ed. by G. P. Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980), pp. 15-95; Roberto Ciancarelli, *Il progetto di una festa barocca: alle origini del teatro farnese di Parma (1618-1629)* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987), pp. 18-19. In 1601 Duke Ranuccio Farnese also founded the Collegio dei Nobili, a prestigious Jesuit school for boys of noble birth.

[12] Denarosi, pp. 29-31. Cf. Cosimo de' Medici's strategies for building cultural prestige, in Jonathan Davies, *Culture and Power. Tuscany and its Universities 1537-1609* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), esp. pp. 59-69 for the Accademia Fiorentina.

[13] See Bevilacqua; and Denarosi, pp. 18-20, 403-07 (updated alphabetical list of members). Several of the Innominati listed by Denarosi were 'doctores' of the *Collegio* of arts and medicine at the Studio of Parma; the *Collegio dei legisti* comprised thirteen ecclestiastics out of the fifty-four members during Ottavio's rule. No Innominati members can be securely identified among the thirty-eight lecturers recorded at the Studio of Parma c.1601-02; but there are at most four possible matches (D'Alessandro, pp. 26, 48-49, 62-63).

this time who were vigorous proponents of reforms, backed both by the duke and religious orders – especially the Jesuits.[14] Besides many members from the noble citizen families, there were also some from the powerful and established local feudal families, such as the Malaspina, Sanvitale and Torelli. The fidelity of the Torelli family towards the Farnese in the period when the Innominati was active was never really in question, but the same was not true of other great families in the region and Ottavio had to tread carefully with them, given his family's history. He needed to respect their ancient privileges and autonomy, and to avoid being seen to exert a too obviously centralizing power. The academy in this sense could, in its early years, provide a subtle means of homogenizing independent local powers by linking them to the ducal court through cultural ties.[15] Count Pomponio Torelli played an emblematic role in this respect, by embodying a harmonious inter-relationship between feudal elites, intellectuals and court, as himself a faithful courtier, diplomat and tutor to the Farnese. In addition, he had close connections with the Church, having briefly taken holy orders in his youth and being related by marriage to Cardinal Alessandrino (Michele Bonelli), the grand-nephew of Pope Pius V.[16]

[14] Several clergymen were Innominati members, such as founder members Girolamo Alessandrini, prior of San Lazzaro, and Angelo Carissimi, a cathedral canon like Francesco Balestrieri ('prince' in 1581) and Domenico Amita. Simone Cassola was, from 1566, Vicar-general of the bishop of Parma. 'Foreign' members from the regular and secular clergy include Bernardino Baldi, Angelo Grillo, Girolamo Pallantieri, Felice Passero, and Alessio Porri (listed in Denarosi, pp. 36-39). On Parma's anomalous religious situation and the difficult relationship between the Duke and the Bishop, Ferrante Farnese (1573-1606), see Adriano Prosperi, 'Dall'investitura papale alla santificazione del potere. Appunti per una ricerca sui primi Farnese e le istituzioni ecclesiastiche a Parma', in *Le corti farnesiane*, I, pp. 161-88.

[15] Denarosi, pp. 30-31. For increasingly hostile Farnese relations with local feudal elites, see for example Roberto Sabbadini, *La grazia e l'onore: Principe, nobiltà e ordine sociale nei ducati farnesiani* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001). For the 1611 anti-Farnese plot by various aristocrats, which led to hundreds of public hangings in Parma in 1612, see Nasalli Rocca, *I Farnese*, pp. 140-45; Drei, *I Farnese*, pp. 179-200; Ciancarelli, *Il progetto*, p. 21.

[16] Marzio Dall'Acqua, 'Le carte Torelli: saggio storico-archivistico', in *Le corti farnesiane*, II, pp. 209-27; Denarosi, pp. 36, 168-71, 174-79.

While many Innominati publications show their strong devotion to the Farnese, evidence, at least from the early years, suggests that members also had some possibility for intellectual autonomy and open exchange of views, though not the kind of 'cultural non-conformity' that Domenico Zanré has identified for more marginal groups in Florence and for the Accademia degli Umidi.[17] The death of Ottavio in September 1586 seems, however, to have ushered in a less open phase in Parmense academic life. Ranuccio, now the prince regent in the absence of his father Duke Alessandro, took the title of head (*principe*) of the Innominati which he held until 1606, thus eliminating the normal academic practice of rotating leadership.[18] The academy's concern with its self-presentation at this point emerges from an interesting anonymous manuscript *Discorso* commemorating Ranuccio's accession, which carefully presents the Innominati in terms of its select membership, orthodox aims and values. It is said to be a 'ridotto' of people famous for arms or letters, as opposed to a confraternity, where any kind of person can meet to carry out 'opere pie' [pious works]. Importantly, it is not like 'certi conventicoli fatti da sediziosi in pregiudicio dei Principi o delle Repubbliche' [certain sects created by seditious individuals to harm princes or republics]. It is regulated by laws, unlike 'certi Congressi fatti semplicemente ed a caso ancora che in quelli convenissero Cavalieri o Scienziati' [some groups which are set up informally and casually, even though they may include knights or scientists]. Finally, its activities are multi-disciplinary and engaged in by members as equals, unlike a university or

[17] For the plurality of cultural discourse tolerated in the Accademia Fiorentina, see Davies, p. 61, and Blocker in this volume on the Alterati. For the subversive Accademia degli Ortolani of Piacenza, which Anton Francesco Doni reinvented for political reasons as the fictional Vignaiuoli Academy of Rome, see Giorgio Masi, 'Nota Introduttiva', in *Dissonanze concordi: temi, questioni e personaggi intorno ad Anton Francesco Doni*, ed. Giovanna Rizzarelli (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), pp. 117-22 (pp. 118-19); cf. Alessandra Del Fante, 'L'Accademia degli Ortolani', in *Le corti farnesiane*, II, pp. 149-70.
[18] Bevilacqua, p. 8.

school, where 'non si fa però a vicenda ma sempre i lettori sono gli stessi' [people do not take turns and the lecturers are always the same].[19]

While the academy's proceedings are described as being regulated by laws which guarantee its status as a 'free city' ('stato di Città libera'), it is said to be wholly devoted to, and identified with, the all-seeing prince, the 'head' of the academic 'body'.[20] A similar implicit surveillance emerges also from the presentation of the secretary, who will record their activities as the 'mente, voce e memoria' [mind, voice and memory] of both the prince and the academy, and of the two 'censori', who would continue to oversee compositions so that 'niuna cosa o sia lezione o sia d'altra sorta componimento, né pur un breve madrigaluccio devrebbe uscir nel pubblico che pria non fusse ceduto et approbato da loro' [no work – whether a lecture or any other kind of composition, or even a short little madrigal – should be made public without it first being handed over and approved by them]. Their compositions were to be delightful but 'onestissime tutte e lontane d'ogni ombra d'obscenità' [all extremely decent and without any trace of obscenity].[21] Nonetheless, the speaker recommends that they should institute the office of 'contradittore' [opposing speaker] on the model of the Accademia Olimpica of Vicenza, to stimulate more lively debate to avoid proposals being accepted when no one had the 'baldanza di contraddire' [boldness to disagree].[22] These points all suggest that the Innominati were concerned with controlling their external image on Ranuccio's accession as 'prince' – perhaps because of previous infractions

[19] Anon., *Discorso dell'Accademia e del Principe fatto nell'Accademia de S.ri Innominati di Parma. All'entrar al principato di quella dell'Illmo et Ecc.mo Sig. Principe Rainuzio Farnese […]* [composed 1586, copy dated 1835], Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (henceforth BPPr), Ms Parm, 1291, fol. 2^{v}. Denarosi (pp. 53-61, 411) thinks the author may be Angelo Ingegneri, a member also of the Olimpici of Vicenza, like Muzio Manfredi.
[20] *Discorso*, fols. 6^{v} (quote); and 3^{r}, 8^{v}-9^{v}.
[21] *Discorso*, fols 3^{v}, 7^{r}, 7^{v}. The words to the madrigals performed in the academy were also to be decent ('tutte ben morate') (fol. 8^{r}).
[22] *Discorso*, fol. 5^{r}. Bevilacqua, p. 8. Cf. the idea of 'contrarianism' in Florentine academies, in the essays by Brown and Blocker in this volume.

– though they still aimed at allowing free intellectual debate internally. Significantly, concerning aesthetic matters, Torelli argued in one of his *discorsi* delivered to the academy that critical discussion needed to remain open and not tied slavishly to Aristotelian authority. It was best to argue 'con rimuovere l'autorità, aprendosi alla verità più piana strada' [by removing authority, and so opening a broader path to truth] and to argue 'con verisimili, o vere, o salde, o sottili ragioni, et non con raccolte et mendicate autorità' [using realistic, or true, solid or subtle reasons, and not on the basis of collected and borrowed authorities].[23] Such issues of control, visibility and collective debate, regarding aesthetic and possibly also moral and political issues, must be taken into account when considering the Innominati's production of drama.

Performing secular theatre in Parma

Especially during the 1580s, under Ottavio's rule, there is significant evidence of the academy's engagement and experimentation with 'regular' drama at a literary and theoretical level, as it was composed, discussed and read aloud within the group. By contrast, as mentioned there is almost no concrete evidence of any involvement by the Innominati with 'public' theatrical performances, though they may have hosted some private performances for invited guests, perhaps involving music. The anonymous *Discorso*, for example, recommends that musicians ('musici') should form part of the academy's 'famiglia' [salaried members] given their important calming function during 'azioni' like comedies and tragedies.[24] The Innominati may not have employed musicians themselves in 1586, but like other academies

[23] Archivio di Stato di Parma (ASP), Archivio Torelli, b. 21, Pomponio Torelli, 'Del Debito accademico intorno all'autorità delli autori più stimati', quoted in Bevilacqua, p. 10; see Denarosi, pp. 44-47, 64-66.
[24] *Discorso*, fol. 6[r].

(and the ducal court), they clearly appreciated and practised this noble art. They seem to have composed madrigals and, apparently, even exceptionally admitted the Modenese virtuoso female singer and poet Tarquinia Molza (1542-1617) as a member around 1580.[25] Further suggestions of the Innominati's regular theatrical pursuits prior to 1586 are found in the *Discorso* in the section on 'Azioni cavalleresche o scenic[h]e' [chivalric and staged actions]. Here the speaker hopes and expects that the Academy will display both kinds of spectacle. Ranuccio himself had recently shown prowess in chivalric feats in Soragna, under the patronage of the Marchioness Isabella Pallavicino Lupi, and could, in the future, be accompanied by at least two pairs of 'cavalieri' from the Academy. Meanwhile the Innominati are said to be 'maestr[i]' [experts] in stage performances. The writer goes on to hope that 'in nullo modo mancar si deve *della pastoral già promessa* indi *caminandosi d'anno in anno con dell'altre azioni simili, siccome fu stabilito*' [we shall not fail to stage *the pastoral play we have promised* and thereafter *go on each year producing other similar actions, as was collectively agreed*; italics mine].[26] The peculiar disjunction between the academy's intended cultivation of dramatic performance practices and the lack of corresponding evidence raises various questions. What functions did the Innominati ascribe

[25] See Denarosi, p. 410; Nicola Catelli, 'Molza, Tarquinia', *DBI* (2011): <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/tarquinia-molza_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 21 October 2013]; and the essay by Cox in this volume.

[26] '*Discorso*, fol. 7^{v}. A pastoral play by the Innominati member Angelo Ingegneri (*Danza di Venere* (Vicenza: Stamperia Nova, 1584)) had been staged at the behest of Isabella Pallavicino Lupi probably in 1583 before Ranuccio. It is unclear whether the Innominati were involved with a lavish Parma performance staged in 1586 by the Pellegrini company of G. D. Cucchetti, *La Pazzia, favola pastorale* (Ferrara: appresso Giulio Cesare Cagnacini, e fratelli, ad istanza di Francesco Mammarello, 1586), dedicated to Isabella Pallavicino Lupi. See Laura Riccò, *'Ben mille pastorali'. L'itinerario dell'Ingegneri da Tasso a Guarini e oltre* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2004), pp. 144-46; and my forthcoming 'Performing female cultural sociability between court and academy: Isabella Pallavicino Lupi and Angelo Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere* (1584)', in *Chivalry, Academy, and Cultural Dialogues: The Italian Contribution to European Culture. Essays in honour of Jane E. Everson*, ed. by Stefano Jossa and Giuliana Pieri (Oxford: Legenda).

to drama? What practical possibilities did they have for performance, and how far did they collectively wish to be associated with theatre generally, especially after 1586?

To address these questions it will be helpful to compare the contexts in which theatre was practised in Parma and across the duchy, for which evidence is still relatively sparse. Significantly, large-scale theatre events seem less directly associated with the ducal rulers before the establishment of the Teatro Farnese within the palace complex (inaugurated 1628), though they clearly had an interest in this art form. By contrast, the local feudal elites (including the above-mentioned Marchioness of Soragna) were long-standing patrons of drama of different kinds, staged in their elegant castles or city palaces, performed both by professionals and amateurs, sometimes including women.[27] The Farnese dynasty's earlier political troubles, their relatively limited finances and lack of suitably impressive performance spaces in Parma would have made it difficult for them to follow this elite tradition of patronizing theatrical performances at court.[28] Nonetheless, prior to this time the Farnese clearly cultivated the typical princely forms of ritual and militaristic spectacle to

[27] Lina Balestrieri, *Feste e spettacoli alla corte dei Farnese* (Parma: Palatina, 1981; first published 1909), pp. 16-24; Egberto Bocchia, *La Drammatica a Parma, 1400-1900* (Parma: Luigi Battei, 1913), pp. 29-78 (almost exclusively on Pomponio Torelli); and, more recently, Pomponio Torelli, *Teatro*, intro. by Vincenzo Guercio, ed. by Alessandro Bianchi, Vincenzo Guercio, Stefano Tomassini (Parma: Guanda, 2009); Lisa Sampson, '*Drammatica secreta:* Barbara Torelli's *Partenia* (*c.*1587) and women in late sixteenth-century theatre', in *Theatre, Opera, and Performance in Italy from the Fifteenth Century to the Present: Essays in Honour of Richard Andrews*, ed. Brian Richardson et al. (Leeds: The Society for Italian Studies/Maney, 2004), pp. 99-115. Religious drama is not documented until the start of the seventeenth century. On Jesuit theatre at the Collegio dei Nobili, see Gian Paolo Brizzi, 'Caratteri ed evoluzione del teatro di collegio italiano (secc. XVII-XVIII)', in *Cattolicesimo e lumi nel settecento italiano*, ed. Mario Rosa (Rome: Herder, 1981), pp. 177-204. On the Teatro Farnese, completed by 1619 for a performance *manqué* for Cosimo II of Tuscany and its inaugural 1628 performance as a prototype for baroque 'gran teatro', see Roberto Ciancarelli, *Il progetto*; Maria Galli Stampino, *Staging the Pastoral: Tasso's 'Aminta' and the Emergence of Modern Western Theater* (Tempe AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), pp. 106-20.

[28] On the ducal 'Palazzo del giardino' or 'Palazzo della fontana' built during the 1560s-80s, which became the nucleus of the Pilotta complex, housing the theatre, see Bertini, 'Center and Periphery', pp. 109-10.

enhance their prestige publicly, besides pursuing their private passion for music and the visual arts. *Feste* were, for instance, held within the duchy and abroad to mark the dynastic marriages of Ottavio and Alessandro Farnese in 1550 and 1565, and of Ranuccio Farnese with Margherita Aldobrandini in 1600. In 1591 there were four days of celebration to mark Odoardo Farnese's promotion to cardinal, while extremely costly and lavish catafalques were created for the death of Margaret of Austria (d. 1586) and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (d. 1589). Furthermore, the Farnese often highlighted their military prowess in the early years of their rule through performing in *tornei*, which served to display and legitimize their political role and status as defenders of the Church.[29]

While we lack evidence that Duke Ottavio and his family during the sixteenth century themselves hosted splendid theatrical performances, they clearly enjoyed attending productions by professional *comici*, including the actress diva Vincenza Armani in 1568.[30] Actors were also recruited to perform for the visit of Don Giovanni d'Austria to Parma in 1576, and again, by Ranuccio Farnese, in April 1587 for a private performance of an unspecified comedy in the house of his court servant Gabriele Bombasi (Bambasi), 'L'Incantato' Innominato.[31] Ottavio Farnese, Pomponio Torelli and others were also among

[29] Besides Ranuccio's Soragna joust around 1586, *tornei* were regularly held, where possible with ducal participation, as happened in1546, 1547 when Pier Luigi took part; in 1561 and 1563 (Ottavio); and in 1565 with the participation of Alessandro in Brussels (1565). See Balestrieri, *Feste e spettacoli*, p. 16; Bertini, 'L'entrata solenne'; Marzio Dall'Acqua, 'I tornei farnesiani e gonzagheschi tra tenzone e festa', in *La Civiltà del torneo (secc. XII-XVII): giostre e tornei tra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. by Maria Vittoria Baruti Ceccopieri (Narni: Centro Studi Storici di Narni, 1990), pp. 247-72. For Margaret of Austria's catafalque, see ASP, Corte e casa farnesiana 1407-1732, b. 18, fasc. 8,10, 11; Mastri farnesiani, 1548-1731, b. 9, fols. 373, 383 (1586); b. 10, fol. 69 (16.9.1589).

[30] Giuseppe Bertini, 'L'attrice Vincenza Armani a Parma nel 1568 e la Corte dei Farnese', *Aurea Parma*, 94: 1 (2010), 3-10 (pp. 4-6, 10). For payments for a *mascherata* patronized by Duke Ottavio for 'vesti' by a 'Mastro Paolo pittore', see ASP, Mastri farnesiani, 1548-1731, b. 9, fol. 157 (30 May, 1584). Ducal patronage of professional theatre is documented from 1605, in ASP, Teatri e spettacoli di Età Farnesiana (1545-1757), b. 1, mazzo 2, fasc. 3.

[31] Bertini, 'L'attrice', p. 10.

the audience at a sumptuous staging of Bombasi's own tragedy *Alidoro* by his local Academy in Reggio Emilia (the 'Trasformati') in 1568.[32] This suggests that courtly elites, including Innominati academy members, could potentially serve a useful function to the Dukes in organizing, creating, hosting, as well as presumably funding theatrical events for court entertainment and possibly propaganda.[33] It remains to be seen, however, whether theatre as practised within the Academy allowed some scope for intellectual autonomy.

Theatre in the Innominati in the 1580s

The Innominati academy's interest in drama can be connected to wider critical debates and literary experimentation across Italy following the resurgence of interest in Aristotle's *Poetics* from the 1540s, the revival of neo-Platonism, and the new cultural imperatives of Counter-Reformation strictures. The academy's activities were informed specifically in this regard by Pomponio Torelli's programme of lectures given on Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Ethics* from c.1574-1596 (of which twenty-six were composed on the *Poetics* before 1586, and none were printed). These refer to contemporary academic debates outside Parma as well as to various recent compositions and critical writings, for example, by Patrizi, Castelvetro and Denores.[34] As Guido Vernazza, Vincenzo Guercio and Lucia Denarosi have shown,

[32] Margherita Fratarcangeli, 'Gabriele Bombasi: un letterato tra Annibale Carracci e Odoardo Farnese', *Paragone*, 49:15-16 (1997), 112-30; 'Una rappresentazione tragica a Reggio Emilia: L'*Alidoro* di Gabriele Bombace [sic] (1568)', in *Il teatro italiano: Tragedia del Cinquecento*, ed. by Marco Ariani, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), II, pp. 984-1008.
[33] Cf. The splendid production of Niccolò Secchi's comedy *Gli inganni* (carnival 1569) at the palace of Giovan Francesco Sanseverino by the little known Accademici Amorevoli (the *amorevoli* were a pro-Farnese faction within the city council), *Descritione delli intermedii fatti nelli Inganni comedia del signor N. S. [Niccolò Secchi] r[e]citata in Parma per li Accademici Amorevoli l'anno MDLXIX alli XXII di Febraio il giorno di* Carnovale, BPPr, Ms Parm 763; Bertini, 'Centre and Periphery', p. 110.
[34] On the manuscript sources of Torelli's lectures, see Guido Vernazza, *Poetica e poesia di Pomponio Torelli* (Parma: Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi, 1964), pp. 12-21; for the critical writings, see pp. 190-224.

Pomponio later tested out his theories on different kinds of tragic plot sources, settings and structural devices in his own five tragedies (printed between 1589 and 1605).[35] For instance, Torelli's first tragedy *Merope*, which he submitted in manuscript to the academy in 1587, as a work in progress, gave his personal interpretation of the disputed questions of recognition and the 'happy ending' in tragedy.

The Academy had experimented with such critical questions as early as the 1580s, under the initiative of the dramatist-*letterato* Muzio Manfredi ('prince' in 1580), so probably before Torelli became active in this field. Manfredi oversaw a great expansion in membership to include 'foreigners' involved in dramatic composition and performance, such as Gabriele Bombasi, Angelo Ingegneri and Tarquinia Molza and, apparently, seems to have stimulated prolific dramaturgical activity within the group. Manfredi's own gruesome Senecan tragedy *Semiramis* (composed 1580-82, printed 1593) seems to have attracted attention not only for its lively dramatic dialogue, but also for its creative engagement with key issues related to this genre, then widely discussed in Italian academies, following the debates on Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio's *Orbecche* (1541), Sperone Speroni's *Canace* (composed 1542) and perhaps Torquato Tasso's incomplete *Galealto re di Norvegia* (1582). His choice of plot (part historical, part invented), the treatment of incest, the staging of ghosts and off-stage murders and suicide, and, more generally, the moral and political themes of the play, clearly invite comparison both with these polemical modern tragedies and with ancient ones. Already by 1583 the Ferrarese Orazio Ariosto (1555-1593) had submitted to the Innominati his tragedy *Sidonia*, inspired by *Semiramis*, which stimulated discussion on the legitimacy of fictional

[35] Torelli, for example, uses classical, mythological and Decameronian plot sources. See Vincenzo Guercio, 'Dalla *Merope* al *Polidoro*: sulla storia del tragico torelliano', in Torelli, *Teatro*, pp. XI-XXIII. On *Merope*, see Vernazza, pp. 190-98.

plots.[36] However, Manfredi's tragedy also aroused some criticism among its female readers for its misogynistic representation of the monstrous protagonist, who implicitly exemplifies the dangers of female rule in this case as a form of debauched tyranny.[37]

The Innominati's critical analysis of ancient dramatic theories and forms thus prompted practical attempts in the 1580s to outdo and 'renew' the classic models, especially by synthesizing courtly practices and new moral demands to reformulate an Italian literary tradition according to authoritative ethical and philosophical ideas. But academy members also played an important role in developing theories and examples of the explicitly 'modern' dramatic forms of pastoral drama and tragicomedy during the 1580s, before these were codified by critical theory and while they represented what Laura Riccò has termed 'una letteratura militante in continuo divenire drammaturgico e teorico' [a militant new literature in a constant state of dramaturgical and theoretical evolution].[38]

Tasso's *Aminta* was published in Parma in 1581 dedicated to Pomponio Torelli, and Guarini also submitted his *Pastor fido*, still in manuscript, for appraisal to the academy. The two most important sixteenth-century theorists on the pastoral play (or pastoral tragicomedy) Guarini and Ingegneri were also both members of the Innominati Academy. Furthermore, Lucia Denarosi has speculated that Muzio Manfredi played a particular role in developing a subgroup within the Parma academy interested in pastoral drama. Though he never formulated a systematic treatise on the genre, he seems to have built on Pomponio Torelli's ideas on tragedy with a happy ending to devise a new theoretical conception of pastoral

[36] Orazio Ariosti, *La Sidonia*, ed. by Giuseppe Venturini (Ferrara : [Nuova stampa estense], 1985); Denarosi, pp. 39, 255-400 ('Tragedia di corte e tragedia "salvatica"').
[37] Virginia Cox, *Women's Writing in Italy, 1400-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), pp. 166-68. Muzio Manfredi, *La Semiramis Tragedia* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 1593); now in Muzio Manfredi, *La Semiramis*. Antonio Decio, *Acripanda: Due regine del teatro rinascimentale*, ed. Grazia Distaso (Taranto: Lisi, 2001). See Franco Pignatti, 'Muzio Manfredi', *DBI*, 68 (2007), pp. 720-25 (p. 721).
[38] Riccò, p. 29.

drama, which could exist in the ennobled form of the *boschereccia* (with a cast of heroic figures or mythological deities), or as a more humble *pastorale* (with a private, Arcadian cast). Manfredi's own two pastoral plays exemplify each of these types: his *Semiramis, boschereccia*, composed initially within the Innominati (printed in 1593) with the cast including royal characters (and the young Semiramis), contrasts with the 'lighter', more comedic *Contrasto amoroso*, which he composed after leaving Parma (c.1591; printed 1602).

Other examples of *boschereccie* (or pastoral *tragedie di lieto fine*) were also composed within the Academy by Eugenio Visdomini (*Erminia*, undated manuscript), and Ferrante II Gonzaga (*Enone*, unfinished).[39] On the other hand, Laura Riccò identifies as academic examples of *pastorale* Angelo Ingegneri's *Danza di Venere* (performed c.1583, printed 1584) and *Partenia* (c. 1586) by Pomponio's cousin, Barbara Torelli Benedetti, who was closely associated with the Innominati, though probably not a member.[40] *Partenia*, which is termed both 'pastorale' and 'boschereccia' in one of the two known manuscript editions, provides an important early example of a turn toward a more 'moralized' and spiritualized form of pastoral, with its strong emphasis on tragedy and chaste love, which even takes on religious overtones. This new emphasis, which coincides with the period of the Innominati's institutional change on the accession of Ranuccio Farnese, becomes especially marked in Pomponio Torelli's *Galatea* (1603). As an almost unique example of a pastoral tragedy, this

[39] Denarosi, pp. 285-301, 286-92 (tragedy with happy ending), 345-381. For Ingegneri's broad codification of this practice in his *Discorsi* (1598), pointing forward to the future of pastoral drama, see Riccò, pp. 309-36. See also Lucia Denarosi, '*L'Erminia* di Eugenio Visdomini', *Schifanoia* 24/25 (2003), 29-35. *Erminia* is based on the pastoral episode in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, XIX; Ferrante Gonzaga's *Enone* retells Ovid's account of Paris and Oenone.

[40] Riccò, pp. 326-31; Angelo Ingegneri, *Danza di Venere*, ed. by Roberto Puggioni (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002). On Barbara Torelli Benedetti's *Partenia* and her role within the Innominati, see the bilingual critical edition *Partenia, a pastoral play*, ed. and transl. by Lisa Sampson and Barbara Burgess-Van Aken (Toronto: Iter/ Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2013); and Cox's essay in this volume.

play presents, like his last two tragedies, a condemnation of earthly passions and quest for spiritual salvation.[41]

It is impossible to recover fully the richness of the Innominati's experimentation with drama, especially in the 1580s, because so many of the works produced within the academy were never printed and several are now lost. Muzio Manfredi gives a sense of this in various letters dated (perhaps fictionally) 1591 and written from Nancy. He urges his academy colleagues to publish their plays (and other works) on the model of Pomponio Torelli, so as to avoid critical neglect, but also to commemorate their individual and collective glory. For example, he enjoins Gabriele Bombasi to publish his tragedies *Alidoro* and (lost) *Lucretia*, following the example of Count Torelli's *Merope* (printed in 1589):

Egli et il Signor Visdomini, e voi tutti siete in Parma, e tutti Academici Innominati: e stampando voi le vostre, com'egli ha stampata la sua, vedrà il mondo, che la nostra Academia non produce i frutti a uno a uno, come arbore di poco vigore; ma come fecondissimo, a molti, a molti. E lo splendor dell'uno di voi nell'altro riflettendo, a l'altro ne gli altri, e tutti in tutti così vicini, vi farà talmente Illustri, che quasi tre soli in uno farete glorioso Apollo.[42]

[[Torelli], Signor Visdomini, and you are all in Parma and all Innominati Academicians: by printing your tragedies, as Torelli has done, the world will see that our Academy is not like a feeble tree that produces its fruits one by one, but rather that these appear abundantly and plentifully. And as the splendour of one reflects on another, and from him to others in turn, and to all of you reciprocally, this will make you so illustrious that like a triple sun you will bring glory to Apollo]

[41] Pomponio Torelli, *La Galatea* (Parma: Viotti, 1603), dedicated to Cardinal Farnese.
[42] Manfredi, *Lettere brevissime* … (Venice: Appresso Roberto Meglietti, 1606), to Signor Gabriello Bambasi [*sic*], Parma, 19 Jan. 1591, p. 17 (quoted in Denarosi, pp. 255-56); see also to Girolamo Pallantieri (1 May 1591), no. 121, pp. 94-95.

He similarly urges the other 'sun', Eugenio Visdomini to print his tragedies (*L'Amata*, and *Edipo*) and Antonio Scutellari to publish his dead brother Giacopo's *Atamante*. Yet none of these were ever printed – as with the examples of pastoral drama by Visdomini, Ferrante Gonzaga, an unnamed one by Crisippo Selva, and an intriguing lost, presumed sacred tragedy by Visdomini (*Cristo*).[43]

As Manfredi observes, out of all the prolific ferment of dramaturgical activity (including possibly performance) by the Innominati in the 1580s, it was Pomponio Torelli's tragedies alone which were printed as academic works between 1589 and 1591. These, unlike the others perhaps, must have been felt to reflect the academy's collective identity and to have passed the requirements for censorship. Their publication as an authorized 'reading text' may have displaced the necessity for performance, and have circumvented potential political and practical inconveniences. The other plays mentioned would instead remain part of the academy's exclusive dramatic experimentation, expressly 'reserved' for its members as part of their internal cultural debate. Such caution would have been prudent given the strong presence of clerics within the Academy and the existence of the local Parma Index, established in 1580. This had, among other things, banned a verse collection by Manfredi and severely prohibited the mixing of secular and religious themes; moreover, it had placed a blanket prohibition on 'dishonest and lascivious' comedies.[44]

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[43] Manfredi, letter to Cav. Crisippo Selva, 12 Aug. 1591, *Lettere brevissime*, no. 224, p. 182. Visdomini's *Cristo* still existed in the eighteenth century, see Denarosi, p. 16, n.16.

[44] On the Parma Index, which was based on that of the Rome Curia and updated the 1564 Tridentine Index, see Ugo Rozzo, 'Index de Parme 1580', in *Index des livres interdits*, IX. *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596: Avec étude des index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, ed. by J. M. de Bujanda (Sherbrooke, Québec: Centre d'études de la Renaissance, Editions de l'Université de Sherbrooke, 1994), pp. 11-14, 17-185 (pp. 97, 169). For Muzio Manfredi's prohibited *Per le donne romane* (Bologna, per Alessandro Benacci, 1575), see Abigail Brundin, 'Re-Writing Trent, or What Happened to Italian Literature in the Wake of the First Indexes of Prohibited Books?', in *Reforming Reformation*, ed. Thomas Mayer (Basingstoke: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 197-218.

Pomponio Torelli's own tragedies, composed apparently after 1586, show a more marked moralizing and 'serious', didactic quality (especially as regards catharsis) and attempt to regularize courtly and romance models of theatre, different kinds of pastoral, and principles external to the letter of Aristotle's *Poetics*. In this respect, the Count seems to represent the Innominati's official choice of a cultural path between the more daring and varied Ferrarese forms of dramatic experimentation and the antiquarian 'hyperclassicism' of the Paduan studio.[45] Nonetheless, even Torelli's tragedies may have caused some dissent. As Guercio points out, there was an inexplicable delay in printing *Tancredi* (nearly completely drafted by 1588 but not printed until 1597), though few alterations were made when printing the manuscript draft and despite Torelli's good rapport with the ducal printer, Erasmo Viotti.[46] Dramatic texts were, of course, less often printed in this period than 'literary' works, given their other possibilities for 'publication' through performance or reading aloud as closet drama. However, the lack of Innominati drama printed in Parma, apart from the examples of Torelli, still appears striking given the importance the group placed on its composition and theoretical aspects generally over the period. It should also be recalled that the academy published extensively (sixty-six publications) across various genres in 1575-1608 – including works by individuals who also wrote plays. This further suggests careful internal and possibly external control over their public identity as expressed through drama, which was generally seldom printed in Parma except for a small flurry, especially of pastorals, in 1581-84,

[45] Denarosi, pp. 292, 296. Such ideas also affected the works and theorizing of dramatists like Giovan Battista Liviera in Padua, Ingegneri in Venice and Vicenza, and even Tasso as he began to work again on his tragedy in Mantua (1585-86).
[46] Guercio, p. XII. For the Viotti press, which published the majority of the academy's printed compositions, and held ducal privileges and a monopoly from 1585, see Bevilacqua, pp. 17-20. I have been unable to consult Giovanni Drei, 'I Viotti stampatori e librai parmigiani nei secoli XVI-XVII', *Parma grafica* (Parma: Coop. Tipo Lito Parmense, 1925), pp. 21-27.

coinciding with the years of the ill-fated marriage of Margherita Farnese (sister of Ranuccio) to the notable theatre aficionado, Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua.[47]

Theatre and the Accademia degli Innominati after 1586

Ranuccio Farnese's accession as 'prince' of the Innominati in 1586, seems to mark a distinctive change in cultural direction for the group, which corresponded with his more dominating attitude toward the local aristocratic elites compared to his grandfather Ottavio, and growing attempts to control local educational institutions. One sign of this may be the appointment to the academy, by 1604, of the ducal printer, Tommaso Viviani.[48] These absolutist tendencies might explain a break with the earlier collaborative theatrical practices between Duke, academy and aristocratic patrons, and a move to publicly sanctioned, single-authored publications. It is perhaps indicative that while Manfredi dedicated his printed *Semiramis boschereccia* (1593) to Duke Ranuccio Farnese and mentioned that the plot was originally composed in the service of Ottavio, the dramatist did not offer to direct a

[47] EDIT16 lists five plays printed in Parma from the period 1574-99, all by the Viotti press (Heirs of Seth or Erasmo Viotti), and mostly composed by foreign authors, of which none are known to be Innominati. These are: Niccolò Secchi, *Il Beffa comedia* (1584); Tasso, *Aminta*, (1581); Selvaggio Selvaggi, *La Martia pastoral comedia* (1582); Gabriele Zinani, *Il Caride fauola pastorale* (1582), and Girolamo Giustiniani, *Iephte tragedia* (1583).

[48] Viviani is described as 'Stampatore dell'Academia' in a single academic work by this press, *Discorso di Fra Eleuterio Albergoni …. L'Eclissato Innominato sopra'l giorno della Pasqua Rosata* (Parma: Viviani, 1604), see Denarosi, p. 423; Bevilacqua, pp. 17-20. One other publication by Viviani is known from 1604 (*Contradditioni & obiettioni di M. Gio. Battista Magnani al cavo Soratore…*), see Roberto Lasagni, 'Viviani, Tommaso' in *Dizionario biografico dei Parmigiani* (Parma: PPS Editrice, 1999), <http://biblioteche2.comune.parma.it/lasagni/> [accessed 2 October 2012]. Cf. Lorenzo Torrentino, unofficial printer to the Accademia Fiorentina and Medici ducal printer, in Antonio Ricci, 'Lorenzo Torrentino and the Cultural Programme of Cosimo I de' Medici', in *The cultural politics of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 103-19.

performance for him as he had done for the Duke of Mantua in 1591.[49] In fact, the few later printed plays by Innominati members are associated with centres outside Parma.[50] Torelli's last two tragedies, *Polidoro* and *Vittoria*, though published by the Innominati and printed by Viotti (both 1605), were dedicated to Paduan academies, respectively the Fecondi and the Ricovrati, of which the dramatist had become a member. These tragedies and Pomponio's pastoral tragedy have been seen by Vincenzo Guercio as 'manifesto tragedies' for the Catholic faith, engaging with Counter-Reformation demands close to the interests of the Farnese.[51]

To conclude, fragmentary evidence suggests that the Innominati created an autonomous space in the 1580s for intellectual debate on theatre in theoretical and practical terms, and for developing creative syntheses between ancient and modern dramatic forms, through new syncretic understandings of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Increasingly, they seem also to have experimented with the spiritual 'conversion' of secular literary and dramatic genres, which was becoming a widespread trend in this period.[52] Their innovative projects, influenced first especially by 'foreigners' like Ingegneri and Manfredi and spearheaded by Pomponio Torelli, with a pioneering contribution from his cousin Barbara, allowed elites some scope for cultural (if not political) autonomy and to develop 'new' and varied forms of drama in contexts which were not exclusively identifiable with the Farnese court.

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[49] Manfredi, *Semiramis, favola boschereccia* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 1593), ded. letter to Ranuccio Farnese, fol. A3^{v}. See, for example, his proposals to perform the *boschereccia* in Mantua, in *Lettere brevissime*, Letter to Leonora de' Medici Gonzaga, p. 229.
[50] Manfredi's *Semiramis tragedia* and *boschereccia*, were both printed in Bergamo, 1593, repr. Pavia, 1598; Muzio Manfredi, *Il contrasto amoroso* (Venice: Giacomo Antonio Somascho, 1602); Marco Antonio Ferretti, *Mirinda, favola pastorale* (Venice: D. Venturati, 1612). Only Torelli's tragedies were printed in Parma, in several editions.
[51] Guercio, 'Tra *Merope*', pp. XVIII-XIX.
[52] See Virginia Cox, *The Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

Unfortunately, the full extent to which the Innominati's dramatic activities responded to political and religious pressures in Parma in this period is unverifiable, because so many of the Innominati's dramatic works were never printed and were lost. External factors may account for some of these losses, but authorial and academic (self-)censorship probably also played a part, especially with the growing number of members from different religious orders in the 1590s, including Alessio Porri, a Carmelite preacher and consultant of the Holy Office.[53] When Ranuccio became 'prince' of the Academy, their dramatic activity was channelled, at least officially, into authorized directions under Pomponio's lead. The Count produced dramatic works that were clearly consonant with the Counter Reformation agendas central to Farnese legitimization, with an ascetic focus increasingly on spiritual ascent, and the critique of earthly passions. The Innominati's activities more or less ended with the death of Pomponio Torelli (1608). Duke Ranuccio Farnese later established a very different, explicitly courtly kind of theatre in Parma and a strong control over the city's cultural institutions as part of his *instrumentum regni*.[54] However, the diaspora of academy members from the first phase of the Innominati's existence, including Manfredi and Ingegneri, would ensure to some extent the endurance of their ideas on drama through printed works associated in name with the Academy. These could at least indirectly recall their collective project to question received authorities and to reform culture aesthetically.

[53] Denarosi, pp. 42, 106.
[54] Ibid., p. 43.