

# A carnival feast in Piacenza in 1561

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The subject

In 1561, a carnival feast was held in Piacenza with the presence of Ottavio Farnese, the duke of Parma and Piacenza. The carnival was (and still is) a popular festival in the Catholic areas which people celebrated (and still celebrate) every year. However, the Piacentine carnival in 1561 was not just an annual festival but a political meeting between the ruler Ottavio Farnese and the local feudatories. The feast was notable for three reasons. First, it was a 'full-scale' feast containing two chivalric competitions (a joust and a tournament) and two pleasure events (a banquet and a dance). Second, the events were carefully programmed to achieve the political effects. Third, a detailed report was written and printed. The present article surveys the historical background of the Piacentine carnival and describes the events based on the contemporary record, *Il famoso convito cosi delle giostre come il banchetto...* by Tiberio Pandola.<sup>1</sup> Carmen Artocchini recently wrote about this feast based on Pandola's. However, it was a brief article attached to a local economic journal and far from a historical survey.<sup>2</sup> The present article is the first general study on the Piacentine carnival in 1561.

### 1.2 The document

Tiberio Pandola was a Piacentine notary and a poet. He was a member of the principal academic institution in Piacenza, Accademia degli Ortolani, along with Luigi Cassola, Lodovico Domenichi, Bartolomeo Gottifredo and other literary figures. Pandola was an experienced writer of festival records. He wrote about Pope Paul III's entry to Piacenza in 1538, about Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza's entry (date unknown), and about Duchess Margherita d'Austria's entry in 1557 before *Il famoso convito* in 1561.<sup>3</sup> His four poems were in *Rime diverse di molti eccellentiss. autori...* compiled by Domenichi and published by the Giolito Press in 1545 (Domenichi 1545, 270–272). He contributed a laudatory sonnet to his compatriot Umberto Locati's *Cronica dell'origine di Piacenza...* in 1564. Locati listed Pandola among the leading writers in Piacenza and called him on friendly terms 'il nostro Tiberio Pandola'.<sup>4</sup> Pandola was thus an active member of Piacentine literary circle and familiar with the local nobility.

In sixteenth-century Italy, many festival records were written and printed both in major centres and in smaller cities. Many of them have been probably lost, and many others are presumably stored unnoticed in archives and libraries. *Il famoso convito* was one of such minor ones which escaped the scholars' attention for a long time. For example, it is not registered on a major database of festival records.<sup>5</sup>

The word *convito* was unusual for the titles of festival records. For example, something like *descrizione delle feste...* was typical of the titles instead. Pandola's choice is suggestive because the word could remind the readers of Plato's *Symposium* and also of Dante's *Banquet*, both known as *Convito* in Italian. Academicians like Pandola certainly held these works to be precious, and possibly the word *convito* to be suitable to describe the 1561 feast. It may not be too fanciful that Pandola wanted to emphasise the sense of exchange between Ottavio Farnese and the local feudatories, as Plato's *Symposium* was an exchange of speeches among the participants. The idea of exchange and sharing was the key element of the feast, as it will be discussed later.

The printer Francesco Moscheni did not give consistent foliation. It can be reconstructed from the fragmentary signs: A1r (the title page)–A4v, B1r–B4v, C1r–C4v and D1r–D2v (the last side empty).

1 Tiberio Pandola, *Il famoso convito cosi delle giostre come del banchetto, che lo Illustrissimo & Eccel. S. Duca di Piacenza, & di Parma, ha fatto nella magnifica città di Piacenza nello anno M.D.LXI.* (Milan: Francesco Moscheni, 1561).

2 Carmen Artocchini, 'Un famoso convito del 1500 a Palazzo Gotico', *Piacenza economica* 34 (2010), pp. 40–44.

3 Luigi Mensi, *Dizionario biografico piacentino* (Piacenza: Ditta A. del Maino, 1899), p. 316.

4 Umberto Locati, *Cronica dell'origine di Piacenza già latinamente fatta per il R. P. Omberto Locati, & hora dal medesimo, ridotta fedelmente nella volgare nostra favella* (Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1564), pp. 6 and 324.

5 Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Anne Simon (eds), *Festivals and Ceremonies: a Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500-1800* (London and New York: Mansell, 2000).

In total, there were twenty-seven sides with text. This size is relatively small among similar festival records. For example, the record of a carnival feast in Milan in 1569 has sixty-five sides excluding the dedications and errata.<sup>6</sup> Records of state and dynastic festivals, such as weddings and entries, were usually much larger. For example, the record of the 1589 Medici festival has one hundred and seventy-six pages with illustrations.<sup>7</sup>

Festival records are by nature propagandistic and require careful reading. The authors did not describe everything from the beginning to the end but chose what to emphasise. They usually emphasised the magnificence of the events because

It is magnificence... which is the key word. The very idea of it was to be of central importance both to the Renaissance and Baroque court. Prodigal expenditure on achieving splendour was certainly not a medieval virtue, but it came to be one through the humanist revival of a Thomist-Aristotelian philosophical position. The praise of magnificence arose through the defence by Florentine humanists of the building projects of Cosimo il Vecchio. In doing this they looked first to St Thomas, who had classified magnificence as a virtue, and through him to Aristotle who, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, had been even more precise: '...great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with, acquired by their own efforts or from ancestors or connexions, and to people of high birth and reputation, and so on; for all these things bring with them greatness and prestige'. Magnificence thus became a princely virtue. A prince must live magnificently, to dress splendidly, to furnish his palaces richly, to build sumptuously.<sup>8</sup>

Consequently, description of elements related to magnificence (e.g. expensive materials, such as gold, silver and silk) tends to go into the smallest details while others were often passed by. The choice of the topics also depended on the authors' personal tastes and knowledge. For example, Pandola had keen interest in food and wrote about it in detail, while his indifference to music is rather frustrating for musicologists.

Pandola collected information in two ways. First, he took notes himself on the spot. For example, he recorded the shield decoration and the mottos in the joust on 16 February in this way. He missed recording Valentino Valenti's and said, 'I was not able to find the decoration or the motto...'.<sup>9</sup> This would have been impossible if he had had a firm source of information (e.g. written documents). The other way for Pandola to collect information was to learn from the inside sources. His descriptions of food at the banquet and of clothes at the dance on 18 February were extremely detailed and precise. He is likely to have had some inside information, for example, from the *scalco* (the banquet manager) and from the designers.

### 1.3 The Farnese and Piacenza

The House of Farnese was a latecomer among the Italian dynasties. It was originally a baronial family in Orvieto, Umbria. It became prominent through its service to the Church and settled in Rome only in the mid-fifteenth century. The Farnese became a leading house when Alessandro (1468–1549) was promoted to a cardinal in 1493 and elected the pope as Paul III in 1534. While exercising great leadership both in politics and in religion, Paul III practised bold nepotism for his family. He created a new 'composite state', the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, for his natural son Pierluigi (1503–47) and promoted the Farnese to a ruling dynasty. When Pierluigi settled in Piacenza, the local feudatories opposed to the *alien* ruler who had had no historical link with the city. Pierluigi's tyrannical attitude further stirred up their hostility. They killed him in 1547 and welcomed the Spanish troop.<sup>10</sup>

Pierluigi's son Ottavio (1524–86) settled in Parma in 1550 and fought against Spain over Piacenza. When Philip II became the king of Spain in 1556, he preferred to take the Farnese into his camp rather than to keep the trouble over Piacenza. Ottavio and Philip II concluded a peace in Ghent in

6 Ascanio Centorio degli Ortensi, *I grandi apparati, e feste fatte in Melano dalli illust. & eccell. S. il S. duca di Sessa governatore dello Stato di Melano & capitan generale del re di Spagna in Italia, & S. marchese di Pescara generale della cavalleria leggiera di Sua Mae. in Lombardia; in casa dell'illustr. S. Gio. Battista Castaldo marchese di Cassano* (Milan: Giovanni Antonio de gli Antonii, 1569).

7 Raffaele Gualterotti, *Descrizione del regale apparato per le nozze della serenissima madama Cristiana di Lorena moglie del serenissimo Don Ferdinando Medici III gran duca di Toscana descritte da Raffaele Gualterotti gentil'uomo fiorentino* (Florence: Antonio Padovani, 1589).

8 Roy C. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1984), p. 22.

9 Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. A3v.

10 Giorgio Fiori, 'Il governo di Pier Luigi Farnese (1545–47)', *Storia di Piacenza dai Farnese ai Borbone (1545–1802)*, vol. 1 (Piacenza: Tip. le. co., 1999), pp. 21–23.

that year. Philip II gave Piacenza to Ottavio except for the castle which remained under the Spanish control. In turn, Ottavio became Philip II's vassal with his son Alessandro taken to Madrid as a hostage. The peculiar situation of European politics suddenly and radically changed the relationship between Ottavio and the Piacentine feudatories. Ottavio was Pierluigi's son and accordingly their enemy up to the Peace of Ghent. Then he became the ruler of Piacenza with Philip II's authorisation. The feudatories had no choice but to accept Ottavio — whose father they had killed some ten years before — as their ruler. In turn Ottavio chose not to punish them for the rebellion. He was aware that he needed their support to rule the state as he had seen Pierluigi's failure. As a result, both Ottavio and the feudatories had to seek for a new order within the framework of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza.

In 1561, only five years passed after Ottavio had begun to rule Piacenza, and the bloody memory of the rebellion was still fresh. In this circumstance, the carnival feast was not just a seasonal festival to enjoy worldly pleasure but a political ceremony in which Ottavio and the feudatories re-confirm their union and collaboration. In terms of the confirmation of ruler-subject relationship, the Piacentine carnival shared something with the royal and imperial entries in which the prince solemnly entered the city which he ruled to confirm his sovereign. For example, Prince Philip (future Philip II) entered Antwerp as the heir to Charles V in 1549. More than one thousand and five hundred artists and workers made triumphal arches and other decorations based on the biblical and classical episodes of father-son inheritance (symbolising the inheritance from Charles V to Philip).<sup>11</sup> However, the situation was not so simple in Piacenza in 1561 as in Antwerp in 1549. The radical political changes created an ambivalent status of Piacenza. On the one hand, Piacenza was a secondary city of the duchy as Ottavio had settled in Parma. On the other hand, it was still a principal centre and actually larger than Parma. It was not a marginal city ruled by an absentee prince. At least, the feudatories held so. Accordingly, Pandola, whose writing must have reflected their sentiment, called Ottavio 'the very illustrious and truly excellent duke of Piacenza, our lord' and said that he had 'returned from Parma'.<sup>12</sup> Since the ruler-subject relationship was still unstable and immature, the 'unity' between Ottavio and the feudatories was an urgent issue. Accordingly, the whole feast was designed to emphasise their unity.

Ottavio further increased the political significance by invited the marquis of Pescara, who was the Spanish governor of Milan, and the count of Tendilla, who was the Philip II's ambassador in Italy, to Piacenza. Thus, 'the programme of unity' involved not only Ottavio and the feudatories but also the Philip II, who had possessed Piacenza; and with whose authorisation Ottavio had established his power in Piacenza. The Spanish participants can be interpreted as a kind of witnesses or supervisors to confirm and to approve the political union between Ottavio and the feudatories.

#### 1.4 Chivalric competitions

Mediaeval chivalric competitions had their origin in north France and in the Low Countries in the eleventh century. The principal form of the competitions was tournament, or *mêlée*, i.e. skirmishes between the two teams of knights. Mediaeval tournaments were not just games or sports but simulation of real battles in two senses. First, the battles were dangerous. The knights used the same weapons as in the battlefields, such as lances, spears, and clubs. Knights sometimes died in the battles and more often got seriously injured. Second, a principal aim of the battles was to capture the opponent knights and to get the ransoms. In other words, if a knight was captured, he had to pay a lot of money.<sup>13</sup>

Tournaments were popular among the mediaeval knights. Some even toured around to participate in various tournaments. The church and secular authorities regarded tournaments as a bad practice, because fighting each other was distracting for knights who should serve their lords instead and protect the Christian faith from the non-Christian enemies. The authorities often banned the tournaments. For example, Louis IX of France prohibited the tournaments in the kingdom in 1260–62. His son Philippe III repeated the same prohibition.<sup>14</sup>

While tournaments caused troubles with the authorities, another type of competitions, jousts, became popular especially from the thirteenth century onwards. Jousts were battles between the two individual knights. They confronted on horseback and tried to knock out the opponents with their lances. The jousts were a more formalised and more regulated form of the competitions than the tournaments. Jousts were originally of secondary importance and regarded as subordinate to the tournaments until the thirteenth century. The joust became popular with a vogue of the King Arthur literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Princes often held meetings called Round Tables in a

<sup>11</sup> Strong, *Art and Power*, pp. 87–91.

<sup>12</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. A1r and A3r, respectively.

<sup>13</sup> David Crouch, *Tournament* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2005), pp. 96–102.

<sup>14</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 125–126.

imitation of King Arthur, in which knights performed the jousts. The idea of Round Table was that the participants were all colleagues rather than friends and enemies. Accordingly, jousts were not mock battles but games partly for fun and partly for discipline. The jousts were popular for several reasons. For example, knights could avoid chaotic scrambles for ransoms. In addition, they could demonstrate their personal skills more easily in the jousting fields than in the turmoil of the tournaments lists.<sup>15</sup> The difference between the tournaments and the jousts — mock battles for ransoms and games within parties — played an important part in the programming of the 1561 Piacentine carnival.

The popularity of the chivalric competitions gradually declined but never died out, because such practices were the symbols of knights. The ‘quality as knights’ — whatever it might have actually meant was still important to sixteenth-century noblemen to distinguish themselves from the commons. Baldassare Castiglione defined military service as the only profession suitable to the noblemen.

But to come to some particulars: I hold that the principal and true profession of the Courtier must be that of arms; which I wish him to exercise with vigor; and let him be known among the others as bold, energetic, and faithful to whomever he serves.<sup>16</sup>

Other sixteenth-century writers also agreed that military service was the only way for noblemen to achieve *honour*, a quality essential for them.<sup>17</sup> Military skills and self-designation as knights were an important ideology for early modern European noblemen to connect themselves to their mediaeval ancestors who had fought in the crusade to protect the Christian faith and, hence, to justify their status and privilege.

The European military science underwent a great change from the late fifteenth century onwards, a process which historians call the ‘military revolution’. In short, firearms, such as field artillery and muskets, came to play increasingly important roles; and the heavy cavalry with lances and pikes became outmoded. In Italy, Charles VIII’s invasion in 1494 had a great impact.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the traditional horsemanship and combat skills gradually lost their original significance. The mediaeval chivalric tradition was in decline not only in the battlefield but also in noblemen’s life in general. For example, the duel, a traditional right and duty of the mediaeval knights, was gradually prohibited from the 1550s onwards.<sup>19</sup> The chivalric competitions were a vestige of the mediaeval practice in which sixteenth-century noblemen could display their combat skills and to confirm their knighthood.

## 1.5 Banquet

Banquet was a central element of a feast. The banquet, i.e. sharing the same dishes with guests, was (and still is) an important ceremony to promote the feeling of unity and friendly relationship in many cultures in the world. This was especially true in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy because poisoning was widespread there. In hierarchal societies, the banquet was also a ceremony to confirm the relationship between the princes (the hosts) and their subjects (the invited) and to demonstrate the ranking among the latter, for example, by the seating arrangements. For ambitious young men, serving in the banquet as dispensers and/or as carvers was a good chance to have himself known to those in power.<sup>20</sup>

The ceremonial effects of the banquet made it an important aspect of Italian political life. Italian city-states were small both in their geographical size and in their political power in comparison with the large kingdoms. The banquet was a ‘show’ for Italian princes to demonstrate their status, either to foreigners or to their subjects or both. This is one reason why the ‘banquet culture’ flourished in north Italy; and why cooking books and banquet records were actively published there.<sup>21</sup>

There were several trends of elite dining from the late Middle Ages to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sixteenth-century banquets often showed the shift of the tastes and habits. For example, a typically mediaeval taste of eating a large quantity of food (‘wolfing down’) became outmoded. People came to pay attention to the proper amount of food to eat, the balance of spices, the

<sup>15</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 116–121.

<sup>16</sup> Daniel Javitch (ed), *Baldesar Castiglione: the Book of the Courtier* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), pp. 221–222.

<sup>18</sup> Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1–24.

<sup>19</sup> Claudio Donati, *L'idea di nobiltà in Italia: secoli XIV–XVIII* (Bari and Rome: Laterza, 1988), pp. 93–103.

<sup>20</sup> Ken Albala, *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), pp. 6–7.

<sup>21</sup> Albala, *The Banquet*, pp. 5–6.

degree of cooking, and so on. Second, lighter and whiter meats, such as small fowls and fish, were preferred to large game animals. Tastes for wild food gradually declined, and cultivated plants and domesticated animals became popular. While the repertory of preferred ingredients became narrower and narrower, sixteenth-century Italian nobles still liked to have a wide variety of food with little aversion or prejudice.<sup>22</sup>

Sixteenth-century Italian cuisine was different from the modern one. First of all, tomatoes, a principal and essential element of Italian food, were not widely eaten in the sixteenth century. Although some contemporary writers mentioned the cooking of tomatoes, tomatoes were not used, at least, in the elite dining.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, pasta, another emblem of modern Italian food, was not popular among the privileged people. Dough products played only subordinate parts in cooking, such as covering the filling of pies and in ravioli. Dense *al dente* pasta was believed to be bad for the health. When pasta was used in elite dining, it was thoroughly cooked to mush.<sup>24</sup>

## 1.6 Dancing

Dancing was a popular entertainment among noblemen and noblewomen in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Castiglione regarded dancing as noblemen's good pastime.

There are certain other exercises that can be practiced in public and in private, such as dancing. And in this I think the Courtier should take great care... Yet, privately, in a chamber, as we are now, I think he could be allowed to try this [attempting technically challenging movements] and try morris dance and *branles* as well...<sup>25</sup>

He assigned dancing to noblewomen, too, but with modesty. '...and so when she dances, I should not wish to see her make movements that are too energetic and violent'.<sup>26</sup>

The fact that many treatises for dancing were written in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy confirms that dancing was popular and important for the nobility. Among them, Fabrizio Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame* (1600) and Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'amore* (1602) were particularly important.

Dancing was extremely popular in France. Successive kings of France, Francis I, Henry II, Charles IX and Henry III (save Henry II, who died at the age of sixteen), loved dancing greatly. For example, when Charles IX travelled around France in 1564–66, the dance room was set up at each place where he stayed for a few days. He also enjoyed watching local dances. Henry III was obsessed with dancing and frequently held balls, ballets and masquerades at his court. French noblemen and noblewomen were also passionate about dancing. Dancing skills were important accomplishments for the courtiers to distinguish themselves from their peers.<sup>27</sup>

While France was a centre of the dancing practice, however, it was not advanced in creating new dancing fashion. The French kings and nobles eagerly imported the latest fashion and inventions from Italy. For example, the count of Brissac, one of the most skilled dancers of his time, held an Italian violin band. The players were also dancing masters. He brought it to France by Henry III's and Catherine des Médicis's order to let them play, compose and teach at the royal court, among them Baldassare Belgioioso (Balthazar Beaujoyeux), who was to be the most influential dancing master and choreographer of his time. In addition, Cesare Negri, a leading dancing master of his time, served the duke of Anjou (1578) and Henry III (1578–87) in France. His 'Milanese school' had a profound influence on French dancing. As a result, Italians occupied seventy-six per cent of the violin players and one hundred per cent of professional dancers at the French royal court.<sup>28</sup>

There were several types of courtly dances. Fabrizio Caroso discussed them in his dancing manual *Nobiltà di dame*. Although the classification of the dances and their terminology are sometimes ambiguous, their names were:

- *Balletto* — seemingly a generic term to cover a wide variety of dances.
- Pavane and *pavaniglia* ('Spanish pavane') — slow dance in duple time.

22 Albala, *The Banquet*, pp. 8–9 and 27–38, respectively.

23 Gilian Riley, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 530.

24 Albala, *The Banquet*, pp. 101–103.

25 Javitch (ed), *Baldesar Castiglione*, p. 75.

26 Javitch (ed), *Baldesar Castiglione*, p. 154.

27 Margaret M. McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European Fashion, French Obsession* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 7 and 18–21.

28 McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance*, pp. 10–12.

- *Passo e mezzo*.
- Galliard — lively dance in triple time.
- *Tordiglione*
- *Saltarello*
- *Cascarda* — another name of *saltarello*?
- *Ballo* — another generic terms for dances?<sup>29</sup>

Aside from these dance types, there was another vigorous dance called *moresca*. The *moresca* means *Moorish* in Italian. As this name suggests, it was originally introduced from the Moorish culture to the Christian dance repertory in the Iberian peninsula. By the sixteenth century, the original ethnic implication was almost lost and the term *moresca* simply meant a particular type of dance. In spite of great popularity of the *moresca*, dancing manuals, such as Caroso's *Nobiltà di dame*, do not discuss it. This confirms that the *moresca* was not a part of the 'noble repertory' of dances but outside of it.

The *moresca* was often used in theatrical programmes and performed in dramatic contexts. It was customarily performed in the carnival. A typical theatrical framework of the *moresca* was a battle between Christians and non-Christians (mostly Muslims, either the Turks or the Moors). Performers often had bells attached to their costumes and held swords or torches in their hands. Cummings suggests that the *moresca* represented 'European anxiety about the non-European "Other," given that the *moresca* often (even typically) depicts a character-type emblematic of the "Other" and challenging of Europeans' sense of their "European-ness"<sup>30</sup>. This metaphorical implication may be true, at least partly, to the *moresca* performed in theatrical programmes. At the same time, the *moresca* was also performed in informal parties as an exotic, bizarre show dance, in contrast to, the authentic dance repertory. In such cases, the metaphorical implication about the anxiety was not so grave as in the theatrical performances.

## 2 The Piacentine feast

### 2.1 Preparation

I have not found if there was an 'artistic director' to supervise the entire feast; or, if any, who acted that role. A Piacentine architect Jacopo Antonio Bianco was in charge of designing the arena and other apparatus. Later a Bolognese architect Jacinto Barozzo joined by Ottavio Farnese's order.

As a seasonal ceremony, the procedure of the feast was highly stylised. First, Ottavio ordered the following noblemen to invite noblewomen to the feast.

- Astorre Visconti
- Teodosio Anguissola, count
- Amoratto Scotto, count
- Emilio Landi, count
- Camillo Sforza da Fogliano
- Cesare Confalonieri
- Annibale Malvicino, marquis

Four or six days later, Ottavio decided to invite upper-class and well-to-do women as well and ordered the following five merchants (whom Pandola called *honorati mercatanti*) to invite them.

- Antonio Morsello, called *il Fornasaro*
- Francesco Rotta
- Giulio Gerondo
- Bartolomeo Quartirono
- Agostino Fasolo

<sup>29</sup> Julia Sutton (ed), *Courtly Dance of the Renaissance: a New Translation and Edition of the "Nobiltà di Dame" (1600)* (New York: Dover Publication, 1995), pp. 31–47.

<sup>30</sup> Anthony M. Cummings, 'Dance and "the Other": the *Moresca*', *Seventeenth-Century Ballet, a Multi-Art Spectacle: an International Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Bloomington: Xlibris Publishing, 2011), p. 40.

It was not simply Ottavio's merciful act but a device to amplifying the political effects in two senses. First, he wanted impress the sense of unity on the upper-class and well-to-do women as well as the noblewomen. Second, Ottavio let the leading merchants play important roles in the feast (as it will be seen later). Thus, not only the noble feudatories but also the upper and middle classes were going to take part in the same events and share the sense of unity.

## 2.2 16 February

### The joust

On the first day of the feast, 16 February, a joust was held in the Piazza Grande, i.e. present-day Piazza Cavalli. The joust was primarily a military game and, at the same, an entertainment to fascinate the audience's eyes. The knights competed not only in their combat skills but also in the beautiful decoration on their shields.

The twenty-two knights met in full armour at five o'clock in the morning and had a light meal (*colazione*)<sup>31</sup> with Ottavio Farnese. They were (with their shield decoration and mottos):

- Ottavio Farnese
  - Decoration: a circle in a square
  - Motto: *Eureka*
- Giovanni Francesco Sanseverino
  - A 'temple of honour' with a sacrifice
  - *Veste sacrum*
- Paolo Emilio Scotto, count
  - A crocodile in a saffron field
  - *Ad quid perditio haec*
- Valentino Valenti
  - (Unknown)
  - (Unknown)
- Erasmo Malvicino, marquis
  - A golden falcon with a heart in its claws
  - *At tandem preda potiar*
- Onorio Scotto, count
  - (The same as above)
  - (The same as above)
- Camillo Barattieri
  - A wolf on a rock in the sea
  - *Et per piu non poter fo quanto io posso*
- Francesco Lupo
  - A zodiac with celestial signs and the sun
  - *Nitor in adversum*
- Francesco Visconti
  - A mirror
  - *Quale lo effetto fia, tal fia il diporto*
- Carlo Cicala
  - A dog bound with reins
  - *Evadam in hoc*
- Lucio Smeraldo
  - Then sun with a bale of crystal
  - (No motto)
- Francesco Carissimo
  - An eagle looking at the sun
  - *Veggono gli occhi poi ardon le piume*
- Carlotto de' Garimberto

<sup>31</sup> *Colazione* meant finger food for outdoor locations, in contrast with table dishes requiring cutlery. In modern Italian, this word means breakfast. In the sixteenth-century, breakfast was not a regular meal among the noble people. They usually had only two meals per day: *pranzo*, a principal meal a little before or at noon and *cena*, a simpler one at dusk. Terence Scully (ed), *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi (1570)* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 45–46.

- The 'centre of the earth'
- *Immobilis existo*
- Galeazzo Piazza
  - A palm tree
  - (No motto?)
- Giovanni Battista Rustici
  - A pinecone between two winds swinging it
  - (No motto)
- Luchino dal Verme
  - Hydra with seven heads
  - *Tanto magis*
- Giulio Anguissola, count
  - A crane with a leg up and holding a stone
  - *Oportet*
- Giovanni Maria Scotto, count
  - A boat in a sea guided by a hermit who looks at a star with an oar
  - *Virtute duce omnino evandam*
- Alberto Nicello
  - A half (one side of?) unicorn
  - (No motto)
- Lorenzo dalla Rosa
  - A rose
  - (No motto)
- Alfiero Cornacchino
  - A hermit
  - (No motto)
- Alberto Scotto, count
  - A horse with its legs chained in front
  - *Nec cursum vincula tardant*

The knights competed in getting hits according to the following rules:

- If one hits the opponent on his visor, he will get three hits.
- If one hits the opponent somewhere below the visor up to the throat, he will get two hits.
- If one hits the opponent somewhere below the throat up to the entire cuirass, he will get one hit.
- If one hits the opponent below the cuirass, he will get no hit.
- If one spoils the opponent's clothes (unprotected parts), he will get no hit.
- If one touches the opponent's clothes with his lance, he will be disqualified.
- If one fails in relaxing the grip on the lance on hitting, he will be disqualified.

The winner of a fight was to remain in the arena as the *mantenitore* and to accept the following knight's challenge. The loser was to give his shield to him and leave. If one of the knights was too much injured to move, and/or if his horse or arms was seriously damaged, the opponent was to remain in the arena as the *mantenitore* even if the latter was inferior in the fight.

Three prizes were provided for this joust.

- A steel shield, worthy of one hundred *scudi d'oro* to the best knight in the battle.
- Two necklaces to the best person in the crowd.
- Two pendants *al masgalano*<sup>32</sup> and a decoration of gold to the knight whose shield design was the most beautiful.

There were four referees to judge the game.

- Juan Guevara, the castellan of Piacenza.
- Jorge Manrique, Guevara's deputy
- Giovanni Gasparo da Casale

<sup>32</sup> A prize traditionally given to the most beautiful allegorical float in mediaeval feasts. This term still survives in the famous *palio* in Siena.



- Paolo Cerato

Casale and Cerato were responsible for the judging the hits. There were six witnesses plus one guest:

- Fasmo Toia
- Girolamo di Borgo
- Pietro Antonio dal Verme
- Ascanio Cassola
- Ambrogio Grapella
- Giulio Pezzanero<sup>33</sup>
- The marquis of Pescara

Pescara entered separately with trumpets.

Pandola deliberately avoided recording the details of the fight.

The first two knights... entered with their lances after the sound of trumpet and faced each other. [After the fight,] however, the judges could not decide either the winner or the loser. I do not record which was the one and the other. I do not record the rest either.<sup>34</sup>

This is obviously a euphemism to mystify the results of the fights. As a result, The best knight in the joust was Paolo Emilio Scotto; and the most beautiful shield was Francesco Lupo's. Pandola did not record who won the two necklaces in the crowd.

As discussed above, the joust was based on the spirit of the Arthurian Round Table and actually held as a well-regulated game. The knights competed to get hits but did not aim at damaging their opponents. Even a safeguard (the knight had to relax the grip on the lance at the hit) was provided to avoid accidents. The organiser(s) must have been aware of Henry II's accidental death two years before. In this circumstance, participating in this game meant being a member of the 'Piacentine Round Table'. Accordingly, Ottavio Farnese had to take part in it. He had to share this game with the feudatories as their colleague. This was a representation of their unity. The results (winning or losing) were a secondary issue, although knights must have fought very seriously. In short, the joust was designed to put Ottavio and the feudatories on the equal ground and for them to share the same things.

### 2.3 17 February

The following day, 17 February, had no central events but just small-scale parties. Pandola said, 'On the second day... all the knights took a rest to enjoy the parties which were held in various places'.<sup>35</sup> He was interested in the food for the banquet to be held on the following day and went to the Palazzo Gotico where the kitchen was set up. The kitchen must have been strictly under control for fear of poisoning and to avoid unexpected accidents. Pandola presumably had privilege of access as the writer of the official record. He listed up the animals which he had seen there.

- More than eighty dead pheasants (*faggiani morti*).
- Many peacocks (*pavoni*).
- Many turkeys (*galli d'India*).<sup>36</sup>
- Numerous local capons (*nostri castrati*).
- Other wild birds (*altri ucelli selvatici*).
- Roe deer (*caprioli*).
- Hares (*lepri*).

Pandola was most impressed by, however, a wild boar's head (*la testa di un porco selvatico*)<sup>37</sup> which the city of Novara (a Farnese domain) had offered.

<sup>33</sup> Misprint of 'Pezzancro'?

<sup>34</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. A4r.

<sup>35</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fols. A4r–A4v.

<sup>36</sup> Food newly introduced from the Americas to Europe was often described as *d'India*. Others included, for example, the musk duck (*anatra d'India*) and the Guinea pig (*coniglio d'India*). The turkey was one of the few which immediately became popular among the European elite. Scully is not fully confident of identifying *galli d'India* as turkey but poses the possibility that the word pointed out Guinea fowls. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>37</sup> Boars' heads were a typical of table decoration in mediaeval banquets. Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 34.

## 2.4 18 February

### Tournament

On the last day of the carnival, 18 February, an outdoor tournament was held at the Piazza Grande. It was a 'simple' mock fight without any dramatic programme, like 'the Christian knights fighting against the Turks' in the *sbarra* (a foot combat) in the 1589 Medici festival.<sup>38</sup> The knights were divided into two camps. Each camp was further divided into five teams. The captain general of the first camp was Paolo Cerato with Zervatto as the leader of the drums. The knights, forty plus two in number, wore silken surcoats of various shapes and colours and with various plumes (**bold** — the captains of the teams):

- **Girolamo di Borgo**
  - Francesco Maria Gragnano
  - Giulio Villa
  - Andrea Mancassola
  - Guido da Ravarano, marquis
  - Antonio Gnocco
  - Giuseppe Barattieri
  - Francesco Cavalleggieri
- **Alessandro Anguissola, count**
  - Carlo Scotto, count
  - Alberto Nicello
  - Ettore Nicello
  - Pietro Francesco Nicello
  - Ottavioano Sanseverino
  - Claudio Rebuffo
  - Giulio dalla Parta
- **Astorre Visconti**
  - Livio Confalonieri
  - Alberto Scotto, count
  - Paolo Machiavelli, count
  - Jacopo Machiavelli
  - Giulio Pezzancro
  - Pietro Maria Chiappono
  - Jacopo Scotto, count
- **Jasmo Toia**<sup>39</sup>
  - Giulio Rangono
  - Giovanni Maria Scotto, count
  - Orazio Tuttavilla
  - Bartolomeo Pallastrello
  - Fabrizio Anguissola
  - Valentino Valenti
  - Pietro Spagnuolo
- **Paolo Borgon**
  - Francesco Visconti
  - Giovanni Scotto
  - Giovanni Pavero
  - Camillo Chiappono
  - Camillo Capizucca
  - Orazio Scotto
  - Lelio Pezzancro

The captain general of the second camp was Giovanni Gaspar da Casale. The knights, forty in number, put on blackish silken banners and bands of the same colour. They were:

<sup>38</sup> Phyllis Deaborn Massar, 'A Set of Prints and a Drawing for the 1589 Medici Marriage Festival', *Master Drawings* 13 (1975), p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> The marquis of Pescara and Count Manfredo Torriello joined Toia's team because, according to Pandola, his horsemanship was so great that 'the goddess [of horsemanship] would appoint him to the great captain'. Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. B1r.

- **Pietro Antonio da Verme**
  - Giovanni Francesco Sanseverino
  - Luchino dal Verme, count
  - Nicolò Scotto, count
  - Giulio Anguissola, count
  - Maurizio Casale
  - Giovanni Battista Rustici
  - 'Cavalier Anguissola'
- **Pallavicino Rangono**
  - Francesco da Soragna
  - Giovanni Antonio Sozzi
  - Carlotto Garimberto
  - Giulio Cornacchino
  - Lucio Smeraldo
  - Mario Celdoni
  - Claudio Vagho
- **Ambrogio Grappella**
  - Onorio Scotto
  - Erasmo Malvicino, marquis
  - Petrarca Mentuato
  - Vincenzo Malvicino
  - Jacopo Viarana
  - Jacopo Fontanino
  - Alessandro Zerbio
- **Marzio Coloredo**
  - Paolo Emilio Scotto, count
  - Pietro Maria dal Pozzo
  - Carlo Cicala
  - Cesare Scotto
  - Camillo Baratieri
  - Ferrando Anguissola
  - Giovanni Anguissola, count
- **Jacopo Sanguigno**
  - Galeazzo Piazza
  - Battista Carissimo
  - Francesco Carissimo
  - Lodovico Bergonzi
  - Lorenzo dalla Rosa
  - Giovanni Francesco Borra
  - Pietro Bressano

Pandola said nothing about the regulation of the battle. I believe that the battle was not so fierce or bloody as the mediaeval *mêlée*. Some kind of safeguard may have been provided to avoid accidents, as in the joust on 16 February. I also believe that ransoms were not applied to the battle even if capturing the opponent knights might be the aim of it.

According to Pandola, one of the camps (he did not specify which) proposed to finish fighting after two hours of battle 'not because their power was reduced but to give a rest to the horses since many of them were damaged for spurs'.<sup>40</sup> This may have been a euphemism to mystify which camp was victorious, as in his description of the joust.

As a chivalric competition, the tournament was a battle between the two camps and more realistic than the joust had been. This was the reason why Ottavio Farnese did not take part in it. If he had taken part in one of the camps, it would have been the 'ducal force' and the opponent the 'rebels'. Such a confrontation would have spoiled the spirit of unity between Ottavio and the feudatories. Just thirteen and a half years before, the 'local rebels' had killed their ruler Pierluigi Farnese in Piacenza. In 1561, in contrast, both Ottavio and the feudatories were seeking for their unity in the same city.

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<sup>40</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. B2r.

### Banquet

The tournament ended at two o'clock in the evening.<sup>41</sup> The knights were taken to the Palazzo Gotico by coaches. Cleria, the wife of Paolo Vitelli, the lieutenant in Piacenza, acted as the hostess of the banquet. The *honorati mercatanti* took the women, totally one hundred and eighty, to their waiting rooms. After they washed their hands with aromatic water, the *honorati mercatanti* guided them to the banquet hall. Notable women from the outside of Piacenza were:

- The above-said Cleria, Paolo Vitelli's wife
- Anna Simonetta Bentivoglio
- Maddalena dalla Latta
- Caterina Gattina da Correggio
- Anna Maurello
- Margherita Bernera, wife of the governor of Parma
- Corona dalla Somaglia

Among the local women were:

- Eleonora, the wife of Luca Franceschini, the governor of Piacenza
- Unnamed wife of Girolamo Rossi, the duke's advisor
- Lavinia Sanseverini with her two daughters
- Anna, wife of the governor of Lecco
- Margherita Sforza da Borgonovo
- Emilia Scotto with Domicilla, her daughter-in-law, and her daughter married to Rangono.
- Polissena Scotto
- Eleonora Scotto da Diolo
- Lucia Margherita Scotto da Sarmato
- Antonia Scotto da Agazzano
- Unnamed Cavalera Scotto with her two daughters
- Contessina Scotto with her daughter-in-law
- Bianca Sforza da Fogliano with her daughter
- Barbara Nicella with her two daughters
- Unnamed wife of ex-Count Gaspar Scotto da Sarmato with her daughters, one single and the other married to Giovanni Battista Rustici
- Unnamed wife of Federico Scotto
- Unnamed wife of Emilio Landi
- Eleonora Todesca with her two daughters-in-law
- Antonia da Piombino with her two daughters
- Ippolita Borromeo
- Lavinia Sanvitale with her daughter married to Francesco Visconti
- Maddalena Barattieri with her daughter
- Unnamed wife of Camillo Barattieri with the above-said Maddalena's sister-in-law
- Pavara Ermelina Felice with two her two daughters
- Unnamed daughter-in-law of Lodovico Anguissola
- Laura Confalonieri
- Margherita Scotto da Fambio
- Unnamed wife of Livio Confalonieri
- Margherita Anguissola
- Maddalena dal Pozzo with her daughter
- Unnamed marquise Malaspina with her two daughters
- Margherita da Pietra
- Unnamed countess da Mozzanica
- Beatrice Mancassola with her two daughters
- Unnamed wife of Cornelio Rolero
- Eleonora Carazza da Stato
- Anna Scotto
- Armenia Marazzana

<sup>41</sup> Pandola's expression 'alle due hore *di notte*' (emphasis mine) means two o'clock in the afternoon, and not two o'clock at night.

- Unnamed wife of Bartolomeo Scotto
- Unnamed wife of Bartolomeo da Borla
- Unnamed wife of Urbano Scotto with her daughter
- Unnamed wife of Cesare Mancassola with her daughter
- Unnamed wife of Pietro Francesco Mancassola
- Unnamed wife of Marc'Antonio Scotto with her mother
- Unnamed wife of Vespasiano Cicala
- Unnamed wife of Teseo Cicala
- La Somaglina with her mother
- Unnamed wife of Zanone Pusterla
- Angela di Arcelli
- Livia Maruffa
- Unnamed wife of Tiberio Pandola and her daughter Speranza

Then noblemen entered the hall. Pandola's description of their number is ambiguous. 'And similarly appeared the noblemen, whose number was, including these men and those women [young ladies of marriageable age], about two hundred twenty-five'.<sup>42</sup> In any case, there were a little more than four hundred participants, including noblemen and noblewomen. In addition, Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese, the count of Tendilla, other Spanish noblemen, Milanese noblemen and other foreigners were also present, along with Ottavio Farnese and the marquis of Pescara.

The hall was carefully decorated by Ottavio Farnese's order. The room was covered with a blue textile where smaller stars, made of gold, and a moon were decorated. They produced an atmosphere of a night sky. There were a figure of Endymion adoring the moon and those of Pleiades. Constellations, such as Boötes and *il carro* (either Ursa major or Ursa minor), were also made. There were some Flemish paintings and a Flemish tapestry depicting Caesar's triumph, which Duchess Margherita d'Austria had sent from the Low Countries.<sup>43</sup> Beside the seats for the ladies, there were tapestries depicting various lords' court-of-arms, including those of the ruling pope Pius IV and of Paul III.

Ensemble music was played, 'which was well mixed and made comfortable harmony'.<sup>44</sup> This idiomatic expression practically says nothing about the music from a musicological point of view. The circumstance suggests that they played instruments of soft sounds for indoor music, such as lute, viols and flutes. Ottavio Farnese did not have his own band (*cappella*) yet in February 1561. He just concluded a contract with his first musician Cipriano de Rore in Brussels, who was then on his way from to Parma.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, the ensemble was either a local band or the one hired from the outside. It is even possible that the marquis of Pescara took the musicians from Milan. He loved chamber music and later employed a leading lutenist-singer Fabrizio Dentice.<sup>46</sup>

Pandola was keenly interested in food and made impressive lists of the food served at the banquet. While he listed up the ingredients in detail, he said little about the cooking. What were actually served on this occasion, especially vegetables, may have been quite different from the modern breeds (**course I**).<sup>47</sup>

1. Lettuce (*letuca*)
2. Capers (*capparini piccoli*)
3. Cooked onions (*cipolle cotte*)
4. Salad (*mescolanza*)
5. White chicory (*cicoria bianca*)
6. Rhubarb (*rampungi*)

<sup>42</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. B3v.

<sup>43</sup> Margherita stayed in Brussels as the Governor of the Low Countries from 1559 to 1567. Was this tapestry possibly one of the ten tapestries depicting Caesar, such as *Caesar conducts his corps against Rome*, which Prince Alessandro Farnese possessed in 1575? Giuseppe Bertini, 'Gli arazzi dei Farnese da Paolo III a Dorotea Sofia di Neoburgo', *Gli arazzi dei Farnese e dei Borbone: le collezioni dei secoli XVI-XVIII* (Milan: Electa, 1998), p. 45.

<sup>44</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. B4v.

<sup>45</sup> Jessie Ann Owens, 'Cipriano de Rore a Parma (1560-1565): nuovi documenti', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 11 (1976), pp. 9-10.

<sup>46</sup> Dinko Fabris, 'Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice, nobile napoletano, compositore del secondo cinquecento', *Studi musicali* 21 (1992), p. 73.

<sup>47</sup> The numbering of the courses and individual items are given by me for the discussion below. The original document arranges these item simply in three-column tables.

7. Roots of chicory (*radici di cicoria*)
8. Carrots (*carrotte*)
9. Unspecified boiled roots (*radici cotte*)
10. Broccoli (*broccoli*)
11. Sugared citrons in rosewater (*cedro con acqua rosa, & zuccaro*)
12. Horseradish in a Hungarian style (*raffani alla ongaresca*)
13. Flower(s) of cabbages (*fiore di cavoli*)
14. Unidentified *spargi*
15. Unspecified uncooked roots (*radici crude*)
16. Seeded olives (*olive spaccate*)
17. Cooked beetroots (*radici di bieta cotte*)
18. Radish (*ramolazzi*)

The first course was a starter, consisting of vegetables. Then animal dishes were served on twenty-four plates (**course II**).

1. Lampreys (*lampredozze*)
2. Salted beef (ox) tongues (*lingue di bue salate*)
3. Trout (*trute*)
4. Oysters (*ostrighe*)
5. Small pieces of cheese (*formaggi piccoli*)
6. Crayfish (*gambari*)
7. Cured hams (*prosciutti*)
8. Seeded pomegranates (*pomi granati sgranati*)
9. Razor clams (*cappe lunghe*)
10. Salted beef (ox) meatballs (*polpette di bue salate*)
11. Cockles (*gongole*)
12. Pies of cream-top and trout (*capi di late & trute in pastici*)<sup>48</sup>
13. Pies in a Hungarian style (*pastici à l'ongaresca*)
14. Salmon carp (*carpione*)<sup>49</sup>

Twenty-four servers (*siniscalchi*) removed the dishes. Twenty-one among them<sup>50</sup> were:

- Grazia Monzio
- Vincenzo Cotti
- Giovanni Francesco Masioli
- Francesco Carissimi
- Battista Carissimi
- Galvano Cantelli
- Giulio Romano
- Mario d'Acquasparsa
- Ippolito Orcio
- Mario Celdoni
- Lodovico Bergonzi
- Giovanni Battista Pezzancro
- Cesare Anselmi
- Alessandro da Lodi
- Ascanio Castellano
- Ettore Rizzolo
- Giovanni Matteo Visdomo, count
- Raffello Rivalta

<sup>48</sup> According Scappi, *capi di latte* was thick cream, made by warming fresh milk and then separating the cream and other substances. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, p. 590.

<sup>49</sup> Scappi said, 'A salmon carp is a little whiter [than a salmon]... and tends to a silvery colour, especially the one that's caught in Lake Garda, which is the best in Italy, because it is found in very few other places. The biggest salmon carp is not more than four pounds. Its season begins in October and goes to the end of April...'. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, p. 322.

<sup>50</sup> Pandola obviously missed recording the other three. He repeated the same error with the *contrasiniscalchi*.

- Lodovico Scotto
- Girolamo Grillo
- Pietro Barattini

They were accompanied by twenty-four *contrasiniscalchi* (assistants?). Twenty-three among them were:

- Giovanni Maria Borghetto
- A certain Giovanni Domenico, in service to Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese
- Unnamed man [*sempronio*], in service to Ottavio Farnese
- Beltramo Spagnuolo
- Andrea da Modena
- Giulio Centi
- Pietro Antonio Rivalta
- Pietro Maria Chiappono
- Camillo Bosello
- Daniello Morello
- Tomaso Aimi
- Tagliaferro dei Tagliaferri
- Alberto Braciforte
- Pellegrino Landriano
- A lieutenant of Alessandro Anguissola
- Antonio Calvo
- Camillo Bramero
- Daniello Pallazzo
- Giovanni Battista Constantini
- Lorenzo Maria Rivalta
- Paolo Gambarello
- Francesco Lungo
- Ventura Bramero

Then another set was served on twenty-four plates (**course III**).

1. Pheasants (*faggiani*)
2. Ortolans (*hortolani*)
3. Salamis (*salami*)<sup>51</sup>
4. Partridges (*starne*)
5. Unidentified *capici à bastanza*
6. Unidentified *salvinia*<sup>52</sup>
7. Quails (*quaglie*)
8. Hares (*lepri*)
9. Saveloy (*cervelaro*)<sup>53</sup>
10. Thrushes (*tordi*)
11. Wild boar (*porco selvatico*)
12. Pork ribs (*ventresca*)
13. Turkeys (*galline d'India*)
14. Cured hams (*prosciutti*)
15. Sowbelly (*sommata*)
16. Peacocks (*pavoni*)
17. Unspecified cheeks (*guancie*)

<sup>51</sup> Most salamis were made of pork. Numerous variations existed (and still exist) in various regions. Piacenza was (and still is) one of the centres of salami production. An exception is *salame d'oca*, made of goose flesh and fat. It partly (but not exclusively) belong to the Jewish culture in which eating pork is taboo. Riley, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 474.

<sup>52</sup> This cannot have been *salavinia* the floating fern. It was named after Antonio Maria Salvini (1633–1729), who helped the botanist Pier Antnio Michele (1679–1737). William Thomas Parsons and Eric George Cuthbertson, *Noxious Weeds of Australia* (Collingwood: CSIRO Publication, 2001), p. 18.

<sup>53</sup> A dialectal form of *cervellato*, a speciality of Milan. It was a kind of yellow sausage (*cervellati gialle milanese*) with saffron in it. (No longer produced today.) Scappi used *cervellato* for wide variety of dishes, among them cooking *cous cous* in a Moorish style. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 217–218.

18. Domesticated pork ears (*orecchie di porco domestico*)
19. Domesticated pork toes (*pie di medesimo*)
20. Olives (*ulive*)
21. White beans (*ciceri*)<sup>54</sup>
22. Veal breasts (*tetinne di vitello*)
23. Fresh peas (*piscelli freschi*)
24. Unidentified *fasoli*
25. Wild boar tongues (*lingue di porco selvatico*)
26. Various apples (*Pome di piu sorti*)<sup>55</sup>
27. Lentils (*Lenticchie*)
28. Bergamots (*Pere bergamotte*)<sup>56</sup>
29. Garlic (*agli*)<sup>57</sup>
30. Wild ducks (*annedre selvatiche*)
31. Caravalla pears (*pere garavelle*)<sup>58</sup>
32. Onions (*cipolle*)
33. Pâtés of capons (*capponi appastati*)
34. Genoese plums (*brugne genovese*)
35. Rapes (*navoni*)
36. Artichokes (*carciffoli*)
37. Dried muscats (*zibebbe di levante*)
38. Cabbages (*cavoli*)
39. Skinned cardoons (*cardi mondi*)
40. Chestnuts (*castagne*)
41. Roots of chicory (*radici di cicoria*)
42. Truffles (*tartoffili*)
43. Red beans (*ciceri rossi*)
44. Roots of parsley? (*radici di psemolo*)<sup>59</sup>

While the participants were dining, music was played. Pandola described it with an idiomatic expression ‘una dolcissima musica’ again and said nothing about it in detail.

A further set was served on twenty-four plates (**course IV**).

1. Kids (*capretti*)
2. Turtledoves (*tortore*)
3. *Blancmange* (*biancomangiare*)<sup>60</sup>
4. Cockerels (*pollastri*)
5. Quails (*quaglie*)
6. Unspecified jelly (*zelatina*)
7. Partridges (*starne*)

54 An archaic form of *ceci*. An old German dictionary says, ‘Ciceri bianchi, weiße Kichern, die vorzüglich gesucht werden [white beans which are especially sought after]’ Gottfried Christian Bohn and Gerhard Philipp Heinrich Normann (eds), *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der Produkten- und Waarenkunde* (Hamburg: Carl Ernst Bohn, 1805), p. 961.

55 Pandola used the term *pomo* (*pomi, pome*, etc.) for apples rather than *mela* (*mele*) as Scappi did.

56 Although bergamots are a family of citrus, contemporary Italians classified them into, or at least called, pears perhaps because of the etymology of the name, *beg armudi* (‘the lord’s pear’ in Turkish). Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 370, 422 and 486.

57 It was unusual to serve garlic in banquet dishes. Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 11. Scappi rarely used garlic in his recipes, only as a possible replacement for cloves or for onions in flavouring and in a Spanish dish *olla podrida*. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 107, 148, 152 and 215–216. Undoubtedly, garlic was a part of flavouring here and used in a relatively small amount. It is almost unimaginable that garlic was served in a form in which it could be easily recognised as garlic. I suppose that Pandola listed garlic among other ingredients because he simply quoted the information from the cooking staff.

58 A kind of pears which mature in late autumn. Scappi used *caravella* as an optional ingredient to make pear torte. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 486 and 705.

59 Can *psemolo* be an archaic form of *prezzemolo* (parsley)?

60 *Blancmange* here was not a sweet dessert as it is today but a dish made of white ingredients, such as chicken, almond, rice starch, sugar and so on. It was of mediaeval origin but remained popular well into the seventeenth century. Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 19. Scappi called it *biancomagnare*. He discussed various versions, such as one made with goat’s milk and another with almond milk; and also its applications, such as in pies, in tortes and in *minestra*. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, p. 757.



8. Larks (*lodole*)
9. Fish jellies with meat beneath (*zelatine di pesci con carne sotto*)
10. Pheasants (*faggiani*)
11. Pigeons (*piccioni*)
12. Peacocks, caught at home (*pavoni nostrani*)
13. Veal tongues decorated with nets (*lengue di vitello addobbe con le reti*)
14. Meat jellies with lampreys and salmon carp below (*zelatine di carne con lamprede & carpioni sotto*)
15. Hares (*lepri*)
16. Cow breasts, decorated (*tette di vacche addobbe*)
17. Roebucks (*caprioli*)
18. Olives of Bologna (*olive bolognese*)
19. Wild boars (*porci selvatici*)
20. Pies *in gatta* (?) with meat (*pastici in gatta pure con carne*)
21. Grapes (*uva*)
22. Fatty capons (*capponi grassi*)
23. Elaborate pastries of twelve types with fruits and other things (*lavori di pasta di dodeci sorti, tra frutti & altre cose*)
24. Small rabbits (*conigli piccoli*)
25. Well-decorated pies (*pastici sfoggiati*)
26. Wild ducks (*annadre selvatiche*)
27. Citron tortes (*torte di cedro*)
28. Thrushes (*tordi*)
29. Capon tortes (*torte di polpe di capponi*)
30. *Struffoli*, piled up like castles (*castelli di struffoli*)<sup>61</sup>
31. Ortolans (*hortolani*)
32. Unidentified *trappoli* (some animals caught with traps?)
33. Turkeys in a Roman style with pasta on it (*galline d'India alla romanesca on macheroni sopra*)

Again, music accompanied the dishes.

Finally, desserts were served again on twenty-four plates (**course V**).

1. *Struffoli*, piled up like castles (*castelli di struffoli*)
2. Olives of Bologna (*olive bolognese*)
3. *Cannoncini*<sup>62</sup>
4. *Trappoli*
5. Whipped cream (*lattemele*)<sup>63</sup>
6. Venetian small biscuits (*biscottelli venetiani*)
7. Sugar blocks (*zucharine*)
8. Processed pears (*pere guaste*)
9. Cardoons with pepper and salt (*cardi con pepe & sale*)
10. Skinned walnuts (*noci pelate*)
11. Ricotta cheese with sugar and rosewater (*ricotte con zucchero & acqua rosa*)
12. Artichokes (*carcioffoli*)
13. Skinned almonds (*amandole pelate*)
14. Skinned chestnuts (*castagne pelate*)
15. Skinned pine nuts (*pignoli pelati*)

61 A typical pastry for the carnival. According to Scappi, *struffoli* were small pieces ('like dice') of fried dough. According to Domenico Romoli, the author of an influential manual for stewards *La singolar dottrina*, the fried *struffoli* were coated in hot honey. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, p. 496.

62 According to Scappi, a basic version of *cannoncini* is thin omelettes with sugar and cinnamon, rolled up into the form of tubes and with fillings inside. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 376–377.

63 According to Cristoforo di Messiburgo, the steward to Ercole II d'Este, *lattemele* was made in a butter churn, whipping the cream with a stick up and down, as in making butter, and then leaving it for a while. Cristoforo di Messiburgo, *Libro novo nel qual s'insegna à far d'ogni sorte di vivanda secondo la diversità de i tempi, così di carne come di pesce. Et il modo d'ordinar banchetti, apparecchiare tavole, fornir palazzi, & ornar camere per ogni gran prencipe* (Venice: Eredi Padovano, 1557), fols. 105v–106r.

16. *Butirro* with sugar and unidentified *salvieta* (*butiro con zucchero fatto con salvieta*)<sup>64</sup>
17. Chestnuts cooked with wine (*castagne cotte con vino*)
18. Pistachios (*pistacchi*)
19. *Marzolino* cheese (*marzolini*)<sup>65</sup>
20. Red apples (*pome rosse*)
21. Tortes in a Siennese style (*torte alla senese*)
22. *Provatura* cheese (*provatura*)<sup>66</sup>
23. Heated apples (*pome calde*)
24. Tortes of marzipan paste (*torte di pasta di marzapani*)
25. Piacentine cheese (*formaggio piacentino*)
26. Various apples (*pome diverse*)
27. Fennel (*fenocchio*)
28. *Caravella* pears (*pere garavelle*)
29. Apple tortes (*torte di pome*)
30. Orange pies? (*pastici di melangole*)
31. Bergamots (*pere bergamotte*)
32. Truffle pies (*pastici di tartuffi*)
33. Various pastries (*lavori diversi di pasta*)
34. Processed apples (*pome guaste*)
35. Cardoon pies (*pastici di cardi*)

After the dinner, aromatic water was delivered to wash the hands. Similarly toothpicks, carefully decorated with silk, gold and silver, were delivered in a fresh cobwebby tree. The feast lasted up to two o'clock at night. The *honorati mercatanti* took the participants to their waiting rooms.

Pandola's lists of food are impressive not only because they are detailed but also because the ingredients are wide in variety. They are roughly classified into land animals, water animals and plants. The following table does not cover all the ingredients but listed up clearly identifiable items only. In addition, preparation is almost unknown. However, I believe that this still helps us to find general characteristics of the banquet dishes.

- Land animals
  - Birds
    - Chickens:
      - Cockerels: IV-4.
      - Capons: *pâtés of* — III-33; *fatty* — IV-22; *tortes of* — IV-29.
    - Ducks: *wild* — III-30, VI-26.
    - Larks: IV-8.
    - Ortolans: III-2, IV-31.
    - Partridges: III-4, IV-7.
    - Peacocks: III-16; — *caught at home* IV-12.
    - Pigeons: IV-11.
    - Pheasants: III-1, VI-10.
    - Quails: III-7, IV-5.
    - Thrushes: III-10, IV-28.
    - Turkeys: III-13; — *in a Roman style* IV-33.
    - Turtledoves: IV-2.
  - Cattle
    - Cows: *breasts of* — IV-16.
    - Oxen: *salted tongues of* — II-2; *salted* — *meatballs* II-10.
    - Veal: *breast of* — III-22; *tongues of* — IV-13.
  - Pigs

<sup>64</sup> *Butiro* usually meant butter. However, interpreting *butirro* as butter does not make sense in this context. It is possibly a kind of fatty cheese or something. Interpreting *salvieta* as a small towel (*salvietta*) does not make sense either.

<sup>65</sup> Fresh cheese made of sheep's milk with artichokes, typical of Tuscany. Riley, *The Oxford Companion* p. 313.

<sup>66</sup> Cheese made of buffalo milk, similar to present-day *mozzarella*. Riley, *The Oxford Companion*, p. 422. Scappi listed it among principal cheeses and applied it in various ways, e.g. to cook beef tripe, to cook rice in a Lombard style, etc. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 109, 144–45 and 219–210.

- Wild boars: III-11, IV-19; *tongues of* — III-25.
- Domesticated pigs: *ears of* — III-18; *toes of* — III-19.
- Sow: *belly of* — III-15.
- Unspecified pigs: *hams of* — II-7, III-14; *ribs of* — III-12, *salami of* — III-3; *saveloy of* — III-9.
- Others
  - Heres: III-8, IV-15.
  - Kids: IV-1.
  - Rabbits: *small* — IV-24.
  - Roebucks: IV-17.
- Animal products
  - Dairy food
    - Cheese: *small pieces of* — II-5; *butirro* V-16, *marzolino* V-19; *piacentino* V-25; *provatura* V-22; *ricotta* V-11.
    - Cream: *pies of cream-top and trout* II-12; *whipped* — V-5.
  - Eggs: — *in cannoncini* V-3.
- Water animals
  - Cockles: II-11.
  - Crayfish: II-6.
  - Lampreys: II-1; *jelly with* — *and salmon carp* IV-14.
  - Oysters: II-4.
  - Razor clams: II-9.
  - Salmon carp: II-14; *jelly with lampreys and* — IV-14.
  - Trout: II-3; *pies of cream-top and* — II-12.
- Plants
  - Almonds: *skinned* — V-13; *tortes of marzipan paste* V-24.
  - Apples: *various* — III-26, V-26; *red* — V-20, *heated* — V-23, *tortes of* — V-29; *processed* — V-34.
  - Artichokes: III-36, V-12.
  - Beans: *white* — III-21; *red* — III-43.
  - Beetroots: *cooked* — I-17.
  - Bergamots: III-28, V-31.
  - Broccoli: I-10.
  - Cabbages: III-38; *flowers of* — I-13.
  - Capers: I-2.
  - Cardoons: *skinned* — III-39; — *with pepper and salt* V-9; *pies of* — V-35.
  - Carrots: I-8.
  - Chestnuts: III-40; *skinned* — V-14; — *cooked with wine* V-17.
  - Chicory: *white* — I-5; *roots of* — I-7, III-41.
  - Citron: *sugared* — I-11; *tortes of* — IV-27.
  - Fennel: V-27.
  - Horseradish: — *in a Hungarian style* I-12.
  - Garlic: III-29.
  - Grapes: IV-21; *dried muscats* III-37.
  - Lentils: III-27.
  - Lettuce: I-1.
  - Olives: III-20; *seeded* — I-16; — *of Bologna* IV-18, V-2.
  - Onions: III-32; *cooked* — I-3.
  - Oranges: *pies of* — V-30.
  - Parsley (?): *root of* — III-44.
  - Peas: *fresh* — III-23.
  - Pears: V-28; *caravalla* — III-31.
  - Pine nuts: *skinned* — V-15.
  - Pistachios: V-18.
  - Plums: *Genoese* — III-34.
  - Rapes: III-35.
  - Pomegranates: *seeded* — II-8.
  - Radish: I-18.

- Rhubarbs: I-6.
- Truffles: III-42; *pies of* — V-32.
- Walnuts: *skinned* — V-10.
- Unidentified
  - *Capici à bastanza*: III-5.
  - *Fasoli*: III-24.
  - *Salvinia*: III-6.
  - *Spargi*: I-14
  - *Trappoli*: IV-32.

This list reflects several characteristics of the banquet dishes in sixteenth-century Italy.

First, the most notable feature is the variety of ingredients. This reflects contemporary taste for eating many different things. The sixteenth-century Italian upper-class people were ‘open-minded’ in terms of food and had little prejudice concerning what to eat. Precious expensive food was put together with common inexpensive one in the banquets.<sup>67</sup>

Second, the inclination for light and white meats, especially those of fowls, is clear.<sup>68</sup> While some of them are not principal ingredients in today’s Western cooking, such as larks and peacocks, they were a regular part of the repertory of sixteenth-century cooking. For example, Scappi discuss how to roast thrushes, blackbirds, larks and peacocks.<sup>69</sup> As for lighter meats, veal was among the most esteemed by the upper-class people. Scappi created a menu for a day (*pranzo* and *cena*) containing only veal as their meat.<sup>70</sup> Aside from veal, water animals were important too, not only for the lean dishes for the Lent but also for the banquet dishes. It is notable that not only freshwater ones (salmon carp, lamprey and possibly trout) and saltwater ones (cockles, crayfish oysters and razor clams) were served. For freshwater animals were available in the Po River or in the neighbouring regions. As for saltwater ones, I wonder where they came from. From a geographical point of view, they were mostly likely from the Gulf of Genoa. Since they were in season in February,<sup>71</sup> the original materials were presumably fresh.

Third, while wild food, especially hunted animals, was predominant in the mediaeval banquets, cultivated plants and domesticated animals became popular and important in the later period. This process was on its way in the sixteenth century. On the one hand, hunted large animals did not lose its status. Hunting was a prestigious pastime allowed to landed nobility only. On the other hand, there was a tendency towards whiter and lighter meats and generally more soft and delicate foods. ‘For many to consume dark, rough, and gamy food was, in a sense, to become wild and uncultivated’.<sup>72</sup> The 1561 Piacentine banquet had some wild meat, such as wild boars. Heres, kids, rabbits and roebucks were presumably wild too. So were most birds, except turkeys. Domesticated animals were also served, such as capons, veal, beef and domesticated pork.

Fourth, while fresh food played the central parts, processed and preserved food were also served, among them cured ham and Piacentine cheese, specialities of the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza. Since Piacenza was (and still is) famous for salami production, the unspecified salami (III-3) was presumably a local product. Aside from them, there were salami, dried muscats, processed pears and processed apples.

## Dancing

After the room was cleared off, dance was begun. It was six or seven o’clock in the evening. Ottavio Farnese, the marquis of Pescara and some other noblemen first entered the room. Then two Piacentine noblemen, Ercole Barattieri and Cesare Mancassola entered with masks in a Turkish style and went on in front of Cardinal Ranuccio. Barattieri recited a sonnet (a *sonetto caudato*, i.e. a sonnet with a *coda*:

La Dea, che senza vele, remi, e sarte  
Corre veloce il Mar, ch’è a noi d’intorno  
Solcando ha corso, e senza far soggiorno  
A l’Indo, al Scita, al Mauro à parte à parte,

<sup>67</sup> Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Albala, *The Banquet*, p. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 203 and 206–208.

<sup>70</sup> Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 57 and 394–396. For *pranzo* and *cena*, see footnote 31 above.

<sup>71</sup> Cockles from October to April; crayfish from November to April; oysters December to April; and razor clams from October to a April. Scully (ed), *The Opera*, pp. 342 and 344–346.

<sup>72</sup> Albala, *The Banquet*, pp. 32–33.

A l'Araba, al Caldeo, & in disparte  
 A quanti vede il Sol di giorno in giorno  
 Errando, ha divulgato il luoco adorno,  
 Dove hor sete ridotti con bella arte.  
 Dicendo in quella parte, ove è congiunto.  
 Al nobil sangue Belgo il gentil sangue  
 Latino, e in un [sic] raccolta leggiadria,  
 Honestate, bellezza, e cortesia  
 Quivi da suoi nemici unito langue  
 L'orgoglio, e freme di dolor compunto.

Noi che fuor, che in tal punto  
 Veder tante virtù mai non speriamo.  
 Da i nostri lidi à venuti siamo.

(The goddess navigates a ship fast without sails, oars and shrouds. She passes us by without staying to India, to Scythia, to Mauretania [north Africa], to Arabic lands, to Chaldea and to other distant places. She sees that the sun, wandering every day, revealed the beautiful place which has been decorated with beautiful art. The Italian noble blood [i.e. Ottavio Farnese] was combined with the Belgian noble blood [i.e. Duchess Margherita d'Austria, who was of the Burgundian-Habsburg lineage] in grace, honesty, beauty and courtesy. His enemies weaken him by uniting him to arrogance and make him shiver with tormenting pains. We are different in this respect. We see such great virtue which we never imagined. We have come to you in our land.)

After reciting the poem, he showed reverence to Cardinal Ranuccio, Ottavio and Pescara.  
 The following noblemen performed a *moresca* dance.

- Paolo Emilio Scotto, count
- Lucio Smeraldo
- Alberico Barattieri
- Carlotto Garimberto
- Giulio Rangono
- Antonio Sozzo
- Mario Celdoni
- Giovanni Battista da Coloredo
- Giovanni Francesco Borra
- Francesco da Soragna

Their costume was:

**Hats:** imitating Nymphs in an antique style, with silken and gold pieces and pearls.

**Masks:** details unknown.

**Long dresses:** green, orange and white and with decorate silken and gold pieces.

**Veils:** with gold bowknots attached outside.

They danced with torches in their hands, as it was customary for the *moresca*. As I said before, the *moresca* was an exotic and bizarre show dance, outside of the authentic dance repertory. Dancing it in front of someone meant, at least in this case, an offering entertainment. The local noblemen presented a gift to Ottavio Farnese, and to Marquis of Pescara.

Then the marquises (*quei signori marchesi*) went on to the noblewomen's seats to invite them to the dance. The noblemen and noblewomen danced in pairs. Pandola described the dances as *ballo alla gagliarda*. I wonder if this means galliard, i.e. a lively triple-metre court dance, or simply 'vigorous dance'. We need to be cautious because Pandola was quite indifferent to music and, therefore, his use of musical terms may not be very precise. In any case, Ottavio Farnese and the marquis of Pescara stopped dancing after an hour or so. So did others.

The following noblemen performed another *moresca*.

- Giovanni Maria Scotto, count

- Pietro Antonio dal Verme
- Onorio Scotto, count
- Ascanio Sforza, count
- Erasmo Malvicino, marquis
- Paolo Ghusano

Their costume imitates Nymphs again:

**Hats:** in a pinecone shape; covered with blackish, iridescent and orange silk; with a gold crown for each; silver decorations and small golden masks were attached. Four balas rubies were attached to gold with gold chains and pearls for each. Decorations of pomegranates were put at the top.

**Veils:** of white silk with gold and reaching their belts.

**Shirts:** in an antique style with shoulder pieces; and each of them had another golden mask. Some of them had their third masks on their breasts, and others had jewels or pearls.

**Dresses:** long vests from the belt to thighs, tied with silken strings with silver. Thin silken pieces were put under their dresses with three balas rubies for each tied with gold strings.

**Necklaces:** decorated with gold and silver.

**In one hand:** a stick for each instead of an arrow. Decoration of an arch and of Love's face is put at each end, all covered with white veils. Decoration of sneaks wound up from the middle of sticks to the top. Perfume was set in them.

**In the other hand:** torches as in the first *moresca*.

Pandola's description of the costumes was so much detailed (typical in this type of documents) that he must have had inside information, for example, from the designer, as in the case of the banquet food.

After the second *moresca*, some noblemen invited noblewomen to dance again. Others danced with Ottavio Farnese and the marquis of Pescara. Ottavio and Pescara were 'so vigorous and respectful as if they had not been princes but equal to their vassals'.<sup>73</sup> Pandola clearly intend to emphasise the feeling of unity.

Around eleven o'clock, the participants requested Ottavio to dance with a mask. After all, Ottavio and Pescara danced with masks along with the count of Tendilla, Jorge Manrique, Camillo da Novellara and Alberto Spagnolo. The decoration of their costume was designed by the ducal painter Girolamo Mirola. Pandola did not speak of it in detail. The fact that the costume was prepared in advance means that Ottavio's dancing was not improvised but at programmed from the beginning. The 'programme of unity' thus came to its climax. The local noblemen first offered a gift two *morescas* to Ottavio and Pescara. In return, Ottavio and Pescara danced with masks — a device to distinguish this performance from usual dancing — for the participants in an intimate atmosphere. It was an exchange of gifts between the ruler and the feudatories. Here, the three components of the new political order, Ottavio, the feudatories and Spain, shared the same things and were united as one.

The participants, including Ottavio Farnese, kept on dancing up to five o'clock in the morning and 'lamented over the new day which would be contrary to the passed one'<sup>74</sup> [i.e. the austere life of Lent was to begin].

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<sup>73</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. C3v.

<sup>74</sup> Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. C4r.

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