

The mask in the dance etchings of G. M. Mitelli (1634-1718)*

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Introduction

The etchings of Giuseppe Maria Mitelli are almost unknown outside of Bologna, Italy, where they are still sold at street stands, much as they were during his lifetime.¹ Following in his father's footsteps, Mitelli began his career as a painter, albeit an unremarkable one, though he was influenced by some of Bologna's most famous artists of the time.² In 1660 (Mitelli was 26), he produced his etched series which celebrated the vendors and artisans of Bologna.³ Following this, and especially from the 1680s, Mitelli went on to create the original prints of contemporary manners and morals for which he is best known.

Of the estimated 1500 etchings of his oeuvre, some five- to six-hundred examples have survived. Mitelli's production was not only copious; the popularity of the etchings—among all classes—was extensive. For the most part the prints were a social commentary, often satirical, often allegorical or moralistic, on politics and on Bolognese social life, including occupations, local festivities, and the latest modes and fashions. All the etchings have captions or mottos, in prose or poetry.⁴ Each print is a mixture of reality and fantasy and, given their universal appeal, Mitelli's symbolism was probably easily legible by his contemporaries, from artisan to elite. Spiritual values and warfare were other topics developed in Mitelli's prints. A devout Catholic, Mitelli's profound counter-reformation consciousness was always a primary influence on his work with themes such as the transience of life, the futility of wealth, the triviality of ostentation (*Vanitas*), and the exploitation of the poor.

Mitelli worked as an independent artist, although on rare occasions he dedicated etchings to members of the local nobility. He had few pupils or apprentices. Yet he was an extrovert, sociable and intelligent, with an enormous amount of energy and enthusiasm, all of which is revealed in his etchings. Besides his art work he was, according to his biographer, a great sportsman who enjoyed ball playing and tennis, fencing, fishing, and especially hunting.⁵ He played various musical instruments, acted on stage (*Commedia dell'arte* characters such as *Harlequin*), and in his youth was a fine dancer, both graceful and vigorous.

Mitelli's artistic style was very much his own. He avoided the flowery and 'atmospheric' manner (with layers of shadings, for example) of the contemporary Italian academic etchers. His etchings have little or no background to distract from the figures. Mitelli, who could be both accurate and minute in detail, was often unrefined, not only in his choice of earthy subject matter, but in his technique as well. This was at times the result of getting news items and commentaries to



Fig. 1 . 'How well they dance for whom good Fortune plays'.

the public as quickly as possible. Etchings were used to 'broadcast' political events and were sold not only in bookshops and at printers, but by news-hawkers and second-hand dealers who often travelled to other cities. The relatively new technique of etching, which came into its own in the seventeenth century, was rapid and easier for artists to use since it did not require the specialized cutters that the engravings and woodcuts of the previous centuries demanded.⁶ Mitelli also speeded his production by availing himself of a certain amount of repetition: using the same patterns for particular figures and subjects.

In addition to etchings dealing with Proverbs, with War, and with Death, Mitelli dedicated a large part of his work to depicting personifications and views of Carnival and to designing playing cards and dice and board games. In all of these different categories there are dance scenes; fourteen etchings feature or include dancing (Fig. 1). The variety of Mitelli's dance depictions is remarkable. Even more impressive is their credibility due to the fact that there is no question here that dancing is taking place since Mitelli always



Fig. 2. 'Youth'

depicts dance in motion, and not statically, as in most images from previous centuries.⁷ Mitelli's ability to catch the quality of movement is undoubtedly due to his particular interest in dance, as well as his artistic skill. Furthermore, by not dealing with "noble dancing" he had more freedom since the elite tended to be portrayed impassively contained, possibly to distinguish themselves from 'vulgar rustics'. Mitelli shows us solo dancers--men and women--effortlessly soaring in the air (Fig. 1, p.23)⁸ with arm and leg positions confirming a sixteenth-century Italian style, rather than the new 'danse noble' imported from France. This is in part because Mitelli tended to be influenced by artists and styles preceding his own. While leaning heavily towards the Italian dance style, Mitelli nonetheless captures the period of transition in his various etchings. The dress in his prints is a mix of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of Italian and French styles, of realistic urban wear and theatrical or allegorical costumes.

Five of the fourteen dance etchings include a mask. A mask worn by a dancing couple in a dice game; a mask worn by a lady dancing alone in another board

game; a mask, together with hunting paraphernalia and objects pertaining to leisure activities, abandoned on the ground by a young dancing couple; a mask worn by a rustic dancing Carnival; and the magnificent and complex mask fashioned as a human face and entitled 'The Mask is the cause of many ills'.

In Mitelli's Italy, masks were worn at festivities during the period of Carnival, which lasted from the Epiphany to Lent; they were also worn by actors, and in particular by characters in the *Commedia dell'arte*. And, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, the mask became a symbol of simulation and falsity, of duplicity and deception. Indeed, Mitelli used the mask as a warning that dance would lead to vice, depravity, seduction, worldliness. Yet despite this, Mitelli's depictions of dancing are never lewd, but always positive, decorous, and often joyous.

Youth

Dressed in similar fashion to the dancer accompanied by Fortune is a youth dancing with a young woman (Fig. 2). The man's costume is not easy

(Fig. 2, p.24). The man's costume is not easy to identify. The soft and flat slit shoes recall those used in Italy a century earlier, around 1580. During that same period, ties at the bottom of breeches, such as those of Fortune's dancer, were common in France.⁹ In contrast, the plumed hat is similar to French theatrical headgear of the 1680s.¹⁰ Both dancers are kicking out one leg, the young man with a bent knee, higher and more vigorously than the lady. He shows the energy involved through the backwards tilt of his body—he is balanced on the ball of his left foot; one hand is out to the side to give him some control, the other is holding his hat which might otherwise fall off. His partner is more sedate. She is carefully holding her skirt, possibly for modesty, but also to allow her leg to lift up. She is wearing French style shoes with a heel, but her feathered fan is reminiscent of those held by gentlewomen at balls in sixteenth-century Italy. Her plumed hat, found in other Mitelli etchings, is exotic: theatrical or allegorical.

It is possible that the couple is dancing a *gagliarda*.¹¹ At the same time, judging by what we know of the French repertoire of the period (1686 is the date on Cupid's quiver), the pair could be performing a *contretemps* or *demi-contretemps* step, the latter found already in contredances written down in 1685.¹² But this date is early for the French style to have fully taken root in Bologna.¹³ It is also possible that Mitelli may have wanted to show a more popular, traditional dance (such as the *saltarello*), or one for the theatre (which could explain the lady's shortened skirt).¹⁴ However, considering the allegorical subject—the etching is entitled 'Youth', and has Death peeking around the corner—, Mitelli has undoubtedly portrayed not a specific dance but a symbolic one, for which blindfolded Cupid symbolically supplies the music by playing his quiver with his bow. The lady's raised leg and skirt and the man's uncertain equilibrium are indications of youthful abandon, while the hunting dog is one of the contemporary iconographic attributes of Youth.

Besides the dog, we are shown, as in other Mitellian etchings, arms for hunting, for fencing, and for war; a tennis racket, cards and dice, sheet music, a lute, and a mask (possibly that of an actor). These, some scholars suggest, are, with the exception of the military paraphernalia, Mitelli's favourite leisure activities. Written under the etching is: 'You arrive at the end when you least expect it'. In one reading, the message refers to Mitelli himself.¹⁵ Thus, etching and caption seem to be showing Mitelli resigned to his own Destiny and proclaiming: 'Woe to the heedless young man or woman'. Another reading sees the etching as a sort of 'Rake's Progress' in which the pursuit of worldly pastimes including dance and music results in death.¹⁶ Dice and cards often allude to a dissolute life, and the mask itself is an indication of falsity. The representation of the young lady with her decolletée, loose hair and exposed leg, seems to suggest

indecorousness, confirmed by what is probably a religious painting above her head which, purposely truncated, shows only the Madonna's, or a female saint's, lower skirt, hands and feet. Taking this reading further, the young woman has abandoned her sewing basket—a symbol of domesticity; the mirror indicates Vanity, falsity and lasciviousness; while the little dog may be a sexual metaphor, a reference to Venus. Taken together with the 'sweet-smelling' flowers, it is likely that this is a scene about seduction which affirms that dancing leads to wantonness. Despite these negative messages, however, Mitelli's portrayal of the lady's demeanor and her dress is not necessarily indecorous or unfashionable, and, while unclear, the couple could be members of the bourgeoisie, aspiring to 'elegance'.

The Game of Truth

Other dancing couples are found in dice games invented, drawn, and etched by Mitelli. Just as Mitelli's finely styled and generally chaste dance images are often used to indicate vice, a similar ambiguity is present in Mitelli's production of games and cards. Gambling, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Bologna had lost its independence to Rome, was condemned and outlawed by the Papal State. At the same time, it levied, and lived off, a tax on playing cards. What was the upright Mitelli doing designing cards, and especially dice games, which were associated with every sort of sin? Many of these, like 'The Game of Truth' (1688), allowed him to 'catechize' yet again, albeit with irony (Fig. 3). Played with one die there were six possible throws. If the player threw a 'one', he ended up 'looking in the mirror [and] losing'; two—'chatting on the doorstep—also a lose'; three—'he who plays [cards, or gambles] loses, and he who doesn't play, wins'. (Here, paradoxically, moral condemnation is inserted in a game which itself is deprecated!)¹⁷ The fourth throw, 'dancing', has the player "lose more than you think"; five is 'away from



Fig. 3. 'The Game of Truth' (detail of fourth throw).

home one always loses'; and six proclaims that 'whoever minds his own business always profits'. According to the rules, those who throw a one, two, three or five lose one penny; a four—the dancing box—has a penalty of four pennies; a six entitles the winner to all the money on the board. 'The Game of Truth' is clearly a lesson in moral behaviour for women. Avoid vanity and gambling; be modest (numbers 2 and 5); industry and domesticity always win.

As to the dancing (Fig. 3, p. 25) nothing in the drawing indicates licentiousness or adultery. The couple here is contained: the man's leg is only somewhat raised, while the lady's posture, almost vertical, suggests that she is drawing her upper body back slightly. She does not give her hands to her partner and neither of the dancers looks at the other, despite their masked faces. The lute denotes a quiet musical accompaniment. Nothing in this scene, other than the caption, and the masks which may indicate deceit, intimates that dancing is an activity to avoid. However, a few questions remain to be answered, specifically regarding the use of the mask. Do the masks indicate carnival? If so, why aren't the bystanders also masked? Who are they and what is their function in the depiction?

Simona dances while Philippa plays

Seven years later, in 1695, Mitelli produced a game with twenty-four squares and three dice. Basing it on popular characters in Bolognese dialect plays, he entitled it, 'The amusing game of Simona and Philippa, fast friends.'¹⁸ On line two (fourth box) we have Simona



Fig. 4. 'The amusing game of Simona and Philippa': detail

masked and dancing to Philippa's guitar accompaniment (Fig. 4). This may be the first non-biblical, non-mythological Italian image of a woman dancing alone (without a partner) and while she is, once again, decorous, she is also clearly a light and agile dancer. Her body is erect, but not at all stiff; one leg is raised in an acceptable lady-like manner; her

dress is not disheveled by unseemly movements (though there is more than a suggestion of her thigh and leg under the thin material); her arms are relaxed at her side; and while Mitelli masks her (suggesting Carnival or deceit?), her eyes are somewhat cast down, not looking straight ahead in what might be construed as brazen. It should be pointed out that a woman from the nobility would not have shown her leg at all, nor would she exhibit herself in solo dancing. This might be admissible in a private space, particularly among other women.¹⁹ It is not clear if Mitelli has depicted a scene of dancing for just Philippa's and Simona's enjoyment, or if an audience is watching. In the previous box, Simona is going to a soiree. She is masked, possibly to indicate Carnival, though the gentlemen who are accompanying, or importuning her, are, like Philippa playing the guitar, unmasked.

Mad Carnival

In his personification of 'Mad' or 'Foolish Carnival' Mitelli is depicting an allegorical figure. Carnival is shown as a grotesque rustic lad, masked and singing and dancing to his own instrumental accompaniment. He is probably playing a 'chitarrina', a popular version of the lute.²⁰ His lifted foot is exaggeratedly flexed, as is the twist of his body, and he has a fattish belly suggesting an inclination to gluttony. This is confirmed by the dead birds and lamb which surround him as a frame, together with cooked meats and birds, sausages and cheese. The matching etching shows a 'lean' woman (representing lean and 'Wise Lent') with the vestiges of Carnival, including masks.

The Mask

Another dancing couple is part of one of Mitelli's most outstanding and complex etchings. Dated 1688, it is entitled 'The Mask is the cause of many ills' (Fig. 5, p. 27.) As noted in 'Youth', the mask, which here is fashioned as a human face, is a symbol of falsity, and the medusa-type snakes, imitating the mask-face's hair, are symbols of deceit. In Mitelli's drawing, falsity is indicated by temptations incited by the five senses. Two demons, playing cornets marked 'Hearing', are blowing music into the Mask's ears. The notated music near one of the ears is labeled: 'Song is deceit'. The eyes of the mask, both with the caption 'Sight', have a young woman with her lover looking in the mirror (falsity and lasciviousness); and (other eye) Cupid shooting an arrow at them.²¹ Other demons offer something to 'Smell' and something to 'Taste' ("a taste that poisons", like the snakes' venom), while yet another demon, impersonating the sense of 'Touch', paints the mask's cheek. Make-up, like actors' paint and masquerading in general, could also be seen as deceit. Finally, at the bottom, a devil plays a type of bass viol and across from him another devil dances while playing a cornet. They command the couple in the middle to 'Dance to my bass, and sing in this key'. The young man and lady who are dancing, with infernal fire behind them, are oblivious of all the terrors surrounding them. Nonetheless, what Mitelli seems to



Fig. 5. The Mask is the cause of many ills' (detail)

be saying is, if you dance to the wrong kind of music, on the wrong occasion, and for the wrong reasons, you will end up badly. Compared with the couple dancing in 'Youth' (Fig. 2), this couple is definitely more decorous and composed, though certainly not rigid. Holding all four hands, each of the dancers is moving her/his body slightly, and in different ways. The woman seems to be transferring her weight back or else is in the process of bringing herself forward. The man is hopping and his body is slightly twisted towards us, while his head is turned to look at the lady. She is not looking at him directly; her eyes are somewhat lowered which, as the dance treatises report, was the proper and decorous behaviour for women in the fifteenth, sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.²² The raised arms may mean that the lady will turn under when the arms are completely raised. The two symbols that are most often used, in Antiquity and the Renaissance, to tell us that dancing is taking place (other than rising on the toes when they are visible) are, indeed, a raised leg (like that of the man) and an under-arm turn.²³

Conclusion

Mitelli, using dance as an emblem, was rarely interested in presenting an absolute true-to-life picture, whether in terms of specific dances, the dancing figures, or their surroundings. Clearly, Mitelli liked dancing and was familiar enough with it to be able to portray the variety of positions used and to capture the diverse emotions felt by dancers from different social

classes. The various examples of couples dancing, similar but distinctive in their body movement, types of hops, foot positions, handholds, and subtle gestures, are illuminating for dance historians whose knowledge of seventeenth-century dancing is extremely limited.

Rather than representing the choreographed dances of the well-known late sixteenth-century treatises aimed at an elite, Mitelli's etchings are a unique source for what appears to be urban middle-class dancing. Simona's solo dance could well represent what a lady from the bourgeoisie might have learned in a dancing-school. As for artisans and country folk, Mitelli captures in Carnival, and in other dance etchings not shown here, characteristics in the bent legs, flexed feet, non-erect or twisted bodies, that, while exaggerated here to make Carnival somewhat grotesque, do not differ widely from characteristics which are still seen today in traditional regional dancing.²⁴

Mitelli's depictions of both bourgeois and popular dancing are never lewd and while he himself was morally upright, how convinced was he really regarding the seductiveness of dance? Was he more concerned with its dangers for women? What is certain is that his etchings feature the spirit of improvisation as well as the joy of dancing, characteristics absent from 'noble' dance images and here given prominence.

And finally, the Mask in Mitelli's etchings is, like dance itself (and gambling) almost always ambiguous. Just as a decorous image of dance is used to indicate vice, seduction and degeneration, Mitelli's mask can be a reference to acting, one of Mitelli's favourite activities; it can indicate the festivity of Carnival, with its merry-making, excesses, and masquerading (which in itself is dubious). At the same time, the mask, worn discretely by Mitelli's dancers, can symbolize deceit, duplicity and falsity.

Notes

* Barbara Sparti's essay ' "How Well They Dance For Whom Good Fortune Plays": Dance Etchings by G. M. Mitelli (1634–1718)' is to appear in a volume (in preparation) entitled *Imaging Dance*.

1. The following is a partial bibliography of Mitelli, which includes copies of many of his etchings. Achille Bertarelli, *Le incisioni di G. M. Mitelli* (Milan, 1940); *Le collezioni d'arte della Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna: le incisioni di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli*, edited and introduced by Franca Varignana (Bologna: Cassa di Risparmio, 1978); *Proverbi figurati*, ed. and introduction by Lorenzo Marinese (Milan: Cerastico, 1963); *Costume e Società nei Giochi a stampa di Giuseppe Maria Mitelli* (Perugia: Electa, 1988); Giampietro Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina di Bologna* (Bologna: Per Lelio della Volpe, 1739), I, pp. 180–4.

The illustrations in this essay are from Bertarelli's and Marinese's volumes.

2. Among the painters were Agostino and Annibale Caracci, Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (known as Il Guercino), Francesco Albani, and Simone Cantarini.
3. 'L'arti per via' was loosely based on drawings by Annibale Caracci.
4. Mitelli's brother, a Jesuit priest, was responsible for many of these.
5. See Zanotti (note 2).
6. In his etchings, Mitelli has 'I e F' after his signature, meaning that he not only 'invented' the image or drawing, but actually made ('fecit') the etching.
For painters, etching was an efficient way to reproduce one's work and get it known. A plate was coated with wax or shellac 'resist', after which the artist drew through it with a sharp pen-like needle. The plate was then submerged in an acid bath, and wherever the needle had made a line, the acid bit down into the plate, making a groove that, when the plate was washed off and the resist removed, could be inked and printed. The line would have been bitten down to the same depth all over, meaning that the image would be all the same darkness.
Engravers (not etchers) had always been able to nuance light-dark by making the depth of the line deeper or shallower, and etchers began achieving this effect through certain repetitions of the whole process, something, however, in which Mitelli was apparently not interested. Most artists, and Mitelli was no exception, were more concerned about making their etched lines deep enough to ensure the greatest number of prints. Each etcher had to decide how much importance to give to personal expressivity and artistic style and how much to the demands of reproduction.
I am grateful to Eveyn Lincoln for sharing with me her expertise in printmaking.
7. A good example is a detail from Ferraiolo's *Cronaca partenope*, c. 1487 (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.801, f.92r) and reprinted in B. Sparti's 'Dancing couples behind the scenes: recently discovered Italian illustrations, 1470–1550', *Imago Musicae*, 13 (1996), 9–38, fig. 3. In the fifteenth century, the most common typologies, found in miniatures and on wedding chests, consist of three or four dancers abreast and usually holding hands, or couples promenading one behind the other. Dancing is inferred not so much by specific movements of the figures as by the presence of musicians. See the catalogue *Mesura et arte del danzare: Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro e la danza nelle corti italiane del XV secolo*, eds. P. Castelli, M. Mingardi, M. Padovan (Pesaro: Gualtieri, 1987), figs. 11, 16, 25, 30, 34, 49, 50, 96–7; and Sparti's 'Dancing couples', frontispiece and figs. 14, 16, 18. See also the engravings by Giacomo Franco in Fabritio Caroso, *Il ballarino* (Venice: Ziletti, 1581; facs. repr. New York: Broude Brothers, 1967).
8. 'How well they dance for whom good Fortune plays', from Mitelli's *Illustrated Proverbs*, published in 1678.
9. See, for ex., Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie* (Langres: Jehan des Preyz, 1588, 1596; facs. repr. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972; Langres: Dominique Guéniot, 1988), ff. 47, 48, and in the modern edition, Julia Sutton, *Orchesography*, trans. M. S. Evans (New York: Dover, 1967), 90–1.
10. See in Marie-Françoise Christout, *The Ballet de Cour in the 17th century* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1987, plate 26 ('Diana's attendant', workshop of Henry de Guissey, c. 1663, London: Victoria and Albert Museum), and pl. 17–18 (costume pen washes for 'Les noces de Pélée et de Thetis'. 1654, workshop de Guissey, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, Institut, MS1005).
11. The *gagliarda* (galliard) was related to the improvisatory and traditional *saltarello* and soon spread from Italy to most parts of Europe, becoming the 'hit dance' of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was characterised by 'kicking' steps and virtuosic jumps and turns. For more information on the first appearance of the *gagliarda* in the fifteenth century and on the hundreds of variations in specific treatises, see B. Sparti's Introduction to Lutio Compasso's 1560 *Ballo della Gagliarda*, facs. ed., (Freiburg: "fagis" Muzik- und Tanzedition, 1995).
12. These steps were at first called *pas sautées*. See the forthcoming facsimile reprint (Pendragon Press) of André Lorin's *Livre de Contredance* (1685). Besides this, the earliest known dance treatise for the new 'dance noble', R. A. Feuillet's *Chorégraphie* (Paris, 1700; rpt. New York: Broude Brothers, 1968), which appeared in print in 1700, although the style described had already been practised in France for a number of decades, contains, for ex., 'Le Rigaudon de la Paix', p. 1, and the 'Gigue à deux', p. 8, both of which begin with a *demi-contretemps* as their first step.
13. By 1713, the elite of the city is dancing the new 'danse noble' style, as can be seen in an anonymous miniature depicting a ball held in an aristocratic home in honour of the Archbishop of Milan (Bologna, Archivio di Stato, Insignia degli Anziani, vol. 12, cc. 67b–68).
14. There are numerous French images from the early seventeenth century that show a lady holding her skirt and raising her leg in a very similar fashion.
15. Franca Varignani, *Le collezioni*, pp. 351, 352 (exs. 362, 363), suggests that the hunting implements, the dog (which could be Mitelli's own hunting companion) and the 'familiar' birdcage, indicate that Mitelli was alluding to himself.

16. I am grateful to Prof. Charles Rosenberg, Univeristy of Notre Dame and American Academy of Rome Fellow 2000–01, specialist in Italian Renaissance art, who, fascinated by Mitelli, very generously helped me to read this and other etchings.
17. The catalogue cited in n. 1 above, *Costume e società ...*, contains articles by G. Dossena, F. Farignana and others concerning the games designed by Mitelli.
18. Simona is extremely vain (as can be seen in the first line); her life gets more difficult (line 3); she is cruel (line 4, first box), and ends up almost destitute. Philippa tends to be unhappy, often crying (line 2, box 16). She cries again on line 3, the box marked '7.T.1', and in the following box is 'badly dressed and therefore is noticed by no one'. She ends up being pushed about in a wheelbarrow (final box). (T means 'tirare', that is. to throw th dice, or to take the money on the board, while P stands for 'pagare' or paying the penalty. See G. Dossena's 'I 33 (+18) giochi del Mitelli'. I have been unable to establish if Mitelli based his various scenes on actual scenes in contemporary plays, or if he invented them, inasmuch as the plays about Philippa and Simona were anonymous and are difficult to locate today, even in Bolognese libraries.
19. In fifteenth-century Italy, very young and agile girls, possibly the daughters of dancing-masters, occasionally performed solo dances before audiences at courtly gatherings. (See B. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo, De pratica seu arte tripudii/On the Practice or Art of Dancing*, ed. and trans. Barbara Sparti (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993/95), 53 and n. 17).
In eighteenth-century France and London, professional female dancers, such as Marie Sallé, La Barbarina, and Camargo, performed solo theatrical dances. See, for one, Edmund Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet* (Lanham, Maryland: Scxarecrow Press, 2003). See also the solo female choreographies of 'Follie d'Espagne pour femme' and 'Sarabande pour femme' in Feuillet's 1700 *Chorégraphie*, which confirm the practice in the seventeenth century.
20. According to lutenist Andrea Damiani, there are other images that show a similar type of lute being played in taverns by uncouth personages accompanying what are probably bawdy songs. While there is no written music for the chittarina, Damiani adds that there are some written documents.
21. The rubrics here are: 'We are more fragile than a mirror', and 'Love wounds the eyes and stings the heart'.
22. See the chapter on 'Rules for women' by the dancing-master Guglielmo Ebreo in his 1463 *De pratica ser arte tripudii* (note 19, above), 108–11; and the chapters 'The conduct of a lady when dancing' (XV, p. 144) and 'A lady's conduct when inviting a gentlemen to dannce' (XIX, p. 146 in Fabritio Caroso's *Nobiltà di Dame* (Venice: Il Muschio, 1600, 1605; facs. repr. Boilogna: Forni, 1970) and in the re-edited English trans. by Julia Sutton, *Courtly Dance of the Renaissance: A New Translation and Edition of the Nobiltà di Dame* (1600) / *Fabritio Caroso* (New York: Dover, 1995).
23. See figs. 13, 35–37. 40, 44–47 in *Mesura et Arte del Danzare*, and figs. 8, 14, 15, 19 in Sparti, 'Dancing couples', *Imago Musicae* (note 7, above).
24. Other examples of rustic dancing in Mitelli's oeuvre are found in 'The world is for the most part a Cage of Fools', 'Peace, Peace, No More War', 'Febraro' (February 'dancing joyfully'), and possibly the dancing figure in 'Genius'.