

Barwick, L. (2005). "An ample and very poetical narrative": the vicissitudes of "La Pia" between the literary and oral traditions. In M. Baker, F. Coassin & D. Glenn (Eds.), *Flinders Dante Conferences, 2002 & 2004* (pp. 77-101). Adelaide: Lythrum Press.

Note: This is a postprint, with the pagination adjusted to match the published version for citation.

**“An ample and very poetical narrative”<sup>1</sup>: the vicissitudes of “La Pia” between the literary and oral traditions**

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DANTE ALIGHIERI (*Purgatorio*, Canto V, vv. 130-136)

«Deh, quando tu sarai tornato al mondo  
e riposato de la lunga via»,  
seguitò 'l terzo spirito al secondo,  
«ricorditi di me, che son la Pia;  
Siena mi fé, disfecemi Maremma:  
salsi colui che 'n nanellata pria  
disposando m'avea con la sua gemma».<sup>2</sup>

In the nearly seven hundred years since Dante's *Purgatorio* first appeared, the story of “La Pia” (*Purgatorio* V, 130-136), a Siennese woman who died under mysterious circumstances in the Maremma region, has generated much speculation as to her identity and the possible reasons for Dante's having situated this courteous but cryptic soul amongst the *negligenti* of antePurgatorio. These seven scant lines, placed at the very end of Canto V of *Purgatorio*, continue to give rise not only to a plethora of commentaries (surveyed and analysed in Diana Glenn's recent work)<sup>3</sup>, but also to a significant body of creative works that have expanded, elaborated and explored the fragmentary history of Pia. This paper concentrates on the circulation and dissemination of theatrical works drawing on the Pia story in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, with special emphasis on the Tuscan *maggio*, a form of sung popular theatre still performed in northwestern Tuscany today. There, La Pia is known to Maggio audiences, as indeed she was to Dante scholars until the end of the nineteenth century, by the name of “Pia de' Tolomei,” and her story unfolds over the course of about three hours.

How have seven lines from Dante managed to expand to fill three hours of Maggio performance? The story is a long but fascinating one. In Figure 1 I have listed some significant dates for the development of the Pia story.

1315-21	Dante's composition of <i>Purgatorio</i>
1383	Benvenuto da Imola <i>Commentum super Dantem</i> - identification of Pia as Pia de' Tolomei murdered by her husband Nello de' Pannocchieschi della Pietra, means of death - being thrown from window
1400	Anonimo Fiorentino commentary adds detail of Nello's jealousy
1554	Bandello - vol. 1 novella 12 - short story recounting Pia de' Tolomei's adultery with Agostino de' Ghisi; Nello has her strangled in the Maremma by his henchmen
1818	Ugo Foscolo, commentary on Dante in <i>Edinburgh Review</i> , suggests Dante portrays Pia as innocent, and dying of malaria
1822	Bartolomeo Sestini (1792-1822), <i>La Pia: leggenda romantica</i> - narrative poem in classic <i>ottave</i> said to be based on "leggende popolari toscane," introduces character of Ghino, Pia dies of malaria
1836	Carlo Marengo and Giacinto Bianco plays entitled <i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i> performed in Naples; Cammarano writes libretto for opera; Marengo: Pia dies of malaria; Bianco: text so far untraceable
1837	Donizetti opera (libretto by Cammarano) <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> opens in Venice; performances in Sinigaglia, Lucca, Naples, Rome) Pia is poisoned by Nello's henchman
mid-19 <sup>th</sup> century	various paintings on the story, by D.G. Rossetti, Pollastrini, Massola, Ussi, Cabianca, Laugée etc.
1867	Maggio text <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> published by tipografia Sborgi, Volterra (attributed to Pietro Frediani, of Buti (PI)) - Pia dies of malaria
[1880s	Giuseppe Moroni, detto il Niccheri (illetterato), <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> , (Firenze: Salani) booklet in ottave designed to be sold by travelling cantastorie at fairs and markets] - Pia dies of malaria
1908	first of several silent films of <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> (Mario Caserini, also Gerolamo lo Savio 1910, Giovanni Zannini 1921)
1937	reprinting of Moroni's cantastorie text
1930s	Emilian Maggio texts composed by Alberto Schenetti, Sesto Bonicelli, Attilio Costi, Amilcare Veggetti amongst others - many writers with links to Maremma region or to travelling salesmen/cantastorie
1940	Enrico Novelli "Yambo" fumetto <i>Ghino di Tacco</i> includes episode on Pia
1971	Fotoromanzo <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> in series "Grand Hotel"

*Figure 1: Chronology of a story: some dates of publication of works inspired by Dante's Pia.*

It seems that Benvenuto da Imola around 1380 was the first early commentator to identify Dante's Pia as a certain Pia de' Tolomei who was killed at the instigation of her husband Nello de' Pannocchieschi.<sup>4</sup> L'Anonimo fiorentino added the detail of Nello's jealousy, and this identification was accepted by scholars until archival research in the late nineteenth century disproved the thesis (Giorgio Varanini, Diana Glenn and others have produced extensive analyses of the historical arguments, which I will not rehearse again here).<sup>5</sup> In 1554 a novella by Matteo Bandello<sup>6</sup> presents a rather salacious version of the Pia story, recounting her adultery with the nobleman Agostino de' Ghisi. It begins:

Siena, mia antica patria, fu sempre, come anco oggidí è, molto di belle e cortesi donne copiosa, ne la quale fu già una bellissima giovane detta Pia de' Tolomei, famiglia molto nobile. Costei, essendo in età di maritarsi, fu data per moglie a messer Nello de la Pietra, che era gentiluomo il piú ricco allora di Siena e il piú potente che fosse in Maremma.<sup>7</sup>

The novella finishes with the adulteress Pia being strangled by servants, under Nello's orders. Bandello's claimed source for the story, "il molto piacevole messer Domenico Campana Strascino" (p. 151), claims to have had the story handed down to him in documents and stories from Sieneze relatives.<sup>8</sup>

The next significant appearance of La Pia in the literary annals was in an influential commentary by Ugo Foscolo, first published in the *Edinburgh Review* (translated from the French by James Mackintosh) in February 1818, during the period that Foscolo was in exile in England<sup>9</sup>:

Nello della Pietra had espoused a lady of noble family at Sienna [sic], named Madonna Pia. Her beauty was the admiration of Tuscany, and excited in the heart of her husband a jealousy, which, exasperated by false reports and groundless suspicions, at length drove him to the desperate resolution of Othello. It is difficult to decide whether the lady was quite innocent; but so Dante represents her. Her husband brought her into the Maremma, which then as now, was a district destructive to health. He never told his unfortunate wife the reason of her banishment to so dangerous a country. He did not deign to utter complaint or accusation. He lived with her alone, in cold silence, without answering her question, or listening to her remonstrances. He patiently waited till the pestilential air should destroy the health of this young lady. In a few months she died. Some chroniclers, indeed, tell us, that Nello used the dagger to hasten her death. It is certain that he survived her, plunged in sadness and perpetual silence. Dante had, in this incident, all the materials of an ample and very poetical narrative. But he bestows on it only four verses.

...

Yet these few words draw tears from those who know the fate of this young woman. Her first desire to be recalled to the remembrance of her friends on earth is very affecting. Her modest request, her manner of naming herself, and of describing the author of her suffering, without any allusion to his crime, and merely by the pledges of faith and love which attended their first union, are deeply pathetic. The

soft harmony of the last verses, full of gay and tender remembrances, forms a most striking contrast with the ideas of domestic unhappiness, of death and of cruelty, which must rise in the reader's imagination.<sup>10</sup>

To my knowledge, this is the first publication of the plot twist that has come to dominate subsequent elaborations of the story: Pia was innocent, and her death was caused by the “pestilential air” of the Maremma region (rather than by being poisoned or thrown from a window, as reported by earlier Dante commentators). This resonated with then current Romantic characterisations of rural Italy as dangerously fecund and morbid landscape inhabited by a primitive, superstitious and violent society.<sup>11</sup> Although Foscolo does not spell out here his reasons for claiming that Dante portrays Pia as innocent, Carlo Marengo later, rather hesitantly, explained that this was a necessary deduction from Dante having placed her in Purgatory rather than Hell.<sup>12</sup> Foscolo justifies his interpretation not only by reference to the literary past — Dante and his interpreters — but also by invoking the cultural work of contemporary audiences, who flesh out Dante’s few words through prior knowledge of the full story (“the fate of this young woman” – presumably transmitted over the generations by word of mouth) and active exercise of their own powers of empathy. Foscolo's commentary was to inspire a variety of nineteenth-century literature in English,<sup>13</sup> and it was also quickly circulated in France and Italy: it appeared in French almost word-for-word in Stendhal's *De l'amour* (written in 1819 but published in 1822) and in 1822 was cited at length in Italian by the Pistoiese Bartolomeo Sestini in the introduction to *La Pia: leggenda romantica*, a verse novella written in ottava rima.<sup>14</sup>

Sestini claimed that his hugely popular novella was based on popular Tuscan legends of the Maremma region. It is probably significant that Sestini himself came from the Pistoiese Appennines, whence itinerant labourers and shepherds would undertake seasonal travel to the Maremma. The turn of the plot that appeared for the first time in Sestini, and that is now accepted as an integral part of the story in Tuscany, is a central deception: Nello's friend Ghino tries to seduce Pia while Nello is away at the wars; she rejects him, but in revenge he induces Nello to believe that Pia has been unfaithful to him by arranging for him to see Pia meeting and embracing a man (who unknown to Nello is actually her brother). Nello then has Pia locked up to die slowly of malaria in his castle in the Maremma, while he wanders distraught in the nearby woods. Here he meets a hermit who encourages him to consider that Pia might be innocent. A storm breaks out and Ghino appears, having been mortally wounded by a wolf. With his dying words he reveals the deception to Nello:

Io ti cercavo, e non mi cal ch'io mora  
Se ti ritrovo, mentre mi rimane  
Tanto spazio di vita, e tempo ancora  
Per dirti cose che ti sono arcane.

Sappi, che mentre tu festi dimora  
Dalla patria lontan, fiamme profane  
Mi arser per la tua Pia, né il labbro tacque  
Da lei ne fui represso, e ciò mi spiacque.

E di vendetta nel desire acerbo  
Tutto l'amor che le portai conversi  
Appo la rotta il primo dì, per verbo  
Di un comperato messo, discopersi  
Che con false divise a gran riserbo  
Misto ai fuggiaschi, che riedean dispersi  
S'era introdotto nella nostra terra  
Il fratel della Pia, che a noi fa Guerra.<sup>15</sup>

After hearing the news, Nello rushes to the castle, only to find Pia already being buried. Smitten with remorse, he retreats into his castle, where he lingers grieving for some years before succumbing to an illness and being buried alongside his wife. The castle crumbles, and the novella concludes with an itinerant peasant farmer recounting the sad story to his wife and family.<sup>16</sup> Sestini's novella had an extraordinary literary and popular success, and editions were widely sold not only in the cities but also in the marketplaces of many small villages.<sup>17</sup>

Some years later, in the 1830s, the Piedmontese dramatist Carlo Marenco (1800-1846) produced his play *Pia de' Tolomei*, based on Sestini but with the unapologetic addition of various new elements: “parendomi anzi esercizio non indegno di poeta, su non vergine tema, e sovra già note situazioni, ispirarsi a novità di pensieri.”<sup>18</sup> Among these new elements were:

- the addition of historical details tying the events to the battle between the Guelphs and Ghibellines at Colle Val d'Elsa of 1269;
- the addition of the character of Pia's father;
- the added plot twist that the man Pia embraces believing to be her brother is in fact an impostor hired by Ghino (her brother having been killed in battle); and
- the change of the name of Nello to Rinaldo, for the reason that “facilmente coll'articolo del medesimo suono si confonde.”<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps reflecting Marenco's political views as to the role of the church in civil society, his play completely omits the figure of the hermit, who by contrast is pivotal to the action in the Sestini novella.

Here is an extract from the second scene of the play, in which Rinaldo (the husband, in other texts known as Nello) calls upon Ugo (his friend, in other texts known as Ghino, secretly in love with Pia) to take care of her while Rinaldo is away fighting:

RINALDO: Fin ch'io starommi in campo, et tu, se altrove  
Pubbliche cure non ti chiaman, veglia  
Sulle mie case; e del lontano amico  
L'onore almen, mentr'ei la vita arrischia,  
L'onor tutela.

UGO (attonito): Io? (rimettendosi) Che? di casta donna  
Avventuroso possessor non sei?  
Quell'angiol di virtude, ahi! troppo offende  
L'ombra sol del sospetto.

RINALDO: È ver, l'oltraggio;  
Pur mi s'è fitto in l'anima sì addentro  
Questo gelido verme, che a snidarlo  
Finor fur vani e il suo costante affetto,  
E il lungo studio delle sue virtudi.<sup>20</sup>

Similar scenes, establishing the jealous tendencies of the husband and the facile lies of his adulterous friend, occur in many later versions of the story. According to Marengo's introduction to the publication of his tragedy, it became "divulgatissima." We know that it was performed at Naples in 1836, where it inspired Salvatore Cammarano to write the libretto of the Donizetti opera of the same name,

Cammarano's libretto, which restored the character's original names as found in the Sestini poem, was performed in Venice in 1837 and in Rome and Naples in 1838.<sup>21</sup> Nello's pathological jealousy, first introduced in the Marengo play, becomes a central element in the opera plot. Here is an extract from Part II, Quadro 1, scene 2, in which Ghino attempts to blackmail Pia, who has by now been locked up by the jealous Nello:

GHINO (*abbassa la fronte, e rimane alquanto silenzioso*)

Odimi, o Pia.  
Per sempre dai viventi  
di Nello un cenno ti separa, e Nello  
sveller giurò dalla sua fronte i rai  
anzi che più vederti. Ubaldo è schiavo  
del mio voler: tu sei  
già nella tomba; dalla tomba Ghino  
sol può sottrarti, ed egli  
t'offre il suo core... o morte.

PIA Iniquo!

GHINO Scegli.

PIA Morte, o colpa? Tu ben sai  
la mia scelta.

GHINO Forsennata!...  
Scegli?...

PIA Morte.

GHINO Ah! tu morrai  
dalle genti abbominata...  
e l'infamia un negro velo  
sul tuo nome stenderà.

PIA Benedetta e pura in cielo  
il Signor m'accoglierà.<sup>22</sup>

The libretto draws on both Sestini and Marenco, but has Pia, already dying of malaria, finished off by being poisoned by Nello's henchman Ubaldo, just before Nello arrives on the scene.<sup>23</sup> The opera concludes with the reconciliation, at the dying Pia's instigation, of the Ghibelline Nello and Pia's Guelph brother Rodrigo. The concern expressed in both the Cammarano/Donizetti opera script and Marenco's play for reconciliation between closely-related warring factions perhaps reflects the preoccupation of the Risorgimento period to establish common cultural and political ground between the various entities that would make up the unified Italian state. Egidio Saracini reports that Donizetti originally composed the opera with only three main roles (the soprano Pia, the tenor Ghino and the baritone Nello), and introduced the contralto role of her brother Rodrigo only at the insistence of Berti, the president of the Fenice opera, in order to accommodate his favorite, Rosina Mazzarelli. In the Naples production Donizetti was reportedly upset by the Neapolitan censors' insistence that the plot be changed to have a happy ending.<sup>24</sup>

There were many other nineteenth-century treatments of the Pia story in painting, sculpture, and music. Works from the high art traditions are relatively easy to locate using conventional searches of libraries, museums and art collections (all the more so now that so many institutional catalogues are accessible online). Traces of songs and stories circulating in popular oral traditions are far less easily detected. Fortunately, two nineteenth-century Pia stories from the popular tradition have found their way into writing, each having a bearing on the development of the Maggio stories performed today in the Garfagnana. The first is a Maggio text published in 1867 in Volterra, and attributed to the great Maggio librettist Pietro Frediani.<sup>25</sup> Compared to the high-flown literary language of the works cited up to now, the Maggio text uses much plainer vocabulary and syntax as it renders the story in the octosyllabic quatrains typical of the Maggio tradition, as is shown in the following extract from the scene

of attempted seduction between Ghino and Pia:

PIA Ti ho vietato, e non la intendi  
Di parlare a me d'amore!

GHINO Mi rubasti in petto il cuore  
O mel sana o me la rendi.

PIA Quella lingua sì arrogante  
Chiudi a chiave; ho ben ragione  
Di bandir da mia magione  
Te per sempre; or vai seccante.

GHINO Cruda donna io giuro al cielo;  
Che lo scempio è a te vicino:  
Non mi morse mai mastino  
Che di lui non trassi pelo.

PIA Vanne via cervello scemo  
Dici a me ragioni al muro  
Le carezze tue non curo  
Le minacce tue non temo.<sup>26</sup>

Plot elements of Frediani's text seems to have been based mainly on the Sestini novella, with the addition of some features from the Marengo play (including the elaboration of two additional female parts in the person of a peasant woman whom the dying Pia befriends and asks to pray for her, and Pia's daughter). In the published version of the Maggio play there is a happy ending, with Pia resuscitating at the last minute (more in keeping with the standard conventions of Maggio plays) but most currently performed Maggio plays keep Sestini's tragic ending.

The other highly significant source for today's Maggio plays is the *cantastorie* version of the Pia story. *Cantastorie* were itinerant singers who until recently travelled to local fairs and markets throughout Italy, where they would sing old and newly created stories and sell booklets and broadsheets with the texts. Diana Glenn has kindly made available to me a version of the Pia story composed by the *cantastorie* Giuseppe Moroni (nicknamed "Il Niccheri") and published in Firenze in 1937. I believe this version may have been first published in the 1880s.<sup>27</sup> Like Sestini's text, Moroni's uses the classic *ottava rima* of eight hendecasyllabic lines rhyming ABABABCC, but the actual fabric of the composition is entirely unrelated, with far simpler syntax, vocabulary and narrative structure. In plot it is closest to the Marengo play, but includes some elements, such as the figure of the hermit, from the Sestini novella. *Cantastorie libretti* like these were sold by travelling singers in marketplaces, and *cantastorie* versions of the Pia story have been

collected from the oral tradition on many occasions.<sup>28</sup> In these popular works performed in the marketplaces, just as in the high art versions of the opera theatre, Pia's story continues to be framed by an emphasis on internecine conflict and *campanilismo*, as can be seen in the introductory *ottava* of Moroni's poem:

Negli anni che de' Guelfi e Ghibellini  
Repubbliche a que' tempi costumava,  
batteano i Cortonesi e gli Aretini  
Specie d'ogni partito guerreggiava.  
I Pisani battean coi Fiorentini  
Siena con le Maremme contrastava;  
E Chiusi combattea contro Volterra...  
non vi era posto che un facesse guerra.<sup>29</sup>

In the twentieth century the Pia story has entered into other popular narrative genres such as film, *fumetto* (comic strip) and *fotoromanzo* (using photographs). An exhibition including much of this material was held in Siena in 1999, but unfortunately the catalogue is now out of print. The bruscello "Pia de' Tolomei" is still performed occasionally by a number of amateur companies in rural Siena, most famously at Montepulciano, and the "Salto della Contessa" (the Countess's Leap) near Gavorrano is a tourist attraction at the historic Castello della Pietra (it is interesting that here popular stories have Pia's death caused by being thrown out a window, as in the early commentaries, rather than by malaria, as in the Sestini-derived narratives).

Before considering the Maggio versions of the Pia story in more detail, it may be helpful to give some general background information on this genre of sung popular theatre. Maggio is performed today mainly in the Tosco-Emilian Appennines. In Tuscany, it is most active in the provinces of Lucca and Massa-Carrara, with its heartland in the Garfagnana, the valley of the Serchio river situated between the Apuan Alps and the Appennines, to the north of the city of Lucca. A less flourishing performance tradition continues in the area between Pisa and Lucca. Maggio is also popular today in the Emilian Appennines, in the southern parts of the provinces of Reggio Emilia and Modena, where it adopts significantly different performance conventions<sup>30</sup>. The earliest historical records of Maggio as a theatrical genre go back to sixteenth-century Siena (see recent work by Michele Feo<sup>31</sup>). Nineteenth century accounts indicate that the tradition was then widespread throughout central and western Tuscany, occurring not only in its areas of current distribution, but also in the southern part of the province di Pisa, in parts of Grosseto and in the Pistoia region (where the genre was named *giostra* rather than *maggio*).<sup>32</sup>

The following accounts draw on my fieldwork on the Tuscan Maggio, mostly

in the Garfagnana valley, where I attended and recorded many performances between 1992 and 2000. Maggio performances depend on a written script, which is read aloud a line at a time by an on-stage prompt and turned into dramatic action with great vocal and gestural bravura by amateur singer-actors. In the Garfagnana, performances are usually held outdoors on summer Sunday afternoons, with the supportive local audience surrounding the performance space, but in the Arno valley performances may be held in more conventional theatres with painted backdrops and the audience frontally arranged.

Maggio scripts typically enact stories of chivalrous romances, classical legends or sentimental lives of the saints. Figure 2 presents a fairly typical profile of the mixture of sources and themes used in Maggio performances in the Garfagnana valley in the 1990s. The stories, often taken from literary antecedents, were adapted by contemporary authors (most of whom were still active), to fit the performance conventions of the Maggio, whose standard metre is the four- or five-line eight-syllable stanza, sung with the accompaniment of violin or piano accordion to a conventional melody, the *aria del maggio*. Two special metres, the arietta (four seven-syllable lines) and the classic ottava (eight eleven-syllable lines), mark moments of particular pathos or narrative intensity. Stylised sword fighting, performed in the Garfagnana with miniature wooden swords and shields, is an integral part of any Maggio script, and reminds one of the *moresca* and other popular depictions of the battles of Moors and Christians with which the genre certainly shares antecedents,<sup>33</sup> and which Paolo Toschi related to pre-Christian Mayday rituals symbolising the victory of the new growing season over the old.<sup>34</sup>

Compagnia di Gorfigliano, Compagnia Acqua Bianca,	<i>La Guerra di Troia</i> <i>Antilla e Giffredo</i> [a chivalrous romance about the love between the woman warrior Antilla and her sworn enemy Giffredo]	Mario Pellegrinotti anonymous author
Compagnia di Piazza al Serchio,	<i>Le Sventure di Tristano e Isotta</i>	anonymous author
Compagnia di Gragnanella- Filicaia-Casatico	<i>La Figlia del sultano</i>	Giuliano Grandini,
Compagnia di Partigliano,	<i>La Regina della Dacia</i> <i>Santa Flavia</i> [a martyr]	Giuliano Bertagni anonymous author
Compagnia di Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico,	<i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i>	anonymous local text, rewritten by Gastone Tincani

Figure 2. Scripts performed by Tuscan Maggio companies in 1996.

From year to year, the same performers tend to wear the same costume and take on the same symbolic role, of the good king, the hermit, the virtuous heroine or the scheming adulterer, whether the warring factions represented are Greeks and Trojans, French and Saracens, Romans and Thracians or Guelphs and Ghibellines.

Once a text has been created in the appropriate metre and enters into circulation as a performance script, it does not remain fixed. The *capomaggio*, or company leader, will typically work on a script for the next year's performance during the off-season, copying it from another company or from an old script held by a collector of such prized objects, and adapting it to fit the forces at his disposal. During negotiations as to who will sing the following year, the *capomaggio* may write whole new scenes to give a vain performer enough ariette or ottave to show off his or her beautiful voice, or remove a character if someone who has promised to sing falls ill. Even during the performance minor changes and cuts are regularly made.<sup>35</sup>

In the period of my fieldwork, Maggio scripts were usually printed up by the Centro per la Raccolta lo Studio e la Valorizzazione delle Tradizioni Popolari della Provincia di Lucca (abbreviated as CTP) (set up in the mid-1970s under the initiative of the late Gastone Venturelli). These texts were often published along with an introduction and sometimes a critical apparatus written by a *capomaggio* or a researcher. The booklets were sold at performances for a small sum (3,000 lire) and used by many members of the audience to follow the action.

Let me now turn to the numerous versions of the Pia story that have been performed in the last thirty years in Tuscany. Figure 3 shows that at least ten distinct Maggio texts were in circulation during this period, each one of which is subject to considerable variation in performance along the lines already described.<sup>36</sup>

Sometimes the text used by one company is substantially the same as that of another — this is the case for the texts used by the companies of Buti and Pieve di Compito (texts 1 and 2 on the list), both of which are within the Pisa-Lucca stylistic area. As shown by Gastone Venturelli in his preface to the published script of number 2, this text is closely related to the Frediani Maggio script already discussed. Texts numbers 4 and 5 are also closely related, and performed by companies that shared a number of members. Considerable redrafting work was done by Gastone Tincani, the present *capomaggio* of the Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico company, to transform an old text originally in five-line stanzas into one using the four-line stanza. There are two distinct scripts used by the Gorfigliano company. The first, a handwritten manuscript (number 6), shares a number of features and some complete stanzas with the Piazza al Serchio text (number 7) — the *capomaggio* of the Piazza company, Andrea Bertei, was formerly a member of the Gorfigliano company. The second Gorfigliano Maggio script, entitled *Pia e Nello della Pietra* (Number 8 on the list), is completely different from the older version, and is possibly derived from the fumetto *Ghino di Tacco*, and

	<b>Company</b>	<b>Year(s) performed</b>	<b>Title and publication details</b>
1	Buti (PI)	1980-1982	<i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i> , secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Buti (Pisa), a cura di Gastone Venturelli (Lucca, CTP Lucca 27, 1980)
2	Pieve di Compito (LU)	1982, *1992	<i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i> , secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Pieve di Compito (LU) a cura di Gastone Venturelli (Pisa, CTP Lucca 64, 1982)
3	Partigliano (LU)	1971, *1993, 1995, 2001	<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> , La tradizione del Maggio Drammatico Teatrale nella Vallata d'ottavo, a cura di Alberico Andreuccetti (Partigliano, "Cultura e comunità," Centro socio culturale di Partigliano LU, 1993)
4	Loppia-Filecchio-Piano di Coreglia	1977, 1978, 1979	<i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i> , secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Loppia-Filecchio-Piano di Coreglia (Lucca) a cura di Gastone Venturelli (Lucca, CTP Lucca 7 & 11, 1979)
5	Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico	*1996	<i>La Pia de' Tolomei</i> , secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico (LU), elaborato da Gastone Tincani (Lucca, CTP Lucca 122, 1996)
6	Gorfigliano (LU)	1978	<i>Pia de Tolomei</i> , handwritten script transcribed by Erminio and Giuly Monelli, Gorfigliano (LU), 1978, unpublished
7	Piazza al Serchio (LU)	*1990	<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> [text published by Comune di Piazza al Serchio, LU]
8	Gorfigliano (LU)	1987, 1989, *2000, 2001	<i>La Pia e Nello della Pietra</i> , di Luigi Casotti, secondo il testo adottato dalla compagnia di maggianti di Gorfigliano (LU), a cura di Elena Giusti (Buti, Comune di Buti (PI), quaderno 10, 1987)
9	Gramolazzo (LU)	*2000	extracts from <i>Pia de' Tolomei</i> provided by Iole Paladini to be sung by children at Gramolazzo [unpublished - drawn from 6, 7, 8]
10	Antona (MS)	1982	<i>La Pia dei Tolomei</i> , maggio di A. Polini, a cura di G. Bertuccelli (Massa, 1982).
11	Montignoso (MS)	2000-2001	<i>La Pia dei Tolomei</i> [text by A. Polini?]

Figure 3: Tuscan Maggio Texts of *Pia de' Tolomei*.  
(\*Audio-visual recording held in Barwick's collection)

was written in 1986 by Luigi Casotti, the son of the then *capomaggio* of the Gorfigliano company, Gian Casotti. I hold in my collection a copy of this booklet used by the prompt during performances in the 2000 revival of this play, at which time the company added a whole new character to the script.<sup>37</sup>

Although full aesthetic experience of Maggio requires immersion in the music, movement, landscape and society with which and in which it is performed, I will briefly discuss here five excerpts from several Maggio performances. The first is the deathbed scene from a performance by the Pieve di Compito company, recorded on the wooden stage set in the chestnut forest above Gragnanella, near Castelnuovo Garfagnana (LU) in 1992. Pia lies dying, addressing her final words to the castle custodian:

PIA    Vissi in Siena amata e lieta  
         ricca e nobile e onorata  
         or da tutti abbandonata  
         al castello della Pietra

Ma che dico? Oimè che sento!  
La mia vita mi abbandona  
sudor freddo ... aimè sprigiona  
l'alma mia ... dal corpo ... spento<sup>38</sup>

The pathos and melodrama of the scene is more fully marked in the text (based on Frediani's 1867 original) than in its musical performance, which uses the same melody, metre and piano accordion accompaniment as the other 190 stanzas of the script. Despite the fact that few in the northern Garfagnana audience appreciated the relatively unadorned musical style and plaintive melody used by the Pieve di Compito company (who travelled from south of Lucca to perform), there was considerable applause for their star singer Violetta Bacchi, who made a very graceful corpse arrayed on a red velvet cushion supplied at the last moment by the castle custodian.

The second example comes from the text used by the Partigliano company, a large and relatively young company directed by the energetic Alberico Andreuccetti, who also revised the text. This booklet was not for sale at the performances, but I later obtained a copy and discussed it at some length with Andreuccetti. A number of unique and probably archaic features appear in this text: such as the appearance of little devils (played by Andreuccetti's small children) who accompany the villain to hell. The text also includes a peasant woman Esole, whose dramatic function equates to the (differently-named) peasant woman found in Marengo's play and Frediani's 1867 Maggio script. After the dying Pia gives Esole a ring, she asks what she can do in return:



*Performance of the Pieve di Compito maggio company at Gragnanella (LU), 24 July 1992. Assembled around the defunct Pia (Violetta Bacchi) are (left to right) actors in the roles of the castle caretaker (Andrea Triolo), the hermit priest (Orleo Gini), Nello (Silvano Nicolosi) and Pia's daughter Caterina (Manila Vecchianiti). The prompt Mariella Gini stands behind Nello (the piano accordion player Nicola Perdini is off camera to the left). Photograph by Linda Barwick.*

ESOLE      Ti ringrazio del tuo dono  
                  ma non possoti aiutare  
 PIA            Ne verrai per me a pregare  
                  quando qui sepolta io sono

PIA            Ti rammenta son la Pia  
                  che ben sai Siena mi fece  
                  la Maremma mi disfece  
                  qui avrà fin la vita mia<sup>39</sup>

This performance used an indoor theatre in the performers' home village of Partigliano (situated in the lower part of the Serchio valley), and the lead singer Giovanna Santini gestured to the painted backdrop of the Sienese hills as she sang her lines. The second stanza was evidently crafted with close reference to *Purgatorio* V 133-134 "Ricorditi ti me che son la Pia/ Siena mi fê, disfecemi Maremma."

The third extract presents a scene performed by the central Garfagnana company of Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico in 1996, in which Pia's father and brother, travelling with Nello and the hermit, have just witnessed the dying Ghino's confession of his calumny of Pia. As they turn to leave to free her, the figure of the Giullare, a type of fool in particolour dress, appears to comment on the action, speaking directly to the audience.

PADRE            Nello non più s'indugi  
 PIETRO          Andiamo o buon cognato  
 NELLO          Lasciamo l'empio ingrato  
 ROMITO         Il ciel lo punirà

GIULLARE      Finalmente il Padreterno  
                     La giustizia fe' trionfare  
                     Saprà Dante collocare  
                     L'alma tua al fondo inferno<sup>40</sup>

Fools are rare in Maggio performances today, and are mainly found in the Garfagnino and Emilian Maggio traditions.<sup>41</sup> This particular clown calls on the audience's presumed familiarity with the literary source of the Pia story by jocularly supposing that Dante will place Ghino in deepest Hell (as opposed to Pia's place in Purgatory). The large local audience was most appreciative of the play in general and the clown's intervention in particular.

The fourth example comes from the same performance. At the end of the play, the clown intervenes again: after Pia's death<sup>42</sup> the cast assembles around her to sing the traditional *arietta di congedo*, begging the audience's pardon for any mistakes in the performance.

TUTTI            Morta è l'amata Pia  
                     Dal ciel prega per noi  
                     Ed or signori voi  
                     Dovete perdonar  
                     Ed or signori voi  
                     Dovete perdonar

GIULLARE      'isto Maggio è da rifare  
                     Qui qualcosa a me non torna  
                     Quell'intrigo amore e corna  
                     Non dovea la Pia crepare

TUTTI            Il buffo ci ha ridato  
                     A tutti l'allegria  
                     Ed or insieme a Pia  
                     Voi tutti salutiam  
                     Ed or insieme a Pia  
                     Voi tutti salutiam<sup>43</sup>

The clown's intervention this time is in florid local dialect, his coarse language and references contrasting with the high-flown sentiments and language usual in Maggio scripts. He takes Pia by the hand, thus "resurrecting" her before the final stanza and providing the only instance of a happy ending to the Pia story amongst

the various texts in circulation today. Nevertheless, the video shows that several elderly women in the front row were weeping as the play finished, still affected by the preceding deathbed scene.

Our fifth example comes from the Piazza al Serchio company, one of the most flamboyant companies of the upper Garfagnana valley. In this performance, which took place just over the provincial border in the Lunigiana area of Provincia di Massa, there was a huge local audience, and the whole event was filmed by the local television station NoiTV. Although there are presently no active Maggio companies in this area of the Lunigiana, there was still a keen audience, and some singers from this area travelled regularly to join the Piazza al Serchio company at various times during my fieldwork. This deathbed scene takes place between Pia and her daughter Ginevra (a character who appears in several other libretti from the upper Garfagnana).

PIA            Tieni questa crocellina  
                  morta presto mi vedrai  
                  qui sepolta mi farai  
                  la preghiera mia bambina  
                  ché la morte è già vicina

GINEVRA      Non morire o madre  
                  a te sarò vicino

PIA            Addio caro visino  
                  ci revedremo in ciel<sup>44</sup>

The first stanza is sung in the *quintina*, the five-line *stanza a maggio* rhyming ABBA characteristic of the upper Garfagnana, while the second stanza is in the *arietta* form, often used for particularly affecting moments. The dramatic function of the daughter here is similar to that of the peasant woman Esole (in example 2 discussed above): to act as an audience for Pia's expressions of piety. During the *arietta*, the wonderful singer Iole Paladini, one of the stalwarts of the Maggio tradition in this area, is so affected by the pathos of the scene that she bursts into tears, even as she executes yet another florid melismatic ornament, followed by vociferous applause and encouragement from the audience. The high emotion of the text, in combination with the technical excellence of the singing and acting and the excitement of the huge and engaged audience, made this a memorable moment that Maggio *appassionati* continued to discuss for years afterwards.

While the phenomenon of *campanilismo*, or local rivalry, has been discussed at length in relation to other areas of Italy (by sociologists such as Eugene Cohen and Anton Blok<sup>45</sup>), the rivalry between neighbouring regions, villages and *quartieri* is a feature of many Tuscan traditions, and the Maggio is no exception. In the Garfagnana, the Maggio tradition is firmly situated within what Edward S.

Casey has called an “entire teeming place-world.”<sup>46</sup> Maggio companies are named for places, and local tradition holds that each place has its own particular way of performing the melody, and, as has been demonstrated, holds its own characteristic version of the common Maggio stories such as *La Pia*. There is certainly an element of overt rivalry between the different companies, not only in terms of competition for recruiting singers, but also for showing off their performance style to audiences in the various local Maggio venues (I have often been asked to rank the different *squadre*). Just as football teams bring their die-hard fans along to away matches, so each Maggio company tours its play to surrounding villages with a significant proportion of the audience made up of its supporters (family members and *appassionati*). Today, companies tend to include individuals from a number of different villages, who have to compromise in some respects in order to perform together, but who nevertheless give their place of residence as their main identifying feature. In rare but notable instances, individuals may adjust their way of singing to conform with the expectations or the tastes of the locality where the performance is taking place, for each company tours its production to a number of different localities in the region.<sup>47</sup>

Figure 4 shows that from 1971-2001 there were at least 53 performances, and probably many more, of Tuscan Maggio plays about Pia de' Tolomei. The story of Pia is now firmly embedded in the contemporary memory and landscapes of the Garfagnana.

This is an area where each family has its own smallholding<sup>48</sup> and where virilocality continues to be the preferred practice: women traditionally marry out of their village, and live in their husband's paternal village. What this means, of course, is that it is through the woman's husband and children that she comes to truly belong to a place. Although affiliation to a particular village or locality is so fiercely asserted, the most bitter rivalries and feuds often pertain to very close relationships, such as between brothers or in-laws. Such feuds, which may be perpetuated for generations, on occasion find their way, more or less disguised, onto the Maggio performance stage, where the stylised battles offer scope for public expression of well-known personal animosities. One could argue that the apparent fascination of the Maggio tradition with intercultural conflict where the passions for power, lust or revenge are bridled only by repeated appeals for pardon — in the Pia story, for Nello to pardon Ghino, for Pia to pardon Nello, and, in the formulaic final stanzas, for the audience to pardon the performers' mistakes — constitutes a projection of these very local anxieties that continues to be relevant today.

The Pia story foregrounds this anxiety about women as inherently unstable elements in the patriarchal place-world. While it is necessary to take a wife in order to produce successive generations to hold that place and its traditions, in a society in which birthplace is ascribed such primacy, suspicions may always be harboured about the woman's ultimate loyalty to her husband's house rather than

<b>Year</b>	<b>Company</b>	<b>Text</b>	<b># performances</b>
1971	Partigliano	3	?
1977	Loppia-Filecchio-Piano di Coreglia	4	?
1978	Gorfigliano	6	?
1978	Loppia-Filecchio-Piano di Coreglia	4	5+
1979	Pieve di Compito	2	?
1979	Loppia-Filecchio-Piano di Coreglia	4	?
1980	Buti	1	1+
1981	Buti	1	1+
1982	Buti	1	1+
1982	Antona	10	1+
1982	Pieve di Compito	2	2+
1987	Gorfigliano	7	?
1989	Gorfigliano	7	3+
1990	Piazza al Serchio	8	5+
1992	Pieve di Compito	2	1+
1993	Partigliano	3	4+
1995	Partigliano	3	2+
1996	Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico	5	5+
2000	Montignoso	11	1+
2000	Gorfigliano	7	9+
2001	Montignoso	11	3+
2001	Partigliano	3	2+
2001	Gorfigliano	7	1+
	<b>(TOTAL)</b>		<b>53+</b>

*Figure 4: Performances of Pia de' Tolomei by Tuscan Maggio companies, 1971-2001.*

*The number of performances is inserted only when known to me personally. The information in this table is derived from published sources and/or personal contacts with the companies concerned.*

that of her brother or father, especially when the husband mistreats her. The seemingly amorous relationship between Pia and her brother embodies a real point of conflict and contradiction within this philosophy of place. One can read its eventual resolution with Pia's death as an object lesson on the ultimate aridity of male jealousy (extinguishing the means of procreation) — or as a warning to women to toe the patriarchal line (or else). The continuing invocation of the social role of the Church, through the intervention of the hermit figure in resolving the conflict between husband and wife (almost universal in Maggio versions of the Pia plot, even when the literary antecedents on which they most

closely depend, such as the Marengo play, completely omit this character) perhaps reflects the Church's continuing influence in the social life of the Garfagnana, where many women and a considerable proportion of the men attend mass several times a week, or even daily.

We may perhaps attribute the continuing fascination of the Pia story for audiences in the Garfagnana not only to the persistence of these ancient place-oriented forms of social relationship, but also to the real historical and social links that until recently saw a proportion of the population undertaking the dangerous annual migration to the Maremma. Today the Maremma is no longer such a dangerous place, and emigration is more likely to be to the industrial cities of the northern Italy, northern Europe or even to Australia and America, where practices of chain migration have tended to continue to reproduce social loyalties between *paesani*. But the question as to how to overcome locally-constructed cultural difference and establish common principles for cooperation and identification between groups of different cultural and social traditions is one that continues to exercise many of us today, just as it did Dante and the thinkers of the Risorgimento period.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Ugo Foscolo, ["First article on Dante"], *Edinburgh Review*, LVIII (February, 1818), 458.

<sup>2</sup> Text taken from the Petrocchi edition: Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata a cura di Giorgio Petrocchi. Edizione Nazionale a cura della Società Dantesca Italiana* ([Milano]: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1966-1967); electronic edition by William I Johnston <<http://world.std.com/~wij/dante/purgatorio/purg-05.html>> (last changed 18 July 1998, accessed 20 February 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Diana Glenn, "Of thieves and salvation victories: Purgatorio V, 133," in *Dante Colloquia in Australia (1982-1999)*, eds. Margaret Baker and Diana Glenn (Adelaide: Australian Humanities Press, 2000), pp. 66-72; and "Ricorditi di me, che son la Pia': Purgatorio V," *Esperienze Letterarie* 20.3 (1995), 47-62.

<sup>4</sup> The Dartmouth Dante Project collates most of the significant commentaries -- see <<http://dciswww.dartmouth.edu:50080/v3?db=7&page=q&qry=%22Pia%20de%20Tolomei%22&dfn=1&srt=1>> (accessed 20 February 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Giorgio Varanini, "Pia," *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1973), vol. IV, pp. 462-7; Glenn, "Of thieves," and "Ricorditi."

<sup>6</sup> Matteo Bandello, *Le novelle* (Bari: Laterza, 1928), part 1, Novella XII, pp. 151-6.

<sup>7</sup> Bandello, pp. 151-2.

<sup>8</sup> "Questa è quella Pia che il virtuoso e dottissimo Dante ha posta in Purgatorio. Io ciò che narrato vi ho trovai già brevemente annotato in un libro di mio bisavolo." Bandello, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> G. Cambon, *Ugo Foscolo poet of exile* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

<sup>10</sup> Ugo Foscolo, ["First article on Dante"], *Edinburgh Review*, LVIII (February, 1818), 458. A useful discussion of the Romantic myth

of Italy developed by the Northern European thinkers in the period 1775-1825, and Foscolo's role in promoting a more accurate assessment of Italian culture abroad is found in Joseph Luzzi, "Italy without Italians: Literary Origins of a Romantic Myth," *MLN* 117.1 (2002), 48-53.

<sup>11</sup> See Luzzi, p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> "Dall'aver Dante collocata nel Purgatorio, e non già nell'Inferno la Pia, sembra, considerando l'inflessibil giustizia di quel severo, sembra, dico, a prima giunta ch'egli del supposto peccato la riputasse innocente." Carlo Marengo, "Prefazione alla Pia de' Tolomei," *Tragedie inedite di Carlo Marengo, aggiuntevi la Pia de' Tolomei, tragedia* (Firenze.: Felice Le Monnier, 1856), p. 400.

<sup>13</sup> For those interested, Appendix 1 contains a list of some of the more significant works in English, which however I will not discuss at more length here. Here is Dante Gabriel Rossetti's influential verse translation of the relevant lines from Dante (*Purgatorio* V, 130-136): "'Ah when on earth thy voice again is heard, / And thou from the long road hast rested thee,' / After the second spirit said the third, / 'Remember me who am La Pia. Me / Siena, me Maremma, made, unmade. / He knoweth this thing in his heart-even he / With whose fair jewel I was ringed and wed,'" (first published in *The Early Italian Poets* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1861), reprinted in *The Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Edited with Preface and Notes by William M. Rossetti: Revised and Enlarged Edition* (London: Ellis, 1911), p. 546).

<sup>14</sup> Frédéric de Stendhal [Henri Beyle], *De l'amour* (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1920), ch. 28. In Italian, it is cited at length by Bartolomeo Sestini in the preface to his *La Pia: una leggenda romantica* (Roma: Stamperia Ajani, 1822).

<sup>15</sup> Bartolomeo Sestini, *La Pia, una leggenda romantica*. Canto terzo, vv. 49-64. Published electronically at [http://www.accademiajr.it/bibvirt/pia\\_c3.html](http://www.accademiajr.it/bibvirt/pia_c3.html) (accessed 20 February 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Sestini, *La Pia*, Canto terzo, vv. 553-568.

<sup>17</sup> See Gastone Venturèlli's comments in his introductory notes to the Maggio booklet *La Pia de' Tolomei, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Pieve di Compito (LU) a cura di Gastone Venturèlli* (Pisa: Centro Tradizioni Popolari di Lucca no. 64, 1982).

<sup>18</sup> Marengo, "Prefazione," p. 402.

<sup>19</sup> Marengo, "Prefazione," p. 403.

<sup>20</sup> Marengo, *La Pia de' Tolomei, Tragedia*. Atto I, Scena II, p. 414.

<sup>21</sup> *Pia de' Tolomei: Tragedia lirica in two acts*. Music: Gaetano Donizetti, libretto by Salvatore Cammarano. First performance at the Teatro Apollo, Venice, on 18th February 1837. The complete libretto of the opera is published on the web at [http://www.karadar.it/Librettos/donizetti\\_pia.html](http://www.karadar.it/Librettos/donizetti_pia.html) (accessed 20 February 2005).

<sup>22</sup> Cammarano, *Pia de' Tolomei*, Part II, Act 1, Scene 2.

<sup>23</sup> In conformity with early commentaries that have Pia being murdered by Nello's servants.

<sup>24</sup> Egidio Saracini, *Invito all'ascolto di Gaetano Donizetti* (Milano: Mursia, 1984), p. 188.

<sup>25</sup> I have not as yet been able to locate an original publication of the 1867 Maggio text, but am relying on the information included in Gastone Venturèlli's detailed comparison of this 1867 Maggio version with the present text used by the companies of Buti and Pieve di Compito by Gastone Venturèlli, in his preface to *La Pia de' Tolomei, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Pieve di Compito (LU) a cura di Gastone Venturèlli* (Pisa: CTP Lucca 64, 1982).

<sup>26</sup> From Venturelli, *La Pia de' Tolomei*.

<sup>27</sup> *Pia de' Tolomei, composizione in ottava rima di Giuseppe Moroni, detto il Niccheri, illetterato* (Firenze: Salani, 1937). The evidence for it having been originally published in the 1880s is the publication by Salani of other compositions by Moroni in the 1880s, such as his *Il nipote sogna il nonno morto* (1889).

<sup>28</sup> There are too many instances to list fully here; see for example Giuseppe Rosati, a. 62. 27/3/1970 at Montelibretti, reg. Sandro Portelli, on Side 1, track 7 of the disc *La Sabina. Una caratteristica area di transizione, a cura di Sandro Portelli* (Milano: Edizioni del Gallo, 1973, Dischi del Sole DS517/19). Other versions have been collected from the oral tradition in Umbria, Tuscany and Emilia.

<sup>29</sup> Stanza 1 of Moroni, *Pia de' Tolomei*.

<sup>30</sup> See the work of the late Gastone Venturelli for a definitive characterisation of the formal conventions of the different stylistic areas, and that of Tullia Magrini for work on the performance conventions of the Maggio tradition in Emilia: Gastone Venturelli, "Le aree del Maggio" and Tullia Magrini, "La musica del Maggio" in *Il maggio drammatico: Una tradizione di teatro in musica*, ed. Tullia Magrini (Bologna: Edizioni Analisi, 1992), pp. pp. 45-108; 129-165.

<sup>31</sup> Michele Feo, "Un Maggio senese del cinquecento" in *Canterem mirabil cose: Immagini e aspetti del Maggio drammatico, Mostra Castagneto Carducci 23 sett.-1 ott. 2000*, ed. Maria Elena Giusti (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> For Pistoia see Giuseppe Tigri, *Canti popolari toscani, raccolti e annotati da Giuseppe Tigri*. (Firenze: 1869). For historical attestations of Maggio, see Gastone Venturelli, "Le aree del Maggio," throughout but especially note 2, pp. 103-4, and the work of Fabrizio Franceschini, for example "Un Maggio di Castagneto Carducci" in *Canterem mirabil cose*, pp. 9-29. The *bruscello*, *zingaresca* and *befanata* genres of the Arno valley and the Sieneese hills are historically and formally related to Maggio, but today quite divergent from Maggio in their metre and performance styles.

<sup>33</sup> Linda Barwick with JoAnne Page, *Gestualità e musica di un Maggio garfagnino: "I Paladini di Francia" secondo l'interpretazione dei maggianti della Compagnia di Gorfigliano, 1988* (Lucca: Assessorato alla Cultura della Provincia di Lucca, 1994); Linda Barwick and JoAnne Page, "The dancing duels of the Northern Italian *maggio*: connections between *maggio* duels and *moresca* dances." Paper presented to the inaugural Dance Seminar sponsored by the Sydney Chapter of the Musicological Society of Australia, October 8, 1994.

<sup>34</sup> Paolo Toschi, *Le origini del teatro italiano* (Torino: Boringhieri, 1955).

<sup>35</sup> For further information on Maggio text production and circulation in the Garfagnana, see Linda Barwick, "The Filipino *Komedya* and the Italian *Maggio*: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Related Genres of Popular Music Theatre," in *Masks of Time: Drama and Its Contexts*, ed. A.M. Gibbs (Canberra: Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1994), pp. 71-108.

<sup>36</sup> A *zingaresca* and a *befanata* (both verse plays) of the same title were also performed during this period: the *zingaresca* by the Compagnia di Pieve di Compito (LU) in 1979, and the *befanata* by the Compagnia di Soiana (PI) in 1980. See Venturelli's discussion in CTP 64, 1982, p. [1].

<sup>37</sup> I was told that this was because their second woman singer had threatened never to sing with them again unless she was given a role, which the *capomaggio* Amilcare Paladini then wrote and inserted the additional stanzas by pasting typewritten slips into the original printed booklet from 1986. The interpolation of this character bears interesting comparison with the addition of the Rodrigo character to Donizetti's opera, discussed above.

<sup>38</sup> Compagnia di Pieve di Compito, Gragnanella (LU) 24/7/1992. *La Pia de' Tolomei, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Pieve di Compito (LU) a cura di Gastone Venturelli* (Pisa, CTP Lucca 64, 1982), st. 172-173. Pia: Violetta Bacchi; Castellano: Andrea Triolo; suggeritrice: Mariella Gini; fisarmonica: Nicola Perdini. Video: Allan Marett.

<sup>39</sup> Compagnia di Partigliano, Partigliano 10/7/1993. *Pia de' Tolomei, La tradizione del Maggio Drammatico Teatrale nella Vallata d'Ottavo, a cura di Alberico Andreuccetti* (Partigliano: "Cultura e comunità," Centro socio culturale di Partigliano LU, 1993), st. 261-262. Pia: Giovanna Santini; Esole: Luciana Pierucci; Castellano Antonio Nicoletti; suggeritore: Alberico Andreuccetti; video: Enrico Pierucci.

<sup>40</sup> Compagnia Pian di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico, Vallico di Sopra 25/8/1996. *La Pia de' Tolomei, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Piano di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico (LU), elaborato da Gastone Tincani* (Lucca, CTP Lucca 122, 1996) st. 134-135. Padre di Pia: Ivo Cantini; Pietro, fratello di Pia: Pietro Giusti; Nello: Ugo Giusti; Romito: Gastone Tincani; Ghino: Luca Calissi; Giullare: Giuseppe Bernardi; Pia: Barbara Bernardi; Suggeritore: Francesco Bertogli; violinista: Alfredo Bertoli; video: Linda Barwick.

<sup>41</sup> See Venturelli's discussion in "Le aree del Maggio."

<sup>42</sup> The young actress "died" into a chair to protect the antique red velvet dress.

<sup>43</sup> Compagnia Pian di Coreglia-Fabbriche di Vallico, Vallico di Sopra 25/8/1996 (St. 150-152).

<sup>44</sup> Compagnia Piazza al Serchio (LU), Caneparola di Fosdinovo (MS) 1990.

*Pia dei Tolomei, secondo il testo adottato dai maggianti di Piazza al Serchio (LU), testo rielaborato da Andrea Bertei*. Comune di Piazza al Serchio, 1990. Pia: Iole Paladini; Ginevra: Cristina Bertei; Castellano: Salvatore Cabonargi; suggeritore: Nando Mori; violinista: Alfredo Redenti; fisarmonicista: Giorgio Ennio; video: Stefano Lucchesi, Giovanni Lucchesi (Noi TV).

<sup>45</sup> Eugene Cohen, "Nicknames, social boundaries and community in an Italian village," *International Journal of Contemporary Sociology* 14 (1977), 102-13; Anton Blok, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences," in *Honour and Violence* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001), pp. 115-35; Sigmund Freud, "Group psychology and the analysis of the ego [1921]," in *Civilization, Society and Religion*, ed. Albert Dickson, translated and edited by James Strachey, vol XII (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 91-178.

<sup>46</sup> Edward S. Casey, "How to get from space to Place'," in *Senses of Place*, eds. S. Feld and K. Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), p. 17.

<sup>47</sup> Linda Barwick, "'Sculpting the words.' Context sensitivity in vocal and movement performance style of the Tuscan Maggio." *European Seminar in Ethnomusicology, Oxford UK, 1994*, ed. Peter Cook (published electronically at <<http://www.music.ed.ac.uk/colloquia/conferences/esem/bar.html>> (accessed 20 February, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> See Venturelli's comments on the socio-economic background of the Garfagnana-Lunigianese in Venturelli, "Le aree del Maggio," p. 58, and references given in his note 49, pp. 107-8.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Chronology of references and works on “La Pia” in English, 1818-1894

compiled by Linda Barwick

- 1818** Ugo FOSCOLO [“First article on Dante”], *Edinburgh Review*, LVIII (February, 1818): 458-9  
translated from the original French by James Mackintosh
- 1820** HEMANS, Felicia Dorothea Browne, 1793-1835. *The works of Mrs. Hemans; With a memoir of her life, by her sister. In seven volumes.* Edinburgh: William Blackwood and London: Thomas Cadell, 1839, 7 v.  
Vol III, pp. 130-139, “The Maremma.” 246 lines
- 1820** HERBERT, William *Works of the Hon. and Very Rev. William Herbert ... Excepting those on botany and natural history. With additions and corrections by the author.* London: H. G. Bohn, 1842, 3 v. Vol I (*Horae Pieriae, or Poetry on various subjects*), pp. 3-24, “Pia della Pietra.” 653 lines
- 1868-80** ROSSETTI, Dante Gabriel. *La Pia de' Tolomei.* 1868-1880. Oil on canvas. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, USA
- 1871** SWINBURNE, Algernon Charles (1837-1909) *The Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne: In Six Volumes.* London: Chatto & Windus, 1905, 6 v. Vol. II, *Songs before sunrise and songs of two nations*, first published 1871 [dedicated to Joseph Mazzini], pp. 161-170, “Siena,” 324 lines, lines 190-243, pp. 166-7, refer to the Pia story.
- date unknown - 1880s?** ROSSETTI, Dante Gabriel (1828-1882) *The Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Edited with Preface and Notes by William M. Rossetti: Revised and Enlarged Edition.* London: Ellis, 1911, xxxvii, 684 p.  
p. 546 “La Pia” Dante [translation from Purgatorio V, 130-136]
- 1884** SHARP, William *Earth's Voices, Transcripts from Nature, Sospitira, and Other Poems.* By William Sharp. London: Elliot Stock, 1884, viii, 207 pp. p. 110 “La Pia” [second of two sonnets based on paintings by Dante Gabriel Rossetti]
- 1886** CONE, Helen Gray *The Atlantic monthly*, volume 58, issue 350 (December 1886) pp745-7, “Madonna Pia” 88 lines
- 1888** LEE-HAMILTON, Eugene, *Imaginary Sonnets.* By Eugene Lee-Hamilton. London: Elliot Stock, 1888, 101p. p. 13 “Pia dei Tolomei to love and death (1295).”
- 1894** MARTIN, Theodore (1816-1909) *Madonna Pia: A Tragedy and Three Other Dramas. Written and Translated by Sir Theodore Martin.* Edinburgh & London: William Blackwood, 1894, 315 pp., pp. 3-92 “Madonna Pia: A tragedy in three acts.” Blank verse (Alexandrines.)