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Machiavelli and Ariosto: Language, Power, and the War of Words

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Machiavelli and Ariosto: Language, Power, and the War of Words

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B.A., State University of New York at New Paltz, 1983
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A Thesis

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APPROVAL PAGE

Master of Arts Thesis

Machiavelli and Ariosto: Language, Power, and the War of Words

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Machiavelli and Ariosto, the two contemporary giants and ideological opposites of the Italian Renaissance, diverge on the realm of power's operation. For Machiavelli, power operates within society; here, one wields power over, or else cedes it to, others. By contrast, for Ariosto the locus of power is one's own mind, where mighty forces swirl and sometimes overtake the individual from within. Whereas in Machiavelli's view, power is asserted over others, the Ariostan view posits dizzying internal passions over which the individual is often powerless.

Against such a background, I anatomize two sets of linguistic details, and show that they in fact encapsulate the philosophical divide between Machiavelli and Ariosto. First, within the details of pronoun choice and collocation lie the fundamentals of both authors' respective philosophies of power. Machiavelli invests pronoun choice (the formal *voi* vs. the informal *tu*) with the weight of military-style maneuvering in the achievement of power and control. In a completely different vein, Ariosto deploys clusters of minimally-differentiated first- and second-person pronouns—*miti, ti mi, mi. . . teco, ti. . . meco*—to render psychological portraits, distinguishing the narcissist from the would-be narcissist, and focusing on the power of this psychological disorder.

Second, in addition to such pronominal distinctions and combinations, Machiavelli and Ariosto also approach the question of language variety as a means of enacting their divergent philosophies of power. Machiavelli imposes his native language, modern Florentine, as the vehicle of literary production, thus placing himself in the linguistic center of power. When Machiavelli does switch to other language varieties, whether Latin or dialectal *volgare*, the switch is made for the express purpose of assuming and maintaining power. Ariosto on the other hand declares his opposition to

Machiavelli's power-based philosophy via his ongoing linguistic revision of the three editions of the *Orlando furioso*, rendering prolific changes both into and out of literary Tuscan.

These data, spanning many years of the works of both authors, are embedded within the overarching *questione della lingua*, which directly debates the language variety to be employed for literary purposes. Furthermore, the same close textual analysis that reveals these patterns with respect to pronominal use and language variety also brings to light another language phenomenon concerning the two authors, namely, the precisely calculated “missing Machiavelli” in the literary lineup of the *Furioso*'s last canto. Indeed, Niccolò Machiavelli's having been *lasciato indreto* was intentional, systematic, and based on linguistic grounds. As an “absent presence” woven into the exordium's laudatory Bembian octave, the “missing Machiavelli” also encapsulates the strategically waged war of words between the two masters of the *cinquecento*, the basis of which ultimately turns on divergent conceptions of power as encoded in language.

Introduction

This study anatomizes a set of linguistic details that encapsulate the ideological opposition between Ariosto and Machiavelli, the two contemporary giants of the Italian Renaissance. In this introductory chapter, I begin by examining the studious exclusion of Machiavelli from the list of Renaissance *letterati* in the beginning of the last canto of *Orlando furioso*, showing that his omission was personal (and indeed Machiavelli took it personally); that it was not only deliberate, but also precisely calculated; and furthermore, that it was in large part based on linguistic grounds. I then proceed to sketch the four remaining chapters of the thesis, in which I demonstrate that within the extremely finely honed details of self-conscious pronoun use and code-switching also lie the essence of the crucial ideological distinctions between Ariosto and Machiavelli, particularly with respect to their conception of the locus of power.

0.2. *Lasciato indreto*

Cox discusses the long-standing function of courtly and literary line-ups in works produced in the fragile collective not yet called “Italy”:

This was an entity which existed, of course, only as a generous figment of the collective imagination, and it is hardly surprising under the circumstances that the Italian cultural elite showed such an anxiety for self-definition. In a nation so politically divided, this elite could only maintain its identity and guarantee its function by constantly reminding itself of its members, proclaiming its existence to itself and the rest of the world. (25-26)

She continues: “Reading the courtly literature of the Cinquecento is a curiously sociable experience: it is scarcely possible to turn a page without encountering the familiar names of poets, princes and *donne di palazzo*, whom we have met in the last poem or dialogue, and the one before that” (26).

“Curiously sociable,” yes; and as Cox and a number of other scholars note, Machiavelli keenly felt the *unsociability* of being omitted from Ariosto’s list of Renaissance notables.¹ We read of Machiavelli’s hurt pride in his famous letter of December 17, 1517 to Lodovico Alamanni:

Io ho letto ad questi dì *Orlando Furioso* dello Ariosto, et veramente el poema è bello tucto, et in di molti luoghi è mirabile. Se si truova costì, raccomandatemi ad lui, et ditegli che io mi dolgo solo che, havendo ricordato tanti poeti, che m’habbi lasciato indreto come un cazo,

¹ See Ascoli, Ascoli and Kahn, and Mazzotta. Ascoli and Kahn note that Machiavelli’s omission in fact constitutes a double insult. They recall Machiavelli’s lament in the prologue to *Mandragola*: “E, se questa materia non è degna, / per esser pur leggieri, / d’un uom, che voglia parer saggio e grave, / scusatelo con questo, che s’ingegna / con questi van’ pensieri / fare il suo tristo tempo più suave, / perché altrove non have / dove voltare el viso, / ché gli è stato interciso / mostrar con altre imprese altra virtùè, / non sendo premio alle fatiche sue” (7). In short, Machiavelli here characterizes his relegation to a literary career as nothing more than a consolation prize for having lost political power. Ascoli and Kahn sum up Machiavelli’s position: “For Machiavelli, the dream of inclusion among the poets is thus powerful but ambivalent: to become part of the community, any community, is to be reempowered, but to be acknowledged as a poet is to be openly exposed as disempowered” (3-4). The authors subsequently term Machiavelli’s dilemma in slightly different terms: “He thinks enough of his literary talents to want to be included among the poets, yet recognizes in this inclusion a sign of his exclusion from the active life” (15). Notably, Ariosto came to share a similar feeling of ostracism. Segre writes: “d’un uomo che si sentiva chiamato a contemplare e a creare bellezza, e ch’era invece obbligato a un’attività pratica (diplomatica e governativa)” (9). In other words, Ariosto suffered frustration of his poetic pursuits by the forced assumption of his duties as functionary, whereas Machiavelli’s thwarted pursuits to serve as functionary forced him to settle for assumption of the role of poet, and, as the final demotion effected by Ariosto’s literary slight in the exordium of the final canto, the role of *excluded* poet.

et ch'egli ha facto ad me quello in sul suo *Orlando*, che io non farò a lui in sul mio *Asino*. (Machiavelli 1971, 1194-95)

While Machiavelli was indeed *lasciato indreto* in the 1516 edition of the *Orlando furioso*, he was even more obviously omitted in the third edition of 1532. In this last edition, as detailed below, Ariosto worked very deliberately to ensure that Machiavelli was not merely left behind, but was in fact very conspicuously excluded.

0.3. A Loud Absence, and Undercutting Power's Power

Ascoli notes the conspicuousness of Machiavelli's exclusion: "There are. . . certain contemporaries of Ariosto whose absence from the list speaks more loudly than their inclusion would have, the most obvious example being Machiavelli" (27).

Mazzotta also points to the "loudness" of this absence, analyzing the omission as a necessary reaction to the Machiavellian conception of power, which he characterizes as follows: "Simply stated, for Machiavelli everything is drawn within power's inexorable orbit and is shaped by it" (152). What is Ariosto's alternative? "Ariosto re-focuses on the question of the origin and essence of power, as Machiavelli did, but, unlike Machiavelli, Ariosto will delineate the movement by which the imagination will undercut power's power" (156-57). Mazzotta sums up the crucial opposing role of the artistic imagination: "[W]hat, then, if anything, can and does Ariosto propose to counter the sinister dissemination of power as madness? The answer, very simply, is the world of play as is incarnated by the poetic imagination, because play and art embody the mentality that both radically opposes and contains (in every sense of the word) the principles and practices of power" (165).

Klopp describes the widely divergent philosophies of Ariosto and Machiavelli in terms of flexibility, including linguistic flexibility, a topic to which I turn in Chapters Three and Four:

[W]hile Ariosto's more "Italian" or peninsular, in any case non-Tuscan solution to the "questione della lingua" was determined in part by his belonging to a local literary tradition not nearly so illustrious as that of Florence, his approach to the whole matter is also one that in its flexibility, tolerance, and sense of the existence of multiple solutions (here linguistic ones) to a problem, indicates that Ariosto's attitudes toward language were consistent with everything else we know about the man as well. In the same way, Machiavelli's relative linguistic rigidity, ardent local pride, and concern with practical results as well as theoretical positions as seen in the *Discorso* are not unlike similar positions evident in the *Prince* and elsewhere in his works. (73)

0.4. A Carefully Staged Exclusion: Many *Niccolòs*, But Where is Machiavelli?

Having mentioned the personal and deliberate ("loud") nature of Machiavelli's missing face in the crowd of notable figures, and very broadly sketched major points of dissension between Ariosto and Machiavelli, I turn now to the actual structure of the exordium, and demonstrate its highly systematic mode of construction, and precisely calculated design to exclude Machiavelli.

Octave 15—the Bembian octave, to which I return below—is flanked by *Niccolòs*. As for Octave 14, following are its last two lines: "Veggio il Mainardo, veggio

il Leoniceno, / il Pannizzato, e Celio e il Teocreno” (XLVI.14.7-8, emphasis added).

Footnotes to this couplet are as follows: “*il Leoniceno*: Niccolò Leoniceno, letterato della corte ferrarese; *il Pannizzato*: Niccolò Mario Pannizzato, umanista” (1273).

Notably, the two figures Leoniceno and Pannizzato share the first name *Niccolò*.

While Casadei (“L’esordio”) does not make note of the covert homonymy in this first pair of *Niccolòs*—presumably because the homonymous elements must first be filled in—he does mention the second pair of *Niccolòs*, the pair that opens Octave 16, and likens it to two other homonymous pairs, which, in fact, occur before the *Leoniceno/Pannizzato* pair within Octave 14: “Osserveremo, d’altronde, che l’accostamento di questi due ultimi poeti è motivato da un fattore formale già ricordato: ancora una volta (cfr. ott. 14, 1-2; 5-6) infatti si ha l’identità dei nomi della coppia di artisti. . .” (77).

Below is XLVI.14 in full:

Ecco altri *duo Alessandri* in quel drappello,
dagli Orologi l’un, l’altro il Guarino.
Ecco Mario d’Olvito, ecco il flagello
de’ principi, il divin Pietro Aretino.
Duo Ieronimi veggo, l’uno è quello
di Veritade, e l’altro il Cittadino.
Veggo il Mainardo, veggo *il Leoniceno*,
il Pannizzato, e Celio e il Teocreno. (emphasis added)

Thus, Ariosto slyly points to *Leoniceno* and *Pannizzato* as homonyms, specifically people with the first name *Niccolò*.

On the other side of Octave 15, as just mentioned, the first two lines of Octave 16 are also populated by *Niccolòs*: “Veggio *Nicolò* Tiepoli, e con esso / *Nicolò* Amanio in me affissar le ciglia” (XLVI.16.1-2, emphasis added).

0.5. Bembo: The Anti-Machiavellian *legislatore linguistico*

Following Ariosto himself, Casadei places great emphasis on the transition from Octave 15 to 16. Citing factors other than inclusion of the name *Niccolò*, Casadei remarks on this section of text: “Il passaggio all’ottava successiva risulta, ancora una volta, particolarmente *calibrato*. . .” (75, emphasis added). Calibrated indeed, as Casadei lists on the one hand the criterion of close association with Bembo, and also, almost incidentally, that of bearing the name *Niccolò*: “Tornando al passaggio dall’ott. 15 alla 16, noteremo che, con la disposizione del ’32, è proprio un poeta veneto ed appartenente alla cerchia bembiana ad aprire questa nuova stanza, il che non potrà apparire casuale. Si tratta di *Niccolò* [sic]² Tiepoli, coetaneo di Bembo e suo intimo amico” (76).

Casadei emphasizes the degree to which Bembo looms large in the 1532 edition. In attempting to discern the reasons for including the figure of Angiolo Tancredi, Casadei conjectures that perhaps Tancredi had been in some way connected with Bembo, part of the “‘gruppo veneto’, alla cui insegna pare chiudersi questo panorama.” Casadei concludes, “Sarebbe questa una riprova dell’importanza fondamentale assunta dal magistero bembiano in questa terza redazione del *Furioso*” (83).

² Casadei renders Ariosto’s “*Nicolò* Tiepoli” and “*Nicolò* Amanio” as “*Niccolò* Tiepoli” and “*Niccolò* Amanio” (76); the reduction of double consonants and the doubling of single consonants as dialectal traits are briefly mentioned in Chapter Four.

Before continuing, the central, and specific, role of Bembo in the exordium must be elucidated. Chapters Three and Four of this thesis study the opposing stances assumed by Ariosto and Machiavelli in relation to the variety (or varieties) of the vernacular deemed fit for literary creation. Deferring for now the details of that discussion, the relevant distinction for present purposes is as follows: Although Tuscan was becoming the agreed-upon language variety for a geographically broad group of Italian *letterati* during the 15th and 16th centuries, dispute continued regarding whether the appropriate literary vehicle was contemporary Florentine or instead the masterly written language of 14th-century Florence; while Machiavelli belonged to the first camp, Bembo, author of *Prose della volgar lingua*, fell solidly in the second camp.³ In other words, Bembo is the anti-Machiavelli.

Octave 15 itself, in which Ariosto extols Bembo, follows:

Là Bernardo Capel, là veggo Pietro
Bembo, che 'l puro e dolce idioma nostro,
levato fuor del volgare uso tetro,
quale esser dee, ci ha col suo esempio mostro.
Guasparro Obizi è quel che gli vien dietro,
ch'ammira e osserva il sì ben speso inchiostro.
Io veggo il Fracastorio, il Bevazano,
Trifon Gabriele, e il Tasso più lontano.

³ See among others Brand, Verdicchio, and Weinapple.

Casadei refers to this part of the list of poets and *letterati*, which was added to the 1532 edition, as “l’arco di volta di tutte queste stanze” (73). He then coins a key term for

Bembo:

Bembo viene qui ricordato specificamente come *legislatore linguistico*. . . Tornando di nuovo in questo passo sul problema della lingua (cfr. ott. 12, 1 sg.), Ariosto prende decisamente posizione, e, con un commento metaletterario, ci indica il percorso della sua personale revisione del poema. È evidente anche dalla lettera da lui scritta a Bembo il 23 febbraio 1531 che la nuova veste linguistica del *Furioso* doveva assumere caratteri ‘nazionali’ . . .” (73, emphasis added)

Having discerned the mantle worn by Bembo, Casadei examines further the arrangement of names in Octave 15 and concludes, “Si viene quindi sempre più a confermare l’ipotesi che Ariosto abbia voluto rappresentare un gruppo di personaggi ruotanti attorno al ‘pernio’ fisso costituito da Bembo” (74). Indeed, Casadei cites the (pro-Bembian) contributions of several participants in *la questione della lingua* as their ticket into Ariosto’s list:

Non ci sembra quindi forzato pensare ad una precisa volontà di Ariosto di ricordare almeno alcuni dei massimi esponenti del dibattito sulla lingua, quali Trissino e Tolomei, collocandoli in una posizione assai ravvicinata in questa stanza [12], prima di esprimere la sua posizione pro-bembiana, sia teorica sia concreta, nell’ott. 15. (60)

It is then obvious that if a pro-Bembian linguistic position is grounds for *inclusion* in the “Who’s Who” beginning Canto XLVI, then an anti-Bembian position—such as that of

Machiavelli—is grounds for *exclusion*. In fact, Casadei notes the mention of poets from all throughout the peninsula, including the Genoese Paolo Pansa, who wrote in Latin, and ends his discussion of Pansa with a summary that would be sure to irk Machiavelli: “Si chiariscono, perciò, i motivi di questo inserimento, all’interno di un panorama che, come cominciamo ad accorgerci, ha notevoli ambizioni di completezza” (60). Casadei is correct to believe that the lengthy enumeration, which sweeps the peninsula, does imply completeness, a fact that rankled Machiavelli, as it was intended to do. In short, in the stretch of text consisting of Octave 15 and the two couplets that immediately precede and succeed it, Ariosto ‘sees’ other linguists—all Bembian, none Machiavellian. In addition, throughout all the *seeing*—*veggo...veggo...veggo*—Ariosto sees other *Niccolòs*; the one unseen *Niccolò* is Niccolò Machiavelli. Below I repeat Octave 15, along with the end of 14 and the beginning of 16, which symmetrically surround Bembo, *il legislatore linguistico*, with the *Niccolòs* prominently highlighted:

Veggo il Mainardo, veggo *il [Niccolò]* Leoniceno,

il [Niccolò] Pannizzato, e Celio e il Teocreno.

Là Bernardo Capel, là veggo Pietro

Bembo, che ’l puro e dolce idioma nostro,

levato fuor del volgare uso tetro,

quale esser dee, ci ha col suo esempio mostro.

Guasparro Obizi è quel che gli vien dietro,

ch’ammira e osserva il sì ben speso inchiostro.

Io veggo il Fracastorio, il Bevazano,

Trifon Gabriele, e il Tasso più lontano.

Veggio Nicolò Tiepoli, e con esso

Nicolò Amanio in me affissar le ciglia;

Augmenting the significant placement of these *Niccolòs* is the fact that there are no other instances of the name in the exordium; that is, all *Niccolòs* surround the Bembian Octave 15 above.

0.6. Magnifying Machiavelli's Exclusion: *La sincronia poetica*

In this regard, Casadei reveals yet another wrinkle, a wrinkle that is relevant to the collection of *Niccolòs*. In referring to the mention of *Leoniceno*, he explicates:

Ma bisogna, innanzitutto, risolvere un nuovo problema testuale: nelle redazioni [di 1516] e [di 1521]. . . appariva, al posto di “Leoniceno”, l’appellativo “Leonico”, che potrebbe essere quello dell’umanista veneziano Niccolò Tomeo. Credo però che Ariosto volesse già allora riferirsi al Leoniceno, che infatti veniva anche chiamato “Niccolò da Leonico” (è noto che i due personaggi in questione venivano spesso confusi proprio per questo motivo). (72)

Since Leoniceno died eight years prior to the final edition of the *Furioso*, his being ‘seen’ by Ariosto is due to his status as “un ‘vecchio maestro’, degno della massima considerazione,” and also for a time Bembo’s teacher, among other honors (72).

However, regarding this appearance of Leoniceno’s name in the list, Casadei also notes its status as one of a number of anachronisms: “Anche in questo caso, quindi, vengono fatti coesistere personaggi appartenenti a generazioni diverse, legate tuttavia da un rapporto di successione diretta, di antecedente/consequente. La presenza di Niccolò

Panizzato [sic]⁴ sembrerebbe rafforzare quest'impressione" (72). In actuality, here and elsewhere Casadei demonstrates the palimpsestuous nature of the 1516, 1521, and 1532 editions of the *Furioso*. The most succinct definition of a palimpsest is to be found on the back cover of Genette: "Un palimpseste est un parchemin dont on a gratté la première inscription pour en tracer une autre, qui ne la cache pas tout à fait, en sorte qu'on peut y lire, par transparence, l'ancien sous le nouveau."

Although Casadei does not use this terminology, he accurately captures this 'transparency' of the 1532 edition to the previous editions: "Per quanto riguarda il nostro esordio, possiamo comprendere qual è stato il divenire culturale del poema, cioè, quali epoche letterarie ha attraversato, a quali pubblici è stato rivolto, proprio perché Ariosto crea una 'compresenza' che viola, coscientemente, le leggi della cronologia reale, rendendo contigui il *prima* e il *dopo*" (88).

In discussing this *compresenza*, Casadei is emphatic regarding the degree to which it is pervasive, throughout the poem and its series of revisions: "in nessun caso Ariosto ritiene di dover sostituire autori defunti nel periodo intercorso fra la prima e la terza redazione, creando così una singolare 'sincronia poetica' di artisti operanti in momenti storici assolutamente differenziati" (62).⁵

In accounting for the "seeing" of Jacopo Sannazzaro—"he who lures / the Muses

⁴ As seen above, in the text of XLVI.14, the name is written with the double *n*: *Pannizzato*. See footnote 2.

⁵ Along with the pervasive, as well as perennial, nature of this *sincronia poetica*, Casadei also demonstrates its deliberateness: "In particolare. . . l'ott. 8 assume una notevole importanza ai fini del nostro discorso, perché pone *esplicitamente*. . . una differenziazione tra poeti della generazione passata. . . e quelli della nuova. . . dimostrando, così, la precisa attenzione dell'Ariosto per questi fattori cronologici, che, una volta di più, fonde in un *unico* elenco" (88).

from the mountains to the shores” (Ariosto, *Frenzy of Orlando* 640)—but also he who has in 1532 already been dead for two years—Casadei explains:

Siamo di fronte infatti ad un altro esempio di quella regola generale del poema, valida per tutte le correzioni storico-culturali dell’ultima redazione, che si è già avuto modo di definire come “principio di sincronizzazione”. . . Sulla base di quest’ultimo, Ariosto può menzionare in questa sua galleria non solo i protagonisti della scena letteraria italiana nel ’32, ma anche i “maestri”, i predecessori, a volte scomparsi, che avevano però segnato un periodo, e che (in quanto punti di partenza di molteplici esperienze artistiche) avevano interagito con la composizione del *Furioso* stesso. Il poema ariostesco dunque pare accogliere in sé la diacronia, il proprio divenire storico. . . . (80)

Casadei emphasizes the fact that while Sannazzaro himself has been eclipsed as honorable “modello culturale” by Pietro Bembo, the role he bore lives on, in his terminology, *permane*: “Di conseguenza, ci sembra assai significativo questo *permanere* di una figura emblematica di un modo di far letteratura che Ariosto ha conosciuto e ‘attraversato’, nel ’32, ma non dimenticato, ovviamente anche perché la fama di Sannazzaro si manteneva alta, probabilmente già simile a quella di un classico” (80).

Having studied Casadei’s demonstration of the palimpsestuous nature of the *Furioso*, with particular focus on the exordium in Canto XLVI, we now perceive the import of this feature to the conspicuous omission of Machiavelli. Recalling Casadei’s clear demonstration of Bembo’s centrality—using terms such as *il pernio fisso* and *l’arco*

di volta—the significance with which Ariosto imbues this arrangement of names is clear: fanning out from Bembo, *il legislatore linguistico*, are his Bembian followers, flanked further out by figures who are slyly named *Niccolò*, but not named *Machiavelli*.

Furthermore, by also taking into account the palimpsestuous composition of the exordium, we see that in at least one case, there is even ambiguity regarding *which Niccolò* Ariosto is listing; indeed, perhaps Ariosto intends to signify both a dead *and* a live Niccolò with the name *Leoniceno*. Thus, compounding the conspicuousness of Machiavelli's exclusion is the fact that although a number of dead *letterati*—and perhaps even a dead Niccolò—are seen, Niccolò Machiavelli never is.

In conclusion, while Machiavelli's omission from the exordium beginning Canto XLVI, this “Who's Who” of Renaissance Italy, is correctly analyzed by Mazzotta as a deliberate statement of general philosophical disagreement, it is more: These octaves also constitute a strategic deployment of weaponry in the waging of battle during the 16th century's linguistic wars that we know as *la questione della lingua*.

0.7. Chapter Summary

Certainly this analysis of the missing Machiavelli points to the centrality of *la questione della lingua*. Just as crucially, however, in the intricate details of the language-based warfare, the carefully crafted slight also bespeaks a more general phenomenon, namely the microscopic attention to linguistic detail on the part of both Ariosto, the writer of the exordium in XLVI, and Machiavelli, one of the primary members intended in its readership. Keeping in mind this bent for packing an enormous volume of meaning into

the smallest unit of language—shared of course by Machiavelli, who picked up on all the layers of the insult—the following chapters attempt to approach the works of the two authors in this same spirit.

Chapters One and Two study salient instances of the literary employment of pronouns, and demonstrate the extreme consciousness on the part of both authors of the power in their choice and collocation. Chapter One shows that for Machiavelli, pronoun choice (the formal *voi* vs. the informal *tu*) is clearly an instrument in the negotiation of power and control.

Chapter Two, by contrast, identifies pronominal clusters in which a face-off between a minimally-differentiated first- and second-person pronoun paints a vivid psychological portrait, distinguishing the narcissist from the would-be narcissist. I choose this particular sample of pronominal collocations due to its robust presence throughout the *Furioso*, as well as to the pervasiveness of the theme of narcissistic character types, and of allusions to the myth of Narcissus. As mentioned above, Machiavelli and Ariosto diverge on the conception of power. Specifically, the key distinction concerns the realm of power's operation: for Machiavelli, power operates in the outside world, and here the individual wrests power from, or else relinquishes it to, others; for Ariosto, power resides within the interior of one's own mind, and it asserts itself as often untamable passions, and disorders such as narcissism. Mazzotta summarizes:

What Seneca and the thought of the Stoics fully grasp is exactly the truth Machiavelli did not understand, but Ariosto lucidly seized. The power over others which *The Prince* pursues has its own irresistible

fascination. But for Ariosto, who follows Seneca in this, this pursuit into the outside world is madness, *furor*, the implacable force unlocking the grim gates of war. The limit in Machiavelli's figuration of power lies in his placing the turbulence and strife only in the outside world, which the prince would have to channel and shape into the work of art. There is a stronger power inside the self, and this is identifiable with the passions that force one to act, with the dizziness and disorder within the mind. Orlando, like Hercules, is the hero who conquers all but succumbs to the treacherous figments of his own mind. Following Seneca, in short, power for Ariosto is not simply what is visible on the stage of Machiavellian politics; rather, he probes the enigma of the passions that underlies and shapes the actions of the hero. (160)

Thus, Ariosto's psychological portraiture is the outgrowth of his locating the mightiest forces within the mind of the individual. Regarding these forces, Mazzotta specifies the "anti-Machiavellianism" that they constitute: "Orlando's madness, in effect, is tantamount to an unlimited, absolute power, and from this viewpoint, it is the obverse side of the Renaissance myth—and of the Machiavellian Prince—of boundless self-assertion" (163). The cases of pronominal use discussed in Chapters One and Two are therefore emblematic of the themes at the core of each author's work; as such, they constitute case studies in the distinct application of Machiavellian and Ariostan ideology with respect to power.

Chapters Three and Four return to a matter more closely related to *la questione della lingua*, and study both the question of who chooses the language employed for

literary purposes, as well as the use of code-switching, that is, the change between different languages or different varieties of a single language in the same discourse. First, as mentioned in Section 0.5, Machiavelli imposes his native tongue, modern Florentine, as the medium for literary creation throughout the peninsula. While the archaizing Tuscan proposed by Bembo, as the mother tongue of no living “Italian,” is accessible to authors from all regions, the imposition of modern Florentine obviously grants privilege to Machiavelli.

As for code-switching, Chapter Three examines two aspects of Machiavelli’s treatment of this device. First, his employment of Latin as a code of power allows a character, for example Ligurio in *La mandragola*, to “bowl over” another character; Vanossi’s term for this effect is “mistificazione linguistica” (27). A second use of Latin in *La mandragola* is simply the preclusion of comprehension. As Barber observes, “L’uso del latino limita la comunicazione diretta fra Nicia e Callimaco a un livello superficiale, e assicura che il controllo del discorso resti a Ligurio” (392). As for Ligurio’s mimetic adoption of idiomatic Florentine dialectal elements, Barber shows that this too is a handy tool for achieving power over Nicia: “Possiamo dire che Ligurio, parlando a Nicia, adopera lo stesso socioletto dell’interlocutore, si inserisce linguisticamente nel suo mondo sociale per conquistarlo” (391). As in the case of pronoun choice, for Machiavelli code-switching is also a tool for the assumption and maintenance of power.

On the other hand, the use of code-switching by Ariosto constitutes opposition to Machiavelli’s power-based approach. In this regard, Chapter Four points to an anomaly, namely Ariosto’s back-and-forth Tuscanizing—revising both into and out of literary

Tuscan—and offers an explanation in terms of resistance to the Machiavellian conception of power, in this case instantiated by Machiavelli’s imposition of modern Tuscan.

Decades pass between Machiavelli’s linguistic snipe at Ariosto’s *I suppositi* (1509), which Machiavelli holds up as an example of “una veste rattoppata,” which “patches together” Ferrarese and Florentine elements; and the “rattoppatura” that is Ariosto’s last revision of *Orlando furioso* in 1532. I claim that the two events are connected.

As for the latter event, after some puzzlement regarding the robust bidirectional linguistic changes in this final edition, Brand concludes, “We cannot always be confident that these were not due to oversights on Ariosto’s part, or mistakes on the part of his printers, but the numbers are such as to lead us to believe that Ariosto was firmly claiming his poet’s licence” (169). However, if only the poet and not the grammarian in Ariosto were driving the “artistic” changes, Brand’s next statement would be incongruous: “But his acute interest in the language of his poem is apparent not only in the numerous corrections he made for the last edition (which leave barely a stanza unmarked), but also in the variants between different copies of the 1532 edition which show that the poet intervened to correct his text after the printing had actually begun” (169). In the end, such “acute” linguistic interest indicates that Ariosto’s “poet’s licence” is not the sole explanation for his back-and-forth Tuscanizing; nor, as author of the (eventually) Crusca-endorsed model of Tuscan, is Ariosto lacking in the requisite knowledge for rendering his poem into fine Tuscan.

Instead, just as Ariosto’s focus on the powerful driving forces within the human psyche offers an alternative to Machiavelli’s system of negotiating power positions on the social totem pole, and just as the precisely constructed exordium conspicuously excludes

Machiavelli, so Ariosto's proud and deliberate embrace of more than a single variety of Italian amounts to a "declaration of independence" from Machiavelli's linguistic tyranny.

Thus, whether the phenomenon under study is the adept choice and arrangement of pronouns, or the skillful alternation among different varieties of Italian, running through each of these linguistic aspects are, on the one side, the Machiavellian theme of "power's inexorable orbit," and on the other, the Ariostan theme of resistance to the constructs of worldly power, and with this resistance, the attempt to fathom the even more powerful interior world of human passions.

Chapter One

Pulling the Strings: Machiavelli's Pronoun Choice as Device for Negotiation of Power and Control

This chapter studies the use of pronoun selection—*tu* vs. *voi*—as a means for the assumption and maintenance of the upper hand in a number of intricate contests for power. The findings of this chapter span Machiavelli's many works in various genres, concentrating primarily on the *Favola (Belfagor arcidiavolo)*, *Mandragola*, the “Discorso o dialogo,” and letter-writing dating from 1503, when Machiavelli still held a political post.

Section 1.4 introduces the tools of speech act theory in order to elucidate the mechanism of pronoun choice in these works. Bonino, who terms *Mandragola* “una prosecuzione del *Principe*” (5), in fact concludes: “Ad analisi ultimata, ci renderemmo conto che non c'è sequenza, non periodo, non battuta della *Mandragola* che sia pura ‘letteratura’. . . all'opposto, ogni parola, all'atto d'essere pronunciata, si ritaglia uno spazio scenico, diventa parola-azione. . .” (7). The purpose of such “word-actions,” of course, is the assumption of power and control. The extreme degree to which control of one character over another is achieved in Machiavelli's work is aptly characterized in Masciandaro's study of *Mandragola*: “Nicia è la marionetta, i cui gesti e motti sono orchestrati e diretti dal marionettista Ligurio” (“Machiavelli umorista” 119). In fact, the appropriateness of this metaphor for the active/passive state with respect to control extends to all of Machiavelli's works considered here.⁶

⁶ Beecher also discusses the prominence in *Mandragola* of another role in addition to marionette and *marionettista*, namely *animateur*, a category that is in some sense midway between the passive marionette on the one hand, and the detached (off-stage) true

Belfagor exemplifies not only the assumption of control by Gianmatteo, but also two cases of the reversal of control relations, reversal with Belfagor Roderigo and reversal with the King of France. In the case of the switch with Belfagor, Manai points out that the alternations in active/passive status are deliberate and chameleon-like. Almost like a *willing* marionette when it suits him, Gianmatteo at first plays this passive role for a greater good:

Più avanti il comportamento di Gianmatteo sembra rispecchiare il mito dell'uomo che sa adattarsi alla natura e riscontrarsi con essa: nonostante sia per natura *animoso*, cioè pronto all'azione, visto che la situazione richiede una certa passività, egli sembra adattarsi passivamente ai desideri di Roderigo che organizza gli invasamenti. Quando però la situazione cambia e Roderigo lo mette alle strette, Gianmatteo ridiventa pronto all'azione e trionfa. (24)⁷

Manai notes that as time passes, Gianmatteo “abbandona il suo ruolo di esecutore passivo dei suggerimenti di Belfagor e prende in mano la situazione” (20). Ultimately, of course, Gianmatteo comes to pull all the strings and to completely orchestrate Belfagor’s actions with the words: “Oimè, Roderigo mio! Quella è mogliata che ti viene a ritrovare.” This final reversal between Gianmatteo and Belfagor is one of the two instances described by Manai: “Vengono infatti contrapposti violentemente due momenti della vicenda, durante i quali Gianmatteo passa da un momento di estremo pericolo a uno di trionfo e Roderigo

marionettista on the other. Beecher concludes that with Ligurio, Machiavelli makes “remarkable progress in diversifying and strengthening the role” (175).

⁷ Thus Gianmatteo possesses the characteristics of “l’immagine mitica dell’eroe machiavelliano che sa essere se stesso e il suo contrario. . .” (Manai 26).

da uno di sicurezza e potere a uno di terrore e di rassegnata sottomissione al destino” (24).

1.2. Pronoun Switch in *Belfagor*

This section demonstrates the similar reversal in control relations between Gianmatteo and Lodovico VII, King of France, this time effected by pronoun choice⁸. While much has been written about Gianmatteo’s reversal of power relations with the devil,⁹ little attention has been given to the subsidiary reversal of power between Gianmatteo and the King of France. This lack is especially striking in light of the complete pliability that Gianmatteo brings about in the King—indeed, to such a degree that the King then becomes an instrument, a pawn, for the subsequent reversal of status between Gianmatteo and the devil. Below I will detail Machiavelli’s demonstration that with the right pronoun, a king becomes a pawn.

At the time of the signiory’s request for his exorcism services, Gianmatteo is completely powerless: “La quale *forzò* Gianmatteo a *ubidire*” (“Favola,” 792). The King responds to Gianmatteo’s expression of doubt regarding his ability to bring about a successful exorcism: “Al quale il Re turbato disse che se non la guariva che lo *appenderebbe*” (792, emphasis added). Gianmatteo asks for and is refused the help of Belfagor. The relative positions of Gianmatteo and the King at this point are clear.

Nevertheless, Gianmatteo brings about a complete status reversal, as mentioned, by means of nothing other than pronominal switch. The crucial feature in the passage

⁸ For my purposes, the category “pronominal” also includes verbal morphology, which indicates the pronominal distinction (e.g. *voi/tu*) even in sentences in which the subject is not overtly expressed.

⁹ See, for example, Arnaudo, Grazzini, Manai, and Matteo.

below is the shift from forms of the briefly employed formal/honorific pronoun *voi* (*vi/Vostra*) to forms of the familiar *tu* (*tu, tua, tuoi*, and the second-person singular verbal ending *-ai*). Hand in hand with this shift in Gianmatteo's mode of addressing the King is the absolute turnabout in their roles. In fact, the second-person singular future verb forms *farai* and *fabbricherai* have the force of imperatives, as in for example *farai parare il palco di drappi di seta e d'oro, fabbricherai nel mezo di quello uno altare*, commands issued to the King of France by an Italian *contadino*.

Alternation in control is obviously reciprocal; when one side goes up, the other comes down. Gianmatteo proceeds stepwise, his speech including a point at which these two parties in motion actually balance at the same level, for the duration of the underlined elements:

Donde che Gianmatteo non veggendo per allora rimedio pensò di tentare la sua fortuna per un'altra via. E fatto andare via la spiritata disse al Re: — Sire, come *vi* ho detto, e' sono di molti spiriti che sono sì maligni che con loro non si ha alcuno buono partito, e questo è uno di quegli. Pertanto io voglio fare una ultima sperienza, la quale se gioverà, la *Vostra* Maestà *e io aremo la intenzione nostra; quando non giovì io sarò nelle tua forze e arai di me quella compassione che merita la innocenza mia.* *Farai* pertanto fare in su la piazza [sic] di Nostra Dama un palco grande e capace di tutti i *tuoi* baroni e di tutto il clero di questa città; *farai* parare il palco di drappi di seta e d'oro; *fabbricherai* nel mezo di quello uno altare; e voglio che domenica mattina prossima *tu* con il clero insieme con tutti i *tuoi* principi e baroni, con la reale pompa, con splendidi e ricchi

abigliamenti conveniate sopra quello, dove, celebrata prima una solenne messa, *farai* venire la indemoniata. (792-93, emphasis added)

In this passage, although the underlined segment begins with the honorific *Vostra*, indicating that the King is in a position of control, it is possible to trace Machiavelli's ingenious progression, and see that the conjunction of *la Vostra Maestà* with *io*, the agreeing first person plural form *aremo*, and the first person plural possessive *nostra* begin to bring about a balance. The highlighted elements *tua* and *arai* further lower the King's status with respect to Gianmatteo, but the semantics of the words *forze* and *compassione* cancels out the lowering effect of *tua* and *arai*, maintaining the balance, as Gianmatteo appeals to the King's mercy and compassion. The King and Gianmatteo are momentarily balanced, on a par. The function of the underlined material will be discussed later in this chapter.

For the moment, note the completion of the process of power reversal, as the accumulation of informal forms tips the balance in Gianmatteo's favor. Beginning with the second-person singular familiar *Farai*, Gianmatteo is in charge; from this point on, the orders of the *contadino* are now obeyed by the King of France, *subito*. The good of both parties is served (*avremo la intenzione nostra*), à la Machiavelli,¹⁰ but the *marionettista* role is now clearly taken on by Gianmatteo.

¹⁰ We also read of such symbiosis in Machiavelli's other works, for example Chapter Twenty-two of *Il Principe*, which offers the following advice for the maintenance of counselors' loyalty:
el principe, per mantenerlo buono, debba pensare al ministro, onorandolo, faccendolo ricco, obligandoselo, partecipandoli li onori ed e carichi, acciò che vegga che non può stare senza lui, e che gli assai onori non li faccino desiderare più onori, le assai ricchezze non li faccino desiderare più ricchezze, gli assai carichi li faccino temere le mutazioni. (109)

1.3. *Mandragola's tu esplosivo*

The systematic nature of Gianmatteo's speech to the King becomes even more evident in the context of Machiavelli's other work. For example, *Mandragola* contains a similar instance, in which Nicia switches from *voi* (the pronoun used throughout the play by Nicia to address Callimaco) to *tu*, at Callimaco's report that the man who first sleeps with Lucrezia after she takes the mandrake potion will die within eight days: "Cacasangue! Io non voglio cotesta suzzacchera! A me non l'apiccherai *tu!* *Voi* mi *avete* concio bene!" (Act II, Scene 6, 88, emphasis added).

While we cannot assert that Nicia here elevates his role to that of *marionettista*, Masciandaro ("Machiavelli umorista") points out that the pronominal switch indeed brings about a momentary alteration and elevation of the status of Nicia, who briefly shucks off his comical marionette status in relation to the man to whom he has just uttered in this same scene: "Dite pure, ch   io son per farvi onore di tutto, e per credervi pi   che al mio confessore" (87).

As detected by Masciandaro, the switch to "questo *tu esplosivo*" is highlighted by the immediately following pronoun *voi*. In addition, Nicia earlier in Act II (Scene 1) has shown himself to be aware of and attentive to form of address when he "corrects" Ligurio's question, "Èvi Callimaco?" by asking, "Che non di' tu 'maestro Callimaco'?" (82). Masciandaro notes too that Nicia continues the honorific mode of address to Callimaco in Scene 2, with the words "Bona dies, domine magister" (120). Considering

Similarly, in *Mandragola* we read Ligurio's assurance to Callimaco: "Non dubitare della fede mia, ch  , quando e' non ci fussi l'utile che io sento e che io spero, e' c'   che 'l tuo sangue si conf   col mio, e desidero che tu adempia questo tuo desiderio presso a quanto tu" (79).

this awareness of Nicia's, and the context of the following *voi*, when the pronoun is switched with Callimaco, Nicia does not so much "give him the tu" as thrust it at him.

Masciandaro shows that Nicia's assumption of a more autonomous, human status by means of *il tu esplosivo* transcends the comic by "jamming its mechanism," and constitutes a moment of Pirandellian *humorism*; we not only perceive the "contrary," but now also feel or internalize it.¹¹ In fact, Masciandaro articulates the subtle interplay in Nicia of puppet and human, an interplay that Bergson proposes as a prerequisite for comicity (Bergson 23-24). Thus, along with Nicia's laughable malleability, he also displays what Masciandaro terms "un barlume di vita vera" (119). On the transformative, albeit momentary, power of Nicia's pronominal switch, Masciandaro concludes: "Fra il 'tu' e il 'voi' pronunciati da Nicia Machiavelli apre uno spazio in cui il comico suscitato dalla iniziale battuta oscena si trasforma in umorismo" (120).

1.4. "A Scathing Letter": Irony via *il voi percussivo*

The obverse of Machiavelli's highly charged *dare del tu* is a similar pronominal switch in the other direction. As in *Belfagor* and *Mandragola*, the pronoun switch detailed below clearly indicates Machiavelli's keen awareness of the extreme importance of pronoun choice as a tool of power. The case in question predates both *Belfagor* (1515-1520) and *Mandragola* (1518), and occurs in a letter written by Machiavelli in 1503. In the introduction to their compilation of letters, Atkinson and Sices discuss Machiavelli's awareness of the vital role of language in the assumption and maintenance of political

¹¹ See Masciandaro ("Machiavelli umorista").

power, and describe “a scathing letter” to Agnolo Tucci, a member of the Florentine Signoria.

In reply to Tucci’s impatient letter demanding a requested report on papal policy—in which Tucci had addressed Machiavelli as *tu*—Machiavelli writes the following:

Et benché tucte queste medesime cose mi sieno sute scripte dal publico, et che si sia risposto sì largamente che voi in su lo scrivere facto vi potete consigliare, tamen per non manchare dello ofitio anchora con voi, havendomene invitato, vi replicherò el medesimo; et parlerò in vulgare, se io havessi parlato con l’Ofitio in gramatica, che non mel pare havere facto. (1061)

Atkinson and Sices point out that the insult directed at Tucci is achieved by implying that he would need to be addressed “in vulgare,” rather than “in gramatica.” The authors also indicate that the more public nature of letters written in Machiavelli’s day ensured that the put-down could be registered by a wider audience than Mr. Tucci alone (xxii). The issue of mastery of various language varieties—here, vernacular Italian vs. Latin—is indeed a key ingredient in Machiavelli’s posturing vis-à-vis Tucci; Chapter Three returns to the issue of Machiavelli’s employment, as well as regulation, of different language varieties as a means to power.

For the present, however, the letter in its entirety merits study for another feature, namely its relentless stream of second-person formal forms:

Magnifice vir etc. Ho ricevuta la *vostra* de’ 21 anchora che io non intenda la soscriptione, ma parmi riconosciervi alla mano et alle parole;

pure, quando m'ingannassi, el risponderne ad *voi* non sarà male allogato né fuori di proposito. *Voi mostrate* el periculo che porta el resto di Romagna, sendo perduta Faenza; *accennate* che *vi* bisogna pensare a' casi *vostri*, non si provedendo altrimenti per chi può, o dovrebbe; *dubitare* che 'l Papa non ci sia consentiente; *sete* in aria nello evento delle cose franzesi; *ricordate* che si ricordi et che si solleciti etc. Et benché tucte queste medesime cose mi sieno sute scripte dal publico, et che si sia risposto sì largamente che *voi* in su lo scrivere facto *vi potete* consigliare, tamen per non manchare dello ofitio anchora con *voi*, havendomene invitato, *vi* replicherò el medesimo; et parlerò in vulgare, se io havessi parlato con l'Ofitio in gramaticha, che non mel pare havere facto.

Voi vorresti una volta che 'l Papa et Roano rimediassino a' casi di Romagna con altro che con parole, giudicando che le non bastino a' facti che fanno et hanno facto e Vinitiani, et ci *havete* facto sollecitare l'uno et l'altro in quello modo che *voi sapete*, di che ne son nate quelle resolutioni che vi sono scripte, perché el Papa spera che Vinitiani habbino ad compiacerlo, et Roano crede o con pace o con tregua o con victoria essere a-ttempo ad ricorreggiere; et stanno ciascun di loro sì fixi in su queste opinioni, che non vogliono porgere horechio ad nessun che ricordi loro alcuna cosa fuora di questo. Et perciò *vi* si può fare questa conclusione: che di qua *voi* non *aspectiate* né genti né danari, ma solo qualche breve o lectera o ambasciata monitoria, le quali fieno anche più et meno galiarde che saranno più o meno potenti e respecti che debba havere el Papa o

Francia. E quali quanto e' possino o debbino essere, *voi* lo *potete* giudicare benissimo, guardando Italia in viso, et pensare dipoi a' casi *vostr*i, veduto et examinato quello che si può fare per altri in securtà *vostra*, et inteso quello che si può sperare di qua; perché, quanto ad quello che si può sperare al presente, non si può più replicarlo, ché io lo ho già decto. Soggiugnerò solo questo: che se altri ricerca da Roano o le *vostr*e genti, o potersi servire di Gianpaulo, bisogna mostrare di volerle, o per difendere lo Stato *vostr*o (et di questo non se li può ragionare, ché si altera come un diavolo, chiamando in testimonio Iddio et li huomini che è per mettersi l'arme lui, quando alcuno *vi* torcessi un pelo), o per volere aiutare che Romagna non periclitati; et ad questo pensa essere a-ttempo, come è decto. Questo è in sostanza quello che *vi* si può scrivere delle cose di qua, né credo per chi *vi* ha ad scrivere el vero *vi* si possa scrivere altro. (1060-61)

As mentioned, Machiavelli's letter is a reply to Tucci's insistent demand to receive the requested report. While Atkinson and Sices make no remark on Machiavelli's pronoun choice (presumably because *voi* is in fact the typical pronoun used in such official correspondence), they do include footnotes regarding Tucci's earlier choice of the *informal* pronoun: Although *voi* is indeed used once, Atkinson and Sices (456) appropriately construe it as a plural rather than a formal pronoun, since the informal, instead of the formal, imperative is used in the following line of the same letter from Tucci: "*F*allo bene intendere" (Machiavelli 1971, 1059). In fact, while not mentioned by Atkinson and Sices, another informal form occurs in Tucci's letter as well: "*Tu se'* prudente, etc." (Machiavelli 1971, 1059).

Returning to Machiavelli's letter, we can gain perspective on what he is executing by consulting recent work that imports the fundamentals of speech act theory into the discussion of political rivalry. J. L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* identifies the category that he labels "performatives," in which an utterance brings about an action in the world. Thus, Austin comments on phrases such as "I do take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife": "In these examples it seems clear that to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to *describe* my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it" (5-6).

Following Austin and subsequent developments of his work, Miłkowska-Samul focuses on speech acts in the political arena, and enumerates those that boost the speaker's standing, as well as those that lower the standing of one's rival. Among the status-lowering moves, she affords a prominent position to the act of derision. She points out the particular utility of irony in the formation of speech acts of derision, indicating the concomitant difficulty faced by the object of irony in formulating an effective response. In discussing Machiavelli's employment of pronouns as a means to power over an adversary, we can say that in his letter Machiavelli controls Tucci's action by denying him any such appropriate action, that is, by thwarting his likely desire to formulate a response.

Miłkowska-Samul notes that in order for any response to be possible, a sometimes difficult prerequisite must first be met: the ironic message has to be recognized as such. Apprehending the irony is far from automatic, however, given that its very essence lies in being an expression that conveys the opposite of its literal meaning; in pragmatic/linguistic terms, its locution (what is said) and its illocution (what is intended)

contradict each other (253). (See Austin.) Clearly, it is in this vein that we understand Machiavelli's offer to "help" Tucci by speaking in the vernacular. Miłkowska-Samul includes such statements of concern as one of the forms assumed by ironic speech acts: "Un'apparente preoccupazione, compassione o comprensione per le eventuali difficoltà in realtà esprime un forte disprezzo, disdegno ed antipatia" (255).

The target of the irony must therefore untangle these aspects of his or her opponent's message. Miłkowska-Samul explicitly specifies the type of trap that Machiavelli sets for Tucci in choosing the pronoun of respect: "L'ironia che in realtà implica la critica si presenta in veste di diverse emozioni positive come, ad esempio, l'ammirazione" (254). Along these lines then, when Machiavelli employs the formal/honorific pronoun *voi* to address Tucci, he is in actuality belittling him.

Miłkowska-Samul also mentions the frequent element of exaggeration that accompanies the act of derision: "L'efficacia dell'atto di derisione si fonda sul tono umoristico¹² e malizioso che viene adoperato e una certa esagerazione, a volte assurda, che comporta" (192). Here Miłkowska-Samul pinpoints one of the most noteworthy and effective features of Machiavelli's "scathing letter" to Tucci; the barrage of second-person formal forms is indeed an exaggeration of what would normally be a signal of respect to a singular addressee. Miłkowska-Samul in fact correlates the degree of exaggeration with the degree of irony contained in the message: "Quanto più enfatico è il messaggio, tanto più vistosa è la dissonanza tra il senso letterale e quello suggerito..."

¹² It appears that Miłkowska-Samul with the term *umoristico* does not intend to signify the Pirandellian category mentioned in Section 1.3. in connection with Masciandaro's analysis of Machiavelli's *umorismo*; rather, it seems that Miłkowska-Samul intends simply the non-technical word "humorous."

(254). Thus, in anatomizing Machiavelli's salient pronominal switches, we can collocate Nicia's *tu esplosivo* with Machiavelli's epistolary *voi percussivo*.

1.5. Belfagor Revisited: *il tu sovversivo*

Finally, returning to Gianmatteo's pronominal switch, and relating it to the other two cases discussed, at least one additional distinction must be made, namely that between persuasion, as in Machiavelli's letter to Tucci, and manipulation, as in Gianmatteo's discourse to the King. Certainly, the distinction is easy to grasp intuitively, and Miłkowska-Samul articulates the crucial feature by which they differ:

È proprio la caratteristica della manipolazione che vuole celare e mascherare i suoi fini. La manipolazione agisce così che il destinatario ne rimanga inconsapevole e si lasci imporre determinate opinioni e comportamenti. Non si rende conto del fatto che l'attività del mittente condiziona i suoi affetti, le sue scelte, tutto ciò succede a sua insaputa.
(109-10)

The relevant question in a discussion of the pronoun as tool for an act of manipulation, where obfuscation of the speaker's intention is called for, is the following: What pronominal or other linguistic device is employed for this concealment? Recalling Gianmatteo's balanced point, the intermediate stage between his two modes of address to the King—first only as *voi*, and subsequently only as *tu*—note Gianmatteo's subterfuge as he first conjoins *Vostra Maestà* with *io*; while the first part of the conjunction is formal, the forms of agreement relevant to the entire conjunction (*aremo, nostra*) skirt the issue of formality, and thus begin to chip away at the honorific force of *Vostra Maestà*.

As shown in Section 1.2., although Gianmatteo next switches to the *tu* form (*tua, arai*), he nonetheless mitigates the demotion effected by this pronoun choice by selecting the terms *forze* and *compassione*, thereby according respect to the King. The *tu* has been planted, however, and thereafter every form of address to the King is informal—verb forms (future verbs such as *farai*, with the force of imperatives), possessives, and subject pronouns.

Thus, Gianmatteo's strategy of obfuscation consists of first person plural forms, which include the two opposing parties, as well as non-pronominal lexical items (*forze* and *compassione*) that encode respect to the King. Via this intervening linguistic sleight of hand, Machiavelli/Gianmatteo effects the *voi* to *tu* switch. Therefore, along with *il tu esplosivo* and *il voi percussivo*, we can add Gianmatteo's pronominal switch, and term it *il tu sovversivo*.¹³

¹³ Rebhorn describes a similar progression in *Il principe*: *Il principe*, which was written while Machiavelli was at Sant' Andrea, is framed by an even more deferential dedication, this time to Lorenzo de' Medici. Desperate for employment, an exile and outsider, stuck far down on the Florentine social ladder, Machiavelli stresses his lowliness, his *servitù*, and his identity as one of the scorned *popolo*, while he praises the lofty position of Lorenzo, referring four times in three short paragraphs to his dedicatee's "Magnificenzia" (13-14). In the body of the text, though, he adopts his characteristic role of adviser-teacher, manipulating his reader into agreement with his views by means of his style and a very frequent use of *tu* which strikingly replaces the more respectful and courtly *Lei* and *voi* of the dedication. By the end of the work, then, when he is urging Lorenzo to render himself famous and his house illustrious by undertaking the heroic task of redeeming Italy, it is clear that if Lorenzo does so, it will be as Machiavelli's pupil. By the end, in other words, Lorenzo has been brought down from the heights, and Machiavelli, with his larger, clearer vision, has taken his place. (223)
Rebhorn also discusses salient rhetorical uses of the first person plural form (212-13).

1.6. Belfagor Defeated: *il tu sospensivo ed espulsivo*¹⁴

It takes longer to gain the upper hand with Roderigo. Gianmatteo never once addresses him until the very end of the tale, when he finally returns the *tu* in the exclamation, “Oimè, Roderigo mio! Quella è mogliata che *ti* viene a ritrovare.” As seen, the *tu* occurs twice: First, as an enclitic in “mogliata,”¹⁵ and second, as the direct object pronoun *ti*. With Roderigo, Gianmatteo does not switch pronouns, nor does he reiterate, with either *tu* or *voi*; rather, he holds in abeyance any pronoun choice whatsoever.

In conjunction with Gianmatteo’s ultimate choice of *tu*, Masciandaro also discerns two cases of pronominal reinforcement in the first-person forms “Oimè, Roderigo *mio!*” First, in his self-focused “Oimè”—“dear *me*”—Gianmatteo professes empathy for Roderigo. The empathetic interjection has an echo in the first person “Roderigo *mio!*” (which itself echoes Roderigo’s own earlier “Fratello mio” (790)). Such “concern” expressed toward Roderigo is one of the guises taken on by ironic speech acts, as discussed with regard to Machiavelli’s “helpful” offer to write in the vernacular for Tucci’s sake. Crucially also, in exclaiming, “Roderigo mio!” Gianmatteo proclaims that Roderigo is *his*, that is, (at last) in his power.

In Gianmatteo’s suspension of both pronoun selection and decisive wielding of power over Roderigo, the *tu* that he eventually plucks from his arsenal is then *il tu sospensivo*. In deploying the agglutinative form “mogliata,” which encodes both the *tu*

¹⁴ This entire section is based on emailed personal communication from Franco Masciandaro. Any errors are my own.

¹⁵ Posner notes that enclitic possessives occurred in literary Tuscan until the 1300s, at which time they were declared “low” (77).

and also the name of the very weakness that Gianmatteo has patiently waited to exploit¹⁶, its effect also earns this pronominal form the label *il tu espulsivo*. Thus, along with the more mundane speech acts effected by pronoun choice discussed in this chapter, Gianmatteo, by performing the speech act known as exorcism, shows that the right pronoun not only demotes a king but even expels the devil.

1.7. *Lo sgannare Dante: il tu “discorsivo”*

Finally, I turn to Machiavelli’s *Discorso o dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua*, in which Machiavelli argues that Dante’s language was Florentine rather than *curiale*, *curiale* being the distillation of the language varieties used in Italy’s courts. Because of this theme, I return to the *Discorso* in Chapter Three, which studies Machiavelli’s approach to language variety (including the imposition of modern Florentine) as another instrument of power.

For present purposes, however, I begin by addressing the work’s very genre, that is, its format as a dialogue. The genre itself is obviously a more common mode for expository and other purposes in sixteenth-century Italy than any time since (see, among many others, Burke); Machiavelli also employs the dialogue structure in *Dell’arte della guerra*. Rebhorn notes that even Machiavelli’s non-dialogic works, such as *Il principe*, *I discorsi*, and even the *Istorie fiorentine*, contain stretches of dialogue:

¹⁶ In relating *Belfagor* to Machiavelli’s treatise writings, Grazzini gives a specific example from *i Discorsi*: “Il cap. XVIII del Libro III mostra la convenienza di apprendere, quando ci si fronteggia in armi, le condizioni dell’esercito nemico” (9). In this vein, Grazzini humorously refers to Belfagor’s weakness as “il fattore Onesta” (108) and “l’arma segreta di Gianmatteo” (129).

Machiavelli often seems to launch into dialogue precisely at those moments when he is treating subjects of great importance to him, such as mercenaries or fortresses, subjects about which he differed passionately with many of his contemporaries. Consequently, his imagining an interlocutor seems directly to reflect his own intensified interest at such moments. In short, Machiavelli's proclivity toward dialogue may well be explained as an unconscious habit, a mental trait, a product of passion, or even a quirk of his personality. (210-11)

However, along with the fact that the dialogue format is common in Machiavelli's time, he also professes a very specific reason for choosing it in the *Discorso*. Predicting that Dante would be able to identify three classes of non-Florentine items in his *Commedia*—"molte, tratte di Lombardia o trovate da sé o tratte dal latino"—Machiavelli announces the utility of setting up the back-and-forth: "Ma perché io voglio parlare un poco con Dante, per fuggire *egli disse* ed *io risposi*, noterò gl'interlocutori davanti" (810).

Anyone who reads the unusual and humorous *Discorso*, however, becomes immediately aware that the scolding tone assumed toward Dante does not allow for the scenario in which Dante "said" and Machiavelli "responded"; rather, Machiavelli interrogates Dante, who humbly and sometimes telegraphically provides a reply to each query. In actuality then, what Machiavelli wishes to escape is not the saying and the responding, but rather the *egli* and the *io*. Although the work is really a dialogue that

lapses into a monologue, its set-up as dialogue nevertheless calls for the use of a second-person pronoun, and Machiavelli seizes the opportunity to use the familiar *tu*.¹⁷

Russo notes the tone of the *Discorso* from the initiation of the dialogue format, and likens it to the events and characters described in the letter to Vettori of December 10, 1513: “E da quel momento non c’è più Machiavelli, che discorre in panni aulici e curiali delle teorie dell’Alighieri, ma c’è solo il più domestico e quotidiano Niccolò che giostra a tu per tu con Dante, come fossero ‘dua fornaciai’ della osteria dell’Albergaccio” (144-45).

The informal pronoun is an important ingredient of Machiavelli’s “triumph” over Dante; both the chatty (and superior) tone and the pronoun *tu*—which is never returned by Dante to Machiavelli (nor is any second-person form)—are in abundant supply throughout the work. For example: “Dante mio, io voglio che *tu t’emendi* e che *tu consideri* meglio il parlar fiorentino e la *tua* opera, e vedrai che se alcuno s’arà da vergognare, sarà piuttosto Firenze che *tu*; perché se considererai bene a quel che *tu hai* detto, *tu vedrai* come ne’*tuoi* versi non *hai* fuggito il goffo come è quello” (813, emphasis added).

The intricacy of the *Discorso* includes several instances of a maneuver akin to that analyzed by Masciandaro (See 1.3.), where Machiavelli places emphasis on the *tu* via its contrast with a *voi*. In the following example the *voi* is unambiguously plural, since it is the sum of *tu* and *gli altri*; nevertheless it is a form of address that highlights the *tu* used toward Dante: “E che l’importanza di questa lingua nella quale e *tu*, Dante,

¹⁷ The *tu* is especially noteworthy given that in Machiavelli’s other dialogic work, *Dell’arte della guerra*, *voi* is the second-person form (usually) employed for both interlocutors.

scrivesti, e gli altri che vennono e prima e poi di *te* hanno scritto, sia derivata da Firenze, lo dimostra esser *voi* stati fiorentini e nati in una patria che parlava in modo che si poteva meglio che alcuna altra accomodare a scrivere in versi e in prosa” (817).

Here and throughout the *Discorso*, Machiavelli places heavy weight on his *tu* forms by various other means, as in the phrase “e prima e poi di *te*” and especially in the apposition “*tu*, Dante.” Machiavelli also emphasizes the *tu* via devices such as postposition: “debbono far quello ch’hai fatto *tu* ma non dir quello ch’hai detto *tu*. . .” (814). Thus, it is not only Machiavelli’s selection of *tu* to address Dante, but also the configuration in which the *tu* occurs, that places extreme emphasis on this pronoun.

Finally, Machiavelli declares himself victorious in his *sgannamento* of Dante: “Udito che Dante ebbe queste cose le confessò vere e si partì; e io mi restai tutto contento, parendomi d’averlo sgannato” (818). Machiavelli’s declaration of victory places the *Discorso* in the category of *obstetrici dialogi*. Burke cites C. Sigonio’s 1562 *De dialogo*, which distinguishes two opposite types, *dialogi tentativi*, translatable as “experimental dialogues,” and *obstetrici dialogi*, “‘midwife dialogues’ of the Socratic type, in which ‘the incautious man is led from what he has conceded to what he did not wish to concede’” (3).¹⁸ Indeed, Dante is “delivered” from his “wrong” assertions throughout the dialogue; for example, early on Machiavelli extracts Dante’s concession, “Egli è il vero, e io ho il torto.” (813).

As mentioned, the content of the *Discorso* is relevant to the discussion in Chapter Three of language variety, and the mastery and regulation of that language variety that

¹⁸ Rebhorn distinguishes such a subcategory of dialogue as follows: “Machiavelli, by contrast, simply drives a steamroller over his opponents; his opinion carries the day in every instance, and there is seldom room for qualifications” (213).

Machiavelli wields as a means to power. For the present, I have focused on a related aspect of Machiavelli's "chat" with Dante, namely its form, in which, addressing Dante in familiar terms, Machiavelli proceeds to "set him straight."

Taken together, these five cases corroborate each other as evidence of the microscopic attention placed on pronoun usage in Machiavelli's writings. For him, pronoun choice is a deliberately and strategically chosen tool in the negotiation of power, a means to control the actions and status of political players rather than play the role of someone *else's* marionette; as such it is emblematic of the central theme of his work.

Chapter Two

Psychological Typologizing: Ariosto's Pronoun Cluster as Type Sketch

Machiavelli's negotiation of power illustrated in Chapter One takes place in the context of society, as Zatti spells out: "Studiare le forme e i metodi della lotta politica è per Machiavelli osservare l'uomo che agisce nel contesto dei rapporti sociali e indagare le condizioni del sorgere, del consolidarsi e del decadere del potere di certi uomini su altri uomini. . . . (122)". For Ariosto instead the locus of power is the human mind, where psychological storms—such as Orlando's madness—rage, often above and beyond human containment.

This inward focus with respect to power, however, is not to say that Ariosto's characters are not interconnected. In fact, precisely the opposite is true; Ariosto parallels Machiavelli regarding the emphasis on interconnectivity. Saccone emphasizes the point that Ariosto's characters exist and function within a pattern of interrelated contrasts to each other: "La fabbrica, l' 'artificio' del poema costituisce un sistema di differenze: è il consenso degli ammiratori del *Furioso*" (215). This same point is made in Wiggins (*passim*).

2.2. Intermeshed Psychological Type Sketches

Just as Machiavelli isolates the scientific principles governing negotiation of power connecting the actors in society, so Ariosto isolates a set consisting of "alcune fondamentali verità psicologiche che regolano i meccanismi della vita associata" (Zatti 122). Zatti refines his description of Ariosto's enterprise of discovering these psychological principles, placing focus on the broad psychological sketch, and its

connection to other similar broad types:

Può sorprendere forse che una simile intuizione si renda possibile a prescindere da uno scavo introspettivo della psicologia individuale. Perché è certamente vero nella sostanza—e le due cose non sono affatto in contraddizione—il luogo comune di cui si è detto, che i personaggi ariosteschi mancano generalmente di spessore e coerenza psicologica. Proprio la tecnica del racconto in *entrelacement* è stata da sempre (già dai critici cinquecenteschi) chiamata in causa come responsabile del fenomeno, perché istituzionalmente fondata sulla intermittenza narrativa. Ma evidentemente altri erano gli scopi che suggerivano all'Ariosto una simile valorizzazione dell'intreccio (raccomandata peraltro dalla *Poetica* aristotelica) a scapito della individualità dei personaggi, la cui consistenza si sgretola col rimetterne l'esistenza narrativa alla pura serialità dei comportamenti. (122-23)

Zatti continues, noting Ariosto's emphasis on the network of intermeshed character types, in relation to one another, at the expense of in-depth studies of characterization:

L'*entrelacement* comprime lo spessore umano del personaggio e lo frammenta nell'intermittenza narrativa, ma asseconda mirabilmente l'espressione di quei tali meccanismi psicologici di carattere collettivo. Proprio qui, nell'uso surdeterminante di una tecnica consapevolmente fatta propria, si situa il paradosso, che è solo apparente, di un discorso geniale

sulla psicologia umana perfettamente compatibile con l'assenza di una psicologia dei personaggi. (123)

Bigi describes Ariosto's characters as embodiments of broad psychological types that are not only general but are in fact stylized figures.¹⁹ Indeed, according to Segre, it is this very stylization that allows Ariosto's characters to be distilled to their essence, non-realistic and yet vivid, in the manner of caricatural profiles.²⁰

Caretti describes the deliberateness with which Ariosto renders these distilled character profiles:

Questa virtù, veramente eccezionale nell'Ariosto, di concedersi sinceramente ogni volta alla verità di un affetto, di una passione, e quindi di riprendersi al momento giusto per rivolgersi ad altro affetto, ad altra passione. . . . l'Ariosto non mirava a figure autonome, alla creazione di caratteri veri e propri. . . Egli intendeva piuttosto creare delle figure che, di volta in volta, riflettessero soltanto un aspetto tipico della natura umana. . .

(33)

¹⁹ Bigi's description is as follows: "Che essi nella maggior parte dei casi mantengano non solo nei singoli episodi ma anche nel corso di tutta l'opera una loro fisionomia, si può e si deve ammettere: sia pure con l'avvertenza che *tale fisionomia si configura in genere* (come si è già accennato) *quale stilizzazione ed esemplificazione di atteggiamenti etico-psicologici generali* (l'amore cieco di fronte ai difetti della persona amata; l'amicizia fedele e sfortunata; il senso del proprio onore, ecc.) piuttosto che quale caratterizzazione vividamente individuata e colorita. . . . [I] suoi personaggi. . . sono per lui soprattutto incarnazioni di temi etico-psicologici generali. . . ." (50-52, emphasis added).

²⁰ Segre explicates: "Si può dire che, immersi in un mondo dalle dimensioni completamente fantastiche, i personaggi dell'Ariosto abbiano potuto trovare uno spazio più sgombro, più limpido, nel quale muoversi ed esprimersi, nel quale essere, senza limitazione, se stessi" (19-20).

Thus, as Ariosto is producing a sketch of human types—“incarnazioni di temi etico-psicologici generali”—in the process he produces the sketch of this typifying theme: We see the outline of a narcissist, but we also see the outline of narcissism. Segre describes “[l]’aspirazione a un’analisi acuta e totale delle passioni umane. . .” (13). Therefore, his apposition is accurate: “Quasi un atlante della natura umana, il *Furioso*. . .” (19). Orazio Ariosto, the poet’s nephew, in fact writes of the “usefulness” of this “atlas”: “che gioverà più colui, che portand’in scena varij casi, e più avvenimenti, metterà innanzi a gli occhi di chi legge più specchi della vita umana; ove mirando con gli esempli d’altri, potiamo imparare a conoscere quello, che sia da seguire, e quel, che da fuggire” (Saccone 215, quoting *Apologia del Sig. Torquato Tasso*).

With usefulness of a literary sort in mind, Caretti echoes Saccone, Wiggins, and Zatti on Ariosto’s relational goals in underspecifying his characters:

Agiva dunque nei confronti dei personaggi con intenti riduttivi e semplificatori, senza preoccuparsi di una immediata e circostanziata definizione sentimentale (del ritratto a tutto tondo, in piena luce), ma curando soprattutto la coerenza dei loro atteggiamenti nell’orditura complessiva dell’opera. Perciò la vita affettiva dei personaggi ariosteschi non è mai approfondita, se non per scorci rapidissimi e essenziali, nella sua dialettica. . . . Parlerei, al contrario, di una intensa vita di relazione, cioè, di rapporti continui tra ciascun personaggio e gli altri personaggi, sí che le figure, anziché fare argine allo svolgimento della vicenda o addirittura evaderne, ne vengono costantemente a rappresentare i protagonisti attivi o le vittime. (34)

In this regard, Section 2.7 will analyze the lament of Bradamante, whose pronoun-laden passages resemble Orlando's, and yet differ in key aspects, thus highlighting the crucial distinctions that render Orlando—but not Bradamante—a narcissistic figure.

As for the more general issue of Ariosto's network of incisive yet non-individualized sketches, however, Zatti rejects one idea advanced by both Caretti and Bigi, namely that the "deficiency" of Ariostan character development exists for narrative purposes of "armonia" or "varietà." Rather, he repeats Caretti's phrase "vita di relazione" as a key to understanding the nature of Ariosto's psychological types as they fit into his cast of characters: "[I]l Furioso. . . mette a nudo la verità di certi fondamentali meccanismi psicologici. Parlo di psicologia—e, nel senso specifico. . . di una psicologia appunto della 'vita di relazione'" (120). In fact, Mac Carthy points out that other important aspects of the *Furioso* distract from "the real business of the poem which is to portray a panoply of human relations with all their contradictions and in all their complexity" (90).

Returning to an explicit comparison between Ariosto and Machiavelli, Zatti comments on the result of the location of Ariostan force—not in societal wheeling and dealing, jousting for dominance over others, but rather in the swirling brew of human passions, to which no amount of *virtù* or *astuzia* is equal: "I personaggi che, nel bene e nel male, non sanno essere diversi da se stessi, vincendo la loro natura, falliscono nell'inchiesta per l'incapacità 'machiavellica' di essere flessibili" (100).

2.3. A Technical-Only Alterity

Having defined the Ariostan emphasis on psychological types that are clear yet lack depth and that are linked to other similar types, I will outline one of Ariosto's most salient presentations of such a case, namely Orlando's narcissistic version of romance (Section 2.4), and its alternative in Bradamante (Section 2.7). The pronominal combinations that Orlando produces will be seen to mimic a hollow intersubjectivity; *mi* and *ti* are minimally—technically—differentiated.

On the one hand, Angelica occupies the position of conventional female counterpoint to Orlando: "his" lady to "her" knight. However, Shemek points to the multiplicitous nature of the *Orlando furioso*, in contrast to systems such as those of Aristotle and Plato, which include polar oppositions: "The *Orlando furioso* dismantles the validity of these oppositions with regard not only to the masculine/feminine dichotomy but also when confronting other simple dualisms (friend/enemy, sane/insane, Christian/pagan) that stand as conventions in the poem's fictional, chivalric world." Shemek proceeds to show that in such an Ariostan context, Angelica's status in the poem contains a built-in critique: "Angelica, I will argue, constitutes another type of response to the polarized terms of the *querelle des femmes*. Her early appearances in the poem cast her as a signifier of pure, and thus impossible, sexual alterity" (117).

On the other hand, while the conventional dichotomy that places Angelica in the position of absolute alterity to Orlando cannot be maintained, neither can the narcissistic suppression of difference, that is, absolute *non*-alterity. Just as Shemek indicates the critique of placing the beloved woman in the position of "binary opposite to man" (118), a large body of scholarship critiques a different erroneous relation to the beloved, namely

one of complete fusion with the self. For example, Masciandaro (*The Stranger*) describes *Inferno V*:

Another significant suppression of the creative space, of the ethics of friendship based on difference and otherness, is the merging of Paolo's identity with Francesca's. . . . But that this is not a true union in love, or a communion, becomes evident as soon as we note that both Paolo's silence throughout the episode and his inseparability from Francesca speak of a total suppression of their reciprocal and always problematic, infinite "otherness". They suppressed the distance that separates and "puts authentically in relation" two friends. Creative love. . . implies a union in difference, and a mimesis that does not destroy that difference and the tragic rhythm that at once binds and separates the I and the Not-I. . . (35-36)

Hawkins describes the Francesca-Paolo dynamic in similar terms, explicitly terming it "narcissism," and referring to Francesca's vision of Paolo as a "mirror":

In the *Inferno*, the poet explored Eros as a lethal narcissism through the figure of Francesca. *Amor* is her mantra, the charm that mystifies and misleads. She holds onto her beloved Paolo for eternity, yet what does she really see in him—her silent partner—but a mirror of herself? (60-61)

The conclusion to draw from these critiques of both absolute alterity, as well as absolute *non*-alterity, is that the beloved can constitute neither counterpoint nor mirror

image; neither relation is “authentic.” Returning to the terminology just cited—“I/Not-I”—we will see that Orlando’s pronominal groupings—*miti, ti mi*—sketch out both erroneous conceptions of the Other. As for counterpoint, he positions Angelica as his lady and himself as her knight: the female Other. As for reflection, she is nothing *but* his lady, or more accurately, a simulacrum of her, to be pursued in order to complete and define—reflect—himself.²¹

2.4. Orlando’s Specular Language: A Mimesis of Narcissism

I turn at last to Orlando’s specular pronoun clusters, which themselves belong to a more general thematic category. Masciandaro (“La follia”) establishes the theme of specular language in the *Furioso*, in the course of discovering a number of points of allusion to the myth of Narcissus.²² I begin with his analysis of the last two lines of XXIII.111, one of

²¹ On this point Masciandaro (emailed personal communication) cites VIII.77.5-8, and points out that Orlando pursues but in reality prefers *not* to possess Angelica, since such a physical possession would spoil “l’animo casto”: “e il fior ch’in ciel potea pormi fra i dei, / il fior ch’intatto io mi venìa serbando / per non turbarti, ohimè! l’animo casto, / ohimè! per forza avranno colto e guasto.” Masciandaro contrasts the Orlandian idealization of romance with the non-narcissistic conception of Sacripante, whose physical pursuit of Angelica does not elevate him “to heaven,” “among the gods,” but rather brings him literally down to earth, crushed by the weight of his horse: “Quel del re saracin restò disteso / adosso al suo signor con tutto il peso.” (I.63.7-8) Orlando’s narcissism inheres in “his” eternally idealized rose/Angelica, and Masciandaro indicates the expression of this narcissism in his twice-repeated self-directed exclamation, “ohimè!” in lines 7 and 8 above.

²² In fact, Ariosto may also be responding to the narcissism contained in *The Prince*, the manuscript of which predates all versions of *Orlando furioso*. For example, Najemy’s discussion of Chapter XXIII begins by translating and commenting on a line of the last paragraph of this chapter on the role of advisors: “a prince should, therefore, always seek advice, but when *he* wants it, and not when others wish [to give it]”. Machiavelli’s anxiety about uncontrolled and unauthorised speech reaching the Prince is so acute that he actually suggests that the Prince “must

many octaves detailing Orlando's anguished state after discovering Angelica and Medoro's grotto: "Rimase al fin con gli occhi e con la mente / fissi nel sasso, al sasso indifferente." Masciandaro shows the repetition of *sasso* to be specular:

La specularità narcisistica, l'identificarsi cioè del soggetto con la propria immagine, che siam venuti scoprendo come componente essenziale della follia di Orlando, è qui espressa non dalla fonte, e dunque dall'elemento convenzionale della storia di Narciso, ma dal sasso. . . . Come Narciso. . . . Orlando è ora, mimeticamente, trasformato nell'oggetto della sua visione, il sasso (metonimicamente, lo scritto "pietrificato", che preclude, quindi, l'avventura dell'interpretazione) (112-13).

While Masciandaro ("La follia") indicates the Narcissian motif signaled by this particular mimesis, he also demonstrates the recurrence of *sasso*, along with its synonyms, throughout the poem (104, 112-13).²³

In addition to the chiasmus of *sasso. . . sasso*, a similar pattern occurs in *Orlando furioso* with first- and second-person pronouns. Canto VIII, Octave 74 presents Orlando's lament to the absent Angelica after she makes her escape from Namò:

Non avea ragione **io** di scusarme?
e Carlo non **m'**avria forse disdetto:
se pur disdetto, e chi potea sforzarme?

remove the idea [literally, take away the intention: *torre animo*] of advising him from the mind of any person unless he requests it". . . . Thus, even when advisers speak some good advice, it is the prince's prudence that controls their speech, which, despite all the insistence on the necessity of advisers, implies that ultimately they do little more than reflect, ratify, and echo what the Prince already "intende da sé". (105)

Given Ariosto's finely hewn comprehension of the numerous and nuanced varieties of narcissism, how must he have reacted to this section of *The Prince*?

²³ See also Masciandaro ("Folly" 66-67).

chi **ti mi** volea torre al **mio** dispetto?
non poteva **io** venir più tosto all'arme?
lasciar più tosto trarmi il cor del petto?
Ma né Carlo né tutta la sua gente
di torm**iti** per forza era possente.

The octave is noteworthy for its preponderance of first-person pronouns, as well as for their emphatic form and position: Lines 1 and 3 end with the tonic *me*; line 1 places *io* after *avea ragione*, while line 5 interposes *io* between *poteva* and *venir*. On the other hand, the octave contains exactly two second-person pronouns, one in line 4 and one in line 8. Significantly, in both cases the second-person pronoun is juxtaposed with the first-person *mi*; there is no intervening preposition, such as *da*, separating *ti* and *mi*. The octave's first personal pronoun is *io*—which is itself postposed—and its last is *miti*.

ti mi and *miti* are also put into relief by the salient longer-distance specular pairings of first- and second-person pronouns in the immediately preceding octave, *mio...teco*, (*mi...mi*), *ti...meco*, *tua...m-*, *t'...mi*:

Di questo Orlando avea gran doglia, e seco
indarno a sua sciochezza ripensava.
— Cor **mio** (dicea), come vilmente **teco**
mi son portato! ohimè, quanto **mi** grava
che potendoti **ti** aver notte e dì **meco**,
quando la **tua** bontà non **mel** negava,
t'abbia lasciato in man di Namò porre,

per non sapermi a tanta ingiuria opporre! (73)²⁴

In fact, Orlando's pronominal usage in Octave 73 begins with *mio*—which is again postposed—and ends with *mi*.

Angelica's status as a narcissistic extension of Orlando's idealized vision of her, rather than as a subject in her own right, is part and parcel of the story of *Orlando furioso*.²⁵ Octaves 73 and 74 are striking in that they contain a linguistic mimesis of the specular or mirror-like function of Angelica for Orlando.²⁶

²⁴ Masciandaro (Seminar, Spring 2008) relates the language in this canto to Francesca's lament in *Inferno* V.100-7 mentioned above, in which we see another case of ego-based love, with an idealized image as its object.

²⁵ See for example Carne-Ross 223 and Masciandaro "La follia" passim.

²⁶ So crucial is Angelica's function as mirror for Orlando's self-definition that shortly after apprehending Angelica and Medoro's mutual love, Orlando declares himself dead: "Non son, non sono io quel che paio in viso: / quel ch'era Orlando è morto ed è sotterra; / la sua donna ingrattissima l'ha ucciso: / sì, mancando di fé, gli ha fatto guerra. / Io son lo spirito suo da lui diviso, / ch'in questo inferno tormentandosi erra, / acciò con l'ombra sia, che sola avanza, / esempio a chi in Amor pone speranza — " (XXIII.128).

Masciandaro ("La follia") here describes Orlando as "un soggetto che si definisce come insufficienza o vuoto che l'oggetto desiderato promette di colmare, ma senza mai mantenere tale promessa" (113). He points to the Narcissian allusion—albeit in reverse—revealed in this octave:

Benché in forma negativa, le parole di Orlando, "non sono io quel che paio in viso", echeggiano quelle pronunciate da Narciso quando, riconosciuta l'immagine nella fonte come sua, esclama, "iste ego sum!" (*Met.* III 463). Ma come per Orlando, tale identificazione della propria immagine produce non integrazione, mediante un dinamico rapporto analogico fra l'immagine e l'io, ma un impoverimento di questo, e infine un desiderio di morte." (113)

The death of Orlando is in fact enacted by the switch to third-person forms in lines 2-8. This illeism and its significance as an indicator of Orlando's inner split were pointed out by Masciandaro (Seminar, Spring 2008). Here line 5 echoes *Inferno* V: "Questi, che mai da me non fia diviso" (135). Indeed, the octave parallels *Inferno* V in that it exemplifies what Masciandaro (*The Stranger*) in his analysis of the Paolo and Francesca episode calls "the effacement of the true self, corresponding to the effacement in the two lovers of the distance that 'puts authentically in relation' two friends..." (36). *miti*, *ti mi*, and the other linked pronoun pairs in Orlando's lament call to mind this eternal linkage of Francesca and Paolo as they swirl in hell. In obvious contrast to Orlando's specular lament to Angelica is the orthographic linkage of names by Angelica and Medoro. Marcus refers to this writing as "Angelica's loveknots," and demonstrates that the conjoined names are

2.5. Angelica as a Grammatical Entity/ A Grammatical Entity as Angelica

Examining this linguistic mimesis more closely, we see further confirmation of the significance of this salient pronominal face-off. Indeed, the characterization of Angelica as a reflecting pool for the *io* of Orlando has been made in appropriately grammatical terms: “Her mode of being is so to say accusative; she is the object of desire, a patient rather than an agent” (197). Shemek too employs linguistic terminology, as she echoes Carne-Ross regarding Angelica’s status: “For most of the *Furioso*, Angelica functions less as a real character than as an abstract value” (117). Shemek continues in this grammatical vein in sketching out the broad outline of Lacan’s theory of self-differentiation, the key events of which “establish the dyadic constructions of the Imaginary. . . as sets of coded oppositions” (122). In short, both authors describe Angelica’s character as an object rather than subject, and Shemek describes Lacan’s system as one where the key notion of “other” is a matter of binary features. These refined analyses point the way to the understanding of this “abstract value” that is Angelica as linguistically reducible to a rhyming object pronoun.

The linguistic nature of the pronoun *ti/te* (significantly, never *tu*, as Carne-Ross’ remark regarding accusativity would predict) is in keeping with Angelica’s characterization as “the image of flight” (Carne-Ross 195). He describes her role in Canto I: “The Canto is built around Angelica, or more exactly around her flight. She is not a

iconic of the lovemaking of Angelica and Medoro. Written in Arabic, in whose cursive writing system ligature is common, the conjunction of these names is the antithesis of Orlando’s coupling of pairs of opposing pronouns.

‘character,’ even in the limited sense in which Ariosto may be said to characterise. . . . Above all, she exists through her relation to Orlando, and it is this relation which gives her adventures their structural importance...” (197-98).

In fact, Carne-Ross’ characterization of Angelica suggests another grammatical facet of her, in addition to her “accusative” nature, namely her relational role as “shifter.”²⁷ Benveniste (1966)—who does not use the term “shifter”—groups together first- and second-person pronouns as the only true personal pronouns, since they exist solely in relation to the speech act, indicating either speaker or listener.²⁸ On the other hand, Benveniste sets apart the so-called “third person,” which he refers to as “la non-personne” (255).²⁹ The key feature of these comments is their emphasis on the deictic

²⁷ Jespersen coins the term “shifter” in 1922, and deems the personal pronouns the most important group to fall under this heading (123). Jakobson, whose essay on shifters was first presented in 1956, adopts the concept, which he calls “one of the cornerstones of linguistics,” and discusses the concept of person features in these terms:

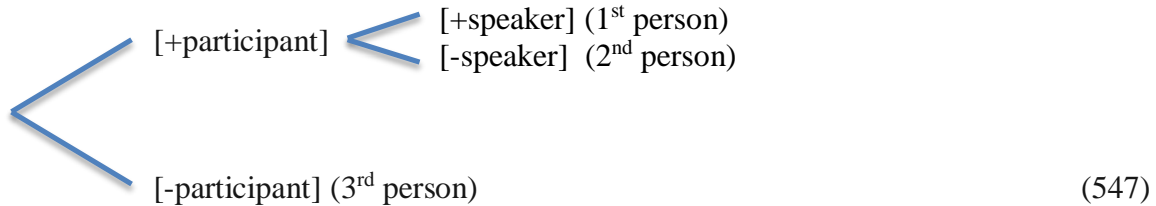
The first-person form of a verb, or the first-person pronoun, is a shifter because the basic meaning of the first person involves a reference to the author of the given act of speech. Similarly, the second-person pronoun contains a reference to the addressee to whom the speech event in question is directed. If the addressers and addressees change in the course of the conversation, then the material content of the forms *I* and *you* also changes. They shift. (175)

²⁸ “Quelle est donc la ‘réalité’ à laquelle se réfère *je* ou *tu* ? Uniquement une ‘réalité de discours’, qui est chose très singulière. *Je* ne peut être défini qu’en termes de ‘locution’, non en termes d’objets, comme l’est un signe nominal. . . . Il faut donc souligner ce point : *je* ne peut être identifié que par l’instance de discours qui le contient et par là seulement. . . . La définition peut alors être précisée ainsi : *je* est l’ ‘individu qui énonce la présente instance de discours contenant l’instance linguistique *je*’. Par conséquent, en introduisant la situation d’ ‘allocution’, on obtient une définition symétrique pour *tu*, comme l’ ‘individu allocuté dans la présente instance de discours contenant l’instance linguistique *tu*’”. (252-53).

²⁹ “Ainsi, dans la classe formelle des pronoms, ceux dits de ‘troisième personne’ sont entièrement différents de *je* et *tu*, par leur fonction et par leur nature. Comme on l’a vu depuis longtemps, les formes telles que *il*, *le*, *cela*, etc. ne servent qu’en qualité de substituts abrégatifs (‘Pierre est malade ; *il* a la fièvre’) ; ils remplacent ou relaient l’un ou l’autre des éléments matériels de l’énoncé” (256).

nature of first- and second-person pronouns, deixis referring to linguistic elements that require context to be understood; along with person deixis (indicated by pronouns), other common types are place deixis (as in *this* vs. *that*) and time deixis (for example, *now* vs. *then*).

Building on Benveniste, Farkas—who also groups the first- and second-person pronouns in contradistinction to the third-person—proposes the following featural representation:



Here, the distinction between *mi* and *ti* is one of the values for the feature [speaker]; *mi* is [+sp], while *ti* is [-sp].

Returning to Angelica, and the nature of the set of pronouns that indicate her, this brief mention of the general underpinning of personal pronoun systems is informative, since it demonstrates the parallelism between *ti* and Angelica’s own “deixis”; she exists—for the entire pre-Medoro part of the *Furioso*—as a semantically fixed but denotationally varied entity: “fleeing from X,” where, as Carne-Ross observes, the value for X determines her course.

Recalling Shemek’s designation of Angelica as an “abstract value” rather than as a true character, along with these observations regarding Angelica’s purely relational nature, I quote Benveniste’s summary of the function of pronominal forms:

L’importance de leur fonction se mesurera à la nature du problème

qu'elles servent à résoudre, et qui n'est autre que celui de la communication intersubjective. Le langage a résolu ce problème en créant un ensemble de signes "vides", non référentiels par rapport à la "réalité", toujours disponibles, et qui deviennent "pleins" dès qu'un locuteur les assume dans chaque instance de son discours. (254)

In short, the label Orlando attaches to Angelica is an "empty" sign that comprises a set of features, distinguishable from other such labels only by bearing the plus or minus value of the features [+/- part] and [+/- sp]. The instances of *miti*, *ti mi*, and the other similar first- and second-person combinations, all capture the "technical-only" alterity discussed in Section 2.3, since the linguistic distinction between *mi* and *ti* is also characterizable as merely a difference in feature values.

Ariosto, by stacking up such pronouns, which, since they rhyme, are even minimally distinguished in phonetic features, highlights on the one hand the lack of Orlando's perception of any richly textured difference or otherness, and on the other hand the existence of his *token* distinction between himself and "his" lady. Ariosto exploits this nameless, faceless, and voiceless minimally differentiated means of reference in order to sketch the image of a narcissist for whom the Other, whether Orlando's Angelica or Francesca's Paolo, exists merely to reflect an image of the self.

2.6. Ruggiero's Reflexive Language: *suoi vizi e sue virtù espresse*

Such a conception of Angelica is the cautionary part of Masciandaro's outline of the possible conceptions of the Other that "l'amorosa inchiesta" might seek to embrace: "E questo altro può costituire un autentico oggetto con cui l'io può integrarsi e perfezionarsi

mediante un problematico ma reale rapporto intersoggettivo, o un falso oggetto in quanto proiezione o rappresentazione sublimata di se stesso, e allora il movimento verso l'altro si rivela illusorio e comporta la perdita di sé" ("La follia" 100).

In contrast to this narcissistic spurious sense of unity with Angelica is Ruggiero's accurate reflection gained and fortified through viewing his soul in the gems of Logistilla's castle. The following octave shows that just as *miti, ti mi*, and so on are iconic of Orlando's fixation on Angelica, Ariosto employs a similar strategy with reflexive pronouns to mimic the opposite (albeit temporary) development of Ruggiero, his process of *conoscendosi*. The numerous instances of *si* and *sé*, along with *sì* and *se*, are highlighted; the syllable also occurs in a number of non-reflexive but homonymous forms, for example in lines 2, 4, and 6 in *esse*, *espresse*, and *volesse*; as well as in lines 3, 4, and 5 in *sin*, *suoi* and *sue*, and *lusinghe*:

Quel che più fa che lor **si** inchina e cede
ogn'altra gemma, è che, mirando in esse,
l'uom **sin** in mezzo all'anima **si** vede;
vede **suoi** vizi e **sue** virtudi espresse,
sì che a *lusinghe* poi di **sé** non crede,
né a chi dar biasmo a torto gli volesse:
fassi, mirando allo specchio lucente
se stesso, conoscendosi, prudente. (X.59)

The lack of accuracy of others' views—whether positive or negative—is made explicit in lines 5 and 6. On the other hand, true knowledge of the *self* includes perception of both “one's vices and virtues.” Masciandaro (100-101) points to the distinction between

Ruggiero's and Orlando's views in their respective mirrors: The true, non-narcissistic self is perceived not when the specular surface consists of the strictly still, limpid mirror, but rather a refracting surface with the curve and color of shining gems.

2.7. Bradamante's Attenuated Specular Language: A Sketch of Intersubjectivity

Ruggiero's non-narcissism—sketched with *si*, *sé*, and their homonyms—is one picture of sanity. Another sane alternative to Orlando is Bradamante. Having studied in Section 2.2 “la fabbrica” of the *Furioso*, its “vita di relazione,” the pictures of both Ruggiero and Bradamante reinforce this point regarding the overall construction of the poem. Furthermore, from this general structure of characters who serve as foil to other characters, both Saccone and Wiggins specify the absolute centrality of the Orlando-Bradamante contrast in particular. Saccone discusses

due fili, di direzione opposta ma di analoga struttura. . . . Si può forse ridurre una struttura all'altra. Si hanno così due ricerche, anzi due *quêtes*: quella di Angelica da parte di molti cavalieri, che condurrà infine alla solitaria e vana “inchiesta” dell'infelice Orlando; e l'altra di Ruggiero da parte della fedele Bradamante, le cui peripezie saranno alla fine premiate con la soddisfazione, a lungo differita, del suo desiderio. Le due inchieste sono analoghe e differenti. (212)

Wiggins fleshes out the psychological contrast:

Bradamante clearly replaces Orlando in the role of champion of the faith—not faith in a public sense, though Bradamante has shown herself to be useful in the public sphere (13.45)—but faith as the word applies to

relations between individuals who acknowledge each other's alterity and independence. Orlando goes mad for having treated a human being as a symbol; Bradamante grows sane in the process of vindicating her faith in another person. . . . [U]nlike Orlando, she has stood in a clearing and taken a disenchanting look at the object of her faith. She has recognized him as an imperfect human being, not the fulfillment of a deluded ideal. (199-200)

Turning to a linguistic comparison, we see that Bradamante's jealous lament toward Ruggiero in Canto XXXII.37-43, especially Octave 42, echoes Orlando's specular language toward Angelica in Canto VIII.73-74.³⁰ Note that Bradamante's speech contains numerous first- and second-person pronouns, including many postposed first-person forms (*debb'io*, *Ruggier mio* (37); *Ben dirò*, *vendetta mia* (40); *non ti dico io*, *t'eri fatto mio* (42); and *i giorni miei* (43)):

— Misera! a chi mai più creder debb'io?

Vo' dir ch'ognuno è perfido e crudele,

se perfido e crudel sei, Ruggier mio,

che sì pietoso tenni e sì fedele.

Qual crudeltà, qual tradimento rio

unqua s'udì per tragiche querele,

che non trovi minor, se pensar mai

³⁰ The Orlandian echoes in Bradamante's speech in terms of pronoun use, lexical choice, and onomatopoeia are too numerous to list. For just a few examples patterned on Orlando's VIII.73-74, see XLV.97; for language patterned on XXIII.102-11, see XXX.80 (*Lesse la carta quattro volte e sei*). For many more parallels between Orlando and Bradamante in linguistic, thematic, and structural terms, see Weaver.

al **mio** merito e al **tuo** debito **vorai?** (37)

Perché, Ruggier, come di **te** non vive
cavallier di più ardir, di più bellezza,
né che a gran pezzo al **tuo** valore arrive,
né a' **tuo**i costumi, né a **tua** gentilezza;
perché non **fai** che fra **tue** illustri e dive
virtù, si dica ancor ch'**abbi** fermezza?

si dica ch'**abbi** inviolabil fede?

a chi ogn'altra virtù s'inchina e cede. (38)

Non **sai** che non compar, se non v'è quella,

alcun valore, alcun nobil costume?

come né cosa (e sia quanto vuol bella)

si può vedere ove non splenda lume.

Facil **ti** fu ingannare una donzella

di cui **tu** signore **eri**, idolo e nume,

a cui **potevi** far con **tue** parole

creder che fosse oscuro e freddo il sole. (39)

Crudel, di che peccato a doler **t'hai**,

se d'uccider chi **t'ama** non **ti penti?**

Se 'l mancar di **tua** fé sì leggier **fai**,

di ch'altro peso il cor gravar **ti senti?**

Come **tratti** il nimico, se **tu dai**

a **me**, che **t'amo** sì, questi tormenti?
Ben **dirò** che giustizia in ciel non sia,
s'a veder tardo la vendetta **mia**. (40)

.....
guarda ch' aspro flagello in **te** non scenda,
che **mi se'** ingrato e non **vuoi** farne emenda. (41)

Di furto ancora, oltre ogni vizio rio,
di **te**, crudele, **ho** da dolermi molto.
Che **tu mi tenga** il cor, non **ti dico io**;
di questo **io vo'** che **tu** ne **vada** assolto:
dico di te, che **t'eri** fatto **mio**
e poi contra ragion **mi ti sei** tolto.

Renditi, iniquo, a **me**; che **tu sai** bene
che non si può salvar chi l'altrui tiene. (42)

Tu m'hai, Ruggier, lasciata: **io te** non **voglio**,
né lasciarti volendo anco **potrei**;
ma per uscir d'affanno e di cordoglio,
posso e **voglio** finire i giorni **miei**.

Di non morirti in grazia sol **mi doglio**;
che se concesso **m'** avessero i dei
ch'**io fossi** morta quando **t'era** grata,
morte non fu giamai tanto beata. — (43)

In addition to the type and position of pronouns, Bradamante's lament resembles Orlando's in other ways: The passage begins and ends with Bradamante expressing possession of Ruggiero—"Ruggier mio" (37) and "Renditi, iniquo, a me; che tu sai bene / che non si può salvar chi l'altrui tiene." (42); likewise, "mi ti sei tolto" in (42) employs the same lexical items for the lost "possession" that Orlando chooses in VIII.74 ("chi ti mi volea torre," "di tormiti era possente.")

Furthermore, like Orlando's speech in VIII.74, Bradamante's lament also contains the phonic element of sputtering and hissing, thus mimicking a violent frame of mind. Orlando's bubbling fury is expressed mimetically, via a stream of unvoiced plosive and fricative consonants, and their various combinations and doublings. This "harsh" language was pointed out by Masciandaro (Seminar, Spring 2008):

Non avea ragione io di **scusarme?**
e Carlo non m'avria forse **disdetto:**
se **pur disdetto**, e **chi potea sforzarme?**
chi ti mi volea torre al mio **dispetto?**
non **poteva** io venir **più tosto** all'arme?
lasciar **più tosto** trarmi il cor del **petto?**
Ma né Carlo né **tutta** la sua gente
di **tormiti per forza** era **possente.**

Notice a similar concentration of such "harsh" consonants in 40 and 42, again including doublings and combinations:

Crudel, di **che peccato** a doler **t'hai**,
se d'uccider **chi t'ama** non **ti penti?**

Se 'l mancar di tua fé s'è legghier fai,
 di **ch'**altro peso il cor gravar ti senti?
 Come tratti il nimico, se tu dai
 a me, **che t'**amo s'è, **questi tormenti?**
 Ben dirò **che** giustizia in ciel non sia,
 s'a veder tardo la vendetta mia. (40)

Di furto ancora, oltre ogni vizio rio,
 di te, crudele, ho da dolermi molto.
Che tu mi tenga il cor, non ti dico io;
 di **questo** io vo' **che tu ne vada assolto:**
 dico di te, **che t'eri fatto mio**
 e poi contra ragion mi ti sei tolto.
 Renditi, iniquo, a me; **che tu sai bene**
che non si può salvar chi l'altrui tiene. (42)

Indeed, at first glance, these octaves appear even more dramatically specular than those spoken by Orlando. For example, in 43.1, the collocation of the subject pronoun *io* with the tonic pronoun *te* seems to even more emphatically signal a face-off between first- and second-person pronouns than *miti*, *ti mi*, and so on.

However, the lament of Bradamante differs from that of Orlando in a number of crucial aspects: First, the speech begins and ends with Ruggiero's name, spoken in 37.3 (where it intervenes between a second-person and a first-person element); in 38.1 (one of several octaves with no first-person elements whatsoever); and most dramatically in 43.1 (where it interrupts a *passato prossimo* verb phrase). The interposition of any element

between the auxiliary *hai* and the participle *lasciata* creates a suspension within such a phrase, placing the intruding word in sharp relief. Like a stone tossed in Narcissus' pool, the use of Ruggiero's name grants his status as something more than a mere reflector of Bradamante's own self.³¹

Second, as just mentioned with respect to Octave 38.1, several octaves in this passage contain a preponderance of second-person forms and lack even a single first-

³¹ The use of Ruggiero's name by Bradamante—in contradistinction to Orlando's use of *ti/te* for Angelica—is significant. Continuing the analogy between Orlando and Francesca, Musa evaluates Francesca's pronominal behavior with respect to Paolo as lacking even the technical alterity encoded by Orlando's pronominal behavior toward Angelica: "She does not call him by his name or by any endearing term (and, of course, there is no *tu*); she merely points to a nearby figure: *costui, questi*. These two deictic, distantiating pronouns evoke a minimum of humanity, of individuality" (319). Returning to the Bradamante/Orlando contrast, one aspect is seen by recalling Lacan's inverse relationship between a sign and the object for which signification is attempted: A name must be given to an object only because we acknowledge our lack of that object (Lacan 1949/1977). Bradamante's ticket for admission as a sane human being into the Symbolic realm is some degree of acceptance of Ruggiero's absence, or at least separability, from her. As mentioned in Section 2.5, recent studies, for example Shemek, have analyzed the *Furioso* with a view to psychoanalytic concepts developed by Lacan. Of key focus is Ariosto's psychological representation of unquenchable human desire; the Ariostan quest—for lady/helmet/horse—is ceaseless. A short manuscript written by me (2013) also develops the Lacanian linguistic correlate to this desire found in two signification traits of the *Furioso*. The first such trait is a group of instances of iconicity, two examples of which are the specular language and the onomatopoeia mentioned in this chapter, which, by achieving referentiality directly, without the arbitrarily linked components of the sign and the infinity of the garden-variety signifying chain, skirt (and therefore in some sense presuppose the existence of) this endlessness. In addition to the circumvention of this endlessness, Ariosto also at other points shirks any attempt whatsoever at signification, notably in the lunar situation in which signs point always and only to other signs. Both signification modes—circumventing the endlessness or clearly manifesting it—indicate a parallel in the Ariostan concept of language and the human psyche: Both involve an endless, fruitless chase.

person form. Octaves 38, 39, and the first five lines of 40 display such a pattern. Also, while the first (non-interrogative) pronoun is first person, the last is second person.³²

Third, recalling Carne-Ross' term for Angelica—"accusative"—note that indeed all the pronominal cases for the second-person pronouns denoting her are objective: *ti*, *te(co)*, *tua*. Orlando's only nominative pronoun is in fact *io*. By contrast, Bradamante's second-person pronouns denoting Ruggiero include all cases, including the nominative *tu*.

The fourth key difference between the laments of Orlando and Bradamante, beyond the interjection of the beloved's name in Bradamante's speech, beyond its extended section without first-person forms, and beyond the presence of nominative-case pronouns when addressing Ruggiero, is the actual arrangement of the first- and second-person forms. In Orlando's speech, the pairings are truly specular; within a preponderance of first-person forms, second-person forms serve only to mirror a first-person element: *mio*. . . *teco*, *ti*. . . *meco*, *tua*. . . *m-*, *t'*. . . *mi* in Octave 73; *ti mi*, *miti* in Octave 74.

³² Recalling the status factor of pronoun selection studied in Chapter One, it bears mentioning that in Canto XLIV, Bradamante addresses Ruggiero as *voi* in her letter pledging herself to him:

A **voi**, Ruggier, tutto il dominio ho dato / di me, che forse è più ch'altri non crede. / So ben ch'a nuovo principe giurato / non fu di questa mai la maggior fede. / So che né al mondo il più sicuro stato / di questo, re né imperator possiede. / Non **vi** bisogna far fossa né torre, / per dubbio ch'altri a **voi** lo venga a torre. (63) / Non **avete** a temer ch'in forma nuova / intagliare il mio cor mai più si possa: / sì l'immagine **vostra** si ritrova / sculpita in lui, ch'esser non può rimossa. / Che 'l cor non ho di cera, è fatto prova; / che gli diè cento, non ch'una precossa, / Amor, prima che scaglia ne levasse, / quando all'imagin **vostra** lo ritrasse. (65)

Bradamante is in fact returning the *voi* in Ruggiero's letter to her (Canto XXV): — Voglio (le soggiungea), quando **vi** piaccia, (90, 1)

Io **vi** domando per mio onor sol questo: / tutto poi **vostro** è di mia vita il resto. — (91, 7-8)

By contrast, in Bradamante’s speech, the forms do not merely face off; rather, they are interconnected. Specifically, they are nested, and included within each other, as schematized in the following:

(=42.5)

1		2		2 2		1	
dico	di	te,	che	t’eri	fatto	mio	

The cases of nesting are then interlaced with other nestings:

(=43.1)

2		1		2				1		2		1	
Tu	m’	hai,	Ruggier,	lasciata:	io	te	non	voglio,					
-----					-----								

Since ultimately the mutual love between Bradamante and Ruggiero is an exchange of the subject and object positions of desire, these pronominal interconnections present a mimesis of intersubjectivity.³³

These pronoun clusters are iconic of the alternative in Bradamante to Orlando’s embodiment of narcissism. Thus, just as Machiavelli’s pronominal diplomacy—the choice of *tu* or *voi* depending on which best served for the seizure or maintenance of

³³ This syntactic mimesis of intersubjectivity, where a given pronominal form is contained within an opposing one, recalls the morphological mimesis of this same dynamic via Dante’s neologisms in *Paradiso*. In Dante’s case, the opposing pronouns are incorporated into the verb, resulting in the forms *inmiarsi*, *intuarsi*, *inluiarsi*, and *inleiarsi*. Examples include Canto IX.73: “Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s’inluia” (Dante 895); Canto XXII.127: “e però, prima che tu più t’inlei” (1056); and most relevant for the present comparison, Canto IX.81: “s’io m’intuassi, come tu t’inmi” (895).

power—was emblematic of Machiavelli’s power-oriented philosophy, so too the dramatically specular (and nearly specular) arrangements of *mi* and *ti* are emblematic of the psychotypological weave of the *Furioso*.

The Orlando-Bradamante contrast with respect to conception of the beloved Other sketched via *miti*, *ti mi*, and so on is but one case of Ariosto’s technique. Time does not permit presentation of the numerous other contrasting psychologies. To mention only several, Ariosto contrasts the narcissistic vs. truly intersubjective versions of reaction to death, as well as these same contrasting versions of the fulfillment of filial duty.

First, Orlando and Fiordiligi are set in contrast as they react to the death of Brandimarte. Wiggins describes XLIII.170-71:

At the center of both stanzas, Orlando begs forgiveness, and we expect that he is about to acknowledge his responsibility for Brandimarte’s death. We are disappointed both times, however. Both stanzas trail off into the commonplace sentiments of a survivor’s lament. How much more human is the grief of Fiordiligi! She avows that she would rather have Brandimarte here below than see him gone away to any paradise in the sky. She feels the cruelty of his having been killed just when he might have experienced the real joy and leisure of his homeland, to which he fell heir the moment before he departed for Lipadusa. (138)

While the volleying of first- and second-person pronouns extends beyond these two stanzas, as the first line of 172 attests, this short sample suffices to bear out Wiggins’ point regarding the hollow intersubjectivity expressed by Orlando to his dead friend:

— O forte, o caro, o **mio** fedel compagno,

che qui **sei** morto, e **so** che **vivi** in cielo,
e d'una vita v'**hai** fatto guadagno,
che non **ti** può mai tor caldo né gielo,
perdonami, se ben **vedi** ch'**io piagno**;
perché d'esser rimaso **mi querelo**,
e ch'a tanta letizia **io non son teco**;
non già perché qua giù **tu non sia meco**. (170)

Solo senza **te son**; né cosa in terra
senza **te posso** aver più, che **mi** piaccia.
Se **teco era** in tempesta e **teco** in guerra,
perché non anco in ozio ed in bonaccia?
Ben grande è 'l **mio** fallir, poi che **mi** serra
di questo fango uscir per la **tua** traccia.
Se negli affanni **teco fui**, perch'ora
non **sono** a parte del guadagno ancora? (171)

Tu guadagnato, e perdita **ho** fatto **io**: (172, 1)

A single stanza spoken by Fiordiligi serves to indicate the non-narcissistic alternative to Orlando:

— Deh perché, Brandimarte, **ti lasci**
senza **me** andare a tanta impresa? (disse).
Vedendoti partir, non fu più mai
che Fiordiligi **tua** non **ti** seguisse.
T'avrei giovato, s'**io veniva**, assai,

ch'**avrei** tenute in **te** le luci fisse;
e se Gradasso avessi dietro avuto,
con un sol grido **io t'avrei** dato aiuto; (160)

Although Fiordiligi's lament from 160-163 contains reference to her own sorrow, both the first and last stanzas begin with a line containing Brandimarte's name: "È questo, *Brandimarte*, è questo il regno /" (163, 1, emphasis added); by contrast, Orlando never utters the name of his lost friend.³⁴

In addition to the pronoun-rich contrasting sketches of Orlando and Fiordiligi as they confront the death of Brandimarte, Olimpia and Bradamante are also positioned as narcissistic vs. healthy counterparts, this time concerning filial obligation.³⁵ To indicate Olimpia's sole focus on herself, a single octave of many similar verses will suffice:

Mio padre e' **miei** fratelli **mi** son stati
morti per lui; per lui toltomi il regno;
per lui quei pochi beni che restati
m'eran, del viver **mio** soli sostegno,
per trarlo di prigionie **ho** disipati:

³⁴ See footnote 31.

³⁵ Mac Carthy summarizes:

Bradamante and Olimpia have both chosen partners, and both refuse the husbands selected by their parents. In attempting to reconcile their parents' social aspirations and their own desires, the two maidens. . . differ greatly. Both lovers insist on remaining faithful to their chosen men. Bradamante, however, is successful in eventually pleasing parents, public and king, while at the same time achieving her desires. Olimpia, on the other hand, causes the destruction of her family and people and eventually loses her lover too. (124-25)

Mac Carthy describes the narcissism of Olimpia: "In Olimpia's story, no attempt to reconcile the conflicting private and public aspirations of participants is made. . . . The impulsive, reactive and violent chain of events results in the destruction of both the Dutch and Frisian families and realms" (125).

né **mi** resta ora in che più far disegno,
se non d'andarmi **io stessa** in mano a porre
di sì crudel nimico, e lui disciorre. (IX.50)

Mac Carthy sums up the Olimpia episode as a critique by Ariosto of narcissism—Olimpia's as well as others': "Here. . . all characters, including Olimpia, are potential villains, infected with a self-centred monomania. The Olimpia episode is not, then, an apologia for the earlier harsh treatment of women. On the contrary, it is a criticism of short-sightedness and of excessive individualism" (128).

Recalling from Chapter One Machiavelli's choice of *tu* vs. *voi*, we saw the enormity of that pronominal distinction—after all, *tu* and *voi* encode the relative status of the addressee. By contrast, in Ariosto's case, the collocation of *mi* and *ti* indicates the insufficiency of this particular pronominal distinction, and calls attention to itself as a pair whose differentiation is based on a technicality: [+/- speaker]. The pronouns rhyme and are agglutinated, inseparable as Francesca and Paolo. In thus pointing to the lack of richly textured differentiation (and in Olimpia's case complete non-intersubjectivity), Ariosto lays out the many guises and interpersonal scenarios in which narcissism can manifest itself—or be narrowly escaped.

This vivid typologizing of narcissism—and of other varieties of overwhelming, surging forces that dominate and sometimes destroy those involved—indicates the realm in which the most powerful forces operate, forces for which no *opusculo* is to be consulted as an aid in its governance: the human mind.

Chapter Three

Machiavelli's Employment and Regulation of Language Variety as a Means to Power

3.1. *Una veste rattoppata*

As a starting point for discussion of Machiavelli's approach to language variety, I quote his linguistic assessment of Ariosto's *I suppositi*, which Machiavelli in fact holds up as an example of "una veste rattoppata" in his "Discorso o dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua":

Donde nasce che uno che non sia toscano non farà mai questa parte bene, perché se vorrà dire i motti della patria sua, farà una veste rattoppata facendo una composizione mezza toscana e mezza forestiera: e qui si conoscerebbe che lingua egli avessi imparata, s'ella fusse comune o propria. Ma se non gli vorrà usare, non sapendo quelli di Toscana farà una cosa manca e che non arà la perfezione sua. E a provare questo, io voglio che tu legga una commedia fatta da uno degli Ariosti di Ferrara, e vedrai una gentil composizione e uno stilo ornato e ordinato, vedrai un nodo bene accomodato e meglio sciolto; ma la vedrai priva di quei sali che ricerca una commedia tale, non per altra cagione che per la detta, perché i motti ferraresi non gli piacevano e i fiorentini non sapeva, talmente che gli lasciò stare. Usonne uno comune, e credo ancora fatto comune per via di Firenze, dicendo che un dottore dalla berretta lunga pagherebbe una sua dama di *doppioni*. Usonne uno proprio, per il quale si vede quanto sta male mescolare il ferrarese con il toscano; ché dicendo una di non voler

parlare dove fussino orecchie che l'udissino, le fa rispondere che non parlassi dove fossero i *bigonzoni*: e un gusto purgato sa quanto nel leggere o nell'udire dir *bigonzoni* è offeso. E vedesi facilmente, e in questo e in molti altri luoghi, con quanta difficoltà egli mantiene il decoro di quella lingua ch'egli ha accattata. (816-17, emphasis added)

While the exact date of the “Discorso” has been debated, the work obviously postdates *I suppositi* (1509); it also predates Ariosto’s final (1532) version of the *Orlando furioso*.³⁶ Whatever its date, the above quote from the “Discorso” indicates a key way in which Machiavelli approaches the question of language variety, that is, he clamps down on the use of non-Tuscan vernacular language in literature.

3.2. What Type of *Questione*?

Before continuing, the critical backdrop of Italy’s “questione della lingua”—of which Machiavelli’s critique of Ariosto is but one chapter—must be explicated. In the most general terms, the *questione*, which raged throughout the peninsula in the 15th and 16th centuries—and beyond—established the legitimacy of the Italian vernacular (as opposed to Latin) as a literary language, imposing in a majority of cases the Tuscan dialect as sole literary vehicle; the goal was mutual intelligibility as well as consistency.

³⁶ Partly due to the delay—until 1730—of publication of the “Discorso,” some debate has even existed with regard to whether or not Machiavelli is the actual author. On both authorship and date, Cope summarizes: “A scholarly majority. . . believes Machiavelli to be the author. Polemic circumstances explain the failure to publish the work in its own time (it was probably composed at the end of 1524, although there is legitimate argument for dating the composition a decade earlier)” (94). Regarding authorship as well as chronology, Cope provides valuable recent bibliographical discussion (13ⁿ, 205-6).

As mentioned in the Introduction, however, even among those who demanded Tuscan (as opposed to Dante's "courtly, cardinal and curial tongue,"), one group, including Machiavelli, advocated the contemporary Florentine language, while the other pro-Tuscan group, notably Pietro Bembo, author of *Prose della volgar lingua*, demanded a return to the language of the literary giants of 14th-century Florence; Bembo's archaizing solution held up Petrarch as the model for poetry, Boccaccio as the model for prose.³⁷

In fact, however, based on statistical linguistic analysis, Weinapple concludes that the literary language of Renaissance Italy is structurally an outgrowth of neither the Bembian nor the Machiavellian models, and that thus the Bembian victory is sociopolitical rather than linguistic: "By this I do not mean that the *questione della lingua* is not a real one. I mean that the *questione della lingua*, as presented by the various dialogues and treatises, is a cultural and ideological question and, as such, extremely important and worthy of a place in the history of language. But it is not a linguistic question" (82).

³⁷ Weinapple cites Hall on the full range of possibilities for choice of literary language:

According to the extremely functional categories introduced by Robert A. Hall, there are four possible combinations for presenting the positions of the sixteenth-century writers who debated the issue: (1) archaizing-pro-Tuscan (Bembo); (2) anti-archaizing-pro-Tuscan (Machiavelli); (3) archaizing anti-Tuscan (Muzio); and (4) anti-archaizing-anti-Tuscan (Castiglione). Combination (3), the archaizing-anti-Tuscan, is probably the least common, but even this has at least one exponent, Gerolamo Muzio, from Istria, who fights for a non-Florentine language common to all of Italy, which he believes existed even before the great fourteenth-century Tuscan masters. As is well known, the winning solution is the archaizing-pro-Tuscan position of Bembo, codified by Salviati at the end of the sixteenth century in *Degli avvertimenti della lingua sopra il Decamerone* and by the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, published 20 January 1612. (81)

Keeping in mind Weinapple's statement regarding the nonlinguistic nature of *la questione della lingua*, the intention of Machiavelli's condemnation of Ariosto's literary language is clear. Whereas Bembo's archaizing Tuscan—as the native language of no one—places all literate “Italians” on a somewhat equal footing, by contrast Machiavelli's imposition of modern Florentine grants privilege to Machiavelli himself, along with his immediate geographical cohorts. This obvious fact reinforces Weinapple's demonstration that *la questione della lingua* is not a linguistic question.

For Machiavelli, not surprisingly, the question of what type of language is chosen for literary purposes is rooted in what type of question he is contemplating: And although it is termed *la questione della lingua*, the focus of this question is not linguistic at all but rather political. Indeed, Machiavelli's imposition of modern Florentine as opposed to a more egalitarian archaizing form places him in the linguistic center of power.³⁸

³⁸ Verdicchio begins his article with a direct statement that belies Machiavelli's supreme self-confidence in the “Discorso”: “Machiavelli's ‘Discorso o dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua’ (c. 1515) is not one of the major treatises on the ‘questione della lingua’” (522). Baldelli is even more emphatic on this point, making mention “della scarsa se non della nulla incidenza del *Dialogo* machiavelliano sulle idee linguistiche del suo tempo” (256). Baldelli points to the political perspective of the “Dialogo”: “Quanto infatti di diverso, di acuto, di moderno si coglie nell'operetta nasce in non piccola misura appunto dall'angolo visuale propriamente politico, con cui vengono giudicati i fatti della lingua” (255-56). Continuing in this vein, Verdicchio shows that, despite Machiavelli's professed topic, the “Discorso o dialogo intorno alla nostra lingua” is indeed not about language:

In all the examples mentioned by Machiavelli of Dante's lack of patriotism and of deliberately taking vengeance on his “patria” for having been sent unfairly into exile, Machiavelli's main motivation is not linguistic but political, and prompted by a desire to ingratiate himself to the Medici to return to Florence at their service. (536)

Thus, power and politics remain Machiavelli's overarching concern, even as he legislates on matters that he himself labels linguistic and literary.

Having delineated the firm rejection of Ariosto's Ferrarese—along with any other “foreign” elements—as a power play in the guise of patriotism (see the first line of the “Discorso”: “Sempre che io ho potuto onorare la patria mia”), I turn now to two instances of Machiavelli's own code-switching, that is, alternation between different languages or different varieties of the same language within a discourse. Here I demonstrate the particular modes in which power remains Machiavelli's sole consideration as he employs—and *deploys*—these language varieties.

3.3. *La mistificazione linguistica: Se io havessi parlato con l'Ofitio in gramaticha*

Recalling from Chapter One Machiavelli's “scathing letter,” we saw that along with its relentless, ironic use of the formal pronoun *voi*, it also very deliberately alluded to Machiavelli's ability in Latin and the lack of such ability on the part of the letter's addressee:

Et benché tucte queste medesime cose mi sieno sute scripte dal publico, et che si sia risposto sì largamente che voi in su lo scrivere facto vi potete consigliare, tamen per non manchare dello ofitio anchora con voi, havendomene invitato, vi replicherò el medesimo; et parlerò in vulgare, se io havessi parlato con l'Ofitio in gramaticha, che non mel pare havere facto. (Atkinson and Sices 1061)

Furthermore, the issue of proficiency in Latin is not limited to letter-writing for Machiavelli. Another example is the admixture of Latin into Italian in *Mandragola*. There are two facets to this invocation of Latin as a code of power. First, as in the letter

above, one (linguistically superior) character overpowers another; Vanossi's term for this effect is "mistificazione linguistica" (27). For example, the *marionettista* Ligurio—in Barber's terms "l'operatore principale" and "programmatore delle mosse che gli altri personaggi faranno" (388)—suggests that in "working" the gullible Nicia, Callimaco should say "qualche cosa in gramatica" (Act I, Scene 3, 79). Ligurio subsequently dictates to Nicia that he take note of the language of Callimaco: "E se, parlato li avete, e' non vi pare per presenza, per dottrina, *per lingua* uno uomo da metterli il capo in grembo, dite che io non sia desso" (Act II, Scene 1, 81, emphasis added).

The meeting of Callimaco, Nicia, and of course Ligurio takes place. All that is required to "bowl over" Nicia is Callimaco's response to Nicia's own greeting in Latin:

NICIA: Bona dies, domine magister.

CALLIMACO: Et vobis bona, domine doctor.

Immediately afterwards, when Ligurio solicits Nicia's opinion on Callimaco, "Che vi pare?" Nicia enthusiastically responds, "Bene, alle guagnele!" Machiavelli increases emphasis on the paltry Latin "conversation" above with Ligurio's next remark: "Se voi volete che io stia qui con voi, voi parlerete in modo che io v'intenda, altrimenti noi faremo duo fuochi" (Act II, Scene 2, 82). The following section will examine such colloquial language more closely.

The next Latin spoken by Callimaco is a medicalese listing—which we can be quite certain Nicia fails to comprehend—of the possible causes of sterility, to which the star-struck Nicia replies in an aside, "Costui è il più degno uomo che si possa trovare!" (Act II, Scene 2, 83). Machiavelli juxtaposes the Latin and Callimaco's next utterance, which is in Italian and which expresses the lack of remedy for sterility in the hypothetical

case that its cause is impotence on the part of Nicia.³⁹ Nicia vehemently denies impotence, which paves the way for his acceptance regarding the mandrake potion.

In addition to its dazzling effect on Nicia, another use of Latin for gaining the upper hand in *La mandragola* is that of hindering communication between Ligurio's two "puppets." Barber describes Latin as "una lingua nella quale né l'uno né l'altro sono competenti." Therefore, he continues, "L'uso del latino limita la comunicazione diretta fra Nicia e Callimaco a un livello superficiale, e assicura che il controllo del discorso resti a Ligurio" (392). Barber likens the communicative effect of Latin's use to Ligurio's convincing Nicia to feign deafness in Act III, Scene 2 (92), since it again hinders direct communication, this time the communication regarding alms that takes place between Frate Timoteo and Nicia in Act III, Scene 4 (393).

3.4. *La provocazione linguistica: Un'oltranza idiomatica*

Another example of code-switching as a tool for achieving power is the adoption of idiomatic Florentine dialectal elements by Ligurio when conversing with Nicia. An apt description of Ligurio's dealings with Nicia in Act I, Scene 2 is given by Borsellino: "ha

³⁹ Such cases of stark contrast between high-flown Latin and colloquial *volgare* are akin to the intensification of the force of the pronoun *tu* via its juxtaposition with *voi*. (See Chapter One, Sections 3 and 7.) In addition, Masciandaro (emailed personal communication) notes that Ligurio/Machiavelli's deft linguistic "shift" or "caesura"—from Latin to dialectal *volgare* to a neutral variety of the *volgare*—in itself signals the conscious, deliberate use of language for political ends. Indeed, along with the specific language variety employed, this linguistic back-and-forth per se throws Nicia off balance. In this regard, Masciandaro points to Machiavelli's frequent use of verbs such as *sbigottire*; for example, in the scene under discussion, the volley of shifting language varieties has sent Nicia's head reeling, so that on the question of whether or not the mandrake potion is to be prepared, he responds: "Non dubitate di me, perché voi mi avete fatto *maravigliare* di qualità, che non è cosa io non credessi o facessi per le vostre mani" (Act II, Scene 2, 83, emphasis added).

la funzione di *provocarlo linguisticamente* per la piena realizzazione di quella figura comica” (232, emphasis added). This “linguistic provocation” is the masterful string-pulling of a *marionettista* working the jaws of the ridiculous Nicia.

It is Ligurio’s linguistic dexterity in terms of “mimetic” ability that Barber refers to as “la ginnastica linguistica adoperata da Ligurio”: “Possiamo dire che Ligurio, parlando a Nicia, adopera lo stesso socioletto⁴⁰ dell’interlocutore, si inserisce linguisticamente nel suo mondo sociale per conquistarlo” (391). The brief scene is rich with Ligurio’s “Niciaisms,” one of Ligurio’s many memorable phrases being “avendo voi pisciato in tanta neve” to describe the many places in which Nicia has “marked his territory.”⁴¹

As for the proverb-laden jabber that Ligurio is able to elicit with such skill from the jaws of Nicia, Bergson sheds light on its comicity within the context of marionette-playing—*du mécanique dans du vivant* (59). On the question of whether or not we find such mechanization and rigidity specifically within language, Bergson answers by describing a category of language use exemplified perfectly by Nicia: “Oui, sans doute, puisqu’il y a *des formules toutes faites* et *des phrases stéréotypées*. Un personnage qui s’exprimerait toujours dans ce style serait invariablement comique” (85, emphasis added).

⁴⁰ “Sociolect” obviously refers to the linguistic variety spoken by a social group or social class. Since Nicia’s social status as the simpleton with a parochial outlook (“non. . . uso a perdere la Cupola di veduta”) and his choice of a particular regional (or dialectal) form are certainly to be conflated, both “dialect” and “sociolect” are correct terms for the variety of Italian exchanged between Ligurio and Nicia.

⁴¹ Even a non-native speaker of the language is struck by the hilarity of juxtaposing the formal *voi* and the extremely informal Niciaism itself.

With respect to the dialectal status of Nicia's speech, Borsellino discusses it in terms of "un'oltranza idiomatica che fa a gara solo col suo impareggiabile prototipo, col linguaggio del boccacesco Calandrino" (233).⁴² Borsellino relates this *oltranza* of Florentine⁴³ to the fate of "vocaboli accattati" discussed in Machiavelli's "Discorso o dialogo":

Il modello linguistico rappresentato da messer Nicia è il risvolto provinciale e grettamente dialettale di quella lingua fiorentino-nazionale che, secondo una definizione di portata innovativa contenuta nel *Dialogo*, "convertisce i vocaboli ch'ella ha accattati da altri nell'uso suo, ed è sì potente che i vocaboli accattati non la disordinano ma ella disordina loro". (Borsellino 232-33)

Here Borsellino relates the "disordering" of Nicia via the ridiculizing *provocazione linguistica* to the potential disordering of a national language by "vocaboli accattati." The extreme process that national languages may undergo as a result of numerous borrowings, according to Machiavelli, is the following: "[C]ol tempo, per la moltitudine di questi nuovi vocaboli, imbastardiscono e diventano un'altra cosa; ma fanno questo in centinaia d'anni, di che altri non s'accorge se non poi che è rovinata in una estrema barbaria" (810). Borsellino's comment is thus suggestive of a parallel for

⁴² Recall that, like Calandrino, Nicia even eats the bitter aloes.

⁴³ Vanossi differentiates Machiavelli's use of dialect in *Mandragola* to caricature Nicia, and dialect use in *Clizia*, which establishes a bond with readers, "un vincolo esclusivo, di coinvolgimento non individuale, ma collettivo, in accordo con quella 'socialità', che sembra essere attribuito essenziale del ridere. . . ." The latter use appeals to the "patrimonio collettivo," making use of Machiavelli's "motti e termini proprii e patrii" discussed in the "Discorso" (87). While the use of dialect to gain power over Nicia is clear, the appeal to the "patrimonio collettivo" in *Clizia* also falls within power's orbit, as it consolidates the Florentine linguistic center of power.

Machiavelli between the integrity of a nation's language and the integrity of an individual's language use. That is, Borsellino alludes to an analogy between the way in which a nation reckons with an advance by outside linguistic forces (or instead mounts its own incursion); and the way in which an individual contends with attempts at infiltration of one's own linguistic code (or instead, like Ligurio, *si inserisce linguisticamente* into the sphere of one's interlocutor to seize power).

Barber describes Ligurio as a mouthpiece of Machiavelli's own personal philosophy of language:

L'adattamento linguistico di Ligurio, più ovvio nel suo rapporto con Nicia ma evidente anche nei discorsi fra lui e Callimaco, riflette un fenomeno ben noto alla sociologia del linguaggio. Secondo l'uso che l'individuo fa della particolare varietà di lingua che adopera, il suo linguaggio può essere classificato come specializzato, funzionale per esempio, o regionale, ecc. In questo caso la classificazione sarebbe politica; il Machiavelli incorpora questo fenomeno nel suo personaggio-consigliere come parte della sua strategia politica nei rapporti con gli altri. (391-92)

Barber points out another crucial detail of "questa tecnica linguistica per stabilire e mantener sottilmente il controllo" (392). He notes the restriction on dialect use, which is custom-tailored to his interlocutor, and thus not possible in a mixed group. Therefore in Act II, Scene 2, when Latin gives way to the vernacular, a neutral, or standard, variety is chosen (392). Thus, whether within his fiction or in his treatise on language, whether by clamping down on non-Florentine or else by carefully selecting either Latin or instead the

most appropriate dialectal form (be it “hyper-Florentine” or another custom-tailored variety), Machiavelli utilizes his hand-selection as well as regulation of linguistic varieties as a tool for seizing or maintaining the upper hand over those whose strings must be pulled for the achievement of political ends.

Chapter Four

Una veste rattoppata o ordita?: Ariosto's Back-and-Forth Tuscanizing as Resistance

This chapter briefly outlines a linguistic analysis of Ariosto's revisions from the first version of the *Orlando furioso* (1516) to the second (1521), and especially from the second version to the third and final (1532). Such a diachronic study of the three versions is important, as it reveals an anomaly, namely the bidirectional nature of Ariosto's linguistic changes—both into as well as out of literary Tuscan. I explain this anomaly by positing that Ariosto's mode of linguistic revision amounts to a form of resistance to Machiavelli's imposition of Tuscan, which the preceding chapter showed to be yet another instantiation of the power-focused philosophy of Machiavelli.⁴⁴

Before examining language details of the *Furioso* as they unfold throughout the three editions, however, one phrase from Machiavelli's "Discorso" must be revisited. In referring to *I suppositi*—"una commedia fatta da uno degli Ariosti di Ferrara"—Machiavelli pinpointed what he saw as its deficiency as well as what he saw as the root of this deficiency: "la vedrai priva di quei sali che ricerca una commedia tale, non per altra cagione che per la detta, *perché i motti ferraresi non gli piacevano e i fiorentini non sapeva*, talmente che gli lasciò stare" (816, emphasis added).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Although as mentioned in Chapter Three, footnote 36, the "Discorso" was not published until 1730, it nonetheless circulated in manuscript form as material for discussions of *la questione della lingua*. Machiavelli was an active member especially of the discussions taking place in the Orti Oricellari, as mentioned by Verdicchio and numerous other scholars.

⁴⁵ Verdicchio points out the inappropriateness of Machiavelli's criticism in the very case of this particular comedy: Based on Terence's comedies, *I Suppositi* is set in Ferrara and contains many allusions to the social life of the city that were well-known to its spectators who could easily see reflected on stage a world familiar to them. Although Ariosto would have preferred a more 'curial' or 'courtly' language, the Ferrara 'volgare' is still the most appropriate and

4.2. A Ringing Endorsement

Keeping in mind Machiavelli's pronouncement on Ariosto's linguistic taste and knowledge, I turn now to Ariosto's process of revising the *Furioso*. A lucid summary is found in the chapter entitled "Problems of Language and Composition" contained in Brand's general portrait of Ariosto. Here Brand outlines the *Furioso*'s evolution from the 1516 and 1521 versions to the 1532 version, pointing out that the major linguistic revision does not take place until the latest edition.⁴⁶ In describing the initial version of the *Furioso*, Brand points out that it contains both latinisms and numerous dialectal elements (Lombard and Emilian). To cite just one category of discrepancy between regional dialectal vs. Tuscan vernacular, single consonants occur in place of the Tuscan double (as in *mezo*, *azurro*, *aventura*, *adosso*, *letere*), and double consonants in place of the Tuscan single (as in *fraccasso*, *difetto*, *comminciare*, *commune*).

Brand notes that while Ariosto's acquisition of spoken Tuscan increased following publication of this first edition—in 1520 he had a six-month stay in Tuscany, and he spent three years there from 1522-25—the main Tuscanizing influence on subsequent editions was Bembo's prescription of literary Tuscan. The eventual outcome of Ariosto's ongoing revision process was the bestowal of the unequivocal seal of approval on the final edition of the *Furioso* by those who mattered the very most. Brand sums up: "the [Accademia della] Crusca later pointed to the *Furioso* as an example of

the most effective comically. Machiavelli's insistence that the comedy would have worked better in Tuscan does not seem to apply in this case where the topic is strictly suited to life in Ferrara and requires the Ferrara 'volgare' for its comic effect. (533)

⁴⁶ Casadei ("The History") in fact notes that the revision process between the 1516 and the 1521 versions was cursory, also remarking: "In comparison to the version of 1516, the unmodified part of the 1521 text is far superior to the modified part" (64).

correct Tuscan. . . . It was no mean achievement for a Ferrarese poet to win the support of the fastidious Florentines” (171).

4.3. Back-and-Forth Tuscanizing: Ariosto’s “Poet’s Licence”

Despite this ringing endorsement, however, scholars also point to the paradoxical outcome of Ariosto’s years-long revision process. Cappellani on page 12 quotes from Díaz’ *Le correzioni dell’Orlando Furioso*: “Non v’ha correzione nel *Furioso*, non solo senza eccezione, ma anche senza la correzione inversa”. Also, in discussing the substitution of Tuscan for Latin forms, Segre specifies: “Queste correzioni l’Ariosto attuava con orecchio di poeta, non con rigore di grammatico. Donde la non completa sistematicità dei mutamenti, e donde anche il recupero a scopo stilistico di forme condannate” (36).⁴⁷ Brand echoes both Cappellani/Díaz and Segre with respect to the bidirectionality of the changes, and he echoes Segre with respect to Ariosto’s motive:

it is necessary at the same time to point out that for almost every category

⁴⁷ This “artistic” approach to the incorporation of Latin stands in stark contrast to Machiavelli’s approach. (See Chapter Three, Section 3.) Segre explains Ariosto’s abandonment of wholesale composition in Latin as follows: “La musa latina fu presto abbandonata dall’Ariosto (contro il parere del Bembo); egli deve aver sentito che la resistenza del ‘genere’ era accentuata da quella della lingua, dall’artificiosità stessa dell’intento” (14). In addition to this esthetic consideration for the rejection of Latin composition, Cappellani emphasizes another esthetic concern regarding Latin, in his comment on the surprisingly smooth “weave” of the various linguistic strands in the *Furioso*: “[L]a sorpresa sta nel fatto che modi così latini non abbiano alcun particolare rilievo erudito nell’insieme del linguaggio, mentre contrastano vivamente sul piano della analisi linguistica” (6). Thus, in contrast to Machiavelli’s Latin use, Ariosto’s “smoothly woven” strands of Latin lack an air of erudition rather than boast of it, and lack the caesura of Machiavelli’s power-oriented Latin interjections, rather than capitalize on any such juncture.

of correction there are exceptions; there are examples in the 1532 text where Ariosto fails to correct a form he corrects regularly elsewhere; and there are frequent examples of corrections in the opposite direction; so there are good literary Tuscan forms occurring in the 1516 edition which are changed to Northern or Latinate forms in the final text. We cannot always be confident that these were not due to oversights on Ariosto's part, or mistakes on the part of his printers, but the numbers are such as to lead us to believe that Ariosto was firmly claiming his poet's licence.

(169)

Certainly, poetic concerns are at play. Nevertheless, after concluding that Ariosto's status as artist, not grammarian, must account for the bidirectional changes, Brand continues in the same breath: "But his acute interest in the language of his poem is apparent not only in the numerous corrections he made for the last edition (which leave barely a stanza unmarked), but also in the variants between different copies of the 1532 edition which show that the poet intervened to correct his text after the printing had actually begun" (169). Indeed, Ariosto's "acute" linguistic interest indicates that carelessness is not an explanation for Ariosto's back-and-forth Tuscanizing.

Nor, on the other hand, as author of the Crusca-approved model of Tuscan, does Ariosto lack sufficient knowledge for producing a poem in seamless Tuscan. If neither linguistic precision nor linguistic knowledge on Ariosto's part is lacking as he proceeds to his final edition of the *Furioso*, how then can we explain the impetus of his final "rattoppatura"? Since the changes are so prolific into both Ferrarese and Tuscan, they cannot be seen as the result of Ariosto's "not liking" Ferrarese expressions (*i motti*

ferraresi non gli piacevano), nor, as just shown, can they be seen as the result of his “not knowing” the Tuscan ones (*i motti. . . fiorentini non sapeva*); his adept movement in both directions attests to his ample affection for the first and facility in the second.

Instead, like Ariosto’s meticulously deliberate omission of Machiavelli from the Renaissance “who’s who” in the exordium of the last canto detailed in the Introduction, Ariosto’s proud employment of more than one language variety speaks volumes. Ariosto in this way demonstrates his resistance to Machiavelli’s rigid imposition of modern Tuscan. Therefore, it does not matter that Machiavelli died five years before the final *Furioso*. Undeterred, Ariosto proceeded with his own “Discourse or Dialogue on Language,” in which through artistic—and artful—dialect use he continued to stand up to Machiavelli’s linguistic tyranny.

4.4. *Varie fila a varie tele*

In addition, Ariosto even coopts (or perhaps preempts, since the date of the “Discorso” is uncertain) the figurative language describing his own work. The beginning of Chapter Three cited Machiavelli’s *veste rattoppata* remark, which critiqued the clumsiness of a work that would be “mezza toscana e mezza forestiera.” Furthermore, such a metaphor for linguistic variety is used earlier in the “Discorso”:

Aggiugnesi a questo che, qualunque volta viene o nuove dottrine in una città o nuove arti, è necessario che vi venghino nuovi vocaboli, e nati in quella lingua donde quelle dottrine o quelle arti son venute; ma

riducendosi nel parlare, con i modi, con i casi, con le differenze e con gli accenti, fanno una medesima consonanza con i vocaboli di quella lingua che trovano, e così diventano suoi; perché altrimenti le lingue parrebbero *rappezzate* e non tornerebbono bene. E così i vocaboli forestieri si convertono in fiorentini, non i fiorentini in forestieri; né però diventa altro la nostra lingua che fiorentina. (809-10, emphasis added)

In place of figures such as *rattoppatura* and *rappezzatura*, however, Ariosto in several of his well-known cases of *cantus interruptus*⁴⁸ instead invokes the image of himself as tapestry weaver who varies his thread and material:

Ma perché *varie fila a varie tele*

uopo mi son, che tutte ordire intendo,

lascio Rinaldo e l'agitata prua,

e torno a dir di Bradamante sua. (Canto II.30.5-8, emphasis added)

Similarly, in shifting the scene from Bradamante's wanderings about the corridors of Atlante to the siege of Paris, Ariosto writes: "*Di molte fila esser bisogno parme / a condur la gran tela ch'io lavoro*" (XIII.81.1-2, emphasis added).

Every analysis of which I am aware relates the weaving metaphor solely to the narrative technique of *entrelacement*; indeed, the junctures at which the two instances of this metaphor occur indicate that shifting from one sub-plot to another is what occasions its use. In addition, however, given Ariosto's extreme consciousness of linguistic detail, including the ins and outs of language variation—not to mention the overarching

⁴⁸ See Javitch.

questione della lingua in which all poets of the time were embroiled—it is also likely that Ariosto’s “varie fila” and “molte fila” refer too to the linguistic material of his work, that is, the strands of Tuscan, Ferrarese, Latin, and other types that are woven into the tapestry. In particular, coming on the heels of Machiavelli’s “veste rattoppata” comment (if one assumes a pre-1516 authorship for the “Discorso”), it is hard to imagine that Ariosto would *not* feel a desire to respond to Machiavelli in kind, however obliquely.

While as briefly mentioned in Chapter Three,⁴⁹ the date of the “Discorso” has never been established with certainty, possible light is shed on this date by the above analysis. Since the figures “varie fila” and “molte fila” occur in all three versions of the *Furioso*—1516, 1521, and 1532—my analysis of Ariosto’s weaving metaphor in conjunction with the back-and-forth Tuscanizing, as both at least in part a retort to Machiavelli’s “veste rattoppata” label, constitutes support for a pre-1516 authorship date. Regardless of whether the evidence for such a chronology is conclusive, it is indisputably clear that through Ariosto’s choice of metaphor to describe the *Furioso* and its maker, he proclaims himself a skillful weaver, rather than a clumsy patcher.

4.5. Una lingua personalissima, variegata ma fusa

In the Introduction, I emphasized the centrality of Bembo as the anti-Machiavellian *legislatore linguistico*. Indeed, the timing of Bembo’s 3-volume work is crucial: Book I was completed in 1512, the final Book in 1525; throughout the process of composing the *Furioso*’s various editions, Bembo and Ariosto maintained contact (Brand 167). Despite this ongoing contact, however, and despite the encomium for Bembo in the exordium of

⁴⁹ See footnote 36.

XLVI, which provides the crucial backdrop for the precisely calculated exclusion of Machiavelli, we have seen quite clearly, from the discussion of Ariosto's "poet's licence," that Ariosto does not follow Bembo to the letter.

Indeed, Cappellani terms the overall Ariostan approach to language variety as "l'ecllettismo linguistico," (11-12) and characterizes it as follows:

In confronto di tal forza di rinnovamento dall'interno, minore importanza ha lo studio delle particolarità idiomatiche e fonetiche che attestano la revisione in senso toscano o il permanere di provincialismi anche nell'ultima edizione, l'aggiunta anzi di qualche irregolarità dialettale o grammaticale proprio nell'ultima edizione, perché proprio quei provincialismi e queste irregolarità recano conferma della libertà e dell'ecllettismo con cui l'Ariosto guardò al problema della lingua. (21-22)

Bigi in fact begins by describing the language of Ariosto's predecessor Boiardo as somewhat of a *rattoppatura*, which Ariosto serves to linguistically rein in: "una base di partenza è offerta all'Ariosto dalla lingua dell'*Innamorato* con la sua mistione di termini e modi letterari e familiari, di latinismi e dialettismi, di toscanismi arcaici e di echi canterini" (53).

Segre characterizes the Tuscanizing reaction of Ariosto to such "ibridismo linguistico," with his substitution of a more homogeneous language for what Segre labels Boiardo's "toscano screziato di emilianismi e latinismi" (25). Bigi terms Ariosto's result "una complessa armonia" (53). Segre emphasizes the linguistically trailblazing nature of Ariosto's revision process, noting that when Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* was

published, it provided confirmation for the Emilian to Tuscan lexical changes to the *Innamorato* that Ariosto was already in the process of implementing (35).⁵⁰

Despite Ariosto's Bembian orientation, however, Bigi points out that Ariosto's language included non-Tuscan elements of various sorts—"una serie di elementi che il Bembo non avrebbe mai accolto" (54). Even concerning Ariosto's post-publication handwritten fragments, Bigi reports that Ariosto continued to incorporate a variety of linguistic elements as he saw fit (59).

Bigi lists the numerous linguistic "threads" utilized by Ariosto in terms that resemble vocabulary for weaving, describing anything *but a rattoppatura*: "[T]utti questi elementi eterogenei. . . tendano a diventare materiali di una lingua personalissima, *variegata ma fusa, trascolorante senza sforzo. . .*" (55, emphasis added). Cappellani even more explicitly echoes Ariosto's weaving metaphor, in describing Ariosto's incorporation of Latin and other elements:

Le sorprese, adesso, ci sono, e riguardano per lo più la grossolana orditura del tessuto connettivo, la mistione a larghe macchie di colore che formano la meravigliosa e serena e scorrevole e piana stesura del linguaggio ariostesco. La sorpresa è in ciò, che non si capisce a prima vista come possano non urtare, insieme con tante parole estranee, le numerose parole che il poeta trasportò di peso dal latino nella sua tela linguistica. . . . (5)

Cappellani also mentions "molti fili di derivazione cavalleresca e, perciò, per l'Ariosto

⁵⁰ "sicché, quando esse apparvero, l'Ariosto vi trovò soprattutto un'autorevole conferma, e una guida sicura, alle correzioni *che già stava eseguendo.*" (35, emphasis added).

anche quasi provinciali” (9).

The above comments by Bigi and Cappellani indicate that whether or not Ariosto himself was explicitly referring to the weaving of his language along with the weaving of his plot with the words “fila,” “tela,” and “ordire,” modern scholars, using terms such as “sua tela linguistica,” “ordito,” “intrecciare,” “fili,” and so on, clearly do intend such a reference. These modern scholars apparently employ the metaphor based on their own assessment of the harmonious nature of the language mixture itself, citing neither Machiavelli’s *rattoppatura* comment, nor Ariosto’s possibly corrective use of the terms “fila,” “tela,” or “ordire.” In other words, the appropriateness of the weaving metaphor not only for narrative *entrelacement*, but also for the linguistic *entrelacement*, extends beyond the Renaissance-day politics of Machiavelli and Ariosto, basing itself instead on the independent assessment of linguistic scholars, regardless of era.

Although this metaphor indeed aptly encapsulates the harmonious nature of Ariosto’s intermingling of language variants, independently of Machiavelli’s *rattoppatura* remark, if we proceed beyond the particular case of this particular metaphor, we confirm that it also serves as an instrument of a distinctly non-linguistic sort. In fact, neither the edict contained in Machiavelli’s treatise on language, nor the employment of different language varieties keenly honed by both authors, is a linguistic matter per se. Rather, the alternation and/or regulation of language variants, like the means of pronoun selection and array, is an instrument. For Machiavelli, it is an instrument for wielding power in relation to others; for Ariosto, it is an instrument for resisting that power and translocating it, from the sociopolitical realm to the minefield of human passions, immensely powerful, perilous, and ever in need of negotiation.

Conclusion: *Lasciato ne la penna*

To begin this conclusion, I repeat from Section 0.5 the Bembian Octave 15 of Canto XLVI. A crucial feature of this octave is its two-line fringe on either side, of non-Machiavellian *Niccolòs*, whether alive or dead:

Veggio il Mainardo, veggo *il* [Niccolò] Leoniceno,
il [Niccolò] Pannizzato, e Celio e il Teocreno.
Là Bernardo Capel, là veggo Pietro
Bembo, che 'l puro e dolce idioma nostro,
levato fuor del volgare uso tetro,
quale esser dee, ci ha col suo esempio mostro.
Guasparro Obizi è quel che gli vien dietro,
ch'ammira e osserva il sì ben speso inchiostro.
Io veggo il Fracastorio, il Bevazano,
Trifon Gabriele, e il Tasso più lontano.
Veggio Nicolò Tiepoli, e con esso
Nicolò Amanio in me affissar le ciglia;

The Introduction also includes Machiavelli's response to this segment of text—his famous letter of 1517 to Alamanni—describing the experience of having been *lasciato indreto*. For related terminology, but from Ariosto's point of view, we have only to remember the pleading to Ariosto by Astolfo: “il qual mi grida, e di lontano accenna, / e priega ch'io nol *lasci ne la penna*” (XV.9.7-8, emphasis added).

In referring to the overall exordium, Ascoli and Kahn note that Machiavelli's name is “ostentatiously omitted” (1). Such ostentatiousness is noted elsewhere, as when

Mazzotta registers Machiavelli's disillusionment at having been *lasciato indreto*. Missing name notwithstanding, Mazzotta asserts, "Machiavelli is everywhere in the *Furioso*" (151). In describing a literary mystery hunt in the work for the "segretario fiorentino," Ascoli and Kahn allude to "traces of his presence." In a footnote, they present a very brief list of specific topical references to Machiavelli in the *Furioso*, then conclude, "The subject still awaits a systematic treatment, however" (2). To the best of my knowledge, in the twenty-plus years since Ascoli and Kahn (1993) and Mazzotta (1992), no such treatment has emerged.

While this short study cannot claim to have carried out such a systematic investigation of the subject, it has nevertheless presented line-by-line verification of the "ostentatiousness" of Machiavelli's omission—in Ascoli's terms, the "loudness" of his absence. It has demonstrated the blaring nature of Niccolò Machiavelli's absence in the exordium by demonstrating the studious calculation of his exclusion from the text.

Furthermore, this same close textual analysis has revealed several robust patterns so far scarcely noticed or developed by modern scholars. Among these patterns are (1) the enormous significance Machiavelli places on pronoun choice (*voi* vs. *tu*), including the military-style subterfuge employed in switching from the honorific/formal to the informal in *Belfagor* and *Il principe*; and (2) Ariosto's collocation of specular *mi/ti* pairs in demonstrating intersubjectivity of a genuine or else hollow (narcissistic) variety (and thereby pointing to the psyche as the site for transaction of intensely powerful forces).

Along with such detailed textual patterns, so too the differing Machiavellian and Ariostan approaches to language variety are emblematic of fundamental distinctions between the two authors, especially with respect to the question of the locus of power.

Clearly, Machiavelli's Tuscan-only edict places him in the linguistic center of his own design; also, when Machiavelli calls into service either Latin or dialectal *volgare* elements, it is in the name of societal power—gaining and maintaining it. On the other hand, Ariosto's *ecllettismo linguistico*, embrace of Bembo's archaizing Tuscan developed in *Prose della volgar lingua*, and refusal to see Tuscan as the ultimate goal of his ongoing linguistic revisions, all amount to a firm rejection of Machiavelli's edict and its motive.

Finally, to the extent that one considers Ariosto's description of his own work in terms of "weaving" to be a corrective to Machiavelli's disparaging terms *rattoppatura* and *rappezzatura*, support is garnered for a pre-1516 date for the "Discorso," a work whose date has never been established with certainty. Recalling once again the precisely crafted exclusion of Machiavelli from the exordium, we are reminded of how intently Ariosto held Machiavelli in his sights, and of how desirous Ariosto must have been of making such a figurative retort to Machiavelli.

As seen in the case of Astolfo, one part of Ariosto's panache as narrator is his confident control of who is included, and when. And in the same way that Ariosto very deliberately left Machiavelli "in the pen," he is also likely to have zeroed in on Machiavelli's terms of disparagement for linguistic eclecticism and reclaimed them as his own. As mentioned, such a hypothesis points to an authorship date for the "Discorso" that precedes the 1516 version of the *Furioso*.

The tentative nature of this particular hypothesis, along with the corroborative process of reaching many of the conclusions in this thesis, constitute a call for further

study. This future study must investigate the various texts of the two authors, performing a close reading of both *il sì ben speso inchiostro*, as well as that “lasciato ne la penna.”

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