Melancholy and Hypochondria in Carlo Goldoni's Comedic Works (1735-1762)

By

Anna Krautkremer Rockwell

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(Italian)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2020

Date of final oral examination: 12/6/2019

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:
Stefania Buccini, Professor, Italian
Ernesto Livorni, Professor, Italian, Comparative Literature, and Religious Studies
Jelena Todorovic, Associate Professor, Italian
Anne Vila, Professor, French
Richard Goodkin, Professor, French

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation provides a chronological account of the representation of the melancholic-hypochondriac in Carlo Goldoni's comedic works up to his definitive departure for France in 1762 with an emphasis on the status of the figure as a patient. By gradually integrating diverse etiologies of the disease into the backstories of his characters, Goldoni transforms the traditional figure from a static character-type deserving of derision into an individual worthy of empathy and social reintegration. As the etiologies evolve, so too do the therapeutic responses warranted. In Goldoni's hands, the delusions from which the hypochondriac suffers become fertile ground for a reflection on the therapeutic or "corrective" value of theater, in which the distinction between "honest" and "dishonest" simulation is explored, as doctors and patients become actors, and invalids learn to heal themselves through the mirror of theatrical performances. Attention is paid to points of contact between Goldoni's representations and selected medical texts of the period, primarily from the Italian tradition. Starting with Bartoli, who employs theatrical terms to describe the malady, Chapter 1 considers the figure of the imaginary invalid and hypochondriac within the context of understudied early intermezzi and drammi giocosi, genres that formed an Italian theatrical background out of which the invalid emerged in later Goldonian comedies. Chapter 2 examines first the earliest example of hypochondria in Goldoni's corpus, his intermezzo, *L'ippocondriaco* (1735), after which the figure temporarily disappears and is replaced with melancholics in the following comedies: *La vedova scaltra* (1748), *La Pamela fanciulla* (1750), *L'erede fortunata* (1750) and *Il padre di famiglia* (1751). These works illustrate the diverse collection of etiologies of melancholy used by

Goldoni. Lastly, the chapter attends to performative aspects of the representation of the malady seen in *La finta ammalata* (1751) where the question of feigned illness reemerges in conjunction with the notion of "honest" simulation. Chapter 3 focuses on two distinct versions of the melancholic genius in works devoted to literary figures: *Il Molière* (1751) and *Torquato Tasso* (1755). Along with *Il vecchio bizzarro* (1754) these plays present a rehabilitated melancholic-hypochondriac worthy of sympathy and admiration. Chapter 4 features Goldoni's final comedies before his departure to Paris, in which one finds the last fully developed examples of melancholy and hypochondria in his Italian works. In *Il medico olandese* (1756), the reintegration of the patient is feasible through companionship and a kind of self-reflexive talk therapy. Goldoni explores the melancholic mania that arises from an obsession with fashion among the Venetian bourgeoisie in the *Trilogia della villeggiatura* (1761). With *Una delle ultime sere di carnovale* (1762) Goldoni bids farewell to Venice and returns to an example of the female hypochondriac who closely resembles the early imaginary invalids from musical theater.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank Professor Buccini for her guidance, patience, and feedback throughout the process of writing the dissertation. I have known Professor Buccini since I was a junior in college when I took my first survey class of Italian literature in which we read Carlo Goldoni's *La locandiera.* I cannot help but think that she planted the seed many years ago that would lead me to devote so much time many years later to the same Venetian playwright. I would also like to thank the rest of the committee for their assistance in this process. Each committee member has been instrumental in this dissertation coming together and in my intellectual formation. Professor Todorovic taught me to be fearless in front of original texts. Professor Livorni challenged me to think about literature in ways I had never even considered before. Professor Vila introduced me to medical treatises, which made literature even more exhilarating. Professor Goodkin generously shared his invaluable erudition in matters concerning Molière. I have called the French and Italian Department my intellectual home for many years, and it is with a sadness similar to the one that I felt leaving home to start college that I contemplate moving on from being one of their Badgers.

In addition to the support that I received from FRIT, I was fortunate to be surrounded by spectacular friends such as Loren Eadie, Caitlin Yocco-Locascio, and Jennifer Morgan who spent many hours with me in the library. I am also grateful to the women of CoworkHers in Portland, Maine, who offered me a space conducive to writing and taught me about the extraordinary things that can happen when women come together to support one another and their careers.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. Since I was a little girl, my dad has been my hero. In the lengthy process of graduate school, he has proven this to be true once again. My

mom has likewise been an extraordinary support reminding me time and time again about the end goal even when it seemed so far away. My sister, Katie, was always ready to rescue me from the library. I am forever thankful for the joy she brought me during challenging periods by sharing her boys, James, Joshua and Lucas, their laughter and their smiles with me. James, my husband, has loved and supported me unconditionally. From prelim exams through each draft of this dissertation, he has held my hand and my heart. I am eternally grateful to all of you for your support.

I started this dissertation for myself, but I submit it to the committee in honor of my daughter. It is ultimately for you, Eloise. Thank you for being that last little bit of inspiration for your mother.

Note on Translations, Transcriptions, and Editions

Whenever possible I used modern editions of primary texts. When such editions were unavailable, I transcribed the original seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts. In my transcriptions I maintained the original spellings, grammar, and punctuation. However, when nouns were capitalized, I did substitute a lowercase letter to conform to modern practice. In my translations, I followed the same punctuation as the original text except when indicating dialogue. In order to have consistency across different textual citations, I normally used the following format for dialogical exchanges: I abbreviated the name to the first three letters and inserted a period. For example Rosaura becomes ROS. In certain unique cases, the similarity between the names of the characters required extra letters to avoid ambiguity. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the body of the dissertation and in the footnotes are my own. They are included to facilitate the committee's reading of my dissertation. I did not take into account rhyme schemes when translating texts. When a modern translation was available, I cited the translation within the footnote. All references to Goldoni's texts are taken from the Ortolani critical edition unless otherwise indicated.

Introduction

During his long lifetime, Carlo Goldoni frequently produced comedies that featured the figure of the hypochondriac or the melancholic. Because his career was protracted, Goldoni's works offer an unmatched invitation to trace these particular theatrical types within the Italian context over the course of the eighteenth century. Initially constrained by Italian comedic conventions, Goldonian hypochondriacs eventually matured into psychologically unique articulations of the character that were imbued with a realism that starkly contrasted with earlier renditions. This thesis, structured chronologically, examines Goldoni's comedies in which a hypochondriac or a melancholic was featured. It considers how the playwright gradually incorporated medical discourse into his representation of the disease. It begins with a reading of a selection of intermezzi and drammi giocosi, often overlooked theatrical genres, in which the figure of the hypochondriac first appeared upon the Italian stage. It was while working with these theatrical forms that Goldoni's first rudimentary hypochondriac emerged. Initially, Goldoni's hypochondriac was represented as embodying a vice and as worthy only of ridicule. By contrast, over the course of his career, Goldoni rehabilitated the hypochondriac into a realistic figure worthy of sympathy. This transformation had several points of contact with his program of theatrical reform, the central goal of which was to reflect the book of the world in the book of the theater.[1]

[1] Franco Fido, *Nuova guida a Goldoni* (Torino: Einaudi, 2000), 7-8. As Marchini explains, one of the central tenants of Goldoni's theatrical reform was to acclimate his audience to a theater that was more representative of reality: "Nel teatro goldoniano la catarsi avviene tramite l'ironia di chi pone l'uomo dinanzi a se stesso, facendolo assistere agli atti della rappresentazione quotidiana tratti dal palcoscenico della vita e ciò richiede un nuovo tipo di attore-personaggio che si ponga come scopo l'impersonificazione articolata e complessiva dei caratteri individuali, storici e sociali che popolano la realtà." Elena Marchini, "L'anatomia della realtà e i corpi smascherati di Carlo Goldoni," *Problemi di critica goldoniana* 1 (1994): 387. This reform entailed the gradual elimination of theatrical masks that were common in Italian theater. Marchini, 387.

In the Commedia dell'Arte tradition, actors wore masks that were easily recognizable by the audience upon the stage. Rather than following a written script, they improvised by following a loose plot outline called a canovaccio. When Goldoni established the precepts of his theatrical reform, he focused on removing the masks and eliminating improvisation on the part of the actors. The Venetian therefore re-established the authority of the playwright and by extension the words of the author. Rather than the fixed masks of the "old" tradition, he allowed for the emotions of the characters to be displayed upon the faces of the actors. The actors, formerly free to improvise the dialogue within the strict conventions of their mask, had to follow the more nuanced elements of human nature that Goldoni had gleaned from his observations of the world. Goldoni in a sense listened to his audience and gave them a voice upon the stage. These same observations led to representations of hypochondria and melancholy in Goldoni's comedic works that were interrelated in interesting ways with his broader goals for theatrical reform.

Hypochondria and melancholy, terms whose meanings at times dovetailed and at other moments diverged, appeared with increasing frequency in European literary and medical texts during the eighteenth century.[2] Because of this, scholars such as George Rousseau have asserted that there was a distinct "literature of melancholy" during the period, one which perhaps had its

[2] "It [hypochondria] was probably first adapted to the name of a disease by Galen when he referred to one of the three types of melancholia as hypochondriacal affection, the type in which the primary site of the disease was thought to be in the hypochondria. These three forms of melancholia, including this one that came to be known as melancholia hypochondriaca or hypochondriacal melancholia, continued to be a part of medical thought until well into the seventeenth century. Then, in the latter part of the century, the terms hypochondriasis and hypochondria emerged as synonyms for hypochondriacal melancholia, and gradually this disorder differentiated from melancholia as a separate, though related disease." Stanley Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 274. For more information on the prevalence and "epidemic nature" of the vapors, hypochondria, and melancholy during the eighteenth century, see Delphine Pinel, "La follia dei vapori," in *Per una storia delle malattie*, eds. Jean-Charles Sournia and Jacques le Goff (Bari: Edizioni Dedalo Spa, 1985), 187-194. In the same volume, see Jacques Léonard, "I malati immaginari," 305-320, in which he discusses these pathologies in the context of literature.

own conventions and style.[3] In the case of Carlo Goldoni, who wrote mostly comedies, there is an opportunity to consider how this emerging new "literature" functioned in conjunction with the aesthetic constraints of comedic theater. One challenge in doing so, however, is in finding a clear definition of the pertinent terms.[4] Starcevic and Lipsitt have asked:

> What is the history of hypochondriasis about? We can now say that it is unlikely to be about some stable behavior related to some tenebrous brain structure. It is far more likely it is just about the avatars of a fascinating term.[5]

Despite the changing understanding of the illness in the medical literature of the period, it is fair to say that the term hypochondriasis, generally speaking, describes a diagnostic category of interrelated ailments that could manifest themselves, depending upon the degree of the patient's suffering, as hypochondria or melancholy.[6] As Anne Vila has maintained, many authors of the period grouped these diseases under the general category of the "vapors":

> To understand how the psychic and the somatic intermingled in eighteenth-century notions of melancholy, it is useful to consider its place within the larger syndrome popularly called 'the vapors.' In pre-Revolutionary Europe, this was an umbrella term for the cluster of jointly physical and mental ailments that doctors grouped together, with little clear demarcation, in a 'mixed hystero-hypochondriasis concept.' Although melancholy had richer emotional and poetic resonances than hysteria and hypochondria, it was distinguished from those ailments in degree rather than kind.[7]

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[3] George Sebastian Rousseau, introduction to *Hypochondriasis: A Practical Treatise, 1766*, by John Hill (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1969), i-xii.

[4] For a brief history of hypochondria in Italian medicine see Maurizio De Vanna, Mauro Cauzer, and Roberta Marchiori, *Il misterioso pianeta dell'ipocondria: Vissuti e relazioni interpersonali del paziente ipocondriaco* (Rome: Il Pensiero Scientifico Editore, 2002). For a history of melancholy preceding the eighteenth century, see Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London: Nelson, 1964).

[5] Vladan Starcevic and Don R. Lipsitt, *Hypochondriasis: Modern Perspectives on an Ancient Malady* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 4.

[6] "Whether carefully differentiated or lumped together,...various hypochondriacal conditions frequently stood next to melancholia on a continuum of severity." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 307.

[7] Anne Vila, *Suffering Scholars: Pathologies of the Intellectual in Enlightenment France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 126.

Goldoni too appears to situate these terms on a continuum similar to the one found in the medical literature. In his descriptions of his own experience of the disease, Goldoni groups the ailments hypochondria and melancholy together, oftentimes relating each to the broader term of the "vapors":

> J'étois naturellement gai, mais sujet, depuis mon enfance, à des vapeurs hypocondriaques ou mélancoliques, qui répandoient du noir dans mon esprit.[8]

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Goldoni oftentimes used the terms hypochondria and melancholy interchangeably in his comedic works, even though, at certain times during the course of his career, the notion of melancholy took the lead.

These general remarks aside, as scholars of the medical tradition have noted, even though these diseases were represented as interrelated, the scientific understanding of the ailments designated by these terms were quite varied in their descriptions of symptoms, causes, and therapies prescribed. In fact, one of the typical "markers" of hypochondria and melancholy was that it had many symptoms, making it even more difficult to offer a concise definition of the malady.[9] Rather than attempt to provide a singular definition of these maladies in the eighteenth century, this thesis will focus specifically on Goldoni's personal, unique and evolving etiology of these ailments.[10] This requires suspending an anachronistic modern definition of the disease as a

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[8] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 33.

[9] Giovanni Zeviani speaks at length on the challenges of managing such an illness: "La multiplicità di tanti sintomi, che formano il morbo ipocondriaco ha messo confusione ne' Medici, ed hanno disperato di trovare una cagione che possa esser madre di tanti figlioli." Giovanni Verardo Zeviani, *Del flato a favore degl'ipocondriaci* (Verona: Marco Maroni, 1761), 50.

[10] Jackson explains the multiple uses of the term hypochondria in relationship to melancholy: "In addition to the tendency to employ the term melancholy loosely for any sort of dejected states, sometimes melancholy was used as a synonym for hypochondriasis without implying madness, and at other times hypochondriasis was referred to as madness; but these were contrary to usual medical usage. For the most part such colloquial practices were akin to

mental health problem that is characterized by an obsessive, yet erroneous belief that one is ill. Instead, Goldoni's invalids will be considered in part in dialogue with the nuanced and competing theories of his contemporaries, some of whom believed that melancholic hypochondria was a disease with physical causes and symptoms.[11] At the same time, since Goldoni was part of a much broader cultural discussion, which included the influence of theatrical tradition, his etiology of the disease should be understood within its own literary context.

To date, there have been no exhaustive studies devoted entirely to the figure of the hypochondriac in Goldoni's comedies. However, there has been sustained critical interest in the topic of hypochondria and melancholy in eighteenth-century Italian literature which has informed this thesis. In her study "Aspetti medici e letterari della malinconia ipocondriaca nel Settecento," Rosalba Currò analyzes eighteenth-century Italian medical treatises on the topic in conjunction with contemporaneous lesser-known theatrical and lyrical works.[12] She acknowledges the difficulty of distinguishing between the terms melancholy and hypochondria during the period. Moreover, she identifies an important topos associated with the disease. She describes how the disease was believed to secretly conceal itself in the body of the unknowing

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the modern casualness often evidenced in the use of the terms depression and crazy." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 301. Goldoni in turn had his own definition of the malady or maladies as the case may be.

[11] See the following Italian medical treatises for their divergent etiologies of the disease: Grassino Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria e suoi accidenti con sua cura, & insignamento di rimedii* (Venetia: Per il Prodocimo, 1686); Bernardino Ramazzini, *De Morbis Artificum diatriba Bernardini Ramazzini* (Apud Guilielmum van de Water, 1703); Giovanni Verardo Zeviani, *Del flato a favore degl'ipocondriaci* (Verona: Marco Maroni, 1761); Giuseppe Antonio Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute de' letterati, e della gente applicata e sedentaria opera postuma* (Venezia: Presso Antonio Zatta, 1762); Giambattista Morgagni, *De sedibus, et causis morborum per anatomen indigatis: libri quinque : dissectiones, et animadversiones, nunc primum editas complectuntur propemodum innumeras, medicis, chirurgis, anatomicis profuturas : multiplex praefixus est index rerum, & nominum accuratissimus* (Patavii: Sumptibus Remondinianis, 1765).

[12] Rosalba Currò, "Aspetti medici e letterari della malinconia ipocondriaca nel Settecento," in *Immaginazione e conoscenza nel Settecento italiano e francese*, ed. Sabine Verhulst (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2002), 109-133.

invalid. This allowed it to surprise its unarmed victim without opposition, a concern that is also seen in the works of Goldoni.[13] Currò's study focuses primarily on rare medical sources that provide insight into the Italian medical tradition. Her literary sources are not limited to a specific genre.

By contrast, in her study "Ipocondria, scienza medica e poesia: Una congiuntura Settecentesca," Sandra Parmegiani focuses on the malady in the genre of poetry.[14] Using medical treatises such as those written by Bernardino Ramazzini, Giuseppe Antonio Pujati, and Giovanni Verardo Zeviani, Parmegiani considers how the disease was considered "fashionable" during the period insomuch as it became associated with prestige and the upper classes and thus was to a certain extent desirable.[15] She underscores how individuals relished in declaring that they suffered from the affliction. Since the malady predominantly afflicted the elite and one group in particular, the learned, suffering from it became a privileged distinction rather than a curse. Because of this, Parmegiani focuses her literary analysis on "poet-physicians," both Italian and British, who composed lyrical pieces devoted to hypochondria. Certain themes underscored by Parmegiani remain relevant in the realm of theater, such as the fashionability of the disease, and the notion of afflicted erudite scholars. Still, poetry stands apart as its own genre. Goldoni did write lyrical pieces. However, he only references melancholy twice in his poetry and

[13] Currò, "Aspetti," 111.

[14] Sandra Parmegiani, "Ipocondria, scienza medica e poesia: Una congiuntura Settecentesca," *Quaderni d'italianistica* 18, no. 2 (2007): 119-142.

[15] This primarily lyrical representation does not hold true in all of Goldoni's works, in which the hypochondriac did not consistently belong to a specific social class. Nevertheless, Goldoni certainly does provide examples of elite literary figures and members of the nobility within his corpus. For a further discussion of the disease as a fashion see Allen Ingram et al., *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression, 1660-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). This volume, however, only addresses British literature.

hypochondria does not appear even once.[16] This implies perhaps that for Goldoni the figure was suited specifically to the theater.

In his chapter "Mes vapours," and his article "Ipocondria e malinconia nella letteratura italiana del '700," Massimo Riva provides the most extensive critical examination of Carlo Goldoni's hypochondriacs. His works offer a survey of only some of Goldoni's theatrical works that feature the figure.[17] In both studies, Riva focuses on establishing a much broader history of hypochondria and melancholy in the Italian literary tradition. More specifically, he concerns himself with tracing the relationship between *fantasia* and melancholy in eighteenth-century Italian texts and the tension between whether hypochondria is a malady of the imagination or an imaginary malady. Riva's chapter on Goldoni belongs to a much larger historical project in which he assembles examples from different genres and intellectuals of the eighteenth century who participated in the vibrant discussion of the topic of hypochondria on the Italian peninsula. In doing so, and by including Goldoni in this discussion, Riva confirms that the Venetian playwright was engaging in a dialogue with his contemporaries on the malady, which pervaded not only the Italian peninsula, but also much of Western Europe. Goldoni serves as one example, along with such other literary elites as Ludovico Muratori and Carlo Gozzi, of learned individuals who repeatedly broached the medical topic of hypochondria in their writings.[18]

In Riva's evaluation of the character, he asserts that in some ways the invalid should be placed in juxtaposition to the ideal Italian figure of the eighteenth century, called the *uomo di*

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[16] See Goldoni, *Tutte le opere*, 13: 308, 850 for his poems entitled *Il Burchiello* and *Il Pellegrino*.

[17] Massimo Riva, *Saturno e le grazie: Malinconici e ipocondriaci nella letteratura italiana del Settecento* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1992). Massimo Riva, "Malattia dell'immaginazione e immaginazione della malattia: Ipocondria e malinconia nella letteratura italiana del Settecento," *Lettere Italiane* 39, no. 3 (1987): 346-377.

[18] Riva, *Saturno*, 39-65.

garbo, who embodied the values of urbanity, reason and good manners.[19] While this contrast is apparent in Goldoni's earliest hypochondriacs, who are by no means representative of positive qualities, the later representations of the theatrical figure are much more nuanced and perhaps even laudable. At times, Goldoni invites the audience to compare the hypochondriac with another figure in the comedy; however, that foil is not always admirable. By taking a chronological approach to Goldoni's works, it is possible to see how the Goldonian hypochondriac evolves over time and perhaps distinguishes himself in more nuanced ways from other literary portrayals during the period. In the Venetian's works, the hypochondriac became a dynamic figure rather than a static character that always conformed to his "type."

In addition, Riva addresses the notion of the melancholic genius that was pervasive during the period in both literary and medical discourse concerning the topic.[20] The ancient association between intellectual pursuits and melancholy was perpetuated in both literary and medical texts in the eighteenth century.[21] However, Italian physicians and medical professionals, such as Bernardino Ramazzini (1633-1714) and Giuseppe Antonio Pujati (1701-1760), began to question the belief that those who were destined to artistic and literary greatness were also inevitably fated to suffer from melancholy. Instead of suggesting that the learned are born predisposed to melancholy, as was believed by earlier practitioners, Ramazzini posits the opposite in his work *De Morbis Artificum diatriba* (1701): "Hence it is often said that the melancholic are talented, but perhaps it would be nearer to the mark to say that the talented

[19] Riva, "Malattia," 346.

[20] Riva, *Saturno*, 143-148. See also Currò, "Aspetti," 127-128 and Rosalba Currò, "La malattia dei letterati: Immaginazione e malinconia nel Settecento," *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 30, no. 2 (2001): 325-340.

[21] See Vila, *Suffering Scholars*.

become melancholic."[22] Similarly, Pujati dedicated an entire treatise, *Della preservazione della salute de' letterati, e della gente applicata e sedentaria opera postuma* (1762), to instructing others on how to prevent the development of hypochondria, as well as other maladies specific to the profession of the learned. This suggests that while the association persisted into the eighteenth century, there was to a certain extent in the medical literature of the period what Galzigna calls a "de-mythologizing of the disease."[23] The topic of the melancholic genius was of great interest to Goldoni who devoted two comedies specifically to historical literary figures that were well-known for their literary achievements and were presumed by him to be hypochondriacs, Molière and Torquato Tasso. These works, however, bring into question whether or not Goldoni embraced the medical consensus of Ramazzini and Pujati.[24] This question is further complicated by the fact that Carlo Goldoni himself suffered from the illness, and chose to underscore this fact in his *Mémoires* (1787).

Riva asserts that in the literary discourse of the period, in which writers, and also physicians, identified the malady as an inherent risk specific to their professions, the learned often spoke of the malady of the imagination, also known as melancholic hypochondria, as being curable through the use of the imagination, that is, by creating literary works. By extension, Riva

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[22] Bernardino Ramazzini, *Diseases of the Workers,* trans. Wilmer Cave Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), 381. See Riva, *Saturno,* 39-40 for his explanation of how this statement changed dramatically the notion of melancholy.

[23] Mario Galzigna, "L'enigma della malinconia: Materiali per una storia," *Aut Aut* 195-196 (1983): 75-97.

[24] Jennifer Radden has noted this divergence in the literary works of the period: "The link with genius was revived in the literary movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Again the suffering of melancholy was associated with greatness; again it was idealized, as inherently valuable and even pleasurable, although dark and painful. The melancholy man was one who felt more deeply, saw more clearly, and came closer to the sublime than ordinary mortals." Jennifer Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 15. Goldoni's portrayal of hypochondria and genius is more nuanced. It is neither completely desired nor considered unequivocally undesirable by the characters. See also Darrin M. McMahon, *Divine Fury* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), 67-104.

concludes that Goldoni's theatrical works served as a type of auto-therapy for the playwright's own suffering from the malady.[25] In Riva's account, by staging his own symptoms and sufferings, Goldoni in effect was using literature as his own personal antidote to hypochondria.[26] The proposed direct relationship between Goldoni's biography and his theatrical hypochondriacs recurs in several critical works.

Goldoni's *Mémoires* (1787), an invaluable resource for literary scholars interested in the topic of hypochondria, offers a first-hand account of his life as well as a personal commentary on his works. In this opus, his last to be completed, Goldoni emphasizes two recurring experiences: his sustained engagement and interest in medicine, and his own personal struggle with hypochondria. These biographical admissions on the part of the playwright have informed much of the critical work that addresses hypochondria in his comedies.[27] Usually, scholars focus on a selection of Goldoni's theatrical hypochondriacs and attempt to indicate points of contact between a character's behavior or experiences and biographical moments found in the playwright's memoirs. The hypochondriacs are explained as if they were psychological manifestations of the playwright's own malady, much as in Riva's evaluation of Goldoni.[28]

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[25] "Alla base del discorso letterario sulla malinconia e l'ipocondria di poeti e letterati sono direttamente collegati all'esercizio della facoltà immaginativa, in loro possesso è anche il rimedio del tutto peculiare alla propria ipocondria: un ricorso all'immaginazione che aiuti a guarire dalla malattia dell'immaginazione." Riva, "Malattia," 356. "E il senso di quel lavorare sopra di (sé) medesimo acquista per l'autore (Goldoni) il senso preciso di un lavoro antidotico della fantasia, la *messa in scena* dei propri *sintomi*." Riva, *"*Malattia," 356-357.

[26] See note 28 for the same idea in Claudio Milanesi, "Carlo Goldoni, medico neoippocratico," in *Viaggio infinito...: Salute, malattia e morte: Percorsi di lettura tra Belgio, Francia e Italia: In ricordo di Paola Vecchi*, ed. Carmelina Imbroscio (Bologna: CLUEB, 2001), 91-117.

[27] See A. Albertazzi's "Patologia goldoniana," *Flegrea* 1, no. 2 (1899): 120-132. See also A. Castiglione, "Carlo Goldoni medico," *Rivista teatrale italiana* 12, no. 17 (1913): 211-334, which provides an overview of the biographical references to his hypochondria in relation to his theatrical works. See also Riva, *Saturno,* 114-148.

[28] Milanesi extends this notion to imply that the appearance of the hypochondriac in Goldoni's works was almost therapeutic for the playwright: "Le commedie, il teatro, funzionavano come antidoto alla depressione, strategia

Along with the representation of the disease in his theater, Goldoni's biography supports the notion that he made an important contribution to a much broader cultural discussion of the malady.

The decision on Goldoni's part to insert medically "accurate" information into his comedies may in fact be evidence of an aesthetic choice to make his characters' maladies seem more "realistic." Goldoni was indeed born into a medically oriented family. His father, Giulio Goldoni, who trained under the illustrious Doctor Giovianni Maria Lancisi, was supposedly well respected within the communities in which he practiced: "Tout le monde vouloit de Docteur Goldoni."[29] In an attempt to convince his son to pursue a similar career, Giulio compelled Carlo to accompany him on medical visits for about two years, during which the future playwright participated directly in patient care: "Je tâtois le pouls, je regardois les urines, j'examinois les crachats, et bien d'autres choses qui me révoltoient."[30] While he found the experience to be revolting, the younger Goldoni does not conclude that the experiences were a misuse of his time. In fact, he maintains quite the opposite:

> Non ho però perduto il mio tempo, poiché qualche cosa mi è restata nella fatasia impressa, ed ho avuto occasione di valermene posteriormente in alcuna delle mie commedie. Questo abito di osservare e di riflettere e di ritenere l'ho fatto senza avedermene, ed è un effetto del genio comico, che non si acquista con arte, ma proviene dalla natura.[31]

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contro la malattia, mezzo per demistificare il dolore attraverso la messa in scena e la messa in ridicolo—grazie al comico dei sintomi." Milanesi, "Medico," 116.

[29] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 31. As Claudio Milanesi has explained, Carlo Maria Lancisi was a particularly interesting figure in the history of medicine. Milanesi deems him a "reformer" of medicine: "Lancisi aveva personalizzato una riforma del *curriculum studiorum* dei medici, che prevedeva la complementarietà tra il tirocinio svolto soprattuto attraverso le visite al capezzale dei malati e lo studio dei testi." Milanesi, "Medico," 93. See also Marchini, "L'anatomia," 376-377.

[30] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 31.

[31] "I didn't waste my time, because some things left an impression on my fantasy, and I had the occasion to make use of them after the fact in some of my comedies. This habit of observing, reflecting, and retaining, I learned

These medical visitations taught him the value of observing, reflecting, and retaining information.[32] Although ultimately rejected as a profession by the playwright, medicine supplied him with a theoretical training for writing comedies.[33] In Goldoni's mind, the playwright and the physician are in some ways analogous. As Marchini has noted*:*

> Nei suoi scritti infatti il buon medico è, come il buon commediografo, pronto a cogliere la quotidiana lezione che la natura gli impartisce e ad individuare il ritmo e il senso dello scorrere della vita favorendone lo spontaneo fluire.[34]

Moreover, his medical encounters provided him with fodder for his later comedies. One example of such inspiration was when a young female patient of his father allegedly tried to seduce him with the help of her mother.[35] This episode may have been partial source material for one of Goldoni's few examples of female hypochondriacs, Rosaura, in *La finta ammalata* (1751). While Goldoni admits that his personal encounters with medicine might have inspired some elements of

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without realizing it, and it is an effect of the comic genius, that cannot be acquired with art, but rather comes from nature." Goldoni, *Prefazioni dell'edizione Pasquali*, 638.

[32] According to Milanesi, these visits also allowed Goldoni to acquire the "technical vocabulary" that he later employed in this theatrical works. Milanesi, "Medico," 94.

[33] As Marchini suggests: "Delle visite condotte a fianco del padre non è rimasto a Carlo solo il ricordo di un mestiere noioso e rivoltante, ma anche il segno di un'esperienza che avrebbe lasciato una traccia profonda nel suo modo di accostarsi e di conoscere quello che chiamerà 'il libro della natura e del mondo.'" Marchini, "L'anatomia," 381.

[34] "In fact, in his writings the good doctor is like the good comedy writer, ready to collect the daily lesson that nature imparts and identify the rhythm and the sense of the flow of life, favoring the spontaneous course of it." Marchini, 386.

[35] After going to the consultation of a young and beautiful woman with his father, Goldoni found himself invited by the mother to visit the house alone. He describes this scene as the following: "Appena mi liberai dal fianco del mio genitore, tornai colà da me solo. M'introdusse, la buona madre, dicendo: Vedi, figliuola mia, con qual premura torna qui il dottorino per intendere del tuo stato: si accosti al letto: dagli da sentire il tuo polso; favorisca di sedere: veda, esamini, osservi; frattanto andrò allo speziale a prendere il medicamento che le ha ordinato il Signor dottore—Partì ella così dicendo. Io restai solo con l'ammalata, ch'era però seduta nel letto, coperta con un grazioso vestito di color rosa, con una cuffia in capo annodata sotto la gola, e con sì vivi colori in viso, che facean ammalare il medico." Goldoni, *Prefazioni*, 637. Goldoni describes a scene in which a "medical" interaction actually develops into a seduction of sorts. Although it is not exactly reproduced in his work *La finta ammalata*, it does share certain thematic similarities.

his comedies, he also asserts that medicine's emphasis on observing the natural world is its greatest contribution to his evolution as a playwright.

Goldoni's biography reveals that he continued to cultivate his familiarity with the medical world throughout his life and perhaps even actively sought to increase his knowledge on the subject. As Marchini and Milanesi have indicated in their studies on medicine and Goldoni, in his role as console of the Republic of Genova and Venice between 1741-1743, Goldoni's political dispatches to the Republic oftentimes referred to sanitary concerns such as epidemics and pestilence which would have been of great importance to port cities.[36] Even in a political role, he remained engaged in health-related affairs. Moreover, Goldoni frequented the Rialto pharmacy called the Black Eagle in the 1750s.[37] While pharmacies were social and political gathering places in eighteenth-century Venice, they were also medicinal dispensaries where Goldoni would have encountered diverse medical professionals from charlatans to doctors.[38] In fact, several of his comedies and intermezzi take place in pharmacies. The greatest evidence of Goldoni's medical knowledge can be found in his theatrical works. In the Venetian's comedies and *Mémoires* Milanesi has identified several examples of popular medical theories that

[36] See Marchini, "L'anatomia," 383-384, and Milanesi, "Medico," 95-100.

[37] Filippo de Vivo details Goldoni's frequent visits to the pharmacy of the Black Eagle. See Filippo de Vivo, "Pharmacies as Centers of Communication in Early Modern Venice," in *Spaces, Objects, and Identities in Early Modern Italian Medicine*, eds. Sandra Cavallo and David Gentilcore (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 41-42. Although pharmacies attracted individuals from all professions, they held an important social as well as political role in society. It is plausible that Goldoni's exposure to developments in medical discourse was supplemented in such an environment. Moreover, they definitively provided him with inspiration for some of his theatrical works that take place entirely in pharmacies.

[38] De Vivo, 33-41.

circulated during the eighteenth century, including empirical, iatrochemical, mechanical, and what Milanesi calls neo-hippocratic medicine.[39]

Clearly, Goldoni was unusually familiar with the world of medicine. This is further evidenced by the diverse etiologies of hypochondria and melancholy that Goldoni integrated into the backstories of his characters in his comedic works. It is important to note that Goldoni did not adopt a singular, unchanging characterization of these maladies. Instead, even though it is impossible to trace direct lines of influence from the literature of the medical tradition, Goldoni drew on a variety of notions, traditions and themes related to hypochondria and melancholy that are also attested in the medical treatises of his contemporaries. These include national melancholy, the English Malady, Love Melancholy, immoderate study and intellectual invalids, the notion of the melancholic genius, and a number of the therapies used to treat these ailments. These notions will be developed in greater detail in the body of the dissertation, where each is discussed in relation to the specific works in which they play a role. In general terms, a "plurality" of representations of these ailments emerges from Goldoni's engagement with medical thought, as his characters are given backstories that underscore their individuality. Over time, the evolving picture of these etiologies results in the staging of a complex patient--quite distinct from the simplistic representations found in the early musical theater--whose representation has parallels with Goldoni's theatrical reforms.

Goldoni's theatrical melancholics were almost an encyclopedia of the disease and its many manifestations. Unfortunately, no list of Goldoni's personal book collection has survived. This makes it difficult to identify the written medical sources that he might have consulted. The

[39] Milanesi, "Medico," 110-11.

playwright does, however, mention in his *Mémoires* two works on health that he was reading towards the end of his life: Luigi Conaro's *Discorsi della vita sobria* (1560) and Marin Jacques Claire Robert's *De la vieillesse* (1777). Goldoni was particularly fond of the latter, which he read daily:

> Nos médicins ordinaires nous soignent quand nous sommes malades, et tâchent de nous guérir, mais ils ne s'embarrassent pas de notre régime, quand nous nous portons bien: ce livre m'instruit, me conduit, me corrige; il me fait connoître les degrés de vigueur qui peuvent encore me rester, et la nécessité de les ménager.[40]

In his praise of Robert's medical work, Goldoni emphasizes the doctor's prophylactic approach to medicine. He goes on to suggest a more intimate relationship with the text: "Quand je le lis, je crois qu'il me parle; à chaque page je me rencontre, je me reconnois."[41] The text becomes a type of preventative medicine, one which metaphorically speaks directly to the patient. Moreover, Goldoni describes his relationship to the text as if it were a reflection of himself. He figuratively sees himself in the work. As a result, it corrects and instructs him. It becomes a type of literary therapy. The intimate relationship that Goldoni describes between himself and Robert's guide-book is in some ways analogous to the Venetian's theories about the relationship between theater and its audiences. If the playwright is similar to the doctor, and a good physician teaches the patient how to live correctly, so too, does the playwright. The stage functions as a privileged place where the members of the audience can recognize themselves. The stage can thus instruct and correct.

[40] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 566.

[41] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 567.

There are other striking similarities drawn by Goldoni between medicine and theater that return repeatedly in his *Mémoires.* Goldoni identifies Robert's strength as a physician in a particular quality:

> M. Robert est un homme très sage, très instruit; il est un de ceux qui ont le plus étudié la nature, et qui en connoissent les effets.[42]

What Goldoni admires in Robert, and therefore what allows him to trust his medical advice, is the doctor's study of "nature." This is in fact what Goldoni claimed he had gained by his own study of medicine and had later integrated into his theatrical methodology. If a playwright draws directly from nature and understands the effects of nature, he can more readily present the book of the world in the book of the stage. By extension, a mirror-like analogy can be drawn between the stage and the society that it represents. While Goldoni's biography can be used as a tool for identifying episodes in his life that are found in his theater, the case can also be made that his *Mémoires* provide a history of his theoretical approach to theater, which appears to have been in part influenced by his exposure to medicine. Goldoni's medical background allowed him to more accurately portray the full spectrum of medical physicians and theories that circulated in Venice during the eighteenth century. As such, his theatrical works are also an invaluable resource for the history of Italian medicine.

While Goldoni infuses general medical discourse into his comedies, he appears to focus with some singularity on hypochondria or melancholy in his *Mémoires* and in a number of his theatrical prefaces.[43] The playwright frequently mentions the therapeutic approaches that his physicians undertook to aid him in combating his vapors. However, despite his many

[42] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 567.

[43] References to his hypochondria will be discussed further in subsequent chapters.

descriptions of being sick and his periods of convalescence, in fashioning his *Mémoires,* Goldoni also suggested that his temperament was always "pacifique."[44] This self-description contrasts strikingly with his own account of his life elsewhere, in which he recounts dramatically his descents into hypochondria.[45] Because he was frequently an invalid, Goldoni describes at length the numerous physicians he consulted.[46] One of these influential doctors was Baronio who attended to the playwright after the death of the actor, and the Venetian's friend, Angeleri during a performance of *La sposa persiana* (1753). According to Goldoni, Angeleri suffered like him from the vapors: "Mon comarade de vapeurs!"[47] The actor's malady intensified precipitously until his death which devastated Goldoni and incited his own spiral into the depths of the disease:

> Je me trouve chez moi sans avoir vu le chemin que j'avois fait. Tout mon monde s'apperçoit de mon agitation, on m'en demande la cause; je crie à plusieurs reprises: *Angeleri est mort* et je me jette sur mon lit.[48]

[44] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 605.

[45] Milanesi criticizes scholars who have focused too intently on the irreconcilable descriptions that Goldoni provides about his personality. Instead, Milanesi believes that it is his bipolarity that allowed him to be so successful: "Tutti questi tentativi di isolare i disturbi psichici di Goldoni dal suo carattere gioioso e distaccato, di cui i disturbi [non] sarebbero che accidenti di percorso, sono decisamente riduttivi. In effetti, il suo carattere gaio e leggero, il suo iperattivismo che ne fece un creatore e un viaggiatore infaticabile, un libertino e un giocatore indefesso, mondano e dotato di un'apparentemente inesauribile energia psichica, rimangono incomprensibili se non ci si riporta al nucleo depressivo, ipomaniacle, rivelato dai suoi accessi di 'vapori.' Una stretta correlazione esiste fra questa inesauribile eccitazione, questa euforia in cui si esprime il desiderio inconscio di negazione maniacale e quegli stati depressivi che sorgono dopo un periodo di stress dovuto al lavoro creativo, oppure quando eventi improvvisi—scena di violenza o di morte—riescono ad aggirare le barriere innalzate dal suo meccanismo di negazione." Milanesi, "Medico," 116.

[46] As Marchini has noted, Goldoni mentions consulting Doctor Matteo Foresti in 1753 in his introduction to *La finta ammalata* and his consultations with Doctors Beraldi and Moreali in his preface to *L'impostore*. See Marchini, "L'anatomia," 383. Scholars such as Marchini and Milanesi who have curated a history of Goldoni's relationship to the medical world, do address his theatrical works. However, in his comedies their focus is almost always on the doctors rather than the patients.

[47] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 340.

[48] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 340.

At the time, Goldoni was attended by Doctor Baronio who he claims cured him completely of his illness. This seems, however, not to be entirely true, since he recounts later in his *Mémoires* other similar incidents. Nevertheless, Goldoni provides a description of Baronio's remedy. Much like the "good" doctors in Goldoni's theatrical works, Baronio does not give his patient a pharmaceutical treatment, but rather adopts a "linguistic" cure of sorts:

> Regardez votre mal, me dit-il, comme un enfant qui vient vous attaquer une épée nue à la main. Prenez-y garde, il ne vous blessera pas; mais si vous lui présentez la poitrine, l'enfant vous tuera. Je dois à cet apologue ma santé; je ne l'ai jamais oublié. J'en ai besoin à tout âge; ce maudit enfant me menace encore par fois, et il me faut faire des efforts pour le désarmer.[49]

This metaphorical remedy has been identified as the advice given by Doctor Bainer in *Il medico olandese* (1756).[50] Goldoni's insertion of real-life encounters and cures into his theatrical works is consistent with his overall comedic reform. If such advice comes from the mouth of an actual doctor, then by integrating it into the book of the stage, Goldoni's characters reflect more closely the medical reality faced by his audience.

Another impressionable encounter with a physician occurred while Goldoni was living in France. For a number of years Goldoni suffered from palpitations, which he found more unsettling than painful. However, at a certain point, the playwright could no longer ignore the severity of his condition and therefore he sought the medical assistance of Guilbert de Préval:

> Mais une palpitation que j'eus il y a quatre ans, de trente-six heures sans discontinuer, me parut sérieuse, et j'eus recours à mon Médicin. M. Guilbert de Préval, Docteur Régent de la Faculté de Paris, me la fit cesser sur le champ, et sans rien hasarder qui pût déranger l'économie animale de mon individu, il ne fit par la suite qu'en retarder les accès et en diminuer la durée.[51]

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[49] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 341.

[50] Marchini, "L'anatomia," 382-383. See Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 384-85.

[51] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 554.

While he does not provide details of the cure enacted by Doctor Préval, Goldoni does underscore the type of relationship that he and other patients of the French physician enjoyed: "Heureux l'homme, dit-on, qui trouve son ami dans son médicin. M. Préval est l'ami de tous ses malades, puisqu'il est celui de l'humanité."[52] The notion that the relationship between a patient and a doctor ought to be one of friendship can be found in some of Goldoni's theatrical works such as *La finta ammalata* (1751), *Il vecchio bizzarro* (1754), and *Il medico olandese* (1756). This was a medical theory that was not only disseminated by Carlo Goldoni, but was also found in important medical treatises of the period.[53]

Much as in Goldoni's own experience, the cures undertaken by Goldoni's theatrical hypochondriacs vary, but one element that unites them all has been identified by Marchini:

> I pazienti del teatro goldoniano invece guariscono quando seguono i consigli dei bravi medici, quando cioè riescono a riconoscere fra tanta ignoranza, cialataneria e impostura, la buona medicina, quella che osserva, studia e asseconda la natura diagnosticando i mali con un linguaggio comprensibile.[54]

Marchini's detailed chapter on Goldoni's relationship to medicine underscores how his works function as a "testimony" of the history of medicine and physicians.[55] Similarly to Marchini, Milanesi reads Goldoni as a type of physician-playwright. Building upon their groundwork, this dissertation will seek to complement their findings by redirecting critical attention onto the

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[52] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 554.

[53] See for example Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute*, 365.

[54] "The patients of Goldonian theater instead are cured when they follow the advice of good doctors, when, that is, they succeed in recognizing between all the ignorance and charlatanism and deception, good medicine, that which observes, studies, and supports nature diagnosing maladies with comprehensible language." Marchini, "L'anatomia," 381.

[55] See Marchini, 382.

theatrical patient rather than focusing on the physician and to situate the discourse surrounding the malady within the conventions of Goldoni's theater.

Despite the variations found in the playwright's characterization of melancholic hypochondriacs, Goldoni consistently emphasizes the performative aspects of the disease, of its patients, and of the therapeutic interventions of physicians. The inherently theatrical hypochondriac provided the playwright with opportunities to insert metatheatrical meditations into his works in which the corrective value of theater and the distinction between honest and dishonest simulation could be explored. This thread of associations might well have been suggested by his early experience with a famous charlatan named Bonafede Vitali. This man was one of Italy's most famous charlatans. Today charlatans are considered false practitioners of medicine, but as Gentilcore's study *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* has shown, the relationship between charlatans and the formally-trained medical practitioners of the period was more complicated. Evidence shows that some of the latter actually doled out licenses to the former.

Vitali practiced under the stage name "l'Anonimo," which he hoped created "mystery and secrecy" surrounding himself and his medical treatments.[56] What made this particular charlatan so "unique," however, as Gambaccini has deemed him, is his formal training. Despite his medical education, Vitali had harsh words for "orthodox medicine," which he considered to be observed only by the "ignorant," "braggarts" and "agents of fraud."[57] In response, Vitali's approach to the field seemed to combine both sanctioned and unsanctioned methods of practicing

[56] David Gentilcore, *Medical Charlatanism in Early Modern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 1.

[57] Piero Gambaccini, *Mountebanks and Medicasters* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2004), 165-166.

medicine. Gambaccini maintains that, "his profession wavered between a respectable medical practice and quackish exhibitions, and in both fields he obtained immense satisfaction."[58] It was this combination of traits that attracted Goldoni to him.[59] Goldoni's admiration of this charlatan is of interest, because Vitali was a medical practitioner that mediated between the worlds of the theater and of medicine. He sold what were at times effective medicines to the public from make-shift stages in the piazza. Goldoni remarked that: "Le nouvel Hypocrate débitoit ses remedes et prodiguoit sa réthorique, entouré des quatre masques de la Comédie Italienne."[60] The symbiotic relationship between the theater and medicine is developed in the works of Goldoni. Vitali's stagecraft actually had remedial effects, as he sold pharmaceutical cures with it. Goldoni's stage will later function as a sort of social remedy to the public's vice, a theatrical purgative as it were.

Vitali is emblematic of the ambiguity surrounding medical practice at the time. He was an academically trained charlatan, who used artifice to sell remedies, whereas, in his opinion, "credentialed" physicians used a type of unwarranted authority to sell dangerous pharmaceuticals. Paradoxically, from Vitali's perspective, theatrical illusion could encourage healing as much as legitimate therapy could cause suffering. The question thus arises whether the artifice of the theater could perhaps be a cure for a variety of society's ailments. At least in Goldoni's anecdote about Vitali the question seems to be posed.

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[58] Gambaccini, 166.

[59] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 131.

[60] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 132.

Although the reasons for Goldoni's curiosity about Vitali remain filtered through his own recorded recollections, his *Mémoires* reveal the lengths to which he went to be granted an audience with the famous charlatan. In order to lure him into a meeting, Goldoni listed a number of false ailments to get the charlatan's attention.[61] In a sense, he was playing the role that he would later insert into his intermezzo—that of the imaginary invalid. Recognizing Goldoni's guise, Vitali suggested an interesting remedy:

> Il me questionna sur la maladie que j'avois, ou que je croyois avoir; il s'apperçut que ce n'étoit que la curiosité qui m'avoit attiré chez lui; il me fit apporter une bonne tasse de chocolat, et il me dit que c'étoit le meilleur médicament qui pouvoit convenir à mon état.[62]

Goldoni and Vitali engaged in what resembles a theatrical exchange. One played the patient and one the physician. Vitali's prescription was hot chocolate. Although he saw through Goldoni's illusion, he did suggest a remedy that was used during the period for treating those who were suffering from melancholy and hypochondria.[63] Goldoni's recourse to a theatrical pretext in order to have an audience with Vitali seems to have resulted in a diagnosis of hypochondria. This was not their only encounter! Shortly thereafter Goldoni would assist Vitali and his actors in securing a theater for their performances, and later Vitali's players would perform in Goldoni's

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[61] Gambaccini, *Mountebanks*, 164.

[62] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 132.

[63] On hot chocolate, Tommasso Strozzi (1631-1700) wrote a poem entitled *De mentis potu sive de cocolatis opificio* devoted to the benefits of this beverage. The work is divided into three parts that describe in detail hot chocolate's potential uses. The third book is devoted to the use of hot chocolate as a cure for hypochondria. See Yasmine Haskell, "Poetry or Pathology? Jesuit Hypochondria in Early Modern Naples," *Early Science and Medicine* 12, no. 2 (2007): 189 and 208.

intermezzo *Le gondolier vénetien* (1733).[64] In the years following his introduction to and collaboration with Vitali, Carlo Goldoni wrote *L'ippocondriaco* which was performed in 1735.

Subtle questions concerning the relationship between performance and the disease examined here were especially highlighted in Goldoni's *La finta ammalata,* for which the playwright based the protagonist on a specific historical figure. The character of Rosaura was inspired by Teodora Medebach, an actress with whom he was familiar during his years working for her husband Girolamo Medebach. He described her as suffering from "the vapors," a term that he used to designate his own bouts with melancholy. In his *Mémoires,* Goldoni describes his inspiration: "Madame Medebach étoit une actrice excellente, très attachée à sa profession, mais c'étoit une femme à vapeurs; elle étoit souvent malade, souvent elle croyoit l'être, et quelquefois elle n'avoit que des vapeurs de commande."[65] Further, Goldoni explained that when she was "feeling" ill, there was one particularly efficacious remedy: "Dans ces derniers cas, on n'avoit qu'à proposer de donner un beau rôle à jouer à une actrice subalterne, la malade guérrissoit sur le champ."[66] Humorously, he gave the role of Rosaura to Madame Medebach in the comedy's first performance: "Je pris la liberté de jouer Madame Medebach elle même; elle s'en apperçut un peu, mais trouvant son rôle charmant, elle voulut bien s'en charger, et le rendit en perfection."[67] His description of Madame Medebach implies that the talented actress extended her performances off-stage. She seemed to be able to summon her illness whenever necessary, as if it were feigned, although Goldoni does not elaborate in detail on what occasions her imagined

[64] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 134.

[65] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 286.

[66] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 286.

[67] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 286.

malady would be triggered. This further suggests a "performative" interpretation of Rosaura, a figure inspired by an actress who would pretend to be ill.

In the context of both theater and medicine, hypochondria and melancholy were represented as having performative qualities. Questions of illusion, perception, and interpretation were intricately connected to the portrayal of the hypochondriac. During the eighteenth century, there were many questions about whether hypochondria was merely simulated, whether it had physical causes and symptoms or was simply a disturbance to the imagination. In addition, the disease itself seemed to simulate other diseases under the mask of myriad symptoms, which created difficulties in diagnosing it. These themes, which are easily adapted to a theatrical context, make the recurring appearance of the melancholic hypochondriac across Goldoni's corpus even more interesting relative to his goal of theatrical reform.

Even before Goldoni, analogies between the figure of the melancholic-hypochondriac and theater began to emerge. Bartoli's work offers one example. Chapter 1, "A Theatrical Backdrop: Conventions of the Imaginary Invalid," begins with a discussion of the Jesuit's *L'effigie d'un malinconico rappresentata a lui stesso.* According to Bartoli, the melancholic suffered from delusions of his own making. These images, akin to a theatrical tragedy, constituted a type of performance that terrified the individual, rendering him melancholic. Bartoli then posited that by using a metaphorical mirror in which the hypochondriac could view his own follies and illusions as such he could potentially be cured. The malady that resembled a theatrical performance could therefore be remedied by a representation of itself. In Bartoli's work melancholy, or hypochondria, as the terms became interchangeable in Goldoni's works, may be understood as having a performative value, one that was exploited by the playwright.

The relationship between the malady and the notion of performance was accompanied by an insistence in early Italian theater that hypochondria was simply an imaginary illness.

At the turn of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, the figure of the imaginary invalid was interchangeable with the figure of the hypochondriac in Italian intermezzi. These early exempla of the Italian theatrical representation of the malady are significant for a discussion of Goldoni's hypochondriacs, because at the beginning of the Venetian playwright's career, he worked in these particular genres. Scholars have established that many of the themes and motifs that Goldoni elaborated more fully in his later comedies can be found in a conventional form in his earlier musical works.[68] Moreover, the first example in Goldoni's corpus of a hypochondriac can be found in his intermezzo, *L'ippocondriaco* **(**1735).

In the intermezzi and drammi giocosi, the repetitious qualities of the hypochondriac were mask-like. His symptoms were a superficial marker of his malady. It was often implied that the patient was dishonestly "simulating" a disease rather than suffering from one, as is seen in the Villifranchi's *L'ippocondriaco* (1695) and the anonymous works *Don Chilone e Erighetta* (1718) and *L'ammalato immaginario* (1732). In these pieces, the hypochondriac is represented as a pitiful, depraved, and irritating individual who is so obsessed with his own well-being that he is easily fooled by the dissimulations of others. He exerts an inappropriate control over the lives of those around him, in part because of his supposed malady. Such hypochondriacs and melancholics were presented as immoral figures who required moral correction and at the very least some sort of social punishment. While simulators of the malady, they were treated by "imposter" doctors masked by their unintelligible Latin and their willingness to confirm

[68] Ted Emery, *Goldoni as Librettist: Theatrical Reform and the Drammi Giocosi per Musica* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1991).

whatever medical diagnoses that the patient wished. One of the primary symptoms of his ailment is the hypochondriac's inability to distinguish the true from the false. Ultimately, in this setting, the etiology of the disease was of no concern, as there was less interest in curing these individuals than in ridiculing them.

Chapter 2, "The Disappearing Hypochondriac," begins with Goldoni's first hypochondriac found in his intermezzo *L'ippocondriaco* (1735). In many ways, Ranocchio resembles his predecessors--controlling, irritating, and immoral, he is also immediately identified as an imaginary invalid. His hypochondria is considered a vice and not a physical ailment. Following conventions established by his predecessors, Ranocchio falls prey to illusions, a fact that ironically threatens his life more than his supposed ailment. Ranocchio, who falls for his wife's disguises, may also be engaged in a type of performance himself--simulating illness. This first example of a hypochondriac shares much more with the musical tradition's conventions than it does with Goldoni's later plays. Like earlier works, *L'ippocondriaco* seeks no effective therapies and offers no etiology of the disease.

In a second period, in which the term melancholy takes the lead, certain qualities of the melancholics that appear upon the stage resemble those of the hypochondriacs of the early intermezzi. They are at times anti-social, but they are less "obsessed" with their symptoms, even as they become more obsessed with other passions, such as love. Their fixation shifts to a love-object. In these representations, the focus gravitates towards the interior torment of more psychologically complex individuals, and away from the comical symptoms of stock characters. Such a change in the representation of melancholy had aesthetic implications. How can one represent the silent suffering of a character? While no reason was provided in the intermezzi for the hypochondriac's distress, these melancholics have elaborated etiologies for their melancholy,

even if only psychological ones. It is noteworthy that no uniform etiology emerges in Goldoni's works. Instead, this period is most representative of the "plurality of melancholies" identified by scholars in other literary settings.[69] Goldoni seeks to "sort out" the theatrical value of melancholy, a process that informs the psychological aspects of the melancholic hypochondriac in later works.

In his *Vedova Scaltra* (1748), Goldoni introduces the idea of national melancholy, and specifically the English malady, through his figure, Milord, a British citizen hoping to capture the heart of an Italian widow. His melancholy is attributed to his "English" origins, and is contrasted with the ailment of his French rival, who suffers from a different type of melancholy, similar to nostalgia, which is caused by being away from his home country of France. In this context, Goldoni provides an example of a melancholic who is not responsible for his own behavior--he cannot help but be British. Moreover, Milord perpetuates certain traits that will persist in later melancholic figures. He is laconic and antisocial. Although his melancholic mood threatens to spread to others, his ailment seems firmly rooted in his national origins.

The theme of national origins is further developed in *La Pamela Fanciulla* (1750) where a discussion of national theater pits British theater against the Commedia dell'Arte. British theater supposedly causes hypochondria, whereas the Commedia dell'Arte incites laughter. Through this discussion Goldoni seems to be questioning comedy's role in society, and suggests perhaps a compromise found in his own works that would define the contours of a type of melancholic comedy that is illustrated by *La Pamela Fanciulla* and *L'erede fortunata* (1751). In

[69] Clark Lawlor expands on the notion of a "plurality of melancholies" first posited by John Sena. See Clark Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," in *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression, 1660-1800,* by Allan Ingram et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 27.

these plays the "concealment" of these characters' desires allows for an expanded focus on staging the interior world of the melancholic.

Whereas in the earlier drammi giocosi, we saw impostor doctors, we see in *Il padre di famiglia* (1750) an example of an imposter patient. This is the first play in which Goldoni introduces the theme of the relationship between immoderate study and melancholy, an association that has a long history. However, in this case, Goldoni uses it satirically. The young man at the center of the family discord consciously simulates melancholy for selfish ends. The play satirizes the performance of signs that were recognized as "stereotypical" of melancholy at the time and ridicules those who would arrive too quickly at a diagnosis.

The theme of simulated disease becomes more complicated in Goldoni's masterpiece *La finta ammalata* (1751). While Goldoni prefaces the play by saying that Rosaura, who is in love with Doctor Honest, is feigning hypochondria or melancholy, within the comedy itself the extent to which this is true remains ambiguous. The playwright in a sense contradicts himself, and in doing so, highlights one of the play's principle themes. Almost all the characters, including the model doctor, suggest that she is in some sense ill. Could feigning illness be a symptom of hidden love melancholy? Is Rosaura in fact performing hypochondria, a disease that often simulates other diseases? How exactly are we to understand the word "*finta*" in the title? These questions remain unanswered.

In addition, in this comedy several performances take place. Doctor Honest serves as a counterpoint to the imposter physicians. Yet, he too engages in a performance with the patient, as he offers her false, but harmless remedies that are meant to destroy her illusions. He successfully treats dissimulation with his own "honest" simulation akin to the medical practice of "pious

fraud" highlighted by Starobinski in his study on the history of melancholy in medicine.[70] Through this contrast, Goldoni suggests a way to reconcile the necessary illusions of theater with his desire to integrate a truthful representation of the natural world onstage. His contrast between honest and dishonest simulation functions in both a medical and a theatrical context. Rosaura and Doctor Onesti figure the potential remedial qualities of dissimulation and the image of a kind of theater that would contrast with the charlatanism of a comedy that has not undergone Goldoni's reforms. They figure the possibility of an honest remedial theater that avoids the drawbacks of the brutal ridicule to which the earliest hypochondriacs were subjected. By listening to her, rather than speaking at her, Doctor Honest gives his patient a voice, a strategy that is effectively therapeutic.

In *La finta ammalata*, whether we accept that Rosaura is "ill" or not, Goldoni devotes a significant amount of time to the "medical" and "emotional" causes of her symptoms and behavior. The etiology of the disease becomes the focus. This holds true in his subsequent works, with a very important difference. In these patients, the figure who was once irritating, weakened by vice, and derided, becomes one who unambiguously merits sympathy and greater understanding. This is achieved through two means in the works found in Chapter 3, "The Social Physician and the Rehabilitated Hypochondriac." First, Goldoni provides illustrious examples of hypochondria through the figures of Moliere and Tasso; and second, he inserts a character within the play who, like Doctor Onesti, "teaches" us how to respond to the figure. In Goldoni's *Il Molière* (1751), the figure of the hypochondriac is completely rehabilitated. Adopting the theme of the melancholic genius, Goldoni represents Molière as a hypochondriac. The French

[70] Jean Starobinski, *History of the Treatment of Melancholy from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Basal: J.R. Geigy, 1962), 56.

playwright's disease does not seem to be caused by "bad habits," as some medical professionals of the era might have assumed. It is caused by society's pressures and his critics. Rather than an individual whose vice of hypochondria is meant to be satirized on stage, Molière becomes a hero of sorts who triumphs over the hypocritical critic, Pirlone. In an elaborate scheme Molière, dressed in Pirlone's clothes, debunks the illusion of Pirlone's morality through a performance of *Tartuffe*. Here, Molière, who is portrayed as a kind of a hypochondriac-playwright, wields the corrective mirror of theatrical illusion in front of society. In an interesting reversal, the hypochondriac is here no longer the patient, but society's physician. The hypochondriac does not suffer from illusions, but rather, by holding up a mirror to an imposter, he debunks them. The hypochondriac moves away from being associated with immoral, fraudulent dissimulation, and becomes a figure to be admired.

In some ways, Goldoni's representation of hypochondria in his work *Il vecchio bizzarro* (1754) shares similarities with the early intermezzi and drammi giocosi. Celio is irritating and obsessed with his bodily symptoms. He is also prone to delusions, which allows for certain predictable plot formulas from earlier musical theater to reappear. However Celio differs from his early predecessors in a very significant way. An etiology is provided for his "malady." Celio has a profound fear of death. Because of this, his pathological anxiety seems more reasonable and worthy of empathy. Pantalone, his foil and a model for proper aging, models the sympathy expected of the audience. Serving as a physician-like figure and also a friend to Celio, Pantalone outlines the ways in which the public could avoid Celio's malady. Through the vehicle of friendship, Pantalone integrates Celio back into society and out of the isolation so typical of melancholic-hypochondriacs. In doing so, he allows Celio to evolve. The patient is here no longer a stereotypical, static figure, but one capable of change and by extension of remediation.

As in the previous two works, in *Torquato Tasso* (1755), Goldoni places the voice of the marginal, in the form of the hypochondriac, at center stage. Unlike the hypochondriacs of the early tradition, the patient here is not delusional, even if "unreason" is a constant threat. He not only identifies his own malady, and describes it in the most clinical terms seen in Goldoni's corpus, but he proposes his own remedy, which is the faculty of reason. Unfortunately for Tasso, there is no cure for his melancholy, even though he is perhaps the most self-reflexive of all of Goldoni's melancholics. He is the only one that provides a detailed and "correct" medical description of the disease from which he suffers. His metaphorical "mirror," the one in which Bartoli saw promise of a cure, ultimately fails as a remedy, even though there is hope that he can continue to alleviate his suffering through reasonable self-reflection.

Chapter 4, "Maladies of the Spirit," examines the last comedies of Carlo Goldoni before his departure to France that feature hypochondria and/or melancholy. Among these, Goldoni offers perhaps his most sympathetic version of a hypochondriac, Guden, in his piece *Il medico olandese* (1756). Perhaps challenging the notion that the disease is class-based, Goldoni casts the hypochondriac in the role of a merchant, not an erudite intellectual, and not a member of the nobility. Most importantly, Goldoni stages the relationship between the patient and Doctor Bainer, who is based upon the illustrious physician Herman Boerhaave, as one of friendship, in which the doctor listens to the patient in a manner similar to Doctor Onesti in *La finta ammalata*. No longer an irritating figure, the conventional hypochondriac of the early tradition has here been rehabilitated into an honest, wise, and well-esteemed individual who is worthy of compassion and ultimately love. Melancholy and hypochondria are depicted as "curable" by finding their psycho-social causes, and by moving the patient from the margins back into society through companionship.

After this comedy, which may be the apex of the character-type's arc, the nature of the pathology changes in the playwright's corpus. The term hypochondria is absent from Goldoni's *Trilogia della villeggiatura* (1761). However, Goldoni still appears interested in the notion of obsession, which drives the melancholy and the mania of the young characters**.** Through this last example of bourgeois characters, who are insistent upon emulating the nobility in their practice of the country retreat, Goldoni stages the hypothesis that Pantalone had already suggested in *Il vecchio bizzarro*: it is society's nefarious habits that have pathological consequences for its citizens' well-being. Rather than a single figure suffering from melancholy, a melancholic *malheur* pervades the entire comedy and the lives of the characters within. In his last work before his departure to France, *Una delle ultime sere di Carnovale* (1762), the stereotypical hypochondriac returns one final time in an allegory that would seem to figure a farewell to the theater of the past.

Chapter 1: A Theatrical Backdrop: Conventions of the Imaginary Invalid

I.1 Interior Landscapes of Melancholy: Bartoli's Theatrical Cavern

In *Dei simboli trasportati al morale* (1677), the Jesuit Daniello Bartoli devotes a section to the topic of melancholy under the heading, *L'effigie d'un malinconico rappresentata a lui stesso*.[1] The title of the piece reveals that Bartoli intended his work to be read as a metaphorical mirror:

> Io dunque mi prenderò qui a far non altro, che rappresentare ad un malinconico se stesso nella sua immagine sbozzata con almeno tanto del naturale e del vero, che gli basterà per ravvisarsi in essa.[2]

The image will be as faithful and real a representation as possible. This, however, is not the only specular element of this highly metaphorical piece.[3] In fact, Bartoli presents a complex series of images, many of which employ the natural world, to extend his initial metaphor into a detailed description of the disease and of a possible cure. His initial characterization of the invalid unites the reflective nature of the disease and its isolating effects:

> Il quale andare così tutto da se, scompagnati e romiti, e quanto il più far possono invisibili agli occhi, io come alla sua vera cagione, l'attribuisco all'infelice diletto che pruovano nel pascersi e godere di se medesimi, tutti soli e tutti interi, senza compartirsi con verun altro.[4]

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[1] For more information on Bartoli's works and life see Franca Angelini and Alberto Asor Rosa, *Daniello Bartoli e i prosatori barocchi* (Rome: Laterza, 1975), 4-33; and John J. Renaldo, *Daniello Bartoli: A Letterato of the Seicento* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1979).

[2] Daniello Bartoli, *De' simboli trasportati al morale,* ed. Angelo Cerruti (London: P, Rolandi, 1830), 254. "Therefore, here I plan to do nothing less than represent a melancholic to himself in his image drawn with as much of the natural and the true as will suffice for him to see himself in it."

[3] Riva, *Saturno*, 19-20.

[4] "He who goes like this by himself, separated and solitary, and does as much as possible to stay invisible to the eyes of the public, I attribute it as to its true cause to the unhappy delight that one feels from nourishing and enjoying himself, all alone and all inside, without interacting with anyone else." Bartoli, 253.

The melancholic feeds upon his own distorted self-image. Riva has suggested that this emphasis on self-reflection belies a relationship between the figure of Narcissus and the melancholic.[5] While he might be alluding to the tragic mythical figure, Bartoli seems especially to underscore the disease's nefarious concealment within the individual. Moreover, Bartoli emphasizes how the melancholic constantly seeks solitude in a self-imposed exile. As a solitary figure, the melancholic does not encounter anyone who contradicts him. Consequently, his delusions persist. In addition to his proclivity for isolation, there are other tell-tale signs that can be used to identify such an invalid:

> Qual si finge per arte chi viene in teatro a portar novella di morte, tale è per condizion di natura l'immagine d'un malinconico; lugubre, tragica, infausta. La chioma incolta e negletta; la fronte torbida e rugosa; il colore tra pallido e nericcio; gli occhi lividi e incassati; la guardatura stupida e fosca; la bocca mezza aperta, che ancor tacendo, sembra gridare in continuo ohimè.[6]

By drawing a parallel between the invalid and the stage-messengers of death, Bartoli folds the melancholic into the realm of the theatrical.[7]

Bartoli's description of the melancholic's visage becomes representative of the hidden interior torments of the individual: "Ora così va del cuore come del volto d'un malinconico;

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[5] "«Il godere di sé» in cui sono assorti i malinconici è una forma di paradossale auto-nutrimento." Riva, *Saturno,* 19-20.

[6] "Like those actors who come to the theater to bring news of death, their condition is by nature the image of the melancholic; lugubrious, tragic, unhappy. Hair untamed and neglected; forehead turbid and wrinkled; color between pale and black, eyes livid and recessed, stupid and somber expression; the mouth half open and still silent, while seeming to scream continually ohimè." Bartoli, 256.

[7] The description that follows his analogy establishes a typology of the melancholic. As in this passage, Bartoli frequently employs the rhetorical device of paradox to describe the figure. Here the invalid silently screams. This is one example of the numerous uses of paradoxes in Bartoli's work. This passage in particular underscores the notion of suppression, which is for Bartoli a fundamental theme that characterizes the melancholic figure.

immagina che qual vedi al di fuori, tale è dentro."[8] Extending this notion further, Bartoli notes similar interplay between the subterranean world and the earth's surface. The face becomes the metaphorical conduit between the interior and exterior of the invalid:

> Ma dicami ognun di se, s'egli non pruova per naturale effetto, il parergli di vedere una notturna fantasima, un'ombra di mal augurio venuta su dal mondo sotterraneo, quando gli si para davanti la dolorosa faccia d'un malinconico.[9]

The landscape that exists "underground" becomes a fertile source of imagery to elaborate further upon the relationship between a cavernous interior and the exterior of the melancholic. The natural world becomes fodder for analogies that capture the essence of the malady's effects on the invalid. Bartoli draws on the image of the volcano Vesuvius to elaborate on the tension between the internal instability of the patient and the visible body:

> Facciam dunque che si accenda, come tal volta suole, uno straordinario fuoco nel zolfo vivo, di cui gl'ipocondri d'un malinconico son miniere e conserve. Ne dà i primi segni il più sovente rugghiare, il più profondo gorgogliar delle viscera con un tuono che sembra ancor egli distendersi e correre per entro a seni cavernosi e senza uscita cieca. Indi il respiro a poco a poco rivolto in sospiri affannosi e sonanti.[10]

The symbolic volcano mediates between the two realms—the underground and the surface, which would otherwise remain safely separated. Like a volcano, disturbances within the body can erupt and appear on its surface. Bartoli lists the nefarious agents of developing melancholy in the following way:

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[8] "Now, that which is in the heart appears on the face of the melancholic; imagine that which you see outside, is that which is inside." Bartoli, 258.

[9] "But tell me, each one based on his own experience, if he does not experience the natural effect of seeing a nocturnal ghost, a shade of bad tidings that comes from the underground world, when one finds oneself before the pained faced of a melancholic." Bartoli, 252.

[10] "Let's imagine that, as it usually does, it bursts into flame, an extraordinary fire in living sulfur, of which the hypochondrium of a melancholic are mines and reserves. It gives its first signs of roaring more frequently, the deepest gurgles of the viscera with a thunder that seems to spread out and run within the cavernous breasts without exit, blindly. Then the breath little by little turns into labored and resounding sighs." Bartoli, 266.

> Evaporazione e fumate di neri spiriti e nitrosi al capo; e seco vampe di fuoco al celabro, ma fuoco nero che ottenebra, e fumo chiaro che ne rende il giudicio peggio veggente che cieco; pero ché altro non gli si para davanti a vedere, che spettacoli di spavento e visioni d'orrore.[11]

Here he underscores the melancholic's perceptual weakness. Moreover, the experience of melancholy is represented as a spectacle.[12] Bartoli describes the effects of these disturbances on the mind of the invalid with paradoxes, as though paradox translated the perceptual problems of the melancholic. By associating such perceptions with the notion of spectacle, he subtly suggests the possibility of further links between the patient's delusions and the theatrical.

In his description of Vesuvius, Bartoli casts the patient as a witness to the eruption. Each day the mountain spews smoke and lava and the citizens that witness it live in a paradoxical state:

> Il vederlo è spavento insieme e diletto. Non toglie a quella felice campagna l'esser di sopra un paradiso, ma le raccorda l'aver di sotto un inferno.[13]

The spectators are both afraid and delighted. This ambivalent reaction resembles that of the melancholic, who is fearful of his imaginings, but cannot figuratively look away. Consequently, the melancholic is both actor and audience of his own tragic malady in a performance for himself, but also for those who can recognize the signs of melancholy that appear on his face. He is both observer and observed.

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[11] "Vapor and smoke of black and nitrous spirits in the head; and along with flames of fire in the brain, but black fire that obscures, and clear smoke that renders judgment less insightful than being blind; so that nothing other than spectacles of fear and visions of horror appear before the eyes." Bartoli, 266.

[12] The invalid becomes a spectator to frightening, but imaginary, visions. Bartoli's striking imagery resembles an oxymoron—fire would normally suggest an enhancement of vision and not usually be coupled with the color black. Conversely, the smoke that obscures judgment is designated as clear. If this were indeed the case, the common reader would not expect it to inhibit judgment, as the Jesuit suggests.

[13] "Seeing it [Vesuvius] is together scary and delightful. It does not deprive that happy countryside above of being a paradise, but reminds them of having hell below." Bartoli, 263.

In addition, Bartoli employs the image of a cavern to expand upon the invalid's experience in a way that links his description of melancholy to elements of the theater. By Bartoli's account, Euripides used to retire to a cave in Salamina, where he would compose his many works:

> Colà, scorto da un piccolo lumicino, entrava Euripide tutto solo, se non quanto seco era il furore poetico che vel portava. Quivi era il teatro dove, prima che in Elide, in Corinto, in Atene, rappresentava a se stesso le sue tragedie. Questa la sotterranea caverna nelle cui sacre tenebre, co' poetici incantamenti, richiamava dal vicino inferno le ombre a comprarire in palco, e rifare i medesimi fatti e misfatti di quando erano corpi vivi.[14]

The cave—a place that echoes the depths of the earth that Bartoli used in his metaphor of the volcano—becomes a space in which Euripides can mine his own psyche for inspiration. It is a dark place, deprived of light, but not of imagination, hidden somewhere below the surface. An enclosed space, the grotto functions as a type of stage. This allows for the creative performance of poetic illusions that would otherwise be buried inside Euripides' mind.[15] It is here that Bartoli refers to melancholy:

> Quel silenzio, quell'orrore, quel buio; qualla stessa quasi moribonda fiammella del suo lumicino; e quell'avere sopra' l capo una montagna, e per tutto intorno pendentigli pietre mezze divelte e rovinosi dirupi; e con ciò, la malinconia, lo spavento, l'orrore; gli sumministravano le fantasie funeste.[16]

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[14] "With the escort of a small torch, Euripides entered alone, with the exception of the poetic inspiration that was leading him there. Here was the theater, where before in Elide, in Corinth and in Athens, he represented to himself his own tragedies. This underground cave in whose sacred darkness, with poetic incantations, he called back from the nearby inferno the shades for them to appear on the stage, and live out the same deeds and misdeeds as when they were living bodies." Bartoli, 259.

[15] One cannot help but think of Corneille's *L'illusion comique* in which a group of players enact a tragedy under the guise of magic deep within a cave.

[16] "That silence, that horror, that darkness; that same almost moribund flame of his small torch; and having above the peak of the mountain, and hanging all around him half extirped rocks and rockslides and with that, melancholy, fear, horror; they were aroused in him by the menacing fantasies." Bartoli, 259.

The cavern is the world of the interior in a geographical as well as a psychological sense. He goes on to draw an analogy with the volcano described above in relating Euripide's act of poetic creation:

> Tal era la spelonca d'Euripide in Salamina; tale la fucina de' suoi lavori, e lo spaventoso modo del macchinarli, e 'l potersi dire ancor di lui, 'immagina che tal è dentro, del compor nella grotta, qual vedi al di fuori,' rappresentar nel teatro. Pur, come quella sua era una malinconia, per così dirla, fatta a mano, presa ab estrinseco e posticcia, uscendo fuor della spelonca all'aperto, al sereno, al dì chiaro, tutte quelle ombre funeste gli si dileguavan dal capo.[17]

The language employed harkens back to his description of the melancholic's face. By comparing the melancholic to the tragedian, Bartoli suggests that the images that melancholics see are nothing but illusions upon a stage. Using this analogy, Bartoli associates the experience of melancholy with the act of creation as well as with the notion of representation. The melancholic is both culprit and sufferer, author and theatrical spectator. Moreover, the physical illness of melancholy causes illusions in the minds of its victims that constitute inaccurate representations of reality. The invalids are consequently unable to distinguish the true from the imagined. Due to these effects, specters exist for the melancholic in a world somewhere between the imaginary and the real.

Bartoli does not suggest that Euripides was a melancholic; in fact he says the opposite. While he does draw explicit parallels between the anecdote and the effects of this disease, he insists, at the same time, on the following distinction. Whereas Euripides may exit the grotto and disperse the dark shadows of his mind, the melancholic figure may not:

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[17] "That was the cave of Euripides in Salamina; that was the forge of his works, and the scary way of preparing them, and allowing one to still say about him, 'imagine that which was composed inside the grotto, is that which is seen outside' represented in the theater. Like this, it was a melancholy, so to speak, made by hand, taken externally and falsely, exiting outside of the cave to the open, the serene, and clear day, in which all of those dark spirits vanished from his head." Bartoli, 259-260.

> Ma un malinconico, il cui misero cuore è la profonda e nera grotta dov'egli fa a se stesso continue e non finte tragedie, d'immagini spaventose, d'ombre infernali, di fantasie funeste; e quì ansietà, quì sospetti e disperazioni, e furori, e desideri di morte; come può uscirne e camparsene, se dovunque vada porta seco se stesso, e nel suo petto la fucina e i fabbri delle sue miserie?[18]

The melancholic is a prisoner of his own delusions. He creates a metaphoric grotto from which he can never escape. Trapped there, the figure engages in his own theatrical production:

> Come gli spettatori delle tragedie rappresentate ne piangono con diletto e ne godono con dolore; così i malinconici al farlesi da se stessi.[19]

The invalid becomes creator and spectator of his own torments and paradoxically enjoys it. He is like the messenger of death mentioned earlier, a tragic theatrical character, and at the same time he is like the audience. Given this reality the question arises as to whether or not the melancholic can ever be freed:

> Perciò il ragionar di curarli è tribolarsi indarno; che a chi il suo male è un piacere, non può averlo in conto di male, nè rendersi ad accettar rimedio che glielo tolga. A che dunque vorrò io travagliarmi parlando con chi non ha orecchi che m'odono?[20]

Bartoli wonders if it might be at all possible to persuade the melancholic of the nature of his delusions. He might resist hearing the truth.[21] For Bartoli the only solution for those who wish to liberate these patients from their melancholic grottos is a figurative mirror. Riva, who has

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[18] "But a melancholic, whose miserable heart is the deep and black grotto where he makes for himself continuous and not pretend tragedies, composed of scary images, of infernal shadows, of menacing fantasies; and here anxiety, suspicions, desperation and furors, and desires for death; how can he exit and confront it, if everywhere he goes he carries with him, in his chest the forge and fevers of his miseries?" Bartoli, 260.

[19] "Just as the spectators of staged tragedies cry with pleasure and enjoy it with pain, so too do the melancholics in creating tragedies themselves." Here, Bartoli implies that the melancholic experiences both pain and pleasure from his own "tragic" imaginings. Bartoli, 254.

[20] "Therefore, trying to cure them is an unnecessary tribulation; for those whose malady is a pleasure, they can't see it as bad, nor can they make themselves accept the remedy that they should take. Why would I bother talking to someone who does not have ears that listen to me?" Bartoli, 254.

[21] Later theatrical works will also underscore the melancholic's resistance to the truth as well as to treatment. This becomes a theatrical convention.

examined the specular theme in the work of Bartoli, asserts that there are two types of mirrors, one with which the melancholic dangerously feeds himself illusions and another, more truthful, that allows the invalid to be cured of his misperceptions.[22] Bartoli's therapy is thus the following:

> Gli occhi dunque si vogliono emendare; e quegli dell'immaginazione de' malinconici, altra maniera non v'ha da sanarli, che loro aprendoli a ricever la luce che dia loro a vedere, quanto veggono non è fuor d'essi.[23]

The melancholic is one who finds himself in the dark, unable to see reality. He sees, but he does not see clearly. Just as in the moment that Euripides leaves the cave, when the images dissipate because they are exposed to light, so too the melancholic can realize that the images from which he suffers are nothing but spectacles in the theater of the mind that have been projected from within. Since the melancholic cannot do this on his own, Bartoli has offered his work as an alternative to the theatrical representation for which the patient is a spectator:

> Forse avverrà che, mirandosi un malinconico nella sua effigie, e trovandosi qual è veramente, e non sel crede; spaventatone, fuggirà da se stesso. Lascerà se stesso pazzo qual era, e troverà se stesso savio quale il vogliamo.[24]

Bartoli seems to suggest that a disease that feeds on misperceptions can only be cured through alternative representations—or rather alternative effigies. A truthful mirror must be held up to the invalid, which he trusts more than the terrible spectacles created by his mind. The question

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[22] "L'io (del Malinconico) può ritrovare se stesso solo fuggendo se stesso, o meglio separandosi dall'immagine in cui si rispecchia. Ma ciò può avvenire solo a patto che si rispecchi in uno specchio più veritiero di quello in cui continuamente si rimira, «pascendosi» di se medesimo." Riva, *Saturno,* 20.

[23] "The eyes then need to be amended; and those of the imagination of the melancholics have no other means to heal themselves than to learn to receive in their eyes the light that will allow them to see that that which they see is not outside of themselves." Bartoli, 262.

[24] "Maybe it will happen that, the melancholic seeing himself in his effigy, and finding himself as he truly is, and not that which he believes; terrorized, he will flee from himself. He will leave behind the insane person that he was and find his wise self—that which we want of him." Bartoli, 255.

arises of how that might be achieved. Since his torments have been presented as theatrical, that alternative mirror could conceivably take the form of theater.

I.2 Misdiagnosis and Morality: Imposter Disease and Imposter Physicians

Although Bartoli posits similarities between the melancholic individual and tragedy, the figure of the melancholic hypochondriac in theater most often inhabits comedic works. In early modern drammi giocosi and intermezzi there is a fair amount of consistency in the representation of the hypochondriac.[25] Early theatrical versions of this figure present a pitiful and oftentimes depraved figure in contrast with Bartoli's work. The Jesuit may criticize the disease, but he does not pass judgment on the morality of the patient. Instead he compares him to one of the most illustrious figures in literary history—Euripides. Such is not the case in early eighteenth-century Italian comic theater, where the hypochondriac remains an unequivocally negative figure. Early theatrical representation of the hypochondriac leads on the contrary to judgment and moralization. These works oftentimes represent him as gullible when facing charlatans. As in Bartoli, he is a victim of his own illusions—that is, the many symptoms from which he believes that he is suffering. As such, the theatrical hypochondriac struggles with misperception. Since the hypochondriac finds himself easily susceptible to the illusions created by others, as well as the symptoms that he imagines, he is in a sense inherently suited to the theater.

The Italian invalid's theatrical predecessor might be found in the figure of Argan in Molière's *Le malade imaginaire.* A number of scholars have sought to explain Molière's introduction to the Italian peninsula and his subsequent influence on early musical-theatre

[25] The use of the term melancholy is in fact very limited in such works.

productions.[26] Keith Johnston has identified the earliest known reference to Molière in Italian works in Villifranchi's 1695 dramma giocoso entitled *L'ippocondriaco*.[27] The French playwright's popularity seemed to grow at the turn of the century. Although most intermezzi scenarios are believed to be inspired by the Commedia dell'Arte, Johnston has identified six pieces that appropriate Molière's comedic titles.[28] One such intermezzo, whose title *L'ammalato immaginario* clearly recalls Molière, introduces the couple Erighetta and her hypochondriac romantic partner Don Chilone.[29] Some echoes of Molière in the early Italian theatrical hypochondriac are therefore identifiable.[30] His work represents a point of the departure for the imaginary invalid in Italian theater, but that does not preclude the creation of a culturally specific

[26] Supposedly it was "a troupe of comedians in Verona around 1700" who brought Molière's work to the stage. Keith Johnston, "È caso da intermedio! Comic Theory, Comic Style and the Early Intermezzo," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2011), 56. Later scholars such as Troy contest this claim and assert that the earliest allusions to the French playwright are found already in the period from 1696-1698. This follows the publication in Leipzig of what Troy considers the first translation of Molière's works into Italian. Charles E. Troy, *The Comic Intermezzo* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1979), 79.

[27] Johnston, "Intermedio," 56.

[28] They do not necessarily recycle all of the elements of his works. Pietro Toldo provides historical information from Italian archives about the influence of Molière's works in Italy in the eighteenth century in *L'oeuvre de Molière et sa fortune en Italie* (Turin: Ermano Loescher, 1910). According to Toldo, Molière's plays first arrived in Torino. He further cites documentation of performances of Molière's works at later dates in Lombardy, Venice and Naples. In addition, he notes that *Le malade imaginaire* was performed in 1708 at the Tolomei Institute of Siena and that a similar play that may have been a translation or an adaptation called "L'infermo immaginario" was produced in 1727 in Modena. Although he has found no references to specific performances in Venice, he has confirmed that French players remained in Venice for an extended period during the eighteenth century. In addition, he has identified a production of an "Ammalato immaginario" by Bonvincin Gionelli that was produced in Venice in 1700, along with other "molieresque" works. It was not clear to him whether Gionelli's piece was a mere translation or an adaptation. That being said, Toldo's work does confirm Moliere's theatrical presence on the Italian peninsula, and the circulation of his work, in particular of *Le malade imaginaire,* at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He has also noted a translation into Italian of Molière's works by Ottaviano Annibale Giugni Stampa that is believed to be from the end of the seventeenth century. Toldo, 169-209.

[29] This duo was so popular in the operatic world that they were revived thirteen more times across Italy and Europe between 1707 and 1749. Troy, *Comic*, 143. Troy also lists the locations and varying titles under which this duo re-appeared.

[30] Troy suggests that "the intermezzo texts most clearly related to the prose theater of the seventeenth century are those based on the comedies of Molière." Troy, 79.

Italian hypochondriac with different features and characteristics.[31] These drammi giocosi and intermezzi are not simple translations or abridged copies of the French work. Rather, it is fair to say that Molière's comedy informs certain characteristics of the Italian hypochondriac.[32]

In order to trace the evolution of this figure in the Italian tradition, one must begin with the earliest example known to date, Villifranchi's dramma giocoso entitled *L'ipocondriaco* (1695). The label "dramma giocoso" was a "term for comic operas containing tragic features."[33] Villifranchi was the first to use it to designate his work *L'ipocondriaco.*[34] The piece has a circuitous and at times ridiculous plot. A hypochondriac named Cleone, who lives with his

[31] In fact, there remains the possibility that the theatrical figure of the hypochondriac may have already existed prior to Molière in the Commedia dell'Arte, from which the French playwright drew much material. Troy reminds us that "Molière himself, of course, borrowed many tricks…from the Commedia dell'Arte, a source from which librettists of intermezzi also drew freely." Troy, 80.

[32] In two of the intermezzi and drammi giocosi examined there are clear close borrowings from Molière's work. An example of this occurs in the 1732 intermezzo when Don Chilone counts the number of *cristeri* that he submitted to in the previous week: "Uno, due, tre, e quattro, / Quattro, e quattro, che' fann'otto, / Otto e dieci fan diciotto / E poi sei fan ventiquattro. / Ventiquattro cristeri / Nell'altra settimana." *L'ammalato immaginario* (Firenze: 1732), 3. In Molière the scene unfolds as follows: "Trois et deux font cinq, et cinq font dix, et dix font vingt; trois et deux font cinq. «Plus, du vingt-quatrième, un petit clystère insinuative, preparative, et rémoillient pour ammolir, humecter et rafraîchir les entrailles de monsieur?»" Act I, Scene I. Molière, "Le malade imaginaire" in *Théatre choisi de Molière,* ed. Maurice Rat (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1937). There is also a recurring reference to Doctor Purgone in the 1732 intermezzo. See *L'ammalato immaginario*, 4. In Molière, that is the name of Argan's physician. Another example is found in Villifranchi's *L'ipocondriaco* when the "invalid" Cleone employs the salt grain test to ascertain the quality of his physician. There are other striking similarities, including individuals who disguise themselves as doctors, like Molière's Toinette.

[33] Michael Kennedy, *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 250. Musicologists suggest that the label dramma giocoso was an alternative for "commedia per musica," which was used throughout the eighteenth century. See Donald Grout and Hermine Williams, *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 278.

[34] Giovanni Villifranchi, *L'ipocondriaco: Dramma per musica rappresentato nella villa di Pratolino* (Firenze: Stamperia di S.A.S per Giovanni Filippo Cecchi, 1695). Villifranchi was born in Volterra in 1646 and died in Florence in 1699. His work *L'ipocondriaco* was his last libretto completed out of five that were performed in Villadi Pratolino in Florence under the patronage of Prince Ferdinando de' Medici. In addition to his musical works, he also served as the prince's physician. Weaver suggests that his work has unfortunately lacked attention due to the fact that all but one of the scores is missing. He asserts that Villifranchi should still be considered an important figure in the history of the libretto: "He was nevertheless the most productive and creative Italian comic librettist in the second half of the 17th century, and also deserves attention as an advocate of simple and natural language." Robert Lamar Weaver, *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, accessed June 10, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

daughter Florinda and his charge Elvira, finds himself the victim of a complicated series of deceptions. His daughter's and his pupil's lovers, Gilberto and Cleandro, feigning to be doctors, gain access to the house with the help of a predatory widow, Limbella, and of Cleone's faithful servant Tarpino. In the end, despite the mass confusion that ensues, the lascivious hypochondriac loses his authority over the fate of his pupil, whom he desires, and over his daughter. Like many comedies, the piece ends with happy marriages—except for the miserable hypochondriac whose matrimonial status remains the same as at the beginning of the piece.

Similar to all of the subsequent Italian theatrical hypochondriacs prior to 1750, Cleone suffers from an imaginary rather than physical illness. This is of particular interest, because Villifranchi was himself a physician and seems to be favoring theatrical conventions over the assumptions of contemporary medical discourse. Despite referencing Willis and Diocles of Carystus in his introduction, two doctors who offer physiological explanations for melancholy and hypochondria, Villifranchi presents a hypochondriac in the dramma giocoso who is an imaginary invalid.[35] In his introduction, he explains:

> Sarò tacciato, perché essendomi commesso un dramma giocoso, io l'abbia fondato su l'ipocondria, che secondo Diocle Caristio il primo, e' l'Vuillis (a mia notizia) l'ultimo, che n'abbia scritto ha per base la malinconia; nè mi difende l'averla mescolata con l'amore, che al parere di Zacuto, è un male della medesima specie: ma io ho voluto tentar

[35] Berrios offers some background information on Diocle's interpretation of hypochondria and melancholy: "Diocles Carystus (circa 350 BCE) seems to have been the first to report complaints of the digestive organs associated with pathology of hypochondria. Classical writers went on to establish a firm association between the hypochondria or praecordia and, at least, two clusters of 'symptoms': one pertained to digestive symptomatology, flatulence, and so on (as in Diocles) and another to Melancholia (as in Paulus de Aegina, c.ad 625-690). It is important to remember that during this period melancholia had little or nothing to do with depressive illness." German E. Berrios, "Hypochondriasis: History of the Concept," in *Hypochondriasis: Modern Perspectives on an Ancient Malady*, eds. Vladan Starcevic and Don Lipsitt (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6. Thomas Willis had noted that "'sometimes Melancholy is either primarily excited, or very much cherished from the Spleen, being evilly affected,' but he favored the view that it originated in the blood, which deposited 'Melancholick foulnesses' in the spleen, which in turn 'exalted' these materials 'into the nature of an evil Fermant' and returned this result to the blood, whose condition was then such that it tended to cause this form of melancholia." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 281.

> con i chimici, se da due freddi ne potevo far nascere un caldo, come si fanno con il ghiaccio, e con l'olio di vetriolo.[36]

Villifranchi implies that hypochondria and love share the same etiological origin—melancholy. More importantly, as seen at this point in his introduction, Villifranchi draws an interesting analogy between his theatrical work and scientific experimentation by mixing hypochondria and love in what could become an explosive situation. Underscored in this excerpt is the notion that scientists and playwrights share a common interest in cause and effect. Just like the scientist who combines different substances to see the results, Villifranchi combines specific types of individuals and vices into a confined space and observes the outcome.

One of the elements of Villifranchi's experiment is a hypochondriac named Cleone. Like Molière's Argan, Cleone is declared unambiguously healthy, at least in the physical sense. This fact is established in the opening scene, when his servant Tarpino laments about his master's lifestyle:

> Che perfido esercizio
> E 'l servir un padrone,
> Ch'oltre all'avere tal vizio
> Dell'essere geloso, e innamorato,
> C'entra l'ipocondria
> Del credersi malato.[37]

By listing hypochondria along with other inappropriate passions, Villifranchi implies that it is a vice rather than a malady. By extension, suffering from this imaginary illness becomes a

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[36] "I will be accused, because having been commissioned to write a dramma giocoso, I have based it on hypochondria, that according to Diocles the first, and Willis (in my opinion) the last, about which I have written, has for a base melancholy; nor does it protect me to have mixed it with love, that in the opinion of Zacuto, is a malady of the same species: but I wanted to attempt like with chemicals, to see if with two cold ones I could make a warm one, as they do with ice and vitriol oil." Villifranchi, 2.

[37] "What a wicked exercise / Is the serving of a master, / Who in addition to having that vice / Of being jealous, and in love, / He also has hypochondria, / Believing himself to be sick." Villifranchi, 2.

question of morality. Hypochondria, therefore, is a metaphorical disease of immorality rather than a physical ailment. Cleone himself is solely responsible for his perceived symptoms. Villifranchi leaves no doubt of this in his introduction to the piece in which he defines the hypochondriac as someone who: "Si creda infermo, cioè (portandolo dal Greco al Toscano) il tormentatore di se stesso."[38] Cleone is the cause of his own torments and the inventor of his own symptoms. He is adamant that they are real despite obvious evidence to the contrary. The inability to properly perceive reality is in effect what makes hypochondriacs immoral figures on the stage.

Cleone's illusions about his own health parallel his distorted ideas about love. Instead of pursuing an appropriately-aged woman, Cleone falls in love with his young ward, Elvira. Other characters condemn his behavior:

LIM. Di che si sospira?
CLEON. Ah Limbella-
LIM. V'intendo;
Per la solita Elvira.
Ma Signor non vedete,
Ch'uno d'età avanzata,
Che voglia una ragazza,
Ch'è d'altri innamorata,
Più tosto frasca, e di bellezze adorna,
È giusto giusto andare a caccia a cose
Da non essere già mai che vergognose?[39]

Although Limbella has ulterior motives for shaming Cleone's behavior—she herself wishes to marry him—her sentiments are meant to be shared not only by the other characters in the dramma giocoso, but also the audience. Although the figure of the hypochondriac is new to the

[38] "He believes himself to be sick, that is (translating from Greek to Tuscan), he is a self-tormentor." Villifranchi, 2.

[39] LIM. Why do you sigh? / CLEON. Oh Limbella / LIM. I understand you; / It's for the usual Elvira. / But Sir, don't you see, / That one who is old, / And wants a girl / that is loved by others, / A more or less frivolous girl, and adorned with beauty, / Is it really right to go on the hunt for things / that are nothing but shameful?" Villifranchi, 56.

Italian tradition, his misguided love resembles that of a long-established theatrical figure—Pantalone. This mask from the Commedia dell'Arte is "a descendent of the ancient senex" who was "severe and irascible, sometimes married to a capricious young wife or involved in a silly love affair."[40] Cleone fits this description and thus a hybrid theatrical mask is imagined, one that associates these two vices—hypochondria and lust, both of which are here associated with misperception.

The resolution of the dramma giocoso is centered on a power shift that occurs when some of the play's illusions are dissipated. Cleone, whose illness wreaks havoc in the house, ultimately loses control over the situation and unwillingly relinquishes his power to the youthful figures. Northrop Frye explains that this type of shift is common in comedy:

> Thus the movement from pistis to gnosis, from society controlled by habit, ritual bondage, arbitrary law and the older characters to a society controlled by youth and pragmatic freedom is fundamentally, as the Greek words suggest, a movement from illusion to reality. Illusion is whatever is fixed or definable, and reality is best understood as its negation: whatever reality is, it's not that.[41]

Although a dramma giocoso does not follow strictly the precepts of comedy, Villifranchi's piece shares some of the characteristics mentioned by Frye. All of the characters in *L'ipocondriaco* are enslaved by Cleone's illusions. He is obstinate and unwavering in maintaining them. He represents an "old society" that holds an inappropriate power over the youth. Because of this, the young must resort paradoxically to disguises and dissimulations in order to reveal reality and re-establish a proper balance of power. Initially this proves relatively simple. Cleone is gullible and easily fooled. Because of these characteristics, the hypochondriac figure in many ways resembles

[40] Philip A. Wadsworth, *Molière and the Italian Theatrical Tradition* (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa, 1977), 16.

[41] Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 169-170.

the mask of the *Dottore* found elsewhere in the theatrical tradition examined by Wadsworth: a "bumbling and gullible" fool.[42] Cleone's intellectual capacities seem relatively limited, which makes him easy prey, most notably to imposter physicians.

Part of the danger to the hypochondriac is that charlatans can easily penetrate what should be protected spaces. This holds true in other theatrical works of the period for charlatan medical practitioners as well as other types of dissimulators.[43] In contrast with Goldoni's mature works, these early false physicians have no "real" medical counterpoints in the dramma giocoso. Early examples of Italian theatrical hypochondriacs never encounter proficient doctors, only imposters. Actual physicians, although occasionally referenced, never materialize onstage. In Molière's piece, Argan finds himself the victim of ineffective doctors and the dupe of his servant Toinette, who disguises herself as a physician. By contrast, in Villifranchi's piece only men will mask themselves as physicians, and only to serve their personal ambitions. Unlike Toinette, who wishes to help her master, Gilberto and Cleandro disguise themselves only to enter the home of their lovers. In this particular work, Cleone will therefore face two imposter physicians. Tarpino, Cleone's servant, hires Gilberto, the beloved of Florinda, to simulate a doctor. Gilberto, who has no training in medicine, doubts that he will be successful in deceiving Cleone. Tarpino, however, reassures him:

> Quest'è un ipocondriaco,
> Basta apparenza, non ci va dottrina,
> Fate lo scrupoloso,
> L'osservante, il pensoso,
> Per cultivar con la superstizione

[42] Wadsworth, *Molière*, 16.

[43] See Bartolo Anglani, *Il* "s*oave mestier della 'Birba'": I ciarlatani di Goldoni e altri saggi* (Roma: Aracne, 2016), 23-114.

La già fatta opinione.
[…]
E digli in conclusione, che gl'è malato. [44]

As the servant explains, appearing as a physician will satisfy the hypochondriac, even if there is no substance to support Gilberto's discourse. If an individual pretends to be knowledgeable in medicine, the hypochondriac will readily believe him. In fact, for the hypochondriac, the greatest test of a doctor's competence is his willingness to confirm the hypochondriac's belief that he is gravely ill. The charlatan must maintain the illusion in order to be believed. Tarpino suggests that the interactions between such doctors and patients were in a way scripted. If a charlatan followed the protocol, like an actor reciting his lines, it would be easy to fool the hypochondriac into believing that he was in fact a practitioner. Cleone's ineptness at perception is what renders him foolish and worthy of derision. The charlatan's respect for "theatrical convention" allows him to substitute illusion for reality.

The hypochondriac's reaction to simulated appearances resembles his misinterpretation of his bodily symptoms. Based on superficial and unsubstantiated signs, such as a palpitating heart, the individual becomes alarmed thinking that he may suffer from an underlying problem, which he struggles to interpret correctly. In like manner, when Cleone comes upon an ambiguous situation, he misinterprets the information through the lens of his own desire. An example of this is found in his attempts to seduce Elvira. Cleone has a rival in love called Cleandro. The similarity of their names creates a fair amount of comic confusion for all of the characters involved. In a scene in which Elvira and Cleandro are speaking to one another, Cleone incorrectly believes that Elvira is in fact professing her love for him:

[44] "This is a hypochondriac, / Appearance will suffice, doctrine is not necessary, / Act like the scrupulous one, the observer and the thinker / In order to cultivate with superstition the already formulated opinion [of the hypochondriac]. / […] And tell him in conclusion, that he is sick." Villifranchi, 13-14.

ELV. Ma che facesti Elvira? O cuor tiranno,
Ch'hai voluto il contento,
[...]
Adorato Cle---
CLEON. –one.
Finetela cuor mio;
Sì; Cleon son'io;
So pur chi v'adorate.[45]

Cleone arrives late to the scene, and because of the phonetic echo in the names Cleone and Cleandro, he incorrectly assumes that Elvira is admitting her love to him. He hears, but he does not hear. When she responds in complete confusion, Cleone offers evidence of her reciprocal feelings:

CLEON. Mi piace quel rossore,
ELV. Come rossor! Di che?
CLEON. Del grand'affetto, che portate a me!
ELV. A voi?
CLEON. Se lo dicesti?
ELV. È frenesia.[46]

Elvira rebukes him, but Cleone is unwilling to accept this revelation. What he hears or sees can only reaffirm what he already believes. He dismisses any evidence to the contrary. Although Cleone is easily fooled by the world around him—and is thus in some ways a naively trusting figure—he is also skeptical of those who surround him.[47] This is most evident when the hypochondriac conceals himself in a dark room, so that he can observe if Cleandro is concocting a medicine or a poison. As if to emphasize the disconnect between reality and how he perceives

[45] "ELV. What did you do Elvira? Oh tyrannical heart, / How much you wanted happiness, [...] / Adored Cleo-- / CLEON.--one. / Finish it my dear / Yes, I am Cleone, / I know the one whom you adore." Villifranchi, 59.

[46] "CLEON. I like that blushing. / ELV. What blushing? About what? / CLEON. For the great affection that you have for me! / ELV. For you? / CLEON. If you've said so? / ELV. This is insanity." Villifranchi, 59.

[47] He is therefore a paradoxical figure: a trusting-distrustful individual. The paradoxical nature of the hypochondriac is discussed by Bartoli. It appears to be a rhetorical device frequently employed to represent the figure in the early tradition.

himself, Cleone states that he is watching Cleandro because: "Colui, che non crede / Se non quel che vede / [...] / Ha senno oggidì."[48] The irony of this statement is humorous, since Cleone oftentimes falls victim to the opposite: he does not believe what he is seeing.

Instead of witnessing Cleandro concocting his cure, Cleone overhears the two lovers—Cleandro and Elvira—discussing their romantic woes. Since Elvira is hidden behind a portrait of Cleone, Cleone will believe that Cleandro is professing his love to him. This scene becomes even more confused when Elvira, still concealed behind the portrait, proclaims her love once again to Cleandro, who has unfortunately departed, leaving Cleone alone in the room:

ELV. Perchè non rispondete?
Che forse non volete,
Ch'io sia più 'l vostro cuore,
E la vostra pupilla?
CLEON. Dice, ch'è mia pupilla!
Coscienza io mi disdico:
Altro tutor non v'è;
Sì che quell'amor mio, veniva a me.
Elvira mia…[49]

Since he is technically her *tutor* and she is his *pupilla,* Cleone automatically assumes that her profession of love is directed at him, but since Cleandro and Elvira have defined their relationship in the same terms, that is not the case. Because he is missing information and the words are taken out of context, Cleone finds himself foolishly believing that which is in fact untrue. He infuses Elvira's words with the meaning he wishes to hear. In like manner, his physicians must tell him that he is ill in order for him to trust their judgment. The hypochondriac only interprets in a way that confirms his deepest wishes. His vice lies in his fallible perceptions.

[48] "He, who does not believe / Except that which he sees, / [...] has good sense nowadays." Villifranchi, 35.

[49] "ELV. Why don't you respond? / Maybe you don't want me to be / Your lover and / Your pupil anymore? / CLEON. She says that she is my pupil. / My conscience cannot deny / That there is no other tutor; / She was coming to me, who is my love, / My dear Elvira." Villifranchi, 38-39.

Another theatrical convention found in the dramma giocoso is the pairing of the hypochondriac with a deceitful female. Here Limbella wishes to pursue a relationship. This figure is informed by stock characters typically found in the Commedia dell'Arte.[50] Limbella, true to her character type, will attempt to trap Cleone in matrimony by convincing him that his health depends on it: "Perché, alla fine in una malatia / Vuol essere una donna / Ma donna, ch'abbia amore, / Diligenza, sapere e cortesia."[51] Her actions are guided by her desire to marry him, but most importantly are not motivated by love:

> Sono quasi sempre qua
> Fingendo carità,
> […]
> M'industrio d'obbligarlo
> A pigliarmi per moglie,
> Per poi metter per ben le mani in pasta.[52]

She will use sympathy as her tool of deceit. As Tarpino explained earlier to Gilberto, the hypochondriac seeks those who will confirm his delusions. Understanding this about Cleone's nature, Limbella willingly indulges them in order to create a sense of dependency. Whereas Tarpino usually reassures his master and contests his misperceptions, Limbella in her first appearance on stage exclaims: "Vi trovo molto afflitto."[53] Cleone revels in the confirmation of his imaginary illness.

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[50] Troy discusses the figure of the "cunning servant girl, widow, or shepherdess, who despite her humble station, through feminine wiles plays tricks on her male partner or (more usually) ensnares him in matrimony." Troy, *Comic*, 7.

[51] "Because, in the end with a malady, / There needs to be a woman, / But a woman that has love, / Diligence, knowledge and courtesy." Villifranchi, 7.

[52] "I am almost there, / Pretending to be charitable, / […] I am working hard to obligate him / To take me as his wife, / Then I will be able to have influence." Villifranchi, 6.

[53] "I find you very afflicted." Villifranchi, 3.

All of Villifranchi's female characters proudly share this skill in dissimulation. Elvira brags: "Saper fingere a tempo è un gran virtù."[54] Similarly Florinda boasts:

> Non abbiate timore:
> Perch'il vero dal falso ei non distingua,
> I sensi del mio cuore
> Saprò celar col volto, e con la lingua.[55]

The female's ability to manipulate proves dangerous to Cleone, and also for all the other men. In a world in which the women find themselves without other recourse, all the ladies of this dramma giocoso choose to forward their agendas through manipulative language. The duplicity of Limbella may seem unforgivable, but she has specific reasons for her ruthless hunt for a husband, which anticipate those of subsequent widow figures in the theatrical tradition:

> LIM. S'ha da vivere,
> (Salvo sempre il proprio onore)
> Ciaschedun s'ha da ingegnare
> Con l'industria, e col sudore
> Ad ognun di sopravvivere.
> […]
> Comprendalo chi ha cuore
> Dalla miseria mia.
> Essere donna, esser vedova,
> Giovane, senza roba, e tutta onore.[56]

She describes herself as a poor widow, in desperate need of help. This stock figure, not present in Molière's *Le malade imaginaire*, often appears in later representations of the Italian hypochondriac: in early Italian theater, the widow and the hypochondriac are a fixed duo. While

[54] "Knowing how to pretend on command is a great virtue." Villifranchi, 57.

[55] "Don't be afraid: / Because he does not distinguish the true from the false, / The feelings of my heart / I know how to conceal with my face, and with my words." Villifranchi, 57.

[56] "One has to make a living, / Preserving one's own honor, / Everyone has to survive by engineering / With industriousness and with sweat[…] / Those who have a heart will understand it / From my misery. / Being a woman, being a widow / Young, without any belongings, and entirely honorable." Villifranchi, 5.

there are obvious reasons why Limbella may be looking for a husband, her choice to pursue a hypochondriac is of even more interest. Since Cleone finds himself completely preoccupied with his supposed illness, he is distracted from any domestic duties and the management of his family. As a result, Limbella schemes: "La Casa, la commando."[57] This implies that the hypochondriac is so preoccupied with his many ailments that he forgets his paternal duties. By marrying one, the widow believes that she gains power. Whereas the hypochondriac poses a problem insomuch as he inhibits the self-determination of the young characters in the play, for the widow, the hypochondriac offers an opportunity to command and rule.

For the youth, Cleone's reign over their lives ultimately brings upon him his own ruin. He wields significant power over the choice of whom both Elvira and his daughter Florinda will marry. They share a similar fate at the hands of the controlling hypochondriac. Florinda laments: "Il vostro tutore, / E ch'il mio genitore / Ci tiene in tirannia."[58] In the end, Cleandro's dissimulation as a false physician is so successful that Cleone will try to force Florinda to marry him, so that he has easy access to a physician at home—despite her longing to marry Gilberto.[59] His vice, which is a projection of his own desires, interferes with those of his daughter. Similarly, as Cleandro explains, Cleone purposely separated him from his love, Elvira, and then "opressa, e soffogata la tiene in villa."[60] The vice of lust, which here is associated with the vice of hypochondria, tyrannizes Elvira. Both women are obstructed from fulfilling their desires.

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[57] "The house, I will command it." Villifranchi, 6.

[58] "Your tutor / Who is my father, / Holds us in tyranny." Villifranchi, 10.

[59] This is perhaps another molieresque allusion. In the French comedy, Argan has promised his daughter to Thomas Diafoirus the son of his doctor with hopes similar to those of Cleone.

[60] "He keeps her in the house oppressed and suffocated." Villifranchi, 32.

Villifranchi thus characterizes the hypochondriac as an inappropriate authority figure—one who wields too much power and whose misperceptions interfere with the well-being of the younger generation.

Fortunately, in the final grand dissimulation of the play, Cleone is tricked into submission. Cleandro convinces Cleone that he must bathe himself in oil and salt in order to cure his illness. Gullible as he is, Cleone follows the prescription of his imposter doctor and finds himself feeling salad-like when immersed in the bathtub. While he is in this compromising position, the young people stage a wedding coup of sorts. Naked in the bathtub Cleone cannot rise to object when the two couples perform their own weddings inside the bathroom. In effect, he can view the social ritual, but not take part. When Cleone begins to rise from the tub to object, the other characters exclaim in disgust: "Giù; modestia, modestia."[61] His imposter disease and credulousness have reduced him to a weak and powerless figure. With Cleone unable to interfere with the proceedings, a new order is established in which, Elvira happily describes: "Non v'è più da sospirar: / Allegro mio cuore: / Non v'è più dolore."[62] Youth prevails and the power of the hypochondriac is overturned.[63] Moreover, his vices of jealousy, of misperception and of societal impropriety have been rendered impotent. The dramma giocoso ends with a victory over the hypochondriac, who clearly stands as a figure worthy of derision not only by the youthful characters, but also the audience.

[61] "Stay down, modesty, modesty!" Villifranchi, 76.

[62] "There is nothing left to sigh about: / My happy heart: / There is no longer any pain." Villifranchi, 77.

[63] There is another crucial element of this final scene, the marriages. In later works, the question of marriage as a potential cure for melancholy and hypochondria emerges. Here, of course, it is not the hypochondriac who gets married, but rather those who suffered in part due to the effects of his malady.

In his reduced state Cleone cannot deny reality—or escape it. He literally cannot exit the tub. Physically naked, he is also symbolically nude as all of his inappropriate behaviors have been exposed and openly ridiculed. Nevertheless, while the illusion that Elvira might reciprocate his love might have crumbled, Cleone's imaginary disease remains intact. He is not cured. This vice appears impossible to overcome. While order has been restored through dissimulation, the imposter disease is immutable. Cleone's last words in the dramma giocoso confirm this conclusion: "Non dubitate no, ch'i vostr'iganni / Non m'abbian fatto uscir l'ipocondria."[64] Cleone still finds himself suffering from hypochondria. Here Bartoli's therapeutic theory seems to have failed. Whereas for Bartoli a truthful mirror had the potential to cure the melancholic of his delusions, in Villifranchi, the illusions that unveil the truth do not restore the invalid to health. The question remains as to why the imposter disease cannot be remedied and why a theater-like artifice here fails to be therapeutic. Cleone's personal comedy continues after the end of the dramma giocoso. While the others find freedom from Cleone's control, the hypochondriac remains in the prison of his own delusions and still marginalized from the rest of society. Cleone remains a tragic character in the piece. His flaws—hypochondria and his inability to correctly diagnose either his own symptoms or the world around him—ultimately lead to his downfall. This epistemological uncertainty remains unresolved at the end of the piece and will persist throughout the tradition of the Italian intermezzo.

[64] "Don't doubt that your tricks / Have failed to make my hypochondria go away." Villifranchi, 77.

I.3 Don Chilone and Erighetta: the Imaginary Invalid in Early Intermezzi

The hypochondriac returns frequently in the Italian intermezzo—a genre related to the dramma giocoso. The intermezzo was a musical piece inserted between the acts of an opera seria. Although intermezzi share the same position in the performance as their forerunners—intermedi—they derive more of their plot content from another source. As Grout explains, "intermezzos were, in a way, descendants of the comic scenes that had been scattered through the plots of the seventeenth century opera."[65] Later in the period these comic characters found themselves at the end of the acts introducing the intermedi to the public.[66] They were in effect exiled from the plots of opera into self-contained comic pieces called intermezzi.[67] As such they represented, in a sense, operatic outcasts.[68] The figure of the hypochondriac will prove in these

[65] Grout, *Short History of Opera*, 274.

[66] Troy, *Comic*, 11.

[67] As Grout explains: "In the seventeenth century, comic episodes of all kinds were regularly mingled with serious scenes. The comic scenes, dramatically related to the operas with which they were performed, could also be excerpted and performed as if they were independent intermezzos. The practice of commingling comic and serious scenes continued into the eighteenth century, especially in Naples and Vienna. At the same time, comic and serious operas were emerging as separate types. The separation of styles was brought about, in part, by Zeno and Metastasio, in whose reform of the opera libretto in the early eighteenth century the comic was considered to be irrelevant to the plot and incongruous with the tragic style." Grout, *Short History of Opera*, 272. Buelow concurs: "The most original music in Venetian and Neapolitan opera at the turn of the eighteenth century was composed for the comic intermezzo. The roots of this kind of music were planted early in Italian opera in which musical episodes by comic characters frequently occurred, often interrupting the primary development of the plot. These episodes were particularly characteristic of Venetian operas in the first half of the seventeenth century. By the mid-seventeenth century such scenes became integrated into the operas, usually involving stock characters such as a young manservant or pageboy, and a lascivious, designing old woman such as a nurse. Later in the century, reform-minded writers began to eliminate comic figures from their Venetian librettos, although not for some time from those performed in Naples where they remained popular. At the turn of the eighteenth century, comic intermezzos in Venetian operas became self-contained acts with separate plots performed at the end of the three acts, and published separately or at the end of the opera seria librettos. In effect, the practice led to creating two very different operas in one work. As these intermezzi were not related to the main libretto, they could be reused any number of times in different operas. By 1710 many were collected together and widely used by traveling troupes of performers." George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 462.

[68] Angelini has underscored the "experimental" nature of the intermezzo form. Franca Angelini, "*In maschera voi siete, senza mashcera al volto?": Note su Goldoni* (Roma: Bulzoni, 2012), 20. According to Emery, the structure of the intermezzo followed simple, but rigid conventions, such as an "initial problem," followed by a series of

works to be a mixture of different known masks from the Commedia dell'Arte—Pantalone and the Dottore. Although intermezzi are technically speaking a different genre than a dramma giocoso, the authors of these pieces portray hypochondriacs that share striking similarities to Cleone in Villifranchi's piece.

The figure who embodies the hypochondriac in the intermezzi goes by the name Don Chilone. His partner, Erighetta, echoes motivations similar to those of Limbella. Erighetta will already have been successful in obtaining her goal, however—that is, she has won the hypochondriac's heart. This new duo was repeatedly integrated into various pieces throughout the century. The earliest documented appearance of these characters occurred in Venice in 1707 at the Teatro San Cassiano.[69] In that year an intermezzo entitled *Erighetta e Don Chilone* was performed between the acts of Francesco Gasparini's *Anfitrione*. Later on between 1707 and 1749 the duo returned in a number of different intermezzi. The plots differed at least slightly, as did each time their titles, which included *L'ammalato immaginario o sia l'ipocondriaco*, *Don*

"impediments" and lastly "a successful or unsuccessful attempt to remove the impediments." This usually involved some disguises. The intermezzi examined here conform to similar categories, although the "impediments" that Emery mentions will not all be successfully "removed" by the end of the piece. The major obstacle for the hypochondriac will be an imaginary illness, which, with notable consistency, is never cured. Concerning the action of the intermezzi Emery has elucidated three types which he terms the *beffa*: they include the protagonist being "tricked and spurned;" the rejection, which features one character finding out "an unacceptable truth about the other;" and lastly, the reconciliation which usually features a disguise that brings about a newfound harmony. Sometimes these intermezzi end with a scene in which the hypochondriac marries. Ted Emery, *Goldoni as Librettist: Theatrical Reform and the Drammi Giocosi per Musica* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1991), 4. In the pieces that feature a hypochondriac all three types of action identified by Emery will be combined. The hypochondriac will be "tricked and spurned;" the female lovers of the hypochondriac will be disillusioned and frustrated by their partners; and towards the end, sometimes, a tenuous reconciliation will take place.

[69] Kurt Sven Markstrom, "The Operas of Leonardo Vinci, Napoletano," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1993), 170. It is also of note that it was only shortly before this date that intermezzi began to appear in Venice.

Chilone, and *Il malato immaginario*. It appears that there was a fair amount of consistency in the traits of the characters and the dynamic of their relationship.[70]

In 1718 Don Chilone and his partner Erighetta took the stage in another intermezzo entitled *Erighetta e D. Chilone.* Much like his predecessor Cleone in Villifranchi's piece, Don Chilone is an imaginary invalid.[71] In this piece, his illusions of illness do not interfere with the marriages of the young, but instead impede the celebration of Carnival. They inhibit the pleasure of other members of society. Erighetta states at the beginning of the intermezzo: "E vedrete, / Che al piacere del Carnevale / Un piacer, che sia uguale / No, no, no, no, no; non c'è."[72] Unfortunately, Don Chilone does not share her enthusiasm. As the carnival masks arrive on stage, Don Chilone enters in search of his missing partner Erighetta. He, however, does not plan on indulging in the festivities: "Vorrei ballare anch'io, / Ma questa non è roba / Per chi ha l'ossa

[70] Markstrom, "Operas," 170. Markstrom believes that the 1707 intermezzo *L'ammalato immaginario* lay "dormant" until it was "revived" in 1718 by two comics, Rosa Ungarelli and Antonio Ristorini. See Markstrom, 185. The intermezzo discussed here from 1718 is not the one to which Markstrom refers. While the 1707 version has been attributed to Antonio Salvi by Keith Johnston, so far no author has been determined for the 1718 work. See Johnston, "Intermedio," 26. According to Francesco Giutini and Francesco Lora, Antonio Salvi (1664-1724) was a librettist and a physician to Prince Ferdinando de' Medici—similar to Villifranchi. He wrote a number of drammi per musica and intermezzi. Giutini and Lora assert that: "In the context of the so-called Arcadian reform, Salvi's work is distinguished for its simplicity of style, regularity of formal structure and above all for the prevalence of emotional content. These modern characteristics reflect to some extent the influence of French classical theater, from which a few of his intermezzos also derive." Francesco Giutini and Francesco Lora, "Antonio Salvi," in *Grove Music Online,* ed. Deane Root, accessed June 10, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

[71] Irène Mamczarz has noted subtle similarities, but also significant differences among librettos featuring Don Chilone and Erighetta and Molière's *Le malade imaginaire:* "L'influence de Molière n'apparaît que de loin dans les scènes invoquant l'hypochondrie de Don Chilone, le personage n'est d'ailleurs qu'un pantin dépourvu des subtilités psychologiques de Molière. Les motifs molièresques de la satire contre les médecins-charlatans réapparaissent dans les scènes suggestives d'Erighetta déguisée en médecin et prononçant un longue tirade en latin sur le cas du malade." Irène Mamczarz, *Les intermèdes comiques italiens au XVIIIe siècle en France et en Italie* (Paris: CNRS, 1972), 172.

[72] "You'll see / That the pleasure of carnival / Is a pleasure that has no equal." *Erighetta e Don Chilone* (Florence: Da Anton-Maria Albizzini, 1718), 4.

intarlate."[73] Don Chilone is a figure who exiles himself from the group—just as Bartoli noted in his description of melancholy. His supposed illness prohibits him from taking part in a community ritual. Nevertheless, Erighetta is convinced that he will ultimately join in and the merriment will proceed. She exclaims: "Questo è Don Chilone / Presto presto si metta / al volto La Moretta."[74] She feels confident that shortly he too will put on a mask and share in the celebration. There is a certain irony in this line. In these early drammi giocosi and intermezzi the character of the imaginary invalid becomes fixed in certain recognizable behaviors. Given the consistency in the character's representation, the hypochondriac is already a type of metaphorical mask; here, ironically, Don Chilone is refusing to wear one.

After overhearing him list his many medical complaints, she emerges from a hiding place to be greeted by a very adoring partner. Immediately, Don Chilone refers to her as "mio bene," which implies that her presence somehow soothes him.[75] She shares burdens similar to those of Cleone's daughter and ward in Villifranchi's piece—both felt oppressed by Cleone's strong influence over their lives. Similarly, Erighetta's central lament is that Don Chilone has interfered with her liberty: "Io non voglio far pace, / Se non mi promettete / Di darmi libertà, e d'esser buono."[76] Don Chilone's "illness" allows him to control the young woman. As with Cleone, Chilone is associated with the notion of authority. She wants freedom. Luckily for her, Erighetta knows how to manipulate her partner, and is fully aware of how much he depends upon her:

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[73] "I would like to dance too, / But this is not an activity / Suited to someone who has worm-eaten bones." *Erighetta e Don Chilone*, 5.

[74] "Here is Don Chilone / Soon, soon, he will put on / The mask of La Moretta." *Erighetta e Don Chilone*, 6.

[75] Don Chilone here calls Erighetta "my good," but the phrase also implies my good health, or perhaps my happiness. *Erighetta e Don Chilone*, 6.

[76] "I don't want to make up, / If you will not promise me / My freedom and to be good." *Erighetta e Don Chilone*, 6.

DON. Se tu buona,
Ed io buonissimo;
Se tu dolce,
Ed io dolcissimo
Per te, cara,
Ognor farò.[77]

Knowing his complete devotion to her, Erighetta makes a series of demands which she believes will restore her liberty. These include visits from her *cicisbei*, with whom she exchanges messages.[78] Don Chilone, who readily agrees to all of this, also offers to leave the home altogether at the arrival of her *cisibeo*: "Occhi chiusi, e capo basso, / Della Casa escirò fuora."[79] With these new house rules established, "peace" returns and the festivities recommence. Although Erighetta may be happy with the results of this agreement, and for now the relationship appears to be saved, Don Chilone's hypochondria has not disappeared. He may be distracted by the festivities, a temporary remedy, but the author leaves no impression that he has overcome his imaginary illness.

There are several points of contact between Villifranchi's dramma giocoso and this particular intermezzo, which suggests that certain theatrical norms were circulating for works that featured a hypochondriac. They include the following: that the hypochondriac is not only an imaginary invalid that interferes with the other characters' freedom, but also is easily manipulated by those around him. He is powerful in some respects in that he can employ his illness to exert his authority over the affairs of his house; however, he also exhibits weaknesses

[77] "You are good, / And I, very good, / You are sweet, / And I, very sweet, / For you, love, / I will do anything." *Erighetta e Don Chilone,* 6.

[78] For more information on the practice of *cicisbeismo*, see Roberto Bizzocchi, *A Lady's Man: The Cicisbei, Private Morals and National Identity in Italy*, trans. Noor Giovanni Mazhar (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 35-58. In the broadest sense, Cicisbei functioned as "escorts" to an aristocratic woman.

[79] "Eyes closed, head down, / I will leave the house." *Erighetta e Don Chilone,* 7.

that arise from his supposed illness. Don Chilone's hypochondria interferes with his ability to interpret his wife's motives and to make rational choices.

Scenes and character qualities analogous to those described here are reprised in a later revival of this duo. They return in an anonymous intermezzo from 1732 entitled *L'ammalato immaginario.*[80] The story that unfolds precedes the action of the 1718 piece in which the duo is already an established couple. It recounts the moments leading up to the marriage of the two figures and explains why two very different individuals chose to unite in matrimony. There are three acts to the intermezzo and the story is much more extensive than the preceding one. In the first act, Erighetta and Don Chilone both present their problems: the former recounts to the audience her need for a husband and the latter explains his failure to find a cure for his many ailments. In the second act, a solution is presented that will supposedly help both parties. Dressed as a doctor, Erighetta recommends to Don Chilone that he find a wife to cure his malady. He agrees and eventually asks her to marry him. In the final act Erighetta and Don Chilone argue, as neither of them has found the remedy of marriage satisfactory.[81]

Like her predecessor Limbella, Erighetta finds herself in the position of being a widow: "Vedovella afflitta, e sola, / Ch'io passeggio in veste nera, / Ora mai vicino è l'anno."[82] Bemoaning her situation she explains the implications of her state: "Lo stato vedovile / Ci reca in

[80] *L'ammalato immaginario* (Firenze: 1732). This 1732 intermezzo might be a version of an original 1707 piece. According to Markstrom, it was most likely written or adapted from Salvi's original libretto. See Markstrom, "Operas," 185-186. The frontispiece states that it was performed by Ristorini and Ungarelli.

[81] In these intermezzi, the terms hypochondria and melancholy are used interchangeably. Erighetta will refer to Don Chilone as having "ipocondria" as well as "melancholia," both of which, in this case, fall under the category of an illness that is "imaginary." *L'ammalato immaginario,* 3; and *Erighetta e Don Chilone*, 6.

[82] "Suffering widow and alone, / I have walked in this black dress / For almost a year now." *L'ammalato immaginario,* 2.

vero troppa suggezzione; / Chi vuol tornare in libertà, conviene / Si rimariti al primo, che ne viene."[83] Erighetta here equates widowhood with constraint and marriage with liberty. As a result she recognizes the need for a quick solution which she finds in Don Chilone. She justifies her choice in the following manner: "Egli con l'opinione, / D'esser sempre ammalato e spesso in letto, / Della casa, e del tetto / Il maneggio, e 'l governo a me darìa. / La sua ipocondria / Sarebbe la mia pace."[84] Before Don Chilone even appears on stage, the diagnosis of his illness is revealed—he *believes* himself to be sick. It is exactly this delusion that offers Erighetta her freedom. Since her prospective husband would be too busy worrying about his health, she would be able to manage the household. This is reminiscent of Limbella's reasoning when she proclaims her desire to command Cleone's house. In order to enact her plan, Erighetta must convince Don Chilone that he should marry her. This feat proves relatively easy since, much like Cleone, Don Chilone is easily duped by the dissimulations of others.

Erighetta's plan to entrap Don Chilone is two-fold: first she will gain his favor by sympathetically confirming his imaginary illness. After listening to a list of Don Chilone's many ailments, she exclaims "Poverino! Io mi sento / Movere a tenerezza, e compassione."[85] That this pleases Don Chilone is consistent with the theatrical tradition that holds that hypochondriacs seek affirmation of the reality of their malady: "Questo vostro gentil compatimento / Mi reca

[83] "The state of being a widow / Brings awe, / It is worthwhile for she who wishes to have her freedom back / That she re-marry the first one that comes along." *L'ammalato immaginario,* 2.

[84] "He who holds the opinion / That he is always sick and often in bed, / Of the house and of the roof / The management and the rule [of the house] he will give me. / His hypochondria / would be my peace." *L'ammalato immaginario,* 2.

[85] "Poor man! I feel moved / To tenderness and compassion." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 3.

almen qualche consolazione."[86] From this initial encounter on, Don Chilone suggests repeatedly that Erighetta in fact ameliorates his symptoms.[87] This association grows so strong that at one point he implies that she has a remedial effect on him: "La m'ha quasi risanato."[88] Erighetta will extend this connection when she enacts the second part of the plan. Probing his disposition towards matrimony she wonders why he has not yet taken a wife: "Fermo / Perché non prende moglie; / Un'uomo in sia state, o di verno, / Bisogna ha d'assistenza, e di governo."[89] He dismisses her suggestion by explaining that his doctor has advised him that his condition would worsen if he were to marry. The doctor's recommendations determine the form of her plan. In a manner reminiscent of Molière's Toinette, she disguises herself as a physician in order to convince Don Chilone that a wife would be beneficial to his health.

In contrast to his current doctor, "Messer Purgone," whose name is a reference to Molière's Doctor Purgon, she recommends her physician "Il Medico Guarisci,"—a name meant to elicit laughs, the comic irony of which the hypochondriac does not detect. In order to convince him of the doctor's prestige, Erighetta, disguised as the physician, will manipulate him with language, using both Latin and a long list of medical jargon that is intended to be equally as foreign to the layperson as it is to Don Chilone, "*vitium sit in sanguine" "morbo cognito."*[90] Her list of medical interventions and pharmaceuticals reveals a knowledge of medical terminology,

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[86] "Your sweet compassion / Brings me at least some consolation." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 4.

[87] "Non piangete / Ch'io pur nel veder voi / Sì pietosa, e carnale, / Mi scordo d'ogni male." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 4. "Sembro rinvigorito, / Col star vicino a questa giovinotta." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 5.

[88] "She has almost healed me." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 6.

[89] "I stop, / Why doesn't he get a wife? / A man in either summer, or winter, / Has a need for assistance, and guidance." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 4.

[90] *L'ammalato immaginario*, 7.

but also causes him in an aside to complain of its verbosity. Based on his own description of his ailments, Erighetta will correctly diagnose him with "morbici melanconici, / o parosismi isterici."[91] She defends her conclusion:

> Perciò, Signor, non dubiti,
> Ch'io scorgo da buon pratico,
> Che il suo male non ha origine,
> Ne da offesi visceri,
> Ma da un retento liquido,
> Che fatto nimis turgido,
> Conforme insegna Ipocrate,
> *Fit venenum in corpore*.[92]

At some points in the intermezzo she will refer to Don Chilone's illness as hypochondria and at other moments, and not only in this instance, as melancholy. In this case, she suggests that melancholy has a physical origin: liquid retention. Strangely, later, by contrast, in a flash of intense anger at Don Chilone, she will explicitly state that his illness is only in his mind: "Infermo d'opinione, e di cervello."[93] This ambiguity in the use of the terminology that designates the disease would seem to echo the nebulous usage of these terms elsewhere in the period. Whereas in Italian medical discourse the "imaginary invalid" was not interchangeable with the term "hypochondriac," here in the realm of theater, the two terms seem to be used indiscriminately. Don Chilone's malady is not meant to be seen as a "real" physical illness. This is an important point of departure for later comedies in which the term hypochondria will

[91] "Melancholic diseases and hysteric paroxysms." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 9.

[92] "Therefore, Sir, don't doubt, / That I see from good practice / That your malady does not originate, / From sick viscera / But from a retained liquid, / That made the nimis swollen / In compliance with Hippocrates' teaching, / and that becomes poison in the body." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 9.

[93] "Sick in his opinion and his mind." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 6.

eventually gravitate away from the notion of the "imaginary." Here it is still tied to the idea that the patient is either "imagining" a health problem or pretending to have one.

Despite the terminological uncertainty found in this intermezzo, Erighetta's solution is simple. She will suggest a most convenient cure—marriage, in particular, to an older widow: "Tra il più certo rimedio è 'l matrimonio."[94] Don Chilone is disposed to accept her suggestion, but he does have some concerns:

> Vo' provar questa ricetta,
> Col cercar di prender moglie;
> Ma se poi crescon mie doglie
> Qual rimedio vi sarà?
> E' la donna un *solutivo*,
> Che si prende con timore;
> Ma se poi ti dà dolore,
> Col pigliare un lavativo
> Il dolor non se ne và.[95]

In this excerpt, he worries that in fact his pains will increase if he takes a wife, after which there may be no further therapies left. He compares women to two rather uncomfortable medical treatments: a purgative and an enema, neither of which are pleasant, but both of which at the time were considered acceptable and were widely-practiced medical interventions.

When Erighetta returns as herself, Don Chilone recounts the recommendations of the doctor Guarisci. He uses medical metaphors to describe the role of the woman in his cure: "Ordina uno sciroppo, / Che non porta guadagno allo speziale."[96] However, he is very concerned

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[94] "Among the most certain remedies is marriage." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 9.

[95] "I want to try this prescription, / By looking to get a wife; / But what if my pains get worse, / what remedy will there be? / A wife is a solutive, / That one takes with fear; / But what if she then hurts you, / By taking a laxative, / The pain doesn't go away." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 10.

[96] "He orders a sirup / That doesn't earn the pharmacist money." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 11.

with the possibility that his melancholy could worsen by taking a wife. Erighetta reassures him, and ultimately in this scene he asks her to marry him. To convince her—he does not know that this is all part of her plan—he will offer her exactly what she desires in the beginning of the intermezzo: "Se moglie mia sarete, / Vi fo donna e madonna, e di mia casa, / Tutto il mangeggio, ed il governo avrete."[97] She accepts and a duet ensues in which Don Chilone and Erighetta applaud the prescription of marriage:

> Chi desía
> Di sanar l'ipocondría
> Prenda pur questa ricetta,
> E si metta
> A prender moglie.[98]

While Don Chilone believes himself to be sick, Erighetta does not, and her suggestion that hypochondria can be cured by taking a wife implies that imaginary illnesses can be overcome with a social cure. Rather than medicine, the best remedy might involve a lifestyle change. If hypochondria is a social vice, marriage acts as a social remedy. The hypochondriac, who is originally isolated, becomes integrated back into society through the social custom of marriage. Moreover, Don Chilone's original belief that Erighetta's companionship brings him some relief from his malady suggests that it is possible that the marriage will function as a cure. The solution that they have agreed upon supposedly will benefit them both, but shortly thereafter, they will discover how tenuous their agreement actually is. For the time being, their marriage is a kind of compromise between the depiction of hypochondria as a social vice and the delusions of the hypochondriac. Ultimately it proves to be a false cure.

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[97] "If you become my wife, / I will make you a lady and Madonna, and of my household, / You will have the management, and government of everything." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 12.

[98] "Whosoever desires / To cure hypochondria / Should take this remedy / And get himself a wife." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 12.

Both Erighetta and Don Chilone quickly find their arrangement unbearable. Marriage has not successfully remedied either their social or their medical problems. Instead, Don Chilone finds himself feeling closer to death, and Erighetta feels enslaved by her delusional husband: "Mi trovo condannata, / A servir d'assistente a un Lazzeretto."[99] Her lament has some important implications. It recalls the complaints of the young women in Villifranchi's piece, who found that their hypochondriac father and tutor had imprisoned them far from the rest of the world. It also returns to the notion of the exiled hypochondriac who is apart from the rest of society. Lazzeretti were originally hospitals of quarantine.[100] By complaining that she feels as if she is working in a Lazzeretto, Erighetta is suggesting that her husband is marginalized and her association with him, by extension, also isolates her. In the earlier intermezzo of Don Chilone and Erighetta—from 1718—the hypochondriac is also represented as excluded from society by way of the image of the Carnival, a cultural ritual that resembles the theater, because *he* chooses not to participate. Similarly, here, Don Chilone's imaginary illness causes him to self-isolate and segregate his wife from society. Of course, this lifestyle is not desirable for Erighetta. In fact, it is the opposite of what she intended. Her explicit motivations for marrying Don Chilone were to have more freedom and to have control over the household management:

ERI. Questo poco m'importa, a me sol basta
D'esser padrona, e si mantenga il patto
Fermato nel contratto.
DON. Come dire?
ERI. Disporre a mio talento

[99] "I find myself condemned, / To being a servant in a lazaretto." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 12.

[100] They were not just for lepers. For a history of lazzeretti in Italy, see Jane L. Stevens Crawshaws, *Plague Hospitals: Public Health for the City in Early Modern Venice* (London: Routledge, 2012), 19-26. See also Andrew Cliff and Mathew Smallman-Raynor, *Oxford Textbook of Infectious Disease Control: A Geographical Analysis from Medieval Quarantine to Global Eradication* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8-10.

Di vostra Casa.[101]

She is appalled that she cannot move in and out of the house as she pleases. As with the piece from 1718, the intermezzo ends on a note of uncertainty. Don Chilone believes that he is dying and Erighetta proclaims that his death could not come fast enough. Despite her attempts to dispel his illusions—she even tells him that he is insane in the closing lines of the intermezzo—Don Chilone remains certain of his impending death. His imagination prevails, and the prospect of matrimonial bliss is a question that goes unanswered. In the end her effort to use a theatrical device to cure the hypochondriac has failed.

The dramma giocoso and the intermezzi examined here establish certain theatrical conventions that persist in later comedies written by Goldoni. They include stock scenes and motifs that will be adapted in later pieces: the invalid checks his pulse; he lists his symptoms to the dismay and irritation of the other characters; and he is duped by disguised physicians, who take advantage of the patient's credulousness. Because of the repetitious nature of these works, the figure of the hypochondriac appears to be more of a "stock" figure than an individual. Moreover, perhaps in part due to the short nature of these pieces, the figures are psychologically undeveloped. All remain hypochondriacs at the end of their respective pieces. This shortcoming will be explored and expanded upon in some later works by Carlo Goldoni, where he elaborates etiologies for the malady that do not appear in the dramma giocoso and the intermezzi.

Hypochondria is unambiguously considered an "imaginary" illness in these early musical pieces. Moreover, in each work the hypochondriac is condemned as a pitiful and depraved figure rather than one deserving of compassion. As such, the figure of the invalid is

[101] "ERI. This doesn't really matter to me, for me it is enough / To be mistress and that one maintains the pact / Signed in the contract. / DON. What does that mean? / ERI. That I arrange your house according to my wishes." *L'ammalato immaginario*, 15.

represented as worthy of derision. His disease, rather than being physical in origin, is portrayed as a vice that impedes his ability to distinguish between the true and the false, reality and a theater-like artifice. Because hypochondria is characterized as an imaginary illness that is associated with epistemological uncertainty, the individual who suffers from it can be easily adapted to an exploration of theatrical illusion. If, as Bartoli has it, the patient is the spectator of his own, self-generated delusions, the theatrical representation of a hypochondriac becomes a way for a dramatist to insert a play within a play. The conventional figure of the hypochondriac becomes a tool with which the dramatist can integrate a reflection on the theatrical into his works. This has interesting implications for the evolution of Goldoni's comic theater later in the century, which makes use of the figure of the melancholic-hypochondriac in different ways. In a period of transition, before comedy faces reform and becomes, as Goldoni words it, a reflection of the book of the world—that is to say, of contemporary reality—Italian theater resides soundly in a space of traditional artifice, while at the same time it purports to convey social truths. It might be fair to say that while the hypochondriac evolves from a figure who is afflicted with an imaginary illness in the early works into an individual suffering from a genuine ailment in the later works of Goldoni, the theater evolves along analogous lines. Through Goldoni's reforms, the natural world will encroach upon the stereotypical artifice of theatrical conventions.

From a different perspective, the analogy inherited from Bartoli might well provide a justification for theatrical representations of the hypochondriac. If there is therapeutic value in representing the mechanisms of hypochondria to the patient, that representation might be most effective, and reach the broadest audience, if it appeared in the theater. The “epidemic” of hypochondriacs will not be cured until the theater becomes a place endowed with moral fortitude

and lessons for its audience that target the supposed "immorality" of the hypochondriac.[102] If hypochondria is simply a social vice, the comic theater is a traditional arena for "treating" society's ills. If Bartoli's model were to hold, hypochondriacs who see themselves ridiculed in the theater might be prone to mend their ways.

[102] On the supposed "epidemic" of hypochondria, see Pinel, "La follia dei vapori," 187-194. See also Agnus Gowland, "The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy," *Past & Present* 191 (May 2006): 99.

Chapter 2. The Disappearing Hypochondriac

II.1 Goldoni's First Hypochondriac: *L'ippocondriaco*

Shortly after the presentation of *L'ammalato immaginario* in Florence, Carlo Goldoni's intermezzo entitled *L'ippocondriaco* appeared on the Venetian stage in 1735. In this work, Goldoni subscribed to many of the conventions established in earlier musical depictions. Ranocchio, his first hypochondriac, shares a number of the predictable and recognizable qualities seen in the character's predecessors. Although these early hypochondriacs, including Goldoni's, did not wear masks, as performers did in the Commedia dell'Arte, the fixed plots and behaviors of these individuals made them easily identifiable for the audience. [1] They were examples of the disease, rather than individuals who suffered from it, and as such, became near-allegories of the ailment. In fact, much as in the works of French playwright Molière whom he admired, the title of Goldoni's intermezzo represented the vice depicted and the character of said vice, the hypochondriac.[2] Ranocchio similarly evoked derision for his anti-social tendencies. Moreover, perhaps due to the nature of the genre itself—a short comedic interlude—the representation of the pathology of the disease lacked the complexity and nuance later present in Goldoni's fully articulated examples of hypochondria. Nevertheless, this intermezzo is pivotal for understanding

[1] Pierre Louis Ducharte has identified the numerous recurring characters of the Commedia dell'Arte, many of whom wore a mask. He speculates as to why the characters wore masks: "People in general prefer the well-known actor in the type of *role* he has played a thousand times to a new face and personality to which they must grow accustomed. The mask, then, is one of the best and simplest means of giving an illusion of permanency to a favorite character." Pierre Louis Ducharte, *The Italian Comedy: The Improvisation, Scenarios, Lives, Attributes, Portraits, and Masks of the Illustrious Characters of the Commedia dell'Arte* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), 41.

[2] Franco Fido analyzed the titles of Carlo Goldoni's works and concluded that "la linea maestra della titolografia comica del Settecento è quella, segnata da Molière e Regnard, del vizio eponimo, con titoli che sono modelli di moralismo classico, centrati sul difetto dominante del protagonista." Franco Fido, *Le inquietudini di Goldoni* (Genova: Cosa & Nolan, 1995), 15. He includes a number of Carlo Goldoni's comedies in the list which follow the French playwrights' example, but he does not include the intermezzo *L'ippocondriaco*, which appears to be consistent with Fido's explanation of how titles were chosen in the eighteenth century. Interestingly, none of Carlo Goldoni's subsequent plays are named "the melancholic," nor are any called "the hypochondriac" despite both figures appearing in a number of works. This might be evidence that hypochondria and melancholy were no longer viewed as "vices," but rather maladies.

Goldoni's integration of the figure into his works since, as Ted Emory has illustrated, during the period of 1730-1735 in Goldoni's career, during which he was "closely connected" to the musical tradition, the playwright gleaned "a great deal of comic material" which would later be expanded in his more elaborate full-length comedies.[3] Ranocchio and the intermezzo therefore represent both a possible pathway for the hypochondriac into the genre of comedy, and a baseline with which all later Goldonian representations of such patients should be contrasted.

Reminiscent of Don Chilone, Ranocchio continuously irritates his wife with his endless medical consultations. He often laments of his symptoms, and most grievously puts restrictions upon her which impinge on her free movement in and out of the house. In response to this unbearable situation, clever Melinda dresses up as a chemist and attempts to poison her husband with arsenic. The truth is discovered and both sing in unison their desire to divorce. In the last part of the intermezzo Melinda and Ranocchio both express their regrets concerning their separation, and Melinda, dressed as a marriage matchmaker, once again wins the heart of her husband.[4]

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[3] Emery, *Goldoni*, 13.

[4] Ranocchio's name means frog. This is of interest because in later works the characters who are "pieno di rane" or full of frogs suffer from hypochondria. His name therefore already suggests the disease. The origin of the association between "frogs" and melancholy deserves more attention. Under the heading symptoms of *Windy Hypochondriacal Melancholy*, Burton relates several stories in which a patient believed that rather than simply having gas, they had frogs in their stomachs. He recounts: "One, by reason of those ascending vapors and gripings rumbling beneath, will not be perswaded but that he hath a serpent in his guts, a viper, another frogs. *Trallianus* relates a story of a woman, that imagined she had swallowed an eele or a serpent; and *Felix Platerus, observant. lib.* 1. hath a most memorable example of a countrey man of his, that by chance falling into a pit where frogs and frogs-spawn was, and a little of that water swallowed, began to suspect that hee had likewise swallowed frogs spawne, and with that conceipt and feare his phantasie wrought so farre, that he verily thought he had young live frogs in his belly." Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, eds. Thomas Faulkner, Nicolas Kiessling, and Rhonda Blair (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 1:412. In the *Encyclopédie* under "Mélancholie" there is therapy suggested for those who believe that they have animals in their stomachs: "Ainsi lorsqu'un malade croira avoir renfermé quelque animal vivant dans le corps, il faut faire semblant de l'en retirer; si c'est dans le ventre, on peut par un purgative qui secoue un peu vivement produire cet effet, en jettant adroitement cet animal dans le basin, sans que le malade s'en apperçoive; c'est ainsi que certains charlatans par des tours de souplesse semblables abusent de la crédulité du peuple & passent pour habiles à faire sortir des viperes ou autres animaux du corps." Denis Diderot and Jean le

Ranocchio shares many of the same behaviors as his predecessors. First and foremost he is an imaginary invalid. This is announced by his wife in the opening aria of the piece and is later confirmed by a number of lines in which he complains of various ailments. Melinda describes the strange behaviors of her husband as the intermezzo begins:

> Crepa, schiatta, in malora,
> Prego il ciel che da vero
> Ti venga tutto il mal ch'hai nel pensiero.
> Si può sentir di peggio!
> Sia maledetto il punto
> Ch'io presi per marito un uom sì strano.
> È grasso come un porco,
> Ei mangia a più non posso
> E crede aver cento malanni addosso. [5]

Much like the description of Cleone's vices at the beginning of Villifranchi's dramma giocoso, Melinda couples Ranocchio's hypochondria with another vice concerning the appetites, that of gluttony. In later episodes of the intermezzo, Melinda will repeat her complaint that her husband over-indulges in food. Because she links his hypochondria and gluttony together, she implies that hypochondria is not a physical malady, but a vice. Ranocchio will also associate the two: "Voi non sapete / Della mia infermitade gli strani effetti: / Questa mattina è tanto il mio tormento / Che mi mangio un cappone in un momento."[6] He tries to justify one vice with the other.

Rond d'Alembert, eds., "Mélancholie," in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2016 edition), http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/.

[5] "Die, die, in hell, / I pray to the heavens that it bring to you / All the woes that you have in your head. / You could feel worse! / Cursed that fact / That I took a husband that is so strange. / He is as fat as a pig, / And he eats immoderately / And he believes that he has so many ailments." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 103.

[6] "You do not know / All the strange effects of my malady: / This morning my distress is such / That I could eat a capon in one bite." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 105.

More worrisome than either of his vices is Ranocchio's difficulty in distinguishing between falsity and reality. In fact, when Ranocchio confronts reality, he readily dismisses it, if it comes into conflict with his own interpretations. Although no physician appears onstage, Ranocchio references one doctor with whom he had consulted and who had accurately diagnosed the state of his health:

> Quello che mi spiace,
> È che il medico mio di me si ride.
> Dice ch'io non ho febbre, e pur mi sento
> Sempre il polso alterato.
> Dice che ho buona ciera, ed io mi vedo
> Tutti i dì nello specchio
> Che vengo secco, smunto, giallo e vecchio.[7]

Ranocchio cannot accept reality when it comes into conflict with what he believes to be true. He clings to the illusion that he wishes to perpetuate. Similar to his predecessors on the Italian stage, he shows his unwillingness to accept any position contrary to what he perceives. When meeting with his wife, who is disguised as a physician, Ranocchio similarly insists that he is ill:

> Da questo viso pallido,
> Dagli occhi lagrimevoli,
> Da questo sputo torbido,
> Dal respirar difficile,
> Della mia infermità siete certissimo.[8]

He in effect offers his own diagnosis to the doctor and, in doing so, he also establishes that any suggestion that he might be in good health would not be tolerated. Ranocchio is one of many

[7] "That which I regret, / Is that my doctor laughed at me. / He says that I don't have a fever, even though I always feel / That my pulse is off. / He says that I have a good complexion, but every day / In the mirror I see / That I appear dry, gaunt, yellow and old." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 105-106. The image of the hypochondriac obsessing over his pulse appears repeatedly in works that feature the figure. In fact, in the theater it is one of the telltale signs that the individual is a hypochondriac.

[8] "From this pallid face, / From these teary eyes, / From this cloudy spit, / From this difficulty breathing, / You will be sure of my malady." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 105-106.

hypochondriacs who will insist on their own self-diagnoses. In previous pieces concerning hypochondria, such stubbornness only resulted in ridicule and derision, but for Ranocchio, his inability to distinguish between reality and falsity puts his life at risk.[9]

There is some irony in Ranocchio's predicament. He falsely believes that he is close to death multiple times during the piece, and when he actually thinks that he is approaching a cure for his hypochondria, he almost dies. This is in part because he cannot recognize the dissimulations of others, in particular those of his own wife. Melinda wears many masks during the intermezzo. The first time that she visits her husband in disguise, she appears as a "chimico" who comes to treat his supposed illness. When Ranocchio asks about her therapeutic method, she responds that she is an empiric who bases medical decisions on experience. Perhaps most importantly, Melinda knows that her husband is easily fooled by the superficial. To be perceived as an authority on medicine, all Melinda must do is use language as her disguise. She expounds on her qualifications as a "chimico" to her unknowing husband:

> Fondato il mio sapere ho nella practica
> Perché *rerum magistra est experientia*.
> Di chimica e spargirica,
> Di fisica e botanica,
> Ne so quanto ne basta; benché dicesi
> *Ars lunga, vita brevis, et caetera*.[10]

[9] While Ranocchio's well-being is at risk because his wife wants to poison him, the scene might have other implications. During the eighteenth century, several Italian physicians voiced concern that medicine was actually becoming a dangerous practice. This is found in Zeviani's treatise in which he gives examples of two patients that actually achieved good health by "leaving medicine." See Zeviani, *Del flato*, 177. A similar concern is voiced by Farra: "Ipocondriaci resi miserabili per la poco prudenza, e l'indiscrezione dei medicasti che senza fondamenti, divisando di voler reprimere i malori, con medicamenti bestiali e spropositar, levano le forze agli ammalati, mettono in confusione i fermenti[…]." Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 52. Since hypochondriacs oftentimes sought medical treatment, they were also prey to unqualified and dangerous physicians. Goldoni here does not have a "true" physician attempt to treat Ranocchio, but by having him be almost poisoned by "medical" treatment, he may be pointing to the discourse of the time surrounding the safety of medicine in general—in particular in the treatment of such maladies.

This strategy works, as he seems charmed by her linguistic prowess: "Mi piace il vostro spirito, / Già mi fido di voi."[11] To this Melinda responds under her breath: "Sei nella trappola."[12] He has fallen for her ruse. However, at a certain point he begins to doubt her medical advice, perhaps because of the speed at which Melinda attempts to force him to drink the poison. His resistance frustrates her and eventually Melinda blurts out that in fact the medicine is arsenic. Despite this important revelation, Ranocchio still does not recognize that the individual before him is his wife. She has to tell him explicitly: "Sì, nauseata / Dalla vostra pazzia, vi preparai / Medicina opportuna ai vostri guai."[13] To which Ranocchio responds: "Oh donne infide! Oh simulato affetto!"[14]

Much like Don Chilone's partner, Erighetta, and Villifranchi's widow, Limbella, who wishes to become Cleone's wife, Melinda shares a penchant for duplicity. This is evident not only in her behavior, but also in the structure of her aria. In her husband's presence she will pronounce her love for him, and in his absence, she will openly admit her hatred. Her skill at oscillating between a loving and loathing disposition is obvious in her early aria. When her husband implores her to continue to love him and take pity on his illness, she sings: "V'amo (v'aborro), / Dolce marito. / Vorrei vedervi / (Morto) guarito. / Vi bramo sanato / (vi bramo

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[10] "I founded my knowledge on practice / Because experience is the teacher of everything. / Of chemistry, and spagyric, / Of physics and botany / I know enough to serve me; Although he said / *Ars lunga, vita brevis, et caetera*." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 107.

[11] "I like your wit, / I already have confidence in you." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 107.

[12] "You are already in my trap." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 107.

[13] "Yes, nauseated / From your craziness, I prepared you / A medicine suitable for your problems." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 109.

[14] "Oh unfaithful woman! / Oh simulated affection!" Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 109.

crepato) / Con tutto il mio cor. / S'io dar vi potessi, / Diletto consorte, / La vita (la morte), / Avrei men dolor."[15] Every word that Melinda expresses is paired with its opposite—every expression of love matched with hatred. Even though Melinda's first disguise ends in divorce, she is not dissuaded from using a similar method again. As she explains in the opening of *Parte Seconda*, she has no qualms about continuing her ruse:

> Se non sapessi amarlo,
> Vorrei fingerlo almeno. Non è difficile
> Il finger a noi donne. Eccolo; intanto
> Mi ritiro: chi sa? Due lacrimette
> Formano al cuor dell'uomo un grand'incanto.[16]

Ranocchio is but a means to financial and social stability, and she intends to exploit his weaknesses. The second part of the intermezzo follows a similar structure to the first, insomuch as Melinda once again fools her now ex-husband into believing that she is a marriage counselor and that he should once again marry Melinda. He falls for both of her dissimulations—her false love as well as her mask of a professional. Although the intermezzo ends in reconciliation, Ranocchio steadfastly remains an imaginary invalid, susceptible to the dissimulations of others and his own delusions. Melinda continues to wear the mask of a loving wife, whose sinister inclinations have not yet been quelled. The fate of Ranocchio remains precarious and the illusions that are so dangerous never disappear.

After his 1735 intermezzo, Goldoni's representation of hypochondria and melancholy becomes much more complex. Now the social context in which the individual suffers from these

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[15] "I love you (I hate you) / Sweet husband. / I would like to see you (dead) cured. / I long for you to be / Healed (dead) / With all my heart. / If I could give you, / Delightful spouse, / Life (death) / I would be less pained." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 105.

[16] "If I weren't capable of loving him, / I would like to fake it at least. / Pretending is not difficult / For us women. Here he is; meanwhile / I will retreat: who knows? Two small tears / Form in the heart of a man great charm." Goldoni, *L'ippocondriaco*, 110.

ailments becomes of the utmost importance. During the first step in this shift, Goldoni's attention to the term hypochondria fades into the background, giving way to the term melancholy. This preference is evident in the frequency of his use of the word. A survey of his twenty-seven comedies written before 1750 reveals that the term melancholy is mentioned at least once in twenty of the works. The term hypochondria, however, only appears in one play, *La Pamela fanciulla*. While none of these comedies focuses completely on the experience of melancholy—the ailment almost always plays a secondary role to the main action—it appears to be a pervasive figure in this period. Nevertheless, by 1750 and thereafter the term hypochondria will return with a fair amount of frequency, but by then it is much changed.

This early period of Goldoni's career might best be characterized as one of "sorting out" the theatrical value of the different terms. It is a phase in which Goldoni takes no firm position vis à vis the "disparate" definitions that Radden has identified in later periods:

> Until the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the term *melancholy* appears to cover several quite different things—at the very least: fleeting moods, mental disorders ranging from severe to very mild, normal reactions, and long-term character traits. The texts on melancholy written before the end of the nineteenth century seem to indicate that, for the most part of its history, what today seems to be distinct and incompatible senses of melancholy coexisted.[17]

While this might be disconcerting for modern readers who seek a coherent historical definition of the term, Goldoni writes in a period during which the nature of these maladies is up for debate. [18] For Goldoni it was perhaps more natural or more realistic to allow for the co-existence of varying representations of melancholy and hypochondria, which at times in his early works seem

[17] Radden, *Nature of Melancholy*, 4.

[18] Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 274. For an overview of the sometimes nebulous border between these terms, see Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 126. See also Starobinski, *Treatment of Melancholy*.

at odds with one another. If that is the case, the question arises as to why in his early intermezzo Goldoni subscribes to a singular, theatrically predicated view of hypochondria, while in later works the once stock character of the hypochondriac, whose fixed behaviors in many ways resemble a mask of the Commedia dell'Arte, was split into a diverse group of individuals suffering from hypochondria and melancholy. As shall be seen, in the early comedies of Goldoni a "plurality" of hypochondriacs and melancholics emerges.[19]

II.2 A British Invasion: *La vedova scaltra* and *La Pamela fanciulla*

The comedies that will be discussed in relation to melancholy span the years from 1748-1750. During this phase of his life Goldoni collaborated with Medebach and his troupe at the Teatro Sant'Angelo in Venice. This was a particularly fertile period for the playwright in terms of the number of works that he produced. In one season (1750-1751), he even challenged himself to write sixteen original comedies and ultimately succeeded. While some of the works from this period have received significant attention, others have been overlooked. Such is the case with Goldoni's *La vedova scaltra* (1748). In this piece, the discourse surrounding melancholy becomes more complex than that seen in the tradition of the intermezzi. Goldoni adds a new dimension to the disease by associating it with the theme of national cultures. It is no longer simply the representation of an individual afflicted with a vice or with black bile, but the depiction of a malady that has a place of origin that determines the nature of the ailment. Four

[19] Clark Lawlor expands on the notion of a "plurality of melancholies" first posited by John Sena: "John F. Sena wisely points out that we need to think of a 'plurality of melancholies.' In a classical system of the humours, in which one of the four humors would predispose a person towards a certain personality and linked humoral type, a 'natural melancholy' would result from the predominance of the melancholy humour; an 'unnatural melancholy' might arise from excess melancholic humours being burned by heating processes such as overexcitement of the passions, poor diet, or a fever […]. Because of the variety of mixture of the four humours within the human body was potentially infinite, each individual's constitution varied in subtle or indeed not-so-subtle ways. Each person's melancholy was in a sense unique to them: it was not a single disease entity like a bacterium or a virus in the way we now understand it." Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 27.

suitors, from four different nations—England, France, Italy, and Spain—compete for the affection of Rosaura, a shrewd widow who knows how to test their loyalties and identify a promising husband. Each of these potential lovers represents, in the most stereotypical fashion, their countries or nations. As such, their behavior, mannerisms, and even their speech are meant to identify not only themselves as individuals, but also their homeland. In the end, it is perhaps unsurprising that Rosaura ultimately chooses to marry the Italian—the most superior and loyal of her suitors. While not overtly allegorical, the foreigners that seek Rosaura's affection do resemble invaders, potentially transferring their undesirable tendencies and habits to the peninsula. One of these problematic mannerisms implicates melancholy.

To render the issue even more complicated in Goldoni's work, melancholy presents itself dissimilarly in different nations. This implies not only that a person's nation of origin could suffice to pre-dispose an individual to a specific type of melancholy, but that melancholy might exist in diverse, discernible forms. There are two "national" melancholies discussed in this work—the British and the French kinds—which are presented as distinct and are embodied in the respective figures of Milord and Monsieur. At no point do the Italian and Spanish figures show signs of such a disposition, although they are not free from other immoderate passions. Of the British and French melancholics in the piece, there is one that is clearly more knowledgeable on the subject than the other—Milord. In fact, he proclaims the French figure to be suffering from melancholy. As Milord explains: "Voi altri francesi avete questa malinconia in capo, che non vi sia altro mondo che Parigi. Io sono un buon inglese, ma di Londra non parlo mai."[20] Milord makes a distinction between himself and not only Monsieur, but also the French population as a

[20] "You French have this melancholy in your heads that there is no other world than Paris. I am a good Englishman, but I never talk about London." Carlo Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, 333.

whole. While the French long for their homeland or idealize it—which causes them to become melancholic—he as a British man, even though he loves his country, does not. Although not explicitly stated, it appears that Goldoni may be referring here to a type of melancholy known to the period as "nostalgia" which, according to Starobinski, was embodied in the figure of the "malcontent traveler" who was "cured simply by returning to one's native land."[21] Goldoni implies here that this was a specifically French malady. Humorously, Monsieur does not understand the nuances of his own ailment and will later give advice reminiscent of Milord's to another individual suffering from unrequited love: "Fate un viaggio a Parigi e vi sanerete di questa malinconia."[22] While this cure will in fact not aid his acquaintance, it will most likely cure the Monsieur's woes, as he ultimately will return home after his rejection by Rosaura.

In ironic contrast to his French counterpart, Milord's melancholy appears not to be caused by distance from his homeland, but rather *because* of his homeland—Britain. He is presented from the beginning as being overly terse and reserved, which is taken as symptomatic of melancholia. In his initial exchange with Rosaura, in which he insinuates that he wishes to pursue her affections, he responds to her inquiries with almost exclusively one-word answers:

ROS. Come avete riposato bene il resto della notte?
MIL. Poco.
ROS. Vi piacque il festino di iersera?
MIL. Molto.
ROS. Vi erano delle belle donne?
MIL. Sì, belle.[23]

[21] Starobinski, *Treatment of Melancholy*, 63.

[22] "Take a trip to Paris and you will be healed from this melancholy." Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, 407.

[23] "ROS. Did you relax well the rest of the night? / MIL. Little. / ROS. Did you like the festivities last night? / MIL. A lot. / ROS. Were there beautiful women? / MIL. Yes, beautiful." Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, 341.

Rosaura comments under her breath that he is laconic. As such, Milord is depicted as anti-social. This might arise from his melancholy or even his nationality, but in context this behavior remains ambiguous as to its cause.[24] Nevertheless, the trait will be seen in later melancholic and hypochondria-afflicted individuals in Goldoni. Hypochondriacs certainly were seen to have anti-social qualities, such as self-isolation.[25] Melancholy manifests itself in Milord's reticence. His silent nature elicits both admiration and confusion in the Italian suitor. In fact, the seriousness of Milord's countenance causes the Italian to be uncertain about the meaning of his rival's facial expression:

> CON. [...] Siete mutolo? Non parlate? Che temperamento è il vostro? Da questa serietà non capisco se siate allegro o malinconico.
> MIL. Questo è quello che non capirete mai.
> CON. Lode al cielo, che avete parlato. Approvo molto il vostro costume; questa credo possa dirsi la più fine politica; ma noi altri Italiani non abbiamo l'abilità di praticarla. Parliamo troppo.[26]

The Conte notes that he cannot tell if Milord is happy or melancholic. Moreover, Milord is unwilling to clarify what his seriousness means. While there is clearly a political subtext in this conversation—the Italian admires in the Brit a trait that might well give the British nation an advantage in diplomacy—it also reveals an important problem concerning melancholy: it is hard

[24] Massimo Riva suggests that Goldoni associates the figure of the malcontent with antisocial behavior: "Il *malcontento* rappresenta sempre nel teatro goldoniano un *carattere* asociale, vicendevolmente per un eccesso di «sensibilità» (era il caso dell'aristocratico della *Pamela*) o per selvatica rozzezza di costumi. E viene così a raffigurare il *negativo* di un ideale, quello dell'*uomo di garbo*, che riassume tutte le qualità e i pregi di un illuminato ceto medio, ai quali va aggiungendovene dei propri, mentre va parallelamente liberandosi dai tratti manierati e irrigiditi dell'uomo di mondo aristocratico." Riva, *Saturno*, 117. In this play what Riva suggests holds true. Milord seems to be both a malcontent and an antisocial individual.

[25] See Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 55-64.

[26] "CON. Are you mute? Do you not speak? Is this your temperament? From your seriousness I cannot understand if you are happy or melancholic. / MIL. This is that which you will never understand. / CON. Praise God that you have spoken. I approve of your custom; this I believe can be called a more refined politics; but we Italians do not have the ability to practice it. We speak too much." Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, 375-376.

to perceive and diagnose.[27] The incongruous experience of both happiness and sadness in hypochondriac patients will reappear in later works of Carlo Goldoni. This exchange reaffirms what Grinnell has called the problem of "interpretation" in melancholy.[28] Because of its various symptoms, it is difficult to identify. The Conte cannot "interpret" Milord's emotions. Much like the sufferers of hypochondria in the early intermezzi, who cannot distinguish between a real malady and a false malady, here, in an analogous way, the temperament of an individual who is melancholic offers a similar problem of interpretation. By contrast, however, the interpretive difficulties are shifted away from the patient to the observer. In the intermezzi, patients could not identify their ailments, but they were clear to those around them, including the audience. "Shape shifting" is now both a symptom of the disease and an impediment to diagnosis. Moreover, it

[27] The "shape shifting" nature of hypochondria and melancholy made it difficult to diagnose. Sabine Arnaud explains that "treatises frequently echoed Syndeham's assertion that it was impossible to list all the symptoms. Worse still, there were not exclusive or constant symptoms, and no symptoms whose presence would rule out the possibility of a hysteric or vaporous affection." Sabine Arnaud, *On Hysteria: The Invention of a Medical Category between 1670 and 1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 52. In addition "physicians in the eighteenth century agreed in asserting that hysteric and vaporous affections 'disguised' themselves. Any symptom could be suspected of miming hysteric and vaporous illnesses rather than signaling the pathology with which they had traditionally been associated." Arnaud, 52. Jackson discusses the frequent use of the image of Proteus in poetry dedicated to hypochondria. He cites Richard Blackmore, a British poet of the 17th century, who associated hypochondria with this figure. As the poet explains, it can "assume the Shape and figure, and the part of man and others of different dominations." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 289. This suggests that in the collective imagination, hypochondria was associated metaphorically with change or instability.

[28] Grinnell suggests that hypochondria manifested itself differently in different individuals: "It is difficult to declare with confidence what hypochondria is because the disorder is invested in the imagination, volition and compulsion, ways of fashioning the self, and even the body's susceptibility to unpredictable fluctuations and degradations that mark health as, at best, a temporary state. Thus, it rarely manifests itself as an utterly singular experience. Hypochondria is always materialized in specific bodies and, unlike a relatively stable virus, this malady changes and responds to each unique host." George C. Grinnell, *The Age of Hypochondria: Interpreting Romantic Health and Illness* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 4. Furthermore, "amid the historical moment of decentered assemblage of medicalized practices which sought to produce specifically healthy individuals—over and against those diseased bodies whose pathology was indexed not just poor health but forms of deviance that threatened normal and proper well-being—hypochondria is not just one disorder among many. Hypochondria is a disorder in the very ability to distinguish between illness and health. It is, in other words, a malady of interpretation." Grinnell, 7. Although Grinnell here is speaking of the period of Romantic Medicine, it appears that the problem of "interpretation" is already anticipated in the eighteenth century.

adds a secretive dimension to the malady. It asks the question of what the patient might be concealing.

In addition to his ambiguous countenance, Milord also proves to be difficult company. When he is interrupted during his tête à tête with Rosaura, he exclaims: "Io faceva morire di malinconia questa bella signora," suggesting that he recognizes his own behavior as melancholic.[29] Moreover, he also implies that his simple presence can spread his gloomy mood as though the malady was contagious, and as though he had carried from Britain to Italy the "English Malady."[30] The fact that Milord comes from Britain and appears to be spreading his melancholy to others warrants a discussion of the popular term in this context. As Graf has explained, this kind of melancholy differed greatly from the pathological melancholy debated by physicians during the period. Moreover, the condition, which originated in Britain, spread across Europe oftentimes through those who traveled the peninsula during the height of the Grand Tour.[31] The representation of Milord evokes the travelers whose visits to Italy purportedly allowed the introduction of melancholy to the peninsula.

Rosaura rejects Milord's advances and thwarts a possible invasion of the English Malady—at least temporarily. With Milord, Goldoni does not stop at representing melancholy in

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[29] "I was making this woman die from melancholy." Goldoni, *La vedova scaltra*, 343.

[30] Arturo Graf has discussed at length the introduction of British melancholy onto the Italian peninsula. He contends that it was of a different nature than the medical melancholy also being discussed at the time: "E torniamo alla melanconia, la quale è inteso che non è che la malinconia dei medici, depressiva, o attonita, o delirante, o anche furente, ma è una melanconia sensitiva, tenera, poetica, che può avere alcuni caratteri di quella, e accostarsi alla malattia e può conciliarsi con una salute discreta, e magari eccellente." Arturo Graf, *L'anglomania e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Torino: E. Loescher, 1911), 334. He also suggests that this type of melancholy pervaded all of Europe: "Dall'Inghilterra si diffuse questa melanconia per l'Europa, ammaliando gli spiriti e trasmutando il gusto: fatto da non potersi osservare senza qualche meraviglia, perchè il secolo XVIII si tenne, e conseguentemente fu, uno dei secoli più felici della storia." Graf, 334.

[31] Starobinski, *Treatment of Melancholy*, 69.

nationalist terms. He suggests, in addition, that the origin of his melancholy might also be related to his social class. Milord belongs to the upper echelons of British society, most likely of the nobility, which one can discern in his title as well as in the extravagant wealth that he displays when he offers Rosaura an expensive ring as a gift. This association is echoed later on in the eighteenth century when a malady that was once "fashionable" in the upper classes becomes popular for all.[32] Most importantly here, Goldoni's introduction of Milord into the representation of melancholy marks a significant shift from his earliest melancholic hypochondriac. No longer does the image of melancholy remain constrained to a quasi-allegorical representation or mask that denotes a vice. Now melancholy may be suffered by an individual, the type of which differs depending on national stereotypes. This shift, however slight, reveals a new complexity, in which the disease begins to have different, discernible causes and attributes.

English melancholy is developed further in Goldoni's later *La Pamela fanciulla* (1750), which was inspired by Richardson's novel *Pamela or Virtue Rewarded*. This comedy marks another important shift in the playwright's works. It is the first in which he did not make use of any masks, nor of any dialects, which was a theatrical necessity perhaps since the comedy requires a large expressive range in the faces of the characters. The comedy portrays the internal struggle between reason and passion that both Lord Bonfil and his servant, Pamela, must endure as they navigate their amorous feelings for one another. Despite their desires, their different

[32] Clark Lawlor suggests that one of the "core problems" of studying melancholy in the eighteenth century is the "paradox of fashionable disease," or rather, "how a positive interpretation of melancholy might live alongside the negative ones that seem to be a more logical response to the woes of the mind." Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 25. Lawlor suggests that these particular illnesses, "as defined in their particular social worlds, served to construct a cultural narrative that fulfilled certain social functions and, in particular, created cultural capital or primary and secondary 'gain'; for individuals and groups within those social worlds." Lawlor, 33. He suggests that the "chronic" nature of the disease, "favour(ed) the development of thought and writing" and that "melancholy detached one from society just enough to liberate the imagination, and from social constraints that might be inconvenient to the creative process," both of which contributed to it becoming fashionable. See Lawlor, 33-39.

social classes prohibit their marriage. The central figures in the work, along with the lovers, are the passions themselves. As Goldoni maintains:

> Questa è una Commedia, in cui le passioni sono con tanta forza e tanta delicatezza trattate, quanto in una Tragedia richiederebbesi.[33]

It is a comedy insomuch as it ends well, but the profound sadness and agitation of the individuals within the work are still palpable. The comedy in fact begins with Pamela crying and sighing, a common occurrence throughout the work.[34] She is both devastated by the loss of her mistress, as well as distressed by the inappropriate feelings that her lady's son, Lord Bonfil, appears to have for her. He, in turn, is equally distraught. Unable to control his passionate feelings for Pamela, he oscillates between romantic gestures and proclamations, and attempts at times to distance himself from his beloved. What ensues is as much a struggle for love as a fight between reason and passion.

In the eighteenth century, a debate concerning the passions made its way into discourses on the body and disease.[35] The definition of the passions in the *Encyclopédie* implies that there was a supposed, direct relationship between the passions and the body:

> L'inclination ou certaine disposition de l'ame, nait de l'opinion où nous sommes qu'un grand bien ou un grand mal est renfermé dans un objet qui par cela même excite la *passion*. Quand donc cette inclination est mise en jeu (& elle y est mise par tout ce qui est pour nous plaisir ou peine), aussi - tôt l'ame, comme frappée immédiatement par le bien ou par le mal, ne modérant point l'opinion où elle est que c'est pour elle une chose très - importante, la croit par - là même digne de toute son attention; elle se tourne

[33] "This is a comedy in which the passions are treated with such force and such delicacy as a tragedy would demand." Carlo Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 332.

[34] Tears are a common occurrence in *Pamela* not just for the female protagonist. Anne Vincent-Buffault has noted that in the eighteenth century, tears were commonplace in the theater: "Audiences cried a lot, and took pleasure in being seen to cry." Anne Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears*, trans. Teresa Bridgeman (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 54.

[35] Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 68-91.

> entierement de son côté, elle s'y fixe, elle y attache tous ses sens, & dirige toute ses facultés à la considérer; oubliant dans cette contemplation, dans ce desir ou dans cette crainte presque tous les autres objets: alors elle est dans le cas d'un homme accablé d'une maladie aiguë; il n'a pas la liberté de penser à autre chose qu'à ce qui a du rapport à son mal. C'est encore ainsi que les *passions* sont les maladies de l'ame.[36]

Moreover, because of the relationship between the passions and the soul, the description that the *Encylopédie* presents implies that immoderate passions rose to the status of a "disease of the soul." In Goldoni's work, Lord Bonfil suffers greatly from his passions, and as a result acts immorally at times towards the young woman Pamela: he sequesters her alone in a room.[37] Although Goldoni does not speak of any physical effects on Lord Bonfil's body, he does imply that the passions can lead to immoral behavior. Moreover, they are depicted as opposed to reason.

Whereas Bonfil is associated with passion, his beloved Pamela aligns herself with reason and honor. In response to Bonfil's impropriety, she reproaches him:

> Voi non mi darete ad intendere d'aver alcuna autorità sopra l'onor mio; poiché la ragione m'insegna esser questo un tesoro indipendente da chi che sia.[38]

She will be governed and guided by reason, even if it pains her, while her pursuer will oftentimes be defeated by his immoderate passions. That is not to say that Pamela does not feel the effects of the denial of her internal desires. As in a number of Goldoni's later plays, when love appears unobtainable, the result is melancholy. Pamela suffers in part from the same sentiment—sighing

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[36] Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds., "Les Passions," in *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2016 Edition), http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu/ .

[37] See Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla,* 343-345.

[38] "You will not lead me to believe that you have any authority over my honor, because reason teaches me that this treasure is independent from whom one is born." Honor does not come from the family to which one is born, but rather from virtue. Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla,* 345.

and crying multiple times within the work—although she oftentimes attributes it to her grief over her mistress's death.[39]

Lord Bonfil is her equal in misery and is equally prone to tears. Bonfil seems to suffer just as much from melancholy as he does from inappropriate passion. He clearly has one single fixation throughout the comedy: Pamela. Such fixations represent one of the tell-tale signs of melancholy in the scientific discourse of the period.[40] In conjunction with his all-consuming obsession with the young lady, Bonfil is also accused of losing his reason, which is a quality or *virtù* that he supposedly had prior to the onset of this malady. Lord Artur attempts to rationalize with him to no avail, each time emphasizing the importance of this quality: "Vi par poco per un uomo di merito, di virtù, il sacrificio del cuore e della sua ragione?"[41] After failing to receive the response he is hoping for, Artur tries again: "Qual argomento avete voi per sostenere che il vostro amore sia ragionevole?"[42] To underline his concern that (with regard to Pamela), Bonfil suffers from a lack of reason, he reminds him: "Esser dovere dell'uomo onesto preferire il decoro all'amore, sottomettere il senso all'impero della ragione."[43] Bonfil becomes unable to reason on the subject of Pamela to the point that he is overwhelmed by his passions. His frustrated love for

[39] Pamela states "Ma queste lagrime ch'io spargo, sono tutte per la mia defunta padrona? Io mi vorrei lusingare di sì, ma il cuore tristarello mi suggerisce di no." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 338-339.

[40] One example of this can be found in the famous medical treatise *Aphorisms: Concerning the Knowledge and Cure of Diseases*, in which Hermann Boerhaave suggests, "physicians call the disease a melancholy, in which the patient is delirious long, and obstinately, without a fever, and always intent upon one and the same thought." Herman Boerhaave, *Aphorisms: Concerning the Knowledge and Cure of Diseases*, trans. Jean Delacoste (London: Printed for B. Crowse and W. Inney, 1715), 291.

[41] "Does it seem insignificant for a man of merit, of virtue, the sacrifice of the heart and his reason?" Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 365.

[42] "What argument do you have to support that your love is reasonable?" Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 365.

[43] "It is the duty of an honest man to prefer decorum above love, and to submit the senses to the empire of reason." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 366.

Pamela, which must be denied for most of the comedy, causes him to suffer from melancholy. When his friend suggests that he come to the countryside to distance and distract himself from his feelings towards Pamela, Bonfil responds: "Il mio malinconico umore non può che spiacere nell'allegria della villa."[44] Bonfil's melancholy remains omnipresent in most of the comedy. While the inner turmoil of this character is not examined in detail, his behavior throughout the piece does suggest continuous inner torment. Multiple times the direction given to Bonfil reads "pensieroso," meaning "thoughtful" or "pensive."[45] The actor is directed to project through his appearance a psychological state. Such a state implies an internal life, and in the case of Bonfil, this was undoubtedly a challenging one to project. At other times, the actor who portrays Bonfil is instructed to pause before speaking further or before he begins to speak at all—a hesitation which suggests an individual consumed by internal thoughts. In a short monologue in which Bonfil expresses the torment of his unconsummated love, he pauses towards the end and the text reads: "(*resta un poco sospeso, e poi dice).*"[46] Shortly thereafter, Bonfil again hesitates, and the figure is instructed to act similarly to how he did earlier in the scene: "(*Sta un pezzo senza rispondere, poi dice).*"[47] These small details about Bonfil's behavior reveal the depth of his internal struggle in a manner unseen in the early theatrical hypochondriacs, who merely irritate those around them and reflect private thoughts only through short monologues that list their symptoms. While the struggle in the intermezzi is enacted through visible and audible signs, here

[44] "My melancholic humor will do nothing but bring displeasure to the happiness of the villa." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 368.

[45] See Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 346: "Resta ancora sospeso, poi si pone a passeggiare senza dir nulla; indi siede pensieroso." See also Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 347: "Siede pensoso, e si appoggia al tavolino."

[46] "*Remains suspended, and then says*." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 350.

[47] "*He waits a while without responding, and then says*." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 350.

the difficulties of melancholy retreat into a silent, inner psyche as though the difficulty of accessing a slippery "unknown" disease had made its way into the theatrical representation of the ailment. Bonfil is a man deep in thought and emotional turmoil. By extension theatrical melancholy is no longer a superficial state to deride. Just like Durer's *Melancholia*, or even Rodin's much later work *The Thinker*, Bonfil is immersed in his melancholic thoughts, and the disease, while recognized as a malady, is represented paradoxically as concealed.[48]

While Bonfil suffers from melancholy, it is also implied, as in the previous example, that the British appear to endure melancholy frequently. In a reversal of the situation of *La vedova scaltra,* in which foreigners invade Italy, the British Cavalier Ernold returns to England after his grand tour of Europe, which included Italy, full of new pretensions imported from abroad. Emboldened by what he has seen on his trip, he insufferably recounts to his compatriots his distaste for British culture and his admiration for foreign practices and traditions.[49] When Lord Bonfil ridicules him for his verbosity in recounting his foreign exploits, Ernold responds:

> Pregiudizio rimarcabile è l'ostentazione che alcuni fanno di una serietà rigorosa. L'uomo deve essere sociabile, ameno. Il mondo è fatto per chi sa conoscerlo, per chi sa prevalersi de' suoi onesti piaceri. Che cosa volete fare di questa vostra malinconia? Se vi trovate in conversazione, dite dieci parole in un'ora; se andate a passeggiare, per lo più vi compiacete d'essere soli; se fate all'amore, volete essere intesi senza parlare.[50]

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[48] See Klibansky, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 286-289.

[49] Riva asserts that due to his travels, Ernold appears cured of the "English Malady": "Il cavaliere Ernold è colui che, a differenza del suo conterraneo Bonfil, si è liberato da quella forma di «pregiudizio» che è il «male insulare» della sua terra, l'*English Malady* spiegata qui con un certo isolamento di vedute." Riva, *Saturno*, 119. While perhaps "cured" of his malady, Ernold ought to be viewed with some caution. His behavior at other points in the play is condemnable. Moreover, as Bonfil points out, mere travel does not guarantee that one's emotional, or intellectual education is superior: "Voi avete viaggiato prima del tempo. Era necessario che ai vostri viaggi faceste precedere i migliori studi. L'istoria, la cronologia, il disegno, le matematiche, la buona filosofia, sono le scienze più necessarie ad un viaggiatore. Cavaliere, se voi le aveste studiate prima di uscir di Londra, non avreste fermato il vostro spirito nei trattamenti di Vienna, nella galenteria di Parigi, nell'Arlecchino d'Italia." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 359.

[50] "It's remarkable prejudice the ostentation that some make of rigorous seriousness. Men should be sociable, at least. The world is made for those who know how to experience it, for those who know how to take pleasure from it. What do you want to do with your melancholy? If you find yourself in conversation, you say ten words in an hour, if

The image of the British melancholic returns here. The association of the anti-social behaviors of the British and their melancholy is reminiscent of Milord in Goldoni's *La vedova scaltra*. Moreover, the notion that in silence a lover can communicate with his beloved recalls the scene in which Milord had attempted to woo Rosaura with one-word responses, which ultimately did not translate across cultural lines. However, there is a new quality to the British melancholy that is introduced in this scene—that of solitude. Ernold complains that the British prefer to be alone; in fact, they take pleasure in it.[51] Unlike the rest of the comedy, which focuses on what might be called the love melancholy suffered by Bonfil, here it appears that Ernold is returning to the notion of the British nation as suffering from melancholy, as though the cultural climate of the island predisposed the British to the disease. Most importantly, Ernold extends this notion further to suggest that not only are the British melancholic, but that they seek out theater that encourages such a disposition.[52] As Ernold complains:

> Se andate al teatro, ove si fanno le opere musicali, vi andate per piangere, e vi alletta solo il canto patetico, che dà solletico all'ipocondria. Le commedie inglesi sono critiche, instruttive, ripiene di bei caratteri e di buoni sali, ma non fanno ridere. In Italia almeno si godono allegre e spiritose commedie. Oh se vedeste che bella maschera è l'Arlecchino![53]

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you go for a walk, more or less you prefer to be alone; if you make love, you want to be understood without speaking." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 357.

[51] See above, section I.1 in which Bartoli discusses the pleasure that melancholics feel from their pain. On pleasure and solitude, see Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 46-67.

[52] Vincent-Buffault has described a similar theatrical phenomenon in France during the period in question. See Vincent-Buffault, *History of Tears*, 54-77.

[53] "If you go to the theater, where they do musical opera, you go in order to cry, and you are drawn by the pathetic song that inches you towards hypochondria. The English comedies are critical, instructive, full of beautiful characteristics and good drama, but they don't make you laugh. In Italy at least one enjoys happy and humorous comedies. Oh if only you would see that beautiful mask of Harlequin." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla*, 357-358.

The young British character contrasts the English theatre with Italian theater. The former can induce hypochondria in the individuals who attend it. This suggests that the individuals who witness the British national theater are emotionally and physically moved by the experience, and also that theater could have nefarious effects related to the disease in question. If British theater might cause hypochondria or melancholy, is it possible that theater could also be therapeutic? Ernold suggests this indirectly. His greatest complaint against his compatriots' theater is that the audience does not laugh. Instead he praises the Italian Commedia dell'Arte, which achieves that effect. Ernold, of course, is not a positive figure in the work. Nor, as we know, did Carlo Goldoni endorse the Commedia dell'Arte. It is the type of theater that the Venetian playwright was in fact trying to reform. Thus in many ways Ernold's views diverge from those of Goldoni in his speech on the merits of different nations' theater. As if to emphasize this fact, Ernold does not receive an unequivocally positive response from his listeners, some of whom are respected figures in the comedy, such as Artur. Many leave the scene after tiring of his critique of his own country's traditions. Bonfil, however, remains and chooses to respond to Ernold's provocative words:

> Cavaliere, se ciò vi fa ridere, non so che pensare di voi. Non mi darete ad intendere, che in Italia gli uomini dotti, gli uomini di spirito, ridano di simili schioccherie. Il riso è proprio dell'uomo, ma tutti gli uomini non ridono per la stessa cagione.[54]

Here Bonfil questions Ernold's assertion that the Italian theater evokes laughter in the entire audience. In particular, he challenges the notion that learned and respectable individuals would find such works entertaining. In doing so, Bonfil also implies that there are different types of comedy that appeal to different types of individuals of different merits and intellectual prowess.

[54] "Cavalier, if that makes you laugh, I don't know what to think about you. You will not lead me to believe that in Italy educated men, witty men, laugh at such foolishness. Laughing belongs to the nature of men, but not all men laugh for the same reason." Goldoni, *La Pamela fanciulla,* 358.

He disparages those who would find such a comedy worthy of laughter. Ernold and Bonfil present two opposing views of the same two types of theater—the British National theater and the Italian Commedia dell'Arte.

In presenting this disagreement, Goldoni poses important questions about the nature of the genre to which he has devoted himself: comedy.[55] The conversation is perhaps a dramatization of the playwright's actual meditations on the Italian theatrical tradition. Rather than accepting the terms of the debate in which there are only two options, Goldoni perhaps rejects both of the theatrical forms represented by Bonfil and Ernold and imagines something else. Goldoni, here, seems to be questioning comedy's role in society, a central concern germane to his own theatrical reforms. The crux of the debate is over what emotions comedy should evoke or induce: derision and laughter—as was seen in the early intermezzi already discussed—or more noble sensations and reactions in its viewers. The latter would perhaps allow theater to become a type of therapy for the ills that afflict society. Perhaps there could be a compromise between the two forms of comedy that Bonfil and Ernold describe, which would define the contours of a type of "melancholic comedy." Goldoni's work *Pamela* not only marks an important formal transition in the playwright's corpus—it is the first without masks—but it is also one in which the figure of the melancholic and the depiction of comedy itself acquires greater psychological complexity. Through this shift, a hybrid form of comedy begins to emerge on the Italian stage.[56]

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[55] Riva states: "Nella discussione sul riso e sul ridicolo tra questi compunti e «sensibili» gentiluomini inglesi sulla scena di una commedia italiana che, lungi dall'essere sciocco e scurrile, rassomiglia di più a quelle inglesi[…]. Goldoni si serve, come è noto, di un punto di vista eccentrico, forestiero, nell'intento di legittimare la sua bonifica del riso all'italiana: l'emarginazione delle maschere a vantaggio di «caratteri» i cui verosimili esemplari, oltre che nel Mondo, possono trovarsi addiritura tra le pagine dei *romanzi* inglesi." Riva, *Saturno*, 120.

[56] Riva, *Saturno*, 120.

II.3 Youthful Melancholy and Imposters: *Il padre di famiglia* and *L'erede fortunata*

Carlo Goldoni's works oftentimes focus on the domestic sphere and explore complex familial dynamics. In the case of his comedy, *Il padre di famiglia* (1750), he focuses on the figure of an overly indulgent mother, Beatrice, and her devious son, Florindo, who disrupt the family's domestic harmony. The step-mother, Beatrice, favors her own son over her stepson, Lelio. While there are many instances in which Beatrice over-indulges her son's whims and blatantly disregards the needs of her step-son, there are two moments in particular in which Beatrice's excessive devotion to maintaining Florindo's health demonstrates her intense fear of melancholy. While Beatrice may appear to be a mother interested in the health and happiness of her child, her devotion to her son is disproportionate and threatens the family harmony, which is a common theme in Goldoni's works. Her over-concern for her son's physical well-being is worthy of censure, which eventually materializes in the concluding scenes of the piece. The discussion of melancholy that is mobilized in this metaphorical setting offers an opportunity to speculate on Goldoni's criticism of the representation of melancholy in this time period. Beatrice does not understand the diversity of the malady and bases her own diagnosis on a stereotypical representation of the illness, rather than on a nuanced understanding of its intricacies. In a manner distinct from the previous examples, Goldoni underscores the complexity of melancholy by highlighting a character who fails to understand it. Beatrice repeats the overly simplified stereotypes concerning melancholy that are circulated by some of Goldoni's contemporaries.

In one of the initial scenes of the comedy, Beatrice worries about the physical consequences of what she perceives to be the immoderate academic studies of her son. Unbeknownst to her, her son has not been engaging in intellectual pursuits, but rather composing

poetic verses in order to seduce a young woman. Beatrice berates her son's tutor for what she believes could be a potentially dangerous practice:

> BEA. Via, via, basta così, non ti affaticar tanto, caro il mio Florindo: ti ammalerai, se starai tanto applicato. Signor maestro, ve l'ho detto, non voglio che s'ammazzi: il troppo studio fa impazzire. Levati, levati da quel tavolino.[57]

Based on Beatrice's statement, it can be assumed that this is not the first time that she has reprimanded her son's tutor for working her son too hard. It is perhaps not a surprise that later the tutor will use this knowledge of her fear of melancholy to his advantage. Beatrice lists the potential dangers that, by her account, too much study could cause her son: illness, madness, and even perhaps death. In her condemnation of her son's tutor neither hypochondria nor melancholy are mentioned explicitly; however, the cultural context in which Goldoni was writing this comedy allows us to infer the unnamed menace.

In the eighteenth century, a number of medical treatises and verse works were devoted to the notion that scholars were particularly prone to certain maladies, including hypochondria and melancholy.[58] One of the intellectuals who favored this position was Ramazzini, an Italian physician famous for his work *De Morbis Artificum,* which discusses common illnesses in relation to the professions in which they were most frequently experienced. Among the professions discussed is that of being learned. Ramazzini believed that excessive "mental work" uses up the "spirituous part of the blood" and as a consequence "leaves the foul earthy part," which ultimately causes melancholy and other ailments.[59] That being said, Ramazzini was

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[57] "Come on, that's enough, don't overexert yourself, my dear Florindo, you will get sick if you keep applying yourself. Mr. Maestro, I told you that I don't want him to kill himself. Studying too hard makes people crazy. Get up, get up from that table." Carlo Goldoni, *Il padre di famiglia*, 807.

[58] See Vila, *Suffering Scholars*.

[59] Ramazzini, *Diseases*, 381.

careful to make a distinction between *true* scholars and those who most likely would not be at risk for melancholy. Only certain types of scholars suffered from the disease: "Study is not so injurious to those who are satisfied with knowing only what others have discovered or written."[60] While no evidence suggests that Goldoni had read Ramazzini, nor that he was familiar with this particular passage, he does seem to echo a similar concern. Both Goldoni and Ramazzini seem to agree that there needs to be a distinction made between true scholars and those who are not truly learned. Only those who are true intellectuals can be harmed by immoderate study. In Goldoni's piece, Beatrice expresses concern over a lack of moderation in scholarly study to her indolent son. He is an individual who could not possibly suffer from melancholy or hypochondria thus defined, as he is not a real scholar. Moreover, Florindo was not even studying when his mother came upon him. That Beatrice, a figure who is criticized in the piece, would worry about a young man falling prey to melancholy questions the validity of such a concern and perhaps mocks the notion that study in general causes melancholy, particularly in the case of slothful youth. Instead, the dangers of intense intellectual exercise are reserved for the truly exceptional, a scenario that will be seen in Goldoni's later works dedicated to Molière, *Il Molière* (1751) and Tasso, *Torquato Tasso* (1755).

The tutor Ottavio appears to have identified Beatrice's unwarranted fear of melancholy and, like the widows of the intermezzi, uses this knowledge to manipulate her to his own advantage. This configuration marks a change from the stock characters of the intermezzi. Here it is a fear of melancholy that makes the character vulnerable to illusion and manipulation. After leading his student astray in a casino, Ottavio offers a solution to Florindo's desperation at

[60] Ramazzini, *Diseases*, 385.

having lost so much money and his father's sword: "Fingetevi malinconico."[61] Florindo agrees to the plan furnished by his devious tutor. The young men will use this "feigned" melancholy as a means of fooling Beatrice, who is already pre-disposed to worry about the condition. Since Florindo pretends to be melancholic, his symptoms, which are recognizable for Beatrice, reveal what would be the "stereotypical" traits of the disease.

> BEA. Oimè! Che cosa è accaduto? Ti è successa qualche disgrazia?
> FLO. Ah! niente, niente. *(sospira)*
> BEA. Come! Niente? Ti mi vuoi nascondere la verità. Caro signor maestro, ditemi voi per carità, che cosa ha il mio povero figlio?[62]

With his sighs, Florindo begins his performance of melancholy. Through the figure of Florindo, Goldoni creates a meta-commentary on the traditional stereotypical depictions of the disease. The external trait of sighing is enough to incite panic in Beatrice and is confirmation that their strategy is effective. In addition, Beatrice's willingness to believe Florindo's performance satirizes the superficial representation of the disease. In the moments in which Beatrice hesitates to indulge Florindo's requests, the young man responds with dramatic and threatening exclamations such as: "Mi voglio andar a gettare in un pozzo,"[63] and later, "io sarò mortificato, ed io mi ammalerò e morirò."[64] Both of the threats are successful in convincing Beatrice to help him, but they are also satirical in nature. As much as Florindo's comic performance of melancholy seems over the top, so is his mother's response to such a shallow representation of the disease.

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[61] "Pretend to be melancholic." Goldoni, *Il padre di famiglia*, 828.

[62] "BEA. Oh my! What happened? Did some calamity happen to you? / FLO. Oh, nothing, nothing. (*sigh*s). / BEA. How! Nothing? You want to hide the truth from me. Dear Mr.Maestro, tell me, please, what has happened to my poor son?" Goldoni, *Il padre di famiglia*, 828.

[63] "I want to go and throw myself in a well." Goldoni, *Il padre di famiglia,* 829.

[64] "I will be mortified, and I will get sick, and I will die." Goldoni, *Il padre di famiglia,* 830.

In this comedy, three new elements are added to Goldoni's discussion of melancholy, and by extension hypochondria. First, he satirizes the kind of over-simplification of melancholy that was found in the prior theatrical tradition. Beatrice is not a model figure in the play. Her behavior deserves condemnation and ultimately she receives it. As a fool easily duped by her son and his tutor, her susceptibility to their superficial depiction of melancholy critiques the vulnerability of those who might have a very rudimentary understanding of the disease. It brings into doubt whether these stereotypical characteristics are enough to diagnose the malady and whether or not melancholy always follows a strict pattern. Perhaps people are too quick to diagnose melancholy from limited signs or symptoms. Second, a new figure is introduced in relation to the hypochondriac or melancholic—that of the concerned parent. Beatrice will not be the only parent in Goldoni's works who, out of an exaggerated concern for their child's well-being, quickly falls for the signs of a feigned illness. Lastly, Goldoni adds a new ambiguity to the manifestation of hypochondria and melancholy. In the early intermezzi, the extent to which the individuals with hypochondria understood that their symptoms and ailments were illusions was unclear. Consequently, the way in which they used their hypochondria to impose their will on their relations remains difficult to judge as either willfully deceitful or unintentionally misleading. Here, Florindo consciously uses a "feigned" illness to manipulate his mother. While in the intermezzi there are charlatan doctors—imposters who pretend to practice medicine—here we have a charlatan patient. With the introduction of this character, the stage has become a much more complicated rhetorical space. If melancholy can be diagnosed through signs, then the supposed patient might be an imposter. The epistemological theme raised earlier returns in the form of the question of how one might "know" that a patient is indeed melancholic.[65]

[65] Goldoni himself had feigned hypochondria to gain access to a charlatan doctor. See Introduction, pp.21-24.

Not all youth in Carlo Goldoni's works suffer from disingenuous melancholy. One example of this is found in Goldoni's play *L'erede fortunata* (1750). While this comedy certainly highlights a specific type of melancholy—love melancholy—it also lends the discourse surrounding the etiology of disease greater complexity. The plot of *L'erede fortunata* in and of itself is not atypical of the theater. Due to Rosaura's father's will, she can only receive her inheritance if she marries Pancrazio even though she in fact loves his son Ottavio. Thus the suitor's father unknowingly finds himself competing with his progeny for a young woman's hand in marriage. The impending marriage causes a series of problems for the young lovers, including that of melancholy. The characters do not suffer from corporeal symptoms, but only mental anguish and distress. Despite this limitation, the danger of melancholy looms over the entire comedy. If it is not resolved, or in effect cured, there could be dire consequences for all the individuals involved.

At first it appears that the protagonists are suffering from love melancholy.[66] The notion had survived well into the early modern period and arguably still exists today. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* devotes an entire chapter to the causes and treatments of the malady, for which he identifies letting "[the lovers] have their desire" as the "best cure."[67] However, as Burton notes, "if they doe not marry, in this heroicall passion they furiously rage, are tormented and torn to

[66] The history of love melancholy extends back to the ancients. According to Jackson, the relationship between melancholy and love is ambiguous: "Sometimes apparently synonyms and sometimes clearly not, these different names have often been the source of confusion in themselves. But then what they referred to has also varied a great deal—from relatively unproblematic states of love to the sad, pining distress of unrequited love, to the agitated furor and derangement of an erotically aroused lover who finds no satisfaction, to the erotically insatiable conditions. At times some of these various conditions have been considered to be forms of melancholia or to be interwoven with melancholia in some way, but this has not been the case for all mental disturbances associated with love and has not always been the case for any particular type of such disturbances." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 352.

[67] Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 3:242.

peeces by their predominate affections."[68] Burton's explanation of love melancholy resembles the experience of the young lovers in *Pamela fanciulla*, and initially that of Rosaura and Ottavio. While Rosaura may simply suffer from stereotypical love-melancholy, Ottavio's melancholy is developed by Goldoni in more detail to explore multiple plausible causes for the disease. Rosaura's melancholy arises not from her own father's passing, but from her impending marriage with Ottavio's father, which forces her to conceal that she loves his son. When Ottavio urges her to keep their love hidden from his father—he feels that it is his duty to do so—she responds with a desperation that closely resembles the feigned melancholic proclamations of Florindo above: "Mi veggo in pericolo di dovervi perdere. Oh dolor, che mi uccide! Oh pena, che mi tormenta!"[69] Love consumes her and, as she suggests, is killing her. Even in the earliest intermezzi representations of hypochondria and melancholy, the threat of death appears in conversation, and usually takes the form of the hypochondriac fearing an imminent demise caused by his malady. Here, physical danger appears to be a real threat to the melancholic—the imagined menace of death of the intermezzi is replaced here with a real one, as though the imaginary disease of the intermezzi were now being taken seriously. These proclamations on the part of the female protagonist recall those of many sad lovers in the history of literature. By contrast Ottavio, through his interactions with his father, offers a much more complex presentation of melancholy.

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[68] Burton, 3:257.

[69] "I see that I am in danger of having to lose you. Oh pain, that kills me! Oh pain, that torments me!" Goldoni, *L'erede fortunata*, 981. It is of interest that Rosaura begins to cry. This might also be considered a comedy of tears insomuch as the threat of tragedy looms throughout and the emotions of the characters are openly depicted.

Ottavio's suffering originates in his obligations to his father, which supersede his personal desires. Despite Rosaura's encouragement to reveal their true feelings, Ottavio sacrifices his own well-being and happiness for his unknowing father. When the father enquires about Ottavio's lack of enthusiasm upon hearing news of his pending marriage to Rosaura, the young man responds despondently:

> OTT. Signor padre, voi mi amate più che non merito. Mi offrite più di quello che a me si conviene. Mi colmate di benefizi, lo conosco, l'intendo, vi sono grato, disponete di me a vostro piacere; ma un'interna melanconia mi tiene oppresso talmente che non posso mostrare quell'ilarità che da me pretendete.[70]

Ottavio speaks in a self-effacing manner, claiming that he deserves neither the love nor the advantages that his father has bestowed upon him. As much as his denied love for Rosaura weighs heavily on him, so too does his concealment of his true feelings from his father. Does his melancholy come from a sense of filial betrayal or his unfulfilled love? Either reason could lead him to describe his melancholy as "internal." The striking use of this adjective here seems to insist that melancholy, although it may have outward signs, is predominantly an inner experience for the individual suffering from it. This challenges the superficial depiction of melancholy seen elsewhere, and by extension, elements of hypochondria in the theatrical tradition. The true nature of these diseases is perhaps out of reach, unknown, and distinct from the signs that manifest themselves to the visible world.

While Pancrazio may be pursuing an inappropriate match, he does show deep concern for his son's well-being that is equal to if not more than that of Beatrice in *Il padre di famiglia.* He

[70] "Dear father, you love me more than I deserve. You offer more to me than I need. You lavish me with advantages, I know it, I understand it, and I am so grateful to you, for how accommodating you are to me, but an internal melancholy oppresses me so much that I can't show that cheerfulness that you ask of me." Goldoni, *L'erede fortunata*, 974.

too will find it difficult to ascertain what is real. In the case of his son, the ambiguities arise from his inability to judge the origins of his son's sadness. Here the origin of the ailment remains hidden. The father implores him:

> PAN. Ma da qual cosa procede mai questa malinconia? Qualche causa vi sarà. So che non sei di temperamento malinconico. Ti ho visto pel passato allegro e gioviale. […]perché da un momento all'altro ti sei così cambiato? [71]

Pancrazio describes Ottavio's normal temperament as happy and jovial. A violent or acute change has taken place in Ottavio's temperament. In contrast with the theatrical tradition, his melancholy is uncharacteristic. It arises from a hidden origin. The father cannot explain the sudden shift in his son, as he demonstrates by his question. While honest in his admission of his melancholy, his son will conceal its true causes by offering his father a plausible, alternative explanation:

> OTT. (Convien trovar un pretesto per acquietarlo.) (*da sé)* Vi dirò, signor padre, la morte del signor Petronio mi ha turbato talmente che non trovo riposo. Considero la brevità della vita, la necessità di morire, l'incertezza del nostro fine, e in un tal pensiere occupo tutto me stesso.[72]

Ottavio uses the death of Rosaura's father to explain his sudden change in character, which appears to be bordering on an existential crisis arising from a meditation upon the nature of life and death.

Pancrazio accepts his son's explanation as a justification for his melancholy that finds its origin in an exaggerated fear of the inevitable end of life. He replies:

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[71] "But from what origin comes this melancholy? There must be some cause. I know that you do not have a melancholic temperament. In the past I have seen you happy and jovial […] why from one moment to the next have you changed so much?" Goldoni, *L'erede fortunata*, 975.

[72] "(I must find a pretext to calm him down.) I will tell you, my dear father, the death of Mr. Petronio has so disturbed me that I can't find any relief. I consider the brevity of life, the necessity of dying, and the uncertainty of our end, and in that thought I occupy all of myself." Goldoni, *L'erede fortunata*, 975.

> PAN. Ah! Ottavio, ricordati che tutti gli estremi diventano viziosi. Pensare alla morte è bene; ma pensarvi in tal maniera è male. Chi ha sí gran timore della morte, fa conoscere che ama troppo la vita. Pensa a viver bene, se vuoi morir bene: lascia la malinconia, applica ai tuoi interessi, prenditi qualche onesto piacere; ma obbedisci tuo padre, e non ti lasciare vincere dalla passione.[73]

Although Pancrazio accepts a false explanation for his son's melancholy, his response reveals an important distinction that illuminates one of the central concerns of the early hypochondriacs.[74] Contemplating death should not necessarily lead to melancholy, nor should it be avoided. There is a proper way to consider death, and that is without exaggerated fear. It is not a coincidence that many of the early representations of hypochondriacs, in the intermezzi and drammi giocosi, had an exaggerated fear of impending death. Moreover, Pancrazio implies that such excesses can lead to melancholy, which is reminiscent of the early discussion of the passions in which they were called in the *Encyclopédie* "diseases of the soul."[75] In response to his son's woes, Pancrazio provides a list of moral remedies.[76] He suggests therapy through distraction and honest pleasures, both of which will also be represented as therapeutic in Goldoni's later works.

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[73] "Oh! Ottavio, remember that all extremes become vices. Thinking about death is good, but thinking about it in that way is bad. Those who have such a great fear of death make it known that they love life too much. Think of living well if you want to die well: leave melancholy behind and apply yourself to your interests, take up some honest pleasure; but obey your father, and don't let yourself be defeated by passion." Goldoni, *L'erede fortunata*, 975.

[74] The relationship between hypochondria, melancholy, and death is complicated. With some consistency, hypochondriacs in the early intermezzi feared a surprise death. Interestingly, some medical treatises in which hypochondria is treated as a physical ailment, echo similar concerns about the nefarious etiology of the disease. In a late seventeenth-century medical treatise Grassino Farra characterizes hypochondria as a "incognita morte," or rather, an illness that kills from within unbeknownst to the individual. Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 16. Rosalba Currò writes regarding the image of hypochondria: "È l'immagine demoniaca. L'ipocondria ha il volto della morte, a di una morte che non si svela dal principio, opera clandestinamente per potersi insinuare nella mente dell'uomo facendosi strada attraverso quei pensieri che tormentano l'animo e intorbidiscono l'intelletto. Ciò che la rende così temibile e da cui si deve stare in guardia è la sua ambiguità, ovvero la capacità di addentrarsi senza che l'uomo sia capace di opporle resistenza." Currò, "Aspetti," 111. In this particular case, the father and the son are implying that melancholy can be caused by a fear of death—not that death can be caused by melancholy.

[75] See above, page 91.

[76] They are moral in so much as they all are related to behavior and not pharmaceutical.

Unlike Beatrice in *Il padre di famiglia*, the father here has moved from a stereotypical understanding of the disease to a much more nuanced explanation. The stock character of the melancholic or hypochondriac of the early intermezzi appears to have vanished. In its place stands a new figure, or more precisely, new figures which offer a panoramic view of the temperament and the mood of melancholy. Alongside these changes in a specific character, Goldoni's comedy itself has evolved and the intended emotional reactions of the audience have evolved with it. Despite the great strides toward a more "natural" representation of the disease, Goldoni does not banish the stock character from the early works definitively. Instead, in his comedy *La finta ammalata* (1751), the old hypochondriacs seem to inform a new figure—hitherto unencountered—that of the female imaginary invalid.

II.4 The Performance of "Simulated" Illness: *La finta ammalata*

The term hypochondria returns to center stage in Carlo Goldoni's *La finta ammalata* (1751), which was performed for the first time in Venice during Carnival in that same year. This time the patient in question is not male but female. The protagonist Rosaura will be explored with a new psychological depth that differs from that of Ranocchio in *L'ippocondriaco* (1735). Moreover, the underlying nature of the malady will change. While the characters are more complex, the plot of the comedy is rather simple. As Goldoni admits in his preface, it was inspired by Moliere's comedy *L'amour médecin*.[77] A young woman named Rosaura appears to be feigning illness in order to persuade her father, Pantalone, to call Dottor Onesti to her bedside for frequent consultations. In his presence, she conveniently feels better, but in his absence her

[77] "Molier celeberrimo Autor Francese, nella picciola commedia sua, intitolata *l'Amour médecin*, ha toccato quell'argomento su cui la presente commedia mia è lavorata; se non che la sua Lucinda è per amore ammalata, e la mia Rosaura finge per amore di esserlo: quella ama un giovane, che per averla si finge medico, questa ama un medico, che senza saperlo l'ha innamorata." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 647.

malady worsens. Her indulgent father calls upon numerous and dubious medical professionals by the names of Buonatesta, Merlino, and Tarquinio, to aid his daughter with her ailments. These imposter physicians distress her even further, and in a humorous scene, in which the charlatans offer various nefarious treatments, Dottor Onesti, whose name not coincidentally means Dottor Honest, coaxes her to admit her concealed passion for him. With her malady successfully diagnosed, a logical treatment is identified: she shall marry Dottor Onesti. The doctor is thus both the cause and remedy for her "illness." Ultimately, Rosaura will prove to be much more complex than the numerous hypochondriacs and melancholics that preceded her in the comedic tradition.

The themes of perception and misperception return in Goldoni's female hypochondriac. This time the focus has been displaced away from the delusions of the patient towards the interpretive difficulties of those who surround her. The first hint of this change is evident in the fact that Rosaura's illness appears to be particularly difficult to diagnose, as an exchange between Pantalone and a potential doctor reveals:

> BUO. Servitor suo. Che male ha la sua figliuola? (*a Pantalone*)
> PAN. Non so gnanca mi. Un mal grande, che nissun lo cognosse.
> BUO. Nessun lo conosce? Oh povera medicina! Nessun lo conosce?
> PAN. De tanti miedeghi nissun gnancora l'ha cognossù.
> BUO. Lo conoscerò io. Signor Agapito: (*forte*) i medici non conoscono il male della figlia di questo signore; povera medicina![78]

Her mysterious malady perplexes many of the physicians, real and fraudulent that she encounters.[79] The true nature of her supposed "hypochondria," is that it is imaginary or

[78] "BUO. I am your servant. What malady does your daughter have? (*to Pantalone*) / PAN. I don't even know. It is a great malady that no one recognizes. / BUO. No one recognizes it? Poor medicine! No one recognizes it? / PAN. Of the many doctors no one has yet to recognize it. / BUO. I will recognize it. Sir Agapito: (*loudly*) the doctors don't recognize the malady of the daughter of this man; poor medicine!" Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 660.

feigned.[80] Riva maintains that Rosaura engages in what he calls a "dissimulated parody of hypochondria."[81] Rosaura is performing hypochondria, and with quite a bit of success, as an exchange between her father and a charlatan illustrates:

> BUO. Quali sono gli effetti di questo gran male che non si conosce?
> PAN. El ghe fa mille stravaganze. Ora la ride, ora la pianze, no la gh'ha appetito, la se destruze che la fa compassion.
> BUO. (È l'ipocondriaca!) *(da sé).*[82]

Buonatesta, the charlatan, then proceeds to list many of the symptoms of hypochondria that are traditionally associated with these comic figures.[83] Pantalone confirms that they are all present in his daughter's manifestation of the disease. In her performance, Rosaura exploits the

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[79] Medical treatises from the eighteenth century oftentimes speak of the difficulty in diagnosing hypochondria and melancholy. Part of this difficulty stems from the many symptoms that the illnesses can have. Giovanni Zeviani speaks at length on the challenges of managing such an illness: "La multiplicità di tanti sintomi, che formano il morbo ipocondriaco ha messo confusione ne' Medici, ed hanno disperato di trovare una cagione che possa esser madre di tanti figlioli." Zeviani, *Del flato*, 50. The diagnosis of hypochondria and melancholy was an arduous task for the physician owing to the many possible symptoms that could indicate the disease. Moreover, the illnesses of hypochondria and melancholy surpassed the limitations of language. When Zeviani describes the pain experienced by hypochondriacs he adds to the mysterious air of the disease. As he explains,"se si domandino gl'infermi quale sia il dolore che sentono, non sanno trovare un termine che si adatatta ad esprimerlo." Zeviani, 42. Thus the disease was associated not only with a difficulty to diagnose, but also a difficulty on the part of the patient in expressing the experience of his or her suffering. This is important, as shortly it will be shown that part of Rosaura's struggle is to openly express her true feelings for Dottor Onesti.

[80] To a certain extent, Rosaura is similar to the figure of Florindo from *Il padre di famiglia* who is also a dissimulating patient. First and foremost, they are young, and secondly they have parents who go to great lengths to accommodate their supposed illness. However, while both use illness for self-serving means, Rosaura's feigned malady is also more honest as will be explained shortly.

[81] Riva, *Saturno*, 123.

[82] "BUO. What are the effects of this great malady that nobody recognizes? / PAN. It makes her do many crazy things. All of sudden she is laughing, all of a sudden she is crying, she doesn't have an appetite, it destroys her which makes her worthy of compassion. / BUO. (She is a hypochondriac!) (*aside*)." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 660.

[83] Although it would seem unusual today for a doctor to make a prognosis without seeing the patient, in the eighteenth century this was a normal practice. Séverine Pilloud and Micheline Louis-Courvosier assert that "doctors did not always feel it was necessary to see patients, or to touch their bodies, diagnosis primarily being based on a narrative or a written account of symptoms." Séverine Pilloud and Micheline Louis-Courvosier, "The Intimate Experience of the Body in the Eighteenth Century: Between Interiority and Exteriority," *Medical History* 47, no. 4 (2003): 453. In the case of Buonatesta, he feels confident diagnosing the patient based on the oral account of Pantalone.

expectations of theatrical conventions that integrate the well-known stereotypes associated at the time with hypochondriacs. Rosaura is here not the only one participating in theatrics. In fact, other than her poor father, almost every character engages in some manner of fraud, of varying degrees, during the comedy. Out of this fraud emerges a meta-discourse on theater, one that has implications for both the evolving figure of the hypochondriac and for Goldoni's theater more broadly.

Following theatrical conventions, Rosaura's condition, although supposedly feigned, attracts a collection of charlatans hoping to take advantage of her father's concerns. This topos is also seen in early intermezzi and drammi giocosi, in which a hypochondriac falls prey to an individual "dressed" as a doctor. In *La finta ammalata,* the disguise is more elaborate. Rather than being simply costumed as a medical practitioner, the charlatans conceal their ignorance with other strategies. The pharmacist who benefits from Buonatesta's reliance on pharmaceutical cures, recommends his friend's services to Pantalone by observing upon Buonatesta's entrance into the shop: "All'aspetto solo non si ha da dire che è un uomo grande?"[84] Pantalone responds to this remark: "Certo l'è un omo de bella apparenza."[85] Buonatesta then enters the room with the following stage directions: "Con gravità saluta, senza parlare."[86] Buonatesta is performing the role of a respectable physician. Like his theatrical antecedents, he mobilizes misleading language to convince Pantalone of his qualifications. Although Buonatesta believes that Rosaura suffers from hypochondria, he will mask his diagnosis in Latinisms ("flatulenta affectio

[84] "Just from his appearance, can't one say that he is a great man?" Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 659.

[85] "Certainly he is a man with an impressive appearance." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 659.

[86] "With gravity wave, without speaking." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 660.

mirachialis"), a strategy that is seen in earlier works when charlatans engage with vulnerable hypochondriacs.[87]

While her father seems convinced of Buonatesta's qualifications, Rosaura has little patience for any practitioner other than Dottor Onesti. In fact, while her father finds the charlatans' suggestions compelling, Rosaura immediately sees through their performance sarcastically stating: "Sì, sì, ascoltiamo tre medici; acciò, se mi fanno morire, non si sappia a chi dar la colpa."[88] Her insightful cynicism is already a sign that she is not the stereotypical hypochondriac. As already mentioned, one of the qualities typically seen in theatrical patients is their inability to see beyond the illusions that plague them. Buonatesta and his gaggle of charlatans may be unconvincing to Rosaura, as well as dangerous, but there is one dissimulator to whom the young woman willingly listens—Dottor Onesti.[89] This creates a problem, as Goldoni explicitly states in a discussion of his work in his *Mémoires*. It illustrates the dangers of fraudulent practitioners:

> Je fais paroître dans ma piece trois médecins: l'un honnête et prudent, l'autre charlatan, le troisieme ignorant; ce sont les trois classes que l'on peut rencontrer dans la médecine; que Dieu nous garde des deux dernieres, mais la seconde est encore plus dangereuse.[90]

If Goldoni believes that fraudulent medicine is dangerous, then the question arises as to why he might represent Dottor Onesti as sharing the charlatans' penchant for dissimulation.

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[87] Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 662.

[88] "Yes, yes, let's listen to three doctors, that way if they kill me, we won't know which one to blame." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 681.

[89] Riva similarly notes: "Onesti razionalmente confida di poter convincere la malata del carattere illusorio dei suoi disturbi con un sotterfugio che, tuttavia, molto assomiglia a una vera e propria trovata da ciarlatano, mentre si pone come il mezzo di una ragionevole prassi, una volta conquistata la confidenza della paziente." Riva, *Saturno,* 124.

[90] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 287.

Dottor Onesti is meant to mark a contrast with the charlatans who attempt to treat Rosaura. He embodies the qualities that were esteemed in the talented physicians of the day. Goldoni emphasizes several of these in his preface to the comedy, in which he declares that model physicians ought to be "dotti, onesti, sinceri."[91] Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, they should be, "nemicissimi dell'impostura."[92] Dottor Onesti's name certainly suggests his trustworthiness. However, an analysis of his therapeutic methods reveals that he is as effective a dissimulator as his foil, Buonatesta. Dottor Onesti has known for a long time that Rosaura is a healthy young woman, who most likely suffers from love-sickness, a conviction which he states multiple times. However, he does not dismiss her illness off-hand and instead formulates a therapy. He describes his treatment plan as the following:

> Porterà o manderà una ricetta mia per la signora Rosaura sua figlia. Voi avete a fingere di dargli un medicamento, e gli avete a dare una boccia d'acqua del vostro pozzo.[93]

Our introduction to the supposedly "honest" doctor presents him ordering a fake remedy for his patient. A strange paradigm is thus created. The imposter doctors who offer their opinions on Rosaura's health will be portrayed as dishonest and self-promoting, whereas Dottor Onesti, who also uses dissimulation in his treatment of Rosaura, will be esteemed by both Goldoni and Pantalone. The question arises as to how to reconcile Dottor Onesti's deceitfulness with his supposed integrity.

Dottor Onesti defends his use of a "false" remedy in the following way: "Perché il male di quella giovane è ideale; crede aver male, e non è vero."[94] Since Rosaura suffers from an

[91] "Learned, honest, sincere." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 647.

[92] "The greatest enemies of deception." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 647.

[93] "He will bring or send my prescription for Miss Rosaura, his daughter. You have to pretend to give him a medicine, and you have to give him a carafe of water from the well." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 655.

imaginary malady rather than a physical illness, her treatment must be of the same nature. Nevertheless, that does not preclude the need for therapy. In fact, every intervention that he makes on behalf of Rosaura has a clear motivation:

> È un finto rimedio, per secondare l'immaginazione della ragazza. […] può essere che riesca a disingannarla e destruggere a poco a poco i suoi pregiudizi e le sue malinconie.[95]

According to Dottor Onesti, if Rosaura suffers from an imaginary illness, she ought to be treated with an imaginary remedy. The therapy reflects the malady back to the patient like a mirror. In Bartoli's, *L'effigie d'un malinconico rappresentata a lui stesso*, he asserts that the melancholic must witness his malady in a metaphorical mirror in order to be cured.[96] By seeing his true self, he is able to heal himself. It appears that here Onesti is employing a strangely similar strategy in which the doctor leads the patient to a self-revelation that cannot be effected by pharmaceutical means. Interestingly, in his description of his remedy, Onesti does not imply that he will cure her, but rather "undeceive her" and destroy her illusions. This will be a complicated and slow process. He will initially indulge her fantasies rather than brusquely revealing her distorted sense of reality. This is an approach that contrasts greatly with the early intermezzi in which the diagnosis of hypochondria was revealed to the patient brusquely and by another individual. Here Goldoni leans in the direction of leading a patient to have a self-revelation. The former curative strategy, adopted in the intermezzi, was consistently ineffective in treating the patient. Here a theatrical performance by the doctor would seem to have a therapeutic effect. Onesti will thus

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[94] "Because the malady of that young woman is imaginary; she believes that she is sick, but it is not true." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 655.

[95] "It is a pretend remedy, in order to indulge the imagination of the young woman […] it might be possible to successfully disillusion her and destroy little by little her illusions and her melancholies." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 656.

[96] See above, section I.1.

treat illusion with illusion and distorted reality with distorted reality. The remedy for the hypochondriac's delusions therefore involves a technique that resembles the theater insomuch as it too involves the use of a performance. Such an approach to curing the disease was not unknown to medical practitioners during the period.

According to Starobinski, this therapeutic strategy of "fraud" was commonly used during the eighteenth century when dealing with melancholic patients:

> An extreme form of the gentle method of treatment is pious fraud. In this, the physician tries to approach the melancholic by pretending to be a victim of the same delusion. He agrees with everything the patient says. Instead of being told he is wrong, the patient feels cherished.[…] He has someone he can confide in. Out of this collusion a conversation can begin: a bogus one it is true, for the physician is being dishonest. Still, its object is to engage the patient in an activity by the end of which he will be able to see for himself the destruction of the delusion which was at the heart of his madness.[97]

Although Dottor Onesti does not pretend to be suffering from the same illness as Rosaura, he does appear to be employing "pious fraud" with his patient. Just as Rosaura is performing hypochondria for an audience, so too is Dottor Onesti who engages in a performance that is consistent with Starobinski's formulations.[98] In the *Encyclopédie*, and in particular in the entry on melancholy, doctors were advised to indulge their patients' fantasies. Doctors were supposed to pretend to believe the patient's false symptoms and treat those complaints as if they were real.

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[97] Starobinski, *Treatment of Melancholy*, 56.

[98] Interestingly, at its most extreme, such techniques evolved into full-fledged performances, as Starobinski notes: "It is interesting to see how frequently the need to think up a 'device' leads the doctor to stage a complete theatrical production. To reach the patient in his mad world, and to strike the blow which will bring the delusion to its dénouement, the doctor sets up a scene and puts on a costume which will, he hopes, impress the patient as a true representation of the obsession. This make-believe is not just for fun: the sick man must be made able to feel that he is witnessing a real and important event. He is given an answer in his own language and is approached within his own terms of reference. To succeed, the illusion must be complete. For the sake of making effective contact with the madman, the physician must himself assume madness in the theatrical portrayal of it." Starobinski, 56. While Dottor Onesti does not pretend to be a "madman" to reveal the truth to Rosaura, he does put on a performance. Moreover, he will shortly find himself intricately caught up in Rosaura's theatrics.

This way the patient shall be cured of his delusion.[99] In a comic contradiction, Dottor Onesti emphasizes the importance of trust between a doctor and his patient during an exchange with Rosaura:

> ONES. Mi credete?
> ROS. Vi credo.
> ONES. Quando l'ammalato crede al medico, guarisce più facilmente.[100]

Dottor Onesti invites Rosaura to trust in his deception. After their agreement, Onesti proceeds to pour his false remedy, water, into a cup. He then administers it to Rosaura, his obliging patient. The pair engages in a metaphorical theatrical production as both are playing roles. This suggests indirectly that the illusions of theater itself might also under certain circumstances have remedial qualities.

Despite Dottor Onesti's ever-increasing awareness that Rosaura suffers from love-melancholy and needs to be married in order to cure her illusions, he cannot identify to whom her passion is directed. In contrast to the male figures in this work, the females not only correctly "diagnose" Rosaura's illness, but also understand its cause immediately. Early on in the comedy Colombina tells Rosaura what she suspects the cause of her woes might be:

> COL. Credo che tutto il vostro male sia mal d'amore.
> ROS. Oh, oh, mal d'amore! Mi fai ridere senza voglia.
> COL. E credo che, per guarirvi, più delle medicine vi gioverebbe il medico.
> ROS. Oh, che ti venga la rabbia; che diavolo vai dicendo?[101]

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[99] "On voit dans les différens recueils d'observations, des guérisons aussi singulieres. Un peintre, au rapport de Tulpius, croyoit avoir tous les os du corps ramollis comme de la cire, il n'osoit en conséquence faire un seul pas; ce médecin lui parut pleinement persuadé de la vérité de son accident; il lui promit des remèdes infaillibles, mais lui défendit de marcher pendant six jours, après lesquels il lui donnoit la permission de le faire. Le mélancholique, pensant qu'il falloit tout ce tems aux remèdes pour agir et pour lui fortifier et endurcir les os, obéit exactement, après quoi il se promena sans crainte & avec facilité." Diderot, "Mélancholie."

[100] "ONES. Do you believe me? / ROS. I believe you. / ONES. When an invalid believes the doctor, he is cured more easily." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 676.

Rosaura dismisses Colombina's suggestion and attempts to deflect attention from the fact that she loves Dottor Onesti. Colombina proves to be correct in both the origin of and cure for Rosaura's malady. In her opinion, the young woman is in love with Dottor Onesti, and her only possible cure is the doctor himself. As she explicitly states a third time in the comedy: "Oh, assolutamente il dottor Onesti è il suo male, il suo medico e la sua medicina."[102] In the subsequent scene, the diagnosis is confirmed by another woman—Beatrice.[103] The women of the play thus prove both to be excellent dissimulators, and extremely good at recognizing their peers' guises. This is further implied when Colombina exclaims: "Ho imparato anch'io a prender marito a forza di svenimenti."[104]

The performance of illness might be a way in which a woman can manipulate a man. It also fills the void that Rosaura's inner voice cannot. When her father tells her of his intentions to hire additional medical practitioners for consultations, she resorts to her malady as a pretext to avoid that fate: "Oimè! Mi vien male, non posso più."[105] Similar scenes are repeated throughout the comedy. Rosaura's performance masks her so-called true illness—denied love. Paradoxically, the "fake" malady becomes a symptom of a genuine one. As Dottor Onesti explains, "è lodabile il suo contegno, assoggettandosi ad una specie di malattia per non palesare

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[101] "COL.I believe that your illness is love sickness. / ROS. Oh, oh, love sickness! You make me laugh halfheartedly. / COL. And I believe that to cure you, more than medicine you would benefit from the doctor. / ROS. Oh, may you get rabies, what the devil are you saying?" Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 664.

[102] Oh! Doctor Honest is absolutely her malady, her doctor, and her medicine." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 665.

[103] See Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 701-702.

[104] "I learned also how to get a husband by fainting." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 708.

[105] "Oh my! I am starting to feel sick, I can't take it anymore." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 668.

la sua passione."[106] He implies that although Rosaura is being dishonest, her dissimulation is admirable because it prevents her from revealing her passion. In certain circumstances, dissimulation is to be praised. Moreover, it is only in understanding her simulation that the truth can be revealed, in accordance with the opinion that Dottor Onesti posits at the beginning of the comedy.

This is problematic because Dottor Onesti does not know the true beneficiary of her love. The women of the comedy, however, are well aware of it and are eager to tell him. Unfortunately for Rosaura, Dottor Onesti responds badly to the revelation and resists the notion of marrying her. He claims that he cannot pursue a relationship for the following reasons:

> Perché non sono ricco quanto lui [Pantalone], perché ha qualche impegno con certo signor Lelio, e poi perché, essendomi io introdotto come medico, crederà ch'io abbia con cattivo artifizio innamorata la figlia.[107]

Dottor Onesti emphasizes a concern for his reputation for honesty, even though he engages in a type of fraud with his patient. While he did not intend to seduce Rosaura, he does dissimulate in her presence. Although he knows that she loves him, Dottor Onesti refrains from revealing that fact to her father and to Rosaura. In part this is due to his sense of propriety and his concern that it will tarnish his reputation. There is another motivation that appears towards the end of the comedy. Whether real or not, Rosaura's simulation of illness is the most valuable symptom of her supposed disease. This distinction between delusion and fact does not influence Dottor Onesti's belief in the necessity of treatment, nor does it influence his compassion for his patient.

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[106] "Her behavior is laudable, subjecting herself to a malady in order to ensure that her passion is not revealed." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 690.

[107] "Because I am not as rich as him [Pantalone], and because she has some sort of commitment with a certain Lelio, and also because of my having been introduced as a doctor, he will believe that I had made his daughter fall in love with some nefarious artifice." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata*, 690.

None of the charlatans are successful in interpreting her theatrical gestures. By contrast, Onesti is, but he also knows all too well that in revealing her concealed passion himself, he would not be able to cure her. In this case, ironically, to offer a correct diagnosis impedes a cure. In the earlier intermezzi and drammi giocosi, it was common that the hypochondriacs confront with consternation those physicians who reveal to them that they are suffering from hypochondria or an imaginary illness. In every example, patients angrily dismiss their assertions and occasionally ignore the diagnosis entirely. When given the opportunity to offer a diagnosis of her illness in front of her father and the other practitioners, Onesti instead defers to Rosaura and gives to her a voice in the matter:

> Uno ordina, quello sangue, questo vescicatori: che cosa dice la signora Rosaura? Prima di dire la mia opinione, ho piacere di sentir la sua.[108]

Onesti enacts his most powerful therapeutic strategy—listening to the patient. In contrast with theatrical convention, he encourages Rosaura to look back on herself and articulate a diagnosis of her own disease. This proves to be the most efficacious remedy. As Rosaura maintains:

> Oh Dio! sono forzata a dirlo; mi conviene superare il rossore, per liberarmi non solo dal male che mi tormenta, ma dai medici che mi vanno perseguitando. Amo, sì, amo il Dottor Onesti. Vederlo, amarlo e non ardir di spiegarmi, formava tutto il mio male. […]Signor padre, ho scoperto il mio male, ecco il mio rimedio; avete promesso di non negarmelo.[109]

Rosaura articulates exactly what Onesti suspected. Her inability to express her love for him ultimately led to her "illness." While she criticizes the charlatans for their ignorant attempts at treating her, she admits to have "discovered" the reason behind her malady. She ultimately

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[108] "One prescribes, that one blood, this one cupping: what does Miss Rosaura say? Before giving my opinion, I would like to hear hers." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 705.

[109] "Oh, God! I am forced to say it; it befits me to overcome this embarrassment, in order to liberate myself not only from the malady that torments me, but the doctors who are persecuting me. I love, yes, I love Dottor Onesti. Seeing him, loving him and not being brave enough to explain myself, are the causes of my malady. [...]Father, I discovered my malady, here is my remedy, you promised not to deny me it." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 705.

identifies her illness and enacts an effective cure. Hypochondriacs in the theater are notorious for attempting to formulate a self-diagnosis. Rosaura is the first in Goldoni's corpus to correctly diagnose and treat herself. It is only Onesti who realizes that simulation must be met with simulation, and that the patient's voice is more powerful than a pharmaceutical intervention. By healing her performance with his simulation, Dottor Onesti not only finds a path towards a cure, but also a wife.

At first glance, the plot to the comedy appears simple. The cure for Rosaura's love melancholy is to consummate her desire with Dottor Onesti. In the end, however, the cure has more complicated implications. The only way to alleviate her ailment was for the patient to reveal the truth that was hidden internally. At this point in the evolution of Goldoni's corpus, hypochondria and melancholy have dramatically changed. No longer merely a disease associated with superficial symptoms, these maladies now appear intimately tied to the psychological turmoil of the patient. Moreover, with this shift in the representation of the disease, the doctor's role in treating the patient has also evolved. Listening to the patient, rather than enacting pharmaceutical interventions, becomes the most powerful tool of the model physician. This might require the doctor to dissimulate or even to put on a theatrical performance of sorts. In the end, the theatrical production can lead to the unveiling of the truth and the healing of the patient.

Like any playwright, Goldoni understood the implications and risks of his art, which required the use of illusion. He thus had to find a way to reconcile the illusions of the theater with the desire to integrate a truthful representation of the natural world on stage. The key to how he overcomes this challenge lies in part in his representation of Dottor Onesti. As Goldoni comments in the preface to his work: "Noi altri compositori, o vogliam dire teatrali poeti,

abbiamo anche noi le nostre ciarlatanerie."[110] Just like the contrast between Dottor Onesti and the charlatans, Goldoni sees a similar distinction among theatrical poets for whom he imagines a similar role in society. The model physician allegorically represents the exemplary playwright and therefore much can be learned from Dottor Onesti that pertains to theater. First and foremost, there are two different types of deception that have distinct moral implications. The honest playwright must first listen to the patient, or in this case his audience. He must observe rather than pontificate. Secondly, if the model holds that the audience is analogous to the patient, the comic poet must reflect the book of the world, as Goldoni's calls it, in the book of theater. In their theatrics, Rosaura and Dottor Onesti not only find love and good health, but also figure the potentially remedial qualities of dissimulation and the image of a kind of theater that would contrast with the charlatanism of a comedy that has not undergone Goldoni's reforms. In doing so, they also figure the possibility of an *honest* remedial theater. This might well be another component of Goldoni's new melancholic comedy. In *La finta ammalata* the representation of the hypochondriac reaches a new level of complexity, and becomes intricately intertwined with Goldoni's emerging notions concerning theater.

[110] "We composers, or do we want to say theatrical poets, we also have our charlataneries." Goldoni, *La finta ammalata,* 649.

Chapter 3: The Social Physician and the Rehabilitated Hypochondriac

III.1 A New Figure on the Italian Stage: The Melancholic Genius

By the mid-eighteenth century, hypochondriacs and melancholics no longer appeared as the equivalent of simplistic masks upon Goldoni's stage. While the figure had previously been depicted only superficially and used for comic relief, Goldoni transforms the invalid into a more complex, sympathetic individual. However, as works such as *La finta ammalata* demonstrate, the ambiguity over whether the diseases' symptoms were real or imagined by patients persisted in comedy. Independent of the question of whether these were real or imaginary illnesses, the diseases' etiology became more and more the focus of representations of the hypochondriac. This is already seen to a limited extent in *La finta ammalata*, in which a fair amount of stage time is devoted to exploring both the medical and emotional basis for Rosaura's supposedly incurable malady. In Goldoni's works predating 1751, whether it was for love or loss, the determination of an underlying cause almost always led to the resolution of the comedy and the curing of the "disease." Oftentimes the etiology of the ailment was as simple as an obstructed love that had to be overcome. This, however, begins to change in the second half of the century. When a melancholic hypochondriac appears on stage, his illness does not drive the plot, nor does its cure coincide with the resolution of the comedy. Instead, the malady becomes a consequence of either societal pressures or an individual's bad habits. With a broadening etiology, new types of hypochondriacs and melancholics appear in the theatrical repertory—one of which was the melancholic genius.

Historically, cross-cultural criticism, mainly French and British, has examined the relationship between hypochondria, melancholy, and genius, or rather, more specifically how the

learned became emblematic sufferers of said illnesses.[1] During the eighteenth century intellectuals and medical professionals engaged in a vibrant discussion about the myth of the melancholic genius.[2] Two of these Italian medical specialists were Ramazzini and Pujati, both of whom made valuable contributions to preserving the health of the learned.[3] In *De Morbis Artificum* (1700), Bernardino Ramazzini reverses the theory proposed by Aristotle and Ficino, two figures whose ideas had persisted throughout history: "Hence it is often said that the melancholic are talented, but perhaps it would be nearer to the mark to say that the talented

[1] The evolution of this concept has been discussed extensively in British, French and to a more limited extent Italian literature. See Riva, *Saturno*, 46, and Vila, *Suffering Scholars*. See also Yasmine Haskell, "Physician, Heal Thyself! Emotions and the Health of the Learned in Samuel Auguste André David Tissot (1728-1797) and Gerard Nicolas Heerkens (1726-1801)," in *The Discourse of Sensibility: The Knowing Body in the Enlightenment*, ed. Henry Martyn Lloyd (New York: Springer, 2013), 105-124; See Van Lieburg, *Disease*, which traces the history of the association from ancient times through Kant; and Anne Vila, "The *Philosophe*'s Stomach: Hedonism, Hypochondria, and the 'New' Intellectual in Enlightenment France," in *Cultures of the Abdomen: Diet, Digestion and Fat in the Modern World*, eds. Christopher Forth and Ana Carden-Coyne (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 89-104. This association was not invented in the eighteenth century, but was most likely first formulated by Aristotle in his Problem XXX. According to the philosopher, being a genius was a difficult, but extraordinary fate that posed a paradox of sorts. Those who were melancholic were also most likely to produce great artistic works. After Aristotle's astute observation, many intellectuals and medical professionals perpetuated the myth—including Marsilio Ficino, who believed that those who were "born under Saturn," were inclined to both melancholy and greatness. Ficino states in *De Triplici Vita*: "Men who seek truth ought to take care of their bodily spirits with as much diligence as doctors, for neglecting these spirits creates impediments to the search for truth, and one's service in the cause of truth becomes inept." Marsilio Ficino, *The Book of Life*, trans. Charles Boer (Irving: Spring Publications, 1980), 35. Out of such notions, the preoccupation with preserving the health of those destined for intellectual pursuits was fashioned. According to Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky, it was Ficino, "who really gave shape to the idea of the melancholy man of genius and revealed it to the rest of Europe." Klibansky, *Saturn and Melancholy*, 255. This myth persisted through subsequent centuries, and reached a new status during the eighteenth.

[2] Anne Vila discusses the Christian origins of the "suffering scholar": "In a sense, the persona of the sickly scholar that became popular during the eighteenth century was a secularized version of the long-established Christian paradigm of suffering—with the frame of reference shifted away from religious belief and toward the realm of secular learning. Whereas Pascal called illness 'the true state of the Christian,' some Enlightenment-era commentators regarded illness as the true state of the knowledge seeker. The latter idea illustrates a central paradox in the eighteenth century: the so-called Age of Reason, when intellectuals enjoyed unprecedented powers and influence throughout Europe, was also the era that gave birth to the nosological category of illness proper to the intelligentsia." Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 21.

[3] There are numerous treatises, not only in Italian, which discuss the relationship between melancholy, hypochondria, and intellectuals. One of great importance to the French tradition is that of Samuel Tissot and his work *De la santé des gens de lettres* (1769). See Samuel Auguste Tissot, *De la santé des gens de lettres*, eds. Anne Vila and Ronan Chalmin (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2018). This text has numerous parallels with Giuseppe Pujati's work.

become melancholic."[4] Ramazzini suggests that due to their profession, the *letterati* were inherently prone to certain maladies. He reaffirms a relationship between learnedness and illness. However, he does not believe in astrological explanations, nor that such a fate is the inevitable destiny of great artists. Rather, according to him, the bad habits of the literati led to predictable maladies.[5] Similarly, Pujati's treatise *Della preservazione della salute de' letterati, e della gente applicata e sedentaria*, published later in the century in 1762, focuses solely on the health of this privileged class and identifies in the sedentary lifestyle of intellectuals the predisposition to certain maladies.[6] Both interpretations are examples of an identifiable shift that is seen most consistently in the mid-eighteenth century, which Galzigna has called the "smitizzazione della malinconia."[7]

While brilliance no longer led to a destiny of suffering from melancholy, according to medical works the disease continued to be associated with intellectuals.[8] Carlo Goldoni participates in the discourse surrounding the melancholic genius around 1751. His

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[4] Ramazzini, *Diseases*, 381. For his position on how this statement changed dramatically the notion of melancholy, see Riva, *Saturno,* 39-40.

[5] See Vila, *Suffering Scholars* for background on how Ramazzini's treatise further influenced later works on the maladies of intellectuals in Europe: "By classifying scholars in terms of the bodily effects of their labor, Ramazzini made their diseases medicable in a way that they had not been before: he inspired physicians to extend their attention beyond the scholar's specific dietary needs (an approach already well established in the European medical and moralist tradition) into other areas of the scholarly life and work routine." Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 23.

[6] Because of the sustained focus on intellectuals' predisposition to hypochondria and melancholy, it is of no surprise that these treatises were read not only by physicians, but also by artists and writers. Pujati maintains that his treatise should be read by the *letterati.* Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute,* vii. There is evidence that they were. In a literary magazine, under the pseudonym Aristarco, Baretti criticizes writers such as Carlo Goldoni and those that participated in Arcadia. The author also includes a commentary on Pujati's treatise on the health of the learned. See Giuseppe Baretti, *Frusta letteraria* (Bologna: Tipografia Governativa della Volpe al Sassi, 1839), 24-27.

[7] "The demythologizing of melancholy." Galzigna, "L'enigma della malinconia," 89.

[8] See Vila, *Suffering Scholars*. See Andrew Scull, *Hysteria: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 48.

representations of the figure do not directly contradict the positions of medical professionals, nor do they dismiss the talented nature of those who suffered from the maladies. Instead, Goldoni's hypochondriacal-melancholic geniuses open the door to etiologies new to the stage: such as social causes in the case of *Il Molière* (1751), and *Il vecchio bizzarro* (1754); and other etiologies that echo earlier beliefs concerning the mythical genius, as found in *Torquato Tasso* (1755).

III.2 The Social Physician-Hypochondriac: *Il Molière*

In Carlo Goldoni's theatrical manifesto, *Il teatro comico* (1750), the comedic playwright delineates his principles for theatrical reform. He does so through the figure of Orazio, the capocomico, who explains the traits of an honorable individual who practices the art: "Il comico deve essere, come tutti gli altri, onorato; deve conoscere il suo dovere, e deve essere amante dell'onore e di tutte le morali virtù."[9] In a later scene, one of the players explains to the miserable and failed comedic poet, Lelio, the true goals of comedy:

> ANS. Ma ghe dirò anca el perché. La commedia l'è stada inventada per corregger i vizi e metter in ridicolo i cattivi costumi; e quando le commedie dai antighi se faceva così, tutto el popolo decideva, perché vedendo la copia d'un carettere in scena, ognuno trovava o in se stesso, o in qualchedun altro, l'originale.[10]

These descriptions of the comedic poet and the art of comedy outline a clear societal role for both the art and its creator. Virtue must drive both the artist and the work. Comedy should also be a copy of society, a mirror of sorts, insomuch as the audience should recognize individuals from their daily life on stage. Moreover, comedy must assume a corrective function in society.

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[9] Goldoni, *Il teatro comico*, 1056. "[...] he should be honorable like everyone else; he should know his duty, love honor and all the moral virtues." Carlo Goldoni, *The Comic Theater,* trans. John W. Miller (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), 31.

[10] Goldoni, *Il teatro comico*, 1066. "And let me tell you why. Comedy was created to correct vice and ridicule bad customs; when the ancient poets wrote comedies in this manner, the common people could participate, because, seeing the copy of a character on the stage, each found the original either in himself or in someone else," Miller, *The Comic Theater,* 31.

"Lo specchio posto dinanzi agli uomini sulla scena, può correggerli, può moderarli."[11] What happens, however, when the esteemed artist, the one who creates works which instill social values and correct moral indecency, also suffers from hypochondria and melancholy? If hypochondria and melancholy are mere vices, or caused by the artist's vices, then the fact of being a hypochondriac precludes him from being the virtuous individual that Goldoni imagines.

To resolve the problem, the representation of hypochondria and melancholy must evolve from a picture of vices or imaginary maladies into diseases with a much more complex etiology. This is the challenge that Goldoni confronts in his work *Il Molière.* The comedy features one of the most respected playwrights of the French tradition who, by Goldoni's account, was reputed to be a melancholic. This then is the logical choice for staging the problem engaged. In his comedy, Goldoni must address his already evolving representation of the melancholic-hypochondriac and translate it not only into a sympathetic figure, for whom the audience might experience empathy—a process that has already appeared in previous works—but also into a figure that is admirable. In doing so, the Venetian poet enters into dialogue with the contemporary discourse concerning the health of intellectuals and artists.

Goldoni was supposedly referred to as the "Italian Molière" during his lifetime.[12] In addition, he appears to have actively cultivated the association by drawing parallels between himself and the French playwright in his *Mémoires* and in several introductions to his works.[13] As Guthmüller has suggested, Goldoni encouraged such associations to "legitimize his

[11] Goldoni, *Dedica* to *Il festino*, 432. "The mirror placed before men on the stage can correct them, can curb them."

[12] Giorgio Padoan, "Il 'Molière italiano'," *Revue des Etudes Italiennes* 40, nos. 1-4 (1994): 8.

[13] See the prefaces to *La finta ammalata,* and *Il Molière,* in Goldoni, 647-649, and 1077-1078.

innovations" in the genre of comedy.[14] Because of this, many critics have assumed a biographical perspective when analyzing *Il Molière,* a work that discusses the challenges of being a playwright in any century.[15] Since Goldoni apparently believed that Molière suffered from melancholy and hypochondria, he could underscore this association in his works.[16] As a consequence, applying a biographical perspective to an analysis of the character's hypochondria may be revelatory in some respects. Goldoni's empathy for the French playwright's supposed bouts of illness is clear in *Il Molière*. Nevertheless, such an approach neglects to situate the figure of the hypochondriac in relation to the rest of Goldoni's corpus.[17]

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[14] Bodo Guthmüller, "'Ad Imitazione delli Francesi:' *Il Molière* di Goldoni," *Problemi di critica goldoniana* 1 (1994): 274.

[15] Paolo Puppa has grouped *il Molière* along with two other works by Goldoni, *Il Terenzio* and *Torquato Tasso*, all written in verse, into a trilogy in which by his account the playwright highlighted the characteristics he shared with the three important historical figures. Paolo Puppa "Goldoni Antiquario," in *Eighteenth Century Theatre*, ed. Joseph Farrell (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1997), 243-251. See Ginette Herry, "Goldoni, Tartuffe et Molière, ou la difficulté d'être un auteur de comédies," *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 24, no. 2 (1986): 73-91. Herry asserts that many of the obstacles that Molière confronts in the play, such as ignorant critics and fickle audiences resemble those which Goldoni also lamented in his autobiographical writings. Guthmüller has taken a similar approach to Goldoni's *Molière*, suggesting that perhaps it is an "auto-representation" of the playwright. Bodo Guthmüller, introduction to *Il Molière*, by Carlo Goldoni, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Venezia: Marsilio, 2004),19. Riva assumes a similar approach. However, he also underscores that the Italian playwright presents his French counterpoint as a "comico triste." Riva, *Saturno*, 143-148. See also Françoise Richard, "Il Molière de Carlo Goldoni (1751): De la poétique en action à l'autobiographie," in *Voyages des textes de théâtre Italie-France-Italie: XVIe-XXe siècles,* eds. Françoise Decroisette and Cécile Berger et al. (Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1998), 103-124.

[16] Guthmüller suggests the reasons for which Goldoni attempted to cultivate an association between himself and Molière. He cites the following evidence which he draws from Goldoni's biographical descriptions of his own life: "La serietà morale del Moliere goldoniano, l'elogio dell'onore del poeta comico, il suo forte senso di responsbilità, la sua capacità di entusiasmarsi, ma anche la malinconia che a volte lo afferra (la sua «ipocondria») e la sua amarezza sulle delusione e calunnie alle quali è esposto, hanno forti analogie col ritratto che Goldoni nei *Mémoires* e altrove fa di se stesso." Guthmüller, "Introduction," 20.

[17] Herry has underscored the importance of the health issues that Goldoni faced shortly before writing *Il Molière,* which included an episode of the vapours. See Herry, "Goldoni, Tartuffe et Molière," 78. She believes that Goldoni's description of his health in his *Mémoires* is an attempt to draw sympathy from his audience for his absence from writing. Herry, 77.

Performed for the first time in Torino in 1751, Goldoni's *Il Molière w*as written shortly after he wrote sixteen original comedies in one season for Medebach's Sant' Angelo theater in Venice. After such a draining feat, Goldoni became unwell:

> J'avois à quarante-trois ans, beaucoup de facilité pour l'invention et pour l'exécution de mes sujets; mais j'étois homme comme un autre. L'assiduité au travail avoit dérangé ma santé; je tombai malade, et je payai la peine de ma folie.[18]

In his explanation of his deteriorated health, the Venetian directly associates his ailments with his immoderate mental exertion. Goldoni defines his malady as none other than melancholic-hypochondria:

> Sujet comme je l'étois à des vapeurs noires qui attaquent, à la fois, le corps et l'esprit, je les sentis se renouveller dans mon individu avec plus de violence que jamais.[19]

Goldoni's description resembles Ramazzini's assertion that intellectuals become melancholic due to the inherent requirements of artistic creation. By establishing a connection between his malady and professional obligations, Goldoni inserts himself in the long line of self-identified illustrious, Italian "melancholic" geniuses that emerged in the eighteenth century.[20]

Goldoni's malady might well be instrumental for explaining his sojourn in Turin and his writing of *Il Molière.* Since his troupe of comedians was heading to Turin, Goldoni decided to join them with the hope that the change of air would perhaps improve his health.[21] Once in

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[18] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 294.

[19] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 294.

[20] Riva, *Saturno,* 114-117.

[21] "Je crus que le changement d'air et l'agrément d'un voyage pourroient contribuer au restablissement de ma santé." Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 295. During the eighteenth century, physicians such as Zeviani and Morgagni suggested that travel could be a potential therapy for those suffering from hypochondria and melancholy. In his list of possible remedies, Zeviani explicitly includes "viaggiare," as one of the possible therapies for the malady. Zeviani, *Del flato,* 186. Similarly, Morgagni recommends that patients, "immediately ... undertake a long journey." Giambattista Morgagni, *The Seats and Causes of Disease Investigated by Anatomy: in Five Books, Containing a Great Variety of Dissections, with Remarks,* trans. Benjamin Alexander (Birmingham: The Classics of Medicine Library, 1983), 151.

Turin, he found that his works were well known and to a certain extent respected, but he also received criticisms such as the following: "C'est bon, mais ce n'est pas du Molière."[22] Goldoni wrote *Il Molière* in part in response to criticism that his works were not equal to those of the French playwright. Northern Italians were familiar with Molière and his works already at the turn of the century. This interest in the French playwright's comedies persisted well into the mid-century when Goldoni arrived on the scene.[23] Goldoni was certainly well aware of the context in which he was writing. He composed for a specific audience who he states followed "French" customs. Perhaps this in part dictated certain elements of his work, which, as he notes, was performed without masks and scene changes, and was his first written in verse.[24]

Il Molière focuses on the romantic and professional troubles of the famous French playwright. Molière's love for the young actress Guerrina must be concealed due to her mother's objections. To complicate matters further, Il signor Pirlone, a critic who objects to Molière's works, attempts to sow discord between Molière and her mother, la Béjart, in order to impede an upcoming performance of *Tartuffe.* With the help of Foresta, who pretends to seduce Pirlone, Molière imprisons the critical hypocrite in a closet for the duration of the comedy's performance. In a gesture that associates the character of Tartuffe with Pirlone, the French playwright steals Pirlone's clothes and performs the part of Tartuffe dressed as the hypocrite himself. In *Il*

See also Starobinski, who discusses the use of therapeutic travel for hypochondriacs and underscores how the *Grand Tour*, particularly for the British elite, was also undertaken for "curing or relieving the melancholy engendered by sedentary studies." Starobinski, *Treatment of Melancholy*, 68-69.

[22] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 295.

[23] See above, section I.2.

[24] "Les Turinois sont fort honnêtes et fort polis; ils tiennent beaucoup aux moeurs et aux usages des François; ils en parlent la langue familierement; et voyant arriver chez eux un Milanois, un Vénitien ou un Génois ils ont l'habitude de dire, c'est un *Italien*." Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 295.

Molière, the true owner of Molière's costume is evident to the audience. Molière's performance of *Tartuffe* not only instructs the audience on the vice of hypocrisy, but also successfully humiliates the hypocrite Pirlone. In the end, Pirlone repents for his wretched behavior and Molière successfully marries Guerrina. The comedy within the comedy thus resolves Molière's personal and professional problems. In this play, theater's remedial function is staged as a metatheatrical performance.

Il Molière reaffirms the corrective nature of comedy, which had already been discussed in *Il teatro comico*. The play can therefore be understood in part as a commentary on the art of theater. While the intermezzi, drammi giocosi, and the comedies already discussed underscore the hypochondriac's role in generating social discord, in *Il Molière*, this figure ultimately, and heroically, becomes the mechanism by which order is restored both in his relationships and in his professional life. The metaphorical threat that menaces the comedy, and by extension the theatrical performance, is not Molière's melancholy. Melancholy is not represented here as a vice to be evacuated from society. Rather it is societal vices, and in particular, hypocrisy that threaten to censor the creative work of the artist.

If, as Goldoni suggests in *Il teatro comico*, theater seeks to remedy the negative behavior of the audience, an attempt to prohibit the performance of a comedy that was written by Molière, whose works exemplify such ideals, would be metaphorically suggestive. Pirlone's efforts to undermine Molière's performance hint that such a theatrical "remedy" could be lost and by extension that the social vices that theater was supposed to suppress could thus be perpetuated. The hypochondriac, who previously was derided, here is transformed into a hero who saves the world and the stage from vice. In some respects it is paradoxical that the author of the canonical play concerning hypochondria, *Le malade imaginaire*, becomes a vehicle for dissociating the

notion of vice from the cultural representation of the hypochondriac. By employing the figure as a point of reference, Goldoni invites comparisons between his own formulations of hypochondriacs and that of Molière. Goldoni engages in an intertextual dialogue that shows reverence to the French master, while at the same time diverges from Molière's formulations concerning the nature of this disease.

The comedy opens with a conversation between Molière and his friend Leandro who portrays the comic playwright as a paradoxical figure: he is jolly insomuch as his theatrical works evoke laughter, yet far from playful in his daily life. Following the structural convention of comedies with a hypochondriac, Goldoni opens the work with the pronouncement of the invalid's malady before the patient has an opportunity to speak. However, in contrast with theatrical convention, Leandro is not frustrated or angered by his friend's behavior, nor does he consider the symptoms to be a sign of vice:

> LEA. E via, Molière, amico, mostratevi giovale;
> Un autor di commedie, un uom che ha tanto sale,
> Che con le sue facezie fa rider tutto il mondo,
> Co' propri amici in casa non sarà poi giocondo?[25]

Molière has two different personalities. The one seen in his works is at odds with his temperament off stage. Leandro suggests that the relationship between an author's artistic output and the personality of the author should be analogous rather than be set in opposition. Ironically, his assertion resembles those made in biographical criticism concerning this play. More pertinent for the discussion of hypochondria is the fact that Leandro implies here that the French playwright is not meeting societal expectations. He does not *expect* a comedic playwright, an

[25] "Oh come on, Molière, my friend, make yourself jovial, / As an author of comedies, a man that has so much common sense, / That with all his quips makes everyone laugh, / Why with his own friends at home can't he also be a little playful?" Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1083.

author of comedies, to be a sad individual. If true intellectuals were prone to suffer from melancholy and hypochondria, as the medical world seems to have held by this time, Leandro's hesitation to accept that a comedic playwright could fall under such a category raises questions about the role of those geniuses who write comedic theater. By having Leandro underscore Molière's social failure Goldoni links the playwright to his hypochondriac predecessors in his earlier plays, many of whom were pariahs or unwelcome in society. Can such a hypochondriac be a writer of comedy? In *Il Molière* the representation of hypochondria and melancholy becomes intricately intertwined with notions concerning the production of comedic theater.[26]

In Goldoni's comedy the character of Molière is portrayed in a way that implies less transparency between author and work than Leandro would allow. His comedy concealed a man suffering from a hidden malady, one that remains behind the mask of joviality and satirical fun that characterizes his works. Goldoni's formulation suggests that his comedies masked his actual temperament. The disease was disguised by his artistic output. While earlier theatrical hypochondriacs were identifiable by outward manifestations, real or imaginary, of their disease, later, more complex representations, such as in the case of Molière, seem to belie the presence of their malady through their attempts to conceal their troubles. A step in the direction of this shift was already seen in the figure of Bonfil in *La Pamela fanciulla* and Rosaura in *La finta*

[26] While Goldoni certainly "diagnoses" Molière with an eighteenth-century conception of hypochondria, debate continues over whether or not it is possible to claim retrospectively that Molière suffered from a disease that conforms to current conceptions of melancholy. On Molière's struggles with melancholy, see Giovanni Macchia, *La caduta della luna* (Milano: Mondadori, 1973), 46-76. In his seminal work on the topic of Molière, melancholy and hypochondria, Patrick Dandrey argues against the conclusion that Molière was a hypochondriac. He maintains that such a notion was a nineteenth-century invention and critiques the positions elaborated in Giovanni Macchia, *Il silenzio di Molière* (Torino: Mondadori, 1975). See Patrick Dandrey, *La médecine et la maladie dans le théâtre de Molière*, 2 vols. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 1: li-lxiii; 2: 569-578.

ammalata, whose concealment of desire is what ultimately caused their illness.[27] The outward symptoms of hypochondria were always considered problematic insomuch as they oftentimes led to an inconclusive diagnosis. Professionals complained of the inconstant, amorphous symptoms of the disease.[28] As such, the symptoms metaphorically masked the internal workings of hypochondria, even as they revealed it incompletely.

As the century progresses, there emerges a new emphasis on the interior mechanisms of the disease. In Goldoni's comedy the theatrical, that is Molière's verses, masks his ailment. Nevertheless, Leandro detects Molière's melancholy once the theatrical mask is removed. What stands in front of him is just the man. The internal workings of the disease become the focus of the theatrical works. Moreover, the figure's internal conflicts, however difficult they are to represent on the stage, become more revelatory for diagnosing and treating the malady. There is, however, an impediment to such a project that lies in the traditional reluctance on the part of hypochondriacs to express that which they conceal. Here this is evident in a subsequent exchange between Molière and Leandro. While Molière's friend offers him the opportunity to reveal his true suffering, the French playwright remains reluctant to share: "Deh, non mi fate dire… Per carità tacete."[29] By refusing to speak, Molière attempts to hide the source of his

[27] See above, sections II.2 and II.4 for a discussion of these two comedies.

[28] "La molteplicità di tanti sintomi, che formano il morbo ipocondriaco ha messo confusione ne' medici, ed hanno disperato di trovare una cagione che possa esser madre di tanti figlioli." Zeviani, *Del flato*, 4. The diagnosis of hypochondria and melancholy was an arduous task for the physician—owing to the many possible symptoms that could indicate the disease. This characteristic of the disease takes shape in different ways across cultures. See Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 274-310. Although the Italians do not adopt the same imagery as the British in their treatises, a point of contact between the two culture's anxieties is melancholy's shape-shifting nature. Sabine Arnaud identifies three images that were commonly associated with hysteria in the eighteenth century: the chameleon, Proteus and hydra. Although she is speaking most specifically about hysteria, they are relevant images in understanding the notion of hypochondria and melancholy. All three suggest the notion of changing states and appearances. See Arnaud, *On Hysteria*, 55-63.

[29] "Don't make me speak...please stay quiet." Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1083.

torment. Here, Goldoni shifts the "symptoms" of the disease away from the visible body to silence and a hidden, inner psyche.

Despite his hesitation to reveal the truth, Molière never attempts to contradict Leandro's assessment of his melancholy. He does in fact offer an explanation for his sadness. Interestingly, it is not associated with the bad habits of his profession, nor does Molière imply that he was born with such a temperament. Instead the etiology of his own melancholy can be explained by the shortcomings of the society that surrounds him. Molière accuses his critics and his public for his difficulties:

> MOL. Il pubblico indiscreto non si contenta mai.
> Oh quanti dispiaceri, quanti affanni provai!
> E quel ch'or mi deriva da' miei nemici fieri,
> Sembravi ch'esser possa un dispiacer leggieri?[30]

Unlike many of Goldoni's theatrical predecessors, this melancholic character is self-reflective; he is aware of both his affliction and its cause. Despite this fact, in contrast to Rosaura in *La finta ammalata*, he cannot be relieved of his suffering solely by acknowledging his maladies. Molière does not suggest that his melancholy is caused by his own bad habits—as Ramazzini, and, later on, Pujati might have believed. Instead, Molière's superiority to the public is part of his emotional struggle. Being talented comes with great sacrifice, particularly when one is surrounded by a society dominated by vice. Rather than place blame on the detrimental habits of intellectuals for their maladies, Goldoni proposes societal disorder as a cause of Molière's melancholy. If it were not for his enemies, perhaps Molière would not be subject to such emotional suffering.

[30] "The tactless public is never content. / Oh how many displeasures, how much distress I feel! / And that which derives from my proud enemies, / Does that seem to you that it could be a displeasure that is easy to bear?" Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1083.

In staging this hypothesis, Goldoni not only challenges the theories of his generation, but he elevates the figure of the comedic poet—and by extension that of the hypochondriac—to a new level of respect and gravity hitherto unknown in his works. This is evident when Molière explains the difference between his profession and other perhaps more frivolous occupations:

LEA. Basta, vi passo tutto; ma vedervi desio
Senza pensieri tristi, allegro, qual son io.
MOL. Un uom che ha il peso grave di dar piacere altrui,
Non può sì lietamente passare i giorni sui.
[...]
MOL. Siate più moderato: so io quel che ragiono.
LEA. Viver, viver vogl'io. Filosofo non sono.[31]

As Molière explains, those who are committed to entertaining others are unable to be happy. It is an inherent risk of the profession. Melancholy is a sacrifice that is made by such entertainers. Comedic poets do not have the luxury of such individuals as Leandro who can pass their days without a care.

Poets are here represented as figures of reason. In this scene, the character Molière is associated with this faculty, which is contrasted with Leandro's immoderation. This is of interest, because in earlier representations of hypochondriacs and melancholics, the patients do not demonstrate good reasoning skills and their perception of reality is distorted. Unable to distinguish between real and imaginary symptoms, the hypochondriac displays an unreasonableness that is an indication of his malady. Here, however, Molière is paradoxically not only a hypochondriacal comedic poet, but also the figure of reason. Later, unlike his theatrical antecedents, Molière will prove himself to be very capable of unmasking the illusions that

[31] "LEA. That's enough, I accept everything; but I desire to see you / Without such sad thoughts, happy instead, like I am. / MOL. A man carries the serious burden of giving pleasure to others, / Cannot so lightly pass his days. [...] MOL. Be more moderate, I know what I am talking about. / LEA. I want to live! I am not a philosopher." Goldoni, *Il Molière,*1084.

surround him. He thus is not portrayed as suffering from delusions, but rather as an individual who is capable of debunking the illusions of others. Because of this, he more closely resembles such figures as Dottor Onesti in *La finta ammalata* than traditional hypochondriacs. Dottor Onesti used illusion to cure Rosaura of her delusions. Molière, who is a hypochondriac, cures society of their delusions with his theater. He thus assumes a physician-like role for himself. Ultimately, this evolution contributes to the rehabilitation of a figure that was once derided and who now emerges as one that might be admirable. The hypochondriac has been transformed from the patient into a doctor. There is some irony in the fact that earlier hypochondriacs attempted to be their own "physicians." As patients, they often diagnosed themselves with grave maladies, and even overruled the interpretations of medical professionals when they were contrary to their delusions. Here, Molière is portrayed as a social doctor, and his works a type of social remedy. The hypochondriac assumes the role of physician. He is no longer a figure who "misperceives" the world around him. Instead, he is presented as one who understands the nuances of society to such an extent that he can reflect it upon the stage. He takes the character of Pirlone and performs him upon the stage dressed in Pirlone's clothing. The figurative mirror first proposed by Bartoli that once held the possibility of "curing" the invalid, now becomes a form of therapy for society. Molière might well be a patient, but that does not threaten his faculty of reason.

This shift is further evident in the way in which Leandro associates Molière with philosophy. While Leandro states that he himself is not a philosopher, he implies that Molière is indeed one. The hypochondriac has come a long way. He is now a figure of reason and has become a voice that is representative of philosophy. In the intermezzi he began as a social pariah, and while he becomes a more sympathetic character as Goldoni's comedies mature, it is only

with *Il Molière* that the figure is raised to such a level, and whose insights, while a departure from those of society, are not delusional. Moreover, the Venetian playwright offers plausible and realistic reasons for why Molière suffered from melancholy. Much like his own theater that reached into the world for inspiration, his melancholic playwright is affected not by the star under which he was born, but by the society that surrounds him. This shift is consistent with Goldoni's ideas concerning theatrical reform.

Part of Goldoni's strategy in elevating the status of the hypochondriac is to place him in opposition to his friend and foil, Leandro.[32] By contrasting the two figures, Goldoni removes the reproach commonly seen in depictions of the hypochondriac as a morally stigmatized figure. Leandro is the only character in the comedy who mentions Molière's hypochondria. Because of this, the malady is also only referenced in a context that invites a comparison with the behavior and vices of Leandro. Such a device allows Goldoni to reshape the discourse surrounding hypochondria, and displace the blame so commonly seen in the early intermezzi. Molière highlights the differences between him and his friend:

> Per legge d'amicizia lo soffro, e lo riprendo:
> Ambi siam stati insieme scolari di Gassendo.
> Oh mal spesi sudori d'un uomo senza pari!
> Ha fatto veramente due celebri scolari!
> Quello i suoi studi impiega in crapulare, e bere
> Ed io mi struggo in questo difficile mestiere.[33]

[32] See Herry, "Goldoni, Tartuffe et Molière," 83-86 for a discussion of the relationship between Molière and Leandro.

[33] "Because of the law of friendship, I put up with him and I take him back: / Both of us were scholars of Gassendo. / What a waste of sweat for a man without equals! / He truly made two celebrated scholars! / One whose studies are employed in gambling, and drinking / And me who struggles in this difficult profession." Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1292n1.

Molière underscores the difficulties of his career, which he compares to those of his friend. While Molière sees his loyalty as an indication of his moral rectitude, he identifies Leandro with a specific vice: drinking, one that alters the perception of reality. This is a crucial distinction. By doing so, his friend becomes representative of immorality and misperception, whereas Molière emphasizes his own status as a victim of a vicious society. In some ways, Leandro assumes the qualities of the traditional hypochondriac. By contrast, Molière loses them, as if a migration had taken place from one to the other. As Molière proclaims: "Oh vizio vergognoso è pur quello del vino!"[34] This shift is further underscored by the fact that Leandro imbibes to excess and ultimately misses the staging of *Tartuffe.*[35] If theater is meant to be a corrective curriculum, Leandro symbolically skips the lesson by missing the performance.

It is not uncommon in the theatrical tradition for the figure of the hypochondriac to be paired with a predictable secondary figure. This was seen in earlier intermezzi and drammi giocosi in which a widow often accompanied the figure of the hypochondriac on stage.[36] The individual oftentimes served to point out the failings and the absurdities of the invalid. Here, by contrast, it seems that Goldoni is now pairing the patient with a new type of companion and inverting certain elements drawn from their traditional roles. Unlike his predecessor foils,

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[34] "What a shameful vice wine is!" Goldoni, *Il Moliere,* 1292n1.

[35] See Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1120-1121; and 1122 where Molière laments: "Il chimico sa trarre balsami dal veleno; / quei col vin salutare s'empiono di tosco il seno. / [...] / Poiché, serpendo il vino per fibre e permeati, /Alla ragione ascende de' spiriti svegliati, / E copre lor d'un velo d'atomi tetri e densi, / E il cerebro sublime, ed imprigiona i sensi; / Onde alle cose esterne sembra cambiarsi aspetto, / Tolto da' caldi fumi il lume all'intelletto." This is the only example of discourse in the comedy which sounds medical in nature. Interestingly, it is the hypochondriac who employs such rhetoric. However, it is not to speak of his own disease, but rather of the effects of drinking on the body and mind. What begins to emerge in this play is a "pathology" of drinking. While Goldoni does not call it an "addiction" he appears to be underscoring its dangerous nature to society and also to the individual's body. Moreover, Leandro's drinking interferes with his life and his relationship with other characters.

[36] Examples of this can be found in the intermezzi couple of Don Chilone and Erighetta, the widow Limbella and her prey Cleone in *L'ippocondriaco*. See above, section I.3.

Leandro does not seek to exploit or manipulate his friend. This might be because the hypochondriac is no longer depicted as an unreasonable victim and cannot easily be duped, but it might also indicate that the technique of pairing the hypochondriac with another figure has new motivations. Rather than being used to demonstrate the weaknesses of the hypochondriac, the alcoholic here figures the vices formerly attributed to the patient. The "bad" behaviors of the hypochondriac now seem to be characteristic of the alcoholic.[37] In a boisterous scene between the two friends, Molière scolds Leandro for his immoderation and Leandro teases Molière about his melancholy:

> LEA. Bevo, eh?
> MOL. Sì, un po' troppo.
> LEA. E il vin mi desta allegria.
> MOL. Tavolta!
> LEA. E il vostro latte v'empie di malinconia.
> Fate così anche voi: bevete, e state allegro;
> Che latte? Altro che latte! Mescete bianco e nero.[38]

Leandro suggests that what he drinks induces his happiness. His happiness is a type of illusion brought on by the consumption of alcohol. While Leandro may criticize Molière's sadness, he only achieves an approximation of happiness. What Leandro perceives as "real" is in fact an

[37] The juxtaposition of the hypochondriac and the alcoholic reappears in Goldoni's later work *Il medico olandese*, which suggests that the figure here enters the playwright's repertory as part of the new representation of the malady. See below, section IV.1.

[38] "LEA. I drink, right? / MOL. Yes, a little bit too much. / LEA. And wine makes me happy. / MOL. Certainly! / LEA. Your milk makes you melancholic. Do as I do, drink, and you will be happy. / What milk? Anything but milk. Mix white and black." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1084. In Goldoni's preface to the work he references Mr. Grimarest's "Life of Molière" as the work from which he drew his biographical facts for the comedy. See Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1077. In Bodo Guthmüller's notes for his edition of the comedy, he identifies in one Grimarest's passages on Molière what he believes to the the source of the "milk" exchange scene in Goldoni's work: "«Il était devenu très-valétudinaire, et il était réduit à ne vivre que de lait. Une toux qu'il avait négligée, lui avait causé une fluxion sur la poitrine [...];de sorte qu'il fut obligé de se mettre au lait pour se raccomoder et pour être en état de continuer son travail.»." Carlo Goldoni, *Il Molière*, ed. Bodo Guthmüller (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), 189 n. I.I.64.

illusion. He asks the question, "Ditemi, amico mio, / A letto più contento andate voi, o io?"[39] This is a challenge of sorts to which Molière responds: "Voi non potete dire d'andar contento a letto; / Un ebrio non discerne il bene dal difetto."[40] Molière thus accuses Leandro of that which has traditionally been condemned in hypochondriacs: distorted perception. The mode through which Leandro seeks happiness has moral drawbacks and grave consequences. As Molière suggests, what Leandro believes to be happiness cannot be true contentedness. Those who are melancholic cannot be condemned more severely than those who ultimately only experience the illusion of happiness. At least in the case of the hypochondriac Molière, he knows how to distinguish between what is good and what is a defect.

Leandro struggles with identifying Molière's symptoms of melancholy. When Molière finds himself confronted with an intoxicated Leandro, he has already been agitated by the mounting drama of the female characters. When Molière responds to him with impatience, Leandro immediately identifies his fury with hypochondria:

> Ecco qui; maladetta la vostra ipocondria;
> Cogli orsi siete degno di stare in compagnia.[41]

Although Molière has legitimate reasons to be upset, his friend declares that his impatience is symptomatic of his disease. What Leandro does not realize is that his friend is reacting to frustrations that are independent of his temperament. Rather, society is responsible for his unpleasant manner. Leandro lacks context for his friend's agitation, which can be explained in other ways, and proceeds to suggest how he could improve upon his mood with alcohol:

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[39] "Tell me, my friend, / Who goes to bed more content, you or me?" Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1084-1085.

[40] "You cannot say that you go to bed content, / A drunk does not discern the difference between what is right and what is defect." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1085.

[41] "Here it is; / Your cursed hypochondria, / You are worthy of being company for bears." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1102.

> Eh, non pensate a nulla, fate il vostro mestiere:
> Ogni due versi, o quattro, bevetene un bicchiere.
> E dopo d'ogni scena, una bottiglia almeno,
> E terminando ogni atto, un grosso fiasco pieno.
> Indi, finite l'opra, se stanco è l'intelletto,
> Bevete, e poscia andate caldo dal vino a letto.[42]

Echoing some of the period's medical theories, Leandro believes that it is his friend's immoderate study that is causing his problems. He poses as a comic physician and his suggestions read like a prescription. He indicates at what moments in the writing process his friend should imbibe and in what specific quantities. Leandro implies that the hard work of writing a comedy can lead to a tired intellect and specifically melancholy and hypochondria. Leandro's remedy, however, wine, has already proven to be a false cure, one which can only produce an approximation of happiness. Where Leandro suggests that wine could aid in artistic production, he evokes the tradition of associating melancholy with the imagination: "Il vino è quel che accende la nostra fantasia, / Pel comico poeta vi vuol dell'allegria."[43] Leandro insists on a connection between the poet's work and his personality, as though that might influence the quality of the writer's poetry. While Leandro might well be a loyal friend, his suggestions for the poet are not meant to be received by the audience as sound advice. Leandro's own vice precludes him from being a voice of reason in remedying the hypochondriac. Moreover, his "unreason" is associated with the erroneous notion that a poet's work is a reflection of his temperament.

As the depiction of the hypochondriac evolves in *Il Molière,* the symptoms and the nature of the disease become less essential to the depiction of the individual suffering from the illness.

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[42] "Don't think about anything, do your job: / Every two or four verses drink a glass of it. / And after each scene, a bottle at least, / And finishing every act, a large full wine bottle. / Then finish the work, if your intellect is tired, / Drink, and after drinking go to bed warm from the wine." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1102.

[43] "Wine is that which lights our fantasies, / For a comic poet needs to be happy." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1102.

Molière's malady does not define him, nor is there an in-depth discussion of how to cure him, except on the part of Leandro who insists on wine as a path to convalescence. This comedy does not develop new notions of the disease's manifestations, nor does it describe potential cures, only erroneous comedic ones. What makes this play significant in Goldoni's corpus is the new role that the hypochondriac assumes within the work. Molière, who happens to be a hypochondriac, is a reasoned philosopher capable of educating his public about society's vices. Consequently one of the main structural elements of traditional comedies that feature a hypochondriac dissolves. In the theatrical conventions already delineated, hypochondriacs and melancholics oftentimes have ancillary roles. While their illnesses might be represented as a cause of familial or societal disorder, their disease tends not to be the focus of the work. The exception to this rule is Rosaura in *La finta ammalata* whose supposed illness dominates the entire comedy. What *La finta ammalata* shares with its predecessors, however, is the insistence on the symbolical removal of hypochondria from the stage by the end of the play, which could be realized in the form of a cure or even in an attempt to evacuate the hypochondriac himself from the stage completely.[44]

In *Il Molière* the hypochondriac and the illness are not driven from the stage. Instead the focus is on how to rid the stage of the critic. In an attempt to prevent Molière's work *l'Impostore* from being performed, Pirlone creates discord in Molière's relationship with Guerrina and her mother, two of the key actresses in the upcoming performance. He convinces La Foresta, one of Molière's servants, that she ought to work for him instead. In response to this revelation, Molière's desire to perform intensifies: "Ah sempre più d'esporre il mio *Tartuffo* ho sete; / Di

[44] An example of this is the intermezzo *L'ippocondriaco* in which the wife attempts to murder her husband. See above, section II.1.

Pirlone il ritratto sulla scena vedrete."[45] This response has interesting implications about theater. When Molière sees an individual who is acting immorally, his impulse is to depict them upon the stage, as if the illusion of theater could itself be remedial: "Di risa e di fischiate Pirlon sarà la meta, / Io voglio vendicarmi da comico poeta."[46] The theater allows Molière to ameliorate his situation. He is able to do this because theater represents the surrounding world, as Molière confesses: "Sì, sì, quel professore d'indegna ipocrisia, / Ch'è il primo originale della commedia mia."[47] Thus the theatrical reflection of the world can be corrective. Pirlone is a hypocrite affected by one of the societal vices that Molière cites at the beginning of the comedy as the cause of his melancholy. Hypocrisy, however, is a very particular and perhaps illustrative vice. Such an individual is a dissimulator. He or she creates an illusion which is self-beneficial, but is not actually representational of who they are. There are, therefore, parallels between the hypocrite and the old representation of the hypochondriac, who is also caught up in illusion, although it is not always for narcissistic reasons. Here an expanded differentiation emerges in Goldoni's comedies between types of illusion that are an element of vice and those that are not. In order to teach Pirlone a lesson, Molière facilitates two performances. The first makes use of Foresta who seduces Pirlone until he undresses and ends up locked in a closet. The second involves Molière, dressed in Pirlone's clothing, performing the role of Tartuffe upon the stage.

[45] "I am increasingly eager to present my *Tartuffe*; / You will see a portrait of Pirlone on the stage." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1104.

[46] "Laughing at and booing Pirlone will be the goal, / I want to vindicate myself as a comic poet." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1104.

[47] "Yes, yes, that professor of shameful hypocrisy who is the original [inspiration] of my comedy." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1103.

Pirlone's clothes are recognizable to the audience, and consequently Molière's performance reveals to the spectators the imposter's true nature. The critic becomes the imposter.

This association with hypocrisy humiliates Pirlone, who understands the link with Tartuffe, even though he does not actually witness the performance. He remains locked in the closet, fully aware of his misdeeds. Pirlone recognizes his ill ways, and asks for forgiveness, "Rinunzio all'impostura, al vivere inonesto; / A voi, al mondo tutto mi scopro qual io sono, / E delle trame indegne, Molier, chiedo perdono."[48] An interesting reversal here has occurred compared to the formulations presented by Bartoli in *L'effigie d'un malinconico,* where a mirror is held up to a hypochondriac to unravel the illusion of ill health. Now the hypochondriac holds the mirror up to the imposter, who is subsequently reformed. The hypochondriac becomes intolerant of certain illusions, rather than the victim of them. If this is the case, the question arises as to whether or not hypochondria can remain on the stage as an illness associated with illusion. Goldoni seems to have begun to disassociate the two.

Through the figure of Molière, Goldoni rehabilitates the hypochondriac. He is no longer a figure of derision, but a figure to be admired, a victim of society's woes. Through Molière, Goldoni expands on the chain of association between illusion and remedy already seen through the character of Dottor Onesti in *La finta ammalata.* The hypochondriac-physician will wield the mirror of theatrical illusion in front of society to ensure that its errors will be corrected. An important distinction begins to emerge in this piece between moral and immoral dissimulation. As Molière explains, "il finger per inganno è vergognosa frode / Ma il simular onesto è pregio e

[48] "I renounce fraud and dishonest living / Because of you, I exposed myself for who I truly am to the world, / And for my unworthy plots, Molière, I ask forgiveness." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1126.

merta lode."[49] This holds true for Dottor Onesti in *La finta ammalata* whose theatrical remedies help cure the hypochondriac. It is consistent with the theories delineated about theater by Goldoni. Theater, which is by nature an illusion, can in fact, if it is honest, be corrective for society, and also model morality. As such, the hypochondriac's rehabilitation coincides with the reform of the theater and the hypochondriacal playwright becomes metaphorically a social doctor.

III.3 Rehabilitating the Hypochondriac: *Il vecchio bizzarro*

The year of 1753 marked a new phase in Goldoni's career as he began working at the San Luca theater owned by the Vendramin family. Early in the year he had performed his last work at the San'Angelo theater, his famous masterpiece *La locandiera.* Vendramin's theater troupe offered certain challenges, as it was not accustomed to the "new" type of comedy that Goldoni had been writing for San'Angelo. In addition, San Luca was a large theater in comparison to San'Angelo, which made it more difficult to stage "intimate" comedies. Guido Nicastro considers these years from 1753-1759 to be a particularly experimental time for the Venetian playwright.[50] This certainly holds true for the figure of the hypochondriac. While Goldoni's *Il vecchio bizzarro* offers one of the most elaborate examples of a hypochondriac in the playwright's corpus, it has unfortunately been mostly overlooked by scholars. This is perhaps due to the fact that it is considered one of Goldoni's least successful comedies, and marks one of the most humiliating moments in the Venetian's career. Originally entitled *Il vecchio cortesan* or *El cortesan antigo,* the comedy was performed during the 1754 Carnival season at the San Luca

[49] "Pretending in order to trick is a shameful fraud / But honest simulation is a virtue and deserves praise." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1122.

[50] Guido Nicastro, *Goldoni e il teatro del secondo Settecento* (Rome: Laterza, 1974), 51-52.

theater. According to Goldoni's account, the actor Rubini, who played the role of Pantalone, had never performed without a mask before. Consequently the results of his recitation were disastrous. Immediately after the closing scene, the audience erupted in hisses. Goldoni snuck off, masked, into the crowds leaving the theater and was horrified to overhear the barrage of negative comments about his work that were circulating. Supposedly, that evening he returned home and in a furor to redeem himself wrote in one sitting *Il festino* which, performed fourteen days later, was a rousing success.[51] While *Il vecchio bizzarro* was certainly not a popular work during Goldoni's time, it merits attention as one of the most fundamental comedies for tracing the evolution of the hypochondriac figure within the Venetian's corpus.

After the advances in the representation of the hypochondriac that were seen in *Il Molière*, the invalid Celio in *Il vecchio bizzarro* seems almost antiquated. Predictable plot formulas reappear after a long hiatus, such as a scene in which the hypochondriac lists his physical symptoms and a scene in which a character disguises himself or herself as a doctor to prey upon the hypochondriac. This return to theatrical convention seems incongruous with the character development found in the evolution of Goldoni's comedies. Suddenly the figure of the hypochondriac has regressed back to the simple, metaphorical, static mask of its earlier manifestations. This is further evident when one considers how Celio's social status underscores this claim. Unlike the character Molière, who is elevated to the level of a philosopher and social doctor, Celio embodies irritating qualities that at first glance seem inconsistent with the rehabilitation of the hypochondriac figure. Careful evaluation of the more formulaic scenes, and close consideration of Celio's rationalizations and interactions with other figures such as Pantalone, reveal a more complex and original figure than the one found in the dramatist's early

[51] See Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 344-345.

work. Despite echoes of the intermezzi and drammi giocosi, Goldoni rehabilitates the archaic depiction of the traditional hypochondriac and, in doing so, dramatically changes theater's therapeutic approach to treating the disease.

Consistent with earlier works, the nature of Celio's illness is common knowledge among all the other characters. Early on in the comedy, Pantalone says of his friend Celio: "Peccà che el patissa i flati ipocondriaci. La saverà anca ella; el xe un raner de vintiquattro carati."[52] Similarly, Traccagnino states in an aside: "Tutto el so mal l'é in te la testa."[53] No one but Celio doubts the nature of his symptoms.[54] Even though Traccagnino suggests that Celio's illness resides in his head, he does not dismiss the possibility that it has physical causes or consequences. This is one of the ways that transform Celio into a new type of hypochondriac in contrast with his earliest predecessors. Regardless of whether or not his symptoms are real or imagined, Pantalone responds to him with compassion and sympathy.

In order to understand the new therapeutic approach depicted in Goldoni's work, it is necessary to consider the representation of the etiology of Celio's disease. In contrast with the

[52] "It is a shame that he suffers from the hypochondriacal flatus. You too know that he is truly an eighty-carat frog [hypochondriac]." Carlo Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 365.

[53] "His malady is all in his head." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 366.

[54] For more information on the notion of "I flati ipocondriaci," see Zeviani's treatise, in which he posited that there were two triggers of hypochondria, both of which were related to behavior. According to him, the illness is caused by "procatartica"—over use of the mind—or "antecedente"—which is related to lack of physical activity or another underlying illness, both of which could cause a weakening of the nerve fibers. Zeviani, *Del flato,* 52. In the case of hypochondria procatartica the "spiriti," being used up by the mind, cause the nerves to stay stretched and open for too long a period of time. This results in the weakening of the networks of nerves and the slowing down of the body's humors. It is the source of myriad physical symptoms that include digestive problems, which cause the worrisome *flato ipocondriaco* that leads to melancholy. Zeviani conceives of hypochondria as a physical illness originating in the area of the abdominals. Ultimately it can result in disturbances to the brain and cause a series of pains and discomforts throughout the patient's body. However, Zeviani's notion of the illness identifies behavior as the underlying culprit of the disease. Although such physiological mechanisms were disputed by different physicians, from Farra to the mid-century, concerning whether they were caused by "passioni di animo," over-study, or a sedentary lifestyle, patients suffering from hypochondria and melancholy shared a tendency towards bad habits.

explanations given by such figures as Pantalone, Celio's understanding of his illness remains anchored in old medical theories when he laments: "Questi umori vaganti, questi sieri acri, mordaci [...]"[55] In effect, Celio subscribes to a humoral explanation of his malady. By the mid-eighteenth century, humoral descriptions of hypochondria had not yet entirely disappeared, but they represented a theory dating back to antiquity.[56] Because of this, Celio not only evokes the old mask of the hypochondriac, but also perhaps a somewhat antiquated explanation of the disease.

Consistent with a return to old conventions, Celio suffers from all the typically irritating symptoms of hypochondria that were present in the early intermezzi and drammi giocosi of the Italian tradition. He is obsessed with his physical well-being and unrelentingly believes, despite all evidence to the contrary, that he is about to succumb to a very serious illness. This differs from the presentation of the character of Molière insomuch as for Celio the focus is on the symptoms, rather than on the ultimate cause of the malady. Much like his theatrical predecessors, Celio eagerly searches for someone to confirm his fears. In a comical exchange with his servant, he insists upon an immediate evaluation of his health: "Aspetta. Guardami un poco in viso. Che ti pare? Sono pallido? Ho cattiva ciera?"[57] Celio seeks a visible indication of his physical well-being. This is a typical behavior of the old hypochondriacs. His servant Traccagnino, either happy or frustrated enough to oblige him, offers alarming interpretations of his coloring: "Sì

[55] "These wandering humors, these bitter serums, biting [...]." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 366.

[56] Vila, *Suffering Scholars,* 53, 126.

[57] "Wait. Look for a little bit at my face. How does it seem? Am I pale? Do I have a worrisome complexion?" Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 365.

rosso come un gambaro…Rosso come el scarlatto."[58] Both of these comments compound the patient's anxieties, sending him into a fit. In his agitated state he asks for a peculiar object:

> CEL. Mi sento del calore alla testa. Dammi uno specchio.
> TRA. Uno specchio? Da cossa far?
> CEL. Voglio vedere che sorte di rosso è.[59]

The mirror suggests self-diagnosis, a habit that identifies most hypochondriacs. The image of the mirror, both literally and metaphorically, has played an important role in the evolution of this figure. For Bartoli, the act of looking at oneself in the mirror—symbolic of self-reflection—was suggested as potentially therapeutic. The act of visualizing oneself was also metaphorical, since the true therapeutic value of the practice was in leading the hypochondriac to recognize and verbalize his illness. In this scene, however, Celio finds no relief in seeing a reflection of himself: "No…sì...lascia vedere. Non ci vedo. Mi viene qualche male. Presto un cerusico."[60] Despite seeing his reflection, he does not learn anything from his image, as though Bartoli's proposed therapy were worthless. The lack of evidence supporting his interpretation does little to shake Celio's diagnosis of near-death. Celio resembles the traditional hypochondriac insomuch as he accepts a distorted reality in which he believes himself to be ill.

In earlier works the figure of the hypochondriac served as an opportunity for Goldoni to reflect on the nature of the theater. If the metaphor embodied in Celio is extended further to reflect the realm of theater, it is even more revelatory. If theater is the reflection of the natural world, as Goldoni wishes it to be, it functions in a way similar to a societal mirror. Those who

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[58] "Yes, you are as a red as a shrimp.. red as scarlet." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 365.

[59] "CEL. I feel the heat rising up to my head. Give me a mirror! / TRA. A mirror? To do what? / CEL. I want to see what sort of red it is." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro*, 366.

[60] "Let me see myself. I don't believe it. I'm about to get sick. Quick a surgeon." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 366.

attend the theater are able to recognize the vices depicted on stage as a reflection of behaviors extant in society. In this case, a character associated with an old mask of the theater cannot perceive the truth about his own well-being in spite of the fact that he is viewing a mirrored reflection of himself. By extension, his unsuccessful self-reflection is perhaps also a critique of the old theater's representation of the remedies for hypochondriacs, one that did not seek to analyze in all of their hidden complexity the purported vices of the audience.

There are other moments in which Goldoni appears to be returning to theatrical conventions of the past. Celio insists, for example, on the importance of his pulse as an indication of his overall health. Throughout the comedy, he incessantly monitors his heart rate in this way, and asserts that others should do the same. In an echo of the mirror image scene above, like many of his predecessors, Celio seeks confirmation of his worst nightmare. The exchange that takes place below follows the traditional structure. The hypochondriac relays his woes to an unsympathetic interlocutor who confirms or intentionally exacerbates the worries of the invalid:

CEL. Traccagnino, vieni qui. Tastami un poco il pulso.
TRA. El polso? Dove?
CEL. Qui, qui, il polso. Non sai dov'è il polso che ordinariamente si tasta?
TRA. Sior sì, lo so.
CEL. Senti dunque. (*gli dà il braccio)*
TRA. Dov'elo el polso?
CEL. Non lo trovi?
TRA. Mi non lo trovo.
CEL. Povero me! Cercalo; senti bene.[61]

This scene follows theatrical conventions that were reprised in comedies featuring a hypochondriac. Celio relays his concerns and Traccagnino responds by heightening his worries.

[61] "CEL. Traccagnino, come here. Take my pulse. / TRA. Your pulse? Where? / CEL. Here, here, my pulse. Don't you know where you usually feel to find a pulse? / TRA.Yes, sir. I know. / CEL. Then find it. / TRA. Where is your pulse? / CEL. Poor me! You can't find it? / TRA. No, I can't find it. / CEL. Look around for it. Feel it well." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 366.

The scene revolves around an erroneous attempt at self-diagnosis, which is followed by a malicious confirmation by his servant. Such exchanges between invalids and others were predictable and could be anticipated by an experienced audience of comedy. In part due to this invariable structure, the earlier hypochondriacs appeared to be static figures. Their behavior was consistent from one scene to the next and their interactions with other individuals incited expected responses. As a consequence hypochondriacs lacked psychological depth and served instead as predictable comic figures guaranteed to elicit a laugh.

Another scene borrowed from the early intermezzi and drammi giocosi features a character disguised as a doctor who dupes the hypochondriac.[62] Such scenes reiterate the stereotype that the hypochondriac lacked an ability to distinguish between what is real and what is false both in their bodily symptoms and their immediate surroundings. Consistent with Goldoni's use of theatrical conventions in this work, Celio is tricked by a disguised, imposter doctor, Traccagnino, who is motivated by greed in his deception of Celio. This type of dissimulation is distinct from that which was seen in such works as *La finta ammalata*. In the aforementioned comedy, dissimulation by honest physicians had a curative effect and was represented as therapeutic. When dissimulation is motivated by greed or self-reward, as it is here, it fails to cure the hypochondriac, but when its intent is genuine, it has the potential to have therapeutic effects. A similar sentiment is expressed in *Il Molière* when the French playwright suggests, "Il finger per inganno è vergognosa frode, / Ma il simular onesto è pregio, e merta lode."[63] In this scene, Traccagnino is representative of the ill-motivated dissimulator type:

[62] See above, sections I.2 and I.3.

[63] "Pretending in order to trick is a shameful fraud, / But honest simulation is a virtue, and deserved of praise." Goldoni, *Il Molière,* 1122.

CEL. Ma non perder tempo. Se trovi un medico, digli che venga subito; e se viene subito, gli do uno zecchino.
TRA. (Se podesse chiappar sto ducato!)[64]

In order to fool Celio and to account for the resemblance between himself and the doctor, Traccagnino states that the physician is his brother from Bergamo. He in a sense creates a "false" mirror of himself and puts on a devious performance for Celio. Supposedly, his brother suffers from a "small defect." He has a stutter. Another servant, Argentina, decides that she can also profit from Traccagnino's plan. To aid him in his dissimulation she reinforces the idea of the resemblance between Traccagnino and his brother:

> È verissimo. Un uomo di garbo. Ha fatto in pochi giorni cure grandissime. È brutto come Traccagnino. Gli somiglia affatto nel viso, se non che è un poco zoppo, ed ha qualche difetto di lingua. Per altro, quanto Traccagnino è sciocco, altrettanto suo fratello è dotto, spiritoso e valente.[65]

A consequence of Argentina's intervention in this dissimulation is that she reveals the qualities that would be valued in a doctor—someone who can quickly cure the sick, and an individual who is learned, witty, and talented.[66] Traccagnino does not embody any of these traits. In contrast, Pantalone, who will be discussed shortly, does. Thus the figure of the imposter doctor is here used to underscore how to identify a good physician.

Traccagnino disguised as a doctor uses a familiar technique to mask his incompetency. Traditionally, in order to compensate for their lack of learning, imposter physicians employed

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[64] "CEL. Don't waste time. If you find a doctor, tell him to come right away; and if he comes right away / I will give him a pure gold coin. / TRA. (If only I could take that ducat!)" Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 393.

[65] "It is true. He is a gentleman. He has in few days come up with great cures. He is ugly like Traccagnino. He actually resembles him in the face, if it were not for the fact that he is a little lame, and he has a little language defect. Moreover, as much as Traccagnino is dumb, his brother is educated, witty, and talented." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 394.

[66] See Riva, *Saturno*, 90-113.

long Latin phrases which they hoped would impress the invalid and demonstrate their intelligence. In the broader theatrical tradition, such techniques may be an echo of the figure of the doctor from the Commedia dell'Arte, who oftentimes spoke in "macaronic latin" to prove his learning—despite his lack of understanding of erudite topics.[67] Such a motif, however, was easily transferred to the figure of medical charlatans in theater, since it acted as a kind of linguistic mask that highlighted their lack of training. It was a marker for the audience to help it quickly identify the charlatan. If he was speaking Latin, he was most likely the "false" doctor of the play. This is the case in *La finta ammalata* for example, where Dottor Onesti never used Latin with the invalid, whereas the imposter physician consistently employed it in his interactions with Rosaura's father. Similar strategies are used in the earlier intermezzi and drammi giocosi where disguised wives and servants used pseudo-Latin while dressed as doctors. Since imposter doctors are frequently found paired with hypochondriacs, the misuse of language or language used in an act of dissimulation is a recurring topos in many of the works that feature this type of patient.

Although the pseudo-Latin is oftentimes gibberish or a mere list of translated medical jargon, the humor of the scene lies in the acceptance of such ridiculous utterances by the hypochondriac. Their inability to perceive the mask of language as a plot makes them appear foolish. In *Il vecchio bizzarro,* Goldoni employs a similar comedic strategy. This suggests to an experienced audience that similar conclusions might be drawn about the figure of Celio. He certainly is willing to believe an illusion. However, gibberish Latin will not be the language of

[67] See Pierre Louis Ducharte, *Italian Comedy*, 96-203.

choice for the devious servant. Instead Traccagnino adopts another language of sorts to deceive Celio:

> CEL. Come male? Ho tanto male? Signor dottore, che cosa minaccia il mio polso?
> TRA. Un'apo apo po apopo…
> CEL. Apopo?
> TRA. Apopo…
> CEL. Apople?
> TRA. Apople…
> CEL. Apoplesia?
> TRA. Pro pro pro ple ple ple…
> CEL. Basta così, ho inteso.[68]

The technique that Traccagnino uses is analogous to those that preceded him. His distortion of language conceals his inadequate knowledge of medicine. It is in this small shift relative to tradition, however, that Goldoni takes an old theatrical convention and adapts it to a more modern interpretation of hypochondria. Because he uses a stutter, Celio must interpret what Traccagnino is saying for himself. Although the imposter physician is present, Celio controls the diagnosis and the treatment plan. As in a mirror, he sees in the stutter an image of his own infirmity. In the older comedies, the use of Latin required that the doctor translate the gibberish into some colloquial form and thus proclaim a diagnosis of the malady. In the exchange between Celio and Traccagnino, Celio ultimately, although incorrectly, self-diagnoses his malady. There is no risk that Traccagnino will suggest a disease or remedy that will displease Celio, since, in effect he utters only nonsense.

The scene examined might well be a commentary on the use of Latin by contemporary physicians—and, if so, perhaps reflects growing distrust of the medical world by the community at large. During this period there was an outpouring of critiques directed at mainstream doctors

[68] "CEL. How bad? Am I really sick? Doctor, what is threatening my pulse? / TRA. An apo apo po apopo... / CEL. Apopo? / TRA. Apopo... / CEL. Apople? / TRA. Apople... / CEL. Apoplexy? / TRA.Pro pro proo ple ple. / CEL. That's enough. I understood." Traccagnino is trying to say apoplexy. Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizarro,* 395.

and the medical field, such as those written by Pietro Verri in a collection of articles entitled *Il Caffe*. In Verri's response to a "medico polsista"— a doctor whose main form of diagnosis consisted in assessing the patient by means of taking his or her pulse—the medical profession is condemned as a "mestiere o inutile o pernicioso alla società." [69] Verri's criticism is even more pointed in his article *La medicina* in which he suggests that "se prendiamo tutt'i medici europei[...], ella sarebbe cosa molto problematica il decider se siano più gli uomini ammazzati o risanati dall'arte loro."[70] At the same time, the scene underscores Celio's unwillingness to recognize the reality that surrounds him.

Despite the preponderance of formulaic scenes in this play, there are ways in which Celio begins to diverge from the tradition of his predecessors, particularly in his psychology. In the early intermezzi and drammi giocosi, hypochondriacs are portrayed as having a disease without a cause. No explanation is provided about the root of their fears of their body. In the case of Celio it is explicit. Celio has a profound fear of death. Clarice, capitalizing on this fear, attempts to

[69] "A trade that is either useless or dangerous for society." Pietro Verri, "Lettera d'un medico polsista," in "*il Caffè", 1764-1766,* eds. Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993), 351.

[70] "If we take all of the European doctors [...], it would be a difficult problem to decide if more men were killed or cured by their art." Pietro Verri, "La medicina," in "*il Caffè", 1764-1766,* eds. Gianni Francioni and Sergio Romagnoli (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993), 201. Doctors, in Verri's opinion, do not necessarily prolong life. This is in part because there are two paths for prospective students of medicine: "V'è un sistema buono per farsi un buon medico e v'è un sistema buono per farsi volgarmente stimare un buon medico." Verri, "La medicina," 201. Although Verri believes that aspiring doctors can be trained to be decent professionals, evidenced in his lengthy description of their proper professional formation, he also reduces the medical field to "un'arte di sua natura molto circoscritta e che merita il nome di conghietturale che le vien dato[…]." Verri, "La medicina," 201. For him there are limitations to the art of medicine and doctors cannot be viewed as infallible. Many doctors, such as Zeviani, recognized this reality. In fact, part of his prototype for a good physician includes the following characteristic: "In certe occasioni a noi non manca il coraggio di confessare il corto saper nostro, altrimenti corriamo gran rischio a renderci ridicoli." Zeviani, *Del flato*, 51. George Sebastian Rousseau has explained that in literary works the "satire of doctors and their inability to heal" is "pervasive." George Sebastian Rousseau, "Medicine and the Muses: An Approach to Literature and Medicine," in *Literature and Medicine during the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Marie Mulver Roberts and Roy Porter (Routledge: London, 1993), 52n7. This topos perhaps does not come as a surprise in the cultural context that Verri describes.

induce a melancholic episode in her uncle. She does this by suggesting that her own father had such symptoms, in particular melancholy, which ultimately led to his demise:

> CLA. Non era niente, il poveruomo si è messo in malinconia.
> CEL. In malinconia?
> CLA. Si è gettato a letto, e non si è più levato.
> […]
> CLA. Siamo tutti mortali. Potreste mancare da un giorno all'altro.[71]

This exchange provokes a complete meltdown on the part of Celio. His fear of his body resides in his underlying fear of death. He has a similar reaction when speaking with Pantalone earlier on in the comedy:

> PAN. Coss'è sta paura? De cossa gh'aveu paura? De morir? Un volta per omo tocca a tutti.
> […]
> CEL. Per amore del cielo, non mi parlate di malinconia. Quando sento discorrere di queste cose, mi vengono le convulsioni.[72]

The fear of death, perhaps because of his brother's recent fatality, unleashes a melancholic response. Celio lists his symptoms immediately after being reminded of the possibility of death, which suggests a connection between emotional stress and hypochondria.[73] This behavior seems more reasonable, since his over-sensitivity to his body arises from his concern that he may miss a symptom indicative of impending death. Now, although still deranged, his worries have a clearer rationale, which renders him more likely to be viewed with an empathetic eye by the audience. Although Celio resembles the old hypochondriacs, he is given a back story that takes a step

[71] "CLA. The poor man became melancholic. / CEL. Melancholic? / CLA. He threw himself in bed, and he never got back up. [...] / CLA. We are all mortals. You could die any day now." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 391-393.

[72] "PAN. What is this fear? What are you afraid of? Of dying? Every man has to take his turn. [...] / CEL. Please, don't speak to me of melancholy. When I hear chatter about these things, I start getting convulsions." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 369.

[73] See Currò, "Aspetti," 111.

towards rehabilitating a figure that is perhaps deserving of empathy. An audience should presumably relate to a fear of death.

For Celio, when these attacks occur there is only one possible path to a cure—medicine. This is important, because of the historical moment in which the comedy takes place, one in which a shift had occurred in the cultural status of preventative medicine.[74] Celio is focused on finding a doctor and a medicinal cure.[75] When his friend suggests that he instead try a glass of wine, Celio is initially reluctant:

> PAN. Se ve dasse sto gotto de vin, lo beveressi?
> CEL. Io no.
> PAN. E se ghe mettesse drento un secreto che gh'ho per el vostro mal, lo torressi?
> CEL. Se fosse un medicamento, lo prenderei.[76]

Celio only trusts a medicinal intervention. Pantalone knows this about his friend and in order to help him, pretends to administer medicine to him. In some respects this resembles the tactics used by Dottor Onesti in *La finta ammalata*. Although Pantalone is not officially a doctor, he will suggest an imaginary cure to help his patient-friend. Pantalone's foray into medicine is unsurprisingly efficacious:

> PAN. Aspettè; no vôi che vedè cossa che ghe metto. *(Si volta, e finge mettere nel bicchiere qualche cosa, versando dell'altro vino)*
> […]

[74] "Concern over infirmities caused by intensive study was tied to the growth of hygiene, which became an important part of the medical curriculum during the eighteenth century; manuals on the art of conserving health became popular, and occupational medicine was born." Anne Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 22. Pujati's treatise offers a number of preventative measures to help scholars reverse the potentially dangerous habits of studying. Some of these suggestions include dietary recommendations, sleep, and physical movement. According to him, "si deve far moto, finchè si arriva a farlo con qualche fatica e stanchezza." Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute*, 323. He further suggests that some of the best exercises are: "La carrozza, il calesse, il cavallo." Pujati, 323.

[75] "CEL. Ah Traccagnino, per carità, va a chiamare il medico." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 366.

[76] "PAN. If I gave you this glass of wine, would you drink it? / CEL. Me, no. / PAN. And if I put inside a secret [remedy] that I have for your malady, would you take it? / CEL. If it was a medicine, I would take it." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 369.

PAN. Tolèlo sto medicamento.
CEL. Mi farà bene?
PAN. Tolèlo sora de mi.
CEL. Lo prenderò. (*beve*)
PAN. Ve piaselo?
CEL. Non mi dispiace.
PAN. Ve par de star meggio?
CEL. Mi par di sì.[77]

Pantalone's dissimulated cure is effective, at least temporarily, as Celio feels a little bit better. Although Pantalone does not have the title of a physician, nor does he identify himself as one, his interactions with Celio frame him as a doctor-like figure. As the other older man in the comedy, Pantalone also offers Celio an alternative model of aging that contrasts with the image initially held by the patient. Rather than a sickly individual, Pantalone appears in good health, unconcerned with his inevitable death. It is noteworthy here that the title of *Il vecchio bizzarro* does not refer to Celio, but to Pantalone.[78] Goldoni explains its meaning in his introduction to the comedy in which he defines the figure as an old man who has aged, but has maintained both his good vitality and common sense. In some ways, an important structural element that animates the comedy is that of two men who have aged in decidedly different manners. Pantalone represents a wise, graceful image of aging, whereas his contrasting foil, Celio, represents the opposite. As Franco Fido has maintained, up until the Venetian playwright's works *Sior Brontolon* and *Le baruffe chiozzotte*, Goldoni imbues the figure of Pantalone with the ideal qualities of the

[77] "PAN. Wait; I don't want you to see what I put in it. (*He turns around and pretends to put something in the glass, pouring from the other wine*). / PAN. Take this medicine. / CEL. Will it make me well? / PAN. Take it from me. / CEL. I will take it. *(He drinks)* / PAN. Do you like it? / CEL. I don't dislike it. / PAN. Do you think you are feeling better? / CEL. I believe so." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 369.

[78] For an analysis and breakdown of Carlo Goldoni's titles, see Fido, *Le inquietudini*, 11-21.

mercantile class such as moderation, punctuality, and economy.[79] Here, once again, Pantalone assumes such an idealized role.[80]

In order to fully understand the hypochondriac's role in this piece, Celio must be compared to Pantalone, his more positive foil. As Goldoni describes him in the introduction to his comedy, Pantalone is a model individual for his fellow Venetian citizens. This is seen not only in Goldoni's praise of the *vecchio bizzarro* character type, but also in the eyes of the other characters in the comedy. Florindo refers to him as: "L'amico della pace, onorato, e gioviale."[81] Another character, Clarice, refers to him as "un uomo di garbo."[82] These brief glimpses of Pantalone highlight a contrast between him and Celio, the latter fails to reach the ideal of peace and happiness. Moreover, despite his old age, Pantalone is by contrast representative of health and vitality. As his young admirer, Flaminia, states: "Con il vecchietto allegro non potrei stare che bene. Se fosse uno di quei rabbiosi, o uno di quelli che soffrono più malattie che anni, mi

[79] Pantalone is one of the old masks of the Commedia dell'Arte, but within the works of Carlo Goldoni he is reinvented as an admirable merchant figure. In a description of another work by Goldoni, Fido compares the new figure of Pantalone with the mask of the Commedia dell'Arte: "Accanto al vecchio Pantalone vizioso, prodigo, donnaiolo dei comici dell'arte, troviamo, nei panni di suo figlio Leandro, il personaggio interamente goldoniano dell'abile e *onorato* mercante, che presto si fisserà, invecchiando, nella figura costante di un nuovo e umano Pantalone. Per bocca di Leandro e di tutti i successivi Pantaloni, si precisano i temi positivi del mondo dei mercanti. E i dettami della professione, le *massime* mercantili, tendono fin dall'inizio a diventare norme di vita per la borghesia delle commedie goldoniane; come, per esempio la schietezza e la moderazione[…]o la puntualità[…]e l'economia[…]." Fido, *Nuova Guida,* 10.

[80] In addition to Pantalone helping his dear friend Celio with his malady, the elderly man also attempts to guide the immoderate gambler Ottavio and save him from both financial ruin and humiliation. There are points of contact between his fixes for Ottavio's situation and the remedies that he provides for Celio. However, Pantalone proves to be both a "doctor" in the sense of treating an actual malady, and a "social" doctor in his commitment to helping a young and misguided man maintain what remains of his dignity.

[81] "Friend of peace, honorable, jovial." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 388.

[82] "A good man." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 390.

guarderei dal prenderlo."[83] He is the pinnacle of good health, a trait that Celio does not share with him. Celio highlights the model qualities of Pantalone, but at the same time the contrasts that emerge from this foil underscore his own deficiencies.

In addition to the praise that he receives from others, Pantalone's actions speak to his good sense and virtuous character. While Celio finds himself the victim of the guises of Traccagnino, Pantalone is able to distinguish the true from the false. He is no doddering fool. When the most treacherous of the two leading women in the comedy, Clarice, attempts to seduce Pantalone, he immediately distrusts her advances:

> CLA. (Quanto pagherei, se mi riuscisse d'innamorar questo vecchio.) (*da sé*)
> PAN. (La xe furba[...]) (*da sé)*[84]

As the scene progresses, Clarice continues her valiant effort to ensnare Pantalone who, however, remains steadfast in skepticism: "Non ghe credo una maledetta."[85] Unlike his dear friend, Celio, Pantalone correctly perceives the guises of the world around him and is thus not the victim of other's deceits.

This contrast is acutely apparent in a scene already mentioned in which Celio falls prey to Traccagnino's dissimulation. Pantalone quickly intervenes to uncover the ruse:

> PAN. Cossa feu? Steu ben?
> CEL. Mi è ritornato il mio male. Ed ora son qui con questo medico.
> PAN. Quello xe Traccagnin, vostro servitor.[86]

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[83] "With that happy elderly man I could be nothing but well. If he was one of those angry men or one who suffers more maladies than years of age, I would be careful in taking him." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 405.

[84] "CLA. (How much would I pay, if I could succeed in making this old man fall in love with me.) (*aside*) / PAN. She is clever. (*aside*)." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 371.

[85] "I don't believe her at all." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 372.

[86] "PAN. What are you doing? Are you ok? / CEL. My malady returned. And so now I am with this doctor. / PAN. That is Traccagnino, your servant." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 397.

While Celio is adamant that Pantalone is mistaken, the *vecchio bizzarro* quickly demonstrates his wit by imitating Traccagnino's fake stutter. Eventually the servant realizes that it is best for him to depart before Celio discovers his identity. Unlike Celio, Pantalone proves that he is not easily fooled. He does not fall prey to the false mirror embodied in Traccagnino. This capacity for insight extends to his ability to diagnose Celio. In contrast with Celio's failure at self-diagnosis, Pantalone harbors no illusions about the actual problem from which his friend suffers: "i flati ipocondriaci."[87] Here he already embodies the figure of the physician, one that easily and quickly perceives the true ailment afflicting the patient. Pantalone repeatedly assumes the role of Celio's doctor throughout the comedy, even though it remains in the metaphorical register:

> CEL. Ma se ora casco; se non ho più pulsi! (*tastandosi)*
> PAN. Lassè sentir mo.[88]

The act of taking Celio's pulse is reminiscent of the physician who reads the signs of the patients' bodies. Moreover, like a doctor, Pantalone is also not afraid to tell his friend directly the nature of his illness. When listening to his friend's pulse, he declares that he hears four *rane* or frogs, a lexicon used in Goldoni's works to indicate the presence of hypochondria.[89] Although the act of identifying Celio's illness and listening to his pulse evokes the scene in which Traccagnino appears, Pantalone here solidifies his role as metaphorical physician. He proves capable not only of describing in detail the etiology of Celio's disease, but also of prescribing effective therapies.

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[87] "Windy hypochondria." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 363.

[88] "CEL. But what if now I fall; if I don't have a pulse! (*Taking his own pulse*) / PAN. Let me feel." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 367.

[89] See also Goldoni's *L'ipocondriaco* in section II.1. The origin of this expression is unclear.

As he diagnoses Celio's illness, Pantalone provides a detailed etiology of his friend's malady. In doing so, he delineates not only what is causing his friend's suffering, but he also lays out for the general public in the audience which bad habits are provoking such convulsions to become increasingly widespread in the society of the times. In a sense, he is identifying a public health crisis from a very public podium:

> PAN. Cossa xe ste convulsion? Adesso tutti patisse le convulsioni. I miedeghi dopo tanti anni i ha trovà un termine che abbrazza un'infinità de mali, e cussì i la indivina più facilmente.[90]

Pantalone identifies two important issues here of public concern. First, he notes the growing number of individuals in society who were suffering from convulsions. Secondly, he notes the ineptitude of physicians. The latter was an opinion forwarded in various public fora and even in medical treatises.[91] This reference might have been a direct allusion to a recognized public threat, which, along with hypochondria and melancholy, was becoming increasingly more fashionable in the eighteenth century.[92] Pantalone blames the epidemic on the physicians themselves, who by

[90] "PAN. What are these convulsions? Now everyone has convulsions. After many years doctors have found a term that covers an infinite number of maladies, so that they can more easily guess it." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 370.

[91] See Verri's comments cited above in notes 69 and 70. See also Zeviani, *Del flato*, 177; and Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 52.

[92] See Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 25-51. Lawlor suggests that one of the "core problems" of studying melancholy in the eighteenth century is the "paradox of fashionable disease," or rather, "how a positive interpretation of melancholy might live alongside the negative ones that seem to be a more logical response to the woes of the mind." Lawlor, 25. He further suggests that these illnesses, "as defined in their particular social worlds, served to construct a cultural narrative that fulfilled certain social functions and, in particular, created cultural capital or primary and secondary 'gain' for individuals and groups within those social worlds." Lawlor, 33. He suggests that the "chronic" nature of the disease, "favour(ed) the development of thought and writing," and that "melancholy detached one from society just enough to liberate the imagination, and from social constraints that might be inconvenient to the creative process," both of which contributed to it becoming fashionable. Lawlor, 33, 38, 39.

his account erroneously categorized a number of different ailments under the umbrella of *convulsioni* in order to more easily arrive at a diagnosis.[93]

Through the words of Pantalone, it seems as though Goldoni is channeling the vibrant medical discourse of his generation. Pantalone offers a reason for all of the individuals suffering from various maladies: destructive habits. He pontificates further:

> Quel che rovina i omeni xe la maniera del viver che se usa presentemente. Mi seguito el stil antigo, e grazie al cielo, non patisso né rane, né convulsion. La cioccolata e el caffè le xe cosse che insporca el stomego. [...]Magno roba bona, roba schietta, roba che cognosso e che non me fa male. Questa xe la maniera de viver un pezzo, e di viver sani. Vu ai vostri zorni avè disordinà; e se non gh'averè giudizio, creperè.[94]

Although Pantalone identifies a clear culprit for the disease, he does not suggest that it is imaginary. In fact, he mentions that he does not suffer from it himself, implying that others legitimately do. He also provides a clear plan for how to avoid the ailment. Pantalone's etiology of hypochondria is grounded in the belief that these illnesses are caused by the spreading ill-advised habits of his generation, and in particular their eating habits. Rather than suggesting pharmaceutical interventions, he delineates in the excerpt above what is good and bad to ingest so that people can "viver sani." This marks a very important shift in the period's theatrical and medical discussions concerning hypochondria and melancholy. Pantalone makes reference to one

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[93] On the supposed "epidemic" of hypochondria, see Pinel, "La follia dei vapori," 187-194. See also Gowland, "The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy," 99. On interpretive questions, see De Vanna, *Il misterioso pianeta,* 12. The authors note the difficulty in diagnosing hypochondria. Arnaud explains that "treatises frequently echoed Syndeham's assertion that it was impossible to list all the symptoms. Worse still, there were not exclusive or constant symptoms, and no symptoms whose presence would rule out the possibility of a hysteric or vaporous affection." In addition, "physicians in the eighteenth century agreed in asserting that hysteric and vaporous affections 'disguised' themselves. Any symptom could be suspected of miming hysteric and vaporous illnesses rather than signaling the pathology with which they had traditionally been associated." Arnaud, *On Hysteria,* 52.

[94] "That which ruins men is the manner in which they presently live. I follow the 'old' style, and thank goodness, I don't suffer from frogs [hypochondria], or convulsions. Hot chocolate and coffee are things that dirty the stomach. [...] I eat good stuff, straightforward stuff, stuff that I am familiar with and that won't make me sick. This is the way to live for a while and live well. Your days are full of disorder; if you are not more judicious you will die." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 370.

of the six non-naturals eating.[95] These non-naturals had to be in balance in order for an individual to remain healthy. In this case, Pantalone believes that an unbalanced non-natural was responsible for much of Celio's suffering and that of society at large. In addition his remarks follow the shift in contemporary public health away from medical interventions to preventative healthcare. Living a healthy lifestyle and avoiding bad habits could ultimately prevent disease. While Celio is not the full equivalent of Molière, the etiology of their melancholy and hypochondria is in some ways analogous.

Societal practices cause disease, not an imbalance of humors. Hypochondria becomes by this account a social disease of sorts. In the case of the character of Molière it was the hypocrisy and the dissatisfaction of his public that caused his suffering. With Celio it is the vices of his society, which he too had adopted, that lie at the cause. Here hypochondria itself is not a vice, but is the *effect* of such a behavior. Despite their difference in status, the etiologies of Molière's and Celio's respective maladies do not diverge significantly. By extension, in the theatrical representation of disease, society's ills become more intimately intertwined with the ailment. If theater is meant to help correct society, as was asserted in *Il teatro comico,* and disease and the vices of society are linked through a causal relationship, then perhaps theater, and by extension the role of the comic playwright, might be to cure societal diseases, and by doing so, to eliminate their nefarious effects.

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[95] On non-naturals, see Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999). Porter cites a famous seventeenth-century Italian physician, Baglivi, as having written the following about the importance of the non-naturals in maintaining good health: "Length of life does not depend on a good physical constitution as it does on the best use of the six non-natural things, which if we rule alright, we shall live long and healthy lives: to divide the day properly between sleep and waking; to adjust our air to the needs of the body; to take more or less food and drink according to our age, our temperament, and whether we live an active or inactive life; to take exercise or rest according to the quantity of our food and whether we are lean or fat; to know ourselves, and be able to rule our emotions and subject them to our reason. Whoever handles these wisely will live long and seldom need a doctor." Porter, 228. For a description of the "ancient doctrine of the non-naturals," see Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 36-37.

Unfortunately for Celio, Pantalone's preventative advice is useless, because he has already succumbed to the bad habits that plague his society. Since such is the case, Pantalone will make therapeutic suggestions. His recommendations do not involve pharmaceuticals, nor bloodletting, nor any of the other old medical interventions so commonly sought out by hypochondriacs in the theater. Instead, all of Pantalone's suggestions can be categorized under the labels of distraction and socialization:

> PAN. Amigo caro, me xe stà dito, che stè poco ben, e son vegnù a posta per farve varir.
> CEL. Come?
> PAN. Vegnì con mi.
> CEL. Da qualche mediego forse?
> PAN. Sì ben: da un miedego che ve varirà.[96]

Since his friend appears fixated on the body, Pantalone will provide opportunities for him to forget these frightening sensations and focus on other aspects of his life. In order to help distract his friend, Pantalone will suggest a social cure. The doctor Pantalone mentions takes the form of a group of men with whom to socialize.

> CEL. Questo signore non potrebbe venir da me?
> PAN. *Non potrebbe*.
> CEL. E dove sta?
> PAN. Poco lontan: al Salvadego.
> CEL. Al Selvatico? All'osteria?
> PAN. Sì ben, e saveu cossa che ha da esser el vostro medicamento? Magnar, bever, e star allegramente con quattro galantomeni, e vu, che fa cinque.[97]

Pantalone believes that eating, drinking, and being happy are all the medicine that Celio is in need of; by extension, what will be curative in Celio's case is the company of others. By

[96] "PAN. Dear friend, you told me that you were unwell, and I came deliberately to heal you. / CEL. How? / PAN. Come with me. / CEL. To a doctor maybe? / PAN. Yes, ok: to a doctor that will heal you." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro*, 367-368.

[97] "CEL. This man couldn't come to me? / PAN. He could not. / CEL. Where is he? / PAN. Not far from here: at Salvadego. / CEL. At Selvatico? At the osteria? / PAN. Yes, and do you know what has to be your medicine? Eat, drink and be happy among four gentlemen, you will make five." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro*, 368.

encouraging him to socialize and seek out companionship, Pantalone implies that Celio suffers from isolation. His therapy not only will cure Celio's physical state, but will also allow him to rejoin society. As Celio proclaims after heeding Pantalone's advice:

> In verità sono obbligato al signor Pantalone. Sono stato allegro; ho mangiato bene. Mi sono divertito, e non ho avuto alcun male. La compagnia, l'allegria, un poco di vino buono mi ha dato la vita. Da qui innanzi voglio regolarmi così. Non voglio medici, non voglio medicine; vuò stare allegro non voglio abbadare a niente. Non voglio mai più tastare il polso. Ora dovrebbe essere più vigoroso.[98]

We are meant to understand Pantalone's suggestions as effective. His advice to Celio should be taken as recommendations for society at large. Unfortunately for Celio, there will be many opportunities for him to return to his bad habits and isolation.

Pantalone's advice echoes common therapeutic remedies found in eighteenth–century medical treatises.[99] Already in Grassino Farra's treatise the physician had recommended the following to those diagnosed with melancholy and hypochondria:

> Procurino di scacciare i pensieri malinconici con godere e conversazioni gioviali, i divertimenti onesti; e l'aria aperta, sia loro esercizio moderato, sfugiano l'ozio, e la solitudine, e vivino lieti.[100]

Similarly to Pantalone, Farra emphasizes the need for conversation. He too opposes solitude and happiness. This was later repeated in a medical treatise by the physician Zeviani. In addition to suggesting a similar socialization-based cure, Zeviani uses language reminiscent of Pantalone to

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[98] "Truthfully, I am indebted to Mr. Pantalone. I was happy; I ate well. I had fun, and I had no ailments. The company, the happiness, a little wine gave me life. From here on out, I want to remain this way. I don't want doctors, I don't want medicine; I want to be happy and I don't want to worry about anything. I don't want to take my pulse anymore. Now it should be more vigorous." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 390.

[99] See, for example, Carolyn Flynn, "Running out of Matter: The Body Exercised in Eighteenth-Century Fiction," in *The Languages of Psyche: Mind and Body in Enlightenment Thought,* ed. G.S. Rousseau (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 147-185.

[100] "They ought to chase away their melancholic thoughts with pleasure and jovial conversations, honest amusements; and open air, as well as moderate exercise, will make idleness go away, and solitude, and they will live happily." Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 57.

describe the necessary remedy: "Conversare con vario genere di persone, onde necessitate a dar luogo a varj pensieri si scordi della propria passione."[101] In addition to what he echoes from Pantalone's speech, he emphasizes the need for variety in order to secure happiness. Zeviani has another important piece of advice for such invalids:

> Gioverà a quest'uopo o essere in villa ed or in città, viaggiare, andare alla caccia, intromettersi in liti e faccende altrui, giocare co' fanciulli, darsi alla musica o ad altra gioconda arte, ma sopratutto procurarsi un buon numero di giocondi amici.[102]

While in earlier works, hypochondriacs were offered dangerous and potentially fatal pharmaceutical remedies, which were not real cures, Goldoni seems to have adopted a new vision of remedial intervention: friendship.

The efficacy of this therapy is evident in the relationship between Pantalone and Celio. Throughout the comedy, both Pantalone and Celio refer to one another as friends. Pantalone does so early on in the comedy before Celio is even introduced onstage: "Sior sì, semo amici co sior Celio. El xe un bon galantomo."[103] He repeats the same sentiment multiple times in the comedy, sometimes substituting the noun "friend" for Celio's proper name: "Amigo, se pol vegnir?"[104] This understanding of their relationship is reciprocated by Celio.[105] In addition to viewing Pantalone in such a manner, Celio begins to refer to Pantalone as if just being in his presence is "medicinal:"

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[101] "Conversing with various types of people, so that it leads to a variety of thoughts that chase away their passions." Zeviani, *Del flato,* 186.

[102] "It will be useful for this need [avoiding melancholy] either being in a villa or in the city, traveling, going hunting, inserting oneself in fights and other people's business, playing with youth, dedicating oneself to music or another lighthearted art, or above all else, procuring a good number of lighthearted friends." Zeviani, 186.

[103] "Yes, sir, I am friends with Mister Celio. He is a good gentleman." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 363.

[104] "Friend, can you come?" Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 367.

[105] See Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 393-394.

CLA. Signor zio, come si sta?
CEL. Benissimo, nipote mia, benissimo. Non ho più male, parmi di essere ringiovanito.
CLA. Ma ne rallegro davvero. Da che deriva questa bellissima novità?
CEL. Deriva dal mio carissimo amico signor Pantalone.[106]

This metaphor is extended until it seems as if Pantalone's sole presence is therapeutic in and of itself: "Il signor Pantalone è la mia salute."[107] Celio's attachment to the figure causes him to conclude: "Basta ch'io lo veda, basta che stia un'ora con lui, mi passa tutto."[108] Pantalone's company is enough to cure him of his malady. Celio begins to crave Pantalone's proximity. Although Celio has his niece, he appears to have no real community at home. It can thus be inferred that his home might be a place of isolation. In order to assure that he feels well more consistently, Celio finds joy in the possibility that Pantalone could potentially become part of his family:

> Non vi è altri che il signor Pantalone che mi consoli, che mi faccia star bene. Volesse il cielo ch'egli prendesse mia nipote per moglie, e che volesse venire a stare con me; lo farei padrone di tutto il mio.[109]

Celio needs companionship, and although Pantalone does not marry Clarice, Celio's niece, he does end up living with Celio:

CEL. Ah signor Pantalone, giacché mia nipote è una pazza, voglio venire a stare con voi. Prendetemi in casa vostra per carità.
[…]

[106] "CLA. Uncle, how are you? / CEL. Very well, my niece, very well. I am no longer sick seeing that I feel younger. / CLA. That makes me truly happy. From what comes this wonderful news? / CEL. It comes from my dear friend Mister Pantalone." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 390.

[107] "Mister Pantalone is my health and salvation." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 409.

[108] "It is enough for me to see him, it is enough for me to be with him one hour, and I recover." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 408.

[109] "Nothing other than Mister Pantalone consoles me, and makes me feel good. May the heavens have him take my niece for his wife, and may he want to come stay with me; I would make him master of everything I own." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 422.

PAN. Volentiera a sto patto sè paron de casa mia. Con mi non gh'averè flati, no gh'averè rane. Staremo allegramente, e con direzion.[110]

The solutions for the play and for Celio's malady coincide. Being a part of a society, even if it is as small as a family unit, can cure social disease. These scenes are reminiscent of Molière's *Le malade imaginaire* in which Argan wishes for his daughter to marry Thomas so that he can have a physician at his disposal. Such analogies between the two works reinforce the role of Pantalone as a doctor-like figure. It is also one of the few up to this point in Goldoni's career in which a hypochondriac of the traditional world of theater is definitively cured. Goldoni rehabilitates the hypochondriac of the intermezzi and drammi giocosi by transforming him into a figure that evolves, rather than portraying him as one that remains ever the same. Instead of marriage, however, as is seen in other works by Goldoni, it is through a friendship that Celio will find relief from his suffering.

Goldoni presents Pantalone as a hybrid—the physician-friend. The notion of this type of medical practitioner emerges in the contemporary medical treatises of the period. One might say that where there is a hypochondriac, there will always be a physician-type figure, since these invalids actively seek medical interventions. Doctors of this period needed to resort to new ways in which to interact with and treat their patients, since hypochondria and melancholy lacked a definitive and consistent corporeal language of expression. Although not fully developed yet, Goldoni anticipates here the therapies for hypochondria that will later be seen in *Il medico olandese*. This change in thinking towards what may be considered the beginning of talk therapy is particularly evident in the work of Pujati who devotes an entire chapter of his treatise to the

[110] "CEL. Oh Mister Pantalone, since my niece is crazy, I want to come and be with you. Take me into your household, please. [...] PAN. Gladly as long as I am master of my house. With me you will not have the winds, and you will not have frogs. We will live happily and with direction." Goldoni, *Il vecchio bizzarro,* 427.

issue: "Quale abbia ad essere il medico dell'uomo Letterato."[111] Pujati criticized doctors who responded to their patients with quick and potentially violent remedies. Instead he describes a new type of physician that is particularly effective in treating the hypochondriac: "Confidente ed amico."[112] This description matches Pantalone to a tee. He is the confidant and dear friend of Celio. The reason for which the doctor must assume this role is elaborated further by Pujati:

> L'estrema politezza del secolo, ed i riguardi per la società, più da quella, che da altra cagion dipendenti, vogliono assolutamente, che l'uomo colto sia sempre in maschera.[113]

Since we are oftentimes pretending or concealing our true nature in societal interactions, it is only our friends who can see past our façade, and ultimately allow us to confront our own weaknesses. Friends can induce us into the kind of self-reflection that resembles looking into a mirror. As was seen in the exchange between Traccagnino and Celio, the mirror is somehow ineffective outside of the mode of friendship. The friend, by contrast, is able to see behind the mask and help their comrades recognize their own deficiencies and ailments.

In his relationship with Celio, Pantalone cures him through the vehicle of friendship. No longer is the figure of the hypochondriac static, mask-like, and one-dimensional, as he was in the earliest theatrical renditions. Pantalone reveals that Celio's bad habits and his fear of death are the cause of his discontent. He takes away the mystery behind this figure, and in doing so allows for his evolution. The mask of the past is now reformed into a figure with a new psychological depth. The possibility of a cure no longer seems elusive. Pantalone helps Celio achieve what he

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[111] "That which is necessary to be the doctor of a learned man." See Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute,* 365.

[112] "Confidant and friend." Pujati, 365.

[113] "The extreme refinements of the century, and attentions to the expectations of society, more for that than any other reason, requires absolutely that the educated man always be in a mask." Pujati, 365.

could not at the beginning of the comedy: see himself in the mirror. By extension, he helps society do the same, as his admonishments are meant to be heard by the audience.

III.4 Tasso's Diagnosis: *Torquato Tasso*

Carlo Goldoni's work, *Torquato Tasso* (1755) is oftentimes grouped along with his earlier comedies *Il Molière* (1751) and *Terenzio* (1754), all of which focus on a specific moment in the life of a famous poet. Goldoni in fact, seemed to wish them to be read in concert:

> Je pris *le Tasse* pour sujet d'une nouvelle Comédie; j'avois mis sur la scene *Térence* et *Molière*; j'imaginai d'en faire autant du Tasse, qui n'étoit pas étranger dans la classe dramatique; son *Aminte* est un chef d'oeuvre; son *Torrisomonde* est une Tragédie très bien faite, et sa Comédie des *Intrigues d'Amour* n'est pas un excellent Ouvrage, mais on y voit toujours la touche d'un homme de génie.[114]

In his description of the birth of this comedy, Goldoni underscores Tasso's theatrical works as if to justify his interest in the Renaissance poet. Moreover, although he admits that perhaps *Intrigues d'amour* is not the best comedy, he believes that it still reveals the poet's "genius." It is perhaps the aforementioned laudatory label that renders Tasso's depiction so different from the others. In Goldoni's comedy, the Venetian poet exploits the full potential of the figure of the melancholic genius.

In Goldoni's comedy devoted to the Renaissance poet Tasso, the Venetian character, il Signor Tomio, mentions that Tasso's verses were recited by all classes of inhabitants in Venice, thereby confirming that in the eighteenth century, Tasso continued to be considered a widely read and respected writer.[115] In addition to Tasso's legendary literary corpus, many authors and critics have expressed their fascination with the poet's biography. Alessandro Coppo has traced

[114] Goldoni, *Mémoires,* 384.

[115] See Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 808.

the sustained interest in Tasso's biography over the centuries which inspired numerous studies devoted in part to exploring the poet's melancholy.[116] Even today, the myth of Tasso as a melancholic genius persists, so much so that Coppo postulates that Tasso intentionally cultivated his image in order to transform his life into a fascinating "magical emblem."[117] There is one biographical incident that captured the attention of Goldoni: Tasso's imprisonment in St. Anna from 1579-1586.[118] Myriad reasons have been proposed for his reclusion, from supposed madness to feigned instability. Some believe that it represented an attempt on Tasso's part to avoid punishment at the hands of Duke Alfonso.[119] In his work *Torquato Tasso* (1755), Carlo Goldoni provides his own interpretation of the period leading up to Tasso's incarceration at St. Anna's and briefly thereafter. He also provides a detailed diagnosis for the poet's melancholic-hypochondria, which Tasso himself explains in the comedy using treatise-like medical language. Goldoni's representation of hypochondria and melancholy is here much more ominous than in *Il Molière* and *Il vecchio bizzarro.* Most importantly, Goldoni is more focused on the scientific details of the disease.[120]

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[116] See Alessandro Coppo, *All'ombra di malinconia: Il Tasso lungo la sua fama* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1997), 9-11.

[117] As Coppo asserts, "Il Tasso continua a costruire termine ineliminabile di confronto per i letterati del nascente sec. XIX: confuso tra i suoi personaggi, egli occupa definitivamente la scena letteraria. Forse si potrebbe dire a suggello di queste osservazioni, egli non ha saputo resistere alla più forte tentazione del melancolico, quella di costruirsi un destino. Oppure ha realizzato il sogno di ogni poeta, quello di sottrarsi per sempre alle contingenze della storia per proiettarsi nella favola poetica, trasformando la propria vita in un magico emblema." Coppo, 11.

[118] See Monica Calabritto, "Tasso's Melancholy and Its Treatment," in *Diseases of the Imagination and Imaginary Diseases in the Early Modern Period,* ed. Yasmine Haskell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011): 201-228. Calabritto uses Tasso's personal letters, in which he describes his melancholy, to trace his own beliefs about his illness and the responses of those around him. Of particular interest is a reference that Tasso makes in his *Messagero* concerning Aristotle's Problem XXX—which is fundamental for the creation of the myth of the melancholic genius. Calabritto, 215. Most importantly, Calabritto reveals that even today the curiosity surrounding Tasso's illness remains high.

[119] Jason Lawrence, "'When Despotism Kept Genius in Chains': Imagining Tasso's Madness and Imprisonment, 1748-1849," *Studies in Romanticism* 50, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 495.

[120] Riva underscores the difference in the representation of the same disease in Goldoni's two works, "Goldoni ci ha lasciato due immagini contrapposte del Poeta Ipocondriaco e Malinconico: nel *Molière* e nel *Torquato Tasso*[…]essi

Goldoni's comedy recounts a short period preceding Tasso's incarceration at St. Anna's and speculates on the motivations for his breakdown. Tasso secretly harbors a love for a woman named Eleonora to whom he dedicates beautiful verses of poetry. Unfortunately, his papers are stolen by the excessively curious Don Gherardo, who reveals Tasso's admiration to three women—all coincidentally named Eleonora—who reside at court. The intrigue of the comedy surrounds a mystery: to which of the three paramours are the beautiful lines directed? In addition to the anxiety arising from the fact that his secret passion is being revealed to the public, Tasso is also subjected to the malicious criticism of his poetical works by Il Cavalier del Fiocco. While Tasso begins a descent into the darkness of a melancholic crisis, he is approached by three individuals, Il Signor Tomio, a Venetian, Patrizio, a Roman, and Don Fazio, a Neapolitan, who offer him an opportunity to return with them to their homelands as an honored poet. Ultimately, after his brief incarceration at St. Anna's, Tasso chooses to leave the court of Ferrara and live in Rome. This ending, however, does not resolve the emotional and physical disorder with which the comedy opens. This marks one way in which the structure of this work deviates from several of Goldoni's own comedic antecedents.

In the preface to the work, Goldoni presents a patient history of Tasso beginning with his infancy. This attention to the figure's life from birth is absent from the depiction of Molière. While he presents the French playwright as suffering from melancholy within the comedy, in the preface to the theatrical work, Goldoni makes no references to Molière being consumed by the malady.[121] Tasso is the only example of a hypochondriac in Goldoni's corpus who manifests

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condividono la stessa malattia, ma le sue manifestazioni e i suoi effetti sono diametralmente opposti." Riva, *Saturno*, 143.

[121] See Goldoni, *Il Molière*, 1077-1078.

symptoms as a child. Drawing on Manso's account of the Renaissance poet's life, Goldoni highlights moments in Tasso's childhood that indicate his trajectory towards melancholy and ultimately his sojourn at St. Anna's. According to Goldoni, Tasso was very serious: "Nella sua infanzia ridere non fu mai veduto."[122] Moreover, Tasso was drawn obsessively to his reading: "Levavasi egli ordinariamente col sole, e prima ancora tavolta, per l'impazienza di applicarsi allo studio."[123] From a young age, Tasso showed the preliminary signs of being fated to become a melancholic genius: he demonstrated a penchant for language and a singular obsession for immoderate learning. [124] As a young man, the Renaissance poet showed signs of excessive studying. He was: "Pallido in viso, e consumato assai dallo studio."[125]

The prelude to the comedy foreshadows the representation of a brilliant, but tormented man. Within the text itself the association between Tasso's learnedness and his malady continues to be emphasized as Don Gherardo confirms: "Sono soggetti i dotti a malattie più strane, / Quanto studiano più, pastiscono più rane."[126] In addition to the quality of his verses, Tasso's illness confirms his exceptional talent as a poet. As he himself explains, "Chi studia, chi

[122] "As a child he was never seen laughing." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 772.

[123] "Rising usually before the sun, and already at the table, due to his impatience to apply himself to his studies." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 773.

[124] Some intellectuals of the eighteenth-century were particularly concerned with the notion of over-study among intellectuals. Vila, *Suffering Scholars,* 30-41. See above, section III.1. These topoi recurred frequently in eighteenth-century biographical works and letters, an example of which is Vico's *L'autobiografia.* See Riva, *Saturno,* 66 for a discussion of Vico's use of melancholy in his autobiography as a means to reclaim the ailment as "a sign of exceptionality."

[125] "Pale in his face, and fairly consumed from studying." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 771. Like many of his predecessors, Pujati warns of the dangers of "la vita sedentaria." It is difficult, according to Pujati, to study while walking. Pujati emphasizes the differences in individuals' bodies: "Quella quantità, che per uno sarebbe fatica, per l'altro può appena dirsi esercizio." According to him, "si deve far moto, finchè si arriva a farlo con qualche fatica e stanchezza." Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute,* 322-323.

[126] "The learned are subjected to the strangest maladies, / The more they study the more they suffer from hypochondria." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 838.

s'affanna, chi vive in afflizione, / I spiriti consuma con ria distribuzione."[127] Moreover, as Goldoni details in his preface, Tasso was melancholic: "di natura, collerico ed impetuoso."[128] This implies that his melancholy and hypochondria were not caused by exterior forces, as was the case in *Il Molière* and *Il vecchio bizzarro*. Tasso's melancholy was somehow intrinsically connected to his existence and was almost inevitable.

Although he might be predisposed to melancholy, Tasso worsens his condition by obsessively revising his verses. Oftentimes, the act of studying is referred to as the individual being "consumed" by the act. This choice of metaphor might be a reference to the multiple medical theories of the period in which the depletion of nerve and other physiological juices were believed to be caused by intense reading.[129] Goldoni employs such language to describe Tasso's malady, but also all those who study immoderately. He writes in the following preface:

> Mi facilitò assaissimo la riuscita l'esser io soggetto di quando in quando agli assalti dell'ippocondria, non per la Dio grazia al grado di quei del Tasso, ma sensibili qualche volta un po' troppo, e familiari a tutti quelli che si consumano al tavolino. Ho di buono, che come il Tasso non m'innamoro, e che delle critiche appassionate non fo quel conto che egli faceva.[130]

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[127] "Those who study, those who worry, those who live with affliction / consume the spirits in an unbalanced distribution." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 838.

[128] "[He was melancholic] by nature, irascible and impetuous." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 773.

[129] According to Ramazzini: "While the brain is digesting what is supplied by the passion for knowledge and the hunger for learning, the stomach cannot properly digest its own food supply." Ramazzini, *Diseases,* 379. This is because "animal spirits" which are needed for proper digestion are preoccupied in the brain and are not flowing properly to the stomach. The brain is metaphorically "digesting" knowledge as the stomach is impeded in doing so. As a result the "nerve fibers and the whole nervous system," were subjected to "intense strain." Ramazzini, *Diseases,* 381. The consequences of this deprivation of "nutritive juice" ranged from "severe flatulence" to "pallor," to improper digestion. Ramazzini believed that excessive "mental work" uses up the "spirituous part of the blood" and as a consequence "leaves the foul earthy part," which ultimately causes melancholy. Ramazzini, *Diseases,* 381.

[130] "The success came easily to me, having been the subject occasionally of the assaults of hypochondria, thanks be to God not as severe as those of Tasso, but sensitive sometimes a little too much, and familiar to all those who consume themselves at the table. I am lucky that unlike Tasso I am not in love, and that I don't have to take into account the impassioned critics that he did." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 774.

In his description of Tasso's malady, Goldoni mentions the individuals who suffer from melancholy are at times too sensitive, or too emotional. This may imply that they react too strongly to the world that surrounds them—a characteristic that will prove true in his depiction of Tasso.

In contrast with Goldoni's portrayal of Tasso, *Il Molière* does not focus on the experience of melancholy, nor does it focus on the internal struggle of the invalid. Nevertheless, there are some striking similarities in the depictions of the two authors, which extend beyond their identification as melancholic writers. Although Tasso and Molière are divided historically by a century, they both endured painful love stories and unwarranted criticism of their works. Thus, although their melancholic hypochondria takes different shapes, the stimuli that aggravate their disease is similar. Goldoni describes Tasso's mental deterioration in the following way:

> Si accrebbe l'amor suo, e fra questa passione, che non poteva senza pericolo manifestare, e fra le persecuzioni degl'invidosi, e malevoli, gli si sublimò l'ippocondria a segno, che pareva di tratto in tratto aver perduto il chiaro lume dell'intelletto.[131]

These two stressors in Tasso's life, which lead him to lose his reason, resemble those that were described in the work devoted to Molière. However, Molière's reason was never threatened. Both figures in fact had to conceal their love from the world. In the case of Tasso, however, there is no resolution to his longing, since he cannot marry the woman that he loves. What unites the two figures most strongly instead is their common struggle against the ignorant criticism to which their masterpieces were subjected.

[131] "His love would grow, and in the midst of this passion, that he could not without danger show publically, and between the persecutions from the envious and malicious, his hypochondria rose to the point that it seemed that from time to time he lost the clear light of his intellect." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 773.

While there are evident similarities between the two characters, there are also striking differences. Unlike Tasso, Molière is not explicitly depicted by Goldoni as being "malinconico di natura." While Molière suffers from melancholy arising from societal demands, Tasso appears to have a baseline temperament that is further aggravated by external causes that can trigger violent bouts of hypochondria. Tasso's predisposition might explain the difference in their degrees of suffering. Moreover, it also suggests an increasingly complex depiction of melancholy and hypochondria.

The notion that Tasso is usually melancholic is emphasized throughout the comedy. In an exchange between Targa and Don Gherardo, the two discuss Tasso's agitation, but they do not imply that the poet is typically calm:

> TAR. Del povero padrone non so che cosa sia;
> Sei, sette volte il giorno lo vedo in frenesia.
> Egli non ha perduto della ragione il lume,
> Ma tetro divenuto mi pare oltre il costume.[132]

While Targa admits that his master's behavior is increasingly disconcerting, he also acknowledges that his usual state is tense. He mentions the risk that Tasso could lose the light of reason, which is a theme that is omnipresent throughout the comedy. This concern differs from those found in *Il Molière*, in which the French playwright's reason was a defining trait, despite his melancholy. Here, while Tasso maintains his reason temporarily, the threat of its loss appears imminent. Reason becomes a central concern in a discourse on melancholy. While individuals might suffer from it and still maintain reason, like Molière, the threat of its disappearance

[132] "Of my master, I don't know what is going on; / Six, seven times a day, I see him in a frenzy. / He has not lost the light of reason, / But he seems more gloomy than usual." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 780.

emerges in the face of prolonged melancholy. This would be especially disconcerting for someone whose life is defined by his intellectual capacities like a poet.

One of the tragic elements of Tasso's existence is that he cannot be completely cured, since he was born a melancholic. This fact reinforces the myth of the melancholic genius. Goldoni highlights this theme in the exchange between Targa and Don Gherardo who offer a similar, pessimistic outlook for the poet:

> GHE. Narrano quanti amici finor l'han conosciuto
> A ridere giammai non averlo veduto.
> [...]
> Difficile è la cura d'un mal con cui si nasce.
> TAR. [...] Quando si nasce matti, non si guarisce mai.[133]

Gherardo reiterates the symptom that Goldoni describes in his introduction: Tasso's lack of laughter. In doing so he also reaffirms that the melancholic behavior that is witnessed in the comedy is not uncharacteristic of the poet. Moreover, he suggests and Targa agrees, that in the case of Tasso, who was born melancholic, there is no possible remedy. This is a problematic situation for a comedy in which the disorder with which it begins can never ultimately be resolved. Tasso will never be cured. This truth is revealed at the onset of the comedy. Much like the threat of losing one's reason, there is here a generic risk that could unsettle the theatrical category. Here is a comedy that might find no appropriate resolution.

There is another important shift indicated by the depiction of melancholy in *Torquato Tasso.* Melancholy here is represented entirely as an internal psychological struggle that can be translated fully to the stage. In the case of Celio in *Il vecchio bizzarro*, his symptoms, albeit imaginary, were taken as indications of his disease. There were no long monologues in which

[133] "GHE. Friends who up until now have met him recount / That they have never seen him laugh. / [...] Difficult is the cure of a malady with which one is born. / TAR. [...]When one is born crazy, one is never cured ever." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 838.

Celio described his psychological turmoil. The focus was on his obsession with the corporeal signs that, for him, announced an imminent, premature death. That is not to say, however, that hints of the interior life of the melancholic were absent from *Il vecchio bizzarro*. In the respective cases of both Molière and Celio, their concerns are revealed as important elements of the disease. Celio is fearful of death, and Molière suffers from harsh criticism. For both individuals the causes of melancholy lay fixed in the world. In the case of Tasso, by contrast, Goldoni not only elaborates a picture of the mechanisms that cause the poet's melancholy, but also explicitly articulates the way in which the melancholic understands his own internal existence. It is in this rhetorical space that melancholy appears on the stage as a new type of illness. Goldoni achieves this effect through the use of extended monologues, through which Tasso's inner workings and reasoning are revealed. It is a formal technique that is rare and undeveloped in Goldoni's earlier works dedicated to the hypochondriac. In contrast to the structure of previous comedies, *Torquato Tasso* opens with a monologue by the protagonist. In the Italian tradition, rarely do hypochondriacs articulate the first lines of a theatrical work. Instead, other figures, such as a servant or a widow, offer a diagnosis in the patient's absence. This has several theatrical consequences, since in the traditional scenario the hypochondriac's symptoms are first filtered for the audience through the interpretation of another figure. This approach serves to undermine the legitimacy of the hypochondriac's subsequent complaints and invites the audience to dismiss him with derision when finally the patient does speak. Here, by contrast, Goldoni gives Tasso a voice, and in doing so, he takes a step towards validating his words. Moreover, since Tasso needs no introduction as a poet or a hypochondriac, the presence of his introductory monologue might imply that the audience has become habituated to the symptoms of the malady. There are, in addition, other aesthetic consequences to beginning the

comedy with a long monologue spoken by the patient. It heightens the sense of Tasso's isolation from the rest of the world. The comedy's curtains open with: "*Tasso solo, al tavolino, pensando.*"[134] Such indications recall those found in the comedy *La Pamela fanciulla* in which Lord Bonfil is directed to look as if he is thinking, which is supposed to project the notion of an inner life that otherwise would go unexpressed.[135] By beginning the comedy focused on a solitary Tasso, Goldoni concentrates the audience's attention on the individual and his experience. He is both literally and figuratively alone. This is facilitated by the fact that Tasso needs no introduction to the audience, neither professionally nor biographically. His monologue and his behavior are already set up by his historical reputation. This is a man of genius, who is struggling with melancholy.

The content of Tasso's monologue also belies a transformation in the depiction of hypochondriacs. Typically, Goldoni's hypochondriacs are introduced in the act of enumerating physical symptoms and ailments. In some ways, this repetitive, conventional behavior functions as an oral theatrical mask. It belongs to a set of fixed behaviors that reveals the figure's identity. When following these theatrical conventions, hypochondriacs almost never reveal their emotional turmoil in detail, nor do they articulate the latent fears that their imaginations harbor. While there may be a cause underlying their malady, they are apt to conceal it and perhaps not even be conscious of its existence. In the case of Tasso, the protagonist provides a list of physical symptoms, and rather displays his emotional symptoms through his use of language. The comedy

[134] "*Tasso alone, at a table, thinking."* Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

[135] See above, section II.2.

thus commences *in media res*, that is, not in the middle of an action sequence, but rather in a moment in which Tasso verbalizes his mental conflict:

> Ho gl'inimici a destra, che all'onor mio fan guerra:
> A sinistra ho colei che co'begli occhi atterra.
> M'insidiano la pace, m'insidiano la vita.[136]

Goldoni reveals the internal mental workings of the hypochondriac by having Tasso articulate his internal turmoil. The audience is in a sense spying on the private thoughts of the patient. It is as though the spectators had been called upon to play the role of Doctor Onesti by listening closely to the patient's voice. Most importantly, what can be deduced from the focus on Tasso's description of his emotional torment is an important rhetorical shift away from the superficial symptoms that characterize the patient toward the internal world of the invalid. This change in the traditional representation of hypochondriacs is further emphasized in a later scene in which Tasso cries, "sentiami nell'interno moti violenti e strani."[137]

Within his introductory monologue, Tasso reveals the two exacerbating problems which torment him: his critics, who threaten his honor, and his secret love for Eleonora. In his discourse concerning his paramour, Tasso reveals the paradoxical feelings typical of the lover in many comedies. While he may praise her, he also discusses at length the ways in which she causes him pain: "mi tormenta e piace."[138] In one sense his secret love is a delight, but it also torments him. He repeats analogous sentiments several times in the monologue when describing her, as he

[136] "I have enemies on my right, that wage war against my honor; / To the left I have her who with her beautiful eyes knocks me over. / They threaten my peace, and they threaten my life." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

[137] "I feel inside myself strange and violent movements." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 799.

[138] "She torments me and pleases me." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

admits the following feelings towards Eleonora: "l'estremo cordoglio e l'allegrezza estrema."[139] Tasso is ambivalent towards Eleonora and, by extension, a new psychological symptom is added to the comedic melancholic's repertory: that of extreme swings in emotions and feelings.[140]

Part of Tasso's difficulty is that his love must remain hidden: "Tacito nutro il fuoco, smanio, peno, deliro."[141] In fact, it is in part this element which exacerbates his upset. Nevertheless, it will soon prove equally distressing, and possibly more detrimental, to reveal the truth. Tasso's struggles are presented as inherently unresolvable. Similarly, while Eleonora causes him immense pain, even to the point of delirium, she also is one of his only sources of comfort: "Che se torbida invidia m'affanna e m'addolora, / Conforto tu mi rechi, bellissima Eleonora."[142] These conflicting statements imbue the figure of Tasso with a sense of instability and unreason: no matter what his actions might be, inevitable sadness will ensue. Tasso realizes that his state may never improve: "Se a cogliere giugnessi delle mie pene il frutto, / Racquisterei la mente, or impazzirei del tutto."[143] The opening lines of the comedy present a hypochondriac whose emotional state has already deteriorated. Tasso is a man at war with those who are jealous of his work, like Molière, but he is also in conflict with his own feelings towards Eleonora.

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[139] "Extreme grief and extreme happiness." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

[140] This was to a certain extent anticipated in *La finta ammalata*'s Rosaura who oscillated between laughter and tears. Rather than focusing on the dramatic representation of an individual bouncing between crying and laughing, Goldoni concentrates on the words used by the patient that express such grand changes in emotion.

[141] "Silent, I nurture the fire, I yearn, I suffer, I am delirious." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 777.

[142] "If turbid jealously worries and pains me, / You, beautiful Eleonora bring me comfort." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

[143] "If I succeed gathering the fruit of my pain, / I will either recover my mind, or go crazy." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 777.

Moreover, while the pain of concealment is acute, the risk of revelation is potentially even more dangerous.

While Tasso's psychological complexity might make him distinct from his predecessors, he still shares with them a number of similarities. Much as in Molière's case, Tasso's admirers note a strange discrepancy between his verses and his temperament. While they never withhold praise of the poet—which implies that although he suffers from a malady, he is meant to be lauded, much like Molière—his acquaintances do wonder how a man with such talent could be such miserable company. As La Marchesa Eleonora admits:

> Vi dirò: dell'autore ho qualche stima, è vero,
> Ma è troppo melanconico, troppo in volto severo;
> Ne so come prodotte abbia sì dolci rime,
> Un uom che nel vederlo nera mestizia imprime.[144]

Eleonora cannot reconcile in her mind how he is melancholic, but is also able to write such sweet verses. Like Leandro before her, she implies that there ought to be an analogous relationship between the temperament of a poet and his creative production. This has been highlighted by Goldoni as a false assumption in *Il Molière*. By extension this suggests that at some level these hypochondriacs and melancholics fail to meet the expectations of society. Here it appears that the lack of correlation between an artist and his creative production seems not to inhibit the writing of excellent works. It also suggests the social isolation that is experienced by those who are melancholic hypochondriacs. If they are not good company, they do not have the social skills to participate in society. They are alienated from the group. As was seen in *Il vecchio bizzarro*, here there is a need to integrate the hypochondriac back into society, and this inclusion is

[144] "I will tell you: for the author I have some esteem, it's true, / But he is too melancholic, too severe in his countenance sometimes; / Nor do I know how he has produced such sweet rhymes / A man that at first sight has black sadness stamped upon him." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 783.

represented as therapeutic. In his initial monologue, Tasso already demonstrates that he is a man who has turned inwards, shunned by critics, and unable to establish a relationship with the woman he loves. He is an isolated man who remains solitary, unable to connect with others. This is also evident in the comments made by Eleonora about the poet. As she identifies the contradiction between the figure of Tasso and his verses, she admits that she does not appreciate his company:

> Ammiro il suo talento, gradisco i carmi sui,
> Ma egual piacere non trovo a conversar con lui.[145]

Tasso lacks the social skills necessary to interact with others. This reinforces the sense of his isolation, but it also evokes the tradition of the "social" symptoms of melancholy. Self-isolation and an inability to interact with society have consistently been represented as symptomatic of the illness. This is, for example, reminiscent of the British figure, Milord, in *La vedova scaltra,* who was not only laconic in his interactions with the widow, but also melancholic.[146] A similar comment is made of Molière by Leandro who claims that the poet behaves differently and unpleasantly with his friends. Thus a psycho-social symptom, rather than a physical indication of the disease, is emphasized here. Regardless of the cause of the malady, artists like Tasso do have recourse: their poetry. While he may alienate himself in social interactions, those who read his poetical works feel drawn to him. This is a new development in Goldoni's corpus. It is as though art were a manner through which the social consequences of hypochondria might be attenuated.

Just as his verses give comfort and joy to others, so do they to the poet. Paradoxically, while immoderate study might in part cause the poet's illness, it might also have curative

[145] "I admire his talent, I enjoy his poems, / But I don't find equal pleasure in conversing with him." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 783.

[146] See above, section II.2.

properties. Goldoni invokes a paradoxical formula reserved for great poets: his verses, like his love for Eleonora, both threaten his demise and offer a remedy. In addition, unlike some of his theatrical predecessors, whose panic is identified by other individuals as anomalous, Tasso seems to have enough self-awareness to know when his feelings are escalating. This development has a number of implications, which include a new emphasis on the importance of the individual and a new self-reflectivity not seen in earlier manifestations of the hypochondriac figure. Rather than requesting a doctor to cure him in his state of agitation, Tasso turns to his own artistic production. The artist becomes his own physician. It is as though Tasso, unlike his predecessors, was capable of holding his own mirror up to himself:

> No, fuor di me non sono; no, non è questa mia,
> Che m'agita e m'accende, dichiarata follia.
> Ma giugnere all'eccesso potrebbe a poco a poco,
> Se a spegner io tardassi nel sen dell'ira il foco.
> Amor, tu mi soccorri; porgimi, amore, aita.
> Oimé! dal mio nemico ho da impetrar la vita?
> Sì, l'unico conforto son gli amorosi versi,
> Dolce rimedio al cuore, benché d'amaro aspersi.
> Leggansi que' poc'anzi all'idol mio diretti:
> Divertasi la mente nel renderli corretti.[147]

For Tasso there is a therapeutic value to reworking and editing his verses. In fact, it is only in relationship to his own verses that he suggests that there is a remedy for his heart. This monologue diverges greatly from the preoccupations of earlier hypochondriacs who sought medicinal remedies. Here poetry functions as a remedial mirror.

[147] "No, I am not out of my mind, this is not my [folly], / That which agitates me and illuminates me, announces craziness. / But little by little it could reach a point of excess, / If I delay extinguishing the fire of anger in my breast. / Love, you aid me, give me help, Love. / Oh my! Do I have to beg for life from my enemy? / Yes, the only comfort are my love verses, / Sweet remedy for the heart, although I sprayed them with bitterness. / May those few directed at my idol be read, / The mind delights in correcting them." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 790.

Throughout the comedy a tension arises between reason and insanity. Tasso seems concerned about maintaining his reason, which he oftentimes uses to defend his own actions. In a scene in which Tasso justifies his decision not to leave Ferrara, even though it is becoming an increasingly hostile place to reside, he affirms that his decision to stay is guided by reason rather than his heart. In an exchange between him and Tomio, a man who attempts to convince Tasso to return with him to Venice as an honored poet, the Renaissance genius seeks confirmation of his reason:

> TOR. No, fuori di me non sono; d'errar non ho timor:
> Il cuor non mi consiglia; parla ragione al cuore.
> TOM. Non dirò, caro amigo, che siè fora de ton;
> Pensè, parlè pulito; par che gh'abbiè rason.[148]

Tommaso believes Tasso and states that he knows that the poet is guided by reason. However, the affirmation that his reason has remained intact belies his fear that it is oftentimes drawn into question. This is the guiding tension of the comedy. From the first words spoken by the poet in the opening scene, the tension between reason and insanity coexist in a potentially explosive relationship. Building towards his imprisonment in St. Anna, there are increasing warning signs that Tasso is verging towards the extreme of losing this faculty.

The threat of insanity is especially clear in moments in which he finds himself frustrated by other characters. Tasso states: "Sentiami nell'interno moti violenti e strani."[149] This description of a violent, but hidden movement is reminiscent of the volcano analogy seen above

[148] "TOR. No, I am not crazy; I am not afraid of being mistaken: / My heart does not give me advice; reason speaks to the heart. / TOM. I will not say, dear friend, that you are crazy; / You think and speak clearly; it seems that you are right." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 824.

[149] "I feel inside myself strange and violent movements." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 799.

in the work of Bartoli.[150] Goldoni has found a way to dramatize the concealed turmoil of the melancholic hypochondriac upon the stage. Although in this moment Tasso does not explode, the threat still exists that he might. The pinnacle of his distress appears upon his discovery that the Marchesa Eleonora is getting married. This woman, for whom he has secretly been harboring a passion, causes him to lose his reason completely. Tasso's thinking becomes deranged and disorganized. He states, "Dove son? Chi mi regge?"[151] He realizes that he is in fact deteriorating: "Donne…pietose donne….ohimè….Torquato è pazzo."[152] In Goldoni's earlier works, one of the symptoms of hypochondriacs and melancholics lay in their delusions about the nature of their illness. Here, however, Tasso is completely aware of his impending insanity. At the same time, the depiction shows him increasingly losing his grip on reality. The scene unfolds in the following unsettling way:

> TAS. Siete voi la Marchesa?
> MAR. Deh, per amor del cielo, deh tornate in voi stesso
> Svegliatevi, Torquato.[153]

It is as if Tasso is in a trance. In fact, the Marquesa asserts that he is no longer a part of himself. This detachment from his own body and from reality seems to be the most extreme version of hypochondria seen in Goldoni's works. While earlier figures struggled with distinguishing between reality and falsehood, Tasso appears to no longer have any contact with the world that surrounds him. He has lost touch with reality. In an attempt to bring Tasso back, the characters

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[150] See above, section I.1.

[151] "Where am I? Who is holding me?" Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 831.

[152] "Women...pity me...women...oh my...Torquato is crazy." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 831.

[153] "TAS. Are you the Marquise? / MAR. Come on, for the love of God, come on, return to yourself / Wake yourself up, Torquato." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 832.

call upon his reason: "Deh la ragion vi freni; calmi ragione il foco."[154] Calls for reason, however, prove not to be the antidote to insanity in this instance.

Following Tasso's meltdown, he is sent to St. Anna's hospital. This is disconcerting because it is a more serious form of isolation for an already solitary individual. He was at first figuratively separate from society, and now he is literally enclosed against his will. Being locked in a hospital, similar to a prison, recalls the traditional desire to chase the vice of melancholy from society and the stage, because of the melancholic's lack of conformity with social conventions. They are pariahs of sorts. However, Goldoni changes the script and appears to offer a new interpretation of the reason why Tasso finds himself imprisoned. In doing so, he seems to suggest that such an action is ill-advised. As confusion mounts over the whereabouts of Tasso, Don Gherardo offers an explanation of what has ensued:

> TOM. All'ospeal xe vero che i l'abbia messo?
> GHE. È vero.
> TOM. Poverazzo! Per cossa?
> GHE. Perch'è un po'pazzarello; perché diè qualche segno di debole cervello.
> TOM. Se ognun che ha cervel debole, s'avesse da serrar,
> Un ospeal grandissimo bisogneria formar.[155]

This exchange suggests that Tasso suffers from a weak mind—insomuch as he has lost his reason. However, as Tomio explains, there is a risk to locking up those who suffer from mental instability. If that were medically indicated, many people would have to be imprisoned. Moreover, this exchange implicitly asks the audience to consider the moments in which they themselves have wavered between such extremes. Goldoni has here cultivated a rationale for an

[154] "Come on, reason will restrain you; may reason calm the fire." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 831.

[155] "TOM. Is it true that they put him in the hospital? / GHE. It is true. / TOM. Poor man! For what? / GHE: Because he is a little crazy; because he had some signs of a weak brain. / TOM. If everyone who had a weak mind had to be incarcerated, / A very large hospital would need to be built." Goldoni, *TorquatoTasso*, 834.

empathetic audience response to Tasso's suffering. To drive the point home, it is revealed shortly thereafter that perhaps it was not Tasso's loss of reason that landed him in the hospital:

> TOM. Chi ha fatto Torquato se metta all'ospeal?
> GHE. L'ha comandato il Duca.
> TOM. Perché?
> GHE. Perché Torquato
> L'amor, che era dubbioso, finalmente ha svelato.
> E al Principe, che freme perciò di gelosia,
> Servito ha di pretesto quel po' di frenesia.[156]

Tasso was imprisoned not for being crazy, but rather because of the jealously of the duke. By emphasizing this point, Goldoni restores the social standing of the hypochondriac. Such patients do not belong in a prison, physically separated from society. Rather they should be encouraged to integrate back into society. While Tasso was incarcerated in a literal prison, earlier hypochondriacs and melancholics were enclosed in a metaphorical one, which was sometimes self-imposed in the form of a social exile.

Upon his return from the hospital, Tasso provides a detailed etiology of his illness. In earlier works, such as *La finta ammalata*, and perhaps even to a certain extent in *Il vecchio bizzarro*, there were allusions to contemporary medical theories concerning the disease. None are as elaborate, however, as the one provided by Tasso:

> L'origine de' nervi, che si dirama e unisce,
> Del cerebro principia, nel cerebro finisce;
> E se una corda istessa la macchina circonda,
> Ragion vuol che toccata quinci e quindi risponda.
> Ciò che dà moto e senso ai nervi principali,
> Chiamasi sugo nerveo, o spiriti animali;
> […]
> Chi studia, chi s'affanna, chi vive in afflizione,
> I spiriti consuma con ria distribuzione;

[156] "TOM. Who made it so that Torquato was put in a hospital? / GHE. The Duke commanded it. / TOM. Why? / GHE. Because Torquato had finally revealed his love that was uncertain. / And the Prince who quivered with jealousy used that little bit of frenzy as a pretext." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 835.

> Nel canal de' nervi tal umor s'introduce,
> Che stimola, che irrita, che alterazion produce,
> Lassezza, convulsioni, tremor, paralisia,
> Vapori ipocondriaci, apprensioni e pazzia.[157]

While hypochondriacs had a tendency to self-diagnose in earlier works, Tasso is the first one to correctly identify his illness in accordance with the medical precepts of the period. Instead of a doctor presenting a medical hypothesis, the patient does so here. In a sense, Tasso is at the stage that according to Bartoli ought to be curative. He can see the true nature of his malady through self-reflection. Tasso is now completely aware of his ailment and its mechanisms of operation. He sees it as if it is a mirror of his inner self. Tasso's description is consistent with nerve theories that were commonly accepted during the second half of the eighteenth century.[158] In fact, in his medical diatribe there is nothing unusual or striking about its contents. It reads almost as if it was drawn directly from a medical treatise. The question arises as to why Goldoni would include such a technical speech in his work. One possible explanation might be that in inserting medical theories that would be acceptable to intellectuals in the period, Goldoni renders his depiction of hypochondria more realistic for a learned audience, as though he believed that the theories of the medical profession were a reflection of the natural world that he sought to bring to the stage. If such medical descriptions are trusted as reflections of reality, then providing one to describe a hypochondriac renders the figure more natural. The mirror with which the hypochondriac sees

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[157] "The origin of the nerves, that circulate and unite, / From the brain begin and in the brain end; / And if the chord itself surrounds the machine / Reason requires that once touched here it responds there. / That which gives movement and sensation to the principal nerves is called nerve juice, or animal spirits; / [..] / He who studies, he who busies himself, he who lives in affliction, / Consumes the spirits in unbalanced distribution. / It is in the nerve canal that such a humor is introduced, / That stimulates and irritates, and produces alteration, / Looseness, convulsions, tremors, paralysis, / Hypochondriacal vapors, apprehensions and madness." Goldoni, *TorquatoTasso*, 838-839.

[158] On the effect of study on the nerves after the 1750's, see Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 30. On nerves and the notion of fibers, see Vila, *Suffering Scholars*, 7.

himself metaphorically fuses with the mirror with which the stage reflects the world. By extension, such a plausible medical diagnosis renders the complaints of the hypochondriac more legitimate. Tasso's self-diagnosis serves as a means of increasing empathy for the figure.

For a moment, upon returning to the world outside of St. Anna Tasso seems at peace with his own violent emotions. In fact, he suggests that his meltdown was in fact not as serious as it seemed:

> Della manía non giunsi, grazie al cielo, agli orrori.
> Ascendono tavolta al cerebro i vapori;
> Ma questi indi sedati dal tempo e da ragione,
> Sgombran le nere larve de' spiriti la regione,
> Tornando l'intelletto più lucido e sereno,
> Calmata la passione, che m'agita nel seno.[159]

Reason has prevented him from reaching the state of mania and its subsequent horrors, but Tasso's state of calm remains tenuous. He quickly becomes agitated at the mention of his revealed love for Eleonora.[160] In the end, Tasso continues to be at risk of insanity much as he was before his time in St. Anna. His story is circular in structure.

The comedy opens with a distraught Tasso trying to understand his own turmoil. Following the conventions of comedy, disorder should be resolved by the last lines of the play. Unfortunately, it becomes clear early on that this might be impossible. As his servant Targa forewarns: "Quando si nasce matti, non si guarisce mai."[161] Goldoni acknowledges this obstacle

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[159] "Thank god, from the mania I did not reach the horrors. / The vapors occasionally rise into the head; / Then these, sedated by time and reason, / The black specters clear out the region of the spirits, / Making the intellect more lucid and serene again, / Once the passion calmed that had agitated inside of me." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 839.

[160] "Ah barbaro, ah crudele! A suscitar tornate / le smanie del mio cuore dalla ragion calmate." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 839.

[161] "When one is born crazy, one can never be cured." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 780.

to the resolution in the preface to the work: "Non mi riuscì facile condurlo a buon termine."[162] In fact, the comedy does not end with any closure for the emotional disorder with which it opens. Despite certain narrative threads being resolved—Tasso moves away from court to escape his critics and his unattainable love—the threat of other similar hypochondriac episodes still remains, since his malady ultimately is incurable. Tasso acknowledges this in the comedy's closing monologue, "Sentomi al capo ascendere dal fondo, ohimè, del cuore / Dell'ipocondria nera un solito vapore."[163] The comedy ends much as it began with a long monologue performed by the character of Tasso. Although Tasso has decided to depart from Ferrara and live in Rome, leaving Eleanora behind, he seems equally as tormented and indecisive as he did in the intial monologue: "Ma, ohimé, che nel lasciarvi il piè vacilla, e l'alma / perder a me minaccia[...]"[164] The instability and disorder with which the comedy began remains unresolved. In the last scene of the comedy, in this moment of indecision, and of impending doom, Tasso provides the following advice:

> E che il rimedio solo, per acquistar il lume,
> È la ragion far guida dell'opre, e del costume.[165]

As Laura Sannia concludes, Tasso chooses to sacrifice his passion to virtue and in doing so he is able to "sublimate" his melancholy.[166] In the last verses of Goldoni's comedy, the man who just

[162] "I had trouble bringing it to a good end." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 774.

[163] "A usual vapor, oh my, of gloomy hypochondria I feel rising to my head from the bottom of my heart." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 848.

[164] "But, oh my, in leaving you my foot quivers, it threatens to make me lose my soul[...]." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 848.

[165] "The only remedy to acquire the light, / Is making Reason a guide for actions and behaviors." Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso,* 848.

seconds before revealed growing agitation suggests that passion can be overcome if one allows reason to be the guide. As a melancholic genius, born under Saturn, the hope of a full recovery remains elusive.

The structure of the work, as well as the depiction of hypochondria, deviates in this way from Goldoni's comedic conventions. Just as melancholy threatens the reason of the poet, so too does it threaten the ending of the comedy. In *Torquato Tasso* the disease of hypochondria is imbued with a violence and scientific realism hitherto unseen in Goldoni's previous works; this marks a significant shift in the Venetian playwright's depiction of the malady. It also marks an important moment in his comedic corpus. Goldoni's work on Tasso suggests perhaps the emergence of a new type of melancholic comedy, one that is perhaps more open to the natural world and would therefore be characterized by its lack of an ending. His comedy puts the voice of the socially marginalized patient, in the form of the hypochondriac, at center stage. Unlike theatrical hypochondriacs of the early tradition, the patient here is not delusional. In fact, he not only identifies his own malady, but also his own remedy, which is reason. While he is not cured by the end of the comedy, there is hope that he can continue to alleviate his ailment through the use of this faculty. Tasso, the poetic legend, becomes exemplary of the myth of the melancholic genius and also of the overturning of a number of theatrical conventions. This shift in status serves to displace the prison house of comedic conventions and frees the genre, as Tasso was freed, to open onto something new.

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[166] Laura Sannia, "Il Tasso temperante di Goldoni," in *La Letteratura degli Italiani rotte confini passaggi: Genova, 15-18 settembre 2010,* eds. Alberto Beniscelli, Quinto Marini, Luigi Surdich (Novi Ligure: Città del silenzio edizioni, 2012), 10. http://www.diras.unige.it

Chapter 4: Maladies of the Spirit

IV.1 Talk Therapy and Social Remedies: *Il medico olandese*

Carlo Goldoni's first hypochondriac, Ranocchio, appeared in his intermezzo *L'ippocondriaco* in 1735. A figure who was stunted to a certain extent by the theatrical conventions of the intermezzi, Ranocchio was relatively superficial psychologically and easily fooled. Moreover, he evoked little sympathy from his wife, who tried to poison him. Nor did he receive much from the audience, who could only have laughed at his dimwittedness. More than twenty years later, in 1756, in *Il medico olandese* Goldoni portrays an invalid who possesses some of the characteristics of his predecessor. However, these residual qualities have evolved to create a much more complex depiction of the hypochondriac. *Il medico olandese* recounts the story of a Polish hypochondriac's visit to Leiden in search of treatment from the internationally acclaimed physician Dottor Bainer. To the patient's surprise and initial dismay, the exemplary doctor does not prescribe pharmaceutical remedies, but rather encourages Guden to engage in a number of distractions and social pleasures—including finding an "honest" love. Luckily for Guden, he quickly, and perhaps conveniently, finds his remedy by falling in love with the intelligent Marianna, the niece of Dottor Bainer. Although Dottor Bainer initially resists the idea of marrying off his niece, after acquiring the assurance that Guden will remain with her in Holland, he gives his blessing to the union and welcomes the hypochondriac into his family, treating the patient with respect and esteem. Certain elements of this plot recall earlier comedies featuring such an invalid, in particular the image of a hypochondriac in search of a doctor and the notion that love was potentially therapeutic for the malady. However, the comedy makes use of a number of variations on the theatrical conventions found in earlier works, which renders this depiction of the hypochondriac the most realistic and the least theatrical of them all.

While situating Guden within the arc of Goldoni's other works, it is important to acknowledge the Venetian's inspiration for the figure. Supposedly Guden is Goldoni himself. In a number of comedic prefaces, Goldoni had made reference to his own struggles with hypochondria.[1] While at times he inserts elements of his own biography into the prefaces, he also shows some reluctance to imply that his characters dramatize his own experience.[2] In fact in his preface to *Torquato Tasso*, Goldoni makes a pointed effort to distinguish his own experience with the disease from that of his character, the Renaissance poet Tasso whom he saw as suffering from a more serious degree of the malady.[3] Rather than a reflection of Goldoni's own personal biography, Tasso's experience is intended to be representative of all intellectuals, who tend to be immoderately sensitive. His depiction of the figure thus has more to do with the broader intellectual experience of hypochondria than with Goldoni's personal suffering. By contrast the preface for *Il medico olandese* offers a direct source for his inspiration for Guden:

> Se poi, lettore carissimo, brami sapere se *l'ipocondriaco che ricorre al medico* è carattere da me immaginato, o se n'ebbi qualche originale esemplare, sappi che ho inteso di lavorare sopra di me medesimo che per due anni interi mi vidi soggetto a simili galanterie.[4]

Guden's malady derives from Goldoni's personal experience over the previous two years.[5] By drawing on himself for inspiration he brings a new realism to the figure. Guden is perhaps one of

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[1] See the prefaces to Goldoni, *La donna volubile*, 945; and Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*,773-774.

[2] Massimo Riva believes that Goldoni's staging of hypochondria was in some ways therapeutic for the Venetian playwright. Riva, *Saturno*, 135.

[3] Goldoni, *Torquato Tasso*, 773-774. See discussion of *Torquato Tasso* above in section III.4.

[4] "If then, dear reader, you long to know if the hypochondriac that turns to the doctor is a character imagined by me, or had some original example, know that I intended to work on myself who for two whole years saw myself subject to similar gallantries." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 373.

[5] Roberta Turchi, "Il dottor Bainer, medico olandese," *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana* 111, no. 2 (2007): 58-75.

the best examples of Goldoni synthesizing the book of the world—by drawing from his own life—with the book of the stage. He had spent the last twenty years reflecting on the conventions of the hypochondriac in theater and on the tastes of his audience. The character of Guden is thus an amalgam of Goldoni's new realism in his works and his theatrical evolution of the hypochondriac. His desperation to cure his malady resembles earlier hypochondriacs' willingness to go to great extremes to find a remedy for their suffering. Moreover, he embodies a common attribute that is shared by many theatrical hypochondriacs: a steadfast faith in medicinal interventions and pharmaceutical remedies. Guden has traveled many miles in search of Dottor Bainer:

> Solo dal padron vostro la mia salute spero.
> Monsieur Bainer io stimo, lo stima il mondo intero;
> E tante e tante leghe scorsi rapidamente,
> Solo per consigliarmi col medico eccellente.[6]

While Guden does not list all of the therapies that he has tried in the past, his decision to travel such a great distance for a cure resembles his predecessors' impulse to desperately find a remedy. Guden believes that it is only through care from this specific physician that he may be cured: "Spero, e non spero invano da lui la mia salute."[7] Guden equates the physician with his health, much like the early hypochondriacs of the intermezzi who, although erroneously, attributed their improved health to their female acquaintances.[8] In the past hypochondriacs' desperation for a remedy often led them to be tricked by imposter physicians. This is in fact one

[6] "I only hope that my health will come from your master. / I hold Mr. Bainer in high esteem, the world does so; / And I traversed so many leagues quickly, / Only in order to get advice from the excellent doctor." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 378.

[7] "I hope, and I hope not in vain that from him I will get well." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 378.

[8] See above, section I.2.

of the traits that made them so easily preyed upon by fraudulent figures. Luckily for Guden he has here come to see one of the most well-respected physicians in Europe.

In the context of Goldoni's other works, *Il medico olandese* seems to be primarily in dialogue with *La finta ammalata*, but there are some distinctions of note between the plays. Whereas the female figure engages in the simulation of disease, Rosaura "pretends" to be ill, Guden is depicted as embodying the genuine consequences of a disease. Although he is not feigning his illness, the malady has performative aspects. It is hidden behind a mask of misleading symptoms and must be revealed in order to be cured. Traditionally, those who suffer from this particular illness avoid any suggestion that their disease is "all in their heads." In a continuation of earlier conventions, Guden resists those who propose that his malady is imagined. In the intermezzi invalids rejected or ignored suggestions that their ailments were delusions. In later works, exemplary physicians avoided contradicting their patients and instead found other means to reveal to the hypochondriac the nature of his malady. Here Guden maintains that his malady is in fact quite grave and is caused by physiological mechanisms:

CAR. Per dir la verità, signor uomo ammalato,
Il male fin adesso vi ha poco estenuato.
Grasso, rosetto in viso, che malattia è cotesta?
Ho paura, signore, che il mal sia nella testa.
GUD. Non parliam del mio male, vi prego in cortesia.[9]

Much like the majority of his predecessors, Guden rejects the implication that he is well and tries to change the topic. This is a variation on the avoidance techniques seen in earlier works.

[9] "CAR. To be honest, sir sick man, / Your illness up until now has exhausted you little. / Fat, rosy in your face, what malady is this? / I'm afraid, sir, that your malady is all in your head. / GUD.Let's not talk about my malady, I beg you." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 379.

Guden is unlike previous figurations of the patient insomuch as he already knows that he suffers from hypochondria. His awareness of his correct self-diagnosis, however, only causes him more acute anxiety. In the opening scene of the comedy, Guden is asked if he would like to read as he waits for Dottor Bainer. While he is offered a number of different texts, he is mostly interested in one on his disease. He mentions he would be eager to read a "trattato sopra l'ipocondria."[10] Guden's obsession with his disease resembles in some respects earlier hypochondriacs' panic over their symptoms. In contrast, Guden is fixated on the implications of a correct diagnosis. The references to medical texts written on hypochondria might suggest that there was a broadening readership of works on the subject, but it also might serve as a warning about the possible consequences of hypochondriacs reading about their disease, which is perhaps an equally pathological behavior that could render the malady more acute.[11] Guden's anxiety and curiosity mount when he comes in contact with a medical text describing his illness.

When Guden meets Monsieur Mann, another physician who is meant to be contrasted with the ideal Dottor Bainer, he finds his anxiety increasing. Monsieur Mann, along with a group of three other imposter philosophers, frequents Dottor Bainer's house in hopes of gaining prestige by being associated with the illustrious doctor.[12] Mann's medical techniques contrast

[10] "A treatise on hypochondria." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 378.

[11] It is clear that Pujati's intended audience was the learned. However, he also indicates that he hopes to reach a broader public—which suggests that this medical problem did not solely afflict one class of readers. Pujati decided to write in Italian rather than Latin, which, he claims, allows not only the *letterati* but also the *studiosi* to read his work, by which he means that not only those who can read Latin will be able to benefit from his book. But he does not stop there, as he also contends that it is possible that his book will be valuable beyond his intended audience of the learned. If this is the case he would consider it to be an "error felicissimo." Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute,* 1. The figure of Guden seems to confirm a more widespread readership of such texts.

[12] Dottor Bainer characterizes them as follows: "Vengono a favorirmi cotai filosofastri, / Che presso il basso volgo vonno passar per maestri / E par loro che giovi dire al mondo ingannato: / Di Bainer frequentiamo lo studio accreditato." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 395.

greatly with those of Dottor Bainer, the model physician, and also evidently cause the patient extra distress:

> MAN. Quel ch'io leggo, è un trattato sopra l'ipocondria.
> GUD. Oh, signor, s'io non sono soverchiamente ardito,
> Ditemi qualche cosa.
> MAN. Non ho ancora finito. *(torna a leggere)*
> GUD. D'ipocondria che dice? È un male che sia incurabile?
> Dirà ne sono sicuro, ch'è un male insopportabile.
> Suggerisce il rimedio al pessimo vapore?
> Ammette fra i rimedi accendersi d'amore?
> Dice che al mal s'accordi un simile sollazzo?
> MAN. Sono alla conclusione. L'ipocondriaco è un pazzo. *(queste ultime parole mostra di leggerle.)*
> [...]
> GUD. Signor, l'ipocondriaco è un misero infelice,
> Ma non è un pazzo. Un pazzo sarà quel che lo dice.
> MAN. *(S'alza di bello, piega bene il foglio che leggeva, lo mette in mano di monsieur Guden, poi torna a sedere).*[13]

In his exchange with Mann, Guden seeks more information on his malady. Mann is happy to oblige, but relies heavily on the text as infallible in its assertions concerning the disease. This is emphasized by the stage directions, which call upon the actor playing Mann to point at the text and later hand the book over to Guden. These actions suggest the authority that he attributes to the words written on the page. While Guden feels a strong draw to read the text that Mann hands him, he also feels nervous about the possible consequences of reading:

> […] intanto leggerò questo foglio.
> Curiosità mi sprona. Ah, temo di far peggio.
> Fin la voce mi trema. Eh son follie, lo veggio.[14]

[13] "MAN. That which I am reading, is a treatise on hypochondria. / GUD. Oh, sir, if I am not being overly bold, / Tell me about it. / MAN.I have not yet finished it. *(He returns to reading)* / GUD. What does it say about hypochondria? Is it an incurable malady? / He will say that it is an intolerable malady. / Does it suggest a remedy for this awful vapor? / Does it allow as a remedy to ignite love? / Does it say that it concedes a similar relief? / MAN. I am at the conclusion. The hypochondriac is crazy. *(with these final words he feigns reading it)*[...] / GUD. Sir, the hypochondriac is a miserable, unhappy individual. / But he is not crazy. Anyone who says so is crazy. / MAN. *(He gets up with a flourish, folds the paper that he was reading, puts it in Guden's hand, and returns to his seat.)"* Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 392.

Although Guden recognizes the risks of reading the treatise, he is also drawn by his curiosity to do so. The act of reading a text that speaks of his disease causes him immense distress. His inability to control the urge to read the page suggests his obsession with his own malady. The action has additional implications. By reading about his illness, he is in some sense looking at himself in a metaphorical mirror. Unfortunately for Guden he is looking only in the first of the mirrors that were described by Bartoli, the one that causes melancholics to nurture a dangerous self-image—one that is erroneous. The treatise indulges his own preoccupations and thus, Guden almost delights in his own physical demise.[15] It will only be through Dottor Bainer that Guden is able to see himself in the "true," and by extension therapeutic mirror that Bartoli describes. The therapeutic mirror will require, however, not the use of a book, but rather another type of medicine.

When Dottor Bainer intervenes in the scene, he rejects Mann's belief that Guden should be reading about hypochondria and instead criticizes Mann for the therapeutic approach that he adopts:

> BAI. Chi ve lo diè? *(alzandosi)*
> GUD. Mel diede quel…ch'io non so chi ei sia. *(accennando monsieur Mann)*
> BAI. Signor, meno galenica, e più filosofia. *(a monsieur Mann, togliendo la carta di mano a monsieur Guden)*
> Ad uno, il di cui male sta sol nello spavento,

[14] "[...] For now I will read this paper. / Curiosity spurs me on. I am afraid of doing worse. / My voice ends up trembling. Oh this is crazy, I see it." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 392.

[15] Riva compares the hypochondriac to Narcissus who unknowingly falls in love with his own image: "Il «godere di sé» in cui sono assorti i malinconici è una forma di paradossale auto-nutrimento." Riva, *Saturno*, 20. This "self-feeding" nature of the hypochondriac is analogous to Guden reading a book about his malady. But as Riva suggests, that does not necessarily mean that the hypochondriac truly understands his reflection: "Lo specchio di Narciso può davvero essere cieco: abbagliato dalla sua stessa visione, può riflettere ma senza vedere." Riva, *Saturno*, 20.

Chi v'insegnò di porger sì barbaro fomento?[16]

Bainer warns Mann not to rely too heavily on Galenic medicine, but rather to use philosophy.[17] Whereas the Galenic medicine of the past might still be of some value, it is rather reasoning based on empirical evidence that has actual therapeutic effects. Much like Tasso who uses reason to subdue his passions, here Bainer suggests a similar remedy for hypochondriacs.[18] Moreover, and in opposition to Mann, Bainer shows a concern with his patient's well-being. He does not wish for Guden to suffer any more than he already does, and because of this he comes to his patient's defense. He protects him.[19]

Goldoni oftentimes included healers in his works featuring a hypochondriac. Both theatrical convention and medical reality suggested the idea that where there is a hypochondriac,

[16] "BAI. Who gave you that? *(getting up)* / GUD. That one gave it to me, I don't know who he is. *(indicating Mann)* / BAI. Sir, less Galenic medicine, and more philosophy. *(To Mr. Mann, taking the paper from the hand of Mr. Guden)* / To one whose malady is based in fear, / who taught you to give such barbarous fomentation?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 395.

[17] Claudio Milanesi suggests that Goldoni proposes a new type of medicine in his works which is in line with the latest medical tendencies of the mid-eighteenth century called neo-hippocratic medicine and based on the "rediscovery" of the works of Hippocrates. Milanesi explains how this new notion is integrated: "si esprime attraverso l'attenzione posta alle manifestazioni individuali della malattia, l'osservazione clinica dei sintomi, considerati come propri ad ogni malato; la medicina aspettativa, e quindi l'astensionismo terapeutico, che proviene da un lato dalla presa di coscienza dell'impotenzia terapeutica della farmacologia di stampo galenico […] e dall'altro dalla convinzione che la medicina deve limitarsi ad assecondare la natura." Claudio Milanesi, "Medico," 104.

[18] See Sannia, "Tasso," 11.

[19] Physicians defending hypochondriacs may be a trend that emerges simultaneously in the medical treatises of the period. This is evident in Zeviani's treatise *Del flato a favore degl'ipocondriaci*. The title itself suggests the doctor's support of his patients' allegations of illness. Zeviani attempts to reaffirm the legitimacy of his patients' complaints: "È maraviglia da non potersi far credere a chi non l'abbia provato, come in un momento il flato ipocondriaco, faccia cadere in una profonda malinconia e disperazione di salute, chi stava lieto e sicuro. Questo avvien tutto dì massimamente agl'ippocondriaci; ma non credesi a' loro lamenti, che si stimano provenire da un vizio di fantasia guasta ed inferma. Non è però così: questa malinconia è un effetto vero del flato ipocondriaco." Zeviani, 45.

there is a physician of some sort.[20] Equal to their variety of professional titles is their variable quality of care.[21] Unfortunately, many of his theatrical patients fall prey, at least temporarily, to these medical imposters. Goldoni also offers examples of good physicians, such as Rosaura's Dottor Onesti. Dottor Bainer shares many of the positive qualities of his most effective predecessors, including the most important attribute of a good physician: honesty.[22] The doctor in this comedy was based on an actual physician of great renown, as Goldoni admits in his preface:

> Io non ardirò nominare il personaggio riguardevole per virtù e per fama, che sotto il nome di Monsieur Bainer nascondo. La patria, la professione, il carattere ponno agli eruditi, nella storia manifestarlo. Oltre del sistema di sì grand'uomo, mi valsi di qualche circostanza vera di sua famiglia, ma tuttociò non disonora il suo nome, e procurai di rendergli quell'onore che gli è dovuto.[23]

Goldoni insinuates that the exemplary behavior of the physician in this comedy should easily reveal his identity to those members of the audience who are intellectuals. Dottor Bainer is

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[20] Farra suggests that this was a problem particular to hypochondriac patients: "Ipocondriaci resi miserabili per la poco prudenza, e l'indiscrezione de medicastri che senza fondamenti, divisando di voler reprimere i malori, con medicamenti bestiali e spropositar, levano le forze agli ammalati, mettono in confusione i fermenti, rendono[...] i Pazienti in uno perpetuo labirinto inducono." Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 34. Farra contends that rather than curing hypochondriacs, physicians could and oftentimes did worsen the conditions of their patients. In particular, they tended to cause confusion in both the patients' bodies and minds. But patients themselves are in part responsible for their degenerating health. The urgency of hypochondriacs and melancholics' effort to find relief perhaps encouraged these negative interactions. Zeviani describes how hypochondriacs were: "Molestissimi in cercare tutto dì il consiglio de' medici, e prontissimi a bere l'amaro sugo di pessimi medicamenti, onde rettamente dicesi di essi che perchè vogliono ad ogni ora essere curati non guariscono gimmai." Zeviani, *Del flato*, 177. Since the patients themselves were so vulnerable, physicians and charlatans alike could easily take advantage of them.

[21] This perhaps is evident in the previously mentioned work *La finta ammalata*. There was a general distrust of practitioners—even those who had educational credentials—during the eighteenth century. This is also evident in Verri, "Il medico polsista," 350-351.

[22] See Marchini, "L'anatomia," 381.

[23] "I will not dare to name the remarkable person for his virtue and fame that I have hidden under the name of Doctor Bainer. His country, profession and character will give enough to the learned to find him in History. Beyond the system of such a great man, I made use of true circumstances about his family, but all of that does not dishonor his name, and I tried to render him the honor which is due to him." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 373.

believed to have been based on the famous Dutch physician Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), who worked primarily in Leiden.[24] In the depiction of this physician Goldoni not only reinforces the qualities of the ideal doctor, but also changes the notion of hypochondria.

In the scene mentioned above, Dottor Bainer challenges medicine founded on the printed word, and proposes instead a diagnosis based on observation and interaction with the patient. When Mann contests Dottor Bainer's clinical approach to helping Guden, the physician replies with the question: "Quai sintomi vedeste?"[25] Although this might seem like a simple inquiry, it implies a necessity to use observation to deduce a legitimate diagnosis. The question encourages Mann to read the patient's symptoms, rather than a text. Just as Mann needs to turn away from the medical text in order to truly see the patient, so too must Guden, who needs to move away from obsessing over his metaphorical reflection in medical treatises and to move towards seeing himself in a different light.

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[24] Van Lieburg describes Boerhaave's theories concerning hypochondria and melancholy: "Boerhaave defined melancholy as an illness 'in which the patient broods long and obstinately, without fever, almost always fixed on one and the same thought'[...]." Van Lieburg, *Disease*, 44. This does not differ from medical beliefs concerning melancholy in Italy at the time. Van Lieburg also summarizes the physical mechanisms by which according to Boerhaave the disease developed: "As far as hypochondria was concerned, Boerhaave sought the cause in the melancholic humour which had become 'condensed, tenacious and immoveable,' due to which—consistent with the principles of hydraulics—it was driven to the vessels in the abdomen where it causes 'hypochondriassi, principally affecting the spleen, stomach, pancreas, omentum, and mesentery'." Van Lieburg, 45. For Boerhaave, rather than viewing melancholy and hypochondria as separate diseases, he envisioned them to be more on a spectrum of increasing severity. According to Jackson: "His three categories of melancholia are familiar, but he discussed them more as though they were three degrees of severity within a single illness rather than three types of melancholia affecting different sites." Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression*, 119. While Boerhaave is not remembered for a particular medical discovery, he was an innovator in terms of his medical precepts. As Milanesi explained: "Difensore del newtonianismo, vicino alle posizioni della scuola iatromeccanica, neoippocratico nella sua insistenza sulla necessità dell'osservazione al capezzale del malato e nella sua attenzione per la dieta come terapia delle malattie nervose, Boerhaave introdusse le scienze fondamentali, chimica e fisica, nel piano di studi degli studenti di medicina. Svilluppò l'insegnamento al capezzale dei malati all'Ospedale di Santa Cecilia di Leida; e riformò la chimica e la botanica; accolse numerosi allievi provenienti da tutta Europa, grazie ai quali le sue dottrine si diffusero in tutto il continente. Come medico curante, ebbe clientela vastissima; il suo ambulatorio accoglieva tra i quaranta e i cinquanta pazienti al giorno, olandesi, ma anche inglesi, spagnoli, francesi, tedeschi e italiani." Milanesi, "Medico," 106-107.

[25] "Which symptoms do you see?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 393.

The scene of Guden's medical consultation with Dottor Bainer, a stock scene that is present in almost all the works featuring a hypochondriac, does follow certain theatrical conventions insomuch as Guden displays many of the behaviors seen previously in hypochondriacs. Nevertheless, there are also some stark differences. When the two figures are first introduced to each other, Dottor Bainer does not immediately begin to suggest a remedy, nor does he make any initial proclamations about Guden's health. Instead, after briefly taking the hypochondriac's pulse—an action that earlier doctor-characters often used as part of their manipulation of the invalid—Bainer begins his consultation with the following command: "Narrate."[26] The doctor's order evokes Dottor Onesti's technique in *La finta ammalata.* In the latter, Onesti says that he will offer his diagnosis once Rosaura herself has had an opportunity to speak. By giving a voice to the patient, the physician is able to draw out the nebulous disease concealed behind the patient's mask of symptoms. Similarly, here, Dottor Bainer will offer Guden a chance to express his woes, and in doing so, by listening, he will be able to interpret the nature of Guden's malady.

Dottor Bainer's diagnosis comes from listening in a way that draws out from the patient his secrets. For Dottor Bainer, it is enough to hear the patient list a myriad of symptoms to know that his malady falls under the umbrella of hypochondria. Because of theatrical conventions, the audience has also been conditioned to understand this obvious diagnosis. Instead of immediately prescribing a pharmaceutical intervention, Dottor Bainer seeks the underlying etiology of the malady and in doing so, Bainer begins to reveal what he sees as a common cause of the illness:

BAI. Altro a narrar vi resta?
GUD. Son centi i miei malori,

[26] "Narrate." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 382.

Ma vi narrai per ora i sintomi peggiori.
Se male io mi spiegai, se il labbro mi tradì,
Ritornerò da capo.
BAI. No, no basta così.
V'intesi a sufficienza. Di qual paese siete?[27]

Guden's description was sufficient to support Bainer's interpretation, but what the doctor has yet to discover is the reason behind the invalid's suffering. The questions that Dottor Bainer begins to ask do not pertain to his physical health, but rather to who he is, and by extension, to his mental state. These new evaluative inquiries differ significantly from how Dottor Onesti had interacted with his patient. Dottor Bainer wants to know his patient on a different level than previous practitioners.

Guden resists such an atypical consultation. He expects that the doctor will be concerned with his physical symptoms and rather resents the idea that the physician would be interested in his origins. The doctor assures him that although his malady is real, it is not dangerous:

BAI. Son flati, son vapori, son convulsioni interne;
Son mali che spaventano chi teme, e non discerne.[28]

While he acknowledges the physical mechanisms of the disease, Bainer does not believe that there is cause for concern. Moreover, he suggests that these internal processes and symptoms are scary only to those that fear them. He therefore empowers the patient to heal himself. Most importantly, Bainer suggests that patients who fail to perceive the nature of their ailments become distressed. He confirms what was evident in earlier works, even before the disease was

[27] "BAI. Is there anything else you would like to add? / GUD. My ailments number in the hundreds. / But for now I will just tell you the worst symptoms. / If I express myself badly, if my lips betray, / I will go back to the beginning. / BAI. No, no. That is enough. / I understand you sufficiently. Where are you from?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 383.

[28] "They are gases, vapors, internal convulsions; / They are ailments that scare those who are fearful, and who are not discerning." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 383.

recognized as real, that the hypochondriac's central problem is in fact his inability to perceive. In this case it is a failure to perceive the gravity of his malady.

Dottor Bainer is surprised that Guden's long journey to see him did not in fact improve his health:

> BAI. E il moto salutevole sì poco vi ha giovato?
> GUD. Ah, signor, il mio male, lo veggo, è disperato.
> BAI. No, cerchiam la cagion, che misero vi rende;
> Questa non vien dal corpo, dal spirito dipende.[29]

Bainer's reaction to Guden's desperation demonstrates his belief that the malady can only be cured once the underlying cause can be revealed. [30] Furthermore, while he does not believe that Guden should be concerned about his health, he does not dismiss the misery that his patient experiences. He has the utmost empathy for him. Instead of believing in a physical cause, Bainer indicates that the illness depends on the spirit and not the body. As a result, in order to help the patient, he will ask questions that focus on the spirit—or perhaps more specifically on the mental state of his patient. Already in *Torquato Tasso* the mental aspects of the illness were extensively described, but in this case, the physical symptoms of the disease bear no weight in Bainer's treatment.

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[29] "BAI. Healthy movement helped you so little? / GUD. Ah, sir, my malady, I see, is desperate. / BAI. No, let's find the cause that renders you so miserable; / This does not come from the body, but from the spirit it arises." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 384.

[30] It was suggested in some medical treatises of the time that travel could have a therapeutic effect on some melancholic patients, since the physical movement would be beneficial; but also the journey itself, as a type of distraction, could potentially alleviate the patient's thoughts that are fixated on a specific object. This is suggested in Vincenzo Chiarugi's treatise *Della pazzia in genere e in spezie* from the end of the eighteenth century (1793): "It has been proved very useful for certain melancholic persons to travel for a long time to different places. …Besides, in these trips, new objects are presented, even unwillingly, to the fantasy, and so the idea causing melancholia is removed because the mind, when constantly attracted by new objects, cannot, even willingly, be occupied with and fixed on one idea only." Vincenzo Chiarugi, *On Insanity and Its Classifications*, trans. George Mora (Canton: Science History Publications, 1987), 137.

Because of this understanding of the disease, Bainer's interrogation of his patient takes on a new form. His questions shift away from being focused on physical symptoms to recent events in his life which might have disturbed Guden's wellbeing:

BAI. Dite, signor Polacco, come si sta d'amori?
GUD. Perché non domandate se ho sete, se ho dolori? *(un poco mortificato)*
BAI. Non istudiai soltanto Ippocrate e Galeno.
Di medico son io filosofo non meno;
E di cento ammalati, ricorsi all'arte mia,
Ottanta ne guarisce buona filosofia.
All'esame, all'esame. È amor che vi tormenta?[31]

Bainer portrays himself not only as a doctor, but also as a philosopher. Although he has studied the great physicians of antiquity, he suggests that there is more to being a doctor than knowledge of the traditional texts. Guden is perplexed by his physician's questions. In some ways, Bainer does not follow what might be considered the scripted interaction in which patients and physicians usually engage. Guden expects the doctor to ask him about his physical symptoms, but Bainer instead tries to find the underlying psychological source.[32] Although he is not focused on the body, Bainer still sees this as a medical consultation. He indicates this by suggesting that they return to the "exam," which in this case means an examination of Guden's love life. In Bainer's opinion most patients can be treated with philosophy rather than with medicine. Once again, the notion of reason as curative returns to the forefront. His strategy resembles that of the ideal doctor that can be found in Farra's medical treatise, in which the physician is described as

[31] "BAI. Tell me, Mr. Polish, how are you in terms of love? / GUD. Why don't you ask me if I am thirsty, if I am in pain? (*a little embarrassed)* / BAI. I didn't study just Hippocrates and Galen. / I am no less a philosopher than a doctor; / Of the 100 invalids who turned to my art, / 80 percent will be cured by good philosophy. / Back to the exam. Is it love that torments you?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 384.

[32] See Pilloud, "Intimate Experience," 454.

an individual who counsels his patients with "buone parole e vive ragioni."[33] Rather than relying on a traditional medical intervention, these model physicians would treat patients, "più colle parole che colli fatti, più colle ragioni, che colli rimedi."[34] Bainer's medical philosophy appears to embrace such precepts.

Bainer has a hypothesis concerning the cause of his patient's woes: love. The idea that love is the source of melancholy and hypochondria is not new. Even a cursory study of these maladies reveals a long history of love as a potential cause. But unlike in earlier works, here love is not denied because of parental interference or other social expectations, but rather due to the death of the loved one. This creates some therapeutic difficulties, because the patient cannot ultimately be united with his love interest, which was the common cure at least for the female imaginary invalid. Although he does not see the connection himself, Guden reveals the underlying cause of his torment:

> GUD. Signor, quella ch'io amava, miseramente è spenta.
> BAI. Quant'è che più non vive?
> GUD. La misera morì
> Poco pria ch'io giungessi a delirar così.[35]

Bainer's hunch proves correct. Guden's illness began not because of a physical problem, but rather because of an emotional trauma caused by lost love. After this revelation Guden admits that the cause might be "metaphysical," but he still insists on the physicality of the disease and

[33] "Good words and lively reasons." Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 52.

[34] "More with words than with facts, more with reason than with remedies." Farra, 51.

[35] "GUD. Sir, she whom I loved, has pitifully died. / BAI. For how long has she not been alive? / GUD. The poor thing died a little bit before I began to be delirious." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 384.

worries aloud about the following consequence: "Ogni momento minacciami la morte."[36] Although never stated explicitly in the early intermezzi and drammi giocosi, it might not be a coincidence that most of the individuals who suffered from hypochondria were celibate and thus found relief, at least temporarily, in their female suitors. Guden's lack of life partner is a cause of his loneliness. As he explains in an earlier scene:

> …non mi lasciate solo.
> Se compagnia mi manca, mi assaltano i tremori,
> Mi ascendono alla testa i torbidi vapori.[37]

Loneliness induces an attack. This seems to be an echo of conventions used with earlier hypochondriacs, including Celio, whose cure was found in companionship.[38] Perhaps it is not love, but company that is vital to a hypochondriac's treatment plan. Moreover, rather than healing the hypochondriac with medicine, these marginal characters need to be reintegrated into a society from which they feel alienated, whether this is through love or friendship. As Guden himself admits about his social isolation: "Alle conversazioni ero portato un dì, / adesso son ridotto a vivere così."[39]

Bainer has a creative plan to treat his patient. Rather than suggesting a pharmaceutical cure, he asks Guden to look within himself for a remedy to his worries:

> Uditemi signore: trattate il vostro male
> Come un fanciullo armato, che l'inimico assale.
> La spada può ferirvi, se gli esponete il petto

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[36] "Every moment death threatens me." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 384. The concern of impending death can be found also in *Il vecchio bizzarro.*

[37] "Don't leave me alone. / If I don't have company, tremors assault me, / And turbid vapors rise to my head." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 378.

[38] See discussion of *Il vecchio bizzaro* in section III.3.

[39] "I used to be good at conversation, / but now I am reduced to living like this." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 378.

> Ma piccola difesa delude il giovanetto.
> Tale dal male potrete, volendo, esser opresso,
> Ma la difesa vostra è dentro di voi stesso.
> Se la ragion si opponga al mal che vi fa guerra,
> Ecco il bambino inerme, ecco la spada a terra.[40]

The first step in Bainer's therapy comes not from an outside source, but rather from the patient himself. The malady will wage war, but the patient can choose to defend himself. Behind the bellicose rhetoric is the image of reason as the most effective protection against the disease. Moreover, the doctor shifts responsibility for resisting the malady away from himself to his patient. The patient in a certain sense becomes his own physician. Although earlier hypochondriacs attempt to self-diagnose, this is a different conceptualization. Armed with the correct medical precepts, such as those offered by Dottor Bainer, the patient should be able to heal himself.[41]

According to Goldoni, the therapeutic advice that he includes in his comedy comes from a recommendation he had received from his own physician, Dottor Baronio. After the sudden death of his friend and actor Angeleri, whom he refers to as his melancholic companion, Goldoni collapsed into a serious bout of hypochondria. It was his physician Baronio who ultimately cured the Venetian playwright by bestowing upon him the following advice:

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[40] "Listen to me sir: treat your malady / Like an armed child that attacks his enemy. / The sword can injure you, if you expose your chest / But a small defense will delude the youth. / You could from such a malady be oppressed, / But the defense is inside of you, / If reason opposes the malady that fights in yourself, / Here is the child unarmed, here is the sword on the ground." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 384-385.

[41] According to Farra, part of a hypochondriac's treatment plan involved making this therapeutic transition from reliance on medicine and the doctor to becoming himself a physician-like figure: "Per essere loro medesimi la cagione del supporto male, possano eglino altresi esserne il medico." Farra, *Trattato dell'ipocondria*, 54.

> Regardez votre mal, me dit-il, comme un enfant qui vient vous attaquer une épée nue à la main. Prenez-y garde, il ne vous blessera pas; mais si vous lui présentez la poitrine, l'enfant vous tuera.[42]

These words, although not directly integrated into the comedy, appear to be a reflection of Goldoni's own personal experience. The playwright deemed the strategy to be particularly effective in aiding his own healing. By using a therapy that was effective for himself, Goldoni adds a new level of realism to the representation of Guden. It must be the patient who defends himself against the malady, not the doctor. Moreover, the lesson here is that the disease assaults the individual from within. It is thus consistent with the notion that melancholy is hidden well within an individual. The therapeutic practice used by Bainer here suggests analogies with Goldoni's theater. Goldoni will present a reflection of the world on the stage, and guide his patients, the audience, in witnessing their own reflections correctly. Ultimately, however, it will be the responsibility of the audience members to engage in self-reflection and to heal themselves. The comedic author is no longer the purveyor of derisive therapy, but a compassionate companion who accompanies the audience as they listen together to the hypochondriac's inner voice.

This is not the only example of Dottor Bainer's therapeutic approach, which Goldoni had adopted in his own life. In addition to combating his fears from the inside, Bainer prescribes a

[42] Carlo Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 340-341. See also the preface to *La donna volubile*: "Fu essa una malattia più di spirito che di corpo, prodotta da una incessante fatica, consistente in una diffusione di pessimi sughi in tutto il genere nervoso, con convulsioni, vigilie, e debolezza di mente, a tal segno che non solo io mi trovava inabilitato allo scrivere, ma leggere io non poteva una lunga lettera. In tale stato vissi pensando tutta l'estate, e debitore son io della riacquistata salute al dottisimo Dottor Baronio, medico Milanese, non perché egli cercato abbia di guarirmi con medicamenti superflui o vani; ma perché conoscendo egli il mio male consistere principalmente nella fantasia, alterata dai disturbi dell'animo mio pur troppo al mondo tutto palesi, ha trovato l'utile medicina dalle parole, dei consigli e delle ragioni, la quale a poco a poco mi ha sollevato, e nello stato di prima la mente mia ha ricondotta." Goldoni, *La donna volubile*, 945.

series of activities as part of Guden's therapy, all of which are based on the notion of distracting the Polish man:

> Uditemi: prendete nei borghi al rio vicini
> Comodo albergo e lieto, in mezzo a bei giardini.
> Una conversazione trovatevi gioconda.
> Vivete cogli amici a tavola rotonda:
> Giocate per piacere, non mai per rovinarvi,
> Prendete un buon cavallo talor per sollazzarvi.[43]

These suggestions are all based on the idea of distraction and social interaction. Much like Pantalone's recommendations for Celio in *Il vecchio bizzarro*, here too friendship and company are emphasized as having remedial effects.[44] These instructions appear to have come directly from the real world. Goldoni had an acquaintance named Duni, who was an Italian musician and who had met the famous doctor called Boerhaave. Duni had been suffering from the vapors himself for a number of years and recounted to Goldoni the advice that he had received from the famous Dutch physician:

> Il proposa pour toute ordonnance au Musicien vaporeux, de monter à cheval, de s'amuser, de vivre à son ordinaire, et de se bien garder de toute espece de médicamens. [45]

It appears that the advice given by Bainer in this scene came directly from the book of the world and perhaps echoed the recommendations that Goldoni himself attempted to follow.[46]

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[43] "Listen to me: lease in the neighborhood of the nearby river / A comfortable and charming abode in the middle of the gardens. / Find yourself entertaining conversation. / Live with your friends around a round table: / Gamble for enjoyment not for ruining yourself, / Find yourself a nice horse sometimes to amuse yourself." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 378.

[44] At the time, medical treatises seemed to be proposing similar therapies to those mentioned by Bainer in this scene. See Pujati, *Della preservazione della salute,* 358.

[45] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 380-381.

[46] Milanesi has deemed Dottor Bainer a "medico ippocratico." Milanesi, "Medico," 108-109.

There is one final piece of wisdom that Dottor Bainer bestows upon his patient: that he ought to seek out an "onesto amore."[47] Conveniently for Guden, a particularly honorable woman resides within Dottor Bainer's house—Marianna—for whom he immediately feels an affection and who perhaps not coincidentally resembles his former lover: "E più di tutto io credo trovare in lei dipinta / L'immagine vezzosa della mia bella estinta."[48] In a certain sense, Marianna works as a reflection of his original lover's image.[49] Unfortunately for the hypochondriac, Dottor Bainer does not wish to marry off his niece and complications arise. Moreover, due to the fact that he cannot pursue his love for Marianna, there is also the risk that he may not be cured of his malady. In some sense, Dottor Bainer offers Guden a cure, but one that threatens to render his malady more acute. This paradigm resembles the one found in *La finta ammalata*, in which the doctor is both the cause and cure of Rosaura's illness. However, here, it is not the doctor himself, but rather his niece who wields a therapeutic power. Marianna functions as both a means of perpetuating the illness—when his love for her is impossible—and also his ultimate cure.[50]

There are a number of parallels between Guden's situation and that of Rosaura in *La finta ammalata.* Both are treated by model physicians who focus on listening to, rather than talking at their patients during therapy. Nevertheless there is a crucial difference between them that illustrates the gendered representations of hypochondria in Goldoni's corpus. Guden does not simulate his illness, as does Rosaura, in order to gain contact with the doctor's niece. His illness

[47] "Honest love." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 385.

[48] "More than anything I believe to have found in her portrayal; / The charming image of my beautiful departed lover." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 429.

[49] This is interesting, because previously the notion of self-reflection was curative. Here, the idea of a specular cure returns, but this time through the reflection of his former companion.

[50] Riva draws a similar conclusion. See Riva, *Saturno,* 138.

is meant to be seen as real and not as a fraudulent means to an end. Nevertheless, he will be accused of such misbehavior by Dottor Bainer. In a comical reversal which recalls the earlier work, Guden is reproached by Dottor Bainer for sending a note revealing his love for Marianna. Dottor Bainer laments:

> Se in Leiden vi condusse l'amore, o l'interesse,
> A cercar mia nipote nelle mie soglie istesse,
> Potea l'uomo onorato chiederla a un uom d'onore;
> Non, malattie fingendo, nascondere l'amore…[51]

Dottor Bainer accuses Guden of using Rosaura's manipulative strategy. By creating parallels between the two patients, Rosaura and Guden, Goldoni emphasizes their differences.

The letter that enrages Dottor Bainer and causes him to question Guden's motives comes from a familiar figure: the alcoholic. In Goldoni's work *Il Molière* the French playwright's friend and foil, Leandro, suffers from immoderate drinking. This figure serves as a counterpoint to the character of Molière and underscores the fact that while over-imbibing might be a vice, hypochondria is not. Here, the figure returns in the form of Il Marchese Croccante. This character shares some similarities with Guden, but is meant by contrast to serve as an immoral counterpoint to the genuine and honest hypochondriac. Both figures have sought out the advice of Dottor Bainer for their maladies and both have received a similar recommendation of using natural remedies. While Guden appears as a legitimate patient, Il Marchese Croccante is portrayed as dishonest and self-serving. In his consultation with Dottor Bainer, he complains of both his red face and his great "thirst," which is subsequently revealed as being a craving for alcohol. In response to his complaints, Bainer prescribes the familiar remedy of water. Croccante

[51] "If to Leiden love or interest brought you, / To look for my niece on my own doorstep, / An honorable man would have asked a man of honor; / Not by pretending to be sick and hiding love." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 422.

resists such a recommendation: "Io acqua? Acqua mi proponete?"[52] He finds this advice implausible, and has to be coaxed by Dottor Bainer into trying his therapy for even one day. Bainer also lacks patience for this patient: "Ma a che siam noi soggetti? Quale destin maledico / Ammalati ci manda per impazzire il medico?"[53] This reaction contrasts greatly with the sympathy he displays for Guden. Most importantly, while challenged to not drink alcohol for an entire day, Croccante proves to be a very non-compliant patient, and demonstrates a lack of self-control and propriety. When he encounters Marianna and her group of female companions, he immediately takes liberties: "Chi di voi vuol far meco all'amore?"[54] Similar to his consumption of alcohol, he cannot control his immoral behavior. Goldoni invites a comparison between Bainer's two patients by having Croccante be the composer of the indiscrete letter, which Bainer takes to be written by Guden. While Croccante may be wealthy, he lacks all forms of restraint. Guden instead emerges from his shadow as an honest man whose disease deserves sympathy rather than condemnation. As in *Il Molière* the alcoholic, Leandro, serves to elevate the hypochondriac to a position of esteem, rather than one deserving of ridicule.

Throughout the evolution of the figure of the hypochondriac in Goldoni's work the question of empathy has arisen: should a hypochondriac be derided as a figure of vice or should he evoke sympathy? In the earlier stages, hypochondriacs were admonished, as was seen in the case of Ranocchio. Over time Goldoni carefully bestowed more and more sympathetic qualities to the hypochondriac. By offering an understanding of their maladies, he added more legitimacy to their suffering. Teaching the audience empathy was in part possible because the other

[52] "Me water? You propose water to me?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 399.

[53] "But to what are we subjected? What cursed destiny / Sends us invalids who drive the doctor crazy?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 399.

[54] "Which of you want to make love with me?" Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 410.

characters within the comedies began to respond in a more positive way to the figure of the hypochondriac. This was seen with Pantalone in *Il vecchio bizzarro*, who referred to the hypochondriac as his friend. Other ways in which Goldoni elicited similar respect lay in his choice to depict illustrious individuals who had succumbed to the disease, such as Molière and Tasso. This evolution might be thought to culminate in Guden's decency. Although the disease itself is nefarious and dissimulating, the hypochondriac is not.

Goldoni does not offer much background information about Guden except to say that he is not an intellectual. Although he clearly loves reading—the comedy begins with him asking for a book while he waits for the doctor—he is not a genius like some of his predecessors: "Lo studio era una volta il mio piacer più grato, / Or subito mi sento il capo riscaldato."[55] That, however, does not lessen the honor and respect due to the figure. When he is falsely accused of writing an indecent letter to the doctor about wishing to marry his niece, he responds: "Giuro sull'onor mio, la carta io non distesi: è noto il mio carattere ai mercanti olandesi."[56] Guden is known for his honesty. Later when the doctor recognizes his error, he emphasizes several times the worthy qualities of Guden: "Io sono un uomo onesto, un onest'uom voi siete."[57] Such a comment from the model physician elevates the figure of the hypochondriac to the same level of esteem as that enjoyed by the doctor. Moreover, Bainer associates the hypochondriac with a picture of honesty. This is quite a contrast to the earliest hypochondriacs, who are oftentimes represented as less than reliable. The greatest demonstration of Guden's respectability can be

[55] "Studying was once my most welcomed enjoyment / Now immediately I feel my head heat up." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 378.

[56] "I swear on my honor, I did not write the letter: my character is known to the Dutch merchants." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 423.

[57] "I am an honest man, you are an honest man." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 428.

seen in the doctor's recognition of the positive qualities that Guden would have as a spouse for his niece. When he contemplates allowing Guden to marry her, Dottor Bainer proclaims: "Ora voi la chiedete, la chiede un uomo ch'io stimo, / Giovine saggio, onesto, e di ricchezze opimo."[58] Guden has the esteem of the doctor and ultimately is worthy of Marianna's hand in marriage.

No longer an irritating and ignorant figure, the conventional hypochondriac has here been rehabilitated into an honest, wise, and well-esteemed individual. This is perhaps the reason why Marianna, the doctor's niece, falls in love with him. Another exemplary figure in the comedy, who is extremely well educated and enjoys certain freedoms unheard of on the Italian peninsula for women at the time, Marianna is presented by Carolina, her servant, as an individual in possession of "virtù" and "saggezza."[59] This is further emphasized in her social gatherings with a group of female friends, during which the women entertain themselves with riddles rather than frivolities. The respect that Guden receives from Dottor Bainer is reflected in his niece's attraction to the patient. Upon meeting him, Marianna does not deride him, as is seen traditionally in almost all of Goldoni's comedies preceding *Il Molière,* but rather feels empathy for him. As she explains: "Arriva un forestiero, racconta i mali sui, / Ed io per compassione vo a star peggio di lui."[60] This is a dramatic shift from earlier representations. Usually when the hypochondriac recounts his symptoms he elicits irritation and frustration from the other characters. Here, instead, he elicits compassion and ultimately love.

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[58] "Now you ask her, a man whom I esteem asks her / A wise, honest, and an abundantly rich young man." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 430.

[59] "Virtue" and "Wisdom." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 380.

[60] "A foreigner arrives, recounts his ailments, / And because of compassion, I am going to be worse than him." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese,* 418.

This shift towards compassion is not entirely new, but perhaps reaches its height in this comedy. While Dottor Bainer and Marianna feel respect and compassion for Guden, the lesson of the comedy is that such attitudes should be extended to all those suffering from the malady. As Dottor Bainer suggests: "Fra quante sono al mondo pessime infermità, / Sono gl'ipocondriaci quei che mi fan pietà."[61] Aware of the many maladies of the world, the physician creates a hierarchy of sorts, in which he asserts that hypochondriacs are the ones that deserve the most pity. From Ranocchio to Goldoni's final protagonist-hypochondriac Guden, hypochondriacs have evolved from figures only worthy of derision and humiliation, into the invalids most deserving of compassion. When the theatrical mask of the hypochondriac dissipates, and his psychological complexity is revealed, he is no longer responsible for his erroneous beliefs. Moreover, in contrast with the early theatrical hypochondriacs, suffering from the malady is no longer necessarily indicative of vice.

In Goldoni's final representation of a hypochondriac, he elevates the figure through his depiction of Guden to an individual worthy of sympathy and respect. Goldoni here portrays a figure that provides a psychological profile for the disease. Melancholy and hypochondria can be cured by finding their psycho-social cause and by being moved from the margins back into society, whether it be through companionship with a lover or a friend. Guden is perhaps the character furthest from the original mask of the hypochondriac. With an elaborate background story, which was missing from earlier representations of the character, Guden embodies the figures that Goldoni wished to inhabit the Italian stage. He is a hypochondriac with his own story

[61] "Among the many terrible maladies / Hypochondria has always been the one that I pitied the most." Goldoni, *Il medico olandese*, 397.

and perhaps his own resolution; he is not a near-personification of an abstract disease, but an individual.

IV.2 Pathological Fashions and Social Maladies: *Trilogia della villeggiatura*

Carlo Goldoni's holiday trilogy, *Trilogia della villeggiatura* (1761), dramatizes the neuroses of the Venetian bourgeois class. Several of the characters have a singular object, concrete or abstract, upon which they are fixated. Their petty human desires become obsessions, almost addictions, which have severe consequences, some of which may be irreversible. While medicine is absent in the trilogy, as is the term hypochondria, nefarious social pathologies with familiar etiologies rise to prominence.[62] Missing here are certain theatrical conventions, such as the lists of physical symptoms so typical of hypochondriacs, the disguised doctors, and the conventional pharmaceutical remedies. Instead, as was seen in Goldoni's comedies *Torquato Tasso* and *Il medico olandese,* in their place is continued emphasis on the psychological processes and internal workings of these "sick" individuals. While physical symptoms might well indicate disease, so too can the patient's thoughts when they are articulated aloud.

Goldoni's trilogy belongs to a period in which the playwright was becoming increasingly pessimistic about the Venetian middle class and their supposed values. After a brief stay in Rome in 1759 where he worked at the Tordinona theater, Goldoni returned to his home city and composed several of his best works: *I rusteghi* (1760), *La casa nova* (1761), and *Sior Tòdero brotolon* (1762) as well as the trilogy at hand. All of these depict the "crisis of values" that he

[62] The vocabulary of melancholy, however, is retained, and the malady, while no longer defined, strictly speaking, in medical terms, marks a step in Goldoni's progression towards what melancholy will become in some of his Parisian works. The *Trilogia* perhaps marks a new, pessimistic entry in Goldoni's encyclopedia of theatrical melancholies.

witnessed in the Venetian middle class.[63] Of the aforementioned works, Franco Fido maintains that the trilogy represents "il maggior sforzo compiuto da Goldoni per esporre sulla scena le contraddizioni di quella società veneziana."[64] It is the decadent practice of the country retreat upon which all three comedies are based that embodies Goldoni's misgivings about the bourgeoisie. In the three comedies, *Le smanie, Le avventure,* and *Il ritorno,* Goldoni presents the world of the merchant class which has come dangerously close to abandoning its values due to the fashions and social maladies of their time.

The trilogy depicts three parts of the so-called country retreat—the preparations for the occasion, the retreat itself, and the participants' return to the city. Although most of the older characters engage in similar follies, it focuses predominantly on four youths, among whom are a pair of siblings, Leonardo and Vittoria. The pairs' immoderate spending in preparation for a country retreat brings about their financial ruin. Victoria's contribution to their fiscal irresponsibility can be seen in her obsession over purchasing a new dress that she has ordered for the occasion. Her *mariage*, a French dress style, becomes a point of competition and jealousy between her and Giacinta, the woman that Leonardo hopes to marry. Similar to his sister, Leonardo fixates on immoderate purchases that he deems necessary for the vacation. Guglielmo, a young gentleman who has befriended Giacinta's father, Filippo, further complicates matters by aggressively pursuing Giacinta's affections. The country retreat, called *villeggiatura,* ignites

[63] Franco Fido explains: "On the eve of quitting Venice, he sees the middle class characters of his final comedies as victims of a crisis in values: the older generation too narrow-minded and insular, despots within the family and suspicious of everyone outside it, and the young men and women over-frivolous, imprudent, and headstrong." Franco Fido, introduction to *The Holiday Trilogy,* by Carlo Goldoni, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (New York: Marsilio, 1992), xi. All translations for the *Trilogy* will be taken from this volume.

[64] Franco Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa: Prospettive sull'ultimo Goldoni* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984), 13. "The greatest effort undertaken by Goldoni to expose on the stage the contradictions of Venetian society."

ostentatiousness and passionate desires in all of the characters.[65] This ultimately leads to two very unhappy and potentially loveless marriages: Giacinta weds Leonardo, and Vittoria marries Guglielmo. In contrast with these misguided and immoderate youth, there are several other characters who attempt to remind them of the values of moderation and reason. These include Fulgenzio, a friend of both Leonardo and Filippo, and Paolo and Brigida, the servants to the pair of siblings. Unfortunately, by the final comedy, *Il ritorno,* the retreat has created serious problems for all of the youthful characters.

As Goldoni suggests in his preface, the practice of the country retreat is associated with social pathology: "L'innocente divertimento della campagana è diventuto a dì nostri una

[65] The *villeggiatura* was an annual retreat from the city into the countryside generally made by the rich and noble. Goldoni's depiction, however, demonstrates that by the eighteenth century the practice had been adopted by the middle class. As Ortolani explains, it became in their hands a potentially dangerous social exercise: "L'amor vero della campagna cedette nel Settecento presso i Veneziani alla moda e al furore della villeggiatura durante l'autunno, per favorire la libertà e le pazzie della vita galante. Quel modo di eleganze, misto di natura e d'arte, che ci fa sognare attraverso i cancelli delle antiche ville, era diventato un pericolo ed una minaccia per lo stato economico della Repubblica." Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, 7: 1409. The tradition of retreating into the countryside, perhaps at one time both calming and salutary, is transformed into a perverted practice of debauchery and excess in the hands of the bourgeois class. The idyllic setting of the countryside has devolved into a pit of vice: "L'ambizione ha penetrato nelle foreste: i villeggianti portano seco loro in campagna la pompa ed il tumulto delle città, ed hanno avvelenato il piacere dei villici e dei pastori, i quali dalla superbia de' loro padroni apprendono la loro miseria." Goldoni, *Le smanie,* 1007. The countryside has been contaminated with the vices of the city and becomes a corrupting force. According to Fido, Goldoni had an opportunity to travel to the palladian villas of the Venetian nobility who often asked intellectuals to join them. Here he witnessed, "the contrast between the prosperous and, so to speak, 'natural' vacations of the 'grands seigneurs,' and the scrimping vacations of the middle class." Fido, "Introduction," xiii. Moreover, the middle class did not embrace their ideals in their practice of the country retreat. As Fido explains, "instead of developing a physiognomy of their own, an ideology based on work ethic, on common sense and education, the representatives of the middle classes aspired to 'live like the nobility,' choosing to imitate those customs—idleness, luxury, ostentation, and other vices—that were already undermining the hegemony of the patriciate." Fido,"Introduction," xiii-xiv. The corruption manifests itself in the behavior of the characters, who seem to be spurred on by the occasion to engage in reckless behavior. The composition of the comedy therefore served as a means to correct or counteract such negative tendencies: "L'ambizione de' piccioli vuol figurare coi grandi, e questo è il ridicolo ch'io ho cercato di porre in veduta, per correggerlo, se sia possibile." Goldoni, *Le smanie,* 1007. Here, the text serves as a type of social remedy or guide for the audience. Most likely seen by the middle class, and perhaps not coincidentally, the first performance coincided with the typical return from the retreat. It served as a mirror of the world that the public knew well. Fido, "Introduction," ix.

passione, una manìa, un disordine."[66] Passion, mania and disorder are vocabulary that can indicate a malady.[67] The purported cause of mania in the comedy is the passions. As Gian Pietro Fusanacci maintains in his *Dizionario compendioso di sanità* (1764), maniacs are individuals who are prone to anger, and willing to do harm to others.[68] Such qualities are evident in Leonardo and Vittoria who at times maliciously hurt other individuals. In addition, mania has a close relationship with the term melancholy. Melancholics are more prone to the malady, and here it will be clear that at least Leonardo, Giacinta, and Guglielmo suffer from the illness. Although perhaps not explicitly melancholic, Vittoria proves to be equally miserable.

The mania of some of the characters manifests itself in obsessive behaviors. Determined to surpass Giacinta in having the latest fashion Vittoria orders a *mariage* despite her family's financial difficulties. This is not the moment to make frivolous purchases. Unfortunately for her, the tailor refuses to give her the dress because he has not been paid. Vittoria's luck worsens when she discovers that Giacinta has also commissioned a *mariage* for the occasion.[69] While the mania is certainly manifested in their competition for the dress, the true source of their troubles resides

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[66] "The innocent pastime of the country holiday has lately become a passion, a mania, a disorder." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 4. Goldoni, *Le smanie*, 1007.

[67] Mania, a term that returns frequently, can be used to describe a social aberration or a pathology. It was considered in Greek medical literature to be one of the three types of madness. "One core distinction in ancient Greek medicine was the tripartite division of madness into phrenitis (frenzy), mania (raving), and melancholy." Lawlor, "Fashionable Melancholy," 30. In the eighteenth century, it held a similar status. The *Dizionario compendioso di sanità* published in Venice in 1764, shortly after the trilogy, provides the following definition: "Delirio perpetuo, e furioso senza febbre." Gian Pietro Fusanacci, *Dizionario compendioso di sanità* (Venezia: Presso Antonio Zatta, 1764), 234.

[68] "I maniaci hanno lo sguardo audace, gli occhi infiammati, e la faccia pallida, sono sempre pronti a fare del male agli altri, ed hanno una forza, ed un calore così grande[…]Per lo più gli uomini collerci, melanconici, che hanno una guardatura bieca, e la faccia pallida, sono i più soggetti a questo male." Fusanacci, 234.

[69] The competition that emerges between the two women subsequently reaches the level of mania: "In questa diffusa e assillante preoccupazione dei nostri villeggianti per le convenienze si inserisce come caso particolare la mania vestimentaria: seguire la moda non è un semplice capriccio o segno di frivolezza, ma non altro modo di «sentirsi in regola.»" Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 38.

in the practice of the country retreat, which offers a pretext for the women to "need" to follow the most current fashions. An analogous behavior is evident in Leonardo, Vittoria's brother who is consumed by the need to make a "good impression." The reason for this is the country retreat. As Leonardo asserts: "Chi vuol figurare nel mondo, convien che faccia quello che fanno gli altri."[70] The retreat becomes a social theater in which the illusion of wealth is perpetuated. This results in Leonardo spending beyond his means in preparation for the occasion.[71] By extension, his extravagances become a symptom of a type of social malady.

Interestingly, Leonardo is also characterized as being melancholic. The reasons for this are ambiguous. When Leonardo's servant, Paolo, who voices the quality of reason, warns Vittoria of their impending financial ruin, Vittoria ignores him. Instead only interested in ensuring that they proceed with the country retreat, Vittoria asks Paolo to avoid mentioning anything about their financial troubles to her brother:

> Non gli diciamo niente per ora. Non lo mettiamo in malinconia. Ho piacere che sia di buon animo, e che si parta con allegria.[72]

It is not clear from her statement whether or not Leonardo is prone to melancholy or has suffered it in the past. If he has, perhaps this explains his march towards mania. What does emerge, however, is that financial questions, which are a direct result of the practice of the country retreat, might cause him to sink into melancholy. Ironically, the trip is ultimately what causes the

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[70] "If a person wants to cut a decent figure in society, he has to keep up with his neighbors." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 8. Goldoni, *Le smanie,* 1011.

[71] See Goldoni, *Le smanie*, 1011-1013, where Leonardo requests that Paolo make numerous purchases for the country retreat. Despite his servant's concern that he has too many debts, Leonardo insists on the necessity of buying certain items.

[72] "Let's not say anything to him for now. Let's not upset him. I want him in a good mood, so we can all leave in good spirits. Let's get on with the trunk." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 39. Goldoni, *Le smanie,*1034.

unhappiness of the characters, who once arrived there oftentimes refer to it as the "maladette villeggiature."

As the comedy progresses Leonardo is not only hounded by his debts, but also by his jealousy of Guglielmo's plans to accompany Giacinta in her carriage. The young man becomes increasingly erratic in his behavior. He oscillates between canceling and reinstating the trip. When her brother states that they will not be leaving for the retreat any longer, Vittoria once again worries about her brother's behavior:

> Io resto di sasso, non so in che mondo mi sia. Vengo a casa, lo trovo allegro, mi dice: Andiamo in campagna. Vo di là, non passano tre minuti. Sbuffa, smania. Non si va più in campagna. Io dubito che abbia data la volta al cervello. Ecco qui, ora sono più disperata che mai. Se questa di mio fratello è una malattia, addio campagna, addio Montenero.[73]

While Vittoria's concern results from her unwavering need to participate in the country retreat, her statement about her brother reveals his worrisome behavior and indicates that it is abnormal. It is so strange that she posits that he has a malady. Later, she seems to imply that he is going insane: "È inquietissimo, è fuor di sé, è delirante…"[74] In this oscillation between melancholy and mania, Leonardo appears to be increasingly unstable.

While Vittoria does not give a specific name to Leonardo's probable malady, Ferdinando does. Ferdinando, a parasite and a gossip who seeks to profit from the immoderate hospitality of those on the country retreat, speaks with Vittoria about her brother's behavior. Her description leads him to later identify Leonardo as suffering from melancholy:

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[73] "I'm stunned. I'm all in a muddle. I come home, I find him in good spirits, he says: we're off to the country. I leave the room. Not three minutes pass. He's raving, he's sulking. Forget going to the country! I think something's wrong with his mind. If that's the case, I'm more desperate than ever. If my brother is sick, it's goodbye Montenero!" Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 78-79. Goldoni, *Le smanie,*1064.

[74] "My brother is completely unstable, he's out of his mind, he's delirious." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 80. Goldoni, *Le smanie*, 1065.

FER. Come sta l'amico Leonardo? Vi è passata la melanconia?
LEO. Che cosa sapete voi di melanconia?
FER. Eh! Ha detto un non so che la signora Vittoria.[75]

The symptoms which are relayed to him—Leonardo's indecisiveness, his bouts of anger, his deliriousness—are interpreted as melancholy. Whether or not his melancholy is caused by his mania is unclear, but the two seem to be closely related.

As the comedies progress, Leonardo's melancholy develops into a more serious form of despair as his economic situation worsens. Despite Fulgenzio's advice to forgo the country retreat, Leonardo presses on with his reckless spending, which leads to his potential ruin. This reaches its height in the last comedy of the trilogy *Il ritorno* in which Leonardo articulates in several monologues his ever-increasing turmoil. After discovering that his furniture has been impounded and that his country property will be taken away, Leonardo describes his state: "Chi è il nemico maggiore ch'io abbia, fuor di me stesso? Io sono il pazzo, lo stolido, il nemico di me medesimo."[76] The young man begins to describe himself as insane, and also admits fault. Immediately in the following scene, Leonardo recites another monologue in which his despondency continues to grow: "Io non so che mi fare. Penso, e i miei tristi pensieri, anziché suggerirmi il rimedio, mi spingono alla disperazione."[77] He cannot escape his sad thoughts, and as a result, with no help left, he moves dangerously towards despair, which is a precursor to

[75] "FER. And how is my friend Leonardo? Recovered from your fit of depression? / LEO. What do you know about my fit of depression? / FER. Oh, Signora Vittoria said something about it." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 92. Goldoni, *Le smanie,* 1074-1075.

[76] "Do I have a worse enemy than myself? Oh, what a madman, what a fool, I'm my own worst enemy!" Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 214. Goldoni, *Il ritorno,*1168.

[77] "I don't know what to do. I rack my brains and instead of coming up with a solution, I'm driving myself to despair." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 215. Goldoni, *Il ritorno,* 1168.

suicide. His addiction to spending, augmented in part by his participation in the country retreat, becomes almost life-threatening and potentially tragic.

Leonardo is not the only male figure who suffers from melancholy. There is also Guglielmo. Guglielmo is a curious figure in the comedy for whom little background is provided. His father used to retreat to Pisa, but it is unclear if his father is still alive. Moreover, his wealth is not mentioned. Guglielmo, however, proves to be quite clever. He secures an invitation from Filippo to accompany him and his daughter on the retreat by feigning his potential loneliness: "Ma io son solo, e dirò, come dite voi, star solo in campagna è un morir di malinconia."[78] This is ironic foreshadowing, as later the company in the countryside will bring no solace, but in fact only discontent.

In some ways Guglielmo shares certain qualities with Milord from *La vedova scaltra.* Goldoni describes him in the preface as "freddo e flemmatico."[79] He is essentially unfriendly. This is reminiscent of Milord who was described as distant and antisocial. In fact, except for his interactions with Giacinta, he does not have long exchanges with the other characters. Moreover, Guglielmo is an enigma to the characters within the play, as Leonardo confirms in *Il ritorno: "*Costui è d'un carattere che non arrivo ancora a comprendere."[80] He is a figure who is inscrutable. This is another parallel between Guglielmo and Milord. The Italian lover in *La vedova scaltra* notes that the stoicism of Milord makes it difficult to tell if the British lover is

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[78] "But I'm alone now, and I couldn't agree with you more: to be alone in the country is to die of melancholy." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 23. Goldoni, *Il ritorno*,1022.

[79] Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1078. Although humoral medicine has all but disappeared, it is interesting to note that phlegmatics and melancholics shared the quality of being "cold." However, melancholics were typically "dry" and phlegmatics were "moist."

[80] "I still can't make this fellow out." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 212. Goldoni, *Il ritorno,* 1167.

melancholic or happy. While he does act phlegmatic and cold with Vittoria, Guglielmo's advances towards Giacinta are all but restrained and indifferent. This is important when taken in conjunction with Guglielmo's insistence that he is melancholic by nature.

There are two pertinent examples of Guglielmo's insistence on his melancholic nature. In *Le avventure* Guglielmo is forced by Giacinta to falsely claim that he wants to marry Vittoria, to whom he feels at most indifference. He is therefore sullen around his betrothed:

> VIT. Mi pare un po' melanconico il signor Guglielmo.
> GUG. Non lo sa, signora? Son così di natura.[81]

While his sullenness is in part due to Giacinta's rejections, he insists that he is in fact by nature just this way. Perhaps this is in part another example of his clever pretenses, but it might also be true to a certain extent. A similar exchange occurs later:

> VIT. Oh! io m'aspetto delle cattive nuove signor Guglielmo.
> GUG. E perché, signora?
> VIT. Vi veggo troppo melanconico.
> GUG. Son così di temperamento.[82]

Guglielmo once again insists that his melancholy does not have any specific cause and rather is indicative of his natural temperament. Interestingly, Guglielmo's melancholy differs significantly from its manifestation in Leonardo. While both are in love with the same woman and are jealous of one another, they seem to embody a "plurality" of types of melancholy. However, these renditions of the malady appear to be readily recognizable. Goldoni's theatrical melancholics are almost an encyclopedia of the disease and its many manifestations. Ultimately, while there is

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[81] "VIT. Signor Guglielmo, you seem a bit out of sorts. / GUG. Didn't you know, madam? It's my melancholy nature." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 144. Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1116.

[82] "VIT. (*sottovoce to Guglielmo)* Oh, I'm afraid you have bad news for me, Signor Guglielmo. / GUG. (*to Vittoria*) Why, Signora? VIT. (*to Guglielmo*) You look too melancholic. GUG. (*to Vittoria*) It's my nature." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 174. Goldoni, *Le avventure,*1138.

ambiguity about Guglielmo's claims, his melancholy most likely will continue indefinitely, as he ultimately will wed Vittoria.

Giacinta is perhaps the most elaborated melancholic of the group. A tragic figure of sorts, she is also intelligent, and asserts an unusual amount of control over her father and Leonardo.[83] She is reminiscent in some ways of Goldoni's heroines, such as Mirandolina in his masterpiece *La locandiera* (1753) or perhaps even Marianna in *Il medico olandese* (1756). What distinguishes Giacinta in particular from the male melancholics is what Fido has called her "lucidità introspettiva."[84] In her admission of guilt, Giacinta reveals her ability to analyze her own behaviors, emotions, and most importantly her errors. This self-reflexivity is a quality that differentiates the later melancholics and hypochondriacs from the early figures. In works such as *Torquato Tasso* the hypochondriac emerges as an individual who is able to consider and recognize their deepest, and oftentimes repressed emotions, and even the physical mechanisms behind their malady. Similarly, Rosaura in *La finta ammalata* discovers her own cure when she reveals her psychological processes and repressed emotions. Giacinta shows a similar self-awareness. She identifies the source of her problems which she brought upon herself by participating in the country retreat.

In the first comedy Giacinta does not in fact appear melancholic. Although she perhaps exhibits a kind of "mania" in her competition with Vittoria over fashionable clothing, there are no references to her sadness, nor melancholy. That being said, she is identified very early on as a non-exemplary character. Fulgenzio, one of the characters associated with reason and

[83] See Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 41.

[84] "Introspective lucidity." See Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 41.

moderation, declares: "(Io non la prenderei, se avesse cento mila scudi di dote.)"[85] In the second comedy, *Le avventure,* however, Giacinta becomes one of the most melancholic characters in the trilogy. This is a drastic shift in her disposition that does not go unnoticed by Brigida, her servant:

> BRI. Che mai vuol dire, signora padrona, ch'ella è così melanconica? Quest'anno pare ch'ella non goda il piacere della villeggiatura.
> GIA. Maledico l'ora e il punto che ci sono venuta.
> BRI. Ma perché mai questa cosa?
> […]
> GIA. Brigida mia, conosco che sono stata una pazza, che sono una pazza, e che le mie pazzie mi vogliono far sospirare.[86]

In their exchange, Giacinta rightly blames the cursed country retreat for her melancholy and ultimately for driving her insane. This is because she has fallen in love, but unfortunately not with Leonardo. She falls instead for Guglielmo. She might have avoided this if it had not been for the fact that he is currently residing in her villa. The proximity to the source of her passion does not bring her relief, but rather exacerbates her melancholy. In *La finta ammalata* Rosaura would "pretend" to be ill to lure the doctor into her house. Here, the lover's presence becomes illness-inducing.

In this situation, Giacinta demonstrates her ability to be self-critical and self-aware. Earlier hypochondriacs and melancholics could not identify the source of their sadness. This includes Guden, in *Il medico olandese,* who needed the doctor in order to reveal that his sadness came from the death of his lover. However, by the second half of the eighteenth century, a new

[85] "I wouldn't have her, not even if she had a dowry of a hundred thousand crowns!" Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 89. Goldoni, *Le smanie,* 1072.

[86] "BRI. Whatever can be making you so melancholy, mistress? You don't seem to be relishing your stay in the country this year. GIA. I curse the day and the hour that I came here. BRI. Why so? [...] GIA. Brigida, dear, I know I've been mad, that I am mad, and that my madness will be my undoing." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 121. Goldoni, *Le avventure,*1098.

trend seems to emerge, particularly in such figures as Giacinta. As they become increasingly reflective and more introspective, they also develop an awareness of their own mental mechanisms. Giacinta even understands the processes of her sentiments towards Guglielmo: "L'indifferenza è divenuta compiacimento, ed il compiacimento passione."[87] She can analyze the progression of her own emotions. Once Giacinta reveals all, her servant Brigida says something very familiar: "La mia padrona è un'ammalata che ha paura della medicina."[88] This harkens back to *La finta ammalata* in which Rosaura's female servant and friends immediately identify Dottor Onesti as the remedy for her malady. As custom would have it, the traditional way to cure love melancholy would be for the lovers to come together. Giacinta finds this solution impossible, because, as she laments, "si tratta della reputazione."[89] She is therefore united with both Leonardo and Vittoria in their mania to ensure their reputations.

In the final comedy, *Il ritorno,* Giacinta has returned to the city and is initially hopeful that her distance from Guglielmo has helped her overcome her passions. Moreover, she has consulted a book for advice on how to do so. Guden, in *Il medico olandese* had also sought out a book to discover the mechanisms of his disease. For both Guden and Giacinta, the text will ultimately prove to be ineffectual in curbing their passions and therefore their suffering. Giacinta reached for the book in hopes of finding some entertainment, not any medical advice:

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[87] "My need to be catered to, made me pretend at first to be indifferent, and indifference became gratification, and gratification, passion." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 123. Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1100.

[88] "My mistress is like a sick person who is afraid of taking medicine." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 124. Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1101.

[89] "My reputation is at stake." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 123. Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1100.

"Nell'agitazione in cui era, per cercare di divertirmi ho preso un libro."[90] The title of the text was "Rimedi per le malattie dello spirito," which also harkens back to Dottor Bainer's assertion that Guden suffered a malady of the spirit rather than of the body.[91] Here, in contrast, hypochondria is conspicuously absent. The malady of the spirit is termed instead melancholy. While Ortolani was unable to find the actual source of this text, Fido has suggested that the reference most likely belonged to the growing literature, predominantly French, on protocol and good manners that was popular in the eighteenth century, such as *Manuel de l'homme du monde* and *Bienséance de la conversation entre les hommes.*[92]

Although the work referenced in this play most likely functioned as a manual—either real or imagined by Goldoni—the contents echo remedies that were described during the period in medical treatises concerning the treatment of melancholy with distraction.[93] Giacinta summarizes the text which offers an anatomical reason for her melancholy:

> Ho imparato questo: *Quand'uno si trova occupato da un pensiere molesto, ha da cercar d'introdurre nella sua mente un pensier contrario.* Dice che il nostro cervello è pieno d'infinite *cellule*, dove stan chiusi, e preparati più e diversi pensieri. Che la *volontà* può aprire e chiudere queste *cellule* a suo piacere, e che la ragione insegna alla volontà a chiudere questa e ad aprire quell'altra.[94]

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[90] "As upset as I was, I picked up a book, to take my mind off my problems." Oldcorn, *Trilogy*, 232. Goldoni, *Il ritorno,* 1181-1182.

[91] "Remedies for maladies of the spirit." Goldoni, *Il ritorno,* 1182.

[92] Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 55-56n25.

[93] See above, chapter 3 in which a number of therapies are suggested—most of which involve distracting the patient from the melancholic thought upon which he is fixated.

[94] "Among other things, I learned this: 'When a person's mind is occupied with an unpleasant idea, he or she must try to introduce an opposite idea into his or her mind.' It says that our brains are full of an infinite number of 'cells,' in which lots of different ideas are locked up and ready to be unlocked. Our 'will' can lock and unlock these 'cells' as it pleases, and 'reason' tells 'will' to lock one up and unlock the other." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 233. Goldoni, *Il ritorno,* 1182-1183.

The text appears to provide a medical explanation for the malady in question in that it refers to the mechanisms that regulate an individual's thoughts. As a means of counteracting a negative and all-consuming fixation, the book recommends that one think of an opposite idea—or that one distracts oneself with another. In the case of melancholy, in which the individual is focused on one object, thinking of another topic helps retrain the brain.

Most importantly, it is reason that is curative. Reason seems to be purported to be the best self-medication. It can actually train the body's physical mechanisms by opening and closing the brain cells. In Giacinta's medical manual, the worlds of medicine, philosophy, and emotions intermingle and coalesce. Nevertheless, the premise of the therapeutic powers of reason persists. Much as in Guden's case, the advice that Giacinta gleans from it ultimately fails her, perhaps because she proves unable to enact the precepts. In the end, unable to control her passion for Guglielmo, but also unwilling to break her ties with Leonardo, the young woman agrees to marry the latter and move far away to Genova. Although she ultimately holds firm in her resolve, the ending of the trilogy leaves the audience with the sense that she and her husband will most likely find themselves an unhappy couple in the future. In a sense, it is a fitting result for the young woman who diagnosed herself with melancholy, understood its etiology, and ultimately decided that the only treatment to cure herself from her passion for Guglielmo was to agree to move far away.

In the end, Giacinta and Leonardo are bound in a loveless marriage, as are Guglielmo and Vittoria. All the melancholic figures find themselves no better off than when the comedy began. Their hopes of finding happiness in their country retreat are thwarted and the possibility remains that they will continue to suffer indefinitely. What unites these youth is not their age, nor their difficult plights in love, nor merely their melancholy, but rather their obsession with maintaining

their reputations and keeping up with the fashions of the period. It becomes an addiction. In always wanting more, and in imitating those who were wealthier, the youth of this story ultimately end up unhappier than when they began. Giacinta is too afraid of the ramifications of admitting that she does not in fact love Leonardo. Leonardo cares so intensely about being perceived as "wealthy" that he recklessly endangers his and his family's fortune. As for Gugliemo, of whom we know the least, his obsession with conquering Giacinta seems in some ways analogous to the need to have something unattainable. Part of the Giacinta's appeal lies in the simple fact that Guglielmo cannot have her. In this way he resembles the other melancholic characters who long for material objects that lie beyond their means. In the end he marries Vittoria whose tragedy lies in knowing that her husband does not love her. All have been consumed by mania and also a resultant melancholy.

In *Il vecchio bizzarro* the speech that Pantalone makes underscores the broader literary and medical preoccupation with the fact that an epidemic of melancholy and hypochondria was spreading.[95] This worry is echoed in *Le avventure* by Sabina, Giacinta's aunt who ironically also engages in a vice. In her pursuit of the young Ferdinando's attention, she ultimately proves herself to be just as disordered in her social behavior as her young niece Giacinta. Ferdinando pretends to be falling in love with Sabina in order to procure a financial donation from her. As a result, Sabina engages in behavior unbecoming of her age and ultimately finds herself in a state as sad as the younger figures in these comedies. Social disorder appears to be contagious across generations. But here, not self-aware, she ironically admonishes youth for their maladies:

[95] See above, section III.3. This has been noted by Gowland. See Gowland, "The Problem with Early Modern Melancholy," 99. See also, Pinel, "La follia dei vapori," 187-194.

> Io non so che razza di gioventù sia quella del giorno d'oggi. Non si sente altro che mali di stomaco, dolori di testa, e convulsioni. Tutte hanno le convulsioni. Io non mi cambierei con una di voi altre, per tutto l'oro del mondo.[96]

While Sabina does not offer a reason for the growing number of youth afflicted by such maladies as melancholy, her observation reveals a concern that so many were becoming sick. Ingram believes that because melancholy became associated in the eighteenth century with "superiority," particularly in the figure of the intellectual, it became a symbol of "refinement" and class and consequently a fashionable or desirable illness.[97] In the trilogy the central figures of the comedy wish to prove that they are fashionable. In fact, they go to great lengths to put on such airs, and to demonstrate their liberality to their friends. That perhaps is where the "fashionable" part of the malady is exposed. The illness is not itself fashionable, but is rather represented as being caused by the pathology of fashion. Here Goldoni might well be setting forth his own diagnosis for the growing number of young and old afflicted by the disease. The characters are not pretending to be melancholic in this comedy, nor does their unhappiness prove their refinement. Instead, in imitating the pursuits of a class to which they do not belong, a class that perhaps has corrupt practices that cannot be reconciled with the ideals of the bourgeoisie—such as moderation—the characters become ill. Melancholy and hypochondria in Goldoni's works are not diseases belonging to a certain class, nor even to just the educated elite. Instead, the maladies with which

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[96] "I don't understand the young people of today. All I hear is stomachaches, headaches, and convulsions. They all have convulsions! I wouldn't change places with one of you girls for all the tea in China." Oldcorn, *Trilogy,* 152. Goldoni, *Le avventure,* 1102.

[97] "Melancholy had a long-standing association with genius (to some extent it has retained this through into our own day), which could be traced back to such an illustrious intellectual authority as Aristotle. From the Renaissance onwards it also took on a class bias, becoming seen as a mark of both superior social and intellectual status and accomplishments, as it was for Richard Burton…and George Cheyne. In consequence, melancholy subsequently became for the eighteenth century a sign of refinement, a fashionable condition to be afflicted by, and was thus embraced by the middle and upper classes [...]." Allan Ingram and Stuart Sim, "Depression before Depression," in *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression, 1660-1800,* by Allan Ingram et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 19.

his corpus began have evolved from a singular fixed disease into a complex constellation of ailments that do not discriminate based on social standing, nor can they be exemplified simply in one single individual. In the case of the trilogy, it emerges that the middle class, in their attempt to imitate the aristocracy, can also succumb to melancholy.

IV.3 A Farewell to Venice: *Una delle ultime sere di carnovale*

In 1762 Carlo Goldoni moved from Venice to Paris, where he remained until his death in 1793. His departure was perhaps motivated by what Goodman calls the "violent polemics" in which he engaged with two other playwrights: Carlo Gozzi and Pietro Chiari.[98] Before Goldoni's final departure for Paris, he offered one more comedy to his public, *Una delle ultime sere di carnovale*.[99] This work brings to an end his creative production in the city of Venice and functions as the last words of the Venetian playwright addressed to his city and to his critics:

> Essendo io in quell'anno chiamato in Francia, e avendo risolto di andarvi, per lo spazio almeno di due anni, immaginai di prender congedo dal pubblico di Venezia col mezzo di una commedia.[100]

The comedic poet further reveals that this comedy was an allegory, one whose central subject was Goldoni's relationship to the theater. While Goldoni had not shied away from elaborating a meta-discourse about theater in his works, this work is not metatheatrical in the same way as *Il*

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[98] Goodman, *Goldoni*, 28.

[99] Carlo Goldoni wrote several works in which the characters participate in Carnival. For critical works discussing carnival in the Venetian's corpus see Fido, *Nuova Guida*, 139-161; and Fido, *Le inquietudini*, 99-112. In the former, Goldoni discusses the temporal relationship between comedies featuring carnival and the audience: "Di solito, infatti, spettatori e attori sono rispettivamente fuori e dentro la commedia, su posizioni separate e contigue di uno spazio teatrale, diciamo euclideo. Ma qui, se ciò che era «occassione» e tempo esterno dello spettacolo diventa trama e tempo interno dell'azione, i rapporti fra pubblico e fibula si complicano e sfumano in un nuovo spazio teatrale, che per completare la metafora geometrica potremmo chiamare topologico." Fido, *Nuova Guida*, 140.

[100] "Having been called that year to France, and having resolved myself to go, for at least two years, I imagined to take my leave from the Public of Venice through a comedy." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere*, 207.

teatro comico, as Pizzamiglio has maintained.[101] It does, however, make clear allusions to the anxieties of the comic playwright at this particular juncture in his life when the future of his comedic reforms faced uncertainties.[102] Goldoni characterizes his comedy thusly:

> In fondo di questa Commedia è un allegoria […] Ho fatto de' commedianti una società di tessitori, o sia fabbricanti di stoffe, ed io mi sono coperto col titolo di disegnatore. L'allegoria non è male adattata. I comici eseguiscono le opere degli autori, ed i tessitori lavorano sul modello de' loro disegnatori.[103]

The *disegnatore*, Anzoletto, makes statements throughout the comedy that resemble Goldoni's notions about the theater in striking ways. The allegory extends to the rest of the textile workers, each of whom represents some aspect of Goldoni's theater.[104] When Goldoni outlines the different characters that populate his comedy, he includes one of particular interest to the present study, Sior' Alba: "Una donna che sa essere ammalata, quando s'annoia; e diventa sanissima,

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[101] Gilberto Pizzamiglio, introduction to *Una delle ultime sere di carnovale,* by Carlo Goldoni, ed. Gilberto Pizzamiglio (Venezia: Marsilio, 1993), 15.

[102] In her analysis of Goldoni's allegory, Goodman focuses on how Goldoni wished to "preserve his artistic vision" in Italy even while living in France: "In the overtly allegorical story of a Venetian tapestry designer who has been invited to Paris, and plans to send his designs back to his workers in Italy. Believing that his absence from the loom room will have a harmful effect on the success of his designs, this designer/author resolves to send with each of his designs/plays a description giving details of colour and execution (or stage directions) to guide his weavers/actors, in order that the final product should conform to his artistic vision." Goodman, *Goldoni*, 116.

[103] "This comedy is an allegory [...] I had the comedians be a company of textile workers, or producers of cloth, and I hid myself under the title of designer. The allegory is fitting. The comic actors follow the works of the author and textile workers follow the model of their designers." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 207.

[104] In Pizzamiglio's introduction to his edition of the comedy, he identifies the numerous allegorical figures within it: "I personaggi in azioni in questi casi sono Anzoletto, Domenica, Zamaria, madama Gatteau, e a costoro andrà dunque attribuita una valenza allegorica più precisa: scontata la corrispondenza Anzoletto-Goldoni, accettato anche quella tra Momolo e un Goldoni giovane, che avvia la riforma, o raccoglie per conto della nuova generazione la fiaccola goldoniana, andrà riconosciuta, mi pare, una simbologia che veda in Domenica anche la figura della commedia riformata, e in Madama un'allusione ai difetti e allo stato di decadenza della *Comédie Italienne,* divenuta grottesca nella sua stantia riproposta dei vecchi formulari delle maschere[...]che non riescono però a calamitare in termini consistente l'interesse del pubblico parigino. Va da sé che Zamaria raffigura in questo ambito interpretivo il Vendramin, certo con tratti più bonari e meno conflittuali nei confronti di Anzoletto di quanto no fossero nella realtà i comportamento del nobiluomo imprenditore teatrale verso il suo commediografo." Pizzamiglio, "Introduction," 18.

quando trova di divertirsi."[105] Although not referred to with the term hypochondria, her behavior certainly harkens back to the early representations of the figure, such as in the intermezzi, and those females who oftentimes simulated the malady in Goldoni's corpus. Now that the public had grown accustomed to the hypochondriac perhaps no explicit reference was needed.

The imaginary invalid, Sior'Alba, remains marginal to the rest of the plot as it unfolds; but when she does actively participate in the scene, her presence is domineering. Signor Zamaria, a textile business owner, throws a party for his workers, their wives, one of whom is Alba, and his friends on one of the last nights of carnival. Before the party begins in full, Anzoletto, for whom Zamaria's daughter, Domenica, harbors a secret passion, reveals that he will be leaving for Moscow to pursue a career opportunity. This news threatens to undermine the joyous tone of the festivities and also disconcerts the other characters who value Anzoletto as a designer.[106] Over the course of three acts, which are divided in accordance with the three phases of the party—a conversation, a card game, and a dinner—a resolution is found so that Domenica can marry Anzoletto, but not abandon her father in Venice. Zamaria conveniently agrees to marry Madama Gatteau, a French embroiderer who initially wishes to ensnare Anzoletto as her fourth husband, despite the age difference. The comedy ends with the marriages of both father and daughter, both of whom will leave for Moscow, as well as the wedding of the comic figure Momolo to Signora Polonia. While the admired *disegnatore* must leave, his last words to his community remain optimistic that he will one day return.

[105] "A woman who knows how to be ill when she gets bored: and becomes very healthy when she finds herself having fun." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 208.

[106] Pizzamiglio, "Introduction," 25.

Sior'Alba recalls many of the earlier renditions of hypochondria. Much like her early predecessors Goldoni does not provide her with an extensive background story that might explain her behavior. Instead her outbursts of dramatic, yet clearly feigned, illness follow a predictable pattern. Because of the conventional elements, Sior'Alba more closely resembles a stock character of the Commedia dell'Arte than the distinct individual who was seen in more recent works. She also resembles earlier female hypochondriacs who were often feigning their symptoms. Moreover, her behavior becomes exhausting as her interventions into the plot are practically all the same. Almost all of her lines reference her ill health. She is here in effect an allegory of the old imaginary invalid, which Goldoni had since surpassed. Early on in the comedy, the theatrical conventions that she will enact as the character of the imaginary invalid are well established. They are subsequently repeated in the play to such an extent that the audience quickly learns the modus operandi of Sior'Alba. Even before she arrives onstage, Goldoni fixes her image for the audience:

> DOM. Credémio che la vegna sior'Alba?
> ZAM. La m'ha dito de sì. Per cossa no averàvela da vegnir?
> DOM. No salo che cossa lessa che la xe? La gh'ha sempre mal. Non la magna, non la parla, non la sa zogar: ora ghe diol la testa, ora ghe diol el stomego, ora ghe vien le fumane.
> ZAM. Cossa vustu far? Sior Lazaro el xe mio compare.[107]

According to Domenica, Sior'Alba is not good company, such that Domenica would prefer to exclude her from the festivities. This is reminiscent of earlier hypochondriacs who are alienated from the social group. Domenica identifies Sior'Alba's behavior of "always being ill" as particularly troublesome and threatening to the joy of the festivities. Unfortunately, Zamaria

[107] "DOM. Do you think that Signora Alba will come? / ZAM. She told me yes. Why would she not be coming? / DOM. I don't know, because she is a melancholic? She is always sick. She doesn't eat, she doesn't talk, she doesn't know how to play: one minute her head hurts, the next her stomach hurts, then come the vapors. / ZAM. What am I supposed to do? Signor Lazaro is my close friend." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere*, 217-218.

states that they have no choice but to include her, because her husband, Signor Lazaro is his "compare." The imaginary invalid is thus an unwelcome, but necessary guest. In some ways this is even reminiscent of the duo Don Chilone and Erighetta from the turn of the century. Don Chilone had refused to participate in the festivities of carnival. Here, Sior'Alba, who does not "play cards," might refuse to take part in the activities of the group.

This scene frames the image of Sior'Alba as she will be represented during the rest of the comedy. She will constantly complain of her supposed illnesses, while irritating the rest of the group and demanding their attention. Before Sior'Alba speaks her first lines in the comedy, her definitive image has been established. The announcement of her hypochondria before her first appearance onstage was a theatrical convention that had been seen in the intermezzi, and in some early comedies. It had since disappeared as the figure evolved in Goldoni's theater. Usually, in later works, the hypochondriac had a chance to speak first before being subjected to the judgment of the other characters. Moreover, the later works usually develop the psychological elements of the figure over the course of the comedy, so that the hypochondriac becomes increasingly more complex and interesting. Here, Domenica provides a superficial description of Sior'Alba. No real psychological depth will be developed for this character as the comedy progresses: she continuously re-enacts the same drama. Sior'Alba therefore represents a regression to the earlier mask-like presentation of the malady. When Sior'Alba finally arrives onstage for the first time, the interaction between the characters repeats the stereotypes mentioned above:

> MAR. Chi xeli?
> DOM. Sior'Alba co so marìo. Con grazia. (*s'alza e va incontro)*
> BAS. Xela quela che gh'ha sempre mal? (*a Marta)*

MAR. Sì, chi la sente ela, la xe sempre ammalada; ma no la starave a casa una sera.[108]

Although Bastian does not know Sior'Alba, her reputation is well-known enough to assure that he can immediately identify her as the one who is always ill. Despite her ailments, however, Sior'Alba curiously is never ill enough to stay home, which is an indication that perhaps her complaints are not legitimate. By emphasizing that she is not ill, Goldoni delegitimizes the character's behavior, rendering her closer to the early theatrical tradition. If the illness is "not real," then the character, like Rosaura before her, is simply "pretending."

When Sior'Alba enters the stage, she commands the attention of all the other characters in the room—much like Rosaura in *La finta ammalata* whose medical theatrics captured the attention of not only her father, but all the practitioners in her presence. Moreover, Sior'Alba distracts from the more psychologically complex characters, and the central plot, which centers on Anzoletto and Domenica's love. Having been based on the actress Teodora Medebach, Rosaura was a figure inherently related to the image of Goldoni's theater. In this comedy, in like manner, Sior'Alba is one of the most theatrical characters, because of the exaggerated drama that she brings to each scene:

> DOM. Cossa fala? Stala ben? (*ad Alba)*
> ALB. Gh'ho un dolorazzo de testa, che non ghe vedo.[109]

As the hostess, Domenica immediately caters to her needs bringing her a foot-warmer to combat her trembling from the cold. Soon all of the characters are captivated by the performance of the feigning invalid:

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[108] "MAR. Who is that? / DOM. Signora Alba with her husband. With pleasure. (*She gets up and goes to meet them*) / BAS. Is that the one who is always sick (*to Marta)* / MAR. Yes that is her, the one who is always sick. But she never spends one night at home." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 231.

[109] "DOM. What are you doing? Are you ok? / ALB. I have a headache that makes me unable to see." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 231.

ALB. Gh'ala un garòfolo? (*a Domenica*)
DOM. Anderò de là a tórghelo.
MAR. Mi, mi se la vol. (*vuol tirar fuori un garofano ecc*.)
BAS. Vorla un diavolon? (*apre un scatoletta ect…*)
ALB. Sior sì.
DOM. Cossa se séntela?
ALB. No so gnanca mi. Gh'ho un affanno!...[110]

By the end of the scene, Sior'Alba has ensnared every other character and enlisted them to help her feel better. Like the subject of a play she has become the center of attention.

In fact, she has outbursts whenever she is bored. These incidents just happen to coincide with those moments when she feels ignored. Sior' Alba has a way to bring her company back into her orbit. When she notices that no one is talking to her, she throws a hypochondriacal fit:

ALB. *(Butta via lo scaldapiedi)*
DOM. Coss'è?
ALB. Me vien una fumana.[111]

Alba uses her feigned malady as a way to dominate the other characters. Her "illness" functions as her voice, a way for her to assert her needs and impose her control. When Alba finds herself competing with another prima donna, Madama Gatteau, she immediately resorts to her "imaginary" ailment not only to bring the focus back onto herself, but also to attempt to ostracize the other attention-grabber from the group. The comical scene unfolds as follows:

MAD. Messieurs; Mesdames. J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer. (*riverenza a tutti*)
ZAM. Madama, la reverisso.
MAD. Votre servente, monsieur.
ANZ. Servo, madama Gatteau.
MAD. Bon soir, mon cher Anjoletto. (*riverenza amorosa*)
[…]

[110] "ALB. Do you have a carnation? / DOM. I will go get one. / MAR. I have one if she wants. (*wants to take out a carnation*) / BAS. Would you like a diavalon (medicine) (*he opens a box*) / ALB. Yes sir. / DOM. How do you feel? / ALB. I don't know. But I am in pain!" Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 234.

[111] "ALB. (Pushes away the foot warmer) / DOM. What's wrong? / ALB. I feel a vapor." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 234.

ALB. (*Si agita, e fa dei contorcimenti*)
MOM. Forti. Com'èla? (*verso sior'Alba, alzandosi*)
[…]
ALB. Ho sentìo un odor che me fa morir.[112]

She conveniently suggests that Madama Gatteau's perfume makes her ill, which would require that she not be anywhere near the older French woman. She also ensures by feigning sickness that the entire group will worry about her. Although her behavior perhaps elicits some laughs, it is disingenuous and therefore irritating to the other characters. Alba's behavior seems to be more representative of the vice of selfishness than a picture of a legitimate malady that warrants sympathy. Moreover, the scene with Madama Gatteau follows a similar structure to the one mentioned above. It almost appears as if it is a *canovaccio*—the structure of the performance is predictable, but slight changes are made to the exact story as though the actress Alba were improvising. Alba is as static as the masks of the Commedia dell'Arte, and by extension her malady is once again reminiscent of a vice. As an allegory, the play perhaps has little room for the psychological development seen in the later melancholic comedies by Goldoni.

As much as she resembles the characters of the old theater, there are indeed ways in which Goldoni has created some variation in the traditional patterns. In the early intermezzi, female characters usually preyed on male invalids, or in more extreme cases even attempted to murder them. Here, in the inverted scenario, the husband, Lazaro, appears to be overly indulgent of his wife's whims, and to such an extent that he perpetuates her undesirable behavior:

ALB. Gh'ho una mancanza de respiro, che no posso tirar el fià.
LAZ. Voleu gnete? Voleu andarve a molar el busto?
ALB. Eh! Sior no; n'importa.[113]

[112] "MAD. Sirs and Madams. I have the honor to greet you. (*She curtsies*) / ZAM. A pleasure... / MAD. Your servant, sir. / MAD. Good evening, my dear Anjoletto[...] / MOM. How is she? (*Towards Signora Alba, and gets up*) / ALB. (*looks agitated and makes contortions*)[...] / ALB. I smell an odor that is making me sick." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 261.

Sior'Alba seems completely uninterested in her husband's suggestions, despite his kindness in wishing her well. Here it appears that the husband is the victim of an overly dramatic wife. The other male figures quickly identify the problematic dynamic and have suggestions for Lazaro about how to rein in his wife's theatrics:

BAS. Gh'avé un gran pazenzia, compare!
LAZ. Cossa voleu far? La xe mia muggier.
BAS. Voleu che mi v'insegna a varirla?
LAZ. Come?
BAS. Se ge dise: astu mal? Stà in casa. Anca sì, che ghe passa el dolor de stomego!
LAZ. No son bon; no gh'ho cuor; [...].[114]

Bastian is critical of Lazaro's method of dealing with his wife's whims. His recommendation is to require that she remain home when she feels sick. He believes that this would "cure" her of her feigned malady. If she believes herself to be sick, her remedy might lie in being treated as though she were in fact so. Lazaro is unable to follow his advice, perhaps because he is a weak-willed individual. Whereas the male figure of the hypochondriac had been by this time rehabilitated in Goldoni's corpus, the female now fills the role of the "imaginary" invalid. The male-female pair of the earliest works has here undergone a reassignment of roles. The female "caretaker" is now transformed into the patient, and the male becomes the nurse of sorts. Whereas the male figure is subdued, here the female becomes the perpetrator—she assumes a troublesome new power in her role as the patient. Women are now the imaginary invalids. In their new role, they are also associated with dishonesty and dissimulation.

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[113] "ALB. I have lost my breath, I can't breathe. / LAZ. Do you want anything? Do you want to loosen your corset? / ALB. Come on! No, it's not important." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 232.

[114] "BAS. You are certainly patient, friend! / LAZ. What would you want me to do? She is my wife. / BAS. Do you want me to teach you how to cure her? / LAZ. How? / BAS. If she says: Am I ill? She stays at home. Even if her stomach ache goes away! / LAZ. That's not good. I don't have the heart; [...]" Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 235.

When Anzoletto departs for his trip to Moscow, he does bring with him Madama Gatteau, who Pizzamiglio asserts is a figure of the Commedia dell'Arte.[115] Symbolically, Goldoni too brings this type of character with him to France. He ultimately works at the Commedia dell'Arte theater in Paris where is is expected to produce canovacci. Therefore, although he has made signifcant reforms in his Venetian works, he never completely abandons this type of theater. Moreover in his departure from Venice, Anzoletto leaves behind a group of other figures, including the imaginary invalid Sior' Alba. In an allegorical farewell to his compatriots, the figure of the past embodied in the imaginary invalid, which had by then been associated with psychologically superficial, mask-like qualities, and most importantly, dishonesty, is symbolically left behind in Venice. In one of Anzoletto's speeches that allegorically gives voice to Goldoni's notions on the theater, he states: "Perché mi no gh'ho altro de bon a sto mondo, che la schiettezza de cuor, la verità in bocca, e la sincerità sulla penna."[116] He then continues:

> Credème, compare, che 'l più bel studio xe quello de conosser i caratteri delle persone, e prevalerse de bon esempio, e correger se stessi, vedeno in altri quelle cosse che non par bon.[117]

As Goldoni embarks on his next adventure in Paris, he believes that there is no place left on the reformed stage for the old-style falsehoods of dissimulation. When he leaves behind the imaginary invalid, he is symbolically saying goodbye to that early form of theater so fixed in conventional artifice that it could not speak an "honest truth" that was necessary to correct not only his own behavior, but that of his audience.

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[115] Pizzamiglio, "Introduction," 18.

[116] "Because I do not have anything else good in this world other than my frankness of heart, my truthful words, and the sincerity of my pen." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 288.

[117] "Believe me, friends, that the most beautiful study is that of knowing the characters of people, and together from them a good example, and to correct oneself, seeing in others things that do not seem good." Goldoni, *Una delle ultime sere,* 288.

What is conspicuously missing from his final comedy are the terms melancholy and hypochondria. This perhaps is because they no longer belong in the realm of vice and delusion destined to be chased from the stage, but rather they belong to the new type of theater represented as "honest dissimulation," that Goldoni had embraced in his own comedies and that was seen elsewhere in the figure of his "honest doctor." The "honest dissimulators" are not figures to leave behind in Venice, but rather to carry with him always. The figure of the imaginary invalid might well be that of the hypochondriac's theatrical past, but by the last comedies of Goldoni's Venetian corpus, it is Goldoni's hope to leave those antecedents behind as he leaves his country. The feigning imaginary invalid has become so much a thing of the past that after the last night of carnival the masks can only be set aside as the playwright leaves for France.

Conclusion

Goldoni spent the last thirty-one years of his life in Paris, beginning in 1762. It was not his intention to remain there, but unfortunately he never returned to his homeland. His move demarcates a new period in the playwright's unusually long, and active career. He seems to underscore this shift himself by keeping his arrival in France in a separate section of his *Mémoires*.[1] In their analyses of Goldoni's Parisian works, scholars have noted challenges in dating the different pieces and characterizing them as a group.[2] Such lack of "uniformity" has been underscored by Franco Fido, particularly in the plays produced during his first few years in France:

> Si prestano a interpretazioni contrastanti, e sembrano riflettere una notevole ambivalenza ideologica rispetto al moderato e tutto sommato coerente illumnismo degli anni veneziani.[3]

As Goldoni oriented himself to a new country, he also encountered a new audience, one that presented some challenges. As the playwright admitted in a letter to Albergati:

> La cortesia è il carattere della nazione. Tutti non sono sinceri, [...] Evvi una certa uniformità di vivere e di costume, che toglie la fatica o il piacere di far delle osservazioni particolari [...] In oggi tutti i vizi e tutte le virtù sono mediocri; non vi si scopre un ridicolo originale in nessuno.[4]

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[1] Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 439-605.

[2] Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 90-91. See Goodman, *Goldoni,* in which the author provides an extensive history of Goldoni's Parisian texts as well as some of the critical challenges of evaluating authorship of the canovacci.

[3] Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 96-97. "They lend themselves to contrasting interpretations and seem to reflect a notable ideological ambivalence with respect to the moderate and all in all coherent Enlightenment of his Venetian years."

[4] Cited in Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*, 92. "Courtesy is the character of the nation. Not everyone is sincere, [...] They have a certain uniformity of living and custom that takes away the strain and the pleasure of making particular observations [...] These days all the vices and all the virtues are mediocre; one cannot discover a ridiculous original in anybody."

As an individual who drew from the book of the world for aesthetic inspiration, Goldoni claimed to have found himself with a lack of source material that would satisfy the theatrical program that he had developed during his time in Venice.

After many years of working in opposition to the Commedia dell'Arte, Goldoni began his career in Paris at the Comédie-Italienne and later served as an Italian tutor at the French court. During this period of his life, Goldoni continued to produce theatrical works, many in the forms of *canevas* that were destined to be used by improvisational actors. He also wrote full-length scripted comedies. Just as these works diverge from his earlier pieces, so too does Goldoni's representation of hypochondria and melancholy change. A reading of his Parisian comedies reveals that after moving to France, Goldoni never mentions the malady of hypochondria, nor does he employ the figure of the hypochondriac in his theatrical works again. Mental pathologies sporadically interspersed in his works are referred to instead as *pazzia* or madness, and bear no relationship to the aforementioned disease.[5] This conspicuous absence starkly contrasts with the prevalence of the term in his autobiographical work. The latter details the life-long struggle of Goldoni against the illness. While in his theatrical works hypochondria disappears, the term melancholy remains, but its semantic range has much changed. No longer associated with hypochondria, it is by extension no longer medicalized. Moreover, the use of the term melancholy is complicated by the new context in which Goldoni was writing, France, and by a new audience, the French public, with presumably new expectations for such figures.

[5] For more information on the emergence of "pazzia" in Goldoni's French works, see Fido, *Le inquietudini*, 163-185.

The introduction of Goldoni to the French stage seems to coincide with the emergence of the *drame bourgeois*, theorized in part by Diderot in his representative comedy, *Le Fils naturel*.[6] As Mechele Leon has deemed it, this new theatrical genre was a "middle ground" of sorts, neither classical tragedy nor comedy.[7] Moreover, the intention of such works was to provide a "realistic expression of the passions and tragedies of everyday life, with a clear moral lesson."[8] Melancholy would have a place in such a theatrical genre, but perhaps in a more generalized way than had been previously seen in Goldoni's Venetian comedies. Rather than focusing on characters who were melancholic, there seems to be, in a selection of Goldoni's Parisian works, the presence of a melancholic mood that might most resemble the ambiance of the French *drame bourgeois* or the *comédie larmoyante*.[9] The roots of such an evolution may already be found in Goldoni's *Trilogia della villeggiatura*, in which no single character served as sole exemplar of melancholia. Instead melancholy pervaded the comedy as a whole.

In his Parisian works, the term melancholy appears most frequently in the comedy *Le inquietudini di Zelinda* (1763). The nature of the melancholy from which the characters suffer shares more with the figures of the *Villeggiatura* trilogy than with the melancholics of Goldoni's earlier works. The comedy centers on the reading of a will after the death of Don Roberto.

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[6] As Goodman explains, Goldoni's *Vero amico* (1750) had provided source material for Diderot's work, which led to accusations that Diderot had "plagiarized" Goldoni's comedy. See Goodman, *Goldoni*, 1. Goldoni makes reference to the scandal in his *Mémoires:* "M. Diderot avoit donné quelques années auparavant une Comédie intitulée le *Fils Naturel*; M. Fréron en avoit parlé dans son Ouvrage Périodique; il avoit trouvé que la Piece Françoise avoit beaucoup de rapport avec *le Vrai Ami* de M. Goldoni; il avoit transcrit scenes Françoises à côté des scenes Italiennes." Goldoni, *Mémoires*, 456.

[7] Mechele Leon, introduction to *A Cultural History of Theatre in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Mechele Leon, vol. 6 of *A Cultural History of Theatre*, eds. Christopher Balme and Tracey Davis (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 9.

[8] Stanley Hochman, ed., *McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Drama*, 5 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984), 5:222.

[9] Vincent-Buffault, *History of Tears*, 60-67.

However, the play mostly focuses on the love story between Lindoro and Zelinda. The final work of a trilogy, this comedy recounts how Lindoro repents of his immoderate jealousy, which had been developed in the preceding comedy. Unfortunately, Zelinda, his wife, interprets his attempts to hide his jealousy as evidence that he no longer cares for her. Such misunderstandings lead to exchanges in which Zelinda tries to incite Lindoro's jealousy to no avail. For her this further confirms her husband's lack of fidelity.

Melancholy is mentioned in only two contexts within this comedy, the first related to grief, and the second related to love. The comedy opens with Lindoro sitting with an "air of melancholy."[10] Few details are given as to what Goldoni means here in his stage instructions, although Lindoro's sadness seems initially to originate in the death of Don Roberto.[11] Despite Lindoro's melancholic appearance, his sadness is portrayed as a fleeting emotion rather than a temperament associated with a long period of suffering. The grief of the character quickly subsides as Lindoro focuses on suppressing his jealousy. The defining character feature of Lindoro is in fact this jealousy and not his melancholic moments.

Zelinda's melancholy arises from her misreading of her husband's behavior. This may be an echo of the earlier figure of the melancholic-hypochondriac, who would oftentimes "misperceive" the reality around him. Unlike her hypochondriac predecessors, however, her misperceptions are not represented as symptomatic of a melancholic malady. Like her husband, Zelinda is given the stage direction to walk "melancholically" while wiping her eyes with a

[10] Goldoni, *Le inquietudini di Zelinda,* 603.

[11] See section II.3 on *L'erede fortunata.* In this comedy, the characters are also dealing with the grief of a death. This is suggested as a reason for Ottavio's melancholy.

tissue.[12] Her tears are taken to be the clearest indication of her emotional state: "Siete triste, melanconica, par che piangete."[13] They belie a sense of sadness, a state much less serious than the melancholy of her predecessors, from which all connotations of pathology have been stripped. In fact, the title of the comedy suggests that Zelinda suffers instead from inquietude, which while perhaps related to melancholy, is also different in nature and is not acute enough to warrant a medical intervention. Inquietude perhaps carries a trace of the obsessive delusions of the traditional theatrical hypochondriac who worries about his health. In the case of Zelinda her worries are related to her uncertainty about her husband's affection towards her. Melancholy, a term that in this case is interchangeable with sadness, conveys part of Zelinda's emotional state, but it is her anxiety about Lindoro that defines her drama. Disassociated from the term hypochondria and from the notion of medical pathology, melancholy here appears in an attenuated form that defines a mood shared by several characters.

This ambiance appears elsewhere in Goldoni's Parisian corpus. In Goldoni's comedy, *Le bourru bienfaisant,* a sense of melancholy, inquietude, or sadness pervades the scene. Similar to their predecessors in Goldoni's *Trilogia della villegiatura*, the happiness of the young characters is threatened by impending financial ruin. The motif of the theatrical hypochondriac's social isolation seems here not to be the result of a character's ailment, but is instead transformed into a potential menace to the young couple inherent in the possibility of economic catastrophe. There are also other striking differences with the melancholic characters of the *Trilogia*. The debts incurred by Dalancour, a young man who in some ways resembles Leonardo, are not driven by a

[12] Goldoni, *Le inquietudini di Zelinda,* 625.

[13] "You are sad, you are melancholic, it seems like you are crying." Goldoni, *Le inquietudini di Zelinda*, 625.

pathological obsession with fashion, but rather are due to his love for his wife, Madame Dalancour, whose desires he never denies.[14] Unbeknownst to her for most of the comedy, her expenditures are becoming catastrophic. They lack, however, the character of the obsession with fashion seen in the *Trilogia*. This is seen in the fact that Madame Dalancour is horrified once she learns of the effects of her spending. She offers to leave her husband in order to resolve his financial difficulties.[15]

Nevertheless, the financial strains caused by her behavior have serious potential consequences that are aggravated by misunderstandings. This too might be a remnant of the misperceptions of the theatrical hypochondriacs examined above. Here, instead of being the effect of a melancholic hypochondria, mis-interpretation is caused by the hesitancy of characters in love to reveal the truth. Once the truth is unveiled at the end of the play, all of the problems are resolved and the threat of despair dissipates.[16] Prior to that resolution, the characters' secrets accentuate their problems. The unknowing wife is inaccurately accused of spearheading the plot to place the young Angélique, her sister-in-law and the lover of Valère, in a convent as a means to remedy their family finances.[17] Angélique, who is unwilling to admit her love for Valère, even when given the opportunity to do so by her uncle, Géronte,[18] finds herself promised in a disagreeable marriage to an older man, Dorval, whom she respects, but does not love. Géronte, whom Anglani, in another echo of the *Trilogia*, ranks among Goldoni's characters suffering from

[14] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1034-1035.

[15] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1068.

[16] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1070-1071.

[17] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1026.

[18] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1030-33.

mania, oscillates between anger and benevolence towards his young relatives, but ultimately proves to be "bienfaisant" once the truth is revealed.[19] Angélique spends much of the comedy crying, and her brother, Dalancour, panicked by his dishonorable, but perhaps understandable spending, admits that he is "suffering."

While, in contrast with the *Trilogia*, the term melancholy is not explicitly found in this comedy, a new form of melancholia clothed in a different vocabulary seems to be present. Madame Dalancour declares that her husband has fallen into a state of "chagrin." Marthon, a servant, reports that her husband "s'abandonne au désespoir."[20] Later on, as the situation worsens, Marthon once again comments on the state of the household: "L'un pleure; l'autre soupire; l'autre se désespère. C'est un chaos, un véritable chaos."[21] In these instances, there is not one singular character who is an exemplary melancholic or who is suffering from inquietude like Zelinda. Instead, there is a sense that the entire household is in a state of *malheur*, or misfortune. This collective calamity differs from Goldoni's representations of melancholy that preceded the *Trilogia,* where one character, who suffered from an ailment, was identified as melancholic. Here, the cloud of a melancholic mood colors the circumstances of the entire household. No individual best represents melancholy. Instead there is an air of melancholy that pervades the scene and threatens domestic harmony.

While in Venice, Goldoni wrote his works with a specific audience, the Venetian bourgeoisie. He was conscious of depicting their reality upon the stage. Furthermore, Goldoni had a specific project in mind when composing his works which include this figure. He hoped to

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[19] Bartolo Anglani, *Le passioni allo specchio: Autobiographie Goldoniane* (Rome: Kepos, 1996), 119.

[20] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1053.

[21] Goldoni, *Le bourru bienfaisant*, 1063.

effect the maturation of his audience's tastes beyond the tradition of the Commedia dell'Arte through his gradual comedic reforms. The evolution of the hypochondriac figure examined in this thesis is in concert with this larger goal, which was intended for a particular public. One can assume that Goldoni was similarly concerned with his new audience's predilections when he arrived in France. Moreover, he was most likely conscious of the fact that they were habituated to a different, specifically French, theatrical tradition of the melancholic. Consequently, in order to properly assess this "new" melancholy within Goldoni's corpus, a study of the French theatrical tradition of the figure would be warranted. Such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is thus at Goldoni's arrival in France that this dissertation comes to a close, and the possibility of a new project emerges. The next step would be to study the French melancholic tradition as background for a better understanding of the different manifestations of melancholy in Goldoni's Parisian corpus.[22]

The evolution of the melancholic-hypochondriac traced in this thesis was reserved for Goldoni's Venetian audiences. Nevertheless, despite the extensive attention that Goldoni paid to this character in his Venetian corpus, there are questions concerning the disease that Goldoni left unresolved. One of these is the issue of whether or not hypochondria and melancholy could be definitively cured. In its earliest renderings, the hypochondriac or melancholic was an isolated, anti-social figure. This is especially evident in the intermezzi and drammi giocosi, which had previously not been considered by critics in conjunction with Goldoni's later representations of the hypochondriac. Although frequently accompanied by a secondary figure, such as a widow,

[22] This pivotal change in both Goldoni's life and works has been acknowledged among critics by the division of studies on the playwright between those that are either almost entirely devoted to his period on the Italian peninsula and those concerning his time spent in France. Seminal works of the latter include: Alvise Zorzi, *Monsieur Goldoni: Un veneziano a Parigi tra il declino di una repubblica e la morte di un regno 1762-1793* (Milano: Corbaccio, 1993); and Ginette Herry et al., *Goldoni à Paris* (Paris: Société d'histoire du théâtre, 1993). See Fido, *Nuova Guida*, 258-280. See also Fido, *Da Venezia all'Europa*; and Goodman, *Goldoni*.

who perhaps at times ameliorated his symptoms temporarily, the patient's relationships were devoid of any real attachment and never led to an actual "cure." He was self-marginalized and avoided participating in social rituals, such as the carnival, and at times he even attempted to keep those around him from joyous rites of passage like marriage. He was, in effect, miserable company. Over time, he remained a figure who sought solitude at the expense of his health or suffered from isolation for other reasons. However uncurable Goldoni's early hypochondriacs might have seemed, the theme of their isolation opened a door to a potential new therapy effected through a metaphorical, therapeutic mirror that would serve to reintegrate him into society. Reintegration would not be achieved through derision, but instead through appropriate marriages, through friendship, or through other social activities. While this did not always lead to a definitive cure, it certainly alleviated his symptoms. In like manner, rather than marginalizing him theatrically, or chasing him from the stage with laughter, Goldoni raised the figure to the level of protagonist in some of his works, and in some cases transformed him into a character worthy of praise. In so doing, Goldoni sought to erase the stigma of the hypochondriac.

Building upon Riva's work on Bartoli's *L'effigie d'un malinconico rappresentata a lui stesso*, this study attempted to demonstrate the analogous points of contact between Bartoli's representation of the disease and Goldoni's emerging meta-discourse on theater. While previous studies have addressed Bartoli's picture of the melancholic-hypochondriac, they have never gone so far as to suggest the enduring implications of the curative mirror image for theater. Over time the notion of the therapeutic mirror was challenged and revised in Goldoni's Venetian comedies. The image of the mirror remained pertinent, however, even later in Goldoni's career: the late hypochondriacs Molière, Tasso, and Guden, became increasingly aware of and self-reflexive about their own affliction. The dramatization of that self-awareness constituted a version of

Bartoli's image transformed. Nevertheless, this therapeutic approach in some ways failed. While later hypochondriacs could verbalize and identify their disease, they found no relief from such realizations. Instead, it became necessary for them not to know *what* malady they had, but *why* they suffered from it, or rather, to know the etiology of their disease, which is portrayed in Goldoni's works as related to the patient's own personal history. In response, Goldoni's theatrical physicians began to draw the causes of the disease out from their patients using simulation rather than pharmaceuticals. This was not achieved by bloodletting or other similar traditional procedures. Instead, they coaxed patients into speaking of themselves through a theater-like "honest simulation." They then listened to what each individual had buried deep inside his psyche. They asked questions to reveal the source of the individual's turmoil. In some ways, this approach ultimately renders the physician obsolete. If the patient holds the key to his own cure, inside of himself, there is no need for an outside figure to provide a remedy. There is no small irony in this fact. The figure, who at the beginning of the century was identifiable in part because of his tendency to self-diagnose, often erroneously, could presumably have treated himself through greater self-reflection and a better understanding of the disease.

The paradigms established in the intermezzi and drammi giocosi evolved throughout Goldoni's Italian career. The hypochondriac's complaints were no longer considered "simulations" of a disease, but real and valid. Instead of being treated by "dishonest" simulation, qualified and honorable "doctors" offered new "social" treatments, such as friendship or love, and most importantly a compassionate ear for listening to the patients' concerns. The doctor's silence became his most powerful therapeutic strategy. The patient's voice became a vehicle for its own cure. In an analogous manner, Goldoni's theater evolved. The playwright sought to offer his audience an "honest" simulation of their world, a reflection of themselves, a metaphorical,

theatrical mirror that no longer reflected the image of hypochondria as vice. He achieved this by listening to those around him and shifting his focus towards the individualized causes of the patients' suffering. Rather than deriding the hypochondriacs or melancholics who might be in his audience through the satires of comedy, he provided them with a platform for their voice to be heard, so that they could correct themselves in a gentler manner.

Goldoni's art was a study of human nature. He was aware that theater was inherently a *simulation* of nature, but as he himself declared, it was a type of "honest" simulation, one which more successfully conveyed the diversity of human behavior than the theater of the Commedia dell'Arte tradition. Through the evolving figure of the hypochondriac, he transformed Bartoli's therapeutic mirror into a new version of the "corrective" potential of theater. As Marchini has suggested, Goldoni was indeed a type of social doctor, one who in many ways resembled the successful and admirable physicians of the later hypochondriacs.[23] He listened rather than preached, and he encouraged his "patients" to see and hear themselves.

[23] See Marchini, "L'anatomia."

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