WILLIAM J. CONNELL

GASPARO AND THE LADIES:
COMING OF AGE IN CASTIGLIONE'S
BOOK OF THE COURTIER

Few characters in Renaissance literature can have attracted more the dislike of modern readers than Signor Gasparo Pallavicino, the most rigid antifeminist of Castiglione's dialogue.¹ Nowadays not many would agree with Gasparo that "man is more perfect than woman by far," just as "form is more perfect than matter"; but it is not only this standard Aristotelian view of the difference between the sexes that so raises modern hackles.² Rather, readers find it hard to tolerate the persistence with which Gasparo continually returns to the conversation, voicing opinions ever more derogatory of women. To be sure, there are other antifeminists in Castiglione's dialogue. Count Lodovico da Canossa, the German courtier Niccolò Frigio, and the Genoese doge-to-be Ottaviano Fregoso chime in to assert the superiority of men. But it is Gasparo who makes the most persistent and sustained misogynous statements.³ In explaining women's imperfection, Gasparo proclaims,

(...) I say that very learned men have written that nature, inasmuch as she always intends and plans to make things as perfect as possible, if she were able, would continually produce men. And when a woman is born it is a defect or error of nature, and contrary to what nature would wish to do. As is also seen with the birth of a man who is blind or crippled or with some other missing feature, (...) so a woman can be called an animal that is produced at random or by chance (...). Nonetheless, since these defects of women are the fault of nature, which has produced them this way, they should not be hated for this, nor should women want for that respect which is appropriate, but to value them as more than they are seems to me a manifest error.

(...) dico ben che omini sapientissimi hanno lassato scritto che la natura, perciò che sempre intende e disegna far le cose perfette, se potesse, produrìa continuamente omini; e quando nasce una donna, è difetto o error della natura e contra quello che essa vorrebbe fare. Come si vede ancor d'uno che nasce cieco, zoppo, o con qualche altro mancamento,

(...) così la donna si po dire animal prodotto a sorte e per caso (...). Nientedimeno essendo questi diffetti delle donne colpa di natura che l'ha produtte tali, non devemo per questo odiarle, né mancar di aver loro quel rispetto che vi si conviene; ma estimarle da più di quello che elle si siano, parmi error manifesto.⁴

Since, in Aristotelian terms, imperfection is synonymous with weakness, Gasparo sees relations between the sexes as necessarily those of stronger beings with cringing inferiors. "Whoever possesses the body of a woman is also the lord of her soul," he says.⁵ Even in marriage, he believes, women have to be forced through fear to obey their husbands, since "there are few wives in the world who, in the secrecy of their soul, do not harbor a hatred of their husbands."⁶ This radical view of the superiority of men leads to what is perhaps Gasparo's most infamous statement, a remark on the differing obligations of chastity of men and women:

I do not deny that men have taken some liberties, and this is because they know that a dissolute life does not bring them disgrace in popular opinion as it does to women, who, because of the weakness of their sex, are more susceptible to their appetites than men; and if sometimes women abstain from satisfying their desires, they do it from shame, and not because their will is not most ready; and for this reason men have imposed on them the fear of notoriety, as a brake that keeps them almost forcibly in this state of virtue, without which, to tell the truth, they would be little appreciated, since the world has no use for women, if not for the generation of their offspring.

Non nego già che gli omini non si abbiano preso un poco di libertà; e questo perché sanno che per la opinion universale ad essi la vita dissoluta non porta così infamia come alle donne; le quali, per la imbecillità del sesso, sono molto più inclinate agli appetiti che gli omini, e se talor si astingono dal soddisfare ai suoi desideri, lo fanno per vergogna, non perché la volontà non sia loro prontissima; e però gli omini hanno posto loro il timor d'infamia per un freno che le tenga quasi per forza in questa virtù, senza la quale, per dir il vero, sariano poco d'apprezzare; perché il mondo non ha utilità dalle donne, se non per lo generare dei figlioli.⁷

Certainly these were not the views of Castiglione, who was on the side of women. Vittoria Colonna, who read the dialogue in a manuscript draft, praised Castiglione for its sympathetic treatment of women.⁸ The dialogue's chief defender of women, Giuliano de' Medici, was portrayed in a very positive light, possibly in an attempt to curry favor with Castiglione's employer, Clement VII, who was Giuliano's first cousin and childhood companion.⁹ And Gasparo comes in for much fire from the other members of the Urbino circle: his obstinacy and his sometimes-illogical argu-

ments are the subject of ridicule. Several modern critics have argued convincingly that the triumph of the feminists is crucial to Castiglione's overall scheme, since it paves the way for the culmination of the dialogue with Pietro Bembo's speech on Divine Love in Book Four.¹⁰ And there is probably a good deal of truth in a recent writer's suggestion that the humiliation of Gasparo is necessary to illustrate the similarity of the male and female courtiers, since, "as they find themselves enclosed within the delicate boundaries of *sprezzatura* and *affettazione*, they are both subject to victory or defeat, grace or disgrace, admiration or contempt."¹¹

Still, although there have been a number of recent attempts by feminist critics to show that the arguments of Gasparo's adversary, Giuliano (and thus those of Castiglione) were in their own way misogynous too,¹² no one has attempted to look more closely at the openly misogynous Gasparo Pallavicino, whose statements have been taken at face value. For example, on no other evidence than Gasparo's utterances in the dialogue, Vittorio Cian suggested that it was probably a "corrupt lifestyle" that sent Gasparo to an early grave at the age of twenty-five, probably of syphilis.¹³ This essay proposes to look anew at the figure of Gasparo, a historical person about whom we know very little, although his role in Castiglione's dialogue remains somewhat troubling.

That Castiglione thought Gasparo a character of importance is indicated in the memorable eulogy that appears in the prologue to Book Four, which was written in 1518. Gasparo, who died in 1511, is listed first among those who, by their early death, demonstrate

(...) human miseries and our false hopes (...), and how often Fortune, halfway through the race, or sometimes close to the end, breaks our fragile and vain designs, sometimes sinking them before even from afar they can see the port.

(...) miserie umane e nostre speranze fallaci (...), e come spesso la fortuna a mezzo il corso, talor presso al fine rompa i nostri fragili e vani disegni, talor li sommerga prima che pur veder da lontano possano il porto.¹⁴

In particular, Castiglione writes, Gasparo's death was "a very great loss, not only for our house (*alla casa nostra*), and for all his friends and relations, but also for his native land (*patria*) and the whole of Lombardy."¹⁵ Although the eulogy is often read generically as an affecting instance of Castiglione's nostalgic vision, it also highlights a person of whom Castiglione thought well, and who evidently was important to him in real life.

Closer attention to Gasparo reveals his important role in the action of

the dialogue.¹⁶ Thus, once the proposal to solicit games from Urbino's courtiers is accepted, Gasparo becomes the very first to propose a game—although he does so only under protest, and at the direct order of Emilia Pio (who was given full authority in the matter by the Duchess).¹⁷ Gasparo is also the subject of the very last exchange of the dialogue: the Duchess embarrasses Gasparo by preventing his speaking, Francesco della Rovere mockingly declares the question still open between Gasparo and Giuliano, and Emilia Pio closes the work by teasing Gasparo, declaring herself ready to “arraign him as a fugitive from justice.”¹⁸ Throughout the dialogue Gasparo is usually on top of the discussion, making notable interjections on each of the four evenings. In this he is unlike the other characters, who prefer to speak on selected topics, but are generally silent for long stretches.

The continuing presence of Gasparo in the dialogue is almost certainly connected with a role attributed to him by Castiglione that critics have hitherto failed to notice. In the First Book, Castiglione writes of his own absence from Urbino while he was away on an embassy to England, an absence that is mentioned again by the character Ottaviano in the Fourth Book.¹⁹ The author's absence thus poses the reader the question of the person or persons who later told Castiglione what had happened on those four evenings while he was away. Indeed, as Castiglione tells us later, in a passage of the dialogue that has previously been overlooked, it was none other than the misogynist Gasparo who was the fictional informant for Castiglione's account of the four evenings of discussion.

To better understand the role of Gasparo as Castiglione's informant, it is important to realize that the absence from the court of the author during the evenings of 5-8 March 1507 is a literary fiction that almost certainly derives from one of Castiglione's preferred ancient texts, Cicero's *De oratore*.²⁰ In truth, contemporary records show that Castiglione had already returned to Urbino from England a few days earlier, on 28 February.²¹ To keep up the dialogue's fiction of his absence, Castiglione needed to explain how he learned of discussions that supposedly took place while he was away, and here the character of Gasparo is extremely important. In Book One of *The Courtier* Castiglione writes that he found out about these evenings' events “close after my return, from a person who faithfully narrated them to me.”²² Since the informant is not named in this passage, some commentators have held that Castiglione's fictitious source remains anonymous.²³ But this is not the end of the question, for much later, at the beginning of Book Four, Castiglione in the most casual manner lets drop the identity of his informant. When mentioning an unusual absence of Ottaviano just as the company was gathering on the fourth evening,

Castiglione writes:

It appeared then, *according to what Signor Gasparo Pallavicino used to relate*, that the following day, after the reasonings contained in the preceding Book, that little was seen of Signor Ottaviano (...).

Parve adunque, *secondo che 'l signor Gasparo Pallavicino raccontar soleva*, che 'l seguente giorno, dopo i ragionamenti contenuti nel precedente libro, il signor Ottaviano fosse poco veduto; (...).²⁴

Castiglione, in the First Book, had mentioned his faithful informant as being a person who faithfully narrated to him what happened. Since Gasparo is the only informant named later in the text, there is every reason to suppose that it is he who is the trusted narrator.²⁵ As is well known, Castiglione liked to insert riddles in his text, but he did not, as some critics have maintained, create riddles that he himself thought were insoluble. As I have argued elsewhere, Castiglione's riddles, such as the meaning of the letter "S" that appears in the First Book,²⁶ and the present one concerning the identity of his informant, are really puzzles the solutions of which reveal a great deal about Castiglione's literary intentions.

Why has Gasparo's important role been overlooked? Possibly the perfectly understandable modern antipathy toward Gasparo, and especially toward his misogyny, has led to a certain inattention in his regard. Thus one famous critic mistakenly called Gasparo a "bourgeois," because she thought his ideas concerning marriage were "bourgeois."²⁷ Another famous scholar, in his very important study of *The Courtier*, writes at one point that Gasparo was from Genoa, but later writes correctly that he came from Lombardy.²⁸ This suggests that it may be helpful to find out more about the historical Gasparo, of whom Castiglione thought so highly that he made him the "source" of his dialogue.

Considerable information is available about Gasparo's ancestors and family. The Pallavicino claimed descent from a clan of Lombard nobles known as the Obertenghi, the descendants of Count (and later Marchese) Oberto I, who in 953 was recorded as holding the position of Count of the Sacred Palace and Count Palatine of Pavia.²⁹ In Gasparo's day, the Pallavicino were quite proud of this ancestry, which put them on a par with other descendants of the Obertenghi, including the Estensi and the Malaspina, among the noblest families of northern Italy. According to the *novelliere* Matteo Bandello, about 1520 the brother of Gasparo, the Marchese Gian Lodovico II Pallavicino, possessed a "most beautiful and venerable writing, compiled in authentic form, (...) whence clearly it was understood that his most noble ancestry of the Pallavicini marchesi was

descended from the Lombards (...)."³⁰

The wealth and power of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Pallavicino derived from their possessions in the plain of the Po between Piacenza, Parma and Cremona, which were called the "Stato Pallavicino." Some of these lands had been under their control as fiefdoms at least since the twelfth century; and others were inherited from the ambitious Marchese Uberto Pelavicino, to whom they were awarded by Frederick II in 1249 as an autonomous imperial fief.³¹ But the collapse of the Swabian dynasty resulted in a corresponding lapse in Pallavicino control.³² Not until the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did there take place the construction of a more coherent territorial lordship under the impetus of Marchese Orlando I Pallavicino (d. 1457), also known as Orlando the Magnificent, the great-grandfather of Castiglione's Gasparo.³³ As offices in the Milanese state and grants of ducal fiefdoms drew the Pallavicino and other Lombard noble families into the orbit of the dukes of Milan, Orlando assiduously acquired fiefs and properties. Then, in 1429, resisting a decades-long effort by the Visconti to reform the statutes of cities and lordships of the Milanese state in a more or less uniform way consistent with Milanese supremacy, Orlando the Magnificent promulgated his own set of feudal statutes for the Stato Pallavicino affirming it as an autonomous lordship, independent of the Milanese duchy.³⁴

The ambitions of the Pallavicino suffered, however, owing to the absence of primogeniture in Lombard inheritance practice. In the fifteenth century, and even well into the sixteenth, the ideal Lombard noble house was a large *consorteria* led by numerous brothers and male cousins who lived together on fiefs that were supposed to be passed undivided from generation to generation.³⁵ In reality, many aristocratic houses were riven by the quarrels of male heirs, and the Milanese dukes, who hoped to control these fiefs, were only too happy to take advantage of this contentiousness.³⁶ After the death of Orlando the Magnificent in 1457, in the midst of a terrific row among seven heirs, Duke Francesco Sforza was asked to resolve the dispute and divide the estate. This he did, but at a heavy price, since the Stato Pallavicino lost its formal autonomy and became thereafter a cameral fiefdom of the Duchy of Milan.³⁷ The Pallavicino were still clearly in charge of their lands, but their state, now a dependency of Milan, was no longer independent.

In 1479, a quarrel between the two brothers Pallavicino Pallavicino and Gian Lodovico I Pallavicino, who was Gasparo's grandfather, resulted in a further division of the Pallavicino State, with Gian Lodovico I taking separate possession of the northern part of the Pallavicino territory.³⁸

Gian Lodovico, together with five of his retainers and their families, settled in a sleepy village of shepherds next to a ruined castle, located on the west bank of the river Arda, close to Piacenza and Cremona. The village was known as Cortemaggiore.³⁹ It was in this small town that Castiglione's Gasparo was raised.

Evidently the Pallavicino of the Quattrocento considered Cortemaggiore a site of historical importance, notwithstanding the town's small size and unremarkable appearance. As indicated by its name, Cortemaggiore very probably had been the location of a Lombard royal court, and it was certainly the site of a Carolingian royal court, as evidenced in a diploma of Louis the German, which mentions a "Curtis Maior in Placentino comitatu et in Aucia."⁴⁰ Possibly Gian Lodovico thought that Cortemaggiore was the ancestral seat of the very Obertenghi from whom he was descended.⁴¹ In any event, he decided to transform Cortemaggiore into a small princely capital in Renaissance style. In 1480 construction was begun on a new castle, and a new church was dedicated to the Virgin, but after he died in 1481, the task of completing the new capital was left to his son, Orlando II Pallavicino, also known as Orlando the Hunchback, who was the father of Castiglione's Gasparo.⁴²

Orlando the Hunchback seems to have been a skilled manager of his family's interests at the Sforza court. Like his father, and like other Pallavicino, Orlando served as a Ducal Councillor, and he received various investitures of fiefs from Lodovico il Moro. He also maintained friendships with the Lombard nobility. One family with which he was allied were the Castiglione. In his first marriage, Orlando wed Antonia, the daughter of Count Giovanni Castiglione of Milan, probably a distant relation of the author of *The Courtier*. Although the marriage ended shortly afterward, with Antonia's early death, and Gasparo was a son from Orlando's second marriage (to Laura Landi), it is important to realize, because of the first marriage, that Gasparo was still, in a way, a kind of distant cousin or uncle of Baldassar Castiglione.⁴³ Perhaps this helps to explain why, in the eulogy of Gasparo in Book Four, Castiglione calls Gasparo's death a loss "to our house" (*alla casa nostra*), the phrase possibly indicating the *casa* of the Castiglione, rather than the ducal house of Urbino, as usually thought.

At Cortemaggiore Orlando the Hunchback managed to create a small jewel of urban design, carried out by Maffeo Carretto of Como and Gilberto Manzi, the architects of the Castello Sforzesco.⁴⁴ The streets were constructed on an orthogonal grid, comprised of forty-two separate city-blocks, with a large piazza at the center. An unusually broad central street, which passed from one end of the town to the other, was lined on both

sides with symmetrical arched porticoes.⁴⁵ In addition to his architectural interests, Orlando was a patron of letters, who was involved with the humanists Francesco Maria Grapaldo, Stefano Dolcino and Panfilo Sasso. He also sponsored the publication of works by Cusanus.⁴⁶

To pay for his many building projects and to support the administration of his state, Orlando imposed a system of forced loans on the communities of the Pallavicino fiefdom.⁴⁷ And in 1504, when the Jews of Piacenza and Cremona were expelled from those cities, Orlando the Hunchback welcomed them in Cortemaggiore, where they established a stable and lasting community that contributed to the growth of the local economy.⁴⁸ Population figures for Cortemaggiore confirm a story of dramatic growth: in 1457, there were only 29 men between the ages of fifteen and sixty⁴⁹; nearly a century later, in 1545, a census recorded 585 men and 583 women (of all ages), for a total population of 1,168 distributed among 212 hearths.⁵⁰

The experience of Cortemaggiore during the Renaissance was not unique. North-central Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a number of attempts to create small capitals that conformed to Renaissance aesthetic principles. Pienza (under Pius II), Mirandola (under the Pico), Carpi (under the Pio) and Sabbioneta (under Vespasiano Gonzaga) were other small towns that, like Urbino itself, were completely rebuilt or largely transformed at the hand of Renaissance princes. Particularly interesting in each of these cases is the relation of the urbanistic project to the political ambition (not always the same) of the prince by whose will it happened. For the Lombard nobles—for men like Castiglione himself—the ancient house of the Pallavicino of Cortemaggiore offered a valuable model for preserving a dignified independence and possibly recapturing former greatness.⁵¹

After the French invasion of 1494, but especially after the invasion by Louis XII in 1499, Orlando Pallavicino made various efforts to consolidate his control over the Stato Pallavicino. In February 1499 he attempted to purchase a castle known as Rocca di Polesine, although the purchase was blocked by Lodovico il Moro.⁵² When, in the same year, Lodovico was forced by the French to flee Milan, Orlando decided to reconfirm and update the feudal statutes that had been promulgated by his grandfather in 1429. Possibly he hoped this would establish the autonomy of the Stato Pallavicino, and, at the very least, he desired to protect his own feudal rights against the new investitures then being made by the French king.⁵³ In 1502 Orlando took advantage the situation by purchasing one of these new investitures, when he bought nearby Fiorenzuola d'Adda from the French

general Pierre de Rohan. Fiorenzuola, a former Pallavicino fief, had been taken from them by the Visconti, but in this way it was reacquired.⁵⁴

Both before and after the death of Orlando the Hunchback, which took place in 1509, his direct descendants played an important and sometimes difficult role in the war between France and the Sforza. Of his four children who lived to be adults, the eldest, Gian Lodovico II, enrolled in the French army with Louis XII, following him back to France after the defeat of the French in 1512. He returned with the French expedition of 1513 that was defeated at Novara, but he was permitted to return to Cortemaggiore after Massimiliano Sforza intervened on his behalf. Marcantonio, the second son, was originally on the side of Lodovico Sforza, but in 1499, when the French took Milan, he swore fealty to the king of France in the name of his father Orlando. Manfredò, the third son, instead remained with the Sforza, opposing the French throughout this period, so that in 1512, when the French took Milan, he was exiled, and in 1521, when the French captured him, he was tortured and put to death.⁵⁵ The divergence of loyalties appears so stark that it seems possible the brothers were following a determined strategy to insure that at least one of the sons would be with the winners in the struggle for Milan, whichever side won.⁵⁶

Castiglione's Gasparo, the youngest brother, who was born in 1486, appears to have followed a line favorable to France. Prior to 1501 Gasparo married Lodovica, the daughter of Erasmo Trivulzio, an important Milanese nobleman who in 1499 abandoned the Sforza and swore fealty to Louis XII.⁵⁷ In 1512, when Massimiliano Sforza reentered Milan, Erasmo was forced to flee, finding refuge at Cortemaggiore with his daughter and his in-laws, although Gasparo had died in 1511. Erasmo Trivulzio died at Cortemaggiore in 1513.⁵⁸

The small state created at Cortemaggiore by Orlando the Hunchback remained alive for several generations. In 1513 Massimiliano Sforza officially recognized that in the past the dukes of Milan had often failed to respect the jurisdiction of the Pallavicino, and he recognized their holdings as independent imperial fiefs.⁵⁹ Matteo Bandello described a very pleasant visit to Cortemaggiore in the 1520s, when Gian Lodovico II offered hospitality worthy of a great lord.⁶⁰ Cortemaggiore remained capital of the tiny Signoria until 1585, when its territory was annexed to the neighboring fief of another branch of the Pallavicino, and Busseto became capital of the larger state. Two years later, the Farnese acquired Cortemaggiore, along with the other territories of the Pallavicino, and the town entered a long period of decline.

Although much may be learned about the family and background of Gasparo, the man himself seems destined to remain somewhat obscure. All the same, a few more details may be gleaned from the surviving records. Married before 1501, he had two sons, Uberto, born in 1502 (when Gasparo was only sixteen), and Girolamo, born in 1510 (one year before Gasparo's death), who would later become ruling Marchese, governing Cortemaggiore down to his death in 1557.⁶¹ In 1507, when Castiglione places Gasparo at Urbino, it seems likely that he would have been gaining military training and experience in the service of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro. On the death of Orlando Pallavicino in 1509, Gasparo must have received the marchional title, which he would have shared with his brothers.⁶² Thus, in *The Courtier's* conversations of 1507, Gasparo is addressed throughout as "Signor," but his Latin tomb inscription of 1511 bears the title "Marchio."⁶³ Of this interesting inscription there remain today in the churches of Cortemaggiore three substantially similar versions the consequence of several displacements over time of the Pallavicino family tombs and chapel. Commissioned by Gasparo's wife, Lodovica, and his two sons, it reads in part, "To the Marchese Gaspare Pallavicino, son of Orlando II, who possessed every quality of body and spirit, and who, in the twenty-fifth year of his life, was (...) taken away by the insatiable envy of the Fates." We know from *The Courtier* that Gasparo suffered a serious illness that took him to an early grave. The illness is confirmed by a sonnet of Pietro Bembo's, written in the form of a prayer to Apollo, god of medicine, in which the author requests a cure for Gasparo.⁶⁴ "The insatiable envy of the Fates," to which the inscription refers, seems almost to anticipate the role played by Fortune at the beginning of Book Four in Castiglione's dialogue: "la Fortuna (...) rompa I nostri fragili e vani disegni (...)." ⁶⁵

It is interesting to note that Gasparo, the misogynist of *The Courtier*, was married. But was he really a misogynist? That is, were his statements against women "true" to his character, or were they invented by Castiglione? Probably the answer will never be known with certainty. The warm testimony of his friends Castiglione and Bembo, the fact that Gasparo was married and had children, and the moving memorial left by his wife, at least permit us to rule out the idea, occasionally advanced and possibly suggested by his skepticism and his social awkwardness in *The Courtier*, that the historical Gasparo was really an "angry young man,"⁶⁶ or a misanthropic character, the sort of person who, as some have seen him in the dialogue, anticipates Jaques in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, or the Alceste of Molière.

Perhaps it should be remembered that Castiglione took pleasure in having his speakers voice parts that were ironic in light of their actual characters and circumstances. Although the author of *The Courtier* did not completely embrace the practice of Poggio Bracciolini, who, in his dialogue *On Avarice* included a character known as a miser arguing for prodigality and *vice versa*,⁶⁷ Castiglione nevertheless enjoyed creating an ironic distance between a speaker and his words—most famously, perhaps, when Pietro Bembo, who was well known for his lecherous tendencies, delivers his speech on divine love. Similarly, it is important to realize that Gasparo's opponent, Giuliano de' Medici, who speaks most eloquently in defense of women and against the injustices they suffer at the hands of men, was a famous womanizer. At Urbino in 1511 Giuliano fathered an illegitimate son who later became Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. In 1514 in Florence, Giuliano's nephew, Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici, was scandalized by the behavior of his uncle, who, although engaged to marry Elisabetta of Savoy, "closes himself up in one or two houses with four or six ladies and does nothing here but make disorder and eat and stay up all night (...)." ⁶⁸ Although Giuliano's defense of women usually receives a straightforward reading that assumes the speaker's views are quite close to author's, Giuliano's praise of women practically begs to be read as a speech of seduction.⁶⁹

Possibly it was to Giuliano's well-known uxoriousness that his boyhood friend Niccolò Machiavelli appealed when writing a famous—or infamous—passage on Fortune that appears at the end of Chapter Twenty-Five of *The Prince*, a work that the ex-secretary hoped would kindle in Giuliano an appetite for princship.⁷⁰

I judge this well, that it is better to be impetuous than respectful: because Fortune is a lady, and it is necessary, if you wish to possess her, to beat and throw her down. And it is seen that she more often lets herself be won by these men, than by those who proceed coldly: and for this reason always, as a woman, she is a friend to the young, because they are less respectful, more fierce, and they command her with more audacity.

Io iudico bene questo, che sia meglio essere impetuoso che rispettivo: perché la fortuna è donna ed è necessario, volendola tenere sotto, batterla e urtarla. E si vede che la si lascia più vincere da questi, che da queglii che freddamente procedono: e però sempre, come donna, è amica de' giovani, perché sono meno rispettivi, più feroci e con più audacia la comandano.⁷¹

Although Machiavelli is often criticized for the patent misogyny of these lines, some responsibility probably belongs to Giuliano, his intended

dedicatee. If, as many have supposed, the final Chapter XXVI of *The Prince* was inserted at the time of the work's rededication to Giuliano's nephew, Lorenzo, then the original draft of twenty-five chapters that would have concluded, appropriately, with these lines addressed to Giuiano. Moreover, since, as John Freccero points out, Machiavelli's Fortuna is not a *femmina*, but a *donna*, a "lady,"⁷² it may help us to better understand both Castiglione and Machiavelli if we consider the latter's Fortuna to be one of the former's "donne di palazzo."

Undoubtedly in *The Courtier* Castiglione intended much good-natured irony in his description of Giuliano as a defender of women. In the portrayal of Gasparo, the dialogue's unpopular "misogynist," there may be similar irony at work. At twenty-one, Gasparo is the youngest member of the group. Having married at an early age, and grown up in a place where it is still considered normal for young nobleman to wrestle with peasants, he is somewhat rough around the edges. At the beginning of the dialogue Emilia Pio decides to take advantage of this lack of experience by asking Gasparo to propose the first game for the company. As the youngest of the group, Gasparo is full of questions, he is anxious to be heard, and he overreaches in his arguments, as he continually tests his elders.⁷³ Although the dialogue has often been discussed as though it were a portrait or a commemorative piece, the *Book of the Courtier* is more truly seen as a work constructed about the education of a young man.⁷⁴ Gasparo thus plays a role like that of one of the ambitious young men in a Platonic dialogue. He is a Glaucon or a Theaetetus. The four evenings of discussion encompass Gasparo's rite of passage into the adult world. One of the distinguishing features of the court at Urbino is the easy mingling of women and men; and this, Castiglione means us to understand, causes Gasparo particular anxiety. The anxiety reaches a highpoint in Book Three, when Gasparo is humiliated and (for that evening) silenced. Then, in Book Four, at the opening, we learn, from Gasparo's own account as relayed by Castiglione, that Gasparo dances with the court ladies.⁷⁵ Subsequent repartee in Book Four, alluding to earlier battles, is mere teasing. Peace has been made. The dancing signifies that the young man's initiation into the company is complete. He has attained his majority. The youngest courtier, the cynosure of the company, the hope of the Lombard nobility, joins the men and ladies of the court.

NOTES

¹Full bibliographies of modern studies on the *Book of the Courtier* may be found in the editions by Walter Barberis (*Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. Walter Barberis [Turin: Einaudi, 1998]), Bruno Maier (*Il libro del Cortegiano con una scelta delle opere minori*, ed. Bruno Maier, 3rd rev. ed., [Turin: UTET, 1981]), and Ettore Bonora (*Il libro del Cortegiano*, ed. Ettore Bonora, with commentary by Paolo Zoccola, 2d ed. [Milan: Mursia, 1976]). Still valuable, particularly for its biographical information, is the 1947 edition by Vittorio Cian (*Il libro del Cortegiano del conte Baldesar Castiglione*, ed. Vittorio Cian [Florence: Sansoni, 1947]). An earlier presentation in Italian of this essay, here somewhat abbreviated, has appeared as William J. Connell, "Un rito iniziatico nel Libro del Cortegiano di Baldassar Castiglione," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Classe di lettere e filosofia, ser. 4, 4 (1999), pp. 473-497.

²*Cortegiano*, III.15 (citations are to the 1998 Einaudi edition by Barberis; translations are the author's), p. 274: "così come la forma è più perfetta che la materia, (...) così l'omo è più perfetto assai che la donna." On Aristotle and women see Maryanne Cline Horowitz, "Aristotle and Woman," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 9 (1976), pp. 183-213.

³In what is known as the "second redaction" of *The Courtier*, a manuscript draft from 1518, Ottaviano Fregoso made most of the misogynist statements spoken by Gasparo in the final version published in 1529; cf. Baldassare Castiglione, *La seconda redazione del "Cortegiano"*, ed. Ghino Ghinassi (Florence, 1968).

⁴*Cortegiano*, III.11, pp. 269-70.

⁵*Cortegiano*, II.95, p. 248: "perché sempre chi possiede il corpo delle donne è ancora signor dell'animo..."

⁶*Cortegiano*, III.25, p. 286: "perché poche ne sono al mondo che nel secreto dell'animo suo non abbiano in odio il marito."

⁷*Cortegiano*, III.39, p. 306.

⁸Vittoria Colonna to Castiglione, letter of 20 September 1524, in *Carteggio di Vittoria Colonna marchesa di Pescara*, ed. Ermanno Ferrero and Giuseppe Müller (Florence: Loescher, 1889), pp. 23-26.

⁹Pietro Floriani, "I personaggi del Cortegiano," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 156 (1979), pp. 161-78.

¹⁰Lawrence V. Ryan, "Book Four of Castiglione's Courtier: Climax or Afterthought?" *Studies in the Renaissance*, 19 (1972), pp. 156-179; Dane A. Trafton, "Structure and Meaning in The Courtier," *English Literary Renaissance*, 2 (1972), pp. 283-297; J.R. Woodhouse, *Baldesar Castiglione: A Reassessment of "The Courtier"* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1978); Guido Arbizzoni, *L'ordine e la persuasione. Pietro Bembo personaggio nel "Cortegiano"* (Urbino: Quattro Venti, 1983).

¹¹Joseph D. Falvo, *The Economy of Human Relations: Castiglione's "Libro del Cortegiano"* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), p. 94.

¹²Joan Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" in her *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 33-47; José Guidi, "De l'amour courtois à l'amour sacré: la condition de la femme dans l'oeuvre de B. Castiglione," in *Images de la femme dans la littérature italienne de la Renaissance. Préjugés misogynes et aspirations nouvelles*, ed. José Guidi, Marie-Françoise Picéus and Adelin-Charles Fiorato (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1980), pp. 9-80; Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 76-85; and Valeria Finucci, *The Lady Vanishes: Subjectivity and Representation in Castiglione and Ariosto* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), who writes (p. 62): "Neither the Magnifico nor Pallavicino, despite their different positions, questions the principle on which all courtiers agree: (...) As woman, she is naturally, incontrovertibly, and legally inferior." On the "consensus" of feminist criticism, with a discussion both of its helpful insights and some blind spots, see David Quint, "Courtier, Prince, Lady: The Design of the Book of the Courtier," *Italian Quarterly*, 37, nos. 143-46 (Winter-Fall 2000), pp. 185-195.

¹³Vittorio Cian, *Un illustre nunzio pontificio del Rinascimento. Baldassar Castiglione* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1951), p. 307.

¹⁴*Cortegiano*, IV.1, p. 353.

¹⁵*Ibid.*: "perdita grandissima non solamente alla casa nostra ed agli amici e parenti suoi, ma alla patria ed a tutta la Lombardia."

¹⁶Compare, however, Cian, *Un illustre nunzio*, p. 307: "Nella nobile compagnia (...) egli è uno dei più loquaci."

¹⁷*Cortegiano*, I.6, p. 27.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, IV.73, pp. 441-2 (442): "perch'io lo allego suspectto fuggitivo."

¹⁹*Ibid.*, I.1, p. 17; IV.38, p. 399.

²⁰Cf. Cicero, *De oratore*, III.iv.16.

²¹Cartwright, I: 190, documented the return of the ambassador to Urbino on 28 February 1507. The commentaries of Cian (p. 14), Maier (p. 83 n.10) and Barberis (p. 17 n.20) ignore this and generically date Castiglione's return as taking place in "March 1507." Amedeo Quondam, "Qualche riflessione intorno al *Libro del Cortegiano*," in *Sylva: studi in onore di Nino Borsellino*, ed. Giorgio Patrizi, 2 vols. (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), I: 233-259, 248, recently realized that "nei giorni dei dialoghi" Castiglione "è già tornato."

²²*Cortegiano*, I.1, 17: "avendogli poco appresso il mio ritorno intesi da persona che fidelmente me gli narrò."

²³See, e.g., Wayne Rebhorn, *Courtly Performances: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's "Book of the Courtier"* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1978), p. 53: "he bases his account on the supposedly faithful recollections of a conveniently anonymous individual."

²⁴*Cortegiano*, IV.3, p. 356. Italics added.

²⁵He thus assumed the part filled by Gaius Aurelius Cotta in Cicero's *De oratore*. Olga Zorzi Pugliese, "L'evoluzione della struttura dialogica nel *Libro del corte-*

giano," in *Il sapere delle parole. Studi sul dialogo latino e italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Walter Geerts, Annick Paternoster and Franco Pignatti (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001), pp. 59-68, 63, independently identifies Gasparo as the "source" of Castiglione's "fictio."

²⁶See Connell, "Un rito iniziatico," pp. 478-481; and William J. Connell, "The Meaning of the Letter 'S' in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*," forthcoming in the proceedings of the Moscow conference, *Mythology and Meaning in the Renaissance*, 25-30 September 2001.

²⁷Joan Kelly, "Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*, 1400-1789," in her *Women, History and Theory*, pp. 65-109, 75: "Using a bourgeois spokesman to voice the misogynous part of the dialogue [...Castiglione] appears to favor the 'gentle' (aristocratic) pro-woman side." See also Kelly, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" p. 39: "Most significantly, [Castiglione] opposes Gasparo's bourgeois notion of women's exclusively domestic role."

²⁸Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the "Courtier": The European Reception of Castiglione's "Cortegiano"* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 47. A famous branch of the Pallavicino did live in Genoa, although the connection to the family of Gasparo was quite distant.

²⁹Mario Nobili, "Alcune considerazioni circa l'estensione, la distribuzione territoriale e il significato degli Obertenghi (metà secolo X – inizio secolo XII)," in *Formazione e strutture dei ceti dominanti nel Medioevo: marchesi, conti e visconti nel regno italico (secoli IX-XII)* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 1988), pp. 71-81; Giancarlo Andenna, "Le strutture sociali in età signorile e feudale," in *Storia d'Italia*, dir. Giuseppe Galasso, VI, *Comuni e signorie nell'Italia settentrionale. La Lombardia* (Turin: UTET, 1998), pp. 213-18, 216-8.

³⁰Matteo Bandello, *Novelle*, ed. Delmo Maestri, 4 vols. (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1992-96), III: 92-93 (III.xviii). Franca Leverotti informs me that this diploma was frequently cited by the Pallavicino in their property divisions of the mid-fifteenth century.

³¹On Uberto Pelavicino see Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. G. Scalia, new ed., 2 vols. (Bari: Laterza, 1966), pp. 501-4, 695-6: "Appetitum habuit dominandi super omnes homines" (503); and Raul Manselli, "Il sistema degli stati italiani dal 1250 al 1454," in *Storia d'Italia*, dir. Giuseppe Galasso, III, *Comuni e signorie: istituzioni, società e lotte per l'egemonia* (Turin: UTET, 1981), pp. 180-2, 184.

³²Andenna, "Le strutture sociali," pp. 218-9; Carlo Soliani, *Nelle terre dei Pallavicino*, 3 vols. (Parma: Biblioteca della Cassa di Risparmio di Parma, 1989-1996), I: 315-6.

³³Giorgio Chittolini, "Infeudazioni e politica feudale nel ducato visconteo-sforzesco, in his *La formazione dello stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado. Secoli XII-XIV* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), pp. 36-100, describes the general trend and chronological phases of these developments in the Milanese duchy. See now Marco Gentile, *Terra e poteri. Parma e il Parmense nel ducato visconteo all'inizio del Quattrocento* (Milan: UNICOPLI, 2001).

³⁴Nasalli Rocca, Emilio. 1926-1927. "Gli statuti dello Stato Pallavicino e le *Additiones* di Cortemaggiore." *Bollettino storico piacentino* 21(1926):145-56; 22 (1927): 17-26, 67-76. According to Chittolini, *Infeudazioni e politica feudale*, p. 78n.6, this was "l'esempio più famoso, in questa zona, di testo statutario signorile."

³⁵Cesare Magni, *Il tramonto del feudo lombardo* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1937).

³⁶The paradoxical nature of these feuds is underlined by D. M. Bueno de Mesquita, "Ludovico Sforza and His Vassals," in E. F. Jacob, ed., *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady* (London: Faber & Faber, 1960), p. 187: "However divided these families might be among themselves over the distribution of their properties, they still retained in their dealings with outsiders something of the solidarity which had marked the feudal consorterie of the Lombard countryside (...). But the records of the central government are naturally more concerned with their quarrels and transgressions than with this sense of unity (...)."

³⁷Emilio Seletti, *La città di Busseto, capitale un tempo dello Stato Pallavicino. Memorie storiche*, 3 vols. (Milan: Bortolotti di Dal Bono, 1883), I:203-7; Chittolini, "Infeudazioni e politica feudale," pp. 63, 92-3 n. 113.

³⁸Seletti, *La città di Busseto*, I: 230-2; Paolo Franchi, *Appunti di storia paesana, ricorrendo il IV centenario della chiesa principale e inaugurandosi la nuova facciata di essa. Cortemaggiore nel 18 giugno 1481 e 1881* (Piacenza: Bertola, 1881), p. 16.

³⁹Seletti, *La città di Busseto*, I: 254; Angelo Pezzana, *Storia della città di Parma*, 5 vols. (Parma: Tipografia ducale, 1837-1859), IV: 165. The ruined castle is mentioned by Franchi, *Appunti*, p. 2.

⁴⁰Louis the German, diploma no. 157, Frankfurt, 26 February 875, in Paul Kehr, ed., *MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinarum* (Berlin, 1932-1934), I: 221.

⁴¹One of the earliest records of Cortemaggiore as a possession of the Pallavicino is in Bonaventura Angeli, *Historia della città di Parma et descrizione del fiume Parma* (Parma: Viotto, 1591), p. 212, where it is mentioned as passing to an Uberto, born in 1048, in a division of property among brothers. (Compare Seletti, *La città di Busseto*, I:254, who erroneously dates the division to 1048.) In general on this territory in the high medieval period, see Pierre Racine, *Plaisance du Xe à la fin du XIIIe siècle : essai d'histoire urbaine*, 3 vols. (Paris : Champion, 1980); François Bougard, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie: de la fin du VIIIe siècle au début du XIe siècle* (Rome : École française de Rome, 1995); Luigi Canetti, *Gloriosa Civitas. Culto dei santi e società cittadina a Piacenza nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Patron, 1993).

⁴²Seletti, *La città di Busseto*, I:234.

⁴³Pompeo Litta, *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, 16 vols. (Milan: Basadonna, 1819-75), VII, "Pallavicino," Table XXII; Seletti, *La città di Busseto*, III:217.

⁴⁴Ibid., I:255; Bruno Adorni, "L'architettura del Primo Rinascimento," in *Storia di Piacenza*, III, *Dalla signoria viscontea al principato farnesiano (1313-1545)* (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza, 1997), pp. 608-614.

⁴⁵The original street plan survives largely intact. See also Egidio Bandini, *Per l'antiche contrade. I disegni del Manoscritto Pallastrelli n.º 279: la Cortemaggiore del 1766* (Cortemaggiore, [1996]).

⁴⁶See Connell, "Un rito iniziatico," pp. 489-90.

⁴⁷Giovanni Petrucci, "Cortemaggiore," *Storia della città*, 26-27 (April-September 1983), pp. 193-200, 193.

⁴⁸Carmen Artocchini, "Note sulla comunità ebraica di Cortemaggiore." *Archivio storico per le province parmensi*, ser. 4, 34 (1979), pp. 197-218.

⁴⁹Roberto Greci, *Parma medievale. Economia e società nel Parmense dal Tre al Quattrocento* (Parma: Battei, 1992), p. 33.

⁵⁰Marzio Achille Romani, *Nella spirale di una crisi. Popolazione, mercato e prezzi a Parma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1975), p. 37.

⁵¹Chittolini, "Infeudazioni," p. 76: "L'illusione del piccolo Stato signorile, autonomo e sovrano, tornerà ancora puntualmente nei periodi di crisi politica, soprattutto nel corso delle guerre d'Italia (...): ma è un'illusione che sta tramontando."

⁵²Pezzana, *Storia*, V, Appendix, Document LX, p. 75.

⁵³Nasalli Rocca, "Gli statuti," 22 (1927), pp. 24-5, downplays the impulses toward autonomy that caused the promulgation of these statutes in 1429 and their reconfirmation in 1500, preferring instead to argue that formal similarities with Milanese statutes constitute evidence of the centralization of the Milanese state.

⁵⁴Seletti, *Città di Busseto*, I: 258.

⁵⁵Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, VII, "Pallavicino," Table XXII. For the capture and execution of Manfredo, see Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, 5 vols., ed. Costantino Panigada (Bari: Laterza, 1929), IV: 85, 90-91 (XIII.xiv; XIV.iii).

⁵⁶Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, VII, "Pallavicino," Table XXII, makes this suggestion. For a similar case in the Veneto in this period of family loyalties divided by design, see Cecil H. Clough, review of Angelo Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo nella società veneta del '400 e '500*, in *Studi veneziani*, 8 (1966), pp. 526-544: 543.

⁵⁷Letizia Arcangeli, "Carriere militari dell'aristocrazia padana nelle guerre d'Italia," in *Condottieri e uomini d'arme nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, ed. Mario Del Treppo (Naples: Liguori, 2001), pp. 361-416: 380.

⁵⁸Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, X, "Trivulzio di Milano," Table II.

⁵⁹Ibid., VII, "Pallavicino," Tavola XXII, citing a letter from Massimiliano Sforza dated 12 April 1513.

⁶⁰Bandello, *Novelle*, III: 59 (III.xi, dedication).

⁶¹The death of Uberto on 7 May 1524, at the age of 21 years, 6 months, 24 days, is recorded in Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, VII, "Pallavicino," Table XXII, on the basis of an inscription still visible in the Church of the Annunziata in Cortemaggiore. A funeral inscription for Girolamo may be found in the same church.

⁶²According to Arcangeli, "Carriere militari," p. 380, a will of Orlando's dated 1 May 1508 is preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Parma, *Famiglie, Pallavicini*, b. 3.

⁶³For the inscription, see Connell, "Un rito," p. 493.

⁶⁴In a way that helpfully underlines certain aspects of Castiglione's portrayal, Bembo's sonnet refers to Gasparo as a "buon Lombardo." See Pietro Bembo, *Prose e rime*, ed. Carlo Dionisotti (Turin: UTET, 1960), pp. 570-571 (LXXV).

⁶⁵*Cortegiano*, IV.i, p. 353.

⁶⁶Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 53, calls him "the *enfant terrible* of the dialogue," and writes, p. 67, of "Angry young men like Castiglione's Gaspare Pallavicino (...)."

⁶⁷David Marsh, *The Quattrocento Dialogue: Classical Tradition and Humanist Innovation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 40, referring to Poggio Bracciolini, *Lettere*, ed. Helene Harth, vols. I-III (Florence: Olschki, 1984-7), I: 43. See also the excellent book of Olga Zorzi Pugliese, *Il discorso labirintico del dialogo rinascimentale* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995).

⁶⁸Gaetano Pieraccini, *La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo. Saggio di ricerche sulla trasmissione ereditaria dei caratteri biologici*, 3 vols. (Florence: Vallecchi, 1924), I:225-6.

⁶⁹On the defense of women becoming a means to their seduction, compare the case of a treatise by the Pistoiese writer Domenico Bruni titled *Difese delle donne, nella quale si contengono le difese loro* (Florence: Giunti, 1552). The book is filled with arguments not dissimilar from those of Giuliano—arguments that earned the book the nickname "Involutore" or "stealer [of women]." See Jacopo Fioravanti, *Memorie storiche della città di Pistoja* (Lucca, 1758; rpt. Bologna: Forni, 1986), p. 430; and Rudolph M. Bell, *How To Do It: Guides to Good Living for Renaissance Italians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 344n.71.

⁷⁰On relations between Machiavelli and Giuliano and the personal manner in which the former intended his treatise for the latter, see John M. Najemy, *Between Friends: Discourses of Power and Desire in the Machiavelli-Vettori Letters of 1513-1515* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Hugo Jaekel, "I 'tordi' e il 'principe nuovo'." Note sulle dediche del 'Principe' di Machiavelli a Giuliano e a Lorenzo de' Medici," *Archivio storico italiano*, 156 (1998), pp. 73-92.

⁷¹Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il principe*, ed. Giorgio Inglese (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), XXV.26-7, p.167.

⁷²John Freccero, in *Machiavelli and the Discourse of Literature*, ed. Albert Ascoli and Victoria Kahn (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁷³David M. Posner, *The Performance of Nobility in Early Modern European Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 15, not far from the mark, reads this anxiety as "paranoia": "The noble is, by definition, always attempting to bridge a gap between the unrealized potential of the flawed present and a supposedly actualized ancestral ideal. The necessity of that attempt is what drives the performance of nobility in Castiglione. The inevitable inadequacy of that performance—one is always trying, or pretending, to be Something Else—and its consequent hollowness are what gives that performance its peculiarly paranoid character. This paranoia (...) pervades the entire text of the *Cortegiano*."

⁷⁴The pedagogical aims of *The Courtier* are underlined by Manfred Hinz, *Rhetorische Strategien des Hofmannes. Studien zu den italienischen Hofmannstraktaten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1992), esp. p. 103; and Arthur F. Kinney, *Continental Humanist Poetics: Studies in Erasmus, Castiglione, Marguerite de Navarre, Rabelais and Cervantes* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), p. 127, who writes, "Education is therefore an ongoing process for Aristotle, as it is for Castiglione, a matter of *praktikè*, or human endeavor—less stable than the natural phenomena of *theoretikè*, or scientific observation, and thus more needful of constant study, practice, and discipline. For Aristotle, the student is, in short, fashioned; and it is in this sense of fashioning that Castiglione proposes *di formar un perfetto cortegiano*." See also Amedeo Quondam, "Magna & Minima Moralia. Qualche ricognizione intorno all'etica del classicismo," *Filologia e critica*, 35 (2000), pp. 179-221.

⁷⁵*Cortegiano*, 4.3, p. 356. Stephen Kolsky, "Old Men in a New World: Morello da Ortona in the *Cortegiano*," *Italica*, 75 (1998), pp. 330-347, is quite right in finding a greater emphasis on the problems of old men in the Fourth Book—after Gasparo's initiation.