

Gabrielle Houle

Dramaturgy of the Body: Marcello Moretti's Construction of Arlecchino at the Piccolo Teatro of Milan

In this article Gabrielle Houle examines the dramaturgical process that actor Marcello Moretti applied to his creation of Arlecchino's body in Giorgio Strehler's globally acclaimed productions of *The Servant of Two Masters* at the Piccolo Teatro of Milan between 1947 and 1960. She provides a critical analysis of Moretti's interdisciplinary and trans-historical research and creative process, including his study of iconographic representations of the commedia dell'arte, his observation of farmers in Padua in the mid-twentieth century, and the connections he made between his life experiences and his understanding of Arlecchino. She then examines Moretti's acting style, signature postures, and footwork, both as the international press described them and as she observed them in a video recording and in photographs of the productions. The article, based on extensive archival research at the Piccolo Teatro and on interviews with artists who knew both Moretti and Strehler, concludes with a discussion of Moretti's legacy within and beyond Italy. Gabrielle Houle is a theatre scholar, educator, and artist specializing in the recent staging history of the commedia dell'arte, contemporary mask-making practices, and masked performance. She has taught in several Canadian universities, and is a member of the Centre for Oral History and Tradition at the University of Lethbridge, where she is also an Adjunct Assistant Professor.

Key words: commedia dell'arte, Giorgio Strehler, *Servant of Two Masters*, Arlecchino, Amleto Sartori.

ON 24 JULY 1947, the theatregoers of Milan attended the first production of what would become the Piccolo Teatro's signature production: Giorgio Strehler's staging of Carlo Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters*.¹ Strehler staged ten different productions of that play between 1947 and 1997.² From the start, he renamed the central character of the show: Goldoni's 'Truffaldino' became 'Arlecchino' at the Piccolo Teatro.³ The following season, Strehler added 'Arlecchino' to the title of the play. From then on, the production would be known as *Arlecchino, Servant of Two Masters* and would often be referred to by artists, scholars, and critics as 'Strehler's *Arlecchino*'.

A Piccolo Teatro publication explains how this title change was an attempt to indicate 'more clearly to foreign audiences the [comedic] nature of the play'.⁴ The explanation underscores the theatre company's intentions from early on in its performance history to tour *Arlecchino, Servant of Two Masters*

nationally and internationally.⁵ And indeed, over the next decades, it travelled across the world and achieved global success.

It was actor Marcello Moretti who, from 1947 to 1960, wore Arlecchino's multicoloured costume in Strehler's stagings. According to a programme note, his performance was seen 'in all of Italy and in 105 cities of 26 countries around the world, from New York to Moscow'.⁶ Arguably, the image many of us have of Arlecchino's walks, stances, level of energy on stage, and footwork is reflective, at least to some extent, of Moretti's interpretation of the role.

In what follows, I will examine the dramaturgical process that led Moretti to create Arlecchino's body and consider his choices of postures, stances, and footwork in that role. When using the term 'dramaturgy', I draw from Geoffrey S. Proehl, who breaks the process into three parts: attribute, role, and function. As he explains:

As *attribute*, we use the word to describe the dramaturgy of a particular playwright or play. . . . In this sense, dramaturgy roughly equals dramatic structure or the conventions unique to a play-script, playwright, or performance. Dramaturgy as a *role* describes that person whose name appears on a programme opposite the title 'Dramaturg'. . . . As *function*, dramaturgy refers to a set of activities necessary to the theatre-making process, often centring on the work of selecting and preparing playscripts for production, activities that various individuals – producers, directors, designers, actors – if not someone specifically called a dramaturg, must perform.⁷

In this article, 'dramaturgy' refers to the many activities Moretti engaged with when creating his interpretation of Arlecchino.

He did not attend a school of physical theatre, and neither did he participate in any formal commedia workshops. Indeed, those would not have been available to him at the time. Instead he engaged in a multifaceted exploration of commedia dell'arte that was shaped by his close collaboration with Giorgio Strehler, with his mask-maker Amleto Sartori, and with his other collaborators at the Piccolo Teatro. Moretti's research and creation process also involved: trial and error in rehearsal and performance; field trips in the Veneto to observe local people and works of art; literary research; and drawing from the abundant iconography of the commedia tradition.

Since this is the first systematic examination of Moretti's interpretation of Arlecchino in English, it will be useful briefly to survey Moretti's early years, including a review of the development of his craft prior to his debut at the Piccolo Teatro. I will then discuss his acting style in *The Servant of Two Masters* from 1947 to 1960, as described by the international press, his colleagues, and his friends. This initial survey will lay the foundation for an examination of Moretti's iconographic research and his distinctive postures and footwork in performance. It will also pave the way for a discussion of the ways in which he transmitted his knowledge to subsequent generations of actors in Italy and beyond.

This article is based on first-person interviews with artists who knew both Marcello Moretti and Giorgio Strehler. It is also the

result of examining the photographs and video recordings of productions of *The Servants of Two Masters* at the Piccolo Teatro, and takes from reviews of the show published in Italian, French, and British newspapers. Finally, it draws on extensive archival research conducted at the Piccolo Teatro of Milan; the Biblioteca Livia Simoni – Palazzo Busca in Milan; the Centro APICE at the University of Milan; the Centro Maschere e Strutture Gestuali in Abano Terme; and the library of the Milano Teatro Scuola Paolo Grassi. By shining a light on Moretti's practice, I trust the article will be useful to theatre practitioners, historians, and students interested in contemporary re-imaginings of the commedia dell'arte tradition.

Actor Training and First Explorations

Marcello Moretti was born in Venice on 30 November 1910. His mother, a housewife, was Elvira Chiozzotto; his father, Guglielmo Moretti, was a mechanic.⁸ At the age of fourteen, he worked as a liftboy for the Hotel Europa in Venice.⁹ At twenty-one, the future actor was employed by Mulini Chiari e Forti in Marghera. In a Piccolo Teatro publication, Ruggero Jacobbi explains that Moretti stayed at the mill for three years, fell ill, and lost his job.¹⁰ He then worked as a travelling shoe salesman, postman, and electrician.¹¹ He was almost twenty-eight when he was admitted to the Accademia Nazionale d'Arte Drammatica in Rome, where he studied acting between 1938 and 1940.¹²

Moretti first performed a commedia dell'arte character during his actor training. The play was Carlo Gozzi's *Re cervo*, staged by Alessandro Brissoni at the Accademia.¹³ Moretti's performance in this production, Emilio Pozzi states, revealed a 'natural' gift for comedy, movement, and acrobatics.¹⁴ In 1940, Moretti acted in Renato Simoni's staging of Carlo Goldoni's *Donne curiose*.¹⁵ In this he played Lelio, a young lover, alongside Antonio Crast, Otello Cazzola, and Francesco Rissone, who respectively played Pantalone, Brighella, and Arlecchino.

Photographs of the show depict Cazzola and Rissone wearing dark, solid masks while

Crast used make-up to paint a mask directly on to his face. All three actors wore traditional commedia costumes that identified them with their characters. Rissone also adopted stylized postures and stances often associated with Arlecchino: knees apart; one leg fully stretched out, with only the heel touching the ground; the supporting leg slightly bent; and the upper body leaning forward.¹⁶ In 1944, Moretti played Truffaldino in Alberto d'Aversa's staging of Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters*. In this production, he did not perform with a solid mask, instead painting a 'glossy black mask' directly on to his face.¹⁷ According to the few extant accounts of this production, Moretti's performance was considerably energetic and showed his capacity to fulfil a physically demanding role.

Thus, by the time he performed in Strehler's first staging of *The Servant of Two Masters*, Moretti had already acted in several plays inspired by the commedia tradition. He drew on the feedback he received from his directors, his observation of colleagues in performance, and the conversations he had with his collaborators during and outside of rehearsal to shape his vision of Arlecchino's body, voice, acting rhythms, and gestural patterns.

Arrival at the Piccolo Teatro of Milan

Moretti joined the nascent Piccolo Teatro in 1947. The theatre's first season – which took place from May to July 1947 – was going to close with a production of *The Servant of Two Masters*. Some time after accepting the role of Arlecchino in the show, Moretti attempted to withdraw his assent. 'He does not feel it,' Emilio Pozzi explained, continuing with: 'He remembers an earlier production staged at the Accademia that was a failure, especially for the actor who played the role of Arlecchino.'¹⁸ Despite the actor's qualms, both Giorgio Strehler and Paolo Grassi (co-founders of the Piccolo Teatro with Nina Vinchi) insisted that Moretti take the part, and Moretti finally accepted.

This decision would mark his 'definitive encounter with the theatre, with the mask,

[and] with the production that would become his life'.¹⁹ Although he had accepted the role, Moretti nevertheless refused to wear a solid mask in this first production at the Piccolo Teatro.²⁰ Instead, he once again painted his face to give the impression that he was wearing a dark half-mask. The thick make-up theatricalized his body and fulfilled the convention within the commedia tradition of identifying Arlecchino with his mask. (See Figure 1, opposite.)

During the following theatre season, in 1947–48, Moretti played Zan Ganassa (another name Strehler gave to Truffaldino) in Strehler's staging of Gozzi's *Il corvo*.²¹ Photographs of this production show the actor wearing a dark half-mask that was likely made of papier mâché and gauze.²² In 1951, Moretti once again took on the role of Truffaldino at the Piccolo Teatro, this time in Strehler's staging of *L'amante militare* by Goldoni. In this, Moretti wore a papier-mâché mask created by the Paduan sculptor Amleto Sartori. He also worked on movement with Jacques Lecoq, whom the Piccolo Teatro hired in 1951 to act as a choreographer, movement coach, and teacher of mime, improvisation, and physical education.

In 1952, Strehler directed his second production of *The Servant of Two Masters*.²³ It seems that it was in this staging that Moretti wore his first leather mask. He subsequently wore at least three other Arlecchino masks at the Piccolo Teatro, all of which had been made by Sartori.²⁴ Each of these masks exhibited distinctive features that the sculptor associated with either an animal or a character type. As Giorgio Strehler recalls:

Then, Sartori's theory about Arlecchino's mask implying that this character should have a 'cat-like', 'fox-like', 'bull-like' mask (his convenient names for various fundamental expressions of the masks), childishly interested Marcello, who wanted to wear the 'cat' (first) because 'it's the most agile!' . . . Hence Marcello first wore the brown 'cat-like' mask before he moved on to the 'fox', and finally (victory!) to a mask that was fundamentally original, the primitive zanni, which was naturally softened by the stylized pace of Goldoni's *Servant of Two Masters*.²⁵

Each design suggested a new dimension to



Figure 1: Marcello Moretti in *The Servant of Two Masters*, 1947. © Archivio Fotografico Piccolo Teatro di Milano – Teatro d'Europa.

Arlecchino that could shape Moretti's vision of that character; each offered a point of entry to explore the role physically and vocally; all could potentially impact the player's acting style and the ways in which the audience received his performance.

Moretti's Acting Style

The press described Marcello Moretti's interpretation of Arlecchino in Strehler's successive productions of *The Servant of Two Masters* as being puppet-like, cat-like, popular, rustic, local, and faithful to tradition. As we shall see below, audience reception of Moretti's Arlecchino was rooted in a number of factors: how they viewed the performance styles and visual aesthetics of each new staging of *The Servant of Two Masters*; by the mask Moretti wore in performance; by the actor's personal theories about Arlecchino; and by his multifaceted research into the character.

Strehler's first staging of Goldoni's play in 1947 was above all a stylistic exploration characterized by 'an italic enthusiasm for rhythm, for immediate invention, mimic gesture, hyperbolic images, together with classical rigour'.²⁶ He recounts:

I was passionate at the time, like many young directors of my generation, about issues of physical expression we then called the 'art of mime', and which remained mysterious to us: [that is,] the relationship of the body with space, the expressive value of gesture and movement, [and] the quality of animated silence.²⁷

Gianni Ratto's set design for this production comprised a trestle stage, several colourful backdrops that loosely depicted the different locations in the play, and a series of rotating panels standing left and right of the stage that provided numerous entrances and exits for the actors and served as a continuation of the painted backdrops. This set projected a heavily stylized, almost cartoonish image of the commedia dell'arte.²⁸

In this production, Moretti adopted an athletic acting style that displayed his physical strength, endurance, and acrobatic skills. Since his face was covered with thick

make-up imitating a commedia mask, he could not rely on subtle facial expressions as such, but had to express his character's emotions and reactions with the entire body, and so needed to synthesize Arlecchino's personality in his postures and movements. This was also true of fellow actors Armando Alzelmo, Antonio Battistella, and Franco Parenti, who respectively played Dottore, Pantalone, and Brighella in the production and who – unlike Moretti – wore solid masks in performance. All actors in this production performed at a frantic pace, something Strehler no doubt asked of them in an effort to break away from psychological realism and to proclaim the play's theatricality.

As a result of Strehler's directing choices, theatre reviewers likened his first production of *The Servant of Two Masters* to a mechanical ballet, puppet theatre, and animated cartoons.²⁹

Weightless steps, effortless attempts, painless punches, bloodless duels, everything [is] hanging on invisible strings being moved by expert hands, here are, gentlemen, the marionettes that are telling you the eternal story of us men.

Thus Pioppo described the acting style in Strehler's 1947 production.³⁰

Strehler staged his second production of *The Servant of Two Masters* in 1952. The set design and costumes for this staging were more realistic than in 1947, and situated the action of the play in eighteenth-century Venice. Moretti's costume for this production was a faithful replica of a historical Arlecchino costume owned by Renato Simoni.³¹ Strehler's exploration of the performance history of the commedia dell'arte also extended to the use of masks; from 1952 on, he used leather masks created by Amleto Sartori in all of his stagings of *The Servant of Two Masters*.

Strehler staged his third production of Goldoni's play in 1956. This time, Ezio Frigerio designed the set. The little trestle stage on which the actors performed was placed within a larger context that, as theatre critic Hope-Wallace observed, implied 'the existence of a shabby but real world going on offstage'.³² This stage stood in front of ruins,

behind which extended a wide cyclorama that resembled a mid-afternoon sky and suggested 'an open-air performance'.³³ A series of white rectangular pieces of cloth, through which 'filtering light' was simulated, were also carefully hung above the stage. These recalled the screens that some eighteenth-century touring commedia companies used to protect themselves from the sun.³⁴

The set was inspired by the work of Guardi and Canaletto, but also by Marco Marcola's 1772 painting *Una commedia italiana nell'Arena di Verona*. 'The idea, in short', Frigerio explains, 'was to create a story, including visually, of human relationships through the journey of players arriving at an Italian piazza and installing a trestle stage where they would perform.'³⁵ Two stories were enacted on this stage: that of Goldoni's characters in *The Servant of Two Masters*, and that of individuals belonging to a fictional eighteenth-century commedia company. The two acting areas (the trestle stage and the visible wings), as well as the actors' corresponding acting styles (one heavily stylized, the other perhaps more realistic and extempore in appearance), were connected by a new character – the prompter – who does not appear in Goldoni's play but who Strehler introduced in his 1956 production – the last production of *The Servant of Two Masters* in which Moretti played Arlecchino.

The Feline Arlecchino

Throughout the 1950s many reviewers noticed the aforementioned feline quality in Moretti's interpretation of Arlecchino that was visible in both his mask and his actions. Indeed, one of his masks had wide, elongated, cat-like eyes, as well as cheeks defined with carved lines that suggested whiskers. These feline features informed Moretti's acting. For example, he displayed feline qualities in his gestures and movements when he performed the 'lazzo of the fly' in the production's second act.

This trick, which Paolo Grassi claims was based on an eighteenth-century description by Luigi Riccoboni, began with Moretti

erupting on stage from under a backdrop and crawling on all-fours from upstage centre to downstage right, his body tense, his articulations flexible, his face following the aerial patterns of an imaginary fly.³⁶ The public understood that the fly had landed when Moretti's face stopped moving and pointed to the floor across the stage. Moretti then slowly crawled towards the fly before he suddenly leapt on it, like a cat on its prey, and ate it. The swallowed fly, however, remained alive within, and Moretti had to hit his stomach to stop the insect from moving inside him.³⁷

Moretti's mask and comic routines unequivocally gave an animal dimension to his character that the public picked up.³⁸ As critic Henri Magnan commented: 'this mask gives Arlequin's physiognomy the look of a tomcat roaming on some gutter of the Palais Royal, from Colette's window to Cocteau's balcony, as if it had been abandoned there by Mme d'Aulnoy or Mme de Beaumont.'³⁹ And Henriette Dagauld reported in *Paris-Presse* that 'Moretti inhabits this strange character . . . with the casualness of a tight-rope walker, the audacity of an acrobat, [and] the suppleness of a cat, of which he wears the mask.'⁴⁰

Moretti's Arlecchino was also described as popular, grounded, and rustic. 'I remember that his Arlecchino was very agile with feline movements,' recounts Donato Sartori, Amleto Sartori's son and a sculptor and creator of masks in his own right. 'But it was tough, seventeenth-century like, more earth-bound than Soleri's – Moretti's successor in the role, who was eighteenth-century like and Goldonian. It was an "Arlecchinaccio", to whom [Moretti] tried to give a strong, solid character.'⁴¹ Indeed, photographs of Moretti in *The Servant of Two Masters* show that he kept a low centre of gravity and often slightly inclined his torso forward in performance. This posture made his Arlecchino appear grounded and attentive. It also made him seem both humble and ready to pounce.

According to Narcisa Bonati – who played the role of Smeraldina in Strehler's staging of *The Servant of Two Masters* from December 1956 to 1964, and in 1987 – Moretti's interpre-

tation of Arlecchino expressed his vision of the 'poor man', one who is at the very bottom of the social scale.⁴² Donato Sartori argues that Moretti's interpretation of the role was largely inspired by the body language of Venetian farmers he observed during field trips in and around Padua. Indeed, he claims that sometime in 1948–9, Moretti joined Amleto Sartori and Jacques Lecoq in their research on masks and masking:

Amleto, Jacques, and Marcello had a very good rapport; they began to study, to be immersed in the real world, wandering in the Venetian countryside, going to country fairs, where farmers would go with [their] cows, oxen, donkeys to buy and sell cattle, and they did this to 'pick up' the people's character traits. Amleto drew inspiration from [people's body] shapes, Lecoq from their [body] mannerisms, Moretti from their [body] posture.⁴³

A Grounded Physicality

During these field trips in the Veneto, Moretti also observed works of art depicting commedia characters that influenced his acting. For example, he visited the gardens of Villa Conti in Montegaldella with Amleto Sartori in the late 1940s or early 1950s. These gardens were adorned with seventeenth-century statues of commedia dell'arte characters made by Orazio Marinali. As Amleto Sartori recalls, one statue was

smaller than the others, with a costume that is closer to a gabardine than to [Arlecchino's] traditional jacket, with the camauro [which is a thin, usually soft, hat], and with the mask and slapstick of a zanni. The statue's physical attitude is remarkably similar to Marcello's typical gestures [in the role]. More than a generic statue [of the character], it seems to be a true portrait of Marcello in his costume.

[Marcello] saw himself [in this statue], he looked at it for a long time, noticing every detail, and promising himself to modify his own costume so that it would resemble the statue's more closely.

Before we left, [Marcello] was taken by some kind of folly – as it sometimes happened to him – and started doing cartwheels around the statue, improvising a speech of his own invention, and engaging in an imaginary quarrel with the stone Arlecchino. Then he got back to his senses and we left. For the rest of the day, he only spoke of Arlecchino and his costume, as if it were a living creature, because that's how he thought of it.⁴⁴

According to Donato Sartori, Moretti's grounded Arlecchino posture – his stomach sticking out over a loose belt – was very much inspired by the statue of Arlecchino at Villa Conti.⁴⁵

As for Moretti himself, he connected his interpretation of Arlecchino to the hardships he experienced during and soon after the Second World War. The actor recounted in an article published in *Milano Sera* in 1953 that, with the theatres closed around 1944, Moretti remembered being penniless, hungry, and needing to provide for his mother, who had fallen ill. So he became a waiter at Casina Valadier, where he served American soldiers and sometimes even performed for them.

Soon after this experience he recalls going back to his life in the theatre, performing in Beaumarchais's *Marriage of Figaro* staged by Luchino Visconti in Milan, playing Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the Teatro dell'Arte al Parco, and joining the Piccolo Teatro of Milan in 1947.⁴⁶ Moretti claimed that his earlier experience of hunger and poverty in Rome helped bring his interpretation of Arlecchino in *The Servant of Two Masters* closer to what he believed that character's 'true' nature to be.⁴⁷

But Moretti's grounded physicality as Arlecchino was not always what captured the imagination of spectators. Indeed, critics sometimes preferred comparing Moretti to famous international performers like Charlie Chaplin, Robert Hirsch, or the Fratellini brothers.⁴⁸ Several reviewers, as the following extracts demonstrate, also compared Moretti to commedia dell'arte actors from the Baroque era, placing him and his Arlecchino within a long performance tradition, and thus drawing a lineage between the twentieth-century actor and his historical predecessors:

Goldoni's *Arlecchino Servitore di Due Padroni* at the Piccolo Teatro has cooled down the hot Milanese July. . . . [It was] a refreshing Italian farce. It felt like being in the middle of the Trevi Fountain, between curtains and jets of water. . . . Laughter beat the heat. [This] laughter was like strawberry ice cream, a great ice cream picked over by a thousand teaspoons. An Italian ice cream that lasted three hours, [and was] beautiful to watch. . . . A farce that resembled a landscape, an Italian landscape full of diversions and surprises. A Goldoni

in masks still attached to the commedia dell'arte, to tricks, stratagems, to spontaneous creation, to entertainment's sake. . . .

The stage design and costumes, the masks, the voices, everything that moves become malleable, invention, metamorphosis. Marcello Moretti has resurrected the Arlecchini of the old commedia dell'arte. Strehler could have staged the production at the French court: this production marks the triumphant return of the Baroque style to the theatre.⁴⁹

Moretti's Arlecchino in *The Servant of Two Masters* certainly evoked the golden age of the commedia dell'arte because it was inspired by the iconography of that tradition.

Iconographic Study and Arlecchino's Body

Moretti once explained that his interpretation of Arlecchino was heavily based on literary research.⁵⁰ As far as I can discover, he did not specify what books he used in rehearsal, and we can only speculate on the works and published illustrations consulted as he shaped his body to Arlecchino's image. However, by 1947, numerous publications on commedia were readily available.⁵¹ Moretti might have consulted works such as *La maschera mobile* and *Commedia dell'arte: canovacci della gloriosa commedia dell'arte italiana* by Anton Giulio Bragaglia, *Storia della commedia dell'Arte* by Mario Apollonio, Winifred Smith's *The Commedia dell'Arte: a Study in Italian Popular Comedy*, Pierre-Louis Duchartre's *La comédie italienne*, Constant Mic's *La commedia dell'arte: ou le théâtre des comédiens italiens des XVIe, XVIIe & XVIIIe siècles*, and Maurice Sand's *Masques et Bouffons*.⁵²

Most of these publications, with the exception of Apollonio's, are richly illustrated with images that come from various sources, such as Jacques Callot's *Ballo di Sfessania*, the Corsiana collection in Rome, Lambranzi's *New and Curious School of Dancing*, drawings and engravings by Claude Gillot, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, G.-S. Xavery, and Nicolas Bonnart, and, in the case of *Masques et Bouffons*, Sand's own drawings. Many of these works also include plates from *Le Recueil Fossard* and *Compositions de rhétorique* of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century commedia dell'arte characters.

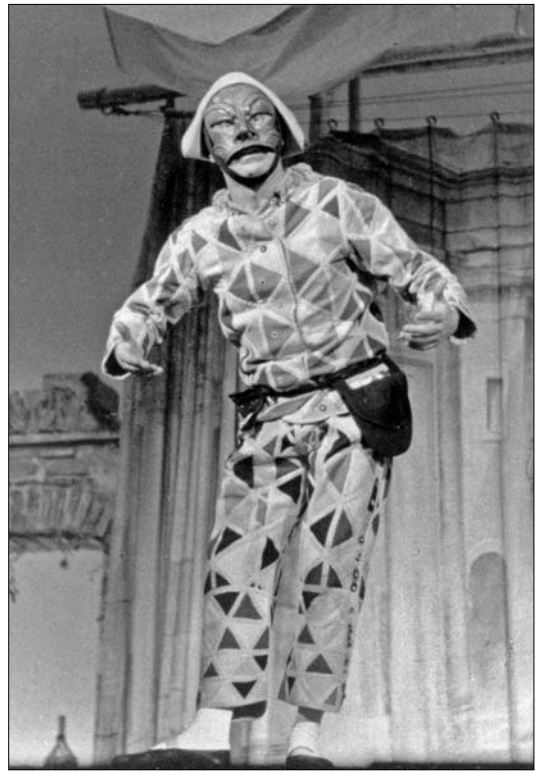


Figure 2: Marcello Moretti in *The Servant of Two Masters*, season 1957–58. © Archivio Fotografico Piccolo Teatro di Milano – Teatro d'Europa.

Moretti might also have consulted *Le Recueil Fossard* and *Compositions de rhétorique* directly, or he would have seen images from these works published in other books on Italian theatre. Similarities between Moretti's postures as Arlecchino and depictions of that character in *Le Recueil*, *Compositions*, and *Masques et Bouffons* are striking. They suggest that the actor drew inspiration from such images when creating and perfecting his physical interpretation of the commedia character.

In a video recording of *The Servant of Two Masters* from 1955, it appears that Marcello Moretti imposed a strong presence grounded and infused with a high level of energy.⁵³ In the production this video recording depicts, he adopted two basic postures from which he built his physical interpretation of Arlecchino. In the first posture, the actor's knees are apart, his one leg is slightly extended in front of the other, his behind sticks out, and his torso is inclined forward (see Figure 2, above).⁵⁴ This posture shares similarities



Figure 3: 'Comédiens italiens'. Images of commedia characters from *Le Recueil Fossard*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF).

with those of Arlecchino portrayed in *Le Recueil Fossard* and *Compositions de rhétorique* (compare Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5).

Moretti's Arlecchino and the Arlecchini represented in these images rest their weight on one leg more than on the other; they either slightly or exaggeratedly incline their upper body forward or sideways; they adopt similar, asymmetrical foot positions; and they appear to tense their muscles, especially in their shoulders and extremities. In Figures 3, 4, and 5, we can surmise that external forces or actions shape the body of Arlecchino. In Figure 3, for example, Arlecchino leans sideways, perhaps better to hear the music another character in the image is playing; in the others (Figures 4 and 5), he bends under the weight of a basket.

Moretti might have drawn inspiration for his first posture from these or similar images, but he often stripped it of immediate, visible causes. Instead, his posture stylistically indicates a physical history of hard work as well as a knowledge of more burdens to come. That is, it arguably symbolizes a worker of the lower classes. Moretti also performed more upward versions of this first position, which closely resemble the now iconic *Arlequin* (1671) imagined by Maurice Sand.⁵⁵

In his second posture, Moretti places both feet parallel and apart from each other and distributes his weight more or less equally on both legs. This posture recalls an image of Arlecchino in *Compositions de rhétorique*, believed to portray the early-modern actor Tristano Martinelli (c. 1557–1630) in the role



Figure 4: 'Harlequin verrier'. Images of commedia dell'arte characters from *Le Recueil Fossard*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF).

of Arlecchino (see Figures 6 and 7, overleaf). In this position, Moretti's knees are bent, his buttocks and stomach are slightly sticking out, and his torso is again inclined forward.

The actor varied these two basic postures by shifting his weight from one foot to the other and by changing the leg that extended in front of him. The angle of his feet also varied, modifying his posture. His height would likewise change according to how much he bent his knees, how low he inclined his upper body, and how far apart his feet were from each other.

Shifting Balance, Switching Postures

Moretti also developed an elaborate foot technique that allowed him to quickly shift balance and switch postures. For example, he could glide one foot in front of the other

and adjust his weight accordingly. He could also throw one leg far up in the air or even jump, knees high, and land in a new position. He also varied the length of his gait and the speed at which he moved in space. Moreover, he constantly shifted postures in reaction to someone else's lines. His foot movements also punctuated his speech and set the tempo for his actions.

Moretti's modifications to his posture also indicated Arlecchino's quick changes of thought. Rapid foot movements sometimes signified excitement, urgency, or ambivalence. It also appears that Moretti matched the length and speed of his movements to the intensity of the feelings his character was experiencing in any given situation. For example, he could make bigger foot movements or even leap when acting out surprise or hurry. His footwork was performed at a

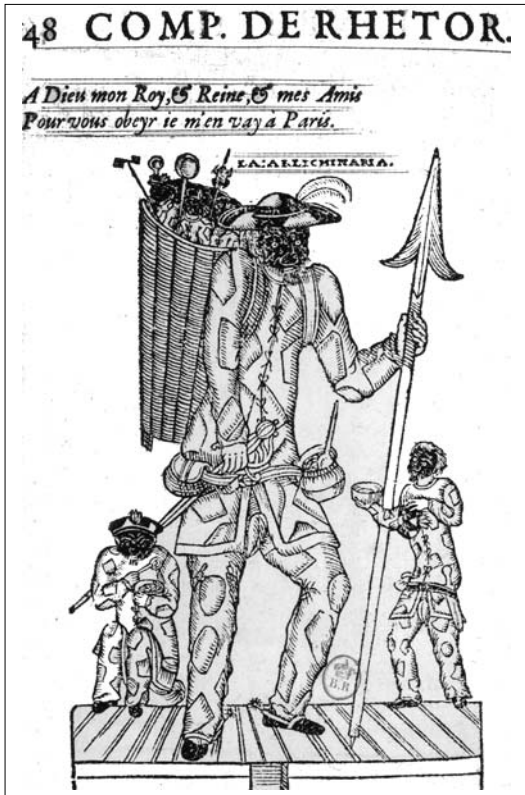


Figure 5 (left): 'Arlechin'. Image of Arlecchino in *Compositions de rhétorique*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF).

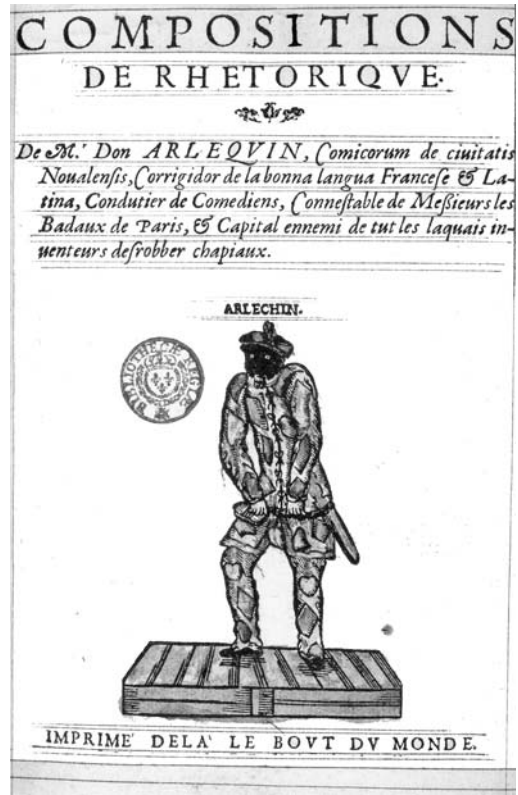


Figure 6 (right): Title page of Tristano Martinelli, *Compositions de rhétorique*, 1600. Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF).

fast pace and in a controlled manner, and his postural shifts usually ended with a slight pause. These often-minuscule moments of immobility – in the video recording of 1955 they were sometimes under a second – did not interrupt the flow of actions. Rather, they framed Moretti's postures and highlighted different elements of his gestural vocabulary.

Moretti's postures and foot technique were probably not novel at the time, and might have been inspired by the work of other actors who had themselves inherited these practices from a long and popular performance tradition.⁵⁶ But they were so well integrated into Moretti's acting that they became trademarks of his personal interpretation of Arlecchino. Although highly stylized and, to some extent, mechanized, they never looked predetermined by an actor or director, instead appearing 'instinctive' in performance.

The actor's athletic approach to Arlecchino came at a price. Indeed, actor Nico Pepe remembers how Moretti was covered in sweat soon after the start of each performance and had to pat himself dry, apply talcum powder to his body, and change costume between each act. Every day, Pepe continues, Moretti spent two hours warming up and moving around to keep his muscles 'awake' and his body 'agile'.⁵⁷

Moretti's Legacy

Over time, Moretti's nimble footwork, high level of energy in performance, and characteristic Arlecchino postures were passed on to other players. In 1960, the Piccolo Teatro hired a young actor, Ferruccio Soleri, to be Moretti's understudy on a North American tour.⁵⁸ Soleri, who had a dance, gymnastic, and acting background, first learned the role



Figure 7: Marcello Moretti in *The Servant of Two Masters*, season 1957–58. © Archivio Fotografico Piccolo Teatro di Milano – Teatro d'Europa.

from Strehler and Moretti. He only had a short period in which to learn how to emulate Moretti's performance style and acting techniques. As Strehler recounts:

Marcello, outside of the normal rehearsal hours, helped me train the young actor, the new Arlecchino. This simple act of daily work contained a whole story within itself. How can we not think of the 'continuity' in the theatre, of the transformation of theatre generations, of legacies of practical knowledge that are passed on in time? Miraculously, in present times, a process was happening that was typical of the *commedia dell'arte*; *commedia* meaning the actor's 'craft'. A craft that one player passes on to the other, with a bit of himself. I let Marcello alone during these rehearsals. He preferred it this way.

Both of them wearing gymnastic outfits, in the darkness of the stage, the old and the future Arlecchino rehearsed. I perfectly remember how they rehearsed in low voices, mysteriously. These were strange rehearsals, conducted without a method, as the experience unfolded, with exemplifying

words and gestures and some quite personal bits of theory thrown here and there.

It was like attending a ritual without knowing its purpose and imagery. Marcello saw this Arlecchino evolve day by day, a shy, uncertain [character], who followed exactly in his steps, the voice, the movements; and in whom, however, naturally emerged here and there elements of a different Arlecchino.

And he watched him with a complex feeling of love and refusal, of indifference and protection. Some kind of, I intuitively guess, bizarre maternal love, also made of jealousy and despair.⁵⁹

In *Il Piccolo Teatro di Milano: cinquant'anni di cultura e spettacolo*, Soleri recounts how he learned from watching Moretti from the wings. He remembers rehearsals for the North American tour lasting only two weeks, during which Moretti orchestrated his successor's performance, but without explaining the underpinnings of each action.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, years after joining the Piccolo Teatro,

Soleri stated that he owed his Arlecchino to Strehler, not to Moretti. But while Strehler may have idealized the master/apprentice relationship between the old and the new Arlecchino to some extent, it is certain that Moretti passed on his knowledge to his understudy.

Moretti's knowledge was also transmitted to new generations of actors by the directors, performers, and theatre educators who worked with him, noted his discoveries, and saw him perform. Giorgio Strehler himself admitted learning expressive inclinations of the mask from Moretti that he then taught to other actors.⁶¹ This is perhaps one of the reasons why Soleri felt he owed his success as Arlecchino to Strehler, and not to his predecessor in the role. Ferruccio Soleri himself has been teaching *commedia dell'arte* at the Piccolo Teatro's acting school since 1987, during which time he has also led *commedia* workshops around the world. While he transmits his vision of the *commedia* tradition and his interpretation of Arlecchino to his students, Soleri must, along the way, also pass on acting conventions, gestures, and foot techniques that Moretti initially developed.

Finally, Moretti's performance knowledge was undeniably passed on by exposure. Between 1947 and 1960, Strehler's stagings of *The Servant of Two Masters* toured across Europe, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and also in North Africa and in the Americas, reaching thousands of spectators and setting new standards for re-imagining the *commedia dell'arte* in performance. The productions attracted theatre aficionados from all cultural backgrounds, as well as intriguing professional actors, directors, producers, and theatre educators. Jean Mercure, Jean Vilar, Edwige Feuillère, Denis Kay, Dario Fo, Jean-Louis Barreault, Beatrix Dussane, and many others saw the production.⁶² Some of these artists, such as Fo, publicly recognized how important was Moretti's work for subsequent interpretations of Arlecchino on modern stages.⁶³

Marcello Moretti constructed what would become an exemplary modern interpretation of Arlecchino from eclectic research that

lasted more than a decade. He constructed Arlecchino's body from indications given by a variety of directors, not the least of them Strehler. The actor also shaped his body to Arlecchino's image by doing field research in the Veneto, and by consulting books on *commedia dell'arte* that were available to him in the 1940s and 1950s. The similarities that exist between Moretti's Arlecchino postures in the 1955 video recording of *The Servant of Two Masters* and various images in *Le Recueil Fossard, Compositions de rhétorique, and Masques et Bouffons* suggest that he drew inspiration from visual representations of the *commedia* that had been published in numerous works on Italian theatre.

His athletic and yet grounded interpretation of Arlecchino, with his fast changes of postures and rapid footwork, was seen worldwide and became a model for the *commedia* revival in the twentieth century. It is now impossible to study contemporary *commedia* performances without looking back not only to Moretti's performance but also to the extensive, self-imposed dramaturgical work that progressively allowed him to create and perfect Arlecchino's body.

Notes and References

1. A first version of this paper was presented at the annual conference of the Association for Theatre in Higher Education (ATHE) in 2011. Unless otherwise indicated in the notes, translations from French and Italian into English are mine. Some of the information regarding Moretti's background and training in the first part of this article also appears in my article 'Resisting Arlecchino's Mask: the Case of Marcello Moretti' which was published in *Theatre History Studies* 36. While the two articles cover very different aspects of Moretti's life, work, and contributions to contemporary interpretations of *commedia dell'arte*, I believed it was important to present elements of Moretti's biography in both articles to provide context for the readers.

2. The first production premiered in 1947, the second in 1952, the third in 1956, the fourth in 1963, the fifth in 1973, the sixth in 1977, the seventh in 1987, the eighth in 1990, the ninth in 1993, and the tenth in 1997.

3. Strehler was not alone in changing the name of the central character in *The Servant of Two Masters* and adding it to the title of the play. During the nineteenth century, several companies modified Truffaldino's name, replacing it with Meneghino, Gianduja, Senterello, and Pulcinella. See Siro Ferrone, 'Introduzione', in Carlo Goldoni, *Il servitore di due padroni*, ed. Valentina Gallo (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2011).

4. *Piccolo Teatro 1947-58* (Milan: Nicola Moneta Editore, 1958), p. 39.

5. I will be using the title Carlo Goldoni gave to the play (*The Servant of Two Masters* rather than *Arlecchino, Servant of Two Masters*) throughout this article.

6. Programme note, *Arlecchino servitore di due padroni* (Milan: Piccolo Teatro di Milano, 1966–67).

7. Geoffrey S. Proehl, 'The Image Before Us: Metaphors for the Role of the Dramaturg in American Theatre', in Susan Jonas and Geoffrey S. Proehl, ed., *Dramaturgy in American Theatre: a Source Book* (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, c. 1997), p. 124.

8. Ruggero Jacobbi, 'Meditazione su un mito e su una biografia', *Quaderni del Piccolo Teatro*, No. 4 (1962), p. 51.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 52.

12. Silvia Cacco, 'Maschera viva' L'Arlecchino di Marcello Moretti' (dissertation, Università degli studi di Venezia Ca' Foscari, 2002–03), p. 14.

13. *Re cervo* (in English, *The King Stag*) is a play by Carlo Gozzi (Venice, 1720–1806) that combines elements of fairy tale and commedia dell'arte. The plot is based on two French tales that take place in the Middle East, but most of the characters come from the commedia tradition. These are Pantalone, Truffaldino, Brighella, Smeraldina, Tartaglia, a wizard and his servant, Deramo, Angela, Leandro, Clarissa, and four Lovers (also known as *Innamorati*). *Re cervo* was first performed in 1762, in Venice. It is not clear exactly when Brissoni staged *Re cervo* at the Accademia. Cacco states that it was in 1939; Viziano claims that Brissoni staged it in 1938; and Paolo Grassi remembers seeing Moretti playing the role of Mezzettino (Truffaldino) in *Re cervo* at the Accademia d'arte drammatica in 1940. See Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 21; Teresa Viziano, *Silvio D'Amico & co., 1943–1955: allievi e maestri dell'Accademia d'arte drammatica di Roma: Vittorio Gasman, Luigi Squarzina, Orazio Costa, Guido Salvini, Sergio Tofano* (Rome: Bulzoni, c. 2005), p. 24; Paolo Grassi, 'Le maschere della commedia dell'arte', in Donato Sartori and Bruno Lanata, ed., *Arte della maschera nella commedia dell'arte* (Florence: La Casa Usher, 1983), p. 182.

14. In *Paolo Grassi: quarant'anni di palcoscenico*, Pozzi claims that Paolo Grassi and Giorgio Strehler considered casting Marcello Moretti in the role of Arlecchino/Truffaldino in their production of *The Servant of Two Masters* at the Piccolo Teatro based, in part, on their recollection of his performance in *Re cervo* at the Accademia. Moretti was Venetian, something which Strehler and Grassi thought made him even more suited for the role. Emilio Pozzi, ed., *Paolo Grassi: quarant'anni di palcoscenico* (Milan: Mursia, 1977), p. 179.

15. *Donne curiose* (in English, *The Inquisitive Women*) is a commedia dell'arte play by Carlo Goldoni (Venice, 1707–Paris, 1793). It premiered in 1753, in Venice. Renato Simoni (Verona 1975, Milan 1952) staged *Donne curiose* with the Compagnia dell'Accademia in 1940. The Compagnia dell'Accademia was the theatre company attached to the Accademia Nazionale d'Arte Drammatica in Rome.

16. This information is taken from postcards of the production kept at the Biblioteca Livia Simoni in Milan, consulted in May 2009.

17. Jacobbi, 'Meditazione', p. 54.

18. Pozzi's remark could refer to Alberto D'Aversa's staging of *The Servant of Two Masters* at the Accademia in 1944, in which Moretti played Truffaldino (Arlecchino). Pozzi, *Paolo Grassi*, p. 179.

19. Paolo Grassi, 'Marcello un amico', *Quaderni del Piccolo Teatro*, No. 4 (1962), p. 8.

20. Strehler's first staging of *The Servant of Two Masters* premiered at the Piccolo Teatro of Milan on 24 July 1947. The set design was by Gianni Ratto, the costumes by Ebe Colciaghi, and the music by Fiorenzo Carpi. For a discussion of the reasons that prompted Moretti to wear a solid mask in Strehler's first staging of the play, see Gabrielle Houle, 'Resisting Arlecchino: the Case of Marcello Moretti', *Theatre History Studies*, No. 36 (2017).

21. Strehler's adaptation of *Il corvo* premiered in Venice on 26 September 1948. It was then performed in London, Paris, and Milan. In 1949, the show played in Turin, Bologna, Zurich, Knokke-le-Zoute, Paris, and Brussels. In 1954, it was adapted for an audience of young people. See *Piccolo Teatro 1947–58*, p. 65–6.

22. Giorgio Strehler, 'In margine al diario', *Quaderni del Piccolo Teatro*, No. 4 (1962), p. 57–62.

23. Strehler's second staging of *The Servant of Two Masters* premiered at the Teatro Quirino in Rome on 17 April 1952. The costumes were by Colciaghi, the music by Carpi, and the set design by Ratto. The same production then toured to Siena, Florence, Milan, Paris, Turin, Parma, Bergamo, Varese, Piacenza, Crema, Brescia, Mantua, Padua, Trieste, Treviso, and Venice. In 1953, the production returned to Paris, went to Bologna and Milan, and also visited cities in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Germany. In 1954, it was performed in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Venice. A year later, the production went to Monaco as well as to cities in Austria, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia. In September 1955, *The Servant of Two Masters* was performed again in Italy. This production was also produced for television. Strehler's third staging premiered on 27 August 1956 in Edinburgh. Ezio Frigerio was the set designer. This production toured in Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, and North America, among other places. See *Piccolo Teatro 1947–58*, p. 33–4.

24. Moretti developed a lasting friendship with Amleto Sartori, which also impacted his research on Arlecchino, commedia dell'arte, and mask work. Sartori, for example, remembers that when Moretti visited him in Padua he brought gifts, as though he was returning home. On these visits, Moretti looked for rare books, spent time in Sartori's sculpting studio, tried working with clay, wood, and plaster, and practised shaping the leather on to a wooden mould for creating a mask. See Amleto Sartori, 'Ricordi intorno a una maschera', *Quaderni del Piccolo Teatro*, No. 4 (1962), p. 22.

25. Strehler, 'In margine', p. 60.

26. Giorgio Strehler, 'Un segno di continuità' [1954], in Flavia Foradini, ed., *Intorno a Goldoni: spettacoli e scritti* (Milan: Mursia Editore, 2004), p. 63.

27. Giorgio Strehler, 'Le "métier" de la poésie', trans. Martine Guglielmi et al., in Donato Sartori and Bruno Lanata, ed., *L'art du masque dans la commedia dell'arte* (Paris: Solin, 1987), p. 173.

28. Catherine Douël dell'Agnola, 'Cinq versions d' "Arlequin": évolution de la scénographie', in Odette Aslan, ed., *Strehler* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1989), p. 141.

29. Gian Maria Guglielmo, 'Palcoscenici di Milano', *Sipario*, September, 1947; Giuseppe Lanza, 'Il servo di due padroni', *L'illusione italiana-Milano*, 3 August 1947, *Archivio multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed 30 September 2010; Enrico D'Alessandro, 'Arlecchino servitore di due padroni', *L'Italia*, 25 July 1947, *Archivio multi-*

mediale del Piccolo Teatro, accessed 30 September 2010; Pioppo, 'Arlecchino si addice al Piccolo Teatro', *Il popolo*, 25 July 1947, *Archivio multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed 29 March 2016.

30. Pioppo, 'Arlecchino si addice al Piccolo Teatro'.

31. *Piccolo Teatro 1947–58*, p. 38.

32. Philip Hope-Wallace, 'Goldoni Comedy: Italian Company's Brilliant Clowning', *Manchester Guardian*, 29 August 1956, *Archivio Multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed 13 May 2011.

33. Patrick Gibbs, 'Harlequin in Energetic Old Comedy', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 August 1956; *Archivio multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed 13 May 2011.

34. Hope-Wallace, 'Goldoni Comedy'.

35. Ezio Frigerio, 'Arlecchino: storia di una scenografia', programme of *Arlecchino servitore di due padroni* (Milan: Piccolo Teatro, 2007), p. 48–9.

36. Paolo Grassi, quoted in Catherine Douël dell'Agnola, *Gli spettacoli goldoniani di Giorgio Strehler 1947–1960* (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1992), p. 69. Luigi Andrea Riccoboni (Modena c. 1675–Paris 1753) was a performer acting under the name Lelio. Riccoboni wrote extensively about Italian theatre, and more specifically about the 'style and methods' of the commedia dell'arte. See Toby Cole and Helen Krich Chinoy, *Actors on Acting* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1970), p. 59.

37. I base my description of this *lazzo* on the video recording of *The Servant of Two Masters* from 1955. Paolo Grassi describes this *lazzo* slightly differently in 'Le Maschere della commedia dell'arte', p. 186.

38. Associating Arlecchino with a cat was not novel at the time, nor was it particular to Moretti. In his work on Italian comedy, for example, Sand already speaks of the 'leaping movements and cat-like manners' of sixteenth-century Arlecchini. Maurice Sand, *The History of the Harlequinade* (London: Martin Secker, 1915), p. 65.

39. Henri Magnan, 'Arlequin serviteur de deux maîtres', *Le Monde*, 8 May 1952, *Archivio multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed on 1 May 2011.

40. Dagault, quoted in Catherine Douël dell'Agnola, *Gli spettacoli*, p. 56.

41. Donato Sartori, quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 65.

42. Narcisa Bonati, personal interview, 20 May 2009.

43. Donato Sartori, quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 63. It is important to note that Donato Sartori would have been a child in 1948 and 1949.

44. Amleto Sartori, 'Ricordi', p. 24.

45. Donato Sartori, quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 65.

46. Moretti, quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 74.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Quaderni del Piccolo Teatro*, No. 4 (1962), p. 30–40.

49. Raffaele Carrieri, 'Il trionfo d'Arlecchino', *Omnibus*, 4 August 1947, *Archivio multimediale del Piccolo Teatro*, accessed 30 September 2010.

50. Moretti, quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 73–5.

51. In *La commedia dell'arte nel seicento*, Roberto Tessari claims that there were already more than 300 scholarly works on commedia dell'arte by 1914, and that the number had doubled by the time he wrote his own book in 1969. Tessari probably took these figures from Konstantin Miklashevskii (also known as Constant Mic), who announced in his 1927 publication entitled *La commedia dell'arte: ou le théâtre des comédiens italiens des*

XVIe, XVIIe & XVIIIe siècles that the bibliography in the original Russian version of his book counted 342 titles. This first version of Mic's work was published (with an extensive bibliography) in 1914. See Roberto Tessari, *La commedia dell'arte del Seicento: industria e arte giocosa della civiltà barocca* (Florence: Olschki, 1969), p. 1–2; Constant Mic [Konstantin Miklashevskii], *La commedia dell'arte: ou Le théâtre des comédiens italiens des 16e, 17e & 18e siècles* (Paris: Schiffrin, 1927).

52. Anton Giulio Bragaglia, *Commedia dell'arte: canovacci della gloriosa commedia dell'arte italiana, raccolti e presentati da Anton Giulio Bragaglia* (Turin: SET, [1943]); Anton Giulio Bragaglia, *La maschera mobile con oltre 150 illustrazioni* (Foligno: Franco Campitelli, [1926]); Mario Apollonio, *Storia della commedia dell'arte* (Rome: Augustea, 1930); Winifred Smith, *The Commedia dell'Arte: a Study in Italian Popular Comedy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912); Pierre-Louis Duchartre, *La comédie italienne: L'improvisation, les canevas, vies, caractères, portraits, masques des illustres personnages de la commedia dell'arte* (Paris: Librairie de France, 1925); Constant Mic [Konstantin Miklashevskii], *La commedia dell'arte: ou Le théâtre des comédiens* (Paris: Schiffrin, 1927); Maurice Sand, *Masques et bouffons: comédies italienne*. (Paris: Lévy Fils, 1862).

53. I consulted this video recording on several occasions between 2007 and 2013, when working on my doctoral dissertation at the Centre for Drama, Theatre, and Performance Studies at the University of Toronto.

54. As I do not have access to still images from the 1955 production of *The Servant of Two Masters*, I use photographs from a production dating from 1957–58 to support my descriptions of Moretti's postures.

55. For Maurice Sand's drawing, see <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ASAND_Maurice_Masques_et_bouffons_01.jpg>.

56. Indeed, Moretti's footwork recalls Harlequin routines and dances in British pantomime. For examples of Harlequin choreographies in eighteenth-century British pantomimes, see Linda J. Tomko, 'Harlequin Choreographies: Repetition, Difference, and Representation', in Berta Joncus and Jeremy Barlow, ed., *The Stage's Glory: John Rich, 1692–1761* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

57. Nico Pepe quoted in Cacco, 'Maschera viva', p. 47–8. Pepe played Pantalone in Strehler's *Servant of Two Masters* alongside Moretti in 1959.

58. Soleri played the role of the Second Waiter in *The Servant of Two Masters* at the Piccolo Teatro in 1959. He first performed Arlecchino in the show in 1960.

59. Strehler, 'In margine', p. 61–2.

60. Soleri, quoted in Maria Grazia Gregori, ed., *Il Piccolo Teatro di Milano: cinquant'anni di cultura e spettacolo* (Milan: Leonardo Arte, c. 1997), p. 75–6.

61. Strehler, 'In margine', p. 60.

62. For example, Antonio Battistella (who played Pantalone at the Piccolo Teatro from 1947 to 1952, and again from 1956 to 1958) remembers that on 29 August 1956, in Edinburgh, 'Canadian actors in the Stratford Ontario Festival Company', in Edinburgh to present *Henry V*, complimented the Piccolo Teatro actors after a performance of *The Servant of Two Masters*. Programme of *Arlecchino servitore di due padroni* (Milan: Piccolo Teatro, 1997).

63. Dario Fo, *The Tricks of the Trade*, trans. Joe Farrell (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 26.