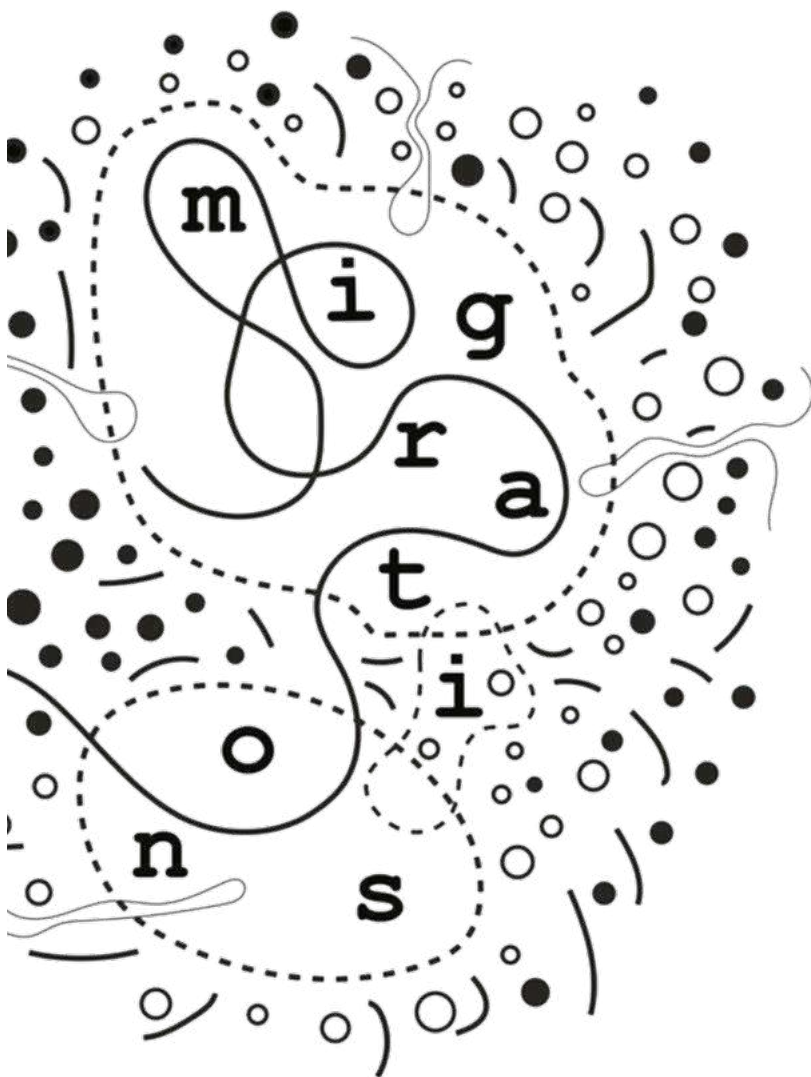


# Moving Bodies: The Transformative Power of Body Art

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## Session 7



# Nature, Commodities and Bodies in Baroque Ballets across the Savoy State: Choreographies of Transmutation and Consumption

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper analyzes four ballets staged across the Savoy Duchy from 1645 to 1660 and lavishly documented by Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio. In these spectacles, the dancing bodies moved in two different environments – domestic mountains (the Alps) and foreign oceans (Atlantic and Indian oceans) – while they interacted choreographically with natural resources such as grain, milk, tobacco, and pearls. This paper explores the potential of these courtly performances and their bodily animation in staging transformative processes and dynamics of mobility. Moreover, taking a cue from Mark Franko's rumination on the baroque dancing body as a highly charged ideological medium, it also illustrates how the Savoy dancers performed two contrasting forces at play in the geopolitical agenda of the Duchy.

## **KEYWORDS**

Baroque; Ballets; Savoy; Commodities; Geopolitics.

Gently sloping hills in pale green with slate-blue and gold pen hatchings embrace the city of Turin, capital of the Savoy Duchy, in a large drawing currently held at the National Library of Turin<sup>4</sup>. In the background, the color fades from greenish-blue to almost white as the slopes flanking the valley become steeper and the Alps starts to rise. This view of Turin seen from the east, the hills rising behind the city, and an excerpt of the Alpine chain is actually an image within an image. As documented by the drawing, this landscape was in fact painted on the largest wall (or, more likely, a backdrop hung on that wall) of one of the halls in the Castle of Rivoli, near Turin, for an elaborate and unusual spectacle staged in 1645.



**Fig. 1.** Giovanni Tommaso Borghonio, *Il Dono del Re de l'Alpi*, n.d. [second half of the seventeenth century], fol. 8r. Pencil and gouache on paper. Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

At the center of the hall, twenty-two guests seated around a long table are dining pleasantly under the gaze of Christine of Bourbon-France (1606-1663), seated in the pavilion to the left. The daughter of Marie de Medicis, Christine was the regent of the Savoy Duchy following the death of her husband Vittorio Amedeo in 1637 on behalf of her underage son Carlo Emanuele<sup>2</sup>. This spectacle, entitled *Il Dono del Re de l'Alpi* (*The Gift from the King of the Alps*), was put together by Christine's favourite, Filippo d'Agliè, to celebrate her birthday<sup>3</sup>. For this occasion, four room's walls of the Rivoli castle were decorated with a landscape of one of the Duchy's four major provinces: namely, in order, Savoy, Piedmont, Monferrato, and Nice<sup>4</sup>. In each room Christine and her courtiers were presented dishes showcasing the province's main products while a female personification of that region performed a song declaiming the landscape features and resource-wealth of the territory she represented<sup>5</sup>. What is more, at the very end of the dinner, some dancers appeared to perform choreography evoking the craft techniques involved in preparing the food that had been offered.

This event was part of a series of courtly performances, mainly *ballets à entrees*, staged at the Savoy court between 1640 and 1660<sup>6</sup>. They were acted out by the noblemen themselves in front of an audience of aristocrats and ambassadors – although the relationship between the audience and performative space could be rather fluid as we see in *Il Dono* itself – and they have been all documented by twelve albums created subsequent to the events by court calligrapher and cartographer Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio<sup>7</sup>. Composed of manuscript texts and drawings in pencil, ink, and gouache with silver or gold accents, these albums were designed to commemorate each ephemeral performance in all its constituent parts, including sets, dancers and costumes, choreographic indications, plot and lyrics (with the exception of the extant musical scores which are not included here)<sup>8</sup>. This extensive archive – it comprises almost one thousand pages – is the means through which I explore the four events selected as the focus of this investigation. In these events, the dancing bodies moved in two different environments: domestic mountains, specifically the Alps, and foreign oceans, the Atlantic and Indian, where they interacted choreographically with natural resources

such as grain, milk, tobacco, and pearls – to name the main critical examples examined here.

Christine's interest in this kind of performance was politically motivated. Through these events she legitimized her power as a female – and foreign – regent and pursued, I argue, the celebratory project of re-framing the Savoy Duchy as a resource-rich, culturally and commercially dynamic actor on the European and, eventually, global stage of powerful brokers. Let see how these four spectacles fit into this propagandistic framework. As we have seen, in *il Dono* the long wall opposite the entrance of each of the rooms featured a wide view of the province capital (Montmélian for Savoy, Turin for Piedmont, Alba for Monferrato, and Nice for the County of Nice) and, as noted above, the dishes served in each room emphasized the characteristic product of the province being showcased<sup>9</sup>. While the fertile Piedmont foothills and Monferrato area offered a profusion of cereals and wine, for instance, the mountainous Savoy provided game and dairy products. Nice, finally, was represented by fish and aromatic waters (it should be noted that Nice, together with Oneglia, was the Duchy's only outlet to the sea; however, the Duchy's territory was non-contiguous, with both of these cities cut off from the main Piedmontese area by the Alps and Republic of Genoa, respectively)<sup>10</sup>. The pavilion with Christine, the long table, and the diners in their chairs were all transported from one room to the next by a mechanism of sliding boards (described in the album as animated "by the occult power of winches")<sup>11</sup>. The album pages do not depict or describe the specifics of this mechanical system; at the Savoy court, however, a similar mechanism of winches and moving planks had already been used in a 1627 dancing-banquet. The function of these albums, it bears noting, was not preparatory: rather than documenting technological aspects, they were tasked with preserving and amplifying the mysterious wonder of the past fiction<sup>12</sup>. At the end of the dinner, the guests were moved to a fifth room where the spectacle acquired a more conventional setting: a stage positioned before the audience hosted one male couple and female couple for each province using distinctive movements and gestures to convey the way natural or animal resources were converted into products to make the food offered to the guests. The

performers thus played the part of game hunters, milk curdlers, grain reapers and threshers, grape harvesters, fishers, and sellers of scented waters, in that order<sup>13</sup>. The two female milk curdlers from the Alpine Maurienne valley, for instance, entered the scene with a butter churn and proceeded to plunge the churning stick up and down to imitate the act of transforming cream into butter. “New shapes I imbue with motion”, each of them sung while beating the rhythm with a wooden spoon<sup>14</sup>.



**Fig. 2.** Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio, *Il Dono del Re de l'Alpi*, n.d. [second half of the seventeenth century], fol. 23r. Pencil and gouache on paper. Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

Similarly, the grain threshers (called “faudalette”) came on stage with bundles of ripe wheat that they beat in order to convert “the straw into a crown, the wheat into food”<sup>15</sup>. The color palette of these two couples’ clothing, white and yellow respectively, connected them to the products they manufactured while their suggestive choreographic movements evinced

pride for the labour involved in managing livestock or game and harvesting agricultural commodities. Through this type of descriptive gestuality – an element that appears in almost every one of these spectacles – the choreography also advertised orderly and compliant wealth production relationships between the central power at court, its subjects across the state, and the natural resources of its territories<sup>16</sup>. Finally, the song performed by all sixteen of the characters intertwined in a dancing circle at the end reminded the diners that all the provinces united “bear with reverence the gentle yoke” of Christine’s rule<sup>17</sup>. Throughout the entire banquet the audience was thus immersed in a performance taking place within and outside their bodies, enveloping them while at the same time engaging their senses of sight, smell, taste, and sound. In so doing, Christine’s sovereignty as a regent was legitimized: as declared at the beginning, in putting together this event Christine’s still-underage son was offering his mother his own kingdom “to be tasted”<sup>18</sup>. This legitimization was all the more necessary given the civil war that had raged in the Duchy from 1638 to 1642 and had Christine’s regency contested by the pro-Spanish faction led by her two brothers-in-law – one of them present among the diners<sup>19</sup>. By ingesting the Duchy’s landscapes turned edible commodities, Christine therefore literally appropriated these lands through the act of eating.

With their extreme ruggedness, the Alps divided the Duchy’s territory in two parts. In these spectacles the synergy between the set design and bodily animation could be conducive to conveying a specific image of the Alps: not spatial closure, an immense protective barrier defending the Italian peninsula, but rather a traversable and exploitable terrain. An example of such representation can be found in the drawing documenting the ballet *La Primavera trionfante sull’Inverno* (*Spring Triumphant Over Winter*) staged in 1657 in Turin<sup>20</sup>. This performance, dedicated entirely to celebrating the transition between winter and spring in the mountainous parts of various climate zones, entailed highly complex scene changes and wondrous machines such as a ship mounted on wheels pretending to run aground in the ice and a snow fortress rising from the floor<sup>21</sup>. However, the element I

would like to briefly delve into is the scenography depicting the Mont Cenis pass.



**Fig. 3.** Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio, *La Primavera trionfante sull'Inverno*, n.d. [second half of the seventeenth century], fol. 68r. Pencil and gouache on paper. Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

Located between the French Maurienne and the Italian Susa Valley, Mont Cenis had become increasingly crucial as part of a policy to make the Duchy a privileged bridge for major international traffic<sup>22</sup>. It was traversed on a daily basis by a vast stream of pilgrims, merchants, and diplomats descending or ascending along a rough path not accessible by coach. The scenography was formed by a simple two-dimensional backdrop flanked by two sculptural wings. A pair of actors took possession of the stage by sliding down from the top of these wings to the floor on sledges driven by another



pair of actors impersonating the sled-drivers locally known as “Marrons”<sup>23</sup>. In this case as well, the ballet offered an opportunity to celebrate the inhabitants and crafts of the area: these Marrons were in fact local professionals responsible for transporting travelers and their goods through the Mont Cenis pass, leading ascents and descents with the help of mules, chairs, or by pulling sturdy sleds built from tied-together branches (known as *ramazze*). Of the coeval writers documenting their activity, the abbot Giovanni Rucellai wrote in the diary recording his journey to Paris to extol in particular these men’s dexterity during the “precipitous” and “frightening” journey down Mont Cenis in winter – as the Marrons in the *Primavera* were meant to do<sup>24</sup>. In the ballet, however, this highly labor-intensive descent was converted into the gracefulness of a dance step: like in the case of the grain threshers, for example, the arduous manual labour characteristic of peasant life was transfigured into nimble, balletic gestuality and postures. Moreover, as previously outlined, for this scene a two-dimensional backdrop was combined with two wings jutting out onto the stage. In this multi-part yet cohesive scenography, the rocky protrusions, the space formed by the two rock wings, and the confluence of the trails come together to create a figurative pattern of triangular forms that carries the viewer’s gaze deeper, towards the winding valley in the background, rather than hampering it. While the spectatorial gaze was drawn toward the horizon, the dancers projected themselves toward the audience. The act so performed, their sliding down the wings, was thus instrumental to thematizing this landscape as a territory traversed on a daily basis by commuters traveling for commerce or migration; a space for social exchange between the peoples living on both sides of the Alps and who, at these latitudes, were part of the same state.

Although the Savoy Duchy was a mountainous state, not engaged in any colonial activity, the viewers of these spectacles were also pervasively immersed in fictive maritime environments, and the extensive imaginative presence of these bodies of waters was fraught with propagandistic and expressive implications that I will try to succinctly outline at the end of my argument<sup>25</sup>. To begin, I would like to briefly presenting the ballet *Il Tabacco*,

staged in Turin in 1650. Here the ocean was conceived as a connective tissue, the environment thanks to which, “through trade, [tobacco] is passed on to all the nations of the world”<sup>26</sup>. This spectacle thus took the viewers on a journey following tobacco’s migration across the Atlantic world, bringing on stage imaginary characters from the Americas to the Middle East engaged in the act of preparing and consuming this commodity. By examining Borgonio’s album together with botanical treatises, travel reports, and circum-Atlantic attitudes toward tobacco, in a previous study of mine I demonstrated how this event told the story of a transcultural commodity, a sacred social institution among American natives that became an economic institution, desacralized and alienable, on the other shores of the Atlantic<sup>27</sup>. In the unfolding of the spectacle, spectators would have been treated to a view of the many-sided history of this product in the variety of forms it assumed and associated choreographic gestures performed by the dancers. In the first part of the ballet, in fact, tobacco appeared in its land of origin as a plant, *nicotiana tabacum*, in the form of dried leaves pressed into balls to be burned in rituals for their ability to grant prophetic visions, and as coiled ropes, a particular way of spinning *nicotiana* leaves into thick lanyards in preparation for export to Europe<sup>28</sup>. As for the movements, the actors in this latter scene, for example, made their entrance onto the stage performing twirls while, at the same time, coiling the tobacco ropes into a ball. Another couple performed serpentine movements to mimic the swirl of smoke stemming from the pair of two-foot-long pipes they held in their hands<sup>29</sup>. In the second and last part, dancers demonstrated the cultural habits engendered by smoking in some Old World countries, such as Spain and Turkey. In this case, the movements conveyed the effects of smoking for personal pleasure on these exceptionally all-male bodies (probably mirroring the common belief that tobacco was a product not suitable for female consumption)<sup>30</sup>. The audience thus watched, for example, the Spaniards interspersing slower movements with lively dancing in order to express the physiological mood-change caused by tobacco consumption<sup>31</sup>. As in the previous dancing-banquet, therefore, in *Il Tabacco* the dancers used their bodily movements to imitate the gestures involved in preparing a specific product but also, in this case, to act out the

way it was consumed and its effects on national groups (especially in the second act). One of the aspects that makes this ballet so interesting is its timely setting and relevance. Starting in 1647 tobacco, began to appear at the center of a series of regulations issued in the Duchy regarding the taxation of its importation and the management of its domestic cultivation, manufacturing, and marketing<sup>32</sup>. This string of decisions guaranteed such a considerable new profit stream for the Savoy coffers that, at the end of the following century, tobacco marketing came to represent the third most important source of revenue in the state budget<sup>33</sup>. The spectacle thus celebrated the process of accommodating this new drug's production and consumption among the folds of Savoy domestic society while asserting the Duchy's standing in the expanding global community of consumption and associated policymaking processes. Moreover, singing and dancing in front of – in this case – a more simple stage backdrop featuring a stretch of ocean, the bodies together with the objects recounted the story of a natural resource which, appropriately processed by human beings, had spread to unpredictably conquer ever-more new bodies and societies. In telling this path-forming story, the ballet constructed a small symbolic realm in which the production and circulation of tobacco was presented as devoid of any reference to violence or forced labour, thus adhering in some way to the carnivalesque spirit of depicting reality turned upside-down<sup>34</sup>.

Oceanic bodies of water were also the setting for the last case study of this essay, *L'Unione per la peregrina Margherita reale e celeste* (*The Union for the Royal and Celestial Pilgrim Margaretha*) staged in 1660 for the marriage of Christine's daughter<sup>35</sup>. Like *Il Tabacco*, this spectacle was also dedicated entirely to celebrating a specific product, pearls. In contrast to the previous spectacle, however, in this case the sea was not simply a bidimensional painted background. As the generative space of pearls, the water in this performance took on material consistency to invade part of the scene and affect the dancers moves in such a way that their steps will “appear somehow liquid”<sup>36</sup>. In this narration natural history, biblical metaphors, and travel reports were mixed in an intriguing way to recount, first, how pearls originate in bivalve shells from a synergy involving moonlight, the dew, and salt water.

Secondly, this ballet records contemporary fascination with the geographic distribution of pearls in the world: deposits known from ancient times, as the Persian Gulf and coastal area around the Bay of Bengal, were mentioned together with relatively new sites such as the ones off the east coast of Venezuela. At the end of the spectacle, however, all the pearls “extracted” from these different seas (“estratte da diversi mari”) converged in the city of Turin<sup>37</sup>. Embedded throughout this critical source is also a marked curiosity about foreign labor regimes and the chain of value construction: namely, how pearls were fished using a variety of accoutrements, how they were cleaned to enhance their color and prepare them for sale to Europeans (using salt, mortars, and even more bizarre methods such as ingestion by pigeons), and how they were mounted in jewelry or thrown away to consume only the cooked flesh of the mollusks. Of these fishing tools, one of the drawings displays two characters holding an imaginative version of the stones and ropes, a practice also documented by Jan van der Straet in his series *Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium*<sup>38</sup>.



**Fig. 4.** Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio, *L'Unione per la peregrina Margherita reale e celeste*, n.d. [second half of the seventeenth century], fol. 99r. Pencil and gouache on paper. Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.



**Fig. 5.** Giovanni Tommaso Borgonio, *L'Unione per la peregrina Margherita reale e celeste*, n.d. [second half of the seventeenth century], fol. 114r. Pencil and gouache on paper. Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino.

This technique consisted of a rope with a stone tied to one end, the stones functioning to hold the divers deep under the water while other workers on the canoes used the ropes to lift the divers up once they had collected the oysters<sup>39</sup>. Once again, the bodily movements were designed to mimic all of these activities of fishing, cleaning, and eating, thus evoking in the spectators' minds the journeys and transformations pearls underwent from seabed to land markets, from a raw to a polished state, from hand to hand. Unlike all the other spectacles described above, however, *L'Unione* also touched on further issues, such as the brutal social and ecological repercussions of this resource extraction and circulation. For instance, two widows from the Gulf of Paria hinted at the extremely dangerous conditions

braved by pearl collectors by dancing out their grief for the deaths of their diver husbands. Conversely, two female merchants from Ormuz came on stage offering each other the pearls that comprise their merchandise, while making an act of greedily jingling bags full of gold earned thanks to their lucrative traffics. The fishermen from Borneo – the only figures in the entire corpus of Borgonio’s drawings to exhibit stereotypical Black facial features – appeared instead on stage declaring that they carried “death in their hands” on account of all the blood and destruction surrounding their acquisition<sup>40</sup>.

In her volume *American Baroque: Pearls and the Nature of Empire*, Molly Warsh emphasizes a critical point, noting that the environmental alchemy underlying pearls’ origin as well as their trade characterized by mobility, connection, and contending for wealth allowed the jewel to retain “a powerful association with mastery of the seas” in the European imagination, even when it was actually “eclipsed as a source of profit by other commodities and trades”<sup>41</sup>. Through the allure evoked by pearls, therefore, this spectacle expressed a chief concern of the Savoy state, namely the need to promote its engagement with a wealth reaped from maritime domination and colonial ventures, even though the Duchy’s maritime power was still quite limited at that time<sup>42</sup>.

The story that transpires from an exploration of these spectacles and their extant archive is composed of both the desire for global trade and the husbandry of local wealth and prestige. Through this investigation, I have been able to probe the way Savoy dancers performed two contrasting forces at play in the propagandistic agenda of the Duchy. On one hand, by staging the Alps’ natural resources and geographical elements, the Savoy court re-configured this difficult environment as a producer of desirable goods and pivotal connective tissue, despite its rough terrain. On the other hand, performing old and new foreign commodities such as tobacco and pearls, along with the associated maritime environments from which they were made to travel, extracted and exported, was a means of re-imagining Turin as lying at the confluence of sprawling commercial circuits and ventures. Analysis of these events, in which dancing bodies, natural history, and geopolitics were intertwined, sheds light on the transformative power of

courtly spectacles – how they transmuted nature into products, the consumption of goods into effects on bodies, and destructive forces into ideal landscapes. In this idea of theater as a conversion machine, bodily animation acted as the pivot around which stories unfolded, things were set in motion, and media were bound together.

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## Endnotes

1. This research is part of the ANIMATE project, funded by the EU Horizon 2020 programme, Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 101025547. The album (BNU Q V 60, fol. 8r) measures 22.5x16 inches about.
2. Christine was regent until her son's majority in 1648 and unofficially retained power until her death in 1663. See, for instance, Martha D. Pollak, *Turin 1564-1680* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 108-150; Kristine Kolrud, "The Prolonged Minority of Charles Emmanuel II," in ed. Matthew Vester, *Sabaudian Studies* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2013), 191-209.
3. Mercedes Viale Ferrero, "I balletti di corte sabaudi. Maurizio di Savoia e Filippo d'Agliè," *Antichità viva* 5, 4 (1966): 7-22; Margareth McGowan, "Les fêtes de cour en Savoie. L'oeuvre de Philippe d'Agliè," *Revue de la Société d'Histoire du Théâtre* 22, 3 (1970): 181-241.
4. Only one of these rooms survived in its original set-up; "History," Castello di Rivoli, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://www.castellodirivoli.org/en/la-residenza-reale/storia/>.
5. Fol. 2r-3r and 11r. For an analysis of these figures' clothing and heraldic references see Fausto Testa, "L'allegoria dello Stato sabauda nel banchetto del Dono del Re de l'Alpi," in eds. Howard Burns and Mauro Mussolin, *Architettura e identità locali II* (Firenze: Olschki, 2013), 431-446.
6. Margaret M. McGowan, *L'Art du Ballet de Cour en France, 1581-1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1963); Mercedes Viale Ferrero, *Feste delle Madame Reali di Savoia* (Turin: Istituto Bancario San Paolo, 1965); Clelia Arnaldi di Balme and Franca Varallo, eds., *Feste barocche* (Milan: Silvana, 2009).
7. See Franca Varallo, "Il Laberinto de Groppi," in *Le dessin et les arts du spectacle*, ed. Cordélia Hattori (Paris: AEC, 2019) 109-24;
8. BNU, Q M 85 A-D.
9. On Montmélian in lieu of Chambéry see Ferrero, *Feste*, 48.
10. Fols. 3r, 6r, 7r, 10r. Laurent Ripart, "Nice et l'Etat Savoyard," in *Le Comté de Nice. De la Savoie à l'Europe*, eds. Jean-Marc Giaume et al. (Nice: Serre, 2006), 13-24; Blythe Alice Raviola, "I governatori sabaudi di Nizza e Villafranca tra XVIe-XVIIe secolo," *Les frontières dans la ville* 73 (2006): 233-252; Paolo Palumbo, "Un dialogo difficile," in ed. Blythe Alice Raviola, *Lo spazio sabauda* (Milan: Angeli, 2007), 163-191, 163-164.



11. "Dalla occulta forza degli argani"; fol. 2r and 7r.
12. See *Relatione della splendidissima festa...per gli anni felici di S.A. Sereniss.* (Turin: Cavalleri, 1628), 26-28, Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, Simeom Collection no. 2394.
13. Only the male couple paired with the grape harvesters, impersonating two zither musicians, is not related to a natural resource.
14. "Novelle forme con il moto ispiro"; fol. 22r.
15. "In corona le paglie, in cibo il grano"; fol. 26r.
16. On this type of choreographic movement see Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5 and *passim*.
17. "Il soave giogo dell'impero di M. R. [Madama Reale, namely Christine] con riverenza"; fol. 37r. Further symbolical implications are suggested in Fausto Testa, "L'identità territoriale del Ducato sabauda...nel 'Figurato Balletto' del Dono del Re de l'Alpi," *Accademia Raffaello* 2, 1/2 (2012-2013): 39-77, 55-56 (see this contribution also for an in-depth analysis of the acts following the ballet of the provinces).
18. Fol. 2r.
19. Fol. iv (later annotation); Testa, "L'allegoria dello Stato sabauda," 432.
20. BNU Q V 55.
21. Fols. 35r and 78r.
22. Vera Comoli et al., eds., *Le Alpi* (Turin: Celid, 1997), 23-83.
23. Fols. 67r and 69r.
24. Giovanni Fr.co Rucellai, *Un'ambasciata: diario dell'abate*, eds. John Temple Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti (Florence: Barbèra, 1884), 57-61. See also Franca Nemo, "I Marrons del Moncenisio," *Laboratorio Val di Susa*, last accessed 7 November, 2021, <https://www.laboratoriovalsusa.it/blog/un-po-di-storia/i-marrons-del-moncenisio-una-storia-l-unga-oltre-dieci-secoli>.
25. See Franca Varallo, "Le feste sull'acqua," in eds. Elisabetta Ballaira et al., *La barca sublime* (Milan: Silvana, 2012), 99-106, and Marco Emanuele, "Per un repertorio delle piscatorie," in eds. Mariarosa Masoero et al., *Politica e cultura nell'età di Carlo Emanuele I* (Florence: Olschki, 2007), 529-552.
26. "Col traffico vien tramandata à tutte le Nationi del mondo"; BNU Q V 59, fol. 2r.
27. Elisa Antonietta Daniele, "Drawing Worlds: Bodies and Smoke in the Courtly Ballet *Il Tabacco*," in *Making Worlds: Global Invention in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Bronwen Wilson and Angela Vanhaelen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022): 85-109.
28. Niccolò Gavelli, *Storia distinta e curiosa del tabacco* (Ferrara: F. Altieri, 1758), 11-12, 65-67. This processing method is described, for example, by Orazio Busino (the Venetian ambassador in London) in a letter he wrote to the Contarini family on January 10, 1618, see Biblioteca Marciana, Ital. VII, 1122 (6541), 69r.; Luigi Monga, "La Londra secentesca nell'Anglipotrida di Orazio Busino," *Annali d'Italianistica* 14 (1996): 553-574, 562.
29. Fol. 15r.
30. On women smoking in 16<sup>th</sup>-century treatises, see Jerome E. Brooks, ed., *Tobacco: its history illustrated*, vol. 1 (New York: The Rosenbach Company 1937), 282, 218, 324 and *passim*.
31. Fol. 23r. Regarding the beliefs around tobacco physiological effects see, for instance, the treatises collected in Brooks, *Tobacco*, 248, 334-335; Craig Rustici, "Tobacco, Union, and the Indianized English," in Jonathan Gil Harris, ed., *Indograpy: Writing the Indian in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2012), 117-131, 124; Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun, eds., *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 41.
32. Felice Amato Duboin, "Della gabella del tabacco," in *Raccolta per ordine di materie delle leggi*, vol. II (Turin: Baricco e Arnaldi, 1847-1868).
33. Federica Uras, "La Sardegna nel period sabauda," (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 2010), 76.

34. Regarding the use of carnivalesque procedures (reversal, distortion...) in 17<sup>th</sup> century burlesque courtly ballets, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge: MIT, 1968), 33-34, 101-103; Franko, *Ideologies*, 7.
35. BNU Q V 53.
36. Fol. 51r. On sea recreations on stage see Philip Steadman, *Renaissance Fun* (London: UCL, 2021), 96-99.
37. Fol. 2r.
38. The British Museum, "Plate 26," accessed March 24, 2022, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1957-0413-54](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1957-0413-54).
39. See the description by the Jesuit scholar Giovanni Botero, who served at the Savoy court of Christine's father-in-law, in his *Delle Relationi Universali...da lui corrette e ampliate. Prima Parte* (B. Mammarelli: Ferrara 1592), 242-243.
40. Fols. 92r, 121r, 103r.
41. Molly Warsh, *American Baroque. Pearls and the Nature of Empire* (UNC Press: Chapel Hill, 2018), 193.
42. For the Savoy later expansion see the map in Pierangelo Manuele, *Il Piemonte sul mare* (Cuneo: L'Arciere, 1997), 7; and Pierpaolo Merlin, "Una frontiera sul mare," in Raviola ed., *Lo spazio sabauda*, 289-306.