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1

Magnificence as Civic Image: Music and Ceremonial Space in Early Modern Venice

The public rituals of early modern Venice, particularly those that relate to the state and its figurehead, the doge, were invariably religious before they were political. In its more developed form, as practised at least from the thirteenth century, Venetian political theology assigned to the elected head of the Venetian polity a role that was analogous to that of the pope in Rome. Ceremonies which surrounded the doge, and in which he participated, emphasized his position as an intermediary, one that became particularly crucial at moments of crisis. It was then that the doge was placed in the role of prime agent of intercession, the true representative of St Mark on earth.[1] Critical to the historical development of this concept was the legend of the arrival in Venice of the body of St Mark in the ninth century; from this flowed an identification with the saint as the special protector of the city, which in turn determined the character of much Venetian ritual and of the spaces in which it was performed. Some sense of this relationship is already present in the earliest visual representation of the *translatio*, in the Chapel of St Clement in St Mark's basilica. Here an important amplification of the traditional narrative is introduced: the Evangelist's body is received not only by the bishop of Castello, but also by those of the other five dioceses of the lagoon, as well as by the doge accompanied by the people and clergy of Venice. The St Clement mosaic not only depicts the Venetian church and state in its totality, but also emphasizes the benefits and consequences of possession. Mark was no longer the property of Aquileia or Grado, as he had been previously, but of Venice itself. This was in turn simply the first stage of a lengthy historical process in which Mark became increasingly both more Venetian and more ducal.[2]

In the early stages of this gradual process of appropriation, the construction of a sufficiently imposing structure to house the Evangelist's body, which on

[1] E. Muir, 'The Doge as *primus inter pares*: Interregnum Rites in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice', in S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (eds.), *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1978), i. 145–60; see also E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), 251–63.

[2] O. Demus, *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, 4 vols. (Chicago, 1984), i. 65–9.

its arrival had been temporarily housed 'ad ducis palatium', became something of a priority. The area selected, transformed out of the ancient *castrum*, had the practical merit of being close to the existing palace of the doge;[3] the decision to build had liturgical and ceremonial consequences from an early date. The present basilica, the third to be put up on the site, was begun in 1063 but was not finally consecrated until 1094. Many details of the external decoration, including columns of marble and porphyry, figured reliefs, and the four horses placed above the main portico, came from the shiploads of trophies brought to Venice after the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.[4] The south façade is particularly rich in triumphal motifs, including the so-called 'Pillars of Acre', the famed porphyry tetrarchs and the Pietra del Bando from which official proclamations were made. These spoils constitute an impressive ensemble, a reminder that the main entrance to the square throughout the Middle Ages was from the lagoon itself, and that this façade was the first part of the basilica to be seen, certainly by visitors and frequently by Venetians arriving there. More importantly, it also draws attention to the fact that the south door, framed by the 'Pillars of Acre', was, before it was closed off by the construction of the Cappella Zen, the main entrance to the basilica from the doge's palace; as such it was possibly an important juncture in the ceremonial route followed by the doge on important occasions. The pillars, believed at the time to have come from the Holy Land, formed part of a symbolic interpretation of the Basilica as the New Jerusalem (see Pl. 1.1).[5] This parallel, expressed through architectural and decorative detail, was also incorporated into ritualistic practice, principally through the Easter morning ceremonies in St Mark's when the doge processed to the Easter Sepulchre in the basilica.[6] There the 'Quem queritis' dialogue was sung according to a local practice, determined by the participation of the doge as principal witness to the Resurrection, which emphasized the role of San Marco as both private chapel and state church, the 'sacral, political and economic centre of the empire'.[7]

These interrelated functions are made even more explicit in the main western façade, where the iconography of the scriptural reliefs follows a carefully planned scheme. It serves not only as a visual preface to the interior, but also as a magisterial expression of dominion achieved through the display of trophies and the images of local saints, crucially punctuated by the sculptural

[3] M. Agazzi, *Platea Sancti Marci* (Venice, 1991), 13.

[4] Demus, *The Mosaics*, i. 1–17.

[5] M. Vickers, 'Wandering Stones: Venice, Constantinople and Athens', in K.-L. Selig and E. Sears (eds.), *The Verbal and the Visual: Essays in Honor of William Sebastian Heckscher* (New York, 1990), 225–47.

[6] S. Rankin, 'From Liturgical Ceremony to Public Ritual: "Quem queritis" at St Mark's', in G. Cattin (ed.), *Da Bisanzio a San Marco* (Venice, 1997), 137–91.

[7] Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 132.

Pl. 1.1. Venice, St Mark's Square, 'Pillars of Acre'. (Venice, Böhm)

programme of the Last Judgement. In something of a minor key, the incorporation of the virtues provides a religious and ethical element, while the introduction of the labours and the months serves to emphasize the importance of civic duty. The six plaques which sit in the spandrels are a mixture of old and new. Three come from Constantinople, while the remaining three were carved as matching pieces in Venice. As a series they make constant reference to the origins of Venice, through images of the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin (and so to the myth of the city's foundation on the feast of the Annunciation in 821), and to the two warrior-saints George and Demetrius.[8] It has been argued that this rich iconographical mixture of elements from

[8] O. Demus, 'La decorazione scultorea duecentesca delle facciate', in *Le sculture esterne di San Marco* (Milan, 1995), 12–23.

both popular and learned traditions would have been understood, if only in part, by a wide audience.[9]

During the second half of the twelfth century, while the third and final church was being built, the area around San Marco began to take on a more formal appearance. By this date the space immediately surrounding the church included a tower, originally built as a fortification but subsequently transformed into a campanile, a hospice for pilgrims, and the doge's palace itself. The enlargement of the orchard in front of San Marco brought to the area to the west a new sense of spaciousness and order; it involved filling in a narrow canal which originally ran across the middle of the present piazza, and the demolition of the church of San Geminiano. With these changes San Marco became, for the first time, the focal point of what was now a genuine piazza, which functioned as an imposing forecourt to the church to which it was both visually and ceremonially connected.[10] Its total area, which has been calculated at 12,000 square metres, made the piazza and piazzetta together larger than any of the mainland squares, even those of Bologna or Siena. Finally paved in 1266, the new ensemble was now complete. Further changes made in the course of the sixteenth century not only amplified it but also made it more scenographic: the basilica was now more centrally located along the eastern side of the square and the campanile became a more obviously free-standing structure (Plan 1.1). Until the end of the Republic the Piazza San Marco served as the main theatre for religious and civic ritual in Venice, for the processions and ceremonies that marked the annual calendar, as well as victories, treaties, the election of the doge, and other public events. As one of the earliest central piazzas in Italy, it has been construed as marking the transition to a less feudal style of government.[11]

The appearance of the Piazza San Marco at the beginning of the sixteenth century is shown in two famous views of more or less the same date: Gentile Bellini's painting of 1496 and Jacopo de' Barbari's detailed bird's-eye view of the city published in 1500. The latter shows, on both the north and south sides of the piazza, a mixture of buildings of different periods and styles—Gothic, romanesque, and fifteenth century—united by the porticoes which had been such a feature of the area since the space had been enlarged in the twelfth century.[12] With one exception, this was how the square looked until Jacopo Sansovino's neo-Vitruvian remodelling of the piazza began in the 1530s, the new element being the redevelopment of the north side of the square by

[9] A. Niero, 'Simbologia dotta e popolare nelle sculture esterne', in B. Bertoli (ed.), *La basilica di San Marco, arte e simbologia* (Venice, 1993), 125–48.

[10] J. Schulz, 'Urbanism in Medieval Venice', in A. Molho (ed.), *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy* (Stuttgart, 1991), 432–7.

[11] Agazzi, *Platea Sancti Marci*, 145.

[12] J. Schulz, 'J. de Barbari's View of Venice', *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 425–74.

Plan 1.1. Sketch plans of St Mark's Square at the beginning and end of the sixteenth century. From D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1987), 11. By permission of Yale University Press

Bartolomeo Bon, clearly visible in Bellini's painting and even more completely shown in de' Barbari's woodcut.[13] Bon's building, sometimes described as prosaic and even anachronistic, deliberately enforces a sense of continuity with Venetian traditions and institutions (Pl. 1.2).[14]

Sansovino's vision was different. He was appointed *proto* to the procurators in 1529, with responsibility for the construction and maintenance of San Marco and the buildings in the piazza and the piazzetta, and in consequence became architect to the wealthiest patrons of new building works in the city, the procurators of St Mark's. According to legend, it was the construction and decoration of the ducal church as a repository for the sacred relics of St Mark

[13] Ibid.; P. F. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven and London, 1988), 144–52.

[14] M. Tafuri, '*Memoria et Prudentia*: mentalità patrizie e *res aedificatoria*', in id. (ed.), *Venezia e il Rinascimento: religione, scienza, architettura* (Turin, 1985), 3–23 at 10–11.

Pl. 1.2. Bartolomeo Bon, Procuratie Vecchie, St Mark's Square, Venice. (Venice, Böhm)

that had originally led to the establishment of the post of procurator; one of the most ancient in the Venetian constitution, it was conferred for life. At an early stage the holder was the doge's nominee, but during the first half of the thirteenth century the procurator was made responsible to the Great Council, which also assumed the power of election. This important change in the constitutional arrangements is a clear indication of the changing nature of the office, which in the meantime, largely because of bequests, had grown into the most important financial authority of the state; his responsibilities now included those of maintaining a depository for the specie of both the

commune and of individual citizens, of administering estates and perpetual trusts, and of running a lending bank.[15] The number of procurators was increased for the first time in 1187; by 1266 there were four and two more were added in 1319.[16] From the moment when they had first been responsible to the Great Council, the potential had existed for curtailing ducal jurisdiction over the affairs of the basilica. Henceforward it was not the ecclesiastical authorities that provided the ultimate check in the affairs of San Marco, of which the doge was both *patronus* and *gubernator*, but a civic magistracy which had gradually evolved into one of the most powerful offices of the Venetian state.

From the beginning of their history the procurators had made decisions of artistic importance. It was the procurators who chose the *proto*, the procurators who supervised the mosaic decorations of the interior of the church, and the procurators who chose the officials who administered the liturgy within it except for the *primicerio* (a senior ecclesiastic who was appointed by the doge); these included not only the clerics but also, at a later date, the organists and the *maestro di cappella*. Involvement in the operations of the liturgy inside the basilica extended to the appointment of singers and canons. The early development of the procuratorship from its original dual role of doge's deputy and guardian of San Marco is paralleled by the transformation of the church itself from the private chapel of the doge to that of the state church of Venice. This gradual change, which inevitably shaped artistic decisions of all kinds, is reflected in the character and iconography of the mosaics as they were executed from the late twelfth century onwards; in the architectural developments in the piazza and the piazzetta during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and in the development of ceremonial arrangements that were evolved for use both inside and outside San Marco during the same period. In this sense the evolution of music and ritual, as it gradually passed from the private liturgical sphere to the public one, was just one element in a lengthy process of civic self-fashioning which can be charted in detail from the thirteenth century onwards, and in which the procurators were the main agents.

The wholesale remodelling of the piazza, the piazzetta, and their surrounding buildings marks a crucial moment in this process, which also involved a considerable enlargement of the main ceremonial space as well as new construction (Plan 1.1). Sansovino's task was not merely to complete Bon's building, but rather to inaugurate the first phase of a grandiose scheme to line the remaining sides of the piazza and the piazzetta together with the

[15] R. C. Mueller, 'The Procurators of San Marco in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: A Study of the Office as a Financial Trust', *Studi veneziani*, 13 (1971), 105–220.

[16] Ibid. 108–12.

Pl. 1.3. Vincenzo Scamozzi, Procuratie Nuove, St Mark's Square, Venice. (Venice, Böhm)

eastern end of the *molo* with new ones in the classical style, a plan which was only completed by the building of the Procuratie Nuove, begun by Vincenzo Scamozzi in 1582 (Pl. 1.3).[17] According to the account of Sansovino's son Francesco, his father had realized that the piazza was the most noble public space of any Italian city, and had resolved that it should be dignified with buildings that, following ancient practice, were to be adorned with Doric and Ionian orders 'full of columns, friezes, and cornices'.[18] The effect was to superimpose an evocation of ancient Rome upon the existing Byzantine elements, whose meaning had been strengthened by the neo-Byzantine revival

[17] D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1987), 8–61.

[18] For discussion see ibid. 10–16 and J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1988), 287–99.

of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the years after the League of Cambrai, the notion of Venice as *altera Roma* became a noticeable presence in the 'myth of Venice'.[19] By the time of his death, Sansovino had completed the loggetta at the foot of the campanile, the library facing the ducal palace, and the mint. His overall conception has been seen not only as a conscious attempt to evolve, in architectural terms, the 'myth of Venice' through the use of a distinctive classicizing language, but also as a courageous reinterpretation, on a monumental scale, of the typology of the ancient Roman forum as described by Vitruvius. As such it has been placed at the centre of a sustained *renovatio urbis*, inaugurated during the dogeship of Andrea Gritti (1523–38) and carried out with his active encouragement.[20] It was during this period that Adrian Willaert was employed, presumably with the intention of extending the general policy of enhancement to the functions of the *cappella marciana* and the repertory that they performed.[21] In relation to Vespers in particular, Willaert's development of the *cori spezzati* style was based on the existing *alternatim* tradition in which the music of the liturgy was provided by the canons, some chanting and the remainder singing simple improvised polyphony.[22] The result, monumentalized in Willaert's contribution to the first published collection of double-choir psalms, *I salmi appertinenti alli vesperi . . . a uno et a duoi chori*,[23] may be thought of as a classicizing of ancient tradition, an equivalent in music to Sansovino's architecture.

The function of the piazzetta as a ceremonial gateway to the square, and to the official buildings which surrounded it, is proclaimed by the two marble columns which stand at its southern edge: on one stands a statue of St Theodore, the first patron of the city, on the other the winged lion of St Mark, his successor. At the other end of the piazzetta stood the loggetta, a meeting place for patricians called to the square on government business. This function was also carried over to Sansovino's new structure, which was also used by the procurators for transactions relating to the nearby shops and markets which lay under their jurisdiction. With its unmistakable invocation of the rhetoric of the classical triumphal arch, Sansovino's loggetta provided a more dignified setting for these activities. It has been described as 'the most complete surviving visual representation of the 'myth of Venice'—that is, the

[19] J. Ackerman, 'Observations on Renaissance Church Planning in Venice and Florence, 1470–1570', in *Florence and Venice: Comparisons and Relations*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1979–80), ii. 291–2; M. Tafuri, 'Pietas republicana, neobizantismo e umanesimo: San Salvador: un tempio in visceribus urbis', in id. (ed.), *Venezia e il Rinascimento*, 24–78.

[20] M. Tafuri (ed.), *'Renovatio urbis': Venezia nell'età di Andrea Gritti (1523–1538)* (Rome, 1984).

[21] For the appointment see G. Ongaro, 'Willaert, Gritti e Luppato: miti e realtà', *Studi musicali*, 17 (1988), 55–70.

[22] See Ch. 2.

[23] A. Willaert and Jacquet of Mantua, *I salmi appertinenti alli vesperi . . . a uno et a duoi chori* (Venice: Gardano, 1550).

Pl. 1.4. Jacopo Sansovino, Loggetta, St Mark's Square, Venice. (Venice, Museo Correr)

Venetian view of their own state as the perfect republic'.[24] The loggetta emphatically proclaims both patrician control of the square and its surrounding buildings as well as the authority of the procurators. More pragmatically the terrace provided a vantage point from which the processions in the square beneath, frequent by the end of the sixteenth century, could be viewed (Pl. 1.4).

The heightened theatricality with which state processions, with all their ritual, ceremonial, liturgical, and musical components, could be organized in the piazza had been almost immediately realized as a consequence of the decision to demolish the church of San Geminiano in the late twelfth century. According to Francesco Sansovino, this aroused papal displeasure, which was only finally assuaged by contrition and a series of compensatory measures. These included the undertaking that an annual ducal procession (*andata*) was to be made in perpetuity to a new church of San Geminiano, to be built further to the west.[25] Whether or not Sansovino's anecdote is credible, state ceremonial life must have taken on a new dimension as a result of

[24] Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino*, 34.
[25] F. Sansovino and D. Martinoni, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare descritta* (Venice: Curti, 1663), 496–7.

this early remodelling of the piazza. Certainly the Easter morning procession described by Martin da Canal in the thirteenth century is an early forebear of the ducal *andata* illustrated and described in ceremony books and elsewhere from the sixteenth century onwards. Canal describes the order of procession, which included the doge, the *primicerio* of St Mark's, and the canons of the basilica as well as a number of patricians splendidly dressed, and notes the presence of the *trionfi*. One of these, the six silver trumpeters, would have been an important element in the soundscape; Canal also mentions cymbal players, who are not recorded in the visual and documentary records of the *andata* in its sixteenth-century form. Having walked to the church of San Geminiano, the procession then returned to the basilica. In the middle of the square all came to a halt, and three of the canons of St Mark's sang a responsory. On arriving inside the basilica there was more chanting by the canons, and then three of their number began an extended version of the *Laudes regiae*. Mass, celebrated by the *primicerio*, brought the proceedings to an end. According to Canal, this basic formula was followed in ducal processions on major feast days.[26]

By the sixteenth century the *andata*, which in its most elaborate version included all the principal office-holders together with some minor officials, the ambassadors of foreign states, the canons of San Marco, the patriarch, and, at the physical core of the procession, the doge himself, had become the most elaborate processional form in Venice. As such it became an image of the city itself, through Matteo Pagan's monumental series of eight woodcuts (Pl. 1.5)[27] as well as in maps and engravings of scenes from Venetian life, presumably produced for pilgrims, tourists, and bibliophiles rather than for Venetians. While the hierarchical ordering of the procession was fixed, the personnel were constantly changing; all the individuals who walked did so as the temporary holders of official positions. In addition to these the *andata* also displayed the ducal *trionfi*. As Sansovino remarked, 'When walking in triumph and with solemnity, [the doge] carries with him, among others, seven things worthy of consideration, which show us his pre-eminence. These things he received from the first princes of the world, that is, from the popes and emperors.'[28] This refers to the gift of symbolic objects—eight banners, six silver trumpets, a candle, a cushion, a faldstool, a baldachin, and a sword—

[26] Martin da Canal, *Les Escritoires de Venise: cronaca veneziana in lingua francese dalle origini al 1275*, ed. A. Limentani (Florence, 1972), 246–8. For the *Laudes regiae*, which the Venetians imposed on their overseas possessions as an expression of allegiance, see E. H. Kantorowitz, *Laudes regiae* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1946), 147–56. A three-part setting by Hugo de Lantins, probably written for the investiture of Francesco Foscari, survives; see G. Fasoli, 'Liturgia e ceremoniale ducale', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, 2 vols. in 3 (Florence, 1973–4), i. 261–95, and *Il codice musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, ed. F. A. Gallo, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1968–70), i. 60–1.

[27] The entire series is reproduced in Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 193–7.

[28] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 479.

Pl. 1.5. The procession of the doge on Palm Sunday. Detail of the woodcut (*c.*1550) by Matteo Pagan. (Venice, Museo Correr)

made to Doge Sebastiano Ziani by Pope Alexander III, during his famous visit to Venice to seek reconciliation with Federico Barbarossa in 1177. Ziani's determination on this occasion to protect the pope and to mediate in the dispute was rewarded by the gift of the *trionfi*, each of which came to be interpreted as the symbol of a distinct ducal privilege. These seven gifts, which, as Sansovino recognized, empowered the doge as a princely equal of popes and emperors, were carried in the ducal procession on all the major occasions in the ceremonial year, which by the end of the sixteenth century numbered about forty. They were both historical relics and emblems of status and authority.[29] The canons of San Marco also walked in the ducal procession and it was through their participation that the *rito patriarchino*, peculiar to San Marco, could be transposed from one place to another.[30] In consequence, when Mass was celebrated as part of the ducal procession to a particular church or convent, it was done so according to a liturgy that since 1456 had been exclusively associated with the basilica. In this symbolic practice the use of the *rito patriarchino*, elaborated by the *cappella marciana*, served to emphasize the doge's authority; in effect the *rito patriarchino* was a liturgy of state.[31]

[29] A. Pertusi, 'Quaedam regalia insignia: ricerche sulle insegne del potere ducale a Venezia durante il Medioevo', *Studi veneziani*, 7 (1965), 3–123; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 103–19; 204–11.

[30] G. Fasoli, 'Liturgia e ceremoniale ducale', 261–95.

[31] G. Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal graduale tropato del Duecento ai graduali cinquecenteschi*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1990–2).

Although the *andata* was both exclusive and hierarchical,[32] its basic arrangement was supplemented on occasion by the addition of other social groupings such as the *scuole grandi* (confraternities), the trade guilds, or even a particular parish; this broadened participation, and was presumably intended to underline the allegedly harmonious corporate organization of the city, another basic underpinning of the myth of Venice. While the *scuole* represented the notion of communal devotion and charity, the guilds symbolized the complementary idea of commerce as the foundation of civic concord.[33] At the same time the *andata* often expanded its frame of reference by including various additional musical and religious elements. On many of the more important feasts in the Venetian calendar, the *cappella marciana* walked in the *andata*; so did the singers employed by some of the wealthier *scuole*, as their participation in the public ceremonial of the city became even more pronounced in the course of the sixteenth century.[34] In Bellini's painting showing the Scuola di San Giovanni carrying their prized relic of the True Cross in the procession on the feast day of St Mark, a group of five singers are shown accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.[35] In expanded form, these processions amplified the liturgy outside the basilica by making use not only of the central civic space of the city, but other areas as well. In this way, civic and liturgical acts which were usually associated with ducal authority were able to broaden their audience, which could participate not only passively (by observing) but also actively by walking in the procession, chanting litanies and singing laude. At the same time, the wide geographical dispersal of the *andata* knitted together *sestieri* (districts into which the city was divided for administrative purposes), parishes, *scuole*, and guilds in a closely woven fabric of religious and civic observance.

Venetian ceremonies were also able to incorporate a wider audience, such as the visitors for whom the city itself was a place of pilgrimage as well as the principal European staging-post on the journey to and from the Holy Land. The Venetian celebration of Corpus Christi is perhaps the most spectacular example of state appropriation of an event of universal spiritual significance, for a mixture of economic, political, and devotional reasons.[36] On this occasion pilgrims joined in the traditional procession in the piazza and each one,

[32] For a discussion, arguably too schematic, see E. Muir, 'Images of Power: Art and Pageantry in Renaissance Venice', *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), 16–52; Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 189–204.

[33] Tafuri, '*Memoria et Prudentia*', 1–3.

[34] For the *cappella*, see J. H. Moore, *Vespers at St Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli*, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, 1981), i. 184; for the *scuole*, see J. Glixon, '*Far una bella processione*: Music and Public Ceremony at the Venetian Scuole Grandi', in R. Charteris (ed.), *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento* (Sydney, 1990), 190–220.

[35] Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting*; H. M. Brown, 'On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)', in *Report of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Berkeley, 1977* (Kassel, 1981), 649–58.

[36] For the general phenomenon of the Corpus Christi procession see M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), 243–71.

accompanied by a member of the Venetian nobility, carried a candle, which was subsequently placed in front of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[37] The result, characteristic of much Venetian ritual, transformed the universally Christian into the specifically Venetian, by appropriating a feast, celebrated with public processions throughout Catholic Europe, and investing it with local significance. In this process the city became a psychological and symbolic extension of the sacred space of Jerusalem itself, and the ceremonies in the piazza and the basilica, carried out in the presence of the doge, an official benediction of a great Catholic enterprise.[38] The Corpus Christi procession is a reminder that while the motivations for Venetian civic and religious rituals were complex and interlocking, the audience for them was certainly not uniform, but expanded and contracted for different occasions.

It is equally characteristic that the most important ceremonies marking a change of doge—funerals and investitures—were also public occasions.[39] Although predominantly religious in form and content, both contained distinctive civic elements. They were also public and were centred on the basilica, the doge's palace, and the surrounding ceremonial spaces. On the death of a doge, nine doubles, sounded from the bell tower of St Mark's, were taken up by all the *scuole* and churches of the city. Bells were the common coinage of the city soundscape. This time not only did they announce the death to the population, but they also warned the members of the Great Council, the sovereign assembly of the Republic, that the election of a new doge was about to begin. Having accompanied the corpse to the head of the Scala dei Giganti, that is to the very spot where the deceased doge had taken his oath and been crowned, the Signoria retired to continue the election; its absence both from the Requiems in the basilica and the funeral procession which took place prior to interment is a further symbolic underlining of the principle of continuity, 'in segno', as Sanudo put it, 'si è morto il Doxe non è morta la Signoria'.[40] This moment also marked the passing of the funeral rites from the domain of religious and government elites into a more public sphere. The long procession which now escorted the body around St Mark's Square included not only members of the family but also all the *scuole piccole* (trade guilds), the monastic orders, and the nine clerical congregations of the city.

[37] Muir, *Civic Ritual*, 223–30; I. Fenlon, 'Music, Ceremony and Self-Identity in Renaissance Venice', in F. Passadore and F. Rossi (eds.), *La cappella musicale di San Marco nell'età moderna* (Venice, 1998), 8–9.

[38] See Ch. 2.

[39] The most important contemporary accounts of dogal coronations and funerals are those recorded at the end of the 16th c. in ASV, Collegio Ceremoniali I and II, and that drawn up for the *maestro del cerimoniale* in VNM MS Lat. III. 172 (2276), fos. 67^{v}–71^{r}. See also Marino Sanudo, *I diarii*, ed. R. Fulin et al. 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–1903), xxx, cols. 479–90 and xxxi, cols. 7–11. For modern accounts see A. Da Mosto, *I dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe* (Venice, 1939), pp. xxiii–xxxi; Muir, 'The Doge as *primus inter pares*'.

[40] Sanudo, *I diarii*, xxx, col. 389.

All of the *scuole grandi* walked in their normal positions in the procession except one, usually that of which the doge had been a member, which walked behind the body, carried by a contingent of sailors from the Arsenal. In front of the basilica the procession stopped and the corpse was raised on its stretcher nine times, while the members of the accompanying Scuola Grande cried out 'Iddio habbia misericordia!' and the bells rang out nine doubles. The procession then continued through the narrow streets to the church where the burial was to take place, which in the sixteenth century was usually one of the two great mendicant churches. Just as the breaking of the insignia of ducal power that took place on death represented the end of political authority,[41] so too these rites, in which the body was accompanied by members of the three Venetian 'estates', symbolized the severance of the man from his office.

The investiture ceremonies which followed the election of a doge, while presenting him in an almost monarchical light, also emphasized his obligation to follow the duties and restrictions on his power laid down by a Republican patriciate. These too were public. Entering San Marco by the south door leading from the ducal palace, the doge-elect mounted the *pulpitum magnum*, in front of the iconostasis, and from there was presented to the crowds massed below in the nave by the senior elector. The formula used stresses the role of the state in the election of the new doge, 'the virtues and worthy condition of whom are such that, through divine grace, he will fervently strive for the good and conservation of the state, and every public as well as private interest', a reminder of his historical and legal obligations.[42] After this the doge, having made a brief statement promising justice, plenty, peace, and the protection of the Venetian empire, descended from the pulpit and, having walked the short distance to the high altar, where he was embraced by the *primicerio*, kissed the altar. This simple gesture, normally made by the celebrant at both the beginning and the end of Mass, is a reminder of the priestly aspects of the dogeship. Facing the *primicerio* and placing his hand on a copy of the Gospels, the doge-elect then swore an oath to protect the honour and patrimony of San Marco 'bona fide et sine fraude', a direct reference not only to the basilica's substantial holdings of land, property, and trusts, but also to the doge's fundamental traditional role as the principal guardian of the Evangelist's relics. It was at this moment in the Mass that the *Oration di San Marco*, of which a number of large-scale musical settings by the Gabrieli and other composers working in Venice have survived, was performed.[43] Then, his final

[41] Muir, 'The Doge as *primus inter pares*', 147–8.

[42] ASV, Collegio Ceremoniale I, fo. iv. Venice, Biblioteca Correr, MS Cicogna PD 381b (unfoliated). 'Pietro Lando' reports a different version in which the doge-elect is presented with the words 'we have elected a doge and hope that he is pleasing to you', to which the reply was shouted 'Marco! Marco!'.

[43] Fenlon, 'Music, Ceremony and Self-Identity', 13–14.

act in the investiture, the *primicerio* took from the admiral of the Arsenal one of the eight ceremonial banners bearing the image of the Lion of St Mark that were normally carried at the head of the ducal *andata*, and presented it to the doge-elect, saying 'We consign to your Serenity the banner of Saint Mark as a sign of true and perpetual dogeship', to which the doge-elect replied 'I accept' and then passed the standard back to the admiral of the Arsenal. At the entrance to the choir, the doge-elect stepped into a portable wooden pulpit together with two male members of his family and the admiral of the Arsenal, who was still holding the ceremonial standard of St Mark. Carried aloft by a squad of sailors from the Arsenal, they moved through the square, throwing coins to the crowd. In this way the liturgical ceremonies with their civic insertions were seamlessly joined to popular celebration (Pl. 1.6).

The final phase of the investiture ceremonies, for a more elite public, was the coronation itself, which took place in the loggia at the top of the Scala dei Giganti, framed by Sansovino's giant marble statues of Mars and Neptune. First a written declaration (*promissione ducale*) was handed by the Grand Chancellor to the oldest councillor, and the doge-elect publicly swore to obey its provisions.[44] To the sound of church bells, drums, and the noise of the crowds, the white cloth skullcap (*camauro*) was placed on his head by the youngest ducal councillor, then the oldest, pronouncing the formula 'Accipe coronam Ducalem, Ducatus Venetiarum' ('accept the ducal crown of Venice'), crowned the doge with the ceremonial *corno*. It was believed that the unusual form of this distinctive piece of headgear was intended to parallel the papal mitre, while that of the *camauro* was, according to Francesco Sansovino, 'quasi come insegna di persona sacra';[45] here, as in so much else relating to the figure of the doge, the analogy between the successor of St Mark and that of St Peter is made explicit. To the applause of the onlookers the doge then moved to the third arch of the loggia of the ducal palace where, having called for silence, he repeated the promises that he had made earlier in the basilica before entering the palace itself and going, still accompanied by the banner of St Mark, to the Sala dei Pioveghi, where he took his place for the first time on the ducal throne. To the assembled company he then repeated his election promises for the third time. In following this sequence of ceremonial procedures, the coronation moved from public and religious rituals in the basilica to political and elite ones in the doge's palace, an inversion of the symbolic structure of the funeral which had preceded it a few days earlier.

A more comprehensive use of the city and its ceremonial spaces occurred on other occasions, when the topographical richness of the city became a feature of spectacle. This was the case in 1571, with the celebrations that

[44] For these documents see G. Musatti, *Storia della promissione ducale* (Padua, 1888).
[45] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 471.

Pl. 1.6. The election of the doge, from Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'huomini* (Venice, 1609). (Venice, Museo Correr)

marked the victory of the Holy League over the Turks at Lepanto.[46] In a society which had assiduously cultivated the image of its special relationship with the Almighty, religious and devotional practices naturally formed an

[46] E. H. Gombrich, 'Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and of the Victory of Lepanto', in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on his Sixtieth Birthday* (London, n.d.), 62–8; I. Fenlon, 'Lepanto: The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 73 (1987), 201–35.

important element of the official arrangements. Two days after news of the victory had arrived, High Mass was sung in San Marco in the presence of the doge and Signoria festally dressed for the occasion. This was accompanied by music, described by Rocco Benedetti as 'concerti divinissimi', in which the two organs of the basilica played together with voices and instruments, an unambiguous reference to the tradition of music for *cori spezzati*. Mass was followed by a procession around the square in which all the clergy of the city participated and the basilica's prized processional cross was carried by the doge, a clear sign of gratitude for Divine benevolence.[47] This was the first event in a cycle of religious occasions which included the official Requiem Mass for the Venetian dead, sung in San Marco in the presence of the doge and senate, at which the public orator, Giovanni Battista Rasario, delivered a Latin address in praise of all those who had fought for the glory of God and the 'universal liberty of the Christian Republic'.[48]

The passage from official rituals to public celebration was accompanied by a change from strictly liturgical ceremonies to popular modes which incorporated different orders of visual and musical experience. The Germans, for example, decorated their Fondaco with tapestries and then for three successive nights mounted firework displays accompanied by music; while the illuminated courtyard echoed to the raucous sound of drums, fifes, and trumpets, more decorous ensembles played in pergolas.[49] Following this example, different parts of the community competed to produce the most impressive celebrations. Another three-day affair, this time organized by the drapers' guild, was concentrated in the area around the Rialto bridge and in the square in front of the church of San Giacomo di Rialto. Here too different kinds of music were played, ranging from the 'celestial harmony' of sedate ensembles to the din of drums, piffari, and the inevitable 'trombe squarciate'; the latter, according to one account, were intended to evoke the sounds of battle.[50] This sense of catering for different if overlapping audiences also extended to the visual. Alongside arms and other enemy trophies captured in battle, shops displayed works by Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Raphael, Pordenone, Sebastiano del Piombo, Titian, and Bassano among others.[51]

The Rialto area, while substantially devoted to trade, also functioned as a secondary area of government; a number of state offices were located there, and two of the churches close to the market came under the *ius patronatus* of

[47] R. Benedetti, *Ragguaglio delle allegrezze fatte in Venetia per la felice vittoria* (Venice, 1571), fo. [A4]$^{r-v}$.

[48] Ibid., fo. B [1]; ASV, Collegio Ceremoniale I, fos. 40–1. For the text of the address see G. B. Rasario, *De victoria Christianorum ad Echinadas oratio* (Venice, 1571).

[49] Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, fo. [B2]$^{r-v}$; BNM MS It.VII. 519 (8438), fo. 333^{v}; MS It.VII. 5, p. 31, and MS It. VII. 73 (8265), fo. 395^{v}.

[50] BNM MS It.VII. 73 (8265), fo. 396^{r-v}.

[51] Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, fo. [B2]^{v}.

the doge and were the subjects of dogal *andate*.[52] One, San Giacomo, had come under the doge's jurisdiction as a result of a direct appeal by Andrea Gritti to Clement VII; its subsequent incorporation into Gritti's *renovatio* lent authority to the piazza in front of the church, in part derived from its own long history as the oldest church in Venice, and in part from its proximity to the Pietra del Bando, from which official decrees were made.[53] During the celebrations organized around the Rialto bridge by the drapers' guild, each day began with a High Mass, 'con musiche rari', celebrated on temporary staging in front of the church. Later in the day clergy, singers, and members of the guild walked in procession accompanied by drums, piffari, and 'trombe squarciate', and in the evening sung Vespers were held.[54] There could hardly be a more explicit demonstration of the unity of commerce and religion in the affairs of the perfect Christian republic.

At dusk the area took on an almost magical appearance. To illuminate the scene candles were placed on the bridge and along the sides of the square, on balustrades and in windows, on the benches in front of the shops, and under the porticoes. Circulating among the crowds, masked revellers strummed lutes and sang. From under the arcades other music could be heard, played so well, said Benedetti, that it was possible to believe that one had been listening to the Muses.[55] Elsewhere in the crowded lanes around the bridge, groups put on classical 'triumphs' in imitation of Scipio Africano or the Roman emperors. The example of the drapers was followed by the jewellers and goldsmiths, and then by the Tuscan merchants and other trade guilds.[56]

The main unofficial celebration of the victory at Lepanto took place on Carnival Sunday, 1572, with a *mascherata*. According to the undated and crude printed pamphlet which provides all that is known about the event,[57] 340 people took part, including a large number of musicians and many costumed as Turkish slaves. Eighty large torches were carried and thirteen triumphant displays were mounted. Elaborate music seems to have been a particular feature of the procession and, as the anonymous pamphleteer is keen to point out, some of the pieces performed had been specially composed for the occasion, presumably a reference to Andrea Gabrieli's involvement. Beginning from the church of the Madonna dell'Orto in the north of the city, this vast cavalcade gradually wound its way through the narrow streets and along the

[52] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, 186–7, 362–4.

[53] D. Calabi and P. Morachiello, *Rialto: le fabbriche e il ponte 1514–1591* (Turin, 1987), and the same authors' 'Rialto, 1514–1538: gli anni della ricostruzione', in Tafuri (ed.), *'Renovatio urbis'*, 291–334.

[54] BNM MS It.VII 73 (8265), fo. 396^{r-v}; Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, fo. [B3].

[55] Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, fo. [B3]^{v}.

[56] Ibid.; MCV MS 1897 (unfoliated).

[57] *Ordine et dechiaratione di tutta la mascherata fatta nella citta di Venetia la domenica di carnevale MDLXXI per la gloriosa vittoria contra Turchi* (Venice, 1572).

Merceria to St Mark's Square before moving on through the Campo San Stefano to finish at the church of San Samuele, close to the Grand Canal. Despite the superficial semblance of unity provided by the regular insertion of groups of Turkish prisoners, whose presence recalls classical Roman triumphs, the *mascherata* falls into two quite distinct segments. The first presents a simple political allegory celebrating the defeat of the Infidel; the second relies upon traditional Carnival themes. In common with the other public processions and the celebrations organized by the merchant communities, the Lepanto *mascherata* was both widely propagandistic and socially inclusive. Much of its effect was achieved by drawing upon a simple and traditional series of images accompanied by rousing and unsophisticated music. At the same time some of the more dignified elements operated on a different level; this is true, for example, of the initial group of five allegorical floats with which Gabrieli's music was associated.[58] With its rather obvious structural division into two thematically distinct parts, the *mascherata* of 1572 is a perfect example of the differentiated modes of celebration which are characteristic of Venetian public ritual. Like Carnival itself, the procession did not have a single meaning or purpose, but a variety of them.

At a more official level a decree from the Senate ordered that an annual *andata* be held from St Mark's Square to the church and convent of Santa Giustina, on whose feast day the battle had been fought. The *cappella marciana* walked in the procession, singing litanies and psalms along the route. At the church itself a solemn Mass was celebrated with polyphony, by one of the canons of St Mark's, and the doge presented specially minted coins to the nuns. The procession then returned to the piazza where the *scuole* and all the clergy of the city passed in front of the doge, a symbolic action emphasizing his personal authority over the ecclesiastical establishment.[59] It was through such means that the Venetians were reminded of the unity of Church and State, placed under the patronage of St Mark and guided by the doge as his representative. As in other Venetian victory celebrations, the Santa Giustina *andata* provided the Republic with a double opportunity: to honour a saint and commemorate the dead and to strengthen social unity through communal displays of piety and patriotism.

The ceremonial city was revealed in quite different terms to distinguished visitors.[60] During the course of the sixteenth century, the formula for the reception of distinguished foreign dignitaries had become standardized,

[58] A. Gabrieli, *Madrigali et ricercari a quattro voci* (Venice, 1589); the identification of Gabrieli's music with the *mascherata* was made in A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1949), ii. 523–5.

[59] Fenlon, 'Lepanto', 226–7.

[60] P. F. Brown, 'Measured Friendship, Calculated Pomp: The Ceremonial Welcomes of the Venetian Republic', in B. Wisch and S. A. Munshower (eds.), *'All the World's a Stage…': Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, 2 vols. (University Park, Pa., 1990), i. 137–86.

based around the central focus of a welcome by the doge at the confines of the lagoon, the main theatrical apparatus being the Bucintoro escorted by a flotilla of smaller craft. As in the case of Henry III's entry in 1574, this ceremony had normally been preceded by a formal reception by a group of appointed senators as the visitor left one of the territories of the *terraferma*.[61] One commentator specifically remarks on the imposing vista of Venice seen by Henry from Marghera, a vision of a mythical city built upon the seas but safe from attacks by land or sea, a theatre of marvels waiting to be explored.[62] In this way the entry was symbolically choreographed so that the ceremonial route, the Venetian equivalent to an entry through the gates of a city, passed through a number of stages in which Venice was gradually revealed. The first marked departure from the Veneto, while the second delineated the moment of arrival in the city proper, or rather at the outer edge of its territory. In this context San Niccolò del Lido and the area in front of it functioned as an extension of the Piazza San Marco and the basilica. For Henry III's visit this became literally true, since Andrea Palladio was commissioned to design two temporary structures on the island: a triumphal arch, through which the king, the doge, and other dignitaries passed, and a loggia, where a number of religious rituals took place (Pl. 1.7). It was at San Niccolò that the principal functionaries of church and state, together with some of the main components of the Venetian ceremonial machine (including the *cappella marciana*), welcomed the visitor onto Venetian soil and so into the Venetian *civitas*. At the same time, this point of arrival provided the Republic with the opportunity to honour its distinguished guests while at the same time impressing observers with the virtues and power of the state through a spectacle of unusual beauty, theatrically enacted at the boundary of land and sea. From the Lido Henry made his triumphal entry into the city. It was at this moment that a dialogue madrigal to a Latin text was performed by the choir, though it must be doubted that any of the detail could be heard above the noise described by most commentators, as the air resounded to the sounds of trumpet calls, drums, and church bells. In its overall structure, the scenography recalls the annual ritual of the *Sensa*, when the doge symbolically married Venice to the Adriatic. In the following days the city, its political structure, and its 'wonders' were gradually revealed through a calculated series of planned events which made use of the most significant focal points of Venetian public life, including the Rialto, the Arsenal, the basilica, and the state rooms of the ducal palace.

[61] For a general introduction to Henry III's entry see P. Nolhac and A. Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino* (Turin, 1890); N. Ivanhoff, 'Henri III à Venise', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 80 (1972), 313–30.

[62] P. Buccio, *Le coronationi di Polonia e di Francia del Christianiss. Rè Henrico III. Con le attioni et successi de' suoi viaggi . . .* (Padua, 1576), fo. 205; see also T. Porcacchi, *Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo re di Francia et quarto di Polonia descritte in dialogo* (Venice, 1574), fo. 20^{v}.

Pl. 1.7. The arrival of Henry III of France at the Lido. Engraving after the painting by Andrea Vicentino (Venice, 1593). (Venice, Museo Correr)

Historians have often stressed the interlocking structures of early modern Venice. While the patrician class gathered in their own family clans and did not marry outside their caste, the *cittadini* (citizen class) joined one of the six *scuole grandi*. For the rest of the population there were the two hundred or so *scuole piccole*, and the trade guilds. Cutting across these divisions, designated by social class and occupation, was the topographical system of six *sestieri* and more than seventy parishes, both of which functioned as focal points of local identity. In the realm of civic and religious life, these elements provided a kaleidoscopic sequence of experiences from the ceremonial to the informal. In this context, Venetian identity was clearly not such a monochromatic or unified state of mind as official historiographers and the patrician proponents of the 'myth of Venice' would have liked posterity to believe. On the contrary, even within the community of Venetians living in this, the most cosmopolitan city in Europe, experiences of liturgy, music, and ceremony varied greatly according to circumstance. Indeed, what is sometimes described as wholesale societal attachment to the ideals of the 'myth of Venice', that vision of the city as the perfect state expressed and re-enacted in spectacular ceremonial acts, may also have functioned as a way of asserting some measure of patrician

control over the population of a city which certainly contained heretical and dissenting elements.[63] The devotional geography of Venice was critical to this process. In the years after the Council of Trent in particular, stability and continuity was achieved by the increased use of the city and its main spaces for the annual cycle of ceremonies and rituals, strengthened by the enhanced conception of Venice not only as the Perfect Republic, but also as the City of God.

[63] For a detailed revisionist view of the 'Myth of Venice', see J. Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography', *Journal of Modern History*, 58 (1986), 43–94.