

ITALIAN LECTURE

LEPANTO:
THE ARTS OF CELEBRATION
IN RENAISSANCE VENICE*

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Quae pars est, ò seli salamelech,
De l'Uniù del Hic, & Hec, & Hoc?
Sessanta mille de quei to Tarloc
Co tresent Galer son stag à stech

E g'anime t'aspetta ilò à Lamech
D' Ali, Piali, Caracossa, e Siroc,
Perque in Bisanz, nè in Alger, ò Maroc
Te si segur da sti gran Scanderbech.

Pensavet fors havì à fà co merlot,
O con Zent co ti è ti usag' al bif?
Despresiador del Santo Sabaot.

L'Aquila co'l Lio col'l bech, e i grif,
Te Squarzarà ol cur fo del magot;
Stà mò à senti el tof, el taf, e'l tif!¹

THE victory of the Holy League against the Turkish fleet at Lepanto seemed to contemporaries to mark a turning point in the fortunes of Christendom.² In a little over two hundred years the Ottoman state had risen from obscure beginnings to become the

*I am grateful to the staffs of the State Archives in Mantua, Modena and Venice, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and Biblioteca Correr in Venice, and the British Library, London, for facilities and assistance during the preparation of this article. In addition I would like to express my thanks to the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation for support which made it possible to spend six weeks working in Venice in the summer of 1986. In the notes the following abbreviations are used: ASM, Mantua, Archivio di Stato; ASMod, Modena, Archivio di Stato; ASV, Venice, Archivio di Stato; BMV, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; BCV, Venice, Biblioteca Correr.

¹ Anonymous verse published in L. Groto, *Trofeo della Vittoria sacra, ottenuta della Christianiss. Lega contra Turchi nell'anno MDL XXI* (Venice, 1572), f. 114, and in other contemporary publications.

² For the general phenomenon see F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (2 vols., London, 1973), ii, 661-9.

terror of the Christian world. Now, finally, there were signs that that era of rapid conquest was coming to an end. As intelligence of the events of 7 October gradually spread throughout Europe, it brought with it convulsions of celebration, some of it spontaneous, much of it hurriedly prepared; 'grandissime allegrezze' as it reached Brussels on 30 October, processions and prayers in Madrid a few days later.³ Throughout the length and breadth of the Italian peninsula the good tidings from Lepanto were marked with public displays of collective joy and, sometimes, with projects for more permanent memorials. But nowhere was the sense of relief and achievement more keenly felt than among the Venetians, and in the days after the news had reached the city there was a great outburst of music, poetry, and spectacle.⁴ The immediate celebrations only lasted a few weeks, but in that short time the victory at Lepanto was powerfully etched into the Venetian consciousness through characteristic transformations of local traditions of civic and religious display. I wish to comment on those transformations as a whole, with some emphasis on music, but with particular attention to their reflection of the themes and images of Venetian republicanism. In the process I hope to demonstrate that not only was the reaction to Lepanto among composers working in Venice and the Veneto quite

³ Details of the reactions in Brussels are revealed in a letter of 30 October 1571 from Paolo Moro, a Mantuan, to the *castellano* of his native city, in ASM 1503. News from Madrid is found in a letter from Luigi Rogna, Rome, 1 December 1571, to Aurelio Zibramonte in Mantua, in ASM 906, and in the direct report to the Duke of Mantua from Giulio Riva, Madrid 7 November 1571, in ASM 596.

⁴ For general discussions of the immediate literary reactions to the victory see A. Medin, *La storia della Repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Milan, 1904), and C. Dionisotti, 'Lepanto nella cultura italiana del tempo' in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto* (Florence, 1974), pp. 127–51. On the basis of the most important published accounts the festivities are discussed in 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.), pp. 62–8. For more permanent memorials see A. Palluchini, 'Echi della battaglia di Lepanto nella pittura Veneziana del '500' in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo*, op. cit., pp. 279–87; G. Gorini, 'Lepanto nelle medaglie' in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo*, op. cit., pp. 153–62; and now the general survey in *Venezia e la difesa del Levante. Da Lepanto a Candia 1570–1670* (Venice, 1986). In J. Ackerman, *Palladio* (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 120–3, it is suggested that the original conception of Palladio's Loggia del Capitaniato in the Piazza dei Signori in Vicenza was altered in the light of the victory to produce a 'triumphal arch with statues of Peace (as Vicenza) and Victory (as Venice) on the lower storey and a field for trophies and allegories of civic virtues above'.

unparalleled in the history of sixteenth-century Italy, but that the themes and function of the music that was produced betrays a peculiarly Venetian attitude towards the place of music within a distinct and carefully regulated celebratory rhetoric.⁵

The crucial fact is that, for the Venetians, Lepanto was no ordinary victory, but marked a crucial moment in the history of the Republic, equal in its historical significance to the great defeat of Barbarossa. At the time it seemed to be the first military triumph for decades in which Venice could take pride, and its effect on Venetian morale at all levels of society was incalculable. Technically the Republic had been at peace for thirty years, but in the intervening period Turkish pressure had been growing. Ever since the Turks had retreated from Malta in 1565, the Venetians had been appalled by the notion that Crete or Cyprus would be the next target for the galleys of the Ottoman fleet.⁶ It was in this atmosphere of collective apprehension that the first tentative proposals were made for a Christian League, led by Venice, the Papacy and the Empire, to secure the defence of Europe. Then in 1570 came the feared demand that Cyprus be unconditionally handed over to Turkish control. By the time that the official diplomatic note had reached Venice, the enemy had already landed on the southern tip of the island and war had begun. A joint expedition with Spain and the Papacy to relieve Cyprus turned into a fiasco, but hopes rose in the spring of 1571 when a formally constituted Holy League against the Infidel which the militant pope Pius V had been urging since his election finally became reality.⁷ In view of the mutual distrust of the allies, their disharmony, and widely divergent interests, it is remarkable that agreement was reached at all.

When, in July, the details of the League were proclaimed in

⁵ I have given a preliminary account of the musical responses to the victory among composers working in Rome and Spain as well as in Venice and the Veneto in 'In Destructione Turcharum. The Victory of Lepanto in Sixteenth-Century Music and Letters' in F. Degrada (ed.), *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale, Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985* (Florence, 1987), pp. 293-317. Among composers working locally Andrea Gabrieli and Pietro Vinci both wrote pieces in the immediate aftermath of the victory; Giovanni Bassano and Giovanni Croce later contributed to the Venetian repertory of celebratory works (see below, pp. 213, 227, 230-1). In Rome and the Papal States both Giovanni Ferretti and Palestrina wrote pieces, and among Spaniards Ferdinand de las Infantas and Joan Brudieu.

⁶ For a detailed account of these developments see Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, op. cit., ii, 1014-21.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1027-87.

Venice, they were accompanied by officially sponsored celebrations.⁸ The formation of the League had been rumoured for months; its successful conclusion seemed to halt progress towards a future which had promised to be bleak indeed.⁹ In general outline the festivities were typical of Venetian public ceremonial in their carefully balanced fusion of civic and religious elements cast in a fairly traditional mould;¹⁰ it is here that we gain a first glimpse of some of the principal components of the celebratory rhetoric that followed Lepanto itself. Solemn Mass was celebrated by the Spanish Ambassador, the Archbishop of Toledo, at St Mark's in the presence of the Doge and Signoria; this was followed by a procession of all the clergy and the *scuole grande* accompanied by the Spanish, Neapolitan, Genoese, and Milanese 'nations' in the Piazza. The Basilica's prized relic of the True Cross was carried, and after the details of the League had been proclaimed from the Pietra del Bando, Venice erupted in the clamorous din of celebration; drums and the 'trombe squarciate' which were such a prominent feature of the Venetian soundscape broke out, church bells were rung and, as it grew dark, torches were carried from the Arsenal to illuminate the *campanili* of the city. According to one account, the junketings at the palazzo of the Spanish Ambassador went on for eight whole days.¹¹ To contemporary Venetians, the formation of the League, finally agreed after months of speculation and disappointment, represented if not the last at least the best possible hope in the increasingly desperate struggle to turn back the Turk.

A detailed impression of the Venetian procession for the Holy League can be pieced together from published pamphlets, manuscript chronicles, and the reports of visiting ambassadors.¹² The

⁸ E. H. Gombrich, 'Celebrations in Venice', *op. cit.*, pp. 62–3.

⁹ Some impression of the urgency and concern that was felt among the Italian states is conveyed in the reports of various ambassadors and agents. See, for example, those of the Ferrarese ambassador Claudio Ariosti, in *ASMod Ambasciatori (Venezia)* 96; as early as 31 March Ariosti was writing that 'si sta aspettando a Roma per la conclusione o esclusione di questa benedetta lega,' and the tortuous progress of the negotiations is reported in some detail in his subsequent letters. A similar impression is gained from the despatches of Cavaliere Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua, in *ASM* 1504.

¹⁰ For the most recent general introduction to this subject see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981).

¹¹ *BMV MS. It. VII. 142*, fols. 298 ff.

¹² The main printed source is *Il bellissimo et sontuoso trionfo fatto nella magnifica città di Venetia nella publicatione della Lega* (Brescia, 1571); see also the shorter but still useful *Ceremoni e fatte nella publicatione della lega fatta in Venetia con la dechiaratione di solari & altre cose come leggendo inendereti* (n.p., n.d.). The *capitoli*

procession is also shown in a contemporary engraving designed to capture the moment when the *capitoli* of the League were proclaimed (Pl. XX). As Gombrich has pointed out, it does not inspire much confidence as an accurate record; the Palazzo Ducale for example is inaccurately drawn, and the Campanile has been obligingly moved some distance to the south to accommodate the crowd.¹³ But in its depiction of the elaborate series of platforms (*tribunali*), sponsored by the Scuola di San Rocco and shown in the foreground, there is a high degree of agreement between the engraving and manuscript and printed descriptions. In this first section of the procession, the purpose of the League was simply and effectively explained to the onlookers through a series of dumb-shows. Our main concern here is the iconography, and one or two details should be highlighted since we shall encounter them again in various guises. The first group showed the Great Turk as a ferocious dragon emerging from a cave, easily identified by a pyramid surmounted by a crescent moon. In front, three richly dressed youths attacking the dragon with swords symbolized Saints Peter, James, and Mark, the patron-saints of the Papacy, Spain, and Venice. Later in the procession the three signatories were equated with the Theological Virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity. Further displays showed the members of the League, each represented by the figures of Pope, Doge, and Emperor distinguished by dress. Towards the end of this section of the display Charon's boat was shown transporting the Turk to Hades.¹⁴ Further *tribunali* followed, then various

themselves are recorded in many places, and to judge by crude pamphlets, such as the *Capitoli della lega tra la Santità del nostro signor Papa Pio V et il serenissimo re Catolico, et la illustrissima Signoria di Venetia*, were quite widely circulated. Among manuscript accounts the most useful are those in ASV Collegio Ceremoniale 1, fols., 38^v-9, BMV MS. It. VII. 142 (7147), fols. 298 ff., BMV MS. It. VII. 519 (8438), fols. 330^v ff., BMV MS. It. VII. 321 (8838), fols. 250-250^v, ASV Proc. de Supra 98, fols. 140^v-141, and the long and detailed report of the Mantuan ambassador in ASM 1504.

¹³ E. H. Gombrich, 'Celebrations in Venice', op. cit. There are at least three states of this engraving. Two, in BMV Stampe E 9 bis, are titled 'PROCESSIONE GENERALE FATTA IN VI/negia alla publicatione della lega. l'anno M. D. LXXI' and 'Questa e la bellissima Piazza di San Marco per la quale passa il Sereniss. Prencipe in Processione con la Signoria il giorno solenne del Corpo di Cristo Sacratiss., e in altre occasione importanti, ò di Pace o di Guerra' respectively; the second is signed by G. B. Franco. An example of a third state, much reworked, is in BCV MS Gradenigo Dolfin 155, VIII, I.

¹⁴ It is interesting to read the private remarks of the Imperial ambassador in Venice, Vito di Dorimberg, who clearly found the simple symbolism of the

[footnote cont. on p. 206]

scuole carrying banners, and finally the Doge and Signoria accompanied by the Spanish Ambassador.

The Procession for the League is a convenient place to consider the simple iconographical language which the Venetians elaborated in the years 1570–1, and which were brought into full operation in the wake of Lepanto. Some of the visual codes come out of stock; the tradition of identifying individual states with their patron saints for example was one of long-standing, and so too was that of associating the government of the Republic with the Virtues. A typical expression of this last commonplace is found in the writings of the fifteenth-century Venetian humanist Giovanni Caldiera, who claimed that the Cardinal Virtues underscored the republican ones, thus metaphorically equating obedience to God and obedience to the state.¹⁵ The personification of the members of the League through images of Pope, Emperor, and Doge is ubiquitous in Lepanto iconography; it reappears in many of the paintings executed after the victory, and at a less elevated level was caricatured in the pamphlets which were now issued prophesying success for Venice and her allies. In the flurry of advice and admonition which had been filling the Venetian bookstalls since the dream of a crusading League had begun to seem plausible, the crude visual symbols representing Venice, the Empire, and the Papacy as well as their common enemy had become common; through cheap pamphlets such as Nazari's *Discorso* the population of the city had come to be familiar with the Lion, the Lamb, and the Eagle (Fig. 1). Thus the Procession for the League relied on a combination of well-tried and familiar ritual elements both civic and religious; at the same time it helped to cement into the Venetian popular consciousness a series of striking images and visual metaphors which, although based on tradition, were to recur with renewed force in much of the art, music, and literature that appeared in the post-Lepanto euphoria.

procession trite: 'le inventioni et representationi, che si sono fatte nella Processione di questa solennità, sona state in qualche parte assai ridicolose, et male intese, ma per essere il costume di queste scole, o confraternità di rappresentare l'animo, et divotione del Popolo in cosi fatta occasioni, con simili dimostrazioni, et significati si sono viste volunteri, ancora che questo Prencipe di alcune troppo sconcertate, dimostrasse haverne pocca satisfatione.' (Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Venedig Berichte, Karton 11). I am grateful to Dr Robert Lindell who alerted me to this reference.

¹⁵ See M. L. King, 'Personal, Domestic, and Republican Values in the Moral Philosophy of Giovanni Caldiera,' *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxviii (1975), 559–65.



FIG. 1. G. B. Nazari, *Discorso della futura et sperata vittoria contro il Turco* (Venice, 1570).

News of the victory itself arrived in Venice twelve days after the battle, brought by a galley piled high with Turkish spoils, captured banners, and a riotously jubilant crew dressed 'alla Turchesca'.¹⁶ It was greeted at the Lido with artillery and improvised music of drums and trumpets, traditional signs of communal 'allegrezza'. Almost immediately a great press of people gathered in the Piazza San Marco, where the ship docked and an official account of the action was presented to the Doge. Church bells were rung, and the Doge and Signoria hurriedly processed to the Basilica where they were joined by the Papal Legate and other ambassadors; the Te Deum was sung and Mass celebrated. It is this moment which is recalled in Palma il Giovane's votive picture of 1596, now in the Church of San Fantin (PL. XXI).¹⁷ On the right the Doge and the Signoria give thanks to the Virgin, who is shown above with Saint Mark and Saint Giustina, on whose feast-day the victory took place. The lively group on the left of the picture refers to the widespread popular enthusiasm which greeted the news, while the severe figure of a mature woman dressed in mourning in the foreground symbolizes the Venetian dead. With its emphases on popular involvement in the victory, and the special relationship between Venice and the Virgin, this is a highly typical example of Lepanto celebratory art. Equally characteristic, as we shall see, is the introduction of the figure of Saint Giustina as one of the main agents of victory.

In the following days and weeks a whole succession of events took place in Venice. There had been little time to prepare for

¹⁶ These details are taken from ASV Collegio Ceremoniale 1, fols. 40^v-41, and the letters of Paolo Moro, in ASM 1503 (see also above, p. 202 fn. 3); see also the long description in BMV MS. It. VII. 142 (7147). For the battle itself see the detailed accounts given in F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, op. cit., ii, 1088-1106; F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), pp. 369-74; and J. R. Hale, 'From Peacetime Establishment to Fighting Machine: The Venetian Army and the War of Cyprus and Lepanto' in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo*, op. cit., pp. 163-84.

¹⁷ The identification of this painting stems from a passage in Stringa's revision of F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIII libri* (Venice, 1604), which describes 'un quadro del Palma che rappresenta il rendimento di grazie che fece Luigi Mocenigo doge con la Signoria a Dio, nella chiesa di S. Marco quando venne la nuova a Venezia della rotta memorabile dell'armata turchesca fatta ai Corzolari il dì di S. Giustina l'anno 1571'. For further discussion see S. Mason Rinaldi, *Palma il Giovane. L'opera completa* (Milan, 1984), p. 119, and the brief entry in *Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, op. cit., p. 44.

these, and reading the accounts gives a striking impression of the rich variety of resources to hand. In the face of these Christian rejoicings the Jewish and Turkish communities withdrew to their own houses particularly, so one chronicle relates, those who lived in Cannaregio in the north of the city, who, fearful of being attacked, locked themselves away for four days. At an official level the state reacted in various ways; orders were given for public prayers and processions, and alms and food were distributed to the poor. Less officially, inmates at the two state prisons at San Marco and the Rialto were liberated by the jubilant mob.¹⁸ In a society which had assiduously cultivated the image of its special relationship with the Almighty, religious services naturally formed an important element in the official arrangements. One of the highlights occurred on the first Sunday after the news of victory, when a solemn Mass was sung in San Marco, punctuated by what one contemporary, Rocco Benedetti, describes as 'concerti divinissimi' in which the two organs of the Basilica played together with voices and instruments.¹⁹ This casual description of the familiar Venetian style of music for *cori spezzati* (or spatially separated choirs) is quite instructive. Recent musicological research has shown that Vespers music for double-choir was sung not (as used to be thought) from the two opposing galleries above the choir, but rather from the two

¹⁸ BMV MS. It. VII. 142 (7147), fol. 308: 'Furono serrate tutte le botteghe sopra le quali per scherzo scrivevano per la morte de Turchi. Mentre che in Chiesa di S. Marco, dove erano immediate concorsi il Legato Pontificio e gl'Amb. de Prencipe, e vi cantava il Te Deum laudamus molti corsero alle priggioni gridando libertà, furono volti i ferri delle finestre e scappavano tutti i Priggioni à San Marco e Rialto da debiti; che gli altri non fu permesso che fuggissero. Li Turchi, Ebrei, e Levantini ch'erano in Rialto hora di negotio fuggirono alle case loro e particolarmente li Turchi che habitavano in Canareggio nell'habitatione che fù del Barbaro Bailo in Constantinopoli.' For general Venetian attitudes towards the Venetian community, which had been established in the city for over half a century, see P. Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi* (Florence, 1975), pp. 127 ff. The official requiem for the Venetian dead is mentioned in the account in ASV Collegio Ceremoniale 1, fols. 40^v-41.

¹⁹ R. Benedetti, *Ragguaglio delle allegrezze, solennità, e feste, fatte in Venetia per la felice Vittoria* (Venice, 1571), fol. [A4]. See also the report of the Papal Nuncio given in A. Stella (ed.), *Nunziature di Venezia*, x (Rome, 1977), 118-20. The music on this occasion was clearly remarkable in its scale. Benedetti's account is confirmed by the description of the Mantuan Paolo Moro, who notes that the 'voci risonanti' were accompanied by 'varii et molti instromenti di mano et da fiato' (Moro's letter, Venice 22 October 1571, is in ASM 1503).

pulpit-like structures which stand in front of the iconostasis.²⁰ Canaletto's famous sketch of the singers of San Marco shows this practice.²¹ Both the size of these structures, and the indications in the *Ceremoniale* which sets out how the liturgy is to be performed in the Basilica, strongly suggest that Vespers, and by extension Mass music as well, was performed *a cappella*, without instruments. Benedetti's account though refers quite explicitly to the participation of organs, voices, and 'ogni sorte di stromenti' in these 'concerti divinissimi'. The term 'concerti' is consistently used in Venetian publications of the period to describe strictly non-liturgical pieces, as in the famous *Concerti di Andrea et di Giovanni Gabrieli* of 1587, which advertises itself on its title-page as 'per voci & stromenti'.²² In other words, Benedetti's account is perhaps not so imprecise as first appears, and what was performed at this event was a large-scale motet to a specially composed text. Many such pieces with texts appropriate for this occasion have survived in the Venetian repertory.²³

The prime emphasis in these official celebrations was upon the confirmation of the victory as Christ's victory. Some of the official commemorative art makes use of this motif, notably Veronese's painting of Sebastiano Venier, who in his capacity as *general de mar* had led the Venetian ships to victory, and was later elected Doge (Pl. XXII). Veronese's canvas, symbolically installed above the tribune in the Collegio sometime before 1581 when it was described by Sansovino, shows Christ seated in the clouds, his hand raised in benediction. Venier is clad in armour and is wearing the dogal mantle, but is yet to be crowned with the *cornio* by a female personification of Venice. He makes a gesture

²⁰ D. Bryant, 'The *cori spezzati* of St. Mark's: Myth and Reality', *Early Music History*, i (1981), 165–86; J. H. Moore: 'The *Vespero delli Cinque Laudate* and the Role of *Salmi Spezzati* at St. Mark's', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxvii (1981), 249–78.

²¹ W. G. Constable, *Canaletto: Giovanni Antonio Canal 1697–1768* (2 vols., Oxford, 1962) ii, 453–4, and i, pl. 102.

²² *Concerti di Andrea, et di Gio. Gabrieli organisti della sereniss. sig. di Venetia. Continenti musica di chiesa, madrigali, & altro, per voci, & stromenti musicali, a 6.7.8.10.12 & 16. Novamente con ogni diligentia dati in luce. Libro primo et secondo* (Venice, 1587).

²³ See D. Bryant, *Liturgy, Ceremonial and Sacred Music in Venice at the Time of the Counter-Reformation* (Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. University of London, 1982) i, chap. 2, pp. 44–53. Bryant's hypotheses are summarized in the same author's 'Andrea Gabrieli e la "musica di stato" veneziana' in *Andrea Gabrieli 1585–1985* (Venice, 1985), pp. 29 ff.

towards *Fides* (who is holding the Chalice), while at Venice's feet stands the lion of St Mark, and behind her, again, the figure of Santa Giustina.²⁴

This theme of Christ's victory is a major component of Lepanto celebratory art in Venice; its general familiarity is neatly illustrated by the title-page of an anonymous pamphlet of poetic paraphrases of the psalms, 'accomodate,' according to the title-page, 'per render gratie a Dio della vittoria donata al Christianesimo contra Turchi' (Fig. 2).²⁵ Here, within a central frame, the Lion of St Mark is shown being guided by the hand of God. Every conceivable ingenuity was deployed to exploit the Christian theme. In one commentary on the 'Pater Noster in lingua rustica' the prayer itself is intertwined with celebratory observations on the victory, and paraphrases of the psalms and other well-known prayers are common in the Lepanto literature.²⁶ Similar resonances are present in the text of one of Andrea Gabrieli's eight-voiced polychoral pieces, from the posthumous *Concerti* of 1587, 'Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth'. Gabrieli, organist at San Marco since 1566, was the most distinguished and active composer in Venice at the time of Lepanto, and must have played a major part in the musical arrangements for any official celebrations. Although the analogy of the opening words with the Sanctus-Benedictus section of the Mass does confer on this text a certain spurious liturgical status, it is freely composed. With its explicit references to battle, and use of Old Testament themes, it seems an obvious reference both to the victory and to the special status of the Venetians:

Benedictus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Benedicti qui pugnant in nomine Domini. Manus enim fortis et terribilis pugnat pro eis. Manus Domini protegit illos. Pugnavit Sanson, pugnavit Gedeon, vicit Sanson, vicit Gedeon. Pugnaverunt nostri in nomine Domini. Pugnavit Dominus pro nobis et vicit Dominus inimicos eius. Laetamini et exultate et psallite.²⁷

²⁴ S. Sinding-Larsen, *Christ in the Council Hall. Studies in the Religious Iconography of the Venetian Republic* (Rome, 1974), pp. 95–8; see also the same author's earlier study 'The Changes in the Iconography and Composition of Veronese's Allegory of the Battle of Lepanto in the Doge's Palace', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xix (1956), 298–302.

²⁵ Noted and illustrated in E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, op. cit., pp. 214–15.

²⁶ *Discorso sopra il Pater Noster in lingua rustica, per la vittoria de Christiani, contra Turchi* (n.p., n.d.).

²⁷ David Bryant has suggested that Giovanni Croce's eight-voice setting of the same text was also written for the annual Venetian celebration of Lepanto; see Bryant, *Liturgy, Ceremonial and Sacred Music*, op cit., i, 93 ff.



FIG. 2. Frontispiece to the anonymous *Parafrafi poetica sopra alcuni salmi* (Venice, 1571)

This interpretation is obviously speculative. But in the case of Pietro Vinci's five-voiced motet, 'Intret super eos formido et pavor', published in his *Secondo libro de mottetti* of 1572, the association with Lepanto is clear, explicitly stated in the heading in all the part-books, 'In destructione Turcharum'. Vinci, a Sicilian then working as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, gathered together a number of occasional pieces for his second book, and it seems most likely that this motet was originally composed for some local celebration of the victory.²⁸ With its text, based on the account in Deuteronomy of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, Vinci's piece is the clearest example in the musical repertory of a specially composed motet text woyen out of one of the most common of all Lepanto themes, that of the Venetians as the Chosen Race:

Intret super eos formido et pavor. In magnitudine Brachij tui Domine disperde illos et fiant immobiles donec transeat populus tuus quem possedisti.

Christ's victory, the Chosen People; this was one complex of popular themes. Others emerge from the dozens of pamphlets and other ephemera which appeared in the wake of the victory.²⁹ A population which had been kept in touch with the progress of the war through broadsheets, and who so strongly identified with it, now celebrated the news in print. From the presses of Venice came a torrent of poetic anthologies, paraphrases of the psalms, accounts of the action, and cheap woodcuts showing the battle at its height or the disposition of the opposing fleets (Pl. XXIII). Much of this verse is in dialect, a tangible indication of the extent to which the imaginations and efforts of the various Venetian 'nations' had been harnessed in the service of a Christian crusade. One contemporary observer wrote, perhaps a little too enthusiastically, that 'da ogni parte si sentono nuovi Appolli, nuovi Orphei'; according to one estimate more than three

²⁸ According to the preface of *Il secondo libro dei motetti a cinque voci* (Venice, 1572), Vinci had been at Santa Maria Maggiore for three years; the book itself, dedicated to the 'Signori reggenti la misericordia di Bergamo', includes one motet ('Calliope colles sibi legit Apollo') in honour of the city, and two pieces lamenting the death of a local dignitary ('Urbs gladijs' and 'Plange urbs Bergomea', both 'In magni Hestoris Baleonis funeribus').

²⁹ In addition to the general discussions noted on p. 202, fn. 4 above, see also M. Cortelazzo, 'Plurilinguismo celebrativo' in G. Benzoni (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo*, op. cit., pp. 122-6. G. A. Quarti, *La battaglia di Lepanto nei canti popolari dell'epoca* (Milan, 1930), needs to be used with caution.

hundred poets contributed to this phenomenon.³⁰ Acrostics, Latin epigrams, and trivial stanzas based on simple word-play ('Selin, es nil, nil es, Selin') fill the popular anthologies; the best-known of all, Luigi Groto's *Trofeo*, includes dialect verses, Latin poetry, a plan of the battle, and an engraving of the standard of the Turkish fleet with the inscriptions explained (Fig. 3).³¹ Emboldened by success, some writers now prophesied the complete destruction of the Turkish Empire and the return of the Holy Sepulchre into Christian hands.³² Prominent among the various categories into which this flood of indifferent verses can be subdivided are poems in praise of the Pope, Doge, or Emperor, or the military commanders of the various contingents, dependent upon allegiance. Another distinct genre among these often trivial outpourings is the lament in which, typically, the Sultan, Salim I, blames Mahomet for his defeat and is either exhorted to become a Christian or spontaneously converts. The language of many of these verses presents a colourful picture of the passions, rancour, and hostility that the Venetians evidently felt for the Turks; low in poetic merit, this repertory is primarily of interest for what it reveals of popular Venetian attitudes:

Canzon v`a de Selim
 Pregalo ch'el no beva tanto vin
 Ma che'l cognosa Christo per suo Dio,
 Giusto clemente, e pio
 Che lui solo e quel, che'l puol salvar
 In ste ruine da terra, e da mar.³³

One typical and frequently reprinted piece in this vein is

³⁰ The phrase comes from R. Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, fol. B^v; the statistic from F. Mango, *Note letterarie* (Palermo, 1894), cited in A. Medin, *La storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, op. cit., p. 245.

³¹ L. Groto, *Trofeo*, op. cit.

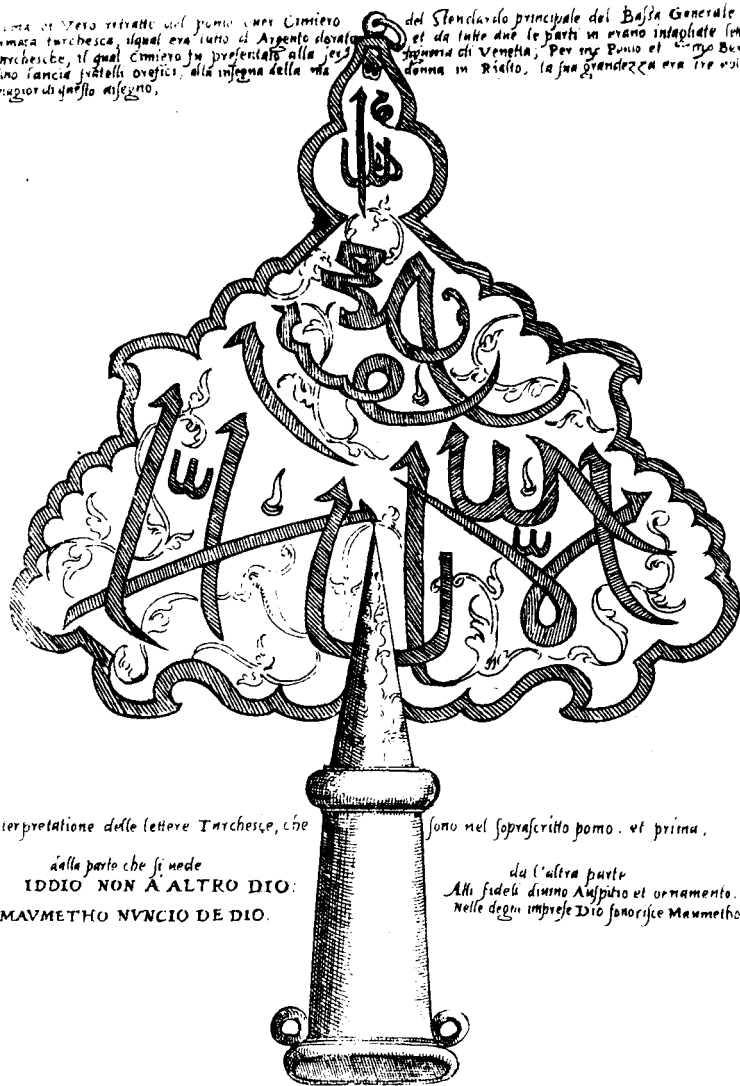
³² For a popular example of the genre see P. Porta, *In foedus et victoriam contra Turcas . . . poemata varii* (Venice, 1572).

³³ This characteristic piece of advice is taken from the *Canzon a Selim imperator de Turchi: In desperation della sua Armata, e gente persa. Composta nuovamente & data in luce. Con due sonetti bellissimi e sentiosi* (n.p., n.d.). Typical of the lament literature is the following, from the widely circulated *Pianto, et lamento de Selin, drian imperator de Turchi: ella rotta, & destruttion della so Armada. Con un' esortation fatta o Occhiali* (Venice, 1571):

'No insusiar adoncha: V`a de trotto
 A Roma, e al Santo Padre in zenocchion
 Confessa i to peccai, e st`a devotto,
 Che'l te dar`a la benedittion.'

*Fu una vera reliquia del pomo con Cimiero
 turchesca, il qual era tutto di Argento ornato
 turchesco, il qual Cimiero fu presentato alla
 sua lancia fratelli orefici, alla ingogna della sua
 maggior di quello assegni.*

*del Stendardo principale del Bassa Generale
 et da tutte due le parti in erano intagliate
 figura di Venetia, Per me Pomo et Cimiero
 donna in Rialto, la sua grandezza era tre volte*



*Interpretatione delle lettere Turchesche, che
 alla parte che si vede
 IDDIO NON A ALTRO DIO:
 MAUMETHO NVNCIO DE DIO.*

*sono nel sopra scritto pomo. et prima.
 da l'altra parte
 Alti fideles diuino Auspicio et ornamento.
 nelle degni imprese Dio honorisce Maumetho*

FIG. 3. L. Groto, *Trofeo della Vittoria sacra* (Venice, 1572), illustration of the Turkish standard.

'Quae pars est', a spirited denunciation of Sultan Salim I, composed in Bergamasque dialect by a certain Zambo de Val Brembana.³⁴ Interestingly, Giovanni Ferretti, a composer then probably living in Ancona in the Papal States but with connections in Venice, set this verse as a traditional villanella in his first

³⁴ The text alone appears, among other places, in L. Groto's popular anthology *Trofeo*, op. cit., fol. 114; see above, p. 201.

book of six-voiced *Canzoni alla napolitana* of 1573. A similar process of adaptation is at work in the *Canzon nella gran vittoria* which appears in Ippolito Baccusi's second book of six-voiced madrigals of 1572; here the text is excerpted from Celio Magno's long poem 'Fuor fuori o Muse', one of the more elevated contributions to the Lepanto literature.³⁵ Baccusi, Mantuan by birth but then working in Verona, also published in the same year a seven-sectioned cycle in praise of Lepanto in his second book of five-voiced madrigals. Once again the text had been widely circulated in popular anthologies.³⁶ It seems that both Ferretti and Baccusi took poems that had already established a certain currency in print; Magno's 'Fuor, fuori o Muse' did in fact become so well-known that other verses were published in its praise. Thus the celebrators became celebrated themselves in the midst of this tide of patriotic sentiment.³⁷

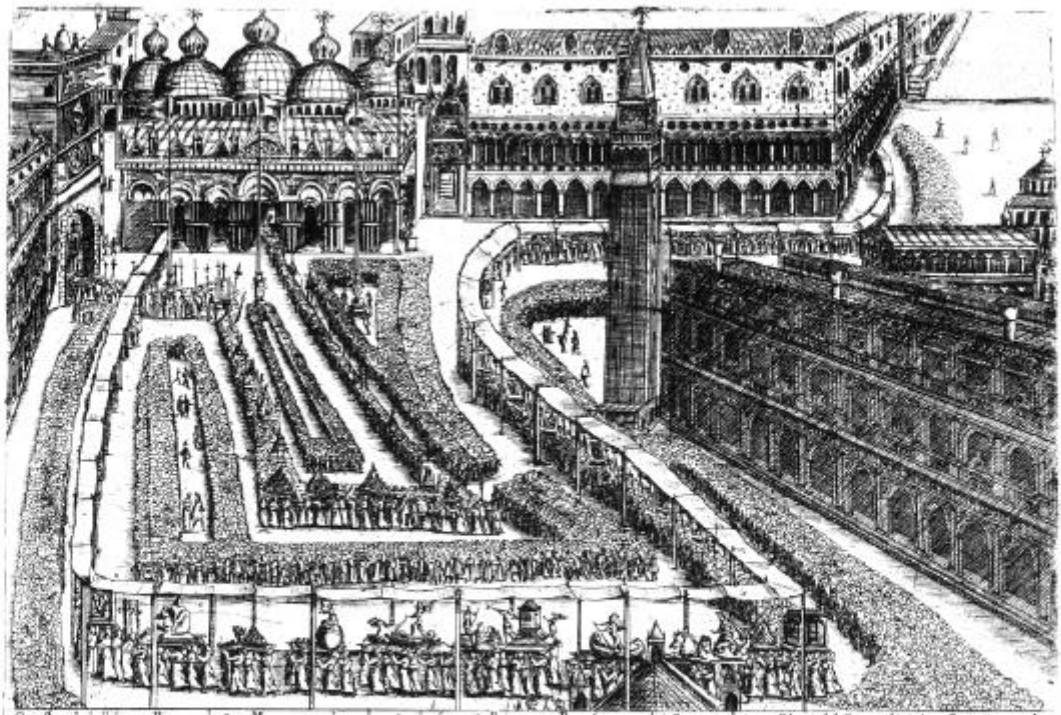
The motifs and themes which run through much of this popular verse also occur in many of the stock images which were either issued in engravings or formed part of the many independent celebrations organized in Venice in the weeks after the victory. The first of these was put on by the German merchants who decorated their Fondaco with tapestries and then for three successive nights mounted spectacular firework displays accompanied by music.³⁸ Following this example different parts of the community competed to produce the most impressive celebrations. Another three-day affair, organized by the drapers, was concentrated in the area around the Rialto bridge; with the help of tapestries, canopies, and lanterns the streets were transformed with, as a centrepiece, a display of paintings. On one side of the bridge there was a picture of Karakosh, a renegade who fought on the Turkish side and hence a subject of great popular hatred. Here he was shown being received into hell by Charon, a fate

³⁵ The text alone appears in L. Groto, *Trofeo*, op. cit., fols. 17–19^v. In the part-books of Baccusi's *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (Venice, 1572), which unfortunately do not survive complete, 'Fuor fuori o Muse' is headed 'Canzone nella vittoria contra l'Armata Turchesca'.

³⁶ For the text, 'Ai più gravi accenti' by Vincenzo Giusto of Udine, see L. Groto, *Trofeo*, op. cit., fols. 37–38^v. The music survives, but again only incompletely, in I. Baccusi, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1572).

³⁷ See, for example, the anonymous poem 'Al dolce suon dei tuoi leggiadri accenti,' directed to Magno and published in L. Groto, *Trofeo*, op. cit., fol. 87^v.

³⁸ R. Benedetti, *Ragguaglio*, op. cit., fols. B³–[B³]^v; further details are given in BMV MS. It. VII. 519 (8438), fol. 333^v, and BMV MS. It. VII. (553), p. 31, both of which mention the 'solenne musica'.



Questa è la bellissima Piazza di San Marco, per la quale passa il Serenissimo Principe in Processione con la Signoria il giorno festivo del Corpo di Cristo. Sono in questa Piazza importanti e di Pace di Guerra, alle quali intanto il Re di Spagna tutta l'Europa, tutte le Religioni e le sue Scuole grande, le quali vengono nell'ordine andante, seguita per il Rapimento del Re della nostra Santa Religione, in bellissimo apparato di oro, e d'argento, e d'infinita Processione, come si può vedere in questa.

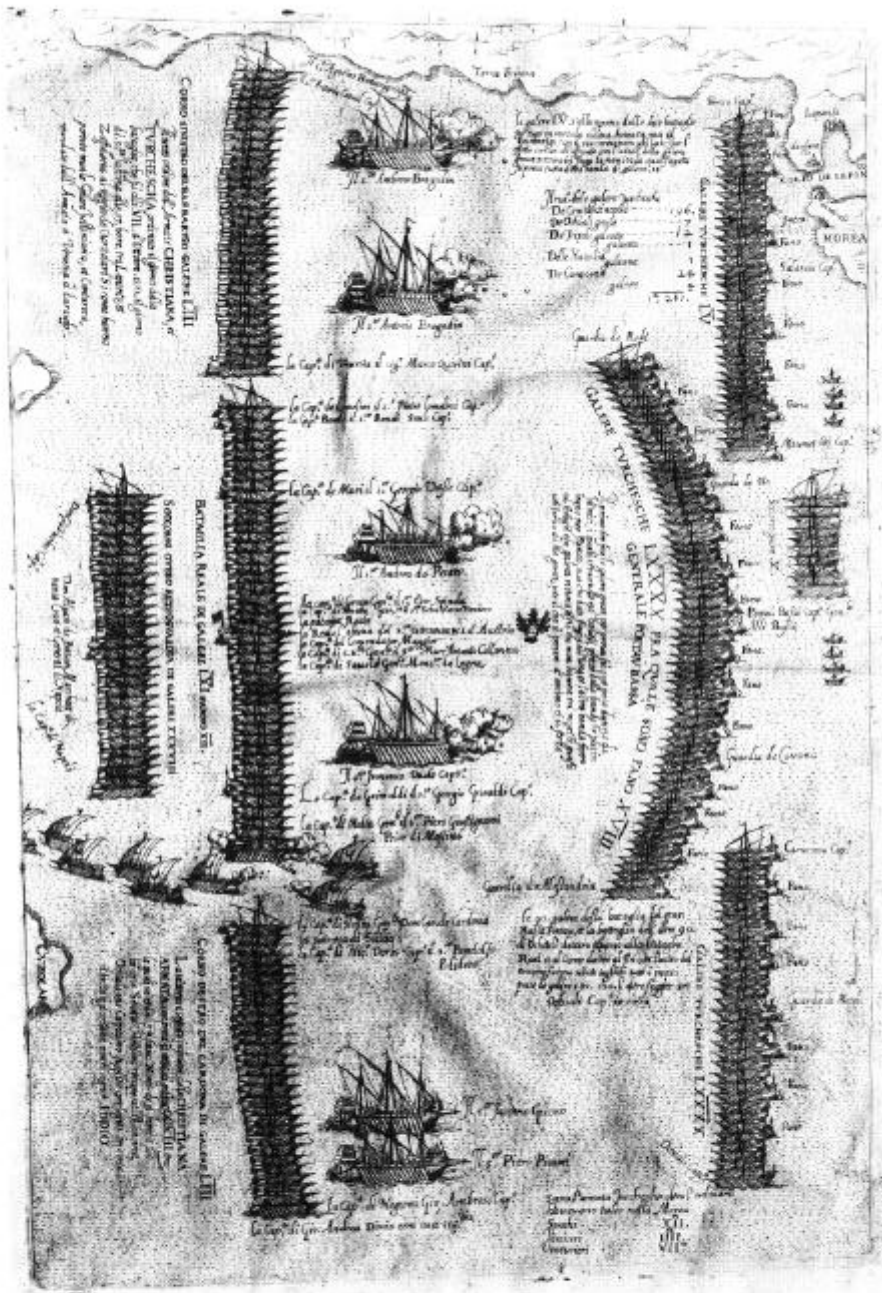
Procession in Venice for the Publication of the League, 1571. Venice, Museo Correr.



Jacopo Palma Giovane, *Doge Alvise Mocenigo thanks the Virgin for the Victory at Lepanto*, 1596. Venice, S. Fantin.



Paolo Veronese, *Doge Sebastiano Venier's Thanksgiving for the Battle of Lepanto*, c.1578.
Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Collegio.



The Battle of Lepanto, 1571. Venice, Musco Correr.



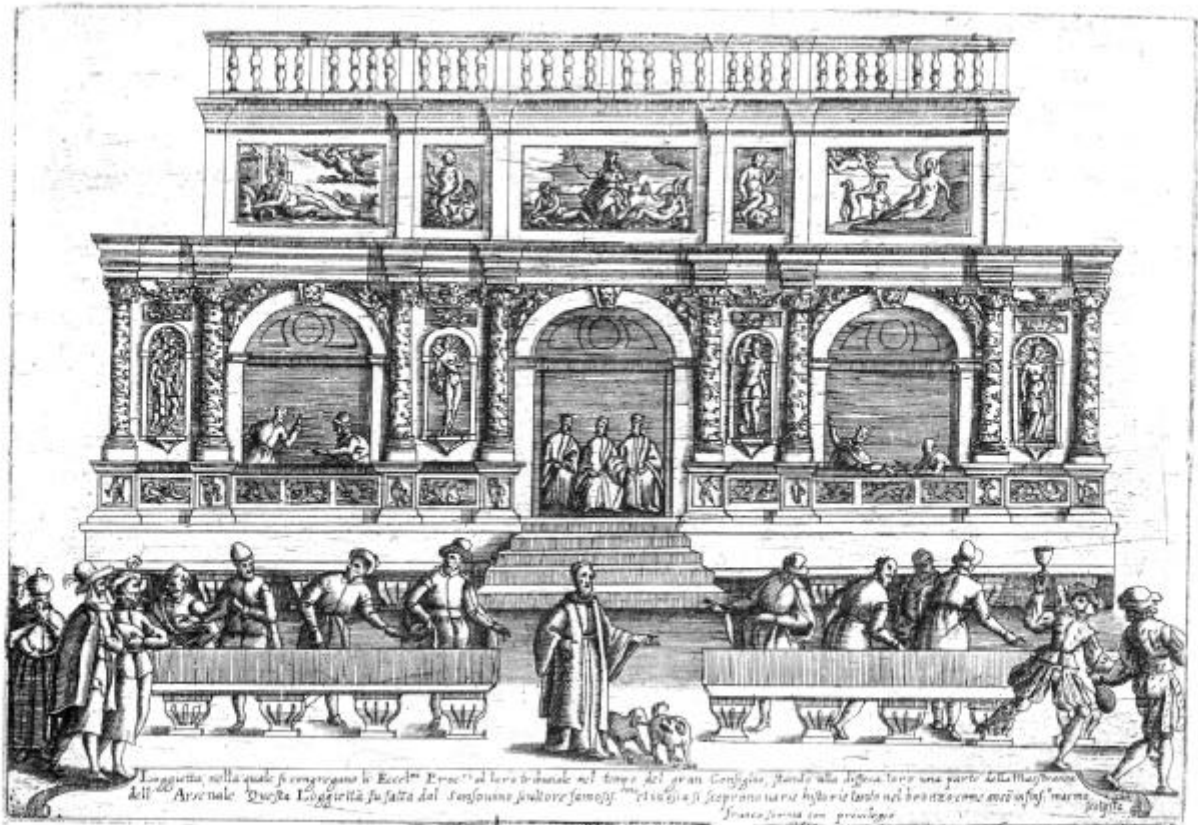
Paolo Veronese, *Votive picture of the Battle of Lepanto*, 1571-3. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia.



Jacopo Tintoretto, *The Saviour, Santa Giustina and San Francesco di Paolo*, c.1575. Venice, S. Maria del Giglio.



Jacopo and Domenico Tintoretto, *Santa Giustina and the Treasurers*, 1580. Venice, Gallerie dell' Accademia.



Claudio Ercolani. The Loggia of the Blessed Mary in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. (Engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1763)

that had been prophesied the previous summer in the Procession for the League.³⁹ On the other side could be seen the Turkish commander, Ouloudji Ali. His name had been corrupted by the Venetians to 'Occhiali', and he was often caricatured, as here, with staring eyes and spectacles. (In one pair of engravings a reversible image of Ouloudji Ali labelled as a symbol of Turkish avarice is contrasted with a composite animal representing the League; St Peter's keys around its neck, the Triple Crown on its head, and destroyed Turkish images under its feet, this triumphant hybrid presents the concept of Christian Charity (Figs. 4, 5).) These satirical images were counterbalanced by more conventional ones showing Christ and a figure symbolizing Venice. A central painting presented the traditional allegory of Venice as Queen of the Seas.

Gombrich has pointed out that the 'high art' which celebrates the victory of Lepanto often exploits an iconography which largely excludes the satirical caricatures of the popular woodcuts and verses.⁴⁰ It seems that while certain motifs seen in temporary decorations and ephemeral literature were easily absorbed into the symbolic language of more permanent media, others were not. There was some exchange, as with battle scenes which appeared in cheap broadsides as well as in oil paintings, but in other areas the genres were clearly differentiated. Similar differentiations exist between the different types of music that can be associated with the Lepanto celebrations in Venice. The accounts of these festivities are exceptional in the amount of detail that they provide about the involvement of music in events both public and private, official and informal. Taken together, engravings, part-books, poetic anthologies, and *descrizione* present an unusually clear impression of the important place that music had come to occupy in the social, civic, and ritual life of Venice by the second half of the sixteenth century. Many of the major composers of the city and the *terraferma* wrote pieces in honour of the victory, often taking their texts from the collections of the 'nuovi Orphei', which flooded the bookshops of Venice in the wake of Lepanto. These works were not merely entertainment, but part of a cultural rhetoric which served a social and political purpose; together with other permanent memorials such as paintings and sculpture, these musical commemorations, some published years after the event, helped to consolidate a local and

³⁹ See above, p. 205.

⁴⁰ E. H. Gombrich, 'Celebrations in Venice', *op. cit.*, p. 68.



FIG. 4. Nicolo Nelli, *Turkish Pride*, 1572. Mantua, Archivio di Stato.

CARITA CRISTIANA



FIG. 5. Nicolo Nelli, *Christian Charity*, 1572. Mantua, Archivio di Stato.

partial interpretation of Lepanto, and to establish and articulate its position within the 'Myth of Venice'. But the principal way in which the Venetians recalled the victory in later years was, characteristically, through an elaboration of the local hagiolatry.

Since the early Middle Ages, Venice had gradually evolved a distinctive civic liturgy, an annual succession of feast-days and ceremonies conducted by the patrician rulers for the entertainment and instruction of the populace.⁴¹ These calendrical rites, an uniquely mixed cycle containing the major Christian feasts together with commemorations of important events in Venetian history, also functioned as a powerful instrument of social and communal stability. In basic outline the Venetian calendar followed the conventions of Roman Christianity, but on to this framework was grafted a local liturgy, the *patriarchino*. This was not, as might be expected, copied from or inspired by Byzantium, but was derived from the use of Aquileia. An important feature of the Venetian rite was the role of the Doge, broadly analogous to that of the Pope in the Roman liturgy; it was only on his authority that changes could be made. Until the fifteenth century the *patriarchino* had been observed throughout Venice, but in 1456 it was abolished everywhere except in San Marco. These new conditions strengthened the social and political functions of the rite; as the exclusive property of the Doge and Signoria it became, in effect, a liturgy of state.⁴²

Not unsurprisingly, many of the most important feast-days in the Venetian year corresponded to the Roman calendar, though saints with a local significance, and above all St Mark, were given particularly elaborate treatment. But an unusually prominent feature of the *patriarchino* was its emphasis on significant events in Venetian history, many of them commemorations of important military victories. For example, the Doge's participation in a Mass celebrated on 6 December recalled the conquest of Con-

⁴¹ E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

⁴² For the workings of the *patriarchino* and its relationship to Venetian religious and civic ceremonial see A. Pasini, 'Rito antico e ceremoniale della basilica' in *La basilica di San Marco* (Venice, 1888), pp. 65-71; G. Fasoli, 'Liturgia e ceremoniale ducale' in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, i, 261-95; and M. Dal Tin, 'Note di liturgia patriarchina e canti tradizionali della basilica di S. Marco a Venezia', *Jucunda Laudatio*, i-iv (1973), 90-130. The main manuscript source for the *patriarchino* is BMV MS. Lat III 172 (2276).

stantinople in 1204. Similarly, on the days dedicated to Saint Martial, Mary Magdalene, and the beheading of Saint John the Baptist, special masses in San Marco marked victories over the Genoese.⁴³ In this way the specifically Venetian was associated with the universally Christian; Patriotism and Faith were powerfully combined. As a liturgy under the control of the Doge, the *patriarchino* was particularly susceptible to political influence, and most changes in its operations and emphases were a direct reflection of the changing fortunes of the Venetian state.

The victory at Lepanto occurred on 7 October, the feast-day of Saint Giustina Virgin and Martyr. She was a minor figure in the Roman calendar, but had always been more significant in the Venetian liturgy.⁴⁴ Her name-day had attracted more attention since the early fifteenth century when it coincided with a major Venetian victory against the Genoese at Modon. Now this latest happy conjunction of events secured the promotion of Giustina to a position of major importance within the official Venetian articulation of the myth of Lepanto. A decree from the Doge and Senate ordered that an annual procession be held from the Piazza San Marco to the church of Santa Giustina. Founded in the seventh century and consecrated in the early thirteenth, this was one of the oldest churches in the city and, since the middle of the Quattrocento, had been home to a congregation of Augustinian nuns from the monastery of the Angeli on Murano. In the early sixteenth century Santa Giustina took on a new lease of life; the church was reconsecrated, and a handsome *campanile* added to the modest complex of buildings.⁴⁵ The procession now ordered by the Senate took the form of the traditional *andata*, a strictly controlled and regulated civic spectacle held on the principal ritual occasions in the Venetian year. The precise sequence of this procession has survived in a number of contemporary descriptions and in a number of pictorial sources of which the most informative is Matteo Pagan's engraving showing the procession of the Doge on Palm Sunday. A high level of

⁴³ E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, op. cit., p. 213.

⁴⁴ A brief account of the cult of Santa Giustina is given in S. Tramontin (ed.), *Culto dei santi a Venezia* (Venice, 1965), pp. 223-4.

⁴⁵ Details of the history of the church and its congregation are taken from A. da Mosto, *L'Archivio di Stato di Venezia* (2 vols., Venice, 1937-40), ii, 136; U. Franzoi and D. Di Stefano, *Le chiese di Venezia* (Venice, 1976), pp. 450-2; G. Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane* (5th edn., Venice, 1915), pp. 344-5; and from the useful and detailed account in MCV MS Gradenigo 37, *Cronica della chiesa e monastero e contrada di S. Giustina in Venezia*. The church was closed in 1810.

agreement between these sources underlines its fixed and unchanging character; with its three clearly differentiated segments, each of which were organized in order of precedence, the *andata* presented, in visual form, the hierarchic conception of the Republic. Its participants were dignitaries who marched in the procession not as individuals but rather as the temporary holders of specific offices. Grouped according to status and rank, they presented a demonstration of the Venetian constitution and of its mixed character.⁴⁶ By the middle of the sixteenth century there was a large number of these annual processions; there had been a marked increase in these solemn obligatory observances during the 1540s, and as the century progressed they became an increasingly popular and characteristic aspect of Venetian life.⁴⁷

The *andata* to Santa Giustina was held for the first time in 1572. Since 7 October was now celebrated as one of the major feasts in the Venetian calendar, the Santa Giustina procession characteristically included not only the Doge and Signoria with the ducal *trionfi*, but also ambassadors and foreign dignitaries. At the church itself a solemn Mass was celebrated by one of the canons of San Marco, and the Doge presented specially minted coins, popularly known as 'giustine', to the nuns. Mass finished, the celebrant intoned 'Exaudi nos', and the procession returned to the Piazza chanting litanies as they went. There, there was a review of the Venetian *scuole* and of all the clergy of the city, a symbolic act emphasizing the personal discipline over the ecclesiastical establishment exercised by the Doge.⁴⁸ It was through such means that the Venetian population was constantly reminded of the unity of Church and State placed under the

⁴⁶ The basic iconography of the ducal *andata* is given in F. Sansovino, *Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 479 ff. An analysis of the procession, heavily indebted to anthropological models, is presented in E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, op. cit., pp. 185–211, which also includes a reproduction of Pagan's *Procession of the Doge on Palm Sunday*.

⁴⁷ Compare, for example, the lists of feasts given in F. Sansovino, *Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 479 ff., and in the subsequent revisions of the book by Stringa (1604) and Martinioni (1663).

⁴⁸ A description of the essential components of the *andata* to S. Giustina is provided in S. Tramontin, *Culto dei santi*, op. cit., pp. 223–4; additional details are taken from ASV Proc. de Supra Reg. 99, fols. 317–317v, with *aggiunte* for subsequent years, MCV MS. Cicogna 2770, p. 134, and MCV MS. Venier P.D. 517b (Ottobre). The occasion is also briefly noted by the Ferrarese ambassador in Venice in a letter of 8 October to the Duke of Ferrara: 'Trovandosi hieri mattina il Prencipe et Signoria con gli Ambasciatori in Santa Giustina alla messe solenne celebrata per l'annuale della vittoria' (ASMod Ambasciatori (Venezia) 96).

patronage of St Mark and guided by his representative. Thus the Santa Giustina *andata* joined together liturgical celebration of a great Venetian military victory and a civic procession which embodied the essential elements of the Venetian constitution. Within this basic scheme, standard for the sixteen *andate* which punctuated the Venetian calendar by the end of the sixteenth century, certain variations were possible. It was not uncommon, for example, for other churches to be visited in the course of the procession; SS Giovanni e Paolo became a particular favourite after 1575 when a separate chapel consecrated to the Virgin of the Rosary was established.⁴⁹ Devotion to the Rosary had been growing in strength since the middle of the fifteenth century, particularly among the increasing number of confraternities associated with the cult. Originally established in Picardy, it was introduced to Germany shortly afterwards, and to Venice in 1480, when the first confraternity was established at S. Domenico di Castello; it was for this body that Dürer painted his famous 'Feast of the Rosary'. A great increase in the popularity of the devotion occurred in the last quarter of the century as a result of its connection with Lepanto established by Pius V. The chapel in SS Giovanni e Paolo was founded in 1575; the decorative scheme, destroyed by fire in 1867, included a large painting by Domenico Tintoretto showing a simple allegory of the victory as the fruits of the Holy League. In the foreground were shown the figures of Pius, Philip II, and Doge Mocenigo with, ranged behind them, Colonna, John of Austria, and Sebastiano Venier. Above, in the heavens, the Madonna, Faith, and Santa Giustina looked down benevolently on the figures below while the battle raged in the background.⁵⁰ Similarly, the parish church of Santa

⁴⁹ See, for example, the accounts of the procession in 1577 and 1578 given in the *aggiunte posteriori* to the copy of the *ceremoniale* in ASV Proc. de Supra 98, fol. 144.

⁵⁰ A brief history of the reception of the cult of the Rosary in Venice is given in A. Niero, 'La mariegola della più antica scuola del rosario di Venezia,' *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, xv (1961), 324–36. The chapel for the confraternity of the Rosary (now destroyed) is described in G. A. Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia all'amico della belle arti* (2 vols., Venice, 1815), i, 153; see also C. A. Levi, *Notizie storiche di alcune antiche scuole di arti e mestieri scomparse o esistenti ancora in Venezia* (Venice, 1895), p. 82, and *La cappella del Rosario distrutta dal fuoco il 16 Agosto 1867. Descrizione per uso del popolo* (Venice, 1867). According to P. G. Molmenti, *Sebastiano Venier dopo la battaglia di Lepanto* (Venice, 1915), pp. 131–2, it was Pius V (1566–72) who instituted 7 October as the feast day of Our Lady of Victory, and who also added 'Auxiliarum Christianorum' to the Roman liturgy. His successor, Gregory XIII (1572–85), established the first Sunday in October as the Feast of the Rosary.

Marina was sometimes visited; in the Venetian consciousness this church was primarily associated with the recovery of Padua in 1509, and as such was also the object of an annual *andata*.⁵¹ These choices to visit SS Giovanni e Paolo or Santa Marina in the course of the Santa Giustina *andata* were not due to the personal whim of the Doge or to simple convenience, but were carefully made to strengthen the prime function of the Santa Giustina procession as a celebration, within a commonly understood civic and liturgical framework, of a great Venetian military victory.

Official promulgation of the cult of Santa Giustina did not stop with this weaving of yet another annual celebration into the rich fabric of the already crowded ceremonial life of Venice. Throughout the 1570s and beyond, her newly acquired significance within Venetian political theology was frequently expressed in the wide range of plays, verse, paintings, and sculpture that were employed to celebrate and recall the victory. Indeed, it was largely through the iconography associated with Santa Giustina that the Venetians were constantly reminded of the achievement of Lepanto in later years. One of the earliest examples is Celio Magno's play with music, *Trionfo di Christo contra Turchi*, one of the better literary efforts thrown up by the celebrations; it is dedicated to the members of the League, and carries an exuberant preface which explicitly proclaims the victory as Christ's achievement.⁵² Magno's play was given for the first time before the Doge and Senate on St Stephen's Day 1572, a day with some significance since Stephen also occupied a prominent position in the Venetian calendar; his body had been brought to Venice in 1109 and was buried in San Giorgio Maggiore. It was also on this day that the carnival season, which lasted until the first day of Lent, began.⁵³ By convention, Mass on

⁵¹ These details are taken from the account of the 1577 *andata* when the chapter of San Marco returned to the basilica via S. Marina given in MCV MS. Cicogna 2770, p. 134. On the ceremonies at S. Marina to mark the recovery of Padua see F. Sansovino, *Venetia* (1663 edn.), pp. 503-4, and G. R. Michiel, *Le origine delle feste veneziane* (6 vols., Milan, 1817), v, 24-132. Accounts occur in all the major manuscript chronicles and calendars: cf. ASV Collegio Ceremoniale 1, fol. 9, BMV MS Lat. III 172 (2276), Fol. 53^v, and MCV MS Venier P.D. 517b (Luglio).

⁵² C. Magno, *Trionfo di Christo per la vittoria contra Turchi* (Venice, 1571); also reprinted in L. Groto, *Trofeo*, op. cit. Magno's contribution to the Lepanto literature is assessed in R. Scrivano, *Il manierismo nella letteratura del cinquecento* (Padua, 1959), pp. 99-108.

⁵³ From 1609 the feast-day of St Stephen was added to the calendar of days on which the ducal *andata* was held; cf. MCV MS. Venier P.D. 517b (Dicembre). For general descriptions of the Venetian carnival, which in-

his feast-day was said at San Giorgio in the presence of the Doge, who then provided a banquet. The prototype for the performance of 'rappresentazioni' on this occasion appears to have been another of Magno's works given in 1570, but the *Trionfo di Christo* inaugurated the practice of plays with music given at the end of the feast; none of the music has survived, but the libretti have and from these it is clear that although traditional in conception they were quite elaborate in presentation, particularly under the dogeship of Marino Grimani. The *Trionfo* itself is a short and simple drama cast in the mould of the traditional *sacra rappresentazione*, and presents the familiar theme of the Venetians as the Chosen People through whose courage the Infidel has been punished. It proceeds in an entirely emblematic fashion by first introducing David, then the patron saints of the three members of the Holy League, and finally Santa Giustina and the Angel Gabriel, all of whom praise the League in general and the Venetians in particular as the agents of victory. In between these speeches there are choruses, perhaps the 'musiche straordinarie' which the Ferrarese ambassador Claudio Ariosti so admired in his report.⁵⁴ Thus in the *Trionfo* issues of history were neatly intertwined with the theme of Venetian sovereignty (by association with David) and the topic of the Venetians as the Chosen Race.

Rescued from a position of comparative obscurity in the Venetian ritual calendar, Saint Giustina was now indissolubly wedded to the crucial process of Divine intervention which had secured the victory. In the ephemeral literature she was rapidly promoted; the title-page of Paruta's funeral oration in honour of the Venetian dead, for example, shows Giustina supported by two somewhat solemn lions with, around the decorative frame, the words 'In te Domine speravi'. Above the gateway of the Arsenal, symbol and source of Venetian naval power, her statue by Gerolamo Campagna (1578) was raised with an explanatory

cluded many popular entertainments including bull-baiting and human pyramids, as well as the inevitable masquerading, fireworks, and feasting see G. Tassini, *Feste, spettacoli, divertimenti e piaceri degli antichi veneziani* (2nd edn., Venice, 1961), pp. 23-8, 35-40, 64-9, and 122-7, and B. Tamassia Mazzarotto, *Le feste veneziane: i giochi popolari, le ceremonie religiose e di governo* (Florence, 1961), pp. 31-6, 103-25.

⁵⁴ The letter, which originally but no longer included a copy of Magno's text, from Claudio Ariosti to the Duke of Ferrara, 26 December 1571, is in ASMod Ambasciatori (Venezia) 96, and records tht 'habbiamo havuto al sudetto Banchetto di musiche straordinarie et rapresentantione delle persone'.

inscription. In the decades after Lepanto, she became an increasingly familiar presence in works of art of all kinds. Among votive paintings, the most familiar is Paolo Veronese's votive painting, where Giustina is shown, alongside the traditional figure of Venice clothed in white, in the company of Saints Peter, James, and Mark, patrons of the members of the Holy League (Pl. XXIV).⁵⁵ A characteristic example of a more modest and private commission is Jacopo Tintoretto's votive painting in the church of Santa Maria del Giglio, painted for Francesco Duodo, one of the commanders of the Venetian fleet (Pl. XXV).⁵⁶ Here she is shown together with Duodo's patron saint San Francesco de'Paolo in adoration of Christ the Saviour; in the background a seascape with galleys makes an allusion to the battle. At a more general level, Giustina rapidly assumed the role of one of the protectors of Venice and its government; she is shown as such, guiding group of treasurers and secretaries of the Republic, in the Tintoretto's painting in the Correr (Pl. XXVI).⁵⁷ But the most striking of all the images of Santa Giustina to be executed in these years was the large canvas painted for the Benedictine church of Santa Giustina in Padua, where her relics lay. Although this completed the scheme for the reconstruction of the choir which had been in progress for some fifteen years, it may have been the victory itself which prompted the authorities to commission this large altar piece, signed and dated 1575, from Paolo Veronese. Against a background view of Padua, with the distinctive domes of the church of Santa Giustina clearly visible, it shows the moment of her martyrdom.⁵⁸

It is clear that the celebrations for the feast-day of Santa Giustina involved a good deal of music. The *cappella* of San Marco, the principal body of musicians in the service of Church and State, walked in the *andata* together with their *maestro*; according to the manuscript *Ceremoniale* simple double-choir litanies and psalms were sung on the way.⁵⁹ At the church itself polyphony was performed (one chronicler speaks of 'canti e

⁵⁵ For the fundamental bibliography see A. Palluchini, 'Echi della battaglia di Lepanto', op. cit., p. 282; T. Pignatti, *Veronese* (2 vols., Venice, 1976), i, cat. 283; *Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

⁵⁶ R. Palluchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto. Le opere sacre e profane* (2 vols., Milan, 1982), i, cat. A113, and bibliography cited there.

⁵⁷ R. Palluchini and P. Rossi, *Tintoretto*, op. cit., cat. 406; *Venezia e la difesa del Levante*, op. cit., pp. 30-1, and bibliography cited there.

⁵⁸ T. Pignatti, *Veronese*, op. cit., i, cat. 182, and further bibliography given there.

⁵⁹ See, for example, the account in MCV MS. Cicogna 2770.

suoni'), that is both voices and instruments, though since the feast-day did not possess its own distinct liturgy it is difficult to identify specially composed pieces. Nevertheless, what took place was evidently quite elaborate; writing in 1610 Stringa described the occasion as 'senza dubbio molto solenne', and in a letter of 1627 Claudio Monteverdi, then *maestro di cappella* at San Marco, mentions the performance of 'solemn music' for the feast as something which required considerable preparation.⁶⁰ One piece that is evidently composed for the feast-day of Santa Giustina is Giovanni Bassano's five-voiced motet, 'Beata virgo et martyr Iustina', published in 1598. Bassano, best-known as a virtuoso cornett player and author of an influential treatise on ornamentation, spent much of his career teaching singing at San Marco. The non-liturgical text of his motet celebrates the moment of Santa Giustina's martyrdom as recalled in Veronese's painting:

Beata virgo et martyr Iustina raperetur ad supplitium cum ab impiissimo tiranno clamabat ad Dominum gratias tibi ago Domine quem semper amavi quem quaesivi quem optavi quia me in numerum martrum accipere dignatus fuisti. Alleluia.⁶¹

The final ceremonial act on the feast-day of Santa Giustina occurred at Second Vespers in San Marco. On the more important days in the Venetian calendar, of which this was now one, the *cappella* was required to be present for this service, and polyphony was sung while the *Pala d'oro* was open. This large gold altar-piece, constructed in Constantinople in 976 and much enlarged in the following centuries, occupied a central role in the liturgy of

⁶⁰ See G. Stringa, *La chiesa di S. Marco, capella del Serenissimo principe di Venetia* (Venice, 1610), p. 75. Monteverdi's two letters are those of 10 September and 25 September 1627. The former says that 'the Feast of the Rosary being over, and His Highness back from Maderno, it will be easy for me to get to Mantua', the latter that 'on that day [7 October] the Most Serene Doge goes in procession to S. Giustina to give thanks to God our Saviour for the joyous naval victory. He is accompanied by the entire Senate, and solemn music is sung': D. Stevens (ed.), *Claudio Monteverdi: The Letters* (London, 1980), letters 107 and 111.

⁶¹ From G. Bassano, *Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8, & 12 voci* (Venice, 1598); the function of Bassano's piece is suggested not only by its text, but also by the characterization of the complete volume given in Bassano's dedicatory preface to the Procurators of San Marco: 'Poi che essendo io (mercè la benignità, & cortesia loro) Maestro di Musica dell'honoratissimo suo Seminario, & havendo fatto li presenti componimenti, per servizio di quello, che spesso nelle publiche solennità suol comparire, con Musica inanzi alla Sereniss. Signoria ...'

the Basilica. On ferial days and minor feasts it was covered by a second altar-piece, painted by Paolo Veneziano and his sons in 1345. But on major feasts, of which there were some three dozen in the course of the year, Veneziano's altar-piece was removed by an elaborate system of wheels and pulleys to reveal the *Pala d'oro* to the congregation. When this happened, according to the *Ceremoniale*, 'the singers must sing Vespers in two choirs with psalms set for eight voices'.⁶² The large number of double-choir Vespers psalms to be found in publications by composers employed by San Marco, including Gabrieli and Monteverdi, is a reflection of this liturgical requirement. Here, as elsewhere in the relationship of music and ceremonial in the Basilica, there seems to have been a broad principle at work. The musical style which the San Marco composers might choose for their works was not necessarily the result of free artistic design, but could be highly dependent on liturgical function and on an acute awareness of tradition. For the Venetians of the Seicento, a period of decline and uncertainty, the service of Vespers on a major feast-day became a powerful evocation of the past glories of the *Serenissima*. Then, in a liturgical framework peculiar to the Basilica, before an altar captured from Byzantium, the singers of San Marco performed psalms in a distinct idiom which recalled the origins of the Venetian musical tradition, and the great days of the Republic itself, when its military and economic strength was at its height.⁶³

As in other Venetian victory celebrations, the Santa Giustina *andata* provided the Government of the Republic with a double opportunity; to honour a saint and commemorate the dead, but also to strengthen social cohesion through communal displays of piety and patriotism. In the case of the Turks, who remained uneasily and prominently lodged in the Venetian collective consciousness despite Lepanto, there was the added attraction of annually identifying a common enemy. Similar purposes were also served by the *Mascherata* presented during the Carnival season of 1572. Although this was not sponsored by the State, it seems to have been the most elaborate of all the Venetian

⁶² ASV Proc. de Supra Reg. 99, fol. 411 (7 October): 'Messa in S. Marco a Cappella, quando il Serenissimo non potesse andare alla Chiesa di Santa Giustina, dove si canta la messa a capella, e vespero con palla in S. Marco a due cor.'

⁶³ J. H. Moore, 'The *Vespero delli Cinque Laudate*,' op. cit.

celebrations of the victory; according to the undated anonymous pamphlet which provides all that we know about the event, three hundred and forty people took part, including a large number of musicians and one hundred costumed as Turkish slaves.⁶⁴ Beginning from the church of the Madonna dell'Orto in the north of the city, this vast procession gradually wound its way through the narrow streets to the Piazza San Marco which was then encircled in the traditional fashion.

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, clearly didactic in purpose, presents in striking terms a simple political allegory. At the head was Faith trampling on the Turkish serpent, preceded by Hope and Charity and followed by the four Cardinal Virtues. This was standard rhetoric, a visual display of the orthodox humanist assumption that the virtues singled out by the moralists of antiquity, and without which no one can be accounted a man of true *virtus*, will only be in vain unless stiffened and supported by fundamental Christian qualities. And of these the most important was Faith which, as the political theorist Francesco Patrizi had put it, 'gives forth such splendour that all the other virtues of kings and princes become obscure without it'.⁶⁵ By implication it was precisely the possession of these virtues, and above all Faith, by the members of the Holy League, that had secured the defeat of the Infidel. As if to clarify this message, there followed three *carri trionfali* displaying personifications of Rome, Spain, and Venice. Finally came Victory, a woman dressed in red velvet carrying a palm branch and laurel wreaths. Under her feet was a Turkish slave, and the design of the chariot itself provided the symbolic image of the serpent cut into two.

It is with this simple allegory that the only surviving music for *Mascherata* is associated. Following on immediately were three groups of four singers, each representing a different continent. The first, ironically in the circumstances, was dressed 'alla

⁶⁴ *Ordine, et dichiarazione di tutta la Mascherata, fatta nella citta di Venetia la domenica di carnevale, 1571, per la gloriosa vittoria contra Turchi* (Venice, 1572). Since this affair was not officially supported by the Republic, there are no surviving accounts in official sources such as those that exist for the procession for the Holy League or the *andata* to Santa Giustina. Nor is it commented upon in the chronicles of the time.

⁶⁵ F. Patrizi in *De Regno et Regis Institutione* as in Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1978), i, 125-8.

Turchesca' to represent Asia, the second 'alla Moresca' to suggest Africa, and the last, inevitably, 'all'Italiana' to personify Europe. Each group performed a four-part madrigal in praise of the victory, and then all twelve singers joined together in an exuberant demonstration of universal joy. Here the ubiquitous theme of the victory as Christ's victory makes a reappearance:

Cantiam dunque cantiamo; e in ogni parte
 Gratie si renda al sommo Re del Cielo.
 Et sol a lui si dia con puro zelo
 Lode, e Gloria de ben che a noi comparte.⁶⁶

The music for the three Continents, but not for the final peroration, was published almost twenty years later in Andrea Gabrieli's *Madrigali et ricercari a quattro voci*.⁶⁷ There it occurs alongside a mixed bag of genuine madrigals, instrumental pieces, and simple choruses from plays, presumably written over a period of many years. The *Madrigali* appeared without dedication or preface, and were probably assembled by Andrea's nephew Giovanni, who, like his uncle, spent most of his career at San Marco. These three short pieces for the *Mascherata* are not advertised as such, but their texts are in agreement with those published in the anonymous description of the procession. Gabrieli's pieces are cast in a simple homophonic language occasionally enlivened by madrigalian touches. Yet within the obvious constraints of a style designed for outside performance, the composer has sought to characterize each continent by the use of three different clef combinations, and three different arrangements of vocal ranges. In practice the contrasts between the three continents are not so great as their similarities, but it is clear that, taken together with its missing final section for twelve voices, Gabrieli's music constitutes a modified form of dialogue madrigal in which each group is characterized before all the voices join together to deliver some generalized statement.

Following Gabrieli's musicians, the character of the *Mascherata* moves away from this serious if crude exposition of a simple political theme in the direction of carnival traditions. But what may seem to us to be a rather dramatic disjunction between the earlier part of the *Mascherata* and what now follows is entirely characteristic of the Venetian carnival. During this period, which stretched from the feast of Saint Stephen to the first day of

⁶⁶ *Ordine, et dechiaratione*, op. cit., fol. [A⁴]^v.

⁶⁷ A. Gabrieli, *Madrigali et ricercari a quattro voci* (Venice, 1589).

Lent, there were innumerable popular entertainments in which it was common for chivalric conceits and neo-classical iconography to be mixed with popular carnivalesque themes.⁶⁸ So it would have been no surprise that the remaining *carri* were both more miscellaneous and more traditional in character. Most were connected with annual Venetian feasts and customs, and a number involved groups of musicians. The feast of the First of August for example was represented by Bacchus together with 'cinque todeschi con fiaschi di Malvasia, bicchieri in mano, cantando . . . viva viva Bacco, Bacco'. This text is cast in the eight-syllable line of the *barzioletta* which was usually set in triple time with much use of cross-rhythms. Following the figure of Carnival itself came 'quattro villani che sonando con una lira cantavanò villotte'. A number of the sung texts are in dialect, and accompanied familiar caricatures from Venetian life, 'maschere diverse, come magnifici Ziani, Todeschi e villani'. Although none of the music for any of these texts survives, similar pieces were published by a number of Venetian composers including Andrea Gabrieli. It is also likely that some of these songs came out of popular traditions and had been handed down orally. The *Mascherata* concluded with a figure of Time, and a Triumph of Death 'per dimostrar che in questa Vittoria anchor lei ha trionafato', thus fusing popular themes with Petrarchan tradition.

In common with the other public processions and the celebrations organized by the merchant communities, the Lepanto *Mascherata* was widely propagandist. 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 *carri*, with which Andrea Gabrieli's music was associated. In fact, with its rather obvious structural division into two parts, the carnival *Mascherata* of 1572 is a perfect example of the differentiated modes of celebration which are characteristic of Venetian public ritual. Like carnival itself, the *Mascherata* did

⁶⁸ The Venetian carnival has been extensively discussed. For basic accounts see p. 224, n. 53, above, to which could be usefully added the older account in P. G. Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica* (3 vols., 2nd edn., Bergamo, 1910-12), i, pp. 55-84. For an interpretation of the characteristics of Venetian carnival drawing on recent analyses of the phenomenon of carnival in other places in early modern Europe see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, op. cit., pp. 156-81.

not have single meaning or purpose, but a variety of them. But one element that makes it distinctively Venetian is its reinforcement of popular acceptance of the political status quo through an iconography which had in large measure been evolved and controlled by the state. What is of particular interest in this connection is not only the strong involvement of music, and the way it is used to support some of the main iconographical themes of the pageant, but also the hierarchical ordering of musical genres and styles, from specially composed madrigals in a learned manner to popular songs in dialect. The *Mascherata*, like the other Venetian processions which filled the calendar, was not only a form of public entertainment but also an instrument of social order. In this, music had an important and carefully calculated role.

Underlining all the celebrations of the victory at Lepanto were that commonly understood set of beliefs about the Republic that historians have come to call the 'Myth of Venice'.⁶⁹ At the centre of the idea lies the notion of Venetian political stability, its freedom from internal division and strife, a concept that had been enlarged in the fifteenth century by humanists who began to identify Venice with classical models of republicanism. This aspect of the myth had been evolved into a precious political asset which served both to unify the citizens and to foster a civic spirit. It was also the late fifteenth century, the high point of Venetian economic strength, that saw the beginnings of a state patronage of architecture which culminated in Jacopo Sansovino's neo-Vitruvian remodelling of the central civic and ceremonial space of the city, the Piazza San Marco.⁷⁰ In this, and in other

⁶⁹ The literature on the myth of Venice is large and continues to grow, but the fundamental studies remain F. Chabod, 'Venezia nella politica italiana ed europea del Cinquecento' in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento* (Florence, 1958), pp. 29-55; G. Fasoli, 'Nascità di un mito' in *Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe* (Florence, 1958), i, 447-79; F. Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, xxiii (1961), 58-75; and F. Gilbert, 'The Venetian Constitution in Florentine Political Thought' in N. Rubenstein (ed.) *Florentine Studies: Politics and Society in Renaissance Florence* (London, 1968), pp. 463-500. See also L. J. Libby, 'Venetian History and Political Thought after 1509', *Studies in the Renaissance*, xx (1973), 7-45; M. Gilmore, 'Myth and Reality in Venetian Political Theory' in J. R. Hale (ed.), *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973), pp. 431-44; W. J. Bouwsma, 'Venice and the Political Education of Europe', *ibid.*, pp. 445-66; and E. Muir, *Civic Ritual*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-61.

⁷⁰ The origins and development of this project are discussed in D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino. Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London, 1975), pp. 10-37.

ways, the government showed itself to be keenly aware of the politics of prestige and the value of the arts in the business of ruling. Similar motivations were responsible for the noticeable increase in civic and religious ceremonial in Renaissance Venice, and it was as part of this phenomenon that the state also embarked upon a more extensive patronage of music, perhaps encouraged by the examples of both the Papacy and the north Italian courts. The increased richness of Venetian musical life by the middle of the sixteenth century is reflected in the city's position as the European capital of music printing and instrument making, both areas in which government support and intervention were critical, as well as in the expanded musical activities of the *scuole grande*. It is evident above all in the growth in size and importance of the musical establishment at San Marco. The significance that music came to acquire in Venetian society during the Renaissance was not due merely to the demands of patricians for entertainment, or to the Church for suitable ornamentation of the liturgy. On the contrary, music was consciously cultivated and patronized by the government of the Republic as part of a more general interest in civic and religious ritual, aural and visual manifestations of the 'Myth of Venice'.⁷¹

That point is neatly illustrated by Jacopo Sansovino's explanation of the iconography of the new Loggetta at the base of the campanile of St Mark's which he designed in 1537. The previous structure had been used by the nobility as a meeting-place when they came to the Piazza on government business. Sansovino's replacement, decorated with precious materials and rich sculptural decoration based on classical allegory and mythology, imposed a different dimension by taking on a more official purpose; it has been described as 'the most complete visual representation of the Venetian's view of their own state as the perfect republic'.⁷² During the sessions of the Grand Council the Loggetta was occupied by three of the Procurators attended by guards supplied by the Arsenal; in 1611 the English traveller Thomas Coryate described it as 'a place where some of the Procurators of St. Marke's doe sit in iudgement and discuss matters of controversies'.⁷³ Giacomo Franco's early seventeenth-century engraving shows the Loggetta being used in precisely this

⁷¹ For a general introduction to the subject see E. Rosand, 'Music in the Myth of Venice', *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxx (1977), 511-37.

⁷² D. Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino*, op. cit., p. 34.

⁷³ T. Coryate, *Coryate's Crudities* (London, 1611), p. 185.

way (Pl. XXVII). Invested with a new symbolic power, what had formerly been a casual meeting-place now served as a visual reminder to the Venetian population of some of the essential elements of the 'Myth of Venice'. According to Jacopo Sansovino's son Francesco, the plan for the new Loggetta was proposed and promoted by one of the Procurators, who possibly invented or at least commissioned the iconographic programme. At the centre of the scheme are the four bronze statues, representing Minerva, Apollo, Mercury, and Peace, which occupy the niches in the façade. 'The statue of Apollo,' reports Francesco, 'is the sun, which is singular and unique, just as this Republic, for its constituted laws, its unity and uncorrupted liberty, is a sun in the world, regulated with justice and wisdom. Furthermore, it is known how this nation takes a more than ordinary delight in music, and Apollo signifies music . . . from the union of the magistracies, combined with equable temperament, there arises an unusual harmony, which perpetuates this admirable government.'⁷⁴

Sansovino's deployment of musical terminology as political metaphor is not an isolated example; something similar occurs in a passage from Paruta's *Discorsi politici*, which speaks of the wonderful union and concord of the Venetian population,⁷⁵ and a more elaborate instance turns up in a dialect *Fantasia* written in praise of the city. Here the divisions of the scale are equated with features of Venetian life:

Quà ghe sè i numeri della musica. El ton, e'l semiton da i pescaori: l'unisono de i Organi de San Marco: la terza delle Antene in piazza: la quarta del soller: la quinta scarser de veder se la gallina ha el vuovo; la sesta delle scuole grande: la settimana con la nona, perche molti passa senza pericolo l'anno climaterico: la ottava de i stendardi: e la decima à i diese savij; e perche la vose no me serve, no possar andar pì alto . . .⁷⁶

The widespread currency of such analogies in Venetian liter-

⁷⁴ F. Sansovino-G. Martinioni, *Venetia*, op. cit., pp. 307 ff: [. . .] significa il Sole, & il Sole è veramente un solo, & non più & però si chiama Sole, così questa Repub. per constitutioni di leggi, per unione, & per incorrotta liberta è una sola nel mondo più, regolata con giustizia & con sapientia. Oltre à cio si sà per ogn'uno, che questa natione si diletta per ordinario della musica, & però Apollo è figurata per la musica. Ma perche dall'unione de i Magistrati che sono congiunti insieme con temperamento indicibil, esce inusitata harmonia, la qual perpetua questo ammirando governo, pero fù fabricato l'Apollò [. . .]

⁷⁵ P. Paruta, *Discorsi politici. Aggiuntovi un soliloquio* (Venice, 1599), p. 391.

⁷⁶ *Fantasia composta in laude de Venisia* (Venice, 1582), p. 8.

ature of the late Cinquecento is some indication of the considerable extent to which an appreciation of music and even a rudimentary knowledge of its technicalities had permeated the life of the Republic. One of the most celebrated examples occurs in a passage from Gasparo Contarini's famous celebration of the Venetian system, *La repubblica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, where the familiar metaphor of consonance is employed in praise of the government of the Republic.⁷⁷ But these reflections of the rich musical activities of Venice are not merely figures of speech; behind the conceits lay a musical reality. In Renaissance Venice religion and statecraft, procession and ceremony, music and the other arts, were fused into a carefully controlled celebratory language, a vocabulary fit for the articulation of the Myth of Venice. Perhaps nowhere in the course of the Cinquecento can the essential features of that language be seen at work more clearly than in the reactions to the victory at Lepanto, a high point in the Venetian cultivation of the rhetoric of Republican imperialism, a rhetoric in which music played a fundamental role.

⁷⁷ G. Contarini, *La repubblica i magistrati di Vinegia* (Venice, 1548), p. xxxiii: '... fù ordinato nella nostra Republica il Senato, e'l consiglio de Dieci; i quali nella Città di Vinegia (la cui Republica dissi essere misto di stato Regio, popolare, & nobile) rapresentato lo stato de nobili: & sono certi mezzi, con i quali le estreme parti, ciò è lo stato popolare, il gran Consiglio, e'l Prencipe, il quale rappresentata la persona d'un Re, insieme con stretto nodo si stringono. Così dice Platone nel Timeo, che gli estremi elementi, la terra, e'l fuoco, co gli elementi di mezzo si congiungono, & legino. Così nella consonantia del Diapason le voci estreme con quelle di mezzo del Diatessaron, & Diapente insieme s'accordano.' On Contarini and his book see F. Gilbert, 'The Date of Composition of Contarini's and Gianotti's Books on Venice,' *Studies in the Renaissance*, xiv (1967), 172-84.