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chapter eight

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## Some Thoughts on the Social and Political Culture of Baroque Venice<sup>1</sup>

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This essay is part of a wider research project on the features of the self-cognizance of Venetians in the period from the late sixteenth century to the late seventeenth, the age of Venice's last, great Mediterranean wars: Cyprus (1570–3), Candia (1645–69), and the Morea (1684–99). Those events nurtured vast and complex forms of exaltation and auto-celebration of the 'Most Serene Republic' and her men, through public festivals, prints, paintings, booklets, poems, and architecture. We may understand the deep changes in contemporary Venetian society by observing how those media represented fundamental social values such as honour, heroism, piety, civic harmony, friendship, competition, sense of the state, individualism, family – to name but a few. In particular, the target of the project is to seek the 'social culture' of the city, the culture whose primary function is structuring the mythical visions of the community, to convey aristocratic and popular interests, and to put the two parts into dialogue; a culture that, however, may sometimes reveal some conflict and resistance to the establishment of concord and the common well-being.

The approach to the social culture must necessarily be interdisciplinary, attempting to combine social, political, cultural, and art history. Therefore, a vast number of literary and iconographical sources have to be considered, describing festivities or the lives of major military, civil, and political figures, or the social life of the city; but also presenting the basic features of the auto-celebration of individuals, families, and the state.

The influence of Fernand Braudel in this field must not be underrated. The author of *La Méditerranée* only rarely mentioned public feasts

or similar phenomena, but stressed the relevance of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque culture for Europe, while suggesting some methodological and historical lines that I would like to recall.

From the methodological point of view, most relevant is the famous introduction to the first edition of *The Mediterranean*. Among the three different divisions of historical times suggested by Braudel, the history of the Venetian civic culture may be concerned with two:

- The second level, that of conjuncture, history ‘with slow but perceptible rhythms,’ the ‘social history of groups and groupings,’ states, societies and ‘civilizations.’ Braudel calls it ‘social time.’<sup>2</sup>
- The third level, the *évènementielle*, the history of the ‘individual’ and events, or ‘individual history.’

My project operates mainly on this level. It focuses on prominent men such as captains or doges, as well as single moments such as one-time ceremonies. Events allow a dialogue between structure – Braudel’s first level – and conjuncture as well: ‘Movement and immobility complement and explain one another,’ Braudel wrote.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore – he said ten years later – each event is linked to a series of other events and realities, and may bear witness to deeper phenomena.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond methodology, Braudel’s concept of ‘civilization’ is very interesting. In chapter 6 he admits that civilizations are the ‘most perplexing’ of the ‘complex and contradictory faces of the Mediterranean world,’ sometimes stable but sometimes even ‘shifting and straying.’ Then he stresses the importance of the Mediterranean baroque for the rest of Europe: ‘the Baroque, conveniently designates the civilization of the Christian Mediterranean: wherever we find the Baroque we can recognize the mark of Mediterranean culture.’ The Renaissance did not have the same impact in Europe, while the baroque spread out from Italy, Rome, and Spain, to Austria, Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland. The influence of the Roman baroque, for instance, permitted Catholic iconographical themes to cross and re-cross all of Europe.<sup>5</sup>

For Braudel this is another proof that the Mediterranean did not go into a complete decline after the end of the sixteenth century. On the contrary, the Mediterranean kept an ‘eminent position ... in the building of the modern world.’

Some of these observations were recalled and expanded in Braudel’s outstanding chapter of the *Storia d’Italia* (1974): ‘L’Italia fuori d’Italia.

Due secoli e tre Italie.<sup>6</sup> In that essay Braudel analyses, among other things, 'Italy's greatest age,' the century between 1550 and 1650, the 'baroque' century. This period was like 'wave after wave of the sea' for the Italian contribution to European culture: 'Italy knew at that time an extraordinary tension,'<sup>7</sup> and the baroque 'was responsible for a series of modern inventions going well beyond the religious or artistic forms they invented.' Also, culture became a leading 'business and industry,' and the primacy of culture had never been so 'officially' accepted as it was now.

Venice played a crucial part in this. In *La Méditerranée* Braudel stated that Venice was still flourishing in the sixteenth century, and during the final years of the century and the beginning of the following she abandoned herself 'once more to the pleasures of living and of thinking. Her late Renaissance is a proof of this.'<sup>8</sup> Even in the seventeenth century, Venice was able to draw forth strength and financial resources and play a crucial role in two major Mediterranean crises, the wars of Morea and Candia. In fact, Braudel called the latter 'Venice's Thirty Years War,' a war which the Republic waged 'practically alone, with courage, determination and resources indicative of the city's wealth.'<sup>9</sup>

My concern is to evaluate the effects of the 'baroque explosion' described by Braudel on the dialogue between the different sectors of Venetian society, even beyond Braudel's 'baroque century,' and going beyond a purely cultural approach. Most important for my research is that the two conflicts, as well as the later Morean war, brought the flowering of several public and private celebrations, from the joy over the victory of Lepanto to the abundant productions, in the seventeenth century, to honour the 'glorious' sea captains and their victories. The apogee was reached late in the century, during the Morean war, with the huge commemorations for the captain, doge, and hero Francesco Morosini.

The vast number of visual and literary sources proves that in baroque Venice, on the one hand, power had to search for a renewed way to display itself; and that, on the other hand, closer contact between noble and popular culture was needed, to enhance and maintain social consensus through long decades of international and internal hardship. In this essay I will present just a few directions that might be taken to enquire whether the rebuilding of a 'social culture' worked or not, and how for Venice in this period what Braudel wrote in 1950 may be true: 'In a civilization's area, the social content may completely renew itself two or three times without touching certain deep structural elements.'<sup>10</sup>

## 1 'Feeding' the Venetian Public: Civic and Religious Festivals

We must recall here one of Braudel's insights about the Italian baroque: there was 'an exuberance, a bubbling of life, an intellectual effervescence, all over Italy. The public had become an ogre hungry to be fed.'<sup>11</sup>

To 'feed' the population, the Venetian state adopted many different methods in the baroque. For instance, after a long period of inactivity (since 1540), it resumed the patronage of monuments exalting key figures of the Venetian wars. Sculptures were sponsored to represent famous captains who served the Republic at different times, such as Pompeo Giustinian and Orazio Baglioni (in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, 1620), Bartolomeo d'Alviano (Santo Stefano, 1633), Almerigo d'Este (Frari, 1666), and Orazio Farnese (Gesuiti, 1675).<sup>12</sup>

More important, to celebrate the crucial moments of the city's history the government staged impressive public festivals which aimed to dictate precise models of civic spirit and communal moral behaviour. A main feature of these ceremonies was particularly reinforced in the late Renaissance and baroque, that is, the tight interplay between civic worship and religious worship through the evocation of the Republic's patron St Mark, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints.

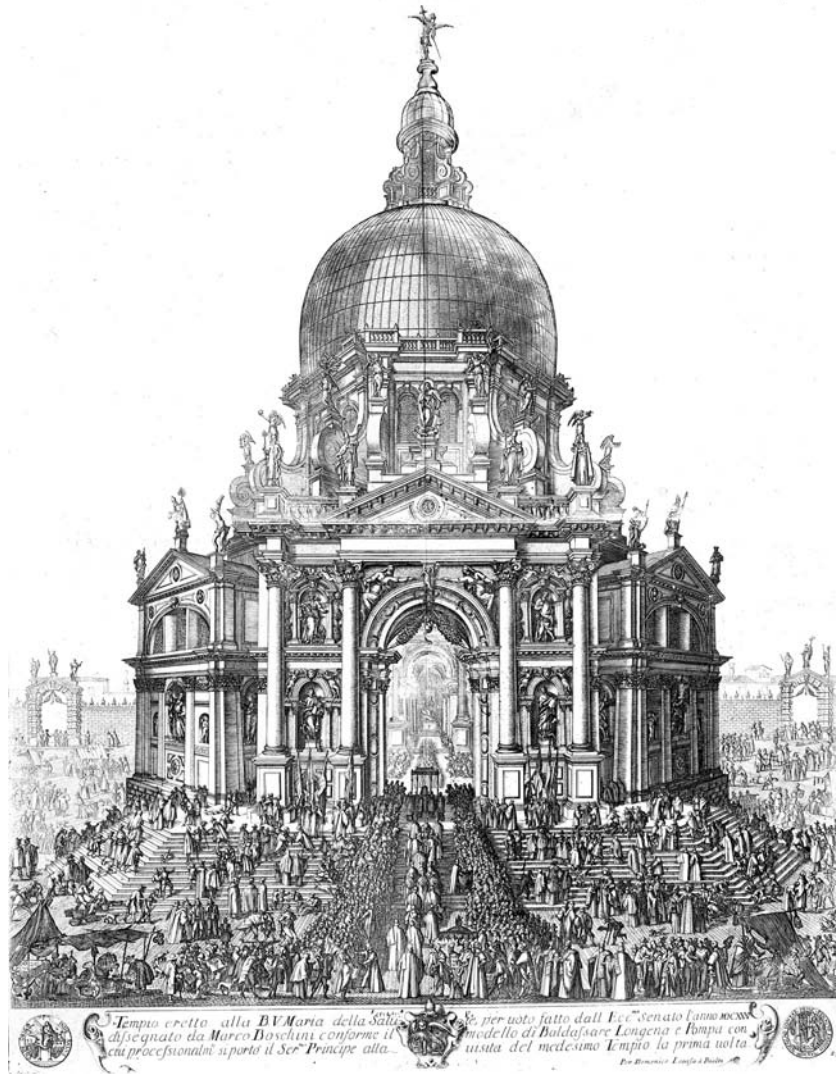
In September 1571 and February 1572, for instance, the identification between Venice, St Mark, and Charity was displayed on two occasions: the procession for the League against the Turks and a Carnival masquerade for the victory of Lepanto.<sup>13</sup> In June 1649 the devotional allure of the Republic was stated in the vast celebrations which followed the news of the Venetian victory in the waters off Phocaea. These festivals lasted eight days, and included a series of great processions, one inside the basilica of St Mark's, others connecting the basilica to the cathedral of San Pietro in Castello. The bodies of three saints, Nereus, Archelaus, and Pancratius, were exposed in San Zaccaria (in fulfilment of a vow to God made by the doge a few weeks before), while in the basilica of St Mark's two Marian images and other relics were displayed. On 24 June, the feast day of St John the Baptist, the Greek community held a procession from their church of San Giorgio to St Mark's. The chronicler of the event, Giovanni Dalla Spada, wrote: 'The whole City was a Church ... or an earthly paradise.'<sup>14</sup>

In these events the strategy of 'republican' worship was combined again – as so many times in the past – with the capacity of Venetian ritual to connect the centre, St Mark's, to various 'peripheries.' The same combination was realized when the creation of a new church and a new feast

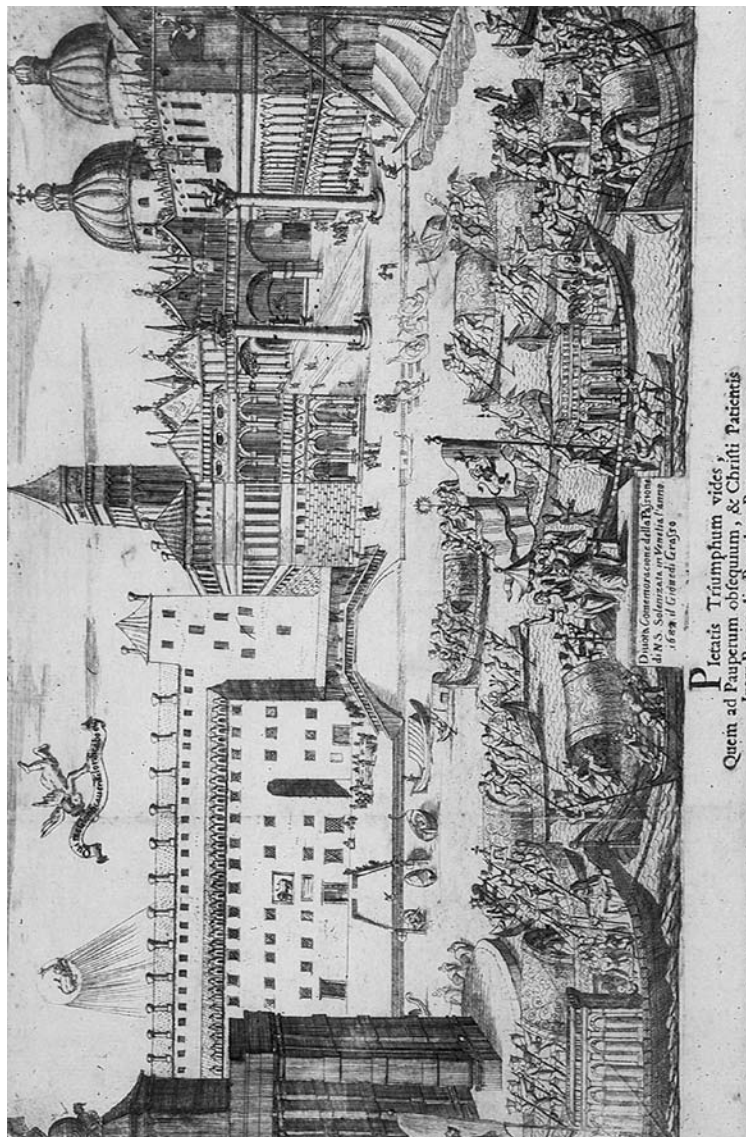
day was celebrated. All through the history of the 'Most Serene Republic,' the foundation of a religious building by the state had been a pretext for the so-called 'andata dogale,' the procession of the ducal court from St Mark's to the new church and its return to the basilica (where a final mass was performed). This typical 'network' ritual procedure had the effect of predetermining the form of public space by linking the centre to peripheries or new settlements, and by allowing those peripheries to be transformed into active and integrated parts of the political topography. But the 'andata' conditioned sacred time as well, since a new feast was normally inserted into the city's calendar (and the same processional route would be followed each year).<sup>15</sup> The continual refining of the civic year was therefore a way for the state to perpetuate the ancient presence of St Mark in the urban fabric and in popular religiosity: in fact, the patron saint was the highest expression of the osmosis between the Republic's secular and spiritual power, as the doge was at the same time the supreme head of the state and of the Venetian church. This confirms Braudel's basic view: 'Through all the changes ... there are areas of astonishing permanence ... Civilizations live on in their own way, anchored to a few fixed and seemingly unalterable points.'<sup>16</sup>

After assigning 7 October to be the feast day of Santa Giustina, in 1571, to commemorate the victory of Lepanto, in the baroque period the government introduced important additions to the traditional calendar. The foundation of the church of the Salute was celebrated on 21 November 1631, to thank God for the end of the plague; the ceremony would be observed in future on the same date. Similarly, it was decided to honour the victory in the Dardanelles in June 1656 by establishing a ducal procession to the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and a regular feast day on 26 June.<sup>17</sup> In 1690 another annual rite was established on the day of San Gaetano, with an 'andata' to the Theatine convent: the purpose was to commemorate the triumphal conquest of the Morea, a region in southern Greece.<sup>18</sup>

The religious fever that was sweeping the city at the instigation of the government influenced other components of society as well, such as the religious orders and the clergy. One important action these religious components attempted was to impose a more religious content onto the traditional carnivalesque day of the *Giovedì Grasso* (Fat Thursday). New devotional rites were introduced, such as the exposition of the Holy Sacrament and the Forty Hours, or processions around the city's churches.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, achieving this end was not always easy, as the following example will show.



M. Boschini and D. Lovisa, *Tempio eretto alla Beata Vergine della Salute, per un voto fatto dall'Eccellentissimo Senato l'anno MDCXXXI*, print, in 'Il Gran Teatro di Venezia, ovvero raccolta delle principali vedute e pitture che in essa si contengono,' Venice, per Domenico Lovisa, 1720.



**P**ietatis Triumphum videt,  
Quem ad Pauperum obsequium, & Christi Pauperis  
Intra Paucissima Pauperum Domum

*Divota Comemorazione della Passione di N.S. Solennizata in Venetia l'anno 1682 il Giovedì Grasso, print, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Stampe P.D. 1969, Venice.*



## S O N E T T O.

*F*RA l'ampie Logge del regal Soggiorno,  
Ove il dono d'Araçne a noi fidato  
Cresce col Tuo favor più vicino e adorno,  
S'erge quest'Arco al Nome Tuo sacro.  
E spargendo la Fama il grido usato  
Di Tue Virtù oltre il Tarpéo d'intorno,  
Siedono gli antichi arvanzi, ond'è guarato,  
Il Campidoglio, e n'abbia invidia e scorno.

*C*he se dal Tempo la superba Mole  
Vinta cadrà, nel cor de' servi Tuoi  
Il Tuo Nome avrà chiaro immortale:  
Scorre del cieco obbligo l'onda fatale  
Fin su le tombe de' famosi Eroi;  
Ma sempre bello in Ciel risplende il Sole.

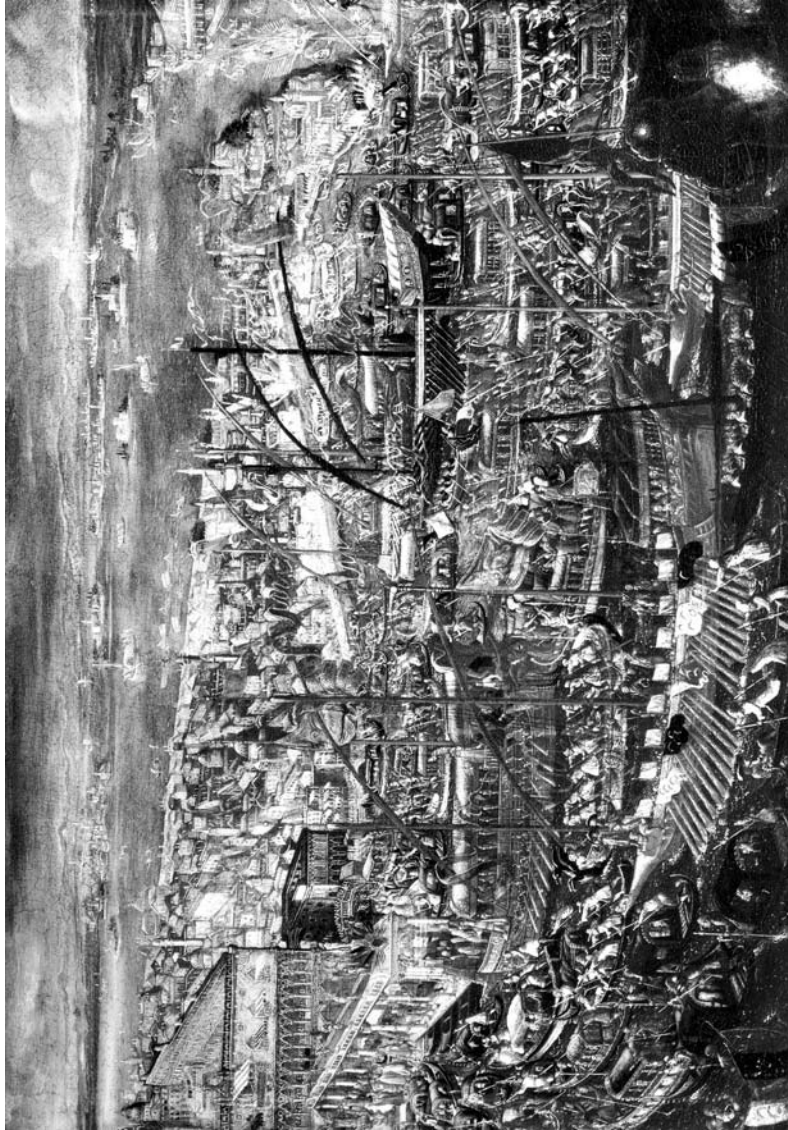


Poem in honour of the Procurator Alvise II Contarini, 1778, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Stampe Prov. Molin 2059, Venice.

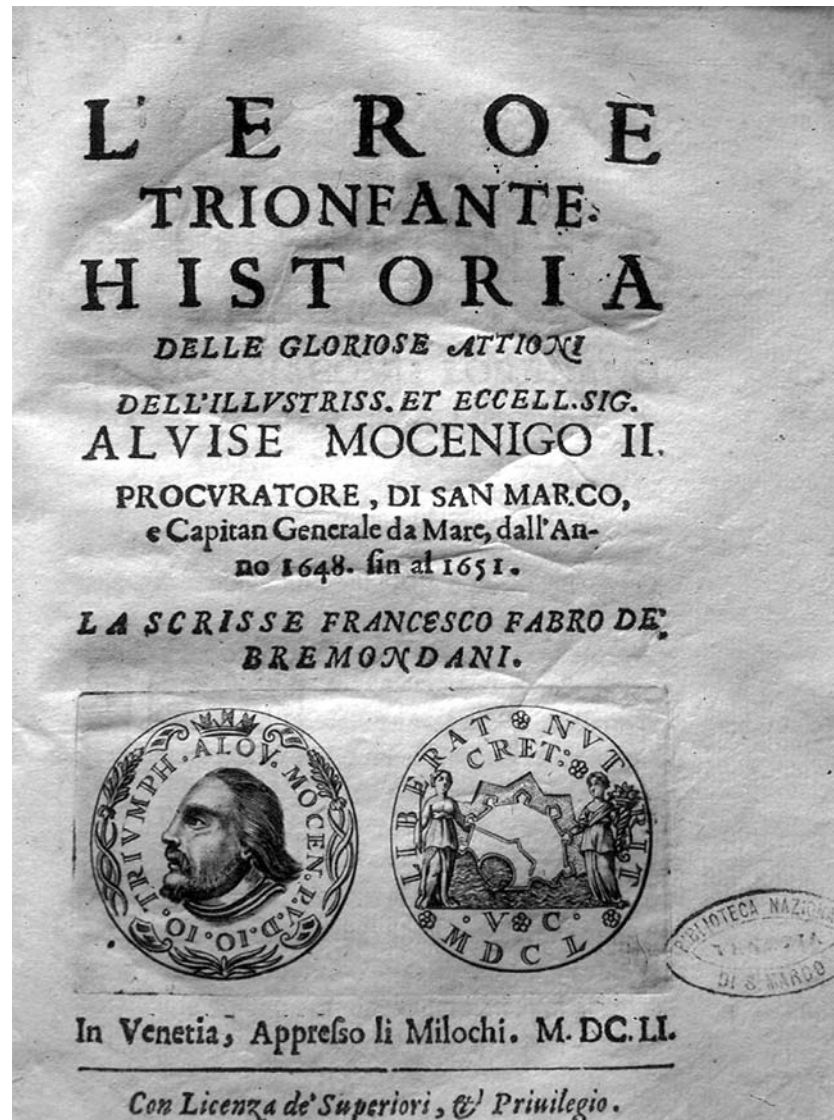




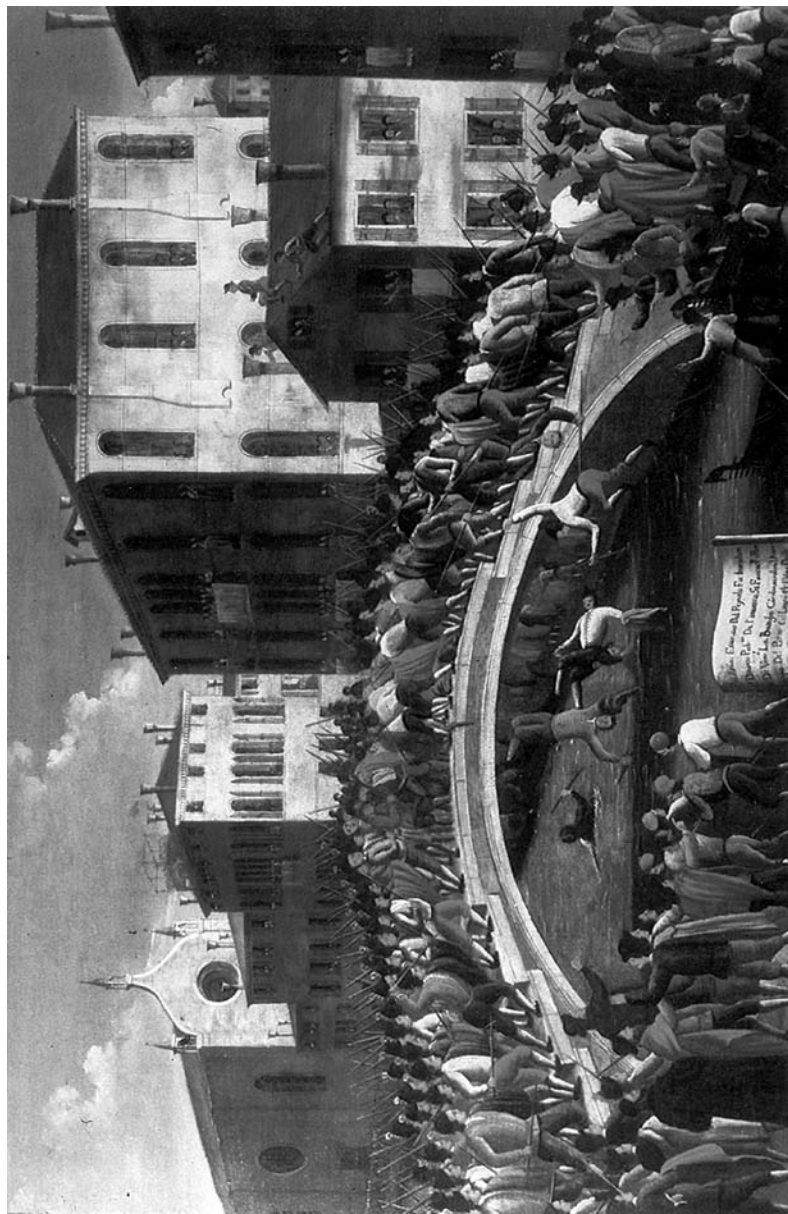
Façade, Church of Santa Maria del Giglio, Archivio fotografico Osvaldo Böhm, Venice.



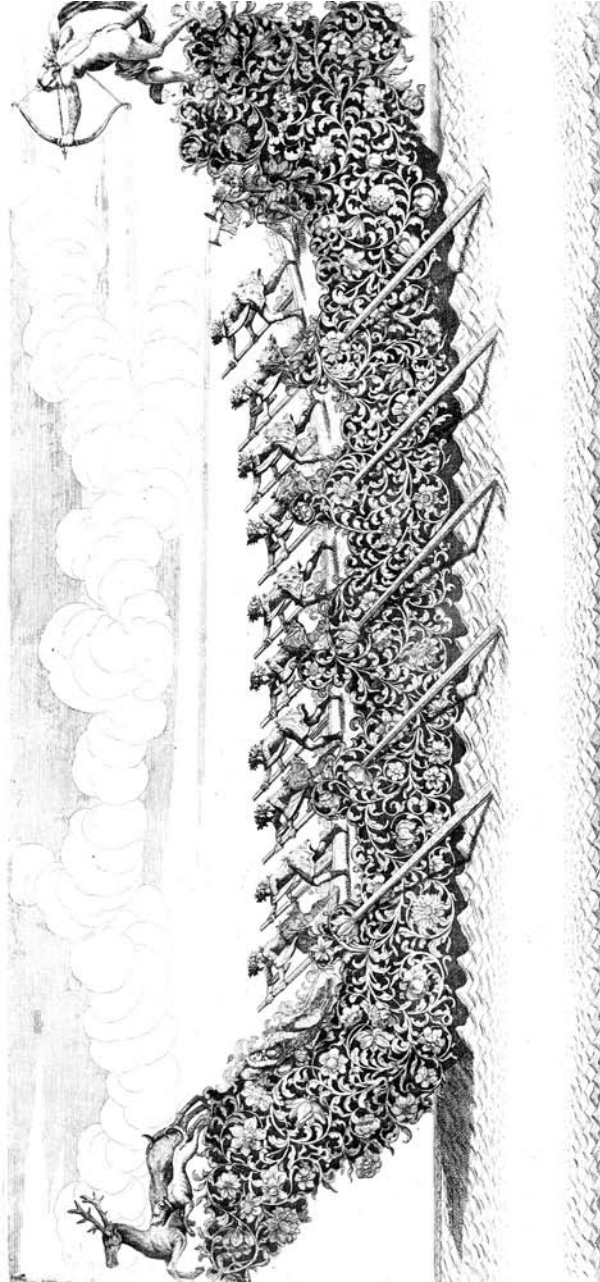
A. Piazza, *Celebrations in honour of Francesco Morosini returning from the Levant*, painting, Museo Correr, Venice.



Front cover of F. Fabro Bremundan, *L'eroe trionfante. Historia delle gloriose azioni dell'illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signor Alvise Mocenigo II ...*, Venice, Milochi, 1651.



Anonymous (17th century), *Lotta dei pugni a San Barnaba*, painting, Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia, Venice.



A. Della Via and A. Porto, *Peota' of the Goddess Diana in honour of the Duke of Brunswick, 1686*, print, in *Bissone, peote e galleggianti*, ed. G. Romanelli, Venice, 1980, pl. 56.

In the 1670s, on *Giovedì Grasso* the Jesuits of the Oratorio of Santa Croce established a procession of orphans and the poor, proceeding from the Fondamenta Nuove to the hospital of the Incurabili. But in 1681 the Jesuits found difficulties in traversing the city because of the carnival confusion, and therefore the following year the cortege was transformed into a 'devout lagoon procession in honour of the Passion of the Redeemer.' Permission was granted by the prominent Council of Ten, while two *burchielli* and twelve *peote* (festive Venetian boats) were donated by various noblemen, and several liveries by Francesco Morosini (an important senator). On the Fat Thursday of 1682 the waterborne procession followed a route from the Pietà to the Fondamenta Nuove. It included poor from the hospital of the Mendicanti and orphans from the Ospitaletto and the Pietà, and displayed many boats and representations of the Lion of St Mark, the Virgin with Christ in her arms, and angels.<sup>20</sup>

This ceremonial experiment sought to offer new avenues to piety to minor and disadvantaged groups living in the urban and social peripheries. But in the following years it was abandoned, perhaps due to difficulties of organization: the Jesuits, being under the control of Rome, could not hope for much support from the Venetian authorities.

It is also true that after the mid-*Seicento* Venice had entered a new depression, as Braudel reminds us; a factor that contributed to the peace of 1669 with the Turks. Braudel formulated a well-known idea on the relation between war and the economy. After the peace, 'culture and peaceful expenditures' should have regained 'their rights,' and expanded again.<sup>21</sup> However, in the following decades Venice departed from Braudel's schema, and started another war, the Morean (1684–99). The news from the front led to the staging of rich festivals celebrating once again the values of Venetian history and society. At the end of the baroque the fascination for the East was still able – as in so many times in the history of the Most Serene Republic – to fuel the involvement of many different social and intellectual sectors of the community.

In September 1686, for instance, a remarkable temporary monument was set up in the 'patriarchal *contrada*' (the Castello quarter) to celebrate the conquest of the Greek port of Nauplia, which the Grand Captain Francesco Morosini had achieved that summer. The brothers Gaspare and Domenico Mauro, designers of famous ephemeral monuments of the period,<sup>22</sup> created the *apparati*. In front of the church of San Pietro of Castello – the church of the patriarch (the archbishop of Venice) – there were five bridges, each carrying a triumphal arch. A water pro-

cession was held with floats that displayed Venice trampling the Moon (symbolizing the Turk) and various achievements of Morosini. The procession concluded with the same Morosini being crowned with laurel by the figure of Glory, assisted by Venice.<sup>23</sup> The celebration of the Venetian hero in front of the church which represented the power of Rome in Venice was an ambiguous sign if one considers the always problematic relations between the papacy and the Venetian government.

Another peripheral area, Santa Eufemia of the Giudecca, planned rites and decorations on 27 October 1686. The themes were almost the same as those in San Pietro of Castello. A marvellous apparatus combined a triumphal arch with two castles representing the city of Navarino, which had been occupied during the previous campaign. In addition there was 'a wonderful Theatre' with Venice trampling the Turks, and a 'formidable Giant,' a symbol of the punishment inflicted on the Ottomans. Finally, on a majestic throne the allegorical figure of Faith was paid court by four figures representing the Holy League, that is, Rome, Vienna, Poland, and Venice. A procession with fourteen knights escorted the war hero Francesco Morosini, followed by the chapter of the church of Santa Eufemia with its relics and the elders of the parish.<sup>24</sup>

The fervour brought about by the news from the Morea, therefore – which even stimulated the publication of the first printed gazettes in Venice<sup>25</sup> – provided the opportunity to exalt the Republic as a place of social cohesion and profound militant faith. More than in the past, festivals could now unite the urban peripheries to the destiny of the whole city. And this was true for 'social' peripheries as well. Foreign communities always appeared in Venetian festive events,<sup>26</sup> but a particular community was involved in October 1686: the Jewish ghetto.

The entire area was 'superbly furnished all around' to celebrate the victory of Nauplia. In the *ghetto novo* a large and tall theatre was built to contain the 'natural simulacrum of the Grand Hero,' Francesco Morosini. Genuflecting at the feet of Morosini, several supplicant pashas presented the keys to the greatest cities of the Morea in cups of gold, and received, from the supreme captain, the laws 'given to the vanquished by magnanimous victors.' Two artificial mountains were also raised, the first carrying the equestrian statue of the captain Morosini defeating the Turkish commander; the second portraying the port of Nauplia conquered by the lion of St Mark. The *ghetto novo* was the location of the German Jews, but the rest of the ghetto participated as well. Inside the *ghetto vecchio*, in the square called 'piazza Spagnola,' an amphitheatre was erected with the equestrian statue of another hero, the captain Gi-

rolamo Corner. Meanwhile the synagogues displayed, according to the anonymous chronicler of the festivals, a great 'pomp of their richness.' The same chronicler states that with the *apparati* the Jews wished to express 'their joy for the victories of a Power [the Republic] which knows how to make itself loved by those who profess a foreign religion.' The extensive popular participation, with masques and musicians, made the author conclude that 'the Hebraic Nation ... of this Ghetto, lives most loyal to her prince.'<sup>27</sup>

The pompous words of the chronicler of the Jewish celebrations of 1686 causes one to reflect on their importance as a moment of reconciliation: in fact, only two years before, at the beginning of the war, the Venetian ghetto had been attacked by 200 citizens, imitating the much more serious sack of the ghetto in Padua that had occurred a few days before.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, one should not forget the complex rapport between the government and the Jews around the practical arrangements for civic rituals: for instance, the German Jewish *strazzaroli* – specialists in the second-hand objects market – were obliged to furnish important support during the reception of foreign guests of the Republic, and they often complained about this obligation.<sup>29</sup>

## 2 The Celebration of Self

The public scene was not the only one for staging ephemeral festive creations; the private one was central as well. Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the manifestations of joy for a rich person's accession to high political and bureaucratic offices – such as the Procuratorship of St Mark, the Grand Chancellorship, or the Patriarchate – were particularly elaborate. The financial excess displayed on these occasions reflected the huge wealth of a few families inside the aristocracy and the bureaucratic milieu of the ducal chancery, and underlined not only the wide gap between fortunes within the nobility, but also the birth of a new solidarity between rich lineages of different classes. This new type of solidarity was based on prestige and patrimonial wealth, and threatened to replace the traditional one, based on membership in a closed class.<sup>30</sup>

The major events were the feasts for the new procurators, important magistrates in charge of the church, treasury, and legacies of St Mark's basilica. These feasts are well known thanks to surviving descriptions, and we will present in brief just two cases, the elections of Giovanni Pesaro in 1641 and Girolamo Basadonna in 1682.

The descriptions record that, after the proclamation of the newly



elected official, the first step in the rite was papering the bridge of Rialto, and the surrounding streets and alleys, with festoons and decorations. The square of San Salvador was filled with tapestries as well. Moreover, at the beginning of the Mercerie – the street from St Mark's to the Rialto – a triumphal arch with columns was built, bearing the family coat-of-arms. The Mercerie themselves were fully decorated.

To congratulate Giovanni Pesaro there was the special gesture of the German merchants, who placed an inscription to honour him on the side of their *Fondaco* on the Grand Canal, and a temporary arch on the street side. Pesaro followed the processional route down the Mercerie, finding at the beginning a triumphal arch bearing his arms with a sceptre and an eye in the lower section, exalting his eloquence and prudence. On top of the arch there was 'un'ecclsa piramide, nel di cui mezzo si leggeva scritto il motto: PERENNITATI.'<sup>31</sup>

Girolamo Basadonna encountered instead in the Mercerie his arms and the glorification of the well-established relations between Rome and Venice (members of the Basadonna family pursued a career in Rome, gaining elevation to the cardinalate). Further along, the German merchants placed a sort of clock made from mirrors, with various capriccios. At the foot of the Ponte alla Nave were placed two great Mappamundi of Heaven and Earth. The square of San Zulian was full of paintings, and beyond it was located an imitation of the Staircase of the Giants at the Ducal Palace.<sup>32</sup>

The festivals for the procurators were focused therefore in the true heart of the city: using the Mercerie, they connected the Rialto, the commercial centre, to the political centre, St Mark's. Along the Mercerie the new procurator was accompanied by up to 300 persons, including soldiers and captains, knights from the mainland, other procurators, and many Venetian and Veneto noblemen. In St Mark's Square, arches and colonnades with the arms of the guest of honour were erected under a great tent that extended from the Torre dell'Orologio to the Procuratia Nuova. The tent welcomed the elected official who was about to receive his formal investiture in the basilica of San Marco and in the Sala del Collegio in the ducal palace. Then followed a ball and a sumptuous banquet, with extensive use of sculptures in sugar.<sup>33</sup>

The line between individual and public celebration was hard to trace in such circumstances, and the government was sensitive to the display shown by the new procurators: the pomp was considered dangerous both for the finances of the families and because it emphasized the economic divide between rich and poor patricians. In 1683 the Great Council in-

tervened with an important decree, forbidding all *apparati* between St Mark's and the Rialto, as well as pageant boats and fireworks machines. Only ordinary, simple fireworks were permitted.<sup>34</sup> It was difficult, however, to prevent this kind of pageantry, and the government eventually surrendered. The Senate passed a new law in 1692 and decided to simply profit from the situation by selling licences for the festivities.<sup>35</sup>

Private needs imposed themselves on the public scene; private festivities celebrated the success of the individual, not of the state. In this sense, Braudel reminds us that the baroque is not a 'sheet of untroubled waters,' but a 'series of storms.'<sup>36</sup> In a society traversing difficult times, as Venice was, individuals might generate dangerous signals, at odds with the common civic or political culture. That is the case with the artistic patronage of some ambitious members of the ruling class, willing to profit from the wars in order to appear as leaders or heroes.

In particular, we must deal with architectural patronage, another of Braudel's favourite topics. Highly interesting are the works requested and commissioned by some prominent sea captains.<sup>37</sup> From the 1650s to the 1690s impressive monuments and façades were built for Alvise Mocenigo at the church of Mendicanti, Antonio Barbaro in Santa Maria del Giglio, and Giorgio Morosini in San Clemente. Also the captain and doge Francesco Morosini commissioned important projects in Santo Stefano and San Vidal (in the end they were not realized, but the drawings have survived). The aim of these men was to exalt their success as heroes in the wars against the Turks.

Following the typical trend of Venetian baroque architecture, the experimentation was carried on mostly in religious buildings, and not in civic ones, but the visual programs were rich in pagan, rather than sacred, motifs. In addition, the tendency shifted to personal glorification, away from the traditional glorification of the Republic.<sup>38</sup>

We may look at the façade of a famous baroque church, Santa Maria del Giglio, commissioned by Antonio Barbaro, one of the major protagonists of the war of Candia, not only because of his military skill but for the continual disputes he had with other captains (above all with Francesco Morosini).<sup>39</sup> This is probably the reason why he never obtained the highest military office of *capitano generale*, but only that of *provveditore generale* (1658–61). Barbaro came from a poor patrician family, but thanks to the war he accumulated remarkable wealth and was able to patronize Santa Maria del Giglio. In accordance with Barbaro's will, the façade today still bears his statue 'dressed as a General, and fully armed.' The statue has also a 'Baretin' (a special hat) and the baton, the two signs

of supreme military power, in accordance with iconographic tradition: therefore, we surmise that Barbaro asked to be represented holding an office that he never actually received in his life, the general sea captainship. This fact conveys a sense of ambiguity and is perhaps directed at Barbaro's class, the patriciate, which never fully acknowledged his skill and value. Furthermore, no references to the Republic can be found in the entire façade.<sup>40</sup>

The desire for personal and family glorification was a constant factor in architectural commissions. In 1669 the state Inquisitors ordered Leonardo Pesaro to eliminate an inscription from the Pesaro family monument in the Frari church because it extolled his uncle, the deceased doge Giovanni Pesaro, too much.<sup>41</sup> The same desire motivated the changes that Francesco Morasini wished to make in the decoration of the façade of San Vidal in the late 1680s. The point here is that in several baroque festive and architectural displays commissioned by prominent members of the nobility the borderline between exaltation of the individual and the acceptance of the rules of an aristocratic community had become very thin and ambiguous, reflecting the internal difficulties of a ruling class facing a political and social crisis. Moreover, this growth of 'individualism' was not restricted to the patriciate: after the middle of the seventeenth century there was a 'sudden invasion' of neo-nobles or non-nobles willing to commission new monuments.<sup>42</sup> For example, Girolamo Cavazza, a secretary from the secondary social order of the 'original citizens,' invested enormous sums for himself and his family to buy access to the nobility and patronize two important monuments, his sepulchre at the Madonna dell'Orto and the façade of the Scalzi church.<sup>43</sup>

The most complex and emblematic case of individualism in baroque Venice, however, was that of Francesco Morosini, the captain general who achieved the high command of the fleet two times during the war of Candia, negotiated the end of the war in 1669, led Venice in the new war of the Morea in 1685, was elected doge in 1688, but continued as commander-in-chief until his death, in late 1693. His conduct provoked reactions and judgments of all kinds. He enjoyed wide popularity for his heroism, but the French observer Casimir Freschot wrote that he was not loved within the nobility, mostly because of his military fierceness and his disregard for the formalities of his class.<sup>44</sup> In 1690 he added the office of grand captain to that of doge, a rare occurrence in Venetian history, and one that was frowned upon by some members of the ruling class: by consequence, after Morosini's death a law of February 1694 established strict rules to keep the doge from obtaining the captainship.<sup>45</sup>

While he was alive, Morosini was exalted by several authors as the champion of the new liberty of Greece. Especially from 1685 on, a deluge of paintings, prints, poems, and sculptures sang his civic and military virtues. He was the man 'gloriously identified with the Morea,' stated the *Peloponnesiaco* on the bronze effigy in the hall of arms of the Council of Ten; the man for whom, after his death, the Hall of Scrutiny in the ducal palace was adorned with a triumphal arch and the paintings of Gregorio Lazzarini.<sup>46</sup>

Just to mention one big festival in his honour, in January 1690 a grandiose triumphal arch, forty feet in height, was erected in the Piazzetta of St Mark for his arrival from Greece. The arch was supported by two loggias with galleries of arms, and there were two fountains spouting wine, each fifteen feet high, one adorned with a figure of Neptune and the other with two dolphins. A colonnade extended out to the door of the ducal palace, where trophies of war were hung. The courtyard of the palace was adorned with damask and fifty-two paintings, depicting Morosini's achievements.<sup>47</sup>

The complex decorations for the hero of the Morea pervaded the central zone of power of the Republic, and recalled the settings arranged on the Lido for the greatest ceremonial event of the late Renaissance, the visit to Venice of Henri, future king of France, in 1574. At that time, however, the elaborate pageantry was set on the Lido, far from St Mark's, and dedicated to a foreign guest, not to a captain-doge.

Morosini's dominating position in Venetian society for almost forty years also fuelled much criticism. During the war of Candia, and after its end in late 1669 – Morosini had negotiated with the enemy the surrender of the island without formal permission of the government – several anonymous manuscripts attacked his behaviour. A fake 'Will of the City of Candia,' for instance, reported the city as saying: 'I bequeath to Francesco Morosini, the present General Sea Captain, who gave me a nice passage into Turkish hands, all the gold and precious things he found in my coffers.'<sup>48</sup>

Later, in the period just after his death in late 1693, another anonymous author wrote the interesting, sarcastic poem 'Satira formata nella morte del Serenissimo Principe Francesco Morosini,' about a visit by the famous captain to the King of Hell, Pluto. At first, Morosini was not recognized by Charon, who got angry at him for not being paid to bring him across the Styx.<sup>49</sup> Later Morosini met Pluto, and started describing his 'victories' and 'glories.' When Pluto asked the reason for his visit, Morosini mentioned the crisis of the Venetian fleet, and demanded to have

back his dead soldiers. But the soldiers, asked by Pluto if they wanted to return to life, refused, not wanting to go back to eating 'frisoppo asciuto' (crumbled biscuit) and the other miserable food they received in the army. Above all, the soldiers no longer wanted to follow Morosini, 'who is without faith, who enjoys all alone our booty.'<sup>50</sup>

We may conclude that the conduct of Morosini provoked opposition in both the aristocracy and the popular classes, and brought to light the tensions running through the city at war, but also those within a community in which the behaviour of single men threatened the ancient, perfect social balance of the Republic. The popular criticism of Morosini, moreover, proves the involvement of the Venetian populace in the main debates of the city, and shows how baroque Venice, like baroque Italy, was still a 'political laboratory' where the 'entire population discussed politics, everyone having a passionate axe to grind.'<sup>51</sup>

### 3 Family, Sociability, Competition, Pageantry

As we may guess from the cases of Antonio Barbaro and Morosini, many insights into Venetian social culture may be gained by examining specific aspects and values of prominent social figures, such as the grand captains. According to the literary sources, especially pamphlets, a basic value for the military hero was the importance of his family, the *casata*, the house, and his noble origins. The honourable roots and life of the family helped the captain to secure recognition of his glory by both the aristocracy and the common people.

Glorification of the *casata* pervades many of the pamphlets praising the heroes of Candia. For instance, Cristoforo Ivanovich opened his eulogy of Lazzaro Mocenigo by referring to the actions and offices of illustrious members of his house, their 'Embassies, Procuratorships, Captainships.' Marco Trevisan wrote of the Grand Captain Girolamo Foscarini that 'the native nobility is a continual splendour, and the destiny that lights our life since infancy.' Furthermore, Antonio Barbaro wanted his *casa* – which was about to expire – to be represented on the façade of Santa Maria del Giglio, and therefore commissioned statues of himself and his four brothers.<sup>52</sup> The whole ruling class strongly believed in the link between family, nobility, and the past: in many patrician testaments, belonging to a *casata* was believed to be a 'common patrimony of antiquity, and therefore of prestige, fame, and honour.' The sense of familial continuity was fundamental, and the more ancient the house was, the more it was reputed to be powerful.<sup>53</sup>

For the supreme captain, nevertheless, the love of family could not be separated from the love of country, the *patria*. In fact, the captain was a true representative of his country at war, and the famous generals were praised as fathers to their soldiers. Girolamo Foscarini was reminded that 'the *Patria* and the Citizen have the same relationship the Father has with the Son.'<sup>54</sup> Doge Francesco Erizzo's decision to accept the position of supreme captain in 1645, at the outbreak of the war of Candia, was described as an example for the young, because the good prince must be 'more a father than a guardian of his People.' The general Leonardo Foscolo was honoured by his men, according to an anonymous pamphlet, as a 'Father, Benefactor, and Preserver.'<sup>55</sup>

Behind all these writings we feel a particular atmosphere in baroque Venice, a general demand for strong and pure passions, for the celebration of a new 'social heroism.' And sentiments of this kind were growing even before the period of war, in the first part of the seventeenth century. We may recall a 'famous' friendship which raised discussions across the whole city, the friendship between the two nobles Marco Trevisan and Nicolò Barbarigo. In the 1620s Trevisan defended Barbarigo against obscure accusations, and supported him against the government and the aristocracy. The idea of this 'heroic friendship' was incredibly successful in Venice and beyond, being described in many books and poems. It underlined the society's need to recompose itself through the bonds of affection and solidarity. A contemporary chronicler, Zuan Antonio Venier, requested a new peace in the city, 'a more honest and easy life,' the return to sentiments now oppressed by violent passions.<sup>56</sup>

Similar messages came from the feminine world as well, a world ready to relax social formalities and restore its affective freedom and financial independence. According to Joanne Ferraro, between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in wedding disputes and intellectual writings, women were acting differently than in the past. They began to reject the marriage plans their parents made for them, and brought their cases to court more often than men. They furthermore criticized the wide difference in age between themselves and their husbands, or being forced into unwanted sexual relations, or the disparities in social class that sometime occurred in marriages.<sup>57</sup>

One must also consider the development of the so-called war of fists, the ludic fighting between the two groups into which the Venetian populace was divided: the *Castellani* and *Nicolotti*. The two factions set mock battles on specific bridges, located along the borders dividing the two parts of the city to which the factions belonged. In the seventeenth centu-

ry the game underwent important changes, losing the violent and vindictive expressions of the previous period, and adopting more 'honourable' rules. In practice, honour became the new language of the game, and the famous champions now constituted the centre of factional and local enthusiasm.<sup>58</sup>

The war of the fists was carefully controlled by the government, and was eventually abolished in 1720. However, to feed the popular need for 'honourable' competition, another game was promoted by the state, the famous Venetian regatta. These were staged mostly on the Grand Canal, with special boats of different sizes – such as *peote*, *bissone*, *margarotte*, *ballottine* – and the male and female participants came in large part from the islands of the lagoon, as is still the case today.<sup>59</sup> A French visitor, Saint-Didier, related that the regattas were often arranged for important guests because they were the preferred sport of Venice, the exercise of rowing being so near to the 'spirit of the people.'<sup>60</sup> In the last part of the seventeenth century they acquired a particular importance, judging by how many detailed booklets on the competitions and the winners began to be printed and circulated.<sup>61</sup> An examination of the sources would reveal whether in the regattas, as in the war of fists, new heroic figures appeared on the scene to stir popular passions.

The competition was not the regatta's only feature, nevertheless, because expensive and complex 'artistic' boats and water theatres, the so-called machines, were realized and displayed. Wonderful paintings by Joseph Heintz the Younger and later by Luca de Carlevarjjs, Canalotto, and other artists show the beauty and complexity these boats could achieve. Requiring huge expenditure, they allowed the regattas to combine popular competition with high artistic creation and the upper classes' desire for pageantry.

Those artefacts should be compared with contemporary festive architecture in Rome, Naples, and Florence, since they are the real core of the baroque festival, the ephemera. The festive 'apparatus,' the 'machine,' the temporary structure could deconstruct and reconstruct the urban environment, combining social and political patronage with experimentation, allegory, and striving for the *merveille*.<sup>62</sup> Thanks to their iconographic potential, moreover, ephemera could associate or mingle private and public messages, giving to the wealthiest classes the opportunity to display the fortunes and power of their families to the city. Here we can see at work the link between the economy and splendour in art and pageantry suggested by Braudel: 'any economic recession leaves a certain amount of money lying idle in the coffers of rich: the prodigal

spending of this capital, for lack of investment openings, might produce a brilliant civilization.<sup>63</sup>

In the last part of the seventeenth century Venice's ceremonial boats took on a new, more emphatic role, in the same way as the winners of sporting contests. More rich and complex ornaments and allegories were exhibited, and the regatta 'machines' of the 1680s were included by Vincenzo Coronelli in his collections of Venetian nautical marvels.<sup>64</sup> The leaders in this development were the Mauro scenographers mentioned above, who must be considered among the Italian leaders of the movement, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from festive *apparati* to theatrical settings.<sup>65</sup> Gaspare, Pietro and Domenico Mauro, and later Alessandro, designed models for vessels which were truly definitive examples of baroque taste, and not solely on the Venetian scene. Because of their skills, in fact, the Mauros were called to Parma to create the décor for the wedding of Ottaviano Farnese, in May 1690.<sup>66</sup>

This reflects another phenomenon underscored by Braudel, that is, the importance for the Italian baroque of the 'travelling artists,' technician-artisans trained in staging spectacles, and speeding from Venice and Rome to the rest of Italy and Europe.<sup>67</sup>

#### 4 Conclusion

In baroque Venice a wide array of instruments was available to renew communal representations of honour, harmony, friendship, heroism, pride, and other key aspects of the Venetian social culture. However, when we examine this social culture we must not look only at the images and values promoted by the state, which needed to present strong and impressive models of moral and civic standard behaviour. In a society in crisis, indeed, contradictory and polemical images might emerge, for instance, through popular writings showing sarcasm and dissent or through the artistic patronage of ambitious members of the aristocracy, willing to profit from wars to win renown as leaders or heroes.

Among the features of the social culture of baroque Venice, therefore, we find multiple motivations, interacting but sometime diverging: the desire to re-launch the international prestige of a state that was perilously fading away from the European scene; the search to maintain the ancient harmony and stability of Venetian society through public festivals that aimed at unifying the 'peripheries' to the centre, or at changing the urban environment; the desire to give new religious stimuli to citizens; the attempt of certain prominent men to glorify their own success, their



families, and their wealth; the challenge of creating diverse and innovative festive technologies, and establishing relationships between urban space and the theatrical.

Beyond trying to give an interpretation of celebration and polemics in seventeenth-century Venice, nevertheless, one must be astonished by the vitality and cultural richness of that society. I would conclude by recalling Braudel's famous words, closing the 1974 Italian essay: 'It seems to me that there must be a kind of nightfall preceding, and determining, almost every cause of cultural greatness. It is the darkness that provokes a multitude of lights.'<sup>68</sup> In the deep crisis of the last great wars in her history, Venice and her heroes employed all their remaining forces to reaffirm once again the primacy and uniqueness of their civilization. In this context every single class, every single voice tried to express its own message, its own desire, its own anxiety to contribute to a unique world.

#### NOTES

- 1 I would like to thank Dr Deborah Walberg and Geoffrey Symcox for reviewing my translation.
- 2 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1972), 1:20–1.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 1:21; 2:757.
- 4 'Storia e scienze sociali. La "lunga durata"' (1958), in Fernand Braudel, *Scritti sulla storia* (Milan: Mondadori, 1973), 60.
- 5 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 2:757, 827–32.
- 6 In *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Corrado Vivanti, 6 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), vol. 2: *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, 2089–248. Later published in a separate volume as *Il secondo Rinascimento: Due secoli e tre Italie* (Turin: Einaudi, 1986); then translated into French (Paris: Arthaud, 1989) and into English as *Out of Italy: 1450–1650* (Paris: Flammarion, 1991). In my opinion, the English translation is not appropriate at several points, remaining too far from Braudel's own language. Therefore, I will sometimes use my own translation of the original Italian text.
- 7 Braudel, 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia,' 2173; *Out of Italy*, 118–21.
- 8 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1:393.
- 9 Braudel, 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia,' 2194; *Out of Italy*, 155.
- 10 Braudel, 'Posizioni della storia nel 1950,' in *Scritti*, 41.
- 11 Braudel, *Out of Italy*, 121.

- 12 Marco Molin, 'Un monumento a Bartolomeo d'Alviano,' *Diana Armi* 10, 2 (February 1976), 34–9; Martin Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano: Venezia e la politica dei monumenti dal Quattrocento al Settecento* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2002), 250, 254.
- 13 Ian Fenlon, 'Lepanto: The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 73 (1987), 201–36; Ernst 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* (London: Phaidon Press, 1967), 62–8. In general, many sources presented the battle of Lepanto as a victory of Christ, leading the Venetians, 'holy warriors of God' (see also Fenlon, 'Lepanto').
- 14 Virginio dalla Spada, *Giubili, e acclamazioni della città di Venetia per la vittoria contro l'armata turchesca, ottenuta l'anno 1649 a' 12 Maggio ...* (Venice: Pinelli, 1649).
- 15 For the Renaissance see Matteo Casini, *I gesti del principe: La festa politica a Firenze e Venezia in età rinascimentale* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), ch. 4.
- 16 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 2:770.
- 17 Lina Urban, *La festa della Madonna della Salute* (Venice: Centro Internazionale Grafica, 1988); Andrew Hopkins, *Santa Maria della Salute: Architecture and Ceremony in Baroque Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ch. 4.
- 18 Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter ASV), *Senato Terra*, reg. 152: 294r–v (1.8.1656); Giustina Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane* (Milan: Ed. Annali Universali della Scienza e dell'Industria, 1829), 413–14, 446–8. On the religious feasts honouring the Venetian victories see also Antonio Niero, 'Spiritualità popolare e dotta,' in *La chiesa di Venezia nel Seicento*, ed. Bruno Bertoli (Venice: Studium Cattolico, 1992), 254.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 255–6.
- 20 Anon., *Impronto, e relatione della Divota Commemorazione della Passione del Redentore celebrata in Venetia l'anno MDCLXXXII. Da' Fratelli dell'Oratorio del SS. Crocefisso...* (Venice, 1686); Venice, Museo Correr, *Cod. Cicogna* 2991, b. 1–4: fo. 10v.
- 21 Braudel, 'L'Italia fuori d'Italia,' 2212; *Out of Italy*, 180.
- 22 Giandomenico Romanelli, 'I mostri effimeri,' in *Bissone, peote e galleggianti: Addobbi e costume per cortei e regate* (Venice: Alfieri, 1980); Elena Povoledo, 'Mauro,' in *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* (Rome: Casa Editrice Le Maschere, 1960), vol. 7, 310–11; Dario Succi, "'Que la fête continue": Ospiti illustri e feste straordinarie nelle vedute da Carlevarijs a Guardi,' in *Luca Carlevarijs e la pittura veneta del Settecento*, ed. Isabella Reale and Dario Succi (Milan: Electa, 1994), 67–8.

- 23 Gaspare and Domenico Mauro, *Breve racconto Delle Feste, e degl'Applausi, Fatti dalla Contrada patriarcale di Castello, per le Vittorie Segnalatissime, della Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia* ... (Venice: Nicolini, 1686).
- 24 Anon., *Distinta relatione Del Solenne apparato, Processione, e Cavalcata, che si farà il Giorno di Domenica, 27 Ottobre nella Parochia di S. Eufemia Della Giudeca, Per la Presa di Napoli di Romania* (Venice: Leonardo Pittoni, 1686).
- 25 Mario Infelise, 'Sulle prime gazzette a stampa veneziane,' in *Per Marino Berengo: Studi degli allievi*, ed. Livio Antonielli, Carlo Capra, and Mario Infelise (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), 470.
- 26 I have already mentioned the attendance of the Greek community at the celebrations of 1649. Another community, the German merchants, had a long history in Venetian rituals since the Renaissance. Their participation is mentioned in Sanudo's diaries, while in 1571 they contributed to the feasts for Lepanto. In the seventeenth century they participated in the feasts for the new procurators of St Mark, as we shall see.
- 27 Anon., *Il Ghetto veneto essultante per le segnalate vittorie della Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia nella Morea* ... (Venice: Andrea Baroni, 1686).
- 28 Mario Infelise, 'The War, the News and the Curious Military Gazettes in Italy,' in *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina Alcorn Baron (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 232.
- 29 See Anon., *Discorso circa il stato de gl'Hebrei. Et in particolar dimoranti nell'inclita Città di Venetia* (Venice: Gioanne Calleoni, 1638), 29v–30r; Gaetano Cozzi, *Giustizia 'contaminata': Vicende giudiziarie di nobili ed ebrei nella Venezia del Seicento* (Venice: Marsilio, 1996), 75, 93. On the Jewish community in Venice see Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid, eds, *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
- 30 Roberto Sabbadini, *L'acquisto della tradizione: Tradizione aristocratica e nuova nobiltà a Venezia* (Udine: Istituto Editoriale Veneto Friulano, 1995), 59, 76–82; Volker Hunecke, *Il patriziato veneziano alla fine della Repubblica, 1646–1797. Demografia, famiglia, ménage* (Rome: Jouvence, 1997); Claudio Povolo, *L'intrigo dell'onore: Poteri e istituzioni nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Verona: Cierre, 1997); Silvana Olivieri Secchi, "'Quando mio padre suonava l'arpicordo ...' Note sulla famiglia e il sentimento della famiglia nel dominio veneziano a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento,' in *Musica, scienza e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento*, ed. Francesco Passadore and Franco Rossi (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1996), 13–41.
- 31 Domenico Vincenti, *Gli apparati veneti ovvero le feste fatte nell'elezione in Procuratore dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signor Giovanni da Pesaro Cavalier* (Venice: P. Miloco, 1641).

- 32 Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino...*, 1st printing, part 2 (Venice: Nicolò Pezzana, 1688), 118–30.
- 33 See the description by the Roman nunzio Scipione Pannocchieschi, in Pompeo Molmenti, *Curiosità veneziane* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1919), 316.
- 34 ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. 42: fos. 280r–81r (4.7.1683).
- 35 Giuseppe Bistort, ‘Il Magistrato alle Pompe nella Repubblica di Venezia. Studio storico,’ in *Miscellanea di Storia Veneta edita per cura della R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, series 3, vol. 5 (Venice: a spese della Società, 1912), 267–8.
- 36 Braudel, *Out of Italy*, 122.
- 37 I will summarize here some issues covered in my article ‘Immagini dei capitani generali “da Mar” a Venezia in età barocca,’ in *Il ‘Perfetto Capitano’: Immagini e significati del ‘capitano’ fra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Marcello Fantoni (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001), 219–70.
- 38 Guglielmo De Angelis D’Ossat, ‘Autonomia dell’architettura barocca veneta,’ in *Barocco europeo e barocco veneziano* (Florence: Sansoni, 1962), 51–62; Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 247–9; Martina Frank, ‘Spazio pubblico, prospetti di chiese a glorificazione gentilizia nella Venezia del Seicento. Riflessioni su una tipologia,’ *Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 144 (1985–6), Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, 109–26; Paola Piffaretti, *Giuseppe Sardi, architetto ticinese nella Venezia del Seicento* (Bellinzona: Arti grafiche Salvioni, 1996), 14–15; Lionello Puppi and Ruggero Rugolo, ‘“Un’ordinaria forma non alletta.” Arte, riflessione sull’arte e società,’ in *Storia di Venezia: Dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima*, ed. Gino Benzoni and Gaetano Cozzi, 12 vols. (Rome: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1992–8), vol. 7, *La Venezia barocca*, 636–46. See now the important work of Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, chs. 5–6.
- 39 The never-ending disputes between Venetian captains during the war of Candia were widely emphasized by polemicists writing against Venice, such as Vittorio Siri: see Brendan Dooley, ‘Snatching Victory from the Jaws of Defeat: History and Imagination in Baroque Italy,’ *The Seventeenth Century* 15, 1 (Spring 2000), 103.
- 40 Mario Brunetti, *Santa Maria del Giglio, vulgo Zobenigo, nell’arte e nella storia* (Noale: L. Guin, 1952); Gino Benzoni, ‘Antonio Barbaro o l’exasperazione individualistica,’ in *Una famiglia veneziana nella storia: I Barbaro*, ed. Michela Marangoni and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1996). It is worthwhile to recall that while serving as ‘podestà’ in Padua, in 1672–3, Barbaro placed his own bust on the façade of the palace of the Venetian representatives (Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, 291).

- 41 Valentina Conticelli, 'Architettura e celebrazione a Venezia: I progetti di Antonio Gaspari per Francesco Morosini,' *Studi Veneziani*, new ser., 38 (1999), 129–77; Ennio Concina, *Le chiese di Venezia: L'arte e la storia* (Udine: Magnus, 1995), 66.
- 42 Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, 305 ff.
- 43 Gino Benzoni, 'Morire per Creta,' in *Venezia e Creta*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998), 161.
- 44 Anon., *Nouvelle relation de la Ville & République de Venise* (Utrecht: Guillaume van Poolsum, 1709), 241–2.
- 45 ASV, *Maggior Consiglio, Deliberazioni*, reg. 43, *Maria*: fos. 206r–v (22.2.1694).
- 46 Gaetano Cozzi, 'Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517–1699),' in *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton, and Giovanni Scarabello (Turin: UTET, 1992), 144; Gino Damerini, *Morosini* (Milan: Editrice Alpes, 1929), 338–40.
- 47 Felice Gallo, *Distinto ragguaglio delle Cerimonie, e Sollemnità nel Ricevimento in Venetia dell'Inuotto e Serenissimo Doge, Francesco Morosini ...* (Venice: Prosdocimo, 1690).
- 48 Venice, Museo Correr, *Cod. Cicogna 1182*: fos. 177v–78r. See also Antonio Medin, *La storia della Repubblica di Venezia nella poesia* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1904), 355–8.
- 49 The theme of Charon bringing a famous guest to Hell was popular in Venice, as displayed after the victory of Lepanto, in 1571: Gombrich, 'Celebrations in Venice,' 63–4.
- 50 Venice, Museo Correr, *Cod. P.D. 506c/32*: fos. 3v–6r.
- 51 Braudel, *Out of Italy*, 121.
- 52 Cristoforo Ivanovich, *La Fenice. Panegirico all'Immortal Nome dell'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signor Lazaro Mocenigo...* (Venice: Camillo Bortoli and Alessandro Zatta, 1658); Marco Trevisan, *I gesti heroici di Geronimo Foscarini Procurator di San Marco e Capitano General da Mar della Serenissima Repubblica di Venetia* (Venice: Alessandro Zatta, 1665); Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*, 351–2.
- 53 Olivieri Secchi, "Quando mio padre," 27–8.
- 54 Trevisan, *I gesti heroici*.
- 55 Marco Trevisan, *Vita di Francesco Erizzo Principe di Venezia* (Venice: Gio. Antonio Pinelli, 1651); Anon., *Relatione de' felici progressi dell'Armi della Serenissima Repubblica nella Dalmazia* (Venice, 1654).
- 56 See the notable article by Gaetano Cozzi, 'Una vicenda nella Venezia barocca: Marco Trevisan e la sua "eroica amicizia,"' *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia della Società e dello Stato Veneziano* 2 (1960), 61–154.
- 57 Joanne Ferraro, *Marriage Wars in Late Renaissance Venice* (New York and Ox-

- ford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61–7. Olivieri Secchi sees more attention to women in patrician testaments starting from the 1560s (“Quando mio padre,” 36 ff.).
- 58 Robert C. Davis, *The War of the Fists: Popular Culture and Public Violence in Late Renaissance Venice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), ch. 3.
- 59 On Venetian regattas see Arnaldo Segarizzi, ‘Regate di donne, freschi e passeggi a Venezia,’ *Emporium* 28 (September 1908), 213–24; Emanuele Cicogna, ‘Lettera di Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna a Cleandro Conte di Prata intorno ad alcune regate veneziane pubbliche e private,’ in Cleandro di Prata, *La Regata di Venezia*, 2nd ed. (Venice: Tip. Giambattista Merlo, 1856); and Renier Michiel, *Origine delle feste veneziane*, 451–8.
- 60 Alexandre Toussaint Limojon, Sieur de Saint-Didier, *La Ville et la République de Venise* (Paris: Louis Billard, 1680), 476–82.
- 61 Two examples are Anon., *Relazione Della Regatta fatta il giorno di Martedì 18 Settembre 1696 ...* (Venice, 1696); and Anon., *Relatione Della sontuosa Regata da farsi il 4 Marzo 1709. Nel Canal Grande di Venetia ...* (Venice, 1709).
- 62 Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, eds, *Barocco Romano e Barocco Italiano: Il teatro, l’effimero, l’allegoria* (Rome: Gangemi, 1985); Maurizio Fagiolo dell’Arco, *La festa barocca* (Rome: De Luca, 1997); Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà and Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, eds, *Feste e apparati medicei da Cosimo I a Cosimo II* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1969); Barbara Riederer-Grohs, *Florentinische Feste des Spätbarocks ... 1670–1743* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag und Herchen, 1978); Franco Mancini, *Feste ed apparati civili e religiosi in Napoli* (Naples: E.S.I., 1968) and *Il concreto evanescente: Gli apparati festivi tra potere e popolo* (Naples: Guida, 1982); Giovanni Isgrò, *Feste barocche a Palermo* (Palermo: S.F. Flaccovio, 1981).
- 63 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 2:899. Braudel quoted the examples of the Florentine Renaissance and the Spanish ‘Golden Age.’
- 64 Vincenzo Coronelli, *Singularità di Venezia; Navi o Vascelli ... raccolte nell’Accademia degli Argonauti* (Venice: Accademia degli Argonauti, 1697).
- 65 See note 23.
- 66 Irène Mamczarz, “‘La gloria d’amor’ d’Aurelio Aureli et les naumachies aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles,” in *Problèmes, interférences des genres au théâtre et les fêtes en Europe*, ed. Mamczarz (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 191–201; Giuseppe Cirillo and Giovanni Godi, *Il trionfo del barocco a Parma nelle feste farmesiane del 1690* (Parma: Artegrafica Silva, 1989).
- 67 Braudel, *Out of Italy*, 155.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 226.