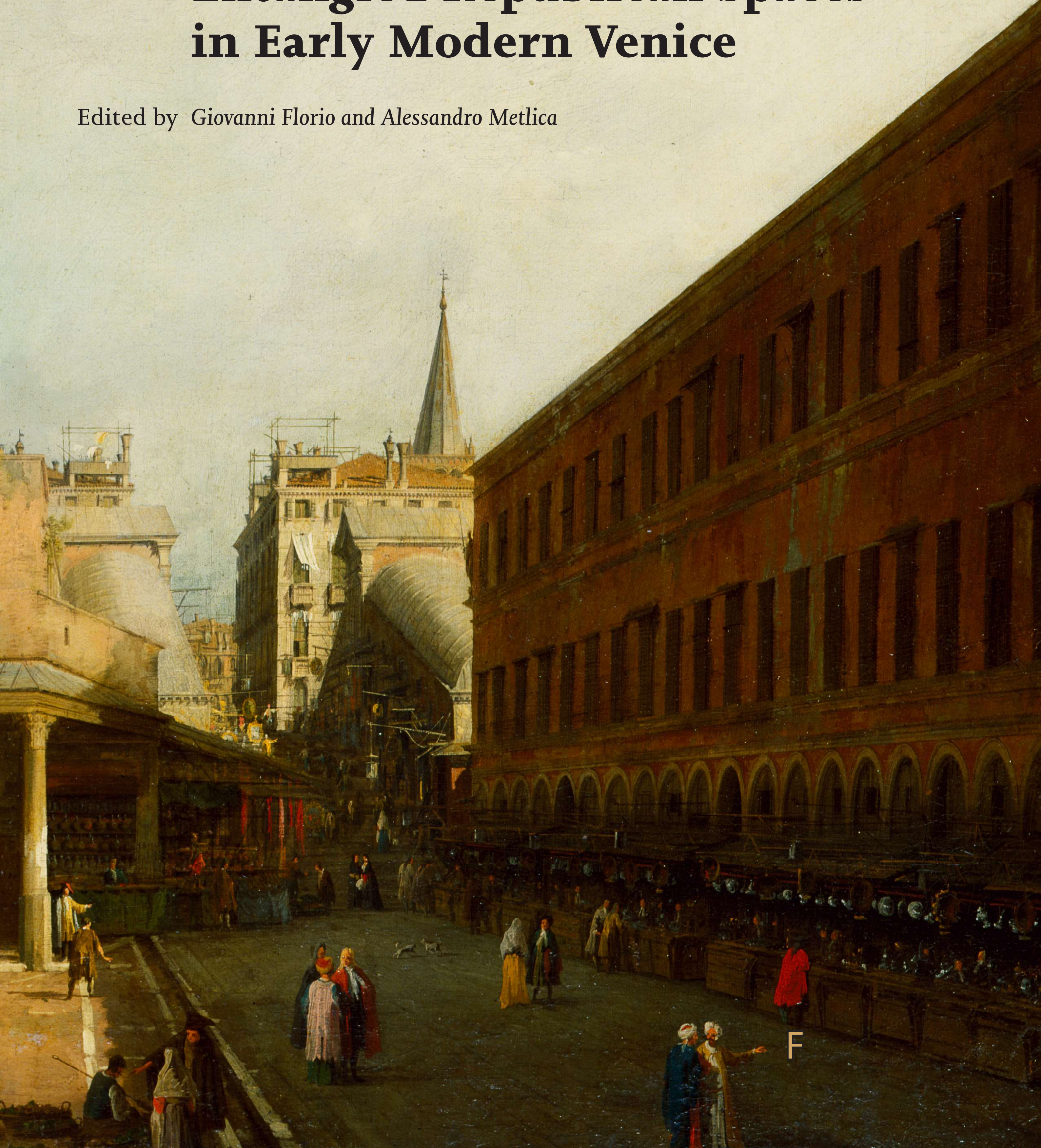
CONTENDING REPRESENTATIONS II *Entangled Republican Spaces in Early Modern Venice*

Contending Representations II

Entangled Republican Spaces in Early Modern Venice

Edited by *Giovanni Florio and Alessandro Metlica*



DUNAMIS *Studies in the empowerment of early-modern representations*

Series Editors
Ralph Dekoninck
Agnès Guiderdoni
Alessandro Metlica

This book received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme (G.A. 758450 – StG2017 "Republics on the Stage of Kings. Representing Republican State Power in the Europe of Absolute Monarchies, late 16th – early 18th century")

Language correction: Amanda Swain
Editorial assistance: Laura Armillotta

ISBN 978-2-503-60519-7 (HB); 978-2-503-60520-3 (e-book)
D/2024/0095/69
DOI 10.1484/M.DUNAMIS-EB.5.132879

Copyright © 2024 Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, Belgium

This is an open access publication made available under a CC BY-NC 4.0 International License: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, for commercial purposes, without the prior permission of the publisher, or as expressly permitted by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization.

Designed by Paul van Calster

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

1
Giovanni Florio & Alessandro Metlica
Civic Ritual and Popular Politics in the Republic of Venice 6

2
Giorgio Tagliaferro
The Meeting of Sebastiano Ziani with Alexander III in the Great Council Hall: Staging, Viewing, and Understanding the Body Politic in Late Sixteenth-Century Venice 42

3
Monique O'Connell
Representative Spaces of Republicanism: Constitutional Thinking, Virtue Politics, and Venice's Great Council Hall in Early Modern Europe 64

4
Massimo Rospocher
'Una parola in piazza fa più male che dieci libri in un gabinetto': The Square as Political Space in Sixteenth Century Venice 76

5
Iseabail Rowe
'From the Clocke to the Shore': Thomas Coryat's 'Streets' of Piazza San Marco 86

6
Evelyn Korsch
A Republic Becomes Divine: The Sacred Role of Topography in Venetian Civic Ritual 96

7
Umberto Cecchinato
Beyond the Ceremonial City: Music, Public Revelries, and Urban Spaces in Everyday Renaissance Venice 116

8
Marco Bellabarba
Power, Friendship, and Protection: Venetian Rectors in Verona Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries 126

9
Erika Carminati
Celebrations of Venetian Terraferma's Rettori: *From the Good Fama to its Subversion in the Public Ritual Sphere* 136

10
Alfredo Viggiano
The Good Use of 'People' in Fifteenth-Century Venice: Reflections over a Controversial Term 146

11
Matteo Casini
Venice Beyond Venice: The Foreign Approach to Venetian Rituals, 1400–1600s 158

List of Abbreviations 171
Bibliography 172
Notes on Contributors 191

Giovanni Florio
Alessandro Metlica

CIVIC RITUAL AND POPULAR POLITICS IN THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE

Twenty men dressed in white throng the stage, wearing golden shoes over white stockings and off-white robes embroidered with gold. As a sign of respect, they hold their bejewelled hats, which are adorned with gaudy plumes; the young man on the left, at the back of the squad, has just taken his off. All eyes are on the scene unfolding in front of them: our young man seems amazed by what he sees, but the man beside him, holding behind his back a sumptuous blue hat with a ruby in the middle, looks focused and almost tense. Even the Venetian patricians seated in the upper right grandstand, whose identities are revealed by their lavish crimson robes, gaze absorbedly in the same direction, bowing their heads and venerable beards.

The cover of this volume does not reveal what they are watching with such interest – to break the suspense, just turn the book over. The back of the volume shows the other half of the painting, where Michele Steno, the doge of Venice, who is also dressed richly in white and gold and crowned with a gem-studded horn-like bonnet (the *zoja*, which the doge wore only on ceremonial occasions), receives from the hands of the procession leaders the banner and keys of the city of Verona. We thus discover that our band of men are Veronese ambassadors and that the event portrayed is Verona's submission to Venice on 12 July 1405.

Painted by Jacopo Ligozzi and his workshop around 1619, *The handing over of the keys of Verona to doge Michele Steno* was commissioned by the city council of Verona in 1595 to renovate its meeting room.[1] Accordingly, the iconography of this large canvas (which stands three and a half by six metres) resemantises the subjection of the city by turning a military occupation into a voluntary act of submission: a reframing in line with other celebrative accounts of the event such as the work of Veronese historiographer Girolamo Dalla Corte.[2] The ceremonial structure of the depiction accentuates the two-fold nature of the agreement, which Ligozzi represents as the result of a mutually beneficial negotiation. This is why St Mark and St Zeno, the patron saints of the two cities who flank the Virgin in the upper part of the painting, witness the ritual so benevolently. Even the portrayal of the Venetian patriciate gestures more toward desire for political equilibrium than the truth of history: the red-robed wise men sitting next to the doge are too many in number to be the Signoria (the magistracy that, according to Dalla Corte, actually welcomed the Veronese ambassadors in 1405) and are too few to be the Pien Collegio (which welcomed ambassadors in Ligozzi's time).[3] However, their quantity exactly mirrors that of the arriving delegation, allowing for balance not only in the composition of the canvas but also in the political forces it represents.[4]

There is another detail in this painting that overshadows reality – and proves most significant for our volume. Just above the young ambassador who raises his hat to the doge we see a round arch piercing the backdrop of the scene that, against the blue sky, shows a bell tower and some elegant, mysterious buildings. At first, the beholder is puzzled. What kind of city is this? And where are we looking at it from?

More than one clue seems to suggest that the ritual takes place indoors: the heavy throne of the doge under the canopy, the senatorial tribune set against a wall, and the dark tones of the painting more generally, since the faces and precious robes of the figures are brightened by light which enters only from the left. In this respect, Ligozzi's work looks akin to paintings by Pietro Malombra, which faithfully portray the

1.1 Jacopo Robusti (Tintoretto), *The voluntary submission of the provinces.* Detail of 1.20.

DOI 10.1484/M.DUNAMIS-EB.5.137687

Pien Collegio gathered in the hall of the same name in the Ducal Palace and receiving foreign ambassadors in the early seventeenth century (fig. 1.2). The arch on our volume's cover, however, cannot be a window. Although on one side (that of the city view) it is clearly open to the outdoors, on the other (that of the ambassadors) it is also externally facing – because it is part of a façade, as evidenced by the tympanum windows next to it and, most importantly, the clock above it. We thus must conclude that the diplomatic mission is taking place in the open air. Indeed, as soon as we recover from our disorientation, we easily recognize the building as the clock tower in St Mark's Square (fig. 1.3).

The setting of the painted scene is not surprising in itself. Dalla Corte reports that the handover of the keys and banner actually took place in the Piazza, right in front of the Basilica, which would allow for having the clock tower as a theatrical backdrop.[5] In the painting, however, art works on the Venetian topography and transforms it. If the building were St Mark's clock tower, the view beyond the arch should correspond to the Mercerie: a street that was also relevant in the ceremonial context, since in Ligozzi's time the embassies of subject cities travelled that route to come before the doge.[6] Still, what we see beyond the arch looks nothing like the Mercerie. They are instead imaginary buildings: a sort of capriccio, stylised yet fascinating, recalling an idea of Venice as a monumental city.

This dreamlike environment, deliberately ambiguous, casts a peculiar light on the ritual represented by Ligozzi. The witty composition of the painting makes different ceremonial spaces clash, overlap, and intertwine. The Piazza enters the Palace as the Hall of the Collegio exits into the Piazza, so that outdoor and indoor merge until they blur into one another; past and present also overlap, through a mixing-up of protocols, magistracies, and political codes that were separated by centuries. More importantly, Verona goes to Venice

1.2
Pietro Malombra, *The Hall of the Pien Collegio in Venice*. Madrid, Prado, c. 1610s. Photo: Public Domain.

1.3
Giacomo Guardi after Francesco Guardi, *The Clock Tower of St Mark, from the Front of the Basilica*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, after 1793. Photo: Public Domain.

(the Veronese embassy in St Mark's Square in 1405) only to bring Venice back to Verona (the Venetian capriccio hanging in the hall of the city council in 1619).

Such spatial and conceptual entanglements, of which Ligozzi's painting constitutes a striking example, is the subject matter of this volume. The eleven chapters of this book explore intersections between the Palace and the Piazza, between ceremonial routes and everyday streets, between the dominant city (the *Dominante*) and its dominions. In doing so, the volume aims to connect the rituals of the rulers with the politics of their subjects and to foreground how this juxtaposition sheds new light on each. We argue that investigating these entanglements, which calls for a hybridisation of theoretical models and disciplinary approaches, tells us more about early modern Venice than its much celebrated 'myth' – as its allegedly piercingly lifelike representations are often less transparent than they appear.

Portraying the myth

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the engraver and publisher Giacomo Franco created a very successful series of engravings that were collected in 1610 in a volume entitled *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane*.[7] As the following subtitle advertises, the series, which consists of a variable number of plates (from 20 to 29, depending on the editions),[8] is devoted not only to Venetian traditional clothing ('*habiti*'), but also to the 'triumphs, festivals and public ceremonies of the most noble city of Venice'. Indeed, in addition to a series of portraits showing the lavish costumes of the Serenissima – including those of the doge, the dogaressa, the naval commander in chief (*capitano generale da mar*), and the procurators of St Mark – the volume offers a rather detailed catalogue of the performative events marking the Venetian civic and religious calendar: the processions in St Mark's Square

(fig. 1.4–1.5), bridge wars (fig. 1.6), competitive regattas (fig. 1.7), and the famous marriage of the sea, the Sensa (fig. 1.8).

In early modern Venice, these festivals were much more than a folk curiosity or a tourist attraction. They played a key role in the cross-media narrative promoted by the Serenissima: a system of symbols and tales, or, in the words of James Grubb, 'an accumulation of historical explanation and contingent propaganda',[9] which twentieth-century historiography later defined as the 'myth of Venice'.[10] This interpretative category was coined to frame the multi-layered self-portrait of the ruling elite: the Venetian patriciate. Patricians claimed symbolic prerogatives and exclusive virtues for the city as diverse as devotion (Venice is a city blessed by God and protected by St Mark), liberty (Venice is born and has lived ever since free from any external control), dominion (at least since 1204, Venice rules over a land and sea empire), perfect constitutional balance (as argued by Gasparo Contarini in his widely read and translated *De magistratibus et republica venetorum*), and clockwork laws and regulations that, according to what has been called the 'mechanisation of virtue',[11] purportedly settled all social and political struggles in advance, thus earning Venice the title of Most Serene Republic. Civic ritual played a substantial role in the 'myth of Venice'.[12] The republic's authority was reenacted on a regular basis through a series of highly codified performances, following a tight agenda that combined secular and liturgical events. Processions held on religious occasions, festivities celebrating key historical dates, receptions welcoming foreign guests, elections, and popular games helped to visualise the state's power. During the solemn parades that crossed St Mark's Square, for example, symbols of Venetian power and independence (the *trionfi dogali*) were exhibited, including the eight banners granted – according to the 'myth' – by pope Alessandro III in 1177 (fig. 1.9). On the Feast of the Ascension (the Sensa), the doge sailed from the Piazza to the open sea and symbolically married the Adriatic by dropping a golden ring into the water (fig. 1.10). He thus claimed the maritime supremacy of Venice and its sovereignty on the Adriatic. Giacomo Franco's *Habiti* series mirrors how these ceremonies reshaped Venice's urban spaces and imbued the city's topography with sacral and political meanings. This is made clear in the frontispiece (fig. 1.11). Inscribed in a perfect circle unnaturally centred on the religious-political space constituted by the Ducal Palace, St Mark's Basilica, and the Piazza, a bird's eye view of Venice is presented as the scenic backdrop for the engravings that follow. Venice's amphibious topography is thus presented by Franco as programmatically enclosed in a narrow perimeter: an unchanging, self-sufficient space, self-referentially conceived for self-celebration. Festivals and public ceremonies are hence understood

1.4

1.4

Giacomo Franco, *Procession in St Mark's Square during the recruitment of men for the fleet.* Engraving from Id., *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane con la processione della Ser.ma Signoria ed altri particolari*, 1614. Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.

1.5

Giacomo Franco, *Procession in St Mark's Square during the handover of the baton to the Capitano generale da mar* (*ibid.*). Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.

1.6

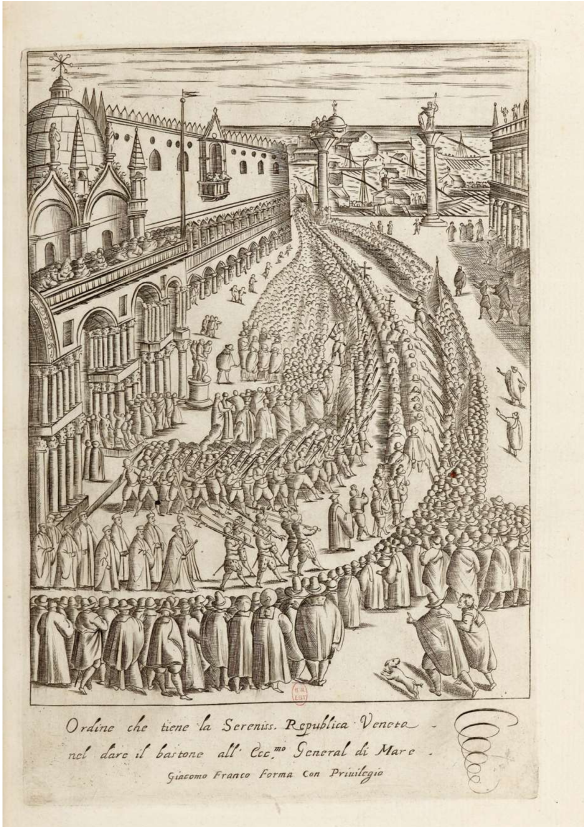
Giacomo Franco, *The "War of the Fists"* (*ibid.*). Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.

1.7

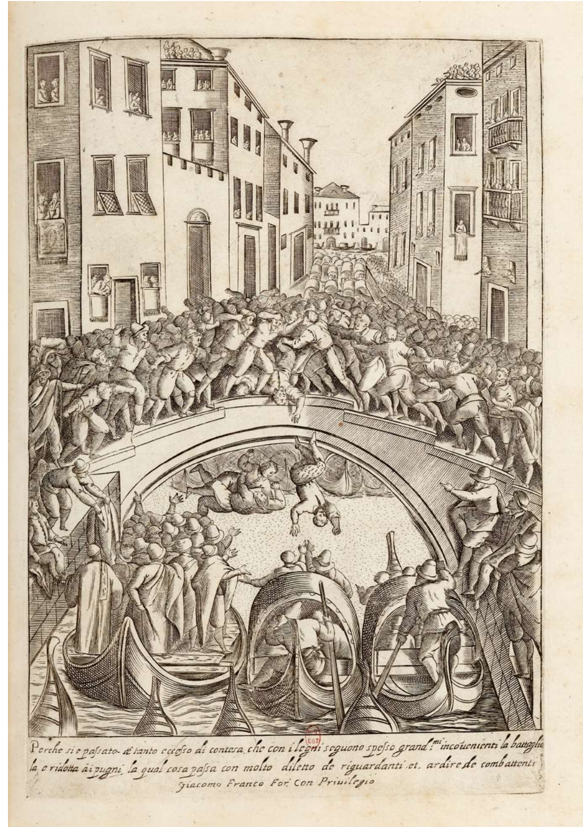
Giacomo Franco, *Women's regatta* (*ibid.*). Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.

1.8

Giacomo Franco, *The Feast of the Ascension ("Festa della Sensa")* (*ibid.*). Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.



1.5



1.6

1.7

1.8

1.9

Matteo Pagano, *Procession of the Doge in Venice*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1556-1561. Photo: Public Domain.

1.10

Giovan Battista Brustolon after Giovan Antonio Canal (Canaletto), *The depart of the doge for the Feast of the Sensa*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1766. Photo: Public Domain.

1.11

Frontispiece of Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'Huomeni e Donne Venetiane Con la Processione della Ser.ma Signoria Et altri particolari cioè Trionfi feste et cerimonie publiche della nobilissima città di Venetia*, 1610. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Photo: Public Domain.

as urban performative devices celebrating the perfection of the Venetian polity and the uniqueness of the geography of Venice, as both the republican government and the marvellous appearance of the city pivot on the site of St Mark's. The Palace and the Piazza thus become not only the conceptual source but also the most iconic representation of civic republicanism.

This 'mythology', or 'accumulation of inherited beliefs and meanings',[13] was not created by Franco, of course. It was well rooted in humanist historiography and grew considerably via sixteenth-century literary production – where the works of polygrapher Francesco Sansovino stand out. Having published a short booklet in 1556 about 'all the beautiful and remarkable things in Venice', and expanded it after 1560 into a more structured 'dialogue',[14] in 1581 Sansovino recast these materials as a text that quickly became a bestseller: *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare*. A sort of touristic guide avant la lettre, the book describes the most distinguished palaces and institutions in Venice in a celebratory tone, but also dwells on the city's ceremonies and public rejoicings, as Sansovino considered Venice's festivals no less unique ('*singolari*') than its republican government or dreamlike topography. Due to the book's huge success, a couple of updated versions of *Venetia* were published in the seventeenth century, adding subsequent events and new information to the original account.[15]

This body of celebratory writings, consistent in motifs and quite widespread thanks to reprints and new editions, exerted a strong influence on Franco's imagery. Proof of this is his interest in the works of a scholar from Belluno, Giovan Niccolò Doglioni, who had in turn 'reformed, rearranged and greatly extended' the 'marvellous things of the glorious city of Venice' first published by Sansovino.[16] In 1614 Franco edited the reissue of a 1594 leaflet by Doglioni: a single sheet publication bearing a woodcut illustration with a map of Venice and captions to decipher it, which depicted 'the origin and government' of the city and included 'a list of all the doges who were there'.[17] Franco reprinted the woodcut separately, reproduced Doglioni's text (which takes up six leaves in his 1614 reissue), and added a series of new plates (from 12 to 16, depending on the edition). Easily confused with the earlier 1610 series, since the two are often bound together, these engravings adopt the same 'mythological' perspective: they depict renowned buildings (the Procuratie), social practises (the courtesans at the hairdresser), military events (the deployment of the fleet at the battle of Lepanto), and civic rituals. In these engravings, the area of St Mark's once again appears as the beating heart of the city's iconography – as demonstrated in the plate representing the procession for the feast of Corpus Christi (fig. 1.12).

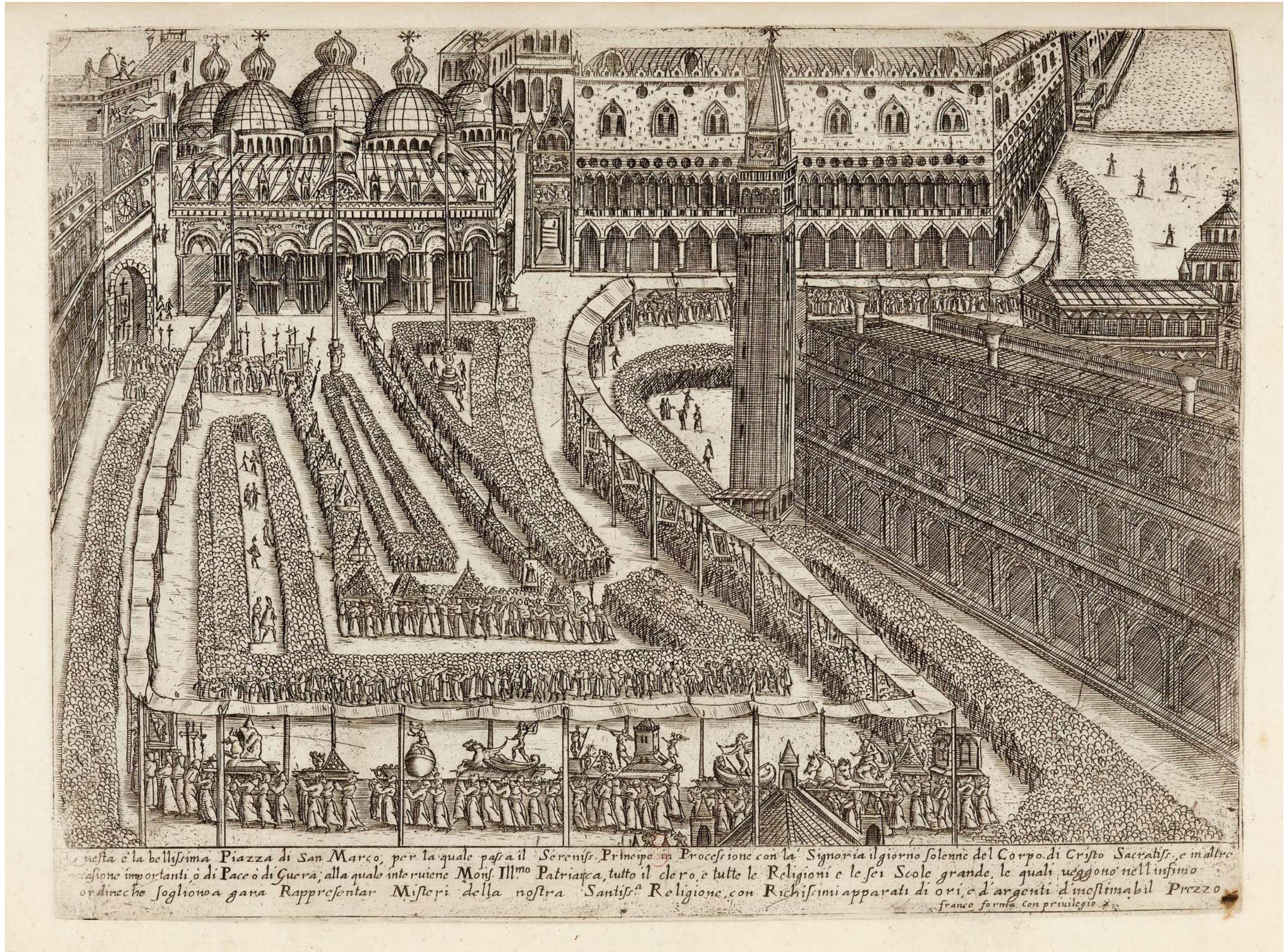
In and out of the ceremonial city

It is no surprise that, in the eyes of Franco and Sansovino, the 'myth of Venice' appeared an integrated repertoire despite the striking heterogeneity of its sources and themes. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century encomiastic production aimed to hold together what might fall away from the centre – and the centre, in the 'myth of Venice,' was the patriciate. As J.R. Mulryne argues, the self-portrait of 'a governing class' constitutes an attempt

> to create or sustain political and social consent, a 'common voice' among the élite of a society – among 'opinion formers', those with hereditary, military or financial power – and by consensual or trickle-down effect to root that consent among the common people.[18]

1.12

Giacomo Franco, *Procession in St Mark's Square: view from the top.* Engraving from Id., *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane con la processione della Ser.ma Signoria ed altri particolari*, 1614. Photo: BnF, Gallica. Reproduced with permission.



Although Mulryne referred to ceremonial entities in monarchic Europe, Venetian civic ritual reflected similar purposes. Venetian festivals, despite their uniqueness, were also intended to buttress the city's social structure and reaffirm symbolic and political hierarchies. Every celebration reconsecrated the dominance of the city of Venice by leaving the maritime and mainland dominions of the Republic outside the perfect circle engraved by Franco and by refixing the centre of this circle in St Mark's Square, the seat of political and religious power.

Evaluating the 'myth of Venice' today, however, is a whole other matter.[19] Surprisingly, scholars have rarely questioned the framework outlined by Franco's engravings and Sansovino's guide. Venetian festivals have been studied in detail, and their actual costs, ceremonial rules, and sophisticated arrays have been convincingly illustrated. Yet, the notion of 'civic ritual' has never really been called into question. Instead, it has been addressed within the same narrow perimeter outlined by Franco, leading to the definition of Venice as a 'ceremonial city':[20] a limited and well-ordered urban space, where the 'common voice' of the 'governing class' feels loud and clear, but the 'common people', especially those living outside the 'ceremonial city', in the vast and diverse domains of the Republic, are not audible. In order to fill this gap, this volume focuses instead on the 'consensual or trickle-down effect' that allowed the 'governing class' to communicate with 'the common people'. At the same time, we strive for a more

ambitious objective: to put 'civic ritual', a notion key to the scholarly paradigm of the 'myth of Venice', in dialogue with a more recent category to gain relevance in the literature, 'popular politics'.

Just like 'civic ritual', 'popular politics' is an umbrella category which brings together a heterogeneous set of methodological tools and critical contributions. On the one hand, it mobilises the Habermasian paradigm of the 'public sphere', and more specifically, applies this model to early modern Venice, a historical context very different to the one for which Habermas first developed the notion.[21] On the other hand, the debate about popular politics pivots on the juridical-anthropological definition of a social group that, despite recent investigations, still proves elusive: Venetian people.[22] However, both approaches to popular politics call into question the idea that the patriciate exerted a factual and symbolic monopoly in early modern Venice. Indeed, such approaches stress the dialectic – i.e., the extensive negotiation among actors – underlying the republican deliberative processes, arguing that the patriciate played a part in the process that was major but not exclusive. Thus far from upholding the functionalist apology codified by the 'myth of Venice', popular politics reads the republican model as the result of interactions among different and even opposing forces. The political vision of those excluded from power – although often latent, sometimes mocking, and even more rarely externalised into violent actions or subversive aspirations – must be included in this framework.

Nevertheless, even this methodological perspective focusing on what Michel Foucault would have defined as the microphysics of Venetian power is not without risks. It could end up confirming a strictly polarised structure: the 'institutionalised power' of the patrician offices, on the one hand, and, on the other, a 'popular politics' framed *ex negativo* by prioritising what is left outside the sphere of the ruling authority. In this sense, the sphere itself would remain unequivocally aristocratic.[23] This volume goes a step further, as it aims to examine the dialectic between rulers and ruled from an unconventional vantage point: the cultural production surrounding the extra-ordinary (but also, as we have noticed, intra-institutional) events of the ceremonial agenda. By connecting the two opposing poles of the historiographical debate, 'civic ritual' and 'popular politics', we aim not only to fill a gap in the literature, but also, and especially, to provide a comprehensive understanding of the way power was represented in early modern Venice.

Our approach also calls into question the topography of this power. Indeed, our goal is to undermine both the strictly urban reading of the civic ritual and the perimeter of Venetian popular politics, which has been traced preferentially (although not exclusively) within the city of Venice. The eleven chapters of this book investigate the socio-political features of early modern cultural production in both Venice and the Venetian dominions according to the so-called spatial turn in the humanities.[24] We do not assume urban spaces are passive, artificial backgrounds for the unfolding of events and practices, but active participants in the ongoing process (re) shaping social, political, cultural, and anthropological identities.[25] This applies primarily to the spaces where civic ritual was performed, starting with the Ducal Palace and the Piazza. The topography of the St Mark's area should thus be considered neither a transposition of republican self-consciousness nor a mere reflection of the rationalising will of aristocratic institutions,[26] but rather as a variable, composite, and polysemic space, constantly redefined by the many people and practices that it daily hosted.[27]

The same approach urges a shift from this space, where 'institutionalised festivals' were performed, towards other 'festive spaces' that may appear peripheric, eccentric, or ephemeral, but which nonetheless prove crucial to rethinking the relationship between civic ritual and popular politics.[28] The novel archival findings and new understanding of visual sources that are presented in this volume[29] foreground a festival system that was more diffuse and less disciplined than has been traditionally recognized: a network of hubs in continual redefinition, through cooperation or conflict, which were enlivened and promoted by actors other than patrician political authorities. This polycentric festival system was not restricted to the city of Venice and importantly included the Venetian dominions. In this sense, the volume replaces the civic-republican framework that authors like Franco and Sansovino helped construct with a territorial state model reflecting wider institutional perimeters. The following chapters examine diverse social and political identities expressed via writings, visual culture, and architectural symbols like piazzas, churches, and governmental buildings. What emerges is a 'concatenation of public spaces' that, while also serving 'as a ceremonial civic stage',[30] do not merely restate the 'myth of Venice', but rather leave space for interactions and negotiations among different institutional powers, social entities, and cultural identities.

The issue at stake is therefore not how these festive spaces were disciplined by the aristocratic ruling class.[31] Indeed, it would be naive to consider them empty spaces available for the expansion of the 'myth of Venice'. Using their own ritual languages, subject communities in the Venetian dominions conveyed political demands and social visions both cooperating and conflicting with those of the *Dominante*. In other words, subject cities, territories, and communities were active stakeholders who interacted with the self-celebratory

1.13

Jacopo de' Barbari, *The City of Venice* (*Venetie MD*), 1500. Photo: Public Domain.

1.14

Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, *City of Venice described by the cosmographer Coronelli*. Engraving from Id., *Isolario, descrittione geografico-historica, sacro-profana, antico-moderna, politica, naturale, e poetica,* 1696. Photo: Padua, Biblioteca dell'Orto Botanico. Reproduced with permission.

Venetian system by charging it with further, alternative, or even inverted meanings.[32] The same applies to the reception and reworking of Venetian ceremonial practices in other European contexts, as well as among the foreign communities settled (more or less permanently) in Venice.[33]

By investigating the festive spaces and entanglements characterising the Venetian system, this volume intends to reconsider the plurality of cultural practices, social bodies, and political actors involved in these phenomena. In so doing, we build on studies dedicated to both civic ritual and popular politics, in order to challenge the steady vision of the 'myth the Venice' as a symbolic repertoire that has been established once and for all. Our methodological shift from a civic to a state framework could be represented by abandonment of the famous map of Venice by Jacopo de' Barbari (fig. 1.13), and its reinterpretation by Giacomo Franco, in favour of the one Vincenzo Maria Coronelli includes in his *Isolario* – where the familiar shape of the 'ceremonial city' is surrounded by the coats of arms of its subject lands and cities *da Terra* and *da Mar* (fig. 1.14).[34]

More equal than others

The alleged immobility of the Venetian civic ritual applies to both space (the fixed routes around St Mark's) and time (these routes were supposedly established once and for all in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance). In this respect, it is revealing that the scholars who address this issue have focused almost exclusively on the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries,[35] implicitly assuming that, even if the Republic was fully independent until 1797, during the last two centuries of the Serenissima the performative rhetoric of the 'myth of Venice' was simply adjusted, not altered or modified.[36] In other words, patricians would have preserved festivals because any change to their symbolic capital was unbearable.

Of course, this interpretation is far from unfounded: the redundancy of these cultural productions in terms of words, images, symbols, and gestures – which aimed precisely to reaffirm the continuity of the republican tradition – suggests few apparent differences between the festivals depicted by Giacomo Franco and those engraved by Giovan Battista Brustolon after Canaletto a century and a half later (fig. 1.8–1.10). However, our investigations show that Venetian pageantry and encomiastic production did undergo a change in the seventeenth century.[37] A new representation of power hinging on a new social basis was established, since power relationships within the patriciate and between the patriciate and its subjects radically changed during that time.

As Gaetano Cozzi has argued,[38] the economic and political crisis culminating in the Ottoman-Venetian wars of Candia (Crete, 1645–1669) and Morea (the Peloponnese, 1684–1699, 1714–1718) exacerbated the atavic contrasts between rich and poor patricians.[39] Nominally equal in rights and power, patricians had increasingly different prerogatives depending on the private fortune of their houses (*casate*). Although the 'myth of Venice' portrayed the patriciate as a socio-political body without internal contrasts, whose decisions were unanimous and highly coherent, starting in the 1630s the most wealthy and powerful patricians openly challenged this vision, as they claimed an unprecedented protagonism in both politics and culture.[40] Several collections of encomiastic texts were printed, and churches arose with façades adorned by the portraits of their worldly patrons in place of angels and saints.[41] Despite sumptuary laws and the republican mistrust towards cult of personality, sculptures portraying Venetian statesmen and naval commanders in chief, quite rare in public and semi-public spaces before the 1620s, now appeared in squares, churches, and public buildings in both in Venice and its dominions.[42] A case in point is the church of Santa Maria Zobenigo: lacking any Christian imagery, its façade is decorated with a statue of the church's chief patron, patrician Antonio Barbaro, who is surrounded by sculpted portraits of his brothers and by marble-relief maps of the sites important to his military service (fig. 1.15).

Beneath its apparent immutability, civic ritual was affected by this process as well. Proof of this can be found in the evolution of a ceremony that was central to early modern Venice: the inaugural entry of the procurators of St Mark. Traditionally elected from among the economically powerful and politically experienced 'greater patriciate', the *procuratori* were top-ranked magistrates in charge of St Mark's Basilica and its economic assets. They held the most prestigious office in the Republic after the doge and, like the doge (though different to all other Venetian offices), they were appointed for life. Most of the doges themselves were selected from among the procurators. The office of *procuratore* was created in the eleventh century and had since grown

1.15

Giovan Antonio Canal (Canaletto), *Campo Santa Maria Zobenigo, Venice*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1730s. Photo: Public Domain.

1.16
Gabriel Bella, *The entry of a procurator of St Mark*. Venice, Fondazione Querini Stampalia, 1780s. Photo: Public Domain.

in power: procurators distributed alms, took care of orphans, executed wills, and administered perpetual trusts made by private testators. This positioned them among the most powerful men in Venice, since these financial duties granted them prestige, a body of clients among the urban plebs, and large influence over Venetian money markets.[43]

The most ritualised moment in the career of a procurator was his election. When the news broke, bells rang for three days in celebration. Drums and trumpets sounded in the streets, as the newly elected handed out wine, bread, and money near the ferry stops (*traghetti*) at his own expense. At night, churches and buildings were decorated with lamps, and there were fireworks in many parts of the city. Then the actual entry was scheduled. On the appointed day, friends and relatives picked up the newly elected procurator in front of his home and took him by boat to the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, near the Rialto, on the Grand Canal. Here the group landed to access the nearby church of San Salvador. A first solemn mass was celebrated, allowing the crowd to gather. Afterwards, the *procuratore* left San Salvador amidst an imposing procession (fig. 1.16), consisting of up to five or six hundred people and including servants, foreigners, musicians, soldiers, captains, and knights from the dominions, as well as the other procurators and most of the senators. Arranged in pairs, the cortege marched past the Mercerie (the streets with the most refined shops in Venice) and paraded from the Rialto to St Mark's Square. Another mass was celebrated in St Mark's Basilica. Then the procurator entered the Ducal Palace for his formal investiture in the presence of the doge. Those who had marched with him from San Salvador to St Mark either received four *pani di zuccari* (Venetian sweets) as a gift or were invited to join the banquet that concluded the celebrations.

Literary sources[44] stress the superb decorations that adorned the ceremonial route, which was transfigured by ephemeral arches and architectures bearing the coat-of-arms of the procurator's family. The *campo* of San Salvador was filled with priceless tapestries, and the surrounding streets and alleys, as well as the Rialto Bridge, were papered with festoons. Persian drapes hung from the windows, and several paintings, including allegorical compositions and portraits of the elected, were exhibited along the path taken by the procession. The shops on the Mercerie played a key role too, as owners put their most polished items on display. Gems, pearls, mirrors, rare feathers, and precious fabrics were arranged to compose the procurator's crest. Sumptuous laceworks, decorated in gold and silver and bearing the procurator's name, were placed next to the engravings with his portrait which many shops displayed in their windows. Like these engraved portraits, printed sheets with sonnets and other encomiastic compositions hung on the walls or were distributed to the crowd.

It would be wrong to describe these entries as centralised performances running like clockwork. Far from being managed or controlled remotely by the Venetian institutions, these rituals were the result of more comprehensive dialogue among the procurator, the patriciate, and the city. First of all, the massive expenditure and lavish displays in the Mercerie were not directly related to the 'myth of Venice', for they did not contribute to the symbolic capital of the government (e.g., to social peace, constitutional balance, or fairness in judgement). Instead, they aimed to project the exceptional status of the few families inside the aristocracy able to attain the highest levels of the ducal offices. In this respect, magnificence – in the sense of both munificence and, more properly, *magnum facere* (to make it big) – proved to be an individual, not a collective virtue: as in many seventeenth-century monarchical contexts, where magnificence exhibited one's wealth and political authority,[45] the entry of a procurator of St Mark was primarily intended to extoll the newly elected patrician and his *casata*.

In Venice, however, magnificence was also exploited to include these displays of personal power, which remained unconventional with respect to republican ideology, in a collective framework. The standard definition by Aristotle of

magnificence as an individual quality is hence inadequate to understand the phenomenon. Moreover, this collective framework did not apply, as one might imagine, to the patriciate as a whole, but to other strata of the population. The shopkeepers on the Mercerie, for instance, were personally involved in the celebration, which shows that the new dialectic between private and public virtues did influence the ritual of the entry.

A good example of this dialectic is the commendatory description of the entry of procurator Girolamo Basadonna (1622–1697) written in 1682 by Cristoforo Ivanovich.[46] A canon of St Mark's Basilica, Ivanovich was also a man of letters: he wrote several opera librettos and a treatise, the *Memorie teatrali di Venezia*, which is deemed to be the first historiographical work on Venetian opera.[47] It is not surprising, then, that his account of Basadonna's entry employs the rhetorical resources of the festival book as a genre (i.e., figures of speech such as ineffability and *recusatio*).[48] Ivanovich declares that he will not 'talk of the generosity of his Excellency', 'because such generosity is an inborn talent of the House Basadonna'. Still, he hardly discusses anything else: 'immediately after his election, as proof of his charity', Basadonna 'distributed plenty of money, bread, and wine to the poor and the ferrymen of the city'.[49] Far from a rhetorical commonplace, the motif of the patron's *generosità* runs throughout the text: it defines its encomiastic goals, and implies, as was customary in early modern entrances,[50] a negotiation between the parties involved in the ritual.

Less than a week before Basadonna's entrance, Ivanovich notes, another procurator, Marco Ruzzini, had made his entry. The décor set up for the latter was so splendid that it required four days to be dismantled, leaving the former with just one night to stage his own celebration. Whereas 'those who were less familiar with the generosity innate in this most noble House' were ready to bet that Basadonna would make a modest entry to avoid confrontation, those who knew 'the prodigal nature, which noble minds reveal through the decorum of the public actions' were expecting 'appropriate pomp'.[51] Of course, overnight the Mercerie was completely transformed, and the pageant far exceeded any expectations.

The issue at stake in Ivanovich's account concerns not the performance per se, but rather the definition of prodigality as a positive virtue, though seemingly unrelated (if not in complete contradiction) to the core values of the 'myth of Venice'. Indeed, Ivanovich's praise of Basadonna's 'prodigal nature' as an assurance of the 'decorum of the public actions' points toward the new idea of magnificence that we discussed. Ivanovich also states that the shopkeepers on the Mercerie played a key role in the process, as they glorified not only the procurator but also themselves and, consequently, the whole city. Indeed, by exposing their most lavish merchandise during the parade and contributing actively to the ephemeral event, Venetian merchants 'honoured their own magnificence'.[52]

A sumptuary law approved by the Great Council on 8 May 1683, a few months after (and probably because of) Basadonna's entry, provides greater insight into this passage. From this document, which specifically addressed the entrances of procurators, we learn that the Magistrato alle pompe[53] intended to regulate excessive décor set up between the Rialto and St Mark's, namely by forbidding the 'presents' (*regali*) that the newly elected procurator offered shopkeepers. No wonder the Venetian merchants were magnificent! Since they were financed by the procurator under the counter, the goods they exhibited during the procession were actually part of his display of wealth.

The unofficial agreement between procurators and store owners proves that, even in early modern Venice, civic ritual was far from monolithic. Its political meanings, social implications, and celebratory strands could change according to specific circumstances and party negotiations. In the case of Basadonna's entry, one such agreement sped up the decoration process and left the audience in awe, as the Mercerie were transformed over the course of just one night; yet, it also entailed an entanglement of private wealth and public decorum that did not belong to the pageant traditions of the Serenissima. In the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, when Venetian ceremonial life was outstandingly rich, solemn masses, water parades, and ritual processions did not offer the individual nobleman a chance to stand out. Even in the second half of the seventeenth century, the entanglement of private wealth and public decorum did not fail to alarm the Republican institutions, as the 1683 decree testifies. At that point, however, the process had become unstoppable. Indeed, the government surrendered a few years later, and by 1692 a costly licence sold by the Senate permitted the procurator to celebrate in whatever way he chose to spend his money.[54]

Unchanging routes

The evolution of the entry of the procurators of St Mark in the seventeenth-century is also significant in the context of our investigation for another reason: the transformation that the ritual underwent in post-Renaissance Venice affected not only its meanings and implications, but also its actual topography. To comply with new representation of patrician power, a new use of the urban spaces was established that specifically involved the Mercerie. In this respect, the festival offers a model case study for our general hypothesis, grounded in the spatial turn in the humanities: even in the 'ceremonial city', supposedly frozen in sixteenth-century etiquette, the routes of civic ritual did change, and this evolution mirrored changing power balances within the patriciate and between the patriciate and the rest of the city.

Although it has been assumed that the itinerary for the entry of a procurator had been codified in the Renaissance,[55] the rewritings of Sansovino's *Venetia* tell a very different story. Sansovino's original 1581 text recalls the three-day celebrations following the election of a *procuratore*, but does not mention an entry. Even these celebrations seem marginal, however, with respect to the historical origins and duties of the office: Sansovino addresses the topic quickly while discussing the *Procuratie* (the palace on the Piazza) in book 7 (*Delle fabbriche publiche*, 'On public palaces')[56] but glosses over it in book 10 (*De gli abiti, costumi e usi della città*, 'On city clothes, customs, and habits'), where other Venetian ceremonies are described in more detail. Of course, this does not mean that the ceremony of the entry did not exist at this time. The reissue of *Venetia* edited by Giovanni Stringa (1604) actually fills this gap, adding a description of the procession as it had been performed already at Sansovino's time. However, the event looks quite different from the one reported in later sources.[57] Firstly, the degree of magnitude was different. About three hundred people (not five or six) attended the procession; at the end two (rather than four) *pani di zucchero* were given. Secondly, the ceremonial route was not only shorter, but also, and more importantly, radically dissimilar, since the parade started from the church of San Moisè instead of from San Salvador and did not include the Mercerie.

Most of the literature on the topic, assuming that the procession had always departed from San Salvador, has not made notice of this change of route. Yet, it is clearly reported in the 1663 reissue of *Venetia*, where Giustiniano Martinioni adds a new paragraph explaining that senators and procurators 'do not gather anymore in the church of San Moisè, like Stringa said, but in the church of San Salvador'.[58] We can assign a more accurate date to this substitution: it occurred shortly after the plague of 1630–1631. Indeed, the first document attesting that San Salvador was papered for the entry of a procurator dates back to the election of Francesco Molin in 1634.[59] The new itinerary was quickly codified, and in 1641, when Giovanni Pesaro was elected, it was described in detail in the festival book printed for the occasion. It was the first festival book entirely devoted to the entry of a *procuratore*.[60] A few years later, the exceptional witness Francesco Pannocchieschi d'Elci – nephew of the papal nuncio of the time, Scipione – stated that the entry of the procurators of St Mark was 'the most relevant' of the lavish festivities that struck him while in Venice (1647–1652).[61] Thus, in the span of a few decades, the ritual had expanded in political and cultural relevance to such an extent that it climbed to the top of the ranks of civic ritual: from minor event (Sansovino, 1581) to flagship occasion (Pannocchieschi, c. 1650).

During the sixteenth century, the Mercerie were already the most famous streets in Venice, and many cardinals and ambassadors explicitly asked the Venetian authorities to visit these shops at the heart of the European luxury market.[62] Still, this chain of streets played a secondary role in the framework of civic ritual, at least before 1634. Indeed, although it could be used, the axis San Salvador – St Mark was less travelled than that of San Moisè – St Mark.[63] As the latter route was a straighter path with no luxury shops, it can be assumed that, at the time, neither the profusion of decorations nor the exhibition of luxurious goods were deemed necessary to the ritual.

The immobile prince

On 10 January 1690, when the doge Francesco Morosini returned to Venice after a six-year military campaign in the East Mediterranean, sumptuous ceremonies took place to celebrate his arrival.[64] Twelve patricians appointed by the Senate, leading twelve pleasure barges superbly decorated with wooden statues, gold plating, and crimson clothes, welcomed the doge's galley at the entrance to the lagoon and escorted it to the Lido. Morosini disembarked, attended a solemn mass at the church of San Niccolò, and boarded the Republic's state vessel, the Bucintoro. A fleet of boats then followed him to St Mark's Square amidst salvos of artillery, which gave rise to a triumphant waterborne pageant (fig. 1.17).

Pomp was even greater before the Ducal Palace. In the Piazzetta, the entrance to the city from the sea, an ephemeral arch about twelve metres in height was erected, supported by two loggias and adorned with galleries of arms. Moreover, there were two fountains, each four and a half metres high, representing the figure of Neptune between two dolphins; both fountains spouted wine, to the joy of the crowd attending the event. Morosini passed through the triumphal arch,

1.17
Alessandro Piazza, *The return of Francesco Morosini*, Venice, Museo Correr. 1699. Reproduced with permission.

flanked the fountains, and finally reached the Ducal Palace. Damask fabrics and trophies hung from the façade, while the courtyard was decorated with fifty-two paintings displaying the heroic deeds of the doge, who could contemplate his own victories once more before climbing the Giants' Staircase and entering the Palace.

This ritual entry was totally unusual in early modern Venice. After he was elected, the doge did not have to make an entrance to the city, because he was already there. Exceptions to this general rule mainly took place in the medieval period, in the cases of Renier Zen in 1253,[65] Lorenzo Celsi in 1361,[66] Andrea Contarini in 1368,[67] and Tommaso Mocenigo in 1414.[68] Of the thirty-five doges elected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, only Antonio Priuli in 1618 and Francesco Erizzo in 1631 were far from Venice at the time of their elections,[69] and only the former enjoyed a waterborne entrance, though it was incomparable, in terms of luxury and media resonance, with that of Morosini.[70] Above all, neither Priuli nor Erizzo had risen to the dogado from a position of personal prestige and authority, comparable to that of Morosini, who still led the military fleet as naval commander in chief when he was elected on 3 April 1688, following the death of previous doge Marcatonio Giustinian.

Indeed, between 1684 and 1690 Morosini led one of the most successful campaigns in the history of the Serenissima. As the Turks were defeated in front of the walls of Vienna in

1.18

Filippo Parodi, *Bust of Francesco Morosini*, Venice, Museo Correr. 1687. Reproduced with permission.

1683, the Venetians attacked the Ottoman Empire in what is now modern Greece, emerged victorious, and gained significant territory: Aegean islands, strategic strongholds, and the entire Peloponnese peninsula (or Morea, as the Venetians called it).[71] The hype and commotion surrounding these military successes were just as uncommon as the election of Morosini, who was now known by the title of *Peloponnesiacus* and already (1687) honoured by the Senate with a bronze bust placed in the armoury of the Council of Ten 'when he was still breathing' (*adhuc viventi*), a unique honour in the history of the Republic (fig. 1.18). The shared excitement that swept through Venice during the First Morean War transcended the boundaries between the Piazza and the Palace, prompting the Republic to waive its traditional distrust of excessive cult of personality. Voted for unanimously by the ducal electors and celebrated by the city, Morosini's election was an anomaly in itself and marked a significant departure from the Republic's electoral customs: the new doge was not a procurator of St Mark with a past in Venetian diplomacy or the administration of the dominions[72] but a charismatic leader still engaged on the battlefield.

A doge who led military operations, sailed on his own, and made a ritual entry into Venice was not at all envisaged by the norms of Venetian civic ritual, despite how articulate and detailed they were. On the occasion of Morosini's entry to Venice in 1690, ceremonial adjustments were introduced to temper the exceptional nature of the moment and personality of the elected doge. Once on the threshold of the Ducal Palace, for instance, the actual boundary between the Palace and the Piazza, Morosini sanctioned his change of status with a ritual gesture of performative power. Before ascending the Giants' Staircase and being enthroned in the hall of the Great Council, Morosini resigned his position as naval commander in chief by relinquishing his baton to the secretary of the Senate.[73]

Nevertheless, two years later the Senate itself gave it back to him. In 1692, Morosini was once again required to simultaneously hold the office of doge and command of the fleet, as he had in the period between his ducal election (1688) and triumphal coronation (1690). This unusual decision responded to a twofold need: to revive the languishing military operations on the Greek front and to move the cumbersome presence of the *Peloponnesiacus* away from Venice. It was the beginning of a gradual dampening of the paroxysm of celebration that had culminated in the previous decade (1683–1692). When Morosini died in Nafplio in 1694, the Great Council reformed the Ducal Oath (*Promissio ducis*), regulating the constitutional prerogatives and ceremonial behaviours of the doge. From then on, the doge was prohibited from serving as fleet commander in chief, and the two positions were considered incompatible.[74]

By introducing this norm, the republican 'body politic' was reacting to the personal protagonism and militarism characterising Morosini's dogado. The justifications made to explain this measure, however, show that the Great Council had other concerns as well, related to the representation of republican power. Like other early modern sovereigns, the Venetian Republic needed a physical body to make its power perceivable.[75] Making sovereignty visible was even more urgent in a republic like Venice, a polity within which the *summa potestas* – constitutionally shared among the members of aristocracy and institutionally exercised by a plethora of patrician offices – was hardly identifiable. As the Great Council admitted in 1694, the presence of the doge in Venice was necessary not only for constitutional reasons but also because his 'body natural' added 'gravitas' to the magistracies

he presided over and 'majesty' to the 'ceremonies' these magistracies performed. In order to present itself as the 'perfect body of the Republic', the ruling patriciate needed a 'visible head' that came from the doge's 'figure'.[76]

The 1694 amendment of the Ducal Oath reveals the resilience of the constitutional mythology developed in the early Renaissance, as well as its capacity to imbue even the lexicon of the Venetian politics. As the reformers argued, by balancing the republican constitution with a monarchic-like magistrate (the doge), the patrician 'ancestors' successfully addressed the need to stabilise the political system while making its power convincing.[77] The hieratic physiognomy of the republican prince strongly contributed to giving both Venetian civic ritual and the republican political machinery the sense of institutional perfection and immutability that we are problematizing in this volume. The princely persona (in the sense of performative mask)[78] that the doge showed on public occasions was supposed to absorb and neutralise any social or political contrast, manifesting through gestures and etiquette, if not solely through presence, the clockwork functioning of the Republican magistracies, the unity of the patriciate, and the harmony of this political structure with the other parts of Venetian society.

The doge has often been referred to as a 'paradoxical prince',[79] but what is paradoxical, first and foremost, is the constitutional 'myth' he embodies. The idea of Venice as a pacified 'mixed government' incorporating democratic, aristocratic, and monarchic elements within a perfectly balanced constitution[80] implies the existence of an ongoing institutional dialectic. Yet the equilibrium claimed by the 'myth' was nothing but the result of structural tensions that ran through the Venetian polity at all levels. These various lines of tension converged and were absorbed in the doge's princely persona: its constitutional profile was shaped by the unceasing dialectic between the Republic's 'body politic' and its 'visible head'. Starting from the late thirteenth century *serrata*[81], and continuing throughout the early modern period, the Great Council managed to reduce the dogado (a monocratic organ inherited from a deliberately neglected Byzantine past)[82] to a mostly representative office, by limiting its political autonomy and subjecting its pseudo-monarchic prerogatives to ever-stricter restrictions. As we have seen in the case of Morosini, the periodic emendation (*correzione*) of the Ducal Oath was the main legal device implemented to this end: revised at each ducal vacancy by a patrician committee elected by the Great Council (*correttori della Promissione ducale*), the Ducal Oath regulated the constitutional and ceremonial prerogatives of the doge and compelled him to perform his role with princely magnificence, while preventing him from taking any personal initiative.[83]

A significant part of these regulations applied specifically to the doge's freedom of movement and rights of mobility and travel. The prohibition introduced in 1694 openly refers to a series of regulatory precedents dating back to at least the late fourteenth century. Those 'decrees contained in the Ducal Oath'[84] aimed to put the movements of the Republic's 'visible head' under the control of its 'body politic'. After 1501, only via express authorisation by both the Great and Minor Councils could the republican prince leave the city of Venice and cross the border of the lagoon.[85] From a textual point of view, the 1694 reform was closer, however, to that of 1605. On that occasion, the Great Council had already referred to the doge as the 'head of our republic', stressing that it was suitable for reasons of 'public reputation' that 'the person of the Most Serene Prince' never leave the lagoon.[86] The immobilisation of the prince's physical body in Venice, if not in the Ducal Palace, helped not only legitimise but also locate and visualise sovereignty within a political system that was much more entangled than its Renaissance 'myth' suggests.

This need was all the more felt in the fifteenth century, as a consequence of the sudden expansion of the Venetian territorial state,[87] and again in the following century, with the consolidation of the mainland dominions after their temporary loss during the Italian Wars (1509–1516).[88] During the long sixteenth century, which saw the battle of Lepanto (1571) and concluded with the Venetian victory over the Pope's jurisdictional claims during the Interdict crisis of 1606–1607,[89] the Republic of Venice expanded its authority over a *respublica* stretching from the Adda to the Isonzo rivers and from the Istrian peninsula to the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, the idea took root of Venice as a dominant city-state republic (*Dominante*) ruling as queen over a twofold territorial state that extended over both land (*da Terra*) and sea (*da Mar*). Progressively integrated into Venetian material constitution and political culture,[90] this idea was contextually accepted and developed in art and literature, historiography and rhetoric, architecture and urban planning, public ceremonies and civic ritual.[91] The decoration of the ceiling of the Hall of the Great Council, in the Ducal Palace, was the culmination of this process: Palma the Younger depicted Venice as a warrior queen triumphing militarily over the peoples subjected to her; Paolo Veronese painted Venice as a sovereign guardian providing these peoples with wealth and prosperity; and Jacopo Tintoretto portrayed her as a divine monarch assisting its earthly embodiment, i.e. the doge's 'body natural', and blessing the voluntary submission of the subject provinces (fig. 1.19–1.21).

Considered as a whole, these three large-scale paintings present a terrific synthesis of the 'myth'. A wise and mighty matron, offering social tranquillity and economic well-being

1.19

Jacopo Negretti (Palma the Younger), *Venice crowned by Victory*. Venice, Ducal Palace, Sala del Maggior Consiglio. 1584. Photo: Scala, Firenze.

1.20

Jacopo Robusti (Tintoretto), *The voluntary submission of the provinces*. Venice, Ducal Palace, Sala del Maggior Consiglio. c. 1580-1584. Photo: Scala, Firenze.

to those who worship her (Veronese), queen Venice reigning with benevolence, in full accordance with human and divine law (Tintoretto), but striking out violently at those who do not submit to her magnificent sovereignty (Palma).[92] This could be interpreted as an assertive message intended exclusively for the patriciate, who gathered in that hall to vote. In the same years, however, royal representations of submissions to Venice multiplied, not only in the Ducal Palace[93] but also in the town halls of the subject territories. As Ligozzi's *The handing over of the keys of Verona to doge Michele Steno* suggests, the imagery of the 'myth' was often employed, reshaped, and developed further by subject communities as well.[94]

A case in point is Cesare Vecellio's *The Submission of Cadore to Venice*, which was painted only a few years after the ceiling of the Hall of the Great Council (1582–1584 and 1599 respectively) (fig. 1.22). Static, hieratic, and enthroned, here queen Venice receives homage from the Community of Cadore which, in humbly kneeling, recognizes the sovereignty of

the Republic. This gesture triggers reciprocity:[95] in return for its submission, the Community receives the recognition of privileges, which are represented as a sealed document listing the requests granted it by the Serenissima. Depicted by Vecellio with great attention to its extrinsic and material features, this 'foundational chart'[96] stands out as the only realistic element in the otherwise allegorical composition. The handing over of the *pacta deditionis* between the queen and the subject community thus makes possible a contact, albeit mediated, between political bodies at separate layers of the constitutional edifice of the Venetian state: the former enthroned between St Mark and the Virgin Mary (and transfigured in them), the latter invited by the allegory of Faith to bow at the foot of the throne.[97]

Since it was anchored to the doge's unmoving persona and, as a consequence, to the city of Venice, the celebration of republican power played a significant role in tracing and making visible the constitutional border between the throne

1.21

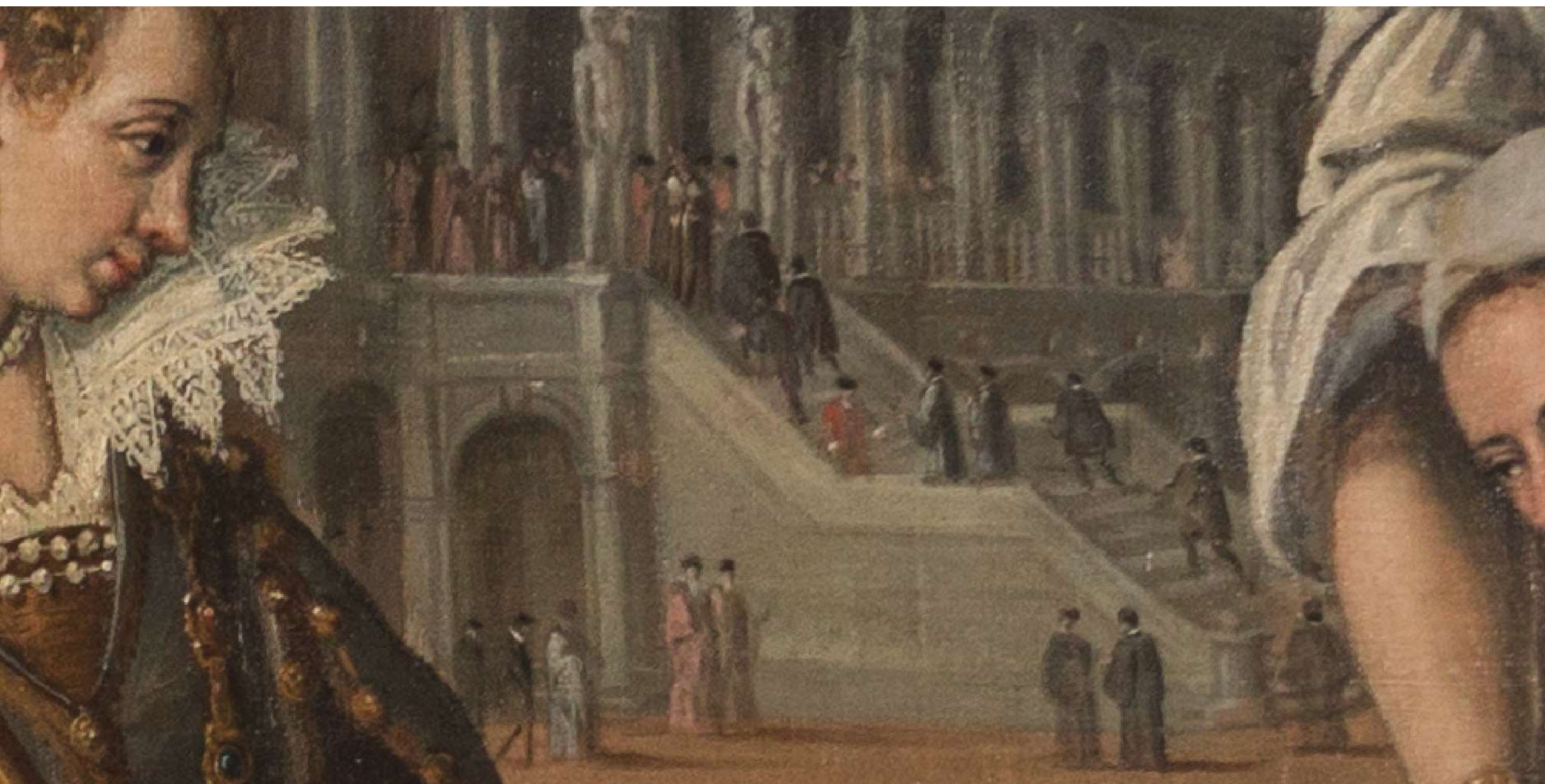
Paolo Caliari (Veronese), *Apotheosis of Venice*. Venice, Ducal Palace, Sala del Maggior Consiglio. 1585. Photo: Scala, Firenze.

1.22

Cesare Vecellio, *The Submission of Cadore to Venice*, Pieve di Cadore, Palazzo della Magnifica Comunità del Cadore. 1599. © Magnifica Comunità del Cadore, p.g.c. Reproduction forbidden.

of republican sovereignty and the territories subjected to its rule. The whole ceremonial system which pivoted on the doge has been correctly defined as a 'civic ritual', according to a twofold interpretation that applies both the adjectival and noun form of the definition: on the one hand, it conveys the republican (and humanist) nature of the 'myth'[98] celebrated by the Venetian 'political festival';[99] on the other hand, it gives a sense of the strictly urban scope of this celebration, which was mostly confined to Venice's city boundaries.[100] As Giacomo Franco's engravings recalled, even two centuries after the Venetian conquest of the mainland the 'public ceremonies' performed by the 'doge and the Serenissima Signoria' celebrated Venice as a self-sufficient city-state republic rather than a republican territorial state.

In this regard, civic ritual perfectly reflected the asymmetric constitutional order identifying Venice with the republican government and Venetian dominions with political entities subdued to the Republic but excluded from its government. Following in the wake of the contrasting legacies of Marino Berengo, Gaetano Cozzi, and Angelo Ventura,



notions such as 'non-inclusion'[101] and 'separateness'[102] still underlie much contemporary analysis of Venetian rule over these territories. With respect to its political body, Venice always remained separate from its dominions: while expanding over these territories, the city-state republic neither assimilated nor included the subdued bodies, but merely overlapped with them as a superordinate political power.[103]

Nevertheless, as Vecellio shows, there was always room for negotiation, however narrow it might have been. Formally secured by compliance with the agreements granted to subject communities at the moment of their submission (*pacta deditionis*), the maintenance of local jurisdictional prerogatives and political identities, which counterbalanced their total lack of inclusion in the republican government,[104] offered the chance to put the borders between rulers and the ruled into question. This was made possible through peculiar communicative and ceremonial practices, which Vecellio hints at in his painting's backdrop (fig. 1.23). Behind the allegorical meeting between queen Venice and the Community of Cadore, a more concrete encounter unfolds: as in Tintoretto's painting for the ceiling of the Hall of the Great Council, the doge welcomes the ambassadors of the community submitting to Venice on the Giants' Staircase.

The historical realism of the scene is only apparent and should not mislead. Unlike Ligozzi's painting for the Veronese town hall, Vecellio's work does not memorialise the original event of the submission to Venice, but rather implies its consequences: because of the asymmetrical relationship established through the *pacta deditionis*, the sovereign power located in Venice and embodied by the doge's immobile persona becomes accessible to subjects hailing from the dominions. Framed between the faces of Venice and Cadore and grounded almost physically in the legal documents legitimising it, the view of the Giants' Staircase alludes to the possibility, guaranteed to subjects by the pact of submission, of breaching the constitutional divide between the *Dominante* and its dominions, climbing the steps to the immobile seat of republican sovereignty, and addressing it directly by voicing petitions, complaints, and political visions.

Moving subjects

The very notion of boundary implies its crossability, even if only as something to be prevented. Even the strictest boundary is still a frontier: a threshold that, in defining separate entities and identities, makes communication between them possible.[105] The existence of an actual boundary, both ceremonial and constitutional, between Venice and its dominions shaped the forms of political communication rather than forbidding it. Ritual and politics, in the Venetian context, involved crossing the border that separated the immobile prince from his subjects. A change in perspective, however, is necessary if we are to comprehend how and to what extent such a border was permeable. To do so, the narrow ceremonial map outlined by Giacomo Franco must be situated within the broader context of which it was actually a part.

1.23

Cesare Vecellio, *The Submission of Cadore to Venice.* Detail of 1.22.

1.24

Jacopo Negretti (Palma The Younger), *Commemorative Painting of Doges Gerolamo and Lorenzo Priuli*, Venice, Ducal Palace, Sala del Senato, 1583–1587. Photo: Scala, Firenze.

Several chapters of this volume[106] are devoted to representations of Venetian rule on its subject territories and polities. The 'rituals of power negotiation' disallowed to the doge due to his immobility (e.g., inaugural entries, ceremonial journeys, and official visits)[107] were regularly performed by the patrician magistrates in charge of administering the subject territories. The immobility of the 'head' of the republic was hence matched by the high degree of mobility of its political body, whose 'limbs' (the patricians) frequently alternated peripheral offices.[108] The Republic relied on these peripheral offshoots of its 'body politic' to project its majesty outside the urban perimeter and make its authority felt in the subject territories (fig. 1.24).

Unlike monarchic officials such as viceroys and royal envoys, Venetian provincial governors (*rettori*) as well as other peripheral and itinerant magistrates (*camerlenghi, provveditori, sindaci inquisitori*, etc.) were not mere proxies of the sovereign.[109] As members of the Venetian patriciate, they were instead a full-fledged part of the sovereign body itself. They were therefore supposed to act in this capacity during the festivals, ceremonies, and political occasions[110] that were performed as ritual re-establishments (and actual reenactments) of the power hierarchies separating Venice and its dominions. Their peculiar status allowed a direct connection between rulers and ruled, between the collective sovereign body of the republic they represented, on the one hand, and the several subject bodies inhabiting its composite state, on the other. Often portrayed as idyllic encounters restating the 'natural order' of the Venetian society, these ceremonial events were actually far from devoid of tensions. The sumptuary laws were redundant and several treaties were published to discipline the ceremonial conduct of local governors and élites, which suggests the difficulties the Republic encountered in this regard.[111] The key issue at stake was giving the representatives who embodied the Republic a princely aura while preventing them from exceeding personalism (fig. 1.25).[112]

Major tensions also emerged when the ceremonial boundary between the Serenissima and its dominion was crossed in the opposite direction. Republican subjects needed a direct contact with the 'head of the state', just like subjects of any

1.25
Jacopo Negretti (Palma The Younger), *Exaltation of the rectors of Padua Jacopo and Giovanni Soranzo.* Padua, Musei Civici, end of the 16th century. Reproduced with permission.

monarch.[113] The lack of any supra-local or multi-estate representative institutions (i.e., parliaments, estates general, diets, cortes *et similia*), which were almost completely foreign to the Venetian polity,[114] fostered this need. Therefore, to make their voices heard in the *Dominante*, in the mid-sixteenth century several subject cities and territories began to stabilise a diplomatic presence in Venice.[115] A network of 'subject embassies' (*case*) was created, traces of which are still legible in the current toponymy of the city of Venice. Most of these 'embassies' – such as those of Vicenza (fig. 1.26), Verona and Feltre – were located in the area between Santa Maria Zobenigo and San Moisè, whose relevance for the celebration of republican power has already been stressed. Other embassies, such as that of Brescia (fig. 1.27), were located in the area near the Basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo and were connected to St Mark's Square and the Ducal Palace via the Mercerie.[116] Thus, although seemingly inviolable, the constitutional perimeter centred on the doge's immobile persona and underscored by Venetian civic ritual, was trespassed daily by subject legations flocking to the seat of republican power for judicial, political, or celebratory reasons.

The presence of this internal diplomacy became particularly evident at celebrations for the election of a doge. Since the fifteenth century, the subject cities and quasi-cities paid homage to the newly elected doge by sending ceremonial delegations appointed to recognize his authority. These declarations of loyalty involved both verbal and non-verbal

communication. By the mid-sixteenth century, the core of the congratulatory ceremony consisted in a sumptuous pageant performed by the subject ambassadors that took place along the same ceremonial route used for the procurators' entry: arranged in pairs and accompanied by a crowded retinue of former *rettori* and other patrician patrons, the representatives of the subject community marched from San Moisè (later San Salvador) through St Mark's Square and up to the Ducal Palace. Here the official audience took place in the presence of the Pien Collegio and a congratulatory oration was delivered. Finally, the whole delegation knelt before the doge.[117]

The ceremonial pattern adopted on these occasions and the rhetorical choices made by the orators deliberately echoed those that had been employed, especially in the early fifteenth century, to ratify 'voluntary submissions' of the subject cities to Venice. The similarity is such that Ligozzi, despite having been commissioned to depict an event of ancient 'voluntary submission', was able to use modern descriptions of 'congratulatory embassies' from his own time.[118] Such descriptions were readily available, since the congratulatory ceremonies had a relevant impact on the Venetian information market. Largely entrusted with epistolary writing, handwritten descriptions of the event became widespread; the orations delivered before the doge were quickly printed in law-quality editions (today we would call them instant books) and widely disseminated.[119] Starting with another text by Sansovino (1562), who once again identified the new cultural trend first, these orations were even gathered in printed anthologies with literary and editorial ambitions.[120]

The very existence of these ceremonies and texts challenges the perimeter drawn by the notion of 'civic ritual'. Indeed, a significant part of this 'ritual' complex was not really 'civic' at all: some external actors, coming from outside Giacomo Franco's map, could burst into Venice's urban spaces (like the Veronese ambassadors painted by Ligozzi) and celebrate republican power in their own ways. Subject communities insisted on presenting this practice as part of their own traditions, as if it was not prescribed by any Venetian law or mandate. Venice, indeed, never openly discussed the matter. On the contrary, throughout the early modern era Venetian magistracies cautiously avoided implementing or even promoting laws that would force subject communities to revere the doge by sending ambassadors or orators.[121] For the same reason, no protocol for congratulatory embassies was ever recorded in Venetian ceremonial registers (*libri cerimoniali*). The Serenissima had considerable interest in allowing its subjects to stage this homage as unforced, since it put on public display their loyalty towards the new prince and the Republic that he embodied. In this regard, congratulatory embassies and orations also played a significant role in the framework of the 'myth of Venice'. 'Spontaneously' performed by subjects, they backed up the apologetic (self)representation of the Venetian sovereignty as a desirable yoke and suggested its dominion was based on consent.

Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to reduce the contribution of these subjects to the 'myth of Venice' to passive endorsement. Congratulatory embassies and orations complicated and

1.26
Sotoportego e corte de la Vicenza, Venice.
Photo: Public Domain.

hybridised the *topoi* of the 'myth' by increasing their polysemy. Subject communities conceived their homage as performative reenactments of the pacts through which they had negotiated the terms of their 'voluntary submission'.[122] As the cases of Ligozzi and Vecellio demonstrate, periodic reenactment of the foundational moment of capitulation – which could occur through performance, oration, or the visual arts – not only implied recognising a status of subjection, but also the existence of local institutions, privileges, and exemptions that had been granted by the *pacta deditionis*. Indeed, in spite of its commendatory nature, the cultural production surrounding the congratulatory embassy was aimed precisely at limiting, in performative terms, the full and undifferentiated deployment of Venetian sovereignty on its dominions.

The orator Mario Frecavalli, for instance, who praised doge Marino Grimani on behalf of the city of Crema in 1595, claimed the right to renegotiate the 'privileges' that his community had obtained by means of its voluntary submission to Venice in 1449:

> In several places, servant cities are used to presenting themselves to those who, by inheritance or by other kinds of fortune, succeed to princedoms or empires [...] and to renewing their oath of loyalty, from which they could be relieved due to the advent of the new Prince, in order to impetrate, [once] declared [their] readiness and most loving willingness to serve, the conservation and increase of their privileges, or to recommend themselves [to the new Prince], and [thus] bode themselves [...] a favourable rule.[123]

Here, as in other orations from the same period, Frecavalli assumes the power discontinuity caused by in the ducal succession to be a potential reason to revoke the bonds of subjection linking the subject communities to the Serenissima. He hence infers the need for a periodic renewal with both legal and ritual value. Frecavalli's statement is intentionally hyperbolic, as the orator deliberately ignores the durability of the Republic's 'mystical body politic' and focuses exclusively on the 'body natural' of its prince.[124] His purpose, however, is very practical: by leveraging the 'honourable custom' of the congratulatory embassy, the subject community attempts to preserve its own political and juridical identity despite its submission. Meant to be a recognition of Venice's sovereignty over its dominions, these orations thus reveal the limits and unresolved tensions of the Venetian state. In this respect, the congratulatory embassy sent to the republican prince fulfilled a function mirroring that performed, during the same period, by the *joyeuse entrées* of monarchs. Whereas in the monarchic context it was the *dominus* who entered the subject community to recognise its privileges and re-establish his authority,[125] in the Republic of Venice it was the subject community which entered the *Dominante* and, by recognising its authority, claimed its own privileges.

Ceremonial practices were an integral part of this latent process of re-negotiation. The necessity of having an embassy to finally gain contact with the 'immobile prince' encouraged subject cities to represent themselves as autonomous political bodies, subdued to Venice but still endowed with their own political and legal identities. The medium also proved to be the message,[126] because embassies were conceived and performed as a declaration of 'otherness' with respect to the *Dominante*.[127] Justified since the early fifteenth century by the employment of sumptuous ceremonial apparatuses, a comparison was established, in both handwritten and printed accounts, between subject ambassadors and the representatives of sovereign foreign states. Describing the homage paid by Verona to Leonardo Donà in 1606, polygraph Francesco Pola[128] captured the wonder of the crowd thronging St Mark's Square at the sight of the Veronese orators approaching the Ducal Palace with a retinue of about two-hundred men, who were almost equally divided between Veronese citizens and Venetian patricians. The ambassadors represented Verona, a 'subject city' ('*alieno imperio obnoxia*'), but several people mistook them for 'illustrious little kings' ('*inclytos* [...] *regulos*') making their entry to Venice.[129] The resident agent of Vicenza (*nunzio*) wrote similarly of the celebrations addressed to Francesco Contarini in 1624: the ambassadors of Vicenza reached Venice 'with great pomp', escorted by 'a retinue that could be suitable for an emperor'.[130]

Representations of Venice as a ruling queen did not prevent the subject communities from cloaking themselves in princely robes. Indeed, these congratulatory embassies might actually

1.27
Corte Bressana, Venice.
Photo: Public Domain.

have conveyed messages that were seemingly incompatible with notions and actual practices of 'republican dominion'. In spite of the apparent immutability of the 'myth of Venice', the forms of such dominion changed radically during the early modern age, becoming no stranger to the lure of absolutism.[131] This is apparent in how Venetian legislation on congratulatory embassies (otherwise rather scarce, as mentioned above) addressed their performances. Starting in the late fifteenth century, the Great Council leveraged the periodic amendment of the Ducal Oath to impose gradually stricter sumptuary restrictions on ducal homage and on the subject communities' self-celebration as a consequence. Formally, the Venetian 'body politic' disciplined the conduct of its 'visible head' and not those of its subjects. Since 1476, the doge was prohibited from receiving congratulatory embassies composed of more than twenty members and listening to orations that were too long.[132] The alleged justification for such measures relied on the doge's role as 'legal guardian' of the subject communities: embodied by the doge, the Republic was responsible for the economic behaviours of these communities, as if they were unable to act autonomously. This attitude drew on a royal understanding of Venetian rule[133] but also on the 'myth of Venice', since the erosion of both local communities' autonomy and 'princely' self-fashioning ambitions was legitimised by the notion of republican 'good governance'. Even in the seventeenth century, when Venetian control of the behaviour of congratulatory embassies became more direct, both the Great Council and the Senate justified their conduct by citing the intention of saving local communities from excessive expense.[134]

In this sense, the amendment of the Ducal Oath addressed the issue of celebrating republican power in two directions: indeed, the need to contain its spatial range, outward costs, and self-celebrative implications applied to both the republican prince and the subject communities. Sumptuary laws reflected a new semantics of power which overlapped with humanist civic-republican discourses about patrician equality and the mixed constitution. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the issues at stake had already made the urban boundaries of Venetian civic ritual quite anachronistic: in a Europe where absolute monarchy emerged as the leading political benchmark,[135] the 'myth' of Venice had to stretch its perimeter and reframe its shape in both Bodinian and Boterian terms. Some of the key concepts of the 'myth' (such as good government, original liberty, devotion) also evolved and transformed to present the Republic as a fully sovereign prince, subjecting its *potestas* only to God (according to Jean Bodin's thinking) and exerting undisputed dominion over its subject peoples (in the wake of Giovanni Botero's ideas).[136] The paintings on the ceiling of the Hall of the Great Council, as we have seen, point toward this transformation: Venice still grants privileges to subject communities, but also rules firmly as an Amazon warrior, a demigoddess, and an undisputed monarch.

Thus, throughout the early modern period, the republican discourse on sovereignty and dominion was far from smooth and linear: as we have seen, in both the Ducal Palace and the town halls, in both the Piazza and the town squares, queenly representations of Venice still coexisted with those of her subjects' political power. A seemingly minor episode – which was omitted from official historiography and chancellery's records, but reported in detail in the correspondence

between the subject communities and their representatives in Venice[137] – highlights the complexity, and even the contradictions, inherent to this discourse. On 11 September 1623, a few days after his election, doge Francesco Contarini informally summoned the *nunzi* of the major mainland communities. At this unofficial meeting, he communicated his wishes regarding the upcoming visits of ceremonial embassies hailing from the dominions. Expecting scrupulous compliance with the sumptuary restrictions, the doge requested that the orators refrain from praising his person:

> [the doge] will gladly hear the praises of his Republic and its [subject] cities, but he will be mortified to hear his own [praises; and this mortification] will increase further [the] latter.[138]

The unofficial reform that Contarini attempted to implement addressed both structural tensions that we discussed: on the one hand, the (self)celebratory ambitions of the subject communities and Venice's long-term efforts to discipline them; on the other hand, the presence of a (pseudo)monarchical figure at the top of a republican system and the consequent need to control celebrations of this 'visible head' in a political context based on the collegial exercise of power. This latter matter was emerging as particularly urgent: just a few years later, the atavic resentments spreading through the lower echelons of the Venetian patriciate would find an outlet in the aristocratic-egalitarian 'movement' led by Renier Zeno against the overbearing power of the Council of Ten and the princely excesses of doge Giovanni Cornaro (1625–1629).[139]

In such a context, tensions from inside and outside the republican 'body politic' converged in the ceremony of ducal homage. On 3 July 1624, the city deputies of Vicenza were informed by their *nunzio* of the imminent death of doge Francesco Contarini. According to the *nunzio*, a 'rumour' was spreading 'among the Venetian nobility': during the upcoming interregnum,

> the Reformers [of the Ducal Oath] will pass a law to the effect that [subject] cities should no longer send congratulatory ambassadors, but do so only every ten years as a token of gratitude to their Prince; on the occasion of the Princes' creations the nuncios will substitute them.[140]

When doge Contarini died, nothing was done in this regard. However, the very circulation of this 'rumour' within and beyond the ruling body denotes, once again, the problematic nature of ducal praise in the 1620s. Not only were the ceremonial features of ducal homage questioned, but also the need of the ritual itself. Established in the early fifteenth century as a periodic reenactment and a symbolic renegotiation of the dominions' submission to the Serenissima, two centuries later the congratulatory embassies were experiencing a profound loss of meaning and performative effectiveness. Fearing the risks inherent to both the personalism of the doge and the (self)celebratory strategies of the subject communities, broad sections of the Venetian patriciate began questioning the liminal function of the interregnum.

In 1625, for instance, the Collegio's secretary Giulio Priuli rejected the 'points of honour' (*pontigli*) raised by the city of Padua, which was sceptical about sending an ordinary embassy to Venice before the congratulatory one. In other words, the city council of Padua refused to submit petitions before having ritually re-established its subjecthood, which had theoretically been interrupted because of the ducal succession. Priuli, however, dismissed this concern as a mere 'superstition'.[141] Another diplomatic incident occurred upon the arrival of the Paduan ambassadors in Venice. Many patricians encouraged the orator Giovanni Battista Selvatico to pay homage to Giovanni Cornaro in his absence, for the doge was ill and could not reach the Hall of the Collegio. Despite reluctantly accepting, Selvatico replied that 'it seemed not good to congratulate for the elevation to principality of a prince without his presence'.[142] The Collegio's spokesperson (*savio di settimana*), Girolamo Lando, reassured him by explaining that in the current magistracy, as in any others of the Republic, 'the prince was always present', regardless of the physical location of the doge.[143]

Beneath the apparent fixity of Venetian rituals, in the seventeenth century the 'body politic' of the Republic struggled to emancipate itself from the doge's 'body natural' to express its sovereignty over 'subject bodies'. Francesco Morosini's dogado is a rather telling example in this respect as well. During the period in which the warrior doge was engaged on the Greek battlefront (1688–1691 and 1693–1694), the patrician 'body politic' consciously ran the institutional machinery of the Republic without the performative and constitutional assistance of a 'visible head'. In announcing Morosini's election as doge despite his absence from Venice, the Senate made the point clear: from that moment, when addressing the sovereign power both the subject communities and their Venetian *rettori* would have to refer to the 'Serenissimo Dominio Venetiarum' – and not to 'its Most Serene prince'.[144] For the first time in the history of the Republic, the functioning of both the republican institutions and the political communications linking the Palace, the city of Venice, and its dominions were supposed to work without a 'body natural'. In this sense, the dogado of Morosini represented a unique constitutional experiment, during which the patriciate assessed the possibility of maintaining the 'mythical' balance supporting the Venetian constitution in the absence of an actual (pseudo)monarchic element at its top.

The results of this experiment, as we have seen, were paradoxical. The doge's anomalous absence came to amplify the rituals marking his return to the ceremonial and constitutional

perimeters of the city of Venice; moreover, Morosini's military fame – and, more specifically, the double office he exceptionally held as doge and naval commander in chief – led to the emergence of cultural phenomena unusual for early modern Venice, in which any form of personality cultural was typically forbidden. Even more paradoxically, the dampening of ducal personalism that followed these phenomena resulted in blunt reconfirmation of the doge's role as 'performative mask' and marker of republican sovereignty and its re-inscription on the map of the Venetian state. With the 1694 amendment to the Ducal Oath, the 'head' of the Republic was definitively fixed to its 'body politic'. Once the 'monstrous' hypothesis of a republican body without a head was dismissed, the 'body politic' recognised the need to rely on its 'visible head' to credibly wear a sovereign crown; by once again restraining the mobility of the prince's 'body natural' within the borders of the 'ceremonial city', the Venetian patriciate reaffirmed its authority on the doge but also the existence of a clear-cut constitutional hierarchy separating the *Dominante* from its dominions. After the institutional dismay of the 1680s, the 'myth' still proved a safe haven – once again showing its flexibility.

However, this rediscovery of ceremonial boundaries hailing from the Renaissance was far from painless or linear: despite the permeability of these boundaries, which this chapter has discussed in detail, some pieces of the puzzle constituting the 'myth'[145] no longer seem to fit in place. Indeed, Girolamo Lando's statement ('the prince is always present') implies an idea of statehood significantly different from the one embodied by the doge's 'body natural', as well as from the one visually rendered in the town halls of the dominion or advocated by the subject orators praising newly elected doges. In 1631, the Senate used the concomitant events of plague and war to suspend the congratulatory embassies for doges Nicolò Contarini (1630–1631) and Francesco Erizzo (1631–1646). This emergency measure was renewed throughout the entire Candia War (1645–1669), until it became *de facto* permanent. In 1675, after the war ended, an attempt to revive the congratulatory embassies was attempted under doge Nicolò Sagredo (1675–1678); however, it was not pursued.[146] Even before Francesco Morosini's rise to power a few years later, the failure of this project proved that the perimeter of Venetian civic ritual and popular politics could no longer be contained within the boundaries articulated during the Renaissance.

The entangled chapters to come

The itinerary this volume maps out is divided into five stages. Each consists of two chapters: in some cases (chapters 6–7, 10–11), this division explicitly corresponds to deal the theoretical perspectives that we discussed above, i.e., civic ritual and popular politics; in other cases, it is intended to enable comparison between different disciplinary approaches to the same object of enquiry (2–3, 4–5). The analysis unfolds in concentric centres that become progressively wider. By gradually moving from inside to outside the Palace (2–3), and then across and beyond the Piazza (4–5), our focus shifts from the urban streets of the 'ceremonial city' (6–7) to the ritual spaces of its peripheral dominions (8–9), and finally turns to a pan-European perspective (10–11). This itinerary aims to overcome the ceremonial geography pre-conceptualised in the iconic frontispiece by Giacomo Franco (fig. 1.10). Accordingly, whereas our first two stages challenge the semantics of the more institutionalised spaces of the Republic, the Palace and the Piazza, the last three question the self-sufficiency of the St Mark's area, as they examine how the Palace and the Piazza interacted with other places and actors. On the one hand, this hermeneutic journey takes us to political spaces outside the St Mark's area (urban streets, 6; the lagoon islands, 7), the city of Venice (Verona, 8; Bergamo, 9; the Mediterranean, 10), and even the Republic itself (Lyon and Florence, 11); on the other hand, it leads to meeting social groups outside the ranks of the Venetian patriciate (the urban population, 2, 4, 6; the subject polities, 8, 9, 10; foreign communities, 3, 11).

The first section of the volume, ***Representing the Palace***, brings together a study of the pictorial decoration commissioned for the Hall of the Great Council after the fires of the late sixteenth century with a survey of how this very Hall was represented and reinterpreted, in words and images, between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Both chapters adopt an interdisciplinary methodology: the first, by Giorgio Tagliaferro (2), crosses the fields of art and intellectual history to assess how cultural production and political thinking influenced each other; the latter, by Monique O'Connell (3), welcomes theoretical suggestions from media history, contextualising them in the framework of early modern political history. Chapter 2 pivots on the close reading of a painting signed by the heirs of Paolo Veronese, *The Meeting of Sebastiano Ziani with Alexander III at the Church of the Carità*. Though organised according to the 'myth of Venice' – with each social group in the work, including the 'people', positioned according to the myth's narrative around the ruling patriciate and its 'visible head' (the doge Ziani) – the composition of the canvas is not without ambiguity. As Tagliaferro argues, the painting must bring the 'people' on stage, even if only to celebrate the patriciate; while wanting to exclude the 'people' from politics, the representation also emphasises their conspicuous presence and puts their legitimising devotion on display. Similarly, chapter 3 addresses the processes of mediatization of the republican 'body politic', by investigating

descriptions and engravings in which hundreds of patricians dressed in black and gathered in the Hall of the Great Council vote without saying a word or expressing a needless gesture. These representations are designed to showcase the 'mechanised virtue' extolled by the 'myth of Venice'; yet, as O'Connell shows, the process is not linear, for the cultural production reshapes and re-functionalises the decision-making procedures depicted and the meanings associated with them, through a system of borrowings, cross-references, interactions, and interpolations.

In the second section, entitled *The Piazza Revisited*, Massimo Rospocher (4) examines the Piazza as a 'practised space', regardless of any institutional norms or ceremonial events. Individual and collective subjects took their needs and demands to the streets even when they were contrary to the directives of the government. However, this does not make the Piazza an alternative or opposite to the Palace, but rather a prolongation of it, a widening of its scope and integration of its functions – which allows Rospocher to postulate a connection between 'institutionalised' and 'popular' politics. In chapter 5, Iseabail Cameron Rowe studies the different trajectories that defined the space of St Mark's Square for English traveller Thomas Coryat, whose *Crudities* was published in 1611. Although designed by the republican authorities for ritual and celebratory use, the Piazza remains subject to external and even eccentric interpretations, proving to be a polysemic space which changes according to who experiences it.

In *Sacred Streets and Public Spaces*, the third section of the volume, Evelyn Korsch (6) reconsiders civic ritual and its actual topography in light of the new strategies that were implemented in late sixteenth-century Venice for sacralising republican power. On the entrance into Venice of Henri III of France in 1574, for instance, a *via sacra* was established that exploited both imperial and papal Roman models. The following chapter instead focuses on far less sacred *viae*, as Umberto Cecchinato (7) argues for the need for a bottom-up approach to understanding social and festive street practices. Based on legislative and procedural documentation, chapter 7 shows that categories such as 'public ceremonial' and 'private party', 'institutionalised' and 'spontaneous' festivals frequently overlapped in early modern Venice, because they came to identify the same phenomena, despite the disciplining efforts put in place by authorities wanting to differentiate them.

The fourth section of the book, *The Ceremonial Mainland*, opens with a chapter by Marco Bellabarba (8), which centres on the lost cycle of frescoes in the Pretorio Palace of Verona commissioned by the city governor (*podestà*) Agostino da Mula at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This case study fuels a comprehensive rethinking of the figure of the Venetian governor (*rector*) with implications for both republican ideology and governmental practice. As Bellabarba argues, the ceremonial works celebrating the governor (e.g., laudatory texts, statues and portraits, performative events) expressed the underlying tension between the office, which represented the collective sovereignty of the patriciate, and its holder, whose personal authority and patronal capacity were at stake. Although delving into a similar topic, Erika Carminati (9) addresses a different case study, shifting attention to the city of Bergamo between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Carminati reads the ceremonies that welcomed and greeted the *rettore* in Bergamo as part of the power negotiations that took place among the local community, the Serenissima, and its representative. By analysing some conflicting episodes, in which ritual forms were challenged if not overthrown, Carminati argues in favour of the existence of a public sphere, however ephemeral. This applies especially to the appropriation and subversion of ceremonial spaces usually reserved for republican authorities.

In the fifth and last section of the volume, *Mythmaking Across Boundaries*, Alfredo Viggiano (10) and Matteo Casini (11) start from very different, yet concurrent assumptions to rethink the 'myth of Venice'. In chapter 10, Viggiano adopts a long-term institutional perspective to show how the notion of 'people', in early modern Venice as well as in Europe, was far too elusive and controversial to be boxed into a passive role, as the 'myth' does. In chapter 11, Casini focuses on the reception and reworking of Venetian festive practices abroad, emphasising the contributions made by the foreign communities living both inside and outside Venice. In light of novel archival findings, Casini shows the civic ritual to be far less monolithic repertoire than has been traditionally assumed, especially because some of its key elements – which the 'myth' crystalized as republican prerogatives – were actually recovered, exploited, and re-semantised in princely and royal contexts. At the end of our itinerary, therefore, the intertwining of republican spaces turns out to be so intricate that it even entangles some monarchic ones.

1 On this painting, see Florio, 'Inchini e carte bollate', pp. 88–92; Varanini, 'L'uso pubblico della storia', pp. 88–90; Peretti, Artoni, Marini, and Napione, eds, *Museo di Castelvecchio*. On Ligozzi's figure and artistic production, see Faietti, Nova, and Wolf, eds, *Jacopo Ligozzi* 2015; Cecchi, Conigliello, and Faietti, eds, *Jacopo Ligozzi, 'pittore universalissimo'*; De Luca and Faietti, eds, *Jacopo Ligozzi, 'altro Apelle'*.

2 Dalla Corte, *L'istoria di Verona*, pp. 275–94. On the Veronese *deditio*, see Messedaglia, *La dedizione di Verona*.

3 Florio, *Micropolitica della rappresentanza*, pp. 66–77.

4 In Peretti, Artoni, Marini, and Napione, eds, *Museo di Castelvecchio*, Ettore Napione argues that the twenty patricians represent the Great Council, but their crimson robes, which belonged to higher magistracies (simple patricians routinely wore black), suggest otherwise.

5 Dalla Corte, *L'istoria di Verona*, p. 288.

6 Both the role played by the Mercerie and the conduct of the subject embassies are discussed later in this chapter.

7 Franco, *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane*. About this author, see Pasero, 'Giacomo Franco, editore, incisore e calcografo nei secoli XVI e XVII'; Stefani, 'Franco, Giacomo'.

8 Pasero, 'Giacomo Franco, editore, incisore e calcografo nei secoli XVI e XVII', p. 351.

9 Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power', p. 43.

10 On this widely debated topic, see Fasoli, 'Nascita di un mito'; Gaeta, 'Alcune considerazioni sul mito di Venezia'; Gaeta, 'L'idea di Venezia'; Gaeta, 'Venezia da "Stato misto" ad aristocrazia "esemplare"'; Crouzet-Pavan, *Venezia trionfante*; Rosand, *Myths of Venice*.

11 See Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment*; Conti, 'The Mechanisation of Virtue'.

12 See Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*; Ambrosini, 'Cerimonie, feste, lusso'; Casini, *I gesti del principe*; Casini, 'Cerimoniali'; Urban, *Processioni e feste dogali*; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*.

13 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, p. 325.

14 Sansovino, *Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venetia*; Sansovino, *Dialogo di tutte le cose notabili che sono in Venetia*.

15 Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare* (1581).

16 Sansovino, *Le cose meravigliose dell'inclita città di Venetia*.

17 Doglioni, *La città di Venetia con l'origine e governo di quella*.

18 Mulryne, 'Ceremony and the Iconography of Power', p. 1.

19 See Grubb, 'When Myths Lose Power'; Martin and Romano, eds, *Venice Reconsidered*.

20 Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*.

21 Rospocher, ed., *Beyond the Public Sphere*; Salzberg, *The Ephemeral City*; Rospocher and Salzberg, '"El vulgo zanza"'; Rospocher and Salzberg, *Il mercato dell'informazione*; De Vivo, *Information and Communication*.

22 See Judde de Larivière and Salzberg, 'The People Are the City. The Idea of the *Popolo* and the Condition of the *Popolani* in Renaissance Venice'; Judde de Larivière, 'De quel peuple parle-t-on?'. See also chapter 10 by Viggiano.

23 Van Gelder and Judde de Larivière, eds, *Popular Politics in an Aristocratic Republic* (from which the expressions 'institutionalised power' and 'popular politics' are taken). Also see Judde de Larivière, *The Revolt of Snowballs*.

24 For a working definition of this concept and the previous debate, see Rau, *History, Space, and Place*.

25 See chapter 4 by Rospocher.

26 Muir, 'Images of Power'; Tafuri, '*Renovatio Urbis*'.

27 See Van Gelder, 'Ducal Display'; Van Gelder, 'The People's Prince'.

28 See chapters 7 and 10 by Cecchinato and Viggiano.

29 See chapters 1 and 2 by Tagliaferro and O'Connell.

30 See chapter 9 by Carminati.

31 See Povolo, 'Uno sguardo rivolto alla religiosità popolare'; Povolo, 'Ambigue descrizioni'. Also see Bellabarba, 'Controlling Officials' and chapter 8 by Bellabarba.

32 See Varanini, ed., *Rituali civici e continuità istituzionale*; O'Connell, 'The Multiple Meaning of Ritual'; O'Connell, 'Voluntary Submission'; O'Connell, 'Venetian Empire'; Špoljarić, 'Power and Subversion'; Lavarda, *Vicenza nel Seicento*; Florio, 'Acciocché i popoli'; Florio, 'Venezia e le comunità di Terraferma'; Florio, 'S'incliner devant un prince républicain'; Florio, '"Ai piedi di Sua Serenità"'; Florio, 'Inchini e carte bollate'; Florio, 'Celebrating the Prince from Afar'; Carminati, 'La Repubblica in scena'.

33 See chapters 5, 6 and 11 by Rowe, Korsch and Casini.

34 See Milanesi, *Vincenzo Coronelli, cosmographer*.

35 The only remarkable exception is Casini, 'Cerimoniali'.

36 See Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*, 331.

37 See Metlica, 'Magnificence and Atticism'; Metlica, 'Reshaping the Republican Ritual'; Florio and Viggiano, eds, 'L'*inventio* della consuetudine'.

38 Cozzi, 'Dalla riscoperta della pace all'inestinguibile sogno di dominio'. On the same topic, also see Candiani, 'Conflitti d'intenti e di ragioni politiche'.

39 For a long-term view of the phenomenon, see Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e stati italiani*; Cozzi, 'Venezia, una Repubblica di principi?'; Hunecke, 'Il corpo aristocratico'.

40 On the 'antimyth of Venice' in the seventeenth century, see Del Negro, 'Forme e istituzioni del discorso politico veneziano'; Mandelli, ed., *La copella politica*. On the internal contrasts and collective identity of the patriciate, see Raines, *L'invention du mythe aristocratique*; Hunecke, *Il patriziato veneziano*.

41 See Gaier, *Facciate sacre a scopo profano*; Favilla and Rugolo, 'Frammenti dalla Venezia barocca'.

42 For naval commanders in chief, whose role stood out in the Ottoman-Venetian wars, see Casini, 'Immagini dei capitani generali'.

43 See Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*; Mueller, 'The Procurators of San Marco'; Chambers, 'Merit and Money'; Van Gelder, 'The People's Prince'.

44 A list of these texts appears in Delorenzi, *La galleria di Minerva*, pp. 301–48. Also see Minuzzi, *Il secolo di carta*, pp. 29–33; Metlica, 'Reshaping the Republican Ritual', pp. 171–80.

45 Versteegen, Bussels, and Melion, eds, *Magnificence in the Seventeenth Century*.

46 Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, II, pp. 118–30.

47 On Ivanovich's librettos, see Bellina, 'Brevità, frequenza e varietà'; Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth Century Venice*, p. 151.

48 See Bolduc, *La Fête imprimée*; Metlica, *Le seduzioni della pace*.

49 'Non entro nella generosità di questa Eccellenza, che subito seguita la di lui elezione, in argomento di sua beneficenza, fece dispensare denaro, pane, vino profusamente a' poveri e a' traghetti della città, perché questi è pregio innato della Casa Basadonna'. Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, II, p. 120.

50 See Russel and Visentin, eds, *French Ceremonial Entries*; Mulryne, Aliverti, and Testaverde, eds, *Ceremonial Entries*; Fosi, 'Court and City in the Ceremony of the *Possesso*'.

[51] 'I meno pratici della generosità connaturale di questa nobilissima Casa, teneano concetto, che positiva seguir dovesse la giornata. Alcuni stimavano lo scanso degli addobbi, per non poter gareggiare con quelli del procurator Ruzzini; ma i pratici dell'emulazione e della natura prodiga, che mostrano col decoro dell'azioni publiche i Genii nobili, aspettavano un'improvisa comparsa di qualche pompa convenevole'. Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, II, 118–30.

[52] 'Basta concluder, che dove in simili congiunture ogni mercante procura di comparire sontuoso, questa volta ogn'uno ha singolarizato la propria magnificenza'. Ivanovich, *Minerva al tavolino*, II, 122–23.

[53] On this Venetian office, see Bistort, *Il Magistrato alle pompe*, which quotes the document in its entirety (267).

[54] See Casini, 'Some Thoughts', p. 194.

[55] See Ambrosini, 'Cerimonie, feste, lusso', p. 450.

[56] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (1581), 108r.

[57] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (1604), 211r-213r.

[58] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare* (1663), p. 306.

[59] See Delorenzi, *La galleria di Minerva*, 19. Delorenzi quotes ASVE, *Correr*, reg. 165, 'Sumario delle spese fatte nell'occasione di procurator di San Marco dell'eccellentissimo signor Francesco Molino, creato adì XI genaro 1633 stil veneto'.

[60] Vincenti, *Gli apparati veneti*.

[61] 'Come appunto avviene in questa di fare il procuratore, che per avventura è la più rilevante di tutte'. Pannocchieschi D'Elci, 'Relazione sulle cose di Venezia', p. 315.

[62] See De Vivo, 'Walking in Sixteenth-Century Venice'.

[63] Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima e singolare* (1581), 158rv-159r. On this topic, see Infelise, 'Professione reportista'.

[64] On this event and its written sources, see Metlica, 'La "gioiosa entrata" di Francesco Morosini'; Metlica, *Lessico della propaganda barocca*, pp. 48–64. Also see Mancini, Guerriero, and Casini, eds, *La 'splendida' Venezia di Francesco Morosini*.

[65] Pozza, 'Zeno, Ranieri'.

[66] Ginnasi, 'Celsi, Lorenzo'.

[67] Cavazzana Romanelli, 'Contarini, Andrea'.

[68] Gullino, 'Mocenigo, Tommaso'.

[69] Trebbi, 'Priuli, Antonio' and Gullino, 'Erizzo, Francesco'.

[70] See Florio, *Micropolitica della rappresentanza*, pp. 59–60.

[71] See Cozzi, 'La Repubblica di Venezia in Morea'; Infelise and Stouraiti, eds, *Venezia e la Guerra di Morea*; Ortalli, Gullino, and Ivetic, eds, *L'inestinguibile sogno del dominio*; Stouraiti, *War, Communication, and the Politics of Culture*.

[72] On the upper patriciate's *cursus honorum*, see Mandelli, ed., *La copella politica*; Grendler, 'The leaders of the Venetian State'; Hunecke, 'I Savi grandi'.

[73] Damerini, *Morosini*, p. 25.

[74] *Promissio*, XXX. On the Ducal Oath, see Musatti, *Storia della promissione ducale*; Cecchetti, *Il doge di Venezia*; Girgensohn, ed., *Francesco Foscari*.

[75] Kantorowicz, *The King's two Bodies*.

[76] See *Promissio*, XXX: 'Stabilito da progenitori nostri al corpo perfetto della Republica per capo visibile d'essa la persona del Serenissimo Principe, il quale assistendo al governo della medesima con la presenza e con la mente, aggiunge maestà alle fonzioni e gravità ne consegli e collegi'.

[77] See *Promissio*, XXX.

[78] On the notion of persona as applied to seventeenth-century rulers, see Metlica, *Lessico della propaganda barocca*, pp. 11–26.

[79] Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, p. 296.

[80] See Venturelli, 'La costituzione mista'; Venturelli, 'Mito di Venezia e governo misto'. Also see Gaille-Nikodimov, ed., *Le gouvernement mixte*.

[81] See Rösch, 'The Serrata of the Great Council'; Chojnacki, 'Social Identity'; Chojnacki, 'La formazione della nobiltà'; Chojnacki, 'Identity and Ideology'.

[82] See Ortalli, *Venezia inventata*; Ravegnani, *Bisanzio e Venezia*; Ravegnani, *Venezia prima di Venezia*.

[83] Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati italiani*, p. 96.

[84] *Promissio*, XXX.

[85] ASVE, MC, *Del.*, *Reg.*, r. 24, fol. 189r-v.

[86] *Promissio*, XXX.

[87] See Knapton, 'The Terraferma State'; Arbel, 'Venice's Maritime Empire'; Ortalli, Schmitt, and Orlando, eds, *Il Commonwealth veneziano*.

[88] See Del Torre and Viggiano, eds, *1509–2009*; Del Torre, *Venezia e la Terraferma*.

[89] Cozzi, *Venezia barocca*; Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty*; De Vivo, *Information and Communication*. On the cultural production of this period see Paul, ed., *Celebrazione e autocritica*; Tagliaferro, 'Il "Mito" ripensato'.

[90] See Cozzi, *Repubblica di Venezia e Stati italiani*; Cozzi, *Ambiente veneziano, ambiente veneto*; Gullino, 'L'evoluzione costituzionale'; Christ and Morche, eds, *Cultures of Empire*.

[91] See Cozzi, 'Venezia regina'; Tagliaferro, 'Le forme della Vergine'; Rosand, *Myths of Venice*; O'Connell, 'Venetian Empire in Oratory and Print'; Weststeijn, 'Imperial Republics'; Toffolo, *Describing the City*.

[92] See Wolters, *Storia e politica*, pp. 260–65; Wolters, 'L'autocelebrazione della Repubblica', pp. 497–500; O'Connell, 'Voluntary submission', pp. 35–36.

[93] Colombo, 'Portraits of Sovereignty'.

[94] Bergamini and Puppi, eds, *La galleria d'arte antica dei Civici Musei di Udine*, I, p. 164; Varanini, 'L'uso pubblico della storia'; Da Deppo, ed., *Venezia in Cadore*; Florio, 'Inchini e carte bollate'.

[95] On the Maussian paradigm, see Zemon Davis, *The Gift*; Kettering, 'Gift-giving and patronage'; Algazi, Groebner, and Jussen, eds, *Negotiating the Gift*; Faggion and Verdon, eds, *Le don et le contre-don*.

[96] On the 'constitutional value' of the *pacta deditionis*, see Varanini, 'Gli angusti orizzonti'.

[97] Reolon, 'La Dedizione del Cadore'.

[98] Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*.

[99] Casini, *I gesti del Principe*.

[100] Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*.

[101] Berengo, *La società veneta*; Ventura, *Nobiltà e popolo*.

[102] Povolo, 'Centro e periferia'; Povolo, *L'intrigo dell'onore*; Povolo, 'Un sistema giuridico repubblicano'.

[103] Panciera, *La Repubblica di Venezia nel Settecento*, pp. 36–39.

[104] Rizzi, 'Dominante e dominati'; Zenobi, 'Venice's Terraferma Expansion'.

[105] Backouche, Cosandey, Duhamelle, Ducreux, Haddad, Joly, and Marraud, eds, 'Borders, Thresholds, Boundaries'.

[106] See chapters 8, 9 and 10 by Carminati, Bellabarba, and Viggiano.

[107] An overview of these festivals in the European context appears in Mulryne, Aliverti, and Testaverde, eds, *Ceremonial Entries*, and Checa Cremades and Fernández-González, eds, *Festival Culture*. On the notions of 'rituals of power negotiation', see Mulryne, De Jonge, Morris, and Martens, eds, *Occasions of State*.

[108] See Tagliaferri, ed., *Relazioni dei rettori veneti*; Viggiano, 'Il Dominio da terra'; Viggiano, *Governanti e governati*; O'Connell, *Men of Empire*; Melchiorre, *Conoscere per governare*; Setti, *Una Repubblica per ogni porto*.

[109] An example is Mauro and Flores, 'Una ceremonia coral'.

[110] See chapters 8 and 9 by Bellabarba and Carminati. Also see Carminati, 'La Repubblica in scena'; Bellabarba, 'Rettori veneti e città di Terraferma'; Valseriati, 'Ingressi e uscite dei rettori veneziani a Brescia'.

[111] See, for instance, Tazio, *L'ottimo reggimento*; Tazio, *La 'immagine del Rettore*.

[112] See Viggiano, *Governanti e governati*; Viggiano, 'La disciplina dei rettori'; Povolo, 'Il protettore amorevole'; Revest, 'Ciceronianismo e ideale repubblicano'.

[113] See Della Misericordia, '"Como se tuta questa universitade parlasse"'; Alvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, '"Pervenire alle orecchie della Maestà"'; Alvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, 'Corte, reinos y ciudades'; Alvarez-Ossorio Alvariño, 'Del reino al palacio real'; Angulo Morales, 'Representación y negociación'; Irace, 'Una voce poco fa'; Martínez Aznal, 'El agente navarro en la Corte'; Mauro, 'La rete diplomatica'.

[114] Koenigsberger, 'The Italian Parliaments'. On the Patria del Friuli, which is partly an exception, see Casella, ed., *Rappresentanze e territori*; Casella, *Il Parlamento friulano*.

[115] See Florio, *Micropolitica della rappresentanza*, pp. 35–90.

[116] See Tassini, *Curiosità veneziane*, pp. 109–12; pp. 259–60; pp. 771–72.

[117] See Florio, 'S'incliner devant un prince républicain'.

[118] Florio, 'Inchini e carte bollate', 90. On the *deditio*'s ceremonial protocol see Melchiorre, *I patti con Padova*.

[119] Doglio, 'La letteratura ufficiale'; Florio, '"Ai piedi di Sua Serenità"'.

[120] Sansovino, *Delle orationi recitate*. Some of the congratulatory orations gathered in 1562 were later included, as a sort of rhetorical subgenre, in a more comprehensive collection: Sansovino, *Delle orationi volgarmente scritte*. The last of the work's many reeditions was printed in 1584.

[121] *Promissio*, XXX. The complete legislation is summarised in ASVE, CL, s. II, b. 17, fasc. 26.

[122] O'Connell, 'Voluntary submission'. On the notion of reenactment, see Muhle, 'Reenactments du pouvoir'; Bussels and Van Oostveldt, 'Restored behaviour and the performance of the City Maiden'.

[123] 'A quelli che per heredità o per altra fortuna succedono ne' prencipati et imperi [...] sogliono in molti luoghi le città serve, quasi per conditionata natura, rappresentarsi e rinovare il giuramento di fedeltà dal quale per variatione de' Prencipi poteano esser disobligate a fine che, dichiarata la medesima prontezza et affettionata volontà de' sudditi a servire, impetrino esse d'altra parte conservatione et aumento de' loro privilegi ovvero raccomandino se stesse e con più ardita speranza si promettano benigno e favorevole imperio'. Frecavalli, 'Oratione', p. 47.

[124] On this topic, see Bertelli, *The King's Body*.

[125] For a comparative perspective, see Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, and Breen, 'Addressing La Ville des Dieux'.

[126] McLuhan and Fiore, *The Medium is the Massage*.

[127] See Florio, *S'incliner*; Florio, «*Ai piedi di Sua Serenità*»; Florio, *Inchini e carte bollate*.

[128] On Francesco Pola, see chapter 9 by Bellabarba.

[129] Pola, *Elogium*.

[130] 'Hieri sera gionsero gli ambassiatori di congratulatione con gran pompa, e certo hanno una compagnia che potrebbe servir ad un imperatore'. BCBVI, AT, f. 1382, n.n., dated 14 April 1624, nuncio Giovanni Biagio Malchiavello to Vicenza's deputies.

[131] See Sarpi, *Consulti*; Sarpi, *Della potestà de' principi*; Pin, 'Progetti e abbozzi sarpiani'; Baldin, 'Filosofie della sovranità'; De Franceschi, 'Entre antiromanisme catholique et républicanisme absolutiste'.

[132] ASVE, CL, s. II, b. 17, fasc. 26; *Promissio*, XXX.

[133] See Mannori, *Il sovrano tutore*.

[134] ASVE, CL, s. II, b. 17, fasc. 26; Florio, '"Ai piedi di Sua Serenità"'.

[135] Metlica, *Lessico della propaganda barocca*.

[136] On the relation between Botero's thought and the Bodinian tradition, see Descendre, *Lo stato del mondo*.

[137] On these kinds of sources, see Florio, *Micropolitica della rappresentanza*.

[138] 'Si come sentirà volentieri quelle [lodi] della sua Repubblica e delle sue città, così in sentir le sue resterà con molta mortiffìcatione la qual s'augumenterà tanto più quanto andassero più in longo'. BCBVI, AT, f. 1383, n.n., dated 11 September 1623, nuncio Giovanni Biagio Malchiavello to Vicenza's deputies.

[139] Cozzi, *Venezia barocca*, pp. 185–228; Gullino, 'Zen, Ranieri'.

[140] 'Li Riformatori [della Promissione ducale] farano una legge che le città non debbino mandar più ambasciatori di congratulatione ma si ben ogni dieci anni per riconoscenza del suo Prencipe solamente, e che alla creatione de Prencipi i nontii supliscano'. BCBVI, AT, f. 1382, n.n., dated 03 July 1624, nuncio Giovanni Biagio Malchiavello to Vicenza's deputies.

[141] ASPD, ACA, Nunzi, b. 64, n.n., dated 14 March 1625, nuncio Bonifacio Papafava to Padua's deputies.

[142] 'Repplica[ndo]... che il rallegrarsi del'assontione al principato di un principe senza la sua presenza non [...] pareva bene'. ASPD, ACA, Nunzi, b. 64, n.n., dated 22 October 1625, nuncio Bonifacio Papafava to Padua's deputies.

[143] 'Il Principe vi era sempre'. ASPD, ACA, Nunzi, b. 64, n.n., dated 24 October 1625, nuncio Bonifacio Papafava to Padua's deputies.

[144] 'Per la detta lontananza di Sua Serenità doverete in avvenire addiriciarci le vostre lettere con il titolo Serenissimo Dominio Venetiarum'. ASPD, ACA, *Ducali*, reg. 13, fol. 84v, dated 2 April 1688.

[145] See Chapter 10 by Viggiano.

[146] Florio, '"Ai piedi di Sua Serenità"'.