

**E. H. Gombrich, Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and of the Victory of Lepanto in Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt, London, 1967, pp.62-8 [Trapp no.1967B.1]**

In his article on *El Greco's Dream of Philip II*, one of his first major contributions to the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*,[1] Anthony Blunt had occasion to occupy himself with the works of art celebrating the Holy League and its sadly impermanent achievement, the Victory of Lepanto. I therefore hope that this little offering may be acceptable to him, though it does not add much to what was known at the time when he wrote. The main interest to art historians of the five texts to which I want to draw attention [2] lies less, perhaps, in the iconography of the pageants themselves, than in the role assigned to paintings in two of them. But beyond this historical evidence, the general question of the relation between the iconography of pageants and that of painting may prove of potential interest.

I

*Il Bellissimo et Suntuoso Trionfo fatto nella Magnifica Città di Venetia nella publicatione della Lega; . . . et appresso alcuni avisi di Famagosta, e di Candia, 1571.* [3]

This famous procession on the occasion of the announcement of the formation of the League was much publicized. There exists both a French and a German translation of the pamphlet; [4] there is also an anonymous print (Fig. 1) claiming to show the processions.[5]

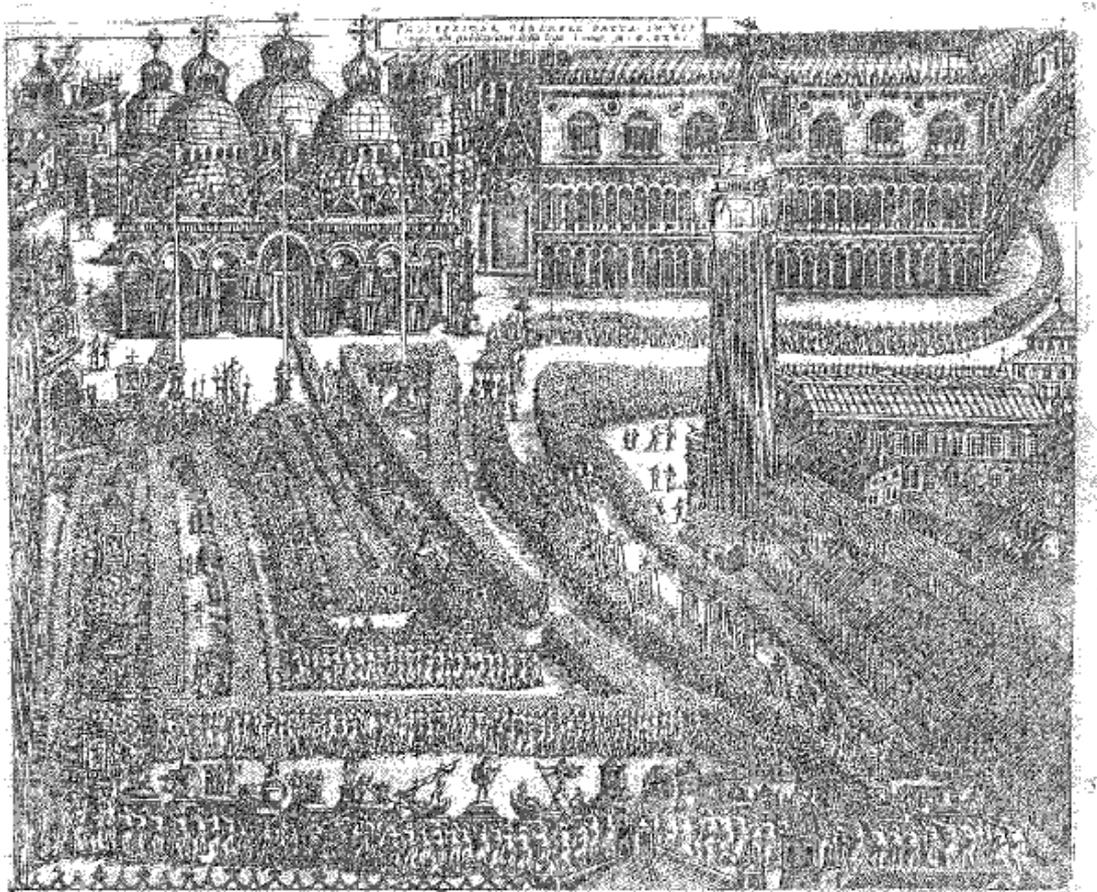


Figure 1.

It is true that on closer scrutiny this print does not inspire much confidence. Not only is the Palazzo Ducale represented - with remarkable licence - as a Romanesque building, but two processions are shown wending their way through the crowd of onlookers in a manner which would certainly have resulted in a traffic jam. One procession issues from the Palazzo Ducale and returns to the Basilica of San Marco, the other is leaving San Marco to march towards the Merceria. But it is possible to make out in the foreground some of the allegorical representations which are described in our pamphlet, which is dated 6th July 1571.

Its first part describes the procession after the service at San Marco:

Tutte le scole grandi, una à gara dell'altra, si sono sforzate di fare bellissima, e ricca mostra di argenterie et ori, ma io ne dirò de una sola, la quale oltra le argenterie, ha fatto molti tribunali, sopra de quali erano diversi giovani, che facevano diverse cose.

Unfortunately we are not told which of the Scuole arranged these dumbshows, which simply and effectively explained and anticipated the purpose of the League. The first platform (*tribunale*) showed the *Gran Turco* as a huge dragon with a crescent on its head, which three richly clad youths pierced with their swords; it is possible to make out the dragon in the bottom left foreground of the print where, apparently, the three youths are shown on the platform in front. It is easier to recognize the second *tableau*, in which three youths were dressed as the three Theological Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, alluding no doubt also to the three members of the League. According to the description, the next three tribunali showed these members - the Pope, King Philip II and the Doge - singly. Judging by the print, these rulers were accompanied by other figures paying homage. Perhaps Neptune, so clearly visible here, personified Venice. The print does not show clearly what is described as the fifth *tableau*, which adds the most interesting touch to an otherwise fairly conventional display. It showed the three members of the League together:

cioè il Papa in habito Pontificale, il Re Filippo in habito Regale, et il Doge in habito Dogale; et questi tre giovani havevano le mascare fatte a similitudine di quel tale che rappresentavano.

The introduction of 'live portraits' strongly suggests the participation of an artist. If only we had a right to surmise that the *Scuola* concerned was that of San Rocco, we could let our imagination run further. It would not be hard to imagine the additional *tribunali* in terms of Tintoretto's imagery, for one showed a mountain in which arms were forged (faintly visible on the print), while in the next coins were struck. More obscure was a reed hut (*uno tigurio fatto de canelli*) with two turning wheels outside, which seemed to pull the hut along as if it were a cart.[6] One large wheel can just be seen on the print where the procession turns the corner. On the print these three had been overtaken by the group which is described as the last one, displaying a bark rowed by a naked moor with wings and horns to signify Charon carrying off a Turk. The remaining description of the splendid procession which followed is too general to merit quotation. And greater splendours were to follow when, three months later, after the fearful slaughter of Lepanto, victory seemed a reality.

## II

*Ragguaglio delle Allegrezze, Solennità, e feste, fatte in Venetia per la felice Vittoria, al Clariss. Sig. Girolamo Diedo, digniss. Consigliere di Corfù* (signed by Rocco Benedetti), Venice, 1571.[7]

This pamphlet (which has been used by historians of Venice, but somewhat inaccurately as far as its art historical information is concerned),[8] is by a writer of some skill [9] who witnessed the arrival of

the good tidings in Venice on 9th October, two days after the battle, and who covers the events up to 20th November, the date of his letter. He vividly describes the solemn thanksgiving services in San Marco with their beautiful music, the official speeches in honour of the fallen, and the public rejoicings which followed.

The initiative for independent celebrations came from the German merchants who were given permission to celebrate, *'fatte che fussero le solennità spirituali'*. The interpretation of this restriction was obviously fairly lax, for what they did was to decorate the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* with tapestries and to illuminate it with torches and lights, playing music and letting off fireworks for three nights in succession. Their example caught on, and a competition developed between various quarters in arranging celebrations, one for instance being held in Canareggio under the very eyes of the Turks in order to annoy them. But the main body of Benedetti's letter is concerned with the wonders and splendours of the celebrations organized by the *Drappieri* on the island and bridge of the Rialto.

The bridge, of course, was then still a wooden structure, and the street markets and wooden booths which filled the area on the northern bank were considered rather an eye-sore, a situation which Sansovino's *Fabrice Nuove* were intended to alleviate.[10] It must have been all the more impressive, though, to see this busy quarter transformed into the proverbial fairy palace by relatively simple, though surely expensive means, with the help of tapestries, bunting, standards, canopies and lanterns. Benedetti, understandably, is more concerned with the psychological effect of these displays than with their accurate description. He is touching and amusing in his enthusiastic account of the throngs of beautiful women and of the good-natured crowds who came to see the illuminations. No one was too morose to feel joy, no husband was too jealous to take his wife to see the show, no dignitary so grand as to feel it a dishonour to show himself there. Even pick-pockets, we are told, abstained from plying their trade. The really interesting part for the art historian in the factual description is Benedetti's account of the open air exhibition of masterpieces which formed part of this display:

Il portico della Drapperia è di tramito dritto cento e più passa, e le Botteghe seguono per ordine una dietro l'altra. Stesero da un capo all'altro un cielo di panni turchini con stelle, et altri ornamenti. V'appesero sotto molti honorevoli lanternoni, ò diciamo fanali dorati. Le Botteghe, i muri, i banchi, e le colonne del portico furono tutte acconciate di sontuose tappezzerie. Ad ogni volto fù messo un festone. A torno tutte le fabbriche nove della piazza dal ponte sino all'imboccar della Ruga de' Orefici, e così da l'altra parte si tirarono panni fini scarlati, e vi s'attaccarono sopra con equali distantie bellissime pitture d'impres, di Dei marini, e d'altri Dei favolosi. S'adornò poi ciascuna bottega d'armi, di spoglie, e di trofei di nemici presi nella battaglia, e di quadri maravigliosi di Giovan Bellino, di Giorgion da Castel Franco, di Raffael d'Urbino, del Pordenone, di Sebastianello, di Titiano, dell Bassanese miracoloso in pingere cose pastorali, e di molti altri eccellentissimi pittori.

S'adornò parimente il paragone con le sue botteghe, ch'è come V.S. Clarissima sa, un calle poco manco lungo del portico. S'adornarono anco tutte le botteghe del ponte da una banda, e da l'altra, e tutte l'altre botteghe d'intorno la piazza. Drizzossi à pe del ponte un'eminente portone, e da l'altro capo verso i Orefici un'altro, sopra i quali erano le armi di Collegati, cioè quella di sua Santità nel mezzo, quella della Maestà del Re Catholico alla destra, e quella di San Marcq alla sinistra. Si spiegaro in gran numero a tutti i volti, e balconi bandiere honoratissime, et in mezzo della piazza furono appesi alquanti stendardi di San Marco. Durò la festa tre giorni, e tre notti continue.

One would love to know whether the paintings displayed in this setting came from the collections of cloth merchants, or whether they were borrowed for the occasion. In any case the episode shows that by 1571 a painting by one of these masters would rank with golden vessels and other treasures as a luxury object, a proud possession which it was a privilege to own, and to be shown. The inclusion in this list of Giovanni Bellini's name suggests that the great ancestor of Venetian painting was part of the canon. The way, finally, *il Bassanese* is singled out for a special laudatory sentence is interesting, since it may indicate that his name was not expected to be as familiar to readers as that of the other great masters with whom he is coupled.[11] In addition, of course, the characterization of his skill in painting pastoral themes confirms, what is anyhow clear from the context, that these paintings by great masters were here exhibited not for the sake of their subject matter - religious or patriotic - but simply as treasure to enhance the splendour of the occasion.

Benedetti appears to have been so impressed by what may have been one of the first public exhibitions of great paintings that he does not mention any of the paintings done ad hoc for the occasion. Obviously there could have been very little time to produce such works, but if we are to believe another description of the same celebrations some paintings were commissioned to form part of the decorations - perhaps in connection with the triumphal arches flanking the bridge. They were possibly only in monochrome, as one of them is described in the next pamphlet as *una pittura in bianco e rosso*, recalling an under-painting.

### III

*Il vera e Mirabilissimo apparato over Conciero con il glorioso trionfo nell'inclita Città di Venetia, in Rivoalto celebrato, per i dignissimi, e integerrimi Merchanti Drappieri, in essaltatione de la Santa Fede. . . .*[12]

This pamphlet of seven pages is unfortunately written in verse, by a poetaster who finds it hard enough to subject his panegyric to the discipline of his twenty-nine *stanze* in *ottave rime*. His tendency to fall into Venetian dialect and the frequency of misprints present the reader with problems of interpretation and emendation, possibly worthy of a better cause.[13] But we should not be too hard on our author. After all he wrote for people who had seen the display, rather than for posterity, and his readers were probably more eager for praise than for sober facts. Thus we are told predictably (and probably truthfully), that Apelles and Zeuxis would have been dumbfounded at the sight of the paintings shown, but it is not clear whether this praise refers to the exhibition (not otherwise mentioned), or to the decorations.

What we can gather is that crude satire of the type of popular woodcuts played its conspicuous part in the programme. On mounting the bridge one saw on the right the representation of a scene which also occurs in some of the other pamphlets published at the time - the renegade Karakosh who fought on the side of the Turks [14] is shown being received into hell where Charon (whom we have met before) refuses to ferry him across, for he would need a worse inferno for this *bestia*: [15]

12. Nel montar alla dritta si scopriva  
Quel manigoldo rinegato cane  
Caracossa, ché 'l ciel tanto abhoriva,  
E il mondo l'opre sue, tanto profane,  
Che da un che 'l mirava si stupiva  
Di modo tal, che le sue membra insane

Eran rimase tronche in varii pezzi  
Nel mar, acciò mai più non se ne avezzi.

13. Pallido smorto e brutto un diavol pare,  
Proprio in vederlo par facci paura  
Chi vien si al vero vivo assimigliare  
Creggio ben che l'inferno e la natura  
Un'altro simil si peggior non fare  
Il pò; una si brutta creatura  
Pallido e smorto venne, e si stupiva  
Caronte in faccia, e d'odio il cor bolliva.

14. 'Chi è costui (ahimè) si empio ladro'  
Grida, e con furor la barcha caccia  
A l'altra riva in se 'si ben lo squadro'  
Disse costui, 'che ben l'ho visto in faccia  
E quel Giotton [16] che dal suo Athil abadro  
Risona il traditor [17] o vil cagnaccia  
Bestia, non menter sù, ch'un altro inferno  
Peggior per te bisogna e fuoco eterno'.

15. Il miser con furor si crucia grida  
Che l'eterna giustizia gli tormenta.  
Caronta di passarlo non si fida,  
Onde tra se ne geme, e si lamenta  
'Anima ladra, tu sei tanto infida'  
Disse, poi con furor al collo centa  
S'attrova ardente tutta una cathena,  
De ferro e fuoco, al rondo il caccia e mena.

On the left, probably opposite, one could see the picture of another renegade enemy, one who had actually got away with his contingent and who was still at large: the Turkish commander Ouloudji Ali, whom the Spaniards called Uchi Ali, and the Venetians nicknamed *Occhiali*. [18] The satirical picture was obviously based on his nickname for it showed him with staring eyes and with spectacles on his nose peering at 'that other heir of Christ'. Since the poet uses the same epithet in an earlier stanza for the Lion of St. Mark, that is for Venice, we may assume that the lion was shown and between the two figures a representation of Venice. However, the description here is again confused, and possibly garbled. Indeed the second stanza would be even harder to interpret, were it not for the fact that its motif also occurs in one of the contemporary pamphlets, '*Il grandissimo lamento che ha fatto Occhiali, nel scampo della sanguinosa guerra*'. [19] As in our description, the lament sounds serious enough, but it could only be put into the mouth of the enemy, for officially there was only rejoicing on the Christian side. Thus it must be Occhiali who was shown praying to his Mohammed to give him Argus eyes, to make his final getaway from the Christians.

16. Tal ivi alla sinistra appare in forma  
Del ponte in alto L'occhiali, si vede  
Gli occhi a sborriti, che non par che dorma,  
Gli occhiali al naso e mira questa herede  
Quella altra di Giesù, e la sua forma

Canina e giusta [20] - e tra se questa sede  
Di Venetia, si degna, e si famosa,  
Ch'al mondo sopra a l'altre e gloriosa.

17. Vede alle volte gli occhi allocio [21] gira  
Di si brutta figura, par spavente  
Dopo ripieno e acceso di tant'ira  
Ch'el petto, il core, e gli occhi se ne sente  
Poi pian ne geme, e piange, e ne suspira,  
Che per un can sia morta tanta gente,[22]  
Poi prega il suo Macon,[23] che gli occhi d'argo  
Gli dia che a christian possa far largo.

If this description remains rather obscure the stanze devoted to the central image are unfortunately even more elusive and tantalizing. As far as one can penetrate through the rhetoric this was a painting in red and white representing the personification of Venice as Queen of the Seas. We are familiar with this type of allegorical composition from the ceiling paintings of the Palazzo Ducale, but the famous works by Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto which come to mind were all painted about ten years later, after the fire. It seems that *Venezia* as a personification first made her appearance in painting on the ceiling cycle of 1553/54 [24] but there she still lacked the religious connotations which the later programme developed with such fervour. Maybe the painting here apostrophized represented a stage along this road of apotheosis; admittedly it is not easy to disentangle in the stanze the author's praise of his city from his description of the way she was represented. But very probably the author took his cue from the painting where he describes her as a Being sent from heaven, and as the Queen of the Seas.

21. L'ornamento del velo e di natura  
Qui gloriosamente allarga e spande  
La magna nobiltà. Al suo ciel fura  
Tutto il suo bello ch'ei hà ne suo bande.  
Di l'una più di l'altra creatura  
Gentil Donna si vede, che par mande  
Iddio dal cielo in terra qui frà noi  
Da non mancar giamai ne tempi suoi.[25]

22. Li adorni maranzar [26] con somma gloria  
Han di lor data al mondo honor e fama  
Allegrezza di si alta vittoria  
Ch'uno a può l'altro, ed dio nel ciel gli chiama  
Quanta di lor poi lassaran memoria!  
E sempre verde è la sua Aurea rama  
E cinti de feston suoi lochi adorni  
Dove ogni Musa par ch'indi soggiorni.

23. Tutti in honor di Dio, sempre laudando  
Suo alto nome, e sua divina essenza  
Con tutti i Santi suoi glorificando  
Di l'un, e l'altro sua alta prudenza,  
Il gran Santo Leon cui sempre amando

Vien sua fiola, ne pò un'ora senza  
In cor tenerla, e prega il sommo Iddio  
La guardi e salvi da tormento rio.

24. Questa è colei ch'el gran scettro gemmato  
Ha cinto in fronte alla christiana croce  
Questa è colei da ogni gran pirratro  
Ha'l gran mare Adriatico, e sua foce,  
Tutto netto indi, e tutto ben purgato;  
E chiamata da iddio con viva voce  
Pe'l gran sostegno suo, e chiave fatta  
Di quella sempre immacolata, e intatta.

25. Del mar Regina, e resto nunque posso  
Cacciar la vela in mille viva carte.[27]  
La veggio eterna in ciò mio cuor e mosso  
D'affecion ripieno, hor fatta à arte  
Hò visto una pittura in bianco e rosso  
Depinta e mover gli occhi d'ogni parte  
Tal in vederla un gran stupor pareo  
Simil a quella della gente hebrea.[28]

It is a relief to turn from these cloudy lines to the comparatively sober next stanza from which we learn that 'inside the barrier' there was a painting of the Holy Virgin on a golden canvas, presumably one of the church standards mentioned by Benedetti:

26. Dentro del palco poscia, la Regina  
Del cielo e terra, stella e chiara luce  
Ho vista in tela d'or, tanto divina  
Quanto esser pò, come signora e duce  
Del tutto e vaga stella matutina.  
Beato è quel ch'appresso à lor conduce  
Suo netto cor, e tanto adorna e bella  
Più che non è nel tiel ciascuna stella.

#### IV

When Rocco Benedetti had published his *Ragguaglio* on 20th November, of the celebrations he had seen, he mentioned in conclusion that the Tuscan silk merchants had announced another celebration on which he would report in due course. He does not appear to have done so, but the lacuna is filled by another poetic description of that event, which does not seem to have been recorded before, entitled

*Le Feste et Trionfi de li honorati Mercanti della seta, con il superbo apparato fatto in Rialto nuovo. Per l' allegrezza della Vittoria...*[29]

Its dedication to Benedetto Ferro and other heads of the guild is signed by one Raffaello Thoscano and dated 8th December 1571. The poem consists of sixteen *stanze* in *ottave rime* and a concluding Sonnet to the League calling upon its members not to allow the enemy any breathing space - a piece

of advice which was notoriously not taken. The poet's skill is not much superior to that of his Venetian predecessor, but at least it is always clear what he wants to say. Indeed his poem, which largely concentrates on the praise of the five main organizers, pleasantly confirms the existence of that spirit of competition which Benedetti had described:

3. Se ricchi e gran trofei fero i Germani,  
E maggior pompa, di panno i Merchanti,  
Più superbo apparecchio hoggi i Toschani  
Con suoni han fatto, e sontuosi canti.....

Once more the main elements of the decoration were precious fabrics, while the celebrations were probably also measured in decibels.

9. Il gran romor di piffari e tamburi  
E di trombe s'udiva insino al cielo;  
Fracasso di bombarde, che gli oscuri  
Fumini facean per l'aria un folto velo.  
Di seta e d'oro adorni erano i muri,  
Che quanto più or penso, di più zelo  
M'accendo di cantare in belle carte,  
Quanta sia degna de la seta l' arte.

But at least we learn from this doggerel that the Tuscans, too, displayed paintings which are unlikely to have been made for the occasion. They were portraits of the leading generals, Barbarigo, who had been killed in the battle,[30] Sebastiano Venier, the Venetian commander, represented in armour, sceptre in hand,[31] and, in addition two Tuscans, who were not actually involved in the battle. The first, 'whom all Europe honours', is evidently Filippo Strozzi, who was at least active in the fight against the Turks, having been a naval commander during the defence of Malta in 1566; the other, Cosimo I de' Medici, could not of course be omitted in a festival arranged by the Tuscans.

10. Di Santo Andrea quel glorioso giorno  
La Messa e 'l Vespro si cantò solenne,  
Con tante torcie et altri lumi intorno  
Che tuta la cittade à veder venne.  
Quindi si vedde in un bel quadro adorno  
Il Barbarigo, che morte sostenne  
Per mantener la fè del Redentore,  
Ch'or vive in ciel con più felice honore.

11. Del gran Veniero il bel ritratto anchora  
Armato vidi con lo settro in mano,  
Lo Strozzi poi, che tutta Europa honora  
E vidi in tela il gran Duca Thoscano.  
Altari e tempi ne gli hospitii e fora  
Si ricchi si vedeano, ch'ogni humano  
Amirato restava, anzi conquiso  
Vedendo in terra un novo Paradiso.

But the *pièce de resistance*, apparently, was an illuminated pyramid which turned round on its axis, with statues or paintings of four divinities:

13. Poi v'era una Piramida ch'intorno  
Girava accesa con mirabile arte,  
Ch'un'altra, dove parte e torna il giorno,  
Mai non si vidde, ne si scrisse in carte.  
Quindi Nettuno all'hor facea soggiorno  
Giove, Saturno, e 'l bellicoso Marte,  
Che non solo à veder tanti trofei  
Gli homin venivan, ma gli eccelsi Dei ...

V

*Ordine, et DechiARATIONE di tutta la Mascherata, fatta nella Città di Venetia la Domenica di Carnevale, 1571, per la gloriosa Vittoria contra Tuchi, Venice, 1572.*[32]

The preface to this anonymous pamphlet of fifteen pages stresses the demand for information about this great procession, of which the writer lists the exact number of participants, totalling 340 of which 140 were dressed up as Turkish slaves and 189 were musicians of one kind or another. The first part, consisting of five triumphal chariots, was a plain political allegory. Faith was in the van, trampling on the Turkish serpent, her chariot being preceded by youths in *habito Ninfale* representing Hope and Charity and accompanied by two warriors with mottoes. The chariot was followed by the four Cardinal Virtues which, as we read, inspired the leaders of the armies. Men dressed as Turkish prisoners in chains filled the intervals between the floats. The next one carried the personification of Rome, followed by Spain on '*uno carro Trionfante con prospettive del Stretto di Gibilterra et monti Pirenei*', and by Venice on a sea chariot '*vestita con carpetta d'oro, vesta di brocado, et manto Ducal cremesino, adornata di perle, zoglie, et cadene d'oro, et havea un Leone di stucco in seno*'. Finally the three members of the League were followed by the chariot of Victory, a woman in red velvet with a palm branch in her left and in her right three laurel wreaths, under her feet '*era legato uno schiavetto, vestito honoratamente*', the chariot itself providing the bleeding serpent, cut in two.

These five, we learn, referred to the Victory, but there were seven others more in accord with Venetian custom, signifying good auguries for the future; they all represented feast days, accompanied by children but also by Turkish prisoners. The first of these may be worth quoting as a sample, for its association with Father Christmas:

Uno carro trionfante fatto a scartozzi, dipinto a mascheroni, con una sedia: sopra la quale vi era uno vestito con un rubon dl Damasco fodrato di zebelini, saglio, e baretta di veluto: qual contava danari in uno bacil d'argento, per significar il PRIMO giorno dell'anno chiamato 'Giorno di Buona Man', nel qual giorno si suol dar alli putti dinari, mandar presenti alli amici et parenti de marzapanni, crostolli, et confettioni de più sorte, però seguivano.

Due da putti con il precettore, che facevano festa di tal giorno per la buona mano, over manza ricevuta. Due vestiti di veluto con marzapanni in bacili d'argento. Due altri vestiti honoratamente con pignocade in piatti d'argento.

Et due altri vestiti al modo soprascritto con crostolli in piatti d'argento ...

There followed '*uno corpolente, vestito all'antiga figurato per CARNEVALE*', succeeded by musicians whose song is recorded; an emaciated old woman in black representing *Lent*, her suite carrying lenten food; a personification of Easter with cows and dairymaids 'to show that *Easter* comes between fish and meat'; then a richly bejewelled woman representing *La SENSA* (Ascension), the day of the main fair of Venice, with children blowing glass trumpets and merchants showing their wares of jewels and cloth. The next feast, the *First of August*, was represented by Bacchus, for on that day *se suole mandar a donar meloni et malvasie*. Five Germans with beakers and bottles followed singing a drinking song; and a child with a torch represented St. Martin's Day, '*per cio che vanna la notte con detti torzi di pegola accesi, sonando con gnachere et cantando, ali quali vien donato delli frutti*', the children singing a song of triumph for the victory and expressing hopes for a new one soon. Finally, the popular theme merged with the Petrarchan tradition, the last two chariots being those of *Father Time* with a white beard, wings and a clock in his hand, and a *Triumph of Death*, '*per dimostrare che in questa Vittorio anchor lei ha trionfato . . .*'

What provides food for thought for the art historian in such a description is not only the identity of certain themes which are shared by painting and pageantry, but also the resistance of painting to other subjects. In 1918 Konrad Escher published an important article on the decorative cycles of the Palazzo Ducale [33] which he considered the source of the Iconography of Fame in the official art of the Baroque. There is no doubt that this iconography and its technique of political rhetoric is much indebted to the tradition of pageants which consumed so much of the energy of the time. This must be true of Venice, no less than of other centres. But while certain motifs and symbols first seen in the improvised decorations of festivals were easily absorbed into the mainstream of art, the embodiment of others into an oil painting or a fresco might have been felt a breach of decorum by any artist trained in the classical tradition. The undisguised attack on individual enemies such as Karakosh and Uchi Ali, as they appeared in the celebrations of the Drappieri, might be a subject for woodcuts or popular engravings, but not for the brush; even the homely personifications of popular feast days shown in the carnival procession were outside the range of serious artists in Italy. In the north, of course, these divisions were less rigid, but even there the hierarchy of genres overlapped with the hierarchy of media. This is an aspect of iconography on which little work has been done so far. Perhaps the investigation of pageants could throw some light on this problem as well.

Notes:

1. Vol. III, 1939-40, pp. 58-69.

2. Four of them (my I, III, IV and V) are to be found in a miscellaneous volume in the Library of Printed Books of the British Museum (1071.g.7) entitled, somewhat inaccurately, *Poemetti varii*, 1549-1656. Some 24 of its 96 numbers are pamphlets concerned with events before and after the battle of Lepanto, including some not listed in Emmanuelli Antonio Cicogna, *Saggio di Bibliografia Veneziana*, Venice, 1847 which does, however, list those discussed here except no. IV.

3. Brit. Mus. 1071.g.7/9.

4. The French translation, published in Lyons in 1571, is in the British Museum Library (C.128.e.4). What is obviously a German translation of the same pamphlet is listed in Katalog 70, of the J. Halle Antiquariat, Munich, 1929 (*Neue Zeitungen*) no. 426.

5. I should like to thank Miss Jennifer Fletcher, who traced for me a copy of this print (which is listed in Cicogna, loc.cit.) in the Museo Correr. She also found that it was copied in an amended and

generalized form in the series *Habiti d'homini et donne venetiane con la processione della Serma Signoria et altri particolari* etc., by Giacomo Franco.

6. Reed huts were sometimes shown as the dwellings of the first inhabitants of Venice.

7. Brit Mus. 1313.c.47.

8. It is the main source of the account in Francesco Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima*, Book X (Venice, 1663, p. 415). This was used, in its turn, by P. Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, 4th ed., vol. II, Bergamo, 1906, p. 86; The pamphlet is also cited in Stirling Maxwell, *Don John of Austria*, London, 1883.

9. For Rocco Benedetti's other works see G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, I, Brescia, 1753, s.v.

10. Roberto Cessi and Annibale Alberti, *Rialto*, Bologna, 1934. esp. pp. 122 ff.

11. It may be significant that Francesco Sansovino, op. cit., replaces his name on the list by that of Michelangelo, a most unlikely artist to figure in an exhibition of this kind. Consequently this relatively early reference to Jacopo Bassano has escaped the specialists. Jacopo's skill in painting animals had been mentioned by Vasari in 1568, but by 1571 he had not yet had more than two public commissions in Venice. Titian bought his large picture of the animals entering the ark (Madrid, Prado, No. 22) about that time. I am much indebted to Professor Roger Rearick who is preparing a study on the Bassanos for the above information.

12. Brit. Mus. 1071.g.7/87.

13. I confess to having troubled no fewer than six of my colleagues, all specialists in Renaissance studies, with these problems. If I do not mention them singly it is not for lack of gratitude but because I found that their opinions were so divergent that in the end I had to accept responsibility for the interpretation here presented.

14. Stirling Maxwell, op. cit., I, 399, 408, 409, 416.

16. *Dialogo di Caracosa e Caronte, il quale gli nega il passo della sua barca, con due Barzelette nove sopra la vittoria de' Christiani* (No. 91 of the British Museum Miscellany); a *Sonetto in dialogo de Caracossa e Plutone* is contained in No. 83; another news bulletin from hell was apparently contained in the incomplete pamphlet No. 85 which has on its cover a crude woodcut of a devil carrying off a soul and of a man impaled.

16. Giotton-Ghiottone, a glutton, a word of abuse.

17. This line is obscure.

18. Stirling Maxwell, I, 397.

19. No. 82 of the Miscellany.

20. I read: 'è *la sua forma canina e giusta*', he is represented like a dog and rightly so.

21. 'Al luogo'?

22. Occhiali can hardly have referred to himself as to a dog but we must apparently read this line as a reflection of the onlooker who sees him groaning, since so many people have died 'because of this dog'.

23. Macon is Mohammed.

24. Konrad Escher, 'Die grossen Gemäldefolgen im Dogenpalast in Venedig und ihre inhaltliche Bedeutung für den Barock', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLI (1918), pp. 87-125.

25. I translate with Prof. N. Rubinstein: 'Here the beauty of the decorations (il velo being the canopy over the streets) and of nature gloriously spread their great nobility. It robs the heavens of all the beauty it has within its compass. A beautiful woman is seen who is more the creature of the one (heaven) than of the other (nature) and who appears to have been sent to earth by God. . . .

26. 'Maranzar' appears to be a misprint possibly due to contamination with the word *manzar* in the line above. I assume it to be some derivation from *mercanti*, the merchants or mercers who arranged the pageant. It is they who will have left the permanent memorial to their fame when God will have called them to heaven one after the other, having wreathed their place (*luoghi*) with festoons where all the Muses seem to dwell.

27. 'I stop here for a I cannot embark on a description even if I have a thousand glowing pages'?

28. The image attracts the eye from everywhere. The comparison with the Jewish people refers to the erection of the brazen serpent (Numbers XXI, 8). I am indebted for this interpretation to Professor Otto Kurz.

29. Brit. Mus. 1071.g.7/12. The pamphlet is misbound but the pages are easily arranged.

30. The portrait by Tintoretto of a Venetian Admiral in the Uffizi is identified as Barbarigo by Hans Tietze, *Tintoretto*, London, 1948, p. 351.

31. For portraits of Venier see P. Molmenti, *Sebastiano Veniero e la battaglia di Lepanto*, Florence, 1899. There is a portrait by Tintoretto answering our description in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which may, however, be only a copy, cf. Hans Tietze, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

32. Brit. Mus. 1071.g.7/14. The pamphlet is completely misbound and the sequence of the pages had first to be unscrambled.

33. See note 24 on p. 65 above.