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BEYOND THE CEREMONIAL CITY

Music, Public Revelries, and Urban Spaces in Everyday Renaissance Venice

Since the publication of Jacob Burckhardt's classic *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), Renaissance festivals have been studied as institutionalised occasions — mostly corresponding to sacred days on the religious calendar — that involved the entire community and helped to reinforce community bonds. Over the last six decades, Venice has proved fertile ground for research on this topic. Many studies have been devoted to festive rituals: civic and ecclesiastical celebrations, public games, and spectacles such as bullfights, *forze d'Ercole*, naval battles, etc. Among such works, Edward Muir's *Civic Rituals in Renaissance Venice* (1981) set a new methodological and theoretical standard that also influenced other research fields. His fruitful model inspired further studies of the political functions of ritual celebrations and the relationships between the latter and the urban fabric. During festivals, urban centres were transformed into ceremonial cities, in which architectural structures became stages for promoting the socio-political values of the community. This conceptual lens has informed many scholarly fields and continues to be relevant in general studies of Renaissance festivals. For example, historical musicologists hardly look beyond the main and more representative public settings, such as St Mark's Square and Basilica, the 'theatres of ceremony', as Iain Fenlon called them, where 'dramatic public rituals underpinned with musical and theatrical elements were performed.[1]

This approach looks at phenomena from above, taking the point of view of authorities and cultural elites. As a result, it limits festive experience and its social functions to specific frames of time and space — the 'special days' fixed on the liturgical calendar, according to Edward Muir[2] — underplaying the multiple ways in which individuals organised and constructed their own everyday lives. Urban historians' recent interest in street life invites us to look beyond these temporal and spatial borders.[3] Music, revelries, public games, and other festive activities were commonly performed throughout the city and often organised spontaneously, outside institutional frames. They had an important role in social life, taking place in multiple public settings and intertwining with other daily activities. This article will analyse a variety of indoor and outdoor urban settings — churches, palaces and dwellings, streets, and squares — to show how spontaneous revelries occupied them and shaped their social meaning.

Churches and sacred places

Churches of every size and importance dotted the Venetian urban space, like many other Italian Renaissance cities. According to Coryat, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city hosted 'two hundred churches in which are one hundred forty three paire of organs, fifty foure monasteries, twenty six nunneries, fifty sixe tribunals or places of iudgement, seventeene hospitals, sixe companies or fraternities'.[4] In mentioning the organs, Coryat indexed the strong ties between sacred places and musical performances. Although musicologists have devoted considerable research to sacred music traditions and praxis, the continuous presence of sacred music performances on the entire urban fabric of the city and their deep connection to everyday social practice is still understudied. Churches are usually considered sacred spaces neatly separated from the rest of the urban context, especially during masses or other liturgical celebrations. From this perspective, church music helped separate ritual

7.1
Dirk Jansz van Santen,
View of the city of Venice (detail).
From *Atlas van der Hagen*,
Amsterdam, Pieter Mortier, c. 1690.
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

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VENETIA.

moments from ordinary life. Moreover, it is often opposed to street music, which is deemed more common and accessible. As Iain Fenlon put it, the music 'of *calle* and *campo* [...] was much more likely to be heard by the vast majority of Venetians than the polyphonic motets and masses that were performed in the elite environment of St Mark's Basilica and a handful of other churches in the city'.[5] The reality, however, was far more complex than this, and such a statement needs reconsideration.

Polyphonic music was by no means performed only in St Mark's Basilica and a handful of other churches: as Elena Quaranta has demonstrated, on holy days minor churches also hosted solemn celebrations in which music was seldom absent.[6] The data collected by Quaranta shows how these places of worship were distributed across the urban fabric (fig. 7.2). Polyphonic church music could be enjoyed in every part of the city. Guides such as the *Protogiornale* of Vincenzo Maria Coronelli advised visitors on where and when these activities would take place, and as Coronelli states, 'no day passes without the display of paraphernalia and festival in different locations'.[7]

Even the way people commonly enjoyed church music was not very different from how they consumed street songs and tunes. Today, we tend to imagine people attending mass and other church celebrations with pious and solemn behaviour. Yet this was not the case for many bystanders, who participated looking for social exchange with others. The celebration of a solemn mass attracted passers-by of all social conditions, genre and ages. Bachelors in particular saw masses as opportunities to declare or even make love and compete with rivals. Moralists often complained about the participation of such crowds and blamed the polyphonic and instrumental music, which was accused of moving people to sinful passions and distracting them from their religious duties. In 1528, Patriarch Geronimo Querini prohibited the use of instruments because, he argued, they attracted gangs of libidinous

7.2

Map realised by the author, with yellow dots indicating musically active churches. Based on Dirk Jansz van Santen, *View of the city of Venice*. From *Atlas van der Hagen*, Amsterdam, Pieter Mortier, c. 1690. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

juveniles creating scandals and using violence one against the other. In his eyes, Venetian churches seemed to be 'meretricum scolae', guilds of sex workers, and were no different to the city's theatres and public dances.[8]

Churches were invaded by such crowds whenever liturgies were celebrated with music. The participation of large crowds was encouraged by organisers: the more people attended, the more the celebrations were honoured. Processions and musical masquerades paraded through the city a few days beforehand to announce that an event was taking place and attract as many people as possible.[9] Organisers also signalled the presence of a solemn feast by decorating the church itself. They covered façades and interior walls with wooden counter-walls, on which they hung silver masks, red, yellow, blue, or gold paper festoons, flowers, and symbolic plants, such as ivy. The windows were darkened with paper mounted to a wooden frame, which was sometimes also used to cover the doors.[10] The decorations created a special atmosphere and stimulated the senses of those who went inside, where lighting came from lamps and candles of various sizes: the visual impact was thus combined with olfactory stimuli, thanks to the use of incense, and auditory stimuli coming from the musical performances. The concerts themselves, filtering through the walls, also helped to attract crowds of passers-by during such celebrations.[11]

Many people in these crowds, as Querini noticed, were hardly there to attend mass. Bachelors' sexual needs were satisfied by *meretrices*, who were always present and looking for clients. They were usually seated in visible places, surrounded by suitors. For example, in 1618 a young woman was spotted sitting beside the musicians' stage and chatting with an old *ruffiana* during celebrations at Santa Marta's church.[12] In 1638, during the celebrations for the Annunciation, Marietta Bianchi was seated with her back to the altar of the Madonna, surrounded by several glamorous youngsters.[13] The most successful gained enough wealth to dress like noblewomen, attending the celebrations with many followers and occupying the most honoured pews.[14] This sometimes led to conflicts with noblewomen, who refused to be compared to the courtesans. In November 1611, the *famozisima meretrice* Novella entered Sant'Andrea's church followed by six maids, headed straight to the *coro* and asked permission to sit next to a noblewoman of Grioni's family. Grioni stiffly answered 'I know you as a dirty one' and refused. Novella responded by saying 'you call me dirty: you are the dirty one!' — starting a verbal dispute. Since the two women seemed peers in terms of their attire, some witnesses could not distinguish between the two and initially thought the fight was taking place between two noblewomen.[15]

From 1539 on, authorities tried to solve the 'disorders' created by sex workers throughout the city, while 'A lot of them stay on the public streets and in the main places of this city, exercising their art, giving a bad example to everyone, even at the time when the divine offices are being held'.[16] Sex workers had to be removed to preserve the prayers from debasement, 'so that they do not give an evil example with many acts, words and lascivious works to those who go in these churches' and to prevent violent clashes, because 'with their evil works they are most often the cause of many fights, scandals and failures'. 'Meretrices' and courtesans were therefore banned from 'any place in the nearby of churches and

7.3
Vittore Carpaccio, *Ambassadors' Return to the English Court* (detail). Featuring at the centre a member of the Compagnia della Calza while half kneeling. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 1495. Photo: Public Domain.

sacred spaces' and from going 'into any church on the day of the main feast and solemnity of that church' or faced a penalty of 200 lire.[17] The decree proved ineffective, since it had to be reiterated in 1571 and 1572, while on 20 December 1578 the court noted that, in order to circumvent the ban, sex workers entered churches 'dressed as wives and widows', and therefore forbade them to dress in this fashion.[18] Other sex workers used to parade in gondolas near the churches: in 1582, another law forbade them to 'row through the city, especially on feast days, solemnities and church pardons' and to go 'walking and stopping in the middle of the churches, making a lot of noise and doing dishonest things'. Many circumvented the prohibitions by going during the night, especially on Christmas, during the Holy Week, or on Holy Monday. Moreover, to attract passers-by and those gathered in the church, they presented themselves 'dressed in various lewd clothes and making many noises and using dishonest terms'.[19]

Prohibitions became stricter in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1613, it was noted that the decrees had been regularly violated. Fines increased to 100 ducats and judges could add a ban, prison time, or corporal punishment at will.[20] Still, sex workers continued to disguise themselves to pass unnoticed and mingle with noblewomen. In 1615 they were consequently forbidden from going 'in any form of dress to the festivals or weddings of noble persons and of honourable life, or to the festivals, feasts, villa balls, in the churches and fairs and other public places'.[21] Penalties increased to five years of imprisonment and included public shaming practices, such as publicly cutting off their nose and ears in the space between the two columns of St Mark's Square, or pillorying and flagellation that proceeded from St Mark's to the Rialto. Even this punishment did not change the situation: in 1627, the authorities admitted that, despite the previous prohibitions, sex workers 'permit themselves to commit endless scandals, both by day and by night, particularly in churches' and once again reiterated the decrees from 1539 and 1582 with the increase in fines established in 1613. The same occurred the following year.[22]

Palaces and dwellings

The English diarist John Evelyn noted that during the Venetian carnival 'every place became accessible and everyone was free to enter'. Festive activities broke down the already blurred boundaries between the domestic and public sphere, making palaces and other dwellings open to all.[23] Attempts to reserve attendance for a selected few provoked general

disapproval. Sanudo records in his *Diarii* that in 1530, when the *Compagnia della Calza* (fig. 7.3) held a party in the Great Council hall, the fact that some people stood at the entrance limiting access to noblemen 'gave rise to much murmuring, since in such public festivities doors are usually kept open'.[24]

During the carnival, many dwellings hosted public meetings where people could freely enter and dance, paying the musicians at the end of the song. Such parties were held in 'the very houses of noblemen and gentlemen', noted Fynes Morison, which were 'open for any masked persons to enter'. A lantern decorated with garlands that hung on the residence's threshold invited passers-by.[25] Usually, these *feste da ballo* were organised by a *mazziere*: an entrepreneur who engaged the musicians and shared the profits with them. The *mazziere* was also responsible for maintaining order during the party. Since these events were open to anybody, violent clashes could arise. In December 1559, a *festin* organised by the dancer Lugrezia Barbiera in a house in Calle dei Fabbri, near St Mark's, gathered people of all kinds: notaries, craftsmen, nobles, and patricians. The house was so crowded that it was difficult to move, and participants perceived a feeling of suffocation: 'there were many people [...] pushing themselves. Some were pushing this way, some that way'. A quarrel between the servant of the Trevigiana count Claudio Collalto and a female dancer escalated into a bloody armed clash between the faction of Collalto and a gang of Venetian artisans.[26]

When no signs advised ongoing celebrations, passers-by could follow the music trickling into the street, as happened during church celebrations. In February 1556, some Rialto shopkeepers decided to dine 'in a secret place': the venue was in Murano in a palazzo of Geronimo Priuli, the godfather of one of the organisers. The banquet was accompanied by a dance: though it was only for a few close friends, the local *podestà* had forbidden music, so the young people tried to maintain secrecy; one of them stood at the entrance to prevent eventual passers-by attracted by the sound from entering. Over the course of the evening he chased away several other shopkeepers and a woman from Murano who came to borrow a pot. Nevertheless, his efforts did not prevent some local fishermen from entering the palazzo and playing 'four tunes improvising with the *lira*', nor the *podestà*'s henchman from discovering the illicit banquet.[27]

Sometimes these 'invasions' brought violence. Since the carnival of 1532, the Council of Ten had approved specific legislation aimed at limiting the attendance of unwanted guests at *feste* in private palaces. The carnival that year had witnessed bands of youths entering palaces during the revelries against owners' wishes, beating upon the doors, insulting and harassing the guests or provoking fights and quarrels. Authorities issued a fine of 100 ducats, six months of imprisonment, and exile for two years. The penalty for insulting the hosts or guests was five years of exile and a fine of 200 ducats. Using violence against a host, drawing arms, breaking glass, or attempting to enter by force drew a penalty of ten years of exile and a fine of 200 ducats.[28] These harsh measures may not have had the desired effect, since later sources show little change in the behaviour of youth, and notably of young nobles. In the early seventeenth century, for example, nobleman Leonardo Pesaro, who was later banned from the Republic for a series of hideous crimes, broke into a wedding party with his henchmen and started an attack against the palace dwellers, under the pretext of having previously been cast out for having addressed the bride in a rough manner. In 1670, Vincenzo Michiel, the son of a procurator of St Mark, was condemned for having entered 'by ruse, masked and with two pistols, the house of the nobleman Carlo Grimani, where a numerous company of ladies and patricians were engaged in a virtuous *accademia*'; the young nobleman 'improperly [addressed these] ladies of respectable condition' and, having attracted his hosts' attention, drew his pistols.[29]

Spontaneous celebrations frequently occupied taverns, places often indistinguishable from actual dwellings. Taverns were meeting places for different cultures, as well as social centres for the local community. Many people spent their leisure hours there, attending performances by musicians and singers of both sexes, playing cards and dice, and drinking. The community made tavern places for venting and resolving internal tensions, where rivals also had the opportunity to get even.[30] The authorities perceived the danger of meetings in taverns for political and moral reasons, since the practices that took place there diverted people from liturgical services.

In addition to the taverns, the *bastioni da vin* — where wine was sold at the retail price — also served as meeting places for festive gatherings. There it was possible to watch musical performances and buy cheap prints.[31] Authorities enacted laws to prevent people from crowding into such places. On 31 July 1571, an order by the Council of Ten made the existing penalties worse, punishing those who found themselves in these spaces to eat, drink, and gamble with eighteen months in the galley with irons on their feet; in the event of incapacity, they were banished for three years from the city with a fine of 100 lire. The wine sellers themselves were punished with a fine of 100 ducats. The same law forbade keeping these spaces open on official holidays and Sundays; only a small balcony could remain open. This *bando* was announced in Venice and Murano 'particularly where there are bastions, or wine and malmsey stores': we can draw up a list of these places for five of the six city districts and identify how they were distributed throughout the urban fabric.[32]

[*Cannaregio*] Sopra el canpo de San Bartolamio; a San Gresostemo; a San Cancian apreso el magazen dala malvasia; a Santo Apostolo apreso el magazen dal vin; a Santa Sofia apreso el magazen da malvasia; a San Felice; al ponte da Noal apreso el magazen da vin; a Santa Fosca; ala Madalena; in rio terà apreso el magazen dala malvasia; a San Marcuola apreso el magazen dal vin; ai Servi apreso el magazen dal vin; a Santo Avixe apreso el magazen da vin; a San Gieremia apreso el magazen da vin; a mezo canaregio apreso el magazin da vin

[*Castello*] in cale de le Rase, apreso li bastioni; in su la fondamenta di Sagavoni [Schiavoni], ala Pietà, arente el bastion da vin; sul campo de San Zuane bracola al bastion da la malvazia; a San Zuane Bracola, al bastion da vin; a Sant'Antolin, apreso el bastion dal vin; a cale de ruga Gagufa [Giuffa?] al bastion hover furata; sul ponte de Santa Maria Fermosa arente quel da la malvazia; a San Zuanne Nuovo arente quelo dala malvazia; a San Felippo, Iacomo arente quele furatole deli sagavoni [schiavoni]; a San Zuanne Pollo al bastion dal vin; in cale de Santo Antonio al ponte da ca' Balbi al bastion dala malvazia; sul campo de Santa Marina al bastion dala malvazia; in cale de la Madona, de le Fave, al bastion dale malvazie; sul campo de San Lio, al bastion dala malvazia; in cale de la Bisa, al bastion da la malvazia

[*Santa Croce*] a Santa Casa [?] sul canpo; a San Stai al magazen; a San Iaco dalorio; al magaze dei bari; a San Simio Picolo al bastio; a 3 ponti al bastio

[*San Marco*] San Samuel, Sant'Anzolo, a San Beneto, a San Fantin, a San Luca, in cale di Fuseri, a Santa Maria Zobenigo, a San Moisè

[*San Polo*] a Santo Aponal apreso el magazin da malvasia; a San Polo apreso el magazen dal vin; a San Toma; ai fra menori apreso el magazen da malvasia et da vin; a San Rocco apreso el magazen da malvasia

Nodes of public interactions: calli, campi, corti, fondamente

John Evelyn states 'that all the yeare long, al the markett places of great [Italian] Cittyes are full of montebankes or Ciarlatanes, who stand vpon tables like stages, and to sell their oyles, waters, and salues, drawe the people about them by musicke and pleasant discourse like Comedies, hauing a woman and a masked foole to acte these partes with them.' Venice was no exception. Although scholars attached much attention to St Mark's,[33] many other squares in the city — called *campi* – were usually crowded. During church celebrations, a varied crowd populated the adjacent *campi*. As in St Mark's Square, sellers, *cantimbanchi*, and entertainers offered passers-by all kinds of goods, from devotional tools like candles to miraculous potions and sweets (fig. 7.4). Authorities tried to regulate these spontaneous markets. In August 1578 the Cinque Savi alle mariegole — a court regulating the arts of Venice — forbade the selling of 'fruits, merchandise, biscuits, baskets, pots, weeds' or any other kind of goods, except for those regarding mariners, rope makers, and those who sold statues of saints. Four years later the prohibition to sell 'on church squares were the celebration is held' was extended to all art.[34] Those who wanted to sell their merchandise needed a special licence. This could be requested at a dedicated court. In October 1574, Antonio da Salò and his 'compagni dell'acqua vita' sought — and obtained — the Giustizia Vecchia to be allowed to sell their *acquavita*, because the product was deemed to have healing effects.[35] Among peddlers and sellers, visitors would also find music performances. Street concerts could be organised spontaneously, as Morison noted, by companies of wandering revellers who 'walke up and downe the markett places, and some leade musicke with them and table to place some instruments, where they play excelent musicke'.[36]

Nodes of public interaction such as *calli*, *corti* and *campi* regularly hosted a variety of leisure activities, similar to the streets and squares in other cities. Public competitions like fist fights, bull hunting, and ball games were organised outdoors despite being forbidden. All these festive gatherings were the object of repressive laws. In Venice, between 1558 and 1627 about 250 orders were issued by the court of *esecutori alla bestemmia* to eradicate spontaneous festive activities from the main squares, courtyards, and streets near sacred buildings and the palaces of the major patrician families, as well as from smaller squares, courtyards, *fondamente*, and ferry docks. The bans were proclaimed in various years in the same places. This demonstrates that repression was far from effective and that people identified specific urban areas as places for habitual festive meetings. Authorities were not able to delineate zones of order and decorum within the urban environment, contrary to what some scholarship suggests.[37]

By prohibiting games and revelries on both workdays and holidays, these laws also demonstrate the daily occurrence of urban festive gatherings. Precisely what happened during these events is difficult to tell. People could find a variety of leisure and entertainment activities: bull hunts, ball, dice, and card games, dancing, and music. Criminal proceedings and verdicts also make frequent reference to gambling, which allows us to shed some light on these ephemeral practices.

People of every age and condition gathered around playing tables to see how a game was going and try to participate. We know that crowds from different nations usually frequented St Mark's. In the part of the Piazza extending from the Clock Tower to the shore of the *bacino* gathered 'many Polonians, Slavonians, Persians, Grecians, Turks, Iewes, Christians of all the famousest regions of Christendome, and each nation distinguished from another by their proper and peculiar habits' (fig. 7.5).[38] A similar variety appears to have interacted in the other spots throughout the city dedicated to this entertainment. Card games had no nationality and were able to unite players coming from around the world. In 1582, the Armenian Abdenor and the Indian

7.4

Giacomo Franco, *Ducal Palace*. Engraving from Id., *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane con la processione della Ser.ma Signoria ed altri particolari*, 1614. Detail of 3.4 featuring sellers and a singer with a dog..

Giandù were arrested while playing the 'gioco del trentuno' with cards. In July 1584, Giacomo Manfrini and Giacomo Strenghe, a Tuscan and a German, were also arrested. In March 1590, the sbirri seized Niccolò Sacca, a Greek, who was playing with a Jew, Marcho della Bella.[39] Cards also abolished differences in status or age. In 1582, Domenico *strazzaruol* — a cloth peddler — was arrested while playing with a fourteen-year-old nobleman, Giulio Marin. In November 1589, the *sbirri* raided a *ridotto* where eleven people were playing cards, among which were a Greek, two Venetian noblemen of the Barozzi and Bembo families, a goldsmith, a woman named Chiara de' Medici, and several representatives of the mechanical arts.[40]

Music was also involved. Though few of these orders openly referred to music or dances, many prohibited 'strepiti' — an aural category that also included the sound produced by a street performer.[41] Dances could arise spontaneously from the tunes of street musicians. Visitors noticed that people stood around to watch when somebody played an instrument, as during the 'dances of the young girls' recorded by Saint Didier. These dances took place wherever there was enough space to gather: large *calli* or *fondamente*, docks, and 'most commonly in the little squares of their quarters', i.e. courtyards. The sound of the tambourines and songs played by young women attracted many locals as well as foreigners. These dances allowed for freedom in the interactions between men and women, since soon the dancing girls were joined by someone from the public. The Venetians were not only spectators at these gatherings, because they offered 'easy

7.5

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. Detail of 1.4 featuring a crowd of foreigners.

opportunities of being familiar with these young lasses, and afterwards to choose from among 'em'.[42]

Outdoor dances could also be organised. At least since the first half of the seventeenth century, the organisation of dances was a prerogative of the *scuola de' sonadori*: unfortunately, there is little evidence of the guild's activities, since their archive was lost. However, according to a letter sent by the *provveditori di Comun* to the heads of the Council of Ten, the *sonadori* required the licence of the Council itself to build the ephemeral structures called 'casoni', or wooden lodges, under which they held public balls. The document, dated 2 February 1643, is interesting also because it records a problem that still affects public festivals today: damage to the common areas. The *provveditori* thus asked the Council of Ten to authorise a resolution that would oblige the organisers, using a *piezaria*, to take out a sort of insurance that would reimburse the sums incurred to repair the damage caused by the participants in these festivities 'by breaking the sallizadi and by damaging the wells with urine and other rubbish'.[43]

Conclusions

This paper shows how spontaneous revelry and merry-making were distributed throughout Venice, offering a glimpse into everyday festive life. Moving beyond the borders of overstudied ceremonial areas, such as St Mark's Square, it explored how people made use of different public settings to organise and participate in celebrations. Festivals were not only institutionalised occasions for urban elites to showcase their political and religious power. They were part of daily life and played an important role in the social interactions among individuals.

Many aspects of this festive universe are still unexplored. For instance, most of these practices mingled with other everyday activities, such as jobs and errands, or even with other institutional festive activities, such as the acts and behaviours that authorities tried to impose during church celebrations. How spontaneous merry-making and other practices were related is still unclear and requires further research. Since spontaneous festive behaviours usually collided violently with other activities, criminal archives and court acts offer an optimal starting point.

There was an economy of spontaneous festive practices. Street musicians, professional gamblers, and other entrepreneurs such as the *mazzier* all profited from an unofficial but rich market organised around the everyday needs of merry-makers. They had to catch any opportunity that street life would offer, adapting to a fluid demand that worked outside the cyclical seasons of the institutionalised festivals. How this hidden market functioned and what dimensions it reached is not clear yet, nor is how it interacted with other official festive markets. The presence of corporations like the *scuola de' sonadori* indicates the desire to control the income deriving from spontaneous activities through the promotion of organised and authorised events. Yet it is still unclear whether these efforts were successful and to what extent.

We tend to ignore the repertoire promoted by spontaneous merry-makers. Yet music was a strong political medium. Street musicians could disseminate state propaganda or become the vehicles of protest, as charlatans did.[44] Their repertoires should be found somewhere in the enormous mass of cheap prints still conserved in Italian libraries and archives. Moreover, some attention should be given to the identity of street performers: certainly, they did not completely improvise — but we do not yet know anything about their education or social conditions.

1 Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*; Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City*; Fenlon, 'Urban Soundscapes'.
2 Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 62–86.
3 Nevola, *Street Life in Renaissance Italy*; Fenlon, *Orality and Print*.
4 Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, II, p. 74.
5 Fenlon, *Orality and Print*, p. 82. For a critical survey on the studies on Venetian church music, see Bryant and Quaranta, *Produzione, circolazione e consumo*.
6 Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*.
7 'Non vi è giorno in tutto l'anno che con molto apparato non si esponga il Venerabile, e le feste in luoghi diversi'. Coronelli, *Guida de' forestieri*, p. 35. See also Bryant and Cecchinato, 'Venice, City of Music'.
8 Cit. in Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, p. 411.
9 The Scuola di Sant'Orsola, operating in the church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, used to set up a ship with a stage where two people, usually young, represented St Ursula and an angel. On the eve of the celebrations in honour of the saint, this apparatus was carried through the Venetian call by about fifteen porters accompanied by a group of musicians, 'per denonziar la festa' (in order to publicize the feast). Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, p. 143.
10 The quality of the decorations varied according to the economic possibilities of the institution commissioning them. In Venice, in the year 1564 alone, payments to the *conzieri* who decorated churches on feast days were recorded in the account books of thirty one churches. Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, pp. 189–226.
11 On the diffusion and uses of sacred music at festivals organised by religious institutions and during processions, see Bryant and Pozzobon, *Musica devozione città*, Glixon, *Honoring God and the City*.
12 ASVE, PM, *Atti*, b. 256, *1618 July*.
13 ASVE, PM, *Atti*, b. 268, *1638 agosto*, fols. [1v-2r].
14 Church pews symbolised social hierarchies and were frequently objects of disputes. On this phenomenon specifically in Venice, see Carroll and Cecchinato, 'Violence and Sacred Space in Early Modern Venice'.
15 'Te conosso per una sporca' ; 'ti vuole che sia una sporca mi… ti è una sporca ti!'. This short dialogue is reported by a witness. ASVE, PM, *Atti*, b. 264, file *1611 November*.
16 'Ne sono infinite che stano sopra le strade publice et nelli principal luogi de questa cità, exercitando tal loro arte, dando mal esempio ad ognuno, maxime a tempo che si cellebrano li divini officii'. *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione*, pp. 101–02. On Venetian prostitution, see Scarabello, *Meretrices*.
17 'Acciò non siano causa de mal exempio con molti acti, parole et opere lascive a quelli over a quelle che vano a bon fine in dicte chiesie,' 'con le loro male opere sono il più delle volte causa de molte risse, scandali et mancamenti'; 'habitar over stantiar in luoco alcuno che sia per mezo chiesie et luochi sacri'; 'in chiesia alcuna il zorno della festa et solennità principal di quella'. *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione*, pp. 101–02.
18 'Vestite da maridate e da vedove, facendo atti disonesti'. *Leggi e memorie*, p. 122.
19 'Vogar per la città, et massime nelli giorni delle feste, solennità et perdoni delle chiese'; 'passeggiando e fermandosi per mezzo esse chiese facendo molti chiassi et cose dishoneste'; 'vestite con diversi habiti lascivi et facendo molti chiassi et usando termini inhonesti'. *Leggi e memorie*, pp. 124–26.
20 *Leggi e memorie*, pp. 136–37.
21 'In qualsivoglia abito alle feste o nozze di persone nobili et di honesta vita, overo alle sagre, feste, balli di villa, nelle chiese et alle fiere et altri luoghi pubblici'. *Leggi e memorie*, pp. 137–38.
22 'Si fanno lecito così di giorno come di notte, particolarmente nelle chiese, commettere infiniti scandoli'. *Leggi e memorie*, pp. 148 e 151.
23 John Evelyn is cit. by Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, p. 186. See Bamji, 'The Control of Space'.
24 'Dete molto mormorar, ché in simil feste publice si suol tenir le porte aperte', quoted in Pontremoli and La Rocca, *La danza a Venezia nel Rinascimento*, pp. 31–32.
25 Fynes, *An Itinerary*, pp. 457–58. On the door garlands, see Limojon de Saint-Didier, *The City and Republick of Venice*, III, pp. 68–69.
26 'Ghe erano molte persone […] che se spenzevano […] chi spenzeva in qua et chi spenzeva in là'. ASVE, AC, 4297, fasc. 10, *Scattola Massimo, ferimento all'inguine al conte Claudio Collalto* 1559, fols. 28r-v.
27 'In luogo che non si sapesse'; 'quattro versi soli alimprovisa con la lira'. ASVE, *Pod. Mur.*, b. 61, file 2: '*1555–1557 21 marzo Angelo Benedetto*', subfile '1555 *Denunce ecc.*', deposition of Ludovico de Masi, 3 marzo 1556. See also Bryant and Cecchinato, 'Venice, City of Music'.
28 ASVE, CL, ser. I, b. 68, IV, fol. 267r-v.
29 'Mascherato, munito di dui pistolle, stillo nella casa del nobil huomo ser Carlo Grimani, nella quale si faceva riddutione et accademia di virtù con concerto numeroso di donne nobili, et soggetti patritii'; 'donne di rispettabile conditione […] con forme improprie'. MCV, Ms. P.D. 2107, n. 70.
30 See Ortalli, *Gioco e giustizia nell'Italia di comune*.
31 See Salzberg, *Ephemeral City*.
32 ASVE, CD, *Proc. stampa*, b. 1, '*Parte presa nell'eccelso Consiglio di Dieci 1571 à 31 luglio. In materia di quelli che vanno a mangiar nelli magazeni et giocano*'.
33 Rospocher and Salzberg, 'Street Singers in Italian Renaissance Urban Culture and Communication'; Degl'Innocenti and Rospocher, 'Street Singers'.
34 'Sopra i campi di quelle chiese dove è la festa'. ASVE, CL, s. I, b. 206, fols. 382r and 390r.
35 ASVE, CL, s. I, b. 206, fol. 376r.
36 Moryson, *Itinerary*, 457–58.
37 Derosas, 'Moralità e giustizia a Venezia nel '500-'600'.
38 Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, p. 220.
39 ASVE, EB, b. 57, reg. 'Notatorio di terminationi principia l'anno 1582', fols. 2r, 25v, and 177v.
40 ASVE, EB, b. 57, reg. 'Notatorio di terminationi principia l'anno 1582', fols. 19v and 148r-150r.
41 On noise as a sensorial category, see Pickering and Rice, 'Noise as "sound out of place"'.
42 Limojon de Saint-Didier, *The City and Republick of Venice*, pp. 82–84.
43 'Col romper li sallizadi et col guastar li pozzi con l'immonditie dell'orinar et altro'. ASVE, CCD, *Not.*, *Fil.*, file 32, *sub data*. The document is cited by Vio, 'L'arte dei sonadori', p. 79.
44 Rospocher, '"In Vituperium Status Veneti"'.