

“*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*”: The Entry of Giovan Francesco Morosini, Brescia 1591

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In June 1591, Cardinal Giovan Francesco Morosini made his ceremonial entry into Brescia as the city's new bishop, arguably the most elaborate such event since that of Caterina Cornaro almost a century earlier. The powerful *Consiglio generale dei nobili cittadini* had gone to great lengths to welcome its distinguished visitor, the latest incumbent of a see which had been occupied by distinguished churchmen during the course of the century, including the leading Borromean reformer Domenico Bollani (see Cairns 1976 and Gamba 2016). Its deliberations resulted in the appointment of 'cinque prestantissimi cittadini,' presided over by the jurist Alfonso Capriolo, a learned man with a specialised knowledge of mathematics and science; he was also a poet, and the co-founder of the *Accademia degli Occulti*, the city's most prestigious academy (see Rossi 1620). His principal collaborator, Marco Publio Fontana, a naturalized Brescian from Bergamo, was a priest with interests in literature, painting, sculpture, music, and classical literature (*ibidem* 1620: 441-43). Between them Capriolo and Fontana could muster many of the skills and much of the erudition that was eventually expended on Morosini's entry and its subsequently published description (Fontana 1591)².



Fig. 1. Marco Publio Fontana, *Il sontuoso apparato fatto della città di Brescia nel ritorno dell'illu. & reverendiss. vescovo suo il Cardinale Morosini* (Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio [1591]), titlepage.

The general model for the *via triumphalis* was that of Imperial Rome, with temporary arches constructed of wood and gesso and then ornamented with painted canvas, stucco, trompe l'oeil decorations, sculpture, inscriptions, and gilding. The route, similar to that followed by earlier Brescian bishops including Francesco and Andrea Corner, had evolved in the course of the sixteenth century (Giustina 2016:183-86)³. In the intervening period this seemingly immutable ritual, designed to confirm authority, had acquired new emphases according to fresh

political realities, much as had the papal *possesso* (Fosi 2002: 31-52). It is these elements, as well as the affirmation of civic and religious identity, which are so clearly present in the design of the temporary arches, placed in the hands of an equippe of painters and craftsmen, including Pietro Maria Bagnadore and Pietro Marone, working under the direction of the architect Giulio Todeschini and the artist Tommaso Bona⁴. Neither of the two Venetian officials, the *podestà* Lorenzo Priuli, who was in charge of civil and judicial matters, nor the *capitano* Niccolò Gussoni, responsible for military affairs and finance, seem to have played any part in the arrangements beyond offering general approval and reading through Fontana's inscriptions (Fontana 1591: 3). This is consonant with the emphasis upon the honest, conscientious but detached government which had characterised Venetian attitudes towards Brescia since the fifteenth century (Law 1992: 171).

In designing the arches for Morosini's entry, Fontana and his associates could have been influenced by printed *descrizioni* of other entries, and particularly by de-luxe accounts such as that of Prince Philip's official visit to Antwerp in 1549 put together by the secretary to the city, Cornelius De Schrijver (1550). Illustrated with 31 woodcuts by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, this is one of the most sumptuous of all sixteenth-century festival books⁵. It is also likely that the 28 single sheets by Orazio Scarabelli and Epifanio d'Alfiano showing perspective elevations of the temporary arches designed by Bernardo Buontalenti for the entry of Christine of Lorraine in 1589, would have been known to the Brescians (see Saslow 1996: 189-97). Permanent structures in the immediate area, such as the Porta Gemona in San Daniele del Friuli, or Palladio's Arco Bollani in Udine, might also have provided inspirational models (Giustina 2016: 177).

Specially-composed polyphony is a distinctive feature of Morosini's entry. According to Ottavio Rossi, Capriolo was an accomplished practical musician who "sonava eccellentemente di ogni sorte di stromento", and although none of it has survived, some older bibliographies describe Fontana as a "composer of much vocal and instrumental music" (Warren 1845: 123). The civic and religious musical life of Brescia was focused on the cathedral, and it was natural that Lelio Bertani, who had been *maestro di cappella*

there for more than fifteen years, should have been chosen to compose two motets for the occasion. Also involved in the arrangements was Costanzo Antegnati, organist of the cathedral since 1584, who had worked closely with Bertani throughout the 1580s. There is some slight evidence that Morosini may have had an interest in music, since Giuliano Paratico's *Canzonette a tre voci libro secondo* is dedicated to him (Paratico 1588)⁶. Morosini had expressed the wish for his entry to coincide with the season of Pentecost, which would have given him the opportunity to celebrate a solemn mass at which the members of the congregation would receive papal indulgences (Fontana 1591: 73-76). Such manipulations of the liturgical calendar were common. When Archbishop Alessandro de' Medici made his entry into Florence in 1584, the event was deliberately planned to occur one week before Palm Sunday, as if to emphasise his role as Christ's successor (Miller 2007: 247)⁷. Enormous efforts, hampered by the inclement weather which had often brought work to a halt, had been expended in Brescia to complete the construction and decoration of the *via triumphalis* in time; even so one of the six arches remained incomplete (Fontana 1591: 47). On the day before the entry the skies were clear, allowing the many 'foreigners' from elsewhere in the Veneto, together with both 'nobili' and 'popolani' to admire the temporary structures and their decoration. Some sketched their appearance, while others copied down their inscriptions. Many merchants had closed their shops even though it was market day, and in a matter of hours the palaces along the route had been transformed, with rugs and tapestries hung from balconies. Four ambassadors were despatched to meet Morosini to conduct him to Rezzato, close to the city (*ibidem*: 73-75). Here he stayed overnight at the Villa Chizzola, the country residence of an important local noble family and the seat of an academy dedicated to the study of agriculture, religious, and social issues, and the classics⁸. Its activities are reflected in the writings of Agostino Gallo, another local landowner, whose treatise *Le venti giornate della vera agricoltura* (Venice, 1569) is regarded as the cornerstone of modern Italian agronomy. Gatherings at the Villa Chizzola were also connected to the Occulti, of which Gallo was a member⁹. Significantly, he was also one of the 'cinque praestantissimi cittadini'.

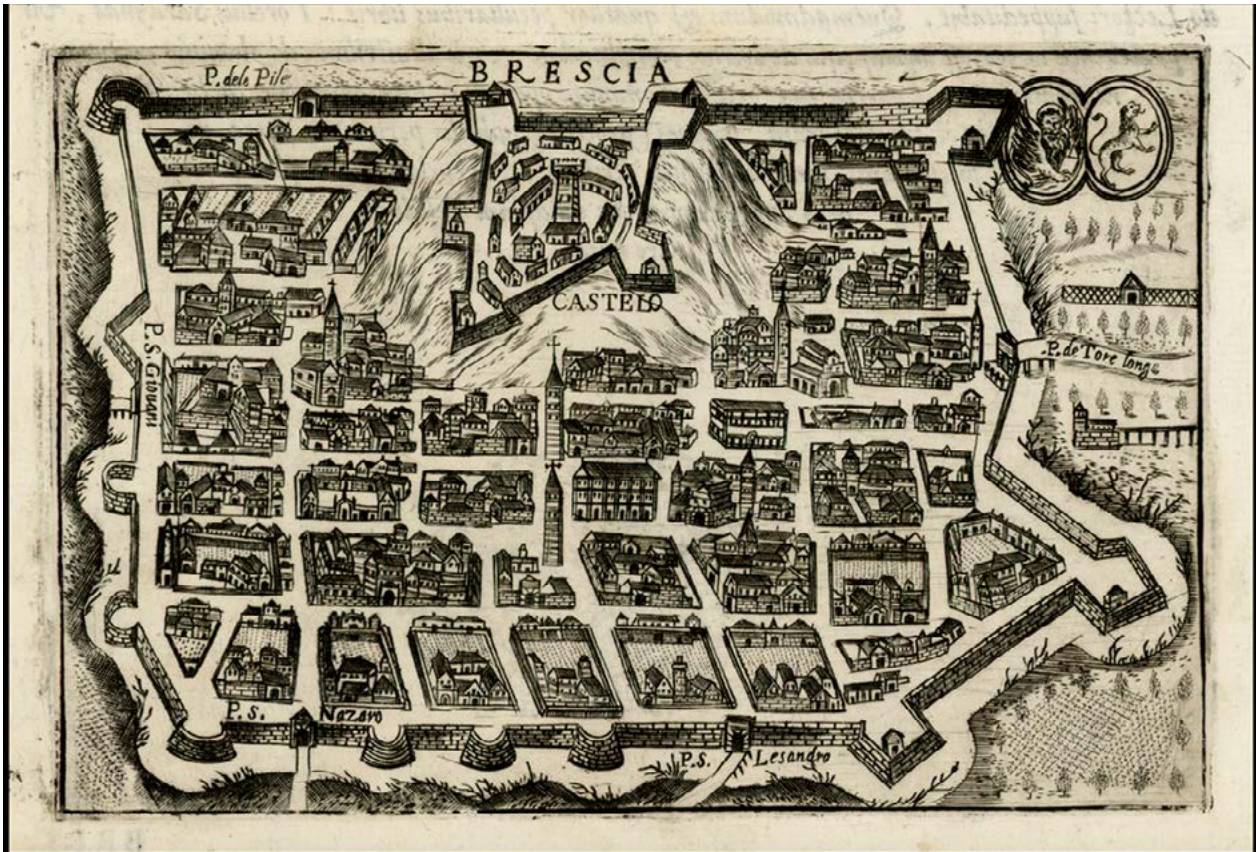


Fig. 2. Brescia, from *Theatrum urbium italicarum* (Venice, [Pietro Bertelli], 1599).

On the morning of his entry, Morosini was joined by six new ambassadors who had ridden out to accompany him to the Porta San Nazzaro, where a temporary pavilion had been erected so that he could robe in pontificals before making his ceremonial entry.

As both a sign of welcome, and to advise the citizenry that the spectacle was about to begin, ordinance was let off from the ramparts of the castle, and the large bell of the Torre della Pallata was rung. Crowds had been gathered for several hours, but now that the moment had arrived there was a surge of activity, as many clambered onto roofs, balconies, and temporary platforms to assure themselves of a good view of the proceedings. Others lined the route, which began at the Porta San Nazzaro, passed close to the church of San Francesco, ran to the Torre della Pallata, and then turned east past the Broletto to descend into the historic centre of the city. Before arriving at the Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta, it passed close to the palaces of some of the oldest and wealthiest established families of Brescia. The route effectively presented an ideal reading of the urban texture of the city, emphasising its identity, history, and power structures.

At the city gate, where the official procession had been drawn up, Morosini was met by Giacomo Luzzago together other members of the cathedral chapter. In an important ritual act, the new bishop knelt on a cushion and kissed a wooden cross, a symbolic act which emphasised not only his responsibility for the spiritual health of Brescia and its citizens, but also his role as its principal intercessor in times of crisis. In essence this was a religious adaption of the traditional secular gesture of submission, when the keys of the city were offered to a monarch or prince¹⁰. The choreography of this moment recalls the reception of Christine of Lorraine in a temporary 'theatre' constructed in front of the Porta del Prato in Florence just two years earlier, which Fontana and his colleagues could have known about from Raffaello Gualterotti's account (Florence, 1589: 5-8). It was at this juncture that the first of the pieces composed for the occasion, Lelio Bertani's setting of the antiphon 'Consolamini populi meus' for six-voices, was performed with voices and instruments¹¹. Specially-composed motets played an essential role in the politics of spectacle, and in the Italian tradition the encounter at the gate of the city was invariably accompanied by

a large-scale polyphonic piece written for the occasion (see Fenlon 2015: 135-48)¹². Instruments were often added to the texture both to increase its sonic power and to ensure that the music would carry in the open air (Fontana 1591: 75)¹³. Once the performance had finished, Morosini remounted his mule, and he entered the city under a ceremonial *baldacchino* of white damask worked with gold fringes carried by six local citizens, to the sounds of trumpets and artillery from the castle and the bells of the city churches which rang out “che la città tutta ribombo pare” (*ibidem*: 75-76). Representatives of the colleges of notaries, lawyers, and physicians, the most politically powerful professional associations of the city, walked in the parade, as did prominent merchants, the confraternities, and the religious orders of the city. The first arch, the *Arco di Accogliamento* immediately outside the Porta San Nazzaro, was designed to demonstrate the city’s affection for Morosini and the desire of its citizens for his return (*ibidem*: 4)¹⁴. The iconography of its comparatively plain design emphasised the virtues, natural resources, and wealth of Brescia and its surrounding territories, while a panel immediately above the entrance bore an inscription welcoming Morosini on his arrival in Brescia after his labours in France. This thematically connected the first arch to the second, the *Arco delle Legationi*, the first of three devoted to a celebration of Morosini’s diplomatic career in the service of the Venetian Republic. Its main purpose of was to represent the qualities of wisdom and faith which had sustained Morosini during his three legations to Savoy, France, and Spain¹⁵. These articulated the *cursus honorem* of his career as a diplomatic representative of the Republic (Davis 1962: 29-30). Statues of his three legations decorated the façade of the arch; its reverse prophesied that Morosini’s achievements, acknowledged in his own lifetime, would enter into the collective memory and be celebrated in the future through the agency of History, Poetry, Sculpture, and Painting. A canvas placed above the central opening of the arch depicted this concept through an image of Janus; elsewhere History placed its foot on a clock to assert its superiority over Time. This was balanced by Polyhymnia, the muse of poetry, dance, music, and eloquence, holding a *barbita*, with its lyre-shaped body; Fontana knew about this from his reading of Horace and Theocritus. Statues of Sculpture and

Painting followed on either side of the opening, while on the frieze above ran the explanatory legend ‘AETERNITATI MAUROCENAE’.

The following arch, the *Arco di Costantinopoli* situated close to the ancient church of San Francesco, built after a visit to the city by the founder of the order, celebrated the qualities of Piety and Religion, which had sustained Morosini during his three years as Bailò in Constantinople. This brought with it prime responsibility for the political and economic affairs of Venetians living in the city, a task which had become of enhanced importance after the wars of 1571-1573 and the constant threat of a Turkish advance¹⁶. An enormous dragon, with terrible staring eyes and a raised tail, stood above the archway. Clamped between its jaws were two chains to signify both Turkish command of the Straits of Hellespont, as well as the virtues of Prudence and Fortitude with which Venice confronted the perennial peril of Turkish invasion. The figures of Religion (symbolized by the symbolic Elephant supporting Piety) stood above the architrave; Faith and Peace were elevated on nearby pedestals¹⁷. It was during his time at Constantinople that Morosini, while still a layman, had been selected as Bishop of Brescia. His appointment, following consultation with the local regular clergy, was generally welcomed and to some extent celebrated in print in Brescia (see Podavinio 1585 and Cesareni 1586)¹⁸, but it was his diplomatic career, now in the service of the Church rather than the Republic, that took precedence over his episcopal duties.

Close to the Torre della Pallata, near the civic centre of the medieval city, the *Arco della Francia* was saturated with references to Morosini’s official diplomatic activities in France. These had begun as early as the 1570s when he was appointed as a Venetian ambassador, despatched to congratulate Henry III on his election as King of Poland in 1573, witnessed his return to France in late 1574, and attended the king’s coronation in Rheims in the following year (see Albéri, *Relazioni*, vol. 14). After Morosini’s return from Constantinople, he was again sent to France as Apostolic Nuncio, when the Wars of Religion were at their most disruptive and politically complex. The turbulent condition of the country was symbolized on the arch by a statue of *Francia travagliata*, placed on a pedestal placed at its summit, a modification of the figure of ‘*Italia travagliata*’ familiar from the literary genre

of the *Lamento d'Italia* (see Locati 1576). The official papal ceremony confirming Morosini's appointment was depicted in a large painting above the central arch; nearby stood the statues of Labour and Vigilance. Further statues of Deceit and Calumny represented two of the principal obstacles facing Morosini's mission in his dealings with the bitterly opposed French factions, while a painting represented Paris identified by the Seine, and another showed Hope, her besieged condition represented by a fierce rainstorm (Fontana 1591: 43).

The fifth arch in the sequence, the *Arco della Giustificazione*, erected between the Torre della Pallata and the Broletto, was dedicated to the twinned and interlaced themes of civic and family history. The closely related clans of the Morosini and the Cornaro had produced three doges and many procurators over the centuries, a matter of considerable family pride that was often rehearsed in print (Podovinio 1585: 13-15). A sequence of seven statues sheltering under a loggia articulated by Corinthian columns featured Cornelia Cornara, Morosini's mother, presiding over an assembly of recent holders of high ecclesiastical office including Marco Cornaro, Patriarch of Constantinople, Federico Cornaro, Bishop of nearby Bergamo, and other members of the family who had served as Bishops of Brescia. On the facade of the arch itself the figures of Fortitude and 'la grandezza dell'animo' appear to complement and bolster the catalogue of Morosini's qualities elucidated by the paired figures of the previous arches: Prudence and Faith, Piety and Religion, and Knowledge and Patience, all heroic virtues which, Fontana assures the reader, the new bishop possessed to perfection.

The cathedral was not just the final destination, but also the site of rituals of re-sacralization. Morosini was received there with a second, monumental motet by Bertani, a setting of the post-Pentecost responsory 'Ego te tuli de domo patris tui'¹⁹. As so often with such occasional pieces the music has not survived, but since Fontana's account describes it as having been written for four choirs of instruments and voices it was clearly in the grand Venetian polychoral style exemplified by the *Concerti* recently assembled by Andrea Gabrieli and published in Venice (1587). Rossi may have had this kind of magisterial sound in mind when he wrote about Bertani in the

Elogi, and it is even possible that he was present at the performance before Morosini thirty years earlier (1620: 491)²⁰. That took place inside the old Romanesque cathedral, whose circular plan would have encouraged spatial separation of the four choirs²¹. Quite unusually for such accounts Fontana gives details of the instrumentation: the first choir consisted of voices accompanied by Costanzo Antegnati on the organ which his father had built in 1539, the second of voices and *viole* accompanied by a regal, the third of just trombones and *cornetti*, and the fourth of violins and voices supported by a portative organ. The ceremonies concluded, Morosini was escorted to the Palazzo Vescovile, having passed under the *Arco della Felicità*.



Fig. 3. Arco della Felicità, from Fontana, *Il sontuoso apparato fatto della città di Brescia* (Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio, [1591]).

The day had been overcast, but now it rained and the crowds dispersed.

Some episcopal entries were distinct from secular *entrate* in being comparatively austere, but Morosini's entry was distinctly princely in style. Its elaborate nature is partly to be explained by his distinguished diplomatic career both before and after entering the service of the Church, and partly by the sense of anticipation that had built up in the city in the six years that separated his election from

his final arrival, a sentiment forcefully expressed in the inscription of the *Arco di Accogliamento*: 'IO FRANCISCO MAVROCENO. S.R.E. Card. Amplissimo Episcopo nostro...maximo omnium desiderio, ab extrema utrusque Gallia ad nos reditum' (Fontana 1591: 7). Morosini's restoration to his diocese had not been without difficulty. His attempts to mediate between the warring factions in the French Wars of Religion had ended in failure with the assassination, in December 1588, of the Duke of Guise and his brother Cardinal Louis of Lorraine²². Having realised the futility of further attempts at reconciliation, Morosini returned to Italy in October 1589 in disgrace. Accused of having failed to act over the cardinal's murder, he was deprived of the traditional ceremonial entry into Rome that was normally accorded to Papal Legates (Fosi 1997: 89-115). Confined to the Palazzo San Marco, where he was interrogated by the Inquisition Morosini was not allowed to attend the Consistory until March 1590. Subsequently reprieved and invited by the Pope to represent the Holy See in Germany and Hungary, Morosini expressed a preference to return to his diocese.

Fontana's description of Morosini's entry was printed by Vincenzo Sabbio, a member of the most prominent dynasty of Brescian printer-publishers, presumably at the expense of the Brescian Council which would have wanted a permanent record of the occasion (see Vaglia 1973: 59-87). Fully-illustrated accounts of entries, showing all the triumphal arches, are rare, even by the end of the century when the most lavish of all such books, describing Clement VIII's entry into Bologna in 1598, with engravings by Guido Reni, was published (see Mitchell 2004: 47)²³. It is even more unusual that the 12 engravings commissioned by Sabbio from Leone Pallavicino show both sides of the arches; this, together with the frontispiece by Giacomo Franco, makes the result a truly luxurious publication. Sabbio had a keen sense of the local book market, which he catered for with medical texts, local histories, and chronicles, all presumably aimed at the professional classes congregated in the three 'colleges' of the city, together with liturgical books for the local clergy. He also printed a certain amount of polyphonic music, often in partnership with two other printers, Tommaso Bozzola and Pietro Maria Marchetti; in the course of the years 1579-1588, a slack period for the Milanese trade, the *Compagnia editoriale bresciana*, in which these

three collaborated, printed 40 editions of music (Sirch 2003: 7-30). Among them are Florentio Maschera's much reprinted *Libro primo de canzoni* (1584), whose individual pieces are dedicated to women from prominent Brescian families²⁴. This gives it a similar social feel to the *Rime* of the Occulti, which contains sonnets addressed to a number of high-born Brescian women famed both for their beauty and as the inspiration of poetic and literary ideals²⁵. The earliest in a sequence of local publications of the kind, the *Libro primo* is also testimony to the Brescian taste for domestic instrumental music (Toffetti 2016: 457-512).

Apart from the architectural design of the arches themselves, Fontana drew upon a wide range of literary sources both ancient and modern, together with his knowledge of ancient coins and medals, in devising inscriptions and justifying iconographical choices. The majority of his citations are from the classics, particularly Homer and Sophocles, and above all from the Latin tradition beginning with Virgil and Horace. In a world that did not distinguish between scientific and literary culture, there was also space for citations from astronomical, hermetical, and medical texts. Noticeably little is drawn from medieval authors (there is no mention of either Augustine or Aquinas), and in general Fontana's choices are concentrated on authors from antiquity together with recent or contemporary writers including locals such as Lorenzo Gambara, Antonio Tagletti (another member of the Occulti), and Vincenzo Maggio's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics*²⁶. Fontana also made considerable use of Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, from which the Elephant, Religion, and Clemency on the *Arco di Constantinopoli* are derived. His other major source of ancient medals and coins (the sixteenth century did not distinguish between the two), was Guillaume du Choul's *Discours* (1580)²⁷.

Published accounts of entries are often idealistic and propagandistic vehicles for princely self-representation, seen only from the standpoint of the organisers and their ambitions. It is generally acknowledged by historians that they are often re-written versions of what actually took place²⁸. Many different figures were involved in the planning and execution of Morosini's entry, all of whom were invested in the festive process. For all those involved the most participation in the planning and execution of Morosini's entry was an explicit way of demonstrating privilege and



underlining the expectations of those who paid for the event. In this sense the triumphal arches and their inscriptions, immortalised by Fontana, were not merely rhetorical flourishes but constituted a dialogue between the various beneficiaries of urban power. The final result was not the celebrative expression of a single and uncontested collective point of view, but rather the product of a number of individual efforts, all of which imparted significant and differing emphases to the outcome. The ambassadors who were charged with escorting Morosini to Brescia, all of whom are individually named by Fontana, were drawn exclusively from the ranks of the local aristocracy, as were the eight similarly identified *palafranchieri* who walked in the procession (Ferraro 1993: 76). In such a rigidly structured society this was hardly accidental, neither was the fact that a number of the thirteen *case* from the old rural nobility that had transferred to the city in the middle ages, and who effectively controlled the executive committee in the second half of the sixteenth century, also participated in the parade and are memorialised in print (*ibidem*: 1993: 95).

Many of the images and inscriptions that decorated the arches emphasise the antiquity of Brescia, its connections to Imperial Rome, and its relationship to Venice, all enveloped within the assertion of a universal Church revitalized by Trent. Episcopal entries inevitably provided the opportunity for underlining the authority of Rome. The design of the pediment of Fontana's *Arco di Costantinopoli* for example incorporated episcopal symbols, while to the right stood Prudence, and to the left Religion, characteristics that Morosini was evidently to bring to the souls under his care (1591: 35). The theme of Venetian power, no matter how illusory it may have been by the final decade of the sixteenth century, was also visible in the decoration of this same arch. The main field was occupied by the figures of Concord and Peace submerged in a sea of tritons and marine deities, accompanied by Neptune, the monarch of the sea, together with the traditional figure of Venice as Queen of the Adriatic. In the lowest register Diligence was shown surrounded by a swarm of bees to indicate sustained activity, and Counsel, the latter dressed as a Venetian senator with a book in one hand and the head of Medusa in the other.

As a mainland state subservient to Venice but conscious of its own needs, Brescia was constantly

engaged in a process of mediation between the requirements of its political masters, both temporal and spiritual, and a keen sense of its own identity. This matter was made complex by the uneasy division between political realities and Brescia's spiritual affiliation as a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Milan. The inevitable tension between these two forces is neatly encapsulated in the career of Morosini, a high-ranking Venetian diplomatic who served the Republic in a number of prestigious roles, and who became a bishop, then Papal Legate to France, and finally a cardinal. In formulating the iconography of his formal entry into the city, the ‘cinque prestantissimi cittadini’ not only drew upon these twin elements but also added a third, which relied on the long established tradition of incorporating the local version of civic religion into the construction of a *terraferma* state shaped not only by the history of Venetian rule, but also by the assertion of local identity. This is clearly expressed in the iconography of the last-minute addition to the *via triumphalis*, the *Arco di Accogliamento*, devised at the suggestion of Capriolo, who had overall control of the project (Fontana: 1591: fol. A²). This, which would have been the first of the temporary arches to be seen by Morosini, which places a relentless emphasis upon the natural resources and wealth of Brescia, something of a standard trope in encomiums of the city (Podavino 1585: 23). Helmeted, and with an array of weaponry at her feet, her image drew upon the familiar theme of the city as Pallas Athena, the goddess of wisdom, artisanal activity, and warfare. Together with Milan, the area around Brescia was at the heart of Italian production of swords and firearms of all kinds; while production of the constituent parts of portable hand-held firearms was concentrated in the forges along the River Mella, the finished items were assembled in the city's workshops (see Belfanti 1998: 266-83). In addition to munitions, Brescia was famed throughout Europe for the manufacture of the sumptuously engraved and damascened suits of ceremonial and parade ground armour so prized by European princes and monarchs; it was also the main supplier of armour used by the Venetian forces, an arrangement explicitly referred to in Palma Vecchio's painting ‘Doge Francesco Venier Presents the Subject Cities to Venice’ of 1595 (see Wolters 1983: 132-33)²⁹. The militaristic and artisanal theme of the arch was further amplified

by an upturned urn disgorging water, a symbolic representation of the Mella which flowed close to the Porta San Nazaro, close to where the entry began, from the Val Trompia, where billets of smolten ore were produced (Williams 2012: 218-19). The appropriation of classical prototypes is evident not only in the adoption of the figure of Pallas Athena, but also in the incorporation of two ancient river gods, familiar elements of sculptured fountains and the 'all'antica' arches of triumphal entries since the statues of Tiberinus and Nilus from the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis had been recovered from the Tiber at the beginning of the century (see Haskell - Penny 1981: 272-73); their potential as vehicles for political messages about territorial domination was well established (Lazzaro 2011: 70-94). Although Brescian examples of the type did not exist, Fontana provided appropriate classical bolstering through a citation (duly amplified and corrected), from Catullus, along with the references to modern writers including Pietro Bembo, Jacopo Sannazaro, and the Brescians Lorenzo Gambara and Giovanni Antonio Taglietti, the latter yet another member of the Occulti. Provided with long unkempt hair and beards to denote their age, these two reclining semi-nude male figures, their back legs raised and slightly crooked, their front ones arranged on the ground in the standard Hellenistic pose, functioned as references to places outside the city but subject to it, areas which provided its citizens with grain and other agricultural necessities.

Cynical observers might well have commented on the contrast between these authoritative images of abundance and fecundity, fashioned at a time when the famine which had been afflicting north Italy since the mid-1580s, was reaching its peak (Segni 1591). Although traces of the designs of the arches for Morosini's entry such as preparatory drawings are lost, leaving Fontana's account as the only witness to their visual appearance, there is an echo of the *Arco de Accogliamento* still to be seen in Brescia. The Fontana della Pallata, designed by Bagnadore and constructed a few years later, features allegorical statues representing the rivers Mella and Garza flanking a triton disgorging water, while above the fray the figure of Brescia as Pallas Athena holds the traditional attribute of a cornucopia to represent the agricultural richness of the surrounding countryside.



Fig. 4. Pietro Maria Bagnadore, Fontana della Pallata, Brescia (1597).

But the reality was somewhat different. Behind the gilt and gesso of Morosini's entry and the splendour of Bertani's polyphony, the exceptionally unfavourable weather conditions to which Fontana occasionally refers as a hindrance to the preparations, were partially responsible, together with institutional failure and changes in agrarian production, for what has been described as probably the worst famine to strike Northern Italy since the Black Death (Alfani 2010: 13-16).

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2 See Irene Giustina, ““Un arco grande, e magnifico, che tutto marmo parea”. Ingressi trionfali, apparati effimeri e cultura architettonica a Brescia nel pieno Cinquecento”, *Annali di storia Bresciani*, vol. 4, 2016: 162-88.

3 A reconstruction of the route can be found in Giustina 2016: 179.

4 Stefano Fenaroli, in *Dizionario degli artisti Bresciani*, Brescia, 1877: 33, 240-42, and Giustina 2016: 171-73.

5 See Landwehr 1971: 25; and Bussels 2010.

6 The dedication is dated 26.i.1588. See Cozzando 1694: 141-42.

7 See also Miller 2002: 5-28.

8 *Commentari della academia [...] per l'anno MDCCC-VIII*, Brescia, 1808: 9-12; see also Maylender, *Storia delle accademie*, Bologna, 1926-30: vol. IV, 87-91; and Ambrosoli 1997: 121-22.

9 See *Rime de gli Academici Occulti [...]*, Brescia, 1568: fols 40-43, with a suitably agricultural *impresa* for Gallo on fol. 40.

10 For some contemporary French instances see Murphy 2016: 50-61.

11 Isaiah 14, 1-8.

12 Welcome motets were usually inserted into the third of the key organisational phases of the episcopal entry as defined in Paiva 2006: 138-61, namely organisation, welcome, reception, urban procession, spiritual consecration, and final celebrations, a typology consonant with the architecture of Morosini's entry.

13 “suono di cornetti & trombini concertato”.

14 The simplicity of its programme is emphasised by the placing of its description and accompanying illustration before Fontana's essay on the use of symbolism in triumphal arches, which then precedes the discussion of the remaining five arches.

15 For Morosini's *relazione* of Savoy of 1570 see Albéri, 15 vols, 1839-1863: vol. 5.

16 See Simon 1985: 56-69; Dursteler 2001:1-30 and, for Morosini's *relazione* of 1585 see Albéri, *Relazioni*, vol. 9.

17 Elephants were mostly exchanged as presents between European rulers, the most celebrated example being that of Annone, presented to Leo X in 1514 by Manuel I of Portugal; see Bedini 1998.

18 Podavinio, a *mansionario* of Brescia Cathedral, speaks of Morosini as “desideratissimo nostro pastore & padre”.

19 Second Book of Kings, 19, 20-23.

20 “nissuno maggior maestà nel comporre una Musica piena, & di quelle nelle quali risplende la maestà congiunta con mirabilissimo affetto di Sinfonia”. None of Bertani's large-scale music for voices and instruments has survived, but his colleague Costanzo Antegnati published a good deal of sacred music in the polychoral manner including *Liber IIII* (1603).

21 Bertani's music was performed again, but with different instrumentation, on the following day during a so-

lemn sung mass (Fontana 1591: 76).

22 In *Delle lettere...libro primo* (1591), Giovanni Andrea Viscardo remarked that the bishop had arrived in Italy “in persona...quasi di un mare tempestoso in porto” (78-79). The dedication, to Morosini, is dated 15.v.1591.

23 Reni's engravings in the *Descrittione de gli apparati fatti [...] Clement VIII* (1598) had a separate existence as single sheets.

24 For details of some of the families of the dedicatees, which included members of the Martinengo, Averoldo, and Capriolo, see Ferraro 1993: Appendix 1.

25 The *Rime* is dedicated to Barbara Calini Fenaruola, as are a number of other printed collections of music; see Bizzarini 2016: 575-99.

26 *Vincentij Madij et Bartholomaei Lombardi in Aristotelis librum de poetica communes explanationis* (1550). For Maggio, who taught natural philosophy at Padua, see Bisanti 1991).

27 For the importance of this text see McGowan 2001, 67-80 and Cooper 2003: 261-86.

28 See, for example, Richard Cooper's introduction to [Maurice Scève], *The Entry of Henry II into Lyons, September 1548* (1997: 128-29), which identifies examples of inscriptions on the arches that were altered for publication.

29 In Palma's painting the figure of Brescia, identified by the emblem of the lion rampant, is surrounded at her feet by armour.

