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Diplomatic Gifts on Henri III's Visit to Venice in 1574

EVELYN KORSCH

The visit of the new king of France, Henri III, to Venice in 1574 offered both the monarch and the republic an opportunity for gaining prestige. Henri presented himself to the public in many ceremonies as the new French ruler, whereas Venice used the visit for cultivating its traditional image as defender of the Christian faith. The exchange of gifts during the visit demonstrated the good diplomatic relations between the two states and presented a sign of the generosity that was required as a strategy of political representation. The gifts distributed by the king were traditional and depended on the rank of the recipient. Either they were associated with the ritual act of knighting or they were given as grateful recognition of rendered services. Venice, however, presented gifts of a more practical nature that were directly connected with the course of the visit itself.

The date of May 30, 1574, marked the death of Charles IX, King of France, and the proclamation of his brother Henri (1551-1589) as heir to the throne (Fig. 1). The year before, on May 11, 1573, Henri had been elected king of Poland, and he entered Krakow on February 18, 1574, where the coronation took place three days later. The Poles did not consent to his departure to take up the French throne, however, and thus Henri fled at night from Krakow on June 18. So as not to endanger his flight, he made only a limited number of arrangements, and in secret. He had entrusted jewels and other personal valuables to the French ambassador to Poland, Pomponne de Bellièvre, who had departed for Paris a short time beforehand. Simultaneously, he had sent a letter by messenger to his mother, Catherine de' Medici, asking that she provide financial aid as quickly as possible. In leaving Poland, his route led him initially to the imperial court in Vienna, where he sojourned from June 25 to June 29. With the advice of Maximilian II, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, Henri decided on the future course of the journey. He proceeded via northern Italy and Venice to Lyon and from there to Paris. This choice of route offered two advantages. It avoided passage through Protestant German lands, which were dangerous owing to hostilities in France with the Huguenots. On the other hand—and this is crucial—it permitted Henri's journey to Paris to be staged as an uninterrupted *via*

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triumphalis. The festive entries, which were prepared for the king in Vienna, in the Italian cities, and in Lyon, were the prelude for his triumphal entry into Paris. Every step with which Henri approached the French capital was accompanied by signs of honor and contributed to his prestige and to the visualization of his new function as king of France. The individual ceremonies and rituals were an integral component and *conditio sine qua non* of this rite of passage, which found its formal conclusion—in both ritual and legal respects—in his coronation as Henri III in Reims on February 13, 1575, and his entry into Paris on February 27, 1575.

On June 30, 1574, the French ambassador to Venice, Arnoul du Ferrier, presented Henri's letters to the Venetian senate. In the letters, Henri expressed the wish to travel through Venetian territories and requested that the necessary pass be issued. At that time the Venetian state comprised the Veneto, Friuli, and part of Lombardy. Simultaneously, the ambassador indicated that the king would greatly appreciate a visit to the Serenissima, as he had heard of its inimitable beauty.¹ The Signoria issued the permit and immediately began preparations without awaiting a definitive decision from the monarch. Also on June 30, 1574, four ambassadors extraordinary were elected, who would welcome Henri at the border and escort him for the duration of his stay in Venetian territories. They were Andrea Badoer, Giovanni Michiel, Giovanni Soranzo, and Giacomo Foscarini, with Badoer as appointed spokesman.² On July 1, Foscarini was elected treasurer and put in charge of settling the travel costs.³ Michiel was particularly well qualified for this position, as he had served as ambassador to the French court in the past. At the same time, two secretaries were elected, who were to assist the ambassadors extraordinary in performing their tasks. They were Alvise Bonrizzo and Andrea Suriano.⁴

Henri's route to Venice led from Pontebba, via Venzona, San Daniele, Spilimbergo, Sacile, Conegliano, Treviso, and Mestre to Venice. The visit to the Serenissima was the symbolic climax of the journey. In form and content, the entries that marked Henri's arrival in Conegliano and Treviso were only precursors. Correspondingly, after Henri left Venice for Paris, the entries at Padua and Rovigo, the final points in Venetian territories for this event, took place with a gradual decrease of expenditure and minimized iconography. After the king left Venetian territories, he continued his journey in the direction of Ferrara, in order to reach French soil via Mantua, Cremona, and Turin. For the duration of his stay in Venetian territories, Henri traveled as a guest of the Serenissima, which provided his retinue with board, lodging, and



FIGURE 1
Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto (1518-1594), *Henri III*, 1574. Oil on canvas, 101 x 93 cm. Sala degli Stucchi, Doge's Palace, Venice. Photo: Musei Civici Veneziani.

new horses at every stop. Messengers guaranteed daily communication between the ambassadors extraordinary who were attending to the king and officials in Venice, who strove to satisfy every requirement and desire of the French party. To commemorate the occasion permanently, the senate resolved on March 12, 1575, at du Ferrier's instigation, to affix a gilded marble tablet with a black inscription on the wall of the upper loggia at the end of the Scala dei Giganti in the Doge's Palace. The tablet can still be found there today (Fig. 2).⁵

Henri's State Visit to Venice

The structure of Henri's sojourn in Venice corresponded to the traditional phases of the ceremony of *adventus principis* created for rulers in classical antiquity: preparations, entry, presentation of the city, and



FIGURE 2
Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608). Plaque commemorating the 1574 visit of Henri III to Venice, executed 1575. Marble, c. 190 x 105 cm. Upper loggia of east wing in front of Scala dei Giganti, Doge's Palace, Venice. Photo: Musei Civici Veneziani.

the giving of gifts on departure. Alvisè Mocenigo (not the doge, but another family member with the same name) and Giacomo Contarini were in charge of the design of the festivities.⁶ The king's festive entry took place on July 18, 1574. Doge Alvisè Mocenigo (Alvisè is the Venetian form of Luigi, which sometimes appears in the documents for him) and the Signoria met Henri and his entourage in several galleys in Murano, where he had spent the first night. They then escorted him to San Nicolò on the Lido and were welcomed by the patriarch of Venice, Giovanni Trevisan, and the clergy (Figs. 3-4). A triumphal arch and a loggia had been constructed in the king's honor. Under a baldachin, Henri was led to the altar in the loggia, where a *Te Deum* was sung. Following prayers and the benediction, the king, the Doge, the Signoria,

the papal legate, and princes and ambassadors boarded the *Bucintoro* (a gilded state galley used only on the most festive occasions) which awaited them on the bank. Flanked by fifteen galleys and thousands of other boats and accompanied by music, pealing bells, and gun salutes, the *Bucintoro* traveled toward the Piazza San Marco. There, the state barge turned into the Grand Canal and brought the king to Ca' Foscari, which along with the adjacent twin palazzo Ca' Giustinian had been prepared as quarters for Henri and his entourage. The presentation of the city took place in the course of the following days. It encompassed a traditional program of entertainment, including regattas, theater performances, and concerts, in addition to a banquet and a ball. Further events on the agenda were an audience with the Doge and participation in a session of the Maggior Consiglio, or Grand Council. A third component was sight-seeing, including St. Mark's Treasury, the halls of armor in the Doge's Palace, and the Arsenal. The guest's personal interests were also taken into consideration. Thus, Henri visited the famous art collection of Giovanni Grimani, the patriarch of Aquileia, and on the monarch's insistence, the Signoria organized a "war of fists" ("guerra dei pugni"), the popular sporting battle between the Castellani and the Nicolotti.⁷ In keeping with the conventions of state visits, the sojourn was concluded with a valediction ceremony and the presentation of gifts.⁸

Gifts on Behalf of the Signoria

A lavish reception itself was a customary gift on a prince's visit. Just such a reception was organized in Venice, for example, on July 19, 1574, for both the papal legate and the ambassador of Genoa.⁹ Indeed, the entire program of Venetian festivities for Henri must be understood as tribute to the French king. Henri and his entourage spent almost a month in Venetian territories as guests of the republic. This hospitality probably cost the Signoria approximately 100,000 ducats.¹⁰ The only surviving account, which covers the accumulated expenditures of the state visit for the period July 5-27, 1574, is one for about 21,000 ducats. This represents only a part of the expenditures, however, and at the same time, it offers interesting insight into the scale of the entourage and into the groups of people involved in the state visit.¹¹ The same account contains evidence that gifts were given to the papal legate and to the duke of Savoy. Exactly what kind of gifts is not recorded, but the value of the items is 128 and 119 ducats respectively. In comparison to the other outlays, both sums can be classed as rather small.¹²



FIGURE 3
 Andrea Michieli, called Vicentino (1542–1617), *Arrival of Henri III at the Lido, Venice, 1593*. Oil on canvas, 367 x 791 cm. Sala delle Quattro Porte, Doge's Palace. Photo: Musei Civici Veneziani.

At one of the meetings between Henri and the Signoria, the Doge presented Henri with a valuable manuscript on behalf of the republic. The manuscript contains the original statutes of the *Ordre du Saint-Esprit* (Order of the Holy Spirit), which was founded in 1352 by Louis I d'Anjou, King of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily, and which Henri would reestablish in 1578 (Fig. 5).¹³ The work comprises ten parchment leaves and is illuminated with numerous ornate miniatures.¹⁴ This gift was not only unique and valuable but also a reference to an ancestor of Henri's from the House of Anjou (his title before his accession to the French throne had been Duc d'Anjou) and to the spiritual congeniality of Henri and Louis. (Henri was well known for his deeply religious way of life, which found expression in daily spiritual exercises and inspired other such gifts. When he stopped in Monza on August 11, 1574, for example, the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Charles Borromeo, gave him a golden reliquary cross set with jewels in which a sliver of wood from Christ's cross was kept.¹⁵) No documents have been located, however, that explain why this manuscript was selected by the Venetians. Was the Signoria conscious of the special significance of the Whitsun festival for Henri's personal history and therefore chose the statutes of the Order of the Holy Spirit as a gift? At Whitsun 1573, Henri was elected king of Poland, and at Whitsun 1574, he was proclaimed heir to the French throne. Furthermore, the statutes represented the most diplomatic of all diplomatic gifts: the effusion of the Holy Spirit implied international understanding.



FIGURE 4
Detail of Fig. 3.

On July 23, 1574, the Collegio (the Venetian council of ministers) resolved to commission the ambassadors extraordinary to purchase a magnificently equipped carriage as a gift for the king. As it was to serve his onward journey, the horses were to be accustomed to carriage harnesses as well as handsome. In order to complete the order in the short time available, the ambassadors were permitted to appropriate such horses regardless of the owner or his social status. Subsequently the owners were to be paid.¹⁶ The carriage was sent to the mooring at the Portello, one of Padua's city gates, where Henri arrived late on the evening of July 27.¹⁷ The king refused the baldachin prepared for him and made use of the carriage for his entry into the city.¹⁸ On the following day the monarch visited the Basilica of St. Anthony and donated an ornate silver lamp worth 800 ducats to the altar of the saint. (Empress Maria, the widow of Maximilian II, donated a similar lamp to the altar in 1581 when she lodged in Padua before continuing her journey.¹⁹)



FIGURE 5
 “Louis I d’Anjou holding plenary court in
 Naples for knights of the Order of the
 Holy Spirit at Pentecost,” in *Statuts de
 l’Ordre du Saint-Esprit*, 1352. Mss Français
 4274, fol. 5. Bibliothèque Nationale de
 France, Paris.

The Duke’s Present

Catherine de’ Medici had asked her brother-in-law, Emanuele Filiberto, Duke of Savoy, to accompany Henri on his journey and to remain at his side as a mentor. Emanuele Filiberto reached Venice on July 20, 1574, and informed the Signoria that he would forgo a festive entry, as he had come to demonstrate his reverence and did not wish to disrupt the progress of the festivities in Henri’s honor. The duke was housed in Doge Alvise Mocenigo’s private palazzo, which is located opposite the Ca’ Foscari on the Grand Canal. The immediate vicinity to the king’s

quarters proved advantageous for the numerous meetings that were required to arrange Henri's onward journey. On July 27, Emanuele bid farewell to the Doge and thanked him for the hospitality demonstrated in Palazzo Mocenigo. He left a gift for the lady of the house, who is identified in the documents as the Doge's wife. This is incorrect, however, as Loredana Marcello had died in December 1572. The marriage had been childless, thus only the Doge's sister, Isabeta Da Molin, can be considered here. Since the death of her sister-in-law, she had attended to Alvise.²⁰ She was presented with a belt made of thirty golden rosettes. In the middle of each rosette was a precious stone, adorned with four pearls. The value of the belt was estimated at 1,800 ducats.²¹

Gifts on Behalf of the King

In Vienna, Henri and his entourage had been welcomed with great honor. The Empress had personally supervised all of the preparations, and on Henri's departure she gave him a sumptuously decorated portable bed as well as bed and table linens, all together worth 10,000 ducats, in order to make his onward journey as comfortable as possible.²² In accordance with etiquette, such marks of respect required an acknowledgement: thus the king distributed gold chains, goblets, and gifts of money, all together amounting to 12,000 ducats.²³ The Apostolic Nuncio at the imperial court, Giovanni Dolfin, even spoke of gifts amounting to more than 20,000 ducats.²⁴ As the king had ordered the urgent transfer of 12,000 ducats to Vienna, the smaller sum is more probable.²⁵

An anonymous eyewitness report spans the period July 8-29, 1574, and imparts many details of daily life during the royal visit.²⁶ The author had traveled to Venice on July 8 and had awaited the arrival of the king there. For this reason he only knew of the events prior to July 17 from hearsay. Among these is an anecdote about royal generosity in Treviso. The French entourage often mentioned a certain Tasca, who saw to the accommodations in each location en route and who twenty years earlier had been the valet of Giovanni Cappello, the Venetian ambassador at the court of Henri II, Henri's father (r. 1547-1559). When the king thanked Tasca for his outstanding service, Tasca replied that it should be taken for granted as he had known Henri since birth. Thereupon the monarch placed a chain with a timepiece around his neck and knighted him. Furthermore, Tasca was given 500 ducats and additional gifts. Distributing gifts was a ritual act that exemplified the virtue of generosity required of kings and princes. During his journey, Henri repeated this

gesture on many occasions in order to establish his new role as a French king.

Two sources contain a register of the gifts given by the king in Venice.²⁷ One of these is the account drawn up by du Ferrier on July 31, 1574, of revenue and expenditures; the other is a record to be found at the end of the report of the festivities by Marsilio Della Croce, which was printed on December 1, 1574. It is not known where Della Croce obtained his information. Even if his information does not correspond in all its minutiae to the actual expenditures, it is detailed enough, however, to imply extremely close contact to officials in government circles. As indications of the value of individual gifts vary greatly in the numerous reports published about the festivities, du Ferrier's account can be regarded as the only reliable source forming the basis of these values.

The monarch used the morning of July 23 to make purchases at the Rialto and in the Merceria.²⁸ At the perfume merchant's shop alone he spent 1,125 ducats.²⁹ Then Henri called on the famous jeweler Antonio Della Vecchia to buy jewelry and gold chains worth approximately 12,000 ducats.³⁰ A part of this he intended to distribute at the end of his visit as gifts to people delegated to his service by the Serenissima and to other dignitaries. For the goldsmith's work on the chains, costs amounting to 586 ducats were accrued.³¹ Moreover, the king took an interest in a gold scepter set with precious stones, which was alleged to have cost 20,000 ducats.³² Because he had to pay half of the purchase price immediately, but did not have the financial means at his disposal, he left further negotiations to du Ferrier.³³ At the beginning of August, Henri reminded his ambassador to strive to settle debts with his creditors in Venice. The traders from whom the king had acquired pearls and other items were to be pacified with money and securities, so that they would not withdraw the goods.³⁴

Henri granted numerous audiences in Venice, so that every ambassador could pay his respects and congratulate the king on his succession to the throne. A meeting took place between Henri and the ambassador of the Sublime Porte in Constantinople which is not mentioned in the diplomatic records but only in du Ferrier's account. During the audience, the ambassador presented the king with a gift of several balsams (cosmetic and medicinal creams) and "terre sigillée." This so-called sealed earth was a compound containing clay, which was employed as medication—particularly to treat sepsis. The term originated from the custom of stamping on it the cipher of the Sultan's name (in Turkish, a *tughra*). Henri thanked the Turkish ambassador with a gold chain worth 300 ducats.³⁵

On the day of his departure, July 27, Henri summoned thirty-nine young Venetian noblemen who had been delegated to his service and thanked them.³⁶ In return, their spokesman, Matteo Zane, thanked him for the honor bestowed on them. The Signoria had elected forty men, but one of them was unwell for the duration of the state visit. Du Ferrier arranged that each man be presented with a gold chain worth 100 ducats on behalf of the king, and he asked of Henri, via a messenger, if it would not be generous to also award the invalid with a gold chain. Whether the king agreed to the suggestion cannot be established, as only the sum for the thirty-nine chains is documented.³⁷ Likewise, the young noblemen attempted to award the French nobleman who had delivered the gold chains to them with a gift and they sent a valuable silver bowl filled with confectionery. As an act of courtesy, however, the gift was not accepted.³⁸

The Doge accompanied the king in a gondola as far as Lizzafusina. There, he guided Henri to the *piatta* (a special Venetian type of cargo ship, used on rivers and canals, here meaning a gilded version for festive occasions) that would take him on the river Brenta to Padua. A lengthy farewell ceremony followed at which they assured each other they would maintain the friendly relationship between their two states. Then the king departed. As the Doge boarded his boat to return to Venice, he was detained by René de Villequier, the king's most intimate advisor.³⁹ De Villequier addressed him in French, so that Mocenigo had difficulty in understanding him. On behalf of the king he presented the Doge with a ring bearing a large diamond and requested that the Doge wear the ring in memory of Henri. Mocenigo made two modest attempts to decline the gift. As de Villequier insisted that it was the king's express wish, the Doge accepted the ring, kissed it and promised to fulfill the request to wear it.

Henri had acquired the diamond in Venice as a gift for the Doge and had it set in a ring. In du Ferrier's account, the purchase price is given as 1,050 ducats. Almost every commentator on the festivities estimated the diamond ring to be worth as much as 1,500 ducats⁴⁰ or they deemed it simply as having a "grandissimo valore."⁴¹ The presentation of the gift did not take place directly between the two princes but by means of an intermediary. From this, the authors of the reports on the festivities conclude that Henri had at first forgotten to present the ring, but then remembered it before the Doge departed. One chronicle even reports that the king had not noticed the omission until after his arrival in Moranzano.⁴² It is not possible to clarify whether the king in fact forgot the gift or whether he wanted to facilitate the Doge's acceptance of it by using an intermediary, as he knew of the Venetian law forbidding gifts

from foreign princes. As he also chose an indirect method of presenting the gold chains to the young noblemen and to the ambassadors extraordinary and their secretaries, however, the gift-giving method was probably calculated.

At the request of the senate, the Doge presented a final report on July 29, 1574.⁴³ First he described his conversations with the king, which were predominantly characterized by an exchange of polite set phrases but which also contained the advice to strive toward domestic peace in France. Furthermore, he emphasized the thanks expressed by Henri for the numerous marks of respect, as well as Henri's enthusiasm for the spectacle on the day of his entry, which he praised as the most magnificent in the world. Then Mocenigo described the physical strain that the visit had imposed on him and that he had dutifully accepted in service to the state. Finally he came to discuss the gift. He mentioned that he had seen a ring attached to a cord around the king's neck as they boarded the gondola to Lizzafusina. As it later transpired, this was the diamond intended for the Doge. Mocenigo described the ring as particularly beautiful because of the large diamond and made a suggestion to the senate on how the gift should be dealt with. In honor of subsequent Doges and to commemorate its bestowal by Henri, the ring was to be engraved on its inside and thereafter kept either in the sanctuary at St. Mark's or in the church's shrine of the *procurator cassier* (the treasurer among the procurators who were charged with the administration of St. Mark's). On festive occasions the procurator would present the ring to the Doge, so that he could wear it to demonstrate the dignity and honor of his office as well as to commemorate the monarch eternally.⁴⁴ Mocenigo emphasized the political symbolism of the ring: it should stand not only as a mark of respect from the French king but should also be showcased as a visible sign of the "ottima intelligentia" between the two states—a phrase that today would mean "optimum bilateral relations."

The gift to the Doge triggered lively discussion, which du Ferrier reported in a letter to the king. One party wanted the diamond ring allocated to the treasury, while the other advocated that it stay in the possession of Alvise Mocenigo and his family. Du Ferrier was mistaken, however, when he reported that it had been decided to leave the diamond ring with the Doge as long as he lived and transfer it to the treasury only after his death.⁴⁵ This was presumably still one of the options when the ambassador wrote the letter at the end of July. On September 16, 1574, an almost unanimous resolution was passed in the senate. The procurators of St. Mark's were instructed to have a suitably large gold lily produced, in the middle of which the stone was to be

mounted. A legible inscription was to be placed under the diamond to memorialize Henri's visit to Venice.⁴⁶ The text clarified that though Doge Alvise Mocenigo was the recipient of the diamond, it served to commemorate the king's goodwill toward the republic in perpetuity.⁴⁷ It was not a matter of a private present, but an official one given to the state. Accordingly, the diamond was to be kept in the treasury at St. Mark's and displayed on special occasions on the high altar along with other treasury items.⁴⁸ The gift was seen as a medium of a symbolic communication and was presented to the public as the sign of friendly relations between two states.

The procurators of St. Mark's commissioned the goldsmith Zuane Fiamengo with the execution of the lily. For this work Fiamengo was made cash payments on November 4 and 5 and December 23, 1574, totaling 136 ducats.⁴⁹ On March 24, 1575, he received a further thirteen ducats for the gilding of the silver base to which the lily with the diamond was to be affixed.⁵⁰ Moreover, the procurators commissioned the case maker Stasul Canton to produce a leather-covered wooden box lined with velvet, in which the gold lily was to be kept. Payment took place on March 31, 1575.⁵¹ On the same day Fiamengo received a final payment amounting to eighty ducats with the information that the lily was placed in the sanctuary.⁵²

On July 29, 1574, the four ambassadors extraordinary bid farewell to the French king in Rovigo, the final point in Venetian territories. After a speech of thanks, Giacomo Foscarini was knighted by Henri, as he was the only one of the four ambassadors not yet to bear this title.⁵³ On the same day Andrea Badoer wrote to the Doge in order to make his first report on the official conclusion of the ambassadors' mission.⁵⁴ He mentioned that shortly before his departure, the king sent a nobleman to their quarters to present each of the four ambassadors with a gold chain worth 500 ducats and to each of the two secretaries a gold chain worth 200 ducats. Moreover, he gave Colonel Stella, who had commanded the advance guard, 200 ducats. The delegated nobleman explained that Henri did not send more valuable gifts as he knew such gifts would have to be declined in accordance with Venetian law. Consequently, with items of a relatively low value the king intended to express his gratitude for services rendered and asked that they be accepted to commemorate him. Following a modest, formal refusal, the gifts were accepted to fulfill the monarch's wish. Shortly thereafter Henri proceeded to the landing on the river Po and was accompanied by the ambassadors who thus had the opportunity to thank him personally for the gifts.⁵⁵ Back in Venice the four ambassadors extraordinary likewise submitted a report to the

senate.⁵⁶ First they described how they strove to fulfill the tasks of office as honorably as possible, with a high level of personal application and using private financial means. Their princely manner, much admired by the public, was meant to enhance the prestige and the dignity of the state.⁵⁷ Then the ambassadors expressed their actual concern, namely the king's gift, and applied for permission to retain the gold chains. As justification, they stressed that they did not wish to adorn themselves with the chains but instead to wear the gifts as a visible sign to the entire world of the monarch's gratitude toward the republic. The chains were interpreted not as reward for the services the ambassadors rendered but as acknowledgment of the marks of respect that the Doge and the senate gave to Henri.⁵⁸ The object was thus abstracted from the body of the wearer and elevated to a medium of symbolic communication; the gift was the visualization of the honor and prestige of Venice. Wearing the chain thus signified service to the state, which the ambassadors demonstrated in humility toward the republic. Moreover, the king had presented the chains in "perpetua memoria."⁵⁹ They are thus situated in the context of an *ars memoriae* and attest to the two states' outstanding diplomatic relations. These strategies of reasoning were the only way for the ambassadors to reach the goal of retaining the gift. In their report to the senate, they avoided declaring the value of the gold chains, whereas in their correspondence with the Doge, they mentioned an estimated value of 500 ducats for each chain. This sum is confirmed in du Ferrier's account and indicates the king's generosity, for most other dignitaries received gold chains worth only 100 ducats. (In fact, du Ferrier was infuriated when he heard that the king had sent 200 ducats to Colonel Stella because du Ferrier had already awarded him a gold chain worth 100 ducats, unaware of the gift of money. The ambassador stated he would have liked to utilize the ducats for more urgent needs.⁶⁰) The explosive power of this issue, which the senate had to judge with respect to the gifts, is made clear by these documents. On August 28, 1574, judgment was passed. In appreciation of their numerous services in the past and of their high level of personal application during the king's visit, the ambassadors were permitted to retain the gold chains given to them by Henri, but with the proviso that this decision would not set a precedent. The senate explained its judgment as a demonstration of benevolence and munificence toward deserving subjects.⁶¹ The governmental institution thus referred explicitly to the princely virtue of *magnanimitas* and appropriated the *maiestas* associated with it. This is one of the monarchic traits that would mold the image of the Venetian republic.

No sources give information about the location of the gold chains that the two secretaries and the young noblemen received. A resolution exists, however, concerning a gift given to the Venetian ambassador to Poland, Girolamo Lippomano, on behalf of Henri on his departure.⁶² According to the account, du Ferrier had withheld a sum of 1,400 ducats, in order to provide the ambassador and his secretary with the traditionally customary gifts, so that they would find them on their return to Venice. For 1,200 ducats, chains or silver tableware were to have been bought for Lippomano and the rest spent on his secretary.⁶³ On January 17, 1575, the senate decided to permit the gift to remain in Lippomano's possession.⁶⁴ A further exception to the rules of law had already been created by the committee on September 20, 1574, when it permitted the Venetian ambassador to the French court, Sigismondo di Cavalli, to retain the gift presented to him by Catherine de' Medici on his departure. In its reasoning, the senate mentioned it wished the generosity that other people had been shown in similar cases should prevail toward Cavalli.⁶⁵

The king commissioned du Ferrier to distribute money, chains, and other gifts on his behalf to numerous people and institutions connected with the visit to Venice.⁶⁶ Gold chains were the most prevalent gifts; their value corresponded to the status of their recipients. Thus, the king had a chain worth 100 ducats presented to the admiral of the *Bucintoro*. Giovanni Battista Rodengo, the chamberlain, whom Henri had knighted, also received a chain worth 100 ducats. On the recommendation of the duke of Savoy, a chain worth 200 ducats was sent to Andrea Boldù, who had been responsible for the king's personal requirements. Antonio da Canale had assumed responsibility for the festive entry as *governatore generale del trionfo*. In appreciation of his service, he was knighted by the king and received a gold chain worth 300 ducats. Likewise, Alvise (Luigi) Foscari, in whose palazzo Henri had resided, was thanked with a gold chain worth 300 ducats.⁶⁷ Other people who were knighted during the course of the journey also received gold chains, for example, Bartolomeo Lippomano, the *podestà* (chief magistrate) of Treviso, Vettor Bragadin, the *capitano* of Padua, as well as Zuane Foscarini, the *podestà* of Murano. The value of these chains is cited in one Venetian chronicle as 300 ducats per chain. This value cannot be considered reliable, however, because for Giacomo Foscarini at least, who is also mentioned in that chronicle, a chain worth 500 ducats is documented.⁶⁸ Antonio Roncalli, in whose palazzo the king spent the night in Rovigo, was knighted and received a gold chain worth 100 ducats.⁶⁹

Gifts of money were just as common. The recipients can be divided into five categories. The first category concerns personnel who either

carried out military duties or who were at least engaged in their broader context. The armory, which was visited by the king, received 30 ducats and the Arsenal 800 ducats. Two hundred ducats went to the lieutenant of the bodyguards and his sixty halberds. Twenty drummers received 100 ducats and eighteen trumpeters got 90. Three subordinates of Colonel Stella, who had prepared the quarters for Henri and his entourage, were provided with 30 ducats. The crews of the various boats were also borne in mind: for the galley, which took the king from Murano to the Lido, 100 ducats; for the *Bucintoro*, in which he made his entry, 100 ducats; for the seventeen gondolas that had stood at the disposal of the king and his entourage, 228 ducats; for the *piatta* that took him to Padua, 25 ducats.⁷⁰

In addition, there were people who had served the king and his entourage and had performed tasks comparable to offices at court: 60 ducats to the senior seneschal Girolamo as well as a further 60 for the other seneschals; 50 ducats for the master of fare Carlo di Maggi and a total of 23 for his three colleagues; 80 ducats to the six kitchen stewards and their assistants; 60 ducats to ten wine stewards; 130 ducats to thirteen cooks; 42 ducats to seven cellar masters; 48 ducats to twenty-four servants in the Ca' Foscari; and two attendants there together received 25 ducats on special instructions of the king.⁷¹

Furthermore, the Doge's staff, who had participated in ceremonies and in arranging the banquet and the ball at the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, were remembered: the master of ceremonies with 30 ducats, the seneschal with 20 ducats, two valets with 24 ducats, sixteen shield bearers with 80 ducats, the senior door steward of the Collegio with 12 ducats, the keeper of the privy seal of the Doge with 12 ducats, two commanders of the Collegio with 12 ducats, seven pipers with 30 ducats, the players of the silver trumpets with 15 ducats, and the organists and choristers of St. Mark's with 100 ducats in total.⁷²

A fourth group consisted of those people who honored the king in an artistic manner. The majority were orators who dedicated their works to Henri. In du Ferrier's register, the scholars Doni and Andrea Menchini are highlighted. They presented several panegyrics and poetry and together they received 200 ducats. Two further authors, Francesco Museo and a certain Cordelier received 20 and 10 ducats respectively. The man of letters Carlo Pasquale had a laudatory speech about the king printed, for which he was thanked with 20 ducats. Forty ducats were awarded to Marthe Thudesque and her husband for two musical performances with song. Tintoretto appears to have been rather badly rewarded: he was presented with 50 ducats for the three paintings com-

missioned by the king. To Pietro Vincentino, who had created thirty-nine gilded sugar figures, went 25 ducats.⁷³

The fifth category comprises donations for religious and charitable purposes. The chaplain who sang Mass during Henri's visit, along with his clerics, received 100 ducats. Five hundred ducats were left for the poor and for pious works. Camille de la Croix, an invalid pensioner of the French crown, who had rendered various services to Henri's entourage, was rewarded with 100 ducats.⁷⁴

An anonymous chronicler, who was the only one to cite correctly all the declarations of value of the gifts and thus must have moved within the circles of the Signoria, emphasized that du Ferrier was commissioned not only with the distribution of the gifts but also with the presentation of a variety of petitions, which had previously been addressed to the king.⁷⁵ The most significant supplicant was Scipio Costanzo. He commanded the bodyguard that escorted the king through Venetian territories. On this occasion, he addressed Henri and asked for intercession so that his son might be freed from Turkish captivity. While still in Venice, the king wrote a letter and entrusted his ambassador to the Sublime Porte with the matter. On Henri's departure, Costanzo was presented with a set of silverware consisting of a bowl and a jug worth 300 ducats.⁷⁶ In his account, du Ferrier recorded only a chain worth 100 ducats.⁷⁷ This is possibly a case like that of Colonel Stella, where du Ferrier did not learn of the king's instructions until after the event.

In the list of accounts from July 31, du Ferrier states the expenditure on gifts as 13,216 ducats. The costs for the gifts for Lippomano and his secretary, amounting to 1,400 ducats, are itemized separately as they were not charged in the immediate context of the state visit but were regarded as farewell gifts at the end of a mission. It may be assumed that the costs were not always recorded immediately, but also written down later from memory. Several people subservient to the king, and assuredly rewarded for that, did not appear in this list, such as the Gelosi theater group who came to Venice on Henri's request; numerous poets, orators, and musicians; the courtesan Veronica Franco who moved in poets' circles and who gave the king two self-composed sonnets and a portrait; the winners of the "war of the fists," or the many officials of lower status.⁷⁸ A total amount of 16,000 ducats, as is stated by Della Croce, is therefore likely.⁷⁹

Following the departure of the monarch, a rumor spread around Venice that the gifts he distributed had turned out to be worth considerably less than expected. The Ferrarese ambassador to the Serenissima, Claudio Ariosto, expressed this opinion in a letter to the duke of Ferrara. He added, however, that he would need more precise information in

order to pass judgment. He had heard that the total amount did not exceed 4,000 ducats, in which the diamond ring was already included.⁸⁰ This sum really would have been too low to do justice to a king's prestige. Three days later, however, Ariosto corrected his view. He had in the meantime learned from du Ferrier that at the time in question gifts amounting to only 4,000 ducats had been distributed, but the king had left explicit instructions for a further 10,000 ducats to be spent, and accordingly a grand total of around 14,000 ducats was to be anticipated.⁸¹

Conclusion

The distribution of gifts was an integral component of the rite of passage performed by the king, as pointed up in the report on the festivities by the Bolognese scholar Gregorio Manzini: "adding with these acts to the reputation of a most benevolent and most philanthropic Prince the glory of a most generous and really most noble King."⁸² Only by means of the ritual act of giving was Henri transformed from a benevolent and humane prince into a magnificent king characterized by his generosity. With this step the status of *magnificentia principis* was reached, which was required by a monarch and which in this case prepared Henri for his future rank. An elected king of Poland was to be elevated to the status of a king of France appointed by God and thus to manifest his function as *vicarius Dei*. In his capacity as God's representative on earth, the monarch possessed the right to change a person's social status by knighting him. Henri performed this ceremonial act in every place he was welcomed as king. As the knightly accolade was in turn associated with the presentation of a gift, the king continuously set the seal on his function as *imago Dei*. The journey from Krakow to Paris, which Henri devised as a *via triumphalis* for his accession to the throne, served to demonstrate and legitimize the prestige of his new monarchic role as *rex christianissimus*.

The king's sojourn in Venice was staged by the Serenissima as an elaborate multimedia spectacle at which ostensibly the guest of honor was celebrated, but which, when examined in detail, proved to be a strategy of political representation for the glorification and legitimization of the Venetian state. A French monarch entered the city for the first time and thus offered Venice a welcome opportunity for self-presentation. The Serenissima, with the assistance of the Holy League (a coalition of the Papacy, Spain, Venice, the Republic of Genoa, the Duchy of Savoy, and the Knights of Malta), had confirmed its traditional role as a defender of the Christian faith when it defeated the Turks near Lepanto in 1571. This image, however, had been challenged by the European

powers since 1573 when the Venetians made a separate peace with the Turks. Venice utilized the visit of the *rex christianissimus* to cultivate its image systematically, in order to counter rumors of a political nature and to allow the image of the Serenissima as a Christian state blessed by God to bloom anew in public. Thus Henri's visit was regarded as a gift from God, even if it had cost the Venetian exchequer the equivalent of a military campaign.

—Text translated from the German by Nicola Imrie

—Appendix 1, from the French by Pamela J. Warner

—Appendixes 2 and 3, from the Italian by Evelyn Korsch

Appendix 1

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds français 3321, fols. 19r-21v

[fol. 19r] Compte de la recepte et despence faicte par moy Arnoul du Ferrier, Conseiller du Roy en son privé Conseil, et son Ambassadeur à Venize des deniers que la Royne mere du Roy Regente m'a envoie pardeça pour le service de Sa Majesté, et autres que j'ay empruntez, par le commandement d'icelle sur son passage et entrée à Venize au mois de juillet 1574:⁸³

Recepte.

Receu des S. ^{rs} Strossi, et Guadagni Carnesequi banquiers la somme de trante cinq mil sept cens quatorze escuz pistollets, en vertu d'une lettre de change de pareille somme que la Royne m'a fait tenir, cy	35.714
Receu desdits Strossi et Balbani la somme de douze mille escuz pistollets, que le Roy m'a commandé emprunter pour son service, cy	12.000
Somme totale de la recepte quarante sept mil sept cens quatorze escuz pistollets.	47.714

Despence faicte par commandement du Roy et de la Royne sa mere:

Premierement ont esté envoie à Vienne par commandement de la Royne douze mil escuz, cy	12.000
Item baillé par commandement du Roy au S. ^r Gentian a Sassil la somme de sept mil escuz, cy	7.000
Item audit Gentian à Venize sept mil huict cens quarante six escuz, cy	7.846
Pour la despence faicte par ceux qui ont porté lesdits douze mil escuz à Vienne, et plusieurs courriers despescchez par commandement du Roy, et autres fournitures par moy faictes suivant le roolle qui en a esté baillé sept cens dix sept escuz, cy	717
[fol. 19v] Item par commandement de la Royne ont esté employés cinq cens escuz pour certaines autres fournitures par moy faictes cy	500
Item pour certain musc et autres marchandises vendues au Roy a esté payé au parfumeur du Lys à Venize la somme de mil cens vingt et cinq escuz, cy	1125
Item ay retenu devers moy la somme de mil quatre cens escuz pour le present qu'il convient faire au S. ^r Lippomano ambassadeur de ces Seigneurs en Poulougne, et à son secretaire, lesquels seront bien tost de retour, et seroit trouvé estrange si lesdits ambassadeur et secretaire ne trouvoient pardeça le present que le Roy a accoustumé faire aux ambassadeurs des Princes envoie vers sa Majesté, attendu mesmement les services faicts par ledit S. ^r Lippomano, auquel seront baillez douz cens escuz en chaines ou vaisselle d'argent et le reste à sondit secretaire cy	1400

s[omme] 30.588

Dons et presens faicts par commandement de Sadite Majesté a Venize.

Premierement a esté achepté ung diamant que Sa Majesté a donné au Prince de Venize la somme de mil cinquante escuz cy	1050
A l'Arcenal, huict cens escuz, cy	800
A la chiurme de la gallere sur laquelle le Roy a monté de Moran a i Castelli cent escuz	100
A la chiurme du Bucintore sur lequel Sa Majesté a fait son entrée à Venize, et depuis y fut mené de son logis au Palais, cent escuz, et à l'amiral dudit Bucintore une chaine de cent escuz, cy deux cens escuz	200
[fol. 20r] Aux dix sept gondoles destinées pour le service de Sadicte Majesté et de sa cour deux cens vingt et huit escuz, cy	228
A la piatte sur laquelle le Roy est allé de Lischafusine [Lizzafusina] à Padoue, vingt cinq escuz, cy	25
A la salle des armes trente escuz, cy	30
Aux quatre ambassadeurs et deux secretaires qui ont accompagné le Roy depuis qu'il est entré es terres de ces Seigneurs, jusques à ce qu'il en est sorty, une chaine de cinq cens escuz à chacun desdits ambassadeurs et une autre de deux cens à chacun desdits secretaires, revenant le tout à deux mil quatre cens escuz cy	2400
A trenteneuf gentilshommes de cette Seigneurie depputez pour servir le Roy, et l'accompagner durant le temps qu'il a esté en cette ville, pour chacun desdits gentilshommes une chaine de cent escuz, cy trois mil neuf cens escuz cy	3900
(Il y en avoit XL depputez, mais l'un est tumbé malade et fault aviser s'il ne seroit pas fort louable de luy faire semblable present et de le me faire entendre par ce porteur.) ⁸⁴	
Au S. ^r Jehanbaptiste Rodingue, maistre d'hostel, et lequel a esté fait chevalier par le Roy une chaine de cent escuz, cy	100
(Si ledit Rodingue avoit eu present en partant de Rovigo, je vous prie m'en advertir.) ⁸⁵	
Au S. ^r Girolamo, scalque maieur soixante escuz, cy	60
Au S. ^r Stefano et plusieurs autres scalques, soixante escuz	60
A Lorens di Rinaldo, et Leonard Coroner, et Pietro de Dona despenciers vingt et trois escuz, sçavoir audit Dona huit escuz, et le reste ausdits Laurens et Leonard, cy	23
A six credentiers et leurs aidans quatre vingts escuz cy	80
Au S. ^r Carlo di Maggi despensier-general cinquante escuz cy	50
A dix sommeliers soixante escuz, cy	60
A treize cuisiniers cent trente escuz, cy	130
[fol. 20v] A sept canevars quarante deux escuz, cy	42
Au S. ^r Scipion Constance cappitaine des soixante hallebardiers destines pour la garde du Roy une chaine de cent escuz [100] ⁸⁶	
A son lieutenant, et soixante hallebardiers deux cens escuz, cy	200
A vingt tabourins cent escuz	100
A dixhuit trompettes quatrevingts dix escuz	90
A vingt et quatre hommes depputez pour le service des chambres et salles du palais où le Roy et sa court estoient logez quarante huit escuz cy	48
A deux serviteurs dudit palais par commandement de Sa Majesté a esté baillé vingtcinq escuz, cy	25
Au S. ^r Foscar maistre dudit palais une chaine de trois cens escuz, cy	300
A trois hommes qui ont esté employés pour faire les logis du Roy et de sa court sous le collonnel Stella mareschal des logis trente escuz, cy	30
Audit collonnel Stella une chaine de cent escuz, cy	100
(J'entens que le Roy a fait donner deux cens escuz audit Stella, dont seroit bon que je fusse adverty pour employer cette somme en autre lieu plus nécessaire.) ⁸⁷	
A la Marthe Thudesque, et à son mary qui ont esté mandés deux fois pour chanter et sonner du luth et de la viole quarante escuz, cy	40
Au S. ^r André Bolduc gentilhomme venitien par commandement du Roy à la requeste de monsieur de Savoye, suivant le memoire de monsieur de Bellegarde, une chaine de deux cens escuz cy	200
Au peintre Tintoret pour trois tableaux faicts par commandement de Sa Majesté cinquante escuz	50

Item suivant ledit memoire aux S. ^{rs} Doni, et Menechini hommes doctes, et qui ont fait certaines oraisons et poesmes pour le Roy, deux cens escuz, cy	200
Item suivant ledit memoire au conte de Saint-Roman cent escuz, cy	100
[fol. 21r] Item suivant ledit memoire à Francesco Museo homme de lettres vingt escuz, et à un Cordelier dix escuz, pour ce cy trente escuz,	30
A Pietro Vincentino qui a présenté trante neuf figures de sucre miniées et dorées vingt cinq escuz cy	25
Au S. ^r Canaletto gentilhomme venitien, cappitaine de la gallere sur laquelle le Roy est venu jusques à i Castelli, et lequel Canalet a esté fait chevalier par le Roy une chaine de trois cens escuz, cy	300
Item a esté donné aux officiers du Prince qui ont servy au banquet qui fut fait au Roy au palais, et depuis à la colation faicte aux gentifemmes de Venize audit palais, premierement au chevalier du Prince qui est le maistre des cerimonies, trente escuz, cy	30
Au scalque du Prince vingt escuz, cy	20
Au deux camériers du Prince vingt et quatre escuz, cy	24
A seize escuiers du Prince quatre vingts escuz cy	80
Au premier huissier du Coleige douze escuz, cy	12
Au scelleur du Prince douze escuz cy	12
Aux deux commandeurs du College douze escuz cy	12
Aux sept pifres du Prince trente escuz, cy	30
Aux trompettes d'argent quinze escuz, cy	15
Aux organistes et chantres de St. Marc, cent escuz cy	100
A l'ambassadeur du Grand Seigneur envoyé vers ces Seigneurs qui a fait la reverence au Roy, et donné à Sa Majesté certain baume et terre sigillée, une chaine de trois cens escuz cy	300
Au chappelain qui a chanté la messe les neuf jours que le Roy a demouré à Venize, et à ses clerz cent escuz cy	100
[fol. 21v] Item pour la façon et deschet des susdites chaines cinq cens quatre vingts six escuz, cy	586
Aux paouvres et autres oeuvres pies cinq cens escuz cy	500
A Camille de la Croix pensionnaire du Roy duquel le pere est mort au service de Sa Majesté, malade grievement, et duquel les gentilshommes françois et ministres du Roy venant en cette ville reçoivent plusieurs services, cent escuz	100
A Charles Pasqual homme de lettres qui a fait imprimer une oraison en la louange du Roy vingt escuz, cy	20
Somme totale desdits dons et presens treize mil deux cens seize escuz, laquelle comprinse la susdite somme de trante mil cinq quatre vingts huicts livres ⁸⁸ monte quarante trois mil huict cens quatre escuz.	
Reste trois mil neuf cens dix escuz laquelle somme a esté envoyée à monsieur de Villequier par le cappitaine St. Vincent, son maistre d'hostel.	
Faict à Venize ce dernier jour de juillet Mil L ^e LXXIII.	
A. du Ferrier.	

Appendix 1

Translation:

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds français 3321, fols. 19r-21v

[fol. 19r] Account of the receipts and expenditures made by myself, Arnoul du Ferrier, advisor to the king on his private council, and his ambassador to Venice, of the funds that the queen mother of the regent king sent to me there for the service of his majesty, and others that I borrowed, on the order of this last on his passage and entry to Venice in the month of July 1574.⁸³

Receipts.

Received from Sirs Strossi, Guadagni, and Carnesequi, bankers, the sum of thirty-five thousand seven hundred fourteen gold écus [ducats], against a letter of currency in the same amount that the queen had me carry, that is	35,714
Received from the said Strossi and Balbani the sum of twelve thousand gold écus that the king ordered me to borrow for his service, that is	12,000
Total sum of the receipts forty-seven thousand seven hundred fourteen gold écus.	47,714

Expenditures made by order of the king and the queen his mother:

First, twelve thousand écus were sent to Vienna on the order of the queen, that is	12,000
Item, given by order of the king to Sir Gentian in Sassil, the sum of seven thousand écus, that is	7,000
Item, to the said Gentian in Venice, seven thousand eight hundred forty-six écus, that is	7,846
For the expenses of those who carried the said twelve thousand écus to Vienna, and several couriers sent by order of the king, and other supplies purchased by me according to the list that had been given, seven hundred and seventeen écus, that is	717
[fol. 19v] Item, by order of the queen, five hundred écus were used by me for certain other supplies, that is	500
Item, for certain musks and other merchandise sold to the king, the sum of one thousand one hundred twenty-five écus was paid to the perfumer of the Lys in Venice, that is	1,125
Item, I retained for myself the sum of one thousand four hundred écus for the gift that must be given to Sir Lippomano, ambassador of these lords to Poland, and to his secretary, who were soon to return and would have found it strange if the said ambassador and secretary did not find there the gift that the king is accustomed to give to ambassadors of princes sent to his majesty, especially given the services performed by the said Sir Lippomano, to whom will be given twelve hundred écus in chains or silver dishes and the rest to his said secretary, that is	1,400

 total 30,588

Gifts and presents made by order of his majesty in Venice.

First, a diamond that his majesty gave to the prince of Venice was purchased for the sum of one thousand and fifty écus, that is	1,050
For the Arsenal, eight hundred écus, that is	800
For the crew of the galley on which the king went from Moran to the forts, one hundred écus,	100
For the crew of the <i>Bucintoro</i> on which his majesty made his entry into Venice, and since was taken from his lodgings to the palace, one hundred écus, and to the admiral of the said <i>Bucintoro</i> a chain of one hundred écus, that is	200
[fol. 20r] For the seventeen gondolas destined for the service of his majesty and of his court, two hundred twenty-eight écus, that is	228
For the <i>piatta</i> [a small gilded boat for rivers] on which the king traveled from Lischafusine [Lizzafusina] to Padua, twenty-five écus, that is	25
For the armory, thirty écus, that is	30
To the four ambassadors and two secretaries who accompanied the king from the time he entered the territory of these lords until he departed, a chain of five hundred écus to each of the said ambassadors and another worth two hundred to each of the secretaries, bringing the total to two thousand four hundred écus, that is	2,400
To thirty-nine gentlemen of this state appointed to serve the king, and to accompany him during the time that he was in that city, for each of the said gentlemen, a chain of one hundred écus, that is three thousand nine hundred écus	3,900
(There were forty appointed, but one got sick and it must be asked if it would not be laudable to give him the same gift and then to let me hear about it by this messenger.) ⁸⁴	
To Sir Jehanbaptiste Rodingue, <i>maitre d'hôtel</i> , who was knighted by the king, a chain of one hundred écus, that is	100
(If the said Rodingue had received a gift on leaving Rovigo, I beg of you to make me aware of it.) ⁸⁵	
To Sir Girolamo, senior seneschal sixty écus, that is	60
To Sir Stefano and several other seneschals, sixty écus	60

To Lorens di Rinaldo, Leonard Coroner, and Pietro di Dona, meat steward twenty-three écus, that is to the said Dona eight écus, and the rest to the said Laurens and Leonard, that is	23
To the six banquet-hall stewards and their aides, eighty écus, that is	80
To Sir Carlo di Maggi, general meat steward, fifty écus, that is	50
To ten wine stewards, sixty écus, that is	60
To thirteen cooks one hundred thirty écus, that is	130
[fol. 20v] To seven cellar masters forty-two écus, that is	42
To Sir Scipion Constance, captain of the sixty halberdiers destined for the king's guard, a chain of one hundred écus, that is	[100] ⁸⁶
To his lieutenant, and sixty halberdiers, two hundred écus, that is	200
To twenty drummers, one hundred écus	100
To eighteen trumpeters, ninety écus	90
To twenty-four men appointed for service to the chambers and rooms of the palace where the king and his court were lodged, forty-eight écus, that is	48
To two servants of the said palace by order of his majesty were given twenty-five écus, that is	25
To Sir Foscare, owner of the said palace, a chain of three hundred écus, that is	300
To three men who were employed to prepare the lodgings of the king and his court under Colonel Stella, marshal of the lodgings, thirty écus, that is	30
To the said Colonel Stella a chain of one hundred écus, that is	100
(I hear that the king had two hundred écus given to the said Stella. It would have been good if I had been informed in order to employ this sum in another, more necessary place.) ⁸⁷	
To Marthe Thudesque and to her husband who were hired two times to sing and play the lute and the viola, forty écus, that is	40
To Sir André Bolduc, Venetian gentleman, by order of the king at the request of the lord of Savoy, following on Sir de Bellegarde's report, a chain of two hundred écus, that is	200
To the painter Tintoretto, for three paintings made by order of his majesty, fifty écus, that is	50
Item, following the said report, to Sirs Doni and Menechini, scholars who made certain panegyrics and poems for the king, two hundred écus, that is	200
Item, following the said report, to the count of Saint-Roman, one hundred écus, that is	100
[fol. 21r] Item, following the said report, to Francesco Museo, man of letters, twenty écus, and to a Cordelier, ten écus, so that is	30
To Pietro Vincentino who presented thirty-nine sugar figurines in miniature and gilded, twenty-five écus, that is	25
To Sir Canaletto, Venetian gentleman, captain of the galley on which the king came to the forts, and said Canaletto was knighted by the king, a chain of three hundred écus, that is	300
Item, given to the officials of the prince who served at the banquet that was given to the king at the palace, and then at the supper given to the gentlewomen of Venice in the said palace, first to: the knight of the prince who is the master of ceremonies, thirty écus, that is	30
To the seneschal of the prince, twenty écus, that is	20
To the prince's two chambermen, twenty-four écus, that is	24
To the prince's sixteen squires, eighty écus, that is	80
To the senior door steward of the <i>Collegio</i> , twelve écus, that is	12
To the prince's privy seal keeper, twelve écus, that is	12
To the two commanders of the <i>Collegio</i> , twelve écus, that is	12
To the prince's seven pipers, thirty écus, that is	30
To the silver trumpeters, fifteen écus, that is	15
To the organists and the singers of St. Mark's, one hundred écus, that is	100

To the ambassador of the sultan sent to these lords and who paid his respects to the king and gave his majesty certain balsams (cosmetic and medicinal creams) and *terre sigillée*, a chain of three hundred écus, that is 300
 To the chaplain who sang mass during the nine days that the king stayed in Venice, and to his clerics, one hundred écus, that is 100
 [fol. 21v] Item for the making and material [gold] lost [during making] of the above-mentioned chains, five hundred eighty-six écus, that is 586
 To the poor and other pious works, five hundred écus, that is 500
 To Camille de la Croix, pensioner of the king whose father died in the service of his majesty, gravely ill, and from whom the French gentlemen and king's ministers on coming to this city received several services, one hundred écus 100
 To Charles Pasqual, man of letters, who had an oration praising the king printed, twenty écus, that is 20
 Total sum of the said gifts and presents, thirteen thousand two hundred sixteen écus, which including the above-mentioned sum of thirty thousand five hundred eighty-eight livres⁸⁸ amounts to forty-three thousand eight hundred four écus. Are left three thousand nine hundred ten écus, which were sent to Sir de Villequier by captain Saint Vincent, his *maître d'hotel*.
 Made in Venice, this last day of July, 1574.
 A. du Ferrier.

Appendix 2

Marsilio Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia del Serenissimo Henrico III. Re di Francia, et Polonia, con la descrizione particolare della pompa, e del numero, et varietà delli Bregantini, Palaschermi, et altri vaselli armati, con la dechiaratione dell'edificio, et arco fatto al Lido, Venice, 1574.*

[fol. 29] Li doni, e presenti fatti d'ordine suo sono stati questi.

Una collana per uno di cento scuti l'una alli quaranta nobili, che servirono suae Maestà nominati qui sotto.

Al cavaliere Canale una di trecento.

Al Signor Luigi Foscari patrone del palagio, dove alloggiò una di trecento.

Al Signor Scipio Costanzo Capitano della sua guardia uno bacile, e boccale d'argento di trecento scuti con offerirsele appresso di farle liberare il Signor Giovan Tomaso suo unico figliuolo, che si trova hora schiavo del Turco.

Alli alabardicri della sua guardia trecento scuti.

Alli trombetti nonanta.

Alli tambori sesanta.

All'arsenale mille.

Al bucintoro ducento.

Alla Galea del Generale Soranzo trecento.

Al mastro di casa cento.

Al Credentiero⁸⁹ cinquanta.

A tre gondole regie sesanta.

Alle altre cremegine dodici per una.

Alli musici trecento.

Alla sua Parocchia cento. et

A quella dell'Ambasciatore suo altri cento.

In operepie monasterii è poveri trecento cinquanta.

Il resto dispensato trà la famiglia del Prencipe, et officii di San Marco cioè à scudieri, Cavaliere di Sua Serenità, portiero di colegio, Cursori, bollatore Ducale, Fanti de' Signori Capi, chi venti chi trenta è chi quaranta secondo l'essere, è conditione

sua, è parimenti à gli officiali, che servirono al palagio Foscari, compresi ancora li scrittori, è poeti, che presentorono alla sudetta Maestà opere latine, è poesie fatte in sua lode, grandezza, è splendore: è quelli, che presentorno pitture, et altre simili cose, li Comici, che più volte gli diedero trattenimento, et appresso gli doni fatti à ministri, et officiali, che ebbero carico di servirla pel camino da che cominciò ad entrare in questo Dominio, che ascendono alla summa di sedeci mille scudi in circa. Il Signor Duca di Savoia al partire suo fece anch'egli uno bellissimo presente alla moglie del Clarissimo Luigi Mocenigo padrone della casa: dove alloggiò di una cinta tutta gioielata di trenta rossete d'oro, cadauna delle quali ha quattro perle, et una gioia in mezo di valore di mille ottocento scudi in circa.

Appendix 2

Translation:

Marsilio Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia del Serenissimo Henrico III. Re di Francia, et Polonia, con la descrizione particolare della pompa, e del numero, et varietà delli Bregantini, Palaschermi, et altri vaselli armati, con la dechiaratione dell'edificio, et arco fatto al Lido*, Venice, 1574. (The history of the public and famous entry into Venice of his Serene Highness Henri III, King of France and Poland, with the detailed description of the splendor, number, and variety of the brigantines, *palaschermi* [boats some eight to ten meters long with oars], and other armed vessels, with the decorations of the building, and the arch erected at the Lido, Venice, 1574.)

[fol. 29] The gifts and presents made on his orders were the following.

A chain worth one hundred ducats to each of the forty nobles who served His Majesty, named below.

To the cavalier Canale one worth three hundred.

To Sir Luigi Foscari, owner of the palace where he stayed, one worth three hundred.

To Sir Scipio Costanzo captain of his guard a bowl and jug of silver worth three hundred ducats and besides he offered to set free Sir Giovan Tomaso his only son, who had been made a slave of the Turks.

To the halberds of his guard three hundred ducats.

To the trumpeters ninety.

To the drummers sixty.

To the arsenal thousand.

To the *bucintoro* two hundred.

To the galley of General Soranzo three hundred.

To the major-domo one hundred.

To the *Credentiero*⁸⁹ fifty.

To three royal gondolas sixty.

To other carmine gondolas twelve for each.

To the musicians three hundred.

To his parish one hundred and

to that of his ambassador also one hundred.

For pious works, monasteries, and the poor three hundred and fifty.

The rest was distributed to the family of the Prince and officials of St. Mark, that means to the squires, the cavalier of His Serene Highness, porter of the council, errand boys, keeper of the privy seal of the Doge, servants of the heads [of the council of 40], some twenty some thirty and some forty depending on the office and the person's rank, and similarly to the officials who served at the Foscari palace, including also the writers and poets who presented to the above-mentioned Majesty works in Latin and poems made for his praise, magnificence, and splendor, and these who presented paintings and other similar things, the actors who entertained him several times, and beside the gifts made to secretaries and officials who were charged with serving him during his travel from entering this state, which amount to the sum of about sixteen thousand ducats.

When the Duke of Savoy was leaving, he gave a very beautiful present to the wife of the most reverend Luigi Mocenigo, owner of the house where he stayed: a jewel belt made of thirty golden rosettes and each of them has four pearls and a jewel in the middle worth about one thousand eight hundred ducats.

Appendix 3

Biblioteca del Museo Correr Venezia, Cod. Cicogna 3281, file 4, no. 53

[fol. 1] Anno 1574

Spese fatte in Ca' Foscari per la venuta della Maestà del Re di Francia e Polonia Henrico 3.

Da 5 luglio fino a 17 detto per far proviggioni de viveri, biancarie, archi de piate, barche, fachini et viver, ducati 1762 grossi sono ducati 146 grossi 21 al giorno, et dalli 17 detto fino a 27 a sua Maestà, e corte ducati 7664 grossi 3 sono ducati 766 grossi 9 fanno

in tutto	ducati 9426	grossi 15
Per li due pasti a Muran	ducati 1976	grossi 11
Per il banchetto in Palazzo	103	15
Per la colation in Arsenal	122	18
Per vin alla colation in Palazzo	24	6
Per la colation in Ca' Foscari a Carmeni	15	7
Per fornimenti di gondole 13	1304	14
Per vestimento di servitori 30	652	11
Per pagamento di servitori 60	387	20
Per saldo di una poliza del signor Giovanni Battista Rodego	184	17
Per pagliazzi 40	23	12
Per musiche	392	15
Per noll de piate erano sotto li pontili a San Marco e Ca' Foscari	97	13
Per il tapeto di veluto con frangie di argento per la tavola di sua Maestà	197	12
[fol. 2] Per presente fato all'Illustrissimo Cardinal Legato	128	6
All'Eccellentissimo di Savoia	119	7
Al Cavaliere di Montebello	17	18
Per più robbe mandate al Regimento di Conegliano	137	3
Al Regimento di Chioza	411	21
Al Regimento di Sacil	200	12
Al Regimento di Treviso	334	2
Alli clarissimi Ambasciatori per Padova	485	4
Alli detti per Rovigo	746	6
Per fornir la casa per l'Illustrissimo Cardinale	13	14
Per vestir l'Amiraglio del Porto	27	3
Per vestir i Ballotini	88	15
Per vestir li comandadori	416	23
Per la coperta del Bucintoro	702	8
Per tre baldachini d'oro forniti	1288	12
Numero delle persone della Corte.		
La Corte di Sua Maestà		n.° 150
L'Eccellentissimo di Savoia		250
L'Eccellentissimo di Ferrara		300
L'Eccellentissimo di Nivers		150

Il Gran Prior fratello di Sua Maestà	300
Ambasciatori et altri cortigiani	100
	n.° 1550

[fol. 3] delli quali circa la metà mangiava fuori di casa in altri luoghi, ben se li mandave di crudo per ogni posto piati quatordeci tal che calcolo che si spesava delli soprodetti n.° 850.

dall'ufficio delle Rason vechie	
Signori scrivani et fanti	n.° 10
Il signor Giambattista Rodengo con suoi homeni	15
Cuochi per tre cucine	33
Scalchi per tutto il bisogno	38
Dispensieri per tre dispense	9
Caneveri	7
Fachini et altri agiutanti	20
	n.° 132

dell'eccellentissimo Collegio	
Gentilhomeni astanti a Sua Maestà	n.° 40
Gioveni honorati per suo servitio	40
Alabardieri con suoi caporali e capitani	100
Il signor Scipio Costanzo	1
Tamburi e trombete	40
Musici	50
Comici	30
Capitani et ufficiali di Rialto	25
Maestranze dell'arsenal	20
Guardiani delle case	30
Servitori di gondole ordinarie	160
	n.° 436

[fol. 4] Item la ciurma del Bucintoro con suoi marinari a quali si faceva le spese ad uso di galera	n.° 140
del Re	1550
del Collegio	436
dell'ufficio	132
	n.° 2258

Appendix 3

Translation:

Biblioteca del Museo Correr Venezia, Cod. Cicogna 3281, file 4, no. 53

[fol. 1] Year 1574

Expenses made at the Ca' Foscari for the visit of the Majesty of the King of France and Poland Henri III.

From July 5 to 17 for providing food, bed and table linen, floats [under the landing stages], boats, porters and food, ducati 1762 grossi are ducati 146 grossi 21 per day, and from [July] 17 to 27 for His Majesty and court ducati 7664 grossi 3 are ducati 766 grossi 9 come to

all together	ducati 9426	grossi 15
For two meals at Murano	ducati 1976	grossi 11
For the banquet at the Doge's Palace	1031	5
For the lunch at the Arsenal	122	18
For wine for the lunch at the Doge's Palace	24	6
For the lunch at Ca' Foscari near Carmeni	15	7
For decoration of 13 gondolas	1304	14
For clothing of 30 servants	652	11
For payment of 60 servants	387	20
For payment of an invoice of Sir Giovanni Battista Rodego	184	17
For 40 jesters	23	12
For music	392	15
For rent of the floats that were under the landing stages at St. Mark's and Ca' Foscari	97	13
For the velvet cloth with silver fringes for the table of His Majesty	197	12
[fol. 2] For present given to the most Illustrious Cardinal Legate	128	6
To the most Excellent of Savoy	119	7
To the cavaliere di Montebello	17	18
For more stuff sent to the regiment of Conegliano	137	3
To the regiment of Chioza	411	21
To the regiment of Sacil	200	12
To the regiment of Treviso	334	2
To the most reverend Ambassadors for Padua	485	4
To the same for Rovigo	746	6
For furnishing the house for the most Illustrious Cardinal	13	14
For clothing the Admiral of the port	27	3
For clothing the assistant writers	88	15
For clothing the commanders	416	23
For the covering of the <i>Bucintoro</i>	702	8
For three decorated golden baldachins	1288	12
Number of the persons of the Court.		
The Court of His Majesty		n.° 150
The most Excellent of Savoy		250
The most Excellent of Ferrara		300
The most Excellent of Nivers		150
The Great Prior brother of His Majesty		300
Ambassadors and other courtiers		100

 n.° 1550

[fol. 3] about half of these ate out of the house in other places, but raw food for fourteen meals was sent them to every place so that approximately n.° 850 of the above-mentioned were paid.

From the office of the <i>Rason vecchie</i> [a committee responsible for payments made by the Venetian state]	
Writers and servants	n.° 10
Sir Giambattista Rodengo with his staff	15
Cooks for three kitchens	33
Seneschals for all needs	38
Food manager for three pantries	9
Cellar masters	7
Porters and other assistants	20
	n.° 132

From the most excellent Collegio	
Noblemen accompanying His Majesty	n.° 40
Young nobles for his service	40
Halberds with their corporals and captains	100
To Sir Scipio Costanzo	1
Drummers and trumpeters	40
Musicians	50
Actors	30
Captains and officials of Rialto	25
Workers of the Arsenal	20
Guards of the houses	30
Servants of the ordinary gondolas	160
	n.° 436

[fol. 4] Item the crew of the <i>Bucintoro</i> with its sailors to whom were paid the expenses in relation to the use of the galley	n.° 140
by the King	1550
by the Collegio	436
by the offices	132
	n.° 2258

NOTES

1. Archivio di Stato Venezia (hereafter ASV), Collegio, Esposizioni Principi 179, unnumbered, Esposizione del magnifico Ambasciator del Re Christianissimo, June 30, 1574, 2: "Il Re gli scriveva in questo proposito, raccordandogli l'antiquo desiderio suo di venir in questa città fin quando che era Duca di Angiu, che intendeva le maraviglie di questa città lequal disse l'Ambasciator che non se possono intender se non con gli occhi proprii."
2. ASV, Senato, Secreta, Deliberazioni, reg. 79, fols. 129v-30r.
3. *Ibid.*, fol. 130v.
4. *Ibid.*, fol. 130r.
5. ASV, Senato, Terra, Deliberazioni, reg. 50, fol. 124v. The commemorative tablet has been restored. Now there is a gilded inscription on natural marble.
6. Marsilio Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia del Serenissimo Henrico III. Re di Francia, et Polonia, con la descrizione particolare della pompa, e del numero, et varietà delli Bregantini, Palaschemmi, et altri vaselli armati, con la dichiarazione dell'edificio, et arco fatto al Lido* (Venice, 1574), 12f.
7. Venice is divided into six districts. The inhabitants of the districts Castello, San Marco, and

Dorsoduro are called Castellani and those of San Polo, Santa Croce, and Cannaregio are called Nicoletti.

8. For the details of the course of events during the state visit, see Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*; ASV, Collegio, Cerimoniali I, fols. 43r-45r; Rocco Benedetti, *Le feste, et trionfi fatti dalla Sereniss. Signoria di Venetia nella felice venuta di Henrico III. Christianiss. Re di Francia, et di Polonia* (Venice, 1574); Thomaso Porcacchi, *Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo Re di Francia, et quarto di Polonia, descritte in dialogo, nelquale si raccontano molte cose della sua fanciullezza, molte imprese di guerra, l'entrata sua al Regno di Polonia, la partita, et le pompe, con le quali è stato ricevuto in Vinetia, et altrove, con essempli d'Historie in paragone, et massimamente de' Principi di Corona, ch'altre volte sono stati ricevuti in Vinetia* (Venice, 1574); Pierre de Nolhac and Angelo Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III re di Francia e le feste a Venezia, Ferrara, Mantova e Torino* (Rome, Turin, Naples, 1890). The last is very detailed, but erroneous in parts. All of these books are in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana Venezia (hereafter BNMV).

9. ASV, Senato, Terra, file 64, unnumbered.

10. One ducat was worth 124 soldi. In 1574, in the building trades the average daily rates payable to masters were 35 soldi and to laborers 24 soldi. Thus a master had to work three and a half days and a laborer five days to earn one ducat. See Brian Pullan, "Wage-Earners and the Venetian Economy, 1550-1630," in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Brian Pullan (London, 1968), 158.

11. Biblioteca del Museo Correr Venezia (hereafter BMCV), Cod. Cicogna 3281, file 4, no. 53: Spese fatte in Ca' Foscari per la venuta della Maestà del Re di Francia e Polonia Henrico 3 (Appendix 3).

12. *Ibid.*, 2. Among the individual items were the equipping of thirteen gondolas (1,304 ducats), three golden baldachins (1,288 ducats), and the banquet in the Doge's Palace (1,031 ducats).

13. After having changed ownership repeatedly, the manuscript is located today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (hereafter BNF): Fonds français 4274: Statuts de l'ordre du Saint-Esprit du droit Désir ou du Noeud, institué à Naples en 1352, par Louis d'Anjou, premier du nom, roi de Jérusalem, de Naples et de Sicile.

14. BMCV, Cod. Gradenigo-Dolfin 191, vol. 2, fol. 75r: "Che questo manuscritto, oltre al merito che aveva, per la materia di cui trattava, e per la

sua antichità, era di più stimabilissimo per le belle miniature in carta pecora, che conteneva."

15. ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, Milano, file 3, fol. 326r.

16. ASV, Collegio, Notatorio, file 51, no. 1.

17. The Portello in Padua was considered the most important river port in Venetian territories. A monumental portal made of Istrian marble and a wide flight of stairs formed an adequate setting for festive receptions.

18. Nicolò Lucangeli, *Successi del viaggio d'Henrico III. Christianiss. mo Re di Francia, e di Polonia, dalla sua partita di Cracovia fino all'arrivo in Turino* (Venice, 1574), 43.

19. Niccolò de' Rossi, *L'istoria di Padova*, 60 and 166, quoted in Nolhac and Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III*, 162.

20. ASV, Notarile, Testamenti, b. 1256, no. 12: addendum from November 10, 1574, regarding Alvis Mocenigo's will.

21. Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 29.

22. Archivio di Stato Firenze (hereafter ASF), Mediceo del Principato, file 4332a, fols. 156r-59v, Letter from Giambattista Concini in Vienna to Francesco I de' Medici dated July 5, 1574, fol. 157v.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Germania, b. 83, fols. 155r-56r, Letter from Dolfin in Vienna to Cardinal Commendone dated July 3, 1574, fol. 155r.

25. BNF, Cinq cents de Colbert 366, 640f, and 663. Du Ferrier had the sum brought to Vienna by fast messenger. Henri confirmed receipt of the money on June 29, 1574.

26. BNF, Italien 799, *Le feste et trionfi fatti dalla sereniss. Signoria di Venetia nella felice venuta di Henrico III. Cristianiss. Re di Francia et di Polonia*, fols. 1r-28r, here fol. 3r-v.

27. See Appendixes 1 and 2.

28. The Merceria is a shopping street leading from the Rialto to the Piazza San Marco. On instruction of the Signoria, it was stocked with a particularly extensive range of goods for the duration of the state visit.

29. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 19v.

30. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, file 2983, fol. 65r-v, Letter from Orazio Urbani from Venice to Francesco I de' Medici dated July 31, 1574, fol. 65v; Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 22; Porcacchi, *Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo Re di Francia*, fol. 32v.

31. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 21v.

32. Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 22, states the purchase price was perhaps as much as 26,000 ducats.

33. ASF, Mediceo del Principato, file 2983, fol. 65r-v, Letter from Orazio Urbani from Venice to Francesco I de' Medici dated July 31, 1574, fol. 65v.

34. BNF, Cinq cents de Colbert 366, 702-4, Letter from Henri III from Cremona to du Ferrier dated August 9, 1574, 703.

35. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 21r.

36. For security reasons, the king had not wanted to call on the services of the young noblemen and apologized for this to the Signoria. See BNF, Cinq cents de Colbert 366, 685, Letter from Henri III from Pontebba to du Ferrier dated July 10, 1574.

37. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 20r.

38. Porcacchi, *Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo Re di Francia*, fol. 39r.

39. "De Villachler" is given in the Doge's report, but in the register of the king's entourage such a name does not appear. First on the register is the name "de Villequier" who had the title of *camerier maggior*. René de Villequier is the person in question. He was one of the king's closest confidants, and in 1578 when the Order of the Holy Spirit (founded in 1352 in Naples) was reestablished by Henri III he was accepted into the order. See ASV, Archivio Proprio Francia, b. 7 bis, unnumbered, Letter from Bortholoto Bidernuzi from Villach to Girolamo Mocenigo dated July 6, 1574.

40. E.g., BMCV, Cod. Correr 1306, *Cronica dell'inclita città di Venetia*, fol. 71r, and Cod. Correr 1307, *Cronaca veneta*, fol. 142r.

41. BMCV, Cod. Correr 1339, *Vite de Dosi de Venetia*, fol. "F." The diamond ring's value was the equivalent of the banquet the Signoria held for 3,000 guests.

42. BMCV, Cod. Correr *Miscellanea Mss.*, T. VII, no. 1035, fol. 303f.

43. ASV, Collegio, Esposizioni Principi 179, unnumbered, Ragionamento del Serenissimo Principe fatto col Re christianissimo, July 29, 1574.
44. *Ibid.*, 12: "Questa cosa credemo, che sarebbe con dignità, et honore del Principe, che li fosse veduta così bella, et honorevol giogia, et di gran satisfattione della Maestà Christianissima quando intendesse, che con questo mezo si [13] havesse voluto conservar in questo stado una perpetua memoria del Christianissimo nome suo."
45. BNF, Cinq cents de Colbert 366, 697-700, Letter from Arnoul du Ferrier from Venice to Henri III dated July 31, 1574, 699.
46. ASV, Senato, Terra, Deliberazioni, reg. 50, fol. 46v.
47. *Ibid.*: "Henrici III. Francorum, et Poloniae Regis per hanc urbem e Polonia in Gallias redeuntis munus Aloysio Mocenigo Duci; perpetuum eius benevolentiae in Remp.cam testimonium. Millesimo Quingentesimo Septuagesimo quarto, mense Iulio."
48. *Ibid.*
49. ASV, Procuratori di San Marco de supra, Chiesa, scontro, reg. 28, unnumbered.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*; Nohac and Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III*, 169, note that after 1797 the gold lily was melted down in the mint of Venice and the diamond and other precious stones from the treasury were sold in 1821 to the jeweler Biscetti-Lambranzi & Co.
53. Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 28, and Gregorio Manzini, *Il Gloriosissimo Apparato fatto dalla Serenissima Repubblica Venetiana per la Venuta, per la Dimora, et per la Partenza del Christianissimo Enrico III. Re di Francia et di Polonia* (Venice, 1574), fol. 9v.
54. ASV, Senato, Dispacci, Ambasciatori, 44, fols. 51r-52v.
55. *Ibid.*, fol. 52r-v.
56. ASV, Senato, Terra, file 63, unnumbered.
57. *Ibid.*, fol. 1r: "la corte et casa nostra et per qualità, et quantità tenesse stato di Principe, non senza admiratione di tutti quelli luochi, per dove siamo passati: tutto per honore et grandezza [1v] di Vostra Serenità et di questa Eccellentissima Repubblica essendo questo stato il fine et scopo nostro. Et havendo a questo solo per publica dignità havuto riguardo."
58. *Ibid.*, fol. 2r: "Anzi a tutto'l mondo un segno visibile, non meno della gratitudine di sua Maestà ricevuta del servitio et assistentia nostra appresso di lei, che di quella, che ne è più cara, et stimamo molto più della Serenità Vostra et delle Signorie Vostre Eccellentissime."
59. *Ibid.*, fol. 1v.
60. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 20v.
61. ASV, Senato, Terra, Deliberazioni, reg. 50, fol. 38r.
62. Poland was not among the states to which the Serenissima usually sent ambassadors. When Henri was elected king of Poland, they made an exception because he was the brother of the French king. This gesture was highly appreciated by both monarchs. See Collegio, Esposizioni Principi 179, Esposizione del Magnifico Ambasciator del Re christianissimo, September 29, 1573.
63. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 19v.
64. ASV, Senato, Terra, Deliberazioni, reg. 50, fol. 109r.
65. ASV, Senato, Terra, file 64, unnumbered.
66. Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 28, and Manzini, *Il Gloriosissimo Apparato*, fol. 9v.
67. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fols. 20r-21r, and Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 12 and 28f.
68. BMCV, Cod. Correr 1427, Cronica veneta, fol. 530r: "Sua Maestà fece diversi cavalieri, cioè Bortolamio Lippomano Podestà di Treviso, Vettor Bragadin Capitano di Padoa, Zuane Foscarini Podestà di Muran, Antonio da Canal, detto il Canaletto, et Giacomo Foscarini; donò a ciascuno di loro una catena di 300 scudi."
69. BNMV, Cod. It. VII 164 (7306), Memorie del passaggio per lo stato veneto di Principi e soggetti esteri, fol. 60, and Nohac and Solerti, *Il viaggio in Italia di Enrico III*, 165.
70. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fols. 19v-20r.
71. *Ibid.*, fol. 20r-v.
72. *Ibid.*, fol. 21r.
73. *Ibid.*, fols. 20v-21v.
74. *Ibid.*, fol. 21r-v.
75. BNMV, It. VII 393 (8647), Cronaca veneta dall'origine della città fino all'anno 1593, fol. 132r. Petitions can be found in ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Parti comuni, file 121, unnumbered, dated July 30, 1574, September 15 and 17, 1574.
76. Lucangeli, *Successi del viaggio d'Henrico III*, 42, and Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 29. Correspondence regarding the petition appears in *Delle lettere di principi, le quali o si scrivono da principi, o a principi, o ragionano di principi*, ed. Giordano Ziletti, vol. 3 (Venice, 1581), fols. 255v-56v.
77. BNF, Fonds français 3321, fol. 20v.
78. *Catalogo di tutte le principal et più honorate cortigiane di Venetia*, intro. Silvio Ceccato, ed. Mirella Toso Ambrosini (Venice, 1984), 60.
79. Della Croce, *L'istoria della publica et famosa entrata in Vinegia*, 29.
80. Archivio di Stato Modena, Cancelleria ducale, Avvisi e notizie dall'estero, b. 8, unnumbered, Letter from Claudio Ariosto from Venice dated July 28, 1574.
81. *Ibid.*, Letter from Claudio Ariosto from Venice dated July 31 1574.
82. "Aggiungendo con queste opere al nome di benignissimo et humanissimo Prencipe, la gloria di liberalissimo, et veramente Illustrissimo Re"; Manzini, *Il Gloriosissimo Apparato*, fol. 9v.
83. The amounts in the column of figures are given in the original in Roman numerals, but are here converted into Arabic numerals to be more readily understood.
84. Annotation in the margin of the page.
85. Annotation in the margin of the page.
86. Number missing.
87. Annotation in the margin of the page.
88. In France at this time the units of currency "livre" and "écu" had the same value.
89. A *credentiero* was a banquet-hall steward who stood by a large sideboard, or credenza, where cold foods such as salads, fruit, and frozen desserts were handsomely displayed, and who, with his assistants, prepared this buffet.