

Music and the Identity Process
The National Churches of Rome
and their Networks
in the Early Modern Period

edited by Michela Berti and Émilie Corswarem
with the collaboration of Jorge Morales



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Music and the Identity Process: The National Churches of Rome and their Networks in the Early Modern Period

Michela Berti – Émilie Corswarem

Over the past few decades, national churches have attracted growing scholarly attention. In addition to the appearance of numerous studies dedicated to individual churches, a spate of collective projects—some related to specific scientific events, some spanning several years—have seen the light since 2010. Involving historians of art, musicologists, historians and specialists in the history of law and administration, these projects have resulted in a series of publications offering fresh new approaches to the national institutions and foreign communities varyingly established and integrated in Rome during the modern era.¹

As a result of these developments, the notions of *natio* and nationality and the processes through which foreign individuals and communities became integrated in Rome have emerged as central areas of reflection. A clearer vision of the national churches as functioning entities is appearing; a typology of these national institutions is being elaborated; and an assessment of how they contributed to define contemporary concepts linked to the idea of *natio* is underway. Furthermore, several of these recent projects have stressed the way the ‘collective identities’ of the *forestieri* and *stranieri* living in Rome found expression in the numerous works of art and décors commissioned by the national churches, particularly those linked to major feast days. Overall, what these projects have importantly brought to light is the extremely complex and heterogeneous nature of the representational networks of the ‘national’ communities of Rome.

1. These include, in chronological order, the Franco-German research project (2010–2012) *Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli (1650–1750): musica, identità delle nazioni e scambi culturali*, dir. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden, followed up by two collective books: *La musique à Rome au XVIIe siècle : études et perspectives de recherche*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: École française de Rome, 2012) and *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom, und Neapel. 1650–1750*, (*Analecta Musicologica*, 52), ed. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden (Cassel: Bärenreiter, 2015); the interdisciplinary research group coordinated by Susanne Kubersky-Piredda between 2011 and 2015 *Roma communis patria. Le chiese nazionali a Roma tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte) whose first major symposium led to the collective work *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450–1650*, ed. by Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda with the collaboration of Tobias Daniels (Rome: Campisano, 2016); the research seminars organised by the *Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici* of the Università Roma Tre between April 2014 and October 2015, which resulted in the publication of the book *Venire a Roma, restare a Roma. Forestieri e stranieri fra Quattro e Settecento*, ed. by Sara Cabibbo and Alessandro Serra (Rome: Roma TrE-Press, 2018); the research project *Comunità straniera a Roma 1377–1870* (Istituto Storico italiano per il Medioevo and Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea) associating Italian and foreign academies and research institutes in Rome; and the publication *Chiese e nationes a Roma: dalla Scandinavia ai Balcani. Secoli XV–XVIII*, ed. by Antal Molnár, Giovanni Pizzorusso and Matteo Sanfilippo (Rome: Viella, 2017) (Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae—Roma. Studia, 6).



Fig. 1. Hendrik Frans van Lint, *View of the Piazza Navona, Rome*, c.1730, oil on canvas, 26.5 x 63.5 cm

Further insight into these networks is now provided by new research into the musical practices of these foreign communities, for which the national churches constituted important venues. Although a certain number of in-depth studies have already been published on the musical life of the principal national churches in Rome, especially for the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, a global study, embracing all the national churches as a whole, has not as yet been attempted.² Furthermore, until now, very little attention has been accorded to how the musical

2. For the national church of S. Luigi dei Francesi and the other French churches, see: Herman-Walther Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 22 (1965), pp. 272–93 and 23 (1966), pp. 32–60; Alberto Cametti, 'La scuola dei "pueri cantus" di S. Luigi dei Francesi in Roma e i suoi principali allievi (1591–1623)', *Rivista musicale italiana*, 22 (1915), pp. 593–641; *Id.*, 'Luigi Rossi organista di S. Luigi dei Francesi (1633–1653)', *Critica musicale*, 2 (1919), pp. 3–7; Leeman L. Perkins, 'Notes bibliographiques au sujet de l'ancien fonds musical de l'église de Saint-Louis des Français à Rome', *Fontes artis musicae*, 16 (1969), pp. 57–71; Jean Lionnet, 'La musique à Saint-Louis des Français de Rome au XVII^e siècle', *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale*, 3–4 (1985–1986); *Id.*, 'Quelques aspects de la vie musicale à Saint-Louis des Français. De Giovanni Bernardino Nanino à Alessandro Melani (1591–1698)', in *Les Fondations nationales dans la Rome pontificale* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), pp. 334–75; Martin Staehelin, 'Zum Schicksal des alten Musikalien-Fonds von San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom', *Fontes artis musicae*, 17 (1970), pp. 120–7; Arnaldo Morelli, "'Alle glorie di Luigi'". Note e documenti su alcuni spettacoli musicali promossi da ambasciatori e cardinali francesi nella Roma del secondo Seicento', *Studi musicali*, 25 (1996), pp. 155–66; Michela Berti, 'Tra "Regolamenti" e "musiche straordinarie": la presenza di musicisti stranieri a San Luigi dei Francesi e nelle altre Chiese Nazionali di Roma', in *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom, und Neapel*, pp. 397–425; *Id.*, 'La musica a S. Ivo dei Bretoni in età moderna: uno studio archivistico', in *Catholicisme, culture et société aux Temps modernes*, ed. by Cécile Davy-Rigaux and others, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 231–44 (ELSEM 6); *Id.*, 'La musique pour les "Messe di Francia" à Rome face aux dispositions pontificales', in *Réalités et fictions de la musique religieuse à l'époque moderne. Essais d'analyse des discours*, ed. by Thierry Favier and Sophie Hache, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018), pp. 253–72; Galliano Ciliberti, *'Qu'une plus belle nuit ne pouvoit précéder le beau iour'. Musica e cerimonie nelle istituzioni francesi a Roma nel Seicento*, (Perugia: Aguaplano, 2016).

No previous studies have been dedicated to the other French churches: S. Claudio dei Borgognoni, S. Nicola dei Lorenesi, Trinità dei Monti. In this volume, see 'Identity Affirmation and Roman Conformity: The Festive Calendars of the National Churches', in which Bernard Dompnier pays particular attention to these institutions and their regional specificities—often more meaningful than national particularities during this period.

For the national churches of the Spanish nation, see: Francesco Luisi, 'S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli e la festa della Resurrezione in Piazza Navona. Mire competitive, risorse e finanziamenti per la Pasqua romana degli spagnoli', in *La Cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. by Oscar Mischiati and Paolo Russo (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 75–103; Jean Lionnet, 'La musique à San Giacomo degli Spagnoli au XVII^e siècle et les archives de la

life of these churches contributed to promote a sense of identity—national or other—in their respective communities by offering them places in which to convene, events which brought them together, regularly shared rituals and acts of devotion, etc.

congrégation des Espagnols de Rome', in *La musica a Roma attraverso le fonti d'archivio*, ed. by Bianca Maria Antolini, Arnaldo Morelli and Vera Vita Spagnuolo (Lucca: LIM, 1994), pp. 487–502 (Strumenti della ricerca musicale, 2); Noel O'Regan, 'Victoria, Soto and the Spanish Archconfraternity of the Resurrection in Rome', *Early Music*, 22/2 (1994), pp. 279–95; Montserrat Moli Frigola, 'Compositores e interpretes espanoles en Italia en el siglo xviii', *Eusko Ikaskuntza-Sociedad de Estudios Vascos, Cuadernos de Sección. Musica*, 7 (1994), pp. 9–125; Klaus Pietschmann, 'Músicos y conjuntos musicales en las fiestas religiosas de la iglesia nacional española de Santiago en Roma antes del Concilio de Trento', *Anthologica Annua*, 46 (1999), pp. 451–76; *Id.*, 'Musikpflege im Dienste nationaler Repräsentation: Musiker an S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Rom bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Studi Musicali*, 31 (2002), pp. 109–44; Esteban Hernández Castelló, 'Música y músicos en las instituciones españolas en Roma', in *Repensar la escuela del CSIC en Roma: Cien años de memoria*, ed. by Ricardo Olmos and others (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010), pp. 705–12; Giuseppe Fiorentino, 'Tra festa e liturgia: le musiche della Nazione Spagnola in piazza Navona nel Cinque e Seicento', in *Piazza Navona, ou Place Navone, la plus belle & la plus grande: du stade de Domitien à la place moderne, histoire d'une évolution urbaine*, ed. by Jean-François Bernard (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014), pp. 723–40 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 493).

For the church of S. Maria dell'Anima della nazione teutonica; cf. Rainer Heyink, 'Niccolò Jommelli, maestro di cappella der "deutschen Nationalkirche" S. Maria dell'Anima in Rom', *Studi musicali*, 26 (1997), pp. 417–43; *Id.*, "'Ad honorem nostrae nationis germanicae ac decorem almae urbis Romae". Festa e musica come strumento della politica imperiale', in *Musik in Rom im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Kirche und Fest / Musica a Roma nel Sei e Settecento: chiesa e festa*, ed. by Markus Engelhardt and Christoph Flamm (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2004), pp. 169–209 (Analecta musicologica, 33); *Id.*, 'Fest und Musik als Mittel kaiserlicher Machtpolitik in Rom', in *Kaiserhof - Papsthof (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by Richard Bösel, Grete Klingenstein and Alexander Köller (Vienna: Vöaw, 2006), pp. 285–302 (Publikationen des Historischen Inst. Beim Österr. Kulturinst. Rom, 12); *Id.*, *Fest und Musik als Mittel kaiserlicher Machtpolitik: das Haus Habsburg und die deutsche Nationalkirche in Rom S. Maria dell'Anima*, (Tutzing: Schneider, 2010); *Id.*, 'Die Kirche als "nationalpolitische" Schaubühne. Zur Fest- und Musikgeschichte an S. Maria dell'Anima', in *S. Maria dell'Anima. Zur Geschichte einer "deutschen" Stiftung in Rom*, ed. by Michael Matheus (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 215–47 (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, 121); *Id.*, *Santa Maria dell'Anima: Musik für die Feste der deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom. Werke von Pietro Paolo Bencini und Niccolò Jommelli* (Cassel: Bärenreiter, 2010); Émilie Corswarem, 'Una nazione ricostruita: musica e feste delle confraternite tedesche e fiamminghe a Roma', in *Europäische Musiker*, pp. 425–41. Studies have also been dedicated to S. Maria del Campo Santo Teutonico and S. Spirito in Sassia: Klaus Pietschmann, 'Deutsche Musiker und Lautenmacher im Rom der Renaissance: Spuren im Campo Santo Teutonico und der deutschen Nationalkirche Santa Maria dell'Anima', in *Deutsche Handwerker, Künstler und Gelehrte im Rom der Renaissance*, ed. by Stephan Füssel and Klaus Anselm Vogel (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 181–213; Patrizia Melella, 'Vita musicale e arte organaria a Santo Spirito in Sassia nel Cinquecento: note e documenti', in *La musica a Roma*, pp. 507–19.

For the Portuguese, Polish and Croatian national churches, see in particular Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, 'Attività musicale nella chiesa nazionale di S. Antonio dei Portoghesi e altre musiche di committenza portoghese a Roma nei secoli xvii-xviii', in *Musica se extendit ad omnia. Studi in onore di Alberto Basso in occasione del suo 75° compleanno*, ed. by Rosy Moffa and Sabrina Saccomani, 2 vols. (Lucca: LIM, 2007), vol. 1, pp. 211–79; Cristina Fernandes, 'Música, cerimonia e representação política: Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi no contexto das igrejas nacionais em Roma durante a época barroca (1683-1728)', in *Música e História: Estudos em homenagem a Manuel Carlos de Brito*, ed. by Manuel Pedro Ferreira and Teresa Cascudo (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2017), pp. 155–73; Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Cerimonie e feste polacche nella Roma barocca 1587-1696*, (Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2012); Arnaldo Morelli, 'La musica a San Girolamo dei Croati. Note d'archivio', in *Chiesa Sistina. II*, ed. by Ratko Peric (Rome: Pontificio Collegio Croato di San Girolamo, 1990), pp. 121–32.

For comparative works on various different churches, see: Émilie Corswarem, 'Musique, espace et identité : le cas des églises nationales à Rome', in *Cultures du spectacle baroque entre Italie et anciens Pays-Bas*, ed. by Annick Delfosse and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 223–34; Michela Berti, 'Entre pouvoir spirituel et politique. Musique, fêtes et cérémonies dans les églises nationales de Rome', in *Cérémonial politique et cérémonial religieux dans l'Europe moderne: Échanges et métissages* (Travaux du Centre d'études supérieures de la Renaissance), ed. by Peter Bennett and Bernard Dompnier (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming); *Id.*, 'Inside and Outside a National Church: Music, Ceremonies and Nationalities in Early Modern Rome', in *The Grand Theater of the World: Music, Space and the Performance of Identity in Early Modern Rome*, ed. by Valeria De Lucca and Christine Jeanneret, (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

This book thus embraces for the first time the intertwined musical life of all the national churches of Rome and, in doing so, sheds important new light on the crucial role played by musical, liturgical, devotional, festive and ceremonial practices in forging and promoting a sense of group identity in the foreign communities of early-modern Rome.

The idea for the book grew out of two successive research projects: *Le modèle musical des églises nationales à Rome à l'époque baroque* (Université de Liège/Programme Marie Curie, 2013–15, directed by Michela Berti and Émilie Corswarem) and *Musique et processus identitaire: le cas des églises nationales romaines (16^e–17^e siècles)* (FRS-FNRS/Université de Liège, Université libre de Bruxelles, 2016–19, directed by Marie-Alexis Colin and Émilie Corswarem). These collaborative projects were conceived around a series of seminars which contributed to define the subject addressed by the book and the three main perspectives it develops.

Rather than examine each and every national church in exhaustive detail—a Titanesque undertaking which would very probably prove vain—our aim is to bring to the fore issues and questions relating to the national churches as a whole.

Our decision to focus on specifically non-Italian churches emanates directly from the archival documents exploited. These make plain that the various foreign communities attached to these churches considered themselves not only as distinct national groups, but also as collectively forming a larger group consolidated by their shared foreignness. The question of group identity is thus tackled both in terms of the different national communities attached to the national churches—often engaged in lively rivalry—and the homogenous body they formed as foreigners in Rome.



Fig. 2. Nicolas Regnier, *Divine Inspiration of Music*, c.1640, oil on canvas, 120 x 198 cm

The three key areas of reflection which form the basis of this book—the musical life of the national churches; the relationship between music and identity-construction in these institutions; the role of the national churches with respect to networks and cultural exchange—allow

us to observe both the common evolution in the musical practices of the national churches and the persistence of each church's singularities during the period following the Council of Trent. The availability or, inversely, the inaccessibility of sources has inevitably determined the inclusion or exclusion of certain institutions. Similarly, the tendency of certain national churches to refer to each other concerning the organisation of musical and festive events has resulted in a certain prominence of S. Luigi dei Francesi, S. Maria dell'Anima, S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and S. Maria in Monserrato. We have, however, made a point of according attention to the Portuguese national church, hitherto severely neglected, as well as several other less-studied national churches, such as S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, S. Claudio dei Borgognoni and S. Ivo dei Bretoni.

The chronological boundaries of the book were more complex to determine. Originally, the idea was to concentrate on the Seventeenth century, since this was when the musical chapels of the national churches were fully institutionalised. We rapidly became aware, however, that the Sixteenth century also warranted consideration. Primarily because it was during this century that the first musical chapels emerged and musical practices began evolving towards the full splendour they would attain in the second half of the Seventeenth century. Secondly, because it appeared essential to evaluate the impact of the Tridentine reforms on the musical life of the national churches: the repertoires selected by the Chapel masters, which pieces of music (and consequently texts) they chose, the forms of ritual they favoured, etc.

It also seemed pertinent to extend our inquiry into the Eighteenth century. The jubilee year of 1750, marking the end of Pope Benedict XIV's decade of reforms, represents a convenient symbolic limit, though not a hard and fast one, since, to a large extent, the organizational models of musical life that developed in the late-Seventeenth century persisted throughout the Eighteenth century. Benedict XIV certainly attempted to modify musical practices with his *Annus Qui Hunc* bull, which, issued in 1749 in preparation for the jubilee year of 1750, contained strict instructions for the musical life of all Roman churches. However, as analysis of S. Luigi dei Francesi during the period c.1660–1760 shows, although the papal instructions were implemented for a few years, musical practices rapidly returned to pre-existing models.³

The wide chronological framework finally adopted for the book thus spans the entire development of the ceremonial and festive life of the national churches, from the musical chapels' earliest burgeoning to their culmination.

From a strictly historical point of view, the most imperative task we faced in setting out was that of investigating the very particular status of the national churches. On the one hand, these churches constituted veritable foreign enclaves within Rome; though varying in their degree of submission to their respective mother lands, they were all founded, managed and protected by illustrious members of their own nation and they functioned both as charitable institutions for their own national communities and as representatives of their respective home countries. On the other hand, they were also deeply integrated within the religious, political and cultural life of Rome. As a result, they were at once subject to the authority of their respective sovereigns and the delegates of the latter in Rome (at times, these sovereigns acted as remote protectors, at others as direct authorities) and bound to respect the customs

3. Berti, 'La musique pour les "Messe di Francia"'.

and traditions prevailing in Rome at the time. This dual affiliation rapidly proved to have a determining effect on the ceremonial and musical practices of the national churches.

An eloquent example is provided by José-María Domínguez and Francesca Fantappiè's essay. This explores the circumstances surrounding the appointment of a new *maestro di cappella* in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli when the post was left vacant by the death of Francesco Grassi in 1703. A previously unpublished *papel reservado* (unofficial letter), dating from 1704 and written by Alonso de Torralba, an employee of the Spanish Ambassador in Rome, to Cardinal Francesco Maria de' Medici, Protector of France and Spain, confirms that the authority to appoint Grassi's successor officially lay in the hands of the Spanish Ambassador. However, the same letter also reveals that an important network of individuals lobbied discretely to have the post conferred on Alessandro Scarlatti, who had recently resigned from his post of maestro of the *Cappella Reale* in Naples. In addition to shedding important new light on this episode of Scarlatti's life (until now, the available sources suggested that Scarlatti had himself activated this network with a view to being appointed as *maestro di cappella* at the court of Madrid), this document illustrates how—as previously observed by Rainer Heyink and confirmed by Galliano Ciliberti's contribution to this book—the musical and ceremonial life of the national churches was in fact shaped by a whole range of diplomatic and political figures.⁴

A number of other documents suggest that the secular authorities frequently took advantage of religious ceremonies to display and promote their own importance. Indeed, the political drive to turn all religious ceremonies into *feste* by blurring the boundaries between religious and secular rituals is clearly observable, as is confirmed by several of the essays presented here concerning major feast-day celebrations organised by national churches.⁵

The pope too, as mentioned, wielded a certain power over the national churches, integrated as they were within the complex weave of Roman institutions. To understand the fundamental role played by the national churches with respect to the cohesion of Rome and its inhabitants, we need only observe that several of them were also parish churches, and thereby endowed with a number of important functions, such as compiling the *Status animarum*. Incidentally, national churches represented only one of the several entities which helped foreigners to settle in Rome. As Domenico Rociolo shows in his contribution to this book, many foreigners became successfully integrated in the city without seeking assistance from the national churches or the communities associated with them. Parishes, marriages, religious orders and devotional associations, such as guilds, confraternities and other *compagnie*, all played a similar role in initiating and furthering the integration of foreigners in Rome.

In the wake of the Council of Trent, the Diocese of Rome took it upon itself to provide a model for Catholic institutions throughout the Christian world, notably stepping up its pastoral and caritative functions. The national churches were inevitably caught up in the wave of enforced religiosity that swept through Rome. The division of the city into parish prefectures, initiated in 1603 by the Tribunal of the Cardinal Vicar notably helped ensure that the national churches complied with Diocesan requirements.

4. Cf. Heyink, “Ad honorem nostrae nationis germanicae ac decorem almae urbis Romae”.

5. Berti, ‘Entre pouvoir spirituel et politique’.

The 'Musical Model' of the National Churches

One of the impetuses for this book that emerged from our previous projects on the musical life of the national churches is the idea of a 'Roman musical model'—conceived of as a variant or branch of the widely discussed 'Roman festive model', to which the foreign communities of Rome largely adhered.⁶ Assessing the pertinence of this idea implies establishing a typology of the ways in which the national churches asserted their importance within the musical life of Rome. Notwithstanding the fact that many of the events celebrated by the national churches were specifically linked to their respective nations, the musical modalities and celebratory forms they used were often closely aligned.

In the Sixteenth century, all the national churches, more or less simultaneously, acquired musical chapels. Modest at the outset, these chapels were placed under the responsibility of a Chapel master, designated either as *cappellano* (as, for example, in S. Maria dell'Anima) or *sochantre* (S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli). Around this central figure, the structure of the chapels progressively evolved according to each church's means.

Many documents preserved in the various archives of the national churches make mention of other national churches. When, for example, S. Maria dell'Anima sought to embellish its modes of worship in 1584, it looked to the chapel of S. Luigi dei Francesi as the model to follow.⁷ Referring to other chapels was also common practice when it came to the way music was organised. Decisions taken by the different congregations on specific subjects—whether to accord greater importance to music; to form or disband musical ensembles etc.—tended to occur close on each other's heels. In many instances, the musical activity of the national churches was in fact decided in close collaboration—often due to exchanges between individual members of the different congregations that tended to override the question of nationality. Clearly, the relationship between these musical chapels was not only one of rivalry, but also imitation and emulation. A similar simultaneity can also be detected in the growing professionalisation of those responsible for the music produced or performed in the national churches, as well as in the gradual Italianisation of the various chapels' members. While in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth century, positions of musical responsibility were generally held by musicians from the respective home countries of the national churches, from the mid Seventeenth century on, preference went to Italian musicians. Consequently, this mode of functioning not only created bridges between the national churches themselves, but also between these and the other churches in Rome.

6. Among the numerous works dedicated to Roman *feste*, see: *Corpus delle feste a Roma. La festa barocca*, ed. by Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco (vol. 1) and Marcello Fagiolo (vol. 2) (Rome: De Luca, 1997); Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco and Silvia Carandini, *L'effimero barocco: strutture della festa nella Roma del '600* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1977–78); Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco, wording by Rossella Pantanella, *Bibliografia della festa barocca a Roma* (Rome: A. Pettini, 1994); Martine Boiteux, *Barocco romano e barocco italiano. Il teatro, l'effimero, l'allegoria*, ed. by Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: Gangemi, 1985), 'Il Carnevale e le feste francesi a Roma nel Settecento', in *Il Teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1989), pp. 321–71; *Id.*, 'Fête', in *Dictionnaire de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement*, ed. by Pierre Merlin and Françoise Choay (Paris: PUF, 2009); *Musik in Rom im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Kirche und Fest*. Peter Gillgren and Mörten Snickare, *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); *Feste barocche. Per inciso: immagini della festa a Roma nelle stampe del Seicento*, ed. by Simonetta Tozzi (Rome: Artemide, 2015).

7. Heyink, *Fest und Musik*, p. 365 (Dok. A.1.1.).

It is worth noting that all sacred music produced in Rome—which of course included that of the national churches—was placed under the direction of the Congregation of S. Cecilia. In practice, this meant that the national churches were obliged to conform with Roman customs and traditions. At the same time as respecting this obligation, however, these churches, as representatives of their respective nations, also needed to produce music that could both rally their own national communities and appeal to as wide an audience as possible in order to promote these communities and their home countries.

These considerations led us to compare the way music was organised in the national churches with the way it was organised in the other churches in Rome.⁸ Noel O'Regan's essay provides a particularly useful overview of post-Tridentine Rome, showing the harmonisation that affected musical practices both institutionally and in terms of repertoire. This is particularly notable in the case of the *musica straordinaria* employed for highly solemnised feast days, for which O'Regan establishes a typology drawing on all the churches in Rome, including the national ones. Starting with a detailed description of the permanent chapels in Rome, O'Regan goes on to explain the workings of *cappelle mobili*—ephemeral entities used by both the national and other Roman churches. He also describes the different types of musicians active in the various musical chapels, including leading cantors and organists, instrumentalists like those of the *Campidoglio* and the *Castel S. Angelo*, and the less experienced and amateur musicians provided by the religious orders. Putting these cases into context, O'Regan traces the development of the musical chapels of the national churches from their modest foundations to the ranks of institutional stability.

Offering a similarly broad overview of the Roman musical scene, this time from the standpoint of a contemporary foreign observer, Cristina Fernandes explores the journal kept by the Portuguese friar Manuel de Campos during his sojourn in Rome. With its subjective accounts of festivals and processions and its detailed descriptions of the *apparati* deployed for celebratory events, de Campos' journal provides a fascinating glimpse of those aspects of musical and ceremonial events (both ecclesiastical and aristocratic) that particularly struck foreigners living in or passing through Rome at the time. The journal thus offers precious insight into not only the musical life of Rome, but also how this was perceived and appreciated by foreigners from different cultural backgrounds.

The following two essays concentrate on the early decades of the national churches' musical chapels, before they established a stable mode of functioning. Klaus Pietschmann, focusing on foreign musicians attached to both the *Cappella Sistina* and national confraternities, shows how the vehicles and expressions of national representation in Rome shift at the turn of the Sixteenth century. Beginning with a detailed examination of the musical investments made by the principal national churches (those of Spain, France and the Empire) during the period of their construction—payments made to cantors and instrumentalists, expenses linked to specific celebrations, the construction of organs, etc.—, Pietschmann goes on to demonstrate how, from their earliest stages, the musical chapels of these churches were central to the

8. Michela Berti and Émilie Corswarem, 'Il modello musicale delle chiese nazionali a Roma in epoca barocca: panoramica e nuove prospettive di ricerca', in *Identità e rappresentazione*, pp. 233–47; *Id.*, 'Entre la Curie et la cour : la musique des églises nationales à Rome (xvi^e–xviii^e siècles)', in *Musique de la foi, Musique du pouvoir*, ed. by Thierry Favier and Thomas Leconte (Paris: Picard, forthcoming).

emergence of certain national specificities that would persist for several centuries—notably, the itinerant activity of Roman musicians and the tendency to favour Roman repertoires over national ones.

Based on previously unexplored notarial archives, Tobias Daniels' essay concentrates on the purchase, in 1546, of an organ originally owned by the *ospedale* of S. Spirito by the church of S. Maria dell'Anima, consecrated four years earlier. The instrument, identified by Daniels as the work of an organ maker based in Cremona, and collectively paid for by the entire confraternity, represents one of the Anima's most important acquisitions from the time of its Renaissance splendour to its post-Tridentine reconstruction. Considering it in the light of several other acquisitions—in particular, an organ previously purchased from S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli —, as well as the restoration of this and other similar instruments in the church's possession, Daniels places the acquisition on a level with the church's most important artistic commissions. He also advances a hypothesis as to the location of the organ within the musical chapel of S. Maria dell'Anima.

The final essay of this first section dedicated to the musical model of the national churches focuses on those elements of the national churches' repertoires still in use in the Eighteenth century. Esteban Hernández Castelló delves into the manuscript music collections of the Palazzo Monserrato Library, which notably contain important sources from S. Giacomo. Amongst the many polyphonic manuscripts from the second half of the Eighteenth century, and alongside the works of composers with no direct link to the Spanish national churches (Alessandro Scarlatti, Niccolò Piccini, José de Nebra, etc.) and several composers from the Iberian peninsula (notably, Domingo Michel Bernabé Terradellas, Chapel master at S. Giacomo from 1743 to 1745), Hernández Castelló draws our attention to a number of compositions by Italian musicians in the service of the 'Spanish nation', notably, Antonio Aurisicchio, who held a post at Monserrato until 1770. The relatively small number of composers listed in this inventory highlights the stability of the Chapel masters at S. Giacomo.

Expressions of National Identity

The festive activities of the national chapels clearly mirrored contemporary political situations in Europe and contributed to bring to public attention events that the home countries wished to spotlight. Furthermore, the *fiesta*, ever more lavish throughout the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, also operated as a means of expressing national feeling, reinforcing the group identities of the various foreign communities of Rome, and promoting their respective nations within the patchwork of states represented in the city.

This opens a number of fundamental questions. In particular: is it possible to detect a 'national celebration prototype' in the festive arrangements of the various national churches? How are these celebrations distinguishable from Roman festive practices? How did they resonate within Rome and impact on the religious and social life of the city?

Furthermore, inquiring into the singularities of national celebrations raises a series of questions turning around the concepts of 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary', as yet still insufficiently defined in the fields of music history and festive studies. While it would be going too far to completely assimilate extraordinary music with extraordinary ceremonies (or vice versa), extraordinary music was generally reserved for special events, aimed at heightened effects and

involved bringing in external musicians, while ordinary music was performed on an everyday basis by the permanent, salaried members of each musical chapel.⁹ Although a number of studies have already been dedicated to the extraordinary celebrations of the major national churches, focusing in particular on their political and religious content, deeper understanding of these events requires reaching beyond their programmatic content in order to identify the elements which allowed ‘nationals’ to identify themselves as such.¹⁰ Moreover, the interest in extraordinary ceremonies has tended to lead scholars to overlook ordinary music. This relatively modest everyday practice has, however, proved vital to our inquiry. Spared as it was of the necessity of appealing to a wide audience, it delivers valuable insight into the processes that helped maintain specifically national traditions.

Analysis of the textual, liturgical and para-liturgical elements of the musical repertoire and ceremonies of the national churches also proved essential to furthering our understanding of the artistic, cultural and social links between the city of Rome and the countries represented by the national churches, as well as between Romans and foreigners integrated in the city. These sources revealed devotional traditions as a privileged means of expressing national identity and as one of the most efficient ways of consolidating foreign communities of all kinds (speech communities, shared territorial origins, etc.). Through the essays assembled in this section of the book, we aim to show how different forms of worship helped to introduce exogenous traditions into Rome and how they shed light on the permeability between ‘national’ and local traditions. These reflections relate to the broader themes of cultural hybridisation and the modalities of cultural exchange in Rome which are explored throughout the book.

Figuring among the key sources providing new insight into musical and devotional practices of the national churches are the liturgical books (antiphonaries, graduals, etc.) preserved in the archives of several of the national churches (notably, S. Luigi dei Francesi and S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli). Some of these date from well before the period under consideration yet were clearly still in use in the Seventeenth century and even later. Another essential source of insight are the surviving festive calendars of certain national churches. Highly solemnised feast days, structuring as they did the ceremonial life of the national churches, constituted a solid starting point for our reflections. Although only a few of the festive calendars have come down to us, when combined with various other sources (deliberations, descriptions of feast days or other special events written by chroniclers, travellers, pilgrims, etc.), they reveal, on the one hand, a number of continuities and discontinuities with respect to the liturgical traditions of the national churches’ respective home countries and, on the other, a number of common features and differences with respect to Roman liturgical traditions. As Bernard Dompnier points out in his essay on these festive calendars, the devotional particularities of the national churches, rigorously controlled during the post-Tridentine era, appear to owe their resilience to the fact that they were a direct expression of these foreign communities’ sense of identity. With respect to Roman traditions, the national churches celebrated certain feast days with a higher degree of solemnity than that advocated by the Roman universal calendar; they even

9. Berti, ‘Tra “Regolamenti” e “musiche straordinarie”’, pp. 410–11; Bernard Dompnier, ‘Déchiffrer’, in *Id. Les cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, ed. by Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2009), p. 13. Regarding the difference between ‘ordinary’ and ‘extraordinary’ in the liturgical sense, see the text by Jean-Yves Hameline in the same work, pp. 19–31.

10. Corswarem, ‘Musique, espace et identité’.

celebrated certain days that were entirely absent from the latter. The tensions engendered by the divided loyalties of the national churches, with the home countries on one side and the Roman Church, universal model of piety, on the other, are very apparent. Dompnier analyses a series of traits common to the national churches which attest their shifting position between these two poles of gravity, namely, the choice of the titular saint or saints; the degree of solemnity with which these saints were celebrated; the celebrating of particular sanctoral events dear to the national communities; and, finally, the adoption of the universal Calendar—seemingly, the true common substrate of these churches' liturgical life. Dompnier shows how the initial tendency of the national churches to name joint titular saints (and thus to assume a double-barrelled name) gradually gave way (through complicated historical and political influences) to a tendency to favour a main patron saint, celebrated with particular solemnity every year—though not necessarily intense devotion. He identifies a number of constants in the celebrations of these principal titular saints: the presence of prominent figures; the special attention given to the music during Mass and certain hours; the use of specially hired external musicians; the number and choice of officiants; the decoration of the church; the granting of plenary indulgences to those attending the celebration—all of which suggest a form of negotiation between homage to the mother countries and respect of Roman customs and traditions. Dompnier also examines other celebrations and forms of worship which clearly laid claim to national heritage: those organised around the relics of saints linked to the home countries, for example, or which extended devotional practices alive in the home countries. Finally though, the handful of special 'national' saints celebrated by each national church are shown to be exceptions to the generalised adoption of the Roman calendar and Roman festive traditions.

In addition to his meticulous use of sources preserved in the archives of the national churches, Dompnier draws on the journal of Giacinto Gigli, a characterful observer of the time, to provide us with a lively picture of how these extraordinary ceremonies given by and in the national churches were perceived by those who attended them.

Cristina Fernandes' essay on S. Antonio dei Portoghesi confirms these observations. Drawing on a series of liturgical books and inventories, as well as the statutes requested by the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See in 1683, following Peter II's accession to the throne, Fernandes shows that from 1639 onwards, the Portuguese church was obliged to follow Roman ceremonial customs. The church's Master of Ceremonies was expected to make sure that these customs were respected and, when in doubt, to refer to the model provided by the major churches of the city. Unsurprisingly then, the missals and prayer books preserved or listed in the archives of the Portuguese national church accord with Roman practice. They are, however, often accompanied by addenda related to the celebration of saints particularly venerated by the Portuguese community. Fernandes also compares the liturgical calendars of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi and the Royal Chapel of Lisbon, pinpointing certain differences in these two churches' ranking of feast-day celebrations and the tendency of the Portuguese court to align itself with the practices of the great Roman basilicas.

Esteban Hernández Castelló, in his above-mentioned essay, based on the inventorial work he carried out on the musical scores and liturgical books of the Palazzo Monserrato Library, shows how the Chapel masters of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli and S. Maria in Monserrato were expected to compose music adapted to the specific festive programmes and requirements of these national churches. Numerous works by Antonio Aurisicchio, for example, were

expressly composed for feast days celebrated with particular solemnity by the Spanish national churches—notably that of saint James—and other events that were important to the Spanish community.

Another important indication of the different national communities' sense of identity is provided by the many masses celebrated in memory of the national churches' benefactors and other members of the *natio*. The calendars of masses for S. Luigi dei Francesi and S. Antonio dei Portoghesi, for example, indicate that, over time, these national churches became veritable pantheons for the most illustrious figures of both their Roman-based community and their home countries.

Further light is shed on the preservation of the devotional and liturgical traditions of the different nations and their integration within the Roman substratum during and following the post-Tridentine liturgical reforms by Galliano Ciliberti's in-depth study of S. Luigi dei Francesi. Ciliberti examines a number of manuscript and printed sources, some of which were believed lost until recently (notably including three autograph manuscripts by Vincenzo Ugolini), others of which were published in anthologies while their composers were in the service of the French national church. On the basis of these sources, as well as other works known of through inventories, Ciliberti convincingly reconstructs the Office of the feast day of saint Louis, one of the national church's most sumptuous festivals. He also shows how the ceremonial practices of S. Luigi gradually moved away from Parisian customs based on the Parisian breviary and missal, as reformed by Bishop Pierre de Gondy, towards Roman customs imposed by Counter-Reformation directives. In 1622, Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini issued a decree requiring the French national church of Rome to follow the practices of the Basilica of S. Pietro for Mass and the Divine Office, thereby exacting strict adherence to the Roman model during these key liturgical celebrations. However, as Ciliberti shows, in the case of certain feasts and forms of worship important to the French community, a number of sparse regional practices inherited from the home countries continued to coexist with Roman customs not only in S. Luigi, but also S. Ivo dei Bretoni and the Trinità dei Monti. Finally, Ciliberti postulates that the specificities of the Parisian repertoire and the many changes that affected ceremonial practices in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries in the French churches of Rome are indicative of the widespread nature of heterogeneous practices and hybrid forms in the city.

Esteban Hernández Castelló's examination of one of the oldest sources of polyphonic music preserved in the archives of S. Maria in Monserrato degli Spagnoli provides yet another eloquent example of interpenetration between national and Roman customs. Confirming the opening of Roman musical traditions to Hispanic practices already observed by several scholars who have drawn attention to the introduction of the latter in the Pontifical Chapel at the turn of the Sixteenth century, Hernández Castelló focuses on the Aragonese transgression of the Roman monodic tradition linked to Passion performed on *Dominica in ramis* (Palm Sunday). Certain texts and melodies from the Hispanic liturgy were officially banned, but nevertheless survived in practice. Indeed, in the case of the Passion, the service of the Dead and the Lamentations, the Hispanic Church firmly opposed the substitution of their own traditional texts by Roman ones. Interestingly, this resistance seems to have been more or less accepted: in 1499, Johannes Burkhard, Master of Ceremonies to Pope Sixtus IV, observed the use in Rome of a '*more hispano*' (Hispanic manner) on Palm Sunday, wherein three singers played the parts of the narrator, Christ and the crowd (*Turba* or *Synagogus*), and certain parts were executed

in polyphony. The early polyphonic music of Monserrato also differs importantly from the monodic Castilian tradition and thus adds to the growing evidence that every national church developed and practised its own traditions in Rome.

Émilie Corswarem's contribution, focusing on a compilation of French Masses printed by Le Roy et Ballard in 1557 and preserved in S. Luigi dei Francesi's library, provides further confirmation. Previously unlisted among the known copies of these Masses, this factitious volume constitutes a rare example of the polyphonic repertoire of a national church. Some sections of the Masses contain troped glorias, which belonged to an ancient French tradition, traces of which are found in graduals issuing from several regions of France. Contrary to the majority of books from S. Luigi dating from this era, which fell into disuse on account of changing tastes and fashions, this book of Masses continued to be employed throughout all the stages of chapel's development.

The musical archives of the library of S. Luigi dei Francesi cover almost 500 years of the church's history and include numerous scores and partitions acquired over the centuries for liturgical and ceremonial events. In her presentation of this precious collection, Michela Berti places particular emphasis on how it came to be assembled and on the surviving seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scores. She also establishes a table of correspondences between the present contents of the library, old inventories of the collection and compositions mentioned in previous studies as being part of it.¹¹

While liturgy can be viewed as something which brings people together, ritual, taken in its larger sense, can, conversely, be seen to divide them. Conflicts between the different national churches over the use of different forms of ceremonial procedure demonstrate the key role played by ritual in forging and maintaining national identity. Divisions and conflicts of a more personal nature—contentions between cardinals, for example, or artists—, also emerge as a means of constructing and displaying identities. Within this context, music, like the visual arts, became a readily exploitable tool.

José María Domínguez shows how certain prominent cardinals linked to national churches and who assumed a diplomatic role in addition to their religious functions strove to give tangible expression to feelings of political loyalty and national belonging. These efforts took place in the context of a series of conflicts that arose over ceremonial procedure during celebrations held in the Spanish and German churches in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth century, when the War of the Spanish Succession was in full swing and both diplomatic relations and ritual were suffering crises. Ceremonial practices took on huge importance, especially for foreign cardinals, who often had difficulty adapting to the cosmopolitan court of Rome. Drawing on various sources, including diplomatic correspondences, a diary and a ceremonial manual made for a foreign cardinal, Domínguez shows how, at this moment of weakness in the Holy See, politics and ceremonial rites were understood as a form of 'performance'. He also analyses the use of *splendore* as a political tool. Cardinals often fought ruthlessly either to impose or prevent displays of loyalty to foreign sovereigns during the ceremonies of the national churches. Music was the primary gauge of *splendore*, and consequently of the cardinals' political influence. An eloquent example of these intense struggles is provided by the Feast of Monserrato in 1707.

11. Lionnet, 'La musique à Saint-Louis des Français de Rome au xvii^e siècle', pp. 141–44; Ciliberti, 'Qu'une plus belle nuit ne pouvoit précéder le beau iour', pp. 282–85.



Fig. 3. Andrea Pozzo, detail of the fresco cycles in the convent refectory, 1694, Rome, SS. Trinità dei Monti

The plans for this major celebration included displaying a portrait of Philip V, King of Spain. They were however seriously perturbed by Grimani, an Italian cardinal and Protector of the Empire, who wished at all costs to avoid the necessity of attending a celebration in the presence of this portrait of the Emperor's rival. Setting in motion the wheels of a vast machine of information, blackmail and manipulation, Grimani succeeded in arranging matters such that the feast was celebrated 'without formalities or music'. The next month, in open rivalry, he staged an impressive musical performance at S. Maria dell'Anima to celebrate the Emperor's name day. José María Domínguez' essay highlights the fact that, for diplomatic agents, political loyalty was often more important than national origin.

The theme of conflict and shifting alliances is also taken up by Bruno Boute, who, focusing on another transnational entity present in Rome at the time, namely

the secular clerics whose mission it was to negotiate the attribution of ecclesiastical benefits, dispensations and other papal favours, draws an interesting comparison between ritual and bureaucracy.

Diana Carrió-Invernizzi examines the way conflicts and influences between European powers were echoed in the national churches in three different areas. She starts by analysing certain key festive events, such as Candlemas, which fired competition between the national churches. She then focuses on a handful of highly symbolic places such as the Piazza Navona, where tensions between national communities tended to peak. Finally, she considers the impact of these conflicts on the interaction between artists and the national communities in Rome and on trends in artistic production during 1630s and 1640s. Offsetting José María Domínguez's argument that the ceremonial life of Rome reflected the complexities of European politics, Diana Carrió-Invernizzi suggests that many of the leading members of the Spanish community in Rome desired to reproduce in the city the type of territorial entity represented by the Spanish Kingdom, i.e. a composite of territories, each with its own traditions and cultures. As previously shown by Émilie Corswarem in her analysis of the ceremonies held in S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi,¹² the actions of the Spanish Ambassador Castel Rodrigo, in particular, appear to have been systematically geared towards the construction of a great Iberian nation for which Rome would act as an amplifier. Particularly significant in this respect are his keen interest in the Portuguese church and his involvement in the important commission of panoramas figuring the patron saints of various Spanish territories for the Buen Retiro Palace in Madrid.

The national churches thus emerge, alongside other national institutions, such as embassies, as integral parts of what may be termed 'national poles' within the city of Rome. The institutions comprised within these poles rarely changed their allegiances over the centuries, and when they did, it was always in response to broader movements on the European political

12. Corswarem, 'Una nazione ricostruita', pp. 432–41.

chessboard. However, the national poles also comprised groups of influential individuals who were constantly prepared to take up new positions, realign or break rank according to the political opportunities of the moment.¹³ Consequently, these poles are extremely difficult—perhaps even impossible—to define with any precision.

This reinforces the pertinence of studying the national churches in context rather than as isolated entities, particularly when it comes to assessing the mechanisms of identity construction abroad. It is crucial to verify whether mechanisms similar to those operating in the national churches were in use elsewhere. Hence the need to include in the scope of our reflection the other components of the national poles.

Answering this need are Jorge Morales' essay on Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, Protector of France and Anne-Madeleine Goulet's essay on Marie-Anne de La Trémoille. Both confirm that the forms of identity construction and promotion used by the national churches were not exclusive to the latter: the ceremonial codes underpinning the great displays staged for the city and the cultural codes governing the interior life of these national institutions were also very much alive in Rome's palaces and villas.

In his analysis of Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia's stay in Rome, Jorge Morales shows how musical practices within certain national churches and the Cardinal's palace were geared towards a single aim: the promotion of Maurizio di Savoia's own person and interests (to what degree he acted as a representative of the Empire or in his own personal interests is debatable). Morales starts out by examining the actions undertaken by the Cardinal in the national and non-national churches of Rome to promote his own image and position within the complex Roman court—actions which rapidly reveal a strategy centred on the symbolic occupation of space. The focus then shifts to Maurizio di Savoia's palace, where Morales demonstrates how the process of identity construction drew importantly on foreign social and cultural trends, such as ballet performances. Every move the Cardinal made appears to have been carefully studied with an aim to affirming his self-constructed identity—and thereby his influence—in the complex ceremonial environment of Rome.

One of the most interesting aspects of this study of Maurizio di Savoia's actions is the difference it reveals between the musical and ceremonial events he was involved with in the national churches and those he organised in his palace in terms of the model used: the events in the national churches tended to comply with local modes and traditions, while those organised in his palace introduced foreign modes and practices to the city.

The case of Marie-Anne de La Trémoille, examined by Anne-Madeleine Goulet, shows how foreign princesses in Rome, faced with the double necessity of assimilating a new culture and preserving their own, became essential figures of cultural transfer. Though these princesses were not officially entitled to take on political roles, as members of the cultural elite and patrons of the arts, they brought about significant changes in Roman taste and opinions—notably those concerning the French and their lifestyle. Goulet's essay highlights the extent to which in-depth understanding of the modes of identity construction and self-representation employed by the national churches depends on considering them within the broader framework of musical

13. Olivier Poncet, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical (1591–1661). L'esprit des institutions* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), p. 251.

practices in Rome. Festive and performative celebrations clearly constituted identity-forging tools in both the ecclesiastical and the aristocratic spheres.

Cristina Fernandes provides a detailed account of the policies pursued by the Portuguese sovereigns following the papal recognition of the Portuguese crown in 1668. This recognition opened the way to the institution of a veritable system of Portuguese representation in Rome, within which the national church of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi played a major role. What the Portuguese sought above all was to be treated by the Holy See similarly to the other great Catholic powers. Portuguese participation in the artistic and musical life of Rome reached its apogee under the reign of King John V (1707–50). Music, as the other art forms, became a veritable political and diplomatic tool, contributing to elevate the status of Portugal in Rome and to obtain a number of privileges—sparingly awarded by the papacy during this unsettled period of alternating crises and victories.

In pursuing these aims, the Portuguese King relied on a network of diplomatic agents in Rome, two of whom appear to have been particularly adroit. Drawing on numerous newly discovered sources, Fernandes describes the organisation of a series of ‘extraordinary’ ceremonies organised to celebrate events of particular importance for the Portuguese nation at the time. More often than not, these major celebrations were based on the two-part Roman model, comprising a religious part and a secular part. In this case, the religious part, involving a solemn Mass followed by an ample *Te Deum*, attended by numerous distinguished guests, took place in the church of S. Antonio, while the latter, featuring performances of *serenate*, cantatas and pastorals, set off by sumptuous ephemeral décors and *apparati*, took place in the Portuguese ambassador’s palace. This two-part organisation was also reflected in that of national festivals in Lisbon, which—as in most of European capitals at the time—moved between the Royal Chapel and the Royal Chamber. Consequently, while they fell in naturally with current Roman traditions and customs, these celebrations also functioned as a kind of Portuguese micro-court, right in the heart of the Eternal City.

Focusing on the use of polychorality and the *salterio*—a very popular instrument in Rome at the beginning of the Eighteenth century—, Fernandes goes on to demonstrate how both the repertoire and musical arrangements employed by S. Antonio dei Portoghesi attest the tendency to appropriate Roman practices. She also shows how the action of the Portuguese diplomats in Rome contributed to the spread of Roman musical fashions. Surrounding themselves in Rome with the most prestigious composers of the day, such as Nicola Porpora and Domenico Scarlatti, these diplomats were behind the first engagements of Roman singers by the Patriarchal Church and the Royal Court of Lisbon; they were also instrumental in the exportation of the Roman repertoire and certain Roman practices to the Portuguese capital.

Certain dates drew mass attendance from the respective communities of the national churches.¹⁴ These notably included key national events, such as the signature of peace treaties, military victories, births of royal heirs, deaths of monarchs, coronations, etc. All of these were celebrated according to strict programmatic requirements. It seems likely, however, that these programmes were enriched by music and other elements specifically conceived to appeal to the Roman-based foreign communities.

14. Cf. Corswarem, ‘Una nazione ricostruita’.

National Churches, Networks and Cultural Transfer

To complete the image of a city strewn with national poles, it is necessary to take account of the networks that ran through Rome, and which often transcended the symbolic barriers of 'nationality'. If the idea of national poles is useful for examining various expressions of and means of promoting group identity—self-representation, ceremony, conflict, liturgical practices and repertoires—, looking into networks enables us to situate the national churches within a web of professional and institutional relationships. As previously stated, although the national churches constituted distinct reference points for the different 'nations' in Rome, they were nevertheless deeply integrated in the social and cultural fabric of the city. In addition to providing centres of convergence for their respective communities, they also formed hubs within various supranational networks. By tracing the careers of certain musicians who worked either exclusively or in part for the national churches, we aim to demonstrate how these networks based on individuals, congregations, religious orders, etc. came into being and functioned. The essays in the third and last part of the book consider this theme from various different angles.

As mentioned above, Domenico Rocciolo's essay provides an overview of the numerous ways in which foreigners managed to become integrated in Roman society—the national churches being just one form of support amongst others which helped foreigners to weave their lives into the fabric of the city. Taking into account all foreign residents, Rocciolo begins by considering the general situation of foreigners in Rome and goes on to focus on the specific case of foreign musicians in Rome.

Anne Piéjus's contribution concentrates on the web of relations, linked to the circle of the Oratorians, that allowed three eminent Spanish musicians—Soto de Langa, Francisco Guerrero and Tomás Luis de Victoria—to develop their careers. The professional relationship between these three musicians immediately demonstrates the comparative irrelevance of their origins when it came to providing one another with support: Soto and Victoria, both Castilians, helped the Sevillian Guerrero to establish himself in Rome. Close observation of the personal connections between these three composers further reveals the complexity of Roman networks at the time: Soto and Victoria probably got to know one another at the Trinità dei Pellegrini, at the time when its protector was Otto Truchsess von Waldburg; both took an active part in the musical life of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, and both became members of the Confraternity of SS. Resurrezione in 1583; Victoria, despite his Castilian origins, was also in the service of the Aragonese church of S. Maria in Monserrato; finally, all three musicians worked for the Oratorians. To appreciate how these professional relationships took shape, it is clearly necessary to consider the national churches in relation with the Papal Chapel and the other churches and colleges of Rome.

The relationship between the Oratorians and foreign musicians is also at the heart of Cristina Fernandes's essay *Oratorio Musical Traditions in Rome: Portuguese Connections*. Fernandes emphasises how certain Portuguese musicians in Rome in the 1720s and 1730s established themselves as oratorio composers, a genre central to Roman musical practices at the time. In the 1730s, the governor of the church of S. Antonio dei Portoghesi notably commissioned a series of oratorios dedicated to saint Antonio which were performed in his private residence, even though both the librettists and composers were representatives of the Portuguese church. The

link formed by composers between the Oratorian circle and the national churches is clearly observable throughout the period under consideration.

Fundamental to these networks were a number of individuals, diversely connected to the national churches, who besides protecting and helping musicians similarly connected to these churches, played a key role mediating between them and other musicians and institutions, both Roman and foreign. These individuals thus contributed to consolidating the national poles (even if, as observed, their mobility renders these poles hard to define), but, perhaps more importantly, they were the builders of transnational networks. They notably count among their ranks various enterprising members of the Portuguese community (ambassadors, governors of the Congregation of S. Antonio, directors of the Academy of Portugal...) whom we meet in Cristina Fernandes' essays, and Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, who appears briefly in Anne Piéjus' essay and prominently in Francesco Pezzi's contribution. Drawing on the unpublished Sistine Diaries, the latter details the various Roman sojourns of the German cardinal, with particular attention to his musical patronage. Truchsess von Waldburg acted as protector to three different churches: S. Maria dell'Anima, the Collegio Germanico and the Trinità dei Pellegrini. He thus constitutes a precious key to understanding the role played by such individuals in the circulation of music and musicians between different institutions, not just within Rome, but also between Rome and the home countries of the city's various foreign communities. He notably initiated exchanges of musicians and repertoires between Rome and his cardinal's court in Monaco.

Cristina Fernandes' final contribution to this book provides a particularly emblematic example of the role played by the national churches and their networks in furthering cultural transfer between Rome and other European courts. Concentrating on the presence of Portuguese musicians in Rome in the period c.1715–35, Fernandes shows how John V's accession to the Portuguese throne in 1706 ushered in a period of assimilation of Roman musical and artistic practices in Lisbon. Exchanges with Rome naturally intensified. On the one hand, young Portuguese musicians were invited to Rome, with the church of S. Antonio providing them with an initial base and helping them settle in. On the other, various diplomatic agents connected with the Portuguese national church ensured that all the latest Roman tendencies arrived promptly in Lisbon. The plenipotentiary ministers notably played an active role in these transfers by sending musical scores and instructions on how to perform plainchant from Rome to Lisbon, and by recruiting Italian musicians—many of whom had participated in extraordinary musical events held in S. Antonio—for the Royal Chapel of Lisbon.

Integrating ongoing and new archival research within an organic framework, this book offers an articulated view of the musical practices of the national churches and the networks they were involved in. It considers, from several different angles, the process of identity construction for foreign communities and demonstrates the complexity of the relationships which existed between the national churches and other institutions in both in Rome and the leading European courts.

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