

## PIARIST RESONANCES DURING THE JUBILEES IN ROME, 1625–1700

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**ABSTRACT.** – This contribution focuses on the procession as a cultural process in the context of seventeenth-century Jubilees in Rome and seeks to investigate the ritual uses of urban space and the subsequent modifications of the city's relational space. The exemplary case is a ceremony celebrated in the Eternal City every Holy Year by a Piarist confraternity from Frascati, a town in the Roman countryside. I use evidence drawn from contemporary diaries and letters to investigate the soundscape of the ceremony, considering its sonic, visual, and textual elements. In light of the institutional history of the Piarists, I argue that their procession transformed the urban space of Rome, creating new and significant relationships between the city and the people attending or surrounding the ceremony.

Over the course of the Jubilee years, the city of Rome was 'reshaped' [O'Grady 1999] and turned into a ceremonial stage. Liturgical and festive events took place in streets, squares, churches, and public and private buildings, with a variety of multidimensional elements that engaged the senses of the audience.<sup>1</sup> The most frequent kind of ceremony was the procession, which occurred whenever a group of pilgrims, worshippers, or even eminent travellers entered, settled in, or departed from the city.

Processions have been studied mainly by scholars in art history, social history, and cultural history who have, for the most part, focused on imagery, seeking to decode the complexity of symbolic and allegorical expressions in the early modern *fiesta* (festival).<sup>2</sup> This focus on imagery, and a parallel focus on the language itself, is a direct consequence of the nature of the sources, which are either iconographic (engravings, drawings, paintings, etc.) or literary (chronicles, reports, *avvisi*, diaries, travel journals, etc.). Yet, as recent studies have shown, by reading the same sources through the lens of soundscape studies, we can enrich our understanding of urban, cultural, and social history.<sup>3</sup>

A paradigm shift has emerged in scholarly approaches to cultural processes, from a method based on classifying or categorizing their elements towards a more holistic approach that considers cultural processes and artifacts as complex systems and takes into account their productive and consumptive contexts. One response to the demand for a more comprehensive social history of cities has been the inclusion of the sonic element in the horizons of historiography. Moreover, the city has come to be considered not only a physical place, but also a relational space that both shapes and is shaped by cultural processes.

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Within this framework, this contribution focuses on the procession in seventeenth-century Roman Jubilees to investigate how the entrance and transit of organised groups of pilgrims transformed the relational space of the city. The exemplary case is the *Confraternita della Gran Madre di Dio* (Confraternity of the Great Mother of God), a Piarist confraternity from Frascati (around 19 km southeast of Rome) that embarked on a pilgrimage to the Eternal City every Holy Year. In addition to sufficient sources, this case offers three compelling lines of inquiry: the relationship between the inside and outside of the city and the centre and the periphery, with specific reference to political power within religious institutions; the distinctive importance and metaphorical values acquired by significant sites along the Jubilee paths; and the symbolic and identarian role played by the sonic, visual, and textual elements of the procession that contributed to the transformation of the urban space.<sup>4</sup> After a brief sketch of the confraternity, I examine these questions in light of the Piarist order's institutional history. To support a reflection on the dynamics of topography, urban space, and ceremonial context, I propose a cartographic visualisation of the data. This study considers epistolary and diaristic documents, both manuscript and printed, heterogeneous in their forms and function, which will be described in detail below.

### ENTERING THE CITY: THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF ROMAN GATES AND THE DISPLAY OF THE SELF

The *Confraternita della Gran Madre di Dio* emerged spontaneously in Frascati in the first half of the 1620s and was officially recognised on 21 April 1625 by Pope Urban VIII Barberini (reigned 1623–44). Aimed at gathering women and men to provide charitable assistance to prisoners, this secular organisation was founded around the veneration of a sixteenth-century anonymous painting on copper (probably by a Bolognese or Flemish artist) of the Virgin Mary that is still on display in the Piarist church in Frascati (Fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The painting had previously belonged to the family of Francesco Bovarelli (d. before November 1625), who had received it as a gift from the Altemps household and in 1616 had donated it to Joseph Calasanz (1557–1648, canonised in 1767). The latter was the founder of the Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools, the so-called Piarists, which in the years 1619–1623 included Bovarelli's son, Ottavio.<sup>6</sup> Calasanz himself brought the painting of the Virgin to Frascati, where in 1616 he had founded a new Piarist house, and entrusted it to the Piarist fathers. In 1621, the devout citizens of Frascati requested and obtained the privilege of carrying the painting in a procession through the major streets of the city every year on Pentecost Tuesday. After the confraternity was constituted, its members made a request to carry the painting on a pilgrimage to Rome every Holy Year.<sup>7</sup>

The confraternity made its first Jubilee pilgrimage to Rome at the end of September 1625. Some information on this event is preserved in letters sent by Calasanz from Rome to Father Giovanni García del Castillo in Frascati a few days before the confraternity was to



Figure 1. Left: painting of the Virgin Mary (Frascati, Piarist church). Right: Antoine Jean-Baptiste Thomas, *Un an à Rome et dans ses environs. Recueil de dessins lithographiés, représentant les costumes, les usages et les cérémonies civiles et religieuses des États romains [...]*, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1823. Lithography no. 29 (by François le Villain), *Exposition de la Madonna dans l'Église*.

leave.<sup>8</sup> While organising the procession and the sojourn of the confraternity in Rome, Calasanz advised his correspondent that the Frascati brothers and sisters would be hosted at the hospital of the Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini (The Archconfraternity of the Most Holy Trinity of the Pilgrims, Fig. 2, no. 4), one of the Roman institutions responsible for welcoming and accommodating foreign pilgrims, as well physically and spiritually guiding them in their visits to Roman basilicas.<sup>9</sup>

The procession, before making its solemn ‘entrance’, would be ‘formed at Santa Maria Nova’—now known as the Basilica of Santa Francesca Romana, located in the Roman Forum (popularly known as the ‘Campo Vaccino’, or cow field) between the Colosseum and the Capitolium (Fig. 2, no. 3).<sup>10</sup> It is not known through which gateway the confraternity entered Rome. However, since they would have most likely travelled along the via Tuscolana, they probably entered the city through the south-eastern gate of Porta San Giovanni (Fig. 2,

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no. 2). This assumption is certainly the most reasonable, considering the network of roads that connected Frascati and Rome. Moreover, when the confraternity made its pilgrimage for the Jubilee in 1700, it accessed the city precisely from that gateway [a related chronicle source is edited here in Appendix, Doc. 6].

Calasanz mentions in his letter some of the sites on the Jubilee routes that the Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità had designated as appropriate meeting places for arriving groups of pilgrims.<sup>11</sup> An important source for understanding the key sites on the Jubilee routes is the *Diario delle cose occorse nell'Anno Santo 1650* by Pietro Paolo Salamonio,

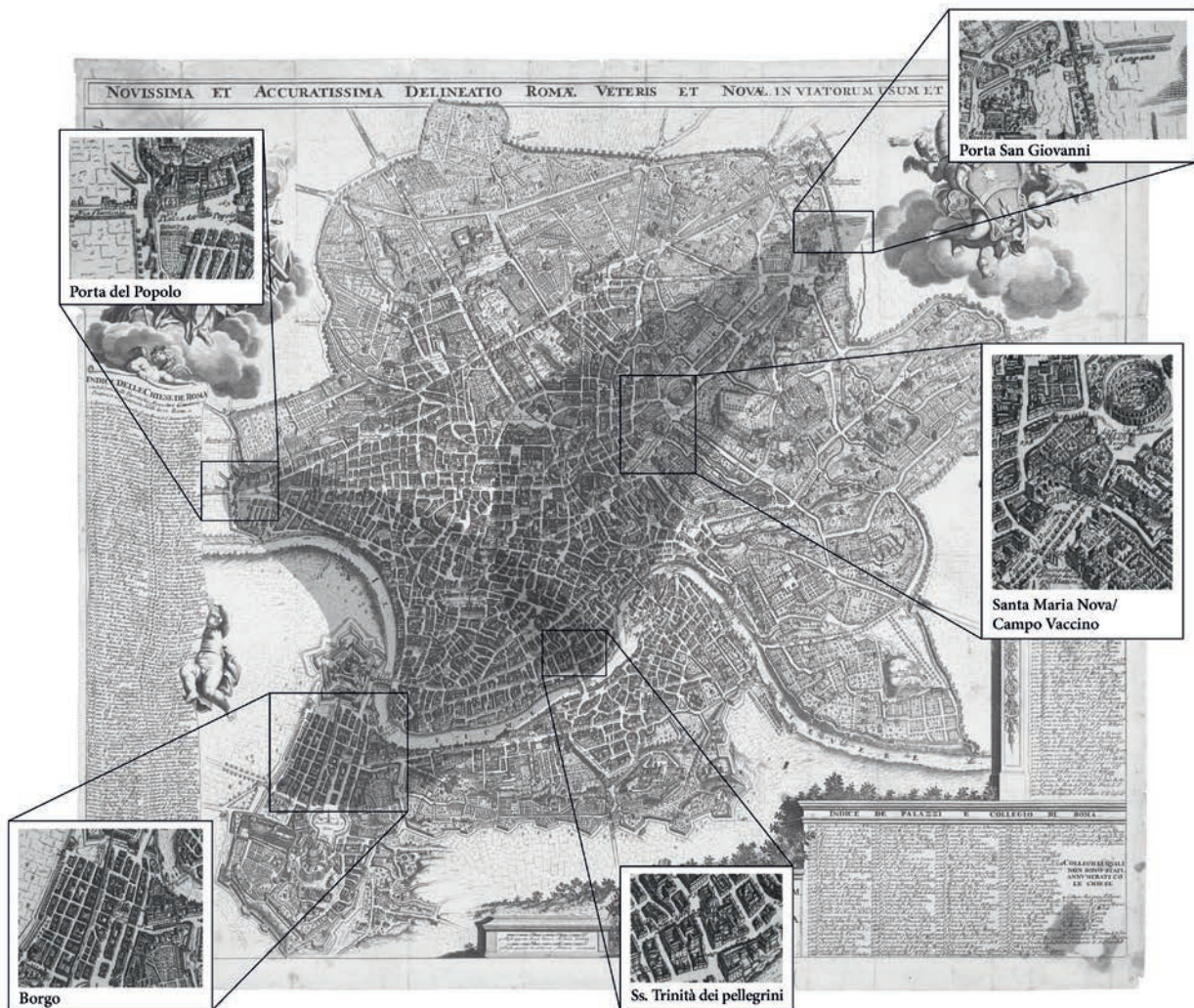


Figure 2. Cartographic visualisation of the relevant topographical data concerning the Jubilee processions of the Confraternita della Gran Madre di Dio of Frascati (1625–1700), based on Giovanni Battista Falda, *Novissima et acuratissima delineatio Romae veteris et novae, in viatorem usum et commoditatem*, Leyden: Pieter van der Aa, ca. 1700–1721.

an appointed officer of the archconfraternity. Salamonio's *Diario* is an internal manuscript source intended to record activities during and for the Jubilee. Chapter 31 is dedicated to the 'Manner of receiving aggregated and non-aggregated companies' [an excerpt of the document is transcribed here in Appendix, Doc. 1]. Salamonio refers to the Capitolium and the Campo Vaccino as 'common and convenient' places for different companies 'arriving at the same time' to converge. Apparently for some practical reason, those foreign companies were to have been met there by the confrères of the Santissima Trinità, who would have been concluding their tour of the four major basilicas with other companies.

Things did not turn out that way, though, for the 1650 Jubilee when the Frascati confraternity members made a second pilgrimage to Rome, where they arrived on 11 December. The date is noteworthy as it follows the feast of the Translation of the Holy House of Nazareth (or the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto), whose cult the Piarists celebrated with particular solemnity and devotion.<sup>12</sup> Sources available on this pilgrimage go into much greater detail. One of these is a concise but significant record copied in Salamonio's *Diario* from the register of pilgrims hosted by the archconfraternity in that year [see here Appendix, Doc. 2]. Another source is the Roman scholar Giovanni Simone Ruggieri's *Diario dell'Anno del Santissimo Giubileo MDCL*, printed in Rome by Francesco Moneta in 1651, which offers an accurate, if rather stereotypical, account of the pilgrimage (Fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> This source has already been treated in depth by two musicologists: Juliane Riepe [2004] in her comprehensive investigation of music in Rome during the 1650 Jubilee; and Giancarlo Rostirolla [2006] in his extensive examination of musical events in the Rome of Pope Innocent X Pamphilj. Nonetheless, a close reading of the excerpt concerning the Frascati confraternity's procession reveals important evidence for the event's historical soundscape as theoretically framed above [the relevant passage of the text is edited here in Appendix, Doc. 3].

Although it is not possible to trace the precise path of the procession from Ruggieri's text, his references to some toponyms can help reconstruct an approximate route, as will be discussed below. If the procession's path reflects the Jubilee's spatial organization,



Figure 3. Giovanni Simone Ruggieri, *Diario dell'Anno del Santiss. Giubileo MDCL celebrato in Roma dalla Santità di N. S. papa Innocentio X*, Rome: Francesco Moneta, 1651, engraved title page.

designed to ensure proper hospitality for the pilgrims, some locations also prove meaningful on a more symbolic level, like the first site mentioned by Ruggieri: the gateway chosen for entering the city, Porta del Popolo (Fig. 2, no. 1). As this gate was on the opposite side of the city from Porta San Giovanni, where one would normally enter from Frascati, the confraternity's decision to make its entrance through Porta del Popolo must have been a deliberate one.

Claudio Canonici has demonstrated the emblematic value and functions of Roman walls and gateways in relation to urban and extra-urban space. In modern times, as its defensive purpose was significantly reduced, 'the system of gates seems to be subjugated more to the immaterial and symbolic needs of the Church and its State than to the concrete ones of a city and its citizens' [Canonici 2010, 149]. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the city walls gradually became a 'new and much more formidable supernatural fence' of Christianity [*ibid.*, 139]. Meanwhile, the city gates became sites of transit—or, to recall the definitions of anthropologists Arnold van Gennep [1981] and Victor Turner [1982], *liminal places* that one crossed to access the Eternal City and experience that supernaturalness. Furthermore, the architecture of the gates evoked the triumphal arches of ancient Rome even as they bore the signs of the magnificence of a sovereign pontifex who commissioned their construction or decoration. In this way, the pope both metaphorically and figuratively declared to anyone passing through that he based his power on the glories of Imperial Rome and the powerful symbols of Christian martyrdom spread throughout the city.

In the ceremonial protocol of the time, the Porta del Popolo was the gateway designated for the ritual, solemn entrance of special guests of honour and prominent personalities. At a symbolic level, as Canonici explains,

A questo ingresso nord viene affidato il compito di trasmettere l'immagine di una Roma che accoglie chi ad essa si avvicina e in essa vuole entrare. Porta nobile che dà accesso ad una viabilità nobile, attraverso la quale si giunge sia ai luoghi del potere religioso e politico, sia alla prima e più importante tappa della visita religiosa, sia al cuore della Roma classica. Ma Porta del Popolo è una porta nobile anche perché da essa passano personaggi illustri e perché da essa si accede per ragioni nobili all'Urbe: per trattare le questioni politiche; per viaggiare, visitare e conoscere; per compiere pratiche sante e pie; per lucrare il gran perdono; per accedere alla vera fede [Canonici 2010, 148].

This northern entryway is entrusted with the task of transmitting the image of a Rome that welcomes whoever draws nigh, and desires to enter it. It is a noble gateway that offers access to a network of noble roads, through which one can reach sites of religious and political power, the first and most important stage of the religious visit, and the heart of classical Rome. But the Porta del Popolo is a noble gateway also because illustrious personalities pass through it and because one enters the city through it for noble reasons: to deal with political matters; to travel, visit and learn; to carry out holy and pious practices; to receive the Great Pardon; to access the true faith.

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For instance, on 27 November 1633 Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650)—the extraordinary ambassador of Władysław IV Waza, the newly elected King of Poland, who sent him to Rome to yield his obedience to Pope Urban VIII—made his entrance through the Porta del Popolo with a magnificent parade heralded by four trumpeters.<sup>14</sup> Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), after having abdicated, converted to Roman Catholicism, and departed in exile from her country, arrived in Rome and entered the city through the very same gateway. For this occasion, Pope Alexander VII Chigi (reigned 1655–1667) commissioned the sculptor and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) to decorate the door’s internal façade (Fig. 4).<sup>15</sup>

The Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini was among the select few that supervised the established protocol of the Jubilee ceremonies organised in confraternities and reserved especially for pilgrims.<sup>16</sup> The liturgy always commenced with the *incontro* (reception) of the foreign confraternity by the Roman archconfraternity immediately outside the city gates. The reception was followed by the ritual of entrance, a high symbolic action during a Holy Year. Entering the city through its gates, in addition to anticipating and reflecting the subsequent passage through the holy doors of the major basilicas to obtain indulgence, also symbolised the pilgrim’s entrance into a new Jerusalem. Once inside the city, the actual procession began: the Roman archconfraternity led the foreign pilgrims to the hospital where they performed the rite of the washing of feet.<sup>17</sup> The groups of pilgrims



Figure 4. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Piazza del Popolo abbellita da N. S. papa Alesandro VII*, etching, Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de’ Rossi, 1665. 171×292 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1957-653-54-1. <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.613274>.

were received in different ways depending on whether their confraternities were aggregated or non-aggregated.<sup>18</sup> According to Salamonio's diary of the 1650 Jubilee, the aggregated confraternities were received 'with music' and 'brought to the churches [*i.e.* the basilicas] with refreshments', while the non-aggregated ones were either not received at all, or welcomed with neither music nor refreshments, 'unless there intervened a special decree of the congregation' [see the transcription here in Appendix, Doc. 2]. As will be clearer later, in the context of this passage, the phrase 'with music' most likely refers to the presence of singers or instrumentalists—usually trumpeters—supplied by the Roman host archconfraternity to solemnise the entrance of some distinguished foreign confraternity.

While no special decree has been found in the archive of the archconfraternity as documentary evidence, other evidence shows that in 1650 the pilgrims from Frascati—whose confraternity was non-aggregated—were received with honours usually paid to the aggregated companies. According to another manuscript diary of the archconfraternity, the Frascati confraternity received the same reception during the 1675 Jubilee. The confraternity arrived in Rome on 10 June and, despite its 'non-aggregated' status, was 'met outside the Porta del Popolo and treated as if it were aggregated' [see here in Appendix, Doc. 4]. This is confirmed by Ruggiero Caetano's *Le memorie de l'Anno Santo MDCLXXV*, printed in 1691 (Fig. 5) [cf. the relevant excerpt edited in Appendix, Doc. 5].

The reason why such privileges were reserved for non-aggregated confraternities is unclear, despite a close reading of the sources. The most plausible scenario is that special privileges were granted at the explicit request of the guest confraternity, in exchange for an appropriate monetary or material donation to the host archconfraternity.<sup>19</sup> In any event, there is little doubt that the confraternity's public image was bolstered by the pomp and splendour that accompanied its entrance. This strategy of self-representation was evident in the confraternity's choice of gateway to the city. As the confraternity processed through the main streets of Rome, it reinforced its public image through sonic and visual tools, which served as metaphorical devices to establish and express its presence in the city.



Figure 5. Ruggiero Caetano, *Le memorie de l'Anno Santo MDCLXXV celebrato da papa Clemente X e consecrate alla santità di N. S. papa Innocenzo XII*, Roma: Marc'Antonio e Orazio Campana, 1691, engraved title page.



## CROSSING THE CITY:

## SONIC AND VISUAL TOOLS IN THE 1650 'PIARISTISATION' OF FESTIVE SPACE AND TIME

Ruggieri reports that in 1650 the Frascati confraternity's entrance into Rome was celebrated with approximately ninety firecrackers. About twelve more were fired when the procession approached its destination, the Piazza della Trinità di Ponte Sisto, where the Arciconfraternita della Santissima Trinità had its headquarters (Fig. 2, no. 4). Firecrackers were an essential element of the baroque *fiesta*, a sonic agent that marked the ritual's beginning and end, with a subsequent, but not secondary, function of attracting the attention of the audience and bystanders. The sound produced by firecrackers is characterised by relatively high acoustic intensity that can be heard even at a distance. In the context of a procession, then, firecrackers helped the protagonists of the event announce their presence to the city. On the one hand, the sound of the explosions attracted the attention of those nearby. On the other, the sound served as recall for those who were further away but within earshot and might have heard or read the news of the event that often circulated for several days before it took place. In relation to the many other festive events reported on by Ruggieri in his *Diario*, the entrance of the Piarist confraternity in 1650 seems to have featured the largest number of firecrackers.<sup>20</sup> As the number of fireworks increased, so too did the duration of the explosions, impacting the city soundscape in correlation with the confraternity's prestige—or, better, with the impression of magnificence and grandeur the confraternity hoped to convey to both citizens and other pilgrims.

In addition to the sound of fireworks, the procession was also accompanied by music. We cannot know which music was performed, but Ruggieri offers details on the customs related to the instrumental ensemble. At least twelve *trombetti* are mentioned, arranged in three groups of four players each.<sup>21</sup> Foregrounding the most important symbolic and ritual objects of the procession with the sound of music, the players paraded before the crucifix and two banners, one bearing the coat of arms of the city of Frascati and the other, most probably, the emblem of the confraternity.<sup>22</sup> Four of those *trombetti* were 'del Popolo Romano' (of the Roman people), a recurrent expression in Ruggieri's *Diario* that suggests a strong presence of municipal power in the reception of eminent foreign pilgrims and the solemnisation of their processions with its own musical contribution. In this way, the Capitolium also manifested and claimed its own role in the Jubilee events.<sup>23</sup>

Ruggieri's account of this procession says nothing more about musical or sonic elements, but it is conceivable, according to the tradition and customs of Christian processional culture, that the pilgrims sang monophonic forms of devotional music such as hymns, psalms, and litanies set to liturgical and Marian texts in Latin or vernacular.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, as Tim Carter has argued regarding models for urban musicology, when an object of study is distant in time and space, we must activate our historical imaginations to save the sounds of an urban landscape from silence [Carter 2002; 2018]. Some other sounds, while not explicitly

mentioned by Ruggieri, must have reverberated from the soundscape produced by the outdoor processional liturgy. More generally, besides the human voices of praying and singing, and those of the murmuring crowd—regularly described as large or huge by every coeval source—, there would have been sound pollution in all its variety and richness: the noise of carriages and horses, bells ringing, and other natural or manmade sounds. All of these sound sources should be taken into account when imagining the soundscape of an event occurring in an early modern city.<sup>25</sup>

What is crucial for assessing the impact of a foreign confraternity's procession on the cityscape of Rome is its power to create change, which occurred and was detectable especially at the level of the urban soundscape. Indeed, apart from regulating the walking of pilgrims, as noted by Alexander J. Fisher [2017, 200], the music and singing of a procession did 'not simply appropriate space, but transform[ed] its very nature'. In other words, while the foreign pilgrims' motion through the streets occurred in a specific, already established part of the city, the sounds of the procession reshaped the urban soundscape, creating a sense of shared identity and reinforcing a sense of belonging to a worldwide Christian community.<sup>26</sup>

To better understand the meaning of the Piarist procession, we should complement our reconstruction of the event's soundscape with an investigation of its visual and verbal/textual elements, to which Ruggieri's *Diario* devotes considerable attention. Ruggieri

recalls 'a very beautiful carved machine of excellent workmanship', upon which the painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary was supported by two 'live cherubs'. The machine also reproduced a sort of *tableau vivant*, portraying two other *putti* grasping the two keys of Saint Peter, 'a silver shell', 'three lilies', and 'a live dove with an olive branch in its beak, positioned so that it could not hide'. This heraldic device celebrated the person described by Silvia Carandini in her work on baroque ephemeral structures as the 'privileged interlocutor', albeit absent 'from every public event in Rome' [in Fagiolo dell'Arco-Carandini 1977–1978, II, 435]. That person was the pontiff, as can be deduced by comparing the machine's visual elements and Pope Innocent X's coat of arms (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi* (Fountain of the Four Rivers), 1648–1651. Rome, Piazza Navona, detail of the coat of arms of Pope Innocent X.

The *Diario*'s report of a second and complementary procession that took place on the same day is noteworthy.

A delegation of Piarist fathers in Rome joined the confraternity with a group of students from the Collegio Nazareno, most likely departing from its headquarters in the Borgo district (Fig. 2, no. 5) and heading toward the Porta del Popolo or the hospital of the Santissima Trinità.<sup>27</sup> Ruggieri describes ‘twenty-six *putti* dressed as angels, some holding small flags, some torches, some lit candles, some estocs, some insignias, others swords’.<sup>28</sup> This detail is significant because it reveals the interaction and collaboration between the centre and the periphery of a religious institution during a public ceremony. The foreign confraternity could demonstrate that it boasted a settlement in the Eternal City; in return, the central authority of the institution could demonstrate that its sphere of action extended well beyond the city’s boundaries.

In addition, as the procession advanced through the streets of Rome, the confrères of the Santissima Trinità distributed loose printed sheets bearing a Marian sonnet that praised the painting carried by the Frascati confraternity on the machine. The sonnet was authored by Piarist Father Giuseppe Fedele and dedicated to Ottavio Bovarelli, whose family had donated the painting to Calasanz.<sup>29</sup> During the event, in response to this sonnet, an anagram by Carlo di Sant’Antonio di Padova was distributed, as well as another sonnet by Alfonso Perangeli, prior of the order of the Holy Spirit in Saxia; all the verses were collected and published by Ruggieri in his *Diario*. Occasional poetry commemorating the processional both solemnised it and perpetuated its memory; the printing and distributing of the poems to bystanders was thus an attempt not only to crystallise the memory of the procession, but also to spread the news far beyond the limited time and space of the event.<sup>30</sup>

Two previous episodes of fundamental importance in the history of the Piarists offer important context regarding the significance and political weight of the 1650 procession. First, on 16 March 1646 Pope Innocent X had issued the brief *Ea quae pro felici*, reducing the Piarist order to a simple congregation. In addition to invalidating all constitutions and regulations, this stripped the Piarists of the power of governing their own houses, which were promptly placed under the jurisdiction of the territorial bishops. It also denied the Piarists their own novitiate, which would have ensured the future of the order. The reason for the reduction has traditionally been attributed to Jesuit hostility to the Piarist educational project, which had expanded quickly in the span of just a few years both in Italy and throughout Europe.<sup>31</sup> While the magnificence of the encomiastic apparatus used in the 1650 Piarist procession may have been motivated by a sense of duty, the pope’s apparent aversion towards the order as manifested in his brief would seem to contradict that reading, were it not for a crucial detail: in February of 1650, less than two years after the death of Calasanz, the official Cause for his beatification was opened. Perhaps, then, the Piarist procession during the 1650 Jubilee can be interpreted as an act of public gratitude to the pontiff for what he had granted.

In a city like Rome, the centre of Christianity, the countless, almost daily celebrations and processions were probably perceived as customary—especially during a Jubilee year. That perception may explain why contemporary sources usually offer only a few lines of information on most of the celebrations that occurred during that year. Yet not all the celebrations dazzled the audience with the level of pomp displayed by the Piarists. A processional event

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was a foray into the city that profoundly modified the urbanscape. As it moved through the streets, it both demarcated and sacralised the space. The 1650 procession enacted a temporary ‘Piaristisation’ of the urban space by deploying a series of media across the streets of Rome. Bodies, images, sounds, music, poetry—ultimately, all the materials of baroque spectacle and festivity—were used to manifest the Piarist presence and identity ‘Urbi et orbi’ (to the city and the world). As a cultural expression, the procession reconfigured the urban space through a relational geography that overlapped with and re-signified the sites of the city, and through new interactions created by the presence, movement and contact of the bodies within the city space.

Although sources devote relatively little space to the sonic element, it was a crucial and primary cause of the transformation of the urban space. Religious and civil rituals radically altered the daily, ordinary soundscape of the city, culturally determined by the interweaving of sounds produced by human activities and by nature. The firecrackers that signalled both the beginning of the procession—as the Piarists crossed the gateway and made their entrance into the city—and its conclusion served as ‘soundmarks’, to use Schafer’s term [1977, 9–10], demarcating the starting and ending of the ritual. The intensity and duration of these soundmarks had sociosemiotic connotations: to the ears of citizens or foreign pilgrims, a louder or longer explosion of firecrackers would have indicated a greater social, political, or economical relevance of the corporate body or person that was entering the city. Furthermore, the sonic elements of the procession, including any instrumental music and the participants’ footfalls and praying or singing voices, modified the ordinary soundscape, superimposing upon it these additional, ritual sounds. These sounds could summon participants or attract the attention of new people who might participate emotionally in the event or even involve themselves physically, with varying levels and degrees of engagement. In this way, processional sound enhanced the creation of a ‘sense of place’—a place, in the anthropological sense, that is ‘at the same time acoustic, social, ceremonial, symbolic’ [Feld-Basso 2010; Giuriati 2015, 123]. In the soundscape of the city, the procession affected the horizon of expectations of inhabitants and pilgrims, transforming them from spectators or simple bystanders into an active audience, or even, sometimes, into a community, and thus into a potential sounding board for the values and meanings of the event beyond the time and space of the ritual.

## APPENDIX

### Doc. 1

Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Ospedale della Ss. Trinità dei pellegrini e dei convalescenti*, b. 372: Pietro Paolo Salamonio, *Diario delle cose occorse nell’Anno Santo 1650*, chapter 31 (‘Modo di ricevere le compagnie aggregate et non aggregate’), unfoiled pages.

[...]

Se per fortuna occorreva che fossero gionte in un medemo tempo diverse compagnie che venendo da diverse parti capitavano a diverse porte, si pregavano a convenire tutte al Popolo, et se li

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| destinava un luogo comune et commodo a tutte le compagnie, e ben spesso fu eletto il Campidoglio et Campovaccino.

Quando le compagnie forastiere entravano da Porta San Giovanni in giorno che la nostra ne accompagnava dell'altre alle quattro chiese si dava oggi appuntamento alle forastiere che si ritrovassero alla Piazza di San Giovanni, perché tornando noi dalle chiese quando passavamo da San Giovanni ci accoppiavamo con quella forastiera, si conducevano tutte assieme, per la via di Santa «Maria» Maggiore, a Monte Cavallo per la beneditione di Nostro Signore et poi a casa. Ma quando cessava questa occasione si dava appuntamento alle compagnie forastiere che, entrando la città, si spingessero sino a Campo Vaccino, et ivi, arrivando la nostra compagnia, si incontravano con le solite cerimonie per non aggravare di maggior viaggio li nostri fratelli in tempo che erano appresso di tante occupazioni. [...]

Doc. 2

Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Ospedale della Ss. Trinità dei pellegrini e dei convalescenti*, b. 372: Pietro Paolo Salamonio, *Diario delle cose occorse nell'Anno Santo 1650*, chapter 51 ('Numero e nomi delle Compagnie aggregate e non aggregate alloggiate'), unfoiled pages.

[...]

Tra le compagnie aggregate et non aggregate non usavamo altra distinzione se non che quelle furono invitate et incontrate con musiche, condotte alle chiese con rinfresco; queste poi o non si incontravano o non si conduceva musica | et non si dava rinfresco alcuno per le chiese, se non vi interveniva decreto particolare della congregatione.

Sempre però l'aggregate si trattavano con cibi, letti et biancaria, et altre cortesie più nobili delle non aggregate. [...]

| [...]

11 dicembre [1650]

	150 <sup>a</sup>	Popolo <sup>b</sup>	
La Madonna delle Scole Pie di Frascati		Homini	900
Sacchi bianchi mozzette bianche		Senza sacchi	300
		Donne	600

<sup>c</sup> 2 stendardi, uno a banda di taffettano torchino, l'altro sopra l'aste. Trombetti del Popolo Romano. Padri delle Scole pie di Roma. Seminario Nazareno [*sic*].

26 angeli con misterii.

Le monache di Frascati non serrate ancora.

Salutata con mortaletti.

Distribuiva sonetti.

[...]

<sup>a</sup> Sequence number given to the records in the register of companies and confraternities hosted by the Archconfraternity of the Holy Trinity.

<sup>b</sup> Name of the gateway used to enter Rome.

<sup>c</sup> The following text appears to the left of the record, on the outer edge of the page.

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Doc. 3

Ruggieri 1651, 307–309.

[...]

[Sunday 11 December] Entrarono dalla Porta del Popolo. La Compagnia della Madre di Dio delle Scuole pie della città di Frascati vestita di bianco, mozzetta turchina, portò doi stendardi, uno a bandiera di taffetà turchino, ove erano doi chiavi, arme della città con queste quattro lettere, *S.P. Q.T.* [= *Senatus PopulusQue Tusculanus*], avanti al quale andavano quattro trombetti in sacco, et altri quattro del Popolo Romano avanti al secondo sopra haste, e parimente altri quattro avanti al crocifisso; fu favorita dal Colleggio Nazzareno in Borgo e, da questi padri delle Scuole pie che l'incontrarono, tutti, tanto il colleggio suddetto quanto questi padri vestiti di cotte con le berrette, fra quali erano tramezzati 26 putti di queste Scuole pie di Roma vestiti da angeli, de' quali chi portava picciole bandiere, chi torcie, chi candele accese, chi stocchi, chi arme e chi spade in mano; portò in oltre una bellissima machina d'intaglio e di fattura molto eccellente indorata, in cui era l'immagine dipinta della B. Vergine, dalle bande della quale stavano doi putti vivi vestiti da angeli in sembiante di sostenerla, e sul piano del thalamo era l'arme di Sua Santità formata in una conchiglia d'argento, avanti alla quale stava una colomba viva con un ramo d'ulivo in bocca, accomodata in modo che non si poteva accovacciare, sopra la quale vedevansi i tre gigli col regno d'argento massiccio e, dalle bande di esso, al paro stavano doi putti vivi vestiti da angeli, uno con la chiave d'oro e l'altro d'argento nelle mani, e dietro la machina sul medesimo thalamo doi altri similmente che sostenevano una lunga cartella, nella quale era il seguente motto:

*Magnum signum apparuit in Cælo.*

Fu molto numerosa di donne; le prime tre fila, composte di tre, vestivano di rocchetti bianchi e mozzette turchine con torcie accese in mano, e quella nel mezzo delle tre fila portava un picciolo crocifisso d'argento indorato; appresso queste venivano da sei coppie vestite di saia scotta bianca e, nell'entrar che fece, le furono sparati da 90 tiri in circa di mortaletti, come anco da 12 altri in circa su la Piazza della Trinità di Ponte Sisto, dalla compagnia della quale fu alloggiata e fu dispensato il seguente sonetto da alcuni di quei fratelli mentre entrava processionalmente e continuava per le strade di Roma.

ALLA MIRACOLOSA IMAGINE  
DELLA BEATISSIMA  
VERGINE

DELLE SCUOLE PIE  
DI FRASCATI

portata in processione per Roma nell'Anno Santo 1650  
dalla Ven. Compagnia di dette Scuole pie.

SONETTO

*del padre Giuseppe della Visitazione delle Scuole pie al signor don Ottavio Bovarelli*

L'onde d'argento corra il Tebro altero,  
hor che di sacra imago il Santo Volto  
mira, ch'Eterno Sole ha in seno accolto  
per debellar di Stige il mostro fiero.

La pace apporta e stuol fuga guerriero,  
ad orbi i lumi, a' muti il nodo sciolto,

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la lingua all'egro, a' crudel morte tolto,  
salute rende dal Celeste Impero.

Da' Tusculani Colli all'Aventine  
rocche discende con etheree squadre  
benigna a compartir gratie divine.

Roma Beata accogli hor la gran Madre;  
ch'ella d'immortal gloria cinto il crine  
t'accorrà in Cielo con l'eterno Padre.

E con quest'occasione il molto reverendo padre Carlo di Sant'Antonio di Padova, anconitano di quest'ordine sudetto delle Scuole pie, non mancò al suo solito di dare in luce quest'ingegnoso anagramma.

*Sancta Virgo Deipara  
Domus Tusculanae Scholarum Piarum.  
Anagramma purum  
Supra CAELOS Triumphat in Mundo,  
Gaudium ac Reo cara salus.*

Al quale fu risposto dal signor don Alfonso Perangeli, priore della Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia, col seguente sonetto stampato.

Vergin diletta a Dio, unica e sola,  
del gran Tonante Genettrice degna,  
CHE SOPRA I CIEL TRIONFI, e per cui regna  
GAUDIO NEL MONDO; di pietà tu Scola.

A te l'egro mortal sen corre, e vola,  
se tal'ora per colpa ha l'Alma indegna;  
CARA SALUTE AL REO: per te Dio degna  
della gratia donar la nuova Stola.

Eccoti de' tuoi Figli eletti il Choro,  
che tra l'horror di Povertà t'accoglie,  
come Regina sua; Madre, Tesoro.

Agradisci, gran Diva; e le lor voglie  
di brama accendi del sublime foro  
accogli anco tu lor su l'alte soglie.

[...]

**Doc. 4**

**Archivio di Stato di Roma, Ospedale della Ss. Trinità dei pellegrini e dei convalescenti, b. 373: Diario delle compagnie, pellegrini et altro occorso nell'Anno Santo 1675 e 1700, unfoiled pages.**

[...]

A di detto [10 June 1675] la Compagnia della Madonna Santissima delle Scuole pie della città di Frascati, non aggregata, ma incontrata et trattata come aggregata fuor della Porta del Popolo dalla nostra Compagnia, con il stendardo grande, Crocifisso con musica et buon numero de' nostri fratelli.

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Homini n. 550 et donne n. 730 con sacchi bianchi et mozzetta torchina. Precedevano allo stendardo quattro trombetti con li habiti di detta compagnia et in detto stendardo da una parte vi era dipinta la Venuta dello Spirito Santo sopra la Madonna Santissima et li 11 Apostoli et dall'altra parte l'immagine della Beatissima Vergine Maria et di San Sebastiano et San Rocco con numero grande di torcie, crocifisso con musica et croce avanti | delle donne con li padri delle Scuole pie.

Donò sc. 100.

[...]

**Doc. 5**

**Caetano 1691, 251–252.**

[...]

Lunedì a li 10 [June 1675]. [...] Entrarono per la Porta del Popolo tre compagnie. [...] La seconda fu quella de la Madonna de le Scuole pie di Frascati, con sacco bianco e mozzetta turchina, bastoni turchini, lantermoni turchini filettati d'argento, stendardo nuovo fregiato d'argento e turchino, con trombe, due crocefissi con teli d'argento e turchini e due corpi di musica; e nel fine una machina con una bella Madonna ben vestita, portatile con quattro angeli, cioè putti vivi: et a l'entrare de la porta, quattro volte furono sparati li mortaletti: in numero gl'huomini 624 con 380 torce accese, e donne 480 con la loro croce inargentata, inclusevi 15 fanciulle che l'accompagnavano, con ghirlande, rocchetti e bellissime sottanine guernite al di sotto. Fu incontrata e ricevuta da quella della Santissima Trinità de' Pellegrini, e condotta a l'ospitio, cibata et alloggiata per quattro sere come aggregata. Lasciò di regalo 100 scudi.

[...]

**Doc. 6**

**Posterla 1701, 352–354.**

[...]

Nel martedì 22 del detto mese [June 1700] [...] [e]ntrò da Porta San Giovanni la Compagnia della Madonna Santissima delle Scuole Pie di Frascati, ricevuta et incontrata a Santa Francesca Romana dall'Archiconfraternità del Santissimo Crocifisso in San Marcello; vestivano i fratelli forastieri, in numero di 182 senza donne, con sacco bianco e mozzette torchine, la maggior parte delle quali era di taffettano e di seta. Nell'esser ricevuti e nell'entrare della chiesa di San Marcello furono fatte due salve di mortaletti. Portavano trombe, due cori di musica, uno stendardo nuovo, nella prima parte del quale era dipinto il vecchio Simeone che riceveva il Santissimo Bambino Giesù presentatoli dalla sua gloriosissima Madre, e nell'altra parte v'era lo Spirito Santo quando discese nel cenacolo sopra gl'apostoli, diviso in lingue di foco, in mezzo ai quali vedevasi la Vergine Santissima. Avevano anco un crocifisso ornato di panno azzurro con oro e fiocchi parimente d'oro, con cento torce. Nell'ultimo portavano una machina retta da dodici persone, nella quale era dipinta una bellissima immagine di Maria sempre Vergine, intorno alla quale vi eran varii puti d'argento con candelabri, sopra de' quali ardevano 50 candele, et in cima vi era una gran corona messa tutta a oro. In somma nella suddetta machina non vi restava cosa veruna da desiderarsi o di vago o di nobile. Avanti ad essa andavano alcuni Padri delle Scuole Pie con torce accese in mano; doppo de' quali veniva l'Eminentissimo Panfilij vestito con il sacco dell'Archiconfraternita di Roma, di cui è degnissimo protettore.



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Fu questa compagnia nobilmente trattata per tre sere nel solito ospitio, serviti alcuni fratelli di essa dal suddetto Eminentissimo Panfilij con carità esemplare; onde poi nel partire, per contrasegno di gratitudine, donorno scudi 100 e 17 libre di cera arsiccia.  
[...]

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Overviews of the Catholic Jubilees are in Scaraffia 1999; Fiorani-Proserpi 2000; Melloni 2016. For a comprehensive study on Rome as a ‘ritual city’ in modern times, see Visceglia 2002 and 2005.

<sup>2</sup> On the historiographical category of *festa* (translated in English as festival, festivity, festive event, or feast, depending on the context) see Fagiolo dell’Arco-Carandini 1977–1978; Fagiolo dell’Arco 1997; Fagiolo 1997a and 1997b. Cf. Fagiolo-Madonna 1985 for the *festa* in the context of the Jubilees.

<sup>3</sup> See Fenlon 2019; Knighton – Mazuela-Anguita 2018 and the bibliography cited there; Knighton – Mazuela-Anguita 2015; Fisher 2013, 4–9; especially regarding Rome, cf. Filippi 2019.

<sup>4</sup> The subject matter of this study is limited to the so-called *ordinary* Jubilees, the Holy Years celebrated every twenty-five years. The extraordinary Jubilees, for which fewer sources are available, were declared on special occasions—such as the beginning of a new pontificate, the invocation for peace or its restoration after a war, etc.—and could last only several days (see Sanfilippo 2016; Melloni 2016: 78–81).

<sup>5</sup> The construction of the church began in May 1632 and was completed in 1657–65. The church was consecrated in 1634, enlarged around 1678, and radically restored after the 1943 bombardments during World War II that destroyed the vaults frescoed by Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), a Jesuit painter, architect, and stage designer. See De Mari-Nobile-Pascucci, eds. 1999, 166–169.

<sup>6</sup> Ottavio Bovarelli was one of the first people to join Calasanz’s first congregation, of which he was part until 1623, when he left the order to take part in the secular clergy. For further information see the database *Writings of Saint Joseph Calasanz*, <<http://scripta.scolopi.net/calasanz/>> (accessed 4 January 2021).

<sup>7</sup> For notes on the history of the confraternity see Orlandi 1825.

<sup>8</sup> The letters have been published in Picanyol, ed. 1950–1956, II, 299–305.

<sup>9</sup> Important studies on the reception practices of Roman archconfraternities are Romani 1948; Fiorani 1985; Nanni-Visceglia 1997; Julia 1997 and 2000; Cabibbo 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Letter of 26 September 1625 edited in Picanyol, ed. 1950–1956, II, 303–304: 304 (‘Qui si metterà la processione in ordine a S.ta Maria nova et farà l’intrata per Roma [...]’). In this context, the expression ‘farà l’intrata’—literally ‘make the entrance’—should be understood in the sense of ‘start the ceremony’ (see also Battaglia 1995, V, 174–176: 174, § 3).

<sup>11</sup> On the routes travelled by confraternities and other pilgrims for Jubilees in Italy and in the rest of Europe see Belli Barsali 1985; Boutry-Julia 2000; Gomis 2012.

<sup>12</sup> At the Collegio Nazareno in Rome, established in 1630 and managed by the Piarists, a solemn mass was celebrated yearly on 10 December for the feast of the Translation of the Holy House of Nazareth, with music and a festive apparatus borne by the Lauretan Congregation, an institution founded within the college in 1644 in order ‘accrescere ’l culto, e la devozione alla gran Madre di Dio’ (to expand the cult and worship of the Great Mother of God), as stated in the congregation’s constitutions [ed. in Pucci 1980, 91; relevant archival sources are in Rome, Archivio del Collegio Nazareno, vol. 281, 122–190, *Regole della Congregazione di Santa Maria di Loreto*; vol. 283, *Dell’origine e progressi della Congregazione Lauretana*]. In September, the college celebrated the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary with a

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magnificent academic gathering, during which a cantata, specially composed for the occasion, was usually performed by professional singers and musicians. In the eighteenth century, many renowned composers worked for the Nazareno, such as Pietro Scarlatti, Giuseppe Amadori, Francesco Gasparini, Giuseppe Valentini and Niccolò Jommelli; see Lanfranchi-Careri 1987; Careri 1987; Roma 2021 and 2022.

<sup>13</sup> According to Saverio Franchi [1988], 908, Ruggieri could be of ‘Florentine origin’. He was a ‘poet, orator, hagiographer, collector of theatrical books; member of the academies of the Sterili, Umoristi and Infecondi of Rome’.

<sup>14</sup> See Pifferi 2004. An account of Ossoliński’s parade by Virginio Parisi, Urban VIII’s chamber attendant, was published in two editions (in 1633 and 1634), one of which with a dedication to the ambassador (*Vera relatione della solenne entrata dell’Illustriss. & Excellentiss. Sig. Giorgio Ossolinschi* [...], Roma: Francesco Cavalli, 1634). A fine etching in six sheets, engraved by Stefano Della Bella and printed by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, was also issued in 1633 (see Fagiolo dell’Arco-Carandini 1977–1978, I, 326–327; II, 355, 405; for a digitalised version of the copy preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art see <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/395745>>, accessed on 8 January 2021). In 1638, a similar event occurred when the extraordinary Imperial ambassador Johann Anton von Eggenberg (1610–1649) was sent to Rome by Ferdinand III (1608–1657), the new king of the Romans, to achieve recognition of his sovereign status as emperor of Holy Roman Empire. For an investigation of this complicated case—the ceremony had to be postponed and performed twice due to the ambassador’s discontent and a diplomatic incident with Pope Urban VIII—see Lamothe 2020.

<sup>15</sup> On Christina of Sweden, see Bjurström 1966; Morelli 1997; *Cristina di Svezia e la musica* 1998; Poli 2005.

<sup>16</sup> A contemporary publication that documents the activity of the Archconfraternity of the Santissima Trinità is the *Relazione delle funzioni principali che si esercitano dalla Nobilissima Archiconfraternità della Santissima Trinità di Roma nell’albergare i peregrini l’Anno del Giubileo 1650* (Roma: Francesco Moneta, 1650) by Francesco Bosoni.

<sup>17</sup> See Serra 2016, 64.

<sup>18</sup> On aggregation of confraternities, see Black 1989, 72–74, and 1999; Cajani 1993; Dompnier 1996 and 2000; Serra 2016.

<sup>19</sup> The printed diaries describe foreign confraternities ‘donating’ not just money, but also banners and fabrics, wax, candles or torches, silver basins, goblets and other sacred ornaments, wood, wine, oil, wheat, meat, cheese, etc. See, for example, the list of the ‘Donativi fatti dalle compagnie forastiere venute per conseguire il Santissimo Giubileo nel presente anno Santo MDCL a queste di Roma, che le hanno o incontrate o alloggiato’, in Ruggieri 1651, fols. [Tt<sub>3</sub>]r–Vv<sub>2</sub>r.

<sup>20</sup> Ruggieri usually uses imprecise quantifiers such as ‘some’, ‘a large amount’ or ‘many’ to describe the quantity of firecrackers used (see for example *ibid.*, 32, 150, 157, 165, 246); he gives a specific number only in a few cases, usually when that number is a smaller one (less than twenty, see *ibid.*, 221–222, 293; only for the *Compagnia di San Vito* does Ruggieri mention about 60 shots, cf. *ibid.*, 302–303). No other source can confirm the veracity of Ruggieri’s words, but the fact that the author has explicitly reported the number of firecrackers used suggests a conscious rhetorical choice to highlight the greater importance—at least in his eyes—of certain events.

<sup>21</sup> Ruggieri alludes to four ‘trombetti in sacco’, which Rostirolla [2006, 62] identifies with players of bagpipes or other wind instruments like the *cennamelle a vescica* or the *zampogne*. That said, Ruggieri frequently uses the expression ‘in sacco’ to indicate the cassock (cf. Battaglia 1995, XVII, 305–309: 306, § 4), *i.e.*, the liturgical or processional vestment traditionally worn by the members of confraternities. It follows that, in the procession discussed here, four of the ‘trombetti’ were trumpeters dressed in ceremonial parade uniforms, probably those of Frascati confraternity. Furthermore, they were probably either

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musically skilled brothers or professional musicians provided by the confraternity itself, coming from its hometown or arranged in Rome, as other cases suggest (see Glixon 2003, 242–244).

<sup>22</sup> This has been also observed by Noel O'Regan 2017, 264: "Groups of musicians were distributed among those processing in a way so as not to interfere with each other, but also to draw attention to important components, such as relics, floats or significant churchmen or aristocrats." The role of music in highlighting the ritual objects is evident in descriptions of many other Jubilee processions: for example, in 1650 the cortège of the *Compagnia della Santissima Trinità* from Ariano (Apulia) included a choir with players of violins, violones and trombones parading before the crucifix (cf. Ruggieri 1651, 264); in the 1675 procession of a confraternity from Castel Madama (around 50 km east of Rome) some trumpeters carried a standard of Our Lady of the Assumption, and a choir preceded the crucifix (cf. Caetano 1691, 409).

<sup>23</sup> On this aspect, see Cametti 1925 and Rostirolla 2006, 10–11, 28–30. For a similar case in the context of late-fifteenth-century Barcelona, see Kreitner 1992.

<sup>24</sup> For a study on the processional music in post-Tridentine Rome, see O'Regan 1992 and 2005. On the production and consumption of music during the seventeenth-century Jubilees, see Morelli 1985.

<sup>25</sup> For a similar argument, see Fenlon 2019, 221: 'Recognition of the rich sonic panorama of European cities involves not only a reconstruction of the complex life of the central square, with its wide range of social uses, but also pursuit of the everyday noises of the street, the web of sound that united workshops, conversation in different dialects or even languages, rowdy adolescents, animals, shopkeepers, and beggars'.

<sup>26</sup> These considerations recall the concept of *acoustic community* introduced by Barry Truax (1984). See also the contribution by Tess Knighton in this volume.

<sup>27</sup> In the years 1646–53, the Collegio Nazareno's headquarters were in the Borgo district, first in Palazzo Rusticucci (next to the colonnade of St Peter's Square) and then in other nearby buildings. The college moved to its present site in 1689. See Roma 2021; Vannucci 1998<sup>2</sup>, 71–73.

<sup>28</sup> The *estoc* is a type of thrusting sword that was used from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

<sup>29</sup> Giuseppe Fedele (c. 1605 – 17 May 1683) was born in Sezze to Antonio Fedele, governor of Marino, and joined the Piarists on 2 July 1621 in Rome, with the name of Giuseppe della Visitazione. He held several offices within the Piarist order, including the Frascati Superiorship (1632–1634), the Neapolitan (1637–1641) and Roman (1642–1645) Provincialship and the Generalate (from 1671). For further information, see the database *Writings of Saint Joseph Calasanz*, <<http://scripta.scolopi.net/calasanz/>> (accessed 4 January 2021). On Ottavio Bovarelli see above, note 6.

<sup>30</sup> On occasional poetry and its function, see Matvejević 1979 and Delattre-Lionetto 2014.

<sup>31</sup> The order was restored in 1669 by Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi. For an overview of the history of the Piarists, see Lezáun 2011; Heimbucher 1965, II, 121–130; Picanyol 1932.

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