

# Celebrating as a Nation. The Festival Life of Foreign Communities and Identity Building in Early Modern Rome

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An engraving by Antonio Tempesta shows a bird's eye view of a spectacular ceremony in Piazza Navona in the centre of Rome (Fig. 1).

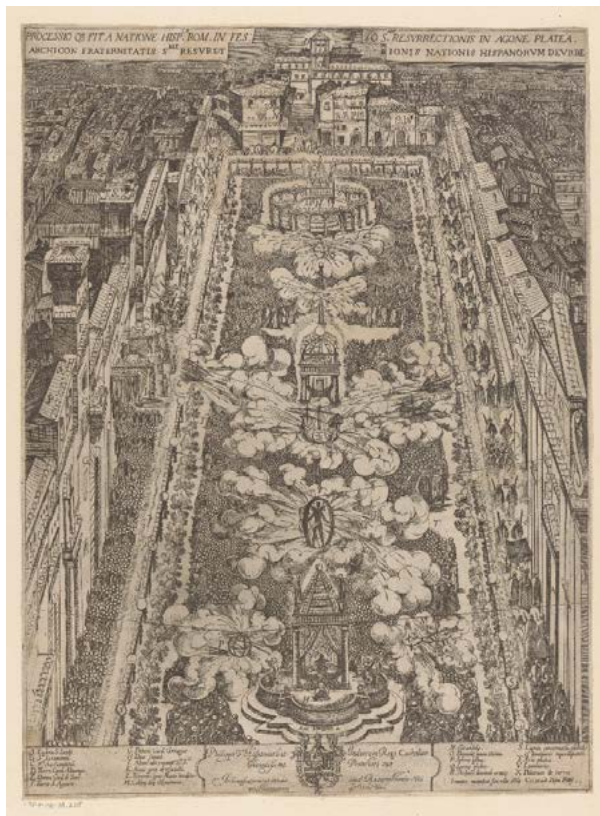


Fig. 1. Antonio Tempesta, *Festa della Resurrezione* of the Spanish Archconfraternity in Piazza Navona on Easter morning 1589, 1603, engraving, 518 x 380 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The square, on whose central axis three ciborium-like festival architectures are erected, is populated by numerous people. Cord fireworks explode over their heads, representing globes, a demon

and a sea battle. A procession leads around the elongated inner part of the *piazza* of religious and secular dignitaries, who enter in pairs with long candlesticks in their hands, accompanied by seven choirs, positioned in different parts of the square, including three on the festival architectures. The starting and finishing point is the church of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, located on the eastern side of the square, in front of which Tempesta depicts the culmination of the procession: the Blessed Sacrament, carried under a baldachin by a bishop (Fig. 2).

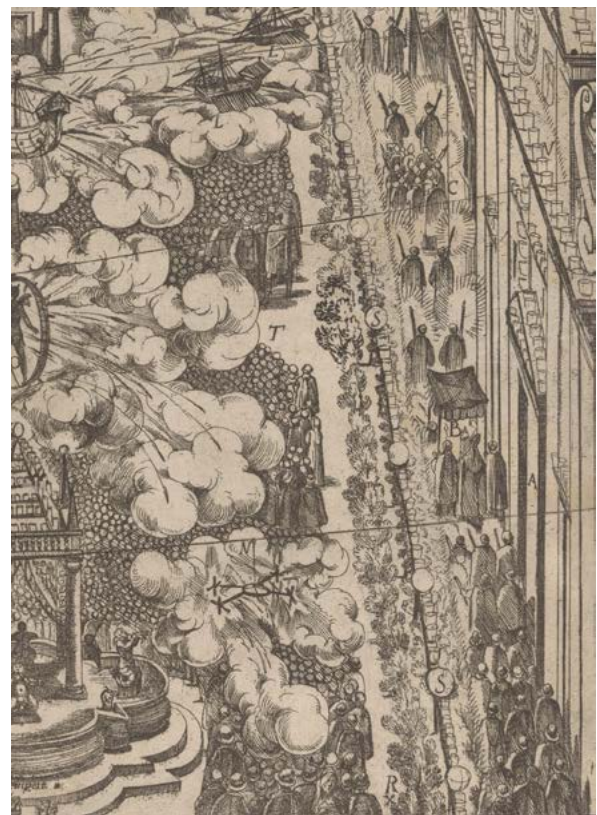


Fig. 2. Antonio Tempesta, *Festa della Resurrezione* in Piazza Navona 1589, Detail, 1603, engraving, 518 x 380 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



charity work for pilgrims and poor compatriots. Centres of their religious and social life were the national churches run by congregations with affiliated hospitals. From the end of the 16th century onwards, the foreign crowns increasingly assimilated the national churches as a platform for magnificent self-representation, which was reflected in prestigious new church buildings with precious and artistically sophisticated furnishings (Koller - Kubersky-Piredda 2015; Molnár - Pizzorusso - Sanfilippo 2017) and elaborate church music (Heyink 2010; Ciliberti 2016; Berti - Corswarem 2019). The national churches of the Spanish, French and German parishes were grouped around Piazza Navona in direct competition with each other (Fig. 3): S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, S. Luigi dei Francesi and S. Maria dell'Anima (Anselmi 2013; Roberto 2005; Matheus 2010).

However, the groups that contemporaries generalised as *the Spanish*, *the French* and *the Germans* did not form a homogeneous national unit, but split into smaller regional subgroups, some of which had their own national churches. While S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli primarily functioned as the parish church of the Castilians, S. Maria di Monserrato was mainly frequented by Aragonese, Valencians, Mallorcans and Catalans (Vaquero Piñeiro 1994; Anselmi 2013). The French *natio* included SS. Claudio e Andrea dei Borgognoni, S. Ivo dei Bretoni and S. Nicola dei Lorenesi; the Minimite convent SS. Trinità dei Monti on the Monte Pincio was even a royal foundation (Académie de France à Rome 1981). Religious institutions of the *natione teutonica* were S. Maria dell'Anima and S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo dei Teutonici e Fiamminghi, S. Apollinare and the Collegio Germanico-Ungarico seminary (Matheus 2010). Led by the ambassadors and cardinal protectors, national factions had formed in Rome, which included, in addition to their own countrywomen and -men, cardinals and Roman aristocratic families who were bound in a loyal relationship with the respective crown. Due to the high diplomatic presence at the Holy See, Rome advanced in the 16th and 17th centuries to become the central stage for the self-representation of the European powers – especially by means of an elaborate festival culture (Weißmann 2021).

The festive calendar linked to the *nationes* included a large number of celebrations and festivities for

religious and political occasions which took place in the national churches, ambassadorial palaces and in the urban space (Boiteux 1985; Boiteux 1989; González Tornel 2017; Weißmann 2021). Through the participation of individuals and institutions of regional sub-groups, the joint practice of religious rites and other communal performative activities, and the visualisation and articulation of national symbols and figures in the ephemeral decorations and music, the festivities functioned as a motor for the formation of collective identities, as will be discussed below.

The feasts of the national saints, who were usually also the titular saints of their national churches, were an integral part of the festival life of the foreign communities. While other feast days of the ecclesiastical year or the feasts of parish consecration and patron saints were celebrated by the subgroups in their national churches (Dompnier 2019), the feast days of St. James on 25 July in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, St. Louis on 25 August in S. Luigi dei Francesi and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary on 8 September in S. Maria dell'Anima integrated the protagonists of different regional origins. The liturgical scheme, which was followed by different national parishes, included a vespers for the vigil the day before, a solemn Mass on the morning of the actual celebration and another vespers in the afternoon. The liturgical functions were attended not only by the members of the congregations, confraternities and parishes of the national church, but also by many other individuals and associations connected with the home country. Among the invited guests were cardinals, nobles and other officials of the faction loyal to the respective crown. On these occasions, the façades and interiors of the churches used to be adorned with extensive decorative programmes of paintings, textiles and lights. Symbols such as towers and lions, lilies or double-headed eagles referred to the ruling house. On the interior façade, portraits of the royal couple, the heir to the throne and the current Pontiff were presented. A rare pictorial representation of such an interior decoration is given by Dominique Barrière's engraving, which shows the nave of S. Luigi dei Francesi towards the main altar at the feast of St. Louis in 1665 (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Dominique Barrière, Decoration of S. Luigi dei Francesi with musicians' platforms on the feast day of St. Louis on 25 August 1665, engraving, 655x440mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund.

According to the design by Giuseppe Zanatta, the nave was covered with precious velvet and damask fabrics and the arcade arches were decorated with canopies with royal coats of arms and crowns at the vertex.<sup>3</sup> On the Gospel side, two hanging platforms had been built, on the Epistle side three more for the musicians, who performed during the vespers and the mass in the contemporary polychoral musical practice (Bassani 2008). In addition to the singers of their own chapel, the congregations usually enlisted numerous singers and instrumentalists from other churches or cardinal households (O'Regan 2019; Pietschmann 2019). As the lists of musicians in the archives of S. Luigi dei Francesi show, an ensemble of 42 singers, six organs, four violins, four violoni, a viola, four lutes, a theorbo and a spinet played at the 1665 fest of St Louis (Lionnet 1986: Doc. 157). The costs for the decoration and the elaborate musical performances were usually borne by the congregations and the diplomatic representatives. As recent studies have shown, Roman and

national customs were mixed, in both devotional and liturgical but also musical practices (Berti - Corswarem 2019). In S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli for example, texts and melodies of the Spanish liturgy were practised despite its official prohibition (Hernández Castelló 2019), while the rite celebrated in S. Luigi dei Francesi was a hybrid of the Roman and Parisian, the so-called 'Gallican rite' (Ciliberti 2016: 187-93). Although it is hardly possible to assign concrete compositions to certain masses, specific French masses can be found in the repertoire of S. Luigi's Cappella despite changing fashions (Berti 2019).

On the feast of Corpus Christi, which was always celebrated with great vigour in Rome, the congregations and confraternities organised processions through the Roman city centre, in addition to the first and second vespers and a solemn mass to be held in the national church (Visceglia 2006). The procession, at the end of which the Blessed Sacrament was carried under a baldachin, was attended not only by the clerical and secular members of the congregations and brotherhoods but also by representatives of other national associations and institutions, as well as the ambassador and his entourage. An account of the Corpus Christi procession of S. Maria dell'Anima dated around 1727 allows conclusions to be drawn about the arrangement of the groups of participants in the German procession (Anima, *Ordine della Processione del Corpus Domini*; Heyink 2010: Doc. B.1.4; 131-33): Two candle bearers and a group of trumpeters, whose playing announced the procession audibly from afar, were followed firstly by the servants of the *signori deputati* and the *famiglia* of the imperial envoy, then by the members of the confraternities of S. Maria della Pietà in Campo Santo dei Teutonici e Fiamminghi and of SS. Nome di Maria, a fraternity affiliated to S. Bernardo al Foro Traiano, dedicated to the memory of the help of the Virgin Mary in the liberation of Vienna from the Ottomans in 1683. Next came numerous *cavalieri*, the musicians and the *sacerdoti forastieri*. A separate group was formed by the so-called *zitelle*, impoverished girls of the German *natio*, to whom the community paid a marriage grant. The chaplains of the Anima also appeared as a uniform group, followed by the provisors *secundum ordinem receptionis*. At the end of the procession, eight *cavalieri nazionali* carried the Most Holy Sacrament, marked by a baldachin

and accompanied by four lantern bearers, followed by the cardinals with their entourage.

Since the processions of the German and French communities usually took place at the same time, the participants were forced to demonstrate their affiliation to a *natio* or their loyalty to one of the two powers by means of their physical presence. The processions of the German and Spanish *nationes*, on the other hand, were staggered so that lay people and clerics associated with the House of Habsburg could participate in both events. Contemporary reports show the importance attached to the symbolic presence – especially of the cardinals. Francesco Valesio, for example, reports on the Corpus Christi procession on 29 May 1701 in his diary: «Si fecero in questa mattina le due processioni della nazione francese e tedesca, dalla prima nella chiesa di S. Luigi e dalla seconda nella chiesa di S. Maria dell'Anima con indicibile concorso, essendo tutta la città incuriosita per vedere in quale delle due prevalessesse il numero de' cardinali» (Valesio 1977-1979: vol. 1: 390). Among the French, the diarist counted only two, while among the Germans twenty-two cardinals, «compensavano il numero grande de' cardinali la scarsezza delli prelati, non contandovisene che dui soli, e questi nazionali»

(*ibidem*). The number of cardinals taking part in the processions was considered an indicator of the influence of the foreign powers at the papal court (Fiorani 1997; Visceglia 2006).

The most elaborate annual festival in terms of organisation and finances was the *Festa della Resurrezione* (see Fig. 1), hosted by the Spanish *Arciconfraternita della Resurrezione* during the Easter Vigil (Luisi 1993; Fiorentino 2012: 68-71; Fiorentino 2014: 733-38; O'Regan 2015). This association, attached to S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, was founded on 15 March 1579 on the initiative of the Spanish ambassador Juan de Zúñiga Requesens with the bull of Gregory XIII *Exposcit debitum pastoralis officii*, initially as a fraternity, and in 1591 it was elevated to the status of archconfraternity (Fernández Alonso 1960). In addition to charitable aims such as the care of mainly Spanish pilgrims, poor and prisoners, the archconfraternity was dedicated to the solemn organisation of the Forty Hours Prayer and the Easter Week festivities. The *Festa della Resurrezione*, which usually attracted countless people from Rome and the surrounding area, began before dawn with a mass in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, followed by a two-hour procession across Piazza Navona. As early as 1596 the pompous



Fig. 5. Dominique Barrière, *Festa della Resurrezione* of the Spanish Archconfraternity in Piazza Navona on Easter morning 1650, 1650, engraving, 386x663mm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund.



display of the Spanish community aroused the displeasure of Clement VIII, who expressed his incomprehension of the enormous expense of the festival – also and especially in view of the ‘Spanish arrogance’ in political and religious matters (O’Regan 2015: 252-53). But it was only under the pro-French Pontifex Urban VIII that the Spaniards had to give up their magnificent celebration in the usual form for several years. Finally, in the Holy Year 1650, after the tide had turned again in their favour under his Hispanophil successor Innocent X, the Spanish community celebrated their traditional resurrection feast with particularly great vigour. An engraving by Dominique Barrière (Fig. 5) and a festival book by Francesco Moneta and Francesco Boncori (Moneta/Boncori 1650) report on this. The decoration, designed by Carlo Rainaldi, with its complex pictorial and textual programme, combined the glorification of the risen Christ with that of Spain and the royal family. While the two festival structures erected above the southern and northern fountains displayed larger-than-life figures of the risen Christ and his mother Mary, the two enormous crowns, illuminated by countless lights, which vaulted over the structure, referred to the Spanish monarchy. The figurative programme of the southern temple featured lions and towers as well as coats of arms of the king and his envoy. On the side facing S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli there was a «meza figura armata con tre picche nella destra, e due dardi nella sinistra con lettere (HISPANIA) cioè Spagna» (Moneta/Boncori 1650: s.P.). The connection between religious and ruling representation is also made clear by the designations in the key of the engraving, which describe the festive architecture as «Arcus Triumphalis à Regno Castellae Christo resurgenti erectus» and «Arcus eiusdem magnitudinis à Regnis Aragonum Christi Matri dicatus». The altar on the west side of the square, designed by Johann Paul Schor, was built by the Portuguese community. On the façade of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli, under a sun made up of numerous lights, St. James on horseback was depicted, «che combattè in aiuto di Spagna per la fede», flanked by the coats of arms of the Pope, the Spanish monarch and his envoy – and other lions, towers and eagles. As with the artistic, the musical endeavour was enormous: no less than twelve choirs played music from different locations as the procession passed by. Four were positioned

on the towers of the fortress that covered Gianlorenzo Bernini’s *Fountain of the Four Rivers*, which was still under construction in the centre of the square; four ensembles were on the tribunes erected next to the triumphal arches, two inside the temporary architectures and two others moved to the beginning and end of the procession. Drummers and trumpeters announced the arrival of the dignitaries. The fireworks, unlike the representation on Barrière’s engraving, were lit only after the procession from the two obelisks, while in S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli the Blessed Sacrament was exposed (Moneta/Boncori 1650: s.P.). According to the diarist Giacinto Gigli, the feast is said to have cost the enormous sum of 12,000 scudi (Gigli 1958: 357).

The highlights of the sacred festivities of the foreign *nationes* were the canonisations of compatriots who were particularly venerated in their homeland and were raised to the status of saints in view of their exemplary life. Monarchs often forced the canonisation processes and promoted them with great financial and organisational effort. Thus, in the 17th century alone, the Spanish kings achieved the canonisation of 15 countrywomen and -men (Dandele 2002: 170-87; Anselmi 2005; Gotor 2007). The celebrations always consisted of a ceremony in St Peter’s Basilica and a procession with the transfer of the standards depicting the image of the saint to the richly decorated national church, where other liturgical functions took place. An engraving by Giovanni Battista Falda gives a pictorial, albeit monumentalised, impression of the canonisation of Francis de Sales on 19 April 1665, the course and form of which Bartolomeo Lupardi describes in detail in his *Relazione* (Lupardi 1665). The crossing of St. Peter’s had been transformed into a *teatro* with numerous tribunes and boxes, in which leading officials of the curia, Roman society and national factions were placed according to the ceremonial, including Christina of Sweden on a throne. Huge paintings between the pilasters showed the miracles of the new saint, whose image could be seen on large standards hanging from the dome. These had previously been brought to the basilica by French Minim friars in a solemn procession (Lupardi 1665: 4). The ceremony was presided over by Alexander VII on a throne on the west side, surrounded by 37 cardinals, 54 bishops and numerous other prelates. As Louis XIV had

pushed for the canonisation of the religious, it was the French envoy, the Duke of Créquy, who asked the Pope to elevate Blessed Francis to the rank of saint (Lupardi 1665: 6). Upon the confirmation of the Pontiff, the *Te Deum* resounded, which was also proclaimed outside the Basilica to the crowd gathered in St. Peter's Square by drums and trumpets and musket shots, and spread throughout the city by canonades from the Castel Sant'Angelo and the ringing of the bells of all the churches of Rome.

On 21 June the French community celebrated the new saint with a solemn mass in the presence of the college of cardinals in S. Luigi dei Francesi, of which another *Relatione* reports (*Relatione* 1665). While the church was ornamented with precious damask and tapestry thanks to the support of the Francophile Cardinal Virginio Orsini, the façade was decorated with chiaro-scuro paintings by Fabrizio Chiari depicting the twelve miracles of the new saint (*Relatione* 1665: 3). Above the main

portal was a large-format portrait of Francis de Sales, flanked by *Religio* and *Caritas*, brightly lit by chandeliers in the shape of lilies. On the interior façade, as usual, the portraits of the French royal couple and the Pope were displayed. According to a list of musicians preserved in the archives of S. Luigi dei Francesi, 43 specially engaged singers and instrumentalists, including singers from the papal chapel, performed works for four choirs (Lionnet 1986: 126). After the mass the Minim friar Ignatio Savini gave an eloquent speech on the new saint (*Relatione* 1665: 3).

In the evening of the same day the standards with the images of the saint were transferred in solemn processions to the Minimite church of Santissima Trinità dei Monti, to the Convent of Visitation founded by the saint and to the Santissimo Sudario dei Savoia, Piedmontesi, e Nizzardi (*Relatione* 1665: 3-7). Since Francis de Sales was born in 1567 in Thorens-Glières, which belonged to the Duchy of Savoy, he was also venerated as a compatriot by

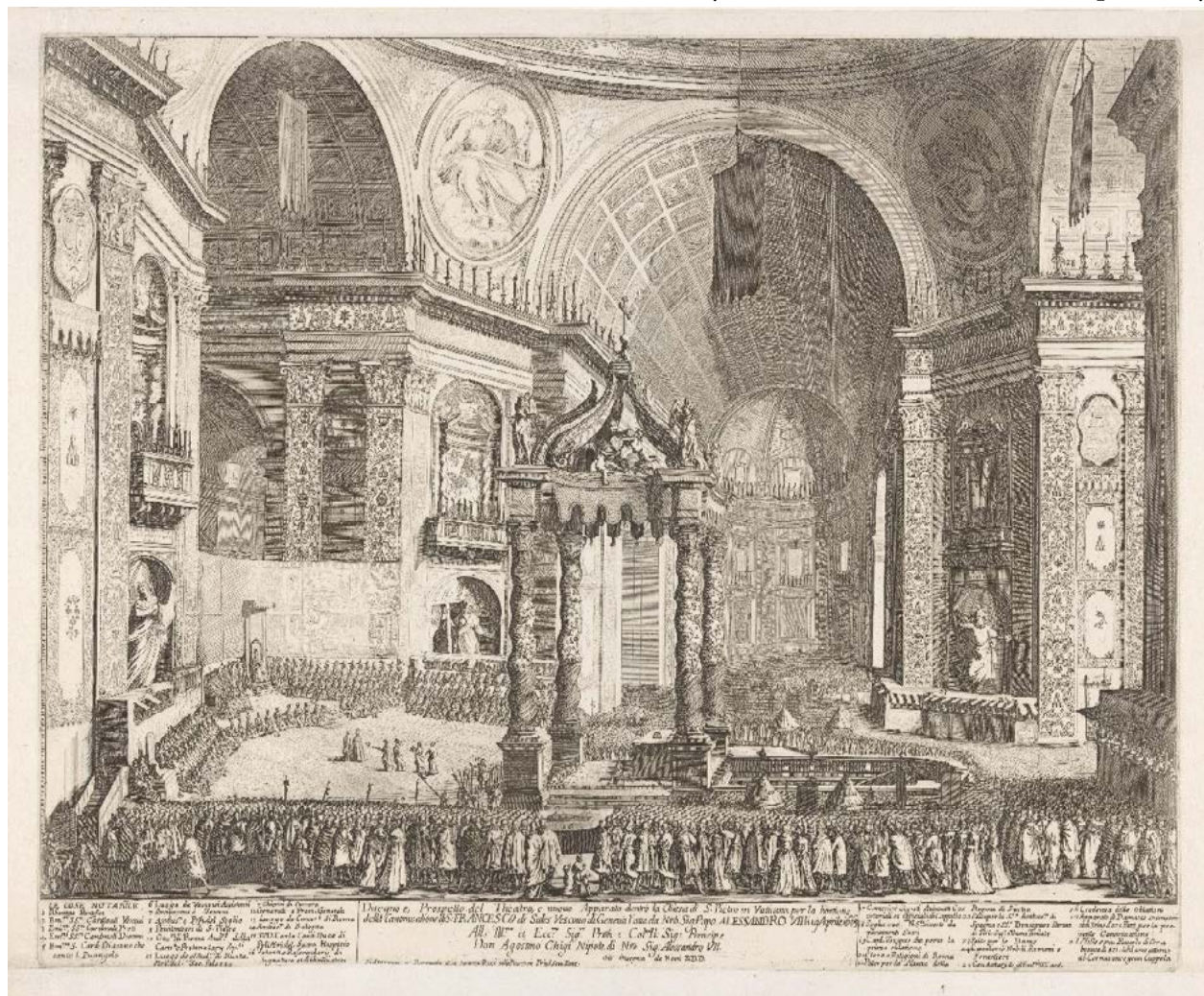


Fig. 6. Giovanni Battista Falda, Canonisation of Francis de Sales on 19 April 1665 in St Peter's Basilica, engraving, 400 x 487 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



the Savoyards living in Rome and was won over for their *natio*. As demonstrations of joy and loyalty the «Palazzi de Nationali, & affettionati della Corona di Francia e della Real Casa di Savoia» (*Relatione* 1665: 7) were illuminated with thousands of torches and candles.

Among the regular celebrations of the foreign communities with a political cause were the name days of the foreign monarchs. For the French community, since the accession of Louis XIII to the throne in 1610, the king's name day coincided with the feast day of the national saint, which is why the French faction celebrated this occasion with particular effort. In S. Maria dell'Anima, the name day of the Emperor was only introduced following the imperial diploma of 1699 (Heyink 2010: 297-316). The programme again included a vespers the day before and a mass and a second vespers on the actual name day. In the morning, the ambassador received congratulations from high-ranking compatriots and from Roman nobles allied with the crown, and after mass or second vespers he gave a reception at his residence, where he entertained the invited guests with a *rinfrasco* or banquet. In the square in front of his palace, wine fountains delighted the people. From the second half of the 17th century, cantatas and serenatas performed in the *sala grande* or in the *piazza* glorified the monarchs.

This effort by the chief diplomats was intensified at celebrations on the occasion of dynastic, political or military events of their ruling houses. On the occasion of coronations, births and weddings, recoveries and deaths as well as peace treaties and victorious battles, the envoys or cardinal protectors hosted festivities lasting several days, which were accompanied by numerous expressions of joy from other individuals and institutions (Weißmann 2021). In February 1637, the German and Habsburg factions held a veritable marathon of festivities to celebrate the election of Ferdinand III, the son of Emperor Ferdinand II, as Roman-German king. Since the election of Ferdinand I in 1531, the Roman-German king (*re de' romani*) was de facto the designated successor to the reigning Emperor, which is why this election was made public in Rome at considerable expense. As Theodor Ameyden, a Dutch jurist and member of the congregation of S. Maria dell'Anima, reports in his festival book, Cardinal Maurizio di Savoia, the cardinal protector of Germany, and other

leading officials of the German community began planning the event as early as October of the previous year in order to coordinate the numerous festive acts of the various protagonists and institutions (Ameyden 1637: 3-5). The celebrations began on 1 February 1637 with a *cappella cardinalitia* in S. Maria dell'Anima, with music performed by three choirs. At the invitation of the imperial envoy Scipione Gonzaga, Prince of Bozzolo, 24 cardinals and the representatives of Ferdinand III and Philip III – as well as numerous «Sig. nazionali» – took part in the function (Ameyden 1637: 5). In the round window above the portal a 30 palmi (6.7 metres) high, gold-framed double-headed eagle was displayed (Ameyden 1637: 7). «Non mostrò minori segni d'allegrezza la Nazione Spagnuola», Ameyden states, «la quale (per mezzo de gli Amministratori della Chiesa li SS. Don Alonso de Oviedo, e Don Francesco Vacca) ornò la facciata della Chiesa & Hospitale di S. Giacomo [...]» (Ameyden 1637: 18). The Collegio Germanico-Ungarico, S. Apollinare and S. Maria di Monserrato were also decorated with festive façades, while countless German or Prohabsburg individuals illuminated their palaces and residences.

The greatest effort was made by the representatives of the Habsburg rulers, who staged several nighttime firework displays at their residences. As was customary in the first half of the 17th century, these consisted of festival machines with moving parts which depicted a plot during the course of the pyrotechnical spectacle (Weißmann 2021). The festival apparatus of Ferdinand III's representative, Monsignor Cornelius Henricus Motman, presented the newly elected Roman-German king as an Austrian Hercules (*Ercole austriaco*) triumphing over a seven-headed hydra (Fig. 6), symbolising the enemies of the church and the empire (Ameyden 1637: 16).

The cardinal protector of Germany Di Savoia, on the other hand, staged the fight of a double-headed eagle with the hell hound Zerberus, representing the Empire's triumph over the rebellion (Manzini 1637: 32-38). Finally, imperial envoy Gonzaga's firework display showed on two mountains of glory the personifications of Bohemia and Hungary triumphing over the rebellion and the Turks (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Festival machine *Hercules defeats the Hydra* from the festivities on the election of Ferdinand III as Roman-German King in Piazza Madama, engraving from Theodor Ameyden's *Relatione* (1637). New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Their respective crowns united under a huge imperial crown which descended for the finale of the spectacle (Ameyden 1637: 9-10). The ideators of the decorations and festival machines were mostly painters, sculptors or architects based in Rome, whose designs were executed by local craftsmen and artists (Weißmann 2020). Once fellow countrymen were involved as artists, contemporary observers noted this as remarkable.

Occasionally, national festivities were held in direct competition with each other. Consequently, in the spring of 1638, the French community responded to these festivities of the Habsburg faction with a one-and-a-half week festive marathon to mark the birth of the French dauphin Louis, later Louis XIV (Gerardi 1643).

Led by the French special envoy, François-Annibal d'Estrées, Marquis de Coeuvres, the festivities were attended by, among others, the cardinal protector of France Antonio Barberini, the French Minim friars of the Casa di S. Antonio and SS. Trinità dei Monti and «Diversi altri Curiali, Speditionieri,

Mercanti & Artisti Nationali di Francia, che si trovarono in Roma in quel tempo [...]» (Gerardi 1643: 33). Remarkable was the firework display hosted by the congregation of S. Luigi dei Francesi, which represented a cloud formation populated by angels, with three figures resting on the sides: the personification of prayer, a Fama with the French royal coat of arms and «una Donna, rappresentante la Francia, con Corona Regale in capo, con gli Ordini pendenti al collo, vestita del suo Manto tempestato di Gigli, che con le mani stese riguardando il Cielo» (Gerardi 1643: 10). In the course of the pyrotechnic spectacle, the cloud opened up to reveal a dolphin and a sun, its rays defeating a hydra, with the audience supposedly shouting («VIVA FRANCIA, VIVA IL DELFINO»). According to Antonio Gerardi's festival book, this spectacle symbolised the victory of France over war, famine and plague, which could be identified in the three heads of the monster (Gerardi 1643: 10-13). The procession of the Breton community was particularly splendid, with the *cappella* of S. Luigi dei Francesi singing hymns and motets in honour of the Breton national saint Ivo (Gerardi 1643: 30-31). On the way from the French national church to S. Ivo, the procession passed through three ephemeral triumphal arches honouring both the Breton saint and the dauphin. The two firework displays that were burned at the end in front of the Breton national church represented an atlas carrying the globe from which a sun rose, on which a dolphin was enthroned, blessed by St Ivo.

From the second half of the 17th century onwards, music in the form of the cantata or serenata became a central feature of the festivities in urban space (Weißmann 2021). These music-dramatic works intensified the festive occasion by means of symbolic and historical references, often ending in openly articulated praise of the sovereign. At the celebrations for the recovery of Louis XIV in the spring of 1687, for example, the serenata *La Fama festeggiante* glorified the recuperation of the French king as an act of God. In the course of the piece, *Fama* and another protagonist proclaim that Louis would continue to defeat the heretics, namely the Ottomans («Lune Ottomane»), in the succession of his holy ancestor, the Holy King Louis (Beraud 1687). The serenata was performed on the evening of the 20th April by a large orchestra conducted by Arcangelo Corelli on a stage built in Piazza di Spagna at the foot of Monte Pincio (Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Simon Felice Delino (draft)/Vincenzo Mariotti (engraving), Cardinal César D'Estrées' festival for the recovery of Louis XIV at the Monte Pincio 1687, engraving from Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's *Roma festeggiante nel monte Pincio* (1687), 105x547mm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.

The artistically illuminated hill and the decorated façade of SS. Trinità dei Monti, whose mythological-allegorical pictorial programme postulated the French royal house as everlasting, formed the stage for the musical performance. No sooner had the music ended than a salvo of saluting guns announced fireworks, which were fired from the church façade and could be seen and heard across large parts of the city with their play of light and noise. An engraving by Vincenzo Mariotti shows the successive moments simultaneously in one image (Fig. 8).

National idioms or nationally-specific festivities played only a marginal role in the foreign communities' celebrations in urban space. These can primarily be observed in Spanish festivals, such as the spring dance *moresca*, which was cultivated by the Spanish community and reminded one of the battles against the Moors, or the *toro de fuego*, a bull apparatus equipped with fireworks,

with which the Spanish special envoy Conde de Siruela impressed the public in Piazza Navona for the election of Innocent X. 1644 (Boiteux 1985). The Spanish ambassador Marchese del Carpio, in turn, had even hosted a bull hunt in 1677, which, however, caused the displeasure of Innocent XI. Although the *caccie de' torri* had been a popular carnival attraction in Renaissance Rome, in the 17th century they were only staged by the Spaniards on the feast day of St. Rochus in the courtyard of the Collegio Romano. When in 1679 the Marchese del Carpio again planned a bull hunt in Piazza di Spagna, an *Avviso* announced in advance, «non si creda li venga permessa tal cosa, più da barbari che da christiani» (Stein 2007: 338). In fact, this bloody spectacle was not supposed to take place. Instead, the diplomat gave a series of Spanish *comedias* and *comedias en música* in his residence.

As these case studies have shown, the festival culture helped to shape and intensify the collective identities of the foreign communities based in Rome. While the immigrants from the Spanish, French and German speaking homelands were separated into smaller subgroups and institutions and often frequented 'regional' national churches corresponding to their regional origins, for the annual celebrations in honor of the national saints and Corpus Christi and for extraordinary religious and political occasions they came together as a community. In the larger festivities they participated with their own religious ceremonies or profane festivities. Through their symbolic presence and their performative actions, the participants demonstrated unity in diversity to Roman society. The union of the different, smaller groups with common regional roots under the guise of a *natio* promised significant advantages: better protection of individuals, a larger social and economic network and, last but not least, a significant gain in prestige – which was a clear advantage in view of the high level of competition from foreign communities in Rome (Fosi 2008; Fosi 2020).

The *Arciconfraternita della Resurrezione* had even constitutionally fixed the integration of the various Spanish subgroups: While the Congregation of S. Giacomo degli Spagnoli only addressed born Castilians, the archconfraternity was open to all 'Spaniards' of the crowns of Castile and Aragon, the Kingdom of Portugal, the islands

of Mallorca, Minorca and Sardinia, and the West Indies (Fernández Alonso 1960: 280). The fact that the Spanish royal family took a keen interest in this reunion is shown by the fact that the first members of the brotherhood were always the King and his envoy. The latter usually contributed financially to the celebration and presided over it as representative of the monarch. In this respect, the «NATIONE HISP[ANI]CA» named on Tempesta's engraving as the organiser of the Easter celebrations in 1589, did indeed include Spaniards from all parts of the Spanish Empire, who came together to form a community and presented themselves to the outside world as such.

The ephemeral decorations and festive machines visualised the common national identity through a multitude of symbols, heraldic elements, personifications and portraits. Already in everyday life, individuals and institutions demonstrated their affiliation to a *natio* by affixing coats of arms of foreign monarchs and heraldic or national symbols on the façades of churches and palaces, residential buildings and shops (Erben 2004: 280-89). They could also be applied to clothing or everyday objects such as trolleys. With this practice, protagonists from different social classes identified themselves as members of a national faction, placed themselves under the protection of the respective monarch or used these confessions as profitable advertising measures. At the festivals on religious or political occasions, the coats of arms and symbols were omnipresent and usually presented in exposed places. In addition, the home countries were visualised by personifications, occasionally also by river gods like the Tagus, Seine and Danube, which represented a country *pars pro toto*. While the rulers were depicted with portraits in the interiors of national churches and ambassador palaces, in urban space they were usually allegorised through ancient deities or heroes, for example as French or German Hercules (*Ercole gallico* or *germanico*). Figures of identification were especially the national saints or newly canonised compatriots, who were venerated as protectors of their homeland and could be seen on the façades of national churches or in processions on standards.

Finally, two complementary aspects can be identified for the process of identity building in the festival culture of foreign communities: internal and external collective identities (Kubersky -

Piredda - Daniels 2020: 13). On the one hand, the liturgical functions in the national churches, which were primarily attended by protagonists from the *nationes* and national factions, aimed to strengthen the internal group identity with specifically national customs in liturgy, music and language. This was based on maintaining cultural attributes and rites from their home countries. On the other hand, the ceremonies organised by competing foreign communities in the urban space were characterised by a high degree of uniformity. Both religious and political festivities drew on established Roman models with similar procedures and programmes. The ephemeral art display and the festival music both built upon an internationally established symbolism and iconography, for the realisation of which the same local craftsmen, artists and musicians were employed. The events were not so much aimed at presenting national specifics as at convincing the Roman and international public of the grandeur and unity of their *natio* and the supremacy of their crown.

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of the concept of *natio* which can be traced back to antiquity. See Gellner 1983; Hobsbawn 1990; Anderson 1991; Smith 1991; Koselleck 1992; Münkler 1994; Petti Balbi 2001; Smith 2008; Tallon 2007; Hirschi 2012.

3 «Joseph Zanattus invenit et disposuit», caption of Barrière's engraving.

## Notes

1 «PROCESSIO QE FIT A NATIONE HISP.CA ROM. IN FES: TO S.MAE RESVRRECTIONIS IN AGONE PLATEA. / ARCHICON FRATERNITATIS SME RESVRECTIONIS NATIONIS HISPANORVM DEVRBE.» Title of Antonio Tempesta's engraving.

2 In this article, ‘nation’ or ‘nations’ is not used in the modern sense of a collective political connection of nation and state, as has only been assumed since the formation of nation states in the late 19th century, but in the sense