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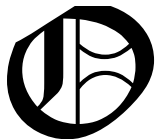
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Possessing Rome *in absentia*: The Titular Churches of the Spanish Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century

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Abstract: This article examines the extent to which the ceremonial and architectural spaces associated with a titular church became vehicles for the display of the ritual and symbolic aspects of diplomacy in early modern Rome. More specifically, it explores how the European powers tried to overcome the transforming nature of these intrinsically contested spaces by manifesting their temporary possession through specific strategies of representation. In order to do so, this article focuses on the case of the titular churches of the cardinals of the Spanish monarchy. Following an overview of the continuities and circumstances that influenced the allocation of titular churches to Spanish crown cardinals, this article concentrates on the *possession* of Sant'Anastasia al Palatino. Because Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas did not travel to Rome to receive his cardinal's hat, the ceremony by which he took possession of his new titular church took place by proxy. This article argues that the rite of *possession* by proxy validated the patronage of the Spanish diplomatic network over Sant'Anastasia, while testifying to the mobilization of titular churches within the ritual diplomacy at the papal court.

Keywords: Titular Churches, *Possesso*, Alonso Manrique, Diplomacy, Rome, Spanish Monarchy.



On 21 October 1602, the Spanish cleric Alonso Manrique de Lara took possession of the Roman *titulus* of Sant'Anastasia al Palatino. Through an urban procession and a liturgical service, the new cardinal ritually ratified his possession and symbolic espousal of the church and of the city of Rome. Together with four *gentilhuomini* and a notary, carrying the apostolic bull and the warrant, Manrique stood at the basilica's front door and performed the *asperges* to the crowd. Sant'Anastasia's priest, Dante Barchio, delivered the keys of the church to him in a silver basin. Then the bells rang as Manrique kissed the main altar, opened and closed the church doors and received the avowal of allegiance from the church's canons. The rite of *possession* closed with the liturgical observance of Saint Ursula and Saint Hilarion, whose feasts were celebrated that day.¹ However, Manrique had not been appointed Sant'Anastasia's titular cardinal. This valued member of the Spanish embassy in Rome was substituting for the absent cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, who had remained in Castile to fulfil his duties as member of the Council of State and as primate archbishop of the Spanish monarchy.

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¹ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Santa Anastasia, 40, fol. 29r.

In contrast to the numerous studies on the role that national churches played in the contested political arena of the papal court, the titular churches have, so far, received very little scholarly attention.² However, the involvement of a high-ranked diplomat in the ceremony of possession of Sant'Anastasia al Palatino indicates that titular churches were alternative spaces for the performance of the ritual aspects of diplomacy in early modern Rome. This article delves into the multiple dimensions of the patronage relationship that united the Spanish monarchy and its titular churches, pinpointing its main elements and demonstrating the fundamental importance of the rite of possession. First, it examines the contemporary political relationships between the Monarchy and the Holy See and the circumstances of the allocation of titular churches to Spanish crown cardinals. Following that, this study lays out the ceremonial stages of the *possezzo* and the circumstance of absent cardinals. Lastly, the analysis of Alonso Manrique's appropriation of the ceremony of possession of Cardinal Sandoval's *titulus* opens the way for an exploration of the connections between these churches and the dynamics of diplomacy in Rome. In sum, the relationship between Sant'Anastasia and the Spanish nation sheds light on the ritual and symbolic strategies with which European powers sought to negotiate their political position in the highly contested space of the court of Rome.

Landmarks of the Spanish Crown in Rome.

Some historians have seen the appointment of cardinals in the early modern period as a window onto the affinity between the Spanish crown and the Holy See.³ Incorporating men from Iberia and territories under Spanish control, alongside Italian clients, into the Sacred College benefitted the Monarchy. Loyal cardinals influenced papal nominations positively. Moreover, a stronger Spanish faction in the College strengthened its international position and widened its patronage networks throughout Europe.⁴ During the reign of Philip III (r. 1598-1621) the political relationship between the Spanish monarchy and the Pope, always subject to fluctuations, soured. Inaugurated by Pope Clemente VIII Aldobrandini's disadvantageous cardinal nominations of 1595, tensions increased further when Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas became the sole Spanish crown cardinal appointed in the 1599 elevation. Clement VIII granted the cardinal's hat to Antonio Zapata and the Genoese Gianettin Doria in 1604, and Paul V to Ludovico de Torres in 1606, the royal confessor Jerónimo Xavierre in 1607, Gaspar de Borja in 1611 and Gabriel de Trejo and Baltasar de Sandoval in 1615. Furthermore, the Duke of Lerma and the royal *Infante* Don Fernando became cardinals respectively in 1618 and 1619. By the end of Paul V Borghese's papacy, the situation had improved. Paul had appointed more Spaniards to the College than Frenchmen.⁵

Most often, the confirmation of a new cardinal came with the designation of a titular church. The heterogeneity of each church's architecture and decoration reflected its growth from early Christian roots and continuity with the present. Through the commission of

² An exception is: C. M. Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome: Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 2009), 235-255.

³ M. A. Visceglia, "La corte de Roma", in *La Monarquía de Felipe III*, eds. J. Martínez Millán and M. A. Visceglia (Madrid, 2008), vol. 4, 947-1011; M. T. Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il Sacro Collegio 1592-1605: meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart, 2004); A. E. Baldini, *Puntigli spagnoleschi e intrighi politici nella Roma di Clemente VIII: Girolamo Fracchetta e la sua relazione del 1603 sui cardinali* (Milan, 1981).

⁴ M. A. Visceglia, "Factions in the Sacred College in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century", in *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492-1700*, eds. G. Signorotto and M. A. Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), 99-131.

⁵ M. A. Visceglia, *Roma papale e Spagna: diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Rome, 2010), 144-171; Visceglia, "La corte de Roma", 981-994.

artworks and other material donations, the cardinals fulfilled their duties and documented their own presence at the papal court.⁶ Broadly, which church a cardinal received reflected circumstances closely connected with his political position. The most important cardinals were those men appointed cardinal-bishops to one of the six Cathedral Churches: Ostia, Porto, Albano, Sabina, Palestrina and Frascati. The cardinal-priests were attached to one of the fifty ancient parish churches or *tituli* founded by Roman patricians. Lastly, younger cardinals were usually appointed as cardinal-deacons and therefore allocated to one of the fourteen lesser *diaconiae*. This threefold division determined not only the cardinal's rank, but also his level of income and the possibility of enjoying the palatial residences attached to some of the titular churches.⁷

Moreover, and most interestingly, a number of titular churches maintained prolonged historical links with certain nations and families. There were many possible reasons for a nation to establish a link with a particular church, such as its location in a neighbourhood with a strong national presence, or tradition. For example, as Mauro Vincenzo Fontana has recently indicated, the persistent allocation of the church of San Marco to cardinals from the Venetian Republic was due to the Venetian Pope Paul II Barbo, who had established a bond between his nation and his former titular church. Similarly, but so far inexplicably, Venetian cardinals often received the churches of San Ciriaco and San Vitale.⁸ Moreover, as Andrea Spiriti has pointed out, during the seventeenth century the memory of the fifteenth-century Milanese cardinal Branda Castiglione may have steered his *titulus* San Clemente into Lombard possession.⁹ Many cardinals from the French monarchy were allocated to the *tituli* of Santi Marcelino e Pietro, Sant'Anastasia and Santa Cecilia in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also Spanish cardinals frequently received certain specific churches. As Piers Baker-Bates has noted, Santa Sabina and the above mentioned church of San Vitale remained in Spanish hands, although the reason for the relationship remains obscure.¹¹ Nevertheless, as will be shown below, other Roman churches continued to receive Spanish patronage, in what might have been a strategy for articulating political affairs at the papal court.

The Spanish monarchy developed strong and sustained bonds with the churches of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and Santa Balbina all'Aventino in the early modern period. Between the late fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries, ten Spaniards held the title of Santa Croce and ten more the church of Santa Balbina. Moreover, often these cardinals were also primate archbishops of the Spanish monarchy or cardinal-protectors of the

⁶ Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 183-234; L. Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton, NJ, 1992), 42.

⁷ M. Hollingsworth and C. M. Richardson, "Introduction", in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art, 1450-1700*, eds. M. Hollingsworth and C. M. Richardson (University Park, PA, 2010), 2-9; Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 235-261; D. S. Chambers, "The Housing Problems of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 39 (1976), 21-58.

⁸ M. V. Fontana, "Qui est titulus meus. I cardinali veneti a Roma e le loro chiese titolari", in *I cardinali della Serenissima: arte e committenza tra Venezia e Roma (1523-1605)*, eds. C. Furlan, P. Tosini and G. Gullino (Cinisello Balsamo, 2014), 419-431.

⁹ A. Spiriti, "Committenza e strategie artistiche e architettoniche dei cardinali Lombardi nella Roma del Seicento", in *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte, diplomazia e politica*, ed. A. Anselmi (Rome, 2014), 460-484 (463-464).

¹⁰ F. Bardati, *Hommes du Roi et princes de l'Eglise romaine: Les cardinaux français et l'art Italien (1495-1560)* (Rome, 2015), 14-15; Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 247-248.

¹¹ P. Baker-Bates, "A means for the projection of 'soft power': 'Spanish' churches at Rome 1469-1527", in *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, eds. M. Delbeke and M. Schraven (Leiden, 2011), 155-181.

Spanish kingdoms. This bond appears to have been rooted in the legacy that two of the monarchy’s most eminent Renaissance prelates, Cardinals Pedro González de Mendoza and Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, inaugurated in their own *tituli*. As Felipe Pereda has pointed out, with Santa Croce the symbolism of the Holy Cross inspired the basilica’s association with the Catholic Monarchy during the *Reconquista*. The cardinal and primate archbishop of Toledo Pedro González de Mendoza and his secretary – and later cardinal – Bernardino López de Carvajal emphasized and perpetuated this connection through artistic and architectural patronage, by commissioning a fresco cycle in the church’s apse on the Finding of the True Cross.¹² Santa Croce was frequently allocated to the cardinal-protectors of the Spanish kingdoms, who acted as ecclesiastical diplomats, creating patronage bonds, sustaining favourable alliances and carrying out ceremonial functions.¹³ In 1616 the canon Juan de Valcárcel y Carrillo dedicated *Roma Española* to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja, a manuscript which he emphasized Santa Croce’s linkage with Spain and eulogized its titular cardinals.¹⁴

Although the church was already allocated to two Spaniards in the last decades of the fifteenth century, it was Cardinal Cisneros’ decision to bind his titular church of Santa Balbina to his newly founded university in Alcalá de Henares that determined its later connection with the Spanish crown cardinals. Founded at the turn of the sixteenth century, during the early modern period this university became one of the foremost spaces for the education of elite cadet ecclesiastics.¹⁵ Besides naming one of the minor colleges of the university of Alcalá de Henares after his Roman *titulus*, in 1510 Cardinal Cisneros designated his successors in the title of Santa Balbina as protectors of the university’s colleges. These cardinals shared this privilege with the Spanish monarch, the archbishop of Toledo and the Duke of Infantado. On the day of Saint James, the patron of Spain, the students would honour their protectors with liturgical commemorations.¹⁶

In 1517 Cardinal Cisneros released a second and definitive constitution for the university that expanded the number of patrons of the university and defined their duties. According to this document, the king of Castile would be entitled to appoint six scholars to the *Colegio Mayor* of Saint Ildefonso, while the cardinal of Santa Balbina, the archbishop of Toledo, the Duke of Infantado and the Count of La Coruña would be able to appoint up to three scholars each. Various civic and ecclesiastic collectives would appoint the rest,

¹² F. Pereda, “Pedro González de Mendoza, de Toledo a Roma. El patronazgo de Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Entre la arqueología y la filología”, in *Les cardinaux de la Renaissance et la modernité artistique*, eds. F. Lemerle, Y. Pauwels and G. Toscano (Villeneuve-d’Ascq, 2009), 217-243.

¹³ On the diplomatic functions of a cardinal protector, see: I. Fosi, “Il cardinale Virginio Orsini e la ‘protezione’ del regno di Polonia (1650-1676): note e documenti dall’archivio Orsini”, in *Per Rita Tolomeo, scritti di amici: sulla Dalmazia e l’Europa centro-orientale*, eds. E. Capuzzo, B. Crevato-Selvaggi and F. Guida (Lido di Venezia, 2014), 229-244; O. Poncet, “The cardinal-protectors of the Crowns in the Roman curia during the first half of the seventeenth century: the case of France”, in *Court and Politics*, eds. Signorotto and Visceglia, 158-176.

¹⁴ Biblioteca del Museo del Prado (BMP), Ms. 16: J. de Valcárcel y Carrillo, *Roma española y discursos modernos de heroicas grandezas del alma ciudad de Roma*, 1616, fol. 145. I wish to thank Fernando Marías for providing me with this reference.

¹⁵ M. Barrio Gozalo, “La jerarquía eclesiástica en la España moderna. Sociología de una élite de poder (1556-1834)”, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, vol. 25 (2000), 17-59.

¹⁶ M. D. Cabañas, *Constituciones del Colegio Mayor San Ildefonso de Alcalá de Henares* (Alcalá de Henares, 1999), 207-208.

totalling thirty-three – symbolic of Christ’s age – students of Saint Ildefonso.¹⁷ It is worth noting that, in the above-mentioned manuscript of *Roma Española*, the canon Valcárcel erroneously reduced the patronage of these cardinals’ to the university of Alcalá to the appointment of students to the college of Santa Balbina only.¹⁸ Insofar as these appointments could be used as rewards through which to maintain or create patronage with noble families, the cardinals of Santa Balbina enjoyed an important source of power within the Spanish court. Arguably, this influence would be most profitable to prelates acting at the court of Madrid, hence the trend for appointing Spaniards to this title.

Table 1: Cardinals of the Spanish Monarchy allocated to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and Santa Balbina all’Aventino (c. 1475-1700). Source: *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, ed. Konrad Eubel (Münster, Librariae Regensbergianae, 1898-1910), vols. II-IV.

Santa Croce in Gerusalemme

Cardinal	Tenure at Titular Church
Pedro González de Mendoza	6 July 1478-11 January 1495
Bernardino López de Carvajal	2 February 1495-3 August 1507
Francisco Quiñones	25 September 1528-5 November 1540
Bartolomé de la Cueva y Toledo	29 May 1555-29 June 1562
Francisco Pacheco de Villena	17 November 1565-23 August 1579
Alberto de Austria	12 February 1580-31 July 1598
Francisco de Ávila y Guzmán	8 January 1599-20 January 1606
Antonio Zapata y Cisneros	5 June 1606-11 April 1616
Gaspar de Borja y Velasco	11 April 1616-15 July 1630
Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval	12 August 1630-17 September 1665

Santa Balbina all’Aventino

Cardinal	Tenure at Titular Church
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¹⁷ J. García Oro, *La Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en la etapa fundacional (1458-1578)* (Santiago de Compostela, 1992), 276-277; Á. Gil García, *La Universidad de Alcalá de Henares en el siglo XVII, según los datos de sus visitas y reformas* (Alcalá de Henares, 2003).

¹⁸ Valcárcel, *Roma española*, fol. 154.

Juan Margarit i Pau	17 March 1484-21 November 1484
Juan de Vera	5 October 1500-4 May 1507
Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros	17 May 1507-8 November 1517
Pedro Pacheco de Villena	10 March 1550-20 September 1557
Gaspar Cervantes de Gaeta	23 January 1572-17 October 1575
Gaspar de Quiroga y Vela	15 December 1578-12 November 1594
Antonio Zapata y Cisneros	11 April 1616-27 April 1635
Alfonso de la Cueva y Benavides	9 July 1635-17 October 1644
Juan de Lugo y de Quiroga	17 October 1644-20 August 1660
Pascual de Aragón	21 November 1661-28 September 1677

All in all, the *tituli* of Santa Croce and Santa Balbina appear central to the Spanish nation's social, political and symbolic identity in Rome. However, while the historical legacy left by Spanish cardinals in these Roman churches may have anchored the Spanish monarchy's legitimate possession to them, this was not the case for all the churches allocated to Spaniards. Most often cardinals received churches with no past associations with their nation. Yet although these churches lacked earlier ties to Spain, they still mattered for diplomacy and political ritual.

The Ceremony of the Possesso.

The Spanish crown was well aware of the significance that ceremonies, religious feasts and processions had for the negotiation of its power in its composite monarchy. The celebration of solemn entries, ceremonies of possession, inquisitorial rites, and royal obsequies was an integral part of the exercise of power as much in the royal court of Madrid as in viceregal courts such as Naples, Lima and Mexico.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Spanish crown also invested large efforts in the celebration of ceremonies and feasts in the court of Rome. As capital of the Papal States and centre of Catholicism, Rome played a crucial role in negotiating relationships between the governments and institutions of Catholic Europe. Ritual and ceremonial were integral to court politics, and the celebration of sacred and

¹⁹ Among many others, see: *Festival Culture in the World of the Spanish Habsburgs*, eds. F. Checa Cremades and L. Fernández-González (Farnham, 2015); C. Büschges, "Ceremonial Demarcations. The Viceregal Court as Space of Political Communication in the Spanish Monarchy (Valencia, Naples, and Mexico 1621-1635)", in *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, eds. J. Duindam and S. Dabringhaus (Leiden, 2014), 94-113; G. Guarino, *Representing the King's Splendour: Communication and Reception of Symbolic Forms of Power in Viceregal Naples* (Manchester, 2010); A. B. Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York, 2008); A. Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York, 2004).

secular rites and ceremonies pervaded not only the interior of churches and palaces, but also the gates, squares, streets and general fabric of the papal city. Aristocratic families, diplomatic representatives, ecclesiastics, religious communities and foreign nations organized and participated in rituals and festivities to occupy and imprint the city with their identities.²⁰ Recent scholarly attention has framed the city's topography as a contested space in which the diplomatic delegations competed for reputation. Suburban villas, city gates, public squares, neighbourhoods, palaces and churches all contributed to the Holy See's highly politicized ritual world.²¹

In Rome, foreign nations possessed supplementary spaces of representation that complemented the customary ritual aspects of diplomacy. Besides the palaces of ambassadors and cardinals, nations also enjoyed patronage rights within various churches. Due to its territorial composition, the Spanish monarchy possessed two national churches: San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona was the church of the kingdom of Castile, while Santa Maria del Montserrat represented the kingdom of Aragon. The crown also held the patronage of the church of San Pietro in Montorio, founded by the Catholic Kings. Through the ceremonial exaltation of the monarchy, the celebration of patron saint festivities, royal marriages and funerals, and canonizations of national saints, these churches became centres of identity formation for the Spanish nation in Rome.²² Lastly, the titular churches allocated to Spanish cardinals – frequent Spanish *tituli* such as Santa Croce as well as rare examples such as Sant'Anastasia – added to the topography of the Spanish monarchy in Rome.

Although the temporal – and sometimes rather brief – nature of the possession of Roman churches surely acted against their symbolic effectiveness as a whole, while they were under Spanish patronage the titular churches of Spanish cardinals must be also considered as part of the spatial topography of the Monarchy. The *possession* of the titular church, that is, the ceremony of possession, provided an occasion for the newly appointed

²⁰ P. Burke, "Sacred rulers, royal priests: rituals of the early modern popes", in *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, ed. P. Burke (Cambridge, 1987), 168-182; *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe siècle)*, eds. M. A. Visceglia and C. Brice (Rome, 1997); *Court and Politics*, Signorotto and Visceglia, eds.

²¹ *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450-1650*, eds. A. Koller and S. Kubersky-Piredda (Rome, 2016); C. Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome: The Rise of the Resident Ambassador* (Cambridge, 2015); J. M. Hunt, "Carriages, Violence, and Masculinity in Early Modern Rome", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 17 (2014), 175-196; C. Fletcher, "The City of Rome as a Space for Diplomacy", in *Early Modern Rome: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Rome, May 13-15, 2010*, ed. P. Prebys (Ferrara, 2011), 78-87; R. Laitinen and T. Cohen, "Cultural History of Early Modern Streets—An Introduction", *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 12 (2008), 195-204; K. M. Bentz, "Cardinal Cesi and his Garden: Antiquities, Landscape and Social Identity in Early Modern Rome" (University Park, PA, Ph.D. thesis, 2003); L. Nussdorfer, "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome", *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 42 (1997), 161-186 (168-71).

²² P. González Tornel, "La iglesia de los santos Ildefonso y Tomás de Villanueva en Roma: un monumento barroco a la piedad hispánica", *Archivo Español de Arte*, vol. 88 (2015), 69-84; A. Anselmi, "Las iglesias de las naciones de la Monarquía española en Roma", in *Las corporaciones de nación en la monarquía hispánica, 1580-1750: identidad, patronazgo y redes de sociabilidad*, eds. Ó. Recio Morales and B. García García (Madrid, 2014), 245-264; J. Freiberg, *Bramante's Tempietto, the Roman Renaissance, and the Spanish Crown* (New York, 2014); D. Carrió-Invernizzi, "Santiago de los españoles en Plaza Navona (siglos XVI-XVII)", in *Piazza Navona, ou Place Navone, la plus belle & la plus grande*, ed. J. Bernard (Rome, 2014), 635-655; A. Anselmi, *Le chiese spagnole nella Roma del Seicento e del Settecento* (Rome, 2012); Baker-Bates, "A means for the projection of 'soft power'"; M. Barrio Gonzalo, "Las iglesias nacionales de España en Roma en el siglo XVII", in *Roma y España: un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna*, ed. C. J. Hernando (Madrid, 2007), vol. 2, 641-666; T. J. Dandele, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven, CT, 2002).

cardinals to be visually represented and celebrated. Materialized either as the final step of the elaborate ritual through which a new cardinal took possession of his red hat or following his successive designations to different churches, the *posse* sanctioned the cardinal's ecclesiastical affiliation with the city of Rome. The crucial political importance that the appointment of Spanish crown cardinals had for the Spanish monarchy and the additional historical allusions that came with certain churches, invest the ceremonies of possession carried out by Spaniards with diplomatic meaning. Thus, the ceremonial and architectural spaces provided by a titular church became vehicles for the ritual and symbolic aspects of diplomacy.

The ritual of possession performed by a newly appointed cardinal was a strongly codified and complex ceremony that developed at the papal court. Firstly, the pope and the College of Cardinals decided the names of the new cardinals during three consecutive consistories. Following this announcement, the new cardinals performed the ritual of closing-and-opening-of-the-mouth with the pope, who imposed silence on each cardinal, subsequently presented him with the *cappello* (red hat), and finally opened his mouth through the rite of *aperitio oris*. This rite of passage symbolized the incarnation of the cardinal's new voice in ecclesiastical matters, that is, his incorporation to the higher echelon of the Catholic Church. Only after this rite had taken place, did the cardinal receive the material symbols of his newly acquired rank: a gold ring with a sapphire and his titular church, both of which acted as representations of his espousal with the city of Rome.²³ The ceremony of the *posse* celebrated in the titular church was therefore the final stage of a cardinal's rite of possession.

The ceremony of *posse* of a cardinal's titular church was largely similar to the possession of an episcopal see.²⁴ Together with his entourage, the cardinal arrived at the front of his new titular church. While kneeling on a carpet and a cushion placed at the main doors, the cardinal kissed the cross offered by the main priest of the church and received its keys. After ritually sprinkling holy water and swinging the incense-boat, the cardinal sat under a canopy and received the avowal of allegiance from the church's clergy. While the canons kissed the hand of their new titular cardinal, the main priest greeted him with the *osculum pacis*. The apostolic bull was read out loud, and a mass was celebrated. The cardinal closed the ceremony by blessing the main altar and all the people attending. Before leaving, he changed his ceremonial clothes and visited the sacristy and the relics of his new titular church. At this point the *posse* had concluded.²⁵ Most probably, the early seventeenth-century oil on copper recently attributed to the Roman painter Ottavio Leoni was a commission designed for commemorating an identical ceremony.²⁶ Depicted with great detail, this painting shows a cardinal and retinue in procession along the façade of a church

²³ M. A. Visceglia, "Etiqueta cardenalicia en la época barroca", in *Guerra, diplomacia y etiqueta en la corte de los papas (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. M. A. Visceglia (Madrid, 2010), 135-169.

²⁴ J. P. Paiva, "Les entrées des évêques dans leurs diocèses dans l'Europe moderne: une vision comparée", in *Les Cérémonies Extraordinaires du Catholicisme Baroque*, ed. B. Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand, 2009), 495-508; J. P. Paiva, "A liturgy of power: solemn episcopal entrances in early modern Europe", in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, eds. H. Schilling and I. György Tóth (Cambridge, 2006), vol. 1, 138-161 (147-149).

²⁵ F. Sestini, *Il Maestro di Camera trattato di Francesco Sestini da Bibbiena. Di nuovo ricorretto, secondo il Cerimoniale Romano* (Viterbo, 1639), 49-54. G. Leti, *Itinerario della Corte di Roma ò vero Teatro Historico, Cronologico, e Politico della Sede Apostolica, Dataria, e Cancellaria Romana. Parte Seconda* (Valenza, 1675), 76-79. BAV, Santa Anastasia, 40, fol. 29r.

²⁶ K. Christiansen, "A Cardinal's procession, by Ottavio Leoni (att.)", Catalogue Entry Metropolitan Museum New York [www.metmuseum.org. 25.01.16], 2014. F. Solinas, "'Bon dessinateur et excellent peintre': Ottavio Leoni à la cour de Rome", in *Ottavio Leoni (1578-1630): Les Portraits de Berlin* (Rome, 2013), 7-39 (23-25); X. F. Salomon, "Ottavio Leoni as a Portrait Draftsman", *Master Drawings*, vol. 53 (2015), 385-390.

standing near a Roman ruin and a triumphal arch. The cardinal is preceded by his court *barbiere* or chamber assistant, who walks carrying the ceremonial mace.²⁷ In the cardinal's left hand is a folded document. This document might be the apostolic bull, which was carried visibly to the church's door and then read during the *posse* ceremony.

Figure 1: Ottavio Leoni (Il Padovano), *A Cardinal's Procession*, 1621, Oil on copper (39.4 x 37.5 cm). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Damon Mezzacappa, 2012. [www.metmuseum.org].



A cardinal's rite of possession could take place *in absentia*, in the cardinal's absence. Due to the cosmopolitanism of the Sacred College, a new cardinal did not have to be in Rome for all the stages of the ceremony of possession to take place. The ceremonial books

²⁷ Sestini, *Il Maestro di Camera*, 32-33.

contained specific sections providing instructions on how to celebrate some parts of the papal ceremony when newly appointed cardinals were not in Rome – as only around two-thirds were resident at any one time.²⁸ This mainly involved the granting of the *berretta*, the first significant ceremonial step of the cardinal's elevation and possession. Girolamo Lunadoro detailed how a papal chamberlain travelled to deliver the papal brief and *berretta* to the new cardinal, which was ceremonially presented during a liturgy celebrated in a prominent church of that area.²⁹ Nevertheless, some stages of the ritual of possession only took place when the cardinal was at the papal court. These comprised the presentation of the *cappello*, the ceremony of the *aperitio oris* and the reception of the material symbols of his newly acquired rank: the gold ring with a sapphire and his titular church.³⁰

Despite the ceremonial model mentioned above, in practice high-ranked cardinals appear to have been exempted from attending the *aperitio oris* for receiving a titular church. Neither the Cardinal-Infante Fernando of Austria, a member of the Spanish royal family, or the Cardinal-Duke of Lerma, a titled noble and Grandee of Spain, did so. This trend continued when Spain's primate, the archbishop of Toledo, became a cardinal. Partly due to the episcopal residence required by the Council of Trent, and partly because the structure of the Spanish government favoured the permanent presence of a high-ranking ecclesiastic in the royal court,³¹ the archbishops of Toledo almost never travelled to Rome. None of Cardinal Sandoval's predecessors in the Toledo see – Cardinals Juan Pardo de Tavera, Juan Martínez Silíceo, Gaspar de Quiroga and Albert of Austria – ever travelled to Rome as cardinals. Yet, all of these primate-cardinals received titular churches. Hence, and as the ceremonial books established that only those cardinals that travelled to Rome to participate in the papal ritual were allocated a titular church, there were no specific instructions on how to conduct the ceremony of possession when the cardinal was absent.³²

The description of Cardinal Sandoval's ceremony of possession *in absentia* reveals that in these cases a proxy performed the rite. A distinguished cleric acted as a representative of the titular cardinal and carried out a ritual that did not deviate significantly from the standard *possezzo*. In order to ameliorate his role as a surrogate, the proxy incorporated a notary into his entourage and carried a legal warrant to the doors of the church. Just like newly appointed cardinals did, Alonso Manrique entered the titular church of Sant'Anastasia representing Cardinal Sandoval, received the loyalty of its canons and celebrated mass. Manrique's performance was legally authorized by Ludovico Massarutio, a notary of the *Tribunale dell'Auditore della Camera*.³³ The presence of a warrant, an apostolic bull and the performance of oaths reminds us of the legal nature of the ceremony of possession, a necessary ritual for legally confirming the authority of both cardinal and proxy over the titular church.

²⁸ Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics*, 41.

²⁹ G. Lunadoro, *Relatione della Corte di Roma, e de' Riti da osservarsi in essa* (Padua, 1635), 86-89.

³⁰ M. A. Visceglia, "Etiqueta cardenalicia en la época barroca", 135-169.

³¹ F. Barrios, *El Consejo de Estado de la monarquía española, 1521-1812* (Madrid, 1984), 236-237.

³² Leti, *Itinerario della Corte di Roma*, 59, 76-79; Lunadoro, *Relatione della Corte di Roma*, 86-89.

³³ BAV, Santa Anastasia, 40, fol. 29r. This notary may be related to the Massaruto family, an ancient Catalan family that became part of the extensive networks of the Spanish nation in Rome. "Massaruto", *Heraldry's Institute of Rome*, <<http://www.heraldrysinstitute.com/cognomi/Massaruto/Italia /idc /844035 /lang/en/>> [accessed 11 April 2016].

The Spanish Period of Sant'Anastasia al Palatino (1602-1618).

Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, Bishop of Jaén, was nominated cardinal in the Sacred Consistory on 3 March 1599.³⁴ Immediately, Pope Clement VIII sent his secret chamberlain Jaime de Palafox to Spain with Sandoval's new *berretta*.³⁵ Palafox's arrival at the royal court in Valencia coincided with Cardinal Sandoval's appointment to the archbishopric of Toledo, effective on 19 April 1599.³⁶ Sandoval's elevation to the Spanish primate see determined his right to receive the cardinal's hat and a titular church while remaining in Castile. In a letter to the Cardinal-Nephew Pietro Aldobrandini, the nuncio in Madrid explained that sending the *cappello* "was usually done with the Archbishops of Toledo".³⁷ Moreover, King Philip III told the Spanish ambassador in Rome that he had been informed that "it is usual to ask what the reasons are preventing them from travelling to Rome to receive the *cappello* in person," before underlining the need to preserve Sandoval's episcopal duties in Toledo.³⁸ Finally, the hat was sent and Cardinal Sandoval received it in the cathedral of Toledo in the first days of March 1600 from the highest-ranked prelate at the royal court at the time, Cardinal Niño de Guevara. A memorial with instructions on how to develop this ceremony had arrived at the church of Toledo weeks before.³⁹ Most probably because of the lack of available churches, Cardinal Sandoval was not allocated a *titulus* until 26 February 1601, when he was given the church of Sant'Anastasia al Palatino; a church with no previous connection to the Spanish monarchy.⁴⁰

More than a year later, on 21 October 1602, the ceremony of possession took place. The description of this ceremony reveals that in those exceptional – albeit not infrequent – cases in which a cardinal who did not travel to Rome received a titular church, the *possesso*

³⁴ Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Archivio Consistoriale (CONS), Acta Camerarii (AC) 48, fols. 65v-66r. Most recent profile with comprehensive bibliography: J. Goñi Gaztambide, "Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval", in *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España. Suplemento I*, eds. Q. Aldea Vaquero, T. Marín Martínez and J. Vives (Madrid, 1987), 651-667. Also see the dissertation by Cloe Caverio de Carondelet, "Art, Piety and Conflict in Early Modern Spain: The Religious and Artistic Patronage of Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval between Toledo and Rome (1599-1618)" (Florence Ph.D. thesis, forthcoming).

³⁵ ASV, Segreteria di Stato – Spagna (Spagna), 327, fols. 47-48; Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Estado, Legajo 971, s.f.: Rome, 16 March 1599, Duke of Sessa to Philip III.

³⁶ ASV, Spagna, 50, fols. 145-150: Valencia, 10-16 April 1599, Nuncio Caetani to Cardinal Aldobrandini; ASV, CONS, AC 48, fols. 73v-74r.

³⁷ ASV, Spagna, 50, 197r-v: Valencia, 6 May 1599, Nuncio Caetani to Cardinal Aldobrandini: "Si va credendo, che sua santità sia per mandare il Cappello al Sigre Cardinal Sandoval, che cossi e solito di farsi con gl'Arcivescovi di Toledo."

³⁸ AGS, Estado, Legajo 971, s.f.: Denia, 13 August 1599, Philip III to Duke of Sessa: "Paresciendome que ya tarda en llegar el capelo del Carl Arçobispo de Toledo aviendo tantos dias que vino el bonete, he sido informado de que a vezes antes de embiar sus capelos a los Cardenales se suelen preguntar las causas que tienen para no yr a Roma a rescibillos en persona."

³⁹ Archivo Capitular de Toledo (hereafter ACT), Libro de Actas Capitulares (LAC), 22, fols. 204v and 216v: Toledo, 29 February and 3 March 1600; ASV, Spagna, 50, fols. 492v and 527r: Madrid, 11 January and 26 February 1600, Nuncio Caetani to Cardinal Aldobrandini. L. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España, desde el año 1599 hasta el de 1614* (Madrid, 1857), 60.

⁴⁰ F. Cappello, *Brevi notizie dell'antico, e moderno stato della chiesa collegiata di S. Anastasia di Roma* (Rome, 1722); G. M. Crescimbeni, *L'istoria della basilica di S. Anastasia, titolo cardinalizio* (Rome, 1722); P. Gauchat, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi, sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series. Volumen Quartum* (Münster, 1935), 6.

took place by proxy. As outlined in the introduction to this article, the *possesto* of Sant'Anastasia was carried out by the Spanish cleric Alonso Manrique de Lara, a prominent member of the dense diplomatic network of the Spanish nation in Rome.⁴¹ Notably, amongst Manrique's patrons were the Sandoval family, the leading lineage at the Spanish court. Besides drawing our attention to the crucial diplomatic role played by these secondary agents,⁴² the participation of Alonso Manrique in the ceremony of possession of Sant'Anastasia reveals the multiple and integrated roles of this ritual, ranging from self-interest and factional mediations to the negotiation of European politics.

The performance of ownership over the titular church of an absent cardinal that the Spaniards developed through the participation in the *possesto* ceremony and the subsequent establishment of patronage networks, was especially important at that time. The last two cardinal creations of the sixteenth century (1595 and 1599) had a negative impact on the Spanish monarchy and determined the fierce negotiations of the first years of the seventeenth century. During the five years that separated the conclaves of 1599 and 1604, negotiations took place as much in Spain as in Rome. In Madrid and Valladolid, the Duke of Lerma, court ministers and members of noble families worked to attain the favour of the papal nuncios. In Rome, the Spanish ambassadors Sessa and Villena, together with agents such as Manrique, were responsible for negotiating the demands from Spain with the Aldobrandini and with other influential Italian families. As Maria Antonietta Visceglia shows, ceremonies were fully integrated into these political and diplomatic strategies, and administrations such as the Spanish and French monarchies rendered their rivalries visible through the display of carefully articulated symbolic programmes in public festivities. Furthermore, as Visceglia has noted, amongst others, the ambassadors, the curia and the clergy of the national churches were the main institutional agents of the monarchies on these occasions of ceremonial display.⁴³

During his stay at the papal court from at least 1598 and until his appointment to the archbishopric of Burgos in 1604, Alonso Manrique played diverse roles in a way similar to an ambassador, combining his services for Philip III with the negotiation of favours on behalf of members of the royal court.⁴⁴ In addition, his ecclesiastical status granted him a distinctive position within the religious rituals celebrated at the Holy See. The Manrique de Lara family had a longstanding career in the diplomatic service, and its members had represented Kings Philip II and Philip III at the courts of France, Rome and Naples.⁴⁵ Manrique's deep understanding of diplomacy and knowledge of the papal court led to his appointment as *interim* administrator of the Spanish embassy in Rome between the

⁴¹ BAV, Santa Anastasia, 40, fol. 29r.

⁴² H. von Thiessen, "Switching Roles in Negotiation. Levels of Diplomatic Communication between the Pope Paul V Borghese (1605-1621) and the Ambassadors of Philip III", in *Paroles de négociateurs: L'entretien dans la pratique diplomatique de la fin de Moyen Âge à la fin du XIXe siècle*, eds. S. Andretta et al. (Rome, 2010), 151-162.

⁴³ Visceglia, "La corte de Roma", 981-988; M. A. Visceglia, "Les cérémonies comme compétition politique entre les monarchies française et espagnole à Rome, au XVIIe siècle", in *Les Cérémonies Extraordinaires du Catholicisme Baroque*, ed. B. Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand, 2009), 365-389.

⁴⁴ Archivio di Stato di Firenze (hereafter ASF), Mediceo del Principato (MdP), 4940, fols. 222r and 227v: Valladolid, 11 and 14 July 1604, Domitio Peroni to Medici court; S. Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III ai suoi ambasciatori a Roma, 1598-1621* (Rome, 2006), lxi and cii; A. López de Haro, *Nobiliario genealógico de los reyes y títulos de España* (Madrid, 1622), 326; G. González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de las iglesias metropolitanas y catedrales de los reynos de las dos Castillas. Tomo Tercero* (Madrid, 1650), 99.

⁴⁵ Barrios, *El Consejo de Estado*, 337-338; J. A. Escudero, *Los hombres de la monarquía universal* (Madrid, 2011), 226 and 230.

departure of the Duke of Sessa and the arrival of the Marquis of Villena in 1603.⁴⁶ Some months before, Sessa had praised Manrique underlining "how positively he has penetrated the humours of this court, the good terms in which he has been able to negotiate with the Pope and his nephews in the affairs under his responsibility, and the special fondness that Cardinal Aldobrandino shows for him".⁴⁷ Manrique's connection with the Roman embassy continued for years after his return to Spain. In 1606, he called attention to the pecuniary and logistical inconveniences stemming from the lack of a stable residence and suggested that the Spanish embassy buy a permanent house.⁴⁸ This was a precocious proposition that highlighted Manrique's penetrating understanding of the papal court and Roman real estate.

In addition to his diplomatic responsibilities, Alonso Manrique performed several ecclesiastical duties for the Sandoval family as their *procuratore* during the years he spent at the papal court. On behalf of the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's royal favourite, Manrique confirmed his patronage over the Dominican church of San Pablo in Valladolid.⁴⁹ Moreover, he acted as agent to the sixth Count of Lemos on his arrival in Rome to perform the embassy of obedience to the pope.⁵⁰ In a brief printed description of these festivities, Manrique was described as "a gentleman well known in this court, because of the nobility, qualities and degrees he possesses".⁵¹ Furthermore, this cleric carried out several administrative duties on behalf of Cardinal Sandoval, related to his elevation and the visitation of the archbishopric of Toledo.⁵² He performed the *possezzo* of Sant'Anastasia in 1602, and by February 1603 he was appointed general vicar of the basilica, a role he fulfilled for around a year and a half, until he departed for Spain.⁵³ As the church's vicar, Manrique made material donations to the church and supervised the reconstruction of its façade.⁵⁴

During the ceremony of *possezzo*, the warrant transformed Alonso Manrique from being the cardinal's administrative agent into the symbolic representation and physical

⁴⁶ AGS, Estado, 1857, fols. 187 and 246: Valladolid, 10 August 1603, Spanish court to Alonso Manrique and the Duke of Sessa. Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, cii.

⁴⁷ AGS, Estado, 973, s.f.: Rome, 14 September 1600, Count of Castro to Duke of Lerma: "lo bien que a penetrado los umores desta Corte, el buen termino con que a sabido negociar con el Papa i sus sobrinos en las cosas que a tenido a su cargo i la particular aficion que le muestra el Cardenal Aldobrandino". Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, cii.

⁴⁸ Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, cii; A. Anselmi, *Il Palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede* (Rome, 2001), 15-36.

⁴⁹ Archivo de la Casa Ducal de Medinaceli (hereafter ADM), Denia-Lerma, 71-7: Rome, 18 June 1601. I must thank Juan Manuel Albendea for his kind permission to access the Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli. Also see L. A. Banner, *The Religious Patronage of the Duke of Lerma, 1598-1621* (Farnham, 2009).

⁵⁰ M. A. Visceglia, "La embajada de obediencia al Papa en el siglo XVII", in *Guerra, diplomacia y etiqueta en la corte de los papas (siglos XVI y XVII)*, ed. M. A. Visceglia (Madrid, 2010), 63-92 (66-70); S. de Cavi, "Ephemera del viceré conte di Lemos (1599-1601)", *España y Nápoles. Coleccionismo y mecenazgo virreinales el siglo XVII*, ed. J. L. Colomer (Madrid, 2009), 149-174.

⁵¹ AGS, Estado, 8793, *La solenne entrata che hà fatto il Signor Conte di Lemos Vicerè di Napoli in Roma alli 20 di marzo 1600...*, fols. 28-31: "signore molto ben conosciuto in questa Corte, per la nobiltà, & altre qualità sue, & per li gradi che tiene."

⁵² ASV, Spagna, 52, fols. 407 and 409: Rome, 14-16 May 1599, Alonso Manrique to Cardinal Aldobrandini. ASV, Archivum Arcis, Armadio I-XVIII, 2113: Madrid, 30 May 1600, Cardinal Niño de Guevara to Cardinal Aldobrandini; Á. Fernández Collado, *Los informes de visita "ad limina" de los arzobispos de Toledo* (Cuenca, 2002), 38-40, 199-200.

⁵³ BAV, Santa Anastasia, 4, fols. 4v-5; 40, fol. 29; 43, fol. 7v.

⁵⁴ Caverio, "Art, Piety and Conflict in Early Modern Spain"; F. Barry, "Building History: the Baroque remodelings of S. Anastasia al Palatino," *Storia dell'Arte*, vol. 95 (1999), 45-102.

embodiment of the cardinal himself. This dynamic parallels ecclesiastical representatives to other intermediaries, namely viceroys and other royal delegates who acted as stand-ins for their princes as much during administrative processes as in the course of ceremonies and feasts. To a certain extent, it may be argued that Manrique became “Cardinal Sandoval’s living image”.⁵⁵ Most revealingly, Manrique’s embodiment as a cardinal coincided with the height of his own curial career and his – ultimately unsuccessful – race for a cardinal’s hat.⁵⁶ From 1600 and until 1604, the cleric was one of a small group of Spaniards that Philip III presented to be considered by the pope. Thanks to the strong support of the Duke of Lerma and to his good relationship with Cardinal-Nephew Pietro Aldobrandini, Manrique was a suitable and likely candidate for elevation.⁵⁷ As *alter ego* to Cardinal Sandoval, it is arguable that Manrique’s performance in the ceremony of possession increased his symbolic capital and conveyed a very powerful image to the audience.⁵⁸ The *possesso* became not only opportunity for Manrique to play the principal role in a public ceremony at the papal court, but also a declaration of the ambitions this cleric and the Spanish monarchy had for the purple.

The *possesso* bore some resemblance with other rites of possession, especially the solemn entries with which popes, viceroys and bishops enacted and sanctioned their authority over the secular and ecclesiastical domains under their jurisdiction. By performing the symbolic stages contained in solemn entrances and their attached rituals, the patrons validated their newly acquired dominion over a given space. Likewise, the individual and institutional actors that took part in the ceremony appropriated the ritual for expressing and negotiating their status. For instance, the papal *possesso* was not only a ceremonial demonstration of papal power but also an arena for manifesting relations between the new pope and the court, and for resolving tensions between families, social groups and foreign nations.⁵⁹ The Spanish viceroys encountered a similar situation during the solemn entrances that were celebrated on their arrival to legally confirm their authority over their provinces.⁶⁰ José Pedro Paiva details how the ceremonial and hierarchical constraints of the episcopal

⁵⁵ J. Osterhammel, “The imperial viceroy: reflections on an historical type”, in *The Dynastic Centre and the Provinces: Agents and Interactions*, eds. J. Duindam and S. Dabringhaus (Leiden, 2014), 13-29; Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image*, 17-50.

⁵⁶ The ecclesiastical careers’ dynamics have been explored by: Barrio Gozalo, “La jerarquía eclesiástica en la España moderna”; R. Ago, *Carriere e clientele nella Roma Barocca* (Rome, 1990); B. McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, 1985).

⁵⁷ AGS, Estado, 973, 975 and 978, s.f. Visceglia, “La corte de Roma”, 955, 984-986. Although his candidacy enjoyed much support, he would never achieve the appointment to cardinalate. His failure was a disappointment for the Duke of Lerma and for Philip III, who rewarded the cleric with the archbishopric of Burgos in 1604, where he died in 1612. ASF, MdP, 4940, fols. 222r and 227v: Valladolid, 11 and 14 July 1604, Domitio Peroni to Medici court; Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, lxi and cii; López de Haro, *Nobiliario genealógico*, 326; González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico*, 99.

⁵⁸ Leti, *Itinerario della Corte di Roma*, 76-79; Sestini, *Il Maestro di Camera*, 49-54. The attendance of the Roman population and of other cardinals was expected and even planned for some of the liturgy’s phases, though the brief description of Sant’Anastasia’s *possesso* does not provide the names of its attendants.

⁵⁹ L. Nuti, “Re-moulding the city: the Roman *possessi* in the first half of the sixteenth century”, in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, eds. J.R. Mulryne, M. I. Aliverti and A. M. Testaverde (Farnham, 2015), 113-133; M. Boiteux, “Linguaggio figurativo ed efficacia rituale nella Roma barocca”, in *I linguaggi del potere nell’età barocca*, ed. F. Cantù (Rome, 2009), vol. 1, 39-79; I. Fosi, “Court and city in the ceremony of the *possesso* in the sixteenth century”, in *Court and Politics*, eds. Signorotto and Visceglia, 31-52; M. Boiteux, “Parcours rituels romains à l’époque moderne”, in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome*, eds. Visceglia and Brice, 27-87; Nussdorfer, “The Politics of Space”, 161-186.

⁶⁰ See a comparative approach in Büschges, “Ceremonial Demarcations”, 94-113; Guarino, *Representing the King’s Splendour*, 18-42; Osorio, *Inventing Lima*, 57-102; Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image*, 119-155.

entrances allowed the customary tensions between the new bishop and the local clergy to be manifested.⁶¹ Accepting the notion of ritual as a means for negotiating and solving the conflicts between local institutions and “foreign” patrons allows further interrogation of Sant’Anastasia’s *possesso* by proxy.

The 1602 ceremony of possession inaugurated a period of Spanish patronage over Sant’Anastasia, a church with an entirely Italian clergy and no previous connections with the Spanish nation. Although Cardinal Sandoval had been allocated this *titulus* in 1601, it was not until the ritualized representation of allegiance between the church chapter and their cardinal had taken place that this new relationship of patronage was validated. The *possesso* ceremony and subsequent visit of the sacristy ratified the beginning of a patronage relationship entailing benefits for the two parties. For instance, any artistic intervention or material endowment commissioned by the cardinal would be instrumental for increasing as much his own magnificence as the status of the church and, by extension, also that of its clergy.⁶² In the case of Spanish cardinals, titular churches provided them with the inestimable opportunity of patronage within a Roman sacred space, where – in principle – they did not possess family palaces or any other spaces of representation. As Cardinal Sandoval was not expected to ever travel to Rome, the actions required for gaining any symbolic or material profits were to be necessarily performed by his agents. In this context, the celebration of the *possesso* ceremony by Manrique seems to have been instrumental for the configuration of a patronage relationship between the church of Sant’Anastasia and the Spanish embassy in Rome.

During these years the canons of Sant’Anastasia – and alternately also its *camerlenghi*, Annibale Lazzarini, Dante Barchio, Giovanni Peculi and Onorio Casnedi – had to negotiate the basilica’s management with Spanish agents.⁶³ Acting on Cardinal Sandoval’s behalf, Alonso Manrique and various Spaniards oversaw the reconstruction of the basilica’s façade, commissioned liturgical textiles and supervised financial expenditures.⁶⁴ Interestingly, two of them had connections with the Spanish embassy and with the diocese of Toledo: the clerics Juan de Escobedo and Luis de Oviedo. A chaplain of the cathedral of Toledo, Escobedo, left Toledo in 1603 to join the court of the Marquis of Villena, the new ambassador of the Spanish monarchy at the Holy See. Escobedo stayed in Rome as the tutor of Villena’s son until 1606, when he followed Villena, the new viceroy, to Sicily. During his Roman residency, Escobedo acted as Cardinal Sandoval’s solicitor in the titular church.⁶⁵ Luis de Oviedo was an important member of Cardinal Sandoval’s court that stayed in Rome between 1607 and 1611 to oversee litigation regarding his blood purity record. During these years, he maintained a close relationship with the current Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Aytona, and also took care of administrative affairs related to Sant’Anastasia.⁶⁶ Lastly, from 1612 to 1617 extant documents record two more Spaniards, the obscure doctors Manríquez and Jiménez, both acting as Sandoval’s agents.⁶⁷

Moreover, during the years in which Sant’Anastasia was under Cardinal Sandoval’s patronage the bond between its clergy and the Spanish monarchy went beyond the sharing

⁶¹ Paiva, “A liturgy of power”, 138-161; *Religious ceremonials and images: power and social meaning (1400-1750)*, ed. J. P. Paiva (Coimbra, 2002).

⁶² Richardson, *Reclaiming Rome*, 197-233.

⁶³ BAV, Santa Anastasia 4-6 and 43.

⁶⁴ Caverio, “Art, Piety and Conflict in Early Modern Spain.”

⁶⁵ Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, lxi-lxiv; B. Rojas y Sandoval, *Constituciones Synodales del Arçobispado de Toledo* (Toledo: 1601), fol. 1v; AGS, PEC, Legajos 61, s.f.; 64, s.f.; 67, s.f.; BAV, Santa Anastasia 4, fol. 5v; 6, fol. 8.

⁶⁶ BAV, Santa Anastasia 4, fol. 5v.

⁶⁷ BAV, Santa Anastasia 6, fols. 17, 19, 23v, 25 and 88.

of administrative duties. A crossed out passage of a document preserved in the basilica's archive, dated on 25 May 1609, reveals that the chapter came up with the idea of giving a relic of St. George as a gift to the wife of the Spanish ambassador.⁶⁸ Gift-giving was a widespread practice designed to construct and maintain bonds through the formation of reciprocal obligations.⁶⁹ Relics became particularly appropriate gifts for Catholic elites, as they combined layers of devotional and material value.⁷⁰ The document, which does not confirm if the relic was finally offered or whether the recipient was ambassador Aytona's or ambassador Castro's wife,⁷¹ reveals a patronage relationship between the Spanish embassy and the church. Simultaneously, during the first two decades of the seventeenth century Sant'Anastasia was appropriated by the Spanish community in Rome.

The ceremony of possession of Sant'Anastasia allowed the Spanish monarchy to represent their new patronage over a highly contested space with which it had no previous connection. It inaugurated a new space for the Spanish nation, with opportunities for patronage networks and Spanish office-holders (either titular cardinals or proxies) to celebrate liturgical feasts. As the titular cardinal was absent from Rome and not able to pursue the ceremonial and patronage opportunities provided by the appointment, members of the Spanish embassy substituted for him. In so doing, the symbolic capital in the dynamics surrounding the *titulus* shifted from the cardinal to the Spanish monarchy. Therefore, the participation of the diplomat cleric Alonso Manrique and his entourage in Sant'Anastasia's *possession* was not only a visual demonstration of the Spanish monarchy's legitimate and temporary patronage over this church, but also a reminder of its influence in the Holy See and its prestige within the Catholic Church.

Conclusions.

This article has shed light on the role that titular churches granted to Spanish crown cardinals played within the politics of diplomacy of the Spanish monarchy. These churches were the visual and symbolic representations of successful negotiations between the Spanish court and the Holy See for cardinal hats. As at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and Santa Balbina all'Aventino, long-standing connections between the churches and monarchy greatly increased the symbolic efficacy. Nevertheless, circumstances such as the customary switching of churches and simple matters of availability determined that their association with the spatial topography of the Spanish nation was only limited. However ineffective the investment of symbolic and economic resources in a temporary possession can appear, the involvement of the Spanish embassy in the ceremony of possession and administrative management of Sant'Anastasia reveals the opportunities such spaces provided for the political negotiations between European powers. Regardless the titular church's status and

⁶⁸ BAV, Santa Anastasia 5, fol. 251. Rome, 25 May 1609: "Si è proposto in Capitolo se si deve dare la reliquia di Santo Giorgio all'Excellentissima Signora Ambasciatrice di Spagna con un breve di Sua Santità".

⁶⁹ Amongst the large literature on the topic, see: S. Kettering, "Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France", *French History*, vol. 2 (1988), 131-151.

⁷⁰ A. K. Harris, "Gift, Sale, and Theft: Juan de Ribera and the Sacred Economy of Relics in the Early Modern Mediterranean", *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 18 (2014), 193-226 (214-215); S. Kubersky-Piredda, "Costola o altro osso notabile: reliquie e reliquiari in dono a Filippo II d'Asburgo", in *L'arte del dono: scambi artistici e diplomazia tra Italia e Spagna, 1550-1650*, eds. M. von Bernstorff and S. Kubersky-Piredda (Cinisello Balsamo, 2013), 103-127.

⁷¹ The Marquis of Aytona left Rome in June 1609, and the new ambassador Francisco de Castro arrived in May 1609. Harris, "Gift, Sale, and Theft", 214-215; Giordano, *Istruzioni di Filippo III*, lxiv-lxviii.

the cardinal's attendance, the ritual of *possession* offered foreign nations a fixed occasion for empowering relationships of patronage and displaying political influence at the papal court.

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