

ORATORIAN SPIRITUALITY IN THE ROMAN COURT AND ITS INCIDENCE ON THE PRO-SPANISH FACTION

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I. Clement VIII and Philip Neri: same Spirituality, same Political Goals

When Philip III succeeded his father in 1598, Ippolito Aldobrandini was holding the papal seat under the name of Clement VIII (1592-1605).¹ Ippolito had known the Madrid court very well since Pius V named him *legato a latere* in 1571.² He had arrived there at a critical moment, the 1570s, in the midst of the courtly disputes between the *Ebolist* and the *Castilian* parties. The Ebolists—with whom he had better relations—were about to lose power due to the passing of some among their main members, such as Joanna of Austria and the prince of Eboli.³ At that time, Ippolito gained a degree of experience that would have come useful later, when becoming Pope. Such experience allowed him to understand the moods at the court of Madrid and enlist to his cause the members of the Ebolist party who were most faithful to him and proved useful not only on the spiritual sphere but also in the realm of politics.⁴

After the passing of Sixtus V in 1590, Ippolito Aldobrandini's name was put forth as a candidate in the following three conclaves (in which the elected popes were, respectively, Urban VII, Gregory XIV and Innocent IX). However, due to Aldobrandini's support towards the Grand Duke of Tuscany and

¹ Maria Teresa Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il sacro collegio (1592-1605). Meccanismi istituzionali ed accentramento di governo* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2004), *passim*; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Morte e elezione del papa. Nome, riti e conflitti* (Rome: Viella, 2013), 339-366; Wolfgang Reinhard, "État et Eglise dans l'Empire entre Réforme et Absolutisme," in *État et Église dans la genese de l'État Moderne*, eds. Jean-Philippe Genet and Bernard Vincent (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986), 175-185; Ricardo de Hinojosa, *Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España* (Madrid: B.A. de la Fuente, 1896), I, 347-423.

² Luciano Serrano, *Correspondencia diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el pontificado de S. Pio V* (Madrid: Impr. del Instituto Pio IX, 1914), IV, 375-376, 522 n. 1; Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Burocrazia, mobilità sociale e patronage alla corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 11-55; Idem, *Roma papale e Spagna. Diplomatici, nobili e religiosi tra due corti* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2010), 93-171; Agostino Borromeo, "Istruzioni generali e corrispondenza ordinaria dei nunzi: obiettivi prioritari e risultati concreti della politica spagnola di Clemente VIII," in *Das Papsttum, die Christenheit und die Staaten Europas 1592-1605. Forschungen zu den Hauptinstruktionen Clemens VIII*, ed. Georg Lutz, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1994), 119-204.

³ James M. Boyden, *The Courtier and the King. Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II, and the Court of Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 7-11; José Martínez Millán, "Grupos de poder en la corte durante el reinado de Felipe II: la facción *ebolista* (1554-1573)," in *Instituciones y elites de poder en la Monarquía Hispana durante el siglo XVI*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1992), 137-197; José Martínez Millán, "Familia Real y grupos políticos: La princesa doña Juana de Austria (1535-1573)," in *La corte de Felipe II*, ed. José Martínez Millán (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999), 80-84.

⁴ Ministers such as Cristobal de Moura, García de Loaysa, the Count of Chinchón, Juan de Idiáquez or the Count of Miranda were the main contributors of Rome during the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII, as the *nuncios* pointed out in their correspondence with Rome: ASV, SS, Spagna, 49 and 52; Serrano, *Correspondencia diplomática*, 375-376.

because of his open pro-French views, Philip II—who held sway over the vote of numerous cardinals and had the support of the Spanish or pro-Spanish faction—never backed his claims.⁵ Indubitably, in the three conclaves that preceded his election as Clement VIII, the Spanish Monarchy under Philip II had shown its power to tilt the papal election in favour of a candidate of its choice: the three previous popes had been the candidates favoured by the King, while Aldobrandini's still unlikely candidacy was bypassed.⁶

Finally, when the 1592 conclave was called, after Innocent IX's brief papacy, the election of the new pope was centred on two candidates: the Neapolitan Cardinal Santori, preferred by the Spanish King,⁷ and Cardinal Aldobrandini, the candidate from the Papal States backed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand I. This antagonism led to a contentious conclave. During the days preceding the election, Santori was the candidate with the greatest chances. After a few confused days, on 24 January 1592, Aldobrandini received the same number of votes as Santori; on 28 January, he had seventeen more votes than any other candidate; and he was finally elected by unanimous vote on 30 January.⁸

The 1592 conclave, therefore, ended with Aldobrandini's victory, as well as with a strong opposition against Cardinal Santori, who was harshly accused of simony.⁹ In addition, the rejection of the Spanish influence in the College of Cardinals became evident in the *animus* of many cardinals.¹⁰ Starting with the election of Clement VIII in 1592, this antagonism caused the popes to seriously attempt to change the rules of conclaves in order to stop, or at least reduce, external political influence. The biggest culprit for having disrupted the normal development of the conclave in 1592 was, in the eyes of the College of Cardinals, the Spanish King.¹¹

A good number of tracts and memorials accused the Spanish ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Sessa, of dreadful diplomatic practice when he spoke publicly of one of the candidates who, in his opinion, had to be excluded. Precisely one of the first changes promoted by Clement VIII for papal elections was regarding *jus exclusivae*, the right to exclude, used by the great powers, especially the Spanish Monarchy, to veto the election of a specific candidate.¹²

⁵ Agostino Borromeo, "Clemente VIII, papa," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 26 (Rome: Treccani, 1982), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-clemente-viii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (consulted on 20 December 2014).

⁶ Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il sacro collegio*, 2.

⁷ Saverio Ricci, *Il Sommo Inquisitore. Giulio Antonio Santori tra autobiografia e storia (1532–1602)* (Rome: Salerno, 2002), *passim*; Idem, "Santoro, Giulio Antonio," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione* 3 (Pisa: Edizioni della Scuola Normale Superiore, 2010), 1370-1376.

⁸ Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il sacro collegio*, 1-7.

⁹ Visceglia, "Morte e elezione del papa", 353.

¹⁰ Borromeo, "Clemente VIII, papa".

¹¹ Visceglia, "Morte e elezione del papa", 352-354.

¹² Paolo Prodi, *El soberano pontífice. Un cuerpo y dos almas: la Monarquía papal en la primera mitad de la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Akal, 2010), 164; Silvio Pivano, "Il diritto di veto *jus exclusivae* nell'elezione del pontefice," in *Studi in onore di V. Scialoja* (Turin: UTET, 1905), 59.

The first to make use of this right was Charles V as the heir to the imperial tradition whereby emperors, starting with Constantine, confirmed the papal election and had the right to veto a candidate. Philip II appropriated this right, claiming that his military might and world supremacy made him the legitimate heir to it. Nevertheless, during the time of Clement VIII this right was questioned. In 1594 the duke of Sessa, who was still the ambassador to Rome, tried to maintain and justify the Spanish King's right by appointing a commission of theologians made up of Dominican vicar general Juan Vicente, Jesuit José de Acosta, and Rota auditor Francisco Peña.¹³

The three doctors met at Santa Maria Sopra Minerva and drafted a document that affirmed that the Spanish King's right of exclusion was justified as legitimate as long as it was exercised by persuasion and not by coercion, and therefore it should remain a prerogative of the Spanish Monarchy, which upheld and defended the Catholic Church with its armed forces. It was licit, therefore, to try to stop the election of a cardinal with little affection toward the interests of the Spanish Monarchy, although this could not be done through unworthy means. Therefore, the Spanish King should avoid giving out privileges or pensions, especially the concession of Neapolitan fiefdoms, and should limit himself to wait for cardinals to act in full liberty and in favour of Spain should they feel allegiance to the Spanish King.¹⁴

In Rome, as could be expected, this document was not seen with good eyes, let alone heeded. A few years later, in 1604, the matter was again taken up in Madrid, discussed in the *Junta del Pontificado* meeting. Then a renewed pro-French party appeared at the papal curia and claimed in the name of the French monarch the imperial right of exclusion passed on to the king from Charlemagne; such a claim certainly endangered Spanish influence on papal elections.¹⁵

In this sensitive context it is necessary to highlight the fundamental role played by somebody who collaborated closely with Clement VIII to counter Spanish influence in the College of Cardinals. This was Florentine reformer Philip Neri, founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, who has been undeservedly overlooked by historiography. Neri arrived in Rome in 1533 and worked there for the remainder of his life. He managed to increase piety, devotion and charity in the streets, and to reform the image of the papal curia in accordance to the Tridentine decrees.¹⁶

Neri manifested on several occasions his rejection of the supremacy shown by Charles V and Philip II in the Italian territories, especially over the Papal States. At the same time, he kept alive the memory of the 1527 Sack of

¹³ AGS, E, leg. 1870, n. 32, cfr. Maria Antonietta Visceglia, "Fazioni e lotta politica nel Sacro Collegio nella prima metà del Seicento," in *La corte di Roma tra cinque e seicento: "teatro" della politica europea*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome: Bulzoni, 1998), 50-51.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 51.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 52.

¹⁶ The best study about Felipe Neri is: Antonio Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri, l'Oratorio e la Congregazione oratoriana* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1989), 3 vols.

Rome and the threat of a new attack that was avoided by the peace treaty of Cave, in 1557.¹⁷ Indeed, after Clement VIII was elected, the new Pope wanted Oratorian Philip Neri —his confessor since he was young— to be always beside him as his spiritual guide.¹⁸

In similar manner, other important cardinals in the Roman curia began to confess with Neri and formed a circle of cardinals¹⁹ that came to be known as the Oratorian wing of Clement VIII's Papacy. Among them were Francesco Maria Tarugi,²⁰ Federico Borromeo,²¹ Silvio Antoniano, Gabriele Paleotti, Agostino Valier,²² Alessandro de' Medici,²³ and Neri's most active disciple in the papal curia, Oratorian Cardinal Cesare Baronio,²⁴ who would later become Clement's confessor. None of them ever hid concerns about Spanish hegemony in Italian territory.

It is of interest, therefore, to study the cardinals' factions from a spiritual point of view and not exclusively insofar as they served one nation or another. In this case the Oratorian cardinals did not show themselves openly favourable to the French monarchy, although they did try to counter the influence of the Spanish Monarchy over the Papacy.

From 1592 to 1595 events forced a complete turnaround against the influence of the Spanish Monarchy in Roman conclaves. In 1592, Henri de Bourbon was proclaimed King of France and he declared his intention to convert to Catholicism, which became effective in 1594, the papal absolution being delivered in September 1595.²⁵ The return of France to Catholicism and

¹⁷ Ibidem, I, 50-53.

¹⁸ Louis Ponnelle and Louis Bordet, *Saint Philippe Néri et la société romaine de son temps (1515-1595)* (Paris: La Colombe, 1958), XLIV-XLV.

¹⁹ Vittorio Frajese, "Tendenze dell'ambiente oratoriano durante il pontificato di Clemente VIII. Prime considerazioni e linee di ricerca," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 3 (1995): 57-80.

²⁰ Antonio Cistellini, "Il Card. F. M. Tarugi, arcivescovo di Siena," *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria* 2 (1943): 88-109; Idem, "Appunti per la vita del cardinale Francesco Maria Tarugi," *Memorie Oratoriane* 6 (1977): 6-12.

²¹ Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta and Nello Vian, eds., *Il primo processo per san Filippo Neri* (Vatican City: BAV, 1960), III, 420-425; Nello Vian, "Biglietto del cardinal Federico a san Filippo," *Vita e Pensiero* 47 (1964): 188-194.

²² About Antoniano, Paleotti and Valier see Frajese, "Tendenze dell'ambiente oratoriano", 60-74.

²³ Matteo Sanfilippo, "Leone XI, papa," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 64 (Rome: Treccani, 2005), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-leone-xi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (consulted on 28 December 2014)

²⁴ Agostino Borromeo, "Il cardinale Cesare Baronio e la corona spagnola," in *Baronio storico e la Contrariforma*, eds. Romeo De Maio, Luigi Gulia and Aldo Mazzacane (Sora: Centro di Studi "Vincenzo Patriarca", 1982), 55-165; Manfredi Merluzzi, "Cesare Baronio e la Spagna, tra controversia politica e ricezione erudita," in *Cesare Baronio tra santità e scrittura storica*, eds. Giuseppe Antonio Guazzelli, Raimondo Michetti and Francesco Scorza Barcellona (Rome: Viella, 2012), 341-365.

²⁵ Olivier Poncet, *La France et le pouvoir pontifical (1595-1661): l'esprit des institutions* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011), 239-242; Fattori, *Clemente VIII e il sacro collegio*, 93-96; Bernard Barbiche, "Clément VIII et la France (1592-1605). Principes et réalités dans les instructions générales et les correspondances diplomatiques du Saint-Siège," in Lutz, *Das Papsttum*, 99-118; Idem, *Lettres de Henri IV concernant les relations du Saint-Siège et de la France (1595-1609)* (Vatican City: BAV, 1968), XXIV-51; José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, "La

the absolution by the Holy See were two decisions taken under the influence of the cardinals of the Oratorian group, always following Philip Neri's counsel, who died shortly after attaining his goal.²⁶

The most striking aspect of this was that Philip II's Spanish Monarchy agreed to the absolution of the King of France without causing a break in its relations with the Papacy, whereas previously any intromission by the Pope that had incidence on the Spanish King's interests would have caused him to interfere diplomatically and, if necessary, to threaten use of force. This apparent passivity on the part of Philip II regarding such an unprecedented event as the reconciliation of a heretic monarch can only be explained by the rise to government positions in the Spanish Monarchy, during the late 16th century, of a group of courtiers who were in the orbit of Rome and who backed the political decisions of the Pope. Thus, from the final part of Philip II's reign, influent members of the court, such as Juan de Idiáquez²⁷ and Juan de Zúñiga, Count of Miranda,²⁸ maintained a close relationship with Clement VIII and his nephew Pietro Aldobrandini, both of whom were kept up to date on the political events of the Spanish Monarchy so that they could act upon them, if they deemed it necessary.

In this new climate, after Henry IV's conversion, the time was considered appropriate for Clement VIII to rebuild the French faction in the College of Cardinals, which had become diluted after years of heretical kings and wars of religion.²⁹ Among the new cardinals that were appointed, were two official representatives of the French King who had negotiated his pardon, Arnauld d'Ossat, appointed on 3 March 1599, and bishop Jacques du Perron, named cardinal on 9 June 1604.³⁰ However, although there was an increase in the numbers of Frenchmen, most cardinals appointed by Clement VIII were Italian. The trend toward a more italianised College was therefore accelerated while the different factions among cardinals were increasingly neutralised.

absolución de herejía de Enrique IV de Francia por Clemente VIII: Un caso moral, canónico y político conflictivo," *Revista española de derecho canónico* 58/150 (2001): 51-93.

²⁶ Ludwig von Pastor, *Historia de los Papas*, XIV (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1927), 184-185.

²⁷ «Yo no soy el que menos desseo que cessen estas disputas y querria que los ministros apostolicos y los reales se contuviesen en sus limites, cada uno poniéndose vaya y contentándose con lo que justas y derechamente les toca, pues assi se debe hazer entre tal Padre y tal hijo como son Su Santidad y Su Magestad, y esta creo que es la intención de ambos, mas quanto más lo siento, assi menos puedo dexar de hablar con esta llaneza y claridad especialmente con V. S., a quien tengo por tan señor y amigo». Juan de Idiáquez to the papal nuncio in Spain, 28 September 1597, ASV, FB, Serie III, 81a, fol. 589v.

²⁸ Since the end of the reign of Philip II was very beloved in Rome and «reconocido con gracia particular por la gran devoción que mostraba siempre hacia Su Santidad.» Therefore, from the Holy See tried to keep him «afectuoso y obligado, porque se ve, que va creciendo en autoridad y, con el paso del tiempo, se reducirá en su persona la suma de todas las cosas de Italia.» The papal nuncio in Spain to Cardinal Aldobrandini, Madrid, 8 February, 1595, ASV, FB, serie III, 81a, fos. 96r-96v.

²⁹ Gaetano Cozzi, "Gesuiti e politica sul finire del '500. Una mediazione di pace tra Enrico IV, Filippo II e la Sede apostolica," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 75 (1963): 475-537; Romeo De Maio, "Alessandro Franceschi e il card. Pierre Gondi nella riconciliazione di Enrico IV," in *Mélange Eugène Tisserant* (City of Vatican: BAV, 1964), VI, 313-356.

³⁰ Barbiche, "Clément VIII et la France", 99-118.

This gave the Pope the means by which to balance the different parties and powers.³¹

Between 1592 and 1623 there was a change of course in the College of Cardinals that would increasingly undermine the influence of the Spanish faction in the Roman curia. We can cite as an example the complaints written to Philip III by Juan de Idiáquez in 1610, concerning the difficulties in the conclaves caused by the scarcity of appointments of Spanish cardinals. Likewise in 1620, Cardinal Giovanni Doria, archbishop of Palermo, had no choice but to hastily leave Sicily in order to attend the conclave in Rome in which Gregory XV was elected. He wrote a letter to the Madrid court in which he explained his sudden departure, which he blamed on «the scarcity of Spanish cardinals present at that court».³²

While politically the Congregation of the Oratory supported a Papacy able to counter Spanish power by boosting the French Monarchy, spiritually Philip Neri had established in Rome an atmosphere of piety and certain religious practices —especially the Forty Hours' Devotion—would spread to other monarchies and years later be adopted by Philip IV's devout court.

II. Oratorian influence in the Spirituality of Philip IV's Court

If 1575 marked the foundation of the Congregation of the Oratory, Clement VIII's Papacy was the time of consolidation for Neri's followers in Rome and their expansion throughout Italian lands with the support of leading cardinals who were *bona fide* disciples of Philip Neri. Even so, it was not until the middle of the 17th century that Oratorian spirituality became firmly established outside the Italian territories. In this light, the analysis of the imposition of Oratorian-endorsed religious practices in the territories of the Catholic Monarchy³³ —the name usually given to the Spanish Monarchy at the time— is essential to better understand the change in political course and this monarchy's greater compliance with Roman rulings.³⁴

³¹ Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il governo dei papi nell'età moderna: carriere, gerarchie, organizzazione curiale* (Rome: Viella, 2007), 120-140; Paolo Prodi, *El soberano pontífice. Un cuerpo y dos almas: la Monarquía papal en la primera mitad Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Akal, 2010), 153.

³² AGS, E, leg. 3478, n. 9; Alexander Koller, "Le rôle du Saint-Siège au début de la guerre de Trente ans. Les objectifs de la politique allemande de Grégoire XV (1621-1623)," in *L'Europe des traités de Westphalie. Esprit de la diplomatie et diplomatie de l'esprit*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France-PUF, 2000), 123-133.

³³ José Martínez Millán and Esther Jiménez Pablo, "La Casa de Austria: una justificación político-religiosa," in *La dinastía de los Austrias. Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio*, eds. José Martínez Millán and Rubén González Cuerva (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011) 9-58.

³⁴ Ángel Alba, "El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en Alcalá de Henares (1694-1729)," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 14 (1977): 123-196; Elena Carmona Medeiro, "El antiguo Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en Córdoba: aproximación histórica y análisis artístico," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia andaluza* 3 (2010): 177-195; Manuel Martín Riego, "El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Sevilla (1698-1893)," *Isidorianum* 7-14 (1998): 483-546; Manuel Martín Riego, "El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri de Sevilla (1698-2002)," in *Órdenes y Congregaciones Religiosas en Sevilla*, eds. Enrique Barrero González and Ismael Martínez Carretero (Seville:

In the Spanish kingdoms the support of Oratorian spirituality by the various family lines of the high nobility and their financing of new temples dedicated to Philip Neri proved to be fundamental for the expansion of the congregation. Then again, it is evident that these families had maintained relations with the papal curia long before. Among them was the Borja family, especially Luis Crespí de Borja,³⁵ who founded the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri in Valencia, and the Marquises of Recaño, who supported the Oratory in Cádiz. There were other nobles, like the Counts of Altamira and the Marquises of Aitona, who gave financial support.

Doubtlessly, the spread of Oratorian spirituality was made possible by the patronage of this high nobility for the founding of new temples, and also by the backing of important members of the high ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as archbishops and bishops, who established in their own dioceses this form of spirituality that was already consolidated in Rome. Nevertheless, the success of the Oratorians in Philip IV's court in Madrid came about through the foundation of the so-called *Schools of Christ*, which followed Neri's method.

A good number of these were started in Madrid. They were congregations of laymen and clerics who met to improve spiritually and fulfil the divine will. In short, they sought a path to perfection and non-attachment to worldly concerns through obligations, penance, mortification of the senses, continual prayer, frequent reception of the Sacraments, and works of charity taught and practiced as a group.³⁶ Members had to practice mental prayer and Eucharistic Adoration every day and receive communion at least once a week. Likewise, they must visit prisons at least three times a year.

The founder of these spiritual groups was Oratorian Giovanni Battista Ferruza, from the Oratory of Mesina. He created the first of these small institutions with the approval of Pope Alexander VII in 1655. That same year, Ferruza founded a similar group in Rome when he went there to take possession as bishop of Trivento, in Naples. From that start, the Schools of Christ spread quickly throughout the Spanish monarchy, to the point that in Spanish territory during the 17th century, there were more than 400 such institutions.³⁷

The spirituality of these groups, focused on the devotion to the Body of Christ and the Eucharist, took as a model the group solidarity and shared

Ateneo de Sevilla and Fundación Cajasol, 2008), 411-448; Martín Martínez Martínez and Gemma Quintana Llamas, "La Escuela de Cristo y Oratorio de San Felipe Neri en Astorga," *Astórica: revista de estudios, documentación, creación y divulgación de temas astorganos* 15-17 (1998): 91-142.

³⁵ Emilio Callado Estela, "El Oratorio de San Felipe Neri y la controversia sobre las comedias en la Valencia del siglo XVII," *Hispania Sacra* 63 (2011): 133-153.

³⁶ Manuel Moreno Valero, "La Escuela de Cristo. Su Vida, organización y espiritualidad barroca," in *La religiosidad popular. III. Hermandades, romerías y santuarios*, coords. León Carlos Álvarez Santaló, María Jesús Buxó i Rey and Salvador Rodríguez Becerra (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1989), 507.

³⁷ Mario Martínez Gomis, "Las escuelas de cristo de Elche y Orihuela: Un aspecto de la enseñanza espiritual y ascética en la España de los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Revista de historia moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 20 (2002): 339-340.

religious practice of Philip Neri's Oratories in Rome.³⁸ This saint was considered the father and teacher of the Schools of Christ. Just like the Oratorians, the members of the Schools of Christ had to lead a renewed Christian way of life far from all sorts of vices.³⁹ They were very select groups, their religious activity was very reserved, and each group was limited to 72 members (only 24 could be ecclesiastics and the rest had to be laymen), echoing the number of the disciples of Jesus according to the Holy Scriptures. Membership carried with it special distinction and great social influence, due to the prestige of these associations. It also implied the sharing of political ideas and direct obedience to Rome.⁴⁰

In Madrid, a number of important figures from the court of Philip IV were members. These were linked in their network of patronage by a common thread: the close ties of each one with the Papacy. Among the important nobles that belonged to the Schools of Christ were the Counts of Altamira, the Marquis of Viana and Gillem Ramón de Moncada, Marquis of Aitona, High Steward of Queen Mariana of Austria and Viceroy in Catalonia, who was a patron of the School of Christ in Barcelona. Furthermore, there were members of the high ecclesiastical hierarchy, such as Cardinal Baltasar Moscoso y Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo; the influential bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza;⁴¹ Cardinal Pascual, regent of the Supreme Council of Aragón, ambassador in Rome and finally Viceroy in Naples; and Nicolás Antonio, from Seville, who was an agent of the Spanish monarchy to the Papal court.⁴² All members of the Schools of Christ were obliged to have a spiritual director who would guide their virtue and act as their confessor. Jesuits were often chosen to perform this function and promote devotion toward the Eucharist.⁴³

It is not surprising that the Jesuits helped consolidate and extend the Schools of Christ in the Spanish Monarchy, as the general of the Company of Jesus, Muzio Vitelleschi (1615-1645), was acquainted with Oratorian piety well before he entered the Company, as he had been trained in Philip Neri's spiritual circle and kept very close ties with the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory.⁴⁴ Thus, when Vitelleschi was elected general of the Jesuits he had already assimilated some Oratorian practices, such as ascribing great value to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Consequently, he did not hesitate to adopt this defence of the Eucharist as a priority of the Company.⁴⁵ In fact, it was the Jesuits who supported most strongly the entry of the Blessed

³⁸ Moreno Valero, "La Escuela de Cristo", 509-527.

³⁹ Ibidem, 507-512.

⁴⁰ Francisco Sánchez-Castañer, "Aportaciones a la biografía de Nicolás Antonio," *Revista de Filología Española* 48 (1965): 1-37.

⁴¹ Fermín Labarga García, *Don Juan de Palafox y la Santa Escuela de Cristo*, in *Varia palafoxiana. Doce estudios en torno a don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, ed. Ricardo Fernández Gracia (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2010), 193-229.

⁴² Gemma García Fuertes, "Sociabilidad religiosa y círculos de poder. Las Escuelas de Cristo, de Madrid y Barcelona, en la segunda mitad del siglo XVII," *Pedralbes. Revista d'Història Moderna* 13/II (1993): 323-326.

⁴³ Moreno Valero, "La Escuela de Cristo", 510.

⁴⁴ Robert Bireley S.I., *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War. King, Courts, and Confessors* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), 22.

⁴⁵ Ponnelle and Bordet, *Saint Philip Neri*, 454-455.

Sacrament into the royal chapel at the Royal Alcázar during the lent of 1639 and, shortly thereafter, backed the implementation of the Forty Hours' Devotion in all the kingdoms of the Spanish Monarchy.

Pope Urban VIII's involvement in favour of the establishment of the Forty Hours' Devotion at Philip IV's royal chapel, with the display of the Blessed Sacrament, is quite evident. The documentation from the Vatican shows how popes, starting with Clement VIII and throughout the 17th century, granted indulgences to those subjects of the Spanish King who venerated the Blessed Sacrament, which shows Rome's interest in introducing this form of devotion as well as the disposition of the Kings in favour of the veneration of the Holy Host.⁴⁶ In addition, in his letters to the nuncio in Madrid, Urban VIII recommended that the King show even further his piety and devotion to the Holy Host if he wanted to increase his estate, placate the Catalanian and Portuguese revolts, which were seriously undermining the unity of the Spanish Monarchy, and reverse the unfavourable course of the wars in which the monarchy was involved.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The indulgence of Paulo V said: «Para perpetua memoria. El Sacro Santo Sacramento de la Eucaristía, en el qual el unigénito Hijo del eterno Padre, Dios de Dios, Dios verdadero de Dios Verdadero, Redentor de la humana generación, Iesu Cristo nuestro Señor, está presente, al qual se debe honrar con todo culto, y veneración, como méritamente professa la Iglesia Católica. Assi nos, a quien el mismo Señor (aunque sin merecello) nos ha encargado la dicha Iglesia para gobernar, quando se ofrece alguna ocasión de veneralle con algún debido servicio y culto, de buena gana la recibimos, y abraçamos, consintiendo a los piadosos desseos de los fieles Cristianos, que lo piden. Por tanto inclinados a los ruegos a nos humilmente hechos del carissimo en Cristo hijo nuestro Filipe, Catolico Rey de las Españas, confiados en la misericordia del omnipotente Dios, y por la autoridad de los bienaventurados san Pedro, y san Pablo sus Apostoles, a todos los fieles Cristianos, hombres, y mujeres, que están en los Reynos y señoríos sujetos al dicho Rey Filipe, que oyendo nombrar el Santissimo Sacramento, le veneraren con alguna manifiesta señal de honor, y reverencia, todas las vezes que esto hizieren, les relaxamos cien días de las penitencias a ellos impuestas, otramete en qualquiera manera devidas, en la forma acostumbrada de la Iglesia: y estas presentes duren perpetuamente en los tiempos venideros. Dado en Roma en San Pedro, debaxo del anillo del pescador, a diez y siete dias del mes de Abril de mil y seiscientos y doze años, año séptimo de nuestro Pontificado.» RAH 9/3718 (13): *Indulgencia concedida por nuestro muy santo Padre Paulo V a los que veneran el nombre del Santissimo Sacramento. Paulo Papa Quinto.*

⁴⁷ Fernando Castillo Cáceres, "El providencialismo y el arte de la guerra en el siglo de Oro: la *Política Española* de Fray Juan de Salazar," *Revista de Historia Militar* 37/75 (1993): 136-137; María Rosa González Peiró, "Los predicadores y la revuelta catalana de 1640. Estudio de dos sermones," in *I Congrès d'Història Moderna de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1984), II, 435-443; John H. Elliott, *La rebelión de los catalanes (1598-1640)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1977), 193-221; Stuart John Wolf, "La crisi della monarchia spagnola: le rivoluzioni degli anni 1640-1650," *Studi Storici* IV/3 (1963): 433-448; Enrique Solano Camón, "Respuesta de los aragoneses ante los acontecimientos del Principado catalán: Datos de una crisis (1640-1641)," *Estudios de Historia Moderna* 85-86 (1986): 187-192; Rafael Valladares, *La rebelión de Portugal (1640-1680). Guerra, conflicto y poderes en la monarquía hispánica* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1998); Rene Vermeir, *En estado de guerra: Felipe IV y Flandes, 1629-1648* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2006); Hugo de Schepper, "Los Países Bajos separados y la Corona de Castilla en la década de 1640," in *1640: La monarquía hispánica en crisis*, eds. John H. Elliott, Rosario Villari, Antonio Manuel Hespanha et alii (Barcelona: Crítica, 1991), 212-258; Alicia Esteban Estríngana, "Deslealtad prevenida, deslealtad contrariada: la obediencia de Flandes en la década de 1640," in *La declinación de la monarquía hispánica. Séptima Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna*, ed. Francisco José Aranda Pérez (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2004), 69-84; José Alcalá-Zamora, *España, Flandes y el Mar del Norte (1618-*

In view of the Spanish Monarchy's delicate situation, Cardinal Barberini, Urban VIII's nephew, also warned the nuncio in Madrid that Philip IV was being subjected to a well-deserved «divine punishment» for so many years of arrogance and lack of respect for the Papacy by his ancestors —meaning Charles V and Philip II— and for the aggressive attitude shown by his prime minister, the Count Duke of Olivares. He placed Castile at the head of a monarchy that was continually embarking in wars without either listening to any advice that came from Rome, or respecting Urban VIII's decisions. The only way in which God would restore the Spanish Monarchy was for the King to show himself more pious and obedient to the Pope. The response was not long in coming: Philip IV ordered the transfer of the Holy Sacrament to the royal chapel at the Alcázar and instituted the Forty Hours' Devotion just like it was practiced in Rome.

But what relation did the installation of the Forty Hours at the royal chapel have with Oratorian spirituality? The continual prayer that accompanied the display of the Holy Host at the altar, that is the Forty Hours' Devotion, symbolised the triumph of Rome's ideology at the Madrid court, as it meant the entry into the royal chapel of this radical practice which had been extended by Philip Neri in the papal court.⁴⁸

The origin of this devotion was the practice of the *Quarantore* that was adopted by Italian churches starting in 1527 after the Sack of Rome. As Charles V's troops marched from northern Italy on their way to humiliate Pope Clement VII in Rome, in several Italian cities passed by the imperial and Spanish armies, clergymen preached against Charles V and warned of the destruction about to be wreaked by the murderous Spanish troops who were causing terror throughout Italian lands.⁴⁹ The only way to counter this fear was to resort to continual prayer to avert disaster. The plan was to move the display of the Holy Host to different churches and pray in each one for forty hours straight, day and night.⁵⁰ Philip Neri, who as a child in Florence had seen the devastation brought about by the troops of Charles V, assimilated the Forty Hours' Devotion and, years later, when he moved to Rome and was working to extend his pastoral method, he propagated this devotional practice in the Roman churches. Forty hours was a symbolic period of time that recalled the time that Christ was dead before he resurrected, so it represented

1639): *la última ofensiva europea de los Austrias madrileños* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1975), 340-343; Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, "Técnica de un golpe de estado: el inquisidor García de Trasmiera en la revuelta siciliana de 1647," in Aranda, *La declinación*, 129-153; Giuseppe Galasso, *Alla periferia dell'imperio. Il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo. Secoli XVI-XVII* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), 271-277.

⁴⁸ Pablo Lorenzo Rodríguez, "Música, devoción y esparcimiento en la capilla real (siglo XVII): los villancicos y tonos al Santísimo Sacramento para las Cuarenta Horas," *Revista Portuguesa de Musicología* 7-8 (1997-1988): 31-45; Luis Robledo Estaire, *Tonos a lo divino y a lo Humano en el Madrid barroco* (Madrid: patrimonio musical español, 2003), 16; Nicolás Álvarez Solar-Quintes, "Panorama musical desde Felipe III a Carlos II," *Anuario musical* 12 (1957): 169-170; José Subirá, "La música en la Real Capilla madrileña y en el colegio de Niños Cantorcitos," *Anuario musical* 14 (1959): 209-213.

⁴⁹ Gianmarco Burigozzo, "Cronica milanese di Gianmarco Burigozzo Merzaro, dal 1500 al 1544," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 3 (1842): 421ss.

⁵⁰ Angelo di Santi, "L'orazione delle Quarant'ore e i tempi di calamità e di guerra nel secolo XVI," *La civiltà cattolica* 68/2 (1917): 476-478.

a long period of suffering prior to a special grace, the end of a calamity—originally the sack of Rome.

Therefore the Forty Hours' prayer, born out of fear and opposition to Charles V's troops, was adopted by the popes, who declared it an official practice in Italian lands.⁵¹ But they did not stop there. Rather, they managed to introduce this devotion, born out of the rejection of Spanish power, into Philip IV's royal chapel, obviously without warning the Spanish King of the anti-Spanish tinge hidden beneath its origin. The reception by Philip IV of this ritual that was widespread in Rome, was so keen that the King himself did not hesitate to impose this continual prayer in all the churches of Madrid starting in 1643. It was applied to different purposes, from seeking a victory in battle to appeasing internal revolts or forestalling the death of a relative of the royal family.⁵² The religious practices implemented in Rome by Philip Neri thus arrived at Madrid. These practices had contributed to the development of the Oratory in Italian lands and arose out of the deep scars left by the 1527 Sack of Rome, which were still felt in Rome several decades later.⁵³

⁵¹ Ibidem, 470-476; Idem, "L'orazione delle Quarant'ore e i tempi di calamità e di guerra nel secolo XVI," *La civiltà cattolica* 68/3 (1917): 34-44 and 222-237; Jose María Iraburu, *Oraciones de la Iglesia en tiempos de aflicción* (Pamplona: Fundación Gratis Date, 2003), chapter 7 and 8.

⁵² «A primero de este partió S. M. de Madrid para Tarazona, y las jornadas las hace mayores de lo que primero se entendió. Va á la ligera; créese hay alguna inteligencia secreta, si bien los enemigos obran lo que pueden. Deja orden para que el tiempo que estuviere ausente esté el Santísimo descubierto continuamente, haciendo Cuarenta Horas en todas las iglesias y conventos de Madrid, por su tumor, conforme al papel que va con esta. La diligencia en acudir á Dios siempre es útil, y la primera que se debe hacer, mas no deben omitirse las demás.» Sebastián González SJ to Rafael Pereyra SJ, Madrid, 7 July 1643, in Pascual Gayangos y Arce, "Cartas de algunos PP. de la Compañía de Jesús sobre los sucesos de la Monarquía entre los años de 1634 y 1648," in *Memorial Histórico Español: colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades, que publica La Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1863), XVII, 145-146.

⁵³ Cistellini, *San Filippo Neri*, 50-53.