

POLI(S)CENTRIC CEREMONIES FOR THE BISHOPS OF THE POST-TRIDENTINE PERIOD: THE *ADVENTUS NOVI EPISCOPI* IN THE DIOCESAN NETWORK OF THE SALENTO PENINSULA*

Premise

Since the 1980's, architectural and art historians have been seduced by the opulence of the inaugural processions of bishops entering into cities, by the architectural structures and their symbolic allegories which they have interpreted as a monolithic and ephemeral example of Baroque celebrations. Arnalda Dallaj undertook a preliminary and accurate study of the evolution of the structures built to celebrate the inaugural entrance of the archbishops of Milan between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries¹. Vincenzo Cazzato also described the temporary structures prepared for such occasions as seen within the context of the

* I wish to thank the *Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia* (FCT) of Portugal who gave me the opportunity to develop this research, part of the project SFRH/BPD/62887/2009. Symbolic but encouraging was also the grant offered by AISU to participate to the V Congress of Urban History (Rome, 8-10 September 2011). I am also grateful to the Library "João Paulo II" of the *Universidade Católica Portuguesa* in Lisbon, and the Association "Casa S. Vicente de Paulo" Lisbon, for the generous and extraordinary hospitality accorded me during the preparation of conference papers and the final text. Last but not least, many thanks to Katie Gray Craven, for helping me in the translation of the final paper.

Abbreviations: ADO = ARCHIVIO DIOCESANO DI OTRANTO; BCG = BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE DI GALLIPOLI; BPL = BIBLIOTECA PROVINCIALE DI LECCE.

¹ A. DALLAJ, *Le decorazioni viarie a Milano in onore dei nuovi arcivescovi*, «Diocesi di Milano. Rassegna di vita e di storia ambrosiana», 21, 1980, 12, pp. 521-530. For other recent studies: A. BARIGOZZI BRINI-C. BOCCIARELLI, *Temi e tipologie dell'effimero a Milano*, in M. Fagiolo (ed.), *Le capitali della festa, Italia Settentrionale*, Roma, De Luca, 2007, pp. 210-246; M. PETTA, *Il 'Monte Etna' a Milano e Roma: il vulcano pirotecnico come scenografia per i fuochi d'allegrezza nel Seicento*, «Lexicon. Storia e architettura in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo», 14-15, 2012, (in press).

Lecce's Baroque². These analyses, however, limited themselves to the space circumscribed within city walls. The festivities studied were organized to celebrate the inauguration of bishops taking over their dioceses; however in reality, these extraordinary ceremonies were a diverse mix of formulas, gestures, actions, and symbolic acts celebrated in many places *intra et extra moenia civitatum*. They constituted a social event, very common in the Modern ages and widespread in Catholic regions of Europe as well as in the former Iberian overseas empires as pointed out by José Pedro Paiva³. They have been the subject of renewed interest since the beginning of the 1990's by Italian as well as Iberian and French historiographers⁴. The comparative study of these expressions of power in differing political, cultural and social contexts has led to the decoding of the morphological evolution and the chronology of the events. In this way, they have complemented the recent proposals by Martine Boiteux, Maria Antonietta Visceglia and Irene Fosi who have focused on the "ritual city" of the sovereign pontiff, simultaneously, the bishop of Rome⁵.

² V. CAZZATO, *Architettura ed effimero nel barocco leccese*, in M. Fagiolo, M.L. Madonna (eds.), *Barocco Romano e Barocco Italiano. Il teatro, l'effimero, l'allegoria*, Roma-Reggio Calabria, Gangemi, 1985, pp. 267-282; ID., *Ingressi trionfali e teatri di morte. Momenti dell'effimero fra Cinque e Ottocento nella Puglia meridionale*, in M. Fagiolo (ed.), *Le capitali della festa: Italia centrale e meridionale*, Roma, De Luca, 2007, pp. 360-376.

³ J.P. PAIVA, *A Liturgy of Power: Solemn Episcopal Entrances in Early Modern Europe*, in H. Schilling, I.G. Toth (eds.), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. I; *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 138-161; based on other examples see: ID., *Les Entrées des Évêques dans leurs diocèses dans l'Europe Moderne: une vision comparée*, in B. Dompnier (ed.), *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque*, Clermont-Ferrand, Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2009, pp. 495- 508.

⁴ S. BERTELLI, *The King's Body: Sacred Rituals of Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, University Park, Pennsylvania State University, 2001, [1st ed. it. 1990]; D. RANDO, *Ceremonial Episcopal Entrances in Fifteenth Century North-Central Italy: Images, Symbols, Allegories*, in J.P. Paiva (ed.), *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning (1400-1750)*, Coimbra, Palimage, 2002, pp. 27-46; A. BLAZQUEZ, *Les cérémonies de prise de possession du diocèse et de la seigneurie de Sigüenza par ses Evêques-Seigneurs à l'Epoque Moderne*, *ibidem*, pp. 61-85; R.J. LOPEZ, *Las entradas públicas de los arzobispos compostelanos en la Edad Moderna*, in M. Romani Martínez, M.A. Novoa Gómez (eds.), *Homenaje a José García Oro*, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2002, pp. 193-209. V. JULEROT, *Le première entrée de l'évêque: réflexions sur son origine*, «Revue Historique», 308, 2006, 3, pp. 635-675; S. GOMIS, *Les entrées solennelles des évêques dans la France des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, in *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires*, cit., pp. 509-524.

⁵ M.A. VISCEGLIA, *La città rituale. Roma e le sue cerimonie in età moderna*, Roma, Viella, 2002; M. BOITEUX, *La vacance du siège pontifical. De la mort et des funérailles à l'investiture du pape: Les rites de l'époque moderne*, in *Religious Ceremonials*, cit., pp. 103-141; I. FOSI, «*Parcere Subiectis, Debellare superbos*». *L'immagine della giustizia nelle cerimonie di possesso a Roma e nelle legazioni dello Stato pontificio nel Cinquecento*, in M.A. Visceglia, C. Brice (eds.), *Ceremoniale et rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe siècle)*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 1997, pp. 89-115.

These solemn religious ceremonies described in the following pages were extraordinary triumphal rituals. They took place outside of the normal liturgical calendar and very rarely coincided with each other⁶. They also brought together a tremendous collection of men and civic institutions, as well as the architectural structures that housed them whilst the bishops traversed great spaces on the journey to their dioceses. It was during these significant moments that the functions, antagonisms and social preeminence of the diocesan or urban spaces were communicated. According to the words of Ugo Volli who focused on the semiotic city: «what art historians describe as passages of styles and periods are mostly the result of conflicts of classes, of functions, of people, of governments»⁷.

This ritual celebrated the public inauguration of the bishop in his ecclesiastical benefice but, at the same time, served to affirm his power and prestige. Many distinctive and conflictual elements coexisted, involving diverse social groups and urban territories as well as some segments of the diocesan space. In the period studied, the episcopal cities were seats of power with special characters, linked and visible in different *topoi*. In fact, there were so many indicators that the investigation cannot be limited to the city walls but must be extended to the diocesan circuit, taking into account the spatial as well as the human dimension: meaningful signs such as near/far, in/out, up/down, material/immaterial, sacred/profane. As Marcello Fantoni recently pointed out, the dichotomy center/periphery takes on new significance when combined with those aspects of the link between the body and the physical center of the sovereign power⁸. Furthermore, the Salento regional diocesan network (the ancient province of *Terra d'Otranto* in Apulia) was an ecclesiastical system staffed, especially during the first modern age, with foreign prelates of differing geographical origin⁹. Those ceremonies, therefore, were

⁶ About the adjective *extraordinaire* opposite to *ordinaires* in the ecclesiastic context: J-Y. HAMELINE, *La distinction ordinaire/extraordinaire dans les textes rubricaux, les cérémoniaux, et chez leurs commentateurs autorisés*, in *Les Cérémonies extraordinaires*, cit., pp. 509-524.

⁷ U. VOLLI, *Laboratorio di Semiotica*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005, p. 9.

⁸ M. FANTONI, *La distribución de los espacios. La ciudad*, Dossier: la imagen del poder real en las Artes, «*Librosdelacorte.es*», 2, 2010, pp. 77-79; ID., “*Non est enim potestas, nisi a Deo*”. *Grazia divina e governo dello Stato*, in J. Martínez Millán, M. Rivero Rodríguez, G. Versteegen (eds.), *La corte en Europa: política y religión (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, voll. I-III, vol. I, Madrid, Ediciones Polifemo, 2012, pp. 35-62.

⁹ M. SPEDICATO, *Il mercato della mitra. Episcopato regio e privilegio dell'alternativa nel regno di Napoli in età spagnola (1529-1714)*, Bari, Cacucci, 1996; P. NESTOLA, *Spagnoli e portoghesi nel Salento moderno: integrazione e “prima” accoglienza delle elites vescovili non regnicole itinerari della ricerca*, in M. Spedicato (ed.), “*Tierra de Mezcla. Accoglienza e integrazione nel Salento dal Medioevo all'età Contemporanea*”, Atti del Seminario di studio (Lecce, 20-21 dicembre 2010), Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia sez. di Lecce, Galatina, ed. Panico, 2012, pp. 75-87.

also a great theater for social and cultural exchanges, as was the case in a range of other political, religious and social centers of Europe¹⁰.

The ecclesiastical network of the Kingdom of Naples was simultaneously broad and fragmented and the recent attention of historians *tout court* and that of the ecclesiastical institutions has been particularly careful to reconstruct the specific act of the (re)establishment of the main authorities of the diocese¹¹. Our objective is to deepen the interpretation of this extraordinary rite, examining a peripheral region subject to the Spanish monarchy¹². The period studied is between the late sixteenth century and first half of the eighteenth century, and the analysis compares 15 inaugural ceremonies of newly appointed bishops of 5 dioceses within the Salento region¹³. The peninsula between the Ionian and Adriatic Seas was a polycentric system of dioceses with a range of functions within

¹⁰ M. BOONE-H. PORFYRIOU, *Markets, Squares, Streets: Urban Space, a Tool for Cultural Exchange*, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol.II, *Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700*, ed. by D. Calabi, S. Turk Christensen, Cambridge, University Press Cambridge, 2007, pp. 227- 253.

¹¹ See for example the analysis centered on Lecce, investigated by art historians: R. POSO-A. CASSIANO, *Il fervore degli arredi*, in B. Pellegrino (ed.), *Storia di Lecce dagli Spagnoli all'Unità*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, pp. 658-659. Exceptional is the preliminary study of the entry of Bonifacio Caetani analyzed by V. DE MARCO, *La diocesi di Taranto nell'età moderna (1560-1713)*, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988, pp. 150-159. Although focused on other ecclesiastic ceremonies held in Lecce, for the social-political and cultural implication fundamental are the studies: M. A. VISCEGLIA, *Territorio feudo e potere locale, Terra d'Otranto tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Guida, Napoli, 1988, pp. 279-303; M. SPEDICATO, *La lupa sotto il pallio. Religione e politica a Lecce in Antico Regime*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996.

¹² M.A. VISCEGLIA, *Territorio feudo e potere locale*, cit.; G. MUTO, *Noble Presence and Stratification in the Territories of Spanish Italy*, in T.J. Dandeleit-J.A. Marino (eds.), *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion 1500-1700*, Leiden Boston, Brill, 2007, pp. 251-296.

¹³ For the different entries: Lecce (1553, 1639, 1719, 1792): A. Laporta (ed.), *Cronache di Lecce*, Ed. del Grifo, Lecce, 1991, pp. 18, 44; *Distinto ragguaglio del pomposo ricevimento e feste nell'arrivo dell'illustrissimo monsignor vescovo D. Fabrizio Pignatelli*, Lecce, Tommaso Mazzei, 1719; N. VACCA, *Le cronache leccesi di Emanuele M. Buccarelli (1711-1807)*, in «*Rinascenza Salentina*», 13, 1934, p. 9. Gallipoli (1679, 1700, 1741): BPL, *ms. 347*, ff. 125r-126v; BCG, *ms. 37*, *Memorie di Gallipoli raccolte dal canonico Bartolomeo Patitari della Chiesa di Gallipoli*, ff. 48 r-49 r; 49 v-50 r; 52 r-56 v. Taranto (1613): *Relazione dell'entrata di Caetani Cardinale Bonifacio arcivescovo di Taranto in detta città*, in V. DE MARCO, *La diocesi di Taranto*, cit., pp. 332-334. Brindisi (1656, 1673, 1677, 1689): *Memoria storica dell'antichissima e fedelissima città di Brindisi del molto rev. Padre maestro Andrea della Monaca carmelitano*, Lecce, Pietro Micheli, 1674, pp. 707, 715-716, P. CAGNES-N. SCALESE, *Cronaca dei sindaci di Brindisi 1529-1787*, ed. by R. Jurlaro, Brindisi, ed. Amici della A. De Leo, 1978, pp. 1677, 1688. Otranto (1636, 1657, 1676): *Cronache di Lecce*, cit., pp. 34-35; ADO, *Carte Varie*, 3, 1659-1669, *Trattato delle sacre cerimonie e di varie e diverse cose raccolte e scritte da me abate Giuseppe Procale, canonico e maestro di cerimonie della metropolitana chiesa d'Otranto*, ff. 31, 104.

the geo-political and military-demographic-economic-commercial network. Its episcopal authorities, however, could be appointed either by the King or by the Pope, as pointed out by Mario Spedicato¹⁴. In practice, we analyzed the archiepiscopal cities of Taranto, Otranto, Brindisi and the diocese of Gallipoli. All were port cities under the jurisdiction of the Hapsburg King where he enjoyed the privilege of appointing the bishops who were, in turn, prelates of either Iberian, Neapolitan or central or northern Italian origins. These locations were, therefore, hierarchically and jurisdictionally distinct from the papal bishopric of Lecce which, although under the jurisdiction of the *metropolia* of Otranto, formed the political and cultural epicenter of the extreme province of Apulia during the modern period¹⁵.

Sources differ according to their origins or purpose and many chronological and topographical lacunae exist. The data were collected from chronicles and urban memoirs, anonymous reports, bishop's biographies, acts of the diocesan curia. Finally, there are interesting iconographical documents which, although subsequent to the inaugural ceremonies, are useful for corroborating interpretations focused on meaningful moments of the event.

Two segments of a homogeneous model

The Paiva model divides the ceremony following the Roman consecration into six key phases: organizational phase, welcoming phase, reception, urban procession, spiritual consecration in the cathedral, final feasts. Moreover, the public ceremony was not limited to the diocesan city, but began as the newly appointed official initiated his journey to the appointed bishopric.

This study analyzes the first two steps in the ritual:

- 1) The stage in which the differing geographical and social groups participated along the appointed bishop's journey;
- 2) The celebration of the bishop's entry into the urban *topos*.

The entrance of the new bishop was the pretext that led to this exceptional organization even though previously the city and the surrounding area had already undergone alterations to their social and economic configuration, their appearance and morphology, and in their relations with the surrounding space. Also

¹⁴ M. SPEDICATO, "Privilegio dell'alternativa" e reclutamento episcopale nelle diocesi regie pugliesi durante il vicereame spagnolo, in ID., *Episcopato e processi di tridentinizzazione nella Puglia del sec. XVII*, Galatina, Congedo, 1990, pp. 27-66; P. NESTOLA, *Una provincia del Reino de Nápoles con fuerte concentración regalista: Tierra de Otranto y el entramado de la geografía de regio patronato entre los siglos XVI y XVII*, «Cuadernos de Historia Moderna», 36, 2011, pp. 17-40.

¹⁵ M. ROSA, *Religione e società nel Mezzogiorno tra Cinque e Seicento*, Bari, De Donato, 1976; M. FAGIOLO-V. CAZZATO, *Le città nella Storia d'Italia. Lecce*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1984.

this specific stage took place in particularly crowded areas, replete with richly symbolic gestures. Expressions of highly religious and theological codes and cultural symbols also represented social hierarchies and systems of residence, just as happened in other political and religious centers.

This paper is not presented in strict chronological order, despite the importance of the temporal dimension. On the one hand, the solemn entry was the last act to legitimize the Episcopal office; on the other, the same bishop chose the day on which to enter the city or to undertake the journey towards the seat in accordance with the religious feasts ordained by the holy calendar. Prelates sometimes invoked a special heavenly intercession of powerful patrons such as saints along their long and difficult voyages, crowded with obstacles¹⁶. This organizational phase was characterized by the absence of the newly appointed bishop who, had, in the meanwhile, written a letter of greeting to specific individuals in his appointed diocese. This letter represented a dialogue *in absentia* with the diocesan flock, who, however, was mobilized to receive with dignity the new prelate. According to Paiva, «the clergy were not only ones responsible for welcoming a new prelate. The secular and military powers also took part in the process, even in towns where the bishop had no secular power»¹⁷. Good examples of the wide range of institutions involved appear in a letter written in 1649 by the bishop of Ugento (under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Otranto), the Portuguese Agostino Barbosa¹⁸. It is an exceptional document about the specifically Iberian Episcopal elite, who had little representation in the Kingdom of Naples under the Hapsburg Monarchy. Also the bishop of Lecce, Braccio Martelli, was a foreign prelate: the chronic of his entry (April 1553) is the oldest document discovered to date. The reporter described in a few brief paragraphs the salient features of the Florentine prelate's celebration, focusing on an abstract urban space. Nevertheless the rite included the participation of different actors such as the bishop and other prominent citizens; it was marked, as well, by socially significant events characterized by gestures and conflicting acts of legitimacy¹⁹.

¹⁶ About the journey by land or by sea in these preliminary phases see the paper: P. NESTOLA, «*Ecce Sacerdos Magnus*»: *Bishop's Entrances in regio patronato Dioceses. A Comparison between Kingdom of Naples and Portuguese Spaces (XVI-XVIII c.)*, XI International Conference on Urban History, European Association for Urban History, Prague, (29 August-1 September 2012), MS 27, *Triumphal Arches and Urban Entries: Mutations of an Urban Ritual in Christian Europe (16th-20th c.)*, pp. 1-11.

¹⁷ J.P. PAIVA, *A Liturgy of Power*, cit., p. 142.

¹⁸ *Pastoralis Sollicitudinis Sive De Officio & Potestate Episcopi...Augustini Barbose*, Lugduni, Anisson & Possuel, 1724, pp. 31-32.

¹⁹ P. NESTOLA, *I grifoni della fede. Vescovi-inquisitori in Terra d'Otranto tra '500 e '600*,

Before this urban step, other activities took place like the encounter between the new-bishop and local authorities in which welcomes were exchanged. Heterogeneous groups such as representatives of civil, military, clerical and religious bodies, members of the feudal nobility and anonymous members of the population paid tribute to the prelate's passage before his arrival at the cathedral itself. As has been rightly pointed out, the spatial distances at this point had a symbolic value: they could be shortened or lengthened depending on the respect paid to newly-appointed; they also resulted from the status of those who came to pay tribute²⁰. One example is the case of Bonifacio Caetani, nominated for the rich archbishopric of Taranto in 1613. An authoritative delegation went to meet the Cardinal/bishop who, according to the opening words of the report, had departed from Massafra, «terra» (town) of the Diocese of Mottola, in the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Taranto. Only when Caetani reached the borders of the archbishopric did the prelate meet the governor and the mayor - representatives of the sovereign and the community - and many other dignitaries. During the journey, the *regio castellano* (castle official), other Spanish knights, and barons of the province joined the Episcopal entourage. All of this preceded the procession which travelled from distance of about two miles outside the city, from a spot near the Olivetan convent of *S. Maria della Giustizia*.

Meeting points, physical or jurisdictional distances and socio-spatial hierarchies were in direct relation, indicating topological distinctions and classifications of status, but also revealing greatly symbolic values. Reflections on these aspects can be read in the following descriptions of carriage journeys of Fabrizio Pignatelli (1719) and Antonio Maria Pescatori (1741), the bishops of Lecce and Gallipoli, respectively²¹. The former appointee came from a «terra» of his territory of jurisdiction. The chronicle described such a tumultuous welcome by his adoring flock, all crowding around to kiss his hand and knee, that it seemed a «miracle» that he managed to escape²². This peculiar case of intense physical contact took place between the population and the new bishop who was opening a new season for the episcopate of Lecce after a long period of absence following the Interdict. Nonetheless, even in the early stages and within the city, physical contact between the newly-consecrated and his parishioners was not unheard of. It constituted an emphatic form of welcome that could reach paroxysmal levels,

[*Prefazioni* M. Spedicato and J.P. Paiva], Congedo, Galatina, 2008, pp. 187-188; EAD., *Giocchi di scala e liturgie di potere nella Fedelissima Lecce del 'secolo di ferro'*, «Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche», 17, 2009, pp. 517-542.

²⁰ J.P. PAIVA, *A Liturgy of Power*, cit., p. 155.

²¹ *Distinto ragguaglio del pomposo ricevimento*, cit.; BCG, ms. 37, *Memorie di Gallipoli*, ff. 53v-54 r.

²² *Distinto ragguaglio del pomposo ricevimento*, cit., p.5.



Fig. 1 - *Caeremoniale Episcoporum Clementis Papae VIII et Innocentii X jussu recognitum*, Roma, Michelangelo e Pietro Vincenti, 1713, p. 4.

culminating in a sort of ritual “pillage”²³. At such moments, the bishops were attacked by the crowd, anxious to grab bits and pieces of his liturgical vestments or accessories. Gestures without a venial value, as Sergio Bertelli has pointed out, but rather a deep religious significance of the desire to acquire garments and equipment impregnated with the sacred²⁴.

During the period under study, the topological aspects remained unchanged, although the 18th century journeys of the prelates of Lecce and Gallipoli did benefit from improvements in transportation; the advent of carriages certainly made the long journeys more comfortable. Nevertheless, a coeval edition of the treatise *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* inserted an illustration at the beginning of Chapter II (titled *De primo accessu episcopi vel archiepiscopi ad suam diocesim, vel provinciam*), describing an episcopal group with the prelate as the most prominent member (fig. 1)²⁵. His status relative to the other members of the entourage was signaled more by his horse than his traveling clothes. For their part, the civil

²³ P. NESTOLA, *Poder episcopal e saques rituais na periferia do Império: as solenes entradas dos bispos em Terra de Otranto (s. XVI-XVIII)*, in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale “Pequena Nobreza nos Impérios Ibéricos de Antigo Regime”*, 18-21 Maggio 2011, Lisbona, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT), Centro de História de Além-Mar – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas-Universidade de Lisboa e Universidade de Açores (CHAM /UNL&UAç), Direção-geral de Arquivos (DGARQ), Lisbona 2012, pp.1-23.

²⁴ S. BERTELLI, *The King’s Body: Sacred Rituals of Power*, cit., pp. 97-114.

²⁵ About this manual edited in the first half of the Seventeenth century, J.P. PAIVA, *A liturgy of power*, cit., p. 145. I am grateful to the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal for allowing me to reproduce the two images from this text: *Caeremoniale Episcoporum Clementis Papae VIII et Innocentii X jussu recognitum*, Roma, Michelangelo e Pietro Vincenti, 1713, pp. 4, 6.

and ecclesiastic delegations were also meeting the newly chosen bishop and his group and waited for them at the border of the diocese or the provincial territory. Seventeenth-century sources, such as the record of the Archbishop of Taranto Caetani, described him waiting for his diocesan about 20 km from the Ionian city. Another example from 1636 described the advent of the Metropolitan of Otranto, Gaetano Coscia, and reports on the celebrations held in Lecce, about 40 km from the Adriatic center. In the 18th century, descriptions such as the *Ragguaglio del pomposo ricevimento* of Pignatelli, or those of Gallipoli's bishop Pescatori, showed that the distances between the prelate and the diocesan bodies did not exceed 100 km. These distances reflect the fragmented nature of the ecclesiastical network as well as other spatial or juridical configurations, as well as transport. In fact, the province of *Terra d'Otranto*, compared to other areas of southern Italy, had a good road system²⁶. However, at this point in our research, we cannot yet describe it in detail.

In addition to the details of the long and arduous journey related in documents of the time, other aspects of the ceremonies can also be pointed out. For example, during the advent of the bishop of Lecce Pignatelli, the prelate was received in Mesagne, a town that «had the first honor» to pay him homage. Within the jurisdiction of the district of Brindisi and identified as a “terra”, the town was situated about 40 km from the episcopal center of Lecce. Moreover, in addition to Chapter representatives – selected especially for the occasion by their ecclesiastical powers of Lecce – there was also the dean of the local chapter who, along with the population, organized a solemn greeting for the respected guest. This celebration took place outside the town walls and was commemorated «with the firing of several hundred firecrackers and bells ringing in glory». This form of hospitality was certainly a sound demonstration of rejoicing²⁷, but also represented an exceptional opportunity to inform the surrounding territory of the bishop's arrival. It was in this manner that this important town demonstrated its privilege within the region, which was, oftentimes, characterized by inter-community rivalry. Each community's strategic location in the region, consisting of cities, towns and smaller villages, was highlighted during these exceptional moments which until recently have been seen as frivolous by historians. In fact, such a celebration served as an opportunity to demonstrate that the

²⁶ A. MASSAFRA, *Déséquilibres régionaux et réseaux de transport en Italie méridionale du milieu du XVIIIe siècle a l'Unité italienne*, in «Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations», 43/5, 1988, pp. 1045-1080.

²⁷ A.P. REBELO CORREIA, *Fogos de Artificios e artificios de fogo nos seculos XVII e XVIII. A mais efêmera das artes Efêmeras*, in J. Castel-Branco Pereira (ed.), *Arte Efêmera em Portugal*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000, pp. 100-149.

town's organizational skills rivaled those of other large urban centers, particularly in relation to the preliminary phase of the prelate's journey. The announcement of the arrival of the bishop's caravan was, in fact, a complex action, activated by different media at the boundary between the sacred and the profane. The shooting of firecrackers served to immediately inform the district and simultaneously to solemnize the guest's arrival. More significant was the symbolism of the sacred pealing of the bronze bells. The intense sound of these instruments varied according to the thickness and the section of the cylinder. Thus, they were able to propagate harmonious sound over long distances and in all directions thanks to the height of the bell tower. This sound changed, however, at different distances. This isotropy altered the sound quality especially that produced by bells of small dimensions. Further objectives could be achieved by giving the bells properties beyond the physical ones. Jean Hani has pointed out the marked character of bells in religious symbolism; they signaled the presence of the sacred, particularly that of a consecrated person²⁸. The bell tower and the metal bells themselves were part of the ecclesiastical, liturgical arsenal. In addition to being made of a purer material, the bells were subject to a particular baptismal treatment²⁹. At the moment of the bishop's stop, the peal performed a quasi exorcism. The sound, radiating centrifugally, filled, consecrated and purified both air and space, setting off apotropaic sound waves, in addition to mere warning signals. These vibrations were highly symbolic, on the other hand, anticipating and reflecting many important events in the Episcopal city. The larger the size of the bells, the greater the sound effect. The towns and villages of the Salento were organized into a complex system of fortifications and the bells provided a means to communicate the exceptional event: artillery, in fact, extended the range of information, while giving a more solemn tone to these ephemeral events and paying tribute to the new city authorities. One was the entry of the Gallipoli bishop, Antonio Perez de la Lastra in 1679. Once through the city gate, the new prelate was welcomed by «firing artillery pieces throughout the bastion of S. George, with many firecrackers being placed in the curtain wall»³⁰.

Therefore, viewing the distances separating or approximating the bishop to his diocese we must also focus on other elements displayed in his honor. Sound waves are sinuous signals covering and tracing immaterial distances, expanding in

²⁸ J. HANI, *O simbolismo do templo cristão*, Edições70, Lisboa, 1981, pp.71-74.

²⁹ About the baptismal rite of this sacred object: E. NERI, *De campanis fundendis. La produzione di campane nel medioevo tra fonti scritte ed evidenze archeologiche*, (Introduzione S. Lusuardi Siena), Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2006, pp. 22-23. About the bell's craft in the Salento peninsula: N. VACCA, *Fonditori di bronzo in Brindisi*, «Archivio Storico Pugliese», 8, 1955, pp. 205-210.

³⁰ BPL, ms. 347, ff. 125 r-126 r.



Fig. 2 - *Caeremoniale Episcoporum Clementis Papae VIII et Innocentii X*, cit., p. 6.

length, size and intensity along the journey of the bishop and his entourage. This is suggested graphically by illustrations to the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* showing that the procession took a winding path within the city walls (a borderline, as we shall see below), in order to increase the sacred power of the event³¹; a wide range of people beyond those of the bishop's group participated (fig. 2).

To lend a symbolic and physical shape to the space surrounding bishop's journey, other aspects influenced the route, like the time spent between the meeting points, and the type of homage proffered. For the advent of the new bishop Pescatori, the officials of Gallipoli's chapter were sent on a three-day journey from the diocesan center on the Ionian Sea to Ostuni, to greet the new bishop. Ostuni was an episcopal city, suffraganea of the archbishopric of Brindisi. It was, however, not included in the ecclesiastic *regio patronato* system but site of a prolonged stop that witnessed incredibly elaborate forms of homage. The report points out that Ostuni's prelate did not take part in the festivities, so it was left up to the Gallipoli's delegation to organize the festivities. Those memoirs may have been written to circulate mainly in the Episcopal city port, and therefore emphasized the role of the ecclesiastical authorities of Gallipoli. According to the document:

«[i capitolari] udito che stava per giungere [il vescovo] in questa Città [Ostuni], si avanzarono alla distanza di mille passi fuori della Città per incontrarlo, dove con allegrezza non ordinaria gli prestarono in nome del R.mo Capitolo i dovuti ossequi e furono con piacere indicibile dal Prelato accolti. Entrarono unitamente in Ostuni, suonarono festiva-

³¹ For an interesting study about the representation of an immaterial things, see: A. NOVA, *Il libro del vento: rappresentare l'invisibile*, Genova, Marietti, 2007.

mente in tutta la Città le campane, e con copioso sparo di mortaretti e cannoni che anticipatamente di coteste dignità erano stati preparati. Furono anche solleciti a disporre le necessarie cose per un comodo alloggio d'esso Prelato e servitù, a fine di farlo restar sodisfatto»³².

We cannot explain the absence of the Ostuni prelate from the rite, whose presence would normally be due as an act of courtesy as well as an act of charity in normal efforts such as sheltering the homeless. As we shall see, even hospitality had an important role during these extraordinary rituals³³. Meanwhile the stages of the journey towards the seat were configured by a set of elements: the medium of transport of the newly elected; meeting points reflecting the level of respect paid; and differing forms of courtesy and practices.

These, in particular, were local acts of homage that varied, depending on local conditions including the resources available or other contextual factors of a social or cultural nature. Lecce, for example, served several times as the epicenter of the interthalassic Salento Peninsula, between the Ionic and Adriatic seas. It showed a warm welcome worthy of the rank of the bishops from surrounding districts. In a similar fashion to the 1636 celebration of the entry of Otranto Gaetano Coscia³⁴, a similar festivity was organized by the northern center for the highest members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy which unfolded its jurisdiction over five suffraganean towns (Lecce, Castro, Alessano, Ugento, Gallipoli). Upon the occasion of the Pescatori's entry into Gallipoli in the following century, the long journey culminated in the interthalassic city with the profession of faith led by the bishop of Lecce, Giuseppe Maria Ruffo³⁵. Local parishioners and outsiders attending academies and specially organized theological lectures also took part in the exceptional event. In this case, the stop was of long duration and the prelate-elect was housed with other ecclesiastical visitors in the bishop's Palace of Lecce. In addition to the intangible or ephemeral welcome such as the firing of cannons, fireworks and chiming bells, was just one more tangible aspect to look at in this preliminary traveling phase. It was a clear sign of generosity and magnificence as well as urbanity displayed by representative bodies of the host community; it could be exchanged between prelates at different levels of status of the dioceses themselves, or of seniority of the prelates. Hospitality could also be offered by a wide range of participants in a varied assortment of forms. In the first half of the

³² BCG, *ms.37, Memorie storiche di Gallipoli*, cit., f. 53.

³³ On this specific category played especially by convent and monastery, see the entry *Hospitalité* focused on a French medieval context: *Dictionnaire historique des ordres religieux*, A. GERHARDS, Paris, Fayard, 1998, pp. 311-312.

³⁴ *Cronache di Lecce*, cit. pp. 34-35.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

XVII century, the city of Lecce presented to its metropolitan, the archbishop of Otranto, a pallium (canopy) for his entry into the prestigious city at the center of his extensive province. The tribute offered by the citizens was intended to establish good relationships between people and institutions at different levels in the diocesan system. These people and these objects would serve to strengthen the judicial and legislative relationship in further years. The legitimizing object was dedicated to one of the city's Madonnas. Thus, the sacred gift became a form of reciprocity, but also a gift intended to prevent pillage, or violent appropriation, from threatening the diocesan liturgical heritage, while also avoiding any disorder that might counter tridentine discipline³⁶.

Often the gifts had different shapes, even when the objects had strong liturgical identities. Lecce presented the Metropolitan with a pallium displaying the city's coat of arms; in other European dioceses the bishop-elect might have received other metonymic symbols of jurisdiction, such as the keys of the city³⁷. No examples of such a symbolic gift were found in *Terra d'Otranto*. We deduce that the four *regio patronato* dioceses as well as the city of Lecce were directly subject to the sovereign, a fact which might explain the absence of this tribute.

Offerings of food and accommodation were tangible forms of hospitality or courtesy, which the bishop could requite upon return journeys over a long period of time, as well as by other types of reciprocity whether material or spiritual. It is possible to draw a map of stopping points that performed this reciprocating function during the long journey to the episcopal destination. The archbishop of Taranto Caetani stopped at the Convent of the Olivetani in June of 1613. In the winter of 1639, Luigi Pappacoda, bishop of Lecce, was hosted in another convent of the same order near the city's main gate. In these cases it was a short overnight stay, unlike what happened after the arrival of the Spanish bishop Juan Pedrosa³⁸. Appointed to Brindisi in 1589, the Benedictine prelate stayed at the Capuchins convent for several days, according to the chronicle. The new bishop of Gallipoli, a Capuchin, after his stops in Ostuni (in a building provided by the chapter), in Lecce (at the bishop's palace), and in Nardó (in his order's convent), finally rested for a few days in one of his order's convents near the Ionian center of Gallipoli, before entering the city privately. The triumphal public entry followed the next day. During his stay in the last building, however, the city's prominent institutions, ecclesiastic and religious bodies honored the bishop. According to the report «il reverendo capitolo non mancò al suo dovere apprestandoli tre

³⁶ P. NESTOLA, *Poder episcopal e saques rituais*, cit.

³⁷ J.P. PAIVA, *A Liturgy of Power*, cit. p.145; P. NESTOLA, "Ecce Sacerdos Magnus", cit.

³⁸ P. CAGNES-N. SCALESE, *Cronaca dei Sindaci di Brindisi*, cit., p. 65.

giorni continui trattamenti lautissimi, come anche la città lo riconobbe con considerabili presenti, facendo lo stesso i due monasteri delle signore monache di S. Chiara e S. Teresa»³⁹.

In Otranto, the manual for the sacred ceremonies of the Metropolia required that its new archbishop be housed near the Franciscan monastery near the city walls⁴⁰. Although we cannot discover in detail all forms of reciprocity exchanged in during the preliminary meeting, those short stages were opportunities of high visibility for the institutions, as well as the bishop himself: a time in which to renew the prestige of men and buildings as well as areas outside the cities⁴¹. They furthermore served as an opportunity to strengthen relations between institutions and communities competing for power within the diocese.

Linked to this moment, connected along a crowded yet hierarchical route, is the ritual reception outside the city gate. The second part of the article will analyze this dynamic phase of the rite. It took place in a symbolic place near the city's main door⁴², and provided other immaterial gestures that marked the ratification of the bishop, who had been selected according to mechanisms in the political centers of Spain and Rome.

Lecce was independent of the institution of royal patronage but was, instead, under the control of the Habsburg crown; the prelates had penetrated the *limes* of *Porta Reale*, also known as *Porta San Giusto* or *Porta Napoli*. This structure, in fact, joined the local road network with the capital of Naples, and was (re)built in 1548 in honor of Charles V of Hapsburg⁴³. Furthermore, the ancient devotional *topos* served as a symbolic signal of identity and an expression of loyalty to the triumphant emperor. This structure does not appear five years later in the chronicle of the advent of bishop Braccio Martelli, in April 1553, when the various participants of the ceremony participated in an abstract space of the territory *intra et extra moenia*. The framework of legitimacy, in practice, was bounded by the perimeter of the canopy supported by local authorities. Nonetheless, the monumental gate had a special value in the entry, a specific reference in the Bible

³⁹ BCG, *ms. 37, Memorie storiche di Gallipoli*, cit., f. 54v

⁴⁰ ADO, *Carte varie*, cit., c. 132.

⁴¹ About the monastic and convent systems in the province of *Terra d'Otranto*: B. PELLEGRINO, *Religiosi salentini tra pietà, cultura e società dal '500 al '700*, in Id., *Istituzioni ecclesiastiche nel Mezzogiorno moderno*, Roma, Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1993, pp. 229-266; B. Pellegrino-F. Gaudio (eds.), *Ordini religiosi e società nel Mezzogiorno moderno*, voll. 3, Galatina, Congedo, 1987.

⁴² About this symbolic/sacred locus: M. ELIADE, *O sagrado e o profano a essência das Religiões*, Lisboa, Livros do Brasil, 1956, pp. 35-78.

⁴³ M. FAGIOLIO-V. CAZZATO, *Le città nella Storia d'Italia. Lecce*, cit., pp. 44-46; 73.

passage associated with the pastoral *munus*: «who does not enter the sheepfold by the door but climbs over elsewhere is a thief and a robber. But he who enters by the door is the shepherd of the sheep» (John 10, 7-9). Sacred time and profane time, civil and religious functions, were not confused in the second half of the sixteenth century. The advent ceremonies of Gaetano Coscia and Luigi Pappacoda displayed elements of fusion as the structure of stone was reinforced by other, more ephemeral elements. The record of Pignatelli's entry in 1719 described that «out the *Porta Reale* [saw erected] a greater arc, and decorated the door of fine silk»⁴⁴; the decorations transformed this locus of the presence of Habsburg. At the same time, both light and sound came together to evoke the symbolic step representing simultaneously transit and integration. For Pescatori's entrance in 1741, the main gate of Gallipoli was decorated with luxurious textiles, with portraits of the sovereigns legitimizing the incorporation of the new authority. Unlike the case of other districts appointed by the King or by the Pope, the entry into Gallipoli (situated on a small island) required the bishop to pass through another arch with a lapidary inscription in his honor and decorated with green myrtle leaves⁴⁵. The Latin verses together with the plant tribute exalted the honor and glory due to the bishop-elect. At the same time, they played a prophylactic function thanks to the medicinal properties of the indigenous plant⁴⁶. In fact, at this stage, before entering the city walls, the prelate had to change his clothes, switching from travel clothing to the specific vestments of his rank⁴⁷. This change not was only a distinctive sign of status, but also marked a passage from an impure condition, due to the long journey, to the estate appropriate for celebrating the most solemn moments of the ritual. In this extraordinary contest, such actions spoke louder than words.

The triumphal arches were often decorated by images of local flora, as today the flowers of pomegranate are petrified in *Porta Napoli* in Lecce. It was not only a symbol of abundance sung by poets and celebrated by Salento artists or carved on local buildings, public and private⁴⁸. In the latter half of the sixteenth century,

⁴⁴ *Distinto ragguaglio del pomposo ricevimento*, cit., p. 7.

⁴⁵ BCG, ms. 37, *Memorie storiche di Gallipoli*, cit., f. 54v.

⁴⁶ Nevertheless focused on civic entrances held in Portugal in the medieval age, about the prophylactic properties of the plants see: A.M. ALVES, *As entradas régias portuguesas uma visão de conjunto*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, [1986], pp. 17, 23.

⁴⁷ Based on the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, about this meaningful change: J.P. PAIVA, *A liturgy of power*, cit. p.145.

⁴⁸ See the suggestive interpretation of V. CAZZATO, *La "Santa Croce"*, in A. Cassiano-V. Cazzato (eds.), *Santa Croce a Lecce. Storia e Restauri*, Galatina, Congedo, 1997, pp. 65-119; P. NESTOLA, *Oltre il limite: identità e distinzione sociale*, «L'Idomeneo», 10, 2008, pp. 119-129.

those plant motifs were a sign of alliance and fidelity to the emperor and his local representatives, distant institutions who were helping to strengthen the distant province, famous for the tragic massacre committed by the Turks at the end of the fifteenth century. Pescatori's chronicle also describes that the main entrance was decorated with plant motifs that further praised the new prelate. Nevertheless, if we keep in mind that the bishoprics were oftentimes non-residential, another interpretation may be suggested about this specific marginal context related to the advent ceremony of the Salento bishopric. The entry of the Spanish prelate Perez de la Lastra, in May 1679 was marked by similar forms of indirect communication. Upon entering Gallipoli he was entertained with a play representing zeal, a virtue of the pastoral ministry. This allegory, a personification of virtue⁴⁹, showed a young man sitting on a thalamus intending to prevent the bishop from passing beyond the liminal border, preventing him from taking up residence. The document reads: «Upon entering the door there was a beautiful triumphal arch, and there, above a little bed, a handsome young man who zealously invited him to enter, in order not to weaken the customs of the city due to the absence of his pastor and prelate»⁵⁰.

We would like to conclude by highlighting the multifunctional properties of the gate, an urban *topos* with a wide spectrum of functions, especially in the ceremony of the *adventus novi episcopi*: this border simultaneously fulfilled the role of the limit between urban and rural territory, an inside as opposed to an outside perceived as a source of menace and danger.

For it does not appear accidental that the bishop of Lecce, Luigi Pappacoda, during his thirty years of governance (1639-1670) (re)proposed visually that founding act of episcopal power. The iconographic strategy was part of a specific moment of revival and promotion of his preeminence compared to other seats of the province of Otranto, all appointed by the King and assigned to specific episcopal elites. Furthermore the Pappacoda, exponent of Neapolitan feudality, was able to promote the adoption of San Oronzo as a protector of Lecce and of the entire Salento Peninsula after surviving the pestilence that affected the entire Kingdom of Naples⁵¹. In particular, his detailed plan was based on the clever use of two- and three-dimensional images, as well as the redesign of urban spaces within the city seat of government. The organization of the iconographic circuit

⁴⁹ On this topic see the entry Virtue/virtues in *Encyclopedia of comparative Iconography. Themes depicted in works of Art*, voll. 2, Chicago London, Fitzroy Deaborn Publishers, 1998, vol. M-Z, pp. 909-922.

⁵⁰ BPL, *ms. 347*, cit., p. 125v.

⁵¹ B. Pellegrino, M. Spedicato (eds.), *Società, congiunture demografiche e religiosità in Terra d'Otranto nel XVII secolo*, Galatina, Congedo, 1990.



Fig. 3 - G. Zimbalo, *Cathedral of Lecce*, 1659, Lecce.

commissioned by the bishop-architect, according to the words of Gerard Labrot, concentrated on a specific place: the cathedral, the episcopal center of liturgical as well as judicial and spiritual activities⁵². (Re)built in 1659 under the direction of Giuseppe Zimbalo, the focal point consisted of a door opening onto a square. Still today, this magnificent portal is dominated by the coat of arms of the Pappacoda family and symbols of abundance such as the garlands of flowers and fruit recalling the prophylactic properties of the ephemeral decorations of the entrance ceremony (fig.3). The figure of a bishop stands out at the center of the arch accompanied by two angels inviting him to cross the threshold⁵³. We can see this

⁵² Based on the data of the *relationes ad limina*, see the study of G. LABROT, *Sisyphes chrétiens. La longue patience des évêques bâtisseurs du royaume de Naples (1590-1760)*, Seyssel, Champ Vallon, 1999, pp.176-177; in added see also the analysis of M. CALVESI-M. MANIERI ELIA, *Architettura Barocca a Lecce in Terra di Puglia*, Milano-Roma, Bestetti, 1971, pp.19-20.

⁵³ About the gestures, as a form of non-verbal communication, see the entry *pointing/indicat-*

scene as a powerful theophany that, although representing the holy bishop Oronzo in the act of blessing, specifically referred to the Bible and in particular to the parable of the “good shepherd”: «I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved. They will come in and go out, and find pasture. The thief comes only to steal and kill and destroy; I have come that they may have life, and have it to the full» (John 10: 9-10).

According to Bertelli: «The “representation” enacted from a “high” is directed to the public (“below”). On the contrary, in these ceremonies [the ceremony of a triumph], which were among the most important in the cult of the leader, all were “actors”: participants, not actors. In a religious society, the faithful are closely united with their pastor; they know the rules of the rite, speak the same language, each one has a specific role assigned to him»⁵⁴.

Even in the cathedral a coeval pictorial work depicted the saintly bishop driving towards the city attended by two angels, while distributing the intangible gift of blessing⁵⁵. It is a more intimate epiphany re-proposing the holy native bishop as an advocate of the social order. Furthermore, it served as a self-representation of the noble prelate. The antistite Oronzo was also identified with judicial attributes proceeding towards the metonymically represented city walls. Equally powerful was the gesture of episcopal blessing, which multiplied the high and reassuring value of this intangible gift. This representation within the sacred building displayed a gesture reinforcing the message communicated by the outdoor image. It is further interesting to compare the typical insignia of the two images including crosiers, a symbol of legitimacy limited to a bishop within his territory of jurisdiction⁵⁶. However, if the tridimensional image represents a rod alluding to a scepter, the bi-dimensional one represents the bishop holding a particular crosier, just like those used by the wayfarers, bringing the crook towards the Episcopal city. The allusion to “good shepherd” is evident, as in the words of the Psalm 23 «your rod and your staff, they comfort me». In this figurative system with one structure linked by the same leitmotiv both inside and outside, the rod and the staff are visual symbols of God’s protection, a miraculous form of defense for a selected community emphasizing the function of the bishop of Lecce as *defensor civitatis*.

ing, in *Encyclopedia of comparative Iconography*, cit., pp. 741-744.

⁵⁴ S. BERTELLI, *The King’s Body: Sacred Rituals of Power*, cit., p.67.

⁵⁵ L. GALANTE, *Clero e nobiltà nelle vicende della pittura*, in *Storia di Lecce*, cit., pp. 589-629.

⁵⁶ *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, cit. pp. 80-82.

Conclusion

In conclusion, focused, for the time being, on some mere initial steps of a ritual, we can point out that there are various dimensions that produced the meaning of the liturgy of the reception of the prelate. Bishops' solemn inaugural entries were an extraordinary act of collective participation differing over time, but which invariably represented values, strengthened social structures, and helped to construct the identity of entire communities. These socio-cultural representations were an efficacious form of episcopal propaganda, but could turn into a powerful expression of a city's identity. Mainly following the post-Tridentine wave, the entrance of the bishop in his jurisdictional territory became a poli(s) centric ceremony expressed through the use of instruments both visual and aural. Existing within a network of contexts and projections of power, not merely those of the bishop, the extraordinary rite was played *extra et intra moenia civitatum*, involving multiple diocesan participants. The journey of the bishop and his itinerary were determined by the road network, by the ecclesiastic and conventual system, by material and symbolic aspects enhanced by the ritual. These special moments, within the calendar, manifested forms of power which, in times of collective panic, could be transformed into a hierophany strengthening the social order. These peripheral triumphal entries offer a peculiar perspective on powers of both diocesan and urban spaces, as well as specific episcopal elites. Also for this reason, the peripheral ecclesiastic network of the Salento peninsula is an example of the Mezzogiorno of Italy, and its unique characteristics compared to other Catholic areas in Europe and overseas. Such comparisons allow us to define the sacredness/sanctity of episcopal status and its areas of jurisdiction, whilst simultaneously enabling us to classify and differentiate the characters of a wide range of cities under Spanish jurisdiction.

Paola Nestola