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Barbara Wisch | # Promoting Piety, Coercing Conversion: The Roman Archconfraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and its Oratory

The imposing oratory of the Roman Archconfraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti was built ex novo *from 1570 to 1571 and highly praised by contemporaries. Although large, elaborately decorated oratories were fundamental expressions of confraternal identity, this oratory – gutted by the French in 1798, restored in 1823, and razed in 1940 – has been overlooked. Now, unpublished documents reveal new information about the edifice and its decoration that presented the archconfraternity's public face a half-century before its dilapidated principal church was fully renovated. Of utmost significance and unique to confraternal experience, this oratory became a centerpiece for new papal policies of Jewish ghettoization and conversion – the seat of Rome's first compulsory, conversionary preaching in 1576. This essay considers the oratory as an impressive setting for the diverse experiences of the multiple audiences –* confratelli, *pilgrims, foreign visitors, and Jews – who gathered within its walls.*

In his impassioned narrative of the «daily buildinge of new Churches» in the Eternal City, Gregory Martin (1542?-1582) sought adequate words of praise when he asked «What shall I speake of […] the Chapel or Oratorie in the Hospital of the Trinitie, newly built?» The devout English Catholic priest, who sojourned in Rome between December 1576 and June 1578[1], was overcome with admiration upon viewing the imposing, new oratory, built *ex novo* from 1570 to 1571. Martin's ardor was further heightened by the astonishing new ritual he witnessed there – coerced conversionary preaching to the Jews, initiated in December 1576, the very month he had arrived. Although the Trinità's oratory received exalted praise (fig. 1), it has been almost entirely ignored by modern scholars, who have instead emphasized the rebuilding of the confraternity's principal public church (ca. 1587-1626) and the systematic enlargement of its renowned hospital, both of which required substantial funds[2]. Moreover, whereas the principal church survives, the oratory is no longer standing. It was brutally sacked by the French in 1798 – «a massacre» the *confratelli* called the burning of the wooden stalls, pulpit, and benches, and the despoiling of the ceiling's decoration[3]. Though renovated in 1823, the oratory, together with most of the hospital, was ultimately razed in 1940 by Mussolini (fig. 2). As a result, scholars have not realized how large and impressive the oratory was: They assumed – incorrectly – that it was undecorated due to lack of funds[4]. Consequently, social and religious historians who have studied the conversionary sermons have never considered the place in which they occurred. Therefore, before turning our attention to the spectacle of conversion, it is crucial to address the oratory as a physical and visual environment

that forcefully inflected the religious, social, and political events occurring there. Based on unpublished documents conserved in the Archivio di Stato of Rome and published ones that have not been brought to bear, I would like to propose a reconstruction of what was once a magnificent space with rich ornamentation, a grand setting for the diverse experiences of the multiple audiences who gathered within its walls.

First, let us introduce the renowned philanthropic works of the pious laymen and women who had assembled in the 1540s around the charismatic Filippo Neri (1515-1595; canonized 1622), founder of the Congregation of the Oratory, and Father Persiano Rosa (d. 1558), priest of San Girolamo della Carità, where the group first met. They were officially instituted as the Confraternita della Santissima Trinità del Sussidio in 1548[5]. Under Neri's spiritual guidance, the sodality vaulted to fame in 1550 during the Holy Year. The confraternity lodged and fed more than 60,000 pilgrims who converged on the Eternal City, and was thereafter known as the Santissima Trinità «dei Pellegrini»[6]. In 1558, it was conceded the small, dilapidated church and annexed monastery of San Benedetto in Arenula near Ponte Sisto (fig. 3). Contiguous with the old church, a permanent hospital for indigent pilgrims and poor convalescents was begun, adding the second epithet to its name, «Convalescenti», as Giorgio Vasari's carefully finished drawing for the confraternity's processional standard illustrates[7] (fig. 4). This new charitable endeavor slowly evolved into a large hospital complex and found great favor with the papacy.

In July 1562, Pope Pius IV transferred a miracle-working Marian image, a *desideratum* of all confraternities, to the church's high altar, making a visit to the small church significant, and assigned all alms to the sodality's mission[8]. Two months later, the pontiff elevated the brotherhood to the prestigious status of archconfraternity, only the fifth in Rome to be so honored, thereby outranking confraternities that were centuries old[9]. Archconfraternities accrued the most impressive indulgences, which attracted more members. They were also officially empowered to aggregate other brotherhoods throughout Italy, Europe, and the New World, and share their spiritual benefits, so crucial in the Catholic economy of salvation. Furthermore, they were authorized to elect a cardinal protector for life, whose powerful networks of jurisdiction encouraged expectations of magnificent patronage, especially when he was the cardinal nephew. As an archconfraternity eventually amassing hundreds of aggregated brotherhoods[10], the Santissima Trinità seemed the ideal embodiment of a devout Catholic laity united at the heart of the Eternal City. It offered a purified and pious vision of *Roma Sancta*, the New Jerusalem on the Tiber, which was ardently promoted by the papacy.

The exemplary charity of «the glorious Companie of the B. Trinitie» during the Holy Year of 1575 included lodging around 175,000 pilgrims – about 40 percent of all the pilgrims that year (one-third of whom were women, requiring separate accommodations) – while assisting 60,000 poor convalescents. In other words, the confraternity housed and fed an average of 480 people per day, with these activities peaking around Christmas and Easter[11]. Caring for the body was integrally entwined with caring for the soul, so the Trinità not only hired Dominican preachers, but also distributed about 25,000 leaflets instructing pilgrims how to earn the Jubilee plenary indulgence[12]. The renown of these philanthropic endeavors boosted membership, which came to include many powerful cardinals and their households. In 1585, more than 3,000 members were recorded, including those of aggregated sodalities. By 1625, it was the largest confraternity in Rome, with approximately 10,000 men and women from a broad spectrum of social classes. The archconfraternity's global reach is exemplified by Il Cavalier d'Arpino's painting of *The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII and Confratelli* (1602-1603), sent upon its completion to an affiliate in Mexico City[13] (fig. 5).

Private devotions and «un bel oratorio»
Francesco del Sodo[14]

Amidst these early, extraordinary charitable undertakings, the members had been meeting for their private devotions and administrative functions in an *oratorio* within the old Benedictine monastery, which had been undergoing major renovations throughout the 1560s to serve as the new hospital[15]. Minutes of a meeting held there on 23 June 1566 stipulated that the Trinità's private devotional and organizational practices were to be modeled on those performed «in the oratory of the Society of the Gonfalone»[16], the oldest of approximately 80 sodalities in Rome in the 1560s. Prayers included the Saturday evening recitation of the Office of the Virgin Mary (often with musical accompaniment) and the Office of the Dead for deceased members and benefactors. In addition, *confratelli* attended sermons during Lent, and performed Holy Week rituals, including penitential self-flagellation and singing the Lamentations on Holy Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday; the singing, initiated by the Gonfalone in the 1540s, became a confraternal custom, as Noel O'Regan has demonstrated[17].

The Gonfalone was a significant model for the Trinità. It was renowned for its special care of Rome's most sacred miraculous Marian icons and its dowry processions that manifested its major philanthropy. Moreover, as *disciplinati* (flagellants), the Gonfalone, together with the Santissimo Crocifisso di

San Marcello, had inaugurated in 1557 the famous confraternal penitential processions to the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican Palace on Maundy Thursday evening[18]. On 12 February 1570, the Santissima Trinità decreed that those brothers wanting to flagellate on the Fridays of Lent in March could do so in the oratory as well as in the Maundy Thursday torchlight procession[19].

The astounding growth of the Trinità's membership soon made the original space too small and inappropriate for the high-ranking ecclesiastics and international visitors who increasingly were in attendance. In an unpublished document from 23 April 1570, we learn that at the general meeting open to all *confratelli*, the *guardiani* (chief officials) and *camerlengo* (treasurer) were appointed «to work with and make an agreement with the architect and the masons about realizing the construction of the oratory»[20]. The confraternity's architect was the eminent Fra Guglielmo del Piombo (Guglielmo della Porta, ca. 1515-1577). Although scholars have recognized his role in the early design of the new hospital, until now he had not been associated with the oratory[21]. Unfortunately, the contract has not been located. By 4 July 1570, construction was well underway, and the masons were instructed not to tear down the old oratory and refectory until the new ones were built[22].

Just as the Trinità officials were well aware of Gonfalone practices, they were also cognizant of the Gonfalone's magnificent oratory (fig. 6), especially since Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (1514-1573), Bishop of Augsburg and the Trinità's protector (1560-1573), was simultaneously serving as the "unofficial" vice-protector of the Gonfalone and had been a member there since 1564. Moreover, his coat of arms was displayed prominently in the Gonfalone's new, elaborate, polychromed and gilded, carved wood ceiling of 1568 (fig. 7). And in 1569, he seems to have selected – and, importantly, paid for – his favorite Roman painter, Livio Agresti (ca. 1510-1579), to fresco the second scene of the monumental Passion cycle adorning the walls of the Gonfalone oratory[23] (fig. 8). But as important as a cardinal protector's patronage was, there were never guarantees, as the Trinità would soon learn.

On 7 April 1571, the benediction ceremony of the new Trinità oratory and sacristy was celebrated with elaborate fanfare, as a *confratello* documented. Cardinal Protector Truchsess, alongside many religious and secular luminaries, marched in a solemn procession. Mass was dignified by the papal singers, a particular honor the pontiff seldom conferred. At the conclusion, an encomium enumerated the confraternity's good works, the rapid construction of its oratory, and the exquisite furnishings of «the most beautiful textiles» (rich crimson velvet trimmed with gold fringe), all provided by the officers «at their own expense»

– a leitmotiv, as we will see, of financing Trinità decorative projects. So many people attended (and earned a full indulgence) that «it was not possible to find standing room in the oratory, in the hospital or in the streets, which were richly decorated for the solemnity»[24].

Now let us recreate this magnificent oratory. Having modeled its ritual practices and administrative system on those of the Gonfalone, the Trinità also followed the design of its oratory – most significantly, the main rectangular room distinguished from the raised, recessed, and barrel-vaulted altar chapel (fig. 9). Although the Gonfalone elevated its rectangular altar chapel with five travertine steps, the Trinità used three, as had the most recently constructed oratory of the Santissimo Crocifisso (1562-1563; facade 1567-1568). The Crocifisso officials had specifically measured the Gonfalone's space to ensure that theirs would be bigger[25], and had added a second set of doors flanking the altar chapel. However, the Trinità's oratory exceeded them both in size (fig. 10). The measurements on the plan of 1597 – 95 *palmi* long by 49 *palmi* wide (ca. 21.5 x 11 m) plus the altar chapel (ca. 13 *palmi* square; ca. 3 m²)[26] – show that the main hall of the oratory was larger than the old church and high altar, which together measured 86½ by 50 *palmi* (fig. 11).

In his map of Rome of 1593, Antonio Tempesta depicted the oratory towering above all the other confraternal buildings (fig. 12). In the religious life of Rome, humility was a virtue, but the *confratelli* sponsoring oratories were well aware of the relative merits of size and magnificence. The larger oratory afforded far more space in the balcony choirs for the singers and musicians, corresponding to the growing importance of music in confraternal devotions[27] (fig. 13). In addition, the Trinità oratory included a *spogliatoio*, a dressing room for changing into the red sackcloth habit and for cleansing the wounds of the flagellants following their ritual, performed both in the oratory and in public processions[28].

Now prominent architects, rather than mere masons (as employed by the Gonfalone), were hired to design these structures. Although charitable institutions had traditionally eschewed elaborately ornamented exteriors to underscore their mission, grand facades were increasingly important[29]. Giacomo della Porta (1532-1602) designed the Crocifisso oratory and its richly articulated facade, which was crowned with the Farnese arms and a conspicuous inscription lauding the patronage of its two wealthy cardinal protectors, Ranuccio and Alessandro Farnese – the latter having also insisted that the confraternity purchase land to create a proper piazza to enhance the structure[30] (fig. 14). The Trinità oratory was situated differently, part of the hospital complex, requiring Fra Guglielmo to design a main facade on the street (today's Via delle Zoccolette) and a secondary one facing an internal garden with a small cemetery and the long wall of the new

dormitory above the refectory (see fig. 11). Although no known images of the rear facade survive, documents reveal that it had two doors leading to the main hall through inner doorways that flanked the altar chapel. These passageways were crucial to provide easy entry for the convalescents and to manage the overflowing number of pilgrims who were first received in the oratory[31]. As unpublished payments to the carpenters record, the doors also gave access to the wooden double-branched staircase to the choirs[32]. Two large windows that illuminated the choirs were set directly above the outer doors. Travertine architraves and sills framing the windows and doors rendered a finished, representative facade that was visible from the hospital[33].

Much of the original main facade can be seen in the 1940 photograph, prior to its destruction by Mussolini (see fig. 2). Only the lower story retained its travertine decoration of four pilasters raised on a socle, a pair of blind niches, the main portal, and a projecting cornice, all of which conforms to the *misura* (measurement) of 1572[34]. Documentation about the upper story has yet to be discovered, but both Tempesta (1593) and Maggi and Maupin (1625) indicated a prominent pediment above a substantial entablature that crowns an otherwise restrained, classicizing facade (see figs. 1, 12). In 1869, the archivist-*confratello* Egidio Fortini, who organized the oratory documents, recorded an inscription on the frieze of the cornice above the portal: «ORATORIVM ARCHICONFRAT. SS. TRINITATIS PEREGRIN. ET CONVALESCEN.»[35]. It simply identified the building, unlike that of the Crocifisso, which immortalized the generosity of the Farnese protectors with a text crowned by their coat of arms on a large, protruding escutcheon. In contrast – and perhaps explaining why neither Truchsess's name nor coat of arms was memorialized in stone – the ledgers of the *Trinità* do not record exceptionally large donations from this cardinal protector. Even as the confraternity continued to have difficulties paying the masons, stonecutters, carpenters, etc., in December 1571 Truchsess specifically designated 50 *scudi* «to assist the poor convalescents and pilgrims and *not for the building*» (my emphasis)[36].

At the outset, paying for this elaborate project alongside the hospital renovations was challenging. While some officials dealt with the masons, others were appointed to claim the donations promised by individual members[37]. Upon the final evaluation of the masons' work on 4 April 1571, the cost, including materials, was 1519:50 *scudi*[38]. The confraternity was still unable to compensate the masons the following September; only in July 1573 was the final payment made[39]. The *Libro Mastro* records that by late June 1572, the Hospital, which oversaw the finances of all confraternal charitable assistance, building projects, and religious functions, had spent 1415:33 *scudi* for the oratory construction (including masons,

stonecutters, stucco workers, carpenters, and ironmongers), which had to be repaid[40]. Due to the rapidly escalating costs, in a general assembly of 10 August 1572, the *confratelli* voted judiciously – and almost unanimously – to separate the finances of the Oratory from the Hospital: «the Oratory and Hospital must not be united»[41]. Although the Hospital (also called the *Casa*[42]) would continue to underwrite expenses for liturgical observances, music, and decorations for special feast days celebrated in the oratory[43], the *confratelli* and *consorelle* were responsible for everything else[44]. Further outfitting of the oratory would depend on individual contributions, often in the form of loans that would be annulled in case of death, in addition to bequests, annuities, even the sale of donated real estate. Sometimes the *confratelli* voted to solicit specific amounts from the membership, all the while hoping for assistance from the cardinal protector. Self-taxation would be written into the new *Statuti* of 1578[45]. *Gentilhuomini* – gentlemen from their own district bearing small almsboxes – would also seek donations from non-members (as the Crocifisso brethren had done)[46]. So, too, almsboxes affixed in the Trinità's church and chapels amassed substantial sums[47].

A well-furnished oratory had numerous requirements, including permanent wooden stalls along the walls, like those originally in the Crocifisso (fig. 15). Typically, the grand seating for the *guardiani* was located on the inner entrance wall, facing the altar, and was commissioned first. By November 1572, the Trinità *guardiani* and other officials were lending their own money to the confraternity to pay Camillo della Bella for carving their elegant stalls[48]. They additionally delegated two men to request more alms from the brethren. Camillo also designed and constructed the less sumptuous stalls for rank-and-file members along the left wall[49]. In late December 1573, his co-worker Andrea Catinaro was contracted to make the stalls along the right wall[50], mirroring the design of those already in place, as the Gonfalone had specified in its contemporaneous commission[51] (1571-1574; fig. 16).

Other unpublished documents reveal that there was a large crucifix in the Trinità oratory[52]. In addition, an «image of the Madonna» graced the altar[53]. Although a small portable organ was used in the oratory, a large permanent instrument, purchased in 1574, seems to have been installed above the sacristy, in early 1575 or just after the Holy Year[54]. A permanent pulpit was commissioned in 1578, and its installation entailed ripping out part of the lateral wall[55]. In 1581, a walnut balustrade, increasingly important for decorum and crowd control, was constructed in front of the altar chapel[56].

Marco Borzacchini recognized that the new oratory represented «the fulcrum of the very life of the sodality», even as the hospital was being overhauled and

additional projects came to the fore. There must have been the sense that the Holy Year of 1575 was drawing apace, and they had to be ready[57]. On 9 February 1573, Pier Luigi Fidele (overseer of building funds) and Bartolomeo Rusconi (treasurer) were given full authority «to do what needs to be done for building the hospital»[58]. In addition, on 12 March 1573, Pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585) conceded to the confraternal church the privilege of celebrating masses for souls of the defunct who would then receive a plenary indulgence while languishing in Purgatory[59]. This encouraged church attendance, alms, and legacies. On 23 March, the private assembly appointed Fidele to administer the construction of a new privileged altar in a new chapel with an adjoining sacristy «in whatever form and cost he deemed appropriate». It was built quickly and evaluated at 353:49 *scudi* on 28 August 1573[60] (see fig. 11).

On 2 April 1573 Cardinal Truchsess died. Exequies were held in the oratory, which was decorated with a large catafalque and expensive draperies[61]. Within weeks of his passing, Cardinal-Deacon Ferdinando de' Medici (1549-1609) was elected protector[62], and the dynamics of patronage changed dramatically. In grand Medici fashion, Ferdinando began his tenure by furnishing the new Saint Gregory chapel with splendid liturgical instruments and rich vestments. He also had it fully decorated by his favorite painter, Jacopo Zucchi (1541-1590). The magnificent, monumental altarpiece of the *Mass of Pope Gregory the Great* (1574-1575; 3.75 x 2.01 m; fig. 17), today in the church's sacristy[63], is the only survivor of this ambitious project, a subject to which we shall return.

«Un Oratorio de' più belli, et de' più grandi che sieno in questa Città di Roma»

Camillo Fanucci[64]

By far the most expensive part of the oratory's decoration was the coffered, richly carved, polychromed, and gilded wood ceiling. Such ceilings were typical of Roman churches renovated in the last three-quarters of the sixteenth century, but due to the enormous costs, only those receiving the patronage of popes or cardinals reached completion. Such splendid ceilings for confraternal oratories were rare[65]. The Gonfalone seems to have been the first to commission one in 1568[66] (see fig. 7). The Crocifisso, initially with help from Cardinal Protector Alessandro Farnese, quickly followed the Gonfalone's lead in 1573, but gilding the ceiling had to wait a decade[67]. In 1585, the Trinità *confratelli* discussed the ceiling at a meeting in which the *primiciero*, the head official who was required to be an ecclesiastic, assured them that «it would be easy to find the money» and donations were already promised[68]. Three years later, on 4 July 1588, the Trinità hired one of

the most illustrious woodcarvers in Rome, Giovanni Battista Montano (1534-1621), and his partner Stefano Possenti (active in Rome, ca. 1565-1591). The contract, published by Fernando Bilancia in 2008, detailed all the requisite materials and carvings, the latter of which particularly interests us here: a large central image of the Holy Trinity with two angels; two others above and below depicting three angels or the confraternal insignia; and the surrounding compartments filled with decorative spirals, angels, cherubim heads with their wings, and foliage in the shape of an angel and harpie. The ceiling required completion within ten months for 600 *scudi* [69]. However, the masters challenged the contracted amount in a final *misura*, citing the actual measurement of the ceiling and cornice, which, according to the agreed price of 17 *scudi* per *canna* (1 *canna* equals 10 *palmi*), would raise the cost to 833 *scudi*. In addition, «the increase in the amount of work was more than [indicated] in the drawing» – changes that included enlarging the size and depth of the carvings beyond the original specifications set forth in the drawing (lost) as well as adding decorative elements, such as rosettes and more foliage – increased the cost to 905 *scudi*. A new accord was reached, and by April 1590, they had received 718:80 *scudi*. On 25 July 1590, the confraternal officers signed a document designating 91 *scudi* as the «final and entire payment for all the work on the said ceiling». However, on 9 September 1591, 98:60 *scudi* were paid to the heirs of Stefano Possenti [70].

Although the carvings were vandalized by the French in 1798, the ceiling was securely reattached in 1823, and decorated with a large stucco image of the Mystery of the Trinity in a cloud-filled firmament emanating rays of light [71] (fig. 18). Using this photo taken just prior to its final destruction, I am proposing this reconstruction of the ceiling (fig. 19). The description of the intricate carvings closely resembles those of the ceiling Montano designed (1611-1613) for his own confraternal church, San Giuseppe dei Falegnami [72] (fig. 20); catastrophically, after days of torrential rain in August 2018, the church ceiling collapsed in ruins.

The contract stipulated that the three coffers along the central longitudinal axis illustrate the confraternity's dedication to the Holy Trinity (fig. 21). Here, the central image of the *Trinity with Two Angels* is a detail of Giovanni Guerra's study (late 1590s) for the altarpiece that once adorned the Trinità's Chapel of the Separation of Saints Peter and Paul [73]. In the rectangular coffer near the oratory's entrance is the Old Testament account of the Three Angels appearing to Abraham (Gen. 18), here portrayed in a drawing by Livio Agresti (1574-1575). Interpreted by Christians as a prefiguration of the Trinity and exemplar of hospitality (Heb. 13:2), its message was quintessential to the confraternal mission. The rectangular coffer near the altar depicts the confraternal insigna that appears on the title page of the

Statuti of 1578. An additional detail, the large, flat rosettes in the square coffers, is taken from the ceiling of the Falegnami oratory adjoining the church[74]. Figure 19 illustrates the varnished ceiling upon its completion.

Such magnificently carved ceilings still had to be painted and gilded (fig. 22). In 1590, the *confratelli* began collecting money, and on 6 July 1594, Reverend Fabio Orsini, the *primiciero*, and Curzio Sergardi, the *guardiano* who was also administering the great *Piante delle Case* (1597), were designated to oversee the gilding and charged with commissioning the wall frescoes[75]. The subjects of the murals are undocumented, and no descriptions have come to light. Since documentation has yet to be uncovered, we know nothing about the choice of artists or the amount paid. Painting and gilding the Crocifisso ceiling cost almost 500 *scudi*, so the larger Trinità ceiling would probably have been even more expensive[76]. In 1597, Geronimo de' Ferrari *muratore*, a new *confratello* that year, was paid 35 *scudi* by the *Casa* for «the wood scaffolding of the oratory ceiling» for an entire year beyond the four-month contract, which conceivably would have allowed the ceiling and frescoes to be completed[77].

Offering a majestic welcome to tens of thousands of pilgrims, the entire interior would have been decorated in time for the upcoming Holy Year of 1600. By century's end, the Santissima Trinità oratory was «among the most beautiful and largest» of the Eternal City, opined Camillo Fanucci, a *confratello* since at least 1569[78]. The oratory prominently presented the archconfraternity's public face a half-century before its dilapidated principal church was fully renovated.

On 16 February 1603, a vote was taken by the general assembly to decide how to spend the remaining 83 *scudi* from donations subventing the sodality's annual pilgrimage to Loreto. The choices were: commissioning «un quadro di pittura» for the oratory; providing dowries for many *zitelle* (poor maidens); constructing a new door for the oratory; or purchasing taffeta for the church's altar. The painting won by a large majority, and two gentlemen and two artists were assigned to select the «most capable» painter in Rome. However, one month later, the decision was rescinded so the money could be applied to rebuilding the ruinous church, a project that had languished[79].

The extraordinarily successful Holy Year of 1600 had encouraged the Trinità to renew construction plans to replace the church. The foundation stone was laid on 12 May 1603[80]. The first two new chapels (second and third on the left) were assigned to the Radice and Parisi families, respectively, whose legacies were now going to be fulfilled. The Parisi executors agreed to rededicate their chapel to Saint Gregory the Great and incorporate the privileged altar. In 1604 their new chapel was begun, and in late 1605 was being frescoed by Baldassare Croce (1588-1628).

His altarpiece of *Saint Gregory Freeing Souls from Purgatory* was completed by late December 1608 (fig. 23). Since the original privilege had also accorded the Trinità the right to liberate a condemned prisoner annually on the feast of the Trinity[81], the new subject matter was particularly relevant. The monumental, resplendent *Mass of Pope Gregory the Great* – with Gregory XIII portrayed as the canonized pontiff, but the 26-year-old Cardinal Protector Ferdinando de' Medici dominating the foreground – was no longer appropriate in size or theme for the new church. Zucchi's altarpiece was transferred to the oratory around 1604 (fig. 24), fulfilling the aspiration of the previous year for a new *quadro*[82], enshrining a cardinal protector's patronage[83], and immortalizing the recent pope.

In advance of the Holy Year of 1650, the *confratelli* resolved to «ennoble» the oratory so the pilgrims' first impression would equal «the current fame of our glories». The «black and rustic» exterior walls were «whitewashed and modernized», perhaps suggesting completion of the upper facade. The eight windows just below the ceiling on the lateral walls were elegantly refitted and glazed[84] (see figs. 1, 12). Stucco architectural ornaments – 16 small, truncated pilasters with richly projecting composite capitals, as delineated in this previously unpublished *misura* by the Trinità's new chief architect Camillo Arcucci (d. 1667; fig. 25) – were added between the cornice of the ceiling and the architrave that encircled the walls. The stuccowork created a stately upper register that crowned the frescoes and remained in place until the building's demolition[85] (see figs. 13, 24).

All the decorative enterprises described above – from lavish wooden stalls and splendid altarpieces to richly carved, gilded ceilings and vibrant frescoes – were typical for independent oratories constructed by the wealthiest and most influential archconfraternities of early modern Rome. It was certainly not a lack of decoration that distinguished the Trinità oratory. Why, then, was this oratory different from all other Roman oratories? In part, because *consorelle* attended mass there (seated separately from the men) and listened to special sermons[86]. But most important for this discussion, this oratory became a crucial setting for new papal policies of Jewish conversion.

Coercing Conversion

Gregory XIII specifically designated this confraternal ritual space as the seat of the new initiative of compulsory, conversionary preaching to the Jews in November 1576, almost a year before the first of two bulls (1577, 1584) gave papal *imprimatur* to the practice. Conversionary preaching was sporadically practiced in Rome throughout the Middle Ages, but this revival in late sixteenth-century

Rome was fundamentally different. Now it was legislated by the pope, regularized on a weekly basis, and enforced by keeping track of attendees, with absences eliciting stiff fines. The Jews themselves were required to pay for the sermons, a practice that lasted until 1847[87].

Minutes of the confraternal general meeting on 18 November 1576 report that the pontiff himself had selected the Trinità oratory for this great honor[88]. Then, on 23 November, the sacristans, overseers, and master of new members were mandated «to attend on all Saturdays in order to assist the Jews at the sermon and to receive the Reverend preachers and to assist everyone so there are no disturbances»[89]. By December, then, nine months before the papal bull was issued on 1 September 1577, the conversionary sermons had begun. No wonder Gregory Martin exclaimed that he «was never delighted wyth any one thing in Rome more than this» [...] «to heare what may be sayd for Christianitie agaynst their Judaisme»[90].

This new, invigorated phase of Rome's conversionary policy had begun in earnest earlier in the century. A House of Catechumens, for those outside the faith but desiring baptism, was established in 1543. To complement it, a College of Neophytes, for the newly converted, was founded in 1577 (by the bull *Vices eius nos*). The most illustrious converts wrote the preaching manuals, and both institutions were maintained by substantial taxes on the Jewish community. Most ominously, in 1555 Rome's approximately 3,000 Jews (in a population of around 45,000) were physically enclosed by walls – with heavy gates locked at night – in what came to be called the «Ghetto». The walls were finally destroyed in 1848, although the official Ghetto ended only upon the dissolution of the Papal State and the unification of Italy in 1870. Historians have argued that these policies of physical separation, squalid living conditions, and financial deprivation were in large part designed to expedite the Jews' conversion. According to tradition and dogma, the widespread conversion of the Jews would herald the End Times and the anxiously awaited Second Coming[91]. It behooves us to note that on 10 December 2015, the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews finally issued a solemn renunciation by the Catholic Church of «any specific institutional mission work directed towards Jews»[92].

The *proemium* of Gregory's bull *Vices eius nos* (1577) reiterated his earlier directive «that on each Sabbath in a specified oratory in Rome, Christ be preached and announced to the Jews». His second bull *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, issued in 1584, required that conversionary sermons throughout Christendom be preached «in their synagogues on each Sabbath, preferably in Hebrew. The Jews are to be taught the truth of the Catholic faith, the nature of their desolation,

and the error of their messianic hopes and beliefs»[93]. This was made explicit in the title of a treatise by the Dominican «preacher to the Jews in Rome», Pietro Pichi. His *Trattato della passione e morte del Messia contro gli Ebrei* (*Treatise on the Passion and Death of the Messiah against the Jews*, Rome, 1618) is a prime example of anti-Judaic polemic in the early seventeenth century[94].

The Observant Franciscan Evangelista Marcellino's *Sermoni quindici sopra il salmo centonove fatti a gli hebrei di Roma* (*Fifteen Sermons on Psalm One Hundred-Nine delivered to the Jews of Rome*, Florence, 1583) seems to be the only surviving volume of Roman sermons to the Jews published in the sixteenth century. Historians have remarked upon the marginal notes addressed to a Christian readership. In fact, from the outset, the staging and delivery of these sermons were addressed to Christians as well as to the Jews, as Emily Michelson has demonstrated[95]. Fra Marcellino preached at the Trinità oratory alongside the most famous Roman conversionary preacher, Andrea Del Monte. The converted rabbi took his new name in honor of Pope Julius III Del Monte (r. 1550-1555), who had baptized him in 1552 in a grand public ceremony at St. Peter's. The fiery «renegade rabbi», as Michel de Montaigne described him upon attending a sermon during Lent in 1581, had been appointed as the first fixed preacher to Jews[96]. Each week, the converted rabbi delivered a Christian interpretation of the Torah portion that had been read that morning in synagogue. Gregory Martin discerned that the brilliant, multilingual Del Monte had been «chosen […] to confute them out of their owne bookes and doctors, and to confound them by their owne peevish opinions […] and folish practices»[97]. Del Monte's vitriolic diatribes were so deeply resented by the Jews that he was forced to step down from the Trinità pulpit in 1582. Other famous preachers, usually representatives of the new religious Orders, quickly stepped in.

The 1584 bull mandated weekly attendance by at least one-third of the Jews above the age of twelve in all communities, or else all contact with Christians would be forbidden. In early modern Rome, assembling the proper number of Jewish men and women – approximately 250 individuals every Saturday afternoon – was easily organized, and the names of attendees were recorded[98]. Jews were readily identifiable by their mandated sartorial markers: in Rome, a yellow hat for males and a yellow kerchief for females, although the yellow circle was the most common badge demarcating Jews across pre-modern Europe[99].

From the Ghetto, the Jews were led along the city's main processional route (today's Via dei Giubbonari) before turning left onto today's Via dei Pettinari, then left again to enter the oratory (fig. 26). It seems likely that Trinità *confratelli* participated in this part of the ritual. After 1603, the procession probably turned

sooner to pass through the piazza showcasing the grand new palace of the Monte di Pietà, the Christian loan bank instituted specifically to extirpate Jewish "usurious" moneylending. Edicts were posted along the way expressly forbidding anyone, under threat of heavy fines or torture, from harassing or inciting violence against the Jews on their way, during, and returning from the preaching – a clear indication that such behavior occurred[100].

Gregory Martin described the scene of what he considered «charitie toward the Jewes». The oratory was filled with cardinals, bishops, noble citizens, and foreigners «flocking hither so thicke […] yea if thou come late, there is no place […] to stand within the doore, nor without». Male Jews were seated near the pulpit; Jewesses were separated in an «upper loft» concealed behind a curtain. Christians even had to relinquish their seats if necessary – the only occasion on which a Christian had to make way for a Jew, noted Martin[101]. Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, Protector of the Catechumens and Neophytes, was always present – his neophytes dressed in black and catechumens in white – to reinforce and surveil their adherence to the faith.

From the outset, the officials, sacristans, and brethren of the Trinità were responsible for the oratory's preparation and were required to assist throughout the event to prevent disturbances. The grand stalls of the *guardiani* to the right of the entry portal were now reserved for the Cardinal Vicar's representatives, but one *guardiano* was always in attendance[102]. In 1606, a papal indulgence of 50 years was awarded to each *confratello*, dressed in his red habit, who attended the preaching[103]. Maintaining decorum was no easy task, whether from the hecklers above in the choirs or from the Jews themselves, as an English diarist described in 1645: there is «so much malice in [the Jews'] countenances, spitting, humming, coughing, and motion, that it is almost impossible they should hear a word from the preacher»[104]. The Cardinal Vicar's own police officer, baton in hand, helped to ensure the Jews' attention[105]. Nonetheless, it seems about ten converted annually, enough to concern the Jewish community[106]. As Anna Foa underscored and Michelson compellingly argued, these conversionary acts were «fundamentally public, theatricalized, and ritualized», adding to the already heavy burden of Jews as the primary symbol of "otherness"[107].

These facts compel us to speculate about the oratory frescoes. It has long been recognized that preachers referenced actual images in sacred spaces, that hearing and seeing were intricately interwoven in churchgoers' experience[108]. Would the frescoes have alluded to the conversionary preaching? How might the decorative program have shaped the rhetoric (and vice versa) and been used to counter the Second Commandment forbidding graven images and the Jews' supposed

aniconism? These questions were also fundamental to the Protestant denial of the efficacy of sacred images. The «renegade rabbi» Andrea Del Monte had carefully integrated Hebrew as well as Latin texts with conversionary messages in the decorative program of his Chapel of the Annunciation (1588; fig. 27) in the recently built Madonna dei Monti (1580-1582), the church designated as the new seat of the Confraternity of Catechumens and Neophytes and its protector, Cardinal Sirleto[109]. Del Monte's pictorial sermons served to reinforce the faith of new and pious Christians alike, surely a goal of the oratory frescoes as well.

Perhaps the frescoes directly engaged the confraternal mission of charitable hospitality or emphasized Trinitarian themes[110], as did the ceiling. Conversionary preaching, although the most famous spectacle enacted in the Trinità oratory, was among many public and private confraternal events that occurred there. These can receive only the briefest mention here. Responsibilities included the reception and organization of thousands of pilgrims for their three-day stay in Rome, as depicted and detailed in Francesco Bosoni's broadside for the Holy Year of 1650; the vignette labeled «A» depicts the oratory crowded with the new arrivals[111] (fig. 28). In addition, there were renowned performances of Holy Week music composed by such luminaries as Palestrina (ca. 1525-1594)[112], opulent exequies of cardinal protectors and prestigious benefactors, lavish feast day celebrations that embraced the hospital's indigent convalescents, private Saturday evening devotions after the hubbub surrounding the preaching to the Jews[113], and general meetings comprising hundreds of *confratelli* who debated and voted on crucial philanthropic and financial matters. By recovering the history, rituals, and decoration of the Trinità oratory, I contend that we can begin to reconstruct and appreciate this once magnificent space, the setting for acts of faith and charity – both exemplary and deplorable.

1   G. Martin, *Roma Sancta (1581)*, ed. by G.B. Parks, Roma, 1969, pp. 7, 58-59.

2   The scholarship on the church and hospital is extensive; see M. Erwee, *The Churches of Rome, 1527-1870*, 2 vols., London, 2014-2015, vol. 1, pp. 678-683; vol. 2, pp. 355-358; C. Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture and Urban Development in Post-Tridentine Rome: The Hospital of the SS.ma Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (1548-1680)*, Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2000; S. Vasco Rocca, *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, Roma, 1979.

3   Archivio di Stato di Roma (hereafter ASR), Fondo Ospedale della Santissma Trinità dei Pellegrini (hereafter OSTP), reg. 51, f. 134v (25 July 1800).

4   M.J. Lewine, *The Roman Church Interior, 1527-1580*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1960, pp. 509-510; Vasco Rocca, *SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini*, cit., pp. 57-58.

5   The confraternity's history is recounted in the *Statuti della Venerabile Archiconfraternita della Santissima Trinità De' Pel[l]egrini, & Convalescenti, nuovamente riformati, e stampati*, Roma, 1578, pp. 1-14; ASR, OSTP, reg. 521.

6   M. Borzacchini, *Il patrimonio della Trinità dei Pellegrini alla fine del Cinquecento*, in «Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma», 5, 1984, pp. 237-260, esp. p. 239; M. Romani, *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell'economia di Roma dal XIV al XVII secolo*, Milano, 1948, p. 207.

7   I thank Prof. Frank Dabell for providing pertinent, new documentary information about the Vasari drawing (email communication February 2018 and August 2019), which he had presented in a lecture in Arezzo (2011). In *Il libro delle ricordanze di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. by A. Del Vita, Roma, 1938, pp. 69-70 (c. 20v), Vasari writes: «Ricordo come a di 8 di Febraio 1552 La Compagnia della Trinità et ospitale de vechj di Roma et per loro Messer Francesco Marsoppinj d' Arezzo mi allogorono uno stendardo di drappo per portare a pricissione lavorato aoljo da tuttadue le bande per prezzo di scudi cinquanta che tanto fumo dacordo et così le fregiature doro intorno a tutte mje spese scudi 50». The Aretine Francesco Marsuppini was a priest at San Girolamo and close friend of Filippo Neri, becoming his confessor after Persiano Rosa's death in 1558; see L. Ponnelle, L. Bordet, *St Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times (1515-1595)*, trans. by R.F. Kerr, London, 1979, pp. 104-105, 166-167. The year 1552 for the commission is significant because during that Carnival season, Neri began his regularized and official processions to the Seven Churches, in which the Trinità *confratelli* became important participants. Moreover, in the minutes of a meeting (24 May 1552), Neri was mentioned as a priest appointed by the confraternity to hold mass in its church (ASR, OSTP, reg. 87, f. 4v, cited by Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., p. 102). On 29 May he was elected as a member of the confraternity; see L. Fiorani, *La confraternita della Trinità dei Pellegrini nei giubilei cinque-seicenteschi: il carisma dell'ospitalità*, in *La storia dei Giubilei. Volume Secondo, 1450-1575*, ed. by M. Fagiolo, M.L. Madonna, Roma, 1998, pp. 308-325, esp. p. 314, note 11. See also C. Fischer, *Drawings by Vasari and two of his Followers in Danish Collections*, in *«Aux quatre vents». A Festschrift for Bert W. Meijer*, ed. by A.W.A. Boschloo, E. Grasman, G.J. van der Sman, Firenze, 2002, pp. 59-63; F. Härb, *The Drawings of Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574)*, Roma, 2015, p. 575, cat. 389, was unaware of Dabell's discovery. Whether or not the same image was portrayed on the reverse is unknown.

8   ASR, OSTP, reg. 87, f. 20; F. Nurra, *La mensa dei poveri a Trinità dei Pellegrini. Economia Solidale nella Roma del Cinquecento*, Firenze, 2004, p. 46.

9   This new rank was inaugurated in 1520; see B. Wisch, *Archconfraternities and the Arts: Overarching New Themes*, in *Illuminating the Soul, Glorifying the Sacred. Religious Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by B. Murovec, M. Oter Gorenčič, B. Wisch, special issue of «Acta historiae artis Slovenica», 23, 2, 2018, pp. 25-49. See also A. Witte, *Cardinal Protectors of Religious Institutions*, in *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal*, ed. by M. Hollingsworth, M. Pattenden, A. Witte, Leiden, 2000, pp. 124-143, esp. pp. 127-131.

10   L. Cajani, *Lungo le strade che portavano a Roma. Le confraternite aggregate all'Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti (XVI-XIX secolo)*, in *Poveri*

in cammino. Mobilità e assistenza tra Umbria e Roma in età moderna, ed. by A. Monticone, Milano, 1993, pp. 339-408.

11   Martin, *Roma Sancta*, cit., p. 59; Romani, *Pellegrini*, cit., pp. 15, 208, 323-330. See also Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., p. 101; Nurra, *La mensa*, cit., p. 47.

12   *Statuti*, cit., p. 88; Nurra, *La mensa*, cit., p. 48.

13   Nurra, *La mensa*, cit., pp. 48-49. For the Holy Year diaries, see ASR, OSTP, bb. 371, 372. See also Fiorani, *La confraternita della Trinità*, cit.; M. Pupillo, *La SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini di Roma. Artisti e committenti al tempo di Caravaggio*, Roma, 2001, pp. 28-35.

14   F. del Sodo, *Compendio delle chiese con la loro fondazione consegrazione e titolo de cardinali delle parocchie con il battesimo e senza dell'hospitali reliquie et indulgentie e di tutti li luoghi pij di Roma novamente posto in luce dal Rev.do Ms. Fran.co de Sodo, canonico di S. Maria in Cosmedin detta Scuola Greca* (compiled ca. 1575-1585/1587), Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, MS G.33, f. 120v.

15   ASR, OSTP, reg. 2, f. 66v (4 July 1570): «fu decreto che no' si butti a terra l'oratorio nel il tinello sino a tanto che l'oratorio novo no' sia edificato sino al' ~~det~~ oratorio vecchio e detto tinello e si notifichi alli muratori».

16   N. O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage in Post-Tridentine Rome: Music at Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini 1550-1650*, London, 1995, pp. 6, 83 (doc. 6/8).

17   *Ivi*, pp. 9-10, 83 (doc 6/10); *id.*, *Music at Roman Confraternities to 1650: the current state of research*, in «Analecta Musicologica», 45, 2011, pp. 132-158.

18   B. Wisch, N. Newbigin, *Acting on Faith: The Confraternity of the Gonfalone in Renaissance Rome*, Philadelphia, 2013, esp. pp. 395-398, 422, 455.

19   O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*, cit., pp. 10, 83 (doc. 6/10).

20   ASR, OSTP, reg. 2, f. 57v: «deputarunt in suffragijs ad tractan/ et convenien/ cum architectis et muraturibus [Rocco d'Orlandi and Battista Rusconi] super confectione fabric/ oratorij».

21   Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., pp. 113-123, for a critical assessment of the drawings for the hospital; G.L. Masetti Zannini, *Notizie biografiche di Guglielmo della Porta in documenti notarili romani*, in «Commentari», 23, 1972, pp. 299-305, esp. p. 299.

22   See note 15.

23   Wisch, Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, cit., p. 418; B. Wollesen-Wisch, *The Archiconfraternita del Gonfalone and its Oratory in Rome: Art and Counter-Reformation Spiritual Values*, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 171, 311-321.

24   O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*, cit., pp. 11-12, 83-84 (doc. 6/11). Borzacchini, *Il patrimonio*, cit., p. 246, records another indulgence (3 April 1571) of seven years and seven quarantines (40 days) for all who visited the oratory again on the Saturday following All Saints (1 November).

25   J. von Henneberg, *L'oratorio dell'Arciconfraternita del Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello*, Roma, 1974, p. 18.

26   One *palmo romano* equals 22.34 cm. ASR, OSTP, reg. 461, *Piante Antiche di Case e Siti*, 1597, ff. 8v-9r; Vasco Rocca, *SS. Trinità*, cit., p. 25.

27   As O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*, cit., has shown, polyvocal/polyphonic music demanded more performers, so carpenters were often hired to construct one or more temporary platforms in the main space.

28 ASR, OSTP, b. 387, A3, Conto tra lospitale et m.ro Ant.o della bella etc muratori: *stima* for the «Cappella e Sacrestia Nova» (28 August 1573); for the «spogliatorio Novo presso al oratorio» (9 January 1574).

29 For this «competitive arena», see J.B. Scott, *Roman Church Architecture: The Early Modern Facade,* in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome, 1492-1692*, ed. by P.M. Jones, B. Wisch, S. Ditchfield, Leiden, 2019, pp. 427-458; Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., p. 228. Only in 1576 was the facade of the Gonfalone oratory decorated with a travertine cornice, and then in 1580, with an image of the Madonna della Misericordia flanked by Peter and Paul. It is possible that the architectural articulation of the ground floor was completed in these years; Domenico Castelli added the two upper tiers ca. 1650. See R. Randolfi, *Oratorio del Gonfalone*, Roma, 1999, pp. 71-75.

30 Von Henneberg, *L'oratorio [...] Crocifisso*, cit., pp. 16-32, for the facade's rhythmic architectural elements and ornamental richness.

31 A. Pientini, *Le Pie Narrationi dell'opere più memorabili fatte in Roma l'anno del Giubileo 1575*, Viterbo, 1577, p. 105.

32 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Fabrica e Restauri dell'Oratorio (hereafter Fabrica), D, Conti del lavoro ad uso di Falegname fatti in Oratorio […] (15 December 1571).

33 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Fabrica, A, 25 di maggio 1572-Misura e stima delli lavori di scarpello.

34 *Ibid*.

35 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Memorie relative all'Oratorio (hereafter Memorie), M, Iscrizioni […].

36 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1066, f. 25 left (21 Dec 1571): «in subsidio delli poveri convalescenti et peregrini et non per la fabrica».

37 ASR, OSTP, reg. 2, ff. 59r (12 June 1570), 67r (11 July 1570), 120r (29 October 1571), 127r (14 January 1572).

38 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213, ff. 162 left and right. Borzacchini, *Il patrimonio*, cit., p. 253, calculated 1319 *scudi* as the construction cost, followed by Nurra, *La mensa*, cit., p. 78.

39 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213, f. 186 left (7 July 1573): 50 *scudi* to Battista and Rocco. See note 20.

40 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213, ff. 114 left and right (20 June 1572).

41 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 12r (10 August 1572): «fu proposito dalli Sig.ri Guardiani, Atto che altre volte e stato dubitato che fusse differentia tra l'Hospitale et l'Oratorio, et perche loro si trova detto Oratorio gravato di varij debiti p la fabrica di esso ascendente a grossa somma di denari pero loro se desidera la resolution' se detto Oratorio deve essere unito et incorporato con detto Hospitale talmente che l'uno supplisia alli debiti altro et spese indifferentemente / Et pche alcuni sentivano in contrario pavere corsi la bussola / […] Fu vinto il partito p Ceci rossi numero quaranta nove affirmative et Ceci bianchi n.o Quattro soli negative che lOratorio et Hospitale debbia no essere uniti come nella proposta».

42 *Statuti*, cit., p. 82.

43 See ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213-1216, *Libri Mastri*, *passim*.

44 *Consorelle* contributed substantially, e.g. Camilla Crivelli (ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213, f. 78 right, 25 August 1570, 300 *scudi*); Prioress Giovanna Amarata (ASR, OSTP, reg. 1065, f. 8 right, no. 3, 28 August 1572, 200 *scudi*).

45 *Statuti*, cit., pp. 8-9; Borzacchini, *Il patrimonio*, cit., p. 253, quotes the documents.

46 Nurra, *La mensa*, cit., p. 66; Von Henneberg, *L'oratorio […] Crocifisso*, cit., p. 20.

47 Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., p. 47, calculated that over 73 per cent of the donations (1571-1574) came from almsboxes.

48 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Fabrica, B, Misura, e stima delle banche e spalliere […] 1574 (7 May): 130:90 *scudi*.

49 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1213, f. 269 right: 108:60 *scudi* «p el disegnio et fabrica della spalliera et banchi».

50 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 93r (21 Dec 1573): the *guardiani* should make a contract for the «banchi et spalliera dal altra parte del Oratorio» with the carpenter of their choice.

51 Wisch, Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, cit., pp. 398-399, 402, note 56: final *perizia* (valuation) of 420:50 *scudi* (12 January 1577). Documents for the wooden stalls of the Santissimo Crocifisso oratory have not been published.

52 ASR, OSTP, b. 381, Conti di Artisti […] secolo 1500, 6, Conti de Falegname, C, Andrea Tozzi (23 June 1576): «p il titolo […] per Christo dell'Oratorio».

53 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1214, 229 left (28 March 1578): «p tanto taffeta pavonazzo p coprire limmagine della madona sopra laltare la settimana s. […] 3:10 [*scudi*]».

54 ASR, OSTP, b. 381, Conti di Artisti […] secolo 1500, 6, C, Andrea Tozzi, 1575. Prof. O'Regan and I drew these conclusions from the payments (email communications and discussions in Rome, September-October 2018). In contrast, the Santissimo Crocifisso oratory had included an organ loft as part of the original design, indicating how essential music was to confraternal devotion. Prof. O'Regan's publication is forthcoming.

55 ASR, OSTP, reg. 6, f. 30v: cited in b. 544, Memorie, H, Di alcune suppellitili donate […]: «fu decreto che trovandosi fratelli, o sorelle della Compagnia li quali volessero far di loro denari senza alcuna spesa della Compagnia, nel presente nostro Oratorio un pergamo che se li lasciasse fare, e all'intervento però del Fabriciero et Architetto di questa Compagnia […] Si da autorità a Martinatio Martinelli di poter far rompere il muro dell'Oratorio per fabricare il Pergolo secondo la mente di Messer Martino [Longhi] Architetto, e […] far fare una Posticella al tramezzo delle Donne per la loro comodità per udire e vedere la messa con due serrature e chiavi cioe da una banda e l'altra ».

56 ASR, OSTP, reg. 1215, f. 138 left (8 November 1581).

57 Borzacchini, *Il patrimonio*, cit., pp. 253 («il fulcro della vita stessa del sodalizio»), 259.

58 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 40r.

59 Vasco Rocca, *SS. Trinità*, cit., p. 103.

60 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 48r: «di quella forma et spesa che a lui parera»; b. 387, A, 3. In addition, the master woodcarver Andrea Tozzi receivd 860:56 *scudi* for work in the «Nova Sacrestia»; see ASR, OSTP, reg. 1057, A m.o Andrea Tozzi […] (1 June 1574-31 May 1575).

61 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 52r (4 April 1573): resolved to spend whatever seems appropriate. For the decorations and music, see reg. 1065, f. 30, no. 276 (15 April 1573), 25:86 *scudi*; f. 35, no. 300 (16 May 1573), 13:20 *scudi* for wax.

62 ASR, OSTP, reg. 3, f. 57r.

63 *Statuti*, cit., p. 9; A. Calcagno, *Jacopo Zucchi e la sua opera in Roma*, Roma, 1933, pp. 22, 33-37.

64 C. Fanucci, *Trattato di tutte l'Opere pie dell'Alma Città di Roma*, Roma, 1601, p. 269.

65 See *Di sotto in sù: Soffitti nel Rinascimento a Roma*, ed. by C. Conforti, M.G. D'Amelio, Modena, 2019; *Soffitti lignei a lacunari a Firenze e a Roma in età Moderna*, ed. by C. Conforti

et al., special issue of «Opus Incertum», n.s., 3, 2017. I thank Professors Paul Anderson and Jack Freiberg for helpful discussions about carved wooden ceilings.

66 Wisch, Newbigin, *Acting on Faith*, cit., pp. 418-419; for the contract and payments of 432 *scudi* to Ambrogio Bonazzini, see Wollesen-Wisch, *L'Archiconfraternita*, cit., pp. 88-95, 444-446. Although the gilding was restored in the nineteenth century, that restoration, which included applying a thick coat of varnish to the whole ceiling, left too few traces of color to have allowed the conservation (1999-2002) to recreate the original surface; traces of blue and white pigment, however, have been revealed; see A.M. Brignardello, *Il restauro degli affreschi*, in *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone a Roma: il ciclo cinquecentesco della Passione di Cristo*, ed. by M.G. Bernardini, Cinisello Balsamo, 2002, p. 209.

67 Von Henneberg, *L'oratorio […] Crocifisso*, cit., pp. 44-45, 85, 99-100, 107-109: the ceiling by Flaminio Boulanger and Battista Fergosini cost 650 *scudi*. Expenses for gilding and painting (included scaffolding, gold, pigments, and labor) totaled 497:43½ *scudi*, but confraternal donations of 566:55 *scudi* exceeded that amount. The ceiling was destroyed in 1798 and replaced in 1879.

68 ASR, OSTP, reg. 9, f. 3v (11 Feb 1585): «fu proposto da Mons. Rev. Primicerio che saria bene che si facesse il soffitto al nostro Oratorio questo anno, che saria facile di trovare li denari, atteso che si trovava in essere una lista di molti della Compagnia che sono obligati di pagare un tanto per uno, e fra quelli, ed altri che si sottoscriveranno si potrà fare facilmente senza che la Casa ne senta spesa alcuna». The officials still needed consent of the general congregation and Cardinal Protector Ferdinando, who had commissioned a lavishly coffered and gilded wood ceiling (1565-1566) for his deaconry at Santa Maria in Domnica.

69 F. Bilancia, *Appendice documentaria: Giovan Battista Montano, architetto e intagliatore*, in «Palladio», n.s., 21, 41, 2008, pp. 53-84, esp. pp. 55, 65, notes 25-27, 77-78 (doc. 4): «[…] li figuri et intagli, et cherubini et chiozzole, di tiglio, cioè nel mezzo l'immagine della Santissima Trinità con dui angioli apresso, nei doi quadri, una da basso et l'altro da cima di detta Santissima Trinità, poterci fare tre angioli o imprese della santissima Trinità, nei sei mezzi tondi con suoi falsetti dentro un angiolo per ciascheduna, nelli dodici falsetti o quadretti sia fatto per ciascheduna una testa di cherubino con sue ali, nelli altri sfondati o vani siano fatti a fogliami come mostra detto disegno, cioè a foggia di angelo et arpia». Martino Longhi the Elder, the confraternal architect, was likely involved in the ceiling's design. ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Fabrica, C, Soffitto dell'Oratorio suoi Conti (Mazzo 71): on 12 June 1589, 638:15 *scudi* were promised by more than 30 *confratelli*. ASR, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, vol. 1344, ff. 89, 118 (13 June 1589): Livio Prata notarized the payment of 539:17 *scudi* to Montano and Possenti, and a list of the confraternal benefactors, including 50 *scudi* promised by the pope.

70 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Fabrica, C, Soffitto dell'Oratorio 1590: «lacrescimento de lavoro fatto di piu del disegno»; «saldo ultimo et intiero pagamento di tutta l'opera di d.o sofitto».

71 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Memorie, I, Alcune altre memorie relative all'Oratorio: Memoria delle Prospere […]; Restauri diversi […] 1822.

72 Bilancia, *Appendice documentaria*, cit., p. 61.

73 B. Wisch, *Embracing Peter and Paul: The Arciconfraternita della SS. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti and the Cappella della Separazione in Rome*, in *Space, Place, and Motion: Locating Confraternities in the Late Medieval and Early Modern City*, ed. by D.B. Presciutti, Leiden, 2017, pp. 178-216, esp. pp. 208-213.

74 Erwee, *The Churches of Rome*, cit., vol. 1, p. 251. The oratory ceiling by Giovan Pietro Giani and Giovanni Salvatori (1628-1629) is closely related to Montano's style.

75 ASR, OSTP, reg. 11, f. 104r: «si propose la ratif.ne del decreto fatto sotto il di detto per quale furono deputati, et <u>viva voce da tutti fu ratificato</u>. l'Ill.mo Sig.r. Primicerio et il Sig.r Curtio Sergardi a concedere a chi li parerà l'opera dell'indorare il soffitto dell'Oratorio, et il pingere li quadri de muri colli patti conditioni, e prezzo che gli parerà, dummodo senza spesa della Comp.a».

76 See note 67.

77 ASR, OSTP, reg. 528, f. 98v; 1216, ff. 388 right, 389 right (9 May 1597): «p la postura delli legnami del ponte del soffitto de oratorio p un anno, che sono stati in opera oltre delli 4 mesi della p.a conventione […]».

78 See note 64. ASR, OSTP, reg. 2, f. 36v (24 July 1569): Fanucci attends the general assembly; f. 38r (16 Aug 1569): he is assigned to temporarily substitute for Pier Luigi Fidele; reg. 1065, f. 30 left (2 April 1572): donated 9:70 *scudi*.

79 Pupillo, *La SS. Trinità*, cit., pp. 17, 25-26, notes 31-32, for the documents; ASR, OSTP, reg. 18, ff. 3v-4r, 8r.

80 Keyvanian, *Charity, Architecture*, cit., pp. 124-140. In addition, the abolition of the parish of San Benedetto in 1601 finally resolved all controversies about confraternal possession of the church and allowed rebuilding to commence.

81 *Statuti*, cit., pp. 9, 56, 96-97.

82 Pupillo, *La SS. Trinità*, cit., pp. 35-41.

83 Ferdinando became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587 and resigned his cardinalate in 1588; the Cardinal Nephew Alessandro Peretti di Montalto was then elected protector (1588-1623).

84 ASR, OSTP, b. 372, no. 5, ch. 20; ch. 40: 250 *scudi* were donated. «L'opera è riuscita assai perfetta havendo nobiltato l'Oratorio in modo che li Pellegrini inricevuti in primo ingresso non havevano occasione di far concetto debole della nostra Casa […] la fama corrente delle nostre glorie».

85 ASR, OSTP, b. 387, B, 8, Misura (14 May 1650). The monumental travertine pilasters flanking the altar chapel were part of the original project, but adding 16 more as indicated on the plan by P.M. Letarouilly (*Édifices de Rome moderne*, Paris, 1868, plate 9), painting four murals of saints, reinforcing the architrave, reattaching the ceiling, and making a «modello del nuovo coro dell'Oratorio» were part of the 1822-1823 restoration campaign; see ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Memorie, I, Alcune altre memorie, Restauri diversi eseguiti in Oratorio nel 1822.

86 See note 55. ASR, OSTP, reg. 16, f. 51v (16 November 1599); b. 372, no. 4, ff. 5 (19 November 1599), 100 (8 March 1600).

87 K.R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555-1593*, New York, 1977; *id., Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome: Challenge, Conversion, and Private Life*, Burlington, Vt., 2007.

88 ASR, OSTP, reg. 5, f. 17v (18 November 1576): «e perchè N.ro' S.re desidera che ogni Sabbato si facci un sermone o predica all'Hebrei di Roma et questo si facci nell'oratorio nro' però detta cong.ne gnle' di comun' concordia se contento che si faccia detto sermone o predica nel detto oratorio».

89 ASR, OSTP, reg. 5, f. 18v (23 November 1576): «furno deputati i s.ri Sagrestani, Proveditori, et Maestro de Novitij p debbono assistere tutti li giorni di sabbato ad accomodare li hebrei nella predica che si fa et a ricevere li R.di predicatori e accomodar tutti che non vi sia disturbo».

90 Martin, *Roma Sancta*, cit., pp. 75, 77.

91 K. Aron-Beller, *Ghettoization: The Papal Enclosure and its Jews*, in *A Companion to Early Modern Rome*, cit., pp. 232-246.

92 See <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/relations-jews-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_20151210_ebraismo-nostra-aetate_en.html>, Part 6, 40 (accessed 19 July 2019).

93 Stow, *Catholic Thought*, cit., pp. 19-21.

94 F. Satta, *Predicatori agli ebrei, catecumeni e neofiti a Roma nella prima metà del Seicento*, in *Itinerari ebraico-cristiani. Società, cultura, mito*, ed. by M. Caffiero, A. Foa, A. Morisi, Roma, 1987, pp. 111-127.

95 E. Michelson, *Conversionary Preaching and the Jews in Early Modern Rome*, in «Past and Present», 235, 2017, pp. 68-104 (with extensive bibliography), esp. pp. 69, 87.

96 M. de Montaigne, *Travel Journal*, trans. and intro. by D.M. Frame, San Francisco, 1983, pp. 92-93.

97 Martin, *Roma Sancta*, cit., p. 77.

98 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Memorie, C, 1, Relazione di quanto occurre intorno alla Predica […]: outlines regulations, including the required 200 men and 50 women. In 1592, Clement VIII fixed the number at 300, mandating 100 women.

99 M. Moretti, *«Glaucis coloris»: Gli ebrei nell'iconografia sacra di età moderna*, in «Roma moderna e contemporanea», 19, 1, 2011, pp. 29-64, esp. p. 34.

100 A. Milano, *Il ghetto di Roma: illustrazioni storiche*, Roma, 1964, pp. 269-281; B. Wisch, *Violent Passions: Plays, Pawnbrokers, and the Jews of Rome, 1539*, in *Beholding Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by A. Terry-Fritsch, E.F. Labbie, Farnham, Surrey-Burlington, Vt., 2012, pp. 197-213.

101 Martin, *Roma Sancta*, cit., pp. 77-78.

102 ASR, OSTP, reg. 63, n.p. (18 September 1605); b. 544, Memorie, C, 1.

103 *Sommario delle Gratie, Indulgenze, e Privileggi concessi dalla Fel. Me. di Papa Paolo V*, Roma, 1674; ASR, OSTP, b. 523.

104 *The Diary of John Evelyn*, intro. and notes by A. Dobson, vol. 1, London, 1906, p. 208 (7 January 1645).

105 ASR, OSTP, b. 544, Memorie, C, 1.

106 Aron-Beller, *Ghettoization*, cit., p. 241, with bibliography.

107 A. Foa, *Il gioco del proselitismo: politica delle conversioni e controllo della violenza nella Roma del Cinquecento*, in *Ebrei e cristiani nell'Italia medievale e moderna: conversioni, scambi, contrasti*, ed. by M. Luzzati, M. Olivari, A. Veronese, Roma, 1988, pp. 155-169; Michelson, *Conversionary Preaching*, cit., p. 78.

108 C. Valone, *The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia della Rovere*, in «The Sixteenth Century Journal», 31, 3, 2000, pp. 753-777.

109 C.H. Wood, P.I. Kaufman, *Tacito Predicatore: The Annunciation Chapel at the Madonna dei Monti in Rome*, in «The Catholic Historical Review», 90, 4, 2004, pp. 634-649; M. Boiteux, *Preaching to the Jews in Early Modern Rome: Words and Images*, in *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*, ed. by J. Adams, J. Hanska, New York, 2015, pp. 296-322. See also P. Coen, *«A honor de Dio et utilità del prossimo»: il cardinale Guglielmo Sirleto e il suo rapporto con l'arte nella Chiesa romana della Madonna dei Monti*, in *Il «sapientissimo calabro».*

Guglielmo Sirleto nel V centenario della nascita (1514-2014): problemi, ricerche, prospettive, atti di convegno, Roma 13-15 gennaio 2015, ed. by B. Clausi, S. Lucà, Roma, 2018, pp. 453-471.

110 Pupillo, *La SS. Trinità*, cit., pp. 97-110.

111 R.M. San Juan, *Rome: A City Out of Print*, Minneapolis, 2001, pp. 117-119, on how the broadside propagated the archconfraternity's role «as facilitator of the universal community of the Holy Year».

112 O'Regan, *Institutional Patronage*, cit., pp. 26-31.

113 *Statuti*, cit., pp. 59-63.
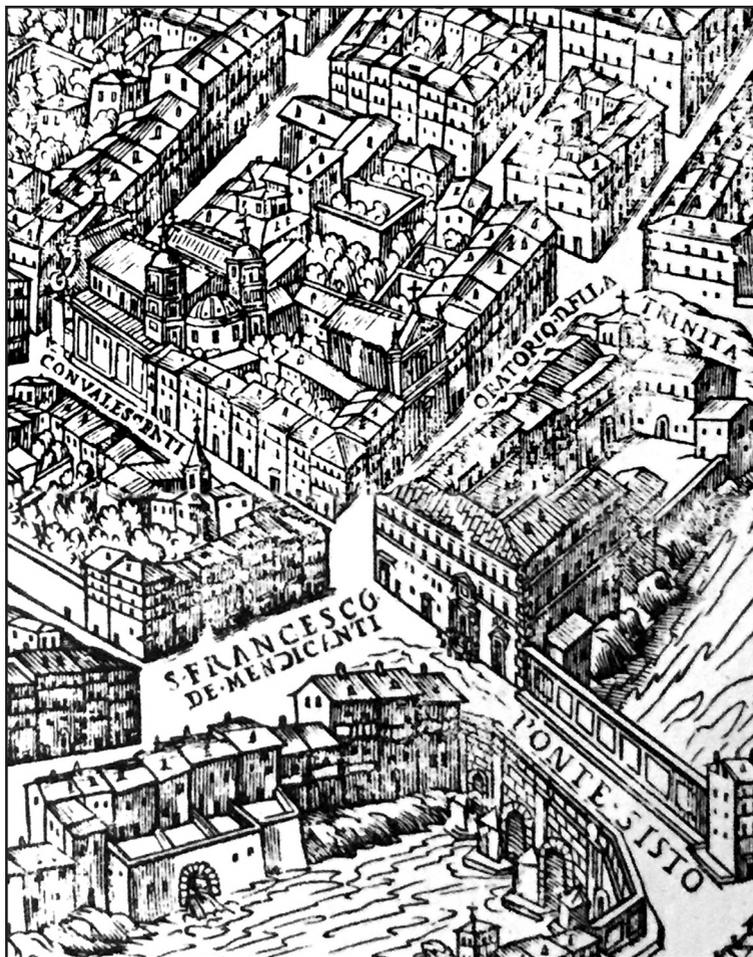
Fig. 1: Giovanni Maggi and Paul Maupin, Oratory, church, and hospital complex of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti, *Map of Rome*, detail, 1625, woodcut. Photo: A.P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, Roma, 1962, vol. 2, plate 315.

Fig. 2: Demolition of the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità and the hospital, 1940, photograph. Photo: Archivio del Museo di Roma, Album Rioni VII, p. 20, no. Xd 7083.

Fig. 3: Étienne Dupérac, Oratory, church and hospital complex of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, *Map of Rome*, detail, 1577, etching with engraving. Photo: S. Bifolco, F. Ronca, *Cartografia e topografia italiana del XVI secolo*, Roma, vol. 3, plate 1235, with superimposed graphic.
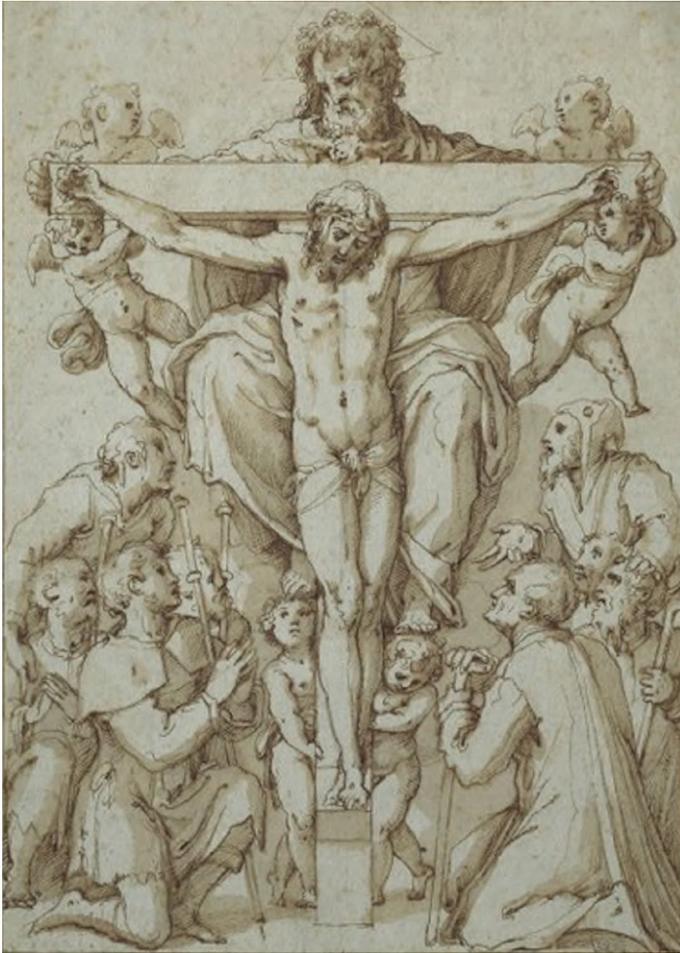
Fig. 4: Giorgio Vasari, *Study for a Processional Banner for the Confraternity of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti*, 1552, drawing in pen and brown ink, brown wash, over black chalk, partially drawn with a ruler, 284 x 203 mm. Sorø, Sorø Kunstmuseum, inv. VKS-00-0365. Photo courtesy of Frank Dabell.

Fig. 5: Giuseppe Cesari, called Il Cavalier d'Arpino, *The Trinity Adored by Pope Clement VIII and Confratelli*, 1602-1603, oil on canvas. Mexico City, Museo Nacional de San Carlos. Photo: Museo Nacional de San Carlos, Diseño y Archivo Fotográfico.

Fig. 6: Oratory of the Gonfalone, View towards the altar chapel, 1544-1551,
post-fire rebuilding 1555-1556. Rome.
Photo: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale P.S.A.E. e Polo Museale Città di Roma.

Fig. 7: Ambrogio Bonazzini, Central coffers of the wood ceiling with the coat of arms of Cardinal-Bishop of Augsburg Otto Truchsess von Waldburg (top), *Madonna della Misericordia*, and coat of arms of Cardinal Protector Alessandro Farnese (bottom, in reverse), 1568. Rome, Oratory of the Gonfalone. Photo by Author.
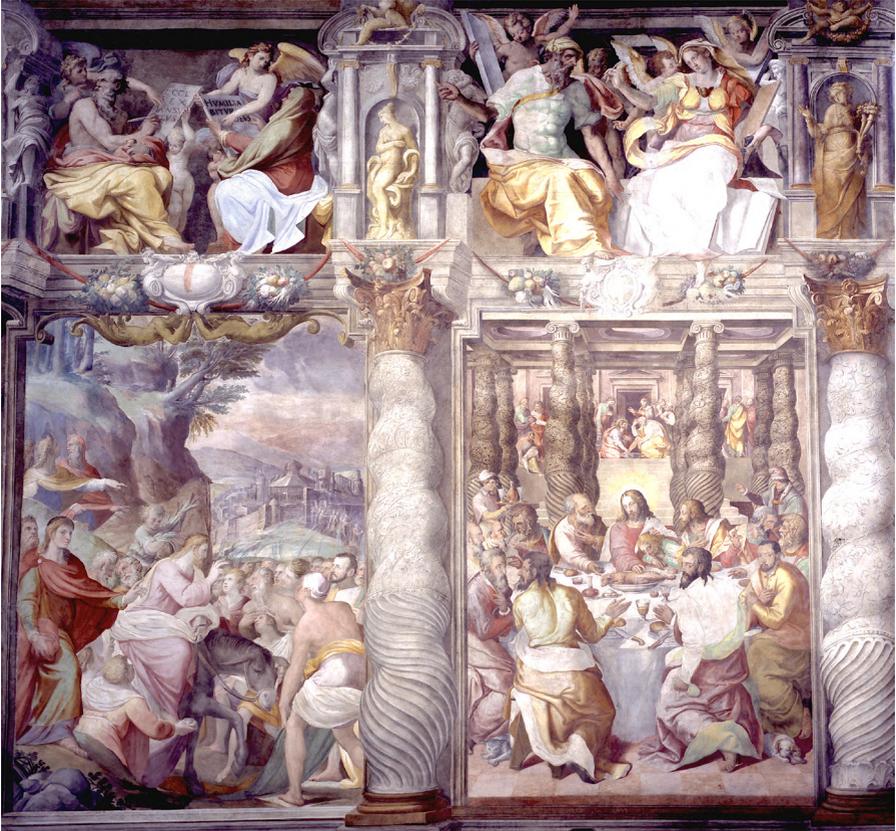
Fig. 8: Jacopo Bertoia, *Entry into Jerusalem*, 1568-1569, fresco, and Livio Agresti, *Last Supper and Foot-Washing*, 1569, fresco. Rome, Oratory of the Gonfalone.
Photo: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale P.S.A.E. e Polo Museale Città di Roma.
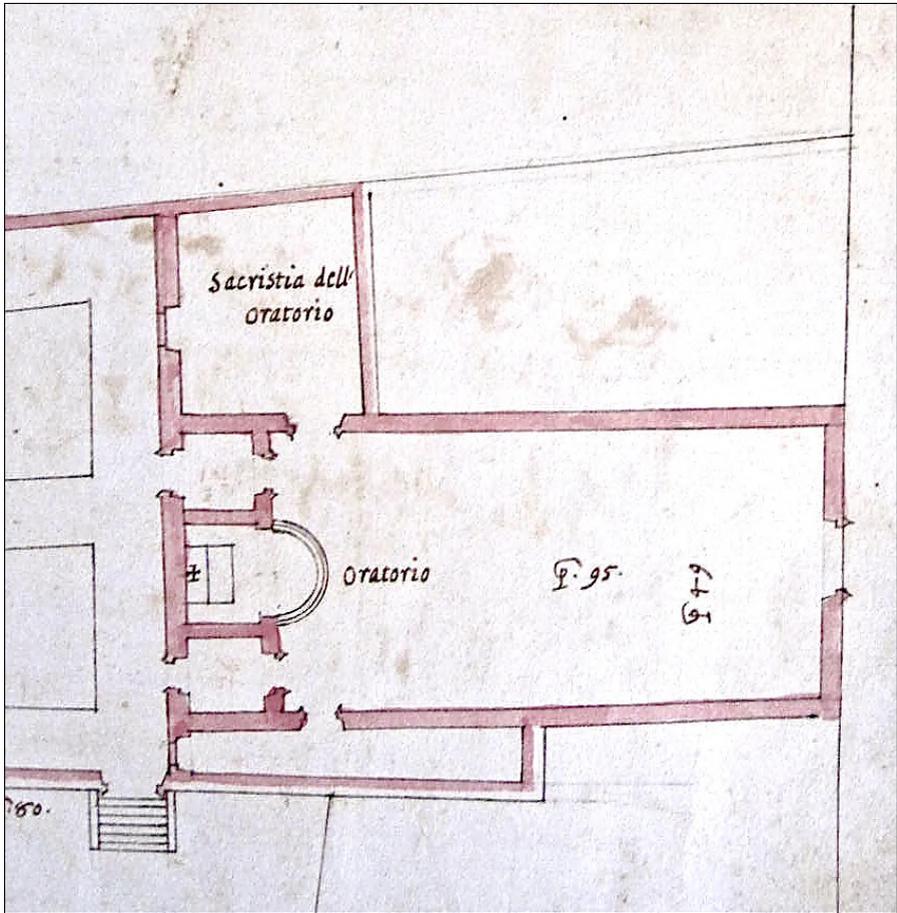
Fig. 9: Giovanni Paolo Maggi, *Plan of the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità*, from ASR, OSTP, reg. 461, *Piante Antiche di Case e Siti*, 1597, f. 9r, detail. Photo by Author, courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività e del Turismo, Archivio di Stato di Roma.

Gonfalone
1544–1551
post-fire rebuilding 1555–1556

Santissimo Crocifisso
1562–1568

Santissima Trinità
1570–1571
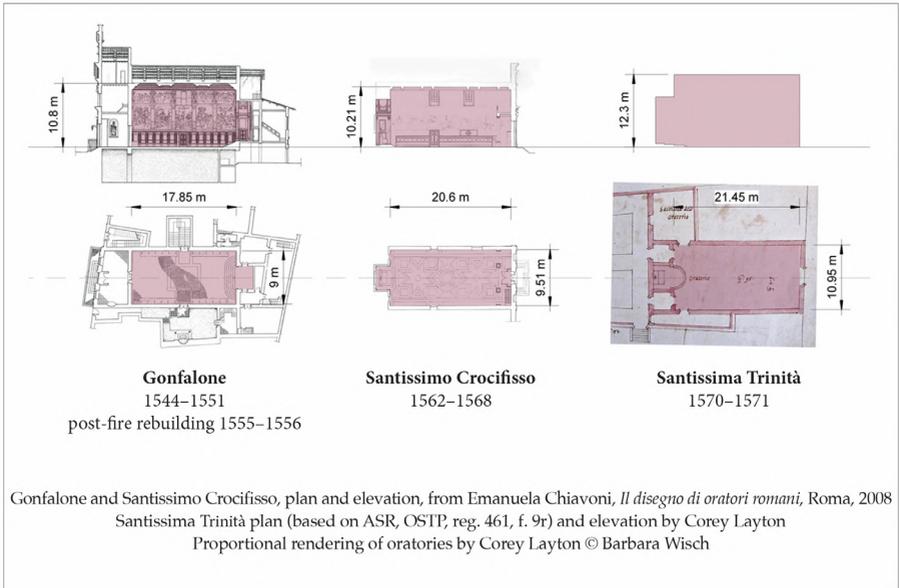
Gonfalone and Santissimo Crocifisso, plan and elevation, from Emanuela Chiavoni, *Il disegno di oratori romani*, Roma, 2008
Santissima Trinità plan (based on ASR, OSTP, reg. 461, f. 9r) and elevation by Corey Layton
Proportional rendering of oratories by Corey Layton © Barbara Wisch

Fig. 10: Comparative dimensions of Roman oratories: Gonfalone, Santissimo Crocifisso, Santissima Trinità. Elaboration by Author; architectural renderings by Corey Layton.

Fig. 11: Giovanni Paolo Maggi, *Pianta di tutta la casa, chiesa, & oratorio della s.ma Trinità de Convalescenti*, from ASR, OSTP, reg. 461, *Piante Antiche di Case e Siti*, 1597, ff. 8v-9r. Photo by Author, courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività e del Turismo, Archivio di Stato di Roma.
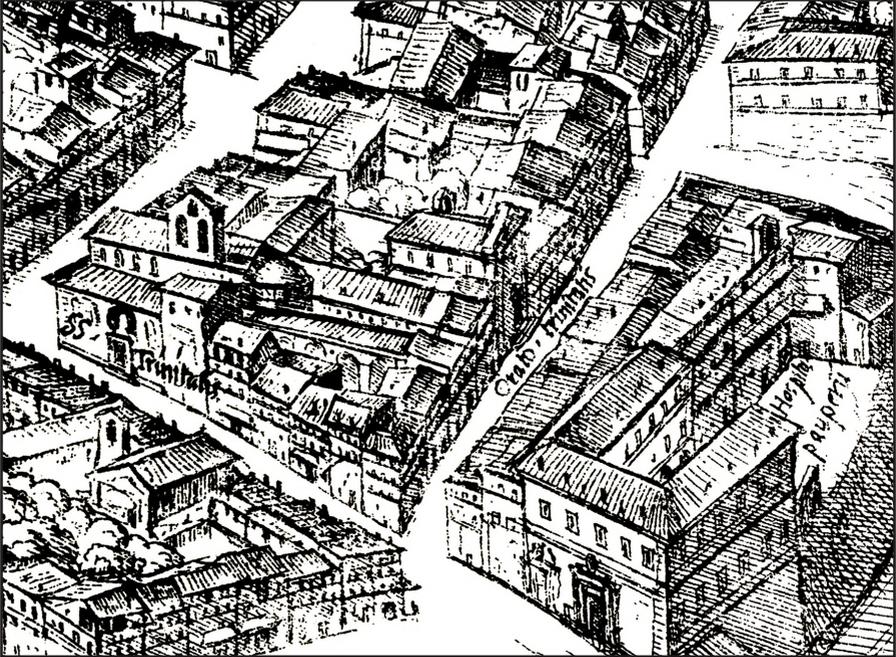
Fig. 12. Antonio Tempesta, Oratory, church, and hospital complex of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, *Map of Rome*, detail, 1593, etching. Photo: S. Bifolco, F. Ronca, *Cartografia e topografia italiana del XVI secolo*, Roma, 2018, vol. 3, plate 1243.

Fig. 13: Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, View towards the altar chapel during demolition, 1940, photograph. Photo: *San Paolino alla Regola: Piano di recupero e restauro*, ed. by E. Valeriani, Roma, 1987, p. 105.

Fig. 14: Giacomo della Porta, Oratory of the Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello, Rome, 1562-1563, facade 1567-1568. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom.

Fig. 15: Oratory of the Santissimo Crocifisso di San Marcello, View towards the altar chapel, fresco decoration 1578-1585. Rome. Photo: Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom.

Fig. 16: Oratory of the Gonfalone, View towards the inner entrance, fresco decoration 1568-1576. Rome. Photo: Archivio Fotografico Soprintendenza Speciale P.S.A.E. e Polo Museale Città di Roma.
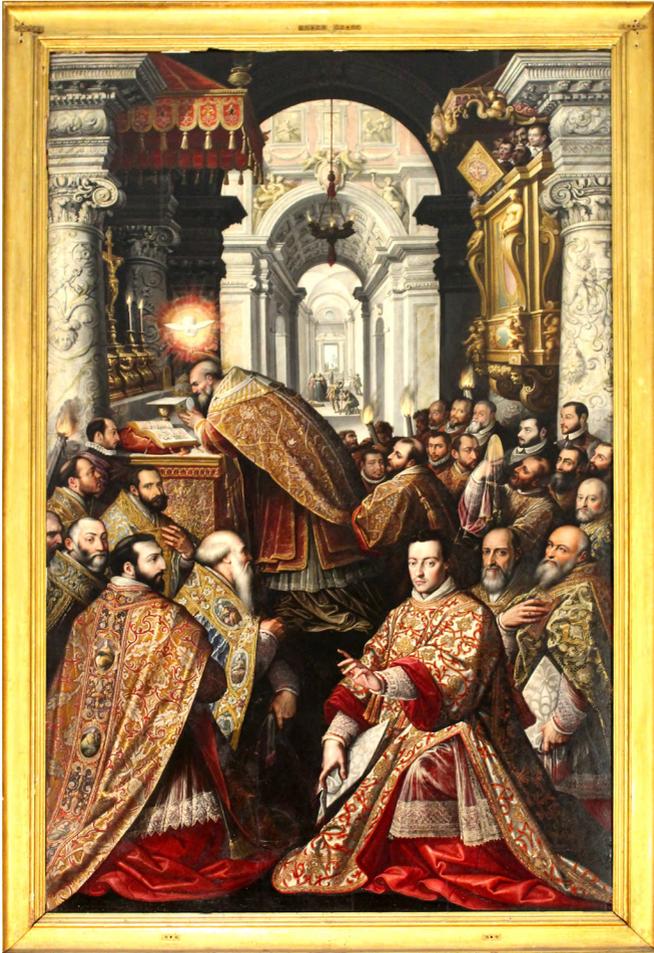
Fig. 17: Jacopo Zucchi, *Mass of Pope Gregory the Great*, 1574-1575, oil on canvas. Rome, Church of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, sacristy. Photo by Tanner Nash.
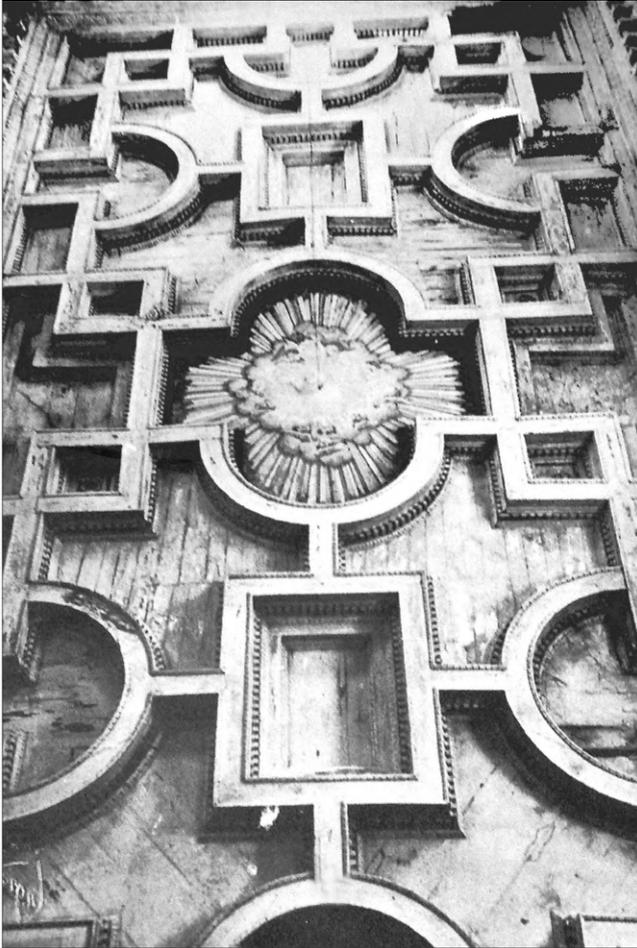
Fig. 18: Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, View of the ceiling, 1940, photograph.
Photo: *San Paolino alla Regola: Piano di recupero e restauro*,
ed. by E. Valeriani, Roma, 1987, p. 105.

Reconstruction © Barbara Wisch; Graphics by Martine C. Barnaby

Fig. 19: Reconstruction of Giovanni Battista Montano and Stefano Possenti, Ceiling (varnished), Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, 1588-1589. Elaboration by Author; graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.

Fig. 20: Francesco Fagarezzi, after a design by Giovanni Battista Montano, Ceiling, detail, 1611-1613; destroyed 30 August 2018. Rome, Church of San Giuseppe dei Falegnami. Photo by Roswitha Juffinger.

SOURCES for the RECONSTRUCTION of the CEILING
of the ORATORY of the SANTISSIMA TRINITÀ

Giovanni Battista Montano and Stefano Possenti, Ceiling and cornice of the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, white poplar (background, cornice) and linden wood (all figures and decorative carvings), 1588–1589

Decorative carvings
From Francesco Fagarezzi, after a design by Giovanni Battista Montano, Ceiling, Church of San Giuseppe dei Falegnami, Rome, 1611–1613; ceiling destroyed 30 August 2018

Large flat rosettes in the square coffers
From Giovan Pietro Giani and Giovanni Salvatori, Ceiling, Oratory of San Giuseppe dei Falegnami, Rome, 1628–1629

"tre angioli o imprese della santissima Trinità"
(three angels or the insignia of the Most Holy Trinity)
Livio Agresti, *The Three Angels Appearing to Abraham*, pen and brown ink over black chalk, 1574–1575, 156 x 175 mm
London, British Museum, 1971,1030.1 AN225849001
© The Trustees of the British Museum

"Santissima Trinità con dui angioli apresso"
(Most Holy Trinity with two angels close by)
Giovanni Guerra, *Holy Trinity Surrounded by Angels with Instruments of the Passion Adored by Pilgrims and Confratelli with Filippo Neri*, pen and brown ink with wash over traces of black chalk on paper, late 1590s, 360.4 x 249.2 mm
Courtesy of Nissman, Abromson, Ltd., Old Master Drawings, Brookline, Mass.

"tre angioli o imprese della santissima Trinità"
(three angels or the insignia of the Most Holy Trinity)
Title page, *Statuti della Venerabile Archiconfraternita della Santissima Trinità de' Pel[l]egrini, & Convalescenti, nuovamente riformati, e stampati*, Roma, 1578
ASR, Fondo Ospedale della Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, reg. 521
B. Wisch; Courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività e del Turismo, Archivio di Stato di Roma

Reconstruction © Barbara Wisch; Graphics by Martine C. Barnaby

Fig. 21: *Sources for the Reconstruction of the Ceiling of the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità.* Elaboration by Author; graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.

ENTRANCE

ALTAR

Reconstruction © Barbara Wisch; Graphics by Martine C. Barnaby

Fig. 22: Reconstruction of Giovanni Battista Montano and Stefano Possenti, Ceiling (polychromed and gilded), Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, ca. 1594-1597. Elaboration by Author; graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.
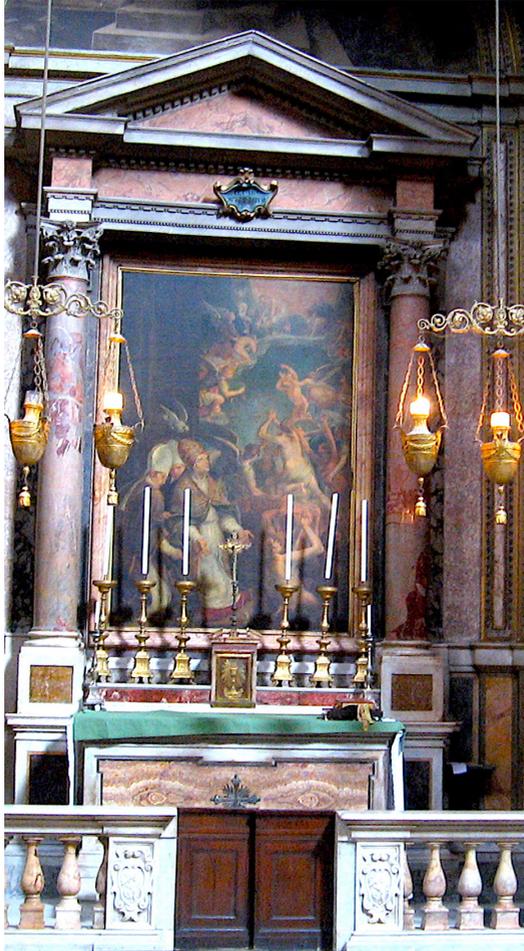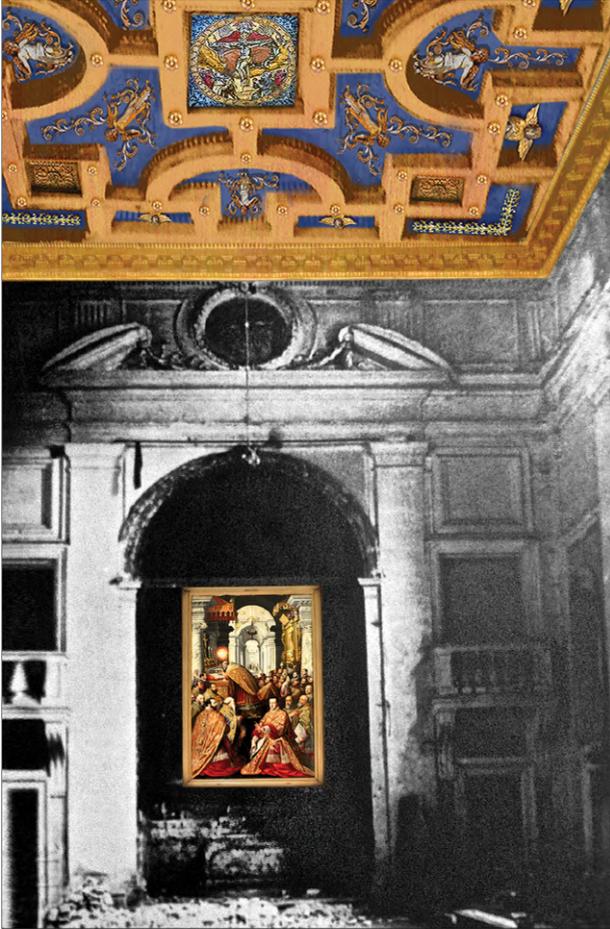
Fig. 23: Baldassare Croce, *Saint Gregory Freeing Souls from Purgatory*, 1608, oil on canvas. Rome, Church of the Santissima Trinità dei Pellegrini, Chapel of Saint Gregory the Great. Photo by Lumen roma CC-BY-3.0.

Reconstruction © Barbara Wisch; Graphics by Martine C. Barnaby

Fig. 24: Reconstruction of the *Mass of Pope Gregory the Great* in the altar chapel and a section of the ceiling, Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, ca. 1604. Elaboration by Author; graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.
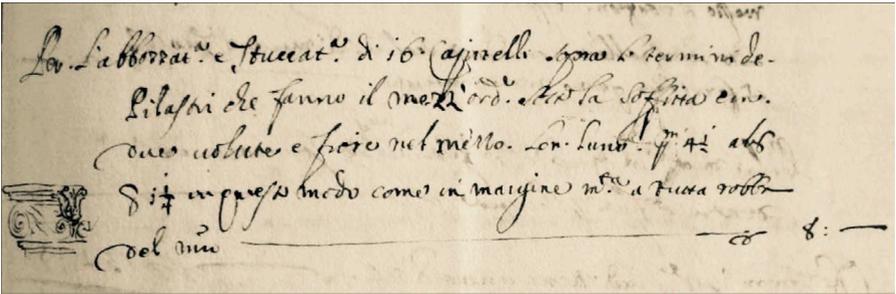
Fig. 25: Camillo Arcucci, *Design for the stucco capitals*, ASR, OSTP, b. 387, B, 8, Misura (14 May 1650). Photo by Author, courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività e del Turismo, Archivio di Stato di Roma.
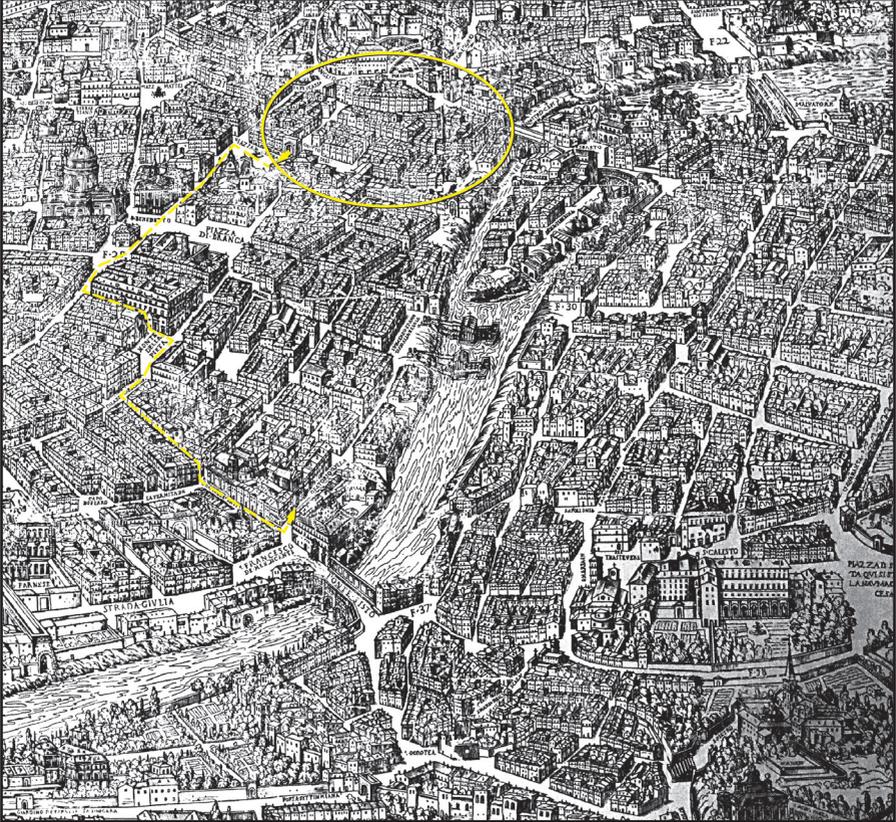
Fig. 26: Processional route (after 1603) of the Jews from the Ghetto to the Oratory of the Santissima Trinità, superimposed on Giovanni Maggi and Paul Maupin, *Map of Rome*, detail, 1625, woodcut. Elaboration by Author; graphics by Martine C. Barnaby.

Fig. 27: Durante Alberti, *Annunciation*, 1588, oil on canvas. Rome, Madonna dei Monti, Chapel of the Annunciation. Photo by Sailko CC-BY-3.0.

Fig. 28: Francesco Bosoni, *Relazione delle funzioni principali, che si esercitano dalla Nobilissma Archiconfraternità della S.ma Trinità di Roma […]*, 1650. Photo: P.M. Jones, *Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni*, Aldershot-Burlington, Vt., 2008, p. 274, fig. 5.4, with superimposed graphic.